

LOCATION DECISION:  
A STUDY OF INTER-CITY LOCATION VARIABLES AND TRADE-OFFS FOR  
A GROUP OF IRANIAN MANAGERS AND PROFESSIONALS

by

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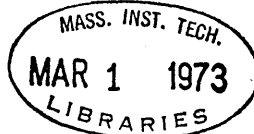
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## Abstract

In recent years research has strongly brought into focus the critical role the human actor plays in development as distinguished by the quality of his education, knowledge, and his psychological state.

The thrust of this study is based on a belief that man and his motivations and drives are the essential and dominant factors in development, and any location-bound strategies of development such as national planning, regional planning or planning on a smaller scale must essentially deal with human resources and their qualitative aspects.

In this study I have tried to determine the variables which have strong effects on an individual (the highly educated skilled person) and his moves from one region to another, more specifically from the core region (Tehran, Iran) to the other regions and those variables which may have the effect of prolonging the stay of individual after he has moved to the regions.

I will try to show through the instrument of the personal interview that if managers and professionals are attracted to the regions through various programs and changes, they, in turn may invest their resources in the regions, improving the quality of the living environment there.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 HUMAN QUALITY IN DEVELOPMENT ECONOMICS

In recent years research has shown for a national economy that the traditional inputs of labor and capital cannot account for more than a 10% increase in total output over long periods of time.<sup>1</sup> A large part of the increases in total economic output is attributed to "unexplained residual factors."<sup>2</sup> In fact, in several studies which attempt to identify some of the "residual factors," 50-85% of the aggregate growth of output has been attributed to these factors.

Solow attributes two-thirds of the growth of the United States economy, after allowance for labor and capital inputs, to "technical change."<sup>3</sup> Harvey Leibenstein, with many others, sees a major part of these residual factors as connected to demographic variables, namely nurture and education.<sup>4</sup> This,

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<sup>1</sup> Simon Kuznets, Modern Economic Growth, Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, Conn., 1966, pp. 80-81.

<sup>2</sup> S. Fabricant, "Basic Facts on Productivity," National Bureau of Economic Research, New York, 1959, in Leading Issues in Economic Development, by Gerald Meirs, Oxford University Press, 1970.

<sup>3</sup> R. Solow, "Technical Change and the Aggregate Production Function," in Review of Economics and Statistics, August, 1957, pp. 312-320.

<sup>4</sup> Harvey Leibenstein, "Demographic Impact of Nurture and Education on Development," paper presented to the Conference of International Union for the Scientific Study of Population in London, 1969.



in turn, in Leibenstein's words, determines the "population quality." Others, such as McClelland see the "high N-<sup>5</sup> Achievement" as a driving factor in development, with this drive supplied by "the entrepreneur" and the special motives and values he brings with him. Most of these arguments have a common thrust, namely, the critical role that the human actor plays in development as distinguished by the quality of his education, knowledge, and his psychological state (with respect to his motivation and values).

The importance of the role played by the highly educated human actor in the development process is evident in what Leibenstein calls "X efficiency,"<sup>6</sup> and in a "learning by doing" process in which advances in knowledge accrue from the accumulation of experience.<sup>7</sup> In both cases, capitalization on the human and improvement of his knowledge is evident.

In attempting to disaggregate residual factors into recognizable elements, the field of economics for development has given increasing attention to the human resource, and his qualitative improvement. No longer is reliance on the passage of time the only action for this improvement, but more direct

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David McClelland, The Achieving Society, Free Press, New York, 1967, p. 43.

6

Harvey Leibenstein, "Allocative Efficiency vs. 'X-Efficiency'" American Economic Review, June 1966, pp. 392-415.

7

Kenneth A.J. Arrow, "The Economic Implication of Learning by Doing," Review of Economic Studies, V. 29, 1962, pp. 155-73.

attempts are being made within the economy. In the words of Gerald Meier, "investment in man," "human capital,"<sup>8</sup> "economics of manpower"; all these new interests are becoming essential parts of the economics for development.

The thrust of this study is based on a belief that man and his motivations and drives are the essential and dominant factors in development, and any location-bound strategies of development (such as national planning, regional planning or planning on smaller scales) must essentially deal with human resources and their qualitative aspects.

The main concern of this study, basically, is to determine the variables which have strong effects on an individual and his moves from one region to another;<sup>9</sup> more specifically, moves from the central or core regions<sup>10</sup> (in this case, Tehran, Iran) to the other regions; and, those variables which

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8  
Gerald M. Meier, Leading Issues in Economic Development, Oxford University Press, 1970, pp. 91.

9  
Of course, by "individual," I mean highly educated and skilled persons, specifically members of the managerial and professional group. For further information and classification of "high level manpower" or alternatively "human capital" see Frederick Harbison, "Human Resources Development Planning in Modernizing Economics" in International Labour Review, V. LXXXV, No. 5, May 1962, pp. 2-23.

10  
John Friedmann, Regional Development Policy: A Case Study of Venezuela, MIT Press, Boston, 1966, p. 12.

may have the effect of prolonging the stay after an individual has moved to the regions. As Harbison states in his study of man power problems of developing countries:

"Most modernizing economies are confronted simultaneously with two persistent, yet seemingly diverse manpower problems: the shortage of persons with critical skills in the modernizing sector and surplus labor in both modern and traditional sectors... and, paradoxically, the shortage of persons with critical skills is one of the contributing causes of the surplus of people without jobs." <sup>11</sup>

Of course the problem of human resources is different in any two countries. However, there are problems which are somewhat common to all developing countries, among them, a shortage of highly educated professional manpower, (i.e. engineers, doctors, scientists) and top level managerial and administrative personnel in both the private and the public sector. <sup>12</sup> Another characteristic of these two groups in developing countries is their concentration in the major urban areas and, in the majority of cases, in the core or central region (especially in the case of Iran). <sup>13</sup>

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11

See F. H. Harbison, "Approach to Human Resource Development," in Gerald M. Meier's Leading Issues in Economic Development, op. cit. p. 612.

12

For a more comprehensive list, see Harbison G. M. Meier, op. cit. This list includes teachers, middle level technicians, craftsmen, secretarial, bookkeepers, machine operators.

13

E. Naraghi, "Regional Studies in Iran," in Multi-Disciplinary Aspects of Regional Development, OECD, Paris, 1969, p. 241.

Furthermore, there is ample evidence that, in a great number of cases, their talents are wasted through improper utilization or are not utilized at all.<sup>14</sup>

## 1.2 MIGRATION OF HIGHLY EDUCATED AND SKILLED MANPOWER

The problem of migration of the highly educated and skilled on the international level, the "brain-drain," has been going for some time,<sup>15</sup> with the direction of this flow being from developing countries to industrialized ones and has been amply documented. A more important type of migration has been going on simultaneously on a smaller (geographic, though not necessarily numerical) scale: namely, regional migrations internal to a country, which could be called "internal brain drain".

Studies of internal migration in developing countries usually fall within two categories: (1) those studies which simply cover population movements in an aggregated data form, both as to actors involved in migration, and components of

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A. Hesamavaziri, op. cit. p. 84

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See Harbison's study, Meier's book, op. cit., in which he refers to a number of cases in Africa, Latin America and Asia. Also my own discussions with various individuals has indicated the same in the case of Egypt and other Middle Eastern countries, as well as Turkey.

variables in the decision to move; and (2) studies mainly covering rural-urban migration, quite detailed in respect to both variables and actors.

There are two components, as well, to what is scant or non-existent in the literature: first, the "urban-rural" migration, with the direction of flow from urban back to rural areas or from "core city" back to the regions;<sup>16</sup> second and more specifically, studies about specific groups and their movements (i.e. blue collar workers, technicians, nurses, teachers, etc.) In the few attempts made to study migration away from large cities toward smaller towns, work by Arthur Stienchomb comes closer than others to this issue<sup>17</sup> in his discussion of social attitudinal factors in planning.

The literature on managers and professional groups and their internal locational movement within developing countries, is non-existent. However, there is a body of literature on comparative management on cross cultural level)<sup>18</sup> with areas

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There are very few studies existing on this topic and what few there are concentrate mainly on the return of farmers back to villages.

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This is in reference to a study of white collar steel workers and other middle class people in three cities in Argentina, Chile and Venezuela, basically discussing attitudinal and socio-economic factors present in preferences for various locations. See, Arthur Stienchomb, "Migration, Social Attitudes and Planning in the Guayana", pp. 411-421 in Planning Urban Growth and Regional Development, Lloyd Rodwin & Assoc., MIT Press, Cambridge, 1969.

18

Comparative Management: Teaching, Training, and Research, Proceedings of the Comparative Management Workshop, New York University, New York, 1970.

of relevance as to attitude, socialization, goals, etc.

The purpose of this study is to identify problem areas regarding the managerial and professional group, and point out some of the critical variables in the location decision (specifically for the case of Iran).

The problem of concentration of resources and power in a few (usually in only one) major cities, in the majority of developing countries is one of their strong similarities. This fact has also led to a strong argument in discussions of various strategies of regional planning as to the shortage of highly educated and skilled manpower in the regions. Subsequently, this shortage has become one of the factors in proposals for "concentrated decentralization"<sup>19</sup> or strategies of growth-pole development, and inversely as a weak point in the proposals for "dispersal" or decentralization<sup>20</sup> of power and resources.

No exception from the rest of the developing countries in this respect, Iran has progressively followed the path of centralization. Especially in the past four decades, concentrations of political power, administrative institutions, economic activities, executive and legal powers have resulted in Tehran's inequitable endowment in relation to the region's

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19

Lloyd Rodwin, Nations and Cities: A Comparison of Strategies for Urban Growth, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1970, p. 5.

20

Ibid.

share of industrial activities, infrastructure, and highly<sup>21</sup> educated and skilled manpower resources of the country.

The extent of this inequitable distribution can be demonstrated by the following facts: 1. In 1966 out of a population of around 25.8 - 27.8 million<sup>22</sup> for the total country, Tehran, with a population of 2.7 million (10 - 11%)<sup>23</sup> was the location of about 54% of the industrial investment in the country,<sup>24</sup> 34% of the factories and 40% of manufacturing workers. 2. Transportation networks also reflect this centralization. The spoked-wheel-effect of roads and railroads with Tehran as the hub, is a graphic demonstration of this fact, accentuated by the lack of facilities between other regions and regional centers.

3. According to E. Naraghi, percapita income in Tehran is 45% and 70% higher than other major provincial cities and small towns, respectively. 4. Other research also indicates

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Since 1931 Tehran has grown from about 300,000 to over 3.5 million in 1971 with a growth rate of about 7% annually in the past 10 years while the national growth rate of population was around 3%.

22

See National Census of Population and Housing (IRAN), Nov, 1966, Plan Organization, Iranian Statistical Center No. CLXIIX March 1968. This volume covers only settled population, (Nomadic population is estimated to range from 3-3.5 million)

23

Ibid.

24

E. Naraghi, op. cit. p. 239.

that about 40% of the national income in 1965 (oil excluded)<sup>24</sup> was generated in the central province (Tehran).

5. Forty-nine percent of the medical doctors,<sup>25</sup> 43% of the country's hospital beds,<sup>26</sup> and 35% of the pharmacies are located in Tehran. In 1966 there were only 595 doctors practicing in rural areas with population of 17.2 to 19.3 million. (It is interesting to know that 50% of the country's yearly deaths occurred among children of 5 years of age or younger.)<sup>27</sup>

Additionally, according to the 1966 National Census, 66% of the College students were attending higher educational institutions in Tehran. For the distribution of highly educated manpower in the country in the same year, see the following table.

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24

General Statistics Center, Ministry of Economics, Government of Iran, unpublished, 1971.

25

Iran National Census, op. cit.

26

E. Naraghi, op. cit. p. 239.

27

Iran Almanac, Echo of Iran, Tehran, Iran, 1969, p. 485.



TABLE 1 1966 LOCATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF UNIVERSITY GRADUATES BY THEIR LEVEL OF EDUCATION IN COMPARISON TO TOTAL POPULATION OF EACH LOCATION.

POPULATION OF EACH AREA BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	TEHRAN	ALL OTHER AREAS	TOTAL COUNTRY
Bachelor Degree			
Number	24,659	21,206	45,865
%	54%	46%	100%
Masters Degree			
Number	3,038	1,539	4,577
%	67%	33%	100%
Engineering Deg.			
Number	5,463	3,924	9,387
%	58%	42%	100%
Doctorate Degree			
Number	7,499	6,576	14,075
%	53%	49%	100%
Total of Degree Holders			
Number	40,659	33,245	73,904
%	55%	45%	100%
Total Population			
Number	2,720,000	23,060,000 to 25,080,000	25,780,000 27,800,000
%	10%	90%	100%

This table was constructed from the 1966 National Census of Iran, Volume CLXIIIX, pp. 25-28, and Volume X, pp. 96-97.

### 1.3 REGIONAL NEEDS FOR MANAGERS AND PROFESSIONAL GROUPS:

Aside from being faced with the problem of unequal resource distribution, two other factors with interrelated problems have literally forced the government in recent years to pursue a policy of geographic decentralization. One of these factors had to do with progressive deterioration of the living environment in Tehran, i.e. air pollution, traffic congestion, overcrowding, shortage of housing and a disaster forecast by the Ministry of Water and Power of a water shortage in the immediate future, unless growth is reduced drastically. The second factor is the rapidly increasing gap in prosperity between Tehran and the regions and the sharply climbing unemployment rate in the various provinces.

The policy of decentralization has produced several heavy industries in the regions, i.e. a steel mill in the Isfahan region; recently, the petrochemical, in addition to the previously strong oil industry, in the Khurestan region; tractor and heavy machine plants in the Azarbayejan region; and others. What is interesting is the inevitable need to follow up, in the chain of linkages, with smaller industries, and subsequently, the demand growing for an even greater number of managers and professional personnel.

One example of the need for managers and professional groups in the regions is the failure of the First Regional Planning Project by the Plan Organization, located in the Southeast part of the country (in the regions of Balychestans and Sestan). The main reason for this failure was the lack

of a qualified local managerial staff.<sup>28</sup> Baldwin puts this in larger prospective than the single project example given above:

"...Iran's National development has probably suffered more from internal migration of talent to Tehran than from immigration to Europe and North America."<sup>29</sup>

If managers and professionals are attracted to the regions, and those who are from the locality are kept there, through various programs of incentives and real structural and institutional changes, they, in turn, may invest their resources in the region -- their knowledge, economic resources, and their interests and finally, take an interest in the location as their own home. With local forces and their combined social and political leverage, they may bring enough pressure to bear on the central government to improve the quality of the living environment in the regions.

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28

E. Naraghi, op. cit. p. 241

29

George Baldwin, "Four Studies on the Iranian Brain Drain," p. 374, in The International Migration of High-Level Manpower, Praeger Press, New York, 1970.

## 2. METHODOLOGY:

### 2.1 WHO WAS INTERVIEWED AND CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

The group participating in this study, fifteen in total, were among the twenty-one selected from a list of candidates submitted by various government and private agencies in Iran to the Industrial Management Institute of Iran (IMI)<sup>1</sup> for a one year intensive study in the U.S.<sup>2</sup> The university degree, command of the English language and several years of experience in managerial (middle and high-level) and related tasks, were among the requirements the candidate had to satisfy before being considered for selection.

Initially, the Managerial Section of Arthur D. Little, Inc., (ADL), and the individuals in charge of this special training program for Iranian managers were contacted (by telephone) and the objectives of the study explained.

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1

The Industrial Management Institute of Iran (IMI) is a subsidiary of the Industrial Development and Renovation Organization of Iran.

2

A ten-month management training course designed and conducted by Arthur D. Little, Inc., of Cambridge, Ma. U.S.A.

3

For detailed characteristics of the group, as well as biographical sketch of a manager, see Chapter 4, in this thesis, pp. 24.

Following this conversation, a letter of introduction was sent to the group leader (with an understanding that it would be brought to everyone's<sup>4</sup> attention). The letter indicated the purpose and the method, in addition to a statement about the non-political nature of the study! The letter was followed by an informal meeting with a few from the group and in this meeting the time and place for the first interview was confirmed.

Since the content of the letter did not reach everyone, it became necessary to spend the first few minutes of the interview explaining the study objectives and giving assurance that all discussions would be confidential as to the identify of the individuals. (It was also pointed out that whenever they desired, for whatever reasons, they were free not to respond to the questions.)

Interviews were held in various locations e.g. ADL, MIT, interviewee's home, and on different days with hours varying from 8 a.m. to 10 p.m.

Aside from the first few interviews resulting from the initial meeting with the group, the majority of the interviews were arranged over the telephone, several days in advance.

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Later in the study it was found that with one or two exceptions, the rest had not seen this letter; however, they were aware that someone was doing a study and wanted to interview them.

At the end of the interviews the individual was told that he might be contacted later for clarification of some parts of the interview if the need arose. Furthermore, he might receive a short questionnaire and be asked to participate in a group discussion.

Finally, numerous informal conversations were held with various individuals in the group, in addition to a short written supplement to the main interview.<sup>5</sup>

## 2.2 INITIAL CONSTRAINTS AND PROCEDURES

In order to gain a better understanding of the stages of development and change in the methodology and the subsequent procedures, some of the more important initial constraints must be pointed out.

First, as was previously stated, individuals participating in this study were not systematically chosen and did not represent a randomly selected sample. Secondly, the size of the group was quite small for any statistical study: twenty-one maximum potential participants, from which only fifteen finally participated in this study. Thirdly, the potential for conducting a survey questionnaire did not seem very good - initial thought was given to this technique of information gathering, but it was soon

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See Appendix B, Supplemental Questionnaire.

discarded.<sup>6</sup> (This was due to several reasons, among them, the impersonal process of communication that the survey questionnaire entailed which was not the best technique of getting a response from a group who are generally adverse to stating their opinions in writing, and are heavily dependent on personal contact, as a medium of communication. Furthermore, due to an individual's existing or potential future position in government agencies or the private sector, along with the present psychological atmosphere existing in the country,<sup>7</sup> there was some apprehension that individuals might not respond freely, if at all, to any inquiries regarding their personal and environmental situation. The prevailing atmosphere in the country has made it more necessary to know who is questioning and for what reasons. In fact, this factor was a reason for omission of a whole array of questions and inquiries into the individuals ideological beliefs and the political environment in the country and its possible impact on the location

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<sup>6</sup>  
In later stages of the study, this proved to be correct and the decision to discard this technique was a critical one in the right direction. Only one out of seven who had not been interviewed personally did return a written questionnaire and only half of those who had been interviewed personally did return their supplemental written questionnaire.

<sup>7</sup>  
At the present time, an atmosphere of open and free discussion and constructive criticism does not exist. With very few exceptions, most people are not at ease to speak freely and are leery of being overheard.

8  
decision.

Some of the other issues which determined the initial direction of the study were (1) the problem areas and identifying potentially critical variables in the location decision, rather than stating a set of hypotheses and either proving or disproving them, and (2) testing various options of information gathering on the group with the intention of developing a tool of study that could be utilized in possible subsequent studies.

These led to a decision to do an in-depth, qualitative study of the group by using both closed and open-ended series of questions in a structured interview. The small size of the group eliminated the possibility of pre-testing with the sample group. However, some partial tests were run on other individuals with, broadly speaking, similar backgrounds (although they were from other countries - India, Egypt, Nigeria.) These tests proved to be helpful.

In some of the initial interviews, tapes were used, in addition to taking notes. However, this became distracting in some cases, and in others, brought out some long-winded speeches as to the glory of the motherland. Hence, taping was dropped and used only sparingly thereafter.

From the final fifteen participants, fourteen were

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Issues of ideological beliefs and commitment and/or appropriate political atmosphere seem to be two of the very important factors in the location decision and an overriding variable for some as a precondition and/or reason for a location decision.



personally interviewed for periods ranging from two and a half to five hours. After personal interviews with one or two, it became apparent that there was a need for more emphasis in some areas (i.e. investment, income, savings, etc.), and less in others as to the degree of detailing of information and time spent on discussion. These modifications were made and carried out in the rest of the interviews.

After completion of the interviews, the tapes were usually transferred into written form, a short biographical note was written on the individual, and finally, the personal interview was supplemented by a short supplemental questionnaire covering some of the demographic information left out during the interview. (This part varied with the individual.) However, the main part of this supplemental questionnaire had to do with issues of preferences in several areas, evaluation of neighborhood and city environments as places of residence, life goals and finally, the individual's evaluation of an accumulated set of variables which surfaced during the interview. This exposed each individual's observations as to the importance of various issues to the scrutiny of all the others - short of a group discussion.

The interviews were conducted in both Farsi (Persian language) and English. However, in the supplemental questionnaire, only English was used. (The difficulties encountered with the English language were not critical;

but there were more problems with the written part than with the personal interviews and conversations.)

### 2.3 STRUCTURE OF QUESTIONNAIRE

The basic structure of the questionnaire consisted of:

- a) The past personal, experiential, social, economic, cultural, legal, and political environment the individual has been active in
- b) The individual's future preferences in regard to environmental issues, i.e. job and place of residence
- c) The evaluation of past and present actions, assessment and evaluation of the work and residence environment the individual is active in
- d) Goals, aspirations, values and other relevant factors which link an individual psychologically to the past, present, and future

### 2.4 OBJECTIVES AND ASSUMPTIONS

The objectives were to analyze individual's location decisions by studying the following in detail:

- a) past actions and further identify sets of linkages between various factors operating on decisions made in regard to place of residence and jobs
- b) identifying sets of variables important to the individual, from his own analysis of the reasons

for his actions

- c) a set of preferences on the same issues and to see what the leading variables are
- d) the relationship between past actions, present evaluations of those actions, and future preferences toward the end of identifying a set of critical variables for better predictive ability as regard the individual's location decision
- e) the action of the group members at some future date - three to five years - and evaluate, the identified sets of variables (from this study) as to their usefulness as predictors.

What has been stated as an objective in this Methodology begins to indicate the assumption that the societal environment has an impact on personality formation, the motivational aspects of personality have an impact on attitude, and finally there exists a positive relationship between attitude and behavior. (However, this is with the realization that the linkage between motivation and behavior is governed to a great extent by environmental conditions and the feedback from previous behavior in that environment.) The environmental factors, in addition to the learning process from previous behavior, are the main

reasons for the difference between saying (preferences) and doing (behavior).

However, it is also known that there is no one background factor which is a reliable predictor of a certain number of attitudes, yet, some factors might be better predictors than others.<sup>9</sup>

To clarify the discrepancy between saying and doing, it is proposed that in some future time the group's actions be reviewed and the identified sets of variables be re-evaluated as to their effectiveness.

The group studied here is culturally homogeneous (with some internal variations) and different than Bettignier' study of cross-cultural comparisons of heterogeneous groups of managers.<sup>10</sup>

Furthermore, to complement the usual background taxonomy, somewhat more "psychological" personal experiences were probed into, e.g. "strong attachment to one or both parents," or "authoritarian family". Yet, in retrospect, not enough was done along this line - more of the overriding variables in various individual cases might have been uncovered.

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Comparative Management: Teaching, Training, and Research," Proceedings of the Comparative Management Workshop, 1970, published by the Graduate School of Business Administration, New York University, (Management Backgrounds and perspective by Henri-Claude de Bettignier, p. 170.

10

Ibid.

Two other issues of interest should be pointed out: one was an attempt to develop a game with units of exchange and confront the individual with it in an attempt to simulate situations in the location decision, and to see how the individual would go about making trade-offs. However, in further study, this idea was dropped, due mainly to the difficulty with evaluation and with determining units of exchange in trade-offs and also because of the time constraint. The second issue of interest was a plan for a group discussion of the more important set of variables which had become evident from the interviews, to see how the various issues were going to be either enlarged or reduced and the individual's position changed (or not) in a collective setting. However, this discussion was also not possible due to time constraints. But, in retrospect, it could have been a valuable experiment.

## 2.5 SHORTCOMINGS AND AREAS TO BE STUDIED

Looking back, the shortcomings are numerous and the areas that they covered are many. Some of these, in no specific order, are as follows:

- 1) Further study would have been useful on the individual's work or job environment, e.g. size of firms, technological usages, organizational climate and individual tasks and functions.

- 2) There is a need for further study of the individual's "socio-psychological" experiences and their impacts

on him.

3) Another shortcoming was the inability to carry out plans for group discussions of important issues relevant to the location decision.

4) Omission (not by choice) of ideological and political questions for previously stated reasons.

5) Further study of the impact by the peer group on the location decision is needed.

6) Further emphasis on the study of the learning process and feedbacks from an individual's previous experience with locational moves would be useful.

7) There is a need for further study of the individuals perception of various regions that he has not personally visited.

There are numerous others. Some are personal and more related to further stages of the study. Others do not seem to be of a great deal of importance. In any event they are there to be uncovered.

### 3. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GROUP

#### 3.1 BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

The following biography is one of fifteen obtained from interviewing sessions. It is fairly typical of the majority of the interviews in many respects, yet unique in itself. It is transcribed in the sequence in which it took place.

Mr. A. is now 35, married, with one child and like all the other Iranians, returned to Iran in June after completion of his studies at Arthur D. Little.

Mr. A. was born in 1935 in the city of Isfahan where he attended elementary school as well as finishing his high school there. A. moved to Tehran after high school to attend Polytechnique Institute, working toward his Mechanical Engineering degree. He lived in the university dormitory for most of his first three years and in a one-room-boarding house near Tehran University the last year. At the end of his fourth year at Polytechnique, he went to Germany to the industrial city of Essen (over 600,000 in 1968 with metropolitan district of around five million) to write his thesis. After one year, he returned to Tehran receiving his M.S. (first degree) from Polytechnique in Mechanical Engineering.

After receiving his degree he started working for a Nuts and Bolts manufacturing company, privately owned, as a design engineer. By the end of the first year he became the general manager of the company. (this company had 2 -

300 employees) and was located in Tehran. Subsequently, he went to England for a four-month-training program, living in Birmingham (population of 7-8000). Upon his return to Iran, he joined the same organization but another company, producing steel frame structures. His starting position in this company was that of control and planning engineer. He worked for this company for three years and during this time he also completed his army service. By the end of the third year he had become the production manager of the company, but at this time took a job with the National Iranian Steel Company (government owned) and went to Isfahan.

Mr. A. did not care for this Isfahan job, hence it lasted only three days. His title was chief of all repairs and maintenance activities of the plant which he thought was more of the magnitude for a job foreman, not utilizing his talents. He didn't like the working conditions and was not fond of the "Isfahanis" so he returned to Tehran and joined the Industrial Development and Renovation Organization, the mother organization controlling the Iranian Steel Company.

This time his position was consulting engineer, but he soon moved up to become project manager for the Arak Machine Company, to be built in Arak, about 500 kilometers from Tehran, however stationed in Tehran.

This was the picture before his moving to the U.S. for the ADL Study in Management.



A. grew up in a one story home (12-13 rooms) owned by his father. He and his brothers and sisters lived there together.

His father worked for a privately owned complex of textile industries in a high position (General Manager of the weaving section of weaving industries) earned a good income and was socially prominent in the community. His father had some formal education although the high school diploma did not exist at the time he went to school. He reads and writes well. (What is referred to as a student of the old school implies being able to read the Koran, have a few years of formal education, and being able to do some reading, writing, math, etc. His mother, a housewife, has no formal education but can read and write. His parents are both living at present in a city of Gom, about two hours drive from Tehran where A. visits them once or twice a week, on the average. Sometimes the visits last for two - three days on a reciprocal basis. That is, his parents, especially his mother comes to Tehran and stays in their home.

His mother lived in Tehran for some time, while his father was in Gom, in a house that they had bought in the suburbs of Tehran. During this time A. lived with his mother for a five to six months period prior to his marriage to an "Isfahani" girl. His bride had been educated in Isfahan (H.S. Diploma) but had been living in Tehran for a year or so. She had been to Germany for

training as a beautician and had received a diploma. At present she is not working but takes care of their three year old son.

A typical day for Mr. A. consists of getting up at 6 a.m., going to work and spending 8 - 12 in the office, home for lunch, then back to work at 1 o'clock, staying until five. Alternately, some days, he spends time on the private venture he has with a few others (he calls it a hobby, but his estimate of the time spent on it is about 2 afternoons a week, four to five hours each time), visiting friends, going to a party or out for entertainment, staying until 10 or 11 in the evenings, and at other times, he simply does some study at home, "if there is time to do it."

His typical weekend is divided between either Gom with his parents or to Karaj to his wife's parents' garden or the reciprocal visit of either set of parents. If neither of these alternatives work out, he simply stays at home and does nothing.

Al and his wife lived in a two-story apartment house prior to his trip to the U.S., occupying the second floor. This consisted of 3 rooms, plus a family room with a good kitchen and bathroom.) He lived in this apartment for three years since his marriage in 1967. This apartment is located in the northern boundary of the city of Tehran, an area generally occupied by professionals and higher level civil servants and more well to do merchants. Some members of the senate and the house of

representatives also live there. Mr. A. does not know his neighbors and does not associate with them. Most of the homes are privately owned, with few apartments for rent.

A. is highly ambitious and seeks advancement. He does not believe one could have a very close friend, even a wife, to the point that one could talk to that person about everything. He would not like to move to the regions and his only preference is Tehran. He can not conceive of any other place to live.

### 3.2 MOBILITY

The group's past pattern of mobility indicates varying forms of "push" and "pull" forces present in the relation between Tehran and the rest of the country. Eight of the fifteen members of the group were born in Tehran. The other seven were born in six different cities (Isfahan was the birth place of two.)

There are presently twelve in Tehran and only three in the regions, two of which were born there. The reason for the move to Tehran by the seven who were born in the regions varies. In three cases it was due to the father's job. (Two were civil servants and had to move, and one was a merchant who was seeking better opportunities.) In another three cases moves were due to the seeking of further education. (From these three, one left the country to attend college, the other two left the region to attend a university in Tehran. One of these was in his last year of high school and had come to Tehran in order to be better prepared for the national entrance exam to the universities. The remaining individual was born in a city 40 kilometers west of Tehran and after graduation from high school started commuting to Tehran. He continued to commute all through university and in subsequent years thereafter to his job. Now after his recent marriage, he plans to reside in Tehran.

Of those who reside in Tehran only one attended a college in the regions. The following table indicates the location of the schools attended by the group in Iran and in foreign countries.

TABLE 2 LOCATION OF SCHOOLS ATTENDED BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

	IRAN		FOREIGN COUNTRIES		
	Tehran	Other Cities	U.S.	Europe	Others
Elementary School	11	4	-	-	-
High School	9	4	1 (a)	1 (a)	-
University	7	1	7 (b)	1	-
Training	?	?	15 (c)	1	3

(a) only the last three years was attendance in this location

(b) one in this group had received his undergraduate degree from Europe, only the graduate work was done in this location

(c) this refers to (ADL) management training course in Cambridge (1970-71)

The experience of living in different size cities, varies with individuals; however, looking at the urban living experience of foreign graduates vs. Iranian graduates, some major differences begin to appear. The majority of foreign graduates have attended universities in towns under 500,000 in population. In contrast, local graduates, with one exception, have been attending universities in Tehran. The following table indicates

by city size the number of years group members have engaged in various activities and the location of the activity.

TABLE 3 URBAN LIVING EXPERIENCE BY CITY SIZE AND ACTIVITIES, IN IRAN & FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Location	City Size	Various Activities (in Man Year)				Total
		Education	Work	Training	Army	
IRAN	under 500,000	4	16	-	2	22
	over 500,000	35	75	-	1.5	111.5
FOREIGN COUNTRIES	under 500,000	38	2.5	3	-	43.5
	over 500,000	5	6.5	17	-	28.5

It is interesting to note that all three who work in the regions are foreign graduates. In comparison, the other foreign graduates have stayed overseas longer (an average of 10 years vs. an average 7 years for the remaining four). Secondly, since their return to Iran, they have lived in Tehran on the average less than a year. Furthermore, their living experiences in foreign countries, the same as other foreign graduates, have been smaller towns (less than 500,000 in population.) And on the average they worked a great deal more than the others in smaller towns in Iran.

The last point of interest, the education level of this group is higher than both remaining foreign and domestic graduates who are living in Tehran.

### 3.3 LIFE CYCLE

The importance of life cycle as regards size and stages of family composition and its impact on the location decision is evident in this group. The following table shows the distribution of the group by age and stages of family composition.

TABLE 4 DISTRIBUTION BY AGE GROUP AND FAMILY COMPOSITION

Age Group	Single	Married No. Children	Pre School Age Children 1-5	School Age Children 6 & up	Total
25 - 29	1				1
30 - 34	1*	3	2	2	8
35 - 39	1	1	2*	1	5
40 - 44		1			1
TOTAL	3	5	4	3	15

\* Individuals living in the region

The evidence, both in the above table and in preferences expressed by the individuals tends to support the fact that young married couples with children of pre-school age are more stable candidates for staying in the regions. Furthermore, those who work in the regions, say that their experiences show the following: When a project starts in a region, the first group of employees consists of singles.

After a few years, when they have gained experience and saved some money they leave. On the other hand, even though it is harder to get married individuals ("due to their low threshold of risk") once they arrive, if the future seems reasonable, they tend to stay.

The group with school age children are very much concerned with the lack of quality education in the regions and indicate this as a major reason for their locational choice but not necessarily their preference. However, it is interesting to note that from ten to fourteen years on the average lapses from the time of graduation until the time a decision regarding schooling of the first child must be made.

#### 3.4 CITY AND REGIONAL PREFERENCES

Most of the members of the group have traveled extensively in the country and are familiar with most major and secondary cities in the various ostan. In response to a question as to individual likes and dislikes for various ostan as a place of residence and work, some interesting and strong relationships became apparent. First there is a positive relationship between the number of visitors to an ostan and those who hold a strong attitude in favor of living there. Second there is a negative relationship between the number of visitors and those who hold a strong attitude against living in an ostan. Also of interest (as indicated in the following table) is the willingness to



express negative attitudes about a place without having been there vs. a few positive attitudes expressed under the same circumstances.

TABLE 5 DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES TOWARD LIVING IN THE VARIOUS OSTANS AMONG VISITORS TO AND NON-VISITORS TO THE OSTANS

	<u>Strongly in Favor</u>	<u>Strongly Against</u>
Visitors	31	21
Non-Visitor	4	70

In regard to various cities as a choice for residence, Tehran clearly stands out and is followed by Shiraz, Isfahan, Tabriz. On a regional basis, however, after the central region, with Tehran as its center, preferences seem to be in the following order:

- northern vacation zone or Caspian area which includes ostans of Gilan and Mazandaran
- Ostan of Fars with Shiraz as its center
- Ostan of Isfahan with Isfahan as its center
- Azarbayejan area with two ostans of East and West Azarbayejan (it should be stated that families of several in this group came from this region, in addition one individual was born there. This seems to a strong factor in their preferences for this region.

The preference for the Kurestan Ostan is not centered around one city, rather, the same as the northern Caspian zone, it is preferred on the larger scale of the region. (In this case not for vacation purposes but for business opportunities offered there.) In examining the regions (ostans) there is a close relation between the groups regional preferences and the degree of urbanization in those ostans (using the number of cities over 25,000 as an index in this case). In addition the ostans least liked are the ones not only least urbanized, they are the least developed and fall within the regions either with very hot (dry or humid) summers or very cold winters, i.e. ostans 9 and 12 through 21. (see Map in Appendix.)

### 3.5 GOALS AND VALUES

In order to gain some understanding of goals and objectives of the group, they were asked several questions covering issues such as future aspirations, evaluation of their existing job and ranking of a set of conditions as to their importance in regard to a job. Finally they were asked to rank in order of importance a list of eleven life goals. (for the list of these questions and the definition of eleven life goals, see question number 36 and 37 in Appendix A.

Most in the group seem to be highly motivated and oriented toward upward mobility. A clear majority desire to get rich. They want to own their own homes, (villas in

some cases), own land and other things. A substantial number see their government job as a security measure and are anticipating starting their own business in the near future (preference expressed for production processes, small industry, etc.) Even though in one light a government job is seen as a measure of security, the majority seem to be very satisfied with their jobs. In evaluating their jobs, self respect and social status in the present job was ranked higher than security and self actualization. However, the majority feel that self actualization is the most important condition in a job followed by self respect, social status, autonomy and lastly security.

From responses to question 36 (ranking of eleven life goals), it seems there are three groupings around the attitude toward life goals: those individuals who are primarily professionally oriented, i.e. job-well-done as a first objective; those who are ideologically oriented with other issues of secondary importance; finally those who are oriented toward wealth and social status. These groupings are not mutually exclusive, but overlap to a great degree. However, these issues are of primary concern to the individuals. As far as those individuals in the regions, they tend to fall in the category of professionally or ideologically oriented.

### 3.6 EVALUATION: LIVING ENVIRONMENT AND CRITICAL VARIABLES

In order to have some indication as to the measure of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the living environment and the possible impact it might have on the location decision, individuals were asked to evaluate various environmental issues, e.g., water, air, noise, traffic, etc., both on the neighborhood level as well as city wide (see Appendix A, Question #39). This evaluation was done in two ways, the first indicating the condition of the environmental issue on a scale of five - worst to best; second, indicating the desire for or against the change of the condition of that issue.

Evaluation of Tehran's environment on a city wide basis seems to be similar to that of any major urban area. The group evaluated the worst conditions in the city as follows: traffic, street parking, taxi service, bus service and air. There is correspondingly a strong desire for change to be made in these areas. What seems to be evaluated as best in the city is: access to other regions, economy, cultural center, and progressiveness. Other areas such as police, city government, movies, telephone, health and schools seem to be the subject of conflict, with opposing views held by the members. However, on the neighborhood level there was more agreement (air, bus service, taxi and traffic) seem to be worst with a greater number of individuals wanting change.

Other areas of change desired on the neighborhood level are movies, street cleaning, telephone, trash collection, and noise.

An evaluation of the city and neighborhood environment was not possible for those living in the regions. However, impressions left with me are highly complimentary of open space and air; some complaints as to lack of professional services, low health, education, and transportation facilities, bad telephone, and too much dust. However, it is usually mentioned that there is less noise and it is not as crowded as Tehran.

During the course of the study a list of variables was assembled, aside from literature, utilizing the feedbacks from interviews with the group. (See question 40, App. A). These variables were grouped under economic, social and physical and services categories. Each individual was asked in the interview to express his attitude toward these variables either positive, neutral, or negative, to rank each variable as to its importance in the group, then rank five from all the variables and finally to evaluate their city of residence vs. these variables.

In conclusion, the following seemed to be an important set of variables to the group. They are as follows, under each section:

**ECONOMIC:** Second job, vertical and horizontal mobility, income, investment

SOCIAL: Friends, family, autonomy, entertainment,  
culture

PHYSICAL AND SERVICES: professional services, health,  
research, education

#### 4. VARIABLES IN THE LOCATION DECISION

##### 4.1 INCOME VARIABLES

One of the critical inputs in the decision process preceding a move from one job to another and the subsequent change of residence, especially for inter-city or inter-regional moves, is the variable of income. The critical importance of this variable has been documented in the literature of migration and mobility,<sup>1</sup> however, in aggregate data form.<sup>2</sup> The components of income variables in disaggregated form (for various interest groups) are undefined, with the exception of "rural-urban"<sup>3</sup> migrants who have been thoroughly studied.

More specifically, studies relating to managerial and professional groups are few and in most cases are the outcome of the evaluation of various development projects which have been implemented and partially focus on the role of this group<sup>4</sup> in the success or failure of the projects. Furthermore, they

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<sup>1</sup> I.S. Lowry, Migration and Metropolitan Growth, Chandler, 1966, chapter 2. See also James M. Beshers, Population Process in Social System.

<sup>2</sup> Walter Isard, Methods of Regional Analysis: An Introduction to Regional Science, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Ma. 1960, pp. 51-79.

<sup>3</sup> James M. Beshers and Eleanor N. Nishiura, "A Theory of Internal Migration Differentials," Social Forces, V. 39, 1961, pp. 214-218.

<sup>4</sup> E. Naraghi, "Regional Studies in Iran," in Multidisciplinary Aspects of Regional Development, (OECD, Paris, 1969), p. 241.

do not deal with the impact and consequences of their movement on the development of the various regions and on a country as a whole.

One of the findings of this study was the number of individuals who and the extent to which they were dependent upon a supplemental income from various sources in addition to income from a main job. Previous studies by George Baldwin<sup>5</sup> and others stated this fact. The need for a supplemental income is due to several reasons, among which is the high cost of living in Tehran and other urban areas. Other factors are such things as insecurity in jobs, lack of interest in the main job, availability of free time due to short working hours and the desire to make more money.

The components of total income in regard to this study group can be divided into five separate parts:

- a) Income from a main job
- b) Income from second or more jobs
- c) Income from wife's job
- d) Income from investment(s)
- e) Indirect benefits

A discussion of total income (a+b+c+d+e) will follow the analysis of all of the components.

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George B. Baldwin, "The Foreign-educated Iranians: A Profile," *Middle East Journal*, 1964, pp. 264-278  
See also A. Hesamvariri, "Relation Between Education and Occupation among Polytechnic Graduates, Olum-E Ejtemai: A Journal of the Social Sciences, No. 3, V. 1, Feb. 1970, P. 83.

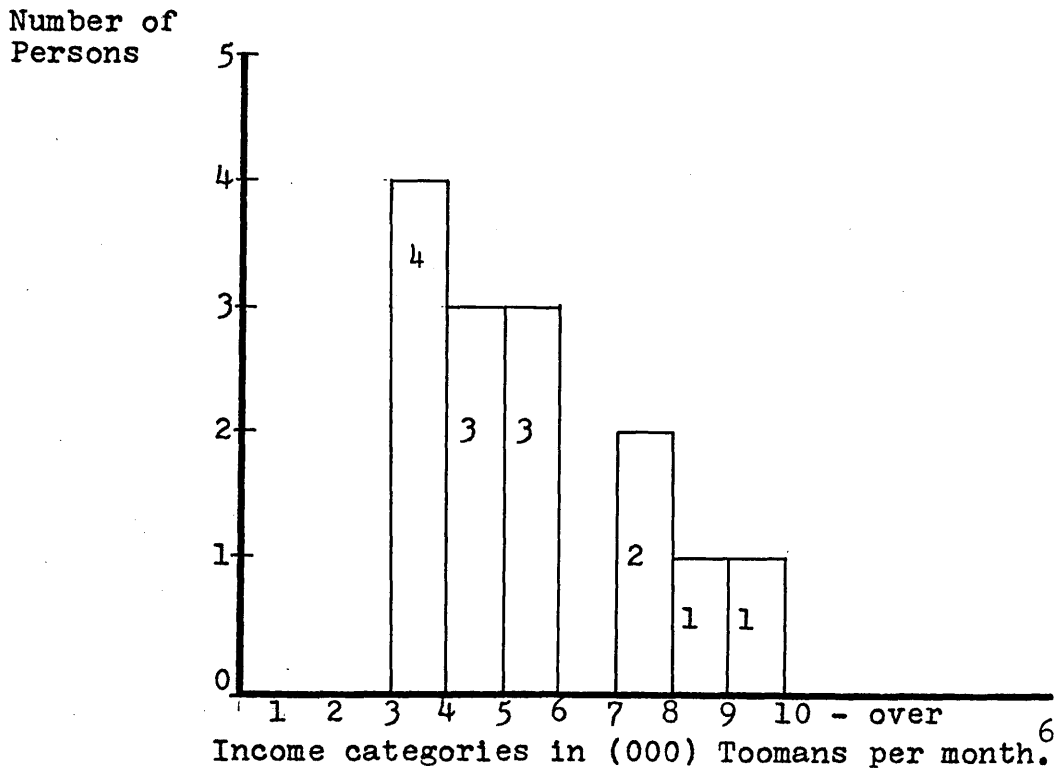


The nature of each will be examined and the extent to which each is prevalent as a source of income in the group will be considered.

A. INCOME FROM MAIN JOB:

The distribution of the group (14 of 15) by the monthly salary of the main job can be seen in the table below. (data on one interviewee was not available)

TABLE 6 DISTRIBUTION BY MONTHLY SALARY FROM MAIN JOB



<sup>6</sup> The official exchange rate of toomans to dollars at the time of this study was 7.65 toomans/dollar.

It is worth mentioning that of 15 individuals interviewed only one was working for a private organization. The main job of the remaining fourteen were as employees of government.<sup>7</sup> It is also of interest to note that out of 15 only 3 were working in the regions, all for government and the remaining 12 resided in Tehran. It is from this latter group that the one individual is engaged in the private sector.

The division of salary for the main job along the line of Tehran vs. the other regions follows a positive relationship with the distance from Tehran. (Observations along the same line were made by several individuals in the group.) As far as the distribution is concerned, regional wages fall in the higher income half of the group and the salaries correspond to the relationship indicated below:

Pay for Professionals with Equivalent Qualifications by Private and Public Sector in Tehran and in the Regions<sup>8</sup>

(Assuming government pay in Tehran = 1)

	Tehran	Regions
Government	1	1 + a
Private	1 + a	1 + 2a

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<sup>7</sup> In the case of the respondents' fathers, the distribution was somewhat less one-sided. That is, 9 out of 15 fathers worked for government, and 6 were active in the private sector.

<sup>8</sup> It is not intended to imply that this is a fixed relationship, simply that most information points to this kind of relation, with exceptions in the case of isolated areas and very depressed regions.

That is to say, in general, that the pay in the private sector is the same in Tehran as it is for government jobs in the regions for individuals with the same qualifications. The pay in the private sector for regional locations is higher than government pay by about the same amount as it is higher than government jobs in Tehran. This amount ranges in general between 15 - 35% in salary alone, in some cases even higher. Of course a number of additional benefits, e.g. government owned low-rent-housing, possibilities for overtime work and pay, benefits for bad climates, and other subsidies make the salary differential even higher than 35%. (This is by no means an indication of higher pay on a man hour basis for the same level of experience and qualifications in the regions over Tehran.

The distribution of closing hours can be seen in the following table.

TABLE 7 DISTRIBUTION BY DAILY CLOSING HOURS  
OF MAIN JOB AND 2ND JOB HOLDERS

Number of Persons Holding More Than One Job	Number of Persons in each Group of Closing Hours	Daily Office Closing Hours
1	1 (1) <sup>a</sup>	2 - 2:30 p.m.
3	3 (1) <sup>a</sup>	3 - 3:30 "
2	3 (2) <sup>b</sup>	4 - 4:30 "
1	3	5 - 5:30 "
-	2 (1) <sup>c</sup>	6 - 6:30 "
-	(1) <sup>c</sup>	7 - 7:30 "
<hr/>		
Total 7 Persons	Total 14 Persons	

- a) only 5 months out of the year with this schedule
- b) only 7 months out of the year with this schedule
- c) occasionally keeping this schedule

There are several interesting associations existing in this data: closing hours generally correspond inversely to the number of those who hold second and third jobs; secondly, from other information on income from the main job there is, in general, a direct association between the level of income and the closing hours of the office; thirdly, those who are working in the regions work longer and are getting more pay

per month (but not necessarily per hourly rate.)<sup>9</sup>

However, if this point bears true in most cases, then the policy of parity pay relying on a man-hour basis, would increase the governments ability to attract people to the regions by a much greater number. (Unless, there is evidence that man-hour productivity is lower in the regions than in Tehran for the same tasks performed by individuals with like qualifications).

#### B. SECOND, OR MORE JOBS

The second component of the income variable which bears strongly on the economic question is the desire and opportunity to hold a second job and, in some cases, even a third or fourth. To look at the issue of the second job, two contexts have been considered: the division of the group along the lines of private vs. public jobs that they hold, and also the grouping by location, i.e. how many of those holding second jobs live in the regions and how many live in Tehran. Of course it is obvious that the income category into which an individual falls and many other variables have a strong impact on this issue.

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9

Certainly this is a point to be investigated if serious concern about getting people to move to the regions does exist since the information in this study is not sufficient to be definite about this point.

The following Table indicates the distribution of various individuals according to their place of work -- that is, Tehran or some other region -- and the number of jobs each holds.

TABLE 8                    DISTRIBUTION BY LOCATION  
                                  (TEHRAN - REGIONS) AND THE  
                                  NUMBER OF JOBS HELD BY  
                                  INDIVIDUALS

Job Location	No. of Jobs Held				Total
	1	2	3	4	
Tehran	5	5	1	1	12
Regions	3	-	-	-	3
TOTAL	8	5	1	1	15

As is indicated in Table 8 , none of the three who work in the regions hold more than one job. However, only five of the twelve who work in Tehran hold only one job; five hold two jobs, one person holds three jobs and one, four.

There are two other attributing factors: the relationship between the level of income and the number of jobs; and the relationship between the working hours of the main job and the incidence of second, third, and fourth jobs.

The following table 9 , shows the relationship between income from a main job and the number of additional jobs held.

TABLE 9 DISTRIBUTION BY THE MONTHLY SALARY FROM  
THE MAIN JOB AND THE NUMBER OF JOBS HELD

Monthly Salary from Main Job in (000) toomans <sup>10</sup>	Number of Jobs Held				Total
	1	2	3	4	
3-4	1	2	1		4
4-5	1	2			3
5-6	2	1		1	4
6-7					
7-8	2				2
8-9	1				1
9-10	1				1
10 & over					
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>15</b>

An examination of each of those who hold one job shows that there are additional income supplements of various forms, the amount and the nature differing with the income category and the location. Two of the three who work in the regions have incomes supplemented through free or subsidized housing, the third has his income supplemented with return from his investment. For those who work in Tehran and hold only one job, information on one is not available, the second one's income

<sup>10</sup>

7.65 toomans equal to 1.0 dollar

is supplemented indirectly through free shelter and lodging (he is staying with parents) equivalent to about 35% of his salary. Of the remaining three, two are in the highest category of income, having income supplements in addition of about 25% - 35% of their salary.

It is important to analyze carefully the one-job-holders to uncover some of the economic reasons behind this phenomena. In the following sections, the full picture as to all sources of income, in addition to second and third jobs, and the relative contributions of each towards total income will be shown. The nature of these additional jobs are real estate brokerage in one case, partnership in an office, performing professional services in three cases, teaching (five cases), and writing as a free lance professional writer.

#### C. WORKING WIVES AND THEIR ROLE

Evidently the role of the wives differ considerably -- those who do not have any impact on the job location and those who have shown visible effect on the location choice, both choices which have already been made and some that are pending.

From twelve wives only four are working -- two of them as school teachers, one as a television announcer and interviewer and the last as an accountant. Their contribution to the total income as a proportion of the husband's salary from his main job are 10%, 25%, 30% and 35%. The wife's occupation was the major input in the decision of one of the families to move to Tehran from a city about 40 kilometers away. In this



case, as well as another, opportunity for the wife's occupation became one of the preconditions for the move.

The education of the working wives in comparison to the rest of the wives is clearly higher: three of them hold B. A. degrees from Iranian universities and the fourth one is in her fourth year of university work. This constitutes three out of four university degrees held by all the wives (working and non-working) and one out of two who are in the process of completing their university work. There is a clear association between a higher level of education and a tendency to work. This, in turn, has become an additional factor in the location decision, either setting additional salary requirements as a compensatory trade-off for the wife's salary loss (as in two cases) or simply additional requirements of job opportunities for the wife as well. (Two cases in this group, also.)

#### D. INVESTMENTS AND INVESTMENT INCOMES

The extent to which individuals are involved in some kind of investment activities points out the importance of this factor in the location decision, both in its intensity and its prevalence. Not considering individual and family savings as an investment in this case, only two in the group had no investment, and in many cases individuals were deeply involved in several different ventures.

For a better understanding of the nature and the kind of investments and their possible consequences, issues of long range vs. short range investments, regular incremental return vs. long or short range capital gain, and security and risk

become important. In order to be able to understand and relate to some of these questions, investments of the group were divided into two parts: first, business investment including investments in commercial activities, production activities, and service activities; second, real estate investments, including investments in urban land, rural and agriculture land and rental properties such as shops and apartments.

Aside from one interviewee about whom information was not available regarding his investments, only two out of fifteen did not have an investment in these categories. Of the remaining twelve, the most popular investment seems to be real estate, with eleven investors, and more specifically, investment in urban land with nine in this category. However, four in addition to investment in urban land, own rental properties in the form of apartment houses and rental shops. About an equal number, five, have invested in rural and agriculture land. Four out of five of these investments are in orchards grown for commercial purposes and only one for future speculation, with strong possibilities for suburban growth. Nine who have invested in urban land have done so for speculation and capital gain, and (in their own words) the safety it presents against inflation, the minimal maintenance and supervision which it requires and also the seemingly unending

market demand for urban land (due to urban population growth).<sup>11</sup>  
It is important to know that out of nine urban land investments, seven are located in Tehran, one 40 kilometers from Tehran in the town of Karaj and only one is located in another region (in the northern vacation zone of the country by the Caspian Sea). An even more interesting fact is that two of the three who live in the regions have investments in land -- both in urban land, both in Tehran. This tends to show either preference for Tehran as an ultimate location of residence or lack of similar investment opportunities in the regions, (or some other special reason, personal to them.)<sup>12</sup>

As can be seen in the following Table, in only three cases the location of investment is outside of Tehran's immediate periphery. Each is in real estate; one was left as an inheritance and the remaining two are investments in land. One of these is in an urban area, and one is located in the northern summer vacation zone of the country, the

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Iran's population is growing at a rate of 2.6 according to the national census of 1966; however, a more realistic study places the growth at about 3.1 per cent annually, with the urban population growing at the rate of over 5.0% and Tehran at nearly 7%.

12

This possibility seems highly improbable in these cases. In fact, the preference for Tehran and family ties in one case and the inability to be able to acquire land in the region of his residence in another seems to be more of a factor in their decision, aside from assurance in Tehran's future stability and growth.

Caspian Region.

TABLE 10 DISTRIBUTION OF INVESTMENTS BY THEIR CATEGORIES AND LOCATION

Investment Categories	Location of Investment		Total
	Tehran	Region	
<u>Business:</u>			
Merchandizing	1		(1)
Production	2		(2)
Services	1	1 <sup>b</sup>	(2)
Business Total	4	1	(5)
<u>Real Estate:</u>			
Urban Land	7 <sup>a</sup>	2 <sup>c</sup>	(9)
Rural/Agriculture		5 <sup>d</sup>	(5)
Apts/Shops	2	2 <sup>e</sup>	(4)
Real Estate Total	9	9	(18)
TOTAL	13	10	23

- a) in several cases they are located in an area known as Shemiranat about 6 miles north of Tehran.
- b) location is the city of Karaj 40 kilometers west of Tehran.
- c) in one case the location is the city of Karaj within 40 kilometer radius of Tehran.
- d) with the exception of one case, all are located within 40 kilometer radius of Tehran.
- e) in one case the location is the city of Karaj 40 kilometers west of Tehran.

As was stated previously, a majority of investment in land is for speculation. Only one or two investments are in urban land with objectives toward building apartments at a later date. Investment in rural land, however, is directed more toward a goal of producing a regular incremental income in the very immediate future, in addition to long range speculation. It is also looked upon as a place in the country for weekend and summer vacation possibilities.

All the investments under the category of business are income producing in regular intervals or at the end of the year. In five of these businesses, three individuals are involved part time, one fulltime, and the last one is not directly involved. All five businesses are partnerships. Two are in association with family, the remaining three partnerships are with close friends. The income producing investments in real estate, are all in apartments and rental shops. Three of the four cases are within a 40 kilometer radius of Tehran, the other being inherited, is in a region.

The following Table indicates the relative proportion of income produced through investments in relationship to both the main job's salary and the total income of the individuals. Income from investments is presented in an aggregate sum even when there is more than one source of income from investments.

TABLE 11 INCOME FROM INVESTMENTS AS A PERCENT OF THE MAIN JOBS SALARY AND THE TOTAL INCOME.

As a Percent of Salary of Main Job	As a Percent of Total Income
14%	10%
13	11
31	16
28	17 <sup>a</sup>
26	21
35	25
69	32
70	44 <sup>a</sup>

- a) In this case the individual's income from investment is not easily separable from the salary from his part-time job in the same business; therefore, here and in the total income supplement they will appear as one figure in aggregate.

#### E. INDIRECT BENEFITS

There are six of the fourteen who receive some kind of indirect benefit. There are two kinds of benefits: government subsidy for housing either in part or full, and benefits derived from staying with family, e.g. shelter and lodging.

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This includes two who are working in the regions.

There are two working in the regions who receive housing subsidies. Of the four in Tehran who stay with family, three were single at the time of this study or immediately before their departure for the U.S. and only one was married. (In his case, he had become the head of what seemed to be an extended family. However, his immediate plans included moving into a separate apartment.) The economic contributions of these benefits, in proportion to income from the main salary ranges from 9% to 25%, with the two in the regions at the lower end of the scale (about 10%). Information about other benefits, such as compensation for bad climate, possibly additional medical and insurance benefits in the regions, family hardship, transportation and travel allowances, and others, is not fully available. However, statements of the main salary could have already included some of these. In any case, they cannot be of any major economic significance, at least in these cases. But, in order to be able to understand various trade-offs individuals make, they become significant.

Total Income, (A+B+C+D+E)

The preceding discussion of various factors contributing toward the total income begins to illuminate the importance of these variables in the location decision of individuals and the families. The following Table shows the percent contribution of each of the income factors toward total monthly income and how they compare with one another in all fourteen cases.

TABLE 12 THE SHARE OF EACH INCOME SOURCE TOWARD THE TOTAL MONTHLY FAMILY INCOME (IN EACH INDIVIDUAL CASE) AS A PERCENT OF TOTAL INCOME <sup>14</sup>

(A) Main Job %	(B) 2nd or more Jobs %	(C) Wife's Income %	(D) Invest- ment Returns %	(E) Indirect Benefits %	(B+C+D+E) Total Supple- ment %	Total Saving %
91				9	9	63%
89			11		11	21%
88				12	12	49%
-----						
79			21		21	23%
76	14		10		24	10%
75				25	25	32%
72		7	21		28	none?
70	12			18	30	31
62	19	19			38	none
59	13		17	11	41	17%
56	44 <sup>b</sup>		(b)		44	39%
55		13	32		45	39%
55	45				45	none
52	(a)	17	16 <sup>a</sup>	15	48	?
69.8%	24.5%	14%	18.3%	15%	30.1%	
(ave.)	(ave.)	(ave.)	(ave.)	(ave.)	(ave.)	

a) the second job salary and investment income are difficult to separate. Therefore, the total amount in percent shown under the investment column.

b) Same as in case (a), except the total amount appears under the second job column.

<sup>14</sup>

Several estimates were made in this table; however, in no way would they alter the basic trends shown in the relationships.



In calculating the average contribution of each of the supplemental factors to the total income for the group, it seems that in order of importance, according to the size they are as follows: (For Tehran as well as for the regions)

	<u>Both Groups</u>	<u>Tehran</u>	<u>Regions</u>
B- Second and more jobs	24.5%	24.5%	
D- Investment return	18.3%	19.5%	11%
E- Indirect Benefits	15.0%	17.3%	10.5%
C- Wife's Income	14.0%	14.0%	

The average of the total income supplements for the entire group of fourteen comes to about 30% of the total income; thus the average main job salary constitutes 70% of the total income. In comparison, the group of eleven working in Tehran with the three who work in the regions, their average total supplements and average main job salaries are as follows:

	<u>Average Main Job Salary (A)</u>	<u>Average Total Supplement (B+C+D+E)</u>	<u>Total Income</u>
Regions	89%	11%	100%
Tehran	65%	35%	100%

The disadvantages of the regions as far as supplemental factors are concerned is clearly evident both in relative position and in absolute terms.

Finally, after the addition of all supplements to the main job salary, the distribution of the group according to economic categories and the extent to which income changes have occurred in all cases can be seen in the following table:

TABLE 13 MONTHLY SALARIES AND TOTAL INCOME

Categories by Total Monthly Income in (000) toomans\* and number of persons in each Category

Categories by Monthly Salary of the Main Job in (000) toomans*	3-4	4-5	5-6	6-7	7-8	8-9	9-10	10 & Over	Total No.
3-4		1	2	1					4
4-5				1	1	1			3
5-6			1		1	1			3
6-7									
7-8					1	1			2
8-9								1	1
9-10								1	1
10 & Over									-
TOTAL NO.	-	1	3	2	3	3	-	2	14

\*  
7.65 toomans equal to 1.0 dollar

It should be stated that the smallest shift of income category, from salary of the main job to total income, occurs among those

who work in the regions. This is not surprising since they also have the least opportunity to supplement their income.

For a better understanding of the economic issues, two other variables should be considered. These are: the relative cost of living in Tehran and the regions, and individual family savings. The Consumer Price Index<sup>15</sup> (cost of living index)<sup>16</sup> published by the Central Bank of Iran (Bank Markazi) shows that in comparison to the nine large cities, the twenty-two smaller cities and towns, or the average for all urban areas, Tehran has the next to the lowest cost of living index for the years 1965 through 1970 and certainly the lowest since March 1969.<sup>17</sup> And the experience of various individuals in the group seems to correspond to this observation. The percentage and the amount of monthly savings begins to indicate some of the economic reasons for various preferences and decisions. Savings in the group ranges from about 14% to as high as 71% of monthly salary or 10% to 63% of total income.

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15 The Consumer Price Index, which used to be called the Cost-of-Living index measures the average price changes for a fixed number of goods and services purchased by urban middle class families.

16 Bank Markazi Iran (The Central Bank of Iran), Bulletin July-August 1970, V. 50, Tehran, Iran, pp. 233.

17 Bank Markazi Iran (The Central Bank of Iran) Bulletin Jan-Feb., 1971, V. 9, No. 53, Tehran Iran, pp. 644-646.

The absolute amounts of savings range from 750 toomans to 5,000 toomans per month and vary in this group with marital status, size of family, father's wealth, total income, staying with parents, combinations thereof, and finally a very important factor -- the opportunity to spend. This is true of those in the regions, especially the ones (two in this case) who show a very high rate of savings. The relationship between total amount of income and savings, for those who show savings at all, in the regions and in Tehran are indicated in the following table.

TABLE 14 Average Total Income and Savings for Tehran and the Regions

No. of Persons	Location	Average Total Monthly Income (in toomans)*	Average Monthly Savings (in toomans)	Average Size of Family
7	Tehran	7850	3100	2.4
3	Regions	7325	3400	2.7

\*  
7.65 toomans = 1.0 dollars

For the individuals considered in Table 14, as far as the experience and educational background is concerned, three in the regions have on the average more accumulated years of higher education, work experience and training, than the seven who are residing in Tehran. Another inference can be made from the above table, that is, the lower average savings in the case of those in Tehran (even though their average family size

is smaller and their average monthly income is higher) is due to spending opportunity confronting them in Tehran. Or, the higher average savings rate in the regions is indicative of change in saving behavior (voluntary or involuntary) once the individual is located there.

#### 4.2 JOB MOBILITY

Two factors will be used to analyze the issue of job mobility, both of which seem to be of the highest importance to the group and are very critical as variables in the decision to move. The first of these factors is the range of jobs available in a location and the opportunity to shift from one job to another, internally (in an organization) or externally from one organization to another; referred to as "horizontal mobility." The second factor is the possibilities of advancement in one's job, in the organization for which one is working, to attain a higher position and the rewards associated with it. This factor is termed "vertical mobility." For a more complete analysis, especially in this case, (this group and Iran in general) the location factors are very important, i.e. Tehran or the regions, and have a great impact on both the horizontal and vertical mobilities.

What necessitates in part the comparison between private vs. government jobs and Tehran vs. the regions is the atmosphere of investment prevailing at the present time in Iran and the psychological issues connected with it. That portion of economic development in Iran which seems important and related to this analysis, is government dominated and can be summarized as follows:

- a) A study by the Ministry of Works and Social Affairs has shown that a substantial majority of the work force with a higher education,

both in the public as well as private sector, is employed by large institutions. This study is from a 34-city sample with cities of various sizes, including Tehran.<sup>18</sup>

- b) Most of the large service and production units and their organizations are government-owned or government-dominated ventures.
- c) From these only a few are located in the regions and are mostly government-owned.
- d) Most large private investments are located in Tehran.

To the extent that this imbalance of unit size and location between public and private sector exists, it can be argued that it is the result of the lack of capital accumulation of significant size in the private sector. However, the extent to which it exists can be attributed (among other things)<sup>19</sup> to the existing psychological atmosphere in the

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Ministry of Works and Social Affairs, Human Resource Section, "Preliminary Studies in Specialization and Competence," in Investigations of Human Resources, p. 940 - 1007, Tehran Iran, 1965.

19

Hesitation toward large scale investment in the private sector is due to a basic feeling of insecurity about the future, and unpredictable government actions. Lack of investment in the regions is due, among other things, to the traditionally consumer oriented industry which has been almost entirely oriented toward domestic markets of which Tehran is the biggest and richest, plus having a larger middle class thereby a greater buying power. (Average per capita in Tehran is about 50% higher than the major provincial cities, not to speak of the labor market potential, plus a host of other services. However, the preceding does not have any bearing on the size of capital accumulation in the private sector and its willingness to invest in large doses.

country and this consequent attitude of the private sector toward investment. These attitudes are expressed in similar ways in smaller scale investments by land speculators: The short run demand for profit, seeking of minimal risk, minimizing the need for legal institutions, hedging against expected inflation (thereby creating it), and keeping the size of investment to the minimum possible size in order to liquidate on a short notice: In short, maximum profit, maximum security, with short range goals. The implementation of this attitude is partially reflected through domination of family-run private organizations.

The implications of these conditions on the analysis of job mobility is clear. Being cognizant of the attitude by the private sector investor; associated conflicts with a family run organization, longer hours of work and a lesser degree of autonomy, all these together, plus the traditional high regard for a government job,<sup>20</sup> (expressed very strongly during the interview) makes the higher paying jobs in the private sector less attractive and more insecure than government jobs.

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A survey conducted among 300 graduates of the Tehran Polytechnic Institute showed that 87% were employed by government agencies and only 13% were employed in the private sector. See "Relation between Education and Occupation among Polytechnic Graduates, A. Hesamvaziri, op. cit. p. 84.



The following statements by some of the individuals interviewed, express the more general feeling held in the group:

"Private organizations are run by families, so if something goes wrong in the work this won't make the brother or the uncle responsible - you always have to take nonsense because somebody is family - who are you?!"

Attitudes toward government jobs cover a wide range of issues i.e. security, prestige, independence, a sense of accomplishment in helping others. The following quotation captures some of these:

"...my job satisfaction is great. I feel I am helping a great number of people. Work in private organizations benefits only a few. I am a government servant. Government is not a person. Private organization is a person, then you are a private servant. I don't want to be anyone's servant."

The best testimony to these quotations is the fact only one out of fifteen in the group works for a private organization and he is the owner.

It can be seen why there is a lack of opportunity in the private sector for either horizontal or vertical mobility. There are not enough large scale operations and when there is one, aside from internal conflicts and job security, it does not present a good picture.

What is left to be studied is the major source of employment for the educated, the government. In this case the nature of the government organization becomes very important to the issue of location; the government of Iran is centralized in Tehran. Aside from representatives to the

Assembly and some for the Senate, it is safe to say the entire range of positions open in the government sector are appointive positions. The governors of various "ostans" or regions, and all other legal and administration positions are appointed. These appointments are not locally made, but rather are made in Tehran by various ministries and agencies. The chain of hierarchy and responsibility ends in Tehran. This organizational structure is duplicated in every activity carried on by the government and in some cases is a model for private institutions. The organizational structure and its locational characteristics - that is with the top and sensitive positions located in Tehran and only second level positions located in the regions - is clearly the most critical factor in the locational characteristics of this group. (The sentiment of the majority and their experiences indicate this to be so.)

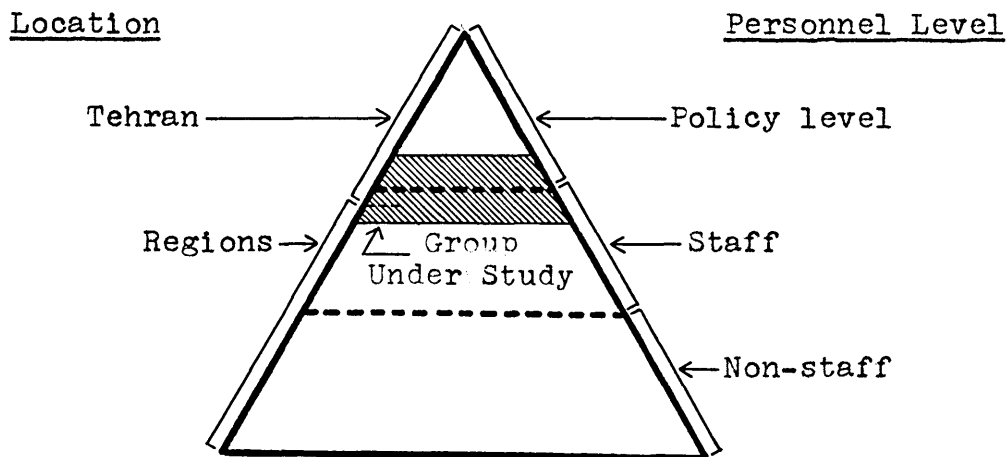
The concentration of government organization in Tehran offers opportunities for change from one job to another within the governmental system. Yet, to be able to do this, personal presence is of the utmost necessity. In other words, to be appointed to a job, one has to go to Tehran. If one aspires to higher levels in an organization, one has to go there also. Hence, to follow one's career line development may become a necessity and not a choice in going to Tehran.

What follows is simple and clear. There are two sets of needs apparent in this regard: a) a need for a larger number of organizations to be located in the regions in order to attract more high quality human resources - in addition to

giving a wider choice of horizontal mobility, b) a need for improvement in quality of jobs, reflected both by decision-making powers and prestige. The need for advancement seems to be especially important to the participants in this study, and, in general, for those with advanced education.

In the normal case of an individual working in the regions, the individual gains a few years of experience, saves some money, but due to diminished or non-existing opportunities for advancement on his level, he is confronted with a situation of tradeoffs: his career aspirations vs. his desire to stay in that region. The decision has been made time and time again to move away, but not by choice.

The following diagram indicates, in general, the hierarchical structure of a typical organization, its relation to both locations - Tehran and the regions - and the relative level most in this group occupy at present.



Diagrammatic sketch of a typical organization and the location of its various parts.

There are five in the group who are working for organizations whose primary responsibility and activities are located in the regions. From the five institutions only one has a relatively autonomous structure - somewhat unique in the country. Nevertheless, all five operate under the same system; the organizational headquarters in Tehran and only operations located in the regions. None of the organizations have recruited individuals in the regions where they are located, nor do they have mechanisms to achieve this at present. However, some of those in this group who are in a position of hiring for their organizations have expressed a desire and sympathy for local people due to various reasons: 1) they are used to the environment and 2) they probably would not quit after gaining some experience, at least not as quickly as those from outside. What then are the trade-offs with these local problems? They seem to be varied and complex: career line development vs. locational choice; horizontal mobility vs. locational choice; more local authority; somewhat less external pressure (socially as well as politically) vs. a higher position in Tehran with its tensions and anxieties.

The impacts of the non-elective (appointive) organizations of government, the largest employer of the educated, is to force the migration of great numbers of talented and motivated young people to Tehran. The partial remedy is simple and obvious: institution of elective process and local autonomy.

#### 4.3 FAMILY AND FRIENDSHIP TIES

The two variables of friendship and family ties and their impact on the location decision seem to be strong among this group. However, these variables seem to be greatly personalized issues and any attempts at a uniform definition for these relationships would prove to be a very difficult task. It seems that each individual has his own definition of friendship, as to who and under what conditions various forms of friendship can be defined. Furthermore, friendship ties are different from family ties, the latter is permanent and is rooted in a complex set of obligations; an implicit set of contracts (some can never be broken); and others, the same as friendship ties, can be altered overnight and severed permanently.

The friendship and family tie variables manifest themselves in various forms of experiences and sets of complex relationships. The following seem to be important:

- a) the extent and intensity of these relationships
- b) the linkages which have been developed over time between the individual and his family or friends
- c) utilization of various communication media in the relationships

The most difficult of these relationships seems to be the question of the extent and intensity in the friendship: The extent of the friendship could be looked upon as to its singularity or multiplicity of nature, i.e. drinking or

gambling buddies vs. friends who maintain a relationship on many different levels -- drinking with, as well as confiding in and borrowing money from; the intensity of the friendship can be seen in the light of differences in the relationship: singular and intimate friendships vs. "group" or "gang" friendships with shared common interests or working together, not so intimate, yet very strong.

As far as linkages are concerned, they can vary in number and in combination. Not only is it important to know the character of these linkages (their basis in psychological, sociological, cultural, financial or combinations thereof), it is also important to know the direction of the relationships: e.g. is the relationship one-sided, or does mutual dependency prevail.

The communication media in this context, i.e. personal visit, telephone or mail, tend to have increasing impact on the location decision in proportion to its functional dependency on the distance. In those cases where family ties or friendships are very strong, unavailability of telephone service in a region, or lack of an airport in a city when friends and families are some distance away, could become a strong input in the decision to move or not to move.

The ideas outlined above were both guidelines as well as the result of the interview.

**INTENSITY OF FRIENDSHIP.** In an attempt to get at the intensity of friendships, each interviewee was asked the number of very close friends he had and the degree of reliance

or dependence on each. In a number of instances difficulty developed both with definition and intensity of friendship and an attempt to group the findings in various rings of closeness did not seem to be effective. However, questions without differentiation as to intensity seemed to get a better response. So, the strategy was changed and the interviewee was asked to enumerate his his top ten, or ten closest friends, as well as ranking the closest three. What seemed interesting here was the difference in east that each stated the list of ten friends. In some cases there was difficulty in going beyond four or five names. Those interviewed were also asked to name the top three from the list they had mentioned, and rank them in order of closeness.

Throughout the study, it seems that when one overriding variable, such as a strong attachment to one of the parents or a strong preference for one location, is no longer present, due to death, remarriage, or other reasons, suddenly there is a vacuum of choice, with a lack of a clear second or third option. This situation makes the individual indifferent in his decision with regard to location and somewhat more prone to be attracted to the regions. This flexibility is exhibited by the interesting contrast that exists between the two respondents who work in the regions. For one, the inaccessibility of his close friends (who are in foreign countries) makes them of no consequence to the location decision. In the second case, the friendships, recent ones, seem to be a product of the location and place of work, but they have an aura of

transient quality. At this point in their life for these cases, linkages do not seem to be very strong, nor does the intensity of the relationship. This lack of a strong location-bound friendship as a factor in the mobility decision has given them flexibility which is missing in some of the other cases. In another case an individual's decision to move was partially due to the location of a "group of friends" with whom he shared a common interest. However, he did not feel that all of them were close friends.

LINKAGES. Family orientation in the group is strong and ties which bind individuals in this group to their families are varied and complex. There are those whose main linkages to family are strong attachment to either, or both, parents, or simply to the familiar surroundings, comfort and feeling of safety of home. (There are several in this category.) In other cases, there are implicit socio-cultural contracts and obligations to be fulfilled such as in the case of one who has become the head of an extended family household; another is bound by a combination of financial and psychological ties.

There are also those instances in which, once one of the main linkages was severed, the intensity of the relation and the ties weakened - for example, a family which had been continuously separated by extenuating circumstances. Now in the words of the individual, "the family has gotten used to being separated." In another case, after the death of the mother, the family no longer had the meaning it had previously



and was hardly of any consequence to the location decision.

Due to lack of time and foresight, questions as to the nature and direction of linkages were not fully explored and more along this line could have been done. However, some interesting information was gathered in regard to the origin of friendship, the locational characteristics, the communication media and frequency of contacts.

In order to see to what extent and to what sources the friendships are geographically linked, inquiries as to origins of friendships were made, as indicated in the following table:

TABLE 15 DISTRIBUTION OF THREE CLOSEST FRIENDS  
BY ORIGIN OF FRIENDSHIP

Closest 3 Friends	Elem. Sch.	High Sch.	Univ. College	Family	Social Meeting	Work Assoc.
1st	1	3	2	1	1	3
2nd	3	1	2	1	-	4
3rd	2	2	-	4	-	3
TOTAL	6 18.2%	6 18.2%	4 12.1%	6 18.2%	1 3%	10 30.3%

As indicated in the above table, the single largest group of friends by origin, are work associated. (in only one case was the work associate a former school mate). However, those friendships originating from elementary school, high school, university and the family, all add up to about 67% of the total. Only one out of 33 originated from social gatherings. The members of the group seemed

to form relatively fewer close friends in college or university, especially those who had attended a foreign university. Since only one out of six in this group indicated a close friend from his university days, this might be interpreted as the minimal impact of studying abroad on the formation of close friendships.

Inferences are clear as to the accumulated impact of the location of educational institutions and the family place of residence on the formation of friendships and consequently, the location decision, if one assumes that friendship, and more specifically, close friendships, have any impact on this decision at all.

The following table indicates the geographic distribution of the closest three friends. As can be seen, the majority of them reside, either in the same neighborhood (21.2%) or in the same city (60.6%), and the remaining ones are equally divided between other regions and foreign countries.

TABLE 16 GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF THREE CLOSEST FRIENDS BY LOCATION CATEGORIES

Closest three Friends	Same Neighborhood	Same City	Same Region	Other Regions	Out of Country
1st	3	6	-	1	1
2nd	2	6	-	1	2
3rd	2	8	-	1	-
TOTAL	7 (21.2%)	20 (60.6%)		3 (9.1%)	3 (9.1%)

MEDIA OF COMMUNICATION. The visit seems to be clearly the most dominant form of communication utilized by the group in relation to their three closest three friends. The visit was used in 32 out of 33, or 98%, of the cases. Moreover, in eleven cases, the visit was supplemented with telephone calls and in only one case (out of a total of 33) was writing the dominant medium of communication (the friend was out of the country). Writing was used as a supplement to a visit in five cases out of 32.

Table 17 shows the distribution by the medium of communication utilized by the group.

TABLE 17 MEDIUMS OF COMMUNICATION USED IN  
RELATION TO CLOSEST THREE FRIENDS

Closest 3 Friends	Personal Visit	Telephone Call	Writing Letters
1st	11	5*	1*
2nd	10	3*	1 (3)*
3rd	11	3*	1*
TOTAL	32 (98%)	-	1 2%

\*

In all these cases the media were used to supplement the visit and the numbers in parentheses indicate the number of individuals who utilized them.

To arrive at a better sense of the impact the personal visit as a medium has on the relationship and subsequently, on the location decision, it is important to know the extent to which it is utilized. Table shows the frequency the media was utilized.

TABLE 18 FREQUENCY OF VISIT WITH CLOSEST  
THREE FRIENDS

Closest 3 Friends	Daily or Weekly	Monthly or more But not Weekly	Once a Yr. or Less	Once Every few Yrs.
1st	7	2	1	1
2nd	5	3	1	2
3rd	7	2	2	-
TOTAL	19 (57.6%)	7 (21.2%)	4 (12.1%)	3 (9.1%)

\* (Time categories are the same as those used in the study by John Gurlick, Charles E. Bourman, and Kurt W. Pack "Newcomer Envulturation in the City: Attitude and Participation" in Urban Growth Dynamics, by Chapin, Wiley, New York, 1962.

The great degree of reliance on a personal visit is not limited to friends, but rather, is prevalent in every part of Iranian life, and is one of the most accepted and practiced norms.

In the previous section on job mobility, the degree of impact that visibility and a personal visit had on one's career was brought out. Moreover, there is every indication that in the absence of a personal visit, almost all communication stops.

The way that the members of the group divided their time between family and friends and the tendency to spend more time with one or the other, almost paralleled the division between singles and the married. Five (5) out of the fourteen (14) tend to spend more time with their friends than their families; however, three out of the five are single, the fourth one just married, and the last, although married, has somewhat weak ties with his family (according to his own assessment of the relationship). The frequency of visits with families ranges from one to two times a day to once a week, and for those living in the regions, the visit is limited to the major holidays of the year. In almost all cases, summer vacations are spent with the family at a favorite spot on the Caspian Seacoast.

PREFERENCES FOR ASSOCIATION AND NATURE OF TRADE-OFFS.

First, responses to a question as to the individual's preference for division of additional time between friends and family, suggested no alteration of any significance from the present time allotment.<sup>21</sup> Secondly, the age variations in the group did not show any impact on the relation pattern, either with family or friends. Occasionally, the family had been directly involved in an individual's life: in several cases, the family had been instrumental in getting a job for the son, in some, obtaining a job transfer, selecting a field of study, or helping to select a wife.

When the group members were asked who they would turn to if they needed money, in addition to their salaries, they responded as follows: in most cases, sums of one to three times the monthly salary could be obtained from personal savings, but they prefer to borrow from friends or family depending on their closeness and economic status; in the case of a need equal to 6 to 12 times the monthly salary, most preferred to borrow from a bank or from the institution where the individual worked. (In several cases, individuals themselves, and/or their families would be able to accommodate a sum of this size.)

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Those who are oriented more toward friends than family, spend more than 50% and up to 90% of their free time with friends. This division of time is reversed for those with more family orientation.

Aside from those who fall in the middle, the extremities of the group regarding their relationship with friends and family can be classified in two groups: First, those individuals having weak friendships and/or family ties and who are somewhat more flexible to move than the others, and for this group regarding the location decision, trade-offs between these relationships and economic issues readily exist. Second, those who have, over time, developed very strong ties to both family and friends are somewhat less flexible to move. Throughout the course of the interview, it became evident in several cases that issues such as free exchange of ideas, pursuit of one's interest, extreme fondness of one's job, and philosophical and ideological commitments were issues that could be traded versus various family and friendship relations and, in most of these cases, economic factors could not, or would not, be substituted or a trade-off factor of any consequence.

Finally, in this group, in several cases, the family ties were the main factor in the location decision and in acceptance or rejection of jobs, and the future preferences indicated by the individuals, seem to enforce this fact. However, friendship ties, although strong, were only an additional factor to other variables, and were not the main reason in the decision to move.

#### 4.4 OTHER VARIABLES

ANONYMITY. This factor seems to be of some concern to the unmarried individuals, especially in regard to association with the opposite sex, since the socio-cultural norms do not allow free association between the sexes. However, the desire to stay anonymous, is not confined to a single man's problem, but touches on such issues as personal religious beliefs and practices, being able to invest in an activity and stay anonymous (for various personal or social reasons.)

In the process of interviewing, it was stated many times that almost all regional locations due to their size do not allow anonymity to last long. Before too long the whole town knows everything about the individual and his actions.

AUTONOMY AND AUTHORITY. One of the positive advantages, in some cases, of being located in the regions is the degree of autonomy and authority possible either in one's job, being free from the political pressure ever present in Tehran, the social pressure of keeping up with the Jones, or from the family obligations and constraints, especially in the case of a single man. However, what seems to be an advantage from the individual's point of view, turns out to be contrary to the regional and local interest. As was previously stated, government officials to a great extent act autonomously in reference to local power and operate in absence of any meaningful local social pressure.



In the course of the interviews it became clear that there were a number of instances in which individuals acted in the so-called "interest" of the local population over their objections, and the local people had no recourse except going through the long and tedious process of getting in touch with the central government. (This, of course, was at the risk of aggravating the local government officials, additionally not being able to get any result from Tehran.)

Both of these issues become factors for trade-offs, as one contemplates a move to the regions and certainly appeals to the psychological needs of some in their desire for either more autonomy or authority, or both vs. Tehran's differing psychological benefits.

One of the major reasons, as mentioned before, in preference for government jobs, is the fact that these jobs offer more autonomy. As seen in the eyes of one:

"Working for government is like working for nobody. You are your own boss."

This perception, maintained by some, of government being nobody rather than everybody is reflected in the attitudes toward localities and the people to whom they are supposed to be servants. As one says "local people are dirty, ignorant and untrustworthy."

LEVEL OF STRESS. Tehran's comparatively fast pace of life carries with it greater amounts of pressure on the individual: from traffic jams in the mornings

and afternoons to the air pollution around the clock; the constant competition and the rush to a second job; or the formal social meetings with influential people; in contrast to the uniform, predictable, and quiet life of the regions. A number of individuals expressed a great deal of dissatisfaction with the level of stress and anxiety existing in Tehran, especially those who are in the regions and inversely, those who are in Tehran, of monotony which prevails in most of the regions.

#### PROXIMITY TO SEAT OF POWER AND MAKING CONTACTS.

As mentioned before, with the concentration of all branches of government in Tehran, and since Tehran must make the final decision regarding local issues of insignificant magnitude, and in a society in which the personal visit as a communication media is cherished and practiced above all media, to be able to accomplish anything an individual must know either people who make the decisions or the ones who know them. (In all probability, both are located in the same place and that is where one must go - Tehran.) To make contact with influentials, one must make oneself visible and attend various social and state gatherings.

During the discussions, cases were mentioned in which appointment to a high office was made after a personal visit of the minister to one of the regions, which otherwise would have been impossible.

The majority of those in the regions and the ones

who show a preference for the regions were clearly against the formalistic atmosphere of Tehran and its pompness. They preferred much more informal encounters and less pretentiousness. They see the "fast talker" and a "public relations type" which the Tehran environment demands and in that context they assess themselves as anti-social.

LEGAL JUSTICE. In an appointive system, the presence of arbitrary power is an issue of concern and of great importance. However, this problem is magnified several-fold in the regions, whose instrument of justice not only is not elected by the people, more than likely he is not even from that locality. Presence of social pressure on those who administer justice is as visible as in the case of other government officials in the regions.<sup>22</sup>

Legal justice and legal problems seem to be of concern and vary greatly with the individual's experience to the point of being a major factor in one case due to personal experience.

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In recent years, in a few places, government has allowed localities to elect members for adjudicative councils and House of Equity, with specific sets of concerns and cases for amounts not exceeding 2000 toomans (26.0 dollars). Furthermore, only on very rare cases is there a trial by jury. In almost all cases there is a decision by the judge; in some, a panel of judges.

To get some feeling for the degree of concentration of judicial power in Tehran, following is the scale to which the country's supreme court deals with, both in civil and criminal cases.

"Verification of verdicts issued in respect of criminal cases submitted by the Courts of Appeal and criminal courts which involve punishments varying between two months imprisonment, to execution.

Verification of verdicts issued by all civil courts provided the cases involve amounts exceeding 300 toomans (about 39 dollars)." 23

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It should be said at the outset that the number of individuals interviewed in this study was too small in order to reach a definitive conclusion. However, it was sufficient to indicate areas in which critical variables might lie in the decision to move. Furthermore, it pointed out the structure of constraints existing on the various levels which effects a decision to locate in the regions or in the center and especially the constraints which operate on the decision from the center to outlaying regions.

The group could be divided into broad categories: One group with stronger value orientation toward ideological and professional commitments, and a second group with stronger orientation toward seeking of wealth and social status, with the former group being more prone to live and/or be attracted to the regions.

Another factor which has a broad impact on the decision to move is the life cycle which an individual might fall within, i.e.:

- (A) Single or married without children
- (B) Married having children of non-school age
- (C) Married with children of school age

This status of one's life cycle impact the degree of his needs and expectations toward various issues which fall within either categories of economic, social, or physical and services.

From the three classifications mentioned, group B seems to be the most likely candidate to be attracted to the regions. His demands on education and health facilities are not as acute as group C, and his demand for anonymity, entertainment, and privacy are not as high as those of group A, assuming that his demand for social and horizontal mobility, income, and other variables are met satisfactorily.

It is evident that not only is there a lack of clear policy and mechanism to attract individuals to the regions, but, in fact, all existing institutions and their policies help to drain the regions of their most valuable human resources. This is done because of the concentration of power and the decision-making apparatus in the center, and through the mechanism of the appointive system the control of all critical jobs in the regions is maintained in the center, namely, Tehran. Plus the clear advantage of lower cost of living in Tehran (see Cost of Living, Appendix B), better opportunities for investment and more opportunity to supplement one's income through various alternatives.

In brief the trade-offs in going to regions vs. Tehran are:

Prestige vs. salary

Autonomy vs. salary

Salary vs. family

Career development vs. family

Family and friends vs. job

Career development vs. location

Children's education vs. location

One's health vs. location

Investment vs. location

Wife's career vs. location

What becomes evident through the course of this study is the enormity of power and the role played by the government and public institutions and the degree of control exercised in the development process of all the regions. There seems to be three different stages of strategy possible toward a more equitable distribution of resources between Tehran and the other regions.

(1) Removal of existing constraints which hinder development of the regions, such as removal and relocation of decision structures and power from the center into the regions. This can be accomplished by decentralization of government or regionally based government. Also, a change of most appointive jobs to elective offices to create a reciprocal sense of participation on behalf of the public and a commitment on the part of the office holders to a region rather than to the appointive mechanism. This action might respond favorably to the variable of vertical mobility for individuals which has been a limiting constraint in the regions. This change tends to bring about conditions for positive action on the regional basis, putting the regions on a somewhat comparative level vis-a-vis Tehran as far as some of the services and opportunities which they lack at present.

(2) Creation of various incentives toward the development of the regions: The range of actions within this framework are

innumerable. On a national scale - promotion of the attitude of frontiership, helping to develop less-developed and backward regions, promotion of self-help which includes taking pride in local development. And, on less psychological ground, promotion and decentralization of economic activity both on private and public bases to locate more and larger scale operations in the regions responding to the need for horizontal mobility through creation of more jobs, qualitatively as well as quantitatively.

In response to the individual's patterns of needs on the economic side: creation of circumstances to reduce urban land speculation are needed (various mechanism such as utilization of government owned urban land to this end). In response to the need for investment, other opportunities have to be created on the level commesurate with the ability of this group. This could be accomplished through simplification of partnership laws, and unifications and standardization of bookkeeping procedures. Since investment in housing seems to be the most important investment for most individuals, promotion of some sort of subsidy in the form of tax write-offs, or any other mechanism to encourage investment in the regions would be effective. However, past experience shows that some of the low interest loans granted to individuals were not used where the individual resided at the time. In order to eliminate this misuse, location bound (location specific) strategies are necessary in granting subsidies in these or similar cases. In general, strategies



should be grounded on the basis of capital accumulation accruing in the regions for which incentives have been devised.

In the area of infrastructure - communications seems to be a critical area to be improved, especially telephone service. It is obvious the important role television plays in the absence of entertainment and recreational facilities. And the availability of services in response to emergencies such as good roads, airports, etc. is also important.

The creation of nodes of service centers seems reasonable and logical in the light of limited resources. These could include quality health, higher education, professional services and others that might be necessary.

And last, since individuals seem quite willing to express negative attitudes toward places not seen, opportunities should be created for individuals to travel to the regions. This could be done on a university level and as part of the educational process, and on another scale through increased visibility for all the regions on a national television network.

(3) Exercise of constraints on the growth of Tehran and the central region: This step consists of rigorous implementation of existing as well as new policies limiting growth in the central region, especially in Tehran. For example: Enforcement of no new industries within the central region or minimally within a 140 mile radius (as stated in existing policy), more specifically, not within commuting distance for a city resident; no permission for new institutions of higher education to be

built in the city of Tehran or in the central region; rigorous enforcement of the policy of a single job for a government employee; initiation of some selective urban tax increases (for example, increased tax on urban land or on urban services. However, it should be mentioned that limiting growth may result in a greatly improved living environment in Tehran and consequently it places it in a better comparative position in attracting individuals to itself vis-a-vis the regions.

APPENDIX A

After explaining the purpose of the study and the areas to be covered in the interview, the first question (as indicated below) was almost the same as the last question. It was different in one respect: the first question asked the individual's opinions regarding the reasons used by others concerning a location decision, and the last question asked the individual to evaluate a set of variables in regard to the location decision and to indicate their order of importance to him personally. The individual was asked:

Please indicate, in your opinion, the reasons those individuals, with similar characteristics to you (such as age, education, etc.), use in their decisions to locate, either in Tehran or in the regions.

1. Age
2. Place of Residence
  - a) City
  - b) Where do you consider your home town?
3. Place of birth
  - a) Town
  - b) Date
4. Marital Status:
  - a) Single
  - b) Married
    - 1) No. of years
    - 2) No. of children
    - 3) Ages of children
  - c) Divorced or widowed

5. Educational Background: Age starting elementary school\_\_\_\_\_

Educational Level	Town	No. of Years	Degree Rec'd	Field of Study
<u>Elementary</u>				
<u>High School</u>				
<u>College</u>				
<u>Other</u>				

6. Languages spoken:
  - Local:
  - Foreign:
7. Wife's educational level
  - a) last degree
  - b) languages spoken
  - c) Is wife working? Income? Occupation?



12. Part II. State the activities you have been engaged in since graduation from the university, (work, army, etc.) in chronological order.

A. In reference to work:

- a) indicate the name of the organization
- b) starting and ending dates
- c) Salary (beginning and ending)
- d) Rank           "                       "
- e) Location (city size)
- f) size - number of employees
- g) public or private
- h) organizational structure and relation of  
your job to the structure

B. In reference to army and others:

13. Present Occupation(s); Main aspects of the present job. (If more than one occupation, rank them as to their importance to you)

Types of Occupations	Last Job (s)	After return to Iran	5 Years from now
Research, etc.			
Practicing of Prof.			
Teaching/Lecturing			
Admin./Managerial			
Others			
Not sure			

14. Associations, Memberships, etc.

a) Active      b) inactive

1 - Professional Society

2 - Clubs

3 - Fraternity, etc.

4 - Others

5 - None

15. If you needed a sum of money, in addition to your regular salary, where would you get this money? (If more than one, indicate your preference.)

Amt. of Money Needed - in units of monthly salary	Personal Saving	Friends	Family	Bank	Other (Please list)
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1 month or less

2-3 months

4-6 months

7-12 months

16. Association with Friends

(see *A) List of Best Friends	(see *B) Origin of Friendship	(See *c) Frequency of Visit	(See *D) Media of Communi- cation	(See *E) Location of Resi- dence	Closest three friends
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1-

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2-

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3-

---

4-

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5-

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6-

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7-

---

8-

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9-

---

10-

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A\* - Use  
1st name  
only as a  
reference  
for your  
use. You  
can delete  
the names  
after  
completing  
this page.

\*B -  
1. Elem.  
School  
2. H. "  
3. Univ.  
4. Family  
5. Social  
meeting  
6. Work  
Assoc.

\*C -  
1. Daily  
or wkly.  
2. Monthly  
or more  
but not  
weekly  
3. Yearly  
or less  
4. Every  
few  
years.

\*D -  
1. Per-  
sonal  
visit.  
2. Telep.  
3. Ltr.

\*E -  
1. Same  
neighbor-  
hood  
2. Same city  
3. Same region  
4. Other region  
5. Out of  
country.



17. Places of Residence, Since Birth

Age at each residence	(a) Country and/or Region	City (also size)	(b) Location of home as distance fm center	Characteristics of Neighborhood:		
				<u>Social</u> (c)	<u>Economic</u> (d)	<u>Physical</u> (e)

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.

(a) 1. State the country in the case of residence in a foreign country.

2. Region of residence (ostan) in the case of home country.

(b) Location of the home in the general map of the city:

1. Close to the core of the city

2. Periphery of the city

3. Suburb of the city

(c) Characteristics of the social class: homogeneous or heterogeneous

(d) Economic class: homogeneous or heterogeneous

(e) Physical characteristics:

1) Similar residential characteristics 2) Varied characteristics

3) Mixed with other uses

18. Place of Residence, Characteristics and Duration of Time

Part I Age at time of Residency	Head of Household	Size of Household	(a) Composition of the Household	(b) Ownership Status
_____				
_____				
_____				
_____				
_____				
_____				
_____				

Part II Age at time of Residency	No. of stories in bldg.	Floor lived on	No. of bed- rooms	Access to Courtyard	(c) Services Available
_____					
_____					
_____					
_____					
_____					
_____					

(a) Composition of the household: 1) father, mother, children; 2) self and wife; 3) self alone and/or with roommate; 4) Father, mother, brother, or sister with grandparents (one or both); 5) all in no. 4 plus uncle or aunt and/or other distant family.

(b) Ownership status: 1) owned; 2) leased; 3) rented; 4) other

(c) Services available: 1) piped cold water; 2) piped hot water; 3) no piped water; 4) others

19. Indicate personal hobbies

20. Typical working day (from awakening to bedtime, in detail. All activities.

21. Holiday activities

1) Typical weekends (with whom & where) duration and frequency

2) Summer vacations (with whom and where), duration and frequency

3) Any activities subject to seasonal change

22. Use of Media

	(a)			
	<u>Frequency of Use &amp; Purposes Of:</u>			
<u>Media</u>	<u>Daily</u>	<u>Weekly</u>	<u>Monthly</u>	<u>Other</u>
T.V.				
Radio				
Telephone				
Newspaper				
Foreign Paper				
Prof. & Tech. Journals and Books				

(a) Purposes of usage: 1) personal; 2) entertainment; 3) work; 4) learning; 5) socializing; 6) other



25. Present level of income other than private investments and property income: possibilities and expectations (under the conditions of living in the location mentioned)

Types of Institutions & their locations	<u>Government</u>				<u>Private</u>			
	Tehran		Other Regions		Tehran		Other Regions	
	hi	lo	hi	lo	hi	lo	hi	lo
Various Income Levels								

Min/income needed

Income likely

Income expectations

26. Investments:

1 - Present investments: a) nature & kinds (b) amounts (c) locations (d) partnerships & associations

27. Investment Opportunities Existing at the present time (kinds & location)

Location	Tehran	Present Location	<u>Other Regions</u> (Favorable) (Unfavorable)
Kinds			
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			

28. List of Investments Preferred in Each Location  
(ranked as to preference in each location)

Invest- ment Types	Location	Tehran	Present Location	Other Regions	
				Favorable	Unfavorable
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					

29. Transportation Media: Most frequently used media of transportation in various activities (if more than one means is used, rank them according to their frequency of use).

	Going to Work (Commu- ting)	Visit family and friends	Shopping	Travel Between			
				Cities	Work	Regions	Work
Walk							
Personal auto							
Taxi							
Bus							
Train							
Plane							
Others							

30. I. Under what conditions are you willing to go to the other regions

(economic, social, cultural, physical, services, job, all others)

30. II. If Tehran as a choice of location is no longer possible, what are your preferences thereafter?

31. Resident Location of the family (parents, grandparents, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, etc.)

Percent of Family Residing at Various Locations

	%	Location
a) Same neighborhood		
b) Same City		
c) Other regions & cities		

32. Division of Time between Family and Friends and, if you had more time, how would you divide it?

	<u>Existing Time</u>	<u>Additional Time</u>
Family	_____	_____
Friends	_____	_____

33. Indication of Attitudes and Preferences for Natural Characteristics of the Regions

			+	0	-
			Strongly Favor	Neutral or In- different	Strongly Against
<u>A</u> <u>Temp- era- ture</u>	<u>1</u> <u>Summer</u>	a	<u>Hot &amp; Humid</u>		
		b	<u>Hot &amp; Dry</u>		
	<u>2</u> <u>Winter</u>	a	<u>Cold w/Snow</u>		
		b	<u>Cold without snow</u>		
<u>B</u> <u>Topo- graphy</u>	<u>1) Flat</u>				
	<u>2) Rolling Hills</u>				
	<u>3) Mountains</u>				
<u>C</u> <u>Vega- tation</u>	<u>1) Low vegetation coverage</u>				
	<u>2) Moderate vegetation</u>				
	<u>3) High vegetation</u>				
<u>D</u> <u>Water</u>	<u>1) Near sea or lake</u>				
	<u>2) Away from sea or lake</u>				



34. Preference for a city size and a location within the city as a place of residence.

Rank Size	Rank as to Preference	Intra-City Location of Residence		
		Core (a)	Periphery (b)	Suburbs (c)
	4,999			
	5,000- 9,999			
	10,000- 24,999			
	25,000- 49,999			
	50,000- 99,999			
	100,000-249,499			
	250,000-499,999			
	500,000-999,999			
	1,000,000-Over			

Indicate your present location

35. Average Monthly Budget (Special emphasis on #1 and #6)

1. Rent including utilities (or money paid to family in lieu of rent.
2. Transportation, car payment, taxi, gas, bus, etc.
3. Entertainment, parties, eating out, movies, theater, etc.
4. Food, household expenses, servants, laundry, etc.
5. Medical, education, family & self spending money, insurance, hospital, medicine, etc.
6. Savings

36. Life Goals: Rank in importance the following eleven life goals 1 - 11

- Leadership: To become an influential leader; to organize and control others to achieve community or organizational goals
- Expertise: To become an authority on a special subject; to persevere to reach a hoped-for-expert level of skill and accomplishment.
- Prestige: To become well known, to obtain recognition, awards, or high social status.
- Service: To contribute to the satisfaction of others; to be helpful to others who need it.
- Wealth: To earn a great deal of money; to build up a large financial state.
- Independence: To have the opportunity for freedom of thought and action; to be one's own boss.
- Affection: To obtain and share companionship and affection through immediate family and friends.
- Security: To achieve a secure and stable position in work and financial situation.
- Self-Realization: To optimize one's personal development; to realize one's full creative and innovative potential.
- Duty: To dedicate oneself totally to the pursuit of ultimate values, ideals and principles.
- Pleasure: To enjoy life, to be happy and content, to have the good things in life.

37. Evaluate the conditions of each of the following five statements in regard to your last job in Iran.

Condition	Security (A)	Self Respect (B)	Social Status (C)	Autonomy (D)	Self Actualization (E)
Worst	1				
	2				
	3				
	4				
Best	5				

Rank the above five conditions (A, B, C, D, & E) as to their importance to you in relation to your job.

- 1 -
- 2 -
- 3 -
- 4 -
- 5 -

38. Preference for Various Regions (Ostans)

- a) Attitude toward each of the regions as a place of residence (+, 0, -)
- b) First five choices ranked 1 - 5
- c) Indicate regions (ostans) and some of the major cities in them that you have visited.

Part I: a

Various Regions (Ostans) (With identification numbers in parenthesis)	(a) Attitude toward each Region (Ostan)		
	Strongly in favor +	Neutral or indif- ferent 0	Strongly dislike -
Central Ostan (Tehran)	(1)		
Gilan Ostan	(2)		
Mazandaran Ostan	(3)		
East Azarbajejan Ostan	(4)		
West Azarbajejan Ostan	(5)		
Kermanshahan Ostan	(6)		
Khuzestan Ostan	(7)		
Fars Ostan	(8)		
Kerman Ostan	(9)		
Khorasun Ostan	(10)		
Esfahen Ostan	(11)		
Sistan and Baluchestan Ostan	(12)		
Kordestan Ostan	(13)		
Hamadan Farmandarikol	(14)		
Chabarmahal and Bakhtiyari Farmandarikol	(15)		
Lorestan Farmandarikol	(16)		
Ilam Farmandarikol	(17)		
Kohkiluyeh and Boyer Ahmad-E- Sardair Farmandarikol	(18)		
Farmandarikol of Ports and Islands of Persian Gulf	(19)		
Farmandarikol of Ports and Islands of Omman Sea	(20)		
Semnan Farmandarikol	(21)		

38. Part II b and c

(b)  
Rank 1 - 5 your First  
Five Choices

(c)  
Indicate regions (ostans) and  
some of the major cities in  
them that you have visited

---

- (1)
- (2)
- (3)
- (4)
- (5)
- (6)
- (7)
- (8)
- (9)
- (10)
- (11)
- (12)
- (13)
- (14)
- (15)
- (16)
- (17)
- (18)
- (19)
- (20)
- (21)

38. Part III.

Map of IRAN with various regions (ostans) designated  
by number.

39. Evaluate the following environmental conditions in your last city of residence in Iran.

Part I: Neighborhood Level Part II: City Wide

	Least like to see changed	Most like to see changed	Neighborhood Level Evaluation				
			Worst		Best		
			2	1	0	1	2
Noise							
Water							
Air							
Bus Service							
Taxi Service							
Traffic							
Street Parking							
Street Cleaning							
Schools							
Health							
City Government							
Police							
Parks							
Telephone							
Movie							
Trash Collection							
Privacy							
Beauty							
Access to other Regions							
Progressiveness							
Economic Base							
Cultural Center							
Professional Services							

39. Part II

	Least like to see changed	Most like to see changed	City Wide Evaluation				
			Worst		Best		
			2	1	0	1	2
Noise							
Water							
Air							
Bus Service							
Taxi Service							
Traffic							
Street Parking							
Street Cleaning							
Schools							
Health							
City Government							
Police							
Parks							
Telephone							
Movie							
Trash Collection							
Privacy							
Beauty							
Access to other Regions							
Progressiveness							
Economic Base							
Cultural Center							
Professional Services							



40. In relation to a city of residence:

- a) indicate the importance to you of the following issues,
- b) indicate ranking in each group
- c) give your overall choice of the 5 most important conditions
- d) Evaluate your city of residence vis-a-vis following issues

(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)				
Attitude	Ranking in each group	Overall Rank- ing	Worst		Best		
+	-	0	2	1	0	1	2

ECONOMIC FACTORS

- a) opportunity for 2nd job
- b) wider choice of occupation
- c) promotion opportunity
- d) level of income
- e) investment opportunity
- f) saving opportunity
- g) others

SOCIAL FACTORS

- a) anonamity
- b) friendships (proximity)
- c) family (proximity)
- d) intertainment
- e) cultural opportunities
- f) autonomy
- g) level of stress & anxiety
- h) spare time (availability)
- i) proximity to influential people
- j) making contacts
- k) personal & property safety
- l) legal justice
- m) standard of living
- n) others

PHYSICAL AND SERVICES

- a) climate
- b) availability of services
- c) health care facilities
- d) research facilities
- e) education facilities
- f) internal communication facilities

40. continued

PHYSICAL AND SERVICES

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

g) external communication

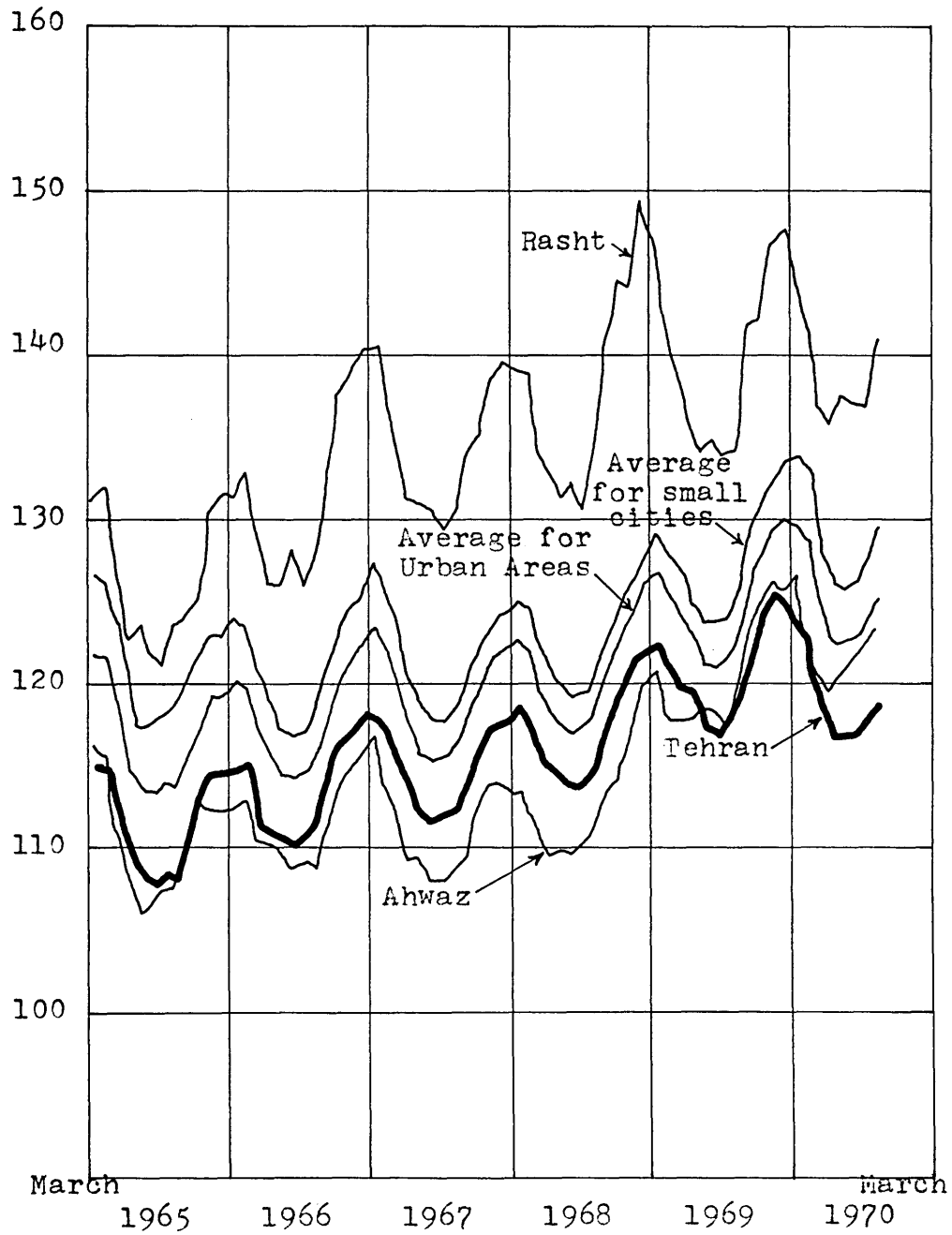
h) natural environment

i) parks, open spaces

j) attractiveness

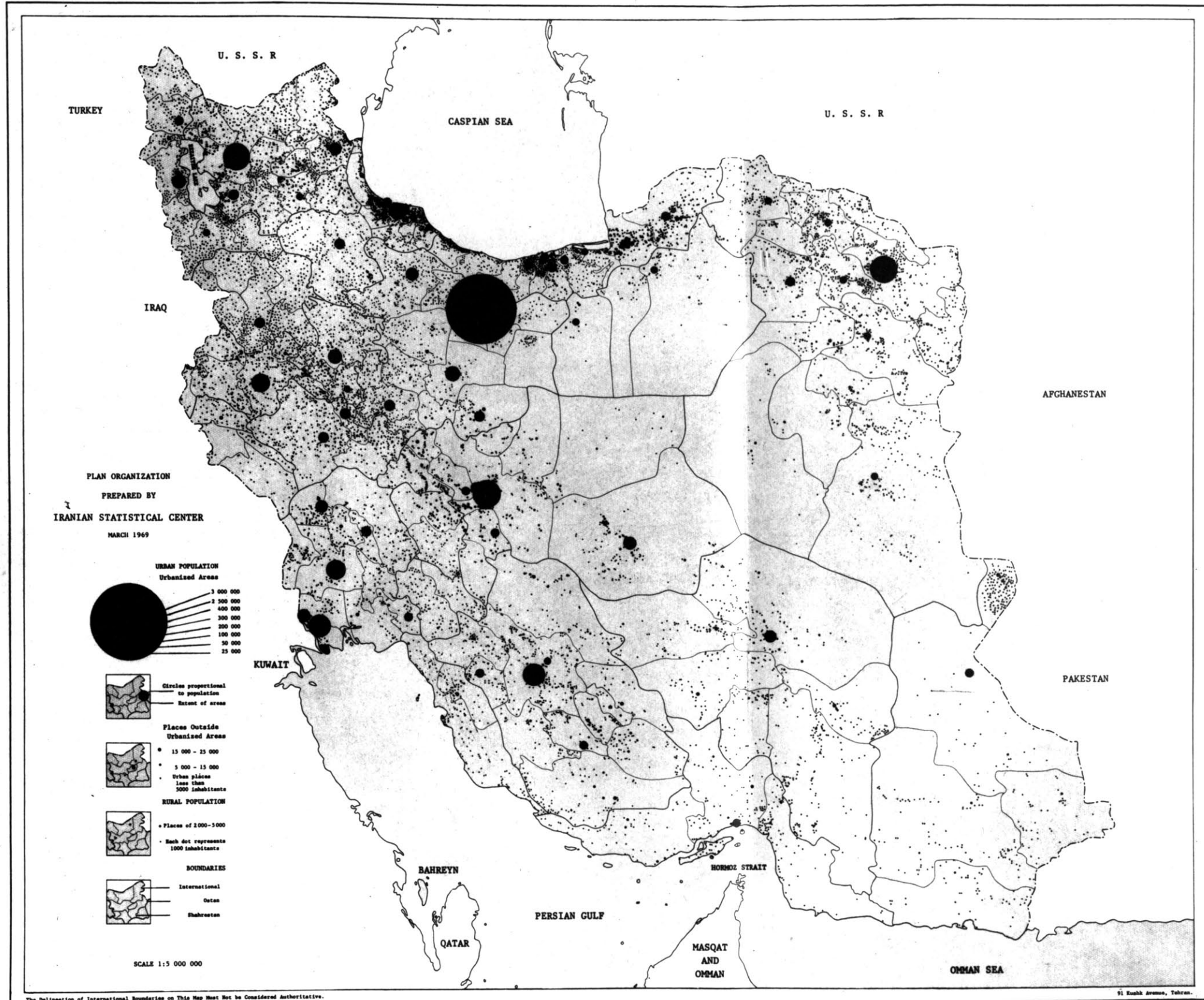
k) cleanliness

l) professional services



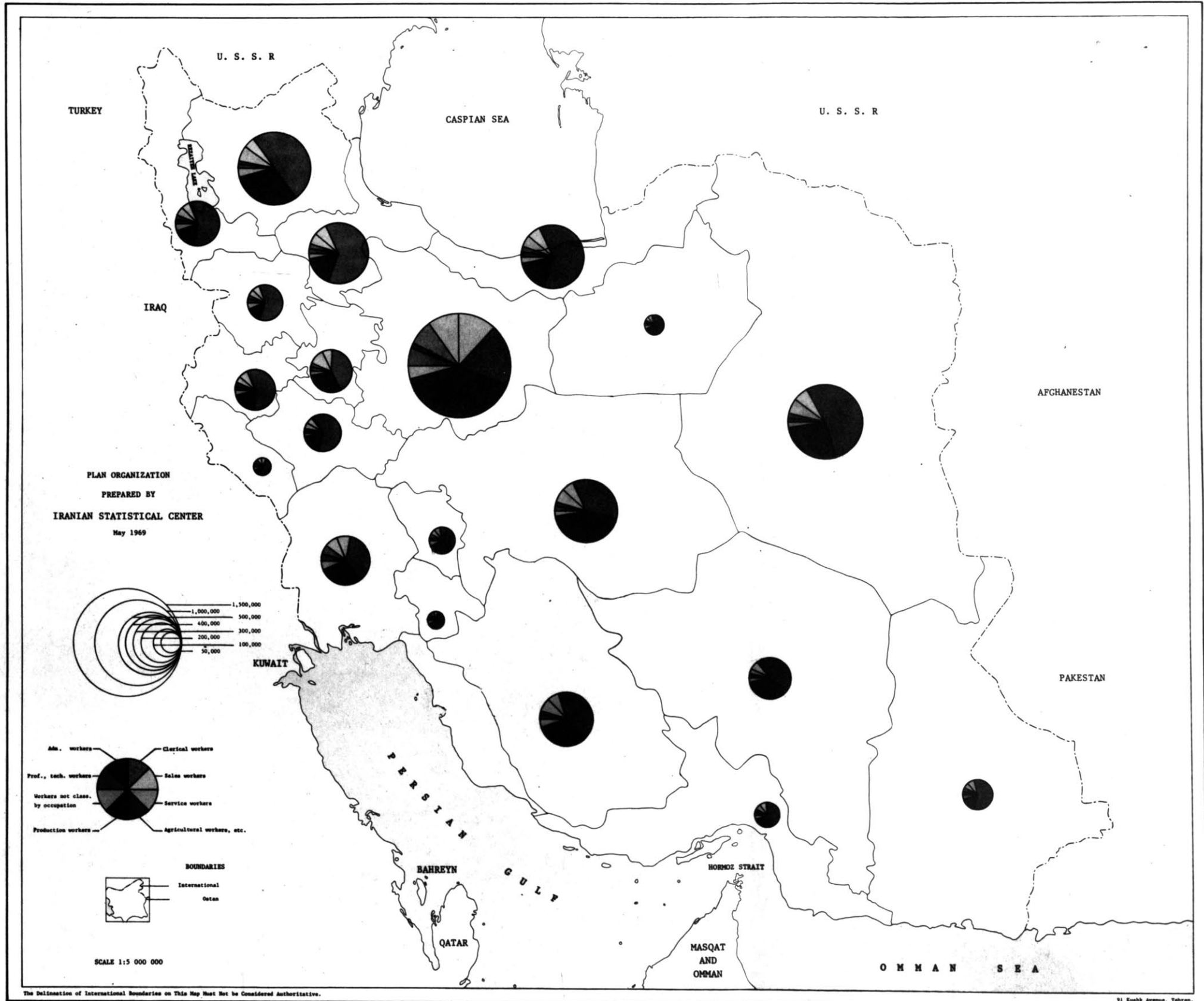
COST OF LIVING INDEX  
(1959 = 100)

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION OF IRAN BASED ON NATIONAL CENSUS : NOVEMBER 1966.



The Delineation of International Boundaries on This Map Must Not be Considered Authoritative.

EMPLOYED POPULATION 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP: NOVEMBER 1966

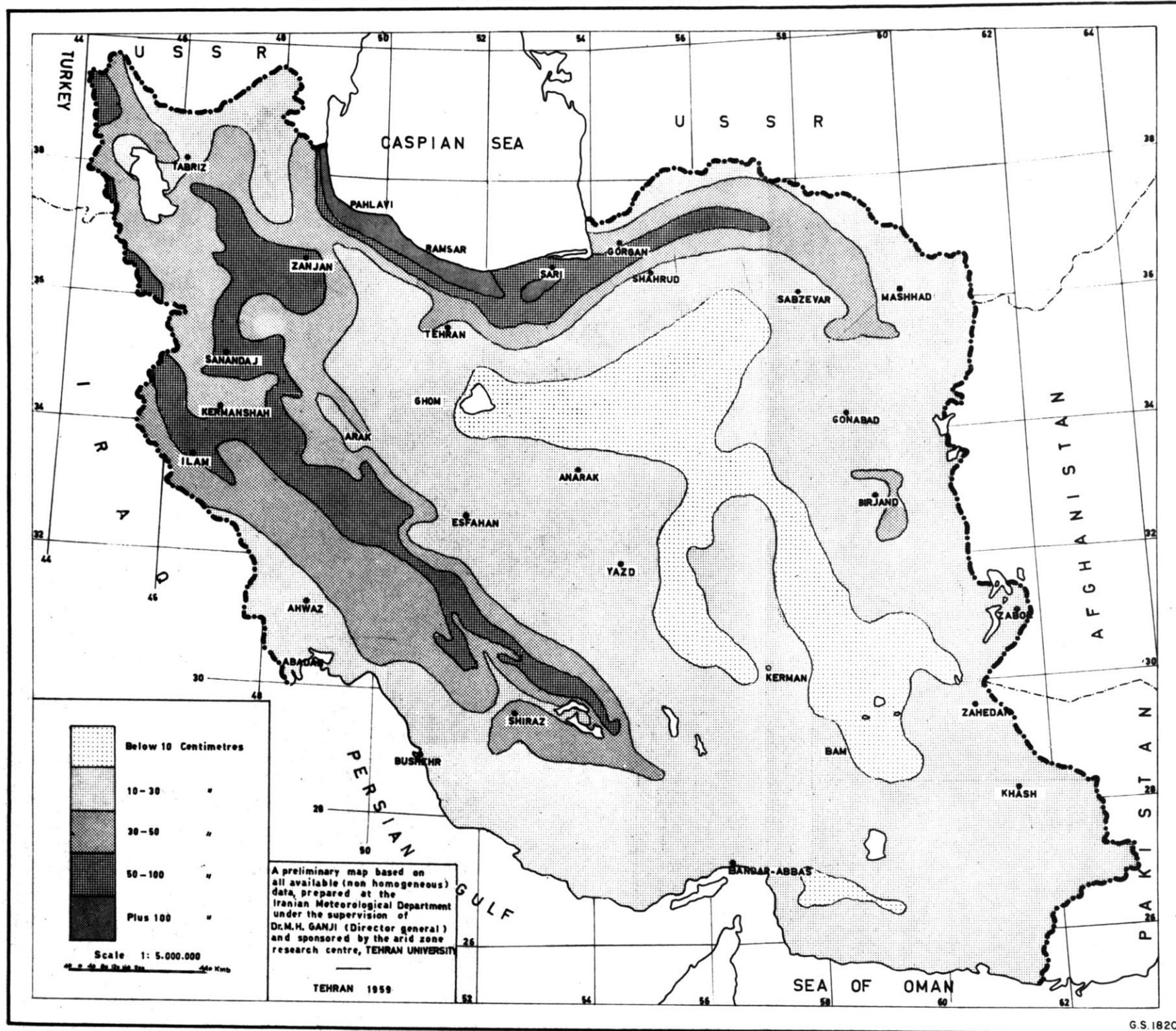






# AVERAGE ANNUAL PRECIPITATION IN IRAN

Appendix B5



G.S. 1820

CITIES WITH 25,000 POPULATION OR MORE: NOVEMBER 1966





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