

THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF  
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN IN IRAN

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This is to certify that the

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THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF ELEMENTARY  
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A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "David S. Hoag". The signature is written over a horizontal line.

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## ABSTRACT

### THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN IN IRAN

By

Lorraine I. Jakubielski

Although many of the new nations of the world attribute great importance to political socialization and to the role of the educational system in this purpose, there has been little research to date to describe the effort of their educational institutions in political socialization or, for that matter, to assess empirically the effectiveness of their effort, and this would seem to be a task of high priority for students of the modernization process in the new nations.

Predicated on this awareness, then, the purpose in this study is to shed light on the goals and methods of elementary school political socialization in one of the oldest of the new nations, Iran, and to suggest through a survey inquiry how effective the political socialization effort is in: (1) developing conformity in certain desired political beliefs, attitudes, and knowledge among students; (2) politically unifying



city, peasant, and tribal children and boys and girls; and (3) producing certain desired political changes in pupils.

The data sources in the study are: (1) government documents, dealing with the goals and curriculum of elementary education, and educational materials, primarily textbooks, but also other media by which children are influenced, such as magazines, television, and wall posters; (2) informal interviews with selected educational authorities, teachers, and parents; (3) 1971-72 classroom and school observations in several city, peasant, and tribal schools located in two provinces of Iran--the Central Province and Fars Province; and (4) responses to an open-ended and closed questionnaire administered in the spring of 1972 to 926 children (third and fifth graders) selected from city, peasant, and tribal schools in several areas of the Central Province and Fars Province.

The findings and implications in the study include the following: (1) the political socialization effort aims to transmit national consciousness and sentiment, a positive set of images of and favorable feelings toward the regime and Shah, and citizenship characteristics (obedience, cooperation, altruism, perseverance, achievement) valued by the Iranian leadership; (2) the political socialization effort involves numerous media--uniform textbooks, teachers' guidebooks, extra-curricular

activities, rituals, and commemorative ceremonies;

(3) while the political socialization effort is effective in developing conformity among students with respect to positive images of and favorable feelings toward the nation and Shah, it is not effective in developing conformity among students with respect to an institutional and democratic conception of government; (4) while the political socialization effort is successful in unifying city, peasant, and tribal children with respect to positive images of and favorable feelings toward the nation and its symbols, it is not successful in unifying the different children with respect to positive images of and favorable feelings toward the Shah and his White Revolution; (5) while the political socialization effort is successful in unifying boys and girls with regard to positive images of and favorable feelings toward the nation and Shah, it is not successful in unifying the sexes with regard to selected political information; and (6) while the political socialization effort is effective in producing changes in pupils with respect to political information and patriotism, it is not effective in producing changes in pupils with respect to an institutional and democratic conception of government.

Moreover, the findings in the study imply that the elementary school political socialization effort is more effective in stimulating certain desired political

orientations among tribal children than among peasant and city children, and among boys than among girls. Regarding the effectiveness of the effort with tribal children, their hypothesized superior intelligence and learning experiences may to a great extent be influential factors. And regarding the effectiveness of the effort with boys, Iranian culture--which tends to dichotomize male and female roles strictly--may be predominant in the socialization process.

The study, of course, is not intended to be the definitive work on the political socialization of Iranian elementary school children. It is but a first step--an effort to provide information and documentation about an important area of neglected research. If the study serves as a catalyst for future research, it will have fulfilled a vital function.

THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF ELEMENTARY  
SCHOOL CHILDREN IN IRAN

By

Lorraine I. <sup>rene</sup>Jakubielski

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**To My Parents**

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Do not educate your children in your own customs and traditions, as they are created for a time other than yours.

Hazrat-e Ali<sup>1</sup>

The emergence of some sixty new nations and the prominence of Asia, Africa, and the Middle East upon the world scene in recent years have stimulated a great interest in the study of modernization. And to new nation policy makers and research scholars alike, it already has become clear that two general and fundamental problems crucial in the process of modernization are changing attitudes and behavior and reducing the cultural and attitudinal gaps that exist between the modernizing elite and the bulk of the people.<sup>2</sup> Most of the new nations contain numerous population groups with their

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<sup>1</sup>A sage leader venerated in Iran for over thirteen centuries. The quotation is taken from "Education: Survival or Growth?," Renew (Spring, 1971), 2.

<sup>2</sup>The literature pertinent to these topics is vast and growing rapidly. The investigator's efforts have been guided mainly by Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (Boston: Little, Brown and Company,

own beliefs and feelings, and with norms, values, and symbols that differ from those of the modern national culture. Often these group loyalties and norms take precedence over national loyalties and norms, as witnessed in the tribal basis of recent African civil conflicts and in the difficulties imposed on modernization efforts in Asia by the prejudices and anxieties of peasant communities. Social scientists are quick to emphasize that subcultural views can be dysfunctional to modernization efforts; as Lucian Pye has put it: "Unless the masses of people are exposed to new ways of thinking and led to adopt new attitudes, there can be little hope of any steady progress toward economic development, social modernization, and political maturity."<sup>3</sup>

From the above considerations, it is a natural step to a corollary issue: How are the beliefs and

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1965); Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1958); David C. McClelland, The Achieving Society (New York: The Free Press, 1967); Lucian W. Pye, Politics, Personality, and Nation Building: Burma's Search for Identity (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962); the collection of essays in Lucian W. Pye, ed., Communications and Political Development (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963) and Lucian W. Pye and Sidney Verba, eds., Political Culture and Political Development (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965); and Edward Shils, Political Development in the New States (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1966).

<sup>3</sup>Lucian W. Pye, "Introduction," in Communications and Political Development, ed. by Lucian W. Pye, p. 13.

attitudes of the masses brought in line with the goals of a rapidly modernizing elite? One universal means of awakening and leading the bulk of the population to an acceptance of new ideas, desired attitudes, and behavior, and, thus, narrowing the elite-mass gap is through political socialization.<sup>4</sup>

Although the term "political socialization" is of quite recent vintage, dating back only to the 1950s, methods of preparing individuals for citizenship and the consequences of such preparations for the polity have long been of concern to political philosophers. In The Republic, for example, Plato wrote extensively about education and childhood experiences as the means for instilling desirable norms and values of citizenship. He designed an elaborate educational program to ensure that the various classes of citizens would be trained suitably for their particular roles in the polity. Plato

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<sup>4</sup>"Narrowly conceived, political socialization is the deliberate inculcation of political information, values, and practices by instructional agents who have been formally charged with this responsibility. A broader conception would encompass all political learning, formal and informal, deliberate and unplanned, at every stage of the life cycle, including not only explicitly political learning but also nominally nonpolitical learning that affects political behavior, such as the learning of politically relevant social attitudes and the acquisition of politically relevant personality characteristics." Fred I. Greenstein, "Political Socialization," in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, ed. by David L. Sills, 15 (New York: Macmillan and Free Press, 1968), p. 551. In this study, political socialization is thought of in the first, narrow sense.

inferred that citizens' values affected the stability of the state. Moreover, he attributed political deterioration to defects in political education; to shortcomings in political socialization.<sup>5</sup>

Plato's concern with the role of education in imparting appropriate values is precisely the concern of leaders and policy planners in many of the new nations. In order to transform and integrate the views and behavior of the masses of people so that they are in harmony with the goals of a modernizing polity, many new nation leaders feel compelled to mold the minds of their citizens at the earliest possible junctures of the life cycle--during childhood and adolescence. As a result, new burdens have been placed on those institutions, in particular, schools, which condition the beliefs of the young. Along with instruction in technical skills, schools are now charged with the responsibility of forming "junior citizens."

In a modernizing society, there is a firm basis for regarding the formal education system as a key communicator and integrator of political values and perhaps as the most influential political socialization agency. First, since the educational institution occupies a sizable portion of the impressionable child and

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<sup>5</sup>Plato, The Republic, trans. by Francis MacDonald Cornford (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), Books iii, viii, ix.

adolescent's day, the impact on political orientations (knowledge, attitudes, values, behavior) might be expected to be equally great. Second, unlike other institutions or agencies of political socialization, such as the family or peer group, the educational system is potentially susceptible to centralized manipulation; so that in theory, it is possible to design and implement a fairly uniform program of political socialization for the majority of youth in a society. Finally, due to the absence or underdevelopment of competing cultural agencies and communications systems, such as youth groups, radio, and television, the effect of the school in transmitting politically relevant orientations is likely to increase.<sup>6</sup>

In addition to the above considerations, there is another reason which encourages new nation leaders to view the educational system as an effective instrument of political socialization. Both the Soviet Union and Communist China stand as dramatically successful models. The experiences of these countries demonstrate

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<sup>6</sup> Similar arguments are cited by David Easton, "The Function of Formal Education in a Political System," School Review, 65 (Autumn, 1957), 314; James S. Coleman, "Introduction," in Education and Political Development, ed. by James S. Coleman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 22; and Robert A. Levine, "Political Socialization and Cultural Change," in Old Societies and New States, ed. by Clifford G. Geertz (New York: Free Press, 1963), p. 301.

convincingly that educational systems can be powerful instruments in imparting desirable political norms and in forging national unity.

Although many of the new nations of the world attribute great importance to political socialization and to the role of the educational system in this purpose, there has been little research to date to describe the effort of their educational instructions in political socialization or, for that matter, to assess empirically the effectiveness of their political socialization effort, and this would seem to be a task of high priority for students of the modernization process in the new nations.<sup>7</sup> Thus, predicated on the foregoing remarks, the present study, concerned with the political socialization of children and the role of elementary education therein

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<sup>7</sup> A few available studies on the role of educational institutions in political socialization in the new nations are: Frederick W. Frey, "Education: Turkey," in Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey, ed. by Robert E. Ward and Dankwart Rustow (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), pp. 205-35; David Koff and George Von Der Muhll, "Political Socialization in Kenya and Tanzania: A Comparative Analysis," Journal of Modern African Studies, 5 (Winter, 1967), 13-51; Kenneth Prewitt, ed., Education and Political Values: An East African Case Study (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1971); Kenneth Prewitt and Joseph Okello-Oculi, "Political Socialization and Political Education in the New Nations," in Learning about Politics: A Reader in Political Socialization, ed. by Roberta Sigel (New York: Random House, 1970), pp. 607-21.

in one of the oldest of the new nations, Iran, helps to fill the void.<sup>8</sup>

### A Perspective on Childhood Political Learning

The rationale for researching children is based on two important assumptions: first, that political learning begins early in life, and second, that this early learning has impact upon adult political beliefs and behavior.

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<sup>8</sup>The research of students of Iranian education and Iranian politics has neglected largely or at least treated only indirectly, the processes whereby Iranian youth acquire their political information, attitudes, values, and behavior. One notable exception, however, does exist: Marvin Zonis's current study on the political socialization of secondary school students. (The empirical core of the study is based on survey questionnaire data obtained from a national random stratified sample of 6,000 secondary school students in the 1965-66 academic year. So far the findings have not been published.) Moreover, a survey of the extant literature on modern Iran reveals that no research, historical or empirical, has focused explicitly on the political socialization of children nor on the role of elementary education in the process. Tangential and contributory materials, however, do exist. The most relevant items are: Reza Arasteh, Education and Social Awakening in Iran (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962), Chapters 1, 4; Abbas M. Ekrami, "A Program for Improvement of Elementary Education in Iran" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1953), Chapters 6, 7; International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), "Cross-national Study of Civic Education in Eight Different Nations" (Hamburg, Germany: UNESCO Institute for Education). (The attitudes, cognitions, and background experience of 10-, 14-, and 17-19-year-olds were measured in the late sixties. No official report of the Iranian findings has yet been released.) David C. McClelland, "National Character and Economic Growth in Turkey and Iran," in Communications and Political Development, ed. by Lucian W. Pye (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 152-81; Edward Pires, The Teaching of the Social Studies in Primary Teacher Training

Indeed, there is evidence to validate the first proposition. Perhaps the most significant and well-known confirmations are the three extensive empirical studies of elementary school children done in the United States in the sixties--Fred I. Greenstein's Children and Politics, Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney's The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, and David Easton and Jack Dennis's Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy. The study by Fred Greenstein was based on a sample of 659 fourth through eighth grade children in New Haven, Connecticut. Greenstein discovered that political learning begins surprisingly early and that this learning, at least in American culture, is indiscriminately positive, that is, country, government, and public officials are regarded in warm and favorable ways.<sup>9</sup> The study of Hess and Torney and the one of Easton and Dennis, based on a nationwide sample of 12,000 school children in grades two through eight, followed Greenstein's research, and largely

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Institutions in Asia (Bangkok: UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Asia, 1970); and Issa Khan Sadiq, Modern Persia and Her Educational System (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931), Chapters 3, 6.

<sup>9</sup>For a comprehensive report of the study see Fred I. Greenstein, Children and Politics (1st rev. ed.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969).



supported and expanded his findings.<sup>10</sup> Thus Hess and Torney noted that "The acquisition of information and attitudes proceeds rapidly during the elementary school years" and that "particularly sizable advances are made between the fourth and fifth grades,"<sup>11</sup> while Easton and Hess in fact posited that "the truly formative years of the maturing members of a political system would seem to be the years between three and thirteen."<sup>12</sup> Indeed, the salient finding of numerous studies, both in Western and non-Western societies, is that political learning has its beginning in childhood.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Hess and Torney's study, written from the point of view of the psychology of child development, is available in Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, Doubleday & Co., 1968); Easton and Dennis's study, written from a political science perspective, namely from the viewpoint of systems analysis, is available in David Easton and Jack Dennis, Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1969).

<sup>11</sup>Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, p. 30.

<sup>12</sup>David Easton and Robert D. Hess, "The Child's Political World," Midwest Journal of Political Science, 6 (August, 1962), 236.

<sup>13</sup>See, for example, Paul R. Abramson and Ronald Inglehart, "The Development of Systematic Support in Four Western Democracies," Comparative Political Studies, 2 (January, 1970), 419-42; R. W. Connell, The Child's Construction of Politics (Australia: Melbourne University Press, 1971); Jack Dennis, et al., "Political Socialization to Democratic Orientations in Four Western Systems," Comparative Political Studies, 1 (April, 1968), 71-101; Robert D. Hess, "The Socialization of Attitudes Toward

Children learn, but there is differential learning influenced by certain psychological, social, and cultural characteristics of the children being socialized. All of the studies cited above, for example, found sex and social class variations in children's political learning. In general, regarding sex, the studies reported that boys are more politically informed and more interested and active in politics than girls; and in regard to social class, they found that upper-class children exceed lower-class children in capacity and motivation for political participation.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, the Hess and

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Political Authority: Some Cross-National Comparisons," International Social Science Journal, 15 (Winter, 1963), 542-59; Eugene L. Horowitz, "Some Aspects of the Development of Patriotism in Children," Sociometry, 3 (October, 1940), 329-41; Gustav Jahoda, "The Development of Children's Ideas About Country and Nationality, Part II: National Symbols and Themes," British Journal of Educational Psychology, 33 (February, 1963), 143-53; Gustav Jahoda, "The Development of Scottish Children's Ideas and Attitudes About Other Countries," Journal of Social Psychology, 58 (October, 1962), 91-108; Reid Reading, "Political Socialization in Colombia and the United States: An Exploratory Study," Midwest Journal of Political Science, 12 (August, 1968), 352-81; Charles Roig and Françoise Billon-Grand, La Socialization Politique des Enfants (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1968); Eugene A. Weinstein, "Development of the Concept of the Flag and the Sense of National Identity," Child Development, 28 (June, 1957), 166-74; and Richard W. Wilson, Learning To Be Chinese: The Political Socialization of Children in Taiwan (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1970).

<sup>14</sup>For the findings on sex and social class differences, see Easton and Dennis, Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy, Chapters 16, 17; Greenstein, Children and Politics, Chapters 5, 7; and Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, Chapters 7, 8.

Torney study also demonstrated a relationship between intelligence and political learning; on the basis of the data, it concluded that the acquisition of the more active and initiatory aspects of political learning (activities, participation in discussion, interest, efficacy--the child's belief in his ability to influence governmental action) is strongly accelerated in children of high intelligence.<sup>15</sup>

The Easton and Dennis, Hess and Torney, and Greenstein studies did not consider subcultural groups in which political learning might differ from the dominant culture.<sup>16</sup> However, subsequent research, concerned with the political learning of subgroups within the United States, has revealed racial, rural, and ethnic differences in children's political learning. To illustrate: an investigation by Edward S. Greenberg in Philadelphia revealed that black children (third, fifth, and seventh grade students) manifest less confidence in the

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<sup>15</sup>For the findings on intelligence and political learning, see Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, Chapter 7.

<sup>16</sup>The studies were based primarily on samples of white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon, urban, and suburban children. For example, the national sample on which the Hess and Torney and Easton and Dennis reports were written contained no black children from ghetto neighborhoods and no sizable ethnic groups. Rural and small-town America were not represented; the smallest city used had a population of over 100,000. See Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, Appendices on methodology.

benevolence of the national government and also less affection for the American community, the President, and police than white children do;<sup>17</sup> a study by Dean Jaros, Herbert Hirsch, and Frederic J. Fleron in the isolated, poor Appalachian region of Kentucky found that rural fifth through eighth grade students hold dramatically less positive views of political authority figures than their counterparts in other portions of the nation;<sup>18</sup> and an inquiry by F. Chris Garcia in Los Angeles County, California reported that Mexican-American children (third, fifth, seventh, and ninth grade students) demonstrate less cognition of and affection for the American community than Anglo-American youngsters do.<sup>19</sup>

Given, then, the existence of childhood political learning, what grounds are there for assuming that this

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<sup>17</sup>Edward S. Greenberg: "Children and Government: A Comparison Across Racial Lines," Midwest Journal of Political Science, 14 (May, 1970), 249-75; "Children and the Political Community: A Comparison Across Racial Lines," Canadian Journal of Political Science, 2 (December, 1969), 471-92; and "Orientations of Black and White Children to Political Authority Figures," Social Science Quarterly, 51 (December, 1970), 561-71.

<sup>18</sup>Dean Jaros, Herbert Hirsch, and Frederic J. Fleron, "The Malevolent Leader: Political Socialization in an American Sub-Culture," American Political Science Review, 62 (June, 1968), 564-75.

<sup>19</sup>F. Chris Garcia, Political Socialization of Chicano Children: A Comparative Study with Anglos in California Schools (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1973), Chapter 2.

early learning has an impact on adult political beliefs and behavior? The continuity between childhood and adult life is well established in psychoanalytic theory. Erik H. Erikson, for example, has described stages in the development of human beings--with the most crucial ones taking place during childhood--and the ways in which developments at one stage are in part determined by earlier developments and in turn influence and determine the nature of later developments.<sup>20</sup> Thus, in writing an explanation for his study Young Man Luther, he has commented:

Man is not organized like an archaeological mound, in layers; as he grows he makes the past part of all the future, and every environment, as he once experienced it, part of the present environment. Dreams and dreamlike moments, when analyzed, always reveal the myriad past experiences which are waiting outside the gates of consciousness to mingle with present impressions.<sup>21</sup>

Moreover, the continuity between childhood experiences and adult attitudes and actions is documented in empirical studies on human behavior, many of which began systematic observations on children in their infancy and continued them into the adult years.<sup>22</sup> Perhaps, the most notable

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<sup>20</sup>Erik H. Erikson, Childhood and Society (2nd rev. ed.; New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1963).

<sup>21</sup>Erik H. Erikson, Young Man Luther (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1962), pp. 117-18.

<sup>22</sup>See Benjamin S. Bloom, Stability and Change in Human Characteristics (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964).

among these studies is the report Birth to Maturity by Jerome Kagan and Howard A. Moss, which summarizes an investigation of the personality development of seventy-one children (thirty-five females and thirty-six males) from birth through early adulthood--a period covering approximately thirty years. While it is not possible to give a resume of the results of this study, it is appropriate to note its central finding here. In the words of the authors:

The most dramatic and consistent finding of this study was that many of the behaviors exhibited by the child during the period 6 to 10 years of age, and a few during the age period 3 to 6, were moderately good predictors of theoretically related behaviors during early childhood. Passive withdrawal from stressful situations, dependency on family, ease-of-anger arousal, involvement in intellectual mastery, social interaction anxiety, sex-role identification, and pattern of sexual behavior in adulthood were each related to reasonably analogous behavioral dispositions during the early school years. . . . These results offer strong support to the popular notion that aspects of adult personality begin to take form during early childhood.<sup>23</sup>

In view of the foregoing facts, then, the argument for the importance of childhood learning for the political beliefs and behavior of adults appears to have considerable validity.

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<sup>23</sup>Jerome Kagan and Howard A. Moss, Birth to Maturity: A Study in Psychological Development (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962), pp. 266-67.

Learning (including political), of course, continues throughout a person's life cycle;<sup>24</sup> however, learning in later life is limited by the burden of earlier learning. There are several reasons why childhood experiences place important limits on adolescent and post-adolescent learning. In the first place, since much of early learning takes place at a nonconscious level, through processes such as identification and imitation, it is not accessible to conscious memory and, therefore, to change by later socialization.<sup>25</sup> Second, content that is continuously taught and reinforced in childhood becomes highly stabilized and, hence, is least likely to change in the face of new content.<sup>26</sup> Third, since early learning begins the learning sequence, it can shape later learning, that is, early learning can open up the possibility for some types of later learning and limit the likelihood that other types will occur. For example, the youth who has acquired an interest in

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<sup>24</sup>See, for instance, Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture, Chapter 11; Orville G. Brim, Jr., "Adult Socialization," in Socialization and Society, ed. by John A. Clausen (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968), pp. 182-226; and Theodore M. Newcomb, Personality and Social Change (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1957).

<sup>25</sup>Bloom, Stability and Change in Human Characteristics, p. 216.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

politics is more likely to be influenced by political events and to formulate political opinions than the youth who has no such interest.<sup>27</sup> Finally, early learning takes place at a plastic, formative stage of development, that is, at a time when fundamental personality characteristics are being formed,<sup>28</sup> and, as a result, "social and political learning which takes place at this point can become a part of the individual's basic psychic equipment."<sup>29</sup> The above, then, are powerful reasons for the strength and potent effects of early learning.

The importance of early learning in the formation of adult social and political values and habits was eloquently captured by Alexis de Toqueville over 140 years ago in analyzing the social and cultural basis of American politics. His thoughts are an appropriate conclusion to this section.

A man has come into the world; his early years are spent without notice in the pleasures and activities of childhood. As he grows up, the world receives him when his manhood begins, and he enters into contact with his fellows. He is

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<sup>27</sup>Irvin L. Child, "Socialization," in Handbook of Social Psychology, ed. by Gardner Lindzey, 2 (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley, 1954), pp. 678-79.

<sup>28</sup>Bloom, Stability and Change in Human Characteristics, pp. 214-15.

<sup>29</sup>Greenstein, Children and Politics, p. 81.



then studied for the first time, and it is imagined that the germ of the vices and the virtues of his maturer years is then formed.

This, if I am not mistaken, is a great error. We must begin higher up; we must watch the infant in his mother's arms; we must see the first images which the external world casts upon the dark mirror of his mind, the first occurrences that he witnesses; we must hear the first words which awaken the sleeping powers of thought, and stand by his earliest efforts if we would understand the prejudices, the habits, and the passions which will rule his life. The entire man is, so to speak, to be seen in the cradle of the child.<sup>30</sup>

### The Iranian Political Socialization Study

The purpose in the present study is to shed light on the goals and methods of political socialization (herein defined as the conscious attempt by an older generation to instruct the young in appropriate citizenship beliefs, values, attitudes, and behavior) in elementary schools in Iran and to suggest through an analysis of survey data how effective the political socialization effort is in (1) developing conformity in certain desired political beliefs, attitudes, and knowledge among students; (2) politically unifying city, peasant, and tribal children and boys and girls; and (3) producing certain desired political changes in pupils.

In accordance with the purpose in the study, research was carried out in Iran from the fall of 1971

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<sup>30</sup> Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, trans. by Henry Reeve, 1 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), p. 26.

through the spring of 1972. Basically four types of research procedure were undertaken to gather information. First, government documents, dealing with the goals and the curriculum of elementary education, and educational materials, primarily textbooks, but also other media by which children are influenced, such as magazines, television, and wall posters, were examined. Second, selected educational authorities, teachers, and parents were interviewed informally about certain aspects of the political socialization process in Iran, in particular, about the role of the elementary school. Third, actual classroom and school observations were carried out in several urban, peasant, and tribal schools located in two provinces of Iran--the Central Province and Fars Province. And finally, an open-ended and closed questionnaire was administered to 926 children selected from city, peasant, and tribal schools in several areas of the Central Province and Fars Province.

The study is reported in five chapters. In Chapter II, following the presentation of the kinds of values, attitudes, beliefs, and behavior that the Iranian leadership is trying to inculcate in its elementary school students, an attempt is made to give a comprehensive picture of the numerous media--uniform textbooks, teachers' guidebooks, extra-curricular activities--which the government utilizes to politicize

the students, to teach them the appropriate beliefs and values, and to teach them to accept them. In Chapter III the focus is on the procedures used to conduct the survey; the chapter includes a discussion of the instrument, sample selection, field testing, and data processing and analysis. In Chapter IV a comparative analysis of the demographic and social backgrounds of the city, peasant, and tribal children who responded to the survey questionnaire is given. In Chapter V the concern is with the effectiveness of the school system's political socialization effort; the chapter contains an analysis of the responses of the sample of children described in Chapter IV to selected items of political knowledge, attitudes, and beliefs in the survey instrument introduced in Chapter III to suggest how effective the school system's political socialization effort is in (1) developing conformity in certain desired political beliefs, attitudes, and knowledge among students; (2) politically unifying city, peasant, and tribal children and boys and girls; and (3) producing certain desired political changes in pupils. In Chapter VI the summarized conclusion to the study is presented.

Since the study is an attempt to map out previously unexplored territory, the decision was made to cover as much terrain as feasible rather than to do a microscopic detailed description or analysis of one small

area. It is hoped that the findings of the study will provide some direction or at least a stimulus to further research in this neglected area.

### Iran, 1971-72: A Retrospect

It is not the intention in this section to give an inclusive and exhaustive list of facts concerning Iran-- this can be readily and adequately obtained elsewhere-- but only to enumerate the points of major concern for the study and to acquaint the reader with the country environment in which the investigation was made.

Iran (the name means land of the Aryans), encompassing an area of 1,645,000 square kilometers,<sup>31</sup> is situated in southwestern Asia between the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman. To the east, the country borders Pakistan and Afghanistan; to the north, the Soviet Union; and to the west, Turkey and Iraq. The country's land is harsh and variegated-- rugged mountain chains running roughly parallel to the frontiers, together with extensive, barren desert areas in the central and eastern regions. Climate is characterized by wide ranges in temperature (from 55°C in the eastern desert areas to -27°C in the northwest and northeast regions) and precipitation (from less than 10

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<sup>31</sup>Echo of Iran, Iran Almanac and Book of Facts, 1972 (Tehran: Echo of Iran Press, 1972), p. 73. (Hereinafter cited as Iran Almanac, 1972.)

millimeters in the interior of the Dasht-e Lut, a desert in the southeast, to more than 2,000 millimeters in the southwest corner of the Caspian region).<sup>32</sup> The scarcity of water, both in streams and rainfall, combined with the irregularity of terrain and the extremes of temperature have made most of the land uncultivable and sparsely settled. Thus in 1971-72, farming was conducted on roughly 10 percent of the land, and nearly 70 percent of the people lived on about 30 percent of the land.<sup>33</sup>

According to statistics released by the Iranian Statistical Center, on March 20, 1972, the country's population reached 30,159,000, an increase of 1,777,000 since March 21, 1971. Of the total population, 41.3 percent lived in urban areas and 58.7 percent in rural areas (generally defined as settlements with less than 5,000 inhabitants).<sup>34</sup> The urban population represented an

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid., pp. 85-86, 93.

<sup>33</sup>Harvey H. Smith, et al., Area Handbook for Iran (Washington, D.C.: Foreign Area Studies, The American University, 1971), pp. 9, 79.

<sup>34</sup>Iran Almanac, 1972, p. 507. The National Census Office gave consideration to conducting a nationwide census in 1970, but demographic experts and United Nations authorities advised against it. The most reliable demographic statistics available in the early seventies were estimates based on the censuses of 1956 and 1966. These censuses, the only official enumerations of the 20th century, were subject to underestimation by about 5 to 10 percent.

increase of 80 percent over the official count for 1956 and was concentrated in sixteen cities with estimated populations in excess of 100,000 persons.<sup>35</sup> The stated population (3,400,000) of Tehran, the seat of government and the center of the country's industrial and commercial life, was over six times greater than the given population (520,000) of Esfahan, the second largest city in Iran.<sup>36</sup> Approximately 46 percent of the inhabitants in the country were under fifteen years of age and about 50 percent were in the productive years, 15-64, responsible for supporting a dependent population.<sup>37</sup> These figures represented a gain of about 4 percent and a loss of nearly 4 percent, respectively, over the 1956 figures.<sup>38</sup> Analysts suggested that this pattern--increase among the younger years and decrease in the proportion in the ages 15-64--would probably persist in the remainder of the decade.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 508.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., pp. 510-11.

<sup>37</sup>Smith, et al., Area Handbook for Iran, pp. 77-78.

<sup>38</sup>Jacquiline Rudolph-Touba, Highlights of Sex-Age Characteristics in Iran, 1956-1966: A Sociological Interpretation (Tehran: Plan Organization, Statistical Center of Iran, April, 1970), p. 27.

<sup>39</sup>The existence of this age structure creates a paradox for Iran; for while capital is needed to stimulate the economic sector, an increasing young population will mean that a greater proportion of the budget will have to be invested in education, recreation, and housing.

In the period under review, Iran was not a homogeneous country. According to rough estimates based on the 1966 census, about 66 percent of the total population consisted of people of Aryan origin, speakers of one of several Indo-European languages--Persian (the official language), Gilani, Mazandarani, Kurdish, Luri, Bakhtiari, and Baluchi. About 25 percent of the population was composed of various Turkic-speaking ethnic groups--Azarbaijani, Qashqai, Turkoman, Shahsavan, and Afshar. The remaining 9 percent of the population consisted primarily of Arabs, Armenians, Jews, and Assyrians.<sup>40</sup> Among these ethnic groups and spread throughout the country, there were some 3.5 million tribesmen--a figure representing more than 10 percent of the population. These tribesmen were mainly Kurds (about 3,000,000) in the west and northwest, and Qashqai (about 500,000), Lurs (more than 3,000,000), and members of smaller tribes in the southwest.<sup>41</sup> Although many of these tribesmen were migrating herdsmen, observations indicated a trend toward settlement in villages.

Muslims made up about 98 percent of the population in 1971-72. More than 90 percent of them adhered to the

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<sup>40</sup>Smith, et al., Area Handbook for Iran, pp. 80-82, 89-104.

<sup>41</sup>Iran Almanac, 1972, p. 580; and Smith, et al., Area Handbook for Iran, pp. 90-98.

Shiah branch of Islam, which is the official state religion, and about 6 percent of them belonged to the Sunni branch of Islam, which predominates in neighboring countries. Small, non-Muslim minorities in the population included Christians (Nestorians, Gregorians, Catholics, Protestants), Jews, Zoroastrians (Zoroastrianism was the official religion of pre-Islamic Iran), and Bahais.<sup>42</sup>

Data available in 1972 classified the population by occupational categories as 40.3 percent in agriculture, 31.5 percent in industry, and 28.2 percent in services. A comparison of this structure with the occupational make-up in 1967-68 revealed a decline in the percentage of agricultural workers by 8.7 percent and an increase of workers in industrial and service occupations by 6.2 percent and 2.5 percent, respectively.<sup>43</sup> Projections of the Fifth Development Plan (1973-78)<sup>44</sup> indicate that by the end of 1978, the number of workers employed in the industrial sector will overtake the number working in the agricultural sector; specifically, it is estimated

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<sup>42</sup>Iran Almanac, 1972, p. 529. Bahaism is not recognized officially as a religion but a heretical and deviant schism.

<sup>43</sup>Statistics given in the 1972-73 Budget Bill, as reported in Iran Almanac, 1972, p. 302.

<sup>44</sup>The fifth in a series of Iranian development plans established by Plan Organization, a semi-autonomous government agency set up in 1947 and concerned with planning, implementing, and supervising development projects.



that of the total population of Iran, the number of workers in industry will be 33.4 percent, in agriculture, 31.1 percent, and in services, 35.5 percent.<sup>45</sup>

The national government in 1971-72 was firmly established as a constitutional hereditary monarchy, distinguished by the dynamic personal leadership of Shah (king) Mohammad Reza Pahlavi as royal head of state for thirty-three years.<sup>46</sup> Although the government was tripartite in form--executive, legislative, and judiciary--the Shah--who has the legal and political power to designate and remove the prime minister and cabinet ministers, to convene and dissolve the parliament,<sup>47</sup> to set the course of policy in internal and external

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<sup>45</sup>Iran Almanac, 1972, p. 425.

<sup>46</sup>Mohammad Reza Pahlavi acceded to the throne in 1941 when his father, Reza Shah the Great, who had ruled Iran for twenty years, was forced to abdicate as a result of invasions by the British and Soviet forces during World War II. (Reza Shah had expressed some pro-German views and had refused a British-Soviet request in 1941 to allow transit of war supplies across Iran.) The oldest son of the Shah and his present wife, Empress Farah, Reza Cyrus, born October 31, 1960, was formally proclaimed crown prince by imperial decree on November 1, 1960 and ceremonially designated as such at the formal coronation of Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi on October 26, 1967, an event which took place twenty-six years after his accession to the throne.

<sup>47</sup>The bicameral legislature consists of the Majles (The National Consultative Assembly), an elected lower house, and the Sena (Senate), a half-elected, a half-royally appointed house.

affairs, to command the armed forces, to make wide appointments, and to approve numerous acts--retained virtually absolute control.

The period 1971-72 saw local government administration conducted through a system of fourteen ostans (provinces), including the Central Ostan of Tehran,<sup>48</sup> and nine farmandari kol (governorates).<sup>49</sup> Each ostan and farmandari kol was subdivided into smaller administrative segments called shahrestans (counties); each county was then divided into bakhshs (districts); and each district was further divided into dehistans (groups of villages). The appointment of administrative heads, from ostan to dehistan level, by the Minister of the Interior under the authority of the Shah, was giving way transitionally to local selection, as decentralization and the establishment of self-governing entities in the various administrative subdivisions progressed.<sup>50</sup> Large urban municipalities,

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<sup>48</sup>The names of the other provinces were Gilan, Mazandaran, East Azarbaijan, West Azarbaijan, Kermanshah, Khuzistan, Fars, Kerman, Khorasan, Esfahan, Baluchistan and Sistan, Kurdistan, and Persian Gulf and Gulf of Oman Islands and Ports.

<sup>49</sup>This designation was applied to smaller, less developed areas and is a form that has been used as a transition stage to full provincial status.

<sup>50</sup>The establishment of local self-government has proceeded slowly in Iran, even though the Iranian constitution of 1906 specified the formation of provincial and district councils. In the late fifties and sixties, however, the government took several basic and imaginative steps to speed up the creation of local institutions.

such as Tehran, had county status. Moreover, cities and towns had municipal governments, with a mayor and council locally elected or designated by a division of municipal affairs in the Ministry of Interior on recommendation from the provincial governor, or a combination of appointed and elected officials--depending on the stage of development. The mayor of Tehran, however, was an exception; he was appointed by the Shah on recommendation of the Minister of the Interior with cabinet approval.<sup>51</sup>

During the years under report, the "White Revolution"<sup>52</sup> (the twelve-point reform program designed to transform Iran into a modern industrial state), inaugurated by Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi on January 9, 1963 and approved by the people in a national referendum

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<sup>51</sup>For brief discussions of local government, see Smith, et al., Area Handbook for Iran, pp. 262-64; and Iran Almanac, 1972, pp. 96-98.

<sup>52</sup>According to the Shah, it is so called because it was voluntarily undertaken, with a broad base of popular support, rather than occurring under compulsion and widespread violence and bloodshed. Mohammad Reza Pahlavi and Edwin Newman, "We Are Putting the Past Behind Us," Kayhan International (Overseas Edition), February 28, 1970, p. 5. The reforms are also known as the "Revolution of the Shah and the People" and the "Sixth of Bahman." The sixth of Bahman is the date in the Solar Calendar, followed by Iranians, on which the reforms of the White Revolution were approved in a national referendum. (The Solar Year may be converted to years of the Christian Era by the following formula: Solar Year + 621 = year of the Christian Era.)

on January 26, 1963, was securely established in principle and at varying degrees of development in practice:

1. Land reform: On September 23, 1971, land reform, the kingpin of the White Revolution, had been completed. Over 60 percent of the Iranian population, who had served as serfs or sharecroppers, now had ownership of the land they tilled.<sup>53</sup>
2. Nationalization of forests: By 1972, over 100 forestry and agricultural projects, covering 321,500 hectares of land, had been implemented.<sup>54</sup>
3. Public sale of state-owned factories to finance land reform: By mid-1971, shares, with annual guaranteed interests of 6 percent, in nine factories had been completely sold out, a majority of shares in another three factories had been sold, and arrangements for the sale of shares in twenty other factories had been made.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>"Land Reform Ends," Tehran Journal, September 23, 1971, p. 1.

<sup>54</sup>Iran Almanac, 1972, p. 398.

<sup>55</sup>Echo of Iran, Iran Almanac and Book of Facts, 1971 (Tehran: Echo of Iran Press, 1971), p. 290. (Hereinafter cited as Iran Almanac, 1971.)

4. Profit-sharing in industry: On December 31, 1971, a total of 268,017 workers in 2,841 factories were participating in factory profit-sharing schemes.<sup>56</sup>
5. Reform of electoral law to include women: For the third time in the history of the country, women participated in the general elections of the Majles held in July 1971, and several women were elected to the Iranian parliament. In 1971-72, there were four female senators, sixteen female members in the Majles, and one female member of the cabinet (Minister of Education).<sup>57</sup>
6. Literacy Corps: As of January 1972, some 84,920 Literacy Corps teachers (high school graduates under military conscription) had imparted literacy to 1,071,092 children and 554,781 adults in the villages.<sup>58</sup> In the school year 1971-72 427,239 rural elementary school children had received an education from 13,967 active Literacy Corps teachers.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup>Statistics of the Ministry of Labor, as reported in Iran Almanac, 1972, p. 576.

<sup>57</sup>Iran Almanac, 1972, p. 566.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 519.

<sup>59</sup>Iran, Ministry of Education, Office of Planning, Statistical Section, Xolase-ye Amar-e Amuzesh va

7. Health Corps: By January 1971, 2,445 medical groups (each consisting of a physician, dentist, pharmacist, and assistants) had served in the rural areas of the country.<sup>60</sup> In January 1972, there were 400 medical groups working in the villages.<sup>61</sup>
8. Development and Extension Corps: By January 1972, a total of 14,987 persons--3,143 university graduates holding degrees in veterinary medicine, agronomy, and civil engineering and 11,844 secondary school graduates--had been assigned to various rural development tasks. In January 1972, 4,595 Corps members were introducing new techniques and modes of life and production in the rural areas.<sup>62</sup>
9. Rural Courts of Justice: In 1971-72, 5,500 Houses of Equity were providing speedy judicial procedures for the settlement of local problems in 10,000 villages.<sup>63</sup>

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Pavareh-e Iran, 1350-51 [Summary of Educational Statistics of Iran, 1971-72] (Tehran: July, 1972), pp. 5-6. (Hereinafter cited as Ministry of Education, Amar-e Amuzesh va Parvareh-e Iran, 1971-72.)

<sup>60</sup>Iran Almanac, 1971, p. 518.

<sup>61</sup>Iran Almanac, 1972, p. 520.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 130.

10. Nationalization of water resources: By 1971, nationalization of water resources had been completed and the government had prepared plans for increasing development of underground water reserves and had worked out priorities for the use of surface waters, the construction of new dams (thirteen had already been completed since 1963 and five more were under construction) and reservoirs, and the extension of the country's irrigation network.<sup>64</sup>
11. Rural and urban reconstruction: In May 1971, the Urban Development and Housing Section of the Plan Organization in a report of the results of the first three years of the Fourth Development Plan (1967-73) expressed dissatisfaction with the lack of progress in urban development and housing and called for a "basic review" of the situation.<sup>65</sup> In September 1971, the government emphasized that extension of housing units within the Fifth Development Plan (1973-78) represented a top

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<sup>64</sup>"Highlights of Hoveyda's Speech," Kayhan International (Tehran), September 20, 1971, p. 3.

<sup>65</sup>Iran Almanac, 1972, p. 427.

government priority and promised that urban and rural renewal projects would be pursued with greater vigor.<sup>66</sup>

12. Administrative and educational revolution: The main subject of attack in the Majles and press in 1971-72 was the lack of progress in the administrative revolution. On April 4, 1971, Ayandegan (a neutral newspaper) quoted the following statement of the Shah: " . . . we have administrative machinery, with a number of departments, unlimited staff and heavy budgets, but a machinery which is sluggish, spoiler of work and interfering. . . . "<sup>67</sup> In the domain of educational reform, the five-year compulsory and free elementary period of the new national system of education promulgated in the academic year 1965-66 was completely implemented by June 1971; the three-year guidance period, an intermediate cycle between the five-year elementary and four-year secondary periods, was introduced throughout the country in the 1971-72 academic year.<sup>68</sup> Moreover, resolutions

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<sup>66</sup> "Highlights of Hoveyda's Speech," p. 3.

<sup>67</sup> Iran Almanac, 1972, p. 139.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., pp. 541, 548.



governing university reform and educational reform in general were set forth in September 1972 at the Fifth Educational Conference at Ramsar--on the Caspian coast, northwest of Tehran.<sup>69</sup> Statistics of the Ministry of Education revealed that in the 1971-72 academic year, the number of students in the five-year elementary schools was 3,230,880; in the guidance cycle, 259,218; and in the secondary cycle, 1,140,995.<sup>70</sup> The total number of students in the universities and other higher educational institutes was reported to be 100,000.<sup>71</sup>

According to statistics issued by the Ministry of Information, in 1971 there were 105 newspapers (including dailies and weeklies) and 96 magazines (including weeklies and monthlies) published in Iran.<sup>72</sup> Most newspapers and magazines had low circulation. The circulation

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<sup>69</sup> See, for example, "Sweeping Reforms Set for Education" and "Ramsar: A Cold Look at the Future," Kayhan International (Tehran), September 16, 1972, pp. 1, 4; and "Ramsar Opens Ideas Search," Tehran Journal, September 16, 1972, p. 1.

<sup>70</sup> Ministry of Education, Amar-e Amuzesh va Parvaresh-e Iran, 1971-72, p. 6.

<sup>71</sup> "A Chinese Look at Education," Tehran Journal, September 26, 1972, p. 5.

<sup>72</sup> Iran Almanac, 1972, p. 176.

of the largest national daily newspapers, Ettelaat and Kayhan, was about 100,000 copies a day each.<sup>73</sup> This figure is extremely low, compared with the literate population--an estimated 60 percent in the 15-year and overage group--of the country.<sup>74</sup> More than 95 percent of the urban families and 80 percent of the rural families owned radio receiving sets, especially of the transistor type; moreover, it was reported that 90 percent of the Iranian adult population had the means to make use of Iran's radio programs. During the same time period, the number of television sets in the country was estimated at 1,500,000, half of which were in Tehran and adjacent areas. The television viewing audience was put at 3 million.<sup>75</sup>

Through 1971-72, economic expansion continued apace, with a growth rate of 16 percent, a gross national product of 12.3 billion dollars, and a per capita income

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<sup>73</sup>Ibid., p. 177.

<sup>74</sup>"Eradicating Illiteracy," Iran Tribune Magazine (Tehran), October, 1971, p. 29.

<sup>75</sup>Iran Almanac, 1972, p. 189. Interestingly enough, low-cost transistor radios became widely available in Iran during the early sixties when the government was launching the reforms of the White Revolution. See Amin Banani, "The Role of the Mass Media," in Iran Faces the Seventies, ed. by Ehsan Yar-Shater (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1971), pp. 329-39.

of 328 dollars.<sup>76</sup> Oil revenues, which stood at 1.3 billion dollars in 1970, shot up to about 2 billion dollars in 1972.<sup>77</sup> Increasing industrial growth was evident: a 400-million dollar petro-chemical industry and a 700-mile natural gas pipeline were in full operation; a 400-million dollar steel mill was due for completion; a paper mill and a pipe rolling mill had been completed; and aluminum, diesel engine, machine tool, and engine plants were being built.<sup>78</sup> Yet despite industrialization, Iran continued to be basically an agricultural society.

In the period under review, Iran followed its independent foreign policy with added determination. Diplomatic relations were resumed with Egypt and Lebanon. Official recognition was granted to the People's Republic of China and diplomatic relations were set up with it. Differences with England over the future of three islands at the mouth of the Hormoz Straits in the Persian Gulf

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<sup>76</sup>According to the report of the Iranian Statistical Center published in February 1972, as reported in Iran Almanac, 1972, p. 293. Since 1963, Iran's GNP has climbed by an average of over 9.5 percent annually, making it the fastest growing nation between Europe and Japan.

<sup>77</sup>Oil revenues were dramatically increased in 1971 and 1972 when Iran and its Middle Eastern neighbors in OPEC (The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) won a major increase in oil prices from the chief international oil companies.

<sup>78</sup>For information on industrial development, see Iran Almanac, 1972, pp. 315-33.

were resolved: in November 1971, Iranian forces landed on Abu Musa, The Lesser Thumb, and The Greater Thumb, thus bringing them under Iranian rule.<sup>79</sup> The occupation of the islands resulted in hostile Arab feelings; relations with Iraq deteriorated, and diplomatic relations were finally severed in December. During the same period, Iran's relations with its non-Arab Muslim neighbors and most of the rest of the world continued to grow.<sup>80</sup>

World attention focused on Iran in 1971, as the country, one of the oldest nations in the world, commemorated its twenty-fifth centennial as an established monarchy. Although ceremonies and other observances took place throughout the year, actual national celebrations were held from October 11 to October 20. Most important events of the celebrations were: (1) the opening ceremony at the tomb of Cyrus the Great, the founder of the Persian Empire, at Pasargade; (2) the holding of the World Iranology Congress in Shiraz; (3) the elaborate reception given to royal visitors and heads of state at

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<sup>79</sup>For information on foreign relations in this period, see Iran Almanac, 1972, pp. 218-84.

<sup>80</sup>Since 1968, when England announced that it would pull its military forces out of the Persian Gulf, Iran has steadfastly given top priority to defense spending in an effort to become the dominant power in the Gulf. In 1971-72, for example, the Iranian government had earmarked 24 percent of its budget for the armed forces. See "Defense Build-Up To Go On," Kayhan International (Tehran), September 20, 1971, p. 1.

the ancient city of Persepolis; (4) the grand military parade--representing Iran's armed strength through the ages--at Persepolis; (5) the opening of the Shahyad Aryamehr Monument in Tehran;<sup>81</sup> and (6) the inauguration of the 100,000 seat Aryamehr Sports Stadium in Tehran.<sup>82</sup>

For the government, the celebrations marked not only the anniversary of the founding of an empire but the renaissance of Iran, now determined to dispell the accumulated backwardness of ages and to resume its historical vocation as a force on the side of peace, prosperity, progress, and international amity.<sup>83</sup> The

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<sup>81</sup>The impressive and expensive monument is dedicated to Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi.

<sup>82</sup>For various views of the celebrations see: "The Shah All Smiles at His Banquet," International Herald Tribune (Paris), October 15, 1971, p. 2; Guy Rois, "Splendour of Shah's Desert Feast," Daily Telegraph (Paris), October 15, 1971, p. 3; Guy Rois, "Shah's Troops in 25-th Century Parade of History," Daily Telegraph (Paris), October 16, 1971, p. 3; Khosrow Mehrabi, "A Lasting Tribute," Kayhan International (Tehran), October 16, 1971, p. 8; Shojaeddin Shafa, "The Balance Sheet," Kayhan International (Tehran), October 21, 1971, p. 4; "Setting the Record Straight," Tehran Journal, October 25, 1971, p. 4; and Loren Jenkins, "Iran's Birthday Party," Newsweek Magazine (Paris), October 25, 1971, pp. 16-17.

<sup>83</sup>"A Rising Force," Kayhan International (Tehran), October 20, 1971, p. 4. Chronologically the 25th centenary of the founding of the Persian Empire should have been observed in 1963. But in February 1963, Iran had just embarked on the newly proclaimed White Revolution of reforms. Faced with the monumental task of turning the country into a modern industrial nation, the government did not think it was time for celebrations. After 8 years of progress, however, the Shah decided that the success so far of his 12-point revolution would be an appropriate basis for commemorating the establishment of the world's oldest monarchy.

ceremony at Pasargade, the first of the centennial celebrations, symbolized this risorgimento. In a moving eulogy on behalf of the nation read before the tomb of Cyrus the Great situated on a majestic expanse of desert in the heartland of Iran, His Imperial Majesty Mohammad Reza Pahlavi renewed Iran's "bond with its proud past":

At this glorious moment in the history of Iran, I and all Iranians, the offspring of the empire which thou founded 2,500 years ago, bow our heads in reverence before thy tomb. We cherish thy undying memory, and at this moment when the new Iran renews its bond with its proud past, we all hail thee as the immortal hero of Iran, as the founder of the oldest empire in the world, as the great emancipator of history, as the noble son of humanity.

Cyrus! We have today gathered at thy eternal resting place to say to thee: "Rest in peace for we are awake and will forever stay awake to guard thy proud heritage."<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> "The Torch Has Never Died," Kayhan International (Tehran), October 13, 1971, p. 1.

## CHAPTER II

### POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION IN IRANIAN ELEMENTARY

#### SCHOOLS SINCE 1965: AN OVERVIEW

Under the new [educational] system the spirit and meaning of Iran's revolution must form the basis of our work; . . . a spirit of creativity, initiative and innovation, as well as social cooperation, must be cultivated . . . , our education must be based on the growth of the personality and self-confidence of our youth in every way and produce individuals who are not only aware of their heavy responsibility in making material and spiritual contributions to society, but who accept these responsibilities enthusiastically.

Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi<sup>1</sup>

From the initiation of the White Revolution in January, 1963, until the present, education has received considerable attention in Iran. The reforms undertaken in 1963 and thereafter--land reform, nationalization of forests and pastures, workers' profit-sharing schemes, emancipation of women, eradication of illiteracy, universal medicare--are, in the concepts of Iranian society, truly revolutionary. The complete fulfillment of the revolutionary program and, hence, the viability of the

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<sup>1</sup>Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, The White Revolution (Tehran: Imperial Pahlavi Library, 1967), pp. 115-16.

new society, "demands that every citizen should have as wide and deep a knowledge of the revolution as possible, and should voluntarily take part in it."<sup>2</sup> Thus, the Iranian leaders are confronted with an enormous problem of popular re-education. According to them, not only is it imperative to instill loyalty to Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the architect of the White Revolution, and to develop a consciousness of the significance of the revolution, but it is also necessary to transmit attitudes and values suitable to life in the new society. The predominant concern of the Shah and his government is the building of a modern state, and this is conceived of not merely in the sense of "industrialization," but more significantly in the sense of a new "spiritual" society based on justice and human rights and of cultivating individuals actively dedicated to that society.<sup>3</sup>

Re-education of the older generation cannot, by itself, hope to bring about the transformation of personality desired by the political leadership. Patterns of behavior and attitudes established during childhood and reinforced by the social practices of the old "feudal" system cannot be wiped out overnight in response to pressure or exhortations to change, even when there is a conscious desire to do so on the part of the

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 101.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 14-15.



individual. The hope of producing a population with desirable outlooks, attitudes, and habits lies in the politicization of the young whose patterns of thought and behavior have not yet become fixed.

Elementary school education, obviously, is vital to the process, and it is not surprising to find that it has been charged with the task of nurturing a citizenry with personality characteristics desirable in the new society. The intention to use elementary education as an instrument of political socialization is clear from two of the specified six major aims of the "New System of Education" which was promulgated in Iran in 1965. The aims, proclaimed in the "Preliminary Plan for the Reform of Education in the Country," of August, 1965, are as follows:

3.--The third aim . . . is: to train young people to participate actively and effectively in political and social life, to make proper use of social rights, to respect the law, and to become useful members of a free and progressive society; and to nurture in the mind and heart of the young cooperation, patriotism, international understanding, service to the people, and respect for the freedom and rights of others.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Iran, Ministry of Education, Department of Studies and Planning, Tarh-e Jadid-e Amuzesh va Parvaresh-e Keshvar: Tarh-e Moghadamati-ye Islah-e Amuzesh va Parvaresh-e Keshvar [The New System of Education for the Country: The Preliminary Plan for Reform of the System of Education for the Country] (Tehran: August, 1965), p. 5. (Hereinafter referred to as Ministry of Education, Tarh-e Moghadamati-ye Islah-e Amuzesh va Parvaresh-e Keshvar.)

6.--The sixth aim . . . is: to instill in young people a positive social philosophy based on the principles of the Revolution of the Shah and People and on human and religious values; and to foster in them qualities and virtues inspired by moral and religious instruction, in particular, individual and social responsibility, self-reliance, optimism, love of study, research and discussion, tolerance, preference for social benefits rather than individual ones . . . order and discipline in life, accuracy and care in work, honesty, chastity, integrity, piety, and excellence.<sup>5</sup>

More significantly, in conformity with these aims, a committee of educators drew up a curriculum accompanied by a set of detailed instructions to teachers and authors of textbooks concerning the objectives and content of courses as well as the manner in which information should be conveyed to elementary school students. Several excerpts from "The Detailed Program of the Five-Year Cycle," announced in June, 1966, will speak for themselves:

Persian Language and Literature:

The text and reading material must foster in students piety, love of the Shah, interest in national traditions and ceremonies, family and world ties, international understanding, self-reliance, perseverance, a feeling of responsibility, and respect for work, laws, and the rights of others . . . <sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>6</sup>Iran, Ministry of Education, Department of Studies and Planning, Tarh-e Jadid-e Amuzesh va Parvaresh-e Keshvar: Barname-ye Tafsili-ye Dowre-ye Panj Sale-ye Ebtadaie [The New System of Education for the Country: The Detailed Program of the Five-Year Cycle of the Elementary] (Tehran: June, 1966), p. 31. (Hereinafter

. . . In the course of these five years, the student must become acquainted with the thoughts, achievements, and lives of some of the great persons, writers, and poets of Iran and the world.<sup>7</sup>

Social Studies:<sup>8</sup>

The goal . . . is to equip the child with information that will help him know his environment and fellowmen, . . . use resources for the improvement of individual and social life, and fulfill . . . his duties as a member of the family, the nation, and the world. . . .<sup>9</sup>

. . . these points must be given consideration: developing in children interest for understanding social problems . . . a spirit of cooperation and mutual understanding . . . familiarity with the principles of democracy in different societies (home, school, and other groups) . . . interest in and respect for the nation of Iran and the great men who have contributed to the progress of the Iranian people and the world . . .<sup>10</sup>

[The child must learn of] . . . the services rendered by the great Achaemenian Shahanshahs (Cyrus, Darius) . . . the great Parthian Shahanshahs . . . the great Sassanian Shahanshahs . . .<sup>11</sup>

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referred to as Ministry of Education, Barname-ye Tafsili-ye Dowre-ye Panj Sale-ye Ebtadaie.)

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 31.

<sup>8</sup>The term "social studies" is a collective name for the teaching of three distinct subjects: history, geography, and civics.

<sup>9</sup>Ministry of Education, Barname-ye Tafsili-ye Dowre-ye Sale-ye Ebtadaie, p. 86.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 86-87.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 90.

[The child must learn of] . . . the coming of constitutional government to Iran . . . the Pahlavi dynasty and the reforms of Reza Shah the Great; the reign of Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (Aryamehr) and social changes in Iran; and the Revolution of the Shah and People.<sup>12</sup>

Religious Instruction and Training:<sup>13</sup>

. . . the program and books . . . must be cleansed of unfamiliar, dry, complicated, and spiritless material . . . they must . . . effect the following in students: . . . recognition of duty and acceptance of individual and social responsibilities . . . mutual assistance and cooperation . . . respect for the freedom and rights of others . . . respect for and pleasure in work . . .<sup>14</sup>

At all levels . . . these principles must be operative: . . . developing in children habits of obedience and virtuous living . . . restraining students from ill thoughts, incorrect beliefs, immoral conduct, pessimism, and suspicion . . .<sup>15</sup>

Physical Exercise:

. . . the main aims [are to]: develop good personalities and dispositions in children through promoting the characteristics and habits of courage, generosity, responsibility, consideration for others, enjoyment of play, and cooperation with others . . .<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 92.

<sup>13</sup>In the old curriculum the study of religion was titled "Religious Instruction." In the new program of studies the name has been changed to "Religious Instruction and Training" to indicate that emphasis would be placed on having children practice what they learn.

<sup>14</sup>Ministry of Education, Barname-ye Tafsili-ye Dowre-ye Sale-ye Ebtedale, p. 2.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 100.

Experimental Sciences:

. . . the child should: . . . develop the ability to think correctly and rationally (scientifically)  
 . . . come to possess a belief and trust in research  
 . . . realize the power of science and discern the advantages and disadvantages for human society  
 . . .<sup>17</sup>

Art and Handicraft:

. . . special attention should be paid to: . . .  
 developing in children the powers of imagination and initiative . . . providing favorable opportunities for nourishing feelings of cooperation and social communication.<sup>18</sup>

Music:

[The child should receive] . . . instruction in songs of the fatherland . . . [he should] listen to short and inspiring national tunes . . .<sup>19</sup>

From the above passages, it can readily be seen that many parts of the curriculum have been charged with transmitting the desired ideological and moral content. The major responsibility for political socialization, however, lies with the courses of Persian Language and Literature, Social Studies, and Religious Instruction and Training, which together occupy half or more than half of the total amount of school time: 57 percent for grades 1 and 2; 53.6 percent for grades 3 and 4; 50 percent for grade 5; and 54.3 percent for grades 1 through 5 (see Table 2.1, "Time Table for the Five-Year Elementary

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 49.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 93.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 97.

**Table 2.1 Timetable for the Five-Year Elementary Schools**  
**(Revised for 1966-1967 and promulgated by the Ministry**  
**of Education in June, 1966)**

Subjects	Weekly Hours by Year					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Religion and Morals	2	2	3	3	3	13
Persian Language and Literature	12	12	5	9	8	50
Arithmetic and Geometry	3	3	4	4	5	19
Experimental Sciences and Hygiene	2	2	3	3	3	13
Social Studies	2	2	3	3	3	13
Art and Handicraft	5	5	4	4	4	22
Physical Exercise and Play	2	2	2	2	2	10
Total Hours	28	28	28	28	28	140

**SOURCE:** Ministry of Education, Barname-ye Tafsili-ye Dowre-ye Panj Sale-ye Ebtedaie, p. 5.

**NOTE:** The weekly program, which runs six days, is arranged on the basis of five hours of classwork per day, three hours in the morning and two hours in the afternoon.

Schools").<sup>20</sup> Accordingly, the uniform textbooks for these subjects, prepared by scholars, educators, and experienced teachers appointed by the Ministry of Education, are definitely written in harmony with the instructions in the curriculum document.

The ABC primer itself contains the following reading exercise just two pages after the alphabet lessons:

Each one of us lives in a house. In our house we respect our father and love him.

We also have a bigger house. This big house is our country of Iran. In this big house we are like one family.

The Shah is like the father of this family. We are like his children. The Shah loves all of us. We love our kind Shahanshah as we love our father. We respect our Shahanshah.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Political socialization in Iranian elementary schools, then, includes not only instruction about the social, political, and economic order but also ideological indoctrination and character formation. It gives training in ethical judgment and attitude, as well as promoting the spirit of patriotic and social service.

<sup>21</sup>Iran, Ministry of Education, Farsi-ye Avval-e Debestan [Persian for the First Year of the Primary School] (Tehran: Textbook Organization of Iran, 1971), p. 87. (Hereinafter referred to as Farsi-ye Avval-e Debestan.) In terms of the "psychology of 'shahparasti' (shah worship)," Iranian educational theorists seem to believe that love and respect for the Shah are inseparable from and have their beginnings in love and respect for the father. Furthermore, a patriotic state of mind and conduct are inseparable from shahparasti. If one loves his Shah, he loves his country, and vice versa. Thus, in the third grade reader children read: "Respect for the 'Salam-e Shahanshahi' [national anthem] is respect for the nation and the Shahanshah [king of kings]," Iran, Ministry of Education, Farsi-ye Sevom-e Debestan [Persian for the Third Year of the Primary School] (Tehran: Textbook Organization of Iran, 1970), p. 40. (Hereinafter referred to as Farsi-ye Sevom-e Debestan.)

Three pages after, this poem is presented (the original in verse):

We are laughing flowers;  
     we are the children of Iran.  
 We regard our country  
     as our life.  
 We must be knowledgeable,  
     vigilant, and aware.  
 For the preservation of Iran,  
     we must be able.  
 Oh Iran, be prosperous;  
     oh Iran, be free.  
 Of your children,  
     oh Iran, be happy.<sup>22</sup>

And several pages later, children read:

The Koran is the religious book of the Muslims.  
 The rules of the Islamic religion have been  
     written in the Koran.  
 The Koran teaches us that we must be honest and  
     righteous.  
 God loves honest and righteous people.  
 In the Koran God commands us to be friendly and  
     kind to each other.  
 The Koran is the book of God.  
     We respect the Koran.<sup>23</sup>

The basic ideas in these selections are subsequently amplified and elaborated in the more advanced Persian readers. Thus, in the second through fifth year primers children are urged: to love and respect Shahanshah Aryamehr<sup>24</sup> whose "great thoughts are praised by all the

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<sup>22</sup>Farsi-ye Avval-e Debestan, p. 91.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 103.

<sup>24</sup>The Persian word aryamehr means "light of the Aryans." The title was bestowed upon Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi by the Majles in 1965 as a gesture of appreciation for steering the country onto the path toward peaceful development.



people of the world," and "who works very hard so that we will have a better life";<sup>25</sup> to love Iran with "heart and soul" and, if the need arises, to sacrifice their life "most willingly and with joy for the preservation of the fatherland";<sup>26</sup> and "to have good thought, good speech, and good deed."<sup>27</sup>

Moreover, in accordance with the instructions in the "Detailed Program," Persian language readers in the advanced grades mean: exposure to aspects of nationalism other than the nation itself--informative stories on symbols ("Respect for the Flag,"<sup>28</sup> "Salam-e

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<sup>25</sup>Iran, Ministry of Education, Farsi-ye Dovom-e Debestan [Persian for the Second Year of the Primary School] (Tehran: Textbook Organization of Iran, 1971), p. 20. (Hereinafter referred to as Farsi-ye Dovom-e Debestan.)

<sup>26</sup>Iran, Ministry of Education, Farsi-ye Charom-e Debestan [Persian for the Fourth Year of the Primary School] (Tehran: Textbook Organization of Iran, 1971), p. 54. (Hereinafter referred to as Farsi-ye Charom-e Debestan.)

<sup>27</sup>Farsi-ye Sevom-e Debestan, p. 1. This trinity of ethics dates back to the Achaemenian (559-330 B.C.) and the Sassanian (226-651 A.D.) Empires and is based on the teachings of Zoroaster, the founder of Zoroastrianism, the ancient religion of Iran. The old societies sought to build a great nation by developing citizens who were religious, of good moral character, and patriotic.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., pp. 35-37.

Shahanshahi"<sup>29</sup>), traditions ("Now Ruz,"<sup>30</sup> "Sizdeh Behdar,"<sup>31</sup> "Charshanbeh"<sup>32</sup>), and modern and historical

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., pp. 39-40. Although the national anthem is written in Western style musical notation and harmony, its words are phrased in traditional style; they extoll the glory of the Shah and the nation. The first stanza is:  
"Long live our Shah.

Through his glory may the country last forever.  
Because of the Pahlavi dynasty,  
The land of Iran became a 100-fold better than  
ancient Iran.  
You [Iran] were disturbed before;  
But in the shadow of the Shah you are at rest.  
The Iranians are always happy.  
God keep the Shah safe always."

<sup>30</sup>Farsi-ye Dovom-e Debestan, pp. 139-40, 143-45. The Now Ruz (New Year) festival, which begins on March 21 and ends thirteen days later, is a national celebration and not a religious one. An integral part of the festivities is the tradition of visiting relatives and friends to offer Now Ruz greetings and gifts. The festival has been celebrated among Iranians since Achaemenian times when at the start of the New Year, representatives of the commonwealths in the empire would present themselves before the Shahanshah with gifts. Symbolically, the Now Ruz ceremony represented the unity of the empire in the midst of the diversity of cultures which composed it.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., pp. 149-50, 153-54. A main feature of the Now Ruz festivities since ancient times has been the emphasis on congregation. Now Ruz has never been celebrated individually or by members of a family alone in its family enclave. For example, in olden times, the entire population of a small town would gather at the main square or at an open space outside of the town to celebrate Now Ruz communally. Thus, Sizdeh Behdar (The Thirteenth Day of Now Ruz) is an occasion for a picnic, so everyone can join in a communal festival.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., pp. 133-37. Charshanbeh Suri (The Eve of the Last Wednesday of the Year) is a feast of fire and fortune. On this day Iranians, young and old alike, jump over bonfires, chanting "My paleness to you, your redness to me," to ensure good health and fortune in the year to come. Most Iranians ceased to worship fire as the symbol of Ahura Mazda (the Wise Lord) over fourteen

cities ("Our Capital Tehran,"<sup>33</sup> "A Visit to Shiraz,"<sup>34</sup> "A Letter from Esfahan"<sup>35</sup>) and accounts of the glorious days of the Shahnama<sup>36</sup> ("Rostam,"<sup>37</sup> "The Childhood of Sohrab,"<sup>38</sup> "The Story of Kaveh, the Blacksmith"<sup>39</sup>) and

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centuries ago, when they became Muslims. On Charshanbeh Suri, however, each Iranian recalls his ancestral religion (Zoroastrianism) and pays tribute to a civilization nearly 30 centuries old.

<sup>33</sup>Farsi-ye Sevom-e Debestan, pp. 86-89, 91-95.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., pp. 119-22, 125-28.

<sup>35</sup>Farsi-ye Charom-e Debestan, pp. 37-40.

<sup>36</sup>The Shahnama (Book of Kings), written in the tenth century by the esteemed national poet Ferdowsi, is Iran's great epic story, told in metrical and rhymed verse, of the Iranian Empire, from the creation of the world down to the Mohammadan conquest. This theme is linked with the conflict between good and evil, where good must in the long run prevail, and also with the constant insistence in the text that loyalty to his sovereign must be every man's concern.

<sup>37</sup>Iran, Ministry of Education, Farsi-ye Panjom-e Debestan [Persian for the Fifth Year of the Primary School] (Tehran: Textbook Organization of Iran, 1970), pp. 203-06, 209-11. (Hereinafter referred to as Farsi-ye Panjom-e Debestan.) Rostam--chivalrous, intensely loyal, pious, fearless, steel-willed--is the foremost hero of the Shahnama. His battles for his fatherland are numberless and his famous steed Rakhsh often figures in them.

<sup>38</sup>Farsi-ye Sevom-e Debestan, pp. 158-60, 164, 167-68. Sohrab is the courageous but ill-fated son of Rostam. In a tragic encounter the former is unknowingly slayed by his father, a theme used to great effect by Matthew Arnold, the nineteenth century English poet and essayist.

<sup>39</sup>Farsi-ye Charom-e Debestan, pp. 189-91, 195-97, 202-04. During the reign of the legendary king Jamshid, there lived an evil and tyrannical monster by the name of Zahak, out of whose shoulders grew serpents

Iran's cultural and intellectual heritage ("Abu Ali Sina, the Great Scientist of Iran,"<sup>40</sup> "Mohammad Ben Zakaria Razi, Discoverer of Alcohol,"<sup>41</sup> "Saadi,"<sup>42</sup>); narratives of proper and commendable behavior ("Taking Your Turn in Line,"<sup>43</sup> "A Self-sacrificing Boy,"<sup>44</sup> "A Humanitarian Doctor"<sup>45</sup>); reports on the achievements of the White

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which demanded the brains of youths and maidens for their nutriment each day. When Kaveh the Blacksmith's children fell victims to the evil appetite of Zahak, he along with the royal prince Faridun, fought heroically against the monster and overthrew him. In the process, Kaveh achieved such fame that his leathern apron became the Iranian palladium.

<sup>40</sup>Farsi-ye Sevom-e Debestan, pp. 102-04. In the West, he is known as Avicenna.

<sup>41</sup>Farsi-ye Charom-e Debestan, pp. 70-71.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., pp. 92-93. Saadi, the poet of Shiraz, who wrote in the thirteenth century, is probably the most revered poet in Iran. Two of his works which secured him undying fame wherever the Persian language is known are the Gulistan (The Rose Garden), entirely in verse, and the Bustan (The Scented Garden), a mixture of prose and verse. The Bustan is an excellent introduction to Persian didactic poetry. Its ten chapters are headed respectively: "Justice, Equity, and Governmental Administration"; "Benevolence"; "Love (Physical and Mystical)"; "Modesty"; "Resignation"; "Contentment"; "Self-restraint"; "Gratitude"; "Penitence"; "Devout Meditations." Excerpts from many of the chapters are included in the children's readers.

<sup>43</sup>Farsi-ye Sevom-e Debestan, pp. 108-09.

<sup>44</sup>Farsi-ye Charom-e Debestan, pp. 81-83.

<sup>45</sup>Farsi-ye Panjom-e Debestan, pp. 97-100, 102-06.

Revolution ("A Literacy Corpsman in Our Village,"<sup>46</sup> "The Village,"<sup>47</sup> "The Sixth of Bahman"<sup>48</sup>); and selections on science and industry ("How Is It Known?,"<sup>49</sup> "Wings,"<sup>50</sup> "Oil"<sup>51</sup>), health and safety ("Baby Teeth,"<sup>52</sup> "Through Sports We Make Our Bodies Strong,"<sup>53</sup> "Traffic Rules"<sup>54</sup>), practical knowledge ("The First People,"<sup>55</sup> "Writing a Letter"<sup>56</sup>), and aesthetic aspects of nature ("Rain,"<sup>57</sup> "Four Great Painters"<sup>58</sup>).

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<sup>46</sup>Farsi-ye Sevom-e Debestan, pp. 49-51.

<sup>47</sup>Farsi-ye Charom-e Debestan, pp. 4-6.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., pp. 102-06.

<sup>49</sup>Farsi-ye Sevom-e Debestan, pp. 75-76.

<sup>50</sup>Farsi-ye Dovom-e Debestan, pp. 172-74.

<sup>51</sup>Farsi-ye Charom-e Debestan, pp. 132-35.

<sup>52</sup>Farsi-ye Dovom-e Debestan, pp. 45-46.

<sup>53</sup>Farsi-ye Panjom-e Debestan, pp. 174-79.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., pp. 74-77.

<sup>55</sup>Farsi-ye Dovom-e Debestan, pp. 102-04.

<sup>56</sup>Farsi-ye Panjom-e Debestan, pp. 81-85.

<sup>57</sup>Farsi-ye Charom-e Debestan, pp. 166-68.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., pp. 171-73, 178-80.

So far as the readers give a noticeable proportion of space to any particular kind of selection, one finds a greater emphasis on "moral and commendable behavior" and "aspects of nationalism" than on other topics (see Table A.1 "Analysis of the Content of the Elementary School Persian Readers," Appendix A). These findings, however, are not unexpected, given Islam's stress on moral and proper conduct and the intense pride that characterizes the attitude of most Iranians toward their country and traditions. In addition, one also finds that relatively few of the 174 selections contained in the five readers are purely informational in character.<sup>59</sup> Clearly, most have been included for the purpose of inculcating the desired orientations.

A similar approach is used in all social studies textbooks. Written in conformity with "The Detailed Program," the social studies manuals, introduced first in the third grade, also include material designed to transmit knowledge and values conducive to the desired citizenship. Nationalistic values, in particular, permeate the texts. For instance, the history monographs, restricted to the Iranian people, deal chiefly with

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<sup>59</sup>This number excludes the alphabet exercises in the first reader. Didactic notes, however, are injected in them also. Thus in one exercise, children read, "Sara and Dara do not harm sparrows. They do not allow anyone else to harm sparrows." And in another, they read, "Everybody likes good children." See Farsi-ye Avval-e Debestan, pp. 66-67.

those episodes that redound most to the national prestige. Thus in the fourth and fifth grade textbooks, page after page is devoted to the glories of the great pre-Islamic empires--the Achaemenian (559-330 B.C.), the Parthian (250 B.C.-226 A.D.), and the Sassanian (226-651 A.D.)--and the great Persian dynasties following the Arab conquest (637 A.D.)--the Saffarid (867-892), the Samanid (874-999), the Buyids (934-1055), the Ghaznavid (988-1186), the Safavid (1501-1736) and the Pahlavi (1925-1974). The contributions of particular Shahs to the history of mankind are heralded: Cyrus the Great, who founded the Achaemenian Empire is singled out as an immortal humanitarian spirit who guaranteed freedom of religion, language, and work to all conquered peoples;<sup>60</sup> Darius the Great, who developed and extended the empire considerably, is credited with the first postal service and the introduction of gold and silver coinage;<sup>61</sup> and Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the present Shah, is an acknowledged moral force on the general course of human progress. Of the reigning monarch, children read:

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<sup>60</sup>Iran, Ministry of Education, Talimat-e Ejtemaie-ye Charom-e Debestan [Social Studies for the Fourth Year of the Primary School] (Tehran: Textbook Organization of Iran, 1970), pp. 97-99. (Hereinafter referred to as Talimat-e Ejtemaie-ye Charom-e Debestan.)

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., pp. 101-04.

Through the enlightened administration and vision of Shahanshah Aryamehr, not only has our country made progress but other countries have also made progress.

Today, Iran, in the eyes of the world, is regarded as a model country in the struggle for improvement in the caravan of civilization. Every country that desires to advance should follow in the steps of the White Revolution, which has been executed without bloodshed.

All this progress is eloquent and living proof of the strength of thought and initiative of the great sovereign, Shahanshah Aryamehr.<sup>62</sup>

It is interesting to note that although "The Detailed Program" states that one major goal of social studies is to acquaint children with the principles of democracy, in particular, with citizen rights and freedoms, there is strikingly little discussion given to democratic practices in the civics monographs. Far more than an emphasis on rights and freedoms is the stress on duties and obligations--the duty to obey laws, pay taxes, and to serve the country. Accordingly, the selection titled "Religion and Law" tells children that in every society laws exist which "everyone must obey," citing that "all children must obey their father and mother," and that "no student has the right to leave school without the permission of the principal";<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>Iran, Ministry of Education, Talimat-e Ejtemaie-ye Panjom-e Debestan [Social Studies for the Fifth Year of the Primary School] (Tehran: Textbook Organization of Iran, 1971), pp. 219-20. (Hereinafter referred to as Talimat-e Ejtemaie-ye Panjom-e Debestan.)

<sup>63</sup>Iran, Ministry of Education, Talimat-e Ejtemaie-ye Sevom-e Debestan [Social Studies for the



the lesson headed "Why Must We Pay Taxes?" first relates that "each person must pay his share of the income tax" so that the government can provide valuable services for the people--security, good roads, lighted streets, hospitals, schools--and then concludes that "a person who does not pay his taxes benefits from the services of the government without paying for them and, moreover, adds to the burdens of others";<sup>64</sup> and the selection titled "The Smallest and Largest Group in a Country, the Family and the Nation," recounts:

The progress of any society depends on the behavior of individuals toward each other. If people do not behave well toward each other, if they disagree about small matters, disregard rules and laws, and do not help nor cooperate with each other, then the society not only fails to progress, but it moves toward destruction.

Everyone of us at some time in our life is a member of a family, a city, and several other groups. In every one of these groups, we have duties and responsibilities that we must carry out well.<sup>65</sup>

As the social studies and Persian language texts just considered, the textbooks for instruction in religion and morals, introduced first in the second grade, also include material designed to influence the thoughts and behaviors of children in ways that the authorities deem right and proper for the new Iran. Representative

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Third Year of the Primary School] (Tehran: Textbook Organization of Iran, 1971), pp. 90-91.

<sup>64</sup>Talimat-e Ejtemaie-ye Charom-e Debestan, pp. 148-49.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., pp. 151-52.

lessons from the second through fifth grade texts include:

"Helping the Poor,"<sup>66</sup> "Serving the People,"<sup>67</sup> "Work and Effort,"<sup>68</sup> "Respect for Father and Mother,"<sup>69</sup> "All People Are Brothers,"<sup>70</sup> "Work and Hope,"<sup>71</sup> "Cleanliness and Orderliness,"<sup>72</sup> "We Avoid Wastefulness,"<sup>73</sup> "We Must All Study and Be Knowledgeable,"<sup>74</sup> "The Value of Work,"<sup>75</sup> "We Must Love and Be Kind to Each Other,"<sup>76</sup> "We Worship

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<sup>66</sup>Iran, Ministry of Education, Talimat-e Dini Baraye Kelas-e Dovom-e Debestan [Religious Studies for the Second Class of the Primary School] (Tehran: Textbook Organization of Iran, 1969), pp. 21-22. (Hereinafter referred to as Talimat-e Dini Baraye Kelas-e Dovom-e Debestan.)

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., p. 31.

<sup>70</sup>Iran, Ministry of Education, Talimat-e Dini Baraye Kelas-e Sevom-e Debestan [Religious Studies for the Third Class of the Primary School] (Tehran: Textbook Organization of Iran, 1969), p. 6. (Hereinafter referred to as Talimat-e Dini Baraye Kelas-e Sevom-e Debestan.)

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>75</sup>Iran, Ministry of Education, Talimat-e Dini-ye Charom-e Debestan [Religious Studies for the Fourth Year of the Primary School] (Tehran: Textbook Organization of Iran, 1971), p. 4. (Hereinafter referred to as Talimat-e Dini-ye Charom-e Debestan.)

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

God,"<sup>77</sup> "How Should We Behave at Home?,"<sup>78</sup> Respecting Others,"<sup>79</sup> "Protecting Animals,"<sup>80</sup> and "Humility."<sup>81</sup>

Generally, the selections in the religious textbooks use moralistic stories about imams (In the Shiah branch of Islam, these are the twelve divinely inspired leaders appointed to guide man in religious matters.) or elaborations on Koranic maxims for developing the desired traits and qualities in children. A good example of a selection utilizing the story method is "Work and Effort," found in the text for the second grade:

One day a man went walking outside of the city of Medina. At noon when the weather was hot, he saw Imam Mohammad Bagher laboring on his farm. Sweat was running down the imam's face and he was very tired. The man approached, greeted the imam, and said:

"In this hot weather, why are you striving so hard to acquire wealth?"

Imam Mohammad Bagher replied: "I am working and striving so that I can provide for myself and my family, and so that I shall not be a burden to others."

GOD DOES NOT LOVE AN IDLE MAN.  
EVERY PERSON WHO WORKS PRACTICES THE RELIGIOUS LAW.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>77</sup>Iran, Ministry of Education, Talimat-e Dini-ye Panjom-e Debestan [Religious Studies for the Fifth Year of the Primary School] (Tehran: Textbook Organization of Iran, 1970), pp. 4-5. (Hereinafter referred to as Talimat-e Dini-ye Panjom-e Debestan.)

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., pp. 18-19.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., pp. 22-23.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>82</sup>Talimat-e Dini Baraye Kelas-e Dovom-e Debestan, p. 24.

The selection "We Must Love and Be Kind to Each Other," included in the fourth grade text, typifies the use of the maxim technique. It is quoted below.

In the Koran we read:

NURTURE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP IN YOURSELF<sup>83</sup>

The religion of Islam is a religion of peace and friendship.

Islam regards all people as brothers and commands that all people must love and be kind to each other.

Sometimes two people, young or old, quarrel with each other, speak improperly to each other, and offend each other.

This situation is very disagreeable. As quickly as possible, they should refrain from such conduct and become friends.

If we see two people who are unfriendly to each other, we must try to encourage them to put aside their hate and to be at peace with each other.<sup>84</sup>

Innumerable examples could be cited and selected from many pages of the religion, social studies, and Persian language textbooks used in the Iranian elementary schools today. Suffice it to say that the new texts form a firm foundation for the education of elementary school children in the desired virtues of civic morality. But the Iranian government is not content with molding the future citizen through the printed word alone. It is the task of the teachers to supplement and interpret textbook materials in the classroom.

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<sup>83</sup>Maxims are first given in Arabic and then rendered in Persian.

<sup>84</sup>Talimat-e Dini-ye Charom-e Debestan, p. 33.

The role of the elementary school teachers in present-day Iran is to "shape the future generation," that is, in the political socialization process underway, they must propagate the desired values and beliefs faithfully. To paraphrase the Shah, teachers should work with a "conscience" to train citizens capable of protecting Iran's independence, prestige, and progress; they should foster "love for the fatherland" in their students and cultivate in them "social morals," "self-confidence," "righteousness," and "sincerity." To underscore the importance of political socialization and the significant role of the teachers therein, the Shah has stated that today, more than at any other time, Iran's survival depends on "unity" and "self-sacrifice" for the state, assets which must be stressed in classroom discussions.<sup>85</sup>

Statements in the "Detailed Program" mirror the prescriptions of the Shah. Thus, it is the duty of the teachers to do the following: "instigate and encourage a sense of patriotism in students"; "acquaint children with the most important national and local events"; "accustom children to neatness and order at home and

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<sup>85</sup>For the Shah's views, see "Shahanshah Stresses the Role of the Teacher," Tehran Journal, September 25, 1971, p. 3; "New Education Order Initiated," Kayhan International (Tehran), September 25, 1972, p. 1; and Kayhan International (Overseas Edition), September 29, 1973, p. 2.

school"; "promote cooperation among students"; familiarize children with the importance of rules and regulations"; and "encourage children to accept social responsibilities."<sup>86</sup>

Declarations of this sort, however, do not provide much practical guidance to the classroom teacher on how to go about the process of cultivating the desired objectives in the students. For example, how is the teacher to instill in children "love for the fatherland" or "sincerity"? Iranian educators point out that the objectives are to be accomplished fundamentally by using the exercises appended to the end of most textbook lessons as a basis for explanation, discussion, and reinforcement of the material presented in class.<sup>87</sup> An examination of the Persian readers, for instance, reveals that these exercises often include questions related to the political and moral content of the selection and drills concerned primarily with linguistic skills. However, even some of the drills select politically meaningful words or phrases from the lesson. In addition, there are often instructions to memorize pieces of poetry. Below, examples are quoted for illustration.

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<sup>86</sup>Ministry of Education, Barname-ye Tafsili-ye Dowre-ye Panj Sale-ye Ebtedaie, pp. 88-90.

<sup>87</sup>Personal interviews with various teachers, principals, and textbook authors, Tehran, 1971-72.

The first of these examples is on the lesson "The Shepherd Boy Who Told Lies," an adaptation of a Western story, found in the Persian language textbook for the second grade. The Persian version is:

From time to time, for no reason, a shepherd boy cried out: "There's a wolf! There's a wolf!" People came running to save the shepherd boy and the sheep. But when they saw that the shepherd boy was laughing, they understood that he had lied.

One day a wolf really did attack the flock. The shepherd boy cried out for help. The people thought that he was lying again. No one came to help him. The shepherd boy was alone. The wolf killed and ate several of his sheep.<sup>88</sup>

The exercises at the end of the story include:

Questions:

1. What was the lie of the shepherd boy?
2. Why did the shepherd boy cry out sometimes for no reason?
3. Why did not the people pay attention to his cry again?
4. What do you think the shepherd boy thought when the wolf killed and ate several of his sheep?<sup>89</sup>

Homework for the First Night:

--Tell the story of "The Shepherd Boy Who Told Lies" in a few pictures and under each picture write an explanation.<sup>90</sup>

Homework for the Second Night:

--Write a story that has an ending similar to the ending in "The Shepherd Boy Who Told Lies."<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>88</sup>Farsi-ye Dovom-e Debestan, p. 160.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., p. 162.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid.

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The second set of exercises is on the lesson "Patriotism," an essay included in the fourth grade Persian reader. The essay, a particularly rich illustration of the spirit found in other lessons concerned with instilling "love for the fatherland," is as follows:

Iran, the land where I was born and grew up in, is my fatherland. Like me, my father and mother were born here. My forefathers whose names my father and mother respectfully remember, great men whose names we read in history, all sleep in this land. Beautiful nature, whose beautiful views spread out on all sides, books that improve my mind, the language with which I read books, brother, sister, friends, and countrymen of whom I am a member, in short, everything I see and everything I love, all are parts of my fatherland. I love my fatherland with my heart and soul; I obey its laws and do my duty toward it. I study my lessons; I think properly, and talk and act properly.

I hope that when I grow up, I shall try to improve and advance Iran in whatever way I can. If the day comes when Iran is in danger, what value does my life have? I willingly and with pleasure will sacrifice my life for the preservation of the fatherland.<sup>92</sup>

The lesson is brought to a close with these famous lines from the national poet Ferdowsi (the originals are in verse):

If Iran does not exist, then I should not exist;<sup>93</sup>  
and in this land no one should exist.  
It is better that we all should be killed  
than to give our country to the enemy.

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<sup>92</sup>Farsi-ye Charom-e Debestan, p. 54.

<sup>93</sup>The Prime Minister of Iran, Amir Abbas Hoveyda, often notes that this sentence should be the life-long motto of every patriotic citizen. See, for example, "1351 Budget to Jump by 21 Percent--Hoveyda," Tehran Journal, December 16, 1971, p. 1.

It would be heartbreaking if Iran were destroyed and became a nest for leopards and lions.<sup>94</sup>

The exercises appended to the end of the lesson include:

Questions:

1. What place do we call the fatherland?
2. Where is our fatherland?
3. What is the meaning of law? What are some laws that you have read or heard about?
4. Are laws established in homes and schools?
5. Why must we observe laws?
6. If our fatherland were in danger one day, what would be our duty?
7. What things are a part of our fatherland?
8. If a person does not speak nor act properly, is he doing his duty toward the fatherland?
9. If the students are not studying well, are they doing their duty toward the fatherland?
10. What great Iranians have you heard about?
11. Who is the author of the verse in the lesson?
12. What does Ferdowsi say is better than giving the country into the hands of the enemy?<sup>95</sup>

Drills:

--Write answers to these questions:

1. What is the duty of every person toward the fatherland?
2. What great Iranians have you heard about? Write their names. Opposite each name write what you know about the person.
3. Why must we observe laws?

--Construct a sentence with each of these words:

NATION, FATHERLAND, COUNTRY, DUTY, DANGER, SACRIFICE.

--Memorize the verse of the lesson.<sup>96</sup>

Although examples of this nature could be quoted ad infinitum, the following is of special interest since

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<sup>94</sup>Farsi-ye Charom-e Debestan, p. 54.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid., pp. 55-56.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid., p. 56.

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it involves the inculcation of "White Revolution" ideology in nine-year-olds. The exercises are on the lesson titled "A Literacy Corpsman in Our Village," found in the third grade Persian language textbook. The lesson is the story of a peasant child, before and after the White Revolution. The child tells his own story:

My name is Mohammad Ali. I live in one of the villages outside of Esfahan. One night, when I was not quite three years old, I fell into a tanur [a floor oven] and burned my legs. Because of the accident, I was not able to stand on my feet nor to walk. From that day on, my life was bitter and full of pain. In order to get from one place to another, I had to crawl. No one played with me. Everyone pitied me. They could not do anything for me.

Three years passed. I was nine years old. One day there was much excitement in the village. There was talk that a man had come to teach the children. They said he was a "Literacy Corpsman." In the village square, he held a meeting of all the people. My grandmother dragged me close to the square. Everyone was standing, but I was huddled up in a corner.

The Literacy Corpsman said that all children must learn to read; that we must build a school for the village. From that day on, the Literacy Corpsman met the children in the village square and taught them to read. Now I, because of my condition, was embarrassed to appear in class. One day the Literacy Corpsman spied me as I was huddled up on the ground near my house, and he asked with surprise: "Dear boy, why aren't you coming to class?" I gave no answer; my mother explained for me. The Literacy Corpsman lifted my head with his hands and said: "Mohammad Ali, your legs are burned, but your head is healthy. From tomorrow, I shall be waiting for you. If I see that you are coming to class regularly, I shall try to do something about your legs."

From the next day on, I with a thousand tortures of my own, crawled to class. I derived much happiness from studying, and also much pleasure from being with the children.

One Friday evening, the Literacy Corpsman came to my home and announced: "Mohammad Ali, the good news I have for you is a reward. The next time I go to Esfahan, I am going to take you with me."

A few days later the Literacy Corpsman took me to Esfahan. When I returned from Esfahan, I had artificial legs! Now, with the help of a stick, I could make my way to the village square and wait for class to begin. Three years have passed since that time. I now am in the third grade. In three years, in addition to the complete change in my life, many changes in the village have taken place. We have a school; we no longer study in the village square. At night the men and women also study with the Literacy Corpsman. The streets of the village are very clean. A bath has been built in the village. The people of the village work more and better. They try to keep themselves, their homes, and the village clean. The Literacy Corpsman taught all of this to the people.<sup>97</sup>

At the end of the story, the editors of the textbook slip in this message:

By order of Shahanshah Aryamehr the Literacy Corpsmen have gone into the villages to teach all people, whether young or old, to read and write. We give thanks to our Shahanshah and love him like a father.<sup>98</sup>

The exercises following the story include:

Questions:

1. Why is this story called "A Literacy Corpsman in Our Village"?
2. Why was not anyone able to help Mohammad Ali?
3. Why was there much excitement in the village one day?
4. Why did the Literacy Corpsman hold a meeting of the people in the village square?
5. Why did not Mohammad Ali attend class?
6. Why did the Literacy Corpsman say to Mohammad Ali: "If I see that you are coming to class regularly, I shall try to do something for your legs"?

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<sup>97</sup> Farsi-ye Sevom-e Debestan, pp. 49-51.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., p. 51.

7. Why did the Literacy Corpsman take Mohammad Ali to Esfahan?
8. Through the order of what person have the Literacy Corpsmen gone into the villages?<sup>99</sup>

Homework for the Second Night:

--Write answers to these questions:

1. Why was not the pity of the people enough to help Mohammad Ali?
2. Why would not anyone play with Mohammad Ali?
3. Why did the Literacy Corpsman say to Mohammad Ali: "Your legs are burned, but your head is healthy"?
4. Why did Mohammad Ali say: "With a thousand tortures of my own, I crawled to class"?
5. What good news did the Literacy Corpsman bring for Mohammad Ali?
6. What change did the artificial leg make in the life of Mohammad Ali?
7. What changes did the Literacy Corpsman bring about in the village?
8. What changes did the Literacy Corpsman bring about in the lives of the people of the village?<sup>100</sup>

In order to facilitate the explanation and interpretation of textbook materials, the Ministry of Education has compiled teacher guide books for most of the children's textbooks. An examination of the guide book for fifth grade social studies reveals that each lesson is discussed and that the teacher is instructed on how to teach the lesson. Emphasis is placed on: (1) the goal of the lesson; (2) what the teacher should know; (3) teaching aids; (4) how much time to use; (5) the method of teaching; and (6) answers to the questions asked in the children's textbooks.

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<sup>99</sup>Ibid., p. 52.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid., p. 53.

Following is a summary of the lesson plan for the chapter "Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, 'Shahanshah Aryamehr,'" found on pages 210 through 220 in the social studies text for the fifth grade (this chapter and one titled "Reza Shah the Great, Founder of the Pahlavi Dynasty" make up a unit headed "A Period of Honor and Pride for Our Country"):

General Goal:

1. To familiarize children with the efforts and struggles of Shahanshah Aryamehr to preserve the independence and integrity of Iran.
2. To acquaint the students with the White Revolution and its good results.<sup>101</sup>

Information for the Teacher:

This section lists seven significant political events or developments that have taken place in Iran since World War II. The first two are:

1. In November 1943 President Roosevelt of the United States, Prime Minister Churchill of England, and Premier Stalin of the Soviet Union held a conference in Tehran. Through the efforts of Shahanshah Aryamehr, the leaders issued a Declaration on Iran, in which they guaranteed the independence of Iran.
2. In May 1949 the second Parliament was convened and it revised and passed Articles 48 and 44.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>101</sup>Iran, Ministry of Education, Rahnama-ye Tadrise Ketab-e Talimat-e Ejtemaie, Panjom-e Debestan [Guide Book for the Social Studies, Fifth Year] (Tehran: Textbook Organization of Iran, 1970), p. 190. (Hereinafter referred to as Rahnama-ye Tadrise Ketab-e Talimat-e Ejtemaie, Panjom-e Debestan.)

<sup>102</sup>Ibid., p. 190.

First Session

The course of instruction which follows is on the section of the lesson in which the efforts and struggles of Shahanshah Aryamehr to preserve the independence and integrity of Iran are described:

1. Review the material covered in the previous class session. Pass out cards to the students on which one or two important events or accomplishments that have taken place during the reign of Shahanshah Aryamehr have been written.
2. Instruct each student to read what is on his card and then to mount the card on the bulletin board in the front of the classroom.
3. Explain the text for the students from the beginning of the lesson up to the section on the White Revolution.
4. Of the cards mounted on the bulletin board, turn three of them over so that the blank side of the cards now face the students. Question the students about what is written on the cards and then write their responses on the blackboard. If the students are not able to give correct answers, then with leading questions recall the content of the cards for them.
5. Turn over three more cards and ask the students to tell what is written on them. Continue to drill students in this manner until all cards have been turned over.
6. In order to help the students understand better, ask short questions of this sort as starting points for class discussions:
  - a. When Shahanshah Aryamehr ascended to the throne of Iran, what were conditions like in this country?
  - b. What kind of difficulties did World War II create for the people of Iran?
  - c. What person more than any other person suffered the most from Iran's plight?
  - d. After World War II did all of the Russian, English, and American forces leave Iran?
  - e. Who established the Democratic Party, and what was their purpose?
  - f. Who ordered the Imperial Forces to save Azarbaijan?
  - g. What happened on February 4, 1948 at Tehran University?
  - h. After 1953, what things were accomplished in Iran?



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7. Instruct the students to read the text in the classroom or at home. Any difficulties that they have in understanding the text should be discussed in class.<sup>103</sup>

#### Second Session:

The course of instruction in this class period is designed to acquaint the students with the White Revolution of Iran and its good results. The steps of instruction are essentially of the same type as the seven noted for the first session.

#### Answers to the Questions "Do You Know That":

At this point the lesson plan gives the answers to the four questions found in the section "Do You Know That" in the student's textbook. To illustrate, the answer to the question "What kind of institution is the Pahlavi Foundation; what do the goals set out to do?" is:

The Pahlavi Foundation is a charity institution. The goals and functions of this foundation are: to improve public health; to expand culture; to ensure that social affairs are conducted according to public ethics; and to help the afflicted. For the fulfillment of these goals, Shahanshah Aryamehr has turned over all of his privately-owned hotels to the foundation.<sup>104</sup>

#### Answers to "Answer These Questions":

Finally, the lesson plan cites answers to the question section "Answer These Questions" in the student's textbook. For example, the answer to the question "From 1953 until now what things have been accomplished?" is:

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<sup>103</sup>Ibid., pp. 191-92.

<sup>104</sup>Ibid., p. 194.

Hundreds of things have been accomplished: extra roads have been built; many dams have been created; education has been expanded; through the White Revolution, the political and social condition in the country has changed; and, among the nations of the world, Iran is regarded as the leader in the campaign against illiteracy.<sup>105</sup>

In Order To Acquire More Information, Refer to These Books:

This section ends the lesson plan. The books listed are on the Pahlavi period and are recommended for increasing the knowledge of the teacher. The first three books are:

1. Reza Shah Kabir by Shahanshah Aryamehr.
2. Mission for My Country by Shahanshah Aryamehr.
3. The White Revolution of Iran by Shahanshah Aryamehr.<sup>106</sup>

Although the clarification of textbook materials is the fundamental task of Iranian teachers, it is not sufficient in itself for transmitting the desired objectives. Accordingly, "The Detailed Program" suggests that teachers should carry out in the classroom a number of supplementary activities in which relevant ideas and values are given fuller expression and reinforcement. With respect to strengthening the child's knowledge, understanding, and love for Iran, for example, specific activities that teachers should engage in are: (1) scheduling question-and-answer sessions on "our duties to the Shah, fatherland, and countrymen," "important historical events," "national ceremonies and traditions," "important

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<sup>105</sup>Ibid.

<sup>106</sup>Ibid., p. 195.

government and private organizations," and "reasons for loving the Shahanshah, country, and people"; (2) conducting group singing of the national anthem and native songs; (3) telling instructive and interesting stories based on episodes from the Shahnama and other national literature; (4) organizing children to listen to radio broadcasts on national events; (5) arranging for the performance of plays, puppet shows, and films concerned with national themes; (6) displaying pictures and drawings of people and places in Iran and of national heroes and historical monuments; (7) holding debates and lectures on current events; and (8) organizing children to give descriptive and narrative reports on national holidays and events.<sup>107</sup>

Besides explaining and interpreting textbook materials and engaging in supplementary activities in the classroom, the teachers, according to "The Preliminary Plan for Reform of Education in the Country," must also observe special ceremonies and commemorate national days and events.<sup>108</sup> One of the most conspicuous

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<sup>107</sup>Ministry of Education, Barname-ye Tafsili-ye Dowre-ye Panj Sale-ye Ebtedaie, pp. 22-27, 87-89, passim.

<sup>108</sup>This point is indicated by the sixteenth of the twenty principles upon which The New System of Education is based. The principle states: "In all educational activities and school practices, a high degree of respect should be devoted to the glorious ancient traditions and customs of the Iranian people and the principles of the White Revolution of 1963. The teachers,

of the ceremonies is the "Morning Prayer." The Regulations of the Ministry of Education specify that the first order of duty each morning in every school throughout Iran is the mass recital of a prayer for the welfare of the country and the Shah. Thus the teachers are obliged to organize the students en masse, preferably in the school courtyard where an Iranian flag is aloft, for a recitation of this prayer, which should be performed with the greatest protocol and graveness so as to make the proper impression on the children.<sup>109</sup> Among the more prominent of the national days that teachers should commemorate are the royal birthdays (Birthday of Shah Mohammad Reza, Birthday of Crown Prince Reza Cyrus) the pre-Islamic holidays (Now Ruz, Sizdeh Behdar), and the days of civic crises (Constitution Day, National Uprising Day, Liberation of Azarbaijan in 1946, The Sixth of Bahman).<sup>110</sup> For instance, to mark the 2,500 anniversary

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supervisors, and the principals of schools should be guided accordingly in their respective duties." See Ministry of Education, Tarh-e Moghadamati-ye Islah-e Amuzesh va Parvaresh-e Keshvar, p. 9.

<sup>109</sup>Thirty national days are officially designated; of these, five are national holidays. In addition, there are annually sixteen official religious days; of these, ten are full holidays. The government emphasizes commemorating national days more than religious days. See Smith et al., Area Handbook for Iran, pp. 361-65.

<sup>110</sup>Personal interviews with principals and supervisors, Tehran, 1971-72.

of the founding of the Persian Empire in 1971, principals throughout the country were directed to instruct teachers to schedule, during the two-day official holiday for educational institutes, short plays and recitations on various aspects of Iranian history and culture, with special emphasis on the Achaemenian period, and also to organize children to listen to the inauguration ceremonies on the radio.<sup>111</sup> Government leaders point out that anniversaries and celebrations are very important in "these revolutionary days" because they enable the Iranian people "to look at our past and see how we have fared, what we were and what we are."<sup>112</sup> Hence, it is not surprising to find that special ceremonies and national days and events are expected to be duly observed in all schools.

Finally, in addition to classroom political socialization, "The Detailed Program" indicates that schools must also carry out a program of extra-curricular activities aimed at promoting political training. Basically, three types of extra-curricular activity are identified. First, schools should conduct field trips, for example: excursions to historical sites (local

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<sup>111</sup>Personal interview with the principal of a private elementary school, Tehran, October, 1971.

<sup>112</sup>"Hoveyda Hails Iran's Progress," Tehran Journal, January 9, 1972, p. 3.

monuments, museums) to create greater interest in children for Iran's historical heritage; trips to government agencies and offices (police station, post office, train station, airport) to acquaint children with the various services offered by the government; and visits to social service agencies (nursery, orphanage, hospital) to stimulate compassionate feelings in children and to awaken in them their social obligations.<sup>113</sup> Second, schools should engage students in general housekeeping duties (cleaning the classroom, caring for the school yard) which aid in the development of desirable attitudes and habits, notably, responsibility, cooperation, and respect for work.<sup>114</sup> And third, schools should maintain student groups aimed at character building and the promotion of interest in social and political problems, especially a student council, a student cooperative, and chapters of the Pishahangy (Scouts) and Shir va Xorshid-e Sorx (Red Lion and Sun) organizations.<sup>115</sup> The latter two, which are government-supported organizations, command brief description here.

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<sup>113</sup>Ministry of Education, Barname-ye Tafsili-ye Dowre-ye Panj Sale-ye Ebtedaie pp. 87-92.

<sup>114</sup>Ibid., p. 89.

<sup>115</sup>Ibid., p. 91. The importance of time spent on learning by practice from an early age the principles of self-government and cooperation on which two of Iran's development agencies--Village Councils, Village

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The Pishahangy Organization (equivalent to the Western Boy Scout and Girl Scout movements) came to Iran in 1926.<sup>116</sup> Elementary school boys between the ages of seven and eleven are eligible for membership in the Shirbacheghan (Cub Scouts) branch of the Pishahangy Organization, while girls in this age group can join the Fereshtaghan (Angels) section. The boys wear a dark green uniform; the girls wear a blue one. Each branch has a book for the children, which explains the essentials of scouting and also includes songs and games.

The ideological and moral aims of the Shirbacheghan and the Fereshtaghan are indicated in the beginning "Articles of Instruction" for each group. The articles, as manifested in the Ketab-e Shirbacheghan (The Book of the Cub Scouts), are as follows:

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Cooperatives--are suppose to operate, cannot be overstressed in a country in which distrust and dependence are pervasive.

<sup>116</sup>The Pishahangy Organization was relatively inactive up until 1934 when the government instituted a national scouting program in order to channel youth activity along authoritarian and nationalistic lines. Following the abdication of Reza Shah the Great in 1941, the organization entered a twenty-one year period of inactivity. In 1963, after the Shah's proclamation of the White Revolution, the organization was revitalized. See Arasteh, Education and Social Awakening in Iran, pp. 80-83.

### The Cub Scouts' Promise

I promise to the best of my ability that I shall do my duty to God, the Shah, and the fatherland, and that I shall always be good and obey the Cub Scouts' Regulations.<sup>117</sup>

### The Cub Scouts' Regulations

1. A Cub Scout must obey his teachers.
2. A Cub Scout strives to improve his unit.
3. The unit helps the Cub Scout to improve.
4. A Cub Scout likes to do good work.<sup>118</sup>

### The Cub Scouts' Motto

"Strive!" Every Cub Scout must strive to do his daily work and the activities of his unit.

- He must strive to understand new things.
- He must strive to do his school work better.
- He must strive to help others.
- He must strive to be successful in the work of his unit.<sup>119</sup>

### The Cub Scouts' Style

"Always be clean and happy." The style of a Cub Scout is always to be happy and clean. To be clean, to be happy, to live happily are the first and simplest rules that a Cub Scout must practice.<sup>120</sup>

The articles, as revealed in the Ketab-e Fereshtaghan

(The Book of the Angels), are given below:

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<sup>117</sup> Scout Organization of Iran, Department of Cub Scouts, Ketab-e Shirbacheghan [The Book of the Cub Scouts] (Tehran: Scout Organization of Iran, Department of Publications, 1970), p. 11. (Hereinafter referred to as Ketab-e Shirbacheghan.)

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., p. 18.

### The Angels' Promise

I promise that I shall have faith in the one and only God, love my Shah and fatherland, and follow the natures of the Angels.<sup>121</sup>

### The Angels' Natures

Angels have four natures that they must always show:

Happiness - Courtesy - Cleanliness - Helpfulness.<sup>122</sup>

### The Angels' Motto

The sentence "Strive!" is the motto of the Angels of Iran. Angels are always happy and smiling and full of joy and perfect health because they always participate in healthy and useful pastimes, different games, and necessary studies.<sup>123</sup>

### The Angels' Style

The style of an angel of Iran is "to help others." An Angel of the Scouts is always happy and smiling, never makes other people uncomfortable, and to the best of her ability willingly helps others.<sup>124</sup>

Although most of the activities of the Cub Scouts and the Angels occur outside of school, such as marching in parades,<sup>125</sup> hiking, camping, art craft, playing games,

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<sup>121</sup>Scout Organization of Iran, Department of Angel Scouts, Ketab-e Fereshtaghan [The Book of the Angels] (Tehran: Scout Organization of Iran, Department of Publications, 1971), p. 12. (Hereinafter referred to as Ketab-e Fereshtaghan.)

<sup>122</sup>Ibid.

<sup>123</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>124</sup>Ibid.

<sup>125</sup>The marching song of both the Cub Scouts and the Angels has the following lyrics:

"We are joyful! As long as we are in the world,  
we will remain happy and free. Hey!

and making things, a few selected tasks are performed in the school itself. These tasks include directing students in street traffic, giving assistance to fellow classmates, supervising activities with primary classes (conducting games, taking them for walks), and hoisting the national flag.<sup>126</sup> In addition, both in and out of school, the young scouts promote a wide range of government-approved activities, from the commemoration of memorial days and anniversaries to the popularization of the Persian language, from the planting of trees to strengthening health and physical prowess. For example, in 1970, during the annual "Good Deeds' Week" of the National Scouting Organization of Iran, the Cub Scouts and Angels, along with other affiliated branches, propagated and encouraged the habit of reading throughout the

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Always together, happy and cheerful,  
overfilled and without a care in a happy world.  
Hey!

Oh you brave youth, until you are able,

Pass your youth with joy. Hey! Hey! Hey!"

See Ketab-e Shirbacheghan, p. 92; and Ketab-e Feresh-taghan, p. 30.

<sup>126</sup> Both Cub Scouts and Angels are obliged to learn the following pledge of allegiance to the flag and to recite it on appropriate occasions:

"I pledge my allegiance to this sacred flag  
which stands for the independence of my country.  
Long live the Shahanshah! Long last the father-  
land! Long fly the flag!"

See Ketab-e Shirbacheghan, pp. 19-20; and Ketab-e Feresh-taghan, p. 29.

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country; each member donated a book to a local library and spent a few hours each day reading in a library.<sup>127</sup>

The Shah, honorary president of the Scouting Organization, has called the scouting movement the guarantee for the happiness, prosperity, and progress of Iranian society.<sup>128</sup> In recent years, he has urged various groups and institutions, particularly those involved with education and families, to help implement the programs and principles of scouting in Iran.<sup>129</sup>

The Youth Organization of the Red Lion and Sun Society, of which the Shah is also honorary president, is roughly similar to the American Junior Red Cross and was established in Iran in 1947. The aims of the youth organization are: (1) to increase society's knowledge about personal and social hygiene; (2) to promote friendship and international understanding; and (3) to serve humanity.<sup>130</sup> Appropriately, the motto of

<sup>127</sup>Kayhan International (Overseas Edition), December 5, 1970, p. 2.

<sup>128</sup>Ibid.

<sup>129</sup>Ibid.; and "Pretence in Education is Retrogressive--Shahanshah," Kayhan International (Tehran), December 26, 1971, p. 1.

<sup>130</sup>Youth Organization of the Red Lion and Sun Society of Iran, Talimat-e Now Javanan [Studies for New Youth] (Tehran: Youth Organization of the Red Lion and Sun Society of Iran, Department of Publications, 1970), pp. 10-12. (Hereinafter referred to as Talimat-e Now Javanan.)

the organization is "service." To publicize its aims, the organization annually holds three national days--Health Day, Friendship Day, and Social Service Day. On these days members participate in activities that reflect the aims of the organization. In order to emphasize service to humanity, for instance, on Health Day members pay visits and distribute gifts to charity organizations, such as hospitals, orphanages, and nurseries.<sup>131</sup>

As in the Pishahangy Organization, elementary school children are eligible for membership in the Now Javanan (New Youth) branch of the Youth Organization of the Red Lion and Sun Society. The New Youth boys and girls wear the same colored uniform--dark navy blue suit--and use the same book of instructions. Basically, the book describes the essentials of the organization, first-aid skills, ways to prevent accidents, and ways to maintain good health.

As a kind of rite of passage into the society, children take "The Oath" and enter into "The Contract," both of which are quoted below.

#### The Oath

I ask the Great Lord to bear witness, I swear on my honor that I shall strive faithfully to execute, to the best of my ability, the aims of

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<sup>131</sup>Personal interview with an administrator of the Youth Organization of the Red Lion and Sun Society, Tehran, 1972.

the Youth Organization of the Red Lion and Sun Society of Iran, which are to serve humanity.<sup>132</sup>

### The Contract

We are prepared and ready to serve faithfully the Shahanshah, the fatherland, the society, our school, and other people in the world. We believe that the health of the body and soul prepares and equips us for more and better service.

We believe in goodwill among men and its advancement throughout the world. In becoming members of the Youth Organization of the Red Lion and Sun Society of Iran, we are prepared to take useful and effective steps in order to cooperate with each other and with youth in other countries who also have entered into a similar agreement to pursue the high goals of world brotherhood and equality.<sup>133</sup>

The ideals of the organization are not only expressed in its oath and contract but also in its song, which children are taught soon after becoming members. One stanza and refrain follow (the originals in verse):

Whoever has a kind heart,  
will become the friend of the people.  
He will sacrifice his wealth and life,  
in order to ease the suffering of the weary.  
When one is sympathetic to people,  
The world will be sympathetic to him.  
If you want to please God,  
if you desire to follow the way of the noble,  
Oh, you youth in the world,  
arise and become the friend of the people.<sup>134</sup>

Although the humanitarian and service ideal dominates the Youth Organization of the Red Lion and Sun and its activities, the organization is not free from ideological overtones. Members are expected to

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<sup>132</sup>Talimat-e Now Javanan, p. 15.

<sup>133</sup>Ibid., p. 13

<sup>134</sup>Ibid., p. 29.



behave as morally responsible and ardent patriots dedicated to the building of a new Iran. As H.I.M. Princess Shams (younger sister of the Shah), president of the Red Lion and Sun Society, has put it, members of the Youth Organization must follow the lead of the Shahanshah, who, "through his wise and enlightened leadership, is making determined endeavors for the country's progress and prosperity, . . . raising it to the levels of its ancient glory, and restoring its high standards of character and ethics."<sup>135</sup>

In summary then, the Now Javanan section of the Youth Organization of the Red Lion and Sun and the Shir-bacheghan and Fereshtaghan branches of the Pishahangy Organization, in their articles of instruction, in their rituals, and in some of their activities, provide additional political socialization to that of the schools on the ideological and spiritual values that the government is attempting to transmit to the younger generation.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>135</sup>"RLSS Youth To Expand Activities," Tehran Journal, May 28, 1972, p. 3; and "Princess Sets Aims," Kayhan International (Tehran), May 28, 1972, p. 2.

<sup>136</sup>Of course, there are youth organizations other than the Scouts and Junior Red Cross that are attempting to instill government-supported values in children. One organization that has gained visibility in recent years is the Kanun-e Parvaresh-e Fekri-ye Kudakan va Now Javanan (The Center for the Intellectual Development of Children and Young Adults), which was founded in 1966 under the patronage of H.I.M. Farah Pahlavi, the Empress of Iran. According to official pronouncements, the basic aim of this organization is to foster intellectual

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Any evaluation of the extent of the political socialization effort described in the preceding pages, is, per force, limited. The lack of systematic first-hand evidence and accurate statistical data can be compensated only to a certain degree by an objective analysis of available printed information and data gathered through observations, interviews, and "intuitive" listening to the rhythm of the culture in Iran during the 1971-72 school year. Nevertheless, certain conclusions may be drawn despite the limitations indicated above.

First, in 1972, officials of the Ministry of Education freely admitted that, in spite of the tremendous

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development in the six to fourteen age group, by strengthening good character traits, expanding knowledge, and developing talents by means of reading materials and audiovisual aids. (Appropriately, the logo of the Center, a stylized bird, symbolizes light and life.) The organization operates a limited system of libraries, stationary and mobile, for children throughout Iran. An active program of services is carried out in each stationary library--regular story hours (focusing on the lives of great men, adventure, and fiction), weekly film shows (made especially for children), handsome displays, and art and music lessons. Puppet shows and study tours are occasionally organized to hold the interest of the children. Most puppet shows provide moral education for the young minds. In addition, the organization publishes a monthly newsletter, which reaches children in all branches. The magazine contains articles on authors, books, programs at the organization's branch libraries, and national events and letters written by the children to the organization's director. Although the libraries ostensibly serve the six to fourteen age group, they do not exclude youth after they reach fourteen. Membership is free, but the principal of the child's school must sign his membership card. Information obtained from interviews with staff members of the organization and personal observations of activities in various branches, Iran, 1972; also see Mary V. Gaver, "Good News from Iran," Top of the News, 27 (April, 1971), 256-71.

growth of elementary education in recent years (enrollments in grades one through six reached 3.4 million in the academic year 1970-71 as against only 1.5 million in 1961-62),<sup>137</sup> only about 65 percent of the total number of children of elementary school age (six to eleven) attended elementary schools in the 1971-72 school year. In addition, officials estimated that the proportion for rural youth in this age group population was probably only 50 percent as compared to 90 percent for urban children.<sup>138</sup> Actual statistics of the Ministry of Education published in July, 1972 revealed that the total number of children (including over-aged pupils) enrolled in the new five-year elementary schools in the 1971-72 academic year was 3,230,880. The overall enrollment figure, however, included slightly less than 47 percent (1,537,073) of the rural children, many of whom were probably past the elementary school age. Girls accounted for about 35 percent (1,537,073) of the total enrollment. And the ratio of girls to boys was

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<sup>137</sup>Statistics of the Iranian Ministry of Education reported in "A Chinese Look at Education," Tehran Journal, September 26, 1972, p. 6; and also in Cyrus Manzoor, "University Reform in Iran: Problems and Prospects" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Tufts University, 1971), Table 1, p. 4.

<sup>138</sup>Personal interviews, Tehran, 1972; also Annex 501.2 and 501.3 (a) in Iran, Plan Organization, Government of Iran Educational Projects, 2 (Tehran: October, 1969).

lower in the rural areas (45 percent to 75 percent) than in the cities, and towns (45 percent to 55 percent).<sup>139</sup> In other words, as transmitters of the desired values and beliefs, the schools directly reached less than two-thirds of the target population during the 1971-72 academic year and distributed the message around the country in very uneven patterns.

The problem of instilling citizenship values extends beyond the student population. By definition, appropriate nationalistic orientations should come to be the property of all the youth, not just the few who make their way into and through the schools. But universal education is at least ten years away. In the annual Iranian Ramsar Educational Conference, which provides an occasion for reviewing progress and assessing various successes and failures in the educational fields, held in September of 1972, the Prime Minister of Iran, Amir Abbas Hoveyda, indicated that, perhaps, by the end of 1983 all Iranians of elementary school age would be assured of a basic education.<sup>140</sup>

Ministry of Education officials further conceded in 1972 that, on the whole, elementary school teachers

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<sup>139</sup>Ministry of Education, Amar-e Amuzesh va Parvaresh-e Iran, 1971-72, p. 5.

<sup>140</sup>"Hoveyda Outlines Educational Achievements, Future Plans," Kayhan International (Tehran), September 14, 1972, p. 1.

had not yet attained "political maturity" and, in effect, were having little impact on the students. The Minister of Education appeared to be particularly disturbed over the inability of teachers to inform youth about conditions in the country which lead to "traitorous elements." In a message sent to the country's teachers in May, 1972, following several terrorist bombing incidents in Tehran, the Minister voiced her concerns thus:

When we hear that a youth, because of ignorance and lack of knowledge of the conditions of the country, is misled by traitors, we immediately think that we, the teachers and trainers, more than anyone else are responsible for this. We must once again endeavour, by stating the facts and enlightening the children and youth, to make them aware of corrupt elements. We must be real trainers of thought and spirit.<sup>141</sup>

In the same message the Minister pointed out that it was not sufficient for teachers just to give students lessons out of a book, and noted that "this task could be done by means of a machine." She emphasized that teachers were "real and irreplaceable," and urged them to mold themselves so as to fit into the national revolutionary times through which the country was passing. She concluded with these words:

Teachers can and must be models of patience, kindness, faith, confidence and patriotism. They must not only be imbued with these

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<sup>141</sup>"5 M. Children Return to Classes After Holidays," Kayhan International (Tehran), April 4, 1972, p. 3.

characteristics themselves, but they must be able to transfer such outstanding traits to their pupils.<sup>142</sup>

The above official comments, considered in conjunction with other official announcements and the investigator's own observations, would seem to indicate that the political socialization policies of the Iranian government have not yet been fully implemented.

The most difficult result to evaluate, however, is the extent to which children absorb and retain information and values presented in the classroom and in extra-curricular activities. Observers of social behavior occasionally fall into the error of inferring the beliefs and attitudes of a group of people from the doctrines to which that group is exposed. This error, called the "fallacy of misplaced inference," is particularly acute when the observer is unable to get attitudinal data. Lack of such data, especially from school children, is the "fate of many commentators on the new nations."<sup>143</sup> Fortunately, this study need not limit itself to inferences based on a content analysis of the political socialization effort. Some useful data bearing directly

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<sup>142</sup>Ibid.; also see "Teachers Face Heavy Burden," Tehran Journal, April 4, 1972, p. 3.

<sup>143</sup>These points are made by Kenneth Prewitt, "Political Education and Political Socialization," in Learning About Politics, Studies in Political Socialization, ed. by Roberta Sigel (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 619.

on the political orientations of Iranian elementary school children are available, and they will be presented in Chapter V.



## CHAPTER III

### SURVEY RESEARCH PROCEDURES

In 1972, the political climate in Iran was not wholly conducive to open investigation of all areas of study. SAVAK, abbreviation for Sazeman-e Ettelaat va Amniyat-e Keshvar (National Intelligence and Security Organization), watched for purity of attitude and guarded against the intrusion of what were considered hostile ideas; for example, criticism of the Shah and his family. These political controls were not clumsily apparent. Indeed, it was far easier to observe the effects of such controls than to observe the agent of control himself (Iranian friends who spoke on forbidden subjects, for example, would unconsciously lower their voices or look over their shoulders).

Not unexpectedly then, some school officials and personnel encountered in the course of the survey study were cautious. The Director General of Tribal Education, for instance, initially was extremely reluctant to allow the survey investigation in the tribal areas of Fars Ostan unless a letter of approval from

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SAVAK was forthcoming, even though a research permit from the Ministry of Science and Higher Education and a letter of endorsement from the Ministry of Education had been presented.<sup>1</sup> He became visibly agitated when at one point explanations regarding the nature of the study were advanced. But afterwards, having secured the letter of sanction from SAVAK (through the intercession of the gracious Director of the Bureau of International Cooperation in the Ministry of Education), the investigation was permitted in the tribal areas but, perhaps, not welcomed enthusiastically. Or again, a few teachers in an upper-class private school in Tehran reacted quite forcefully when attempts were made to solicit informally their political opinions. One teacher said, "I do not want to get involved in anything political." Another emphatically claimed, "I am a teacher and not a politician. I do not want any trouble." These examples could be multiplied many times over, but suffice it to say that, in general, school officials and teachers were "guarded."

Yet, the truth of the matter is that officials in the Ministry of Education were extremely helpful and

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<sup>1</sup>In order to do this research, it was necessary to be screened by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to obtain a research permit from the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, to secure letters of introduction from the Ministry of Education, and, in some cases, even from directors of educational districts. In addition, every three months, the investigator was required to file a report of her research activities with the Office of International Relations in the Ministry of Science and Higher Education.

encouraging. So also were most teachers and school principals. On numerous occasions, in fact, people went out of their way to make the climate for research as favorable as possible. Thus, when it was indicated to the principal of one village girls' school that optimum conditions for responding to the questionnaire included a large, well-lighted room with sufficient desks, conditions which not one classroom in the girls' school could meet, he immediately arranged to have the thirty-one girl respondents answer the questionnaire in a classroom meeting all the advantageous conditions in the boys' new building at the other end of the village.

Discretion, nevertheless, was necessary. Iranian and American friends constantly "sounded mild alarms." Whether their admonitions were correct or not will never be known. Certainly they were belied by the conduct of most of the Iranian educational authorities and teachers known. Yet, the consciousness that an area of great sensitivity to the government was being investigated existed, and care was not only wise but vital. For this reason, direct questions about a crucial aspect of political socialization in Iran--attitudes toward and evaluations of the Shah--were not asked. For information about this area, indirect questions were relied upon. Such then was the general climate in which the field research took place.

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In the remainder of the chapter a description of the research procedures on which the survey inquiry of the study is based is given. It is divided into four sections: the questionnaire, sample selection, field testing, and data processing and analysis.

### The Questionnaire<sup>2</sup>

In planning the survey study, the original intention was to gather the data through two instruments-- a standardized questionnaire of the fixed-alternative type administered to all the children participating in the project and a partially structured interview schedule administered to a randomly selected sample of children (24 at the minimum). The latter, of course, would have allowed children to give spontaneous and in-depth answers and thereby enhance the understanding of their political orientations. But several problems, among them lack of time, resources, and interviewers, precluded the use of the schedule. So the compromised solution arrived at was to collect the data by means of a standardized questionnaire which presented both fixed-alternative questions and open-ended ones.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>The English questionnaire and the Persian translation of it are found in Appendix B.

<sup>3</sup>A fixed-alternative (or closed) question is one in which the responses of the subject are limited to

Actual construction of the questionnaire was preceded by (1) a review of the "Preliminary Plan for the Reform of Education in the Country," which outlines the goals of the New System of Education in Iran and, as pointed out earlier, serves as a guide to the kind of citizen the schools are expected to produce; (2) an examination of elementary school textbooks (Persian readers and social studies and religion texts) in order to determine what political values, beliefs, and information, in fact, were formally being taught to children; and (3) informal interviews with a limited number of experienced elementary school teachers and two very bright fifth grade students (these interviews revealed some of the difficulties--vocabulary, format, length--that questionnaire procedures presented for Iranian children).

After the interviews had taken place, the questionnaire was drafted. Three considerations strongly influenced its construction. First, since the research dealt with young subjects, whose reading skills were relatively undeveloped, items for eliciting information and attitudes had to be appropriately designed. Second, since the instrument was not administered individually, it had to be intelligible and interesting to children from different

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stated answers; in contrast, the open-ended question is designed to permit a free response from the subject rather than one limited to stated alternatives.

socio-economic communities who, undoubtedly, varied in ability and motivation. (Pictures were used for some questions in order to engage children's curiosity and attention.) And third, since the information sought was political in nature, care had to be exercised to ensure that the content of questions was not controversial, that is, the possibility that some questions would touch on points of such sensitivity that the Ministry of Education would be reluctant to sanction the use of the questionnaire.<sup>4</sup>

As soon as the English version of the questionnaire was in a form that seemed reasonably satisfactory, it was translated into Persian. The translation was done by an official translator (who, fortunately, was also an authoress of children's stories) on the staff of IRPSE (Institute for Research and Planning in Science and Education.)<sup>5</sup> The Persian version was discussed with several Persians--an educational psychologist, a

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<sup>4</sup>An example of a question that it was not prudent to include in the instrument, since criticism of the monarchy is not permitted, is the following item:

"Which do you think is the most true? (Check one)  
 \_\_\_\_\_ If you write to the Shah he cares a lot about what you think.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ If you write to the Shah he cares some about what you think.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ If you write to the Shah he cares a little about What you think."

<sup>5</sup>The investigator was associated with this institute while she was in Iran. Although IRPSE is an affiliate of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, it is self-governing.

sociologist (both of the latter were familiar with questionnaire language), a recognized elementary school educator, and a professor of Persian grammar. Some words and phrases, of course, had no exact parallel in Persian and had to be modified to make them as close as possible to the meaning conveyed by the English version. For example, the phrase "a good citizen" had to be translated as "a good Iranian" since citizen (ahl, shari) in Persian means simply "townsman." Similarly, the expression, "government is like the weather" had to be rendered "government can do whatever it wants," since a literal translation would have been meaningless.

In order to increase the validity and reliability of the questionnaire, two revisions were made of the first Persian draft (three extensive revisions of the English draft were made earlier) and one pretest was conducted (lack of time prevented more pretesting).<sup>6</sup> The pretest was administered to eleven third grade students (8 boys, 3 girls) and twenty-three fifth grade students (11 boys, 12 girls) in a private school in a middle class area of Tehran in March of 1972. Responses were analyzed, and then a revised questionnaire form was drafted in which the unsatisfactory items of the pretest

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<sup>6</sup>Validity tells whether the question or item really measures what it is supposed to measure. It is distinguished from reliability, which refers to consistency, to obtaining the same results.



instrument were dropped or altered. In addition to leading to modifications of the questionnaire, pretesting led to an improvement in the mechanics of administering it. Thus in the final testings, (1) each child was provided with a pencil and an eraser; (2) the size of test groups was generally limited to twenty-five respondents (contamination through copying, talking, or asking questions was readily controlled this way); and (3) the instrument, item by item, was read aloud to the respondents (reading the questionnaire aloud ensured that all respondents answered the questions in the same order and that they all had the same amount of time to do so; moreover, it also met the needs of those children who might have had a reading problem).

The final version of the questionnaire contained fifty-five items. The majority of the questions touched upon such matters as political information, images of national political leaders and institutions, nationalism, political participation, and behavioral characteristics (cooperation, altruism, obedience, achievement-orientation, competence)--all topics of concern in the New System of Education. But questions regarding age, religion, ethnic background, and socio-economic status also were included. And since it is not necessary "to invent a new thermometer each time one ascertains temperature," some of the items and techniques were

adaptations of those existing in the political socialization literature on children and adults, while others in the instrument were constructed de novo.<sup>7</sup>

### Sample Selection

The purpose in the survey research was to inquire into (1) the degree of political uniformity among city, peasant, and tribal children; (2) the magnitude of inter-group and inter-sex political differences; and (3) those influences attributable to the elementary schools, specifically grade levels, which have brought about changes in political orientations. Therefore, the research was originally designed to conduct the inquiry in a small purposive sample of city, peasant, and tribal schools that were relatively homogeneous with respect to numbers of children of each sex from two particular grade levels rather than in a cross-sectional probability sample.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Early in the project, Marvin Zonis of the University of Chicago provided access to questions used in the national survey he conducted in Iran in the 1965-66 academic year on the "Attitudes and Values of Iranian Secondary School Students"; and Jack Dennis of the University of Wisconsin made available a copy of the "Citizenship Attitude Questionnaire #9" used by him and Easton in their study Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy and Hess and Torney in their study The Development of Political Attitudes in Children. Since no fund of experience from past survey research on children in Iran could be drawn on in designing the questionnaire, these two instruments initially were useful guidelines.

<sup>8</sup>Furthermore, the time and level of resources required in interviewing a random sample were not available to the investigator.

Specifically, the design called for six schools--two city schools, two peasant schools, two tribal schools--to be selected and for two classrooms to be tested at the third and fifth grade levels in each school. The lower limit of the research population was fixed at grade three because it was feared that first grade and second grade children would be too deficient in a knowledge of Persian to read and respond to the open-ended and closed questions of the instrument. The upper limit of the research population was set at grade five because it is the final year in the compulsory and free elementary cycle of The New System of Education. Although it was desirable to have representatives from the fourth grade, they were omitted to reduce, somewhat, the problems of sampling.

The city, peasant, and tribal schools that were accessible for use, however, varied greatly in size (total enrollment) and, hence, in the numbers of students of each sex at the two grade levels of interest. It was not unusual, for example, to meet with tribal schools that had total enrollments of under fifty, seven or fewer students in the third or fifth grades, and no girls or only one girl in each of these grades. Obviously then, it was not possible with the available pool of schools to select only six schools and be guaranteed of a sample that contained sizable numbers

of city, peasant, and tribal children of each sex from the third and fifth grade levels. Therefore, to obtain a substantially large research population that had the desired characteristics, it was necessary to aim for quotas of particular children and to select the respondents in a sort of "catch as catch can fashion" from many city, peasant, and tribal schools.

Thus, 478 city children, stratified equally by sex and grade, were selected from (a) ten schools in Tehran, the capital of Iran, with a 1972 estimated population of 3,400,000 inhabitants and (b) five schools in Shiraz, the provincial capital of Fars Ostan, with a 1966 enumerated population of 269,860 persons. And with an eye toward avoiding major biases in the urban sub-sample, roughly equal numbers of respondents from different school environments--unisexual and coeducational schools and governmental and private schools--located in the cities' upper, middle, and lower class areas, as judged by district school administrators and the investigator, were included (see Table 3.1). Two hundred and twenty-four peasant children, stratified equally by sex and grade, were chosen from (a) seven schools in six villages, located 45 to 100 kilometers north of Shiraz, with 1966 enumerated populations that ranged from just over 600 to 2,907 persons; (b) one school in a bakhsh (an administrative district center) situated 100 kilometers south

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Table 3.1 Number of City Students Participating in the Study by Criteria of Selection

City (Population) <sup>a</sup>	Socioeconomic Status of School Area <sup>b</sup>	School Sponsorship/ Sex Composition (Enrollment) <sup>c</sup>	Grade and Sex				Total Cases
			Third		Fifth		
			Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	
Tehran (3,400,000)	Upper Class	Priv./Coed. (600)	10	10	14	10	44
		Priv./Coed. (150)	6	7	6	8	27
		Priv./Coed. (520)	8	5	6	5	24
	Middle Class	Priv./Coed. (250)	10	10	10	10	40
		Govt./Girls (2,050)	--	20	--	20	40
		Govt./Boys (2,050)	20	--	20	--	40
	Lower Class	Govt./Boys (1,293)	20	--	20	--	40
		Govt./Boys (670)	20	--	20	--	40
		Govt./Girls (1,125)	--	20	--	20	40
Govt./Girls (527)		--	23	--	20	43	
Shiraz (269,860)	Upper Class	Priv./Coed. (390)	2	5	2	4	13
		Govt./Girls (154)	--	6	--	7	13
	Middle Class	Priv./Coed. (305)	7	7	5	15	34
		Priv./Coed. (194)	5	4	4	3	16
	Lower Class	Govt./Boys (1,200)	14	--	10	--	24
			122	117	117	122	478
Total							

<sup>a</sup>SOURCES: Iran Almanac, 1972, p. 507; and Iran, Plan Organization, Iranian Statistical Center, National Census of Population and Housing: Total Country-Settled Population, November 1966, 168 (Tehran: March, 1968), Introduction, page unnumbered. (Hereinafter referred to as National Census: Total Country, 1966.)

<sup>b</sup>Based on judgments of district school administrators and those of the investigator.

<sup>c</sup>Enrollment figures provided by principals of the schools.

of Shiraz, which served thirty-three villages with a combined 1966 enumerated population of approximately 9,914 persons; and (c) one school in a village, located 45 kilometers south of Tehran, with a 1966 enumerated population of 604 inhabitants (see Table 3.2). And 224 tribal children, stratified equally by grade but not by sex, were selected from (a) fourteen schools in fourteen villages, located 90 to 120 kilometers northwest of Shiraz, with 1966 enumerated populations of 50 to 1,254 persons; and (b) one school in a village, located 120 kilometers southwest of Shiraz, with a 1966 enumerated population of 1,150 inhabitants (see Table 3.3).

To summarize, the identified total sample, as shown in Table 3.4, contained 926 children, stratified by sex (524 boys and 402 girls), grade (463 third graders and 463 fifth graders) and the three different community types (478 city, 224 peasant, and 224 tribal children), selected from thirty-nine schools located in two widely separated areas of Iran: the heavily populated urban Central Ostan bordering the Elburz mountains in the north and the densely populated rural Fars Ostan, approximately 963 kilometers away at the southwestern end of Iran. Clearly then, the respondents who participated in the study are not a representative sample of all elementary school children in Iran, nor even of

Table 3.2 Number of Peasant Students Participating in the Study by Criteria of Selection

Village (Population) <sup>a</sup>	School Sponsorship/ Sex Composition (Enrollment) <sup>b</sup>	Grade and Sex				Total Cases
		Third		Fifth		
		Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	
Gorghtepeh (604)	Govt./Coed. (220)	6	6	6	6	24
Kushk (687)	Govt./Coed. (150)	7	5	10	1	23
Shamasabad-Takhte (789)	Govt./Coed. (250)	7	14	5	2	28
Zangiabad (1,461)	Govt./Coed. (225)	9	2	8	4	23
Fathabad (2,177)	Govt./Boys (200)	11	--	12	--	23
Sivand (2,404)	Govt./Boys (288)	14	--	8	--	22
Sivand (2,404)	Govt./Girls (222)	--	3	--	31	34
Seydan (2,907)	Govt./Coed. (360)	2	10	7	4	23
Sarvestan Bakhsh (9,914)	Govt./Girls (244)	--	16	--	8	24
Total		56	56	56	56	224

<sup>a</sup>SOURCES: Iran, Plan Organization, Iranian Statistical Center, Nam va Jamiyat-e Noqat-e Maskuni-ye Ostan-e Markazi, Sarshomari-ye Omumi, Aban 1345 [The Name and Population of Residential Areas in the Central Province, National Census, November 1966] (Tehran: September, 1970), p. 35; and Iran, Plan Organization, Iranian Statistical Center, Nam va Jamiyat-e Noqat-e Maskuni-ye Ostan-e Fars, Sarshomari-ye Omumi, Aban 1345 [The Name and Population of Residential Areas in the Province of Fars, National Census, November 1966] (Tehran: October, 1970), pp. 43-47, 49-51. (Hereinafter referred to as Nam va Jamiyat-e Noqat-e Maskuni-ye Ostan-e Fars, Sarshomari-ye Omumi, 1966.)

<sup>b</sup>Enrollment figures provided by principals of the schools.





Table 3.3 Number of Tribal Students Participating in the Study by Criteria of Selection

Village (Population) <sup>a</sup>	School Sponsorship/ Sex Composition (Enrollment) <sup>b</sup>	Grade and Sex				Total Cases
		Third		Fifth		
		Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	
Balminy (50)	Govt./Coed. (22) <sup>c</sup>	--	--	2	--	2
Cheshmeh-Abgur (92)	Govt./Coed. (72)	4	3	--	--	7
Baloot-Jahan (92)	Govt./Coed. (35)	2	1	4	--	7
Kelekak (101)	Govt./Coed. (23)	4	1	--	--	5
Tishegare (112)	Govt./Coed. (25)	3	4	--	--	7
Baleh-Zarolya (114)	Govt./Coed. (50)	2	3	6	3	14
Kareh-Kareh (234)	Govt./Coed. (30)	--	--	4	2	6
Korokhan (285)	Govt./Coed. (55)	7	1	7	--	15
Ghaidam (367)	Govt./Coed. (60)	5	5	2	1	13
Bakhshy (385)	Govt./Coed. (60)	7	2	4	1	14
Rashksofla (421)	Govt./Coed. (57)	5	--	7	--	12
Dehgapmahmudi (893)	Govt./Coed. (90)	--	--	9	5	14
Mashayegh (1,096)	Govt./Coed. (150)	7	--	10	2	19
Jadasht (1,150)	Govt./Coed. (208)	26	3	23	2	54
Kolasiah (1,254)	Govt./Coed. (230)	8	9	15	3	35
Total		80	32	93	19	224

<sup>a</sup>SOURCE: Nam va Jamiyat-e Nogat-e Maskuni-ye Ostan-e Fars, Sarshomari-ye Omumi, 1966, pp. 80-81, 112-22.

<sup>b</sup>Enrollments estimated by a supervisor of teachers and mobile library services for children in the areas.

<sup>c</sup>A school in one village often serves children from other villages. This fact probably accounts for high enrollment figures in villages with small populations. Of course, the possibility of error is not discounted.

all elementary school children in Fars Ostan and the Central Ostan. The readers, therefore, are cautioned that the findings reported in the following chapters speak of the 926 students who completed a questionnaire; they do not necessarily describe larger student populations in Iran.

Table 3.4 Number of Students Participating in the Study by Community Type, Grade in School, and Sex

Community Type	Grade and Sex				Total Cases
	Third		Fifth		
	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	
City	122	117	117	122	478
Peasant	56	56	56	56	224
Tribal	80	32	93	19	224
Total	258	205	266	197	926

#### Field Testing

The data were collected from April to July of 1972. During this period visits were made to (a) fifteen urban schools, ten in Tehran and five in the distant city of Shiraz; (b) nine rural schools in eight settlements, one in a village in the Central Ostan and eight in seven scattered settlements in the Fars Ostan; and (c) a Tribal Education Campsite in Fars Ostan<sup>9</sup>--a

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<sup>9</sup>The investigator's travel to tribal villages and camps was restricted; therefore, the administration

time-consuming and arduous process but, in many ways, a rewarding one. In the cities and villages, in most cases, school district administrators provided letters of introduction to school principals, which briefly identified the nature of the research. These letters often permitted the administration of the questionnaire on the initial visit to a school.

All testings were supervised, with research assistants, native-Persian speakers, presenting the instructions and reading the instrument, item by item, to the children while they followed in their questionnaires and indicated their answers. There were four research assistants for Tehran and area. One, an educational psychologist with some survey experience, was obtained from the staff of IRPSE. The other three were friends--an economist, a sociologist, and an elementary school teacher. For Shiraz and area, there were three research assistants. All were freely obtained in

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of the instrument to tribal children took place at the site of the Annual Tribal National Teacher Training Program, a tent city at Gharehchaman in the desert, 72 kilometers northwest of Shiraz. Several hundred children from elementary schools located in many tribal villages in Fars Ostan were gathered at the camp for the ten-day program. Transportation to Gharehchaman and accommodations in the tent city were provided by the Director General of Tribal Education in Iran.

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Shiraz:<sup>10</sup> a supervisor of secondary English language teachers from the Office of Education;<sup>11</sup> a supervisor of Literacy Corps teachers from the Literacy Corps Office;<sup>12</sup> and a supervisor of rural mobile library services for children from both the Office of Tribal Education and the Institute for The Intellectual Development of Children and Young Adults. All of the research assistants were given verbal and written instructions which emphasized that they were to read only the question and in no way to suggest a response. The assistants were very effective in their tasks and, in addition, in establishing rapport with the children and in coping with unforeseen circumstances.

Valiant efforts were made to administer the questionnaire to small groups of children in spacious surroundings and in a relaxed atmosphere, and these efforts, for the most part, were successful. Thus children were generally tested in groups of twenty respondents or less and, wherever it was feasible,

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<sup>10</sup>The Tehran assistants could not be recruited for work outside of Tehran.

<sup>11</sup>In addition, the Office of Education in Shiraz graciously provided transportation to schools in the city and housing for the investigator while she was doing field work in the area.

<sup>12</sup>In addition, the Literacy Corps Office in Shiraz graciously provided transportation to all eight villages sampled in Fars Ostan.



third graders and fifth graders were tested separately. (The ceiling of twenty-five respondents in a test group was exceeded only on five occasions.) Teachers and principals were frequently absent during the administration of the instrument, but, wherever they were present, they kept silent and did not appear to inhibit honest answers.

All testing sessions included: (1) introductory remarks which stressed that "the questionnaire is not a test," "no grades will be given for it," and "no one in school will see the answers"; (2) instructions which included a warning not to answer out loud and a directive to children to raise their hands if they had questions about the meaning of items or the spelling of names (when questions were asked, they were answered sotto voce); and (3) overseeing to ensure that the children answered all items and responded accordingly (checked one option and not two when the question called for it).

The time required for administering the questionnaire varied noticeably with different kinds of test groups. Urban upper and middle class children (generally from the private schools) and tribal children were able to complete the questions in an hour. Urban lower class and peasant children often required an hour and a half or more time. There was also a noticeable difference in the response patterns of the groups of



children; peasant and urban lower class children were less articulate on the open-ended questions and more prone to answer "I don't know," while upper class and tribal children were the most articulate.

Probably the most remarkable thing about field testing was the fact that children who had never before seen a questionnaire with a multiple-choice format were capable of understanding it.

### Data Processing and Analysis

The processing of the material began in Iran and ended in the United States. Briefly summarized, the Iranian phase proceeded in this manner. First, questionnaires were checked for completeness and accuracy during the period of data collection. As a result, the errors of "nonresponse" and "inappropriate response" were markedly reduced in the data, and many potential coding difficulties were averted. Second, coding frames (classificatory schemes) were designed and then assembled in a code book. In the cases where frames decided themselves--questions with fixed alternatives--the preparation of coding frames raised no problems. But where frames did not determine themselves automatically, establishing them generally was not an easy task.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>To illustrate, answers to an open question like "What does it mean to be a good Iranian?" covered all sorts of points: education, obedience, religion, morals, etiquette, patriotism, shahparasti (shah worship), and

Third, all questionnaires were coded (answers were allocated to individual categories in the coding frames).

In order to expedite the process of coding, two coders, carefully briefed and supervised, assisted in coding the questionnaires. One coder was obtained from IRPSE; the second was a friend--the director of rural libraries for children of The Institute for the Intellectual

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so forth. Developing a coding frame for this question then required thought and could only be set up after an analysis of a representative sample of replies had been made and a pattern had emerged. Here is the frame that was finally developed:

- "1. Educational achievement: answers which emphasize the intellectual and academic achievements of an individual. For example, answers placed in this group would be: 'He is well-educated'; 'He does well at his studies.'
2. Obedience: answers which emphasize that an individual obeys laws, teachers, parents, and so forth.
3. Cooperation: answers which emphasize willingness to help others, the community, the country.
4. Interest in government and country: answers which emphasize an individual's attention and curiosity to the way the country is run.
5. Religiosity: answers which emphasize the importance of a man's religious qualities, belief in God, following religious practices, and so forth.
6. Work ethic: answers which emphasize the willingness of the individual to work hard. For example, an answer placed in this category would be: 'A man who does his job, whatever it is, and does it well.'
7. Patriotism and shahparasti: answers which emphasize an individual's love for his country and devotion to the Shah.
8. Ethics and proper conduct: all considerations of morals, manners, etiquette, honesty, truthfulness, righteousness, goodness, cleanliness, kindness, and so forth.
9. Other.
0. Don't know; No answer; Meaningless answer."

Development of Children and Young Adults.<sup>14</sup> Finally, in order "to move the data to the United States" and to prepare it for processing by computer, the codes from the individual questionnaires were transferred onto punch sheets.<sup>15</sup> In the United States the processing stage involved basically two operations: (1) punching the entries for each case on the punch sheets onto IBM cards and (2) programming the computers at Michigan State University for given operations.

The analysis of the data was facilitated by the use of CISSR (Computer Institute for Social Science Research) and SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) data management and analysis computer programs; the former was designed by the Computer Institute for Social Science Research at Michigan State University and the latter by Norman H. Nie and others initially at Stanford University. Two basic analyses were conducted:

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<sup>14</sup> Coding responsibilities were shared in this way. The investigator coded all the closed questions and those open questions with a few possible brief answers, while the other coders, both native Persians, coded fourteen open questions whose responses were generally long and required a good deal of interpretation. (The investigator's coding frames and instructions for the fourteen open questions were translated into Persian by an official translator at IRPSE. These translations were then discussed with another staff member and some revisions were made.)

<sup>15</sup> A punch sheet consists of vertically and horizontally lined paper with the variables (responses to each question) across the top and the case numbers of respondents down the side.

first, tabulations of the responses of the entire sample to each question in the questionnaire; and second, cross-tabulations of almost all the items in the questionnaire with the classification attributes of community type (city, peasant, tribal), sex, and grade level (third, fifth). In the chapters that follow then, the analysis is restricted to presenting and discussing the overall distribution of the responses and presenting cross tabulations and comparing percentage distributions. Although the computer efficiently calculated the contingency coefficient and the chi-square significance test for all cross-tabulation tables, the nonrandom nature of the data does not warrant the illusion of scientific precision so often created by reporting statistical tests. The percentages will speak for themselves and permit the readers to decide whether the observed differences merit their confidence or not.

## CHAPTER IV

### CHILDREN'S BACKGROUNDS: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

We are laughing flowers;  
We are the children of Iran. . . .  
Abbas Yamini Sharif<sup>1</sup>

The previous chapter described the manner in which the city, peasant, and tribal children for the study were selected. But who are these children? Where do they come from, and what are they like? In this chapter, attention is directed to answering these questions.

#### Regional Background

Regionally, from where do the city, peasant, and tribal children in the sample come? As Table 4.1 shows, 79 percent of the city children come from the heavily and densely populated northern Central Ostan, and the remaining 21 percent of them come from the distant southwestern

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<sup>1</sup>Abbas Yamini Sharif, "Children of Iran," Farsi Avval-e Debestan, p. 91.



Table 4.1 Regional Background of City, Peasant, and Tribal Children

Region	City (%)	Peasant (%)	Tribal (%)	Total (%)
<u>Central Ostan</u>				
Tehran Shahrestan				
Tehran	79	--	--	41
Village	--	11	--	3
<u>Fars Ostan</u>				
Shiraz Shahrestan				
Shiraz	21	--	--	11
Villages	--	89	--	20
Mamasani Shahrestan				
Villages	--	--	76	19
Firuzabad Shahrestan				
Villages	--	--	24	6
Total	100	100	100	100
N	(478)	(224)	(224)	(926)

Fars Ostan.<sup>2</sup> Within the Central Ostan, the children are concentrated in Tehran Shahrestan and within the shahrestan, in the nation's capital, Tehran; while in Fars Ostan, they are localized in Shiraz Shahrestan and within the shahrestan, in the ostan capital, Shiraz. Eighty-nine percent of the peasant children come from Fars Ostan, and the remaining 11 percent of them come from the Central Ostan; in Fars Ostan, they come from scattered villages in Shiraz Shahrestan, and in the Central Ostan, they come from one village in Tehran Shahrestan. All of the tribal children, representatives of the Qashqai and the Mamasani tribes, come from Fars Ostan--24 percent Qashqai from a

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<sup>2</sup>At the 1966 Census, the Central Ostan with a settled population of 4,979,081 million and a density of 55.9 persons per square kilometer (the average density for the country was 15.5 persons per square kilometer) was the most heavily and densely populated civil division in Iran. Fars Ostan with a population of 1,439,804 million and a density of 10.8 inhabitants per square kilometer, was the eighth ranking civil division in population and the fourteenth in density. Urban dwellers constituted 70 percent of the population of the Central Ostan; they made up only 38 percent of the population of Fars Ostan. National Census: Total Country, 1966, "Introduction," page unnumbered; and Smith et al., Area Handbook for Iran, p. 80.

It is interesting to note that in the 1971-72 school year, the Central Ostan, with 14 percent (3,907) of the schools, 25 percent (23,714) of the classes, 25 percent (26,465) of the administrators and teachers, and 25 percent (859,601) of the student enrollment in the country, led all other ostans and farmandari kol in elementary school education. Fars Ostan, among all civil divisions, ranked third in the number of schools and personnel, with 8 percent (2,180) and 7 percent (7,203), respectively; fourth in the number of classes, with 7 percent (6,449); and sixth in student enrollment, with 7 percent (213,896). Ministry of Education, Amar-e Amuzesh va Parvaresh-e Iran, 1971-72, p. 15.





few villages in Firuzabad Shahrestan, and 76 percent Mamasani from scattered villages in Mamasani Shahrestan.<sup>3</sup>

What advantages accrue to people, young and old alike, living in the cities of Tehran and Shiraz, as compared to their neighbors living in the villages of Tehran, Shiraz, Mamasani, and Firuzabad shahrestans? To begin with, the majority of the urban dwellers experience markedly better living conditions than most of the

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<sup>3</sup>The Qashqai, the Mamasani, the Khamse, and the Kuh-Giluye are the four great tribes in Fars Ostan. The principle clans of the Qashqai, considered to be one of the largest tribes (500,000) in Iran, are the Amale, Dare-Shuri, Shesh-Boluki, Kashkuli-Bozorg, and Farsi-Madan. Twenty-four percent of the tribal children in the sample come from the Amale clan. The principal clans of the Mamasani are the Rostam, Doshman-Ziyari, Javid, Bokosh, and Fahliyan. Eighty-one percent of the sampled tribal children represent the Doshman-Ziyari clan and 9 percent, the Javid clan. For information on the manners and customs of the tribes, see Bahman Bahman-Begi, "Moeurs et Coutumes des Tribus du Fârs (Orf-o' Adat dar' Ashâ'er-e Fârs)," in Les Tribus du Fârs et la Sédentarisation des Nomades, ed. by Vincent Montell (Paris: La Haye, Mouton et C<sup>ie</sup>, 1966), pp. 97-152; and Frederik Barth, Nomads of South Persia: The Basseri Tribe of the Khamseh Confederacy (New York: Humanities Press, 1964).

Before Reza Shah, the Qashqai tribe, like many of the Iranian tribes, was generally in dispute with central authority and noted for its aggressive and warlike behavior. Its leaders acted as local independent chieftains. The tribe made frequent raids on caravans and villages. After several years (1922-32) of full-scale military operations and the imprisonment and execution of several of the tribe's leaders, the government subdued the tribe and placed it under the administration of the army. The tribe was given government-built houses and forced to follow a sedentary life. When Reza Shah abdicated in 1941, many members of the tribe returned to their nomadic life. Thus, there were indications in 1971 that many Qashqai tribesmen were following a nomadic life. However, most of the members of the Mamasani tribe appeared to be settled.

inhabitants in the rural areas do. For instance, as revealed in Table 4.2, at the 1966 Census:

1. Ninety-five percent of the housing units in Tehran and 82 percent of the housing units in Shiraz were built of kilnbrick or reinforced concrete and iron; the proportion for the villages in the shahrestans of Tehran, Shiraz, Mamasani, and Firuzabad, where mudbrick dwellings predominate, was 14, 3, 1, and 1 percent, respectively.<sup>4</sup>
2. Sixty-six percent of the housing units in Tehran and 85 percent of them in Shiraz had three or more rooms; the comparable proportion in the rural areas of Tehran, Shiraz, Mamasani, and Firuzabad shahrestans was 50, 49, 42, and 41 percent, respectively.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Mudbrick dwellings are virtual deathtraps when earthquakes, a frequent phenomena in Iran, strike. The earthquake which struck Firuzabad Shahrestan in the spring of 1972 left thousands of people dead, injured, or buried under "heaps of mudbrick rubble."

<sup>5</sup>Not only did dwellings in the rural areas have fewer rooms, but the rooms more often housed more people. For example, in the villages of Mamasani Shahrestan, 34 percent of the households occupying one room had six or more persons, but in Tehran, only 19 percent of the households occupying one room had six or more persons. National Census: Tehran Shahrestan, 1966, p. 253 (table 42); and National Census: Shiraz Shahrestan, 1966, p. 60 (table 42). When one considers that rural rooms are quite small, usually not more than 3 by 4 meters, one can surmise that the feeling of congestion is sometimes almost claustrophobic.

Table 4.2 Selected Characteristics of Regions from Which City, Peasant, and Tribal Children Come (at the 1966 Census)

	Urban		Rural				Country
	Tehran	Shiraz	Tehran Shahrestan	Shiraz Shahrestan	Mamasani Shahrestan	Firuzabad Shahrestan	
Total Population	2,719,730	269,865	90,555	271,203	84,317	57,974	25,078,923
Total Population (7 yrs. & over)	2,152,941	213,013	68,675	193,156	60,899	43,420	18,843,123
Literatea	63%	62%	35%	17%	18%	17%	29%
Total Literates (7 yrs. & over)	1,349,941	132,184	24,324	33,206	11,204	7,489	5,522,353
Males	60%	60%	71%	89%	88%	89%	71%
Females	40%	40%	29%	11%	12%	11%	29%
Total Males (7 yrs. & over)	1,136,647	113,472	36,996	100,138	32,098	22,737	9,740,681
Literate	71%	70%	47%	30%	31%	29%	40%
Total Females (7 yrs. & over)	1,016,294	99,541	31,679	93,018	28,801	20,683	9,102,442
Literate	54%	54%	23%	4%	5%	4%	18%
Total Literates (7 yrs. & over)	1,349,941	132,184	24,324	33,206	11,204	7,489	5,522,353
Highest Education							
University	5%	3%	1%	0.1%	0.3%	0.3%	2%
Secondary	28%	24%	17%	4%	8%	6%	18%
Elementary	59%	63%	79%	75%	72%	72%	68%
Total Housing Units	354,346	29,080	13,930	37,365	12,348	9,698	3,898,719
Construction							
Kilnbrick, conc. & iron	95%	82%	14%	3%	1%	1%	20%
Mudbrick	4%	11%	84%	82%	54%	71%	62%
Wood, stone	1%	6%	2%	13%	40%	18%	9%
Straw, mud, other Facilities	--	1%	--	2%	5%	10%	9%
3 or more rooms	66%	85%	50%	49%	42%	41%	48%
Piped water	71%	83%	8%	2%	1%	0.6%	14%
Electricity	83%	86%	13%	4%	3%	4%	25%

Table 4.2 Continued

	Urban		Rural				Country
	Tehran	Shiraz	Tehran Shahrestan	Shiraz Shahrestan	Mamasani Shahrestan	Firuzabad Shahrestan	
Employed Population (10 yrs. & over)	755,174	68,801	24,049	75,316	20,427	14,941	6,858,396
Major Occupation Groups							
Professional, technical service, other workers	58%	55%	14%	10%	13%	14%	24%
Production workers	41%	40%	27%	25%	8%	18%	30%
Agricultural workers	1%	5%	59%	65%	79%	68%	46%

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SOURCES: National Census: Total Country, 1966, pp. 1, 16, 19, 44, 188-90 (tables 1, 6, 7, 16, 61, 62, 63); Iran, Plan Organization, Iranian Statistical Center, National Census of Population and Housing: Tehran Shahrestan, November 1966, 10 (Tehran: August, 1967), pp. 2, 17, 51, 64, 66, 79, 132, 145, 312, 315-16, 319-20, 322 (tables 1, 6, 7, 16, 61, 62, 63), (Hereinafter referred to as National Census: Tehran Shahrestan, 1966.); Iran, Plan Organization, Iranian Statistical Center, National Census of Population and Housing: Shiraz Shahrestan, November 1966, 34 (Tehran: January, 1968), pp. 3, 10, 31, 38, 40, 47, 79, 86, 191, 193-94, 196-98 (tables 1, 6, 7, 16, 61, 62, 63), (Hereinafter referred to as National Census: Shiraz Shahrestan, 1966.); Iran, Plan Organization, Iranian Statistical Center, National Census of Population and Housing: Mamasani Shahrestan, November 1966, 39 (Tehran: January, 1968), pp. 4, 14, 17, 32, 74-76 (tables 1, 6, 7, 16, 62, 63), (Hereinafter referred to as National Census: Mamasani Shahrestan, 1966.); and Iran, Plan Organization, Iranian Statistical Center, National Census of Population and Housing: Firuzabad Shahrestan, November 1966, 36 (Tehran: October 1968), pp. 4, 14, 17, 32, 74-76 (tables 1, 6, 7, 16, 61, 62, 63), (Hereinafter referred to as National Census: Firuzabad Shahrestan, 1966.).

NOTE: Percentages computed by the investigator.

<sup>a</sup>The term "literate" includes all persons who were able to read and write in any language.

3. Seventy-one percent of the housing units in Tehran and 83 percent of them in Shiraz had piped water; the proportion for the villages of Tehran, Shiraz, Mamasani, and Firuzabad shahrestans was 8, 2, 1, and 0.6 percent, respectively.
4. Eighty-three percent of the housing units in Tehran and 86 percent of them in Shiraz had electricity; the corresponding proportion for the villages in Tehran, Shiraz, Mamasani, and Firuzabad shahrestans was 13, 4, 3, and 4 percent, respectively.

Furthermore, the residents of Tehran and Shiraz have greater availability of medical, educational, and recreational facilities than their rural countrymen do. To illustrate, in 1971-72:

1. The ratio of licensed physicians per person was 1 to 750 in Tehran, one of the highest in the world, whereas in the rural areas of Mamasani Shahrestan, it was an estimated 1 to 15,000.<sup>6</sup>
2. The ratio of secondary schools per school population of 14 to 19 years was 1 to 600 in Tehran,

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<sup>6</sup>Iran Almanac, 1972, p. 535. According to a 1971 study of the Iran Medical Association, there were 4,474 physicians in the Central Ostan; of this number, 4,192 were established in Tehran. In Fars Ostan, there were 427 physicians, many of whom were believed to be practicing in cities and towns.

but in the countryside of Firuzabad Shahrestan, the corresponding estimated ratio was 1 to 3,000.<sup>7</sup>

3. The ratio of cinema halls per person in Tehran was 1 to 25,000, whereas in Shiraz Shahrestan, it was an estimated 1 to 300,000.<sup>8</sup>

Moreover, the majority of the inhabitants of Tehran and Shiraz have easy access to numerous means of transportation and communication. In 1971-72, for example, while more than twenty public buses linked the residents of northern Tehran with the center of the city ten times daily, only one bus per week tied the villagers in Shiraz Shahrestan with the nearest urban area. And while all three media of communication--radio, television, daily newspaper--were readily available to a majority of Tehranis,<sup>9</sup> this decidedly was not the case

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<sup>7</sup> Ministry of Education, Amar-e Amuzesh va Parvarsh-e Iran, 1971-72, p. 15 (table 12). Out of 833 secondary schools in the Central Ostan, 545 were located in Tehran. In Fars Ostan, there were 164 secondary schools, more than half of which were believed to be established in the cities.

<sup>8</sup> Iran Almanac, 1972, pp. 639-40. According to the Iranian Statistical Center, there were 137 cinema halls in the Central Ostan; of this number, 118 were located in Tehran. In Fars Ostan, 41 cinema houses were running, and almost all were believed to be established in the cities.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., pp. 176, 190. According to the Ministry of Information, 80 percent of the families in Tehran owned

for practically all of the rural inhabitants in the shah-restans under study.<sup>10</sup> Under these conditions, as might be expected, a majority (57 percent) of the city children in the sample indicated that they had all three media of communication--radio, television, newspapers--in the home; none of the peasant and tribal children made a similar claim. A majority (51 percent) of the peasant children, however, alleged access to two media--radio, newspapers--in the home, and a substantial proportion (40 percent) of the tribal children claimed availability of one media--either radio or newspapers (see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3 Number of Mass Media in the Home Reported by City, Peasant, and Tribal Children

Percentage Who Reported	City	Peasant	Tribal	Total
Three media	57	--	--	29
Two media	30	51	13	31
One media	11	35	40	24
No media	2	14	47	16
Total	100	100	100	100
N	(478)	(224)	(224)	(926)

television sets and 90 percent owned radios. All daily newspapers were estimated to have an average daily circulation of 300,000.

<sup>10</sup>The unavailability of numerous media of communication in these areas was due both to lack of public facilities (for example, T.V. transmitters were not reaching most rural areas in 1971-72) and certain characteristics of the villagers themselves (for instance, poverty and illiteracy).



In 1971-72, radio was the primary medium of mass communication in Iran. Well over half of the country's estimated population of 30 million listened to the radio at home, in a friend's home, or in a favorite tea house.<sup>11</sup> Significantly then, radio was the most readily available mass media for children in the sample; 95 percent of the city children, 77 percent of the peasant children, and 47 percent of the tribal children reported the existence of a radio in the home. Newspapers (dailies, weeklies, monthlies) were in second place, with 79 percent of the city children, 60 percent of the peasant children, and 18 percent of the tribal children claiming their availability in the home. That conspicuously fewer of the tribal children reported access to both radio and newspapers than did peasant children is plausible, given the greater poverty of their people, which limited the purchase of even a low-cost transistor radio; the physical isolation of their villages, in the sense of travel time by usual means of transportation, from cities where newspapers could be purchased; and the illiterate status of the majority of their people in Persian, which made newspapers and even radio programs which were not in the local language useless.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Banani, "The Role of the Mass Media," p. 327.

<sup>12</sup>During the course of the field research, the investigator visited several villages in Mamasani Shahrestan

And beyond the advantages mentioned, the majority of the old and young residents of Tehran and Shiraz benefit from the availability of greater numbers of motivated, educated, and trained human beings than their rural neighbors do. For example, as Table 4.2 depicts, in 1966:

1. Sixty-three percent of the population of seven years of age and over in Tehran and 62 percent of this population in Shiraz was literate; the corresponding proportion for the rural areas in the shahrestans of Tehran, Shiraz, Mamasani, and Firuzabad was 35, 17, 18, and 17 percent, respectively.
2. Twenty-eight percent of the literate population (seven years and over) in Tehran and 24 percent of it in Shiraz had attained secondary education;

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from which a substantial proportion of the sampled tribal children come. Travel time from Shiraz to these villages, located approximately 110 kilometers from the ostan capital, required five hours of jeep driving over rugged terrain. (Conventional roads did not exist in this area.) Observations indicated that these villages were more economically deprived and less developed than the villages of Shiraz Shahrestan from which the peasant children were selected. Most of the villages which peasant children come from were near a regularly travelled road, and a few even had the amenities of a bath, mosque, and electricity. None of the tribal villages visited by the investigator and, according to a well-informed tribal teacher, none of the other villages which tribal children come from could claim electricity, a bath, or a mosque; and only one out of the fifteen sampled was in proximity of a regularly travelled road. Moreover, many of the older people in these tribal villages only understood the local language--Luri, Turkish.

the comparable proportion for the villages of Tehran, Shiraz, Mamasani, and Firuzabad shahrestans was 17, 4, 8, and 6 percent, respectively.

3. Fifty-eight percent of the economically active population of ten years of age and over in Tehran and 55 percent of this population in Shiraz was engaged in complex occupations; the corresponding percentage for the villages of Tehran, Shiraz, Mamasani, and Firuzabad shahrestans was 14, 10, 13, and 14 percent, respectively.

Finally, not only do the majority of the dwellers of Tehran and Shiraz enjoy better living conditions, more availability of medical, educational, and recreational facilities, easy access to means of transportation and communication, and the benefit of greater numbers of better educated and trained individuals than most of their rural cousins do, but they enjoy these amenities and others in disproportionate amounts. And for the 10.5 percent of Iran's population who live in Tehran, the disproportionate amounts are conspicuously pronounced:

#### Education

1. Twenty-one percent of the nation's secondary schools (with about 26 percent of the nation's students) are located in Tehran.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Ministry of Education, Amar-e Amuzesh va Parvarsh-e Iran, 1971-72, pp. 2, 5 (tables 1, 4). In the

2. Twenty-four percent of all the Iranian literates live in Tehran.<sup>14</sup>
3. Fifty-two percent of the nation's private elementary schools (with about 54 percent of the nation's students) are established in Tehran.<sup>15</sup>
4. Fifty-four percent of the nation's kindergartens (with 56 percent of the students) are found in Tehran.<sup>16</sup>
5. Fifty-seven percent of all those who have any college education live in Tehran.<sup>17</sup>

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1971-72 academic year, 545 secondary schools out of a total of 2,606 were in Tehran, and 305,543 secondary students out of a total of 1,140,995 were studying in Tehran.

<sup>14</sup>See Table 4.2.

<sup>15</sup>Ministry of Education, Amar-e Amuzesh va Parvareh-e Iran, 1971-72, pp. 2, 4 (tables 1, 3). Out of a total of 1,300 private elementary schools in 1971-72, 675 were in Tehran, and out of a total of 231,930 private elementary students, 125,721 were studying in Tehran.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., pp. 2, 5 (tables 1, 4). Out of a total of 431 kindergartens in the country, 232 were in Tehran, and out of a total of 21,237 kindergarten students, 9,726 were studying in Tehran.

<sup>17</sup>National Census: Total Country, 1966, p. 19 (table 7); and National Census: Tehran Shahrestan, 1966, p. 51 (table 7). Of the 109,025 Iranians of both sexes with any university training, 61,933 lived in Tehran.

6. Sixty-seven percent of all university students in Iran are studying in Tehran's institutions of higher learning.<sup>18</sup>

### Health

1. Forty percent of all hospital beds are in Tehran.<sup>19</sup>
2. Forty-eight percent of all physicians live in the capital.<sup>20</sup>
3. Fifty-eight percent of all dentists practice in Tehran.<sup>21</sup>
4. In 1969, infant mortality was estimated at 40 per 1,000 live births in Tehran and 120 or more per 1,000 in the rural areas.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>Iran Almanac, 1971, p. 549. Of 76,340 students in institutions of higher learning in Iran in 1970-71, 50,937 were reported to be studying in Tehran.

<sup>19</sup>Echo of Iran, Iran Almanac and Book of Facts, 1970 (Tehran: Echo of Iran Press, 1970), p. 499. Of 27,424 hospital beds in the country at the end of 1969, 11,000 were concentrated in Tehran.

<sup>20</sup>Iran Almanac, 1972, p. 535. According to a study published by the Iran Medical Association on March 29, 1972, out of a total of 8,724 physicians, 4,192 were working in Tehran.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid. Out of a total of 1,290 dentists in Iran, 736 were in Tehran.

<sup>22</sup>Smith et al., Area Handbook for Iran, p. 154.

### Communications

1. Twenty-nine percent of the nation's cinema halls are located in Tehran.<sup>23</sup>
2. Fifty percent of Iran's television receivers may be found in Tehran.<sup>24</sup>
3. Sixty-two percent of Iran's telephones are operating in Tehran.<sup>25</sup>
4. Sixty-three percent of all the nation's passenger cars are driven by Tehrani.<sup>26</sup>
5. Sixty-six percent of all daily newspapers are published in Tehran.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>Iran Almanac, 1972, pp. 639-40. According to the Iranian Statistical Center, in March of 1972 there were 412 cinema houses in Iran, 118 of which were in Tehran.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 190. In 1972, the number of television receiving sets in use in Iran was estimated at 1,500,000, half of which were in Tehran or its neighborhood.

<sup>25</sup>Iran, Plan Organization, Iranian Statistical Center, Salname-ye Amar-e Keshvar, 1351 [Statistical Yearbook for the Country, 1972] (Tehran: February, 1973), p. 529. Of a total of 323,942 telephones in the country, 214,939 were operating in the Central Ostan. Of the total in the ostan, an estimated 200,000 were operating in Tehran.

<sup>26</sup>Iran Almanac, 1971, p. 493. Of 290,000 passenger cars (private and taxis and cars on hire) in Iran in 1971, an estimated 185,000 were in Tehran.

<sup>27</sup>Iran Almanac, 1972, p. 176. According to the Ministry of Information, nineteen out of a total of twenty-nine dailies were published in Tehran in 1971.



6. Ninety-eight percent of all weekly magazines are published in Tehran.<sup>28</sup>

Education, health, communications--these and other amenities of life, then, accrue disproportionately to a majority of the dwellers of Tehran. They also accrue disproportionately, but to a lesser extent, to the inhabitants of Shiraz. Thus, the people, young and old alike, residing in the villages of Tehran, Shiraz, Mamasani, and Firuzabad shahrestans, live in an environment that has distinctively less to offer and, as a consequence, they receive less.

#### Family Background

Being residents of Tehran and Shiraz usually means being members of households that are already amenable to the contemporary world. For one thing, members of households are more likely to be literate; whereas over four-fifths of the households in Tehran and Shiraz at the 1966 Census had one or more literates, less than two-thirds of the households in the villages of Tehran Shahrestan, and less than half of them in Shiraz, Mamasani, and Firuzabad shahrestans could claim literate members (see Table 4.4). Similarly, heads of households are more likely to be literate and to have

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid. Twenty-eight out of a total of twenty-nine weekly magazines were published in Tehran in 1971.



Table 4.4 Selected Characteristics of Private Households<sup>a</sup> in Regions from Which City, Peasant, and Tribal Children Come (at the 1966 Census)

	Urban		Rural				Country
	Tehran	Shiraz	Tehran Shahrestan	Shiraz Shahrestan	Mamasani Shahrestan	Firuzabad Shahrestan	
Total Private							
Households	565,968	52,548	18,169	54,025	16,544	12,152	5,029,320
One or more literates	82%	81%	61%	38%	42%	38%	49%
Literate head	59%	51%	22%	15%	16%	18%	25%
Total Literate Heads	331,430	28,021	3,989	7,911	2,728	1,900	1,251,712
Highest Education							
University	9%	8%	1%	0.3%	0.2%	0.6%	0.5%
Secondary	26%	23%	11%	6%	7%	7%	19%
Primary	42%	41%	51%	24%	25%	22%	40%
Total Employed Heads	485,091	42,193	15,370	46,223	13,777	9,860	4,041,118
Major Occupation Groups							131
Professional, technical, service, other workers							
	57%	52%	16%	11%	9%	13%	26%
Production workers	42%	42%	18%	15%	5%	11%	26%
Agricultural workers	1%	6%	66%	74%	86%	76%	48%

SOURCES: National Census: Total Country, 1966, pp. 173, 179, 182, 186 (tables 41, 47, 49, 52); National Census: Tehran Shahrestan, 1966, pp. 249, 252, 272, 275, 291, 295, 305, 307 (tables 41, 47, 49, 52); National Census: Shiraz Shahrestan, 1966, pp. 147, 149, 164, 166, 176, 178, 185, 187 (tables 41, 47, 49, 52); National Census: Mamasani Shahrestan, 1966, pp. 59, 65, 69, 72 (tables 41, 47, 49, 52); and National Census: Firuzabad Shahrestan, 1966, pp. 59, 65, 182, 186 (tables 41, 47, 49, 52).

NOTE: Percentages computed by the investigator.

<sup>a</sup> A private household consists of one or several individuals residing in one place and sharing expenses and principal meals. Thus, according to the definition, not all members must be related.

experienced modern education;<sup>29</sup> while in 1966 more than half of the heads in Tehran and Shiraz were literate, and more than three-fifths of them had modern education, less than one-fourth of the heads in the rural areas of Tehran, Shiraz, Mamasani, and Firuzabad shahrestans were literate, and less than two-thirds of them in Tehran Shahrestan and one-third of them in the remaining shahrestans had modern education. And, as can be seen in Table 4.4, significantly smaller proportions of the rural heads had attained secondary and university education than their urban counterparts had.<sup>30</sup> In addition, household heads in Tehran and Shiraz are more likely

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<sup>29</sup> Modern education is here defined as formal schooling at public or private elementary, secondary, or higher institutions of learning in Iran or abroad.

<sup>30</sup> Undoubtedly, family poverty and lack of higher educational facilities were more salient factors in limiting the attainment of higher education for the rural heads than the urban heads. In the mid-sixties, the findings of an opinion poll disclosed that in rural areas about 45 percent of the boys did not seek more education because of poverty. After reaching a degree of physical fitness, most village boys left school to help the family either on the land, or through gainful employment. See UNESCO, "The Problem of Educational Wastage," Bulletin of the UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Asia, 1 (Bangkok: March, 1967), 54. As regards facilities, the majority of higher education institutions were and continue to be located in the urban areas. In the 1971-72 academic year, for instance, 71 percent of the secondary schools in the country (with 87 percent of the students) were located in the cities. Ministry of Education, Amar-e Amuzesh va Parvaresh-e Iran, 1971-72, pp. 2, 5 (tables 1, 4). The figures given were that 1,852 secondary schools out of a total of 2,606 were in the cities, and 992,567 students out of a total of 1,140,995 were studying in the cities.

to be engaged in modern, complex occupations; of the employed heads in these cities in 1966, over half were professional, technical, administrative, and related workers, compared to less than one-fifth in the rural areas of each of the shahrestans in the study (see Table 4.4).

Given these conditions, it would be natural to expect that a substantial majority of the city children in the sample would have literate fathers, fathers with modern educations, and fathers employed in complex occupations, and that significantly fewer of the peasant and tribal children would have fathers with similar characteristics. In general, the children's responses to three items in the questionnaire corroborate these expectations. When asked "Can your father read and write?," an overwhelming 81 percent of the city children replied that he could, compared to 41 percent of the peasant children and 51 percent of the tribal children. Or, when asked about the educational background of their father, 67 percent of the city children indicated that their fathers had modern education, as opposed to 28 percent of the peasant children and 50 percent of the tribal students. Moreover, as may be noted in Table 4.5, 36 percent of the fathers of city children had gone beyond elementary school; in fact, 20 percent had attained university training (an accomplishment which

Table 4.5 The Educational Level of Fathers of City, Peasant, and Tribal Children

Educational Level of Father	City (%)	Peasant (%)	Tribal (%)	Total (%)
University (1+ years)	20	1	1	11
Secondary (6 years)	11	1	2	6
Secondary (1-5 years)	5	--	--	3
Elementary (6 years)	25	16	20	22
Elementary (1-5 years)	6	10	27	12
Maktab	1	5	--	1
No education	16	54	45	32
Don't know	15	13	4	12
No response	1	--	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100
N	(478)	(224)	(224)	(926)

NOTES: The actual text of the question read:  
 "Up to what class did your father study?  
 --Up to the sixth class of the elementary  
 --He has a diploma  
 --He went to the university  
 --He did not go to school  
 --I don't know"

Since in the final testing, many respondents wrote in such answers as "two years of elementary," "eight years," and "maktab" (the traditional religious primary school), new categories were created for these responses.

Here, as in the following pages, the text of the question given is the translation of the text of the question in the Persian version of the testing instrument; therefore, the text of items introduced in the narrative of the study may not coincide with the text of items in the English questionnaire found in Appendix B.

only 2 percent of the Iranian population at the 1966 Census could assert), as contrasted with 1 percent of the fathers of the peasant children and 1 percent of the tribal children's fathers. Or, again, when asked "What is your father's main job?," 59 percent of the city children indicated that their fathers were engaged in professional, technical, administrative, and related occupations, as opposed to 6 percent of the peasant children and 8 percent of the tribal children (see Table 4.6). An overwhelming 83 percent of the tribal fathers were in agricultural occupations, compared to 41 percent of the peasant fathers. Nearly half of the peasant fathers (49 percent) were reported to be in production and related occupations.<sup>31</sup>

Grouping the occupations of the fathers for social class, as Table 4.6 shows, places a near majority (46 percent) of the city children in the middle class, more than a third of them (37 percent) in the lower class, and slightly more than one-tenth of them (13 percent) in the upper class. On the other hand, as would be expected, an overwhelming majority of the peasant and tribal children, 90 percent and 92 percent, respectively, fall into the lower class, less than 10 percent of them

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<sup>31</sup>A cement plant, sugar factory, fertilizer plant, and brick factory were in proximity of more than half of the villages from which the peasant children were sampled.

Table 4.6 Social Class of City, Peasant, and Tribal Children, by Father's Occupation

Social Class	City (%)	Peasant (%)	Tribal (%)	Total (%)
<u>Upper Class</u>				
High level government, military, or business work <sup>a</sup>	2	--	--	1
Professional	11	--	1	6
Total	13	--	1	7
<u>Middle Class</u>				
Middle level government, military, or business work <sup>b</sup>	21	1	1	11
Low level government, military, or business work <sup>c</sup>	25	5	6	16
Total	46	6	7	27
<u>Lower Class</u>				
Skilled, semi-skilled	23	19	5	18
Unskilled	13	30	4	15
Agricultural worker	1	41	83	30
Total	37	90	92	63
No response	4	4	--	3
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
N	(478)	(224)	(224)	(926)

<sup>a</sup>For example: "Minister of Labor"; "general in the army"; "owns a factory"; "Director of National Iranian Oil Company."

<sup>b</sup>For example: "principal"; "secondary school teacher"; "captain"; "manages a department store"; "exports carpets."

<sup>c</sup>For example: "customs clerk"; "elementary school teacher"; "soldier"; "shop keeper."

NOTE: When children's responses were general--"in the army," "in the government"--a subjective judgment was made about the social class level of the occupation, taking into consideration the educational attainment of the father and the socio-economic status of the area from which the child was drawn. Social class designations, therefore, should be viewed with some caution.

fall into the middle class, and none of them can be designated as upper class.

From the foregoing discussion, then, it should be apparent that a marked social dichotomy exists between the city children and the peasant and tribal children in the sample. To generalize boldly, city children in the sample are middle and upper class, with literate and educated fathers; peasant and tribal children are lower class, with largely illiterate and uneducated fathers.

### The Children

But what about the children themselves? What are they like? A partial answer may be obtained from Table 4.7 where age, sex, religion, and language data for the city, peasant, and tribal groups are presented. There it may be seen that the city school children tend to be younger than the peasant and tribal school children. Whereas 76 percent of the city children are of elementary school age, six to eleven years, only 56 percent of the peasant children and 49 percent of the tribal children are in this age group. Given the fact that significantly more of the urban six to eleven population than the rural six to eleven population has been attending school, this age distribution in the sample is not unexpected. In the regions under study, for example, as early as 1966, 91 percent of the children of six to eleven years in Tehran and Shiraz were receiving elementary schooling, in

Table 4.7 Age, Sex, Religion, and Language of City, Peasant, and Tribal Children

Characteristic	City (%)	Peasant (%)	Tribal (%)	Total (%)
<b>Age (years)</b>				
9 or less	36	22	14	27
10	18	16	17	17
11	22	18	18	20
12	17	28	23	21
13	4	11	8	7
14 or more	2	5	19	7
No response	1	--	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100
<b>Sex</b>				
Boy	50	50	77	57
Girl	50	50	23	43
Total	100	100	100	100
<b>Religion</b>				
Muslim	93	96	99	95
Christian	1	--	--	1
Jewish	1	--	--	1
Zoroastrian	1	--	--	1
Bahai	2	3	--	1
Other	1	--	1	1
No response	1	1	--	--
Total	100	100	100	100
<b>Language</b>				
Persian	97	100	12	77
Luri	--	--	75	18
Turkish	1	--	13	4
Armenian	1	--	--	1
German, French	1	--	--	--
Total	100	100	100	100
N	(478)	(224)	(224)	(926)



contrast to 68 percent in rural Tehran Shahrestan and slightly more than a third of this age group in each of the shahrestans of Shiraz, Mamasani, and Firuzabad (see Table 4.8). Why should this have been so? As with higher educational facilities, the distribution of elementary schools in Iran has tended to favor the urban areas, thus making it possible for children in the cities to enter school at age six. Conversely, the lack of elementary schools in the rural areas of the country has necessitated school entry at an older age. And, although progress has been made in providing elementary facilities in the rural areas since the mid-sixties,<sup>32</sup> according to official estimates, as noted in Chapter II, in 1971-72 there were still some 1,392,000 elementary school age children in the rural areas--a figure representing nearly 50 percent of the total rural six to eleven population in the country--who were without educational facilities.

In sex, the city and peasant students in the sample are half male and half female; while the tribal students are roughly three-quarters male and one-quarter female. The male-female distribution among the city

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<sup>32</sup>For example, in 1961 only about 39 percent of the elementary school enrollment represented students in the rural areas, but in 1971 rural enrollments on this level rose to 48 percent. Moreover, nearly 84 percent of the 26,024 elementary schools in Iran in 1971 were in the rural areas. See Smith et al., Area Handbook for Iran, p. 169; and Ministry of Education, Amar-e Amuzesh va Parvaresh-e Iran, 1971-72, pp. 2, 5 (tables 1, 4).

Table 4.8 Elementary School Attendance by School Age Population in Regions from Which City, Peasant, and Tribal Children Come (at the 1966 Census)

	Urban		Rural			Country
	Tehran	Shiraz	Tehran Shahrestan	Shiraz Shahrestan	Mamasani Shahrestan	Firuzabad Shahrestan
Total Population	2,719,730	269,865	90,555	271,203	84,317	25,078,923
School Age Population (7 - 11 yrs.)	352,337	37,428	12,963	42,076	13,513	3,548,543
Enrolled	91%	91%	68%	34%	35%	50%
Enrolled Population (7 - 11 yrs.)	319,933	34,054	8,815	14,473	4,703	1,761,495
Males	52%	52%	62%	81%	79%	65%
Females	48%	48%	38%	19%	21%	35%
Total Male Population (7 - 11 yrs.)	179,320	19,378	6,688	22,276	7,203	1,848,825
Enrolled	92%	92%	82%	53%	51%	62%
Total Female Population (7 - 11 yrs.)	173,017	18,050	6,275	19,800	6,310	1,699,718
Enrolled	90%	90%	53%	14%	16%	36%

SOURCES: National Census: Total Country, 1966, p. 22 (table 8); National Census: Tehran Shahrestan, 1966, pp. 81, 94 (table 8); National Census: Shiraz Shahrestan, 1966, pp. 49, 56 (table 8); National Census: Mamasani Shahrestan, 1966, p. 20 (table 8); and National Census: Firuzabad Shahrestan, 1966, p. 20 (table 8).

NOTE: Percentages computed by the investigator.

students is nearly representative of the national apportionment in the 1971-72 school year; of the enrolled public and private urban students (including over-age pupils), 55 percent were males and 45 percent females. Similarly, the male-female ratio among the tribal children also approaches the 1971-72 national figures; of the total enrolled tribal students, 82 percent were boys and 18 percent were girls. On the other hand, the sex rate among the peasant students is grossly unrepresentative of the national distribution; of the enrolled peasant children (in government schools), 75 percent were males and 25 percent females (see Table 4.13).<sup>33</sup>

Although there have been increases in female elementary enrollments in the rural areas in recent years, girls' education continues to lag dramatically behind that of boys (see Table 4.8). Why should this be the case? Quite clearly, two explanations seem reasonable. First, many rural families keep young girls at home to assist in performing chores or, more importantly, to make an economic contribution to the family. Among the Qashqai and Mamasani tribes, for example, where rug weaving (always by hand) is an important economic activity, girls are looked upon as economic contributors,

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<sup>33</sup>It should be noted that since sex was a variable of interest in the study, an effort was made to equalize the sexes in the city, peasant, and tribal groups; thus, the distribution of the sexes in each group in Table 4.7 reflects this effort.

and, therefore, only about 10 percent of them may attend school.<sup>34</sup> Second, in adherence to the social norms, many rural families do not send their daughters to school because they do not want them to attend coeducational schools or schools with male teachers, both of which are in the majority in the rural areas (see Tables 4.11 and 4.13). Indeed, when elementary schools were first established for the Qashqai tribe, the more traditional families would not at first permit girls to attend with the boys.<sup>35</sup>

With respect to religion, the city, peasant, and tribal children in the sample are basically unified. As Table 4.7 depicts, 93 percent of the city children, 96 percent of the peasant children, and 99 percent of the tribal children are Moslems. The great preponderance of Moslems among the urban and rural children in the sample is matched by the preponderance of Moslems in the urban and rural population at large. The percentage for the rural area in 1966 was 99.7 and in the urban area,

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<sup>34</sup> Interview with tribal teacher, Shiraz, July, 1972. Contrary to legislation which forbids the employment of children under the age of twelve, child labor is common, but mainly in the sense of children assisting their parents--in making rugs, fetching and carrying, and so on.

<sup>35</sup> Clarence Hendershot, "White Tents in the Mountains: Report on the Tribal Schools of Fars Province" (U.S. AID/IRAN: Communications Resources Branch, 1965), p. 12. (Hereinafter referred to as Hendershot, "White Tents in the Mountains.")

it was 97.8.<sup>36</sup> Since most of the religious minorities in Iran are located in the cities, with disproportionate numbers of them in Tehran,<sup>37</sup> it is not unusual to find that a significantly greater percentage (6 percent) of the city children than the peasant (3 percent) and tribal children (1 percent) indicated that they are members of a religious minority. And interestingly, of the city and peasant children who claimed membership in a minority religion, most of them noted the Bahai faith, the dissident Islamic sect which is not officially recognized as a religion.<sup>38</sup>

Although the city, peasant, and tribal children are unified in their professions of religious belief, they are not linguistically. When asked "What language do you speak in the home?" 97 percent of the city group and 100 percent of the peasant group responded "Persian,"

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<sup>36</sup>National Census: Total Country, 1966, pp. 14-15 (table 5).

<sup>37</sup>In 1966, Tehran had 65 percent of all Iranian Jews (39,707 out of 60,683), 47 percent of all Zoroastrians (9,353 out of 19,816), 67 percent of all Armenians (72,122 out of 108,421), 50 percent of all Assyrians (10,125 out of 20,344), 54 percent of all other Christian denominations (11,034 out of 20,662), and 40 percent of all other religious affiliations (30,515 out of 77,075). National Census: Total Country, 1966, p. 13 (table 5); and National Census: Tehran Shahrestan, 1966, p. 49 (table 5).

<sup>38</sup>Significantly, there is no code category for the Bahai religion in the 1966 census data on religious affiliations, even though estimates for the number of Bahais in Iran far exceed 50,000.

but only 12 percent of the tribal children replied that Persian is their home language. Instead, as Table 4.7 shows, 75 percent of the tribal children indicated that they speak Luri, the language spoken by most Mamasani tribesmen, and 13 percent of them indicated that they speak Turkish, the language spoken by the majority of the Qashqai tribe.

In general, minority languages are not tolerated in Iran, even though many exist, and substantial proportions of the population of the country are users of them (see Table 4.9). The policy of the government since the time of Reza Shah the Great<sup>39</sup> has been to achieve linguistic unity by forcibly assimilating the national minorities. Thus, in contemporary Iran, schools, even at the elementary level, in a minority language are forbidden. So are publications of books and newspapers, and radio and television programs in these languages.<sup>40</sup> Yet despite the efforts of the

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<sup>39</sup>Reza Shah's nationalistic ideology was founded not only on a historical consciousness inspired more by pre-Islamic rather than Islamic traditions, but also on "Aryan" racial pride and on the Persian language as a unifying factor.

<sup>40</sup>Three minority languages, to be fair, are tolerated: Armenian, Assyrian, and Arabic. Both Armenians and Assyrians, being Christians, are regarded as immune to assimilation attempts. They are allowed to have their own schools and to publish books and magazines in their own language. The Arabic language, of course, is highly regarded. It is taught in all Iranian schools. But the tolerance of these languages are exceptions. Turkish,

Table 4.9 Major Languages of Iran by Number of Individuals Speaking the Language (at the 1966 Census)

Language	Individuals Speaking	
	Number	Percentage
Turki	4,190,751	16.7
Kurdi	1,500,000	6.0
Luri/Bakhtiari	2,000,000	8.0
Mazandarami	1,843,388	7.4
Gilahi	1,754,650	7.0
Baluchi	500,000	2.0
Arabic	500,000	2.0
Armenian	108,421	0.4
Assyrian	20,344	0.1
Total	12,417,554	49.6
Persian	12,661,369	50.4
Total	25,078,923	100.0

SOURCES: National Census: Total Country, 1966, p. 13 (table 5); Smith et al., Area Handbook for Iran, pp. 80-82, 89-104; and Iran Almanac, 1972, pp. 529, 580-81.

government to suppress minority languages, they continue to be used--as witnessed in the children's responses. Apparently, many minority groups have not been assimilated with the Persians to the point of giving up use of their language.

In short, the attributive characteristics presented above indicate serious differences between the sampled children in age, sex, and language usage:

(1) the tribal and peasant school children tend to be older than the city school children; (2) the city and peasant children speak Persian in the home, but the tribal children speak a minority language; and (3) while males and females are equally represented among the peasant and city children, males are overwhelmingly dominant among the tribal children.

#### School Background

Children in the sample, of course, are school children. But from what kind of schools do they come?

In the 1971-72 school year, 95 percent of Iran's elementary schools were public (sponsored by the national government) and the remainder were private. Of the

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Kurdish, and other minority languages continue to be suppressed. For information on linguistic minorities see Smith et al., Area Handbook for Iran, Chapter 5, pp. 89-104; also the interesting article by Jan W. Weryho, "'Persian' Versus 'Iranian' The Word Fars as an Ethnic Term," Middle East Forum 68 (Autumn-Winter, 1972), 61-69.



private schools, 95 percent were located in urban areas.<sup>41</sup> Public schools taught the Ministry of Education program and private schools, in addition to teaching the official curriculum in Persian, taught a foreign language--usually English. (All private elementary schools were subject to inspection by officials of the Ministry of Education.) Private schools, all of which were profit-making institutions,<sup>42</sup> were considered and in fact appeared to be

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<sup>41</sup>Ministry of Education, Amar-e Amuzesh va Parvaresh-e Iran, 1971-72, p. 2 (table 1). The figures given were that 24,724 schools out of a total of 26,024 were government sponsored. Of the 1,300 private schools, 1,253 were reported to be in urban areas.

On September 23, 1974, along with the initiation of a system of free education throughout the secondary and university network in return for government service, private elementary and guidance schools were nationalized. See Kayhan International (Overseas Edition), September 14, 1974, p. 1. Prior to nationalization, however, the government encouraged investment in elementary schools and other educational institutions. In fact, in 1971-72, it provided such schools with subsidies, mainly in the form of the provision of public school teachers. Private schools had to accept a number of tuition-free students allocated to them by the Ministry of Education, and for every thirty to forty of these students one public school teacher was provided.

<sup>42</sup>It was alleged, in fact, that private schools were making enormous profits and that many school proprietors were becoming millionaires by charging students exorbitant fees. Not surprisingly then, throughout the 1971-72 school year, hundreds of parents complained to the Ministry of Education to standardize fees. Accordingly, in the spring of 1972, the Ministry issued an injunction against arbitrary increases in fees and drew up lists showing fees to be charged in different areas of the country. Random surveys, however, seemed to indicate that the injunction had not been uniformly applied as some schools had raised their fees with complete impunity. See, for example, "Private Schools Reduce Tuitions," Kayhan International (Tehran),

better than public schools, in that they had better design, construction, and facilities, and also better educated administrators and teachers. Significantly, while 6 percent of the private school personnel had achieved university or post secondary education, only 1 percent of the public school teachers and administrators had attained such levels (see Table 4.10). But public schools, despite the heavy government emphasis on the improvement of the educational system, were, for the most part, badly managed, housed in poorly constructed and shabby buildings,<sup>43</sup> in some of which conditions were far from hygienic, and badly understaffed and overcrowded. (Observations revealed some cases where as many as seventy or eighty children were squeezed into not-too-spacious classrooms.)<sup>44</sup>

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June 5, 1972, p. 3; "Fee Protest Results in Revocation," Kayhan International (Tehran), August 9, 1972, p. 3; and "On School Fees," Tehran Journal, September 10, 1972, p. 3.

<sup>43</sup>Newspaper reports in May of 1972 indicated that there were "scores of dangerous and demoralizing slum buildings" throughout the country which the Ministry of Education rented at enormous sums and used for its schools, and, moreover, that the Ministry did not appear to have a plan to replace such buildings with brand new ones. See, for instance, "Slum Schools Lead to Tragedy," Kayhan International (Tehran), May 15, 1971, p. 4.

<sup>44</sup>Budgetary restrictions appeared to be the main handicap to providing better educational facilities, including more and better teachers. In 1971-72, noted educators criticized the government for the small 1972-73 budgetary allocation to public education. Issa Sadiq, a Tehran University professor and several times Iran's Minister of Education, pointed out that while some countries were spending as much as 20 percent of their

**Table 4.10 Highest Educational Level Achieved by Elementary School Administrators and Teachers in Public and Private Schools in the 1971-72 School Year, by Sector**

Education	Public		Private <sup>a</sup>		Total (%)
	Urban (%)	Rural <sup>b</sup> (%)	Urban (%)	Rural (%)	
University or post secondary	1	--	6	--	1
Secondary	60	67	62	67	62
Elementary	39	33	32	33	37
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	(46,040)	(30,775)	(6,099)	(114)	(83,028)

SOURCE: Ministry of Education, Amar-e Amuzesh va Parvaresh-e Iran, 1971-72, pp. 12-13 (tables 9a, 9b).

<sup>a</sup>Personnel on private school payrolls are not included here; only personnel on government payroll working in private schools are accounted for here.

<sup>b</sup>Literacy Corps personnel are not included here.

In observance of the norms of society, almost all of the public elementary schools and a majority of the private elementary schools in the urban areas were unisexual (boy, girl). However, in rural areas, due to necessity (lack of extensive educational facilities), coeducational schools under government and private sponsorship were in the majority (see Table 4.11). As would be expected then, the peasant and tribal children in the sample come only from public schools, but, as can be seen in Table 4.12, while the peasant children represent both unisexual and coeducational schools, the tribal children represent solely coeducational schools. The city children, on the other hand, come from both public and private schools, the former being unisexual and the latter, coeducational.

In size, most of the privately and publicly sponsored elementary schools in the cities contained more than five classes and, on the average, each public elementary school had twelve classes and each private elementary had six classes. In most rural areas, peasant and tribal schools<sup>45</sup> tended to consist of one to two

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national income on education, "Iran's budgetary allocation to the head amounted to only 6 percent." "Money Needed," Tehran Journal, February 6, 1972, p. 3.

<sup>45</sup> Some of the tribal schools were permanent buildings located in settled areas; others were tent schools which enabled the teachers and the schools themselves to migrate with the tribes.

Table 4.11 Sex Composition of Public and Private Elementary Schools in the 1969-70 School Year, by Sector

Schools	Public		Private		Total (%)
	Urban (%)	Rural (%)	Urban (%)	Rural (%)	
Boy	51	30	41	47	35
Girl	44	7	18	14	16
Coed.	5	63	41	39	49
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N	(3,228)	(11,388)	(1,124)	(36)	(15,776)

SOURCE: Iran, Ministry of Education, Office of Planning and Studies, Bureau of Statistics, Educational Statistics of Iran, 1969-70 (Tehran: 1971), pp. 27-28 (table 9).

NOTE: Enumerated statistics on the distribution of public and private elementary schools by sex composition in urban and rural areas for the 1971-72 school year were not available; however, the above table is representative.

Table 4.12 School Background of City, Peasant, and Tribal Children

School Characteristic	City (%)	Peasant (%)	Tribal (%)	Total (%)
<u>Sponsorship</u>				
Government	58	100	100	79
Private	42	--	--	21
Total	100	100	100	100
<u>Composition</u>				
Boy	29	20	--	20
Girl	29	27	--	21
Coeducational	42	53	100	59
Total	100	100	100	100
<u>No. of Classes</u>				
1-4	--	10	61	17
5-6	17	44	39	29
7-10	13	46	--	18
14-19	33	--	--	17
24-48	37	--	--	19
Total	100	100	100	100
<u>Average No. of Students per Class</u>				
35 or less	34	36	49	38
36-45	29	53	51	40
46-60	37	11	--	22
Total	100	100	100	100
<u>Teacher-Pupil Ratio</u>				
1:35 or less	37	36	73	45
1:36-1:45	42	53	27	41
1:46-1:60	21	11	--	14
Total	100	100	100	100
N	(478)	(224)	(224)	(926)

NOTE: Percentages for table were calculated from data on the sampled schools provided by school principals and teachers during the field work in the spring of 1972.

multigrade classes; however, in some of the larger villages, five-class or more than five-class schools were operating (see Table 4.13). Correspondingly, as Table 4.12 shows, the city children in the sample come from schools ranging in size from five to forty-eight classes, with 70 percent coming from large schools (fourteen to forty-eight classes); the peasant children come from schools encompassing one to ten classes, with 90 percent coming from medium size schools (five to ten classes); and the tribal children come from one- to six-class schools, with 61 percent coming from small schools (one to four classes).

Classes were large in the 1971-72 school year.<sup>46</sup> Indeed, many of them dramatically exceeded the maximum limit of thirty-five students set by the Ministry of Education.<sup>47</sup> Not unexpectedly then, 66 percent of the city children, most of whom were attending public schools, 64 percent of the peasant children, and 51 percent of

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<sup>46</sup>The national class size average obtained was thirty-six. The average class size obtained for schools in urban areas was thirty-nine and in rural areas, thirty-four; for privately sponsored schools throughout the country, it was twenty-nine, and for public schools, thirty-five.

<sup>47</sup>Classes were so overcrowded that the first Congress of Regional Councils which met in May of 1972 unanimously endorsed the resolution that the Ministry of Education and the government should reduce the number of students per class to a "rational total." See "Educationists Ask for Small Classes," Tehran Journal, May 13, 1972, p. 3.

Table 4.13 Summary Statistics for the 1971-72 School Year Pertaining to Selected Characteristics of Public and Private Elementary Schools, by Sector

	Public			Private		Total
	City	Peasant	Tribal	Urban	Rural	
Total Enrollment	1,468,216	1,487,510	43,224	225,581	6,349	3,230,880
Boys	53%	75%	82%	64%	71%	65%
Girls	47%	25%	18%	36%	29%	35%
Total Schools	3,119	20,355	1,250	1,253	47	26,024
Total Classes	36,175	43,723	1,564	7,769	215	89,446
One-grade	99.7%	47%	10%	99%	90%	72%
Multigrade	0.3%	53%	90%	1%	10%	28%
Total Personnel	42,361	45,387	1,569	9,778	235	99,330
Male	37%	73%	93%	33%	51%	54%
Female	63%	27%	7%	67%	49%	46%

SOURCES: Ministry of Education, Amar-e Amuzesh va Parvaresh-e Iran, 1971-72, pp. 1-6, 8-11 (tables 1, 2, 3, 4, 5a, 6, 7, 8a, 8b); and Iran, Ministry of Education, Office of Planning and Studies, Bureau of Statistics, Educational Statistics of Iran, 1971-72 (Tehran: 1972), p. 133 (table 4a).

NOTE: Percentages computed by the investigator.



the tribal children in the sample come from overcrowded schools. And, as Table 4.12 indicates, a substantial proportion of the city children come from exceedingly overcrowded schools. Not only were classes overcrowded but they were understaffed.<sup>48</sup> Thus reflecting this situation, a majority of the city children, a majority of the peasant children, and a substantial proportion of the tribal children in the sample come from schools where the size of the teaching staff was inadequate for the student population.

Who were the educators in the 1971-72 academic session? In the tribal and peasant schools, a majority of the administrators and teachers were males; while in the cities, in both public and private schools, a majority of them were females (see Table 4.13). Moreover, (a) the teaching cadre in tribal schools consisted almost entirely of "regular teachers,"<sup>49</sup> but teachers who were almost always members of the tribes they taught; (b) the

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<sup>48</sup>The national teacher-pupil ratio obtained was 1:36. Estimates put the ratio at 1:38 in urban areas and 1:36 in rural areas, and at 1:38 in public schools and 1:28 in private schools.

<sup>49</sup>By regular teacher here is meant an elementary school teacher who received training in one of three ways: (1) a one-year training program in a teacher training center after completion of the secondary school; (2) a two-year program in a normal boarding school after completion of the first cycle (7th through 9th grade) of the secondary school; and (3) a one-year program at a normal school for tribal teachers after completion of the elementary school.

instructional staff in peasant schools was roughly two-thirds regular teachers and one-third Literacy Corpsmen;<sup>50</sup> and (c) the teaching personnel in city schools, both public and private, was composed almost entirely of regular teachers. As might be expected then and as was assessed in the field, (a) all the tribal children in the sample come from schools that were staffed by tribesmen or tribeswomen; (b) three-quarters of the peasant children come from schools with regular male or female teachers, and one-third of them come from schools with Literacy Corpsmen; and (c) most of the city children come from schools that had regular teachers.

To sum up, (1) the tribal children in the sample come from small public coeducational schools staffed by tribesmen--most of which did not suffer from immoderate overcrowding and understaffing; (2) the peasant children in the sample come from medium size public unisexual and coeducational schools staffed by Literacy Corpsmen and regular teachers--many of which were overcrowded and short of teachers; and (3) the city children in the sample come from large private coeducational and public unisexual schools staffed predominantly by regular teachers--many of which were excessively overcrowded and understaffed.

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<sup>50</sup> Literacy Corpsmen, conscripted secondary school graduates, received four and a half months of teacher training in the Literacy Corps Program.

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What then has been learned from studying the backgrounds of the children in the political socialization sample? The foregoing analysis not only sheds light on the city, peasant, and tribal children whose attitudes, values, cognitions, and behaviors the school system is making a deliberate effort to shape, but it also reveals some of the traditional regional, urban-rural, and capital-hinterland variations that exist in Iranian society--many of which, as seen, the city, peasant, and tribal children in the sample mirror. As more media of communication are readily available to the inhabitants of the cities of Tehran and Shiraz than to the dwellers of the villages of Tehran, Shiraz, Mamasani, and Firuzabad shahrestans, so more media are easily accessible to the city children than the peasant and tribal children in the sample. While more household heads in Tehran and Shiraz tend to be better educated and employed in diverse occupations than household heads in the rural areas of Tehran, Shiraz, Mamasani, and Firuzabad shahrestans, so, in the sample, more of the fathers of the city children are inclined to be better educated and engaged in a multiplicity of occupations than the fathers of the peasant and tribal children. And similarly, while substantially more of

the six to eleven elementary school population attends school in the cities of Tehran and Shiraz than in the villages of Tehran, Shiraz, Mamasani, and Firuzabad shahrestans, so, in the sample, tangibly more of the city children than the peasant and tribal children are in the six to eleven age group.

But interest in the children in the sample extends beyond an analysis of their backgrounds--which, admittedly, impinge heavily on the way the schools do their job; it lies in noting their orientations generated by the political socialization process of the educational system.

## CHAPTER V

### THE EFFECTIVENESS OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION: AN INQUIRY

Oh, Ahuramazda, endow me with an educated child; a child who will participate within his community; a child who will fulfill his duty in society; a child who will strive for the happiness of his family, his city, and his country; an honorable child who may contribute to other's needs.

An early Zoroastrian prayer<sup>1</sup>

It is not possible to summarize adequately the effectiveness of the political socialization effort of the Iranian elementary school system reviewed in Chapter II. Such a summary would require, to begin with, a complete map of children's cognitions, opinions, values, and behaviors that relate to the desired citizenship, a task far beyond the scope of the present chapter and the knowledge at hand. Nevertheless, an inquiry into (a) the degree of political uniformity among Iranian elementary school children, (b) the magnitude of inter-group and inter-sex political differences,

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<sup>1</sup>Quoted in Arasteh, Education and Social Awakening in Iran, p. 2.

and (c) the differences in political orientations between two grade levels (third and fifth) may suggest how effective the school system's political socialization effort is in (1) developing conformity in certain desired political beliefs, attitudes, and knowledge among students; (2) politically unifying city, peasant, and tribal children and boys and girls; and (3) producing certain desired political changes in pupils (it must be assumed, of course, that simple maturation is not the determining factor for the observed grade changes and that other factors have not intervened).<sup>2</sup>

The responses of the sample of children described in Chapter IV to selected items of political knowledge, attitudes, and beliefs in the survey instrument introduced in Chapter III provide the data base for the inquiry. It must be emphasized that the inquiry undertaken is exploratory. It is a first step; the purpose of which is to present some methods of approach, some findings, some conclusions, and some suggestions in an area of neglected research. Therefore, the analysis and interpretation of the results in the following pages are very tentative and must be treated most gingerly.

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<sup>2</sup>The procedure here follows closely the strategy reported in Frey, "Education: Turkey," pp. 224-29.

## Data Analysis and Discussion

### Feelings Toward the National Flag and Persepolis

. . . to respect the flag of Iran . . . ancient  
and historical monuments . . .<sup>3</sup>

Throughout the elementary school years, there is considerable effort to foster in children favorable feelings toward the national flag and the monumental ruins of Persepolis, the ancient capital of the Persian Empire. The story "Respect for the Flag," included in the third grade Persian reader, is one example of the effort to generate favorable feelings toward the national tricolor (the flag of Iran has three equal horizontal stripes of green, white, and red). In the story, a young Iranian girl is perturbed by a newspaper picture of an Iranian officer kissing the national flag. "Truly," she confesses to her father, "I still do not know what the flag represents." Her father responds thus:

Dear daughter, the flag is a symbol for the country. The officer who is kissing the flag is swearing that he will serve the country and try to keep it safe. In international sports contests, the athletes of each country enter the sports stadium carrying their country's flag. By the flag, the people know to which country the athletes belong. In these contests, when our athletes enter the stadium carrying the Iranian flag, the Iranians there shout for joy and say "long live," which means "long live Iran."

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<sup>3</sup>Ministry of Education, Barname-ye Tafsili-ye Dowre-ye Panj Sale-ye Ebtadaie, p. 87.

. . . my child, we must respect the flag of Iran. Whenever the flag is raised aloft, at once, we must stand at attention respectfully.<sup>4</sup>

And in the same reader, the narrative "Persepolis" is one illustration of the effort to nurture favorable feelings toward the monumental ruins. The narrative focuses on the first visit of two young children to the ruins. Here is a revealing excerpt from it:

They were at Persepolis at nine in the morning. They went up the great stone stairway. They saw the great columns that reached into the sky. On the stone wall, they saw a picture of Darius, the great Iranian Shahanshah seated on a throne. From every corner, the magnificent columns came into view.

All were silent. No one said anything. Ali had a wonderful mood. He knew well that it was not sadness; he feared nothing and also had no pain. He felt only that a wonderful and happy mood had befallen him.<sup>5</sup>

To get some insight into children's feelings toward the national flag and the ruins of Persepolis, the survey instrument adapted an approach first used by Eugene L. Horowitz in his study of patriotism among American school children.<sup>6</sup> Children were presented with two black and white picture tests: the first picture test contained three unlabeled flags--Iranian, Filipino, Swiss; and the second, three unlabeled monuments--Iran's

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<sup>4</sup>Farsi-ye Sevom-e Debestan, pp. 35-36.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 125.

<sup>6</sup>Horowitz, "Some Aspects of the Development of Patriotism in Children," 331.



ruins of Persepolis, Italy's Pantheon, Egypt's Sphinx. On each picture test, children were given two questions. The first question was: "Which one of these flags (monuments) do you like best?." The question following it was: "Why did you pick this flag (monument)?"

On the flag set of pictures, of the total sampled children, 97 percent liked the Iranian flag best, 2 percent liked the Filipino flag best, and 1 percent liked the Swiss flag best. Why did the children like the Iranian flag best? The most extreme chauvinist would scarcely claim that they liked the flag in and of itself. The flag is a pervasive and effective symbol of Iranian nationality; as such, it was respected and responded to by almost all of the sampled children. Substantial support for this assertion comes from the children themselves. In response to the why question of the flag test, over four-fifths of the children who selected the Iranian flag as best proffered such reasons for their choice:

Because this is the flag of my country, and I like my country more than any other country.  
(City fifth grade girl)<sup>7</sup>

Because I love my country, for this I picked the flag of Iran. (City third grade girl)

Because this is the Iranian flag, and all Iranians respect the flag of their country.  
(Tribal fifth grade boy)

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<sup>7</sup>Children's statements here and later are not edited. They were transcribed verbatim from the questionnaires and then translated into English.

Because every country has a flag, and we also have our flag. (Peasant third grade girl)

Because the flag of Iran is beautiful.  
(City third grade girl)

And why did the children like the Filipino and Swiss flags best? Did they prefer these countries as homelands over Iran? No, it seems more likely that they liked the Filipino banner best because they thought it was the Iranian flag (note that it has some of the same visual elements--stripes, three shades of color--of the Iranian flag), and that they (two Armenian children) liked the Swiss flag best because they associated it with their Christian religion.

In general, the favorable feelings shown by the Iranian school children toward their country's flag parallel American findings. In the Hess and Torney study cited in Chapter I, nearly 95 percent of a responding group of children in grades two through eight agreed that "The American flag is the best flag in the world."<sup>8</sup> Similarly, appreciation of the United States flag over other flags was reported at a consistently high level among elementary school children (grades three through seven) in the Horowitz study referred to earlier.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Hess and Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, p. 31.

<sup>9</sup>Horowitz, "Some Aspects of the Development of Patriotism in Children," 336.

On the monument set of pictures, 83 percent of all the sampled children liked the ruins of Persepolis best, 14 percent liked the Pantheon best, and 3 percent liked the Sphinx best. Why did the children like the ruins of Persepolis best? In answering the why question of the monument test, half of the children rationalized their selection of the ancient ruins thus:

Since this monument is an ancient monument and since I am an Iranian, I like it very much.  
(City third grade boy)

Because this is Takhte Jamshid [Persepolis] in Iran and we must like it. (Peasant third grade girl)

Since this is beautiful and this is more an Iranian building than the others. (City third grade girl)

Because Darius built Takhte Jamshid; Takhte Jamshid is in Iran. (Tribal third grade boy)

Because this monument is one of the ancient monuments of our ancient shahs. (City fifth grade girl)

And half of the children offered such explanations:

"It's beautiful"; "It's better than the others"; "I like it." It does not follow, however, that the children who made these statements picked the ruins of Persepolis only for such reasons; rather, it seems more likely that they did not have the ability to articulate immediately the national awareness on which their choice was almost certainly based.

It is noteworthy that most of the children who liked Italy's Pantheon best tendered such reasons for

their choice: "Because it is a mosque"; "It's the house of God"; "It's beautiful." Apparently, many children chose the Pantheon because they fancied it was a Mohammedan place of worship. Their reasoning was not without foundation; the dome found on the Pantheon is a prominent architectural feature of mosques. Most of the children who liked Egypt's Sphinx best either said "Because it's beautiful" or reasoned "Because it's Iranian." Why children should have thought that the Sphinx was an Iranian monument is a mystery. No doubt, a more discriminating set of pictures would have resulted in a much higher percentage of children choosing the ruins of Persepolis as the best liked monument.

Did feelings toward the national flag and the ruins of Persepolis differ significantly between the city, peasant, and tribal children? As Table 5.1 depicts, appreciation of the national flag was highest among the tribal children (100 percent) and slightly more common among the peasant (98 percent) than the city children (95 percent); and appreciation of the ruins of Persepolis was highest among the peasant children (89 percent) and more common among the tribal (85 percent) than the city children (79 percent). The urban children, then, more often than the rural children chose foreign flags and monuments as best. Why?

In explaining their choice, many of the urban children indicated that they picked the Sphinx, the Pantheon, or the Filipino flag as best "Because it is Iranian." Apparently, in the rural areas, where it was observed that verbal and nonverbal cues at large are often few, the messages which children receive are clear and sharp; but in the urban areas, where it was observed that verbal and nonverbal cues at large are many, the messages which children receive are sometimes muddled and blurred.

Table 5.1 City, Peasant, and Tribal Children's Feelings Toward the National Flag and the Ruins of Persepolis

Percentage Who Liked Best	City	Peasant	Tribal	Total
<u>Flags</u>				
Iranian	95	98	100	97
Filipino	4	1	--	2
Swiss	1	1	--	1
Total	100	100	100	100
<u>Monuments</u>				
Persepolis ruins	79	89	85	83
Pantheon	16	11	14	14
Sphinx	5	--	1	3
Total	100	100	100	100
N	(478)	(224)	(224)	(926)

Finally, the feelings of the boys and girls and the third and fifth graders toward the national flag and the ruins of Persepolis should be noted. On the flag picture test, the boys slightly more often than

the girls liked the Iranian flag best--98 percent versus 96 percent. But there was no difference between the grade levels on the question: 97 percent of the third graders and 97 percent of the fifth graders liked the Iranian flag best. And on the monument picture test, the boys slightly more often than the girls liked the ruins of Persepolis best--83 percent versus 82 percent--and the third graders slightly more often than the fifth graders also liked them best--84 percent versus 82 percent. (See Tables 5.2 and 5.3 for the full response patterns of both sexes and grade levels on these two questions.)

#### Images of and Feelings Toward Iranians as a People

. . . --to familiarize children with the manners  
. . . of the people of Iran . . .<sup>10</sup>

The educational system strives to develop in children positive images of and favorable feelings toward Iranians as a people.<sup>11</sup> Concrete evidence of the effort is the information which children are given

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<sup>10</sup>Ministry of Education, Barname-ye Tafsili-ye Dowre-ye Panj Sale-ye Ebtadaie, p. 89.

<sup>11</sup>Throughout this chapter, positive indicates an image, conception, or belief that is good or suitable--one that can be verified, accepted, or approved by the Ministry of Education. The Ministry, for example, would verify the view that Iranians speak a different language but not the view that Iranians are backward. And favorable, of course, indicates an affect that is friendly, liking, kindly, or approving.

Table 5.2 Girls and Boys' Feelings Toward the National Flag and the Ruins of Persepolis

Percentage Who Liked Best	Girls	Boys
<u>Flags</u>		
Iranian	96	98
Filipino	3	1
Swiss	1	1
Total	100	100
<u>Monuments</u>		
Persepolis ruins	82	83
Pantheon	16	13
Sphinx	2	4
Total	100	100
N	(402)	(524)

Table 5.3 Third and Fifth Graders' Feelings Toward the National Flag and the Ruins of Persepolis

Percentage Who Liked Best	Third	Fifth
<u>Flags</u>		
Iranian	97	97
Filipino	3	2
Swiss	--	1
Total	100	100
<u>Monuments</u>		
Persepolis ruins	84	82
Pantheon	14	15
Sphinx	2	3
Total	100	100
N	(463)	(463)

about their countrymen in the Persian readers. In the second year reader, for instance, through the story of "Ms. Kukab," children are introduced to the famous hospitality of Iranians:

Without warning one day, a number of people from another village came to their home [the home of Abbas, a peasant boy]. Ms. Kukab [the mother of Abbas] fried several fresh eggs. She also set bread, butter, yogurt, and cheese on the table cloth. Everyone spoke highly of the good manners of Ms. Kukab. Abbas ate and said: "I will never be able to eat all of this--bread, butter, fried eggs, milk!"<sup>12</sup>

And in the third year Persian reader, through a three-part story on the childhood of Sohrab, one of many heroes in the national epic Shahnama, children are familiarized with the fearlessness, courage, and bravery of Iranians. Children read that Sohrab at the age of one month was like a boy of a year, at the age of three practiced arms, and at the age of five had acquired the courage of lion-like men. When he reached the age of ten, no one would venture to stand in combat with him. At this age he set out to free his father, Rostam, from the Turanians, the great national enemy:

Now I shall raise an army from among the Turks that shall have no bounds. I will stir up Kavus [king of the Turanians] from his lair and blot out all trace of Tus from Iran. Then I will bestow on Rostam the treasury, the throne, and the crown, and set him in place of Shah Kavus. And you [mother] I will make queen of

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<sup>12</sup>Farsi-ye Dovom-e Debestan, p. 42.



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the land of Iran, myself displaying the courage of lions in the struggle. Since Rostam is my father, and I am his son, there can be no one else fitted in the world to wear the crown.<sup>13</sup>

Children were given one question to disclose their views of and feelings toward Iranians as a people. The question was patterned after an item used by Reid Reading to elicit children's images of Colombian people in his study of political socialization among elementary and secondary school students.<sup>14</sup> It was in the open-ended form and asked: " . . . how is the behavior of Iranian people different from that of people in other countries?." Although the question permitted the children to mention more than one difference, most children cited only one. When more than one difference was given by a child, only the first one was coded and recorded. The responses of the total sample and of the city, peasant, and tribal children are summarized in Table 5.4. What do they reveal?

To begin with, 25 percent of the total sampled children viewed Iranians as either hospitable or generous; and 10 percent viewed them as either moral or ethical. The tribal children (81 percent) conspicuously

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<sup>13</sup>Farsi-ye Sevom-e Debestan, pp. 167-68. The original lines are in verse. Here, the translation is that of Reuben Levy, given in Firdausi, Shahnama [The Epic of the Kings] (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1967), pp. 68-69.

<sup>14</sup>Reading, "Political Socialization in Colombia and the United States: An Exploratory Study," 363.

more often saw Iranians in these ways than did the city (23 percent) and peasant children (16 percent). Moreover, they demonstrated a dramatic degree of consensus: 71 percent pictured Iranians as being either hospitable or generous. Why should this have been the case? Among the Qashqai and Mamasani tribes, of which the children were members, great value is placed on "mehmannavazi" (hospitality) and "sakhovat" (generosity) as virtues. The importance of these behavioral traits comes out in several ways--ridicule of the miserly (one wealthy tribesman, who dresses poorly and never gives food to visitors is known by the delightful nickname of D.D.T. Khan, the implication being that he is so miserly that he eats his own lice); charitableness of the people (any tribesman whose flock suffers severe losses during migration is always compensated by voluntary contributions from his more fortunate companions); and the lavishness of leaders acting as hosts (at the tribal director's campsite for the annual ten-day National Tribal Teacher Training Program: comfortable guest tents are erected; lamb, pilaus, and tea are served daily; there is music, dancing by women and by men, and horseback riding; and large and beautiful carpets are brought out). In all probability then, the tribal children sampled had learned quite early, through precept and example, that hospitality and generosity

are undisputable behavioral traits of their people and, by extension, of Iranian people. Illustrations typical of all the sampled children's hospitable, generous, moral, and ethical responses are cited below:

They [Iranians] are mehmannavazi.  
(Tribal third grade boy)

Iranians are very taarof [ceremonially polite].  
(City fifth grade girl)

We are kind to strangers. (Tribal third grade boy)

They [Iranians] are better and nicer. (City fifth grade boy)

We are a free country and do not take sides.  
(City fifth grade boy)

People of some countries are bad tempered and jealous but not Iranians. (City third grade boy)

Other countries make war, but Iran is friends with all countries. (City third grade boy)

Table 5.4 City, Peasant, and Tribal Children's Images of Iranians as a People

Percentage Who Viewed Iranians as	City	Peasant	Tribal	Total
Hospitable, generous	13	6	71	25
Moral, ethical	10	10	10	10
Having different food, language, dress	36	21	4	25
Backward (wild, illiterate)	9	1	3	5
Not different	14	34	1	16
Don't know, no response, unidentified	18	28	11	19
Total	100	100	100	100
N	(478)	(224)	(224)	(224)

Furthermore, 25 percent of the total sampled children viewed Iranians as either speaking, eating, or dressing differently; and 5 percent saw them as backward (illiterate, wild). The city children (45 percent) more often than the peasant (22 percent) and tribal children (7 percent) were inclined to see their country men in these ways. Since the urban children sampled had more opportunities--through greater access to television, radio, books, newspapers, personal contacts--to become familiar with the physical characteristics and progress of foreign peoples, it is not unexpected that they proffered such differences more often than their rural cousins did. Examples representative of all the sampled children's physical (language, food, dress) and backward statements follow:

We talk a different language, and we have different occupations. (City fifth grade girl)

We speak a different language. (Tribal third grade boy)

Iranians eat and dress differently. (Peasant fifth grade boy)

Iranians are wild people and sometimes for a little thing produce a big war and spill blood. (City fifth grade boy)

Iran is not as improved as other countries in industrial and social life. (City fifth grade boy)

Some of them [Iranians] are illiterate. (Tribal fifth grade boy)

And last, the results in Table 5.4 reveal that 16 percent of all the sampled children indicated that Iranians were not different from other peoples; and 19 percent either gave "don't know," an unintelligible response, or no response. The responses denoting no difference were highest among the peasant children (34 percent) and more prevalent among the city (14 percent) than tribal children (1 percent). The "don't know," unintelligible, and blank responses also were highest among the peasant children (28 percent) and more common among the city (18 percent) than tribal children (11 percent). Maybe, the children who responded with either "no difference," "don't know," or gave no answer had not had adequate exposure, either through the school curriculum or other means, to develop an awareness of foreign countries and their people. It seems more likely, however, that many of them simply lacked the cognitive ability to articulate immediately their ideas on paper. In sum, then, 60 percent of the total sample (this percentage excludes the 5 percent who gave a backward image of Iranians) viewed Iranians in positive images. Such images were highest among the tribal children (85 percent) and more common among the city (59 percent) than peasant children (37 percent).

There was a large difference between the boys and girls on this item: significantly more of the boys

(69 percent) than the girls (50 percent) had a positive image of Iranians; moreover, substantially more of the boys (42 percent) than the girls (28 percent) saw Iranians as either hospitable, generous, moral, or ethical (see Table 5.5). These are interesting findings for which some explanations will be suggested later. There also was a large difference between the two grade levels: significantly more of the fifth graders (66 percent) than the third graders (56 percent) had a positive image of Iranians; in addition, substantially more of the fifth graders (41 percent) than the third graders (31 percent) viewed their countrymen as either hospitable, generous, moral, or ethical (see Table 5.6). The better informed fifth graders are not unexpected; as a result of their elementary school experience they had received significantly more exposure to foreign countries and the virtues of the Iranian people than the third grade children had. Furthermore, many of them probably had the cognitive ability to articulate their ideas immediately (note that only 10 percent of the fifth graders answered "don't know" or did not respond to the question compared with 26 percent of the third graders).

What inferences might be drawn about the sampled children's feelings toward their countrymen? If references to hospitality, generosity, morality, and

Table 5.5 Girls and Boys' Images of Iranians as a People

Percentage Who Viewed Iranians as	Girls	Boys
Hospitable, generous	20	30
Moral, ethical	8	12
Having different food, language, dress	22	27
Backward (wild, illiterate)	9	3
Not different	20	12
Don't know, no response, unidentified	21	16
Total	100	100
N	(402)	(524)

Table 5.6 Third and Fifth Graders' Images of Iranians as a People

Percentage Who Viewed Iranians as	Third	Fifth
Hospitable, generous	22	29
Moral, ethical	9	12
Having different food, language, dress	25	25
Backward (wild, illiterate)	2	8
Not different	16	16
Don't know, no response, unidentified	26	10
Total	100	100
N	(463)	(463)



ethics are interpreted as affectively favorable, if references to backwardness are interpreted as affectively unfavorable, and if references to physical characteristics and the "no different," "don't know," unintelligible, and blank responses are interpreted as affectively neutral; then, these conclusions are implied. Toward their countrymen: (1) 35 percent of the sampled children were favorably disposed, 5 percent were unfavorably disposed, and 60 percent were neutrally disposed; (2) the tribal children (81 percent) were the most favorably disposed, the city children (9 percent) were the most unfavorably disposed, and the peasant children (83 percent) were the most neutrally disposed; (3) the boys (42 percent) were more favorably disposed than the girls (28 percent); and (4) the fifth graders were both more favorably and unfavorably disposed (41 percent and 8 percent, respectively) than the third graders (31 percent and 2 percent, respectively).

#### Sense of Patriotism

. . . --to instigate and encourage a sense of patriotism in students . . .<sup>15</sup>

Instilling a sense of patriotism in children is probably the most important goal of political socialization in Iranian elementary schools. Thus patriotism is a recurring theme in the elementary cycle:

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<sup>15</sup>Ministry of Education, Barname-ye Tafsili-ye Dowre-ye Panj Sale-ye Ebtadaie, p. 88.

First Grade

We love our country with our soul.<sup>16</sup>

Second Grade

Hand in hand we will build our country.<sup>17</sup>

Third Grade

I shall raise an army from among the Turks that shall have no bounds. . . . and blot out all trace of Tus from Iran.<sup>18</sup>

Fourth Grade

If the day comes when Iran is in danger, what value does my life have? I willingly and with pleasure will sacrifice my life for the preservation of the fatherland.<sup>19</sup>

Fifth Grade

If Iran does not exist, then I should not exist; and in this land no one should exist.<sup>20</sup>

It also is a recurring theme in the survey findings. On the open-ended question: "What does a 'good Iranian' mean?," 44 percent of the sample gave answers involving "love for the country." Typical responses were:

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<sup>16</sup>Farsi-ye Avval-e Debestan, p. 91.

<sup>17</sup>Farsi-ye Dovom-e Debestan, p. 24.

<sup>18</sup>Farsi-ye Sevom-e Debestan, p. 167.

<sup>19</sup>Farsi-ye Charom-e Debestan, p. 54.

<sup>20</sup>Farsi-ye Panjom-e Debestan, p. 49.



[A good Iranian is] one who loves his country and if the enemy attacks the country, he must fight to protect the country. (Tribal fifth grade boy)

[A good Iranian is] a person who loves the country, worships the country. (Tribal fifth grade boy)

A good Iranian is one who is willing to shed his blood for his country and fight the enemy.  
(City fifth grade boy)

[A good Iranian is] a person who does not betray his country and the Shah. (City fifth grade girl)

[A good Iranian is] a person who loves his country and the Shah and who gives his life for the cause of his country. (Tribal fifth grade girl)

On the question: "If the Shahanshah came to your school to give a prize to two children who were the best Iranians, which two children would he pick?," 58 percent of the sample selected from six alternatives "a child who is interested in his country and government."<sup>21</sup> On the measure: "From the sentences below, choose the one which best describes Iranian people.," 46 percent of the sample selected from the five alternatives "Iranians love their country."<sup>22</sup> On all of the three questions, as Tables 5.7 through 5.9 show, patriotic responses were highest among the tribal children and generally

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<sup>21</sup>The other alternatives on this question were: "A child who gets good grades"; "A child who does what he is told"; "A child who helps others"; "A child who is interested in his religion"; "I don't know."

<sup>22</sup>The other alternatives on this question were: "Iranians are very smart"; "Iranians are very brave"; "Iranians are religious"; "Iranians are hospitable."

Table 5.7 City, Peasant, and Tribal Children's Conception of a Good Iranian

Percentage Who Said	City	Peasant	Tribal	Total
Patriotic	43	34	55	44
Ethical, well-behaved	32	28	16	28
Cooperative, hardworking	14	8	13	12
"Shah," "Farah" (Empress)	1	19	7	6
Don't know, no response	10	11	9	10
Total	100	100	100	100
N	(478)	(224)	(224)	(926)

Table 5.8 City, Peasant, and Tribal Children's Perceptions of the Good Iranian Child (two alternatives)

Percentage Who Said	City	Peasant	Tribal	Total
Interested in his country	55	54	69	58
Gets good grades	36	55	62	47
Obeys	25	37	24	28
Interested in his religion	53	42	26	44
Helps others	28	10	17	21
Don't know, no response	3	2	2	2
Total	200	200	200	200
N	(478)	(224)	(224)	(926)

more widespread among the city than peasant children.

And note in Tables 5.10 through 5.15 that while the occurrence of patriotic responses on the three questions was relatively the same among the girls and boys, their incidence was markedly higher among the fifth graders than the third graders. The reasons for the observed significant differences will be commented on later.

Table 5.9 City, Peasant, and Tribal Children's Perception of the Main Quality of Iranians as People

Percentage Who Said	City	Peasant	Tribal	Total
Patriotism	39	39	66	46
Intelligence	6	16	8	9
Courage	12	8	11	11
Religiosity	25	25	6	20
Hospitality	17	11	9	14
No response	1	1	--	--
Total	100	100	100	100
N	(478)	(224)	(224)	(926)

But what of the sampled children themselves?

Did they have a sense of patriotism? To find out, a projective measure was employed. The measure confronted the children with the following hypothetical situation:

Someone you meet gives you some money. You become very happy at the thought of buying some things for yourself and your family; but this person begins saying bad things about Iran. What would you do then?

Answer options, of which they were directed to mark one, were:

Table 5.10 Girls and Boys' Conception of a Good Iranian

Percentage Who Said	Girls	Boys
Patriotic	42	45
Ethical, well-behaved	29	26
Cooperative, hardworking	12	13
"Shah," "Farah" (Empress)	6	7
Don't know, no response	11	9
Total	100	100
N	(402)	(524)

Table 5.11 Girls and Boys' Perceptions of the Good Iranian Child (two alternatives)

Percentage Who Said	Girls	Boys
Interested in his country	60	57
Gets good grades	42	51
Obeys	28	27
Interested in his religion	44	44
Helps others	24	19
Don't know, no response	2	2
Total	100	100
N	(402)	(524)

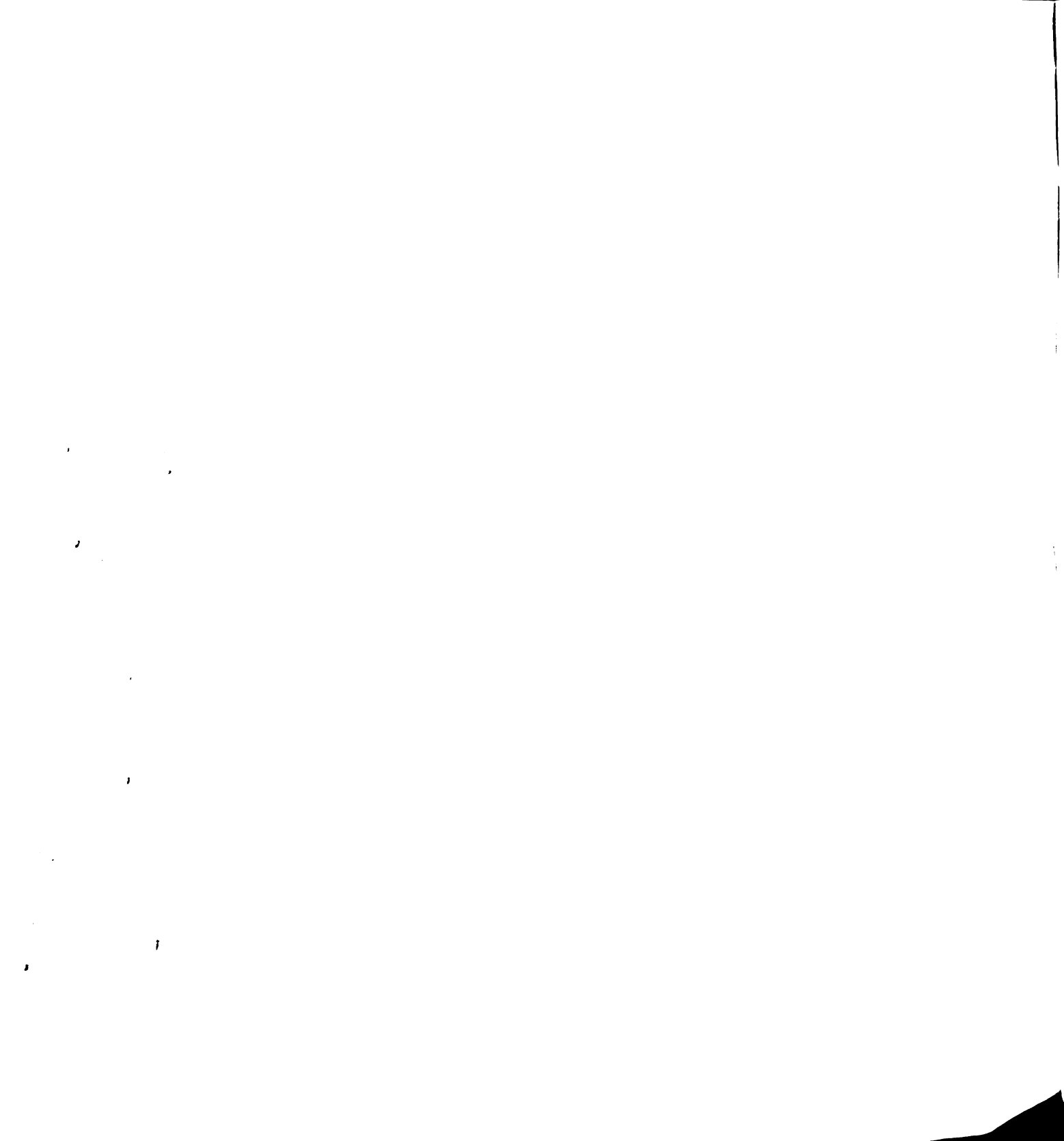




Table 5.12 Girls and Boys' Perception of the Main Quality of Iranians as People

Percentage Who Said	Girls	Boys
Patriotism	48	45
Intelligence	10	8
Courage	10	11
Religiosity	20	20
Hospitality	12	15
No response	--	1
Total	100	100
N	(402)	(524)

Table 5.13 Third and Fifth Graders' Conception of a Good Iranian

Percentage Who Said	Third	Fifth
Patriotic	29	59
Ethical, well-behaved	32	23
Cooperative, hardworking	11	13
"Shah," "Farah" (Empress)	10	2
Don't know, no response	18	3
Total	100	100
N	(463)	(463)

Table 5.14 Third and Fifth Graders' Perceptions of the Good Iranian (two alternatives)

Percentage Who Said	Third	Fifth
Interested in his country	47	70
Gets good grades	52	41
Obeys	36	20
Interested in his religion	42	46
Helps others	21	21
Don't know, no response	2	2
Total	200	200
N	(463)	(463)

Table 5.15 Third and Fifth Graders' Perception of the Main Quality of Iranians as People

Percentage Who Said	Third	Fifth
Patriotism	41	51
Intelligence	13	4
Courage	12	10
Religiosity	22	19
Hospitality	12	16
No response	--	--
Total	100	100
N	(463)	(463)

I would give the money to my mother and father  
I would keep the money  
I would give back the money  
I don't know

The assumption was that the respondents who checked "I would give back the money" had a sense of patriotism; they believed that it was better to return the money--even though keeping it might meet personal or family needs--than to brook disparaging remarks about Iran. As one child put it on the pretest:

I would never in any way accept the money.  
I love my country more than money.  
(City fifth grade boy)

In part, an incident reported by the Iranian press suggested that such a question might be used as a valid operational index of a sense of patriotism. In the fall of 1971, an Iranian diplomat stationed in Copenhagen committed suicide. He was believed to have left a note behind saying that he was taking his life because of the slanderous campaign against Iran (stories about the exorbitant one billion cost of the 2,500 anniversary celebrations of the founding of the Persian Empire, the lack of political freedom in the country, the Shah's empty social justice, and so forth) being conducted by the Danish press. He was further reported to have said in his note that he could not "bear the attitude of the newspapers and as an Iranian loving his

country and his sovereign he cannot live."<sup>23</sup> Commenting on the case, the Shah said, "Our representative committed suicide to express his deep resentment against material published in Danish newspapers because he believed that it was better to kill himself rather than bear uncalled for insults to his country."<sup>24</sup>

Table 5.16 shows that of the sampled children, 83 percent checked the patriotic option ("I would give back the money"). The sense of patriotism was highest among the tribal children (89 percent) and somewhat more prevalent among the city (85 percent) than peasant children (75 percent). Presumably, the sense of patriotism among the tribal children on this question as well as their patriotic orientations on the three questions cited earlier arose from the significant exposure to patriotic themes that they had received in their educational experience. Observations in city, peasant, and tribal schools, although limited, pointed up the fact that tribal children engaged more frequently than peasant and city children in reciting heroic verses from the national epic Shahnama, singing the national anthem, and acting in plays based on national

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<sup>23</sup>"Diplomat Kills Himself," Tehran Journal, October 17, 1971, p. 3.

<sup>24</sup>"The Shahanshah Speaks . . . ," Tehran Journal, October 19, 1971, p. 3.

heroes--activities which are bound to nurture a sense of patriotism. Why should tribal children have participated in such activities more often than their peasant and city counterparts? The director of the Tribal Education Program, a "tribesman" himself, believes that tribal children are a human resource sorely needed for the upbuilding of Iran;<sup>25</sup> therefore, there is determined and persistent effort by the teachers in the tribal schools to stir patriotic impulses in the children as well as other desirable citizenship characteristics. Not surprisingly then, on the question: "What person most of all tells you that you must be a good Iranian?," 58 percent of the sampled tribal children, compared with only 15 percent of the peasant children and 11 percent of the city children, selected from three alternatives "My teachers" (see Table 5.17).<sup>26</sup>

Did the sense of patriotism differ significantly between the sexes and the grade levels? The sex difference was not large: slightly more of the boys (86 percent) than the girls (80 percent) had a sense of patriotism (see Table 5.18). The grade level difference, however, was large: markedly more of the fifth

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<sup>25</sup>Hendershot, "White Tents in the Mountains," p. 23.

<sup>26</sup>The other alternatives on this question were: "My mother and father"; "The Shah and Prime Minister"; "Radio, television, and newspapers"; "I don't know."

Table 5.16 City, Peasant, and Tribal Children's Sense of Patriotism

Percentage Who Said	City	Peasant	Tribal	Total
Give money to parents	10	16	5	10
Keep money	4	5	4	5
Give back the money	85	75	89	83
Don't know, no response	1	4	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100
N	(478)	(224)	(224)	(926)

Table 5.17 City, Peasant, and Tribal Children's Perception of the Chief Agent Who Tells Them To Be a Good Iranian

Percentage Who Said	City	Peasant	Tribal	Total
Teachers	11	15	58	23
Parents	56	27	25	41
Government leaders	28	52	13	30
Radio, T.V., newspapers	3	5	2	4
Don't know, no response	2	1	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100
N	(478)	(224)	(224)	(926)

graders (90 percent) than the third graders (77 percent) had a sense of patriotism (see Table 5.19); but since patriotic themes are emphasized more in the upper grades than in the lower grades of the elementary cycle, this finding, as the greater incidence of patriotism among the fifth graders on the three questions referred to earlier, is not unexpected.

A cautious reader might suggest that the percentage on the patriotic option of the projective measure is inflated; that it represents a posture that the children assumed for the testing--to please the tester--rather than a genuine feeling of love for Iran. If this were so, then why did not the peasant children--certainly equally prone to the response error of inflating the "pleasing" option--demonstrate love for Iran equal to that of the tribal children or even the city children? Given this observation, the patriotic responses of the children on the other questions and, furthermore, the awareness of widespread "mihandusti" (love for the fatherland) among Iranian people in general, the inclination here is to conclude that the sampled Iranian school children had sincere love for their country. An additional comment is useful. Although a child's reaction to an insult to his country in a hypothetical situation may not mirror what would actually happen in a real situation, it cannot be

Table 5.18 Girls and Boys' Sense of Patriotism

Percentage Who Said	Girls	Boys
Give money to parents	11	9
Keep money	6	4
Give back the money	80	86
Don't know, no response	3	1
Total	100	100
N	(402)	(524)

Table 5.19 Third and Fifth Graders' Sense of Patriotism

Percentage Who Said	Third	Fifth
Give money to parents	15	6
Keep money	6	3
Give back the money	77	90
Don't know, no response	2	1
Total	100	100
N	(463)	(463)



unrelated to that situation; a child who reveals patriotic behavior rather than a child who does not reveal it in a hypothetical situation is more likely to engage in such behavior in a real situation.

### Images of and Feelings Toward the Shah

The reading material must foster in children . . . love for the Shahanshah . . .<sup>27</sup>

Nurturing positive images of and favorable feelings toward Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the present ruler of Iran, is a goal almost equal to that of nurturing patriotic sentiments in school children. Hence, the Shah is depicted in positive and only positive ways in elementary school curricula; for example as:

#### (1) The Kind and Loving Father

The Shah is like the father of this family [the Iranian nation]. We are like his children. The Shah loves all of us. We love our kind Shahanshah as we love our father.<sup>28</sup>

#### (2) The Monarch Devoted to the Welfare of the People

The Shah loves all of us and works very hard so that we will have a better life.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Ministry of Education, Barname-ye Tafsili-ye Dowre-ye Panj Sale-ye Ebtadaie, p. 31.

<sup>28</sup>Farsi-ye Avval-e Debestan, p. 87.

<sup>29</sup>Farsi-ye Dovom-e Debestan, p. 20.

(3) The Source of the "New Iran"--Changes Brought About by the White Revolution

By order of Shahanshah Aryamehr, the Literacy Corpsmen have gone into the villages to teach all people, whether young or old, to read and write. We give thanks to our Shahanshah and love him like a father.<sup>30</sup>

(4) The Guiding Spirit of the Nation

Through the enlightened administration and vision of Shahanshah Aryamehr, not only has our country made progress but other countries have also made progress.<sup>31</sup>

(5) The King Respected by the World Community

All the people of the world respect the great thoughts of Shahanshah Aryamehr.<sup>32</sup>

(6) The Responsible Leader of the Country

Our Shahanshah is the highest leader of the country and executes the basic law of the land. He commands the imperial armed forces, declares war, makes treaties . . .<sup>33</sup>

Because of the political climate in Iran, the survey instrument could not employ direct questions with the children to detect their images of and feelings toward the Shah: for instance, questions asking whether the Shah is "a person everybody likes," "a person who cares about them," "a good person," or "a bad person." Such questions were seemingly critical of the Shah, and

<sup>30</sup> Farsi-ye Sevom-e Debestan, p. 51.

<sup>31</sup> Talimat-e Ejtemaie-ye, Panjom-e Debestan, p. 219.

<sup>32</sup> Farsi-ye Dovom-e Debestan, p. 20.

<sup>33</sup> Talimat-e Ejtemaie-ye, Panjom-e Debestan, p. 228.

criticism of the Shah is not permitted in Iran. Nevertheless, children's views of and feelings toward the Shah, just as in the Greenstein political socialization study on American school children (cited in Chapter I),<sup>34</sup> were elicited by a question not primarily designed to deal with images of and sentiments toward the Monarch. The unstructured question simply asked: "What things does the king do for our country?" The categories of response merit examination.

Services role. Half of the children characterized the Shah as a person who gives things and services to the people and children. For example:

For the villages, he gives water and electricity and built universities and schools.  
(City fifth grade boy)

He makes schools, he makes tribal elementary schools. He established gardens and brought the Health Corps for us.  
(Tribal third grade girl)

He sends a doctor for us. (Tribal third grade boy)

He builds Houses of Culture and Cooperative Development Houses. (Peasant fifth grade boy)

He builds mosques for us. (Peasant third grade girl)

Benevolent role. Nearly one-fifth (17 percent) of the children described the Shah as "helping," "taking care of," and "protecting the people." To illustrate:

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<sup>34</sup>Greeststein, Children and Politics, pp. 37-42.

The Shah helps the country. (Peasant third grade girl)

He protects the frontiers. (Tribal fifth grade boy)

He helps the people from Iraq who came to my country. (City fifth grade girl)<sup>35</sup>

The Shah does not let the country get into war.  
The Shah helps the economy of the country.  
(City third grade boy)

He makes hospitals; he helps the poor people;  
he appoints policemen to protect the people.  
(City third grade boy)

Normative role. Five percent of the children referred to the Shah as doing good himself and instructing people to be and do good:

The Shah gives orders to keep the country clean and tells us not to steal. (City third grade girl)

The Shah does good work for our country.  
(Peasant fifth grade boy)

He corrects mistakes. (City third grade girl)

He gives speeches to tell Iranians to be good and kind. (City third grade girl)

Governing role. And 11 percent of the children identified the Shah as a ruling monarch. Typical of the responses in this category are these:

He is the head of the country and does the work of the country like presenting medals. (City fifth grade boy)

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<sup>35</sup>The child was referring to the thousands of Iranian nationals expelled from Iraq in the mid-winter of 1971 (because of deteriorating relations between Iran and Iraq) to whom the Iranian government granted refuge.

He is the highest leader of the land and orders.  
(City fifth grade girl)

The Shah rules the country. (Peasant fifth grade girl)

Put briefly, then, 83 percent of the sampled children perceived the Shah in positive images. The spontaneous appearance of such images suggests that the use of appropriately structured questions would have revealed that positive views of the Shah were even greater among the children. Note that the item could have spurred references to "he doesn't do anything," "he puts people in prison," "he kills people," if these negative images were salient in children's perceptions of the Shah; but such references were not made. Instead, children viewed their king in positive ways.

The frequency of references to the Shah's services, benevolent, normative, and governing roles among the city, peasant, and tribal children is shown in Table 5.20. As can be seen, references of this sort were made by children in all the groups; however, the tribal (93 percent) and peasant children (53 percent) were markedly more inclined to see the Shah in the services role--dispensing "gifts"--than the city children were (29 percent). The accentuation of "gift" imagery among the rural children is not at odds with expectations. The Shah's White Revolution programs are changing many aspects of Iranian society, but above all, they are

changing the rural areas. To be certain, the sampled rural children had learned from teachers, parents, and representatives of the various White Revolution Corps--Health Corps, Literacy Corps, Development Corps--that the developments they were seeing in their villages--schools, electricity, piped water, health clinic, House of Culture, Village Council--were due to the efforts of the Shah.

Table 5.20 City, Peasant, and Tribal Children's Images of the Shah

Percentage Who Perceived the Shah in a	City	Peasant	Tribal	Total
Services role	29	53	93	50
Benevolent role	25	13	4	17
Normative role	6	9	1	5
Governing role	15	9	2	11
Don't know, no response	25	16	--	17
Total	100	100	100	100
N	(478)	(224)	(224)	(224)

Analysis of sex responses to the question revealed no significant findings; the boys, however, slightly more often saw the Shah in positive imagery than the girls did--85 percent versus 81 percent (see Table 5.21). On the other hand, analysis of grade level responses to the question did reveal important findings: the fifth graders markedly more often saw the Shah in positive imagery than the third graders did--90 percent

versus 76 percent; also, they more often perceived the Shah in gift imagery than the third graders did--59 percent versus 41 percent (see Table 5.22). Since information about the Shah and the reforms of his White Revolution increases considerably in the upper grades of the elementary school, the greater gift imagery among the fifth graders comes expectedly.

What might be inferred about the children's feelings toward the Shah from the above results? When a child's imagery of a political leader includes either "gifts," "benevolence," or "goodness," it seems reasonable to assume that the child is favorably disposed toward the leader. Observe this telling comment of one sampled child: "The Shah does everything for me and I always like him." Bearing the foregoing assumption in mind then, it seems fair to conclude the following: (1) 72 percent of the sampled children (those children who perceived the Shah in services, benevolent, and normative roles) had favorable feelings toward the Shah; (2) favorable feelings toward the Shah were highest among the tribal children (98 percent) and more common among the peasant (75 percent) than city children (60 percent); (3) the boys were more favorably disposed toward the Shah than the girls were (75 percent versus 71 percent); and (4) the fifth graders were more favorably inclined toward the ruling monarch than the third graders were

Table 5.21 Girls and Boys' Images of the Shah

Percentage Who Perceived the Shah in a	Girls	Boys
Services role	48	52
Benevolent role	17	18
Normative role	6	5
Governing role	10	10
Don't know, no response	19	15
Total	100	100
N	(402)	(524)

Table 5.22 Third and Fifth Graders' Images of the Shah

Percentage Who Perceived the Shah in a	Third	Fifth
Services role	41	59
Benevolent role	18	16
Normative role	6	5
Governing role	11	10
Don't know, no response	24	10
Total	100	100
N	(463)	(463)



(80 percent versus 65 percent). It should be pointed out, however, that if cognitive ability or the ability to articulate ideas readily among the peasant and city children had been equal to that among the tribal children (note that 25 percent of the city group and 16 percent of the peasant group could not respond to the question; whereas no one in the tribal group failed to respond to it), then favorable feelings toward the Shah most certainly would have been more widespread among the sampled children, and, as a consequence, among the city and peasant groups, the sexes, and the grade levels.

The positive images of the Shah and the favorable feelings toward him revealed among the children here contrast conspicuously with those among certain groups of Iranian adults, notably, the westernized or "modern" middle classes (including many government officials, small landowners, teachers, university students, and nonbazaar merchants); the bazaar and its workers, artisans, and nonbazaar merchants led by traditionally minded religious leaders; and the heads of large tribes. Members of these groups bitterly oppose the regime, and their orientations toward the Shah are neither laudatory nor sympathetic. Consider, for example, some descriptions of the Shah common among them: "dictator," "heathen,"

"blood-thirsty," "murderer of the people," "enemy of the people," "CIA lackey."<sup>36</sup>

Given the existence of negative orientations toward the Shah among these strata of Iranian society, it is reasonable to suspect that some children are taught or exposed to images of the Shah in the home which differ from those taught in the school. For an Iranian parent, however, to teach his child that the Shah is "blood-thirsty" or an "enemy of the people" is quite unlikely. (Note this telling comment of one parent: "I teach my child to respect the Shah, but I think something else."<sup>37</sup>) A parent who would advance anti-Shah orientations would soon be discovered by the ubiquitous SAVAK, Iran's feared secret police organization, and would be branded at best a "Marxist" and at worse a "traitor." He would be arrested and imprisoned. Moreover, for an Iranian parent to express anti-Shah orientations freely in front of his child is also unlikely; for in most cases he would certainly recognize that the child could betray him unwittingly. Thus, it seems safe to assume that the positive images of the Shah taught formally in the school receive no

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<sup>36</sup>As revealed in personal conversations with members of these groups in Iran (1971-72) and the United States (1973-74).

<sup>37</sup>Personal interview with an Iranian parent, Tehran, 1972.

challenge from the family nor other agents, and when they are expressed among children, they reflect their honest views--as far as the children are conscious of them.

It is instructive to point out that since the Mossadegh period (Mohammad Mossadegh was Prime Minister of Iran from 1951 to 1953; he had a popular following and nearly wrested control of the government from Mohammad Reza Pahlavi), no Iranian public official has been permitted to rival the Shah's image, either in representing the innate nationalism of the people or championing the cause of reform. According to Edward A. Bayne, a perceptive observer of Iranian politics, "The Mossadegh experience had emphasized the classical truism that a king can suffer no rival in ultimate power or in the apex of public esteem, and must work to maintain his position."<sup>38</sup> As a consequence, in present-day Iran, the mass media work assiduously to present the Shah as the "supreme patriarch" and "champion of reform," and SAVAK, the secret police, constantly guards the Shah's positive images.

Before ending the discussion on the children's images of and feelings toward the Shah, it may be useful

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<sup>38</sup> Edward A. Bayne, Persian Kingship in Transition, Conversations with a Monarch Whose Office Is Traditional and Whose Goal Is Modernization (New York: American Universities Field Staff, Inc., 1968), p. 167.

to comment upon them with respect to findings on children in the United States. In general, the urban Iranian school children's positive orientations toward the highest political leader in the land are consistent with major American findings. Greenstein, for instance, in his study found that urban youngsters appeared to be overwhelmingly favorably disposed toward the President; they regarded him as benevolent, worthy, competent, serving, and powerful.<sup>39</sup> On the other hand, the rural Iranian school children's positive orientations are at odds with findings on rural children in America. As cited in Chapter I, Jaros, Hirsch, and Fleron found that children in the relatively poor, rural Appalachian region of the United States were dramatically less favorably inclined toward the President than were their counterparts in other portions of the country.<sup>40</sup> Further, American findings reveal a growing cynicism among upper level elementary school children;<sup>41</sup> but this trend was not in evidence among the Iranian school children (80 percent of the fifth graders versus 65 percent of

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<sup>39</sup>Greenstein, Children and Politics, pp. 27-54.

<sup>40</sup>Jaros, Hirsch, Fleron, "The Malevolent Leader: Political Socialization in an American Sub-Culture," 564-75.

<sup>41</sup>Robert D. Hess and David Easton, "The Child's Changing Image of the President," Public Opinion Quarterly, 24 (Winter, 1960), 632-44.

the third graders were favorably disposed toward the Shah). Presumably, if the sample had included more adolescents, the positive images of the Shah and favorable feelings toward him would have decreased substantially--in view of the cynicism that exists among many Iranian adults. To sum up, the Iranian findings here have two implications. First, they point to the fact that children's positive orientations toward political authority are a culturally bound phenomenon and not a universal norm as they are often viewed by social scientists. And second, the occurrence of the divergent findings here underscores the desirability of explaining children's political orientations.

Awareness of and Respect for  
Iran's Great Men

. . . , to learn about some of the great men of Iran . . .<sup>42</sup>

The elementary curriculum guide repeatedly points out that children must be aware of and respect the great men of Iran. Accordingly, school curricula include the study of the lives, deeds, and thoughts of some of Iran's great men, principally, the kings Cyrus the Great, Darius, Shah Abbas, Anushiravan, Reza Shah the Great, and the reigning Mohammad Reza Pahlavi; the poets Ferdowsi, Saadi, Nezami, and Rudaki; and the

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<sup>42</sup>Ministry of Education, Barname-ye Tafsili-ye Dowre-ye Panj Sale-ye Ebtadaie, p. 88.

scientists Abu Ali Sina and Razi. The survey questionnaire set out to learn whether these great men were included in the children's repertoire of heroes and, moreover, to ascertain which one was the most popular among them. The students were asked this question: "What great Iranian in all the world, living or dead, do you most admire?" Added to the question was the instruction: "Write in the name of only one person." Table 5.23 reveals a number of interesting findings.

Quite clearly, the great men of Iran were included in the children's repertoire of heroes: of the total sample, 58 percent named Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi; 12 percent named Cyrus the Great, founder of the Persian Empire; 11 percent named Reza Shah the Great, founder of modern Iran; 2 percent named either Darius, Anushiravan, or Shah Abbas; and 4 percent named either Ferdowsi, Saadi, Rudaki, or Abu Ali Sina. In all, 87 percent of the sampled children nominated the great of Iran as most admired Iranians. And Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, with 58 percent of the total responses, was unquestionably the most popular great Iranian among the children. His popularity was highest among the peasant children (81 percent) and more common among the tribal (58 percent) than city children (47 percent).

That the reigning monarch should have been named by a majority of the children in all three groups as the

Table 5.23 City, Peasant, and Tribal Children's Most  
Admired Great Iranian

Percentage Who Named	City	Peasant	Tribal	Total
<u>Kings</u>				
Mohammad Reza Pahlavi	47	81	58	58
Cyrus the Great	21	4	3	12
Reza Shah the Great	10	4	20	11
Darius, Shah Abbas, Anushiravan	2	3	1	2
<u>Poets and Scientists</u>				
Ferdowsi, Saadi, Rudaki, Abu Ali Sina	3	3	8	4
<u>Other</u>				
Cinema, sports, religious, educational, family figures	13	4	7	10
Don't know, no response	4	1	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100
N	(478)	(224)	(224)	(224)

great Iranian whom they admired most is not at all surprising. Clearly, there is more effort in the educational process, in the first grade and on, to familiarize children with and inculcate in them esteem for Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, "the great leader of Iran" and "the architect of the White Revolution," than to acquaint children with and to instill in them respect for other great Iranians. Note, for example, that the Shah's image is on the frontispiece of every textbook and that his portrait dominates practically every classroom, including the school tents that are set up each day as the nomadic tribes migrate with their flocks in the remote, almost inaccessible mountains. Furthermore, the effort of the educational system is strongly reinforced by the attention and adulation directed toward the Shah in the country at large. Note: (1) his picture--showing him posing in a Boy Scout uniform, smiling with his family, standing on a hill with clouds behind his back--hangs ubiquitously on office walls, behind shop counters, in shop windows, restaurants, hotels; (2) his photograph is in every newspaper of the land almost daily; (3) his extensive travels in the country are special events--roads are paved, parks are built, stadiums constructed (there are areas of the country where, when public works lag, the people say, "It has been too long since his Imperial Majesty's last visit. God willing, if he comes soon,



those rascals at the Municipality will have to get off their elbows and push the job");<sup>43</sup> and (4) his accomplishments to old and young alike are systematically proclaimed through the mass media thus:

What is so significant about the Shahanshah's leadership during the past 30 years is that the astonishing achievements were attained not from an early position of strength but from the bare minimum possibilities. The history of the past 30 years is a reading in how a nation, led by a wise and dedicated sovereign, began to build up a strong and prosperous country from scratch. . . . The Shahanshah . . . was determined to lead his nation to greatness against all odds. . . . Through patience, hardwork, able planning and masterful leadership, all the obstacles to progress were eliminated one by one. . . . But the real impetus for greatness came from the revolutionary zeal of the Shahanshah who, as the author of the revolutionary 12-point charter, personally had led the nation in implementing the White Revolution. . . . Iran has witnessed great leaders in its more than 2,500 years of uninterrupted nationhood. The name of the author of the White Revolution will join those of Cyrus the Great and Darius the Great as a leading contributor to the world civilization.<sup>44</sup>

Similarly, that the Shah should have been admired most by substantially more of the peasant children than the tribal and city children is not at all surprising. In peasant areas, attention and adulation toward the Shah--due to the programs of the White Revolution--is even more dramatic than in tribal and urban areas.

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<sup>43</sup>Gregory Lima, "He Stamps the Age with His Image," Kayhan International (Tehran), June 13, 1972, p. 12.

<sup>44</sup>"Looking Back with Pride," Editorial, Kayhan International (Tehran), September 16, 1971, p. 4.

Old and young alike sense that it is to the efforts of the Shah that the farmers owe their title to their land, that a school exists to enlighten the village children, and that a doctor has come to care for the sick. Through radio and representatives of the Revolutionary Corps groups, both young and old are informed that the Shah is responsible for introducing villagers to better ways of buying their seeds and fertilizer and selling their produce through cooperatives, for showing them how to establish effective village councils and how to elect trusted farmers to serve as judges in the village equity courts. Indeed, in view of the incessant positive messages about the Shah in peasant areas, most of the peasant children could not help but choose Mohammad Reza Pahlavi as their most admired Iranian.

What great Iranians followed the Shah in popularity? Cyrus the Great and Reza Shah the Great did--but distantly as Table 5.23 shows. Cyrus's popularity was highest among the city children (21 percent) and Reza Shah's popularity was highest among the tribal children (20 percent). Why a substantial proportion of the city children should have named Cyrus as their most admired Iranian is not difficult to account for. As mentioned earlier, nineteen hundred and seventy-one, designated officially "The Year of Cyrus the Great," was

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the 2,500 anniversary of the founding of the Persian Empire. In urban areas more than in rural areas, Cyrus was unflaggingly heralded as the greatest of Iranian kings, both as a conqueror and as a human being. Thus the urban children, having had more exposure to the founder of the Persian Empire than the rural children had, probably knew more about Cyrus's achievements than the rural children did and, therefore, were more inclined than the rural children to nominate him as the great Iranian whom they admired most. On the other hand, why a substantial percentage of the tribal children should have admired Reza Shah the Great is puzzling. (Reza Shah is credited with breaking the power of the tribes and forcing them to give up their nomadic life. The Qashqai was one of the tribes singled out for particular attention; the tribal chief was imprisoned and some members of the tribe were either exiled or required to live in Tehran under surveillance.)

Three additional interesting findings brought out in Table 5.23 are worth mentioning. First, the tribal children (8 percent) somewhat more often than the city (3 percent) and peasant children (3 percent) named scientists and poets as most admired figures. Their preference for such personalities, in part, might have been the result of the impact of their reading outside of the school program. The tribal children

sampled were avid participants in the Mobile Book Program of the Institute for the Intellectual Development of Children and Young Adults. Under this program, books on Iran, its great men, and other subjects are distributed to children in a number of isolated rural areas of the country. Second, the city children (13 percent) more frequently than the tribal (7 percent) and peasant children (4 percent) named other figures, including cinema and sports personalities. Given the salience of sportsmen and actors in the large cities, this finding is not unusual. And third, 83 percent of the sampled children reserved their highest esteem for kings--the dramatis personae of Iranian history (accounts of Iranian history present the country as a virtual intellectual desert ruled by successive dynasties). This finding would seem to support a popular conception that exists about Iran--that it is a country in which only the king has mattered and does matter.<sup>45</sup>

No substantial differences emerged between the sexes and the grade levels on this question. Nonetheless, Iran's great men were more popular among the fifth

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<sup>45</sup>Yet, it is interesting to note that a list of names of Iran's great men proposed by the Imperial Cultural Council in 1972 showed the "king" conception to be historically false; out of 300 names of the great included in the list, only 18 belonged to the kings. They formed the second smallest group after the musicians! Well over one-third of the great men included in the list were scientists and philosophers. Amer Taheri, "The Great Men of Iran," Kayhan International (Tehran), February 10, 1972, p. 4.

graders (89 percent) and boys (89 percent) than the third graders (85 percent) and girls (86 percent). Also, Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi was slightly more popular among the third graders (60 percent) and girls (59 percent) than the fifth graders (56 percent) and boys (57 percent). (See Tables 5.24 and 5.25.)

A final question and comment about the children's responses on this item are appropriate. Did the children's responses reflect conformity or genuine feeling (when people live in an ideologically homogeneous environment, it is difficult to know whether their responses reflect conformity or genuine feeling)? The predilection here, in view of the positive images of and favorable feelings that the children had toward the Shah and such images of and feelings toward the other great Iranians nominated that they undoubtedly had, is to suggest that the responses of most of the children reflected genuine admiration for Iran's great men. In this respect, the sampled Iranian children were probably no different than American school children who admire figures of their historical past (Lincoln, Washington) and contemporary history (Kennedy, Ford).

#### Concept of the Iranian Government

. . . --to be familiar with the constitutional  
monarchy . . . of Iran . . .<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Ministry of Education, Barname-ye Tafsili-ye Dowre-ye Panj Sale-ye Ebtadaie, p. 92.

Table 5.24 Girls and Boys' Most Admired Great Iranian

Percentage Who Named	Girls	Boys
<u>Kings</u>		
Mohammad Reza Pahlavi	59	57
Cyrus the Great	12	12
Reza Shah the Great	11	11
Darius, Shah Abbas, Anushiravan	2	3
<u>Poets and Scientists</u>		
Ferdowsi, Saadi, Rudaki, Abu Ali Sina	2	6
<u>Other</u>		
Cinema, sports, religious, educational, family figures	9	5
Don't know, no response	5	6
Total	100	100
N	(402)	(524)

Table 5.25 Third and Fifth Graders' Most Admired Great Iranian

Percentage Who Named	Third	Fifth
<u>Kings</u>		
Mohammad Reza Pahlavi	60	56
Cyrus the Great	9	15
Reza Shah the Great	11	11
Darius, Shah Abbas, Anushiravan	1	3
<u>Poets and Scientists</u>		
Ferdowsi, Saadi, Rudaki Abu Ali Sina	4	4
<u>Other</u>		
Cinema, sports, religious, educational, family figures	8	5
Don't know, no response	7	6
Total	100	100
N	(463)	(463)

Political socialization attempts to foster an institutionalized and democratic conception of government in children; that is to say, it tries to develop the idea in children that government is a system of rule by the people embodied in the legislative, judicial, and executive powers and voting, and not a system of rule by one person embodied in the Shah. To illustrate, in the civics monographs in the fifth grade social studies textbook, children read:

The government of Iran is a CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY . . .<sup>47</sup>

A constitutional monarchy and some republican governments in which the people voluntarily take part in the management of the country are called DEMOCRATIC, which means government of the people and also by the people.

Every democratic government consists of three powers: LEGISLATIVE, JUDICIAL, and EXECUTIVE.

The LEGISLATIVE power is composed of one or several houses of representatives and its function is to enact needed legislation and improvement or to change passed legislation and conditions according to the requirements of the day.

The JUDICIAL power contains all courts of justice; the courts of justice investigate disputes among the people and punish people who have broken the law.

The EXECUTIVE power executes the orders of the courts of justice and the laws that have been enacted by the legislature.<sup>48</sup>

In their study of childhood political socialization in America, David Easton and Jack Dennis

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<sup>47</sup>Talimat-e Ejtemaie-ye, Panjom-e Debestan,  
p. 228.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., pp. 225-26.



administered a test to several thousand elementary school students (grades two to eight) in which they attempted to get at children's dominant conception of government, and how it varies with the grade level of the children.<sup>49</sup> Their question asked children to select two pictures "that show best what the government is" out of ten pictorial representations of it. The pictures the children were offered were of a policeman, George Washington, Uncle Sam, voting, the Supreme Court, the Capitol, Congress, the American flag, the Statue of Liberty, and President John F. Kennedy. Assuming that an outcome of 20 percent or more responses for any picture was significant, the researchers found that only four of the ten pictures had achieved this status, those of George Washington, President Kennedy, voting, and Congress (see Table 5.26<sup>50</sup>). The results of the test were quite interesting for they revealed that while children in the early grades perceived Washington and Kennedy as the government, by the later grades, they viewed Congress and voting as the government. Easton and Dennis concluded that as American children mature, their conception of government is "brought in stages from far to near, from one small set of persons to many

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<sup>49</sup>Easton and Dennis, Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy, pp. 111-14.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 116, extracted from Table 6.2.

people, from a personalized to an impersonalized form of authority, and toward an awareness of the institutionalization in our system of such regime norms as are embodied in the idea of a representative, popular democracy."<sup>51</sup>

Table 5.26 American Children's Conceptions of Government, by Grade Level

Grade	George Washington (%)	President Kennedy (%)	Congress (%)	Voting (%)
2	39	46	6	4
3	27	47	13	8
4	14	37	29	11
5	7	39	49	19
6	5	31	50	28
7	3	28	44	39
8	2	23	49	47

An attempt was made to replicate the Easton-Dennis test with the Iranian political socialization sample. The pictorial representations of government used in the Iranian test approximated those employed by Easton and Dennis; they were a policeman, Cyrus the Great, the Red Lion and Sun (a salient symbol of the national government), voting, a court of justice, the Majles building, the legislative Majles, the Iranian flag, the Shah's book The White Revolution, and Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. As in the Easton-Dennis study,

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 117.

assuming that 20 percent or more responses on any picture was significant, the four important pictures which emerged for the Iranian children were Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, Cyrus the Great, the Iranian flag, and the Red Lion and Sun. The results on all pictures for the sample and the grade levels are given in Table 5.27.

When the picture test was discussed with several elementary school teachers and administrators, as well as Iranian colleagues and friends, they all remarked that the children should select Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. It turns out, in fact, that the Shah was the top choice for all children; his picture was selected with the highest frequency in the third grade (87 percent) and also in the fifth grade (86 percent). In both grades he was distantly followed by the Iranian flag. Voting and the Majles legislature (Congress), the two options which for American children showed a marked increase in frequency in the fifth grade (19 percent and 49 percent, respectively), were selected by conspicuously small numbers of Iranian children at this grade level (2 percent and 3 percent, respectively).

Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, of course, was also the dominant conception of government among the city, peasant, and tribal children. And as Table 5.28 shows, he was distantly followed among the city children by

Table 5.27 Third and Fifth Graders' Conceptions of Government<sup>a</sup>

Percentage Who Selected	Third	Fifth	Total
Voting	1	2	1
Red Lion and Sun	25	19	22
Cyrus the Great	30	28	29
Policeman	7	3	5
Majles legislature	5	3	4
Majles building	3	2	3
Court of justice	3	4	3
Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi	87	86	87
White Revolution	6	10	8
Iranian flag	31	43	37
Don't know, no response	2	--	1
Total <sup>b</sup>	200	200	200
N	(463)	(463)	(926)

<sup>a</sup>Actual text of the question: "The pictures that you see on this page show what our government is. Put a mark under the two pictures that in your opinion show better than the others what our government is."

<sup>b</sup>Percentages are the sum of the first and second choice percentage figures. Thus the columns equal 200 percent.

Cyrus the Great, among the peasant children by the Iranian flag, and among the tribal children by the Red Lion and Sun emblem. Since, as noted earlier, considerably more attention was showered on Cyrus the Great in urban than in rural areas during the 2,500 anniversary celebrations in 1971, it is not surprising that Cyrus was more often thought of as the government among the city children than the rural children. And because the Iranian flag and Red Lion and Sun emblem are distinctive and salient symbols of the national government in rural areas (wherever a government program--Literacy Corps, Health Corps, Development Corps, House of Equity--is operative, there is an Iranian flag or the Red Lion and Sun emblem), it is not surprising that they were more frequently conceived of as the government among the rural than the urban children.

Finally, it should be noted that the differences between the sexes on this question were not large; but, even so, slightly more of the boys (88 percent) than the girls (84 percent) selected Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi as "the best picture of government." In order of popularity, among both the girls and boys, the Shah was distantly followed by (1) the Iranian flag, (2) Cyrus the Great, and (3) the Red Lion and Sun emblem. (See Table 5.29.)

Table 5.28 City, Peasant, and Tribal Children's Conceptions of Government

Percentage Who Selected	City	Peasant	Tribal
Voting	2	--	1
Red Lion and Sun	17	23	32
Cyrus the Great	38	15	23
Policeman	7	4	4
Majles legislature	5	4	--
Majles building	2	6	1
Court of justice	5	2	--
Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi	81	90	96
White Revolution	7	6	12
Iranian flag	35	48	31
Don't know, no response	1	2	--
Total	200	200	200
N	(478)	(224)	(224)

Table 5.29 Girls and Boys' Conceptions of Government

Percentage Who Selected	Girls	Boys
Voting	2	1
Red Lion and Sun	22	22
Cyrus the Great	29	29
Policeman	5	6
Majles legislature	3	4
Majles building	2	3
Court of justice	4	3
Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi	84	88
White Revolution	7	9
Iranian flag	40	35
Don't know, no response	2	--
Total	200	200
N	(402)	(524)

It would appear then, that the Iranian school children's conception of government like the American school children's was personalized; that is to say, it was tied to the highest political leader, the Shah. But whereas the American children in the fifth grade revealed a significant awareness of the institutionalization of government and the expected role of ordinary people in it (the markedly more frequent choice of Congress and voting is indicative of this), the Iranian children did not; instead, despite the school's teaching, they conceived of government in personal terms (this is evidenced in the fact that well over four-fifths of the children in the fifth grade picked the Shah and over a fourth of them picked Cyrus the Great as "the best picture of government").

This finding, of course, is not too surprising; for it has long been known from studies in mass communication and propaganda that there are severe limits to a person's ability to change another's belief or attitude if the other person is not so predisposed. Officially, Iran is a constitutional monarchy, and the constitution states that power emanates from the people;<sup>52</sup> but, in point of fact, Iran is an absolute monarchy. Shah

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<sup>52</sup>Children are specifically taught this fact in school. Talimat-e Ejtemaie-ye, Panjom-e Debestan, p. 228.

Mohammad Reza Pahlavi rules, and his subjects know it.<sup>53</sup> Given these objective facts then, the sampled children, to be sure, arrived in school with the idea that the Shah governs--induced familially and by the general socio-political culture of Iran--and, as a consequence, the school's message--that the people govern through institutions and processes--could not and did not take.

#### Factual Political Information

To learn about Iran, the Shahanshah, the flag of Iran . . .<sup>54</sup>

The educational system's political socialization process is designed not only to familiarize children with Iran's constitutional monarchy, but also to impart to them specific factual information about its structures, such as the Shahanshah and Majles, and its incumbents of roles, such as Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi and Empress Farah. The survey instrument contained several measures of information specifically designed to ascertain the factual information about governmental structures and incumbents of roles that the school children actually had. Two of the measures most relevant to the school's teaching were: "Write the name of the king of Iran."

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<sup>53</sup>The Shah admits his power. See, for example, Oriana Fallaci, "The Shah of Iran," New Republic, December 1, 1973, pp. 16-21.

<sup>54</sup>Ministry of Education, Barname-ye Tafsili-ye Dowre-ye Panj Sale-ye Ebtadaie, p. 87.



and "What does the Majles do?" Note that in textbooks children are first taught the name of the ruling Shah in the second grade Persian reader: "The name of Shahanshah Aryamehr is Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi";<sup>55</sup> and they are first instructed about the function of the Majles in the fifth grade social studies text: "The most important function of the Majles-e Shoura-ye Melli [National Consultative Assembly] and the Majles-e Sena [Senate] is the enactment of laws."<sup>56</sup> But inevitably, through other means in the school's socialization process (talks by the teacher, classroom discussion) children are introduced to the Shah's name and the work of the Majles much earlier. Needless to say, the two items--the first based on the ability to name the present king and the second based on the ability to identify the function of the Majles--represented only the shallowest probing of the children's factual political information; nevertheless, they were thought to be sufficient not only to assess knowledge of two basic political facts among the sampled children in general but also to get at differences between the city, peasant, and tribal children, the sexes, and the grade levels.

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<sup>55</sup>Farsi-ye Dovom-e Debestan, p. 19.

<sup>56</sup>Talimat-e Ejtemaie-ye, Panjom-e Debestan,

Was knowledge of the two political facts, then, widespread among the children? First, contrary to expectation, the name of the present ruler of Iran was not universally known among the children; only 76 percent of the total sample could name him correctly--"Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi." Of the 24 percent in the sample who could not give the Shah's name, 11 percent gave the name of his deceased father, "Reza Shah Kabir," (note it bears a strong resemblance to the ruling king's name), and 13 percent either offered another appellation ("Cyrus the Great," "His Imperial Majesty," "King of Kings") or wrote in "I don't know," or gave no response. But, perhaps, it should not be unexpected that nearly one-quarter of the children were not able to name the Shah correctly; since the mass media, people in general, and even elementary school teachers often solely refer to him by one of his royal titles--"Shahanshah," "His Imperial Majesty," "His Royal Highness"--rather than his full name. Second, the function of the Majles also, but expectedly, (since this fact is taught and publicized less than the Shah's name), was not universally known among the children; in fact, only 16 percent of the total sample could identify it with reasonable accuracy--"to make laws." Moreover, only 27 percent in the sample had an awareness of the public nature of the Majles, that is to say, a vague understanding of the

national legislature (for example, "The Majles talks about things that they want to do for the country"; "People meet there, and they do work for the country"; "The Majles-e Shoura-ye Melli and the Majles-e Sena give orders to help the people"). Thus, most of the children in the sample--57 percent--could not provide information or reasonable information about the work of the Majles nor about the Majles itself.

But more significant than the mass level of achievement on the two tests of factual political information was the great range of achievement among the different children. Of all the sampled children, as Table 5.30 shows, tribal children were decidedly the best informed of both political facts: 99 percent of them, in contrast with 79 percent of the peasant children and 63 percent of the city children, named the Shah correctly; 42 percent of them, in contrast with 7 percent of the peasant children and 9 percent of the city children, described the function of the Majles correctly. What factor might have accounted for their superior performance?

American research has shown that chronological age is an important determinant of the kinds of political information possessed by children; Greenstein, for example, found in his study (Children and Politics) that among fourth graders, nine-year-olds, political

Table 5.30 City, Peasant, and Tribal Children's Ability  
To Name the Shah and Identify the Function of the Majles

Percentage Who Responded With	City	Peasant	Tribal	Total
<u>Shah</u>				
Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi	63	79	99	76
Reza Shah Kabir	15	15	--	11
Other, don't know, no response	22	6	1	13
Total	100	100	100	100
<u>Majles</u>				
Accurate understanding of function	9	7	42	16
Awareness of public nature of insti- tution	27	24	28	27
Other, don't know, no response	64	69	30	57
Total	100	100	100	100
N	(478)	(224)	(224)	(926)

information scarcely went beyond vaguely positive dispositions toward the president and mayor; but by eighth grade, twelve- and thirteen-year-olds had become reasonably well-informed about major political institutions.<sup>57</sup> The tribal students, as indicated in Chapter IV, were the oldest respondents in the sample; 51 percent were beyond the official terminal elementary school age of eleven. Thus it readily might be assumed that they were the best politically informed children because they were older. Yet, the analysis expressed in Table 5.31 seems to argue against such an assumption, for there it can be seen that younger tribal respondents (eight or younger to eleven) were able to name the Shah and identify the function of the Majles as often and even more often than the older tribal respondents (twelve to fourteen or older) could; and moreover, that the tribal respondents at every age level and in every age category surpassed the peasant and city respondents in naming the Shah correctly and understanding the work of the Majles. Since age was not the determining factor for the superior performance of the tribal children, what reasonable factor might have been?

American research also has shown that intelligence, as measured by I.Q. tests, is an important factor

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<sup>57</sup>Greenstein, Children and Politics, pp. 55-60.

Table 5.31 City, Peasant, and Tribal Children's Ability To Name the Shah and Identify the Function of the Majles, by Age (abbreviated table)

Percentage Who Responded With	City	Peasant	Tribal				
<u>Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi</u>							
8 or younger	57	62	100				
9	52	67	100				
10	73	66	97				
11	77	90	100				
12	57	81	100				
13	50	92	94				
14 or older	80	90	100				
<u>The function of the Majles</u>							
8 or younger	7	0	20				
9	2	0	33				
10	7	3	54				
11	17	12	56				
12	7	8	39				
13	5	20	33				
14 or older	0	0	33				
Ages =	-8	9	10	11	12	13	14+
N City	(28)	(143)	(85)	(108)	(82)	(18)	(9)
N Peasant	(8)	(42)	(35)	(41)	(63)	(25)	(10)
N Tribal	(5)	(27)	(39)	(41)	(51)	(18)	(42)

in explaining which types of children in school tend to be well-informed politically; Charles F. Andrain, for instance, in his study, Children and Civic Awareness, discovered that information about the principles of government--structures, functions, processes--and about particular leaders improved and expanded with increasing intelligence among elementary school children (fifth and eighth graders).<sup>58</sup> Although I.Q. information was not sought on the sampled children, available evidence suggests that the tribal children were more intelligent than their peasant and city counterparts. Several Iranian educators (including a former undersecretary of elementary education in the Ministry of Education and the Director General of Education for Fars Ostan) acknowledged that the I.Q. of the tribal children of Fars Ostan had been found to be superior on average than that of urban children in Iran, presumably a legacy of the comparatively hard way of life which develops their acumen. They further admitted that when the tribal children of Fars Ostan passed on to urban schools, they almost invariably excelled the city children in academic achievement. Interestingly enough, one American student of Iranian education reported that when a test was given to thirty-six

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<sup>58</sup> Charles F. Andrain, Children and Civic Awareness: A Study in Political Education (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1971), p. 75.

sixth graders in a Shiraz school, six of whom were tribal children, one received the highest score and the other five were among the top ten.<sup>59</sup> Perhaps the sampled tribal children, then, were the best politically informed because of their superior intelligence. Certainly, this hypothesis appears to be deserving of future research.

Tribal children, however, may not have been the best politically informed students because they had superior intelligence, but rather because they had good learning experiences. Educators have long argued that good learning experiences--for example, participation in classroom discussions--contribute significantly to the development of well-informed, reflective, and involved citizens.<sup>60</sup> And although these hypotheses have been advanced with varying degrees of empirical support, Almond and Verba's landmark five-nation study of citizenship, The Civic Culture, did indeed show, among other things, that adults who remembered being able to participate in classroom discussions when they were in secondary school felt much more competent to

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<sup>59</sup>Hendershot, "White Tents in the Mountains, " p. 20.

<sup>60</sup>See, for example, Byron G. Massialas, ed., "The Indiana Experiments in Inquiry," Bulletin of the School of Education, 39 (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1963), 1-39.



engage in political affairs than adults who did not remember being able to participate.<sup>61</sup>

Some of the best teaching observed in Iranian elementary schools was in the tribal schools. Tribal teachers, who were tribesmen and tribeswomen it will be recalled, emphasized the participation of the children in classroom activities more often than observed peasant and city teachers did. Children were encouraged to talk and to express their opinions. Thus it should come as no surprise that on the survey question: "When you have discussions in class, are students free to say what they want to say?" 72 percent of the tribal children checked the "yes" option, whereas only 48 percent of the city children and 39 percent of the peasant children did so (see Table 5.32). The objective in tribal schools was not only to teach the Ministry of Education curriculum but, quite clearly, to stimulate and encourage curiosity, creativity, ambition, and resourcefulness in the children. In them, in contrast to many of the observed peasant and city government schools, there was no suppression of spirit, regimentation, or corporal punishment.

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<sup>61</sup>Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture, pp. 284-97.

Table 5.32 City, Peasant, and Tribal Children's Perceived Freedom of Students To Participate in Class Discussions

Percentage Who Said	City	Peasant	Tribal	Total
They could	48	39	72	52
They could not	47	58	27	45
Don't know, no response	5	3	1	3
Total	100	100	100	100
N	(478)	(224)	(224)	(926)

Other observers have also noted the excellence of the learning experience in tribal schools. Here are the comments of one seasoned eyewitness:

An air of orderly informality marks these schools. The boys and girls squat together on colorful rugs, usually facing a small blackboard resting on crude posts like an easel, often with a bag of chalk lying on the ground underneath. . . . All are intent on their books, on the blackboard. The monitor system is common, the older children teaching the younger, or a child works a problem on the blackboard while the others watch, being quick to raise a hand if an error is noted. The concentration of mind, the alertness to every development, the complete absorption of their minds in the learning situation make for a speed of accomplishment not found in many schools.<sup>62</sup>

Inevitably, one asks why were good learning experiences far more prominent in the tribal schools than in the peasant and city schools? In part, the answer must be sought in the competent and devoted leadership of the director of the Tribal Education

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<sup>62</sup>Hendershot, "White Tents in the Mountains,"  
P- 17.

Program, as noted earlier, a tribesman himself, who started the program in 1953 and has supervised it ever since.<sup>63</sup>

Noticeable differences emerged between the sexes on the two factual political information questions. The boys were better politically informed than were the girls: 81 percent of them, compared with 69 percent of the girls, could name the Shah correctly; 19 percent of them, compared with 13 percent of the girls, identified the function of the Majles correctly; and 28 percent of them, compared with 25 percent of the girls, had an awareness of the public nature of the Majles (see Table 5.33). In general, the sex findings on the Iranian school children here parallel those on American school children. Greenstein reported in his study (Children and Politics) that elementary school boys were significantly better informed about politics than elementary school girls were. He suggested that early childhood experiences and personality traits accounted for the political sex differences among the grade school children.<sup>64</sup> Undoubtedly, such factors were also responsible for the observed differences between the

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<sup>63</sup>For accessible information on the history and development of the Tribal Education Program, see the Hendershot publication.

<sup>64</sup>Greenstein, Children and Politics, pp. 115-18.

Iranian school boys and girls, not only on the factual items here but also on many of the questions introduced earlier. (Note that Iranian culture tends to dichotomize male and female roles much more strictly than is usually the case in the United States; sex, therefore, may be a much more influential factor in the political orientations of children in Iran than in the United States.)

Marked differences also emerged between the grade levels on the factual political items. Expectedly, since the Majles and the Shah receive more attention in the fifth grade than in the third grade, the fifth graders were significantly better informed than were the third graders: 84 percent of them, in contrast with 68 percent of the third graders, named the Shah correctly; 21 percent of them, in contrast with 12 percent of the third graders, described the function of the Majles accurately; and 41 percent of them, compared with 12 percent of the third graders, were at least aware of the public nature of the Majles (see Table 5.34). It might be suspected that the better performance of the fifth graders was not due to the teaching of the school so much but to the factor of maturation (age). At the moment, however, this suspicion seems unfounded. When the responses of the eleven-year-olds in the fifth grade were compared with those of the twelve-year-olds in the fifth grade, surprisingly, the younger cohorts

Table 5.33 Girls and Boys' Ability To Name the Shah and Identify the Function of the Majles

Percentage Who Responded With	Girls	Boys
<u>Shah</u>		
Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi	69	81
Reza Shah Kabir	14	10
Other, don't know, no response	17	9
Total	100	100
<u>Majles</u>		
Accurate understanding of function	13	19
Awareness of public nature of institution	25	28
Other, don't know, no response	62	53
Total	100	100
N	(402)	(524)

Table 5.34 Third and Fifth Graders' Ability To Name the Shah and Identify the Function of the Majles

Percentage Who Responded With	Third	Fifth
<u>Shah</u>		
Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi	68	84
Reza Shah Kabir	17	6
Other, don't know, no response	15	10
Total	100	100
<u>Majles</u>		
Accurate understanding of function	12	21
Awareness of public nature of institution	12	41
Other, don't know, no response	76	38
Total	100	100
N	(463)	(463)

substantially more often than the older ones named the ruling king correctly, identified the function of the Majles, and had an awareness of the public nature of the legislature (see Table 5.35).

Table 5.35 Fifth Grade Eleven-Year-Olds and Twelve-Year-Olds' Ability To Name the Shah and Identify the Function of the Majles

Percentage Who Responded With	11 Years	12 Years
<u>Shah</u>		
Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi	84	77
Other, don't know, no response	16	23
Total	100	100
<u>Majles</u>		
Accurate understanding of the function	24	15
Awareness of the public nature of the institution	42	38
Other, don't know, no response	34	47
Total	100	100
N	(154)	(158)

Conceptions of and Feelings  
Toward the White Revolution

. . . --to acquaint students with the quality of  
the White Revolution and its good results. . . .<sup>65</sup>

Because gaining the support of the people for  
Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi's White Revolution is an  
important goal of the Iranian government, the educational  
system attempts to generate positive conceptions of and

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<sup>65</sup> Rahnama-ye Tadrise Ketabe Talimat-e Ejtemaie  
Panjom-e Debestan, p. 190.

favorable feelings toward it among the children. For instance, in the essay "The Sixth of Bahman," found in the fourth grade Persian reader, children are instructed that because of the Revolution, life in Iran today is better than it was yesterday:

Before the Sixth of Bahman, 1341,<sup>66</sup> most of the farmers did not own the land which they cultivated. The land belonged to the malek [landlord]. From morning until evening, the farmers toiled over the land, but the crop belonged to the landlord. Only a trifle portion of it, just enough to keep one alive, was given to the farmers. But today our farmers are the owners of the land. They plant and harvest for themselves, and since the crop belongs to them, they work more so that they will have more benefits.<sup>67</sup>

Or, in the story "The Village" in the same reader, children are taught that because of the White Revolution, modernization and progress are taking place in Iran:

. . . Hossein saw two people coming down from the opposite hill with a container of water. Hossein recognized both of them, one was the teacher in the village, while the other was a member of the Development Corps. Upon seeing them, new thoughts came to him. He recalled that three years ago, their village did not have a school, a bath, nor drinking water. The kuchees [narrow streets] were not paved with stones. The earth was plowed with an ox. But since the coming of the Literacy Corps and the Development Corps to the village and their guidance of the villagers, through effort and cooperation, the villagers have been able to build a deep well, to make a water

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<sup>66</sup>As noted in Chapter I, the Sixth of Bahman, 1341, equivalent to January 26, 1963, is the date on which the reforms of the White Revolution were approved in a national referendum.

<sup>67</sup>Farsi-ye Charom-e Debestan, p. 102.

tank, to lay pipes in all the kuchees, to establish a village cooperative, to plow the earth with a tractor, and, with each other's help, have tried to improve the village.<sup>68</sup>

Just as it was not prudent to use direct questions with the children to detect their images of and sentiments toward Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, it also was not prudent to use direct questions with them to detect their conceptions of and feelings toward the Shah's White Revolution. Questions asking whether the White Revolution is a "good thing" or a "bad thing" appeared critical of the Revolution and, hence, of the Shah. So to get some insight into the children's ideas of and sentiments toward the Revolution, the survey instrument relied upon a very simple measure. The item was open-ended and phrased thus: "What is the White Revolution?" In its actual content this question, of course, is a cognitive one; however, it was thought that it would reveal not only the children's conceptions of the Revolution but, at the same time, also their feelings toward it. Many children could not respond to the question; but the statements of those children who could respond were analyzed and classified. The categories of response are worth examining.

Reforms to improve Iran. A small percentage of the children (14 percent) revealed a reasonable

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<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 6.



understanding of the Revolution--"Reforms introduced by the Shah to improve the country." However, most of the responses were neutral in tone and, moreover, many of them showed the earmarks of rote learning. To illustrate:

The White Revolution is for the improvement of the country. It has twelve points--land reform, literacy corps, development corps, nationalization of forests, sale of factories, profit sharing, health corps, houses of justice, improvement of villages and cities, educational reform, nationalization of water. (City fifth grade boy)

The White Revolution is about the Shah and the people and the foundation of new life in Iran. Women who for thousands of years were behind the veil were given freedom. It also established the Literacy Corps, the Health Corps, and the Development Corps. (Peasant fifth grade boy)

The White Revolution was made by the Shah for the improvement of the country. It has 12 points. (Tribal fifth grade boy)

Shah, programs, nonviolent revolution. Slightly more than one-fourth of the children (26 percent) perceived the Revolution to be the Shah, one or more of the programs which are a part of it, or a nonviolent revolution. The following responses are typical of the children's statements:

It's the Literacy Corps and the Health Corps. (Tribal third grade girl)

The White Revolution is the Shah and some ground that people put wheat into and it grows tall. (Peasant third grade boy)

In every country one revolution has happened and lots of people are killed, but when the Shah took power a revolution happened and it

did not kill a lot of people, because in the revolution we can't see even a little bloodshed. The Shah called it the White Revolution.  
(Peasant fifth grade boy)

Some phrases ("in every country one revolution has happened," "bloodshed") and ideas in the last two entries come directly from the selections on the White Revolution in the social studies and Persian language textbooks used by the children.

Something good. A very small proportion of the children (5 percent) viewed the White Revolution as a "good thing." For example:

It's a good thing; it gave freedom to the farmers; it gave money and land to them.  
(Tribal fifth grade boy)

Before the revolution the country was in a bad condition but after the coming of the White Revolution, the country is peaceful.  
(Tribal fifth grade boy)

It's good. (Peasant third grade boy)

"Sixth of Bahman," "Revolution of the Shah and People," book. Eleven percent of the children either gave another popular name for the White Revolution--"The Revolution of the Shah and People," "Sixth of Bahman"--or identified the Revolution as a book (as noted earlier, the Shah's book on the reforms is titled The White Revolution). For instance:

It's a book which says something about the country.  
(City fifth grade girl)

The Revolution is the Sixth of Bahman.  
(City fifth grade girl)

It's the Revolution of the Shah and People.  
(City third grade boy)

Celebration, assassination. And finally, a small percentage of the children (7 percent) conceived of the White Revolution in totally incorrect ways. Two examples are:

When the king ordered the factories to be opened, someone tried to shoot him, but he survived and the soldiers killed the man. (City third grade boy)

The White Revolution is a celebration.  
(City third grade boy)

What major impressions are gained from the above analysis of the children's responses? The majority of the children who had a positive conception of the White Revolution--56 percent (this figure excludes the 7 percent who answered incorrectly)--appeared to have little understanding of it; their answers either represented memorized textbook materials or modes of communicating a hazy awareness of the Revolution. Furthermore, the majority of the children who had a positive conception of the Revolution appeared to lack favorable feelings toward it; their answers on the whole were almost entirely neutral in tone. Note that responses connoting favorable affect--"something good"--summed up only to 5 percent.

The absence of a sophisticated understanding of the White Revolution and favorable sentiments toward the Revolution among the children can best be accounted for in two ways. First, most of the sampled children probably did not have the cognitive ability to understand the White Revolution nor the intellectual skills to define concisely the Revolution in three minutes. Note that more than one-third of the children (37 percent) were not able to respond to the question, even though most of them had surely heard of the White Revolution, if not through the mass media, certainly through their school textbooks, beginning as early as the third grade. (Greenstein in his study suggests that the inability of young people to think abstractly is a major restraint upon the development of ideological orientations during early adolescence.<sup>69</sup> If this is so, the school system's attempt to foster commitment to the White Revolution among the fourth or fifth graders should be generally unsuccessful.) And second, and perhaps more importantly, many of the sampled children in all likelihood had not received dynamic instruction in the White Revolution. Limited observations of teachers teaching White Revolution lessons and, in addition, conversations with a number of school administrators and elementary school

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<sup>69</sup>Greenstein, Children and Politics, pp. 64-75.



teacher friends revealed that teachers were not enthusiastic about teaching the White Revolution.

The lack of fervor among the teachers, of course, was no surprise. As indicated earlier, teachers are not in sympathy with the present regime. Thus, when views on the White Revolution were solicited among elementary school teacher friends, one quipped: "What revolution? There is no revolution!," the implication being that changes were not really taking place in Iran; while another sarcastically remarked: "You mean, the Black Revolution?," the implication being that the Revolution was not in the interest of the people. But even though observed teachers did not demonstrate the desired enthusiasm in teaching the White Revolution to the children, it should not be assumed that they criticized or questioned the reforms of the Shah in the classroom, for that would have identified them as enemies of the White Revolution and, by extension, enemies of the Shah. Imprisonment would have followed.

Table 5.36 gives the summarized responses of the city, peasant, and tribal children to the White Revolution question. The analysis expressed there brings out three important points: first, the tribal children (94 percent) and peasant children (59 percent) had a positive conception of the Revolution markedly more often than the city children had (37 percent); second, the tribal children (30 percent) had a reasonable

understanding of the White Revolution markedly more often than the city (10 percent) and peasant children had (5 percent); and third, the tribal (7 percent) and peasant children (10 percent) were noticeably more often favorably disposed toward the Revolution than the city children were (2 percent). Since, as noted many times earlier, the thrust of the White Revolution is in the rural areas, it is not unexpected that the rural children more often than the urban children should have had a positive conception, albeit a hazy one, of the Revolution, and that they more often than the urban children were favorably disposed toward it. No doubt, the peasant and tribal children had discussed with parents, teachers (several of whom were uniformed Literacy Corpsmen under military discipline), and friends the programs of the Revolution more frequently than the city children had. Some fragmentary evidence for this supposition comes from the children themselves. When they were asked to check off national programs and events from a given list of four--twenty-fifth centenary celebrations, Literacy Corps, Iranian refugees from Iraq, land reform--that they had discussed with family, friends, or teachers in the recent past, the peasant and tribal children more often than the city children checked land reform and Literacy Corps, two of twelve programs of the White Revolution (see Table 5.37). And since

Table 5.36 City, Peasant, and Tribal Children's Conceptions of the White Revolution

Percentage Who Said	City	Peasant	Tribal	Total
Reforms to improve Iran	10	5	30	14
Shah, programs, nonviolent revolution	14	24	53	26
Something good	2	10	7	5
Sixth of Bahman, Revolution of Shah and People, book	11	20	4	11
Celebration, assassination, other unrelated ideas	6	12	2	7
Don't know, no response	57	29	4	37
Total	100	100	100	100
N	(478)	(224)	(224)	(926)

Table 5.37 City, Peasant, and Tribal Children's Discussion of National Programs and Events

Percentage Who Discussed <sup>a</sup>	City	Peasant	Tribal	Total
Twenty-fifth centenary celebrations	68	76	68	70
Literacy Corps	43	52	48	46
Iranian refugees from Iraq	71	53	71	67
Land reform	22	29	38	27
N	(478)	(224)	(224)	(926)

<sup>a</sup>Only the percentages for those who reported discussion are presented here.



the intelligence and educational experience of the tribal children were hypothesized earlier to be superior to that of the city and peasant children, it also is not unforeseen that they more often than the city and peasant children should have had a reasonable understanding of the Revolution.

Finally, the findings for the grade levels and the sexes on this question should be noted. The boys, probably because of a greater interest in political affairs, more often than the girls had a positive conception of the White Revolution (61 percent versus 51 percent), a reasonable understanding of it (16 percent versus 11 percent), and favorable feelings toward it (6 percent versus 4 percent). (See Table 5.38.) And the fifth graders, in all likelihood of their greater cognitive ability and intellectual skills and the increased attention given to the White Revolution in the upper grades of the elementary cycle, more frequently than the third graders had a positive conception of the White Revolution (74 percent versus 48 percent), a reasonable understanding of it (25 percent versus 6 percent), and favorable feelings toward it (7 percent versus 3 percent). (See Table 5.39.)

Table 5.38 Girls and Boys' Conceptions of the White Revolution

Percentage Who Said	Girls	Boys
Reforms to improve Iran	11	16
Shah, programs, nonviolent revolution	23	29
Something good	4	6
Sixth of Bahman, Revolution of Shah and People, book	13	10
Celebration, assassination, other unrelated ideas	6	6
Don't know, no response	43	33
Total	100	100
N	(402)	(524)

Table 5.39 Third and Fifth Graders' Conceptions of the White Revolution

Percentage Who Said	Third	Fifth
Reforms to improve Iran	3	25
Shah, programs, nonviolent revolution	22	30
Something good	3	7
Sixth of Bahman, Revolution of Shah and People, book	10	12
Celebration, assassination, other unrelated ideas	8	6
Don't know, no response	54	20
Total	100	100
N	(463)	(463)

\* \* \*

At this point it becomes appropriate to introduce the summary tables, in which the major findings for the sample, the three subgroups, the sexes, and the two grade levels are presented, and to deal with the question of the effectiveness of the political socialization effort.

### Summary and Conclusion

To suggest how effective the political socialization effort of the Iranian elementary school system is in (1) developing conformity in certain desired political beliefs, attitudes, and knowledge among students, (2) politically unifying city, peasant, and tribal children and boys and girls, and (3) producing certain desired political changes in pupils, in this chapter an inquiry was made into (a) the degree of political uniformity among a select sample of Iranian elementary school children; (b) the magnitude of inter-group and inter-sex political differences; and (c) the differences in political orientations between two grade levels (third and fifth).

### Areas of Conformity and Lack of Conformity

The inquiry into the degree of political uniformity among the children has disclosed that while certain political ideas, attitudes, and information



were quite common among the children, others were not. As Table 5.40 shows, conformity--70 percent or more--was in the areas of:

- (1) favorable feelings toward the Iranian flag
- (2) favorable feelings toward the ruins of Persepolis
- (3) admiration for great Iranian
- (4) sense of patriotism
- (5) positive images of the Shah
- (6) favorable feelings toward the Shah
- (7) knowledge of the Shah's name

And lack of conformity--less than 70 percent--was in the areas of:

- (1) positive images of Iranians
- (2) favorable feelings toward Iranians
- (3) positive conceptions of the White Revolution
- (4) favorable feelings toward the White Revolution
- (5) institutional and democratic idea of government
- (6) knowledge of the function of the Majles

As a result of the findings, then, the inclination is to propose that the political socialization effort of the Iranian elementary school system is incredibly successful in developing conformity among students with respect to positive images of and favorable feelings toward the country, national flag, ruins of Persepolis, and Shah, admiration for great Iranians, and knowledge of the Shah's name; and unsuccessful in developing

Table 5.40 Political Conformity (70 percent or more) and  
Lack of Political Conformity (less than 70 percent)

Percentage Who	Total Sample
<u>Liked best:</u>	
Iranian flag	97
Persepolis ruins	83
<u>Admired most:</u>	
Prescribed great Iranian	87
<u>Had:</u>	
Sense of patriotism	83
Positive images of the Shah	83
Favorable feelings toward the Shah	72
Positive images of Iranians	60
Favorable feelings toward Iranians	35
Positive conceptions of the White Revolution	56
Favorable feelings toward the White Revolution	5
Institutional, democratic conception of government	
Legislature	4
Voting	1
<u>Knew:</u>	
Name of the Shah	76
Function of the Majles	16
N	(926)

conformity among students with respect to positive images of and favorable feelings toward Iranians, positive conceptions of and favorable feelings toward the White Revolution, knowledge of the work of the Majles, and an institutional and democratic conception of government.

Inter-Group (City, Peasant, Tribal) Differences

The inquiry into the size of inter-group political differences has disclosed that while a number of political differences between the city, peasant, and tribal children were not marked, many were. Table 5.41 shows the lack of marked difference--15 percent or less--was in the areas of:

- (1) favorable feelings toward the Iranian flag
- (2) favorable feelings toward the ruins of Persepolis
- (3) admiration for great Iranian
- (4) sense of patriotism
- (5) institutional and democratic idea of government

And the existence of marked difference--more than 15 percent--was in the areas of:

- (1) positive images of the Shah
- (2) favorable feelings toward the Shah
- (3) positive images of Iranians
- (4) favorable feelings toward Iranians
- (5) positive conceptions of the White Revolution

Table 5.41 Political Differences Between City, Peasant, and Tribal Children

Percentage Who	City	Peasant	Tribal
<u>Liked best:</u>			
Iranian flag	95	98	100
Persepolis ruins	79	89	85
<u>Admired most:</u>			
Prescribed great Iranian	83	95	90
<u>Had:</u>			
Sense of patriotism	85	75	89
Positive images of the Shah	75	84	100
Favorable feelings toward the Shah	60	75	98
Positive images of Iranians	59	37	85
Favorable feelings toward Iranians	23	16	81
Positive conceptions of the White Revolution	37	59	94
Favorable feelings toward the White Revolution	2	10	7
Institutional, democratic conception of government			
Legislature	5	4	--
Voting	2	--	1
<u>Knew:</u>			
Name of the Shah	63	79	99
Function of the Majles	9	7	42
N	(478)	(224)	(224)



- (6) favorable feelings toward the White Revolution
- (7) knowledge of the Shah's name
- (8) knowledge of the function of the Majles

In view of the findings, then, the inclination is to suggest that the political socialization effort of the Iranian elementary school system is effective in unifying city, peasant, and tribal children with respect to favorable feelings toward the national flag and ruins of Persepolis, admiration for great Iranians, sense of patriotism, and the absence of an institutional and democratic idea of government; and ineffective in unifying the different children with respect to positive images of and favorable feelings toward the Shah and Iranian people, positive conceptions of and favorable feelings toward the White Revolution, and knowledge of the Shah's name and the function of the Majles.

#### Inter-Sex Differences

The inquiry into the size of inter-sex political differences has disclosed that while most political differences between the boys and girls were not marked, a few were. As Table 5.42 shows, the lack of marked difference--less than 10 percent--was in the areas of:

- (1) favorable feelings toward the Iranian flag
- (2) favorable feelings toward the ruins of Persepolis
- (3) admiration for great Iranian
- (4) sense of patriotism

Table 5.42 Political Differences Between Girls and Boys

Percentage Who	Girls	Boys
<u>Liked best:</u>		
Iranian flag	96	98
Persepolis ruins	82	83
<u>Admired most:</u>		
Prescribed great Iranian	86	89
<u>Had:</u>		
Sense of patriotism	80	86
Positive images of the Shah	81	85
Favorable feelings toward the Shah	71	75
Positive images of Iranians	50	69
Favorable feelings toward Iranians	28	42
Positive conceptions of the White Revolution	51	61
Favorable feelings toward the White Revolution	4	6
Institutional, democratic conception of government		
Legislature	3	4
Voting	2	1
<u>Knew:</u>		
Name of the Shah	69	81
Function of the Majles	13	19
N	(402)	(524)

- (5) positive images of the Shah
- (6) favorable feelings toward the Shah
- (7) favorable feelings toward the White Revolution
- (8) institutional and democratic idea of government
- (9) knowledge of the function of the Majles

And the occurrence of marked difference--10 percent or more--was in the areas of:

- (1) positive images of Iranians
- (2) favorable feelings toward Iranians
- (3) positive conceptions of the White Revolution
- (4) knowledge of the Shah's name

In consideration of the findings, then, the predilection is to suggest that the political socialization effort of the Iranian elementary school system is successful in unifying boys and girls with regard to favorable feelings toward the country, national flag and ruins of Persepolis, admiration for great Iranians, and the absence of an institutional and democratic conception of government, knowledge of the function of the Majles, and favorable feelings toward the White Revolution; and unsuccessful in unifying the sexes with regard to positive images of and favorable feelings toward Iranians, positive conceptions of the White Revolution, and knowledge of the Shah's name.

### Inter-Grade Differences

The inquiry into the differences in political orientations between two grade levels has disclosed increases in desired political orientations frequently and often substantially in the fifth grade. Table 5.43 shows the occurrence of percentage gain in the fifth grade was in the areas of:

- (1) admiration for great Iranians
- (2) sense of patriotism
- (3) positive images of the Shah
- (4) favorable feelings toward the Shah
- (5) positive images of Iranians
- (6) favorable feelings toward Iranians
- (7) positive conceptions of the White Revolution
- (8) favorable feelings toward the White Revolution
- (9) knowledge of the Shah's name
- (10) knowledge of the function of the Majles

And the lack of percentage gain in the fifth grade was in the areas of:

- (1) favorable feelings toward the Iranian flag
- (2) favorable feelings toward the ruins of Persepolis
- (3) institutional and democratic idea of government

As a consequence of the findings, then, the inclination is to propose that the political socialization effort of the Iranian elementary school system is effective in producing changes in pupils with respect to positive images of and favorable feelings toward the Shah

Table 5.43 Political Differences Between Third and Fifth Graders

Percentage Who	Third	Fifth
<u>Liked best:</u>		
Iranian flag	97	97
Persepolis ruins	84	82
<u>Admired most:</u>		
Prescribed great Iranian	85	89
<u>Had:</u>		
Sense of patriotism	77	90
Positive images of the Shah	76	90
Favorable feelings toward the Shah	65	80
Positive images of Iranians	56	66
Favorable feelings toward Iranians	31	41
Positive conceptions of the White Revolution	38	74
Favorable feelings toward the White Revolution	3	7
Institutional, democratic conception of government		
Legislature	5	3
Voting	1	2
<u>Knew:</u>		
Name of the Shah	68	84
Function of the Majles	12	21
N	(463)	(463)

and Iranian people, positive conceptions of and favorable feelings toward the White Revolution, sense of patriotism, and knowledge of the Shah's name and the function of the Majles; and ineffective in producing changes in pupils with respect to favorable feelings toward the national flag and ruins of Persepolis, and an institutional and democratic conception of government.

In sum, it is well to emphasize that the foregoing proposals are the best proposals on the basis of the available data. They are definite, it is hoped, in the sense of being clear and understandable, but not in the sense of being definitive. They are proposals based on the knowledge at this moment.

#### Research Implications of the Survey Inquiry

While it is premature at this stage of knowledge to consider the implications of the survey inquiry for changes in educational practice, it is not inappropriate to suggest a number of research implications. First, most obviously, replication with a larger and better sample is necessary. As repeatedly stressed, the findings are based on an exploratory survey. Therefore, what seem to be significant findings may prove to be peculiarities of Iranian school children in 1971-72, or the specific populations which made up the sample. Second, not only is replication with a new and more satisfactory sample desirable, but it also is important

to extend the sample to include respondents from the second and fourth grades as well as the sixth through eighth grades. Third, it is necessary to study a wide range of political orientations since the school system's desired citizenship orientations for children extend far beyond the few touched upon in the inquiry.<sup>70</sup> Fourth, it is advisable to obtain systematic and extensive direct observations on the teachers as well as the students. Fifth, it is important to develop and validate new methods of measurement not only for values and attitudes but also for information, in order to determine the degree to which the findings from the present inquiry are artifacts of the research methods. And finally, since Iranian children might conceal the way they actually feel and conform to what they believe are socially approved responses (although it is generally acknowledged by psychologists that these defense mechanisms are not strongly developed in children), it is useful to utilize several techniques with the children so that consistent patterns of thought or action can readily be isolated and contradictions can be discovered and accounted for.

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<sup>70</sup>The political orientations introduced in the preceding pages do not exhaust the political orientations included in the questionnaire. Interested readers are directed to Appendix B, where the entire questionnaire is reproduced in English and Persian.

These are only a few of the research implications of the survey inquiry. Certainly, there are many others; but these comments should be adequate to suggest avenues of future research which seem desirable.



## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

The purpose in this study was to shed light on the goals and methods of political socialization in Iranian elementary schools and to suggest through a survey inquiry how effective the political socialization effort is in (1) developing conformity in certain desired political beliefs, attitudes, and knowledge among students, (2) politically unifying city, peasant, and tribal children and boys and girls, and (3) producing certain desired political changes in pupils.

#### Summary of Findings

Foremost in the schools' responsibility for the political socialization of Iranian children is the development of national consciousness and the inculcation of nationalistic sentiments. Objectives such as training children "to know and respect the flag of Iran," "to know and love their fellow countrymen," "to know and respect the glorious ancient traditions and customs of the Iranian people," "to respect the great men of

Iran who have contributed to the progress of the Iranian people and the world," and "to sacrifice willingly their life for the preservation of the fatherland" are important goals of elementary political socialization. Instruction in schools aimed at the development of national awareness and feeling takes the form of both formal and informal activities, that is to say, courses in Persian language and history, and the observance of national celebrations and holidays.

Second in the schools' responsibility for the political socialization of Iranian children is the development of an awareness of and attachment to the regime and its leader. Prominent objectives in this area are "to familiarize students with the constitutional monarchy of Iran," "to acquaint students with the momentous responsibilities of the Shahanshah in Iran," "to familiarize students with the efforts and struggles of Shahanshah Aryamehr to preserve the independence and integrity of Iran," "to promote love and respect for the Shahanshah," and "to acquaint students with the White Revolution of Iran and its good results." Accordingly, through both formal experiences, notably, the civics monographs in the social studies books, and informal experiences, such as excursions to government bureaucracies and observances of days of civic crises, schools endeavor to provide children with some basic information about the Iranian government--its structures

(king, legislature, judiciary, cabinet), its incumbent highest leader (Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi), and its accomplishments (White Revolution); and, in the process, to foster in children the belief that the existing regime and its leader are good, just, and devoted to the welfare of the people, and, therefore, worthy of their trust and respect.

And last in the schools' responsibility for the political socialization of Iranian children is the development of characteristics (dispositions, behaviors) that are beneficial to Iran's modernization efforts and essential for a complete social and political revolution. Thus objectives such as training children "to participate actively and effectively in political and social life," "to respect the law," "to prefer social benefits to individual ones," "to learn the need for cooperating with others," "to love study," "to strive for excellence in work and person," "to avoid pessimistic and suspicious thoughts," "to accept social responsibilities," and "to participate in social activities" are important aims of elementary education. Schools communicate and transmit the desirable citizenship characteristics to the children through a variety of means--textbook content (especially the material in the Persian language and religion books), school milieu, overt expression by the teacher in the classroom, and the teacher serving as a model for the desirable characteristics.

Developing Political Conformity  
Among Students

The political socialization effort is incredibly successful in developing conformity among students with respect to positive images of and favorable feelings toward the country, national flag, ruins of Persepolis and Shah, admiration for great Iranians, and knowledge of the Shah's name; and unsuccessful in developing conformity among students with respect to positive images of and favorable feelings toward Iranians, positive conceptions of and favorable feelings toward the White Revolution, knowledge of the work of the Majles, and an institutional and democratic conception of government.

Politically Unifying City, Peasant,  
and Tribal Children

The political socialization effort is effective in unifying city, peasant, and tribal children with respect to favorable feelings toward the national flag and ruins of Persepolis, admiration for great Iranians, sense of patriotism, and the absence of an institutional and democratic idea of government; and ineffective in unifying the different children with respect to positive images of and favorable feelings toward the Shah and Iranian people, positive conceptions of and favorable feelings toward the White Revolution, and knowledge of the Shah's name and the function of the Majles.

### Politically Unifying Boys and Girls

The political socialization effort is successful in unifying boys and girls with regard to favorable feelings toward the country, national flag and ruins of Persepolis, admiration for great Iranians, and the absence of an institutional and democratic conception of government, knowledge of the function of the Majles, and favorable feelings toward the White Revolution; and unsuccessful in unifying the sexes with regard to positive images of and favorable feelings toward Iranians, positive conceptions of the White Revolution, and knowledge of the Shah's name.

### Producing Desired Political Changes in Pupils

The political socialization effort is effective in producing changes in pupils with respect to positive images of and favorable feelings toward the Shah and Iranian people, positive conceptions of and favorable feelings toward the White Revolution, sense of patriotism, and knowledge of the Shah's name and the function of the Majles; and ineffective in producing changes in pupils with respect to favorable feelings toward the national flag and ruins of Persepolis, and an institutional and democratic conception of government.

Finally, the record of the study implies that the political socialization effort is more effective in

stimulating certain desired political orientations among tribal children than among peasant and city children, and among boys than among girls. As regards the effectiveness of the effort with tribal children, their superior intelligence and learning experiences may to a great extent be influential factors. And as regards the effectiveness of the effort with boys, Iranian culture--which tends to dichotomize male and female roles strictly--may be predominant in the socialization process.

#### Reflections on the Political Socialization Study

When the study was initiated some experts predicted that the research could not be carried out because the Iranian government would not permit the investigation and, moreover, that Iranian children in rural areas would not be able to respond to a survey questionnaire. In addition, it was suggested that the investigator would be viewed as a SAVAK agent--sent by the central government to "check up" on the administrators, teachers, and students. The study proved the experts wrong. Permission to work in Iran was granted by the government and the research was conducted in areas where the concept of survey research was utterly unknown. And rather than being identified as a SAVAK agent, many Iranians admitted the investigator into their confidence. The basic point that is being stressed about the study is that it could

hardly be ventured and completed without the official blessing of the Iranian government and the cooperation and support of many Iranians.

The study exists, and as a consequence of it, some heretofore unavailable information--gathered through direct observations, informal interviews, survey research, analysis of documents, content analysis of textbooks, intuitive "listening" to the rhythm of the culture--is now available.

## **APPENDICES**



**APPENDIX A**

**ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENT OF THE  
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PERSIAN  
READERS**

# APPENDIX A

Table A.1 Analysis of the Content of the Elementary School Persian Readers (in percentage)<sup>a</sup>

Category	Alphabet Primer <sup>b</sup>	Grade					Total <sup>c</sup>
		1	2	3	4	5	
A. Type of Story							
National Symbols, Institutions and Traditions	0	37	29	37	44	36	37(63)
Policy Oriented							
Shah Aryamehr and Royal Family	1	10	7	5	5	0	5 (9)
White Revolution	0	0	5	8	0	0	3 (5)
Moralistic/Proper Conduct	6	21	50	39	50	72	49(86)
Health and Safety	0	0	7	0	0	5	3 (5)
Practical Knowledge	99	37	14	10	11	13	15(26)
Science and Industry	0	0	7	8	17	3	7(13)
Other	0	0	2	10	5	0	4 (7)
B. Contemporary Setting	75	42	59	53	53	33	49(85)
C. Main Participant(s)							
Individual	18	0	14	32	39	46	29(50)
Two Individuals	14	0	29	16	5	23	17(29)
Family	29	5	19	24	8	3	13(22)

Table A.1 Continued

Category	Alphabet Primer <sup>b</sup>	Grade					Total <sup>c</sup>
		1	2	3	4	5	
Group (nonfamily)	9	32	21	13	8	5	14(25)
Other	4	53	12	13	39	20	24(42)
D. Hierarchical Society	29	32	40	53	33	49	42(74)
E. Authority Stressed							
Familial	19	5	29	29	14	5	18(31)
Educational	8	10	17	16	3	0	9(16)
Peer	0	0	2	3	3	0	2 (3)
Political	0	10	7	26	28	28	21(36)
Spiritual	0	21	0	8	3	15	8(14)
Other	2	0	5	3	0	3	2 (4)
F. Attitude of Authority							
Benevolent	11	32	45	58	44	33	44(76)
Nonbenevolent	0	0	0	0	5	13	4 (7)
Neutral	0	0	0	3	0	8	2 (4)
G. Main Moral Themes							
Patriotism	0	16	19	39	42	36	32(55)
Respect	0	37	28	24	31	33	30(52)

Table A.1 Continued

Category	Alphabet Primer <sup>b</sup>	Grade					Total <sup>c</sup>
		1	2	3	4	5	
Achievement	0	0	5	21	50	33	24(41)
Self-discipline	0	5	24	13	17	10	15(26)
Intelligence	0	0	7	8	19	15	11(19)
Cooperation	6	0	14	24	19	33	20(35)
Bravery	0	10	2	34	25	28	21(36)
Humaneness	5	21	31	24	30	36	29(51)
Hostility	1	0	2	8	11	10	7(12)
Other	5	10	2	10	8	3	6(11)
H. Total No. of Stories	(79)	(19)	(42)	(38)	(36)	(39)	(174)

NOTES: Richard W. Wilson's technique of content analysis, reported in Learning To Be Chinese: The Political Socialization of Children in Taiwan, Appendix 2, pp. 170-72, was used in analyzing the Persian readers. Thus, a selection was listed as being of a certain type or having a certain motif or theme if, in the investigator's judgment, its theme or topic corresponded with a determined category.

Under the major category "Main Moral Themes," the following subheadings helped determine the theme of a selection: (1) patriotism: love of country and culture; (2) respect: obedience, deference, politeness, filiality; (3) achievement: competitiveness, willingness to work, perseverance, value of learning, doing one's best; (4) self-discipline: responsibility, orderliness, neatness, valuing time; (5) intelligence: using one's head to solve problems, quick-wittedness, cleverness; (6) cooperation: helpfulness, other-directedness; (7) bravery: courage, fearlessness; (8) humaneness: kindness, love, forgiveness, hospitality, trusting people; (9) hostility: revenge, hatred, cruelty, distrusting people.

Table A.1 Continued

<sup>a</sup>Percentages in any section--"Type of Story," "Contemporary Setting," "Main Moral Themes"--may not add up to 100 percent because the selection may have been listed under more than one category or may not have been listed at all if its content did not coincide with a category in any section. Percentages indicate only what percentage of the total selections in any particular grade are of or contain a particular orientation.

<sup>b</sup>Alphabet Primer refers to the lessons introducing the letters of the alphabet in the first grade Persian reader.

<sup>c</sup>Numbers in parentheses following total percentages refer to the actual number of selections, excluding the lessons introducing the letters of the alphabet in the first grade Persian reader, having a particular orientation.

## **APPENDIX B**

### **QUESTIONNAIRE**

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

A. LET'S FIRST TALK ABOUT YOU AND YOUR FAMILY

1. How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_
2. Are you a boy or a girl? \_\_\_\_\_
3. What grade are you in? \_\_\_\_\_
4. What is your religion? \_\_\_\_\_
5. What language do you speak in the home? \_\_\_\_\_
6. Which of these do you have in your home? (Check all those that you have in your home.)

☐ Radio

☐ Television

☐ Daily newspaper

☐ None of these

7. Can your father read and write?

☐ Yes

☐ No

8. What is your father's main job? (If your father is not working now or is dead, state the kind of job he did when he was working.)  
\_\_\_\_\_

9. What is the highest level of education which your father has completed? (Check one)

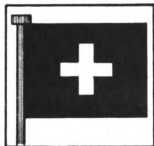
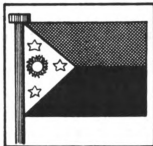
- ☐ Primary school
- ☐ Secondary school
- ☐ University studies
- ☐ Did not go to school
- ☐ I don't know

B. NOW, LET'S TALK ABOUT YOU AND YOUR COUNTRY

10. What is the name of the Shah of Iran? \_\_\_\_\_
11. What does the Shah do for our country? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
12. What is the name of the Prime Minister of Iran? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
13. What does the Prime Minister do for our country? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
14. What does the Majles do? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
15. What is the White Revolution? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
16. How is the behavior of Iranian people different from that of people in other countries? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_



17. Which flag is the best? (Put an X below the one that is best.)


☐

☐

☐

Why did you pick this flag? \_\_\_\_\_

18. Which monument is the best? (Put an X below the one that is best.)


☐

☐

☐

Why did you pick this monument? \_\_\_\_\_

19. Which costume is the best? (Put an X below the one that is best.)


☐

☐

☐

Why did you pick this costume? \_\_\_\_\_

20. What are you most proud of in your country? (Check the two things that you are most proud of.)

☐ Iran has beautiful mountains and gardens

☐ Our Shah

☐ Iranians can vote for their leaders

☐ The White Revolution

☐ Iranians have great culture and history

21. If you had some extra money, what would you do with it? (Check one)

☐ Buy something for myself

☐ Give it to my family

☐ Give it to help the Iranian refugees from Iraq

☐ Save it

☐ I don't know

22. Let's pretend that a man you meet gives you some money. You become very happy at the thought of buying some things for yourself and your family; but then the man starts saying bad things about Iran. What would you do? (Check one)

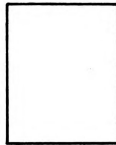
☐ Give the money to my mother and father

☐ Keep the money

☐ Give back the money

☐ I don't know

23. Here are some pictures that show what our government is. (Pick the two pictures that show best what our government is.)

Police ☐Cyrus ☐Lion  
& Sun ☐Voting ☐Law Courts ☐Majles ☐Legislature ☐Flag ☐White  
Revolution ☐Shah ☐Don't  
Know ☐

24. Which sentence best describes how Iranian people act?  
(Check one)

- ☐ They love their country
- ☐ They are very smart
- ☐ They are strong and brave
- ☐ They are religious
- ☐ They are kind to strangers

25. If the Shah came to your school to give a prize to two children who were the best Iranians, which two children would he pick? (Check two)

- ☐ A child who gets good grades
- ☐ A child who does what he is told
- ☐ A child who helps others
- ☐ A child who is interested in the way our country is run
- ☐ A child who is religious
- ☐ I don't know

26. Who teaches you the most about being a good Iranian?  
(Check one)

- ☐ Parents
- ☐ Teachers
- ☐ Government leaders
- ☐ Radio, television, or newspapers
- ☐ I don't know

27. What great Iranian in all the world, living or dead, do you most admire? (Write in the name of one person.) \_\_\_\_\_

28. What does it mean to be a "good" Iranian? \_\_\_\_\_

C. LET'S TALK ABOUT WHAT YOU DO WHEN SOMETHING IS WRONG

At Home

29. If your parents decided something for you that you did not like--maybe, forbidding you to play with a new friend--what would you do about it?

☐ Talk to them about it and try to make them change their mind

☐ There would not be anything that I could do

30. Have you ever actually talked to your parents to change their mind?

☐ Yes

☐ No

At School

31. If you felt your teacher treated you unfairly in some way or said something that you thought was wrong, what would you feel? (Check one)

☐ Free to talk to him about it

☐ A bit uneasy about it

☐ It would be better not to talk to him about it

32. If you were to talk to your teacher about it, would it make a difference?

☐ Yes

☐ No

33. Have you ever done this?

☐ Yes

☐ No

In Your Country

34. Let's pretend you are a grown-up. A law is being made in Iran that you think is unjust and harmful. Do you think you would do something about it? (Check one)

☐ Yes

☐ Maybe

☐ No

☐ I don't know

35. Is this true? "What the government does is like the weather; there is nothing people can do about it."  
(Check one)

☐ Yes

☐ Maybe

☐ No

☐ I don't know

## D. HERE ARE SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOU AND OTHERS

36. Some people say that most people can be trusted. Others say most people cannot be trusted. How do you feel? (Check one)

☐ Most people can be trusted

☐ Most people cannot be trusted

☐ I don't know

37. Which one of the sentences below is the better advice? (Check one)

☐ If you seek success, join with no groups

☐ Success comes to those who join together to work for the same goals

☐ I don't know

38. Do you think that what goes on in the government is all for the best? (Check one)

☐ Yes

☐ Maybe

☐ No

☐ I don't know

39. Would you say that most people would help someone else, or would you say that most people just take care of themselves? (Check one)

☐ Most people would help someone

☐ Most people would just take care of themselves

☐ I don't know

40. Suppose a person had some trouble. If he went to complain to the police office or gendarmerie, what would they do for him? (Check one)

☐ They would listen seriously but do nothing

☐ They would listen seriously and try to help

☐ I don't know

41. When you grow up, would you like to be a member of the Literacy Corps? (Check one)

☐ Yes

☐ Maybe

☐ No

☐ I don't know

42. Let's pretend there is a rule in your school that you think is not fair. Let's pretend you want to change this rule. What do you think would be the best thing to do? (Check one)

☐ Talk to my parents about changing it

☐ Talk to my principal about changing it

☐ Talk to students about changing it

☐ There would not be anything I could do



E. NOW, LET'S TALK ABOUT SOME THINGS YOU DO AND TALK ABOUT  
IN SCHOOL AND IN YOUR FREE TIME

43. To which school organizations below do you belong?  
(Check all those to which you belong.)

☐ Scouts

☐ Junior Red Lion and Sun

☐ I do not belong to any school organizations

44. If you belong to any organizations or clubs, other  
than the Scouts and Junior Red Lion and Sun, what  
are their names? \_\_\_\_\_

45. What activities, outside of school, do you spend  
most of your free time on? \_\_\_\_\_

46. When you have discussions in class, do you think  
students are free to say what they want to say?  
(Check one)

☐ Yes

☐ No

☐ I don't know

47. When you discuss things in class, do you say  
what you want to say?

☐ Yes

☐ No

48. Have you, during the past month, done any of these things? (Check each one that you have done.)

- ☐ I have talked about the news of Iran with my family
- ☐ I have talked about the news of Iran with my friends
- ☐ I have read about the news of Iran in newspapers or magazines
- ☐ I have listened to the news of Iran on radio or television
- ☐ I have not done any of these things

49. Which of these events and problems have you talked about with your teachers, friends, or family? (Check each one that you have talked about.)

- ☐ Iran's 2,500 year celebration
- ☐ The work of the Literacy Corps
- ☐ The Iranian refugees from Iraq
- ☐ The distribution of land to the peasants
- ☐ None of these

50. What is the best way to learn about what is happening in Iran? (Check one)

- ☐ Listening to radio or television or reading newspapers
- ☐ Listening to conversations of older people
- ☐ Listening to talks by teachers
- ☐ I don't know

51. When your teacher gives you homework, what do you do? (Check one)

☐ I do just enough to get by

☐ I work until I am satisfied with the results

☐ I don't do any homework

52. Let's pretend your school team is playing a game against another team. At what point in the game do you want to join your team? (Check one)

☐ When your team is three points ahead

☐ When your team is three points behind

☐ When the score is equal

53. What is the most important lesson that a child should learn? (Check one)

☐ To obey always the wishes of his elders

☐ To think for himself

☐ I don't know

54. What difficult and important job would you like to have when you grow up? \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_

55. Do you think you could succeed at this job? (Check one)

☐ Yes

☐ Maybe

☐ No

☐ I don't know

## QUESTIONNAIRE

الف - اول درباره تو و خانواده ات حرف میزنیم .

- ۱- چند سال داری ؟ .....
- ۲- دختری یا پسری ؟ .....
- ۳- کلاس چندم هستی ؟ .....
- ۴- دین تو چیست ؟ .....
- ۵- در خانه به چه زبانی حرف میزنی ؟ .....
- ۶- اگر چیزهای زیر در خانه دارید علامت بگذارید .

رادیو ☐

تلویزیون ☐

روزنامه ☐

هیچکدام ☐

۷- آیا پدرت سواد دارد

بله ☐

نه ☐

۸- شغل اصلی پدرت چیست ؟ ( اگر پدرت کار نمی کند یا بخسدا

نکرده فوت کرده است بگو قبلاً چه شغلی داشت )

.....

.....

۹- پدرت تا کلاس چندم خوانده‌است ؟

تا کلاس ششم ابتدائی ☐

در پهلواست ☐

به دانشگاه رفته‌است ☐

به مدرسه نرفته‌است ☐

نمی‌دانم ☐

ب- حالا درباره تو و کشورمان صحبت میکنیم

۱۰- اسم پادشاه ایران را بنویس .....

۱۱- پادشاه چه کارهایی را برای کشورمان انجام میدهد ؟

.....

.....

.....

۱۲- اسم نخست وزیر ایران چیست ؟ .....

۱۳- نخست وزیر ایران چه کارهایی را برای کشورمان انجام میدهد ؟

.....

.....

.....

۱۴- کار مجلس چیست ؟

.....

.....

.....

۱۵- انقلاب سپید چیست ؟

.....

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۱۶- خواهش میکنم بگو رفتار ایرانی ها با مردم کشورهای دیگر چه

فرقی میکند ؟

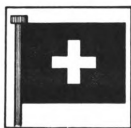
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۱۷- کدام يك از این پرچم ها را بیشتر دوست داری؟ (زیر آنكه بیشتر دوست داری علامت بگذار)



چرا آن پرچم را انتخاب کردی؟

۱۸- کدام يك از بناهای زیر را بیشتر دوست داری؟ (زیر آنكه بیشتر دوست داری علامت بگذار)



چرا آن بنا را انتخاب کردی؟

۱۹- کدام يك از لباسهای زیر را بیشتر دوست داری؟ (زیر آنكه بیشتر دوست داری علامت بگذار)



چرا آن لباس را انتخاب کردی؟

۲۰- از همه بیشتر به چه چیز وطن خود افتخار میکنی ؟ ( روی رو

جواب علامت بگذار )

☐ به کوهها و باغهای زیبای ایران

☐ به شاهنشاه

☐ - به آزادی انتخابات در ایران

☐ به انقلاب سفید

☐ به تاریخ و فرهنگ قدیمی ایران

۲۱- اگر کمی پول اضافه داشته باشی چکار میکنی ؟ ( روی پیک

جواب علامت بگذار )

☐ برای خودم چیزی میخرم

☐ به پدر و مادر میدهم

☐ برای کمک به ایرانیان راندن دشمنان از عراق میدهم

☐ پس انداز میکنم

☐ نمیدانم

۲۲- بکنفر بتومقداری پول میدهد - تو خیلی از داشتن این پول خوشحال

میشوی فکر میکنی که خیلی چیزها برای خودت و خانواده میخری و لسی

این شخص حرفهای بدی درباره ایران میزند . آنوقت تو چکار میکنی ؟  
(روی پیک جواب علامت بگذار)

☐ پول را به پدر و مادر میدهم

☐ پول را نگه میدارم

☐ پول را به آن شخص پس میدهم

☐ نمیدانم



۲۳- تصویرهایی که در این صفحه می بینید دولت ما را نشان می دهد .  
 زیر دوتا از تصویرهایی که بنظر شما بهتر از بقیه دولت ما را نشان می دهد علامت بگذارید



پاسبان ☐



کوروش بزرگ ☐



شیر و خورشید ☐



رای دادن ☐



دبیرگاه ☐



مجلس ☐



وکیل مجلس ☐



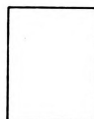
پرچم ☐



انقلاب سعید ☐



شاهنشاه ☐



نمیدانم ☐

۲۴- از میان جمله‌های زیر يك جمله را انتخاب كن كه از همه بهتر

ایرانی‌ها را معرفی میکند . ( فقط يك جمله را انتخاب كن )

☐ ایرانی‌ها ملکتشان را دوست دارند .

☐ ایرانی‌ها خیلی زرنگ هستند

☐ ایرانی‌ها خیلی دلیر هستند

☐ ایرانی‌ها مذهبی هستند

☐ ایرانی‌ها میهمان نواز هستند

۲۵- اگر شاهنشاه به مدرسه توبیایند و بخواهند به دوتا از بچه ها

بعنوان ایرانی خوب جایزه بدهند کدام د نفر را انتخاب میکنند .

( شما روی دوتا جواب علامت بگذارید )

☐ به بچه‌ای که نمره‌های خوب بگیرد

☐ به بچه‌ای که حرف بزرگترها را گوش کند

☐ به بچه‌ای که بدینگران کمک کند

☐ به بچه‌ای که به کشور و دولت خود علاقه داشته باشد .

☐ به بچه‌ای که به دین خود علاقه داشته باشد .

☐ نمیدانم

۲۶- چه کسی بتوازمه بیشتر میگوید که باید يك ایرانی خوب باشی ؟

( روی يك جواب علامت بگذار )

☐ پدر و مادر

☐ معلم هایم

☐ شاه و نخست وزیر

☐ رادیو یا تلویزیون یا روزنامه

☐ نمیدانم

۲۷- به کدام يك از اشخاص بزرگ ایرانی، چه در گذشته چه حالا

بیشتر احترام میگذاری ؟ ( فقط اسم یکنفر را بنویس )

.....

۲۸- " ایرانی خوب " یعنی چه ؟

.....

.....

.....

ج - حالا می‌خواهم بدانم که وقتی کارم را به میل و دلخواه تو نیست چه کار میکنی

در خانه

۲۹- اگر پدر و مادر تو کاری بکنند که تو دوست نداشته باشی - مثلاً

نگذارند که تو بایکی از دوستهایت بازی کنی - توجه کار میکنی ؟

☐ با آنها حرف می‌زنم و دلیلش را می‌خواهم بعد کار میکنم

که بمن اجازه دهند .

☐ اطاعت میکنم

۳۰- هیچوقت تا بحال اینطور شده ؟ ( با پدر و مادر ت حرف

زده‌ای و سعی کرده‌ای که عقیدشان را تغییر دهی ؟ )

☐ بله

☐ نه

در مدرسه

۳۱- اگر معلمت استثنا بگذارد و رفتارش با تو خوب نباشد چکار

میکنی ؟ ( يك جواب را انتخاب کن )

☐ می‌روم با او حرف می‌زنم

☐ دلم می‌خواهد با او حرف بزنم ولی می‌ترسم او عصیان شود

☐ بهتر است اصلاً حرف نزنم

۳۲- اگر بروی با معلمت حرف بزنی فکر میکنی تاثیری خواهد داشت ؟

☐ بله

☐ نه

۳۳- هیچوقت تابحال اینکار را کرده‌ای ؟

بله ☐

نه ☐

در مملکت

۳۴- حالا مثلاً "تو بزرگ شدی". میشنوی که يك قانونی درست کرده‌اند

که هیچ خوب نیست فکر میکنی کاری از دست تو برمیآید که این قانون را

تغییر دهی ؟ (روی يك جواب علامت بگذار)

بله ☐

شاید ☐

نه ☐

نمیدانم ☐

۳۵- بنظر تو این حرف درست است که دولت هرچه بخواهد انجام میدهد

و مردم هیچ کاری نمیتوانند بکنند ؟ (روی يك جواب علامت بگذار)

بله ☐

شاید ☐

نه ☐

نمیدانم ☐

د - حالا چند سؤال درباره تو دوستانت خواهیم کرد .

۳۶- بعضی ها میگویند به بیشتر مردم میشود اطمینان کرد . بعضی دیگر

میگویند به بیشتر مردم نمیشود اطمینان کرد . توجه میگوئی ؟

( يك جواب را انتخاب كن )

☐ میشود اطمینان کرد

☐ نمیشود اطمینان کرد

☐ نمیدانم

۳۷- کداميك از جمله های زیر نصیحت بهتری است ؟ ( يك جواب را

انتخاب كن )

☐ اگر میخواهی موفق بشوی با هیچ دوستی دوست نشو

☐ موفقیت مال کسانی است که دست به دست هم میدهند و

در نبال يك هدف میروند .

☐ نمیدانم

۳۸- بنظر تو هرکاری دولت میکند خوبست ؟ ( يك جواب را انتخاب

كن )

☐ بله

☐ شاید

☐ نه

☐ نمیدانم

۳۹- بنظر تو بیشتر مردم به یکدیگر کمک میکنند یا اینکه فقط به فکر

خودشان هستند ؟ ( يك جواب را انتخاب كن )

☐ بیشتر مردم به هم کمک میکنند

☐ بیشتر مردم فقط بفکر زندگی خودشان هستند

☐ نمیدانم

۴۰- خیال کن برای یک نفر یک گرفتاری پیش آمده است . مربوط به مسائل

کلانتری شکایت میکند . آنها چه کار میکنند ؟ ( يك جواب

را انتخاب كن )

☐ با دقت به حرفهایش گوش میدهند ولی هیچ کار نمیکند

☐ با دقت به حرفهایش گوش میکنند و سعی میکنند کمکش کنند

☐ نمیدانم چه کار میکنند

۴۱- وقتی بزرگ بشوی دلت میخواهد یکی از اعضا " سپاه دانش بشوی ؟

( يك جواب را انتخاب كن )

☐ بله

☐ شاید

☐ نه

☐ نمیدانم





۴۲- د رمد رسه قانونی هست که بنظر تو خوب نیست و تود لت میخواهد

این قانون از بین برود چکار میکنی ؟ ( يك جواب را انتخاب كن )

☐ با پدر و مادر دم د را این باره حرف میزنم

☐ با مد یرمد رسه ام حرف میزنم

☐ با بقیه شاگرد ها حرف میزنم

☐ هیچ کاری نمیکنم

ه- حالا راجع به مطالبی که معمولاً " د رمد رسه و خانه صحبت میکنی و ...

کارهایی که انجام میدی صحبت میکنیم

۴۳- عضو کدام انجمن هستی ؟ ( اگر عضو هر دو انجمن هستی جلوی

هر دو علامت بگذار )

☐ انجمن پیش آهنگی

☐ انجمن شیروخورشید سرخ جوانان

☐ هیچکدام

۴۴- اگر عضو انجمن د یگری غیر از پیش آهنگی و شیروخورشید هستی اسم

ببر

.....

۴۵- وقت آزاد خود را د ر خارج از مدرسه چگونه میگذرانی ؟

.....

.....

۴۶- وقتی در کلاس راجع به موضوعی صحبت میشود شاگرد ها هر چه

دیشان بخواهد میگویند ؟ ( يك جواب را انتخاب كن )

بله ☐

نه ☐

نمیدانم ☐

۴۷- تو چطور ؟ تو هم هر چه دلت خواست میگوئی ؟

بله ☐

نه ☐

۴۸- در ماه گذشته کدام يك از این کارها را کردی ؟ ( جلوی تمام

کارهائی را که کردی علامت بگذار )

در باره اخبار ایران با فامیلم صحبت کردم ☐

در باره اخبار ایران با دوستانم صحبت کردم ☐

اخبار ایران را در روزنامه و مجله ~~خسواند~~ ☐

به برنامه اخبار رادیو یا تلویزیون گوش دادم ☐

هیچکدام از این کارها را نکردم ☐

۴۹- معمولاً درباره کدام يك از مطالب زیر با معلمهايت و دستهايت

يا خانوادهات حرف ميزني ؟ ( جلو تمام مطالبي كه دربارهشان

حرف ميزني علامت بگذار . )

☐ جشنهای ۲۵۰۰ ساله

☐ کارهای سپاه دانش

☐ ایرانیان رانده شده از عراق

☐ تقسیم اراضی بین دهقانان

☐ هیچکدام

۵۰- بنظر تو بهترین و مطمئنترین راه بدست آوردن اخبار ایران چیست ؟

(روی يك جواب علامت بگذار)

☐ گوش کردن به رادیو و تلویزیون و خواندن روزنامه

☐ شنیدن صحبت های بزرگترها

☐ از گفتههای معلم

☐ نمیدانم

۵۱- وقتی تکالیف مدرسه را در خانه انجام میدهی :

☐ دلت میخواهد هرطور شده بد یا خوب ، زودتر تمامش کنی ؟

☐ خیلی زحمت میکشی تا دلت راضی شود ؟

☐ اصلاً " تکلیف منزل " انجام نمیدهی ؟

۵۲ - خیال کن تیم ورزشی مدرسه شما با یک تیم دیگر مسابقه میدهد .  
در کجای مسابقه تو دلت میخواهد وارد بازی شوی ؟ ( فقط يك  
جواب انتخاب کن )

☐ وقتی تیم مدرست شما ۳ نمره جلوتر است

☐ وقتی تیم مدرسه شما ۳ نمره عقب تر است

☐ وقتی ۵ ر دو تیم مساوی هستند

۵۳ - بنظر تو مهمترین درسی که بچه باید یاد بگیرد چیست ؟ ( روی  
يك جواب علامت بگذار )

☐ همیشه حرف بزرگترهايش را گوش کند

☐ خودش فکر کند و تصمیم بگیرد

☐ نمیدانم

۵۴ - وقتی بزرگ شدی دلت میخواهد چکار مشکل و مهم داشته باشی ؟

.....

۵۵ - فکر میکنی میتوانی این کار مهم و مشکل را انجام دهی ؟

☐ بله

☐ شاید

☐ نه

☐ نمیدانم

بچه های عزیز

خیلی متشکریم که به سئوالات ما جواب دادید - موفقیت شما را از  
خداوند بزرگ خواهیم خواست.

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