

THESIS



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MARGINAL SETTLEMENTS IN TABRIZ

By

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ABSTRACT

MARGINAL SETTLEMENTS IN TABRIZ

By

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This study was designed to explore, establish and analyze the crucial dimensions characterizing the process of marginalization. It was conducted in the marginal settlements scattered on the outskirts of Tabriz, the second largest industrial center of Iran, during the summer of 1979. These marginal settlements have sprung up during the last decade due to a series of socio-economic and political events which forced countless of poor and unskilled persons to migrate to the city in search of a livelihood.

One hundred and sixty eight households were randomly selected from a master list compiled from data obtained from the Tabriz Central Statistical Department and a survey conducted by Azarabadegan University. A structured interview conducted by specially trained interviewers was utilized to obtain the research data. These interviews were individually conducted with the head of each sampled household. The duration of these interviews ranged anywhere from thirty minutes to one hour, with a mean of forty

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minutes.

In general, the major findings of this study support the position expounded by Perlman (1975) stating that marginalization occurs when vast sectors of the population are excluded from the productive apparatus of the economy.

To my brother, DAREUSH,

Whose unceasing love, encouragement and support were vital to the completion of this thesis.

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PREFACE

One of the most difficult tasks confronting most graduate students is that of selecting a major area of interest upon which to devote his or her time, energy and effort, and which ultimately leads to a thesis or dissertation. Such a decision is frequently complicated by feelings of altruism and the genuine desire to conduct a research project which will in some way benefit humankind.

After a long deliberation period, during which I weighed such issues as my prior research interests, their compatibility with my long range life goals, and the actual feasibility of the project, I decided to conduct my research upon the marginal settlements in my native city of Tabriz, Iran. The rationale for this decision is as follows:

First, ever since I was a student at the University of Tabriz, I have had an interest in the marginal settlements which have sprung up around the city. My thesis provided the ideal opportunity to conduct a research concerning a long standing area of interest.

Secondly, having been born and reared in said city, I am very familiar with the terrain, and other geographical features of the locale. More importantly, I know and understand the folkways, mores, and norms of the people. Simply stated: my language is their language, my culture is their culture.

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INTRODUCTION

Tabriz, the second largest city in Iran, and one of its former capitals, lies on a valley to the north of the long ridge of Mount Sahand. This valley opens out into a plain that slopes down gently to the northern end of Lake Rezaieh, forty-two miles to the west. By virtue of its situation and its altitude of 4,600 feet above sea level, Tabriz has a very pleasant and agreeable summer climate, but the cold in winter is severe. The nearest points on the Soviet and Turkish frontiers are, respectively, 60 and 100 miles away from the city. Owing to its proximity to Russia and Turkey, and to the fact that it is on an earthquake zone, Tabriz has had a very eventful history.

The name, "TABRIZ", has been popularly derived from "TAB-RIZ", which means in modern Persian, "FEVER-DISPELLING". Its origin and etymology is more likely to be found in the much older Pahlavi roots, "TAP-RIZ" (or TAV-RIZ), signifying "CAUSING TO FLOW", which is a possible allusion to the numerous springs of mineral water that rise on the slopes of Mount Sahand (Lockhart, 1960, p. 10).

At the present time, Tabriz has a population of approximately 800,000, and is therefore, once again, the second largest city in Iran. It is as it has been for centuries, a most important administrative and commercial center, and

it seems destined to progress appreciably further now that the railroad from Tehran **has been** completed. Also, there is another railroad from Tabriz to Turkey and Russia where it links with the Turkish and Russian railway system.

Tabriz has several good hotels and restaurants, as well as, a number of cinemas. Of the great monuments of the past, however, there remains only the ARG (the Masjid-Ali Shah) and the Blue MOSque. The ARG, which is 120 feet in height, is still a very impressive structure, not only because of its immense size, but also because of the simplicity of its lines and the superb quality of its brick-work.

There are several important and large industries which are also located in Tabriz. These industries have added to the economic well-being of the city and have also served to propel an influx of potential laborers into the surrounding areas. These include a textile mill, a tractor factory, a car manufacturer, and a cigarette company, all which help to give Tabriz its distinctive features.

Azarabadegan University, which is located in Tabriz, is another institution which gives the city an added advantage.

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

The migration of rural population to the urban centers in underdeveloped countries takes place within the changing economic process which liberates manpower from the areas of subsistence agriculture and draws it into the money economy. But not all sectors of the economy absorb labor at an equal rate. Indeed, most rural migrants do not find stable, permanent employment in cities. They tend, rather, towards the already disproportionately large tertiary sectors, that is, the trades and services, characterized by low productivity, low incomes, and high degrees of unemployment and underemployment. Contemporary process of urbanization, simply transfers rural poverty to the urban areas. According to Stavenhagen, "The large cities of the third world are increasingly populated by marginal masses of unskilled, untrained, underemployed and underpaid workers, who live in shantytowns and hovels without having sanitation, education, and urban services" (1975, p. 59).

Statistically speaking, many countries that used to be agricultural nations have in recent decades become "urbanized". What this means actually is that the penetration of capitalism has uprooted millions of rural people, but has been unable to provide for them adequately in new integrated, economic and social structures. The nature of dependent

capitalist development , through the modernization of certain branches of the economy and the further underemployment of others, contributes to the increasing marginalization of the rural and urban population.

The key point being emphasized here is that marginality is not caused by poor housing conditions or by any characteristic of individuals or groups, but by a form of society that has been rooted in the historical process of industrialization and economic growth in the developing nations. "Marginalization is the consequence of a new model of development or 'underdevelopment' that has basic characteristics: the exclusion of vast sectors of the population from its main production apparatus" (Perlman, 1975, p.97).

However, the general theoretical framework regarding the process of marginalization in third world countries can not be generalized and applied in every circumstance, "as the precapitalist modes of production and the time of incorporation into the world market sometimes create a unique society" (Amin, 1976, p.350). Because of this, it is imperative to clearly define the unique process of incorporation of Iranian society into the world market.

In Iran, the organization and relation of production was inspired by what Marx referred to as "Asiatic modes of production" (1964). Weber has termed this mode of production as patrimonialism (Gerth, 1946). Following the same path of analysis, Wittfogel refers to it as oriental despotism (1957).

Iranian society, then, with such a system of production, was faced with several socio-economic problems which were not solved rationally. This was due to the nature of these modes of production and the simultaneous expansion of international capitalism and colonial powers. As a result of this, Iran did not develop independent bourgeois elements out of her commercial activities.

At the start of the 19th Century, socio-economic structure of Iran found itself next to two exploitative European empires, namely Czarist Russia in the north, and the British Empire in the south. In 1828, a war took place between Russia and Iran, and the Iranian army was defeated. As a result of the Treaty of Turkmanchie, which ended said war, the land holders of Iran ended up loosing enormous amounts of valuable lands and the peasants working on them, as well as accepting Russian domination over their own "socio-economic" life. The Czar was given the right to interfere in Iranian court matters under the pretext of protecting the crown prince and the reigning Sultan.

As soon as the Treaty of Turkmanchie was signed between Russia and Iran, it put Britain on the par with Russia in regards to the issues of domination over Iranian affairs. In subsequent periods, with the growth of capitalism in Europe and the dawn of the age of imperialism, Iran entered the era of foreign concessions. This was also the start of the age of foreign investment and the export of capital by imperialist countries. Nevertheless, Iran never became a colony. The reason for this could be the competition between

the two rival imperialist powers of Russia and Great Britain, and their equal penetration during that time which did not allow them to occupy Iran as a colony. As a result of these facts, Iran kept her official independence, and became a semicolony or buffer state (Jazani, 1979).

During the first decade of the 19th Century, foreign companies were highly active in Iran. However, the great economic depression of 1932-1933 led to the flight of foreign capitalists from the country, with the exception of those in the oil industry. As a result, foreign consumer goods were not exported to Iran at the same rate as previously. Therefore, the more backward and traditional systems of production assumed a very significant role in the internal market. It also placed greater importance on the export of traditional commodities than on oil exports from which at this time, a relatively insignificant amount of income was produced by oil. As a result of the great depression, foreign trade was brought under a state monopoly in an attempt to stabilize the economy.

After the constitutional revolution (1906), different kinds of parties arose and with the help of the new stabilized worker class, they started an opposition movement against the Pahlavi dynasty. However, the founder of the Pahlavi regime, Reza Shah, understood what was occurring and tried to impede the process of revolution, so he became a tyrannical despot, and implemented some basic reforms.

The next process which was related to another important

event was the penetration of imperialists with the intention of finding new opportunities for market and investments outlets which had been slowed after the great depression of 1932-33. This was yet another step in the process of the formation of Iran as a dependent capitalist society.

The aforementioned process can be considered as the formative stages leading towards dependent capitalism in Iran. This culminates in the Shah's so called "White Revolution" or land reform (1962-63), which basically was conducted to create capitalist agricultural activity, the end result of which was the uprooting of peasants from their land, turning them into wage laborers.

Prior to the White Revolution, there were several subdivisions among rural people. The poorest class was the KHOSH NASHIN or the landless peasants. Since they did not own any land, they made their living by tilting the soil of the large land owners or the ARBAB. The landless peasants were economically dependent upon the ARBAB, which put them in a very vulnerable position. Although this system often led to exploitation, these landless peasants, nonetheless, had jobs and means of living so long as the old system was operating.

The group of peasants called the KHORDEH MALEK, or small land holders, were not as poor as the KHOSH NASHIN. These peasants owned a portion of land which they cultivated as a means of earning a living and were, for the most part, self sufficient.

The Shah's White Revolution which was supposed to improve the lot of the rural people, only worsened the situation of the KOSH NASHIN, the poorest of these. The government seized the land belonging to the ARBABS (the large land holders) under the pretext of redistributing it among the peasantry. However, not all peasants received a portion of these lands. Rather than distributing the land among the landless peasants, it was portioned out only among the small land holders. In short, the land reform left the KHOSH NASHIN in worsened position. Now, they were not only landless, but also jobless.

To summarize, then, the Shah's White Revolution led to the collapse of Asiatic modes of production in rural areas, and facilitated the exploitation of the peasantry by the comprador bourgeoisie. This exploitation is mainly effected in the form of various state charges and dues, although it often takes on numerous other forms. Among them are: peasant dealings in urban areas; forward buying; usury; and exploitation during commercial transactions. Furthermore, the revolution drastically altered the needs and expectations of the peasantry by exposing them to the penetration of a money economy and the collapse of Asiatic modes of production.

After the land reform ended, the government made another disastrous attempt to increase the agricultural production of the country by fostering the formation of large collectives or cooperative farms on previously uncultivated

lands. In order to do this, the government confiscated a large track of arable land which was the winter grazing for Bedouin's herds. Because of climatic conditions, these nomads have, for centuries, traveled north in the summer and south in the winter to find suitable grazing conditions for their herds. They had a summer grazing land which was hilly and unfit for agriculture, and a winter grazing land which had opposite properties.

Since their winter grazing land was confiscated, they were forced to remain throughout the year in the southern lands. However, their herds could not adjust to the climatic conditions and they began to die. Rather than watching their animals die, many of these Bedouins opted to sell their herds to the slaughter houses.

Left without a means of making a living, these nomad people migrated to the cities. Being poor and unskilled, many were unable to find jobs and consequently, they ended up living in the marginal sector.

The basic tenet espoused in this thesis, then, is that the events and processes just described are more clearly understood and explained in light of the dependency model rather than by the traditional push-pull perspective. In short, the expansion of capitalism in Iran prompted the collapse of traditional modes of production and the adaptation of a different urban economic structure. In turn, this created changes in the socio-economic and classical structure of Iranian society. This fact is supported by

Dos Santos (1966) who claims that: "Dependency is a conditioning situation whereby certain countries have their economies conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy" (cited in Cockcroft, et al., 1972, pp. 71-73).

To summarize, the peasantry lost its modes of production, and the availability of foreign finished products destroyed the local handicraft industry. Left with such limited means of making a livelihood, the only viable alternative for this peasantry was to migrate from rural areas to small towns and from these small towns to central urban districts. Since the economies of the urban centers were unable to absorb this large influx of landless and unskilled workers, marginalization emerged.

As Perlman states:

"...It is precisely the superimposing of the new hegemonic or dominant forms of production on previously existing archaic economic structures and the simultaneous coexistence of these that creates marginalization" (1975, p. 255).

Using the dependency model and the penetration of capitalism as a theoretical basis or foundation, the current researcher conducted an exploratory study of the marginal sectors surrounding the city of Tabriz. The study aimed at establishing and analysing the crucial dimensions characterizing the process of marginalization. These are:

- 1) population characteristics (age distribution, population composition, sex distribution, marriage, and divorce)

- 2) Migration (migrant motivation, social and ecological origin and destination of migrants, reasons for migration)
- 3) Employment (type of occupation, income, unemployment, job satisfaction and socio-economic expectations)
- 4) Education (level of education and school attendance).
- 5) Leisure time (utilization of leisure time).

Lastly, the researcher envisioned the current study as a necessary first or pilot phase upon which to design a more theoretically grounded and methodologically rigorous research leading to a Ph.D. dissertation.

THE REVIEW OF LITERATURE

MARGINALITY

The concept of marginality refers to the general and all inclusive situation that exists when a group exists on the periphery of, has continuity with, has dependency upon, and deviates in certain socially normative patterns from, a more dominant group. From this point of view, for example, occupational categories can be used as a criterion to distinguish the marginal population from the dominant group. However, the general and theoretical perception of the literature is that marginality occurs between two groups, both of which can be categorically defined. The important factor is that the more dominant group does not absolutely maintain numerical superiority. Normally, the dominant group is larger than the marginal group, but there are empirically proven instances where the reverse has been observed (Green, 1947, pp. 167-171).

It has been said that the concept of the marginal man is rather vague and offers little of substantive value to modern sociology. Throughout most of recorded history, one can see many instances of people who have lived on the periphery of one or two more dominant groups. The position of these marginal clusters in the existing social structure of a more dominant group, or groups, has generally created

a certain amount of ambiguity. This ambiguity was often expressed through a variety of means, both overt and covert. Certainly, there have been examples of parallel cultures existing side by side without overt conflict, thereby producing a subsequent reduction of the ambiguity, but such examples are scarce (Gillan, 1948, pp. 337-347).

There appears to be, however, no example of such parallelism without some degree of covert conflict. The two sociologists credited with initially creating the conceptual framework of marginality and the marginal man are Robert E. Park and Everett V. Stanquist. Park indicated that the marginal man may be found in a variety of conditions and locations. He defined marginal man as:

"...a cultural hybrid, a man living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct people; never quite willing to break, even if he were permitted to do so, with his past and his traditions, and not quite accepted, because of racial prejudice, in the new society in which he now sought to find a place. He was a man on the margin of two cultures and two societies which never completely interpenetrated and fused" (1928, pp. 881-893).

He further comments:

The marginal man, as here conceived, is one whom fate has condemned to live in two societies and in two not merely different, but antagonistic cultures. Thus, the individual whose mother is a Jew and whose father is a gentile, is fatally condemned to grow up under the influence of two traditions. In that case, his mind is the crucible in which two different and refractor cultures may be said to melt and, either wholly or in part, fuse. One runs across individuals who are caught in this conflict of cultures in the most unlikely places (1928, pp. 373-374).

With the above definitions in mind, it may be said

that Park severely restricted his concept of the marginal man by placing too much emphasis upon the biological and cultural hybrid, at the exclusion of similar structural configurations found throughout the segments of many societies.

Stanquist, on the other hand, places more emphasis upon the social psychological patterns indicative of this group when he wrote that marginal man is one who:

...Is passed in psychological uncertainty between two (or more) social worlds; reflecting in his soul the discords and harmonies, repulsions and attractions of these worlds, one of which is often 'dominant' over the other; within which membership is implicitly based upon birth or ancestry (race or nationality); and where exclusion removes the individual from a system of group relations (1964, pp. 327-345).

Although Stanquist allowed for a much more extensive discussion of the marginal man theory, his work initially lacked a clear delineation of categorical organization, which would have placed his data into a consistent schema. Many of his thoughts concerned the psychological and social-psychological processes that he felt to be unequally characteristics of the marginal man, using generalizations that were far too nebulous to allow for adequate empirical testing.

Besides Park and Stanquist, two other approaches have been observed. First, Hughes wanted to be all inclusive. He felt the situation was indicative of all individuals who lacked certain expected characteristics in social situations. Levin has indicated thoughts similar to

that of Hughes, stating that when a barrier is created that prevents the attainment of a desired goal, then a marginal situation exists.

In Simmel's opinion, the concept of marginality should be defined by reference to characteristics of a "stranger" individual with respect to other members of society. It was to this seminal piece of sociological work that Robert Park referred in his later formulation of the marginal man concept. According to Wolff, Simmel first noted that:

If wandering is the liberation from every given point in space, and thus the conceptual opposite to fixation at such a point, the sociological form of the "stranger" presents the unity of these two characteristics (1950, p. 401).

At the onset, therefore, the stranger expresses, in appropriately a paradoxical form, the ambiguity of the social milieu. He is not only the person who is present and thus somehow involved with others, but he is also at the same time somehow independent of them.

Implied by this notion is the peculiarly sociological features of estrangement; the stranger's distance from others is really an affirmation of his relationship to them. In this sense, marginality emerges as dimension of all social relationships.

For other sociologists, marginality has meanings and theoretical implications. Perlman defines marginality as follows:

In Portuguese and Spanish, the very word "marginal"

has exceedingly derogatory connotations. "Un marginal" or "un elemento marginal: means a shiftless dangerous ne'er-do-well, usually associated with the underworld of crime, violence drugs, and prostitution. This parallels a long standing tradition in America and Europe of characterizing the poor as disreputable in one sense or another, "the dangerous classes", or "persons living in regions of squalor and woe" (1975, pp. 91-92)

Unfortunately, the ideas about the marginality of the urban poor have not been confined to harmless stereotypes in the prevailing wisdom. On the contrary, these notions have been strengthened and perpetuated by the very public agencies that are responsible for shanty town policy.

Perlman (1975) defines marginality with the following characteristics: an irregular agglomeration of subproletarians with no professional capacities, low living standards, illiteracy, messianism, promiscuity, alcoholism, the habit of going barefoot, superstition, and spiritualism, a lack of healthy recreation, a refuge for criminals and marginal types, and a spreader of parasites and contagious diseases.

In light of these diverse implications of marginality, both for identifying the urban poor and for formulating policy, it is important to establish the defining factor in each of the five common usages(Perlman, 1975).

1) Location in squatter settlements: among those who focus on location, or the squatter settlements per se, are architects, planners, and housing authorities who consider the peripheral section of the city as marginal residents because of the sub-standard physical construction, high density, lack of urban services and hygiene,

peripheral placement within the urban area, and illegal land occupation.

2) Underclass in economic occupational structure:

The second use of the term associates marginality with the urban underclass, the jobless, or the unemployed - those who are precariously part of the labor force and market.

According to James D. Cockcroft (1970), marginality and marginal underclasses are relatively new concepts that have their origin in the age old concern for the plight of the poor urban classes uprooted from rural subsistence by economic forces and subjected to the vicissitudes of life as "lumpen proletariat", and "surplus population" or as members of a reserve army of the unemployed.

In this regard, Perlman, has a somewhat opposite perception of the physical boundaries of the marginal sector and the attitudes of outsiders towards the marginal resident sector would be irrelevant. The determining characteristic is an economic-occupational one dealing with lack of work or with unstable low paying jobs which are not part of the mainstream economy and do not contribute to it. According to this occupational definition of marginality, people who live within the marginal sector but are employed in the dynamic industrial sector of the economy would not be marginal; conversely, people living elsewhere who are off-jobbers would be included.

3) Migrants: newcomers, or different sub-cultures.

A third major use of the term is in association with migrants and the migratory experience. In this case, the key identifying point is newcomer status and the transition between traditional-rural and modern urban life.

4) Racial or ethnic minorities: The definition of marginality based on racial or ethnic minority status also requires the superior-inferior status differential. The major difference in this case is the ascribed genetic trait that is the determinant of in-group or out group participation, rather than an acquired or cultural trait.

5) Deviants: The final situation for which the term marginality is used involves individual deviants, whether pathological or especially gifted and nonconformist. In the case of an artist, criminal, prophet, or revolutionary, marginality implies a lack of participation in the occupational, religious or political mainstream (Perlman, 1975).

METHOD OF PROCEDURE

This is the methodological foundation of a study of marginal residents and marginal settlements in Tabriz, conducted in 1979. This study focused on the nature of these marginal residents. Most of these families are illegal invaders of the land they live on; although they are merely small pieces of land without benefit of public services.

What follows is a detailed description of methods used to conduct the study. The sampling procedures were devised for shanty town, located on top of a hill, without any telephone service, streets, public services and for which maps and directions were, for the most part, non-existent. The only available official information sources for the data of this study were the enumeration of the marginal settlements being undertaken by the Central Statistics Department in 1977, and a survey conducted by the research department in Tabriz University in 1978.

This chapter briefly describes the step by step methodology and process for this study:

- 1) Site selection
- 2) Initial questionnaire construction
- 3) Sampling procedures
- 4) Interviewing techniques

SITE SELECTION

Tabriz, with a population of approximately over 800,000

persons, is one of the biggest and most industrialized cities in Iran. While the central city is growing very fast and lags in the provision of adequate city services due to the lack of rational planning, its surrounding suburbs and marginal residence sections are growing much faster than the city itself. The fundamental cause of this cancerous growth can be found by taking into account the historical process of rural-to-urban migration during the last decades.

One of the first steps of the study was to go to the Tabriz Statistical Department to discover how many families live on the marginal section. The information received from them revealed that there were 1,700 households living in the marginal section. This information was based on an enumeration conducted in 1977 by that department. A similar survey was also conducted by Tabriz University's Research Department in 1978, that demonstrated the accuracy of the prior enumeration conducted by the Statistical Department. I then asked for some information concerning the ecological condition of the marginal area. The evidence obtained specified that the households are located at the northwest sector of the city.

The northwest sector (the marginal section) of Tabriz is completely isolated from urban social and economic activities. Because of the mountainous topography of the region, flanked by MOUNT OAN EBNALI, the government did not spend its limited resources on bringing public services, such as running water and electricity to the area. The

task (for example, pumping running water up hill is difficult and far too costly. Because of this, the area was uninhabited for years.

When the peasantry began its migration to the city as a result of the previously described conditions, they were faced with the problem of finding a place to live. Since they were unskilled and for the most part unable to afford living within the city proper, they invaded this uninhabitable land and began building their domiciles at the foot of the hill, the closest available area to the city.

As more and more peasants arrived, they too set up their residences at the base of the hill. Once all the land at the base of the hill was occupied, newcomers built their houses in a staircase-like fashion up the sides of the hill.

FORMULATING THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The initial item pool utilized in constructing the questionnaire was formulated by rational procedures. Based on his knowledge of the target population, the researcher created questions which would provide the desired data. Among these, the following are included: information about social structure of the marginal settlement, their culture, and socio economic goals. The researcher also utilized several items from existing questionnaires to enhance the pool of items.

Once the preliminary questionnaire was formulated, the researcher tested the instrument on a small sample of

marginal residents. The questionnaire was modified by discarding unnecessary items and rewording others (Refer to the appendix for a sample copy of the questionnaire).

DRAWING THE SAMPLE

A master list containing the names and addresses of the heads of the households located in the marginal sector was compiled from the data obtained from the Tabriz Central Statistical Department and the survey conducted by the Azarabadegan University. According to these official sources there were 1,700 households located at the periphery of the city. Because of time and economic constraints, the researcher decided to limit the sample size to 10% of the total population.

One hundred and seventy households were randomly selected from the master list. The selection criterion for inclusion in the sample consisted of selecting every tenth household on the list. This procedure does not violate randomization because the master list was not compiled in alphabetical order and consequently all members of the population had an equal chance of being selected.

Although 170 households were selected, the final sample for the study consisted of 168 households. Two of the original 170 households could not be located.

INTERVIEWING

It was evident from the beginning that I could not administer the 168 questionnaires single handedly. I went to the Sociology Department at the University of Tabriz,

since I graduated from the same department, to obtain help. This was facilitated because I already knew some of the students and professors in that department. I proposed my plan of study and requested technical aid. Eight students, five of whom I knew, volunteered to help me in administering the questionnaire.

First of all, I instructed them on how to fill out the questionnaire. I went over all the items, as well as, the type of information I wished to obtain or elicit from each item. The next day, we agreed to go to those marginal sections in order to have some idea about their location. On the third day, we started to fill out the questionnaires.

There was a total of nine interviewers, eight sociology students and myself. The interviewers were divided into three teams consisting of three members in each. Each of the three teams were responsible for completing fifty six questionnaires. That is to say, each team had to interview fifty six households.

There was a fairly high turn over rate among the interviewers, as the novelty of the experience wore off, and they realized the difficulty of the task facing them. The difficulty of the task is accentuated when one considers the limited accessibility of many of these households. As an interviewer, it is easy to become discouraged by looking to a household located on the top of a high hill, and thinking that one is supposed to walk up to the hill top. Aside from this, it was almost imperative to conduct most

of the interviews during weekends, in order to get information from those who worked day and night during weekdays. In this respect, it was very hard to ask interviewers to sacrifice their weekends and work in data collection.

Upon first entering the respective households, interviewers were instructed to state their purpose briefly. Some of the residents were already aware of the study, so little explanation was necessary. Interviews were conducted at the appropriately scheduled times in order to eliminate (or reduce) the likelihood of absentees especially when households were economically dependent on the work of both the husbands and wives. However, in very few cases, we were forced to conduct our interviews with the oldest son or daughter of the household.

The interviewers were very well received and the interviewing went even better than had been anticipated. In general, this was attributed to our prior conversations with local residents and in particular, the informal association which interviewers had with the marginal residents. Lastly, it was due to native friendliness. Fortunately, most of the sampled families understood the items of the questionnaire, however, there were some that we had to explain. Some of these explanations worked, but a few of the families did not understand them, and these were categorized under the "unanswered section".

ENTRY

The researcher did several things that insured and

facilitated the cooperation of the potential respondents.

Several steps were followed:

- 1) I got letters recommending my research work from significant auspices. These were from the office of urban planning, and the governor's office of Azarbayejan province. These letters of recommendation were mailed together to the respective respondents. Both letters stated the importance of the research for the city planners, as well as, for the well being of the marginal settlement.
- 2) I also got a letter from the Sociology Department at Michigan State University, which verified that I am a graduate student in that department. This letter was signed by the graduate director of the Sociology Department. Because the people of the marginal settlement do not know English, said letter was translated into the Persian by an official institution in Tabriz.

The researcher had this third letter in his possession to show to the households before the interviewing session began. These two procedures enabled the researcher to gain maximum cooperation from the respondents.

DURATION OF INTERVIEW

Each interview took from half to one hour, with 40 minutes being the mean interviewing time. Interviews conducted with those who were literate took considerably more time because these persons had more to say on each item

and demanded greater explanations. Three quaters of the families interviewed were found at home, and interviewed on the first attempt. The remainder of the sample were interviewed on the second or third visit. It was interesting that some of the families wanted to be interviewed alone. This was due to the cultural and political orientation of these people. Eastern people do not want to expose their historical and their personal background and feelings to any outsider.

In general, the over all refusal rates were remarkably low among the respondants. A bigger problem was presented by the interviewers' arriving at the indicated dwellings to either find them closed up or the residents not at home.

INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

There were 1,700 households of marginal residents in and around Tabriz*. Most of these families had come from rural areas outside Tabriz or around other areas of Azarbijan province. They are distinguishable from the city residents in ways which will be elaborated throughout this section of the paper. The major differences existing between city residents and marginal people are the following. First of all, family size, composition and relationships change when going from rural-to-urban areas. The nuclear family is prevalent in the city whereas the extended family is most common in the rural and marginal areas. Secondly, women's status in rural society is more controlled by religion and traditions than it is in urban settings, because religion plays a more significant role in rural life. Rural people spend their leisure time in the mosque; their family relationships are governed by strict religious guidance; and they are resigned to accept a low standard of living because they believe that their reward will come in the after life. Lastly, education is much more de-emphasized in the rural areas than in the urban areas, making the penetration of new ideas or technology difficult.

* According to the enumeration done by the Statistical Department of Tabriz, 1977; and a survey done by Tabriz University, 1978.

FAMILY COMPOSITION AND RELATIONSHIPS

Table 1 summarized the different types of families living in the marginal sector of Tabriz. The largest category was those families composed of the husband, wife and the children. One hundred and nineteen, or 70.8% of the total sample, was of this type. The next largest family type was the extended family which consisted of 29 households or 17.2%. These two categories comprised 88% of the sample. The remaining 12% was divided among the other categories.

The number of children in the marginal resident families as in the rural resident families, is greater than in the families of the city residents. The number of members in marginal families averages five to six people. Table 2 indicates the distribution of sampled households according to the number of family members.

Several cultural factors contribute to family size. The effect of religion on the marginal residents is more palpable than in the city residents especially with respect to birth control. The marginal residents do not utilize birth control, because of their belief that it is not their right to interfere with God's work in creating human beings. Economic factors also play a role in determining family size. The number of offspring is related to the total family income. The more children in a household, the more possible income to be earned because there are more people available to work. For instance, children can earn income by making carpets or possibly in a household service job.

TABLE 1

FAMILY COMPOSITION

TYPE OF FAMILY	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	PERCENTAGE
Husband, wife, children	119	70.8
Only husband, wife	8	4.8
Mother and children	4	2.4
Father and children	2	1.2
Extended families	29	17.2
Two-wife families	1	0.6
Families with one member	5	3.0
TOTAL	168	100

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF THE SAMPLED HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO
THE NUMBER OF FAMILY MEMBERS

FAMILY SIZE	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS	TOTAL MEMBERS	PERCENTAGE OF MEMBERS
1 member	5	2.0	5	.6
2 members	9	5.4	18	2.1
3 "	19	11.3	57	6.4
4 "	26	15.6	104	11.8
5 "	37	22.0	185	20.9
6 "	31	18.5	186	21.0
7 "	21	12.5	147	16.6
8 "	6	3.5	48	5.4
9 "	6	3.5	54	6.2
10 or more members	8	4.8	80	9.0
TOTAL	168	100	884	100

Consequently, many do not send their children to school, because they are an important source of income for the family. Most of the marginal residents live according to tradition instead of modernizing their thinking and planning for the future. They are not innovative and often resent or distrust a scientific approach to problem solution. They are not educated, so new ideas are not readily available to them, either. They tend to accept whatever their religion and religious leaders dictate to them.

By looking at Table 3, the distribution of family members according to age and sex, it can be seen that the number of males, from zero to nineteen years of age residing in these households is greater than the number of females. In the age group of the twenty to twenty nine years, however, there are more females than males. The reason for this decline is partially due to compulsory military service. According to Iranian Constitutional law, all men between twenty and twenty five years of age must serve in some branch of the military for the duration of two years. However, many of these men do not wait until they are drafted, but rather voluntarily join the military as a means of gaining employment. A more significant reason which explains the decline in the number of young males 20 -29 years of age, is that men in this age group are very mobile. They move around to find jobs and often they will migrate to other states. Overall, there is almost an equal number of males and females in the sample population.

TABLE 3
POPULATION DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO
AGE GROUP AMONG SAMPLED FAMILIES

AGE IN YEARS	NUMBER OF MALES	PERCENTAGE OF MALES	NUMBER OF FEMALES	PERCENTAGE OF FEMALES	BOTH SEXES	PERCENTAGE OF BOTH SEXES
0-9	177	38.3	165	39.1	394	38.7
10-19	95	20.6	76	18.0	171	19.4
20-29	52	11.3	77	18.3	129	14.5
30-39	49	10.6	47	11.1	96	10.9
40-49	51	11.0	29	6.9	80	9.1
50-59	23	4.9	13	3.1	36	4.0
60 and above	15	3.3	15	3.5	30	3.4
TOTAL	462	100	422	100	884	100

MARRIAGE

Marriage among the marginal residents is different from city residents. According to the Iranian Constitutional law, the acceptable marital age for both sexes is above eighteen years. Since most of these people have rural backgrounds, they marry whenever they want, regardless of age limitations and legal constraints. The traditional age of marriage for males is fifteen or sixteen. Women are considered marriageable when they reach thirteen or fourteen years of age.

It is also required by law that the marriages be registered. Most of the marginal residents, however, do not register their marriages at the marriage bureau. Often they are not aware that it is required and rarely is that information requested from them. Government employees, on the other hand, must reveal their marital status, year of marriage, and the number of children they have at the time of employment. Marginal people are not usually employed by government nor do they come in contact with people who are.

The age distribution of married people in the sampled families is found in Table 4. According to this table, there is a total of 140 married males and 145 married females in the sample. The largest percentage of these fall into the 20-29 and 30-39 age groups. Table 5 contains the marital status of currently unmarried persons among the sampled families. The types of unmarried status are as follows: divorced, widowed, or never married. There are a total of

TABLE 4

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MARRIED PEOPLE AMONG
THE SAMPLED FAMILIES

AGE GROUP	NUMBER OF MALES	PERCENTAGE OF MALES	NUMBER OF FEMALES	PERCENTAGE OF FEMALES	BOTH SEXES	PERCENTAGE OF BOTH SEXES
0-9	0	0	0	0	0	0
10-19	2	1.4	19	13.1	21	7.4
20-29	34	24.3	59	40.7	93	32.6
30-39	44	31.4	40	27.5	84	29.5
40-49	33	23.6	18	12.4	51	17.9
50-59	16	11.4	8	5.6	24	8.4
60 and above	11	7.9	1	0.7	12	4.2
TOTAL	140	100	145	100	285	100

TABLE 5

MARITAL STATUS OF SINGLE PEOPLE
AMONG THE SAMPLED FAMILIES

MARITAL STATUS	NUMBER OF MALES	PERCENTAGE OF MALES	NUMBER OF FEMALES	PERCENTAGE OF FEMALES	BOTH SEXES	PERCENTAGE OF BOTH SEXES
Never married	116	93.6	31	54.4	147	81.2
Widowed	4	3.2	22	38.6	26	14.4
Divorced	4	3.2	4	7.0	8	4.4
TOTAL	134	100	57	100	181	100

one hundred and eighty one unmarried people in the sample. The number of never married males exceeds that of never married females. The reason for this is basically cultural and traditional. In Iranian culture, being a single woman is very difficult because it is not an acceptable status for a woman. Female virginity before marriage is a cultural norm, and consequently, the longer that a female remains single, the greater the risk that she may lose her virtue. Also, religion encourages people to have a lot of children, so the younger the age of a woman at marriage, the more children she can bear.

Economically, marriage is important for women. They do not work except at domestic tasks, so the longer they stay with their parents, the more they are regarded as a financial burden. Society looks down on a woman who remains single for long. She is suspected of being unworthy, lazy, or unvirtuous and so the older she gets, the less desirable she is as the wife for someone's son. This cultural stigma does not exist for men because they are their own means of support.

DIVORCE

Table 6 summarizes the divorce patterns among the sampled families. There is a greater incidence of divorce among males than females. Divorce conflicts with a basic tenet of Islam that marriage is a life-long commitment. That is, the married couple should live together until they die.

TABLE 6

DIVORCE PATTERNS AMONG THE
SAMPLED FAMILIES

NUMBER OF TIMES DIVORCED	NUMBER OF MALES	PERCENTAGE OF MALES	NUMBER OF FEMALES	PERCENTAGE OF FEMALES	BOTH SEXES	PERCENTAGE OF BOTH SEXES
Once	14	46.7	8	72.7	22	53.7
Twice	12	40.0	1	9.1	13	31.7
Three times	3	10.0	2	18.2	5	12.2
Four times	1	3.3	0	0	1	2.4
TOTAL	30	100	11	100	41	100

Another important reason for the low divorce rate among marginal people is the economic dependency of women on men. The husband is the main provider, and for this reason a woman submits to his authority. If she becomes a problem, or in any way creates tension and friction in the family, the man has the option to divorce her and thereby withdraw financial support for her and her children.

Lastly, the extended family structure, prevalent among rural and marginal people, offers yet another explanation for the low rate of divorce. Such a family structure extends great pressure upon couples to remain married, since the family's reputation and its religious standing in society are at stake. For instance, some of the respondents in the sample who claimed to have married more than once, often ended up remarrying their initial spouse as a response to family pressures.

The reasons for divorce among sampled families are listed in Table 7. Fourteen out of the 41 persons got divorced for reasons of incompatibility. The most commonly cited reason for divorce among the sampled families was illness of spouse. This can be easily understood in light of the economic dependence of marginal women on their husbands.

Another frequently cited reason for divorce, was lack of understanding between husbands and wives. Sometimes, this stems from discrepancies due to large age differences between the spouses. Other times these differences come from household or childrearing disagreements. Two persons

TABLE 7

REASONS FOR DIVORCE AMONG SAMPLED FAMILIES

REASONS FOR DIVORCE	NUMBER OF PEOPLE	PERCENTAGE
Incompatibility	14	34.1
Illness of spouse	18	43.9
Lack of understanding	5	12.2
Infertility	2	4.9
Other	2	4.9
TOTAL	41	100.

said that they were divorced because of the infertility of their spouse. When a question of infertility arises the spouses go to the doctor to determine who is affected. Generally speaking, it is more difficult for a woman to deal with being infertile than it is for a man, since she has greater economic and emotional attachment to childbearing.

Arranged marriages are very common throughout Iranian society. They are most prevalent in the rural and marginal sectors. Usually the grandparents choose the woman for the grandson. They believe that their son does not have any experience in matters of marriage and so he is not able to make such decisions by himself. The woman they pick will probably be very young, sheltered, and not educated. All these factors will contribute to her respectability and obedience to her husband. She will be viewed as less influenced by the corrupting forces in the society. The arrangements are completed when they give a present or dowry to the mother of the bride. This symbolized their gratitude for the mother's having given milk to her daughter.

This system of prearranged marriages results, more often now than in the past, in the divorce of younger couples. Although the reasons are numerous, incompatibility and lack of experience with members of the opposite sex, were the two reasons most often cited. Prior to being married, these young people live with their parents, and do not have the responsibility that marriage places on their shoulders. Once they marry, they must leave their parents'

home to form one of their own, often without a job or the skills necessary to obtain them.

MIGRATION

As can be seen from Table 8, most of the marginal residents migrated to Tabriz from rural areas. Almost 80% of the sampled families came from the rural areas in the province of Azarbijen. Similarly, Table 9 lists the last occupation of the head of the households prior to migrating to the city. Again, 80% of the heads of these households worked in agriculture. Forty-eight percent were farmers, while the remaining 32% were farm laborers.

As is evident in Table 10, the greatest portion of these people migrated after 1971. Before 1963, only 25 families had migrated. Between 1963 and 1970, migration increased at an average annual rate of 5. However, in 1971, sixteen families migrated to the area, and between 1975 and 1976, the total annual migration was 21 and 28 families, respectively.

Table 11 summarizes the eight most frequently offered reasons for migration. About 73% of the families attributed the cause of their migration to economic factors. Twelve percent of the people cited lack of public services as the mitigating factor, while only 4% said they migrated because of lack of educational facilities.

The findings summarized in Tables 8,9,10 and 11 can be explained in terms of the political and socio-economic events which occurred in Iran during the fifties and sixties.

TABLE 8

PREVIOUS LOCATION OF SAMPLED FAMILIES

LOCATIONS	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	PERCENTAGES
Tabriz city	25	14.9
Rural areas around Tabriz	19	11.3
Other cities or small towns in Azarbejan Province	14	8.3
Other rural areas within Azarbejan Province	103	61.3
Other	7	4.2
TOTAL	168	100

TABLE 9

LAST OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF SAMPLED FAMILIES

TYPES OF OCCUPATIONS	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	PERCENTAGES
Farmers	80	47.6
Farm laborers	54	32.1
Craftsmen	13	7.7
Bedouins	9	5.4
Other occupations	4	2.4
Unemployed	8	4.8
TOTAL	168	100

TABLE 10

YEAR OF MIGRATION

YEAR OF MIGRATION	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	PERCENTAGE
Before 1963	25	14.9
1963 - 1970	36	21.4
1971	16	9.5
1972	8	4.8
1973	16	9.5
1974	9	5.4
1975	21	12.5
1976	28	16.7
1977	9	5.3
TOTAL	168	100

TABLE 11

REASONS FOR MIGRATION

REASONS FOR MIGRATION	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	PERCENTAGE
Seeking higher income	81	48.2
Dissatisfaction with previous type of work	18	10.7
Seeking easier work	18	10.7
Unemployed	6	3.6
Lack of services	20	11.9
Disagreement with neighbors	15	8.9
Lack of schools	7	4.2
Other	3	1.8
TOTAL	168	100

As was previously described (refer to Statement of Problem), the Shah's so called "Land Reform" had a negative impact upon rural people especially the landless peasants, the poorest of these. Rather than creating jobs and improving their standard of living, the end result of this "reform" was the reduction of the number of farm related jobs available to the landless peasants, robbing them of their livelihood. Left without a means of supporting their families, they migrated to the cities.

A similar catastrophe occurred among the Bedouin tribes which seasonally roamed the land from north to south seeking climatic conditions appropriate for their herds. The Shah's attempt to increase the agricultural production of Iran by confiscating and cultivating the Bedouin's winter grazing lands destroyed the economic self-sufficiency of these people. Rather than watch their herds die from the bitter cold, they sold their animals to the slaughter houses. Stripped of their only means of production, they too migrated to the city.

In short, the end result of these two events was the rural-to-urban migration of a large group of poor and unskilled people. Both Table 8 and Table 9 demonstrate that the majority of the marginal residents were rural people. Table 8 does this by enumerating the location of their previous homes, and Table 9 by listing their previous occupation. The results of one table are validated by those of the other and conversely.

Prior to the collapse of Asiatic modes of production which occurred after 1963, rural people had a means of making a living. Consequently, as is demonstrated in Table 10, only a small percentage of these residents migrated prior to 1963. However, the collapse of these modes of production was not instantaneous, nor were their effects felt immediately. Consequently, there was a gradual increase in the rate of migration in the years that followed. Again Table 10 exemplifies this process.

As was previously defined, most of these rural people migrated to the city because in one way or another they had been robbed of their traditional ways of earning a living. Support for this is given in Table 11, which states the reasons for migrations. Most of the sampled families cited economic factors as the mitigating cause of their migration.

In short then, the findings listed in Tables 8, 9, 10, and 11 are summarized as follows. First of all, migration occurred as economic conditions forced rural people to move to the city in search of a livelihood. Secondly, this rural-to-urban migration was the result of a series of socio-economic and political events whose impact gradually escalated from 1963.

Table 12 lists the level of satisfaction after migration. Thirty-two percent of the families are unsatisfied with the results of migration. The remainder (78%) are at least fairly satisfied. Although city life has not fulfilled all of their expectations, they are nonetheless, in

TABLE 12

SATISFACTION AFTER MIGRATION

DEGREE OF SATISFACTION	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	PERCENTAGE
Excellent	12	7.2
Good	30	17.9
Fair	73	43.5
Unsatisfactory	43	25.6
Terribly Unsatisfactory	5	2.9
Indifferent	5	2.9
TOTAL	168	100

a better economic situation than if they had remained in their previous homes. Even though most of them have low paying jobs in the tertiary sector, they at least have a means of making a living. Therefore, they are somewhat satisfied.

Another reason which explains the unusually high degree of satisfaction among these residents, is tied to the notion of the rising expectation that the government will sooner or later provide them with electricity, running water and other public services. In the rural areas, they did not even harbor this hope. Consequently, such expectations, although having a low probability level of occurring, nonetheless, increased their level of satisfaction and maintained their morale.

Table 13 and Table 14 are more clearly understood in terms of item IX on the questionnaire (refer to appendix). This item asks the respondents if they would like to return to their previous home. Table 13 enumerates the reasons for refusing to return given by those 116 who responded negatively on this item. The responses given by almost 60% of these people put the experience of migration in a rather favorable light. Twenty percent said that they were satisfied with the migration experience and, consequently, had no desire to return. Another 11% refused to return because living in the city increased the educational opportunities available for their children. Nearly 28% said that they had lived through bad or negative experiences at their previous homes

TABLE 13

REASONS FOR NOT GOING BACK TO THEIR PREVIOUS
LOCATIONS FOR THOSE SATISFIED WITH MIGRATION

REASONS	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	PERCENTAGE
Ashamed to return	43	37.1
Bad experience at previous location	31	27.7
Satisfied with current life	23	19.8
Education more avail- able for children	13	11.2
Other	6	5.2
TOTAL	116	100

and therefore did not wish to return. Lastly, 37% said that they were ashamed to return home and face their relatives and friends who would laugh and jeer at them.

The major reasons for wishing to return to their previous homes given by those 52 families who answered item IX positively, are listed in Table 14. Only 36% of these people attributed their desire to return to their previous homes to factors directly associated to negative gains from the migration experience. Almost an equal percentage, 35%, said they either missed their birthplace and/or their relative. Lastly, 17.3% attributed their desire to return to an inability to adjust to the new environment, while 6% cited mistreatment by marginal neighbors as the motivating factor.

Table 15 summarized the major reasons given by the 168 families for living in the marginal sector. The majority of these people, almost 94%, attributed their living in the marginal sector directly or indirectly to economic factors. Almost 63% of the sampled families claimed that they live in the marginal sector because of their low income.

Another variant or result of low income which was cited by 20% of these people was the high cost of housing in the city. Related to this, 12% said that they could build their own house in the marginal area, whereas in the city, they would have to pay rent. Only 5% cited proximity to work (3.6%) and relatives or friends (1.8%) as the motivating factor.

TABLE 14

REASONS FOR WISHING TO RETURN TO THEIR PREVIOUS LOCATIONS
FOR THOSE UNSATISFIED WITH MIGRATION

REASONS	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	PERCENTAGE
Not achieving any gains from migration	19	36.5
Desire to be near their birthplace	10	19.2
Having relatives back at previous place	8	15.4
Inability to adjust to current environment	9	17.3
Mistreatment by mar- ginal neighbors	3	5.8
Other reasons	3	5.8
TOTAL	52	100

TABLE 15

REASONS FOR RESIDING IN THE MARGINAL SECTOR

REASONS	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	PERCENTAGE
Low income	105	62.5
High cost of house rent in city	34	20.2
Having own house	20	11.9
Proximity to work place	6	3.6
Proximity to friends and relatives	3	1.8
TOTAL	168	100

The findings summarized in these tables can once again be explained in terms of the series of political and socio-economic events which occurred in Iran (refer to Statement of Problem). As was previously described, the rural people migrated to the cities looking for jobs and a way of making a livelihood. Since most of these people were poor and unskilled, they were forced to take on the lower pay-in jobs available in the tertiary sector. Consequently, it is not surprising that the majority of these people cited economic factors as the reason for living in the marginal sector (see Table 15).

Similarly, it is not surprising that at least two thirds of the families expressed no desire to return to their previous homes (Tables 13 & 14). Although living in the city is difficult, they at least have a job. Any job, even a low status, low paying job, is better than not having any job.

Lastly, the result of this study support a position prevalent in the current literature on migration. Simply stated, it claims that migrants tend to be rural people who move to the city because they can no longer make a living in the country. Tables 8, 9, and 11 lend support to this position.

On the other hand, this same body of literature states that because these migrants are generally unfamiliar with urban people and lifestyle, the process of adaption is difficult and painful. Therefore, after only a short period

of time has elapsed, they are ready to return to their previous homes. The findings of this study do not support this position.

Of the 168 sampled families, only 52 said that they would be willing to return to their previous homes (Table 14). The overriding proportion of these families said that they were at least fairly satisfied with the experience (Table 12) and would not return to their previous home (Table 13).

To summarize then, the results of this study demonstrate that migration occurred as economic conditions forced rural people to move to the city in search of a livelihood. Poor and unskilled, these migrants were forced to accept the lower paying jobs in the tertiary sector. Consequently, they were unable to afford housing within the city and were forced to reside in the marginal sector.

EMPLOYMENT

According to the data collected, there are 253 persons among the sampled families employed at the time of the survey. Because no official employment records are kept, it is difficult to categorize the employment situation of these marginal people. However, most of these are employed as blue collar, that is, as some type of unskilled labor.

Table 16 shows the distribution of employed people. Although the law prohibits any minor under 12 to be employed, among the sampled families, eighteen children under 10 years of age were working. This is due to the fact that

TABLE 16

DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PEOPLE BY SEX
AND AGE IN THE SAMPLED FAMILIES

AGE GROUP	NUMBER OF MALES	PERCENTAGE OF MALES	NUMBER OF FEMALES	PERCENTAGE OF FEMALES	BOTH SEXES	PERCENTAGE OF BOTH SEXES
0 -9	12	5.4	6	19.4	18	7.1
10 -19	61	27.4	14	45.2	75	29.6
20 -29	30	13.5	6	19.3	36	14.2
30 -39	47	21.2	4	12.9	51	20.2
40 -49	46	20.8	1	3.2	47	18.6
50 -59	18	8.1	0	0	18	7.1
60 and above	8	3.6	0	0	8	3.2
TOTAL	222	100	31	100	253	100

children provide an important source of additional income for the family. Most of them are employed at making carpets. They either work for individual carpet buyers, who pay them for making carpets in their own home, or the parents often contract with the buyers for their children to make a carpet within a specified time span at a set price.

Physically, carpet weaving is very harmful to these children, causing most of them to develop eye disease. Many also suffer from vitamin deficiency due to lack of sunlight. Often they are plagued with bone deformities and protein deficiencies. Most of the young people within the ten to nineteen age group are also employed in the carpet industry. Because compulsory military service is required for men who are between twenty and twenty-five years of age, many young men within this age group who would otherwise be employed, are serving their two years in the military. This accounts for the comparatively low percentage of workers in the twenty to twenty-five age group.

Women are not allowed to work due to the traditional belief that the woman's place is at home. Those women who indicated they are employed usually do work within their own home, for instance, making carpets or taking laundry.

Because most are unskilled and uneducated, the jobs usually available for marginal residents are the lower salary jobs of the tertiary sector. They become janitors, restaurant workers, or privately employed yard keepers.

According to Table 17, there are eleven households

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES BASED ON NUMBER OF
PERSONS EMPLOYED IN EACH FAMILY

NUMBER IF PERSONS EMPLOYED	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	PERCENTAGE
<hr/>		
No one employed	11	6.6
One person employed	85	50.6
Two persons employed	31	18.5
Three persons employed	22	13.0
Four or more persons employed	10	5.9
Unclear	9	5.4
<hr/>		
TOTAL	168	100
<hr/>		

without any employed persons. Such factors could be attributed to illness or to the residents being elderly people who are no longer able to work. Almost ninety percent of the families have at least one person employed. When analyzing job satisfaction, however, more than half of the people are dissatisfied with their present employment. According to Table 18 and Table 19, only two people indicated they received enough income for their work. Twelve were happy just to be employed and thirteen were glad to find jobs that required no previous experience. Although they would have preferred higher income, easier work and more permanent employment, 60% of these people indicated that they were satisfied simply because they were employed. In short, because they viewed work as both a necessity and a responsibility, being employed, regardless of the place, was in and of itself, satisfactory.

Underemployment is a common method of exploitation used by employers. It helps them keep the workers from organizing to demand higher wages and working conditions. Job security is practically none-existent in areas with large labor pools such as marginal settlements.

Table 20 shows the income rate by age distribution. The data summarized in this table demonstrates the existence of a correlation between income and age among sampled families. The mean monthly income is highest for the age range of thirty to thirty nine years. Income increases sharply from the lowest age group and reaches its highest

TABLE 18

REASONS FOR JOB DISSATISFACTION AMONG THE
SAMPLED FAMILIES

REASONS FOR DISSATISFACTION	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	PERCENTAGE
Low income	25	25.5
Hard work	4	4.1
Hard work and low income	21	21.4
Temporary job	13	13.3
Temporary job and low income	35	35.7
TOTAL	98	100

TABLE 19

REASONS FOR JOB SATISFACTION AMONG THE
SAMPLED FAMILIES

REASONS FOR SATISFACTION	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	PERCENTAGE
Economic responsibility	42	60
No job requirements	13	18.6
Being employed (as opposed to not being employed)	12	17.1
Enough wages	2	2.9
Unclear	1	1.4
TOTAL	70	100

TABLE 20

INCOME DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO AGE OF ALL EMPLOYED PEOPLE

AGE GROUP	NUMBER OF EMPLOYED PEOPLE	PERCENTAGE OF EMPLOYED PEOPLE	TOTAL MONTHLY INCOME (July 1979)	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL MONTHLY INCOME	MEAN MONTHLY INCOME	PERCENTAGE OF MEAN MONTHLY INCOME
0 - 9	18	7.1	\$ 116.	.9	\$ 6.45	1.9
10 - 19	75	29.6	2605.	20.0	34.73	10.0
20 - 29	36	14.2	2441.71	18.7	67.82	19.8
30 - 39	51	20.2	3559.85	27.4	69.80	20.3
40 - 49	47	18.6	2937.14	22.6	62.49	18.1
50 - 59	18	7.1	940.	7.2	52.22	15.0
60 and above	8	3.2	412.	3.2	51.50	14.9
TOTAL	253	100	13011.70	100	345.01	100

peak for the thirty to thirty nine age group. It then decreases somewhat more gradually until it reaches the oldest group. Such a correlation is not surprising and is explained by the availability of and productivity level of the highest income earning group. Also, the employment of the very young and/or the elderly is largely determined by the supply of jobs available.

Because, as was previously described, the income earned by these families is not enough to meet their needs, many families are forced to obtain loans so as to cover their expenses. As shown in Table 21, 148 out of 168 households get loans from private lenders, relatives, shopkeepers, employers, or banks. The most available source of lending capital was the private lender, who usually required an interest fee for loaning the money. The loans from the shopkeepers were either extension of credit or actual money loans, given with the intention of drawing customers to shops.

Table 22 summarizes the major reasons cited for seeking loans. The largest portion of respondents, 64.2% attributed their need to obtain a loan to factors associated with land and shelter. Most of these said they needed the money to rebuild, or build housing or to buy land. Twenty-five percent of the households got loans to buy food, clothing or other basic household necessities. Only one of the respondents cited travel and/or vacation as the factor motivating their seeking a loan.

TABLE 21

LOAN SOURCES

SOURCE OF LOANS	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS	AMOUNT OF LOANS	PERCENTAGE OF LOANS
Private lender	71	48	\$ 5613.	65.1
Relatives	26	17.6	1290.	15
Shopkeepers	25	16.9	490.	5.7
Employer	15	10.1	739.	8.6
Bank	11	7.4	488.	5.6
TOTALS	148	100	8620.	100

TABLE 22

LOAN MOTIVATION

LOAN MOTIVATION	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	PERCENTAGE
Building, rebuilding, or buying land	95	64.2
Food and clothes	38	25.7
Medical costs	6	4.0
Marriage	3	2.0
Education	3	2.0
Helping relatives	2	1.4
Travel, vacation	1	0.7
TOTAL	148	100

EDUCATION

Table 23 enumerates the distribution of students by sex and age. This table indicates that there are 209 none students and only 43 students among the sampled families. This fact is easily explained in terms of the socio-economic factors which play upon this group of families.

As was previously explained, most of the marginal residents do not place a big emphasis on education. They do not plan to send their children to school since they contribute a significant portion to the family income. This factor greatly influences the future of these children, in a large part, forcing them to the same meager existence as their parents.

Table 23 shows that there are more males than females among the students. A significant reason for this stems from the traditional belief that a woman's place is in the home. Consequently, girls should only learn household tasks and marry young. Also, the traditional moral code views education in general, and more particularly for women, as a very corrupting force.

In short, then, although Islam advocates compulsory religious education for all, secular education is viewed by very traditional people as unnecessary, dangerous and economically unsound, especially for females. If parents send any offspring to school, most likely, they will send their son, since girls are only supposed to seek marriage as a life goal. The less educated the women are, the more obedient and

TABLE 23

COMPARISON OF SCHOOL ENROLLMENT

AGE GROUPS	NOT ENROLLED IN SCHOOL				ENROLLED IN SCHOOL			
	Number of Males	Percent of Males	Number of Females	Percent of Females	Number of Males	Percent of Males	Number of Females	Percent of Females
6 year olds	16	15.4	16	15.2	0	0	0	0
7 "	28	26.9	29	27.6	4	16	5	27.8
8 "	18	17.3	9	8.6	3	12	4	22.2
9 "	13	12.5	17	16.2	6	24	5	27.8
10 "	13	12.5	11	10.5	3	12	1	5.5
11 "	7	6.7	14	13.3	5	20	0	0
12 "	9	8.7	9	8.6	4	16	3	16.7
TOTAL	104	100	105	100	25	100	18	100

responsible they will be in the home. If they were to be educated, they would **probably** expect to find employment. The inclusion of women in the labor force would not be a welcomed event because of the high rates of unemployment and underemployment which currently plagues the predominantly male labor force. The end result of these socio-economic conditions is the reduction in the effectiveness of the educational system in and around Tabriz.

HOUSING

As listed in Table 24, fifty-five percent of the marginal residents said they built their homes themselves. One third claimed to have bought their houses. There were very few households who rented or mortgaged their homes. Others were either given or inherited their homes from relatives or friends.

Table 25 enumerates the various methods of acquiring construction sites for their homes utilized by marginal people. Sixty seven percent claimed that they had bought their land. Another 17% said that they occupied the land with the owner's permission, while the rest squattered, inherited or were given the land. Item number one in Table 25 warrants an explanation. To some, the fact that almost 68% of these marginal people bought the land upon which their homes are constructed may seem contradictory to what has been previously expounded. Often times the so called "buying" of the land took place after the fact. In short, many people invaded the land built their homes and afterwards paid a small amount of

TABLE 24

MANNER OF ACQUIRING HOUSING IN MARGINAL AREAS

HOUSING	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	PERCENTAGE
Built by the families	93	55.4
Bought houses with cash	55	32.7
Rented	9	5.4
Inherited	8	4.7
Mortgaged	1	0.6
Transferred ownership	0	0
Unclear	2	1.2
TOTAL	168	100

TABLE 25

METHOD OF ACQUIRING HOUSE CONSTRUCTION SITES

TYPES OF ACQUISITION	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	PERCENTAGE
Bought land	113	67.2
Occupied with the owner's permission	29	17.2
Squattered illegally	20	11.9
Transferred land	6	3.6
TOTAL	168	100

money in order to receive a title to the land.

Table 26 enumerates the materials most commonly used for the construction of houses. These range from materials such as wood, mud and unbaked bricks, that are cheap and readily available, to the more expensive and scarce materials like iron and stucco. Almost 80% of the houses were built utilizing the cheaper construction materials. Many bring the raw materials, for instance, wood, from their previous homes whenever possible. Others utilize mud to make bricks.

Those 35 households(the second category) which utilized brick, wood, stone and mud as primary construction materials spent more money than the previously described group. They not only had to pay for baked bricks, but often times, for stone and wood, also.

Only 38 households fell within the third and fourth categories. Since most, if not all of these materials have to be bought, this is not a surprising fact especially when viewed in terms of the low income level of most of these people. Although these homes built of iron, cement, brick and stucco are very durable, this nonetheless represents a substantial investment on the part of these families.

Table 27 lists the facilities most often found in the homes of the marginal residents. The one and only commonly found commodity was a toilet. At least one out of every 2 families owned a toilet. Only 10% of the households had kitchens. Other facilities were found less frequently. Among these are : drinking wells (7.7%); livestock stables

TABLE 26

CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS USED IN BUILDING HOUSES

KIND OF MATERIALS	NUMBER OF HOUSES BUILT	PERCENTAGE
Unbaked bricks, wood, mud	95	56.6
Bricks, wood, stone, and mud	35	20.8
Bricks, cement, wood, and stucco	18	10.7
Iron, cement, bricks, and stucco	20	11.9
TOTAL	168	100

TABLE 27

FACILITIES USED AMONG ALL THE SAMPLED FAMILIES

TYPES OF SERVICES	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	PERCENTAGE
Toilet	93	55.4
Kitchen	17	10.0
Water well, drinking	13	7.7
Stables	12	7.2
Running water	11	6.5
Electricity	8	4.8
Bath or shower	6	3.6
Water storage, septic system	6	3.6
Storage, basement	2	1.2
TOTAL	168	100

(7.2%); running water (6.5%); electricity (4.8%) and bath or shower (3.6%).

These people who don't have running water use either their own water well or go down the hill to use the water tap constructed by the city for the public use. Those families who do not have showers in their homes generally go, once or twice a week, to the public baths in the city. However, public does not mean free, since residents have to pay to utilize the baths. This lack of bathing facilities within close proximity of their homes create problems for these people. Not only must they spend money on the bath itself, but also they must pay for their transportation. Those families which do not have electricity use oil burning lanterns. Fortunately, since Iran is an oil producing country, oil is not that expensive.

Table 28 enumerates the household appliances frequently found in the homes of marginal residents. The table demonstrates that what most consider bare necessities, marginal residents consider luxury items. The most common household appliances are blankets, throw rugs and carpets which are utilized to cover the earthen floor, so that people could sit. These vary in cost from blankets which are the cheapest to the most expensive and precious Persian rugs.

Only 40% of the families indicated possessing heating appliances. These consisted mainly of oil burning heaters that give off very little heat and the traditional coal burning KORSI. The KORSI is open on four sides where people can

TABLE 28

HOUSEHOLD APPLIANCES

HOUSEHOLD APPLIANCES	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	PERCENTAGES
Blanket	35	20.8
Throw rugs	24	14.3
Carpet	12	7.2
Oil burning heaters	39	23.2
Heater (KORSI)	28	16.6
Radio	23	13.7
Fan	4	2.4
Bed frame	3	1.8
Furniture	0	0
Television	0	0
TOTAL	168	100

hover closely and warm their legs. Unfortunately, it does not give off sufficient heat to warm a room. Only 13% of the households owned radios and no one owned a television set.

LEISURE TIME

Table 29 lists the major ways in which marginal residents spend their leisure time. Marginal people do not set aside specific times for leisure activities. Leisure time is determined by when they finish their work.

Friday is the day of rest because it is the day of the Moslem Sabbath. On the Sabbath, most religious people go to the Mosque to pay respects, pray and listen to the homily of the religious leader. As is evident in Table 29, most of their leisure time is spent in religious activities. Almost 30% of these people have made a pilgrimage to Mashhad, (located in another province) the burial place of one of prophet Mohammed's grandsons.

Other pasttime activities enjoyed less frequently include sitting in tea houses or going to the cinema. These people do not believe in drinking, gambling, or going to nightclubs, and most of them consider the cinema to be a corrupting influence. Aside from this, cinemas are even less appealing because most movies are in Farsi, while the language spoken by these people is Azari.

Tea houses and cinemas are strictly masculine activities. This is due to the traditional belief that women should not frequent public places attended by men other than

TABLE 29

USE OF LEISURE TIME AMONG THE SAMPLED FAMILIES

LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES	NUMBER OF PEOPLE	PERCENTAGE
Mosque	201	47.9
Pilgrimages	124	29.5
Cinema	18	4.3
Tea House	13	3.1
Other	64	15.2
TOTAL	420	100

their husbands. This tradition is even safeguarded in the mosques, where the men and women must sit in separate sections. However, it is acceptable for women to accompany their husbands on pilgrimages.

SUMMARY AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

A basic theoretical tenet expounded in this study is that marginalization is the consequence of a new model of development (or underdevelopment) rooted in the historical process of industrialization and economic growth in the developing nations (Perlman, 1975). The penetration of capitalism into developing nations creates a dependency structure which conditions the orientation of production, the form of capital accumulation, the reproduction of the economy and the social and political structure of the developing country (Dos Santos, 1970).

Unlike the previous century, industrial development (the penetration of capitalism) in less developed countries means the adaption of advanced techniques. Therefore, a rapid growth of industrial production does not necessarily imply a substantial increase in industrial employment. The end result of this process is a disproportionate number of underemployed people who are not wage earners, have no particular credentials, no job stability, no social security, no protection of labor legislation and who live in a constant state of uncertainty (perlman, 1975). This vast sector of the population is excluded from the main productive apparatus and "marginalization" occurs.

In fitting this framework into the context of Iran, one finds that the penetration of dependent capitalism triggered

a series of events which had disastrous effects upon the economy and the social and political structure. Such things as the land reform of 1963, the confiscation of the Bedouin's grazing lands, and the importation of foreign finished products, destroyed the traditional means of production and stripped many rural people of their livelihood forcing them to migrate to the city in search of jobs.

This tremendous influx of poor and largely unskilled laborers could not be absorbed by the urban economy. Consequently, vast sectors of the population were excluded from the productive apparatus of the economy which laid the ground work for the emergence of the marginal sector or as Perlamn (1975) states "marginalization".

In short, because of their lack of education and skill, these people were forced to accept the lower status, lower paying jobs in the terciary sector. Their meager earnings were not enough to afford housing in the city.

As a result, these people illegally invaded and set up residencies on a large tract of undeveloped land situated in the periphery of the city. Eventhough these people currently inhabit the land, the government does not bring public services to the area because the task is difficult and expensive.

Consequently, these people live socially and economically isolated from the other urban areas, without sanitation, education and public services.

In attempting to analyze the crucial dimensions

characterizing the process of marginalization, the current research focused on five general areas directly related to the concept. The major findings in each of these areas are summarized as follows:

Population Characteristics. Among the 168 households which comprised the sample, there were 462 males and 422 females. The largest number of persons fell within the 0-9 age group which totaled 394. However, this finding was far from surprising since these people have little or no knowledge about birth control, and if they did they would more than likely reject it since children are viewed as an added source of income. The median age of the sample fell within the 20 - 29 age group.

Marriage and divorce patterns which emerged fit well within the traditional norms of the society. More women than men were married and a large portion of these women married at an earlier age.

Migration. The results of the study indicated that the greatest portion (80%) of marginal residents were people who migrated from rural areas. Due to a series of socioeconomic and political events, these people lost their only means of sustenance and they were forced to go to urban areas in search of a livelihood. Over 73% of the marginal residents migrated to the city for economic reasons.

Employment. Only 253 persons of the 884 contained in the sample were employed and 222 of these were men. Again, this is based upon the traditional belief that a woman does

not belong in the labor force, but should remain at home to tend the house and the children. Most of these employed held the low paying jobs in the tertiary sector.

Lastly, it was surprising to find that although these people live under such difficult conditions, almost 80% claimed to be at least fairly satisfied with the migration experience. In the city, they at least harbor the hope that someday the government will provide them with public services. In the rural areas, they did not even have this hope.

Housing. Because of economic factors associated with unemployment, underemployment and low income, many of these people built their houses out of cheap and readily available materials, namely wood, unbaked bricks and mud. The only household facility possessed by one out of every two households was a toilet. The most commonly found household appliance was either an oil burning heater (23%) or a KORSI (16%) which is urgently needed in terms of the bitter cold of Tabrizian winters.

Education. The findings indicated that among 253 children of elementary school age, only 43 attend school. Marginal people tend to view education as a corrupting force and consequently, do not send their children to school. Aside from this, children contribute significantly to the family's income, therefore, sending them to school represents an economic loss.

Leisure Time. Generally, most of these marginal people spend their small amount of leisure time on religious

activities. Over 48% of the people spend their Friday (Moslem sabbath) at the mosque. The next most common use of leisure time, after going to the mosque, was religious pilgrimages.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Upon careful analysis of the major findings of the study, numerous suggestions and policy recommendations to improve the situation of marginal people come to mind. However, unless the government spearheads basic structural changes in Iranian social, political and economic systems, none of the following suggestions can be made operative.

First governmental priorities must shift from helping the foreign capitalists and the local bourgeoisie to benefiting the "common" Iranian citizen. The government must take definitive steps to prevent the exploitation of the poor and marginal people by the local wealthy. The government must also socialize the means of production and distribute them equally between rural and urban sectors.

The government must take stock of the current economic situation of marginal people and develop strategies for the creation of jobs and the provision of more employment opportunities. For instance, governmental efforts could be directed towards building and improving the local handicraft industry, thereby creating a source of revenue and providing profitable activity for many people. Likewise, programs designed to provide marginal workers and craftsmen with raw materials at minimal cost must be implemented.

The educational system must be expanded to reach all sectors of the population, including both rural and marginal people. This will provide a flow of information and knowledge to people and areas that were previously only familiar with traditional teachings. Aside from this, the employability of rural and marginal people will be increased and their children will not be condemned to subsistence living. Likewise, the public health care system must be reorganized and expanded. Information and education on birth control methods, proper nutrition and health care must be disseminated among all Iranian people. However, such endeavors mandate the development of roads and public transportation into marginal and rural areas.

In order to prevent the further development of marginal sectors, the government must finance and build low cost housing projects to accommodate needy people. These housing projects must be spearheaded by city planners who must conduct surveys to decide the most appropriate geographical and ecological location for these projects so that all public services could be provided. Marginal residents or migrants could buy low cost housing from the government instead of having to build their own. Such projects will not only prevent the growth of the marginal sector, but will also create jobs for the economy.

Low interest housing loans must be made available so that migrants and other needy people choose to purchase government housing rather than build their own. Similarly,

lending programs must be developed to aid the agricultural sector. This entails facilitating loans to both the farmers themselves and to those companies who specialize in selling quality agricultural goods and supplies at minimal costs.

In short, the previously described suggestions and policy recommendations have a dual aim. First, they proposit to improve the actual conditions of marginal people by such things as increasing employment opportunities, providing adequate housing with public services, improving public transportation etc. Secondly, and even more importantly, these suggestions aim at eradicating the conditions which ultimately lead to marginalization. By improving the economic conditions of rural areas and providing these areas with adequate education, public health facilities, transportation and public services, many of the factors which caused the migration of rural people are eliminated. As a result, marginalization would be prevented.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

FAMILY MEMBERS	AGE	MARIATL STATUS				EMPLOYMENT STATUS				SCHOOL ENROLLMENT		EDUCATIONAL LEVEL								
		Spouse (s)	Children	Single	Divorced	type of job	salary	unem- ployed	Enrolled	Not Enrolled	Elementary	High School	University	received degree	no degree					
																Farming	Industry	Service	Daily	Monthly

APPENDIX B

MIGRATION AND EMPLOYMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

I. Are you a migrant?

Yes _____ No _____

If yes, explain the reason for your migration and give your previous location (the place from where you migrated).

Reasons for Migrating:

economic _____	religious _____
political _____	other _____
social _____	

Previous Location:

II. Previous job of head of household, (prior to migrating).

service _____
farmer _____
industry _____
other _____

III. Current job of head of household (after migration).

service _____
farmer _____
industry _____
other _____

IV. Year of migration.

Before 1963 _____
1963-1970 _____
1971 _____
1972 _____
1973 _____
1974 _____
1975 _____
1976 _____
1977 _____

V. Is your income higher now than it was before migrating?

Yes _____ No _____

VI. Are you currently employed?

Yes _____ No _____

VII. Are you satisfied with your present job?

Yes _____ No _____

If yes, give the reasons for your satisfaction.

economic responsibility _____

no job requirements _____

being employed (as opposed to not being employed) _____

other _____

If no, give the reasons for your dissatisfaction.

low income _____

hard work _____

temporary job _____

other _____

VIII. Are you satisfied with your migration experience?

Yes _____ No _____

Please give the degree of satisfaction.

excellent _____

good _____

fair _____

unsatisfactory _____

terribly _____

unsatisfactory _____

indifferent _____

IX. Would you like to return to your previous homes or locations?

Yes _____ No _____

If yes, please explain the reasons.

economic reasons _____

political reasons _____

religious reasons _____

having relatives / friends _____

other _____

X. What was the reaction of new neighbors when you first arrived?

good _____ indifferent _____

bad _____

XI. Did you have any relatives here before you came?

Yes _____ No _____

XII. Why do you reside in the marginal sector?

low income	_____
high cost of rent	_____
in the city	_____
having own home	_____
proximity to work place	_____
proximity to friends and	_____
relatives	_____

APPENDIX C

HOUSING AND LOANS QUESTIONNAIRE

I. Method of acquiring housing.

bought, owned	_____
rented	_____
mortgageged	_____
inherited or	_____
received as gift	_____
other	_____

II. Number of rooms in domicile.

one room	_____
two rooms	_____
more than two	_____
rooms	_____

III. Facilities.

kitchen	_____
bathroom	_____
running water	_____
electricity	_____
storage	_____
water well	_____
water storage	_____
stables	_____

IV. Household appliances.

carpet	_____
throw rug	_____
blanket	_____
furniture	_____
radio	_____
television	_____
oil burning heater	_____
Korsi	_____
fan	_____
bed frame	_____

V. Housing construction materials.

cement	_____
brick, fired	_____
unbaked brick	_____
wood	_____
stucco	_____
stone	_____

VI. Sources of loan.

bank	_____
shopkeeper	_____
relative	_____
private lender	_____
employer	_____

VII. Loan motivation.

build, rebuild a house	_____
buying land	_____
food and clothing	_____
marriage	_____
education	_____
household appliances	_____
travel	_____
other	_____

APPENDIX D

USE OF LEISURE TIME QUESTIONNAIRE

ACTIVITIES	FAMILY MEMBERS				
	Head of house	Spouse	Child	Child	Child
Listening to radio					
Watching television					
Music					
Going to the tea house					
Studying					
Pilgrimages					
Going to the mosque					
Going to the park					
Drinking					

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