

Urban neighbourhoods of Tehran: the social relations of residents and their 'living place'

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ABSTRACT

The city in the contemporary context, is witnessed as the place of many socio-spatial differentiations. These are greatly manifested in its urban neighbourhoods. The better-quality urban neighbourhoods are more desirable for existing diverse potentials of social advantages and the poorer-quality urban neighbourhoods can no longer provide a considerable integration between inhabitants and the environment of their 'living place', because of poor housing conditions and the lack of local services needed. Many cities in the world are experiencing such situations. Tehran, as the capital of Iran and one of the largest cities in the Middle East is the typical example in this context. To explore its neighbourhood areas and the relationships between people and the environment of these areas, it is assumed to be a vital task to look at the important dimensions of neighbourhoods and their environment. In terms of local public services and social networks, the relation between residents and the environment of their 'living place' is indicated as the central focus of this study. The aim was to contribute to the goal of expanding choice and opportunity with special responsibility for the needs of residents as groups and as individuals. The identification of this issue in the city of Tehran has been undertaken as a contribution to bridging the existing gap between planning for this city and the reality of the urban environment of its 'living places'. From this investigation and the exploration of the explained problems, it is anticipated that this study and its findings will facilitate attempts to investigate and to manage the local conditions of areas such as these

A variety of research methods and tools were used. Interviewing local informants, structured observations; analysis of available documents; and a household survey of a representative sample of residents in each of the two selected neighbourhoods in Tehran. Overall, it has been found that residents in both advantaged and disadvantaged residential areas in Tehran used, interpreted, and evaluated their environment of THE residential areas through the filter of their socio-economic reference system. Their attitudes in this case were based on four socio-economic dimensions: the pattern of the dwelling, educational achievements, financial status and jobs. In addition, overall satisfaction with the environment of neighbourhoods was the result of congruence in major components such as: the affordably a suitable housing, the accessibility to public services and the formal and informal social support system in terms of local social networks. From the survey findings it was also evident how small a role social bonding played in advantaged neighbourhoods as a determinant of residential mobility while this notion has been very important to residents in disadvantaged areas. From this point of view it is concluded that social ties and their location were independent of the inclination to move to another neighbourhood in advantaged areas. But, they were related to the level of residential mobility in an area in the sense that the more stable the area, the more likely a household is to establish ties in a neighbourhood, but the existence or absence of such ties does not affect the households' desire to remain or move.

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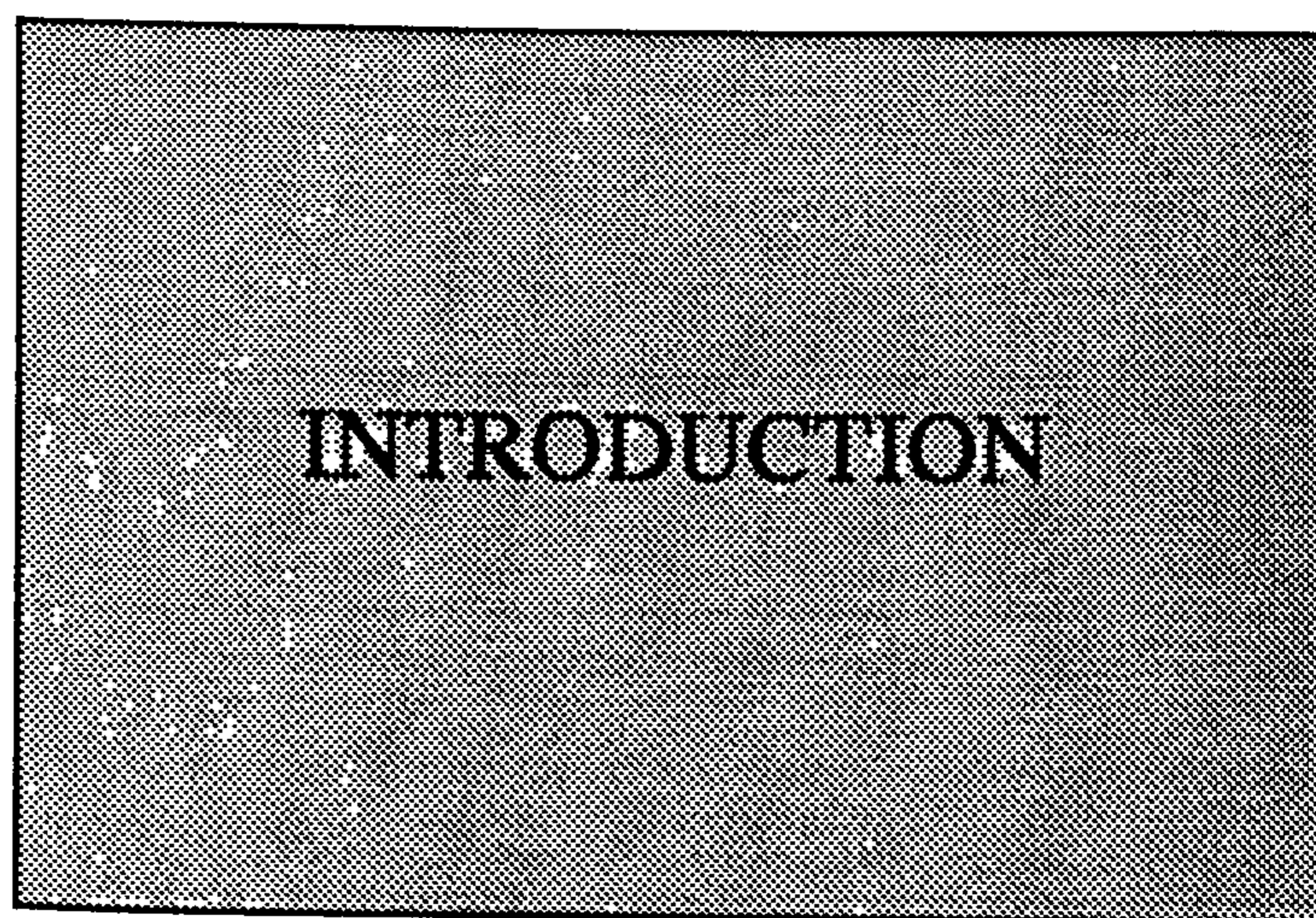
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CHAPTER ONE:



1.1. The Research problem

In recent decades the urban environment of neighbourhood areas and the social relationships between individuals and the 'living place' have received a great deal of attention and become the core of many investigations about local community studies. This has also been the case in a wide range of concerns in later urban literature. As Banerjee and Baer (1984) state: 'the urban neighbourhood has extensively been used as well as extensively criticised in both practice and literature, and that it has, as well, been a focus of research in the social sciences, makes it a convenient core around which to base [our] study' (Banerjee & Baer 1984 p. 2). About local environments and the value of study in this case Johnston (1978) has noted: 'much however, has been learned about urban neighbourhoods, even if few precise and positive statements can be made about the effects of living in this locale rather than that one' (Johnston, 1978 p. 283).

Urban differentiations and multiple social relationships between inhabitants and their 'living place' have been claimed to be as the great characteristics of modern city places. The central character of these differentiations is the diversity of social relations, which arises through a complicated mechanism of socio-economic activities. It is said that 'the diversity of lifestyles seems increasingly to be slipping out of the demographers ability to categorise and capture in quantitative data. At the level of neighbourhoods and urban regions, the reality of this diversity comes alive in daily experience. Here aggregate trends become local specificities. How people experience the social mix and tendencies of their area needs to come into analyses of amounts. Data on trends merely provides a useful backcloth to what people feel is happening, and how this makes them think about their places' (Healey 1997 p. 102).

'The sociological 'imagination' recognises that we are born into social worlds and that our ways of thinking and modes of being are constructed through interaction with the social relations in which we find ourselves as we grow and develop. It is this perspective on the 'intersubjective' nature of our consciousness which underpins both the notion of communicative action, as developed by Jurgen Habermas, and the institutional interpretation of social life, as developed by Giddens and others (Healey 1997, p. 96). In relation to inhabitants in urban neighbourhoods and their environmental behaviours, there is a growing experience of the concept of different social worlds. The social worlds of inhabitants in neighbourhood areas are interpreted through their personal and social (positive and or negative) understanding toward reality (or realities). As Short (1996) addresses: residential areas can be important in shaping a variety of attitudes (Short, 1996 p. 203). Individuals in neighbourhoods might feel comfortable or might be depressed since their social worlds, and their social relationships, have been constructed differently, based on their locality-based experience. This mode of social world explanation, related to the urban environment of the neighbourhood as the 'place of life', has its roots in the earlier cities. It is affected by inhabitants and various lifestyles. However, the central issue in this path is the way in which modern 'living places' have led to the formation of an extreme urban segregation between inhabitants and the environments of their 'living place'.

The rapid growth of urban neighbourhoods accompanied by residential movement in cities has replaced the earlier spatial arrangements of cities. Various social places in modern cities have been developed on the basis of a new social organisation. These areas are characterised by different urban environments in terms of quality of social networks, public services and housing and such like. The composition of different socio-physical environments has also reshaped the internal structure of modern cities which can be examined as the primary source of the variety of contrasting urban behaviours and their 'living place', and are the basis to shape the urban differentiations in the city. However, urban environmental differentiation may help city development if it is based on organised activities and directed toward more cohesive relationships between inhabitants and their 'living place'. In this regard the different patterns of social relationships with the 'living places' are the important source of city

development towards the generation of a sustainable place. However, problems will be arise when the socio-spatial organisations of 'living places' in the city are shaped on the ground of an unequal situation of the urban infrastructure system and the social world of residents displays a considerable gap between their needs and expectations and the reality of their social structures in the round. The inequality which is evident between many urban neighbourhoods in modern cities demonstrates insufficient integration interrelationships between inhabitants and their neighbourhood.

The characteristics described above are recognisable in most cities in Western countries. Nevertheless, cities in developing countries are growing while they are encountering many urban environmental problems in relation to the defects of their spatial expansion. These defects are reflected in their multiple unbalanced residential mosaic in terms of resources, social capacity, social organisations and social relationships. Their socio-spatial dimensions are growing much more rapidly than has been seen in previous eras. The spatial organisation of these cities is developing toward generating more diverse social contexts for the urban life of residents. Moreover, the establishment of new residential areas has widely changed the traditional structural contexts of cities and created extreme urban difficulties at the different scales. In addition, the mushroom growth of urban neighbourhoods has also given an unpleasant shape to the spatial arrangements of these cities. These are remarkably observable in the interrelationship between urban inhabitants and their environment of life place.

Tehran, as the capital of Iran and as one of the biggest cities in the Middle East, is experiencing such transformations in two fields: the first can be seen in the way in which the city has started to expand and the second is the problems which are evident at the level of its neighbourhoods. The particular characteristics of Tehran have predominantly given a new shape to its socio-spatial organisation. In recent decades, the city has experienced a rapid urban growth. One aspect of this phenomena is seen in its urban fragmentation which was based on different urban environments. This has given a situation to Tehran to become an expanded city without sufficient urban infrastructures. The social areas which have appeared in this city constitute separate

socio-spatial sectors which have developed with particular socio-physical characteristics. The current modulating urban network is not able to support sufficiently the links between these sectors. In other words, there are two Tehrans. The first is a city throbbing with creativity and cultural diversity, continually renewing and rebuilding itself. But, the second Tehran is a divided city, where astonishing wealth coincides with grinding poverty. Moreover, the overall urban context of this city is shaped upon many urban differentiations which are carefully reflected in the behaviour of its inhabitants in the form of different relationships with the environment of neighbourhoods.

In the case of urban neighbourhoods in Tehran, the composition of different social residential areas and the appearance of uneven consequences, particularly in poorer social areas, have also given a particular specification to its spatial organisation. Since the city became a central place of economic and political activities, the changes in its socio-spatial context have been strongly reflected in its social areas and have also caused various forms of relationships with the 'living place'. The successful development of the urban places is constrained by many obstacles and difficulties with respect to social integration or an adequate cohesion to the physical environment of living places. Therefore, it has to be regarded in its poor urban system which is essentially manifested in the urban environment of neighbourhoods. The socio-structural characteristics of these social areas are not well known and many unclear areas of concerns exist in relation to people and their attitudes toward their urban environment. These issues have drawn great attention from many individuals in urban studies in Iran. Yet, investigations in this area have not so far been sufficiently developed.

1.2 Conceptualising neighbourhoods

There is a substantial literature on the particular aspects of the dynamic and also structural states of the 'neighbourhood' and the quality of social relationships in this area . In this literature, there is a considerable number of theoretical debates which identifies the relations between the socio-spatial expansion of the city and the emergence of urban neighbourhoods which have led to the emergence of different relations with the environment of the 'living place'. These conceptual works attempt to clarify the process which has led to the formation of the city and its diverse components in the contemporary period. After the great changes which have taken place in the 18th and 19th centuries in the West, new trends in the urban field have developed to analyse the structure of the city in relation to new socio-spatial differentiations. The result has been to establish modern urban perspectives which basically attempt to conceptualise the city and its urban neighbourhoods in the context of the individual as affected by some social constraints. In particular, in the urban field, the significant event is that urban sociology increasingly became more sensitive to the use of social theory and importantly emphasises the existing theoretical pluralism. In addition, there is a considerable variety of urban references which have been used to analyse both theoretically and empirically issues such as people and the environments of their residential places. These include the works of urban sociologists who are either seeking to analyse the city in the context of the contemporary era or who are concerned to grasp the principal roots of specific issues which are directly or indirectly derived from the city and its transformation (Mellor, 1977; Jones & Eyles, 1978; Gans, 1980; Giddens, 1989; Dickens, 1992; Flanagan, 1993).

Since the city and neighbourhood are two inter connected subjects, therefore, the conceptualisation of urban neighbourhoods can be possible only by a systematic analysis of the outstanding aspects of the contemporary city's growth and the understanding of urban neighbourhoods (as new localities) in relation to their socio-spatial setting. On the ground of this assumption, the theoretical basis of understanding of urban neighbourhoods in this research is based on two premises:

firstly, the conceptualisation of the city as the primary setting for urban neighbourhoods and their differentiations in this context and secondly, the conceptualisation of these areas based on particular environmental dimensions. Therefore, the first main objective in this context is to define the city as central source for urban neighbourhoods and identify the multi-dimensions of its socio-spatial divisions. At the level of residential areas such as neighbourhoods, the nature and structure of local social network will be discussed based on individuals, their understanding, behaviour, power and constraints. Regarding the city and neighbourhood, a number of urban perspectives which have further contributed to developing a conceptual understanding of these places will be focused on in this research. In the this regard, the Urban Ecology and Structuration theories have been particularly valuable and are the central focus of attention. The spatial transformation of the city and its socio-physical results will be discussed according to the Urban Ecology perspective. However, the structure of the city, in its overall terms, and the role of individuals will be the content of the Structuration approach. In addition to understand the characteristics of social areas such as neighbourhoods, the attention will be drawn on locality and time-space characteristics as a great principle of the Structuration approach.

The second main objective relates to the urban neighbourhood and its conceptualisation in terms of local environmental characteristics. The concept of neighbourhood, as a way of structuring, ordering, and presenting urban society, has a long history in urban civilisation. About this concept and its earlier location in the social history of human beings, the evidence shows that : 'neighbourhood is a 'fact of nature' and came into existence whenever a group of people shared a place. Neighbourhood units are as old as the family system and the kinship network' (Banerjee & Baer 1984 p. 2). The environmental structure of urban neighbourhoods does not exist in isolation, it is part of the wider socio-physical system in the society. The manifestation of its actual environmental dimensions lies in a set of socio-economic components which act all together as a system. From this point of view, it can be said that, in order to investigate urban neighbourhoods, a possible way is to develop a conceptual explanation which clarifies the central dimensions of the

environment of these. In regard to these characteristics, Olson's descriptive model of the neighbourhoods will be further concentrated in chapter 3 of this thesis.

1.3. Aims of the study

This study is about the social relationships of residents with their 'living place' in terms of the environmental dimensions of neighbourhoods. In this regard, it aims to investigate the quality of neighbourhoods and to find out how inhabitants in these areas perceive and evaluate the residential characteristics of their own 'living place' and what they needed and expected from their neighbourhood and its overall conditions. The neighbourhood's urban environment is an important factor for the life experience of urban inhabitants and it affects the quality of their social relationships and their feelings toward their locality; a better-quality neighbourhood provides a sufficient satisfaction to promote quality of life and encourage people to have a positive relationship to the multiple aspects of their environment. A poorer-quality neighbourhood provides a situation which discourages residents and produces a negative relationship between residents and their 'living place'. The current study intends to investigate the real causes and consequences of such relationships between residents and their 'living place'. This study will attempt to analyse systematically the environmental differences in these areas in order to emphasise the necessity of a new approach to development policy for existing neighbourhoods, particularly in disadvantaged areas.

In relation to the current urban policies in the city of Tehran, the main weakness is the lack of an adequate understanding of both contextual and perceptual aspects of its urban areas in terms of environmental differentiations. This is particularly evident in its new urban neighbourhoods. However, in the case of the urban environment of these places, the role of the social network and public services in establishing strong relationships between residents and the social environment of the neighbourhood is not investigated. Also the existing plans for upgrading poor urban areas are not based

on a realistic perspective. The determinant factors in the relationships between people and urban neighbourhoods in Tehran are not sufficiently considered in an academic style of research. Furthermore, the context for this study is that the environmental conditions and the policies that have shaped most existing neighbourhoods have traditionally been understood without adequate benefit of empirical research. Finally, the following study is focused as an attempt to fill the gap which exists in the understanding of urban neighbourhoods in Tehran and their environmental differentiation, in order to support the policy orientations toward the minimisation of the residential problems in the city.

In this concern, two typical neighbourhoods will be studied, selected on the basis of (a) presence or absence of planning standards, (b) location vis-à-vis the city centre, and (c) socio-economic characteristics as defined by rateable property values for these urban neighbourhoods. The method of study chosen is the multi-dimensional approach of survey. However, the research will use other methodological perspectives to clarify neighbourhood issues and it will use some specific research techniques. In the following chapters a description will be given in relation to the method of the study in detail.

1.4. Research key questions

The question which follows for this research is to understand how far the residents in different kinds of urban neighbourhoods of Tehran have different social relationships with the environment of their 'living place'. It also intends to investigate which dimensions of such differences are most readily seen. Urban neighbourhoods in the city of Tehran have been expanded as the outcome of rapid socio-spatial growth of this city in recent decades; the question in this regard is which specific conditions would specify this expansion and how have the dimensions of these neighbourhoods shaped different life trajectories. In this respect, it seems also necessary to look at the

subjective and objective aspects of these dimensions which are identified in neighbourhoods in terms of social networks and the public services delivery system. Through the study of these dimensions, the main social characteristics of these areas as the environmental background of inhabitants would be investigated. However, a question remains in relation to the liveable or unliveable situation of neighbourhood areas as the focus of the desires of their inhabitants. The response of this question will clarify how the city of Tehran is constructed within sets of residential differentiations which have as one of their characteristics massive inequality in terms of economic conditions, housing and public services.

Following the questions above it seems necessary to pursue a set of key issues which are directly or indirectly related to the central concern of this investigation. As explained above, Tehran as the capital of Iran, as and one of the biggest cities in the country of Iran has had a remarkable socio-spatial growth in the contemporary period. This growth has led to the creation of numerous neighbourhood areas. These places, in a broader sense, can be classified into advantaged and disadvantaged or better-quality and poorer-quality of neighbourhoods. It will be necessary to clarify why such spatial manifestations have occurred. Which social and economic forces have combined to create the mosaic of residential areas which characterise this city? If such manifestations reflect the social and economic foundations which exist in its neighbourhoods, then answers to these questions are necessary if those manifestations are to be addressed at their causes, within the socio-environmental conditions which give rise to them, rather than to be treated cosmetically at their symptoms. How, then, does the environment influence the residents; how does it impinge on their attitudes and influence their behaviour? Without an answer to these questions, it is not possible to devise alternative places for sustainable neighbourhood development. Generally speaking, the described questions may be derived from the following hypotheses:

1-The rapid socio-spatial expansion of Tehran has led to the emergence of different patterns of urban neighbourhoods. The environmental dimensions of these neighbourhoods are the contrast in the composition of households of in these areas. In

terms of local public services, housing and social networks, inhabitants in these areas would express different ideas, expressions and expectations. These differentiations are reflected on their relationships with the environment of the living place.

2-Tehran's expanding development is happening in such a way as to produce many very different neighbourhoods, yet urban households seek the more desirable conditions in their 'living place'. However, the improvement of the quality of social services is a shared concern in both advantaged and disadvantaged areas. In this regard, what the more advantaged areas have, the less advantaged seek to have. To improve the quality of these areas, how should urban policy bring all neighbourhoods to the same standard range in terms of public facilities?.

3-The existence of different social contexts for neighbourhoods of Tehran means that, as the socio-spatial expansion of this city takes place, people are developing multiple trajectories, and using their living spaces in different ways according to their particular aspirations and social worlds. How should public policy provide different kinds of supports for public services to give all neighbourhoods the chance to achieve the stability and social equality they seek? In terms of social networks, how should public policy be concerned the nature of existing differentiations in neighbourhood areas in order to provide strong social relationships.

1.5. Outline of the thesis

The main body of this thesis is constructed into two parts: part one aims to construct a theoretical framework for the research objectives and its overall directions. Part two is designed to present the results of an experimental study which was conducted in two urban neighbourhoods in Tehran. Chapter 1 provides an introduction to this study. This chapter discusses the research problems, the conceptualising of neighbourhoods, the aim of the study and research key questions. Chapter 2 discusses the conceptualisation of the city as the primary context of the urban neighbourhoods.

It discusses the city in the context of earlier eras and the rising of contemporary urban trends. The dynamic aspects of the city and relation between structure and individuals in the context of the modern city are the focus of this chapter. The Urban Ecology and the Structuration perspective will be reviewed in this regard. Chapter 3 focuses on the social organisational framework of neighbourhood. In this chapter, the significant aspects of the neighbourhood, the effect of place on the behaviour of individuals and the social organisational forms of the neighbourhood will be discussed. This chapter sets the backdrop for the survey. Therefore, an account will be given of the central dimensions of neighbourhood in terms of social network and public services. The objective of these arguments is to look at the conceptual aspects of these issues. Among the existing theoretical models which are developed to study the urban neighbourhood the emphasis is given to Olson (1984) and Knox (1995). In particular, the overall structure of this chapter is borrowed from Olson's descriptive model in accounting for the neighbourhood as the form of a social organised place. Chapter 4 is about the method of the study.

Chapter 5 is an introduction to the case study areas. The exploration of Tehran and its urban neighbourhoods are the central concern in this respect. Chapter 6 contains a brief description of the people in the research areas, including their demographic and housing characteristics in their residential areas. The picture which emerges from these descriptions can be best described as a milieu that contains a social, a physical, a functional, and even a symbolic dimension. Chapter 7 demonstrates the results of the survey in relation to the attitudes of households as regards the particular aspects of their local social network. This chapter deals with how households in the study areas relate to their 'living place' in terms of family and neighbouring relationships. Chapter 8 outlines the findings of the empirical study in relation to the dimensions of the public provisions in study areas. This chapter is devised to identify the attitudes of households toward their 'living place' in terms of the social services delivery system. The school and transport services will be the subject of this account. Chapter 9 is concerned with residential mobility in survey areas. The aim of this chapter is to clarify how residents in survey areas have regarded their 'living place' in terms of housing and the neighbourhood. The major consideration in this chapter is about the

stability or instability of the areas studied and it will examine the positive or negative attitudes of the residents toward their 'living place' in the form of particular categories. Chapter 10 is a conclusion which is organised to assess the hypotheses, review the implications for the dimensions of neighbourhoods generally and in terms of overall findings, assess the lessons of this research and provide some policy implications and orientations as well.

CHAPTER TWO:

CONCEPTUALISATION OF
THE CITY AS THE LOCUS
TO URBAN
NEIGHBOURHOODS

2.1 The conceptual characteristics of the city and neighbourhood

The following conceptual chapters are provided to characterise the city and its neighbourhoods as developed in urban literature. These deal primarily with ideas, the conceptual issues that specify the structure of urban differentiations which are widely manifested in most cities and their connected social areas. It also reviews the conceptual tools available to explain the ways urban settlements grow and change, the ways new urban conditions affect and are affected by many socio-spatial elements, and the ways in which these settings and the extensions of urban settings change people's thinking and modes of relationship. The rise of new urban settlements and multiple patterns of local social networks will be focused upon as the fundamental factors in shaping the environmental differentiations in these areas. It is intended that these discussions will help to set the context for the design of a theoretical framework for an account of neighbourhoods and their structural characteristics, in their social and functional terms.

Neighbourhood areas and their differentiations, which are manifest through the relationships between inhabitants and their 'living place', can be reviewed as the production of the internal transformation of the city towards a more complex situation in its social networks and functional forms. From the structural point of view, the urban neighbourhood, as the place of local social networks, will be considered as the locale with which people feel a strong sense of place, where they feel they belong, and where they are involved with their neighbours, especially with kinship members who live close by. However, the way in which these social linkages are structured is often

very complex. They reflect the complexity of the overall social foundation. To understand the structure of social network provides one way to analyse the structural characteristics of these areas and their differentiations. In addition, neighbourhood areas can also be analysed by their various physical functions, the nature of local services and public efforts in terms of the environmental conditions of social life that seem to be such important issues in any consideration in this field.

For the city, the urban neighbourhoods are its locality-base which offers one perspective with which to study the behaviour of inhabitants; this is part of other related urban perspectives which are dominant in urban studies. In regard to the city context, there is the view that 'the idea of a single urban community is untenable, for cities almost always contain many sub-communities with identifiable, stable patterns of relationships, both locally and non-locally based' (Herbert & Johnston, 1976 p.64). However, neighbourhood studies suggest that within a locality or territory, a set of values may exist which have achieved some level of consensus over time and are transmitted to individuals within that locality or territory. As a human space, it has specific environmental attributes. The relative location of poor people's housing, and financial institutions for example, is not random, but exhibits a certain order in most cities (Flanagan, 1993). At the level of neighbourhoods, the social network system has been seen as a significant phenomena. At its simplest level, the network metaphor asks that we visualise individuals as embedded in a set of social relationships (e.g., family, peers, work, formal group memberships). The social network imagery urges us to appreciate the fact that an individual lives within a particular group, or even within a set of groups, but that people live within a complex set of social relationships. Thus at any time a given person is subject to influence in his or her thinking and behaviour from the full range of his or her contacts with others (Flanagan, 1993, p.21)

Different perspectives in urban analysis attempt to analyse the reality of the spatial growth of modern cities and the circumstances which have led to the appearance of new settlements, the composition of various social behaviours, the stability and mobility of households in urban places and in the end the emergence of multi-dimensional aspects of relationships between inhabitants and their 'living place'. These

theoretical efforts attempt to analyse and account for the demonstration of the facts of spatial segregation, the reality of neighbourhood differentiation and the provision of systematic insights into the process which produced these phenomena. However, two concepts are most important in relation to the study of the city and its neighbourhoods. The first relates to the city in relation to its process of socio-spatial growth, and the second returns to the neighbourhood as the locality which shapes the local network at the level of interpersonal relationships and its functional characteristics which partly are reflected in the quality of local services. Yet, the structure of the city and its neighbourhoods has to be considered in its historical trajectory as well as its structure. As a product of the society, the city has a complexity and multi-stranded composition which reflects society as a whole; at any one point in time (Herbert & Johnston 1976). Moreover, it constitutes a socially defined environment that helps to shape the choices that individuals make, choices that in turn continuously create and alter that environment (Flanagan, 1993). Reflecting this recognition of the interrelation between structure and agency, contemporary urban studies embrace the most macro-sociological and micro-sociological dimensions of current perspectives. There is a broad array of themes that can draw our attention to identify the structural role of cities in a broader sweep of historical change and also the experiences and behaviours of its inhabitants.

The question of the transformation and shape of the urban community as a whole, i.e. the city, yields a variety of answers. Contemporary urban sociologists employ a number of perspectives in seeking to address these questions. Each of these perspectives has limitations as well as something valuable to say about urban communities, the manner in which people shape their urban life, and about the way they behave to others in cities. In the present study, in terms of dynamic and structural concepts, two theoretical models have been used in order to conceptualise the main characteristics of urban communities, in terms of urban neighbourhoods, their generation, and locality specifics. Urban ecology, as a distinctive subdivision of urban studies, has gained a considerable note since Park (1915) outlined the spatial characteristics of modern cities and the structure of new social areas. Chapter two borrows some analytical principles of Urban Ecology and reviews the quality of the

inter-urban spatial divisions of cities which have led to the emergence of urban neighbourhoods. The description of Park (1915), who understood the ecology of modern urban space or neighbourhood as a mosaic of isolated social or moral worlds, each with its own distinctive code of conduct, is very close to the objective of this thesis in its exploration of the nature of urban differentiations in the city. Traditionally and as a long way in Urban Ecology, the dynamic spatial divisions of the cities was the focus of this perspective. According to this view, contemporary cities are divided into several social areas, as the consequence of rapid transformations, and each of those has its particular socio-functional characteristics. Since cities developed a wide variety of cultural and class characteristics among their social groups, with cultural and class differences reinforced by occupational specifications. In social terms, the Urban Ecology approach emphasised that people who live in cities found it hard to identify with one another and are more than content to allow relationships to remain at the superficial and instrumental level (Flanagan, 1993). As one of the founders of the Ecological view, McKenzie work focused on the dynamic nature of the new arenas and the differentiations which are the result of modern spatial organisation in terms of social network and physical development. 'The terminology that he employed to describe the way in which a distinctive population moved into residential areas, replacing previous residential groups, is called invasion and succession, typically involved the displacement of higher by lower socio-economic categories' (Flanagan, 1993, p.48-49). The Urban Ecology approach argues for an account of the dynamic forces which shape the socio-spatial differentiation of the city through a frame of individual choice and behaviour.

The second approach which has provided a conceptual basis for this thesis, is Structuration, a great critical heritage of the tradition of Structuralism and Action theories in urban studies. 'By the mid-1980s the Marxists were in retreat and all structural interpretations of urban change were under attack as overly deterministic. Critics argued that World-system models of political economy and equilibrium models of human ecology were obviously inadequate because the grand theories in which they were embedded failed to explain or predict what was happening in particular cities and neighbourhoods (Flanagan, 1993, p.137). Instead, local outcomes must be the

result of local variables, of specific historical and local cultural circumstances and, moreover, the consequences of deliberate human action, of agency. Under the influence of Anthony Giddens and others, the 1980s represented a reaction against what was seen as the overdeterminism of either equilibrium theory or political economy models that posited global forces, but were unable to predict outcomes in specific localities. 'Differences in outcome must be the result of historical and cultural circumstances specific to those localities and as well, due to deliberate human action or economy, are the actors that move events, that actors must choose, and the choice always means that alternative results are possible' (Flanagan, 1993 p. 50). However, many sociologists have argued that it would be desirable to produce a sociological theory that combined an understanding of social structure, in terms of its dynamic and functional characteristics and social action. C. Wright Mills, for example, claimed that 'the sociological imagination enables its possessor to understand the larger historical scene in terms of its meaning for the inner life and external career of a variety of individuals' (Haralambose & Holborn, 1995 p. 231). In this regard, the movement within urban sociology towards localism and empiricism is consistent with the post-modern impulse toward an emphasis on the unique, the openness of interpretation, and to application of theory with a light touch, (Flanagan, 1993). Looking at Structuration theory will draw our attention to the role of the locality, agency and time-space circumstances as the profound factors which construct the city and shape the behaviour of its inhabitants at the level of locality. Certainly, this mode of urban interpretation seems to be useful to fill some gaps which exist in the Urban Ecology perspective in relation to the time-space affects and the contribution of human beings to shaping the environment of their 'living place'. Locality or neighbourhood cannot be considered only as the result of the dynamic spatial expansion of modern cities. It is also the place of human beings who, under any given circumstances, are able to understand and change their life conditions.

These two theories help us to understand the dynamics of the urban context in which the physical and social qualities of neighbourhoods are developed and shaped. However, since these theoretical perspectives seem very broad to explore the specific dimensions of neighbourhoods (which are the focus of the current investigation), there

is needed to provide a basis for another way to analyse the socio-spatial relations of the neighbourhood at the fine-grain. In this way it is possible to identify the main dimensions of neighbourhood areas and their internal structure through a systematic basis of understanding. In chapter 3, the attention be focused on Olson's descriptive model of neighbourhood. His selective dimensions can be applied for the current undertaken study of urban neighbourhoods. In summary, besides providing a methodological tool for the subsequent empirical chapters, the argument of Olson's model serves a number of purposes: first, the groundwork for the theoretical review which is necessary for an experimental study; second, the development of a conceptual framework of the neighbourhood's dimensions; third, since the environmental dimensions of neighbourhoods which will be concentrated in this study are mainly used as explanatory tools, these dimensions of environment of neighbourhoods will be used in the form of a systematic descriptive model; fourth, the descriptive model which is suggested in chapter 3 clarifies whether the investigation of neighbourhoods can be undertaken based on a systematic approach. The various ideas and discussions about the nature and dimensions of neighbourhoods will be focused with the typology of Olson. As he argues, this typology addresses the most significant aspects of neighbourhoods which are more common in almost all similar cases. In addition, local variables such as social organisation, the social network system and public services will be the focus of our attention.

2.2 Introduction

The central objective of this chapter is to conceptualise the city and its contemporary transformations. The focus of consideration is the city place as locus to the urban neighbourhoods. Thus, this chapter reviews the dynamic framework which has led to the appearance of patterns of urban settings through a set of urban changes. In this regard, the socio-spatial transformation of the city, which is determined as the most consequential features of the

modern urban places, will be envisaged in order to explore the quality of the emergence of and then the augmentation of new small urban settlements. Therefore, a systematic analysis of the city and the consequences of its socio-spatial expansion is firstly required in order to understand how the city can be both the place for the generation of social constraints and as the place to the realisation of the individual's various desires.

Since the growing rise of urban diversity, the city as a socio-spatial phenomenon has become the core to the appearance of many urban differentiations and conflicts. These urban trends are considered as the reflection of the changing structural basis of the city and the ways in which its various foundations are shaped. Recent social and geographical movement on the one hand, and the shift in the internal socio-spatial organisation of the city on the other, as together as integrated notions, have increased the contribution of urban trends in understanding the city as the locus to many different environmental attributes. This, therefore, becomes conceptually justify to argue those urban elements that have had more effects on the formation of new spatial divisions and the way in which urban polarisations are occurred.

The chapter is constructed by three separate sections: Section two is devoted to the city and its conceptualisation through history. In this regard, the attention is drawn to social change as an analytical approach to formulate the reality of the city over various scales of times. This section also reviews an overall context which has been seen as the foundation to the city and its structural changes in contemporary times. It then concentrates the most important characteristics of this place, that have been discussed within the newer urban sociological analysis. Section three presents a number of key concepts from the Urban Ecology perspective. It reviews the subject of the city from the dynamic point of view. The Urban Ecology perspective will be explained in terms of competition and dominance. The main purpose of this section is to make sense of how cities, in terms of dynamic process, have grown and what was the result of this process as a whole. Section four focuses on Structuration Theory. It intends to clarify

the sense of structure and action in the context of the city and where it can be defined as the expected role for individuals in modern society as a whole. This perspective also concentrates on developing the concept of structure as it is used in other schools of thoughts. Structure in the field of the city is not a determinant function. According to Structuration theory, this concept should be understood in relation to individuals as human agencies in society. Part one of this section introduces the main body of this perspective and its important features. The remainder of this section discusses a number of principal concepts which are derived from this perspective such as the concept of time-space and the locality. Finally, a summary of all the discussion will be presented at the end of this chapter.

2.2.1 Original concepts of urban place

The term 'urban' has been used widely throughout history. However, in the post-industrial epochs in Western countries, a fundamental recognition of it has been the central concern of many commentators in social science areas. Since the city in earlier eras was roughly a small social organisation of activities and materials, the formulation of its internal structure was not a very complex process. However, urban place in the contemporary era became characterised through various directions. These are established as the accommodation of a large population, the place of widespread social interactions, the setting for the rising new social classes, the core circles for the emergence of contrasted urban ideologies and social movements, the place of the establishment of different social areas and social environments. Nevertheless, to conceptualise the distinct boundaries which distinguish earlier human settlements from modern cities, it is necessary to look at the ways in which the city was formulated in traditional perspectives.

Overall, the founders of social philosophies in history, such as Aristotle (384-322 BC) and Plato (484 BC), had used 'urban' as a concept in the same way: to describe the socio-geographical locations that had been shaped through massive collective activities and accessible skills. At the same time, the current formulation of this concept has been intended to describe it as a particular human space which has accommodated a large population. However, 'urban places' or 'cities' were the subject of geographical movements in the earlier periods. The city was acknowledged as a large area with a higher population, and the central location of civilised characteristics, the place for administrative services, the setting for expanded bureaucratic and security forces. All these specifications were also the central concern of earlier social thinkers (such as Plato 484 BC, Aristotle 361 BC, Al Farabi 286, Ibn Khaldon 753) who were interested in these arguments.

As the example, Aristotle (384-322 BC), and years later Ibn Khaldon (732/1332 AD), had used the term of 'urban', in a novel classification, related to past and present civilised territories. Their descriptive analogies and artificial typologies of human settlements have included philosophical comments about existing cities as human places with specific functions. They were concentrated with arguments about new ways to conceptualise the city in relation to the existing types of organised foundations such as the economic system, the political forum and the organisational dimensions of various activities in this place.

For a long time, particularly in the West, discussions about the structure of the 'urban' place and its major characteristics were the focus of the attention of many scholars who predominantly were under influence of more value-orientated systems of thoughts. An ideal concept of the city and its functions essentially related to ethical values that existed implicitly behind the philosophical approaches which were the subject of interest for these thinkers. Generally speaking, these ethical values were directly or indirectly applied to protect existing social orders in the society and were stabilised in a direction

which served the interests of influential urban groups. In other words, according to the view of Medieval philosophies, 'urban' places should be formulated as places for the realisation of a human being's ideals and talent. In this regard, any severe difficulty in the relation to individuals and their behaviour in society were directly interpreted as a lack of implementation of moral values. Thus, any acceleration of social distortions were also the subject of a decline in the values and principles and the mechanisms of the city as an organisational place and its structural functions were largely disregarded (Giddens, 1993).

Reformulating the concept of the city began in later eras, specifically after the great social revolutions which took place in the West (in the Seventeen and Eighteen centuries). The propositions of social movements after the Renaissance and then the increase in great movements towards urban places, in most European countries, have forced to establish and develop the modern cities. Human communities have ecologically been encouraged to choose modern ways for adaptation with environment in order to achieve social progress and more benefit (Pahl, 1970; Giddens, 1993 Short, 1996). The previous urban lifestyle was consequently changed and cities became the functional places of new motivations, ideas and behaviours. The more urbanised areas transformed into bigger centres of population and materials, reflecting the new shape of social life through extreme differentiation and diversities.

In summary, cities in history have had many meanings and forms. The salient features of these were that places mostly had large populations, massive economic activities and in many instances were centres for varied administrative affairs. The imagine of the earlier cities implies the mechanism of the mobility of population, the high level of social interaction, the existence of more economic opportunities, the competition between people for access to resources and the insufficient composition of different geographical parts, which all were the main causes in increasing geographical shifts. In other words, cities in earlier era like today, under the influence of the applied policies and the pressure from the demand of people for economic opportunities or some other interesting items

are experienced by the geographical disparities in the form of many different urban units. Although the degree of this expansion was not in the same level, however, the development of urban units has been suggested as a significant source to the understanding of the city and the nature of its growth in the more recent periods.

2.2.2 The city and contemporary urban perspectives

Although the idea of social change has a history as long as human communities, the discussion about this issue, in a wider sense, and its vigorous effects on the expansion of modern cities stems from the works of the Enlightenment's epoch philosophers. Specifically, it began after the great social events that took place in the 18th and 19th centuries in the West. In the context of social change and its effects on the general fate of urban places, the core objective of these thinkers was to conceptualise the changing structure of a modern city and specially its outstanding consequences for people. This path towards understanding the city was pursued through the application of more realistic perspectives and was greatly expanded in many new schools of thoughts.

It is evident that the conceptualisation of urban change, in a dynamic term, identifies that, the stability of the traditional urban institutions was treated by many new urban trends without appropriate alternatives in terms of urban organisational foundations. In the city context, a number of social perspectives were emerged presumably on the basis that the industrialisation process and its vast consequences have changed the socio-spatial structure of human settlements. The change of the social world of their inhabitants has been regarded in particular as a new subject for scientific consideration. In a dynamic sense, the post-industrial revolution's years have been indicated as periods through which have been established large urban places as the new centres to

the manifestation of growing contrasts between new urbanised groups in order to afford of more interests. It has been emphasised that urban places become the primary source to the rise the new expectations, the plural interests and the diversity in terms of social bonding and social spaces.

Since the city was transferred into a place of various modern institutions and materials, it became the subject of various disciplines. 'To the geographer or demographer the city represents a physical location where large numbers of people are concentrated in a small space. The political scientist sees the city as a unique administrative unit with a given internal power structure and a set of relationships to other political entities. The sociologist sees the city as a particular set of institutions and organisations; and the anthropologist sees it as a place with certain cultural features and dominant values. Social environmentalists see the city as a set of human activities concentrated in a geographical area' (Johnston, 1984 p.14). Rejecting the more common approach to urban studies developed in the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth centuries that was rooted in the problematic of differentiation, Marxism builds on the provocative historical collation between shifts in the mode of production and the development of capitalism on the one hand and the growth of particular kinds of cities on the other (Katznelson, 1993)

In order to generate a total conceptualisation of the city, its structure and function seems to be a lengthy progress. This problem basically refers to the wider nature of city as a reflection of the existing complicated situation as a whole. In some contexts, the city is conceptualised on the ground of a set of criteria which would be used to measure its internal characteristics. Harridan and Midgley (1989) believe that: 'to generate a correct image of an urban place it is necessary to use some urban measurable criteria which have been used in many social theories. In this regard, they expressed that: 'one approach is to employ numerical or demographic criteria to define an urban place in terms of the population size of settlements' (Hardiman & Midgley, 1989 p. 125). It has been stated that: 'today census officials throughout the

world employ this approach, but many use different criteria. To use only statistical criteria has some practical limitations in the description of the 'urban', so it is a failure to apply this method as a final method' (Hardiman & Midgley, 1989.126). Others like Knox (1995) claim: 'cities have become impossible to define. Their centres are not as central as they have to be; their edges are ambiguous, they have no beginning and apparently no end. Neither words, numbers, nor pictures can adequately comprehend their complex forms and social structures' (Knox, 1995 p. 8).

Contemporary interpretations of the city and its formation basically concentrate on the contribution of some substantive elements. These elements illuminate whether or not the modern city can be understood as a place to reflect historical or social trends. In this regard, some of these urban perspectives concentrated on showing the typical growth which was associated with particular historical explanations. For instance, Weber (1921) had painted the city as the manifestation of socio-historical dynamics. In Weber's explanation, an attempt was made to identify whether cities, as the larger setting of population and institutions, can be categorised in terms of a socially determinant response to the collective needs of the societies. This type of conceptualisation was mainly joined to more important economic functions that were shared in many cities in the West and East countries. The typology of Western and Eastern cities in accordance with such characteristics was the an essential innovation in his approach. On the basis of this typical typology, the vast majority of Western cities should be classified in their more economic and commercial functions, whereas the major characters of Eastern cities might be analysed based on advanced administration and their centralised political systems (Weber, 1956) .

Writers with Marxist beliefs emphasise urban definitions based on productive processes in modern history. In this sense, they argue about the final stage of feudalism in the West which was the basis for the rise of modern cities. In this respect, cities should be conceptualised in those bourgeois functions and their

supportive roles for growing trends in liberalism (Castells 1977, Harvey 1985). The emergence of urbanism had a close relation to the industrial evolution in the West in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Giddens argues about Marxism's 'urban' approach: 'urbanism, Harvey emphasises, is one aspect of the created environment brought about by the spread of capitalism' (Giddens 1986 p. 501). The main source of the distortion of cities has been a key strand of nineteenth and twentieth century social theory focusing on the connections between social differentiation and social order. 'The result has been a portrayal of the history of the modern city in terms of a rupture between pre-industrial cities characterised by a simple, integrated, homogenous organisation of space, and industrial, capitalist city characterised by a disintegrated, heterogeneous, disorganised patterning of space' (Katznelson, 1993 p.11). The main result of this process was the paradigm of differentiation, which became the centrepiece of many works of social theory in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In other words, 'the result of massive shifts in the nineteenth century city that so shocked such observers stimulated the interpretation that social differentiation is the hallmark and the inevitable product of social change. According to this view, summarised but not held by Charles Tilly, the state of social order depends on the balance of forces between processes of differentiation and processes of integration and control; rapid or excessive differentiation produces disorder. From this vantage-point, rapid social change and its disorienting possibilities are the central general processes of modernity' (Katznelson, 1993 p.16).

At the turn of this century, within the work of pioneering sociological, there have been several attempts to discover aspects of modern cities which were largely ignored. These thinkers mainly were interested in explaining the sharp effects of the recent changes in cities and at the same time make their manifestations on internal urban divisions. The ideas of Tonnies (1855), Simmel (1850), and Wirth (1897) are far too complex to be adequately summarised here. Nevertheless, a brief review of their fundamental definitions identifies several common themes in their work that serve as

cornerstones for the classical perspective. 'Wirth draws a parallel picture of social change associated with the increased size, density and heterogeneity of urban populations. The various forms of neighbourhoods and social groupings resulting from economic competition and the division of labour result in a fragmentation of social life between home, school, workplace, friends and relatives; and so people's time and attention are divided among unconnected people and places. This weakens the social support and control of primary social groups such as family, friends and neighbours, leading to a lack of social order and an increase in 'social disorganisation'. Moreover, these trends are reinforced by the weakening of social norms (the rules and conventions of proper and permissible behaviour) resulting from the divergent interests and life-styles of the various specialised groups in the city' (Knox, 1995 p.161). The change of pattern of social relationships in modern cities was the centre of attention in Tonnies's work. According to him, 'all social relationships can be divided into two different kinds. In *Gemeinschaft* relationships, natural will prevails. Peasants and villagers live in this relationship which, in its simplest form, is called a 'community' of fate. It is found in the interrelationship of father and child, within family and kin and between neighbours and friends. They live and work together in close contact and have understanding and concord. We have the impression that *Gemeinschaft* relationships are deep and warm and satisfying. *Gesellschaft* relationships are regarded as 'separating'. Everybody is by himself and isolated and a state of tension exists as against all others. There is a concord of wills but it is created in a more impersonal way' (Knox, 1995 p.161). The negative effects of increasing population size and density are observable in the behaviour of residents, as well as in diminished attachment to the local community.

Within the city, the new forms of social organisation, distance, and direction signified the demise of the traditional hierarchies of class and politics. 'Urban differentiation and its negative consequence were likely to get worse over time, Wirth thought, because spatial fragmentation and the collapse of a unified

system of norms were driven by the fundamental competition for scarce space, a competition that produced increasingly homogeneous districts, social boundaries, and the quest for social avoidance of the less desirable' (Katznelson, 1993, p. 11). 'During the course of societal transition to a modern urban state, rural residents are presumably uprooted from their web of warm, intimate relationships and cast socially and psychologically adrift in a sea of strangers. One consequence of this transition process is an attenuation of local sentiments and ties just as the urban setting reduces allegiance to the family and other primary groups, so too does it weaken attachment to the neighbourhood. Conventional wisdom unequivocally asserts that in the city environment the neighbourhood tends to lose much of the significance which it possessed in simpler and more primitive forms of society' (Park, 1963 p. 200).

In summary, the internal and external contexts of the modern city have been changed as a consequence of the contemporary social changes. This change largely shifted the socio-spatial orientation of cities and has caused the transformation of these places into settings of multiple and the contrasting social areas. With regard to the complicated situation in modern cities, a realistic view should be concerned with clarifying its multi-dimensional aspects as Healey (1995) showed, in the statement that: ' we are living in urbanised societies, where activities, values and expectations are infused by relationships which require the accomplishment of complex activities linking people in their social, economic and public lives. This contrasts with the idealised image of the place-based, largely self-contained rural community, encapsulated in the notion of *gemeinschaft* (Simmel 1971)' (Healey, 1995 p. 204).

After discussion regarding the city and its particular characteristics in the contemporary era, the argument continues specifically concerning the dynamic and structural aspects of modern cities. As explained earlier the city will be mainly analysed through two significant urban perspectives. Firstly: part of its dynamic specifications will be reviewed in the Urban Ecology perspective.

Secondly, the city as the interaction place of individuals and the social environment will be dealt with in Structuration perspective.

2.3 Prominent modern urban perspectives

This section intends to argue the significant aspects of the socio-spatial expansion of the city that are based on the historical urban dynamic approaches. This is also based on the city expansion reflected in its internal spatial structure. The argument also concentrates on the rapid growth of the modern city and its social areas as a mechanism of internal and external forces.

2.3.1 Urban Ecology

The emergence of new urban trends was a dynamic force for sociology to explore the socio-spatial expansion of the urban area. For example, Park, as one of the founders of urban sociology, took the lead in directing research inquiry into life in the city in his paper: *The city: suggestion for the investigation of human behaviour in the urban environment*. He collected writings of American and European sociologists, presented in the *Introduction to the Science of Society*, and formulated what he had foreseen would be the basic science of human existence, human ecology. Park and others in urban ecology used many concepts which were borrowed from natural sciences, such as biology. However, certain concepts such as *dominance, invasion, succession* etc. contributed more in constituting their urban socio-ecological approach (Pahl, 1970). They used these concepts as objective and subjective analytical tools for the operation of the mechanisms of the impersonal allocation of resources. These concepts also were employed to analyse the spatial distribution of

individuals and their economic activities which were seen as the sign of a specific mechanism of urban growth in contemporary times.

The concept of human ecology in general, and the term social ecology in particular, have essentially been used in terms of relationships between people and their environment. Accordingly, these ecological mechanisms have been applied drawing on a universal law in a biological sense. Nevertheless, a number of socio-ecologists have mentioned a clear difference between the abilities of a human being and those other species. As Mellor emphasised: 'MacKenzie saw human ecology as a study of the spatial and temporal relations of human beings as affected by the selective, distributive and accommodative forces of the environment, which implies that people are sorted into natural areas. These impersonal rational forces dominate the human need for survival, just as they do in the plant and animal worlds. But, as Park recognised, humans are subject to other wants. Thus, he identified two lines of human activity: the biotic (community) and the cultural (society)' (Mellor, 1977 p. 206). Having such developed definitions is the important part of the human's cultural characteristics; which obviously distinguishes him from other animals on the surface of the earth.

As a basis, the founders of the Chicago School had precisely studied the concept of 'human' and its application in understanding the urban situation. This was clearly a method of study that was distinguished from the dominant urban inquiries that were intensively committed to social determinism. Dickens argues that: 'McKenzie and his colleagues had a clear view of human nature, one which is often neglected in comments on their work. It was from these human traits that an understanding of the human community should, they argued, be based' (Dickens, 1992 p. 34).

McKenzie had also focused on the socio-dynamism of urban areas. It was an obvious phenomenon at that time, even in the present time in most urban places, that many urban changes were generated in relation to the socio-physical

mobility of the urban inhabitants. Each area of urban territory had a specific function; the point was to clarify under which conditions urban residents usually take decisions to change their residential areas and for what purpose? How this movement would happen as a consequence of environmental determinants? Therefore, McKenzie, 'described the simultaneous process of centralisation of essential services and the dispersion of nonspecialized ones; there were general tendencies toward residential concentration around commercial and industrial districts, while transportation developments allowed residential decentralisation along major arteries' (Flanagan, 1993 pp. 57-48). Flanagan believes, 'McKenzie's most enduring contribution is in the terminology he employed to describe areas, replacing previous residential groups; the process called invasion and succession, typically involved the displacement of higher lower socio-economic group' (Flanagan, 1993 pp. 57-48). Mckenzie was among by the earliest to theoretically address the process of urban sprawl or metropolitan growth.

'Park (1963) had described the ecology of urban space as a mosaic of isolated social or moral worlds, each with its own distinctive code of conduct. The principle of heterogeneity was based on the fact that cities contained a wide variety of cultural and class characteristics, and generated or reinforced social differences by promoting occupational specialisation. People who lived in cities found it hard to identify with one another and were more then content to allow relationships to remain at the superficial and instrumental level (Flanagan, 1993 pp. 17-18). The activity for survival had an inference for Park in the form of an economic competition in the urban market place. This was important for the further division and segregation of one particular social type from another.

Overall, in the case of social ecology and the utilisation of cultural concepts 'Wirth (1938) incorporated Simmel's point of view as well as Durkeim, Weber, and others in his effort to develop a paradigm for urban life. His much criticised essay on the combined sociological efforts of the *size, density, and heterogeneity* of urban populations remained an elegant attempt to model the

gross consequences of the urban environment' (Flanagan, 1993 p.17). Distinctively, he used some human conceptions in explaining the social part of the structure of the city. The emphasis on interrelationships between the environment and human beings by the contribution of the cultural elements can be extended in a deeper scale in the work of later sociologists like Parsons. The significance of this relationship could provide a balance between natural resources and the human activity. From this point of view, the Urban Ecology's account can be compared to Parsons's view as he is interested to make an intensive link between the action taken by a human being and his external environment.

2.3.2 Competition and dominance

At the biological level, the Urban Ecology perspective believes processes acting on plants and animals can also be translated to relate to human beings. Most importantly, it is indicated that there are various forms of socio-economic competition within city settlements, particularly in large Metropolises, for limited space. Most of these enduring urban struggles occur in order to settle in better areas of residence and to get access to the best advantaged areas. The result of social and economic inequality is obviously seen in the formation of the city structure, both physically and socially. Consequently, similar individuals are similarly placed by their ability to cope with competition, and the pattern of segregation results in natural areas which in turn leads to the creation of the basic unit of ecological space. The sociologists, 'Park' and 'Burgess', identified competition as 'the elementary, universal and fundamental form' of interaction; the struggle for existence identified by Darwin in the natural world had its counterpart in the world of men. Economic organisation, as the effect of competition, was therefore ecological organisation, a natural, inevitable substructure to social existence' (Mellor, 1977 pp. 206-207).

Another important process is that of dominance, the control by a dominant species of the environment to encourage or discourage other species. For instance, the central business district is a dominant element within the entire urban area, as competition between commercial enterprises for sites in this highly accessible location results in a pattern of increasing land values near the centre, which in return affects the location of other elements in the urban area.

2.3.3 Natural areas in the cities

The organisation of population and activities in the city is arrived at through the processes of invasion and succession, as observed in a plant community. The final result of this process is the production of natural areas. As the result of contemporary urban differentiation, the natural areas therefore are the territories of urban residents which produce distinctive urban cultures on the basis of existing regions. 'They are 'natural' in that they are not planned, not the result of design but rather of the own presentation of tendencies inherent in the urban situation' (Flanagan, 1993 p. 47).

The definition of natural areas is not confined only to the natural distribution of population and resources, neither does it concern the allocation of resources belonging to particular inhabitants. One important characteristic of natural areas is the distinguishable characteristic created by different social groups either in the form of social behaviour or cultural institutions. This segregation was seen as a physical fact reinforcing social distance, with each area having its own subcultures and values, and contributing to the 'natural' life of the city. 'The processes which produce these segregated or 'natural' areas were partly social and partly subsocial. Park sought to understand the shifting and sorting mechanisms which 'select' appropriate individuals to live in appropriate areas: ultimately, he said, it is competition- the struggle for space which allocates people to their position in society and their position in space. The division of

labour involves competitive co-operation' and, borrowing heavily from ecology, Park described society in terms of symbiotic relationships' (Pahl, 1970 p. 36).

Furthermore, in the Urban Ecology perspective the 'natural areas' can be seen as a basic part of the whole community. This kind of city shaping helped to give an appropriate classification of the city's residents that seemed to be a suitable way to understanding how different social groups or subcultures arise in the city. However, 'the processes are the bases for a theoretical model of the city: it becomes a 'functioning superorganism within which the natural areas are the cells. They are functional in that they serve a need, allowing territorial differentiation for the different people of the city. These local areas are to provide the basis for community organisation in urban society' (Mellor, 1977, pp. 208-209). Briefly, the Chicago theorists claimed that the division of the city into different natural areas was not an artificial process. They argued that these types of urban segregation are the necessary result of massive urban growth in contemporary times.

2.4. Structuration

In recent decades, there has emerged an emphasis in urban analysis on localism. Accordingly, geographical spaces became socially conceptualised and economy perspectives disappeared as an inevitable determinant in this way. In opposition to the traditional perspectives for conceptualisation of the city, the reaction began both in structural Marxist and among neo-classical theorists. As Flanagan argues: 'the present state of urban social science is one in which the structure versus agency question has been added to the debates between ecologists and Marxists, or between political economists and modernisation theorists. According to current criticisms, prevailing social theorists have been guilty of denying the capacity of individuals to resist the power of the urban environment

and processes associated with the production of the urban environment to shape human lives' (Flanagan, 1993, p 138). Following Giddens, structuring happens through processes through which material resources, rule-structures and ways of thinking(discourse) are drawn upon in the ongoing flow of living in the world (Healey, 1996 p. 5.).

The rise of new perspectives motivated researchers to develop a new form of interpretation for the city and its exploration as an alternative approach instead of traditional ways of urban field studies. The significant point here includes the role of both individuals and society, and in the end their specific characteristics based on social reality in a wider sense. It has seen the weakness of classic urban trends which paid a less attention to the role of human agencies in understanding the environment of the place and in taking part in constituting its substances. Although the primary source of the structurational perspective can be discovered partly in various outlooks of previous urban thinkers, its effective formulation in relation to individuals and the environment of the city has only been developed in recent years. Giddens, as an outstanding figure in founding of this school explained the main features of Structuration theory. He said: 'the basic domain of the study of Structuration theory, is neither the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of societal totality, but social practices ordered across space and time. Human social activities, like some self-reproducing items in nature, are recursive' (Giddens, 1984 p. 2).

Contemporary social theorists have intensively been extending their particular understanding of the concept of structure. Furthermore, most disciplines in the social sciences have used this concept as a general and a particular ground to clarify the nature of social system and its various elements. Structuration's analysts, initially used the classic definitions of the structure concept. Then in conjunction to a few modifications, it has been suggested to use of this concept in a wider context accompanying to other significant conceptual elements in terms of a theory. The concept of action, agency and rationality are closely connected to this concept and all together make a systematic approach to

analyse the society or its creations. Moreover, to them, this concept can be applied to understand the constraints which human beings are facing with those and by this it is possible to realise whether or not there exists any freedom to play in society freely. However, this term has previously been employed by structuralism's supporters in the field of sociology and in other connected branches further in a determinism term. For instance, classic Marxism has extremely developed its interpretation based on a dialectical epistemology. However, the Structural-Marxists much more emphasised to a close link between the structural understanding of phenomena and their dialectical interpretations.

Structuration theory is viewed as a solution for the problem of the social action of human beings in the context of society and the ways in which they are constrained to choose some materials and resources in order to adapt (Healey 1996a). It attempts to bridge the gap which emerged in the interrelationship between individuals and their external environment in the context of urban life. Therefore it presents environmental commentators with an emphasis on necessarily changing classic interpretations in relation to a sustainable balance between structure and agency. There is another way of overcoming some of the criticisms levelled at structural Marxism and this is contained in the theory of Structuration devised by the sociologist Giddens as a response to what he saw as the lack of a theory of action in the social sciences. According to Giddens: 'in their eagerness to get behind the backs of the social actors whose conduct they seek to understand, they largely ignore just those phenomena that action and philosophy make central to human conduct. What is being argued about in this perspective is that the role of human agency needs to be emphasised since 'the production of society is always and everywhere a skilled accomplishment of its members' (Walmsley, 1993 p. 63). The principal aim of Structuration is to remove what has typified social theory for so long, namely the dichotomy between individual behaviour and the structure of society. In this way individuals can integrate into the local system. In advanced societies, the social rules are numerous and varied and so institutions are formed in order to enforce

the rules. These rules apply in particular places and their integration at these places requires that individuals be seen to exist in particular times and spaces.

In Structuration theory, structure is always conceived as a property of social systems, reproduced in practices embedded in time and space. Social systems are organised hierarchically and laterally within societal totalities, the institutions of which form 'articulated ensembles'. Giddens adds that: 'Durkheim points out [that] not only pre-exist and post-date the lives of the individuals who reproduce them in their activities; they also stretch across space and time away from any particular agent considered singly. In this sense the structural properties of social system are certainly exterior to the activities of the individual. In Structuration theory the essence of this point can be put as follows. Human societies, or social systems, would plainly not exist without human agency. But it is not the case that actors create social systems: they reproduce or transform them, remaking what is already made in the continuity of praxis' (Giddens, 1984 p. 171). Structuration would be more identified through its basic concepts. The following argument intends to unpack those aspects of this school of thought which are more relevance to the clarification the environment of the place.

2.4.1 Time and space

The time-space issue recently has attracted the wide attention of many investigators in the social sciences, and in particular, it has largely been regarded for analysis in relation between individuals and the environment of their urban place. In the structuration perspective, a great deal of attention has been given to this concept. As Giddens implicitly addressed, 'it is at the very heart of social theory, as interpreted through the notion of structuration, and should hence also

be regarded as of very considerable importance for the conduct of empirical research in the social sciences' (Giddens, 1984 p. 110).

The idea of time-space sometimes is used as a single concept, and the objective in this case is to establish effectively an interaction between time and space conceptions. Human geography supports the way in which people interact with the environment and time situation. This interaction often results in spatial patterns of one sort or another. Human geography is therefore very much concerned with the use of space and time. However, as Knox argues about the real place of space: 'space itself should not simply be regarded as the medium in which social, economic and political processes are expressed. It is of importance in its own right in its contribution both to the pattern of urban development and to the nature of the relationships between different social groups within city... [Space] also emerges as a significant determinant of the quality of life in different parts of the city because of variations in physical accessibility to opportunities and amenities' (Knox 1982 p. 2). Giddens in his investigations clearly has given a simple outline of time-space and its major characteristics. According to him: 'time-geography, as formulated by Hagerstrand, takes as its starting point the very phenomenon which I have much stressed the routinised character of daily life. This is in turn, connected with features of the human body, its means of mobility and communication, and its path through the 'life-cycle'- and therefore with the human being as a 'biographical project' (Giddens, 1984 p.111).

Time is perhaps the most enigmatic feature of human experience. By his use of the suggestion of time, Giddens attempts to break down the boundaries between sociology, history and geography. He identifies three levels of temporal existence relevant to social analysis: 'the finite temporary of our individual lives; the 'temporary' of face-to face interactions; and the 'long durees' of institutional time' (Giddens, 1993 p.47). His definition of this notion includes 'time', or the 'constitution in time-space', which 'is also a banal and evident feature of human day-to-day life' (Giddens, 1984 p.35). The revisable time of institutions in both

the condition and the outcome of the practices is organised in the continuity of daily life and the main substantive form of the duality of structure. Giddens stressed that 'it would not be true, however, as I have already mentioned, to say that the routines of daily life are the 'foundation' upon which institutional forms of societal organisation are built in time-space. Rather, each enters into the constitution of the other, as they both do into the constitution of the acting self. All social systems, no matter how grand or far-flung, both express and are expressed in the routines of daily social life, mediating the physical and sensory properties of the human body' (Giddens, 1984 p.36). Finally, as Dickens outlines: 'the interest of time-geography to structuration is surely evident. Time-geography is concerned with the constraints that shape the routines of day-to-day life and with structuration theory an emphasis upon the significance of the practical character of daily activities, in circumstance of co-presence, for the constitution of social conduct' (Dickens, 1992 p. 145)

2.4.2 Locality

With regard to the basic concepts through which the Structuration perspective was established, the locality and region are suggested as important conceptual items to understand the relation between individuals and the existing constraints in the environment. These significant concepts are situated at the centre of many new urban perspectives as well. 'These new interrelations emphasise the application of the concept of locality in a wide context in society. As a typical example, it can be referred to as Wharfe's view. He believes that urban sociology continues to offer an important insight into the urban process, especially with regard to local residence patterns' (Flanagan, 1993, p 154).

Among Structuralists, Giddens mostly developed a number of concepts to deal with the social organisation of time and space. The most important are those of locale and regionalisation. Locale refers to the spatial setting of interaction, and

locales themselves are regions. In *The 'Constitution of Society'* (1984) he suggests that the analysis of locales can be a key concern of the Structuration approach. Although in a common sense, locality is defined as a part of a region which has particular social characteristics, the Structuration perspective intends to explain these concepts separately with specific the functions. Therefore, locality means a particular concern in constituting urban phenomena based on a wider setting in time and space. In his book, Giddens classified regions as the basis of physical and social boundaries which cause separate regions. These are important factors in drawing an expressive picture of the locality setting.

According to Giddens, the institutions of societies and even people's every day interactions are organised on the basis of local systems. In this sense, 'Structuration theory has much bound up with Hagerstrand's time-space perspective. Initially, in geography, time was viewed as a constraint on behaviour. Thus, the emphasis in many studies was on tracing individual paths through time and space (Parkes & Thrift 1980). 'Given this broad view, it is not surprising that there has been an increasing acceptance of the idea of the spatial basis' in the study of social systems, and an increasing awareness of the importance of time-space constraints in the study of human behaviour. Both Hagerstrand and Giddens emphasise this point' (Walmsley & Lewis, 1984 p.64). Locales are organised in a different way: the way in which people's activities are carried out in one locale at one time will have effects on activities carried out in another locale of patterned interconnections across space and time.

The other issue of concern is the nature and the form of space and place in the Structuration process. After decrying the significance of space, contemporary structuralists, particularly those influenced by Giddens, have become aware of its potential in providing a fuller understanding of economic restructuring and social decomposition. Giddens, for instance, has clearly argued that 'the Structuration process can only be understood within a time-space framework and, in particular locales refer to the use of space to provide the social setting

for interaction, the setting of interaction in turn being essential to specifying its contextuality' (Giddens, 1984 p.118). Essentially, 'locales refer to the way in which space is part of the interaction between human and structures' (Walmsley & Lewis, 1984 p. 65). Contextually, it is a suitable setting for providing the form of social organisations and is a considerable context for establishing a continuous association between geographical and also socio-cultural aspects of urban affairs. Through such contributions of various respects, Structuration perspectives regard the locality as a central instrument for understanding the relations among people, community and nature. Moreover, what was emphasised in the notion of 'locale' is that localising in time and space is an important structuring element of everyday life. According to Thrift (1983), 'locales structure individual life paths in time and space, influence life paths, provide a means for interaction, provide the activity structure of daily life, and are the principal sites in the process of socialisation' (Thrift 1983 p.30).

In recent years, locality, as a key issue has been widely used by many investigators. What they have tended to do is to introduce a type of formulation which properly suggests the significant association between structure and agency and between people and environment. For instance, Cooke in 'Locality' (1980) discusses a series of issues that have become known as locality studies, undertaken in Britain in places with different socio-economic, cultural, and political structures. In Cooke's view most of the results of the research show that environmental characteristics at the level of locales have a main role in organising people's behaviours and also community organisations. According to Cooke: 'locality is the space within which the large part of most citizens daily working and consuming lives is lived. It is the base for a large measure of individual and social mobilisation to activate, extend or defend those rights not simply in the political sphere but with more energy in the area of culture, economic and social life. Locality is thus a base from which subjects can exercise their capacity for pro-activity by making effective individual and collective interactions within and beyond that base' (Cooke, 1980 p.12).

Flanagan precisely described relevant issues of locality and indicated the connection between different aspects of urban phenomena in specific locales. According to his statement: 'the local conditions of workers do play an important part in the formation of neighbourhoods in that the structure of residents reflects prevailing types of work and levels of remuneration. However, changing patterns of occupation do not determine, rather they interact with, the local character of housing and factors of supply, cost, ownership, transportation, and cultural preference' (Flanagan, 1993, p 154).

2.5 Summary and Conclusion

The city as the original setting for the emergence of socio-spatial shifts in the contemporary periods, was the central target in this chapter. The general framework of this chapter was also devised in order to swiftly conceptualise those aspects of the city which were related to its major modern socio-spatial expansion. With regard to the city and its spatial expansion, there have been great arguments in the urban field. This study has drawn upon urban perspectives to examine the dynamic and structural aspects of the city's socio-spatial expansion. The discussion in the sociological literature has been reviewed to understanding whether new socio-spatial divisions have occurred in the modern city and highlight ways of and how they would be realised through their various dimensions in relation to the situation in new social areas in the city.

The emergence of the different patterns in urban neighbourhoods have been regarded as the result of the city expansion. To provide a proper conceptualisation of this subject, this chapter was focused upon the city as a dynamic process. It has been outlined that in order to study the dynamism and structural dimensions of the city, some urban trends can be suggested in this

regard. Therefore, the great contemporary urban trends, such as Urban Ecology and Structuration perspectives, were partly focused, but in their specific points. The reviews in this respect has also revealed that the application of these perspectives can be focused in two different lights: one is to explore the spatial dynamics of the city; and the second to reconcile the individuals with their social environment at the level of the locality or small area such as neighbourhood.

The discussion in this chapter examined the structure of the city in the past and in contemporary times. With concern to the past, one part of the discussion was devoted to outlining the classical perspectives on the city. It was explained that the structure of the city is characterised through a long experience and its many present characteristics have rooted in earlier civilisations. However, the city for a long time was the focus of many social philosophers who were significantly interested in accounting to its framework through a subjective manner, rather than an objective.

The city in the context of the contemporary era is mainly shaped through differentiation and conflict. As a reflection of contemporary socio-spatial system, the aggregate place of social life became the focus of huge businesses and innovations. The coming and going of mass populations in the big cities have changed their previous structures and new urban arrangements became necessary to control the increasing problems in these areas. Since the Industrial Revolution, urbanisation as a major event occurred, with the city especially becoming the core for attention in the social sciences. Scientific effort in the social sciences concentrated on understanding the nature of the city, its dynamism and its patterns. The overall objectives of these intellectual activities were to explore the changing situation of cities and to analyse the consequences of larger alteration in these places which occurred in the context of material and the population. Within social investigations two significant approaches, in different languages, attempted to deal with the city and the situation of individuals in contemporary periods. In one of the classic approaches, the perspective of Urban Ecology attempted to deal with the city in the context of

its internal and external dynamism. In doing this, this school of urban thought is based on a combination of natural science definitions and some social terms. With regard to the more structural situation in the modern city, Structuration theory was concerned with the recently developed sociological approach in attempting to account for the particular aspects of this issue at the level of locality. Both these perspectives provide valuable concepts for the problem in hand, but they have deficiencies too.

Most of the recent critics of the Chicago school focus on its part in the ecological interpretation which is transferred from various classic versions in the natural sciences which were not sufficient to explore real cities. 'A further serious weakness of the ecological approach has been its failure to consider cultural and motivational factors, as was illustrated by Fiery (1954) in his classic study of sentiment and symbolism in Boston. In the other words, Fiery emphasised that social values often overshadow economic competition as the basis of socio-spatial differentiation. However, in their own studies, the early ecologists tended to emphasise the biotic at the expense of the cultural, and this understandably contributed to the decline of the traditional ecological approach in urban analysis. In other words, stripped of its biological underpinning, the ecological perspective loses all explanatory pretensions' (Walmsley & Lewis, 1984 pp. 38-38). Despite the widespread impacts of the Chicago School on most recent urban trends, it has been criticised for some of its weaknesses. Different views have given to questions about the adequate abilities of this approach in theorising urbanisation. Part of these critics have their root in competing schools like Marxism (Veblen, 1965; Mills, 1934; Gouldner, 1970; Schwendingers, 1974). Others, in urban fields, questioned the capability of this school in resolving urban complexes (Jones and Eyles, 1978; Gans, 1980; Flanagan, 1993). As an example Smith, in the Marxism camp, argues: 'the Chicago Sociologists responded in a variety of ways to the alternatives imposed by the dilemmas of America (Quoted by Smith, 1988 p. 8).

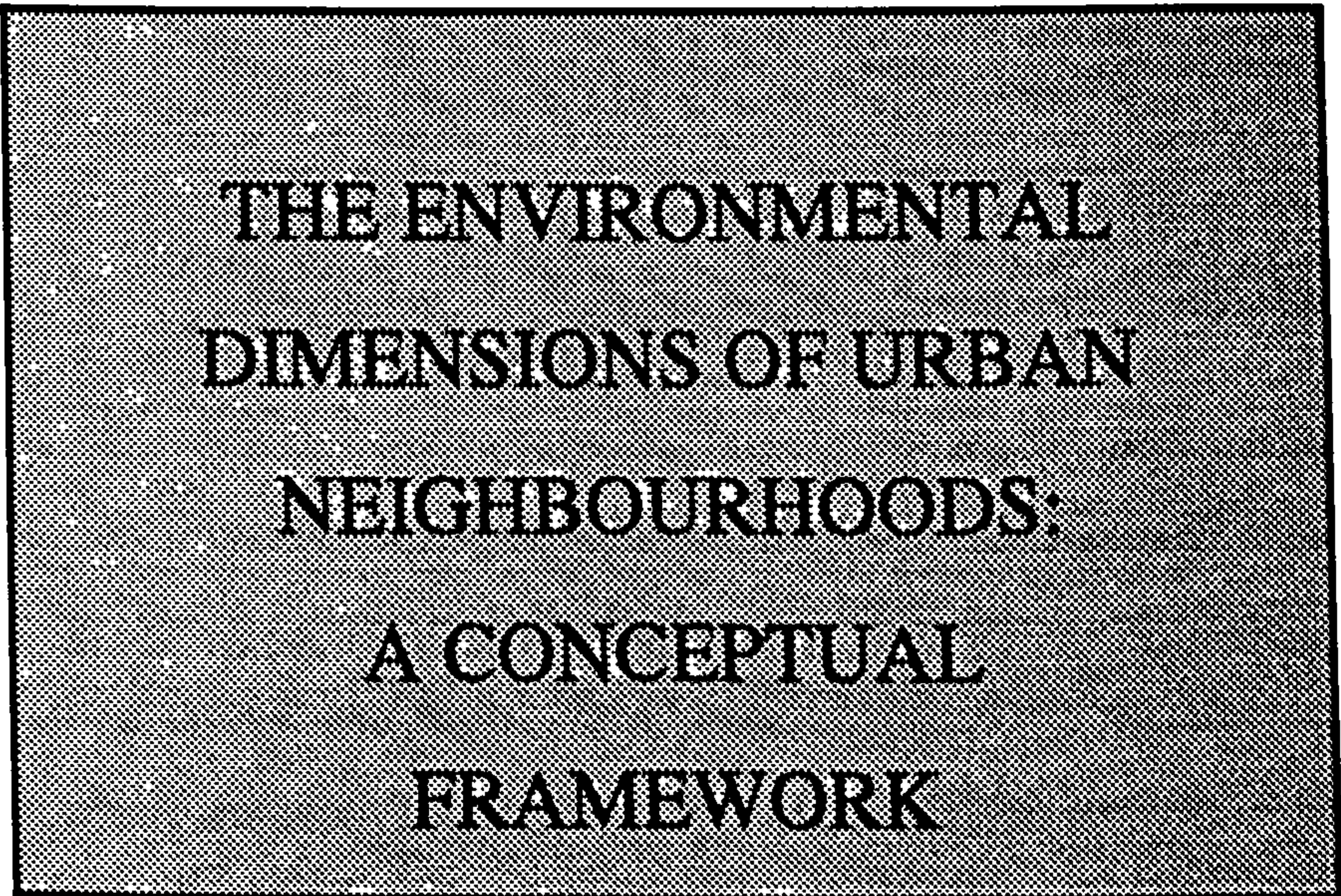
These critics could not ignore the contribution of this urban perspective to highlight the reality of urban process as has been shaped in the contemporary period. However, for these reasons and some critics which are regarded to the particular structural pattern of its theoretical analysis, this school of thought in the urban literature did not applied as a refereeing theory in this study.

In summary, it has been concluded that certain shortcomings are posed in both Marxism and the classic schools of urban study. As a result, neither a focus on the ecological approach, based on the Chicago School, nor an emphasis on Marxism and its development in Structuration theory provides an adequate basis for the study of human spatial behaviour in the city. It must be here emphasised that this does not mean that the tradition of urban studies lacks any positive experience. In contrast, as the consequence of a great attempt in the formulation of urban phenomena, which itself reflects the requirement of a human response, the urban field was able to increase the experiences in this context both on the basis of the theoretical innovations and the methodological development. Nevertheless, for reasons that are noted in the preceding reviews, there is a shift towards the consideration of Structuration theory. Therefore, the Structuration theory and in particular its style of thought, suggests ways of overcoming some of the inadequacies evident in earlier approaches.

Structuration theory as has been discussed in this chapter clarified how its conceptual principles can be used to analyse the role of individuals in the community and why the concept of structure, time-space and locality are necessary concepts. As a conceptual approach, it clarifies the necessity of the operation of concepts such as individual, perception, action and behaviour, which are constrained by various circumstances. The focus of this approach is locality as the unit of urban space in modern cities. Locality is defined as a social area which is characterised by certain socio-economic activities. In these areas, people are required to display their role. However, to define the role of individuals the emphasis was on their social actions, which are shaped through a process of social and physical constraints.

The next chapter develops the discussion towards urban localities such as neighbourhoods and their environmental dimensions. The urban neighbourhood will be envisaged as an elaborate manifestation of the modern socio-spatial expansion of the city. The following chapter intends to clarify this issue in a wider insight.

CHAPTER THREE:



THE ENVIRONMENTAL
DIMENSIONS OF URBAN
NEIGHBOURHOODS:
A CONCEPTUAL
FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter the city, in a dynamic and structural sense, was the focus of discussion. It has been the place of widespread environmental contrasts. It was outlined that the primary design and then the emergence of new and distinctive social areas have been shaped through a variety of urban differentiations. The Urban Ecology perspective was developed to analyse the rapid expansion of the city and its new modern spatially-differentiation. This school of urban thought has been employed to highlight the manner and conditions which encouraged the process of urban growth for cities in the contemporary period. According to the Urban Ecology perspective, neighbourhood areas can also be understand as a part of the city growth process. Their appearance was the major source of the increase in the environmental differentiations over most cities. The environmental characteristics of these areas basically demonstrate the composition of the population and many different social and physical components. To aid understanding of the structure of the city and the place of urban agencies, the time-space and locality perspective, as the main principles of Structuration theory, have been briefly introduced.

This chapter intends to further develop the argument about the urban neighbourhood and its particular environmental dimensions. It highlights the key versions of contemporary urban analysis which attempt to conceptualise neighbourhood structure. Since the central attention of the current study is the urban neighbourhoods and the dimensions of their environment, therefore, it seemed to be necessary to look at the conceptual foundations of these areas which are more systematically argued in urban literature. An additional significant consequence of the conceptualisation of the urban neighbourhood and its

The environmental dimensions of urban neighbourhoods: a conceptual framework

dimensions is the socio-physical extent of these areas, which explicitly provide the overall conditions to establish this area as an independent or dependent part of the city. To acknowledge these conditions and to re-formulate their environmental dimensions, the conceptual framework for neighbourhood's study will be highlighted.

As pointed out in the previous chapter, the social structure of urban neighbourhoods does not exist in isolation. It is connected to the wider socio-physical system in the society. Therefore, the indication for its greatest environmental dimensions lies in a set of socio-economic components which work together as a system. From this point of view, it might be concluded that to investigate urban neighbourhoods, one way is through the theoretical explanation which effectively clarifies the entire dominant characteristics of the environment of these places. In everyday experience, some people may directly look at neighbourhoods through their visible physical characteristics, or the design of housing. Others may be interested in their functional, or economic, or administrative forms. The neighbourhood perspective which is taken for this research is essentially concerned with these areas as social places which can be conceptualised through integrated elements of environment.

The general structure in this chapter is as follows:

Section two reviews the primary definitions of urban neighbourhoods. The chief purpose is the understanding of urban neighbourhoods and their major structural variables which are presented through pioneering studies of neighbourhoods. In this way, neighbourhoods will be defined from different points of view. In the previous chapter, the situation of individuals in the social environment of city and neighbourhoods has been highlighted. However, a number of urban perspectives emphasise the great affect of the neighbourhood as a determinant factor in the behaviour of individuals. To take into account the subject, a brief discussion is devised in part two of this section. Part three of this section talks about organisational forms of neighbourhood and will account for the prominent characteristics of different forms of urban neighbourhoods. The specific path

of this part is the clarification of dimensions of two particular organisational forms of neighbourhoods which are simply indicated as designed and non-designed neighbourhoods.

Section three is organised based on major features of the social-spatial organisation of urban neighbourhoods. In subjective and objective terms, a conceptual pattern of neighbourhood dimensions will be the focus of this section. Three main parts of the study in this section are devoted to tackling this objective. Part one develops the concept of local social network as one of the basic conceptual elements in the study of neighbourhood. Various types of social networks will be identified, however. The focus on social network will be followed in two types: one is related to the kinship relationship at the level of the neighbourhood and the second one is about neighbouring relationships. Part two in this section talks about public services and the mechanism of the system in which these facilities would be delivered to people. The central aim of this part relates to social services and its delivery system in neighbourhoods. A conclusion also will be given at the end of this chapter.

3.2. Background and context

During the previous decades, great attention has been paid to the idea of neighbourhood within the urban planning field. However, such study in this context has concentrated more on the abstract area of concern than the concrete issues involved. The regard to urban neighbourhoods as growing parts of the city and the effort to design their spatial organisation became the central focus of much planning activities (Banerjee & Baer, 1984; Bulmer, 1985; Healey 1996). The attention on this subject has also been drawn essentially upon the various conceptual works, the way in which these places are indicated as the study areas and also the policy arguments.

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Furthermore, many investigations are taking place, regarding cities and the ways in which they are led to the establishment of urban neighbourhoods. What has drawn the attention of many urban researchers has indeed been the concentration on the problematic situation which was establishing between the rapid growth of modern cities and the growth of social problems as the result of the new pattern of relationships between inhabitants and the environment of living places. New urban perspectives have been established to provide systematic formulations of this issue. Two areas of study have been the primary focus of these attempts: firstly, the recognition of the urban neighbourhood as the 'living place' and secondly, an understanding of the environmental characteristics of these places. 'In mid-century, planners gave a lot of attention to the design of residential neighbourhoods, and to how these fitted into the overall patterning and functioning of towns and cities. By the 1960s, the policy emphasis in many countries had narrowed down to the mass production of low cost housing. Relations with the city were also largely neglected' (Healey, 1996 p. 2). Nevertheless, a great effort has been employed to conceptualise the city, its urban neighbourhoods and the mechanisms of relationships and activities in these areas. The overall objective of these efforts also was to increase the scientific knowledge in the field of the city and its neighbourhoods and to provide conceptual and empirical insights to deal with their multiple socio-spatial dimensions.

Since Mumford's (1954) description, many new ideas and proposals have developed in the context of neighbourhood planning. In relation to the earlier attempts to conceptualise urban neighbourhoods and the work of Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker, the town planners, Mumford suggested: they 'made no effort to define or even suggest the neighbourhood. The emphasis still lay on the city as a whole, treated as a single unit. But about this time a movement appeared in America that was to challenge this whole order of planning; and it came from two directions. On the scientific side, it stemmed from Charles Horton Cooley, who was to describe, in a series of books on social organisation and social process, the part played by the intimate, face-to-face community, one based on the family, the common place, and general shared interests, rather than on specialised

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vocations and conscious affiliations' (Mumford 1954 p. 259). In the second direction, however, the identify of the neighbourhood has been seen as an important organ of urban life that itself contained two other points of origin. One was due to social improvement; the other to an attempt at social integration.

Raymond Unwin, the most fertile urban innovator in his generation, published a report on Distribution in the Town Planning Institute Journal (1920-1921) in which he asked: 'how far is it possible for the growing city to secure an end so desirable as the greater localisation of life? And he answered: I believe that the proper distribution of the parts of the city and the clear definition of its various areas would do much so secure this. Each area in which it is intended to develop a localised life must of course be provided with every facility for all the different branches of life that it is practicable to localise. There should be local work and occupation for as many as possible of the people living there; there should be educational and recreational facilities. It will not be practicable to have a university in every such locality but at least there should be high schools' (Mumford 1954 pp. 261-262). According to Herbert and Johnston 'an important but little known contribution was made by Sweetser (1942). His analysis was at the person-to-person level. Interviews were held with the fifty-four residents of a city block in Bloomington, Indiana, who were asked to specify individually with which of each other and of the eighty-five persons in the facing streets of the surrounding blocks they had neighbourly relations. Sweetser's main conclusions were that each person's urban neighbourhood is 'compositionally unique' and 'spatially discontinuous'. The former of these descriptions anticipates a number of subsequent studies. The latter is clearly a function of the operational definition which governed the method of data collection' (Herbert & Johnston, 1978 p. 264).

The concept of 'neighbourhood' and 'community' has been used by a number of urban researchers in terms of the 'urban village'. Herbert Gans (1962), following his classic study of the West End of Boston, suggested that: 'we need not mourn the passing of the

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cohesive social networks and sense of self-identity associated with village life' because, he argued, these properties existed within the inner city in a series of 'urban villages'. This perspective has become known as 'community saved'. The focus of Gans's study was an ethnic village (the Italian quarter), but studies in other cities have described the urban village based on class rather than ethnicity. The stereotypical example of an urban village is Bethnal Green, London, the residents of which became something of a sociological stereotype. They exhibit 'a sense of community, a feeling of solidarity between people who occupy the common territory' based on a strong local network of kinship, reinforced by localised patterns of employment, shopping, and leisure activities (Quoted in Young & Willmot, 1957 p. 89). In another case 'Riemer (1951) produced the Villagers in Metropolis. This title was clearly intended to be ironical. Riemer was sceptical of the planning strategy of the neighbourhood unit which was enjoying an official vogue at the time. However, he clearly stated 'the empirical approach to our problem may concern itself either with(a) neighbourhood consciousness or (b)neighbourhood behaviour' (Herbert & Johnston 1978 p. 265). A study by Lee (1968) was carried out in Cambridge in the context of the immediate post-war years in Britain. Part of this was the intrepid social experiment of the New Towns. Both for these and other residential developments, planners and architects had become fully committed to the notion of the neighbourhood unit. Lee's objective was to evaluate the planning construct for contemporary conditions' (Herbert & Johnston, 1978 p. 266). However, one most appropriate way of looking at local concentration emerged from the study of the microecology of friendships (Smith & Stone; 19545).

The lack of adequate attention to urban neighbourhoods, as a community in the society, was a major weakness of earlier urban investigations. By developing in the sense of the urban neighbourhood in the context of the modern city, the 'community' study has been focused as a basis to respond to the necessity of a new formulation of the urban neighbourhood and the method of its investigation. For example, 'the Chicago School were highly objective in their approaches, working mainly from the map base, they

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recognised what McKenzie (1923) called a 'rudimentary sense of self-consciousness' by the citizen of his 'natural area'. Another early writer, McClenahan (1929), had interviewed 649 families in a residential area of Los Angeles, and was impressed by the range of associations they had formed in all parts of the city. He proposed the new concept of the 'community' as an urban social structure which has no attachment through its membership to a locality' (Lee, 1968 p .264). However, the necessity to use the classic conception of the terms 'community' or 'neighbourhood' has been noticed in many recent urban investigations. For example, in the context of the relational aspect of the environment of the neighbourhood, the pioneering formulation from Tonnies has been broadly accepted. For Tonnies, all social relationships can be divided into two different kinds. In *Gemeinschaft* relationships, natural will prevails. This is called a 'community' based on collective fate. Individuals live and work together in close contact and have understanding and concord. It is evident that *Gemeinschaft* relationships are deep and warm and satisfying. Nevertheless, *Gesellschaft* relationship are socially regarded as 'separating'. Everybody is by himself and isolated and a state of tension exists as against all others.

Application of the social space approach to neighbourhood planning is brought to a high point of expression in Buttimer's (1972) study of four Glasgow housing estates. The most important point is that Buttimer has attempted to consider simultaneously (a) an individual's social activity spaces with (b) their perceived home area and (c) their image of an ideal environment. This emphasises that we shall not be able to understand ongoing human existence in the city until a coalescence of these can somehow be converted into research data' (Herbert & Johnston, 1978 p. 270).

After all, the most important difference of this approach from other approaches is the orientation to individual minds, one at a time, before the data are aggregated. Its task is to externalise in order to observe what individuals have in their minds to correspond with the built environment. What form does it take? How is this form related to the

individual's past experiences and current needs? What is its life-cycle? How is it constructed and how is it used in everyday perception? In these regards Herbert and Johnston state (1978): 'nonetheless, we need to understand this interaction if we are to engage in the massive reshaping of the urban environment made possible by modern technology and planning. For this purpose, the environment-human response side of the interaction is the most important focus. Simple, mechanistic stimulus-response approaches have been found to be extremely limited. There are too many mediating variables in the human being himself, and attention has therefore switched to the ways in which the environment is perceived and 'known' by people in short, to what the environment means to them' (Herbert & Johnston, 1978 p. 253).

Various investigations have been carried out by urban researchers in the case of urban neighbourhoods. These studies mirror the basic theme of later studies: the presence of neighbourhoods, a sense of community and at the same time, a sense of isolation and detachment among the migrant members of these neighbourhoods who compared their urban experiences with their past attachments to the community which was in their rural homelands and culture (Olson, 1982). Definitions of this kind have been particularly associated with those concerned to make sense of the city by dissecting it into constituent neighbourhoods. 'The foundations of this approach can justifiably be said to stem from the work of the Chicago School, which sought to demonstrate the ecological interrelations between the sub-areas, the zone of transition, the slum, 'Little Italy' and so on- of the urban 'organism'" (Hunter, 1979 p.74). 'A key focus of housing and policy planning this century has been to provide living environments in which ordinary people could live comfortably' (Healey, 1996b, p. 2). In the field of urban policy more attention is paid to the urban neighbourhood from the policy point of view and to creating a place based on desirable physical characteristics. In this respect, housing and physical aspects of the neighbourhood became concerns. However, 'here, policy analysts and researchers have increasingly shifted attention from the quality of housing provision to overall living conditions and ways of life in neighbourhoods. This work highlights firstly that these

'living places' may become social worlds which significantly shape attitudes and aspirations and secondly that these attitudes and aspirations may be significantly differentiated as well' (Healey, 1996b p. 2).

3.3 Primary conceptual approaches to the study of urban neighbourhoods

The concept of neighbourhood, as a way of structuring, ordering, and presenting urban society, has a long history in urban civilisation. In relation to this concept and its earlier setting in social history of the human being, there is much evidence that: 'the neighbourhood is a 'fact of nature' and came into existence whenever a group of people shared a place. Neighbourhood units are as old as the family system and the kinship network' (Banerjee & Baer 1984 p. 2). Regarding the technical complexity in the development of this concept, Bulmer (1986) believes: 'the term 'neighbourhood' appears to be even more elusive in meaning than that of 'neighbour', not least because, in addition to a variety of personal and social definitions it has also encompassed technical meanings in urban and social planning' (Bulmer, 1986 p. 1). As Roderick McKenzie of the Chicago School of Urban Sociology observed: 'probably no other term is used so loosely or with such changing content as the term neighbourhood, and very few concepts are more difficult to define. The word neighbourhood has two general connotations: physical proximity to a given object of attention, and intimacy of association among people living in close proximity to one another' (Bulmer, 1985 p. 1).

The term community or neighbourhood is simply intended to imply the existence of distinguishable common characteristics of the physical elements, and important interactions between people and their physical environment within contiguous geographic areas. In academic fields, while various structural dimensions might be defined with regard to the neighbourhood, in a traditional sense, however, a particular emphasis has been given to its structural-functional features. These structural-functional characteristics

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have focused on the form and structure of its land use system, the patterns of its residential components and the social segregation which exists between living places in metropolitan areas. The structure of the neighbourhood and its social organisation had been considered as an expanded part of the city and its spatial characteristics. Many years ago, Frick (1976) defined the city as: '(a) the increasing functional separation and social alienation between many of neighbourhoods-that is, with the social and spatial segregation within the city, and (b) with the perception and relationship of many inhabitants of and to neighbourhoods, their own and others, with which they are often only able to identify in a very limited way' (Frick, 1976 p. 6). It seems that Frick's conceptualisation intends to identify how cities are divided into different spatial areas and whether the spatial separations of the city generates neighbourhood areas in the context of the city.

The concept of 'neighbourhood unit' as a key conceptual tool is also conceptualised and has received much attention in the urban planning fields. Apparently first advocated by Clarence Perry in the early 1920s, the idea of developing towns on the basis of neighbourhoods became something of a vogue in the inter-and post-war years, producing a substantial literature (Hallman, 1984). The concept of neighbourhood was still, above all, functional. 'The intention was to create fairly self contained sub-divisions of the city, containing some 500 to 1000 people, sufficient to support a primary school, shop and some services, yet small enough to foster a 'sense' of neighbourhood, engendering community 'cohesion'' (Bulmer, 1986 p. 20). 'One approach of this concept, first conceived by Perry (1939), was a self conscious attempt to publicise a good design, and to incorporate the best social thought of the modern era into a physical design that would promote the health, safety, and well-being of people living in urban residential areas' (Banerjee & Baer, 1984 p.19).

Traditional perspectives on the urban neighbourhood have been heavily influenced by the view that high costs of transportation and communication placed severe constraints on

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the activities of urban residents. 'This viewpoint is particularly highlighted by the writings of the Chicago School of Urban Sociology in the period between World War 1 and 11. The Chicago sociologists viewed the friction of spaces as affecting individual's attitudes toward localised areas in two ways. First, the high costs of travel meant that an area's accessibility to non-local activities such as workplaces was crucial. Second, the difficulties of movement forced the urbanite to rely heavily on the local area for many aspects of daily life, such as friendship and also institutions such as school and shopping' (Herting & Guest, 1985 p. 99).

However, the study of new residential areas in terms of urban neighbourhoods has preoccupied sociologists as far back as the beginning of the century when urban studies directed attention to this form of territorially organised social life (Jones, 1904, Welson 1959, Cooley 1909, Galpin 1915). Various kinds of neighbourhood investigation had been considered by urban researchers. Broadly speaking, these studies mirror the basic theme of later studies: the presence of neighbourhoods, a sense of community and at the same time, a sense of isolation and detachment among the migrant members of these neighbourhoods who compared their urban experiences with their past attachments to the community which was in their rural homelands and culture (Olson, 1982). Definitions of this kind have been particularly associated with those concerned to make sense of the city by dissecting it into constituent neighbourhoods. 'The foundations of this approach can justifiably be said to stem from the work of the Chicago School, which sought to demonstrate the ecological interrelations between the sub-areas-the 'Glid Coast', the zone of transition, the slum, 'Little Italy' and so on- of the urban 'organism'' (Hunter, 1969 p. 74).

A great attempt was applied to define the neighbourhood, incorporating ideas of physical manifestation and self-containment in respect of certain services and sentiment. Ruth Glass'(1948)'s definition is widely quoted. 'A neighbourhood is: a distinct territorial group; distinct by virtue of the specific physical characteristics of the area and the specific

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social characteristics of the inhabitants' (Glass, 1948 p.18). Others have taken the perception and demarcation of neighbourhood as the central concern of their inquiries. Typical of this is the work of Terence Lee (1968), who questioned residents of Cambridge about their conception of neighbourhood. This, and other studies, showed that individuals differed very considerably in their perceptions.

One of the reasons for developing city locations such as neighbourhoods, was that of competition between individuals for favourable residential areas within cities. As discussed in the previous chapter and according to Urban Ecology ideas, this competition acted primarily through market mechanism and this mechanism changed the pattern of land rent. The new test for someone seeking to move to a desirable area was the ability to pay for the new price for land and housing. 'Economic differentiation was thus seen as the basic mechanism of residential segregation, and the local dominance of a particular group was ascribed to its relative competitive power. Functional relationships between different individuals and social groups were seen as symbiotic and, where such relationships could be identified as being focused within a particular geographical area, the human ecologists identified communities, or natural areas: 'territorial units whose distinctive characteristics- physical, economic and cultural-are the result of the unplanned operation of ecological and social processes' (Gould & Kolb, 1964 p. 458).

The existence of residential patterns of neighbourhoods within cities is explained as the emergence of separate social areas on the grounds of new labour divisions and the increasing interest of some social groups to occupy higher status areas in cities. 'Various socio-economic status groups, for example, representing the division of labour in an urban society and the different rewards associated with that division, live apart from each other; immigrant and other minority groups frequently occupy highly segregated residential areas; and there is a tendency for the separation of age groups' (Johnston, 1984 p. 21). Such theoretical models of the urban neighbourhood focus on the fact of urban segregation based on in the flux of population from different territories and the

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problem of socio-economic differentiations which can be considered as the consequence of intensive urban divisions in terms of labour and income.

Finally, according to Olson (1982), five themes can be found in the urban literature to define urban neighbourhoods; each providing both theoretical and empirical contributions to identifying the dimensions of urban community. These themes are: 'the neighbourhood as (1) a form of social organisation, (2) an ideology (3) a determinant of behaviour, (4) a consequence of social organisation, and (5) a social network' (Olson, 1982 pp. 491-518). This conceptual model describes the social organisational aspect of social activities in the neighbourhood, and this place has been seen as a determinate factor in shaping the behaviour of individuals. Furthermore, neighbourhood is described as the area which show the general way of life which people have chosen for their future. These characteristics of course depend on various socio-cultural contexts and might vary on the basis of different general social systems. It seems that Olson's descriptive model of the neighbourhood lacks some necessary dimensions which could be used for all neighbourhood units which have developed in contemporary cities. However, it seems that this descriptive model has a theoretical and empirical worth, since it concerns the main dimensions of neighbourhoods which are identifiable in most of such areas.

However, more conceptual development is needed to understand the organisational forms and contexts of urban neighbourhoods. In the following discussion, the central emphasise will be drawn to a systematic explanation of the environmental dimensions of the neighbourhoods. This work originates from different theoretical sources which are given in urban literature. Among these, the following review is very close to the Olson's Before starting to the discuss social networks and public services in neighbourhoods, it is necessary to look at urban neighbourhoods which have emerged through different patterns of socio-physical establishment.

3.3.1 The social organisational forms of urban neighbourhoods

Although urban neighbourhoods are perceived as part of a wider geographical expansion, they are sometimes difficult to define and delimit of the types and space organising them. This part intends to illuminate whether or not it is feasible to attribute particular social organisational forms to neighbourhood places. In this way, it is also possible to set out a review of various established forms of these social places. The following argument intends to design a theoretical and practical model of neighbourhood form, which sets the framework for the empirical study of neighbourhoods that are the objective of this research.

Various socio-structural specifications have been indicated as the basis of the organisational forms of the neighbourhoods. These specifications identify significant aspects of the neighbourhood's structure. As an example, Blowers (1973) has identified five types of neighbourhood depending on the presence or absence of a clear territorial name, a distinctive physical environment, an identifiable social group, functional action (e.g. shops, schools), and social interaction (Warren & Warren, 1977). An alternative approach has been suggested by Warren and Warren (1977). They devised a typology of neighbourhoods based on three considerations: 'the extent to which individual residents identified with the neighbourhood; the level of social interaction among the neighbourhood residents; and the degree of linkage that exists between neighbourhood residents and the larger community' (Warren & Warren, 1977 p. 120).

In another attempt, Warren and Warren identify other social organisational forms of neighbourhoods. In their more recent work, the major typology is based on characteristics defined in the form of the social interactions which exist among a neighbourhood's residents. These interactions, either in relation to the individual neighbourhood or a wider community, are extremely important, because, according to their theory, social interactions lead to a specific structure within these places.

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Accordingly, they addressed three distinctive types of neighbourhoods: 'an 'integral' neighbourhood is one which has a clearly demarcated centre and a set of residents who interact strongly and share common concerns; a 'parochial' neighbourhood is similar, save that the ties with the broader community are weak. A 'diffuse' neighbourhood is one where there are no ties with the wider community and very little interaction and where the sole distinguishing characteristic is a tendency for residents to identify with the area. When there is no local identification and no social interaction, but only strong linkages with the rest of society, the neighbourhood may be labelled 'transitory' (Warren & Warren, 1977 p. 120). The problem which arises in this typology is that it has basically ignored the characteristics of physical location, the social formations and the functional feature of these areas. Others have attempted to define neighbourhoods on the other grounds.

The typology of neighbourhoods based on the length of social interaction and homogeneous characteristics is common among geographers. In this regard, Knox (1995) classified urban neighbourhoods on the basis of their more social interaction and common ties as follows:

- '1-Physical neighbourhoods are distinctive environments with clear visual boundaries.
- 2-Homogenous neighbourhoods are distinctive and internally homogenous in terms of both environmental and physical characteristics.
- 3-Functional neighbourhoods are areas united by particular activity patterns-working or learning for example.
- 4-Community neighbourhoods are those which contain close-knit groups engaged in primary social interaction' (Knox, 1995 p. 211). Knox's classification has some advantages in comparison to Warren and Warren, as they used wider characteristics to specify the organisational forms of the urban neighbourhood. However, the question which arises is that: this type of neighbourhood's classification is largely concentrated on the internal structure of these places. However, neighbourhood, their establishment and

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their internal extent must be regarded as a located within dynamic process rather than just as places of face to face interactions among residents.

The typology of neighbourhoods based on their contrasted environmental characteristics was the concern of urban ecologists and the founders of the Chicago School in urban sociology. According to Park (1963), the growth of cities in the modern period has led to the appearance of different neighbourhoods whose socio-physical characteristics can be seen in their differentiations in contextual as well as geographical point of view. Following urban ecology, many in the urban field have used the Park classification of neighbourhoods. Knox referred to Mumford, and found out that his typology of neighbourhood is very close to the subject of earlier urban ecologists. In this sense, as Knox declared: 'In contrast to the close-knit social networks of the urban village (or squatter in developing countries), suburban life is seen by many observers as the antithesis of 'community'. Lewis Mumford for example, wrote that the suburbs represent a 'collective attempt to lead a private life', and this view was generally endorsed by a number of early studies of suburban life, including the Lynds' study of Muncie, Indiana, and Warner's study of Yankee City'. Further sociological work such as Whyte's *The Organisation Man* and Stein's *The Eclipse of Community* reinforced the image of the suburban as an area of loose-knit, secondary ties where life-styles were focused squarely on the nuclear family's pursuit of money, status and consumer durable and the privacy in which to enjoy them' (Knox, 1995, p. 208). Suburban neighbourhoods are defined as the places which are built through a high degree of social relationships, because 'social networks of suburban residents are in fact more localised and cohesive than those of inner-city residents, even if they lack something in feeling of mutuality' (Knox, 1995, p. 209). It should also be argued that the nature and intensity of social interaction in suburban neighbourhoods tends to vary according to the type of suburb concerned. 'One thing that suburban neighbourhoods everywhere seem to have in common is a lack of the mutuality, the permanent but intangible 'community spirit' that is characterised by the urban village' (Knox, 1995, p. 208). In this respect, evidence shows why suburban

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settlements lacked a desirable integration among their residents. This might be related to the newness of the situation in which these neighbourhoods are located or they have not had time to fully develop a locality-based system. It may be that the residents of suburban neighbourhoods are simply not likely to develop a sense of mutuality in the sense of urban villages because they are not exposed to the same level of deprivation or stress.

What has been discussed is more related to the social organisational forms of urban neighbourhoods in the context of Western cities. However, in developing societies, it is useful to argue about suburban settlements as they are established in different forms and are characterised through different contextual extents. The squatter, slum and shanty settlements contain the main types of urban neighbourhoods and are located on the periphery areas of cities in developing countries. But, in cities in developing countries, suburban neighbourhoods said to be developed on the basis of a particular city plan. These settlements have surrounded most metropolitan cities in these countries. Squatter settlements, which can be defined as larger ill-designed neighbourhoods with the insufficient infrastructure, is an inherent feature of their structures. In contrast, the suburban settlements or large neighbourhoods which have developed based on the city place and consequences of the physical design are urban places where a quiet condition, the absence of nuisances, the pleasant architectural and natural surroundings, the visible expression of social status and material success are anticipated. The residents, who have enough time and money, obtain the experience of urban life outside of their own residential area which are located in the functional and aesthetically pleasant areas.

Broadly speaking, each neighbourhood is what its inhabitants think it is. This means that conceptualisation of this place and classification of its social organisation depends on the geographic scales of reference used by people. In this respect, Knox has suggested another way of approaching neighbourhoods as focused on their functions. He believes: 'it might suggest neighbourhoods 'in terms of neighbourhoods' existential functions (related to people's affective bonds and sense of belonging), economic functions (geared

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to consumption), administrative function (geared to the organisation and use of public service), location function (related to the social and material benefits of relative location), structural functions (related to the social outcomes of the urban design), political function (geared to the articulation of local issue) and social reproduction function (related to the broader political economy of urbanisation)' (Knox, 1995, p. 124). The advantage of this typology is the shaping of the contextual extent of neighbourhood and its concern with the various activities which are carried out by individuals in these places. In addition, the above typology links to the concept of locality which is argued in Structuration theory. Locality, according to structuration theory, is not only a physical place, its both social and physical. The locality implies the role of residents to perceive the various aspects of their location and to play an active role in interrelationships with their material and environments.

The overall objective of the above discussion above was to layout a review of the comments which have been made by urban analysts in relation to the neighbourhood typology. It may be concluded that Knox's last typology of neighbourhoods clearly has further advantages as it is links to the contextual extent and social organisational forms of the neighbourhood together. In this typology, neighbourhood should be considered in terms of its interaction ties, economic, structural, location, and political functions. Depending on these functions neighbourhoods are normally separate from each other. Knox's typology needs to be more emphasised, if a the attention draws on the dynamic aspects which are arguable to established different organisational forms of neighbourhoods in cities.

3.3.2 The urban neighbourhood as a determinant of behaviour

The discussion described in this part is a typical of the more general case which is made by social scientists in regard to the role of the social environment as the determinant of

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individual attitudes and behaviours. In recent years the concept of the neighbourhood as an independent variable has been used extensively within urban investigations. The influence of the local social environment is often known as a neighbourhood effect. This concept itself expresses the process that is presumed to operate within a locality, where a set of values may have existed and been widely accepted over a period time, and is then transmitted to other residents. It suggests that these residents in the social environment of the locality are under the direct or indirect influences of their life places or neighbourhoods. Moreover, 'this occurred because the urban neighbourhood units could be perceived as particular social spaces effecting the behavioural patterns and perceptual actions of people. The neighbourhood effect phenomena has been applied to variety of behaviour and attitudes concerned with such topics as educational aspiration and achievements, voting activities' (Herbert & Johnston, 1978 p 25).

Olson (1982) has described the application of neighbourhood as an independent variable in his study and summarised the history of neighbourhood identification through its various effects on the attitude and behaviour of residents. He outlined the various urban trends in this respect and has written that: in the post-war era (in West), the neighbourhood became an independent variable in the hypothesis linking a wide range of behaviour to the locality unit. Social area analysis was the dominant example of this new approach (Olson, 1982). Using urban census tracts as an approximation of neighbourhoods, one could easily construct indices of neighbourhood types and then explore how each type correlates with formal social participation, crime rates, informal participation (neighbouring), and youth behaviour (Bell & Force, 1956;). 'Other studies not using social area analysis have examined the neighbourhood as a variable affecting social deviance (Reiss & Rhodes, 1961; Alissi, 1970), educational aspirations (Turner, 1964; Sewell and Armer, 1966), social identity (Useem & Gibson., 1960). Another stream of literature has explored how neighbourhood, crowding, and other spatial arrangements affects attitudes, perception, and the behaviour of residents (Moore, 1974; Marshall, 1972;)' (Quoted in Olson, 1982 pp. 491-518).

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How far urban individuals consider that these local environmental characteristics affect residents' behaviour depends upon the viewpoints of each view of scholars. Herbert & Johnston (1978) have written that: 'there are who claim that the combination of high personal mobility and modern communications techniques has rendered the notion of territorial constraints on human association obsolescent. To many ecologists and geographers, location remains a major determinant of interaction patterns and the concept of community is firmly anchored on a territorial base' (Herbert & Johnston, 1978 p. 41)

The neighbourhood environment within which many urban residents live is much more than a design of streets, buildings and its physical characteristics; it is a social space, and it is an active contextual structure comprising localised attitudes, social norms, and many forms of the social behaviours. 'Individuals who live within such milieu [neighbourhood] they may opt out of contact with together, and for very many the residential area provides a major social reference group, and influences the continuing process of socialisation. It is not the only such milieu [neighbourhood] which people live, the workplace and school may provide others and the importance of neighbourhood as a social influence is related to a range of individual variables, such as age, income, education, personality and mobility' (Herbert & Johnston, 1978 p. 25). Objective items such as numbers of people, their social status, ages and so on, form one dimension of this social milieu; social values, beliefs and traditions form another.

3.4 The environmental dimensions of urban neighbourhoods

This section intends to tackle the dimensions of neighbourhoods in terms of some particular environmental features. In this regard, social networks and public services are suggested as key dimensions of neighbourhood's environmental characteristics. It is presumed that the conceptualisation of these categories uncovers the various consequences of a neighbourhood's social organisation. However, to apply this concept

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and to analyse the particular key dimensions of the neighbourhood, the concept of the social structure of neighbourhood is needed to be indicated in its broader sphere. Therefore, from the initiated point of view, in the following discussion this issue and its identification will be discussed briefly.

The environment of a neighbourhood, in a wider context, is characterised by many social constraints and is produced through various natural and socio-economic factors. Therefore, it seems to be necessary to clarify the root of the social components which constitute its essence. All dimensions which in different theoretical models are identified for urban neighbourhoods are part of the interpretation which are set in a broader extent. In this way, the self-recognition of an individual's roles and feelings becomes applicable. It is clear that, this does not mean that individuals are completely imprisoned in conditions which have been constructed for them; in contrast, as human beings, individuals have potential for freedom and they are able to express their understanding and imagination in ways which are separate from what is happening in their outside world. Yet, for the individuals in society, this process is strongly limited and very often conditioned by social constraints and these include social interactions too. The environmental conditions in small communities like neighbourhoods is not apart from these conditions. Individuals in such communities live through social networks as a whole in which many internal and external elements contribute to its emergence. In such localities, the role of social interaction seems to be very important in generating a particular social behaviour affected by the current context of the social environment or its more concrete aspects.

However, what exactly identifies the environmental picture of neighbourhoods is an open question which the analysts will respond to based on his or her central concerns. In this regard, in chapter two in this thesis and the argument put forward in the previous section, it has been said that, to make a generally applicable definition of the neighbourhood and its environmental structure almost seems to be a difficult task. Therefore, in the following

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to their living place will be considered as a whole. The entire discussion will use different theoretical debates which are built upon various sources. To take an example, Levi-Strauss's concept of social relationship and the theoretical model of Barnes will be used to provide a comprehensive understanding of this social area. It also will pursue the Olson dimensions of neighbourhood and Knox's concept concerning the functional aspects of place.

4-It is not considered that all the dimensions which will be discussed are applicable for all neighbourhoods. However, it is supposed that these dimensions are worth investigating in terms of the neighbourhood settlements, which will be the subject of the survey study in the coming chapters of the dissertation.

To develop the above conceptual framework of neighbourhood, the following part concentrates on the social network, then the discussion follows the subject of public services.

3.4.1 Social networks

Broadly speaking, the social network, or social relationship, of the community members can be defined as the interrelationship between individuals based on a specific social context. Given this definition, it illuminates that individuals within social interactions are seeking necessary social means for responding to the basic needs created by biological or social stimulants. To individuals as the social actors, this important social process also reflects their latent or manifest capacities to treat with their environmental conditions in providing for their social life. Since, the individuals of society can not exist in isolation, through system of relationships, it is possible to them the continues of their. The social network generates the opportunities for individuals to ensure more social security in relation to the set of daily activities. In addition, a relational view of social process

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emphasises a view of individuals, not as autonomous subjects with individual preferences, but as formed within social context. It emphasises the social relations within which we live and the 'social worlds' within which we construct our identities and our relations with others. The term 'social network' is often used to describe this relational conception. An institutional approach tends to take an anthropological conception to networks. These are more than just sets of relational links through which people can get access to material resources, knowledge and power' (Healey, 1996b p. 3).

One of the important characteristics of the interaction process is suggested to be the socialisation of individuals within the context of their social environment (Giddens, 1985). This means they would be adapted to the existing pattern of social life and become part of its organism. It is certain that the ways of interaction among societies are varied and depend on several things such as communicative conditions, the geographical structure of social space, the cultural values, the traditional symbols, values, routines and alike. Furthermore, it is related to the dominant social philosophies and the policies which are being carried out over the society as a whole. Although the overall space over which the social network structure usually has a geographical boundary, a wide variety of factors participate to shape its different range and shape. As Logan has attitude: 'the resulting social networks (interaction) are not bounded by geography and have been described as 'community liberated' ' (Logan, 1994).

In recent years the geographical characteristics of the interaction process has received much attention by critics. The current belief is that, on the basis of the space of communication and the instruments of its diffusions, the type and the quality of interaction might be varied. For instance, it is suggested that people who live in urban areas usually have more opportunities to be involved in the process of interaction than those who live in small or non urbanised places (Knox, 1995). It is easier for people to interact with the transport network's opportunities or other developed communicative services. Investigators in this context argue about the localities which have been seen as

places in a social context for the interaction between residents. The significance of the local community is providing the necessary conditions for the interaction is under attention of many (Herbert & Johnston, 1978). Furthermore, the extent of the existing pattern of social interaction represents whether the individuals are interested in or are constrained to be more involved in this process and are shaped their identity. 'Different networks or 'relational webs' embody and express social words through which 'local knowledge' flows around, framing how people think and give value. Each has its own time and space. It is in the context of these worlds that identities are constructed ('we', 'you' 'them')' (Healey, 1996b p. 4)

Contemporary societies are faced with an increasing decline in the context of the strong social interaction which was defined as an explicit characteristic for these societies in the past. In particular, social events after the industrial revolution have changed the intimate social ties and have replaced those patterns and contents. Especially in urbanised areas, the failure of new patterns of interaction as alternatives instead of the previous ones indirectly illuminate the lack of solidarity. This experience also demonstrates that new forms of interaction treated the former social solidarity which was the result of a solid social interaction. An obvious example can be given in metropolitan cities where the absence of adequate social support generated many social diseases. 'In the ideal type of the place-based, *gemeinschaft* community, people's networks were densely concentrated among a group of people who shared a common life and living space. It is often claimed that modernity and postmodernity have disrupted *gemeinschaft* relations. These days, many people live in several networks at once, choosing alternative identities and living with the possibilities of multiple identities' (Healey, 1996b p. 4). Furthermore, as social interaction as a social activity to intensify community co-operation is replaced by new forms of collective phenomena, it is becoming different from what was termed by Durkheim as mechanical solidarity, Tonnies, as *Gemeinschaft* and Cooley as the primary interaction. In the language of Logan, the anonymity of the modern metropolis is thought to have freed people from ties previously imposed by the local community. Its

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heterogeneity allows people to choose social partners based on common interests wherever they may be found (Logan, 1994). To understand the social environment of the urban neighbourhood and its entire social interaction, (it has been argued particularly in the Chicago School's views in the previous chapter), it is confirmed that social interaction in a small community like the neighbourhood has further opportunities to be intensified. In a local community various elements participate until residents could be more involved in the interaction process, and more strongly. 'Kasarda and Janowitz themselves argue that 'new generations and newcomers' are naturally assimilated into the social networks of local communities over time, and they find that length of residence is the strongest predictor of number of local friends, number of local relatives, and various measures of community attachment (see also Campbell & Lee 1992., Sampson 1991). Homeownership is widely considered to represent a concrete material interest in the community, leading to more involvement in local social networks (Pratt 1986; Forrest & Alan 1991). Finally, marriage and childbearing have also been discussed as possible sources of local community attachment (Campbell and Lee 1992; Fischer 1982; Sampson 1991)' (Quoted by Logan, 1994 p.).

There are many reasons illustrating that the neighbourhood area is an appropriate place for the social interaction conducted among residents. Geographical proximity makes it convenient to communicate with others in the neighbourhood and creates common interests. Neighbours have the same access to jobs and shopping, they have the same exposure to crime and receive the same protection from the police, their children typically attend the same schools, they suffer the same diseases. Neighbourhoods are often socially homogenous, certainly more so than the metropolis as a whole. Thus neighbours typically share bounds of class, religion, and even kinship. The resulting mixture of instrumental connections, social homogeneity, and sentiment can be a powerful basis for collective action (Logan, 1994).

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According to results which are indicated in such social studies, the neighbouring concept is a key dimension to choose to study the locality in terms of social space. 'If one adopted a crude form of architectural determinism one would say that the construction of houses and their general layout in relation to each other produced certain social relationships. Therefore, houses and streets planned in a particular way will produce specific social patterns' (Nottridge, 1972. pp. 69-70). But critics argued against this particular insight. As Harold Nottridge declared that: 'the opposite choice was to declare that it does not matter where people live; their social patterns are unrelated to their social environment' (Nottridge, 1972. pp. 69-70). As man is not an island we are influenced, sometimes very deeply, by the social patterns that are formally predicted when people live in greater or lesser proximity to each other. 'By living, we mean not merely the actual residence, the place where people eat, sleep and have recreation, but also the journey to work and the work-place itself. Our understanding of these social patterns should commence with the influences that affect individual families under urban living' (Walmsley & Lewis, 1984).

The local social network is based on several social elements, patterns and routines. Its basic establishment, particularly at the level of neighbourhood community, consists in kinship and neighbouring relationships. These are categories which present the quality and the form of relationships in neighbourhood as a living place. Through these forms of social network it is possible to understand the level of the integration of individuals together and with their community. The following discussion attempts to reformulate the contextual bases of these categories at the level of neighbourhoods.

3.4.2 Kinship relationships

One way for the specification of the urban neighbourhood is to investigate the social network which is displayed in family ties. Consideration of family ties highlights whether or not modern urban communities are more united through a strong social interaction,

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and how the lack of social ties may affect relations between inhabitants and social environments. Family or relative relationships are indicated as one aspect of the social bonding in a small community like a neighbourhood which is the focus of this part of the study. Furthermore, to conceptualise carefully this issue, the overall framework of this part is concentrated on arguments which aim to explore family ties and the aspects of the family ties as may be seen in the contemporary society as a whole.

The family relationship is dynamic and it operates in the context of a constantly changing environment. It is a very important human group in the contemporary urban social context (Nottridge, 1972). Many sociologists have regarded the family as the cornerstone of society and addressed that: 'it forms the basic unit of social organisation and it is difficult to imagine how human society could function without it' (Haralambos & Holborn, 1990). Although the family is a very flexible and durable institution, contemporary challenges about its structural change have increased the awareness of social change and its implications on the institution of the family and its wider relationships. Generally speaking, the emphasis of recent work has primarily been on the structure and size of the household, rather than on reasons for change, beliefs, or patterns of interaction between and within households. However, the previous form of social interaction through the family context is changing and new patterns of social ties are being established. In this regard, urban neighbourhoods are specified as suitable places to display the quality and the sphere of these shifts, the place to establish different patterns of family ties, and the environment created within and by family relationships.

The sphere of family relationships could be defined as a kind of relationship in which households like to live in sharing, either with their relatives, with their father or mother, their children and in general with their blood relatives or otherwise with non-blood relatives. The family relationship is also formulated as a non-official organisation which acts as a supportive institution in which households could feel safer. In many instances

through this form of social relationship, the general attitudes of people to the social world would be shaped within family interaction processes.

Much effort is employed to understand whether the role and nature of the family has changed over different patterns of relationships. From the social point of view, it is impossible to indicate a society without a particular form or forms of family relationships. It demonstrates that within a set of social bonding, family relationships have a particular place, and these play a great role to keep and strengthen the informal social support system within and thereby individuals. In many instances, the pattern and quality of this social relation would affect other institutions and functions in the society; the role of family ties was greater, particularly in the traditional societies. In traditional communities, the role of family and its wide associations was accepted for different social purposes such as to provide a framework to further economic activities, to provide a supportive state for the political forces, for the culturalisation of the newer generation and so on. Nevertheless, today, as a result of rapid social changes and the appearance of new patterns of social bonding, there has been increased attention to the family relationships in which there are emerging many difficulties. This type of social problem not only occurs in contemporary advanced societies, but in many other societies in new circumstances which are also facing problems with the changing role of family relationships. What was the function of the emotional or social and even security to the family relationships in the previous societies, nowadays are changing into other social forms of social bonding. As an example, the high geographical mobility of the younger generation usually results in social interaction. The increase in the number of nuclear households with both parents employed outside the family tends to challenge the traditional types of family ties. Under such circumstances various social distractions can be seen as the consequence of structural changes in this context.

In a sociological context, different theoretical models have been used to present the nature and role of family ties at the level of smaller communities. 'One group of Chicago

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sociologists, including Thomas, Park, and Burgess, put forward what Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) describe as a 'systemic model' of local solidarity. In this model, 'the local community is viewed as a complex system of friendship and kinship networks as well as formal and informal ties rooted in family life and on-going socialisation process' (Kasarda & Janowitz 1974 p. 329).

The change did not only occur in the content and the role of family ties. It has also affected the pattern and style of family ties. As an explanatory model, sociologists divide family groups into two main types of the nuclear family, consisting of parent (s) and child (ren), and the extended family, consisting of parent (s) and child (ren), and grand parent(s) or other kin. Giddens (1985) explains that: 'before industrialisation, it has been argued, the majority of families were of the extended type, society was relatively static and stable, geographical and social mobility were minimal. From about the 1750s onwards rapid population growth, urbanisation, capitalisation, but above all else industrialisation, resulted in a change to the nuclear family, which was allegedly better suited to the 'need' of industrial society' (Giddens, 1985 p. 6). The result of contemporary social changes led to the emergence of the nuclear form of family ties which has brought extreme changes in the context of social and economic activities and the general life style of households, particularly in cities.

In many contemporary societies, both traditional and modern types of family relationships exist. Although recent social events have mainly changed the traditional pattern of family ties, the composition of nuclear and extended forms of family relationships can be indicated in many urban areas, particularly in new built neighbourhoods. Moreover, under the effect of the circumstances of modern urban life and as consequences of the demobilisation of the traditional roles of many social institutions, the role of family relationships in modern urban neighbourhoods is being displaced into new patterns of social interaction. Living in urban neighbourhoods, trying to adapt with new circumstances which are created by urban networks and facing the transformations of

lifestyles in the city, have all changed the style of family relationships. In urban neighbourhoods, based on their overall socio-structural contexts, it is possible to look at these changes and to look for whether the social system is working through changing contexts in this respect.

3.4.3 Neighbouring relationships

From a different social point of view, the study of neighbouring relationships is encouraged at the level of urban neighbourhoods. It is intended to illuminate how we should be concerned with the central aspects of neighbouring ties in neighbourhood areas. Since neighbouring relationships are part of the wider environmental conditions, therefore, any view to this subject cannot be separated from this connection. Neighbouring relationships focus upon social relationships between the macro and the micro levels, between the value system of society as a whole, and the level of interpersonal relations where two or more people interact in a setting such as the family, the workplace and neighbours. Neighbourhoods are composed of people who enter by the very fact of birth or chosen residence into a common life. 'Neighbours are people united primarily not by common origins or common purposes but by the proximity of their dwelling in space. This closeness makes them conscious of each other by sight, and known to each other by direct communication, by intermediate links of association; or by rumour. In times of crisis, a funeral, a festival, neighbours may even become vividly conscious of each other and capable of greater co-operation; but in origin, neighbourliness rests solely on the fact of local cohabitation' (Mumford, 1954 p 278). In social terms, 'neighbourhoods are places of multiple motion, with which people who live there become familiar as they learn to negotiate their way around. In some neighbourhoods, the defining characteristics are the sense of neighbourliness and community as people greet each other, help each other out and work together on neighbourhood activities. In other neighbourhoods, people are uneasily bound together

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by the problems and tensions which they face' (Healey, 1996b p.13). In this regard, proximity has been indicated as an essential and key characteristic of a neighbour. In neighbourhood places, neighbours live very close together and meet each other usually from time to time on various occasions. Therefore, their relationships form the base of attitudes and aspirations which are shaped during daily experiences in their neighbourhoods (Bulmer, 1985). The role of the neighbouring relationship is to bring individuals closely together and to help them in taking part in social activities which carrying a neighbourhood towards more social integration. However, this social possibility in urban neighbourhoods might be affected by circumstances which are vigorously formed through new structural contexts of modern urban cities. Overall, depending on the constant or an inconstant relationships among neighbours, the community will be equipped or deprived from certain social integration which has many advantages to its inhabitants.

To find a formulation of neighbouring relationships, researchers have attempted to highlight its original meaning and conception. Martin Bulmer (1985), was one of those researchers. About this concept and its primary definition he believes: 'the root of the word is in the Old English word for 'neighdweller' or 'near-dweller'. The spatial distance between oneself and one's neighbours varies, but within limits' (Bulmer 1985 p. 18). He adds that: 'most of the literature suggests that neighbours live within walking distance and that face to face contact is possible. Neighbours are rarely regarded as further afield than the street, block or apartment building. A second common suggestion made throughout the literature is that the neighbour relationship is a relatively limited one' (Bulmer, 1985 p. 18).

Neighbouring relationships as the part of social interactions present the actual structure of the social environment of the neighbourhoods. As Bulmer suggests: 'this is constructed within many different spatial and institutional settings each of which provides a peculiar context of opportunity and of constraint so far as the character and content of actual

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relationships are concerned' (Bulmer, 1985 p.36). For him also neighbouring 'is a socially defined relationship ranging from highly formalised and institutionalised rules and obligations to highly variable voluntary exchanges ' (Bulmer, 1985 p. 36).

Everyone, who lives either in a city or a particular place such as the neighbourhood has some neighbours. Social relations between them are a significant form of social exchange. Furthermore, in terms of social contact, neighbours may provide assistance for each other in the form of tasks performed or services rendered. For social groups neighbours may be a source of social support and provide some types of social aids. In recent years there have been a number of attempts to understand the social environment of more organised neighbourhoods by considering such neighbouring feelings and the existence of neighbourliness as a social phenomena. Within social places there could be a twofold concept of neighbouring relations. They are known as 'manifest neighbourliness' and 'latent neighbourliness. Individuals usually in their life place presumably are a part of the following group. One group may like an expanded relationships with others while another one dislike to be involved in an expanded relationships to others. Each group has a particular social or a personal interest in this regard. In connection to this issue, a more useful distinction is proposed by Peter Mann between manifest and latent neighbourliness. According to him: 'Manifest neighbourliness is characterised by overt forms of social relationships, such as mutual visiting in the home and going out for leisure and recreation. Latent neighbourliness is characterised by favourable attitudes to neighbours which result in positive action when a need arises, especially in times of crisis or emergency. These two forms can be thought to occur in combination, together capable of describing the pattern a relationship takes' (Mann, 1954 p. 23). However, this descriptive model of neighbouring relationship does not explain what is the role of certain social constraints which contribute to shaping the pattern of neighbouring relationships in certain places.

According to comments which are made by a number of researchers, the neighbouring relationship was largely the subject of community or societies which existed in the past

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and were not so large in their density and size. In addition, the internal structures of these societies were based on strong value systems. Nowadays, cities and neighbourhoods are faced with huge changes which are affected by communication technologies, the distribution of knowledge and the eradicating boundaries between communities (Giddens, 1980). However, recent investigation show that, from the socio-geographical point of view, this issue is located as one of the key environmental preferences for inhabitants in city and its neighbourhood (Knox, 1995).

The definition of different approaches emerging among neighbours in the context of their interrelationships, has been the subject of some sociological comment. 'Several writers for example, Kuper (1953), Shulman (1967), stressed that there are two basic elements in positive neighbouring: friendliness and helpfulness. Both are seen as very inclusive categories, and the specific actions which they embrace are treated as being to a large extent prescribed in variable ways by local, historical and culturally specific personal and collective standards and conventions'(Bulmer, 1985 p. 28). Thus, individuals and groups differ dramatically in their understanding of, for example, the significance and value of given forms of setting.

Thus, if neighbourliness is defined as being composed of these two factors, manifest and latent, it will be seen that a continuum can be prepared, with positive and negative directions. Where both manifest and latent patterns are very negative, there is a complete lack of social relationships between neighbours (Mann, 1954). 'At the other extreme of the continuum where both the manifest and latent patterns of neighbourliness are very positive, there is a great deal of intercourse between neighbours which may take the form of mutual help, conversation, lending and borrowing, etc. For the action of manifest neighbourliness to be fully sound, it must be based upon the attitude of latent neighbourliness' (Mann, 1954 p. 23).

The above discussion presents the role and the pattern of neighbouring relationships which are established in present urban neighbourhoods. This highlights that the neighbouring relationship and its nature reflects the part of the social identity of the inhabitants and the needs and ideas they are faced. Looking at this issue at the level of neighbourhoods, clearly describes how people are intended to continue their 'manifest or latent neighbourliness' and whether new institutions are affected in the construction of these relationships. The key point is that people's intentions towards different types of neighbouring relationships (manifest or latent relationships) are based on the different forms of social bonding which are shaped in the neighbourhood area where they live.

3.4.4 Social Services

This part intends to clarify the role of social services in society as a whole and in a neighbourhood in particular. It is based on the assumption that the delivery of social or public services in contemporary cities and their connected areas is one of the significant dimensions which makes a particular contribution to the interrelationship between residents and their residential areas. To be associated with daily activities of the individuals, the public services are established in order to respond to the needs of residents in relation to the social environment of their life. Therefore, the general purpose of this part is the ideas which are offered above to clarify the dimensions of urban neighbourhood in its objective sense. It aims to deal with the conceptual approach to this concept in order to develop the understanding of the neighbourhood and its more significant and observable aspects.

The notion of social services requires some more exploration. Although a variety of countries in the world manage social services on the basis of different socio-economic systems, there is no difficulty in summarising what the basic social services are. The representation of social service in the mind of an individual is manifest as a result of two

information systems. The first is the substance of direct experience, and the second involves indirect experience, that is the exchange of experience with environment. Thus a city or a neighbourhood comes to be known by each individual in terms of the actions undertaken by that individual, the images that the urban physical environment makes in the individual's mind and the system of symbols or categories that the individual uses to classify features of the concrete environment. Moreover the term 'public service' primarily is recognised as covering essential forms of environmental provisions. The significant point to make about local environmental services is that they constitute an artificial grouping of services, primarily for government accounting, for the purpose of public welfare. Despite differences in names and some tendencies to subdivide it or to combine areas together, these can be aspects introduced as public services.

During the ensuing decade and a half, as the paradox of public discontent amid material affluence has become increasingly evident, the social sciences have witnessed an upsurge of research interest in the quality of life in communities (Duncan 1955; Flax 1972; Liu 1975; Sheldon & Moore 1968). The central objective of the mechanism of the delivery of social services in the community is to prepare adequate conditions in response to the basic needs which people feel are wanted. The establishment of proper services in a particular area can provide the conditions for a satisfactory integration between residents and the area where these services are delivered. Nevertheless, the dimension of social services and their acting satisfactory have an association with the general standard of the quality of life in a given society. In other words, the social services which people think should be provided reflect what sort of quality of life exists or should be established to satisfy people in their environment. More importantly, 'an individual's satisfaction with any set of circumstances depends on not only on those circumstances as viewed objectively but on a whole set of values, attitudes, and expectations that he brings to the situation' (Walmsley 1980 p. 21). These system of values and expectations are manifested in the views of people when they judge their available services.

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People who live in a city or its neighbourhoods have many different needs. This includes the need for basic facilities like housing and less basic needs such as the need for recreational opportunities. 'The concept of social need has identified no fewer than four types of need. The first is normative need. This refers to the situation where a 'desirable' standard is laid down by an 'expert' and judgements made about the provision of facilities relative to that standard. Felt need is somewhat different. It refers to the wants that are expressed by individuals when they are asked, usually in a survey, if they felt a need for certain services or facilities. As such it is a poor indicator of 'real' need because the answers that individuals give to such questions tend to depend on both their aspirations and their perceptions of what they think is available for any possibility. Expressed need is best thought of as felt need turned into action. Finally, comparative need refers to the situation where services provision for one group is contrasted with service provision for another group with similar characteristics. Need expressed by this method is the gap between what services exist in one area and what services exist in another, weighted to take stock of differences between the areas' (Walmsley, 1980 pp. 57-8).

To analyse the social structure of urban neighbourhoods, the mechanism of public service delivery, their distribution, and local organisations involved are important related issues. All these are notions which can be identified directly in an objective sense. However, the mechanism of public service and its nature and advantages or disadvantages to generate a satisfactory feeling among individuals is not only limited to the observable conditions. It also is important to consider the perception of people when they assess the quality of public services in their living place.

3.5 Summary and conclusion

The central objective in this chapter was to design a conception of urban neighbourhood, its existing organisational patterns and environmental dimensions. The idea was based on

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the assumption that dealing with this subject is a suitable way to conceptualise an understanding of the neighbourhood's environment. It also assumed that it has an effect in shaping the central trend of the present investigation, that is the setting of neighbourhoods in the city and the relationships of their individuals with its specific dimensions. Most importantly, the discussions set out in this chapter have provided some conceptual detail in relation to the neighbourhood and the main dimensions of its environment. In this regard, the descriptive models which are considered through the given discussions have established a ground for the empirical research on the basis of a theory-practice orientation that is the basic goal of this thesis.

To make a clear understanding of the urban neighbourhood as a whole, the aim was to conceptualise this place through some conceptual approaches which are connected in existing works. In this respect, certain definitions have been argued and the results of those are expressed in the theoretical and empirical dimensions of neighbourhoods as follows:

1-The physical proximity and intimacy of association among people in neighbourhood areas was a basic feature of these areas.

2-The functional separation which has inevitably led to the creation of different segregated social areas has been used to explain the dynamic process of neighbourhood building.

3-Definitions of the urban neighbourhood based on a typical or ideal-orientation. These definitions suggest both a good design of neighbourhood building (for example planned neighbourhoods), and to incorporate the best social thought to promote the quality of life, safety, and more desirable of living place of people. In opposition of these existed neighbourhoods which are built by poor quality of housing and environmental design (for example non-planned neighbourhoods).

4-Neighbourhood or locality (according to Structuration Theory discussed in the previous chapter) in the sense of a social place which is the result of modern socio-spatial expansion of cities.

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It has been argued over this chapter that it is useful for the study to use some conceptual frameworks which are generated through a systematic approach in the context of neighbourhood of the city. Basically, the main account in this chapter was not concerned with a particular model. However, Olson's (1982) descriptive model, and Knox's (1995) ideas have been used largely because they seemed to be value and are more closed to the present research framework. Olson's suggestion was the central focus in this chapter which suggests a conceptual framework of neighbourhood dimensions. This model has mainly developed a concept in relation of people to the aspects of their environment of neighbourhood areas in terms of social networks, public services, the social organisational patterns of neighbourhood and the environment of neighbourhood as a determinant for the behaviour of people.

Discussion about the typology of neighbourhoods and the classification of their internal structures has provided some necessary information which illuminates the different forms of urban neighbourhood's organisational contexts. Among several neighbourhood' typologies, Knox's suggestion was the central focus. His concern is the functional, economic, physical and social integration characteristics of these places as significant bases to classify these places. It was argued that Knox's typology needs some modifications to provide into an applicable model. The existence of specific socio-cultural contents and the socio-economic dynamic processes which have occurred in establishing the urban neighbourhoods were basically neglected by this typology. Two particular organisational forms were suggested toward the establishment a suitable basis for the current study in this research. Suburban settlements (well-planned neighbourhoods) and squatter forms of the neighbourhood (ill-planned neighbourhoods) have been considered as dominant social organisational forms of urban neighbourhoods in many cities in developing countries. Squatter settlements can be identified as environmentally disadvantaged neighbourhoods, which are characterised through a set of poor physical designs and insufficient infrastructures. In contrast, the suburban settlements are mostly well established, based on good design of housing and are characterised as advantaged

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urban places with sufficient services, a good environmental condition, the pleasant architectural and natural surroundings, the visible expression of social status and material success.

The neighbourhood as the determinant of the behaviour of inhabitants was the second part of the discussion in section one. Due to this constraint, it was concluded that the environmental determinants on the behaviour of the individuals in their living place has been witnessed by a wide range of observations. The neighbourhood environment within which many urban residents live is much more than a design of streets, buildings and physical spaces; it is a social space, and it is a contextual structure comprising localised attitudes, social norms, and many forms of the social behaviours. A basic account drew up a conceptual understanding of the neighbourhood's organisational consequences in terms of social networks and public services. It was these dimensions which form the substantial aspects of the social environment of the neighbourhood as a whole. The social structure of neighbourhood conceptually also has a close relation with its social network. This dimension has been divided into two categories: one was the kinship and second was the neighbouring relationships. In terms of social contact, neighbours may provide assistance for each other in the form of tasks performed or services rendered. For social groups neighbours may be a source of social support and provide some types of social assistance. The change in the pattern of kinship relationships in modern cities and its neighbourhoods has been reviewed in detail. The conclusion was that kinship relationships have lost their traditional significance. In modern cities more attention has been paid to develop the nuclear form of family. The mechanism of family changes stemmed from contemporary socio-economic shifts which have taken place in many countries.

In relation to neighbouring relationships, the focus of the concern was the significance of this notion at the level of the urban neighbourhood. In recent years there have been a number of attempts to understand more organised neighbourhoods by considering such

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neighbouring feelings and the existence of neighbourliness as a social phenomena. Within social places, a twofold concept of neighbouring relations has been classified. These are argued as 'manifest neighbourliness' and 'latent neighbourliness. It concluded that the best social ties occurs in the combination together the desecration of these forms of neighbourliness. However, the obvious weakness of the described conceptual model has been seen in its failure to explain the role of many social constraints which act as serious obstacles to shaping the ideal pattern of neighbourliness in social places such as neighbourhoods.

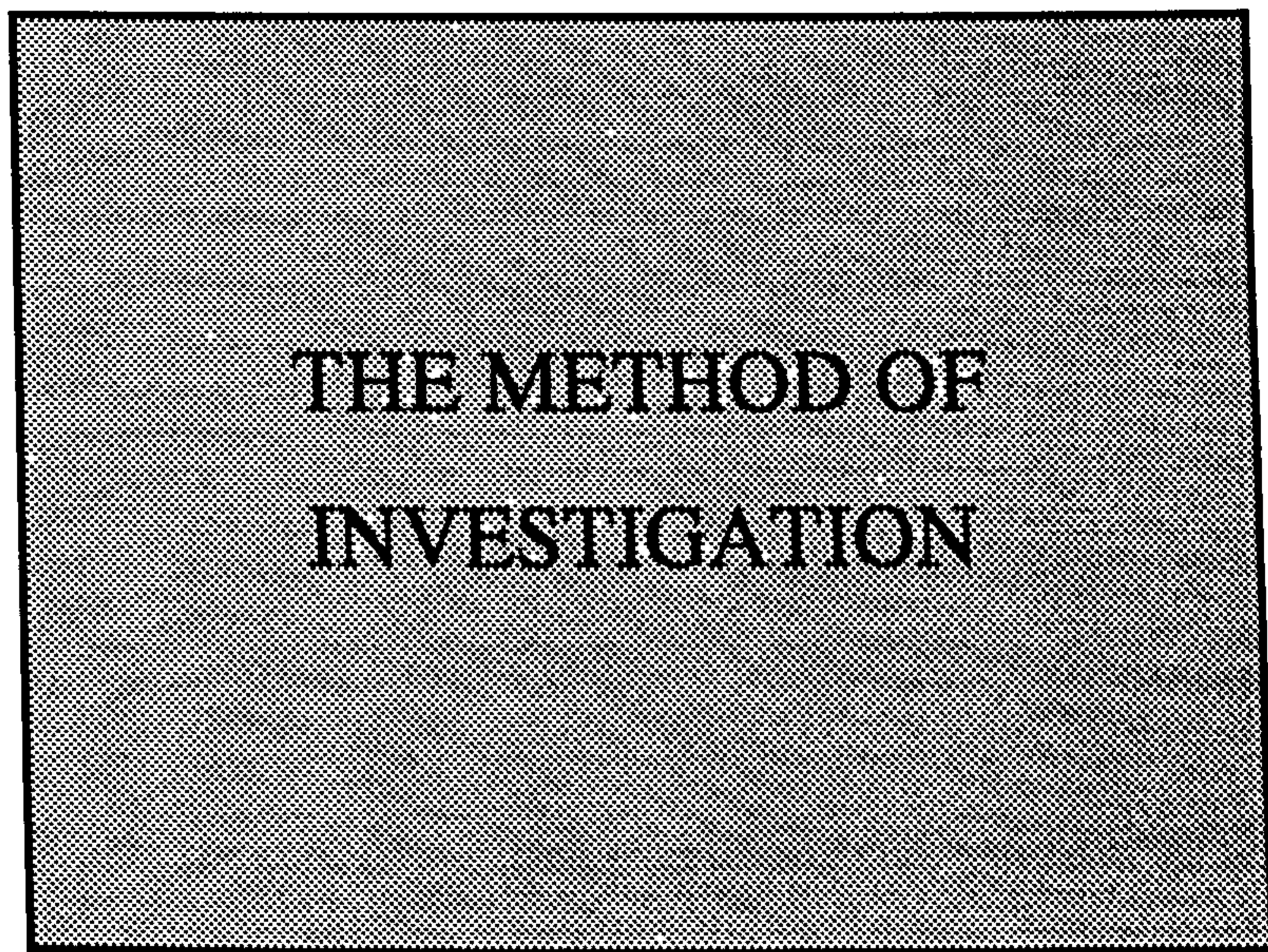
The above discussion illuminates the pattern and also the role of neighbouring relationships which existed for most present urban neighbourhoods. It has been highlighted that the discussed forms of the neighbouring relationships reflect the nature of requirements and social needs of individuals or households are faced. Furthermore, looking carefully at this issue at the level of neighbourhoods, explains how people intend to continue their 'manifest or latent neighbourliness' and whether the urban conditions seriously affect the establishment of these relationships. The key point is that the people's intentions toward different types of neighbouring relationships would be shaped on the basis of different contextual characteristics in their living areas.

The concept of public services and their delivery system was the focus of the last discussion. In a broader sense, it has been realised that, public services are part of the quality of urban life in neighbourhood units. It has described that a variety of countries in the world manage their public services on the basis of different socio-economic systems. The quality of public service in the mind of the individuals is the result of two information systems. The first is the subject of a direct experience in the living place, and the second one involves an indirect experience which would be achieved through other environmental sources. In addition, it has been discussed that the city or a neighbourhood can be evaluated through individuals ideas and their evaluations of existing services based on subjective and objective points of view. In summary, this chapter has established a

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conceptual framework for the investigation of neighbourhoods. The argument also clarify which of the presumed dimensions of the environment of neighbourhood could be fitting to apply to the empirical research. In this regard, Olson's conceptual work has provided some primary definitions which seem to be admirable in much research on neighbourhoods. His attempt to classify central aspects of the neighbourhood organisation has also been seen to be the best to build up a conceptual framework to carry out the empirical study which is the focus of the investigation in this thesis. More importantly, two key questions arise in this context. Firstly, the way in which these dimensions can be used in a particular neighbourhood case study. Secondly, how should they be related to the research purposes and the nature of issues that should be tackled. The following chapter will deal with these questions in detail.

CHAPTER FOUR:



4.1 Introduction

The conceptual framework of urban neighbourhoods was the focus of the previous chapter. The place of the neighbourhood has been defined as the growing area of the city which maintains diverse, yet discernible, environmental characteristics. The argument also clarified the significant aspects of the environment of the neighbourhood. These are suggested as conceptual tools to study the relationships between inhabitants and the environment of their 'living place'. Regarding this concern, Olson's model has been the focus of concern. In this model, the social organisational form of neighbourhoods, the effect of environmental conditions as the determinants, the local social networks and public services are considered as the more important environmental parameters for the study of urban neighbourhoods. In the current research, the study of the environmental dimensions of urban neighbourhood will address the following questions:

- how far and in what ways do the neighbourhood's inhabitants have relationships with the environment of their living place?

- what are the environmental characteristics regarded as important in urban neighbourhoods?

- what are the central causes behind the different relationships which inhabitants are interested to have with the environments of their living place and what are the differences between them?

- different residential areas create different affects upon the perception of inhabitants; advantaged areas seem to be more desirable and sustainable, while disadvantaged residential areas are seen as temporary and not very desirable. How far do

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the inhabitants in such neighbourhood areas perceive and evaluate their living places, differently?.

Therefore, the main hypotheses will concern urban spatial divisions which have taken place in the city and the overall conditions which have led to the emergence of different environments of 'living places'. The results of this process might be regarded as different forms of attitudes, behaviours and evaluations in relation to the 'living place'. In Tehran's expansion, people are developing multiple trajectories, and using their living spaces in different ways according to their particular aspirations and social worlds. Therefore, public policy should aim to provide different kinds of support for public services to reduce these differences. It must be added that Tehran's expanding development is happening in such a way as to produce very different neighbourhoods, yet all urban households seek their desirable environment of life in their living places. However, what the more advantaged areas have, the less advantaged seek to have. Therefore public policy should aim to bring all neighbourhoods to the same standard range in terms of public facilities (see Chapter 1).

With respect to the neighbourhood and its environmental dimensions the social worlds of its inhabitants should be considered in this context. Silverman (1985)'s emphases noting in this context. As he stresses: 'we cannot put our common-sense knowledge of social structure on the side... These meanings (or definitions of situations) demonstrate the intersubjective nature of the world: that much of our experience of everyday life is shared and an investigation of this experience and world requires methods which allow the acquisition of 'insider knowledge' through interaction, observation, participation in activities and informal interviewing' (Silverman as quoted in Eyles & Smith 1988 p. 2)

To investigate the neighbourhood and the relationships of residents with the environmental dimensions of this area, the methods of study and their characteristics are the central parts of this chapter. Following the discussion in chapter 2 and 3, it is clear that sufficient attention must be given to both the role of individuals as the social

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elements and the environmental characteristics as determinants. However, the role of individuals can only be understood if it is considered in relation to a wider socio-physical context. Generally speaking, the context of environment of the living place as the precondition of the overall structure of the neighbourhood areas. Also has direct and indirect effects upon perception of inhabitants. From this point of view, it might be concluded that, in order to understand the attitudes of the inhabitants, the research and its methods should be regarded through the specific attitudes and behaviour of people and the environmental contexts through which they are faced. In this respect, different methodological perspectives have given rise to different point of views. May (1995) points out: 'the actual practice of science shows that there are not only different perspectives on a given phenomenon, but also alternative methods of gathering information and of analysing the resultant data' (May, 1995 p. 3). The role of these methodological or conceptual approaches is to clarify related hypothesises and to highlight the general structure of interest of the research area. Concerning the scientific process of research method, Giddens states: 'scientific work depends upon a mixture of boldly innovative thought and the careful marshalling of evidence to support or disconfirm hypotheses and theories. Information and insights accumulated through scientific study and debates are always to some degree tentative-open to being revised, or even completely discarded, in the light or new evidence or argument' (Giddens, 1989 p. 21).

'However, methodology is the point at which method, theory, and epistemology unite in investigating specific objects within social research' (Harvey, 1990). The study, which will be undertaken through in this research, is based on the combination of factual, attitudinal, socio psychological and explanatory survey method that is conducted through a case study in two selected urban neighbourhoods in Tehran. For this study, a number of urban perspectives are focused in order to clarify the city and the growth of its urban neighbourhoods, the conceptual framework of its environmental foundations and the perspective in which the method of the study can be justified.

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The discussion in this chapter is organised as follows: section 2 identifies the issues related to the methodological concepts focused by the research. This section reviews urban perspectives that are emphasised in this study. Section 3 concentrates on the basic methods of the study. The reason why qualitative and quantitative methods are employed will be discussed in section 3. Section 4 deals with the design of the case study procedure, where the unit of analysis and the number of cases are clarified. The practical methods of data collection will be discussed in detail. This section spells out different techniques that are used in the case study areas. The method of analysis of the collected data is presented and finally the chapter will be concluded with the summary of previous discussion.

4.2. The research methodological perspectives

The study that will be carried out in this thesis has used some conceptual perspectives. These perspectives contain the Urban Ecology and the Structuration perspectives. As discussed in chapter two, these schools of thought in the urban context have largely been held as the methodological means to highlight the content of the contemporary socio-spatial expansion of the city and its environmental specifications as a whole. Specifically, the city and its dynamic socio-physical changes were the central subject of urban ecology. The following chapter, chapter five, will give some necessary detailed information about the time and space considerations in the case of the city of Tehran which has been chosen as the focus of the study, and its urban expansion in a dynamic sense.

Theoretical attempts to find a clear concept of the urban neighbourhood and its environmental dimensions were the main subject of the previous chapter. In this discussion, a focus has been given to the typology of urban neighbourhoods and their environmental dimensions in terms of social networks and public services. The main objective was to look for an effective theoretical explanation across a wider level in which

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the social organisational aspects of the neighbourhood and relationships of its inhabitants with the environment of their 'living place' will be investigated. However, it is necessary to know through which methodological perspective or perspectives the practical method or methods of the case study can be developed and more justified. The survey which is undertaken and will be more thoroughly described in the following sections, has been developed from the methodological characteristics which are argued in the Urban Ecology and Structuration perspectives. The operation of these highlight turn to the significant environmental features which are explicated in these very common theoretical perspectives.

In social science, there is a large debate concerning the employment of different conceptual perspectives in order to identify the selection of the applied methods which should be used in specific research areas. The argument concerning the reliability of these approaches has been developed. Among these arguments the objective explanation, along with generalisation, are defined as fundamental characteristic of a science (May 1995). The experimental method, has been used for several decades in social sciences. The central emphasis in this perspective relates to the type of data collection. In fact, very valuable tools and instruments are suggested in this methodology for data collection and in order to assure its reproductions. Other types of the methodologies are developed in order to complement the characteristics developed from the conceptual foundations. In other words, the overall structure of the traditional experimental method has been changed moving toward the emergence of a comprehensive understanding of issues or to establishing a multi-methodological approach. In this regard, the objective here is to combine and to modify the various techniques which were based on the experimental perspective.

Concerning the case of subjectivity, May (1995) suggests that: 'to concentrate on subjectivity we focus on the meaning that people give to their environment, not the environment itself. Contrary to the contentions of positivists we, as researchers, cannot know this independently of people's interpretations of it. The only thing that we can

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know with certain is how people interpret the world around them' (May 1995 p. 8). However realism stands for other views in social sciences which attempt to discover the social phenomena and the probable relationships between those. For the realist, adequate causal explanations require the to discovery both of the regular relations between phenomena, and of some kind of mechanism that links them (Keat & Urry 1982). However, people's knowledge may be partial or incomplete. The task of social research is not simply to collect observations on the social world, but to explain these within theoretical frameworks which examine the underlying mechanism which structure people's actions and prevent their choices from reaching fruition' (May 1995 p. 7).

According to current perspectives in social studies, the objects of study are many-sided or concrete; to be understood, the many constitutive elements isolated by abstractions need to be synthesised (Sarre 1987). Bhasker (1986) believes that generalisation is not an important goal nor is an empirical law thought worth pursuing. For the realist, causality concerns not a required relationship between discrete events like 'cause and effect', but the causal powers or liabilities, in other words capacities or tendencies, of objects, relations, or mechanisms (Sayer 1992). Accordingly, the most crucial objective of research is to find out the certain pattern of phenomena, the course of events through the discovery of structure by using imagined models.

With these point in mind, this study uses a social survey as its primary method. According to Catrian Marsh 'a social survey refers to an investigated definition: a) systematic measurements are made over a series of cases of data; b) the variables in the matrix are analysed to see if they show any patterns; c) the subject matter is social' (Marsh, 1982 p. 6). In other words, the study aims to investigate the environmental dimensions of the urban neighbourhoods through their social organisational patterns in terms of the social networks and public services which are interpreted as reflecting the attitudes of the residents. The causal powers or liabilities in the relation between the organisational patterns of urban neighbourhood and the mechanisms of residents's behaviour in relation to staying or to moving from their neighbored are also considered as significant.

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Furthermore, the neighbourhood dimensions as an objective and subjective matter will be analysed in relation to the understanding of the neighbourhood environment as a whole.

4.3 The sphere of the multi-methods approach in the current survey study

The survey method is well-known as the most useful way to investigate specific urban materials such as: the lifestyles of people, their the environment of their settlement, their social world and so on. The operation of this method has significantly increased in the field of urban studies. This method is praised for its cautious techniques of data collection in urban contexts. It has become the central attraction, for its capability in studying the relationship between people and their residential place. Although some people argue that the survey can be applied to exercise in small groups in psychology and that it can be used to examine materials in cognitive psychology (Bateson, 1984), in social sciences, however, must attention has been given in using this method in a larger group and in a wider extent of the subject matter.

In many respects, the social survey is incomponed various methods. Bateson (1984) has defined the survey as 'a technique of data collection that is the systematic and structured questioning, either by interview or by large number of respondents'(Bateson, 1984, p. 3). The operation of hypotheses involves examining the data, normally by using valuable statistical techniques to identify whether or not the hypothesised relationships are positive or negative. Nevertheless, the main propositions would be examined from several sources such as: questionnaire, interview and or documented sources. Before conducting the case study it is essential in survey method to establish the necessary theory which leads to the overall structure of the research process. In addition, the research has to have a clear definition of used variables according to a particular theory. Finally, there can be multiple sets of data, requiring different methods. It is possible to obtain different data relating to

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different phases of the research process, different settings and different informants (see Denzin, 1970)' (Eyles & Smith 1988 p. 5). 'To some extent all surveys are explanatory. They ask questions about, say, voting behaviour and seek to explain how people's attitudes or intentions are linked to their background of other variable. However, explanatory surveys are specifically designed to test hypotheses which are derived from theories' (May 1995 p. 68)

The survey method and its multi-dimensional techniques are as the focus of the method of study in this thesis. Two typical neighbourhoods have been chosen for the purpose of the study. The primary hypotheses of this survey are made through the theoretical discussions which have been developed in chapters two and three. Particular propositions as to the relations which contain the social organisational dimensions of the urban neighbourhoods in Tehran in order to understand the attitude of residents in relationship with the environment of their neighbourhoods are clearly identified through this conceptual work. A systematic method is constructed to collect the necessary data. The questionnaire method and the semi-constructed interview are used in this regard. These techniques intended to find out the necessary relations between propositions which are identified through hypotheses developed in the conceptual discussions. In the following sections the main research techniques which are used in the current survey study will be discussed in detail.

4. 3.1 Data collection strategy

The questionnaire method has been selected as a well-established technique to collect the data in survey areas. The residents of two typical urban neighbourhoods were the subject of the study. Among residents who were living in both neighbourhoods, about 400 households were chosen as a sample population. The total population of these areas was estimated at around 45,000 persons. The selected respondents were chosen by random

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sampling techniques. In each neighbourhood, about 200 questionnaires were delivered by research assistants. The head of the households were asked to complete the questionnaires. Overall 370 males and females in both neighbourhoods responded to the questionnaires. Each questionnaire contained about forty closed-ended questions. The questionnaire was divided into four categories of questions as follows:

The first category contained information of the socio-demographic characteristics of residents in the neighbourhood surveyed.

The second category of questions aimed to identify the attitude of residents in relation to their neighbourhood in terms of the social networks and public services. Therefore, several questions were forwarded with regard to family and neighbouring relationships in the study areas. In the context of public services, the objective was to get information about whether the residents were faced with public services shortages such as local school services or local transport delivery systems.

The housing situation in the neighbourhoods was the focus of the third group of questions. These sought to clarify the housing conditions and to find out whether residents had positive or negative attitudes in relation to their house and its environment of life place as a whole.

Finally, the fourth category contained several questions in relation to the physical mobility of residents and their attitude to staying at or moving from the neighbourhood and the characteristics of alternative living places.

The data was collected between July and August 1995. A pilot study was carried out in both neighbourhoods before the survey began. Twenty respondents in each neighbourhood replied to questions which were prepared in this regard. The operation of the survey started after some modifications. To deliver and collect questionnaires from the households, three sociology students for each neighbourhood helped the author.

However, all the survey data collected was analysed in Newcastle University by using computing data analysis in EXCEL

4.3.2 The main features of the study areas

The rapid growth of urban neighbourhoods, particularly surrounding Tehran, and the emergence of different residential neighbourhoods are the focus of this dissertation. The survey was conducted in the Apadana and Karevan neighbourhoods which were located in northern-west and southern-east Tehran. These residential settlements were also selected as typical examples of an advantaged (better quality neighbourhood) and disadvantaged (poor quality neighbourhood) in this city. They were emphasised because they had different local environmental characteristics. The relationships between residents in these areas with their environment of the residential place, such as social networks and public services, were specifically examined through their different socio-economic conditions. However, the important environmental characteristics of these areas, which have lead to the selection of these neighbourhoods as the case study areas, are as follows:

1-Both neighbourhoods became places of a rapid social-physical expansion in the years after the Islamic Revolution (1979-1994/1357-1374). Apadana was built and then expanded as a part of the public housing policy in Tehran (in 1980). The improvement of its location continued by activities of the governmental agencies in the years after the Revolution. In a short period (1982-1987), considerable numbers (about 350 households) have moved into this neighbourhood and the area has transformed into one of the most expensive areas in northern Tehran. The final stages of the construction of this neighbourhood ended in 1989. Because of the quality of the housing and the existence of a favourable environment, the rate and the price of housing in this area have increased very sharply and have been much higher than in Karevan over similar years (from 1978-1989), (due to the lack of enough information, it was impossible to obtain a full

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information in relation establishment from early years. According to the oral expression of a member of the neighbourhood's local management, the price of the stock in this settlement (Apadana) increased between 66 to 95 per cent of its original worth during the years between 1978-1989). According to the initial plan, the neighbourhood project was carried out to settle a population around of 10000-12000. The Karevan neighbourhood was located in south-eastern Tehran, and the area was known for many years as a village on the way out of Tehran to the eastern province. Its real development began in the years after the Islamic Revolution in 1979. The construction of houses and buildings in this area, was started by the informal sector and this was often without prior agreement by Tehran's municipal authorities. The cheaper house prices plus the existing economic problems for the urban poor in the central parts of Tehran have helped that this area rapidly become the centre of attention of immigrant households as a cheap and suitable place to live. The population of this neighbourhood has increased from 1500 in 1979 to 12000 in 1992. Since 1988, the government implemented a development policy in this neighbourhood. In attempting to develop this area, in recent years a number of social services and urban provisions, have been provided in this neighbourhood. Yet, it is very well clear that the insufficiency of urban services and public provisions distinguishes this neighbourhood from advantaged areas such as Apadana.

2-The location of these neighbourhoods in different areas of Tehran has given a specific environmental shape to their overall social organisational structure. Although they are separately built in different geographical locations, consideration of their environmental dimensions illustrates the existence of many socio-economic differences in the city of Tehran. As with many other similar neighbourhoods in this city, the different nature of their environmental conditions explains how various residential areas are facing great differences and conflicts. Such differences are not only to be found in these neighbourhoods. The typical characteristics of the neighbourhoods to be studied, can be identified in many other similar urban neighbourhoods, particularly in the south and north of this city, that are built and grew in Tehran in years after the Revolution in 1979.

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3-The objective of this survey is to account for the main environmental dimensions of two neighbourhoods in Tehran. It intends to study how and why the type of relationship between residents and their major neighbourhood dimensions is different between these areas. The result of this account will clarify how far residents in both neighbourhoods are interested in staying in their present neighbourhood and where are the alternative places they would like to move to. Apadana and Karevan are chosen as symbols of existing different urban neighbourhoods in Tehran, and their significant residential characteristics are defined in their diverse socio-economic advantages and disadvantages. Apadana is commonly accepted as an advantaged neighbourhood with an adequate potential in terms of a planned neighbourhood. Its general improvement, and its better public services and favourable social environment significantly act as the main factors which build a further satisfying situation for its residents rather than as in Karevan. This second neighbourhood is a so-called low-income urban neighbourhood and has many residential problems including insufficient public services

To summarise, over more recent years at the level of the urban problem inside Tehran, particularly in public discussions over media, these neighbourhoods were at the centre of attention. To conduct a survey, from the practical point of view, these areas have been selected, because they have a similar population size, an obvious socio-physical difference and finally because the author was more familiar with the internal situation of public life in these settlements.

4 3.3 Unit of analysis

Data gathering or, in other terms, the selection of the units of observation is one of the central issues in the survey. The basic units of information should concern a single link between two persons, two groups, organisations etc. There are doubts whether an informant will be able to answer a particular question in a valid and reliable manner.

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Therefore, the following alternatives for collecting information have been promoted in this study:

- the selection of individuals or households who live in an individual neighbourhood.
- the time which inhabitants of an urban neighbourhood have typically stayed in the area (in both neighbourhoods this likely was similar between 10-to 15 years).
- the need for common activities, for interpersonal help, etc. within a neighbourhood.
- the opportunities to get into contact with each other (more opportunities existed in Apadana).

All these items have indicated the unit of the analysis in the survey conducted in neighbourhoods in Tehran. Therefore, the unit of analysis in this study centres on: the analysis of household attitudes. It intends to identify how the head of households have perceived the central dimensions of the environment of their living place and how they would decide to stay longer at or to move from their present living place.

To understand the overall environment of urban neighbourhoods and the attitudes of residents, it was essential to clarify their elements and components in specific terms. In the objective and subjective sense, it was also necessary to understand how these components are perceived and evaluated by the households and are significantly influenced by them as well. May (1993) classified surveys into four types: factual, attitudinal, social psychological and explanatory. The survey that is conducted in this research has used all four types as significant elements of study. The factual sense in this study includes collecting some information about households through other information sources such as personal observations have also been used. Because it attempts to gain information about the attitude of households, therefore the survey can be called attitudinal. The psychological aspect of the survey refers to the intent to collect some data with which to analyse a household's behaviour. Finally, the survey is an explanatory survey, as it attempts to collect information the attitudes and behaviours in order to establish relationships with some explanatory variables drawn from the particular theoretical perspectives discussed.

4.3.4 Sampling procedure

The sample procedure is defined as 'a method of gathering information from a number of individuals, in order to learn something about the larger population from which the sample is drawn. Thus, a sample of voters is surveyed in advance of an election to determine how the public perceived the candidates and the issues' (May, 1995 p 64). Moser and Kalton (1983) list several advantages of this method. 'First, in contrast to a complete enumeration of the population, the data are cheaper to collect by this method. Second, it requires fewer people to collect and analyse the data. Third, it saves time as a sample is quicker to analyse of data. Fourth, it often permits a higher level of accuracy as the sample size allows a check on the accuracy of the design and administration of the questionnaire, while a small number of interviewing staff permits the researcher to train the interviewers and check on their accuracy in conducting interviews. Finally, fewer cases make it possible to collect and deal with more elaborate information from each' (Moser and & 1983 p. 57)

Since the community of the study areas was so large, it was not possible to carry out a survey at the level of the whole population. An appropriate sampling technique was selected that had the potential to generalise its findings. In other words, as May suggests: 'in order to justify the survey procedure, the sample is based upon statistical probability theory. By employing such techniques, researchers are able to ascertain the extent to which the sample they have interviewed is representative of the wider population' (May 1995 p. 66).

Random sampling as a reliable sample is recommended for a larger population. In order to carry out this survey, there was not any available sampling base such as an electoral register, a telephone directory, or medical records and etc. The information obtained through the Iranian Statistical Centre could be used only to indicate the survey areas and to account for the overall existing population in both survey areas. Where random sampling is not feasible, cluster or multi-stage cluster sampling, in which samples of units

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are taken from the clusters, may be used as a reasonable and reliable alternative sampling method (Jolliffe; 1986 May; 1995). In regard to these characteristics, multi-stage sampling was indicated to select the household samples in this survey.

The first step of carrying out a multi-stage cluster sample is taking a number of internal sections selected from both neighbourhoods. At this stage, the clusters were chosen in a way to cover representative parts of the neighbourhoods. Twenty residential block apartments were selected in Apadana and ten streets also were chosen in Karevan (with a similar size in the population figure). According to the Iranian Statistical Centre the population in each of these neighbourhoods was approximately 22000 (from the last Housing and Population Statistical Information registered in 1985). An equal size of sample of population in each neighbourhood was taken. Therefore, the strategy was to distribute 200 questionnaires to each neighbourhood. Again at this stage, all building blocks and streets were chosen from the Iranian Statistical Centre's map to ensure coverage of the sample. Finally, in Apadana, to the twenty blocks of four floors, 200 questionnaires were distributed based on two for each floor. In the Karevan neighbourhood, through ten streets that contain a population of about 300 households, the questionnaire was distributed to about fifteen in each street. The response rate in both neighbourhoods was high, giving a satisfactory validity the survey.

After selecting the neighbourhoods for the case study, in order to carry out the survey, it was necessary that the survey be approved through official procedure. In order to get official permission, the initial design of the study was sent to the authorities in Municipal 20 (where Karevan neighbourhood was one of its administrative spheres). After a few days the plan was approved successfully and the survey operation was encouraged by the authorities in this municipality. In order to select the sample size and conduct the survey in Apadana, conditions seemed to be different. It was anticipated that the operation of the survey would not receive any particular difficulty; firstly it was anticipated that there would be no negative attitudes among its residents and secondly the authorities of Apadana Project essentially expressed their interest in conducting such a survey (there

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were several meetings with some authorities of Apadana Construction's Project, National Central Bank, and in the Apadana neighbourhood). In addition, as part of the research requirements, there were attempts to obtain an official permission to carry out the survey in this neighbourhood. In this case a Scientific Advice Centre as a part of the Iranian Higher Education Ministry provided an official letter to make possible the operation of this survey in Tehran's urban neighbourhoods as a whole.

Following official approval to conduct the survey, the sample population was selected from both neighbourhoods, and the help of three students used to distribute and to assist the households in filling in the questionnaires. At the front doors, which were previously indicated through random sampling, households were asked whether they would like to reply to the survey questionnaire on their own or with help from the students (before starting to distribute the questionnaires the students attended a training session in order to learn the general objective of the study and obtain knowledge of its questionnaires). About 145 households in Apadana totally answered the questionnaires and the rest of them were filled in with the assistance of the students. In Karevan, this figure was different: only 35 households directly replied to the questionnaires and the rest of the questionnaires, which numbered about 135, were filled in with the help of the students.

4.3.5 Questionnaire technique

In the survey study, the purpose of the questionnaires is 'to measure some characteristics or opinion of its respondents. Depending upon its aims, the procedures it adapts and the number of people who are interviewed, generalisation can then take place from the sample of people interviewed to the population as a whole' (May 1995 p. 65). The place of the questionnaire in social research is characterised by several themes. 'First, the construction of questions which reflect theoretical propositions. Second, analysis through the means of employing statistical techniques often imported directly from natural

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science. Third, an ability to generalise from a sample of the population, to the population as a whole. Fourth, causality as an explanation of human behaviour: for example, the variation of a person's conservative orientation to social life with their increasing age. Fifth, the discovery of objective indices of population characteristics and beliefs through the means of a meticulous attention to the detail of accurate measurement facilitated by standardisation. Sixth, the ability to replicate the findings of questionnaires to check for bias, and finally a focus on the replies of individual respondents' (May 1995 p. 67).

This important part of the survey included creating questions which related to the assumptions which were driven from the theoretical foundations discussed in the previous chapters. Over 40 key questions containing different aspects of the survey study purposes were devised in this respect. The environmental dimensions of neighbourhoods in terms of social networks and public services, the type of housing and the kind of relationship which residents were encouraged to maintain with their neighbourhoods were asked of respondents in the form of closed-ended questions (appendix 1). In addition, to help the questionnaire be more easily undertaken by the respondents, attention was also given to the design of both its content and the accepted style of questionnaire, in order to make it easier to understand and respond to in practice. The original checklist contained 40 closed-ended and 3 open questions. Simplicity was employed, while a smooth flow of questions, a clear instruction, and some transitional phrases and examples were provided to make this data collection instrument understandable. Moreover, a clear printing and numbering sequence was used to create an orderly impression.

The questionnaire was designed after reviewing a considerable number of previous questionnaires on the subject (Palm, 1981). The questionnaire produced for this survey was controlled and an attempt has been employed to conduct it in similar cases. During a pilot study, in each individual neighbourhood, about 20 heads of household replied to the questionnaire and accordingly from this pilot some modifications appeared in the final draft. In addition, a short and clear introduction was included at the beginning of the questionnaire to explain the basic aims of the case study and to highlight the general

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strategy of the questionnaire. It was assumed that this pace would appropriately justify the general direction of survey and would give respondents more motivation to reply to the questionnaire as expected.

As explained earlier in this chapter, the type of questionnaire in this survey was basically of the self-completion type. 'The mail or self-completion questionnaire offers a relatively cheap method of data collection over the personal interview. As their name implies, they are intended for the respondent to fill out themselves. As a result, once the questionnaire is sent out after the pilot work, the researcher has little control over the completion of the survey' (May, 1995 p.72). As Pedhazur (1991) and May (1995) have emphasised: the questionnaire should be set out in a way that minimises the respondent's failure to answer the questions. Therefore, careful attention was given to the sequence of questions within the questionnaire with regard to the organisation of different parts of related questions. Furthermore, the questionnaire was designed in three primary groups. The specific implication of these groups of questions was to examine some objective items in both neighbourhoods, such as the physical aspects of residential areas and their socio-demographic characteristics. It was also intended to measure some other subjective issues such as the attitudes of households in both neighbourhoods in relation to the organisational consequences of the neighbourhoods in terms of social networks and public services. These items were spelt out in other categories. In the case of the social networks, the family and neighbouring relationships were the centre of attention. However, in regard to public service, school and transport were the focus of a number of questions. In another part of the questionnaire, housing and the attitude of residents in relation to this item and their interest in staying at or in moving from their neighbourhood were questioned. Finally, some consideration was given to produce questions in relation to the existing social context in these neighbourhoods. A considerable number of questions were included in the questionnaire depending on the variables to be measured. An intermediate category was used in most of the categorical questions relating to respondent's opinions and behaviours including a logical middle position and a 'do not know'.

The result of conducting the questionnaire in both neighbourhoods was as follows. In Apadana 83.5 per cent households replied to the questionnaire and this figure in Karevan was 79.5 per cent. However, the rate of the whole data collected appears to be high compared to mail and other similar data collection techniques in similar cases.

4.3.6 Conducting the semi-constructed Interviews

A semi-structured interview with about 20 heads of household in each of the neighbourhoods was a further survey procedure used in this study. It was clear that the time-table for interviewing and the clarification of questions were prerequisites for the actual interview. In this regard, the time designed for each interview was from 30 to 60 minutes. All descriptions and answers which were taken in an interview were recorded as field notes. About 6 semi-structured questions were used in interview. The overall objective was to clearly define the social attitude of residents in relation to their neighbourhood social network, public services and their actual interest in their living place. The interview was not employed in the main survey as a basic procedure to collect detail. Instead, it was used to help to collect more required information. For instance, the results of the interviews are used to clarify the household's outlook when it was felt necessary for more to be highlighted. The results of interviews are mostly used in the chapters seven, eight and nine, when the report and analytical descriptions are provided to supplement data collected in the survey study.

4.3.7 Analytical Approaches

There are at least two major analytical ways available to achieve research goals in the social sciences: a qualitative approach, and a quantitative one (Ragin, 1994). Qualitative and quantitative are different forms of the analytical practice of re-representation in

research and both seek to arrange and rearrange raw data. In the quantitative way of analysis 'the method of analysis depends upon the data produced. In order to legitimately use some statistical methods it is necessary to argue that the data are of a certain type. Broadly speaking there are three levels of measurement applicable to the social sciences: nominal, ordinal and interval' (May, 1995 p.84). The ordinal category ranks the differences in replies. Most variables in social analysis are of an ordinal form and for that reason statistical techniques which require an interval level of measurement are frequently invalid. Therefore, the quantitative analysis in this research follows a pattern of analytical description which is based on an ordinal category of ranks presented in frequencies calculated by statistical computer programs in SASS and EXCEL.

'The aim of questionnaire analysis is to examine patterns among replies to questions and explore the relationships between variables by explaining them in terms of what are known as independent variables. This takes the form of seeing to what extent one variable is influenced by another. This can be achieved through using computer packages such as Minitab and SPSS" (May, 1995 p. 84). There is little problem in using either of these approaches with theory testing and theory construction. The quantitative method is very useful for testing theoretical ideas and images. This approach is specially useful when the researchers intend to make predictions. Both qualitative and quantitative approaches share a common concern with theory.

Moreover, it should be noticed that despite the existence of some relationships between the analytical approaches and epistemological paradigms, where a researcher relies on either qualitative or quantitative approaches this does not require an epistemological justification. It can be justified in a pragmatic way as well. This means that the distinction between quantitative and qualitative approaches is really a technical matter and therefore the choice between them should be made based on their suitability in answering the research question. 'Methods are not so much valid in and of themselves, but their use depends on the research purpose' (Henwood & Pidgeon, 1992 p. 17). The central aim of this research was to identify the type of relationships which households have made with

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their neighbourhoods in terms of social networks and public services. In this regard, it aims to clarify how households, through specific relationships with particular environmental dimensions of their neighbourhood, have dissimilar perceptions in different urban neighbourhoods. The analytical patterns which are chosen in this survey have both quantitative and qualitative characteristics. Quantitative analysis is mainly employed to measure the relationship between residents and their particular neighbourhood dimensions. In the case of qualitative analysis, the result of interviews and some documented materials are used to highlight the significant characteristics of the survey areas in a more objective sense.

4.4 Conclusion

As a central part of the investigation, it was necessary to select an appropriate research method to be employed in this study. The integration between a characterised method of study and the indicated methodological approach was a further issue that has been discussed in this chapter. In this regard, after giving an introduction, the implication of contemporary methodological perspectives, the Urban Ecology and Structuration Theory have been reviewed. The Urban Ecology Perspective is presented to analyse the dynamic expansion of the city of Tehran and its urban neighbourhoods. In Structuration theory more attention has been given to the structure of the city and its urban neighbourhoods from a structural point of view. Based on this approach, structure, action, time-space and locality are significant conceptual elements which identify whether and how the city and a small place such as a neighbourhood can be analysed.

The survey method and its multi-dimensional techniques which was selected to investigate the major environmental dimensions of urban neighbourhoods in Tehran and the relationship between residents and their living places was largely defined from the

The method of investigation

objective and subjective points of view. Furthermore, both quantitative and qualitative analytical descriptions which are basically outlined in the following survey are sufficiently advanced through this method. Given these features the survey method clarifies that the following study and its multi-dimensions of the methods are firmly established in this way of the study.

In section two of this chapter, the particular characteristics of the survey have been reviewed. It has been argued that before conducting the case study it is an essential aspects of survey method to establish necessary relevance within theory which leads to the overall structure of research process. Furthermore, the research has to have a clear definition of the variables used according to an indicated theory or theories. The neighbourhood dimensions which has been discussed in the previous chapter provide the conceptual background to this survey. Through this argument some related propositions and categories are highlighted. These categories are used as the conceptual basis to construct and to analyse the survey findings.

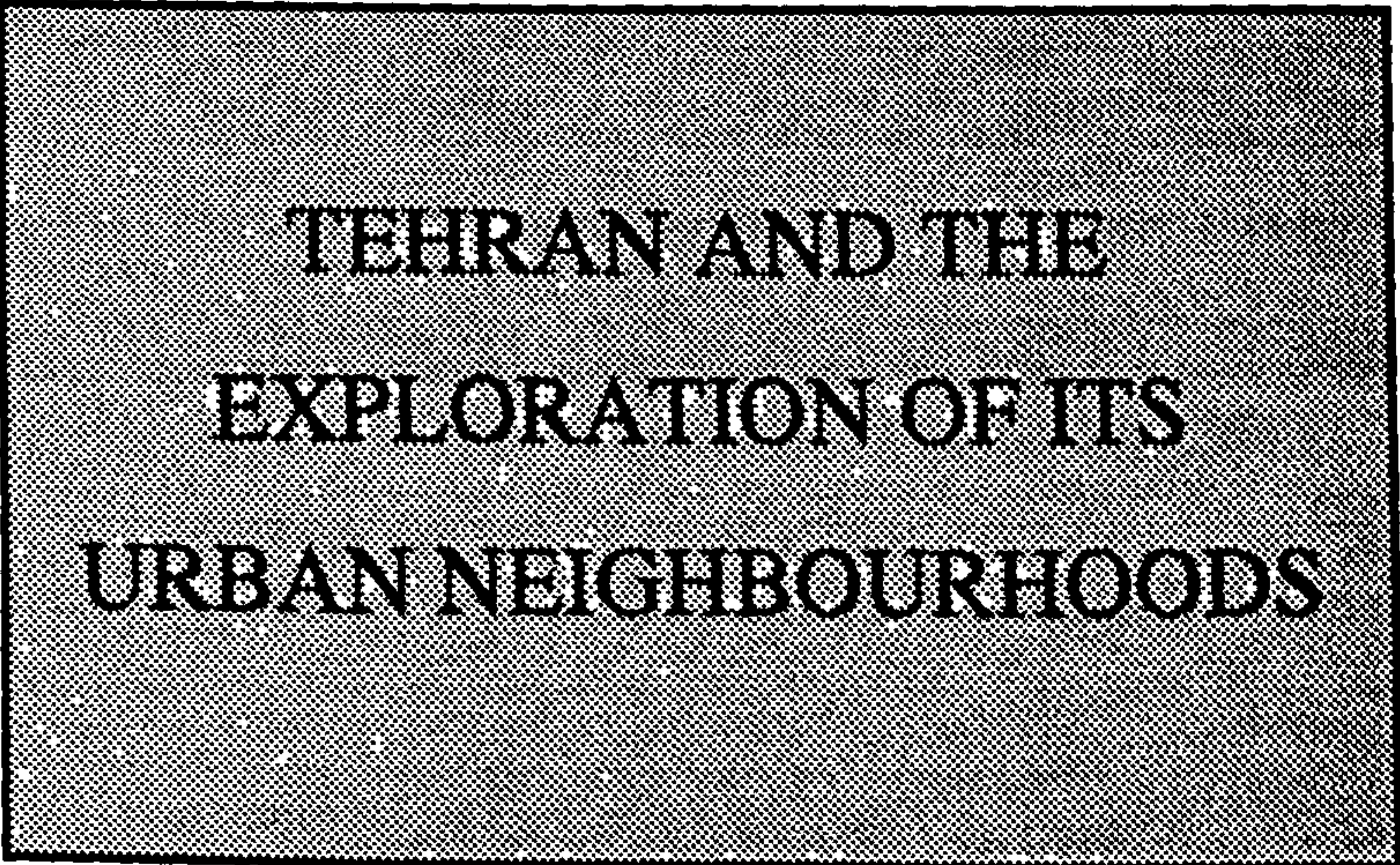
To collect data from the case study the strategy of the pilot study and then the way in which the survey was devised have been described. In discussion about the operation of the survey method, the significant features of the survey areas were the centre of attention. The Apadana and Karevan neighbourhoods are chosen as typical examples of an advanced and disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Several indicators were discussed to justify the reasonable process of survey area selection. The selections were made because these urban neighbourhoods are characterised by different socio-physical characteristics, which are the important factors of this study. Furthermore, because the overall objective of the study is to explore different types of relationship with the neighbourhood environment these selected neighbourhoods are suitable places since they are located in different parts of the city of Tehran and are built on different formal and informal housing policies in this city.

The method of investigation

Multi-stage cluster sample was indicated as an appropriate procedure to select households who anticipated to be the representative of the total population who are living in these neighbourhoods. Accordingly 200 households were chosen, based on cluster random sampling, in each individual neighbourhood. After the selection of the households, a significant task was to clarify which way the process of data collection would be followed. The design of the questionnaire and the use of semi-structured interviews has been discussed as suitable ways in which the required data can be obtained. The questionnaire which was used in this survey contained about 40 closed-ended questions. All material was categorised into four different groups: first the socio-demographic information of the study areas, second, the socio-physical dimensions of the neighbourhoods and third, the relationship between residents with their neighbourhood environment in terms of social network and public services and finally the mobility and interest of residents to stay at or to move from their living place. To measure the attitude of respondents in relation to the questions, the structure of the questionnaire was designed based on an ordinal ranking of different categories. A number of semi-structured questions were also devised for the interview. It has been explained that the interview was not the main method in this research. However, the result of the interview conducted is foreseen to be used in analytical descriptions in the discussion chapters which follow when descriptions based on the survey can usually be and supported with further evidence. At the end of this chapter the style of analysis of the data collected is discussed. According to this argument, qualitative and quantitative approaches constitute the essential basis of the current survey. Therefore, an analytical description of the data collected, based on these methods, can be indicated as the method of analysis for this survey.

The following chapter will describe the contemporary socio-physical expansion of the city of Tehran. The argument also intends to produce some necessary information about the country of Iran and the process of urbanisation which has eventually led to the creation of the city and its urban divisions.

CHAPTER FIVE:



TEHRAN AND THE
EXPLORATION OF ITS
URBAN NEIGHBOURHOODS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter sets the scene for the case study to the social relationships of inhabitants in urban neighbourhood of Tehran with the environment of their 'living place'. Section two of this chapter provides an introduction to the country of Iran and its main characteristics. Section three provides a description of the urbanisation in this country and its general features. Section four concentrates on major socio-demographic dimensions of Tehran and its rapid socio-spatial growth. It therefore explores the basis upon which the rest of research lies.

It might be said that the urban expansion of cities in contemporary Iran has led to the polarised and insufficient distribution of urban settlements, particularly in the case of larger cities such as Tehran. The growth of urban neighbourhoods in these cities can be seen as part of the widespread socio-spatial changes which have occurred over the internal socio-physical organisation. The rapid growth of urban settlements in the earlier period in the city of Tehran began from inside of this city and then the new spatial conditions have helped the establishment of considerable numbers of newer social areas in its surroundings. In a brief sentence, the process of urbanisation dramatically forced the shift in its socio-spatial foundations and it eventually has reshaped the traditional socio-physical configuration of the city towards great urban divisions.

In section five a discussion will be focused in relation to the typology of urban neighbourhoods in Tehran and their overall socio-spatial characteristics will be discussed as well. The argument will then set out to generate detailed information about the two neighbourhood areas which are located in the north and south of this

city. The materials in this context generally relate to the socio-physical structural characteristics of these areas. Apadana and Karevan will be the focus of study since these places are considered as illuminating examples (see the previous chapter), and reflect the context of the socio-spatial expansion of Tehran in the more recent period. In addition, these are well-established areas which are segregated through the housing, public services and social environments. Finally, a summary discussion will be given at the end of this chapter.

5.2.1 Iran: a description

Iran is an Asian country (see Figure 5. 1) and is located on the Persian Gulf between the Middle East and South Asia. It is bordered to the north by Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan, to the east by Afghanistan and Pakistan, to the south by the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman, and to the west by Iraq and Turkey (Figure 5.1). The capital of Iran, is Tehran and it has a population of about 64, 878,000 (1994 estimate). More than 65 per cent of its population live in urban areas and the rest of them live in small towns, villages or are nomads. The population density is estimated to be about 102 inhabitants per square mile (according to the 1994 estimate of the Statistical Centre of Iran). In two recent decades, the country was faced with a high growth in its population rate.



Figure 5.1 The map of Iran

Based on the last formal statistics, this was 2.7 per cent in 1996. The total area of this country is about 636, 296 square miles. As can be seen in figure 5.1, the country has several cities with a population of nearly one million, however, with the high number of population in Tehran dominating. Figure 5.2 shows that from a population point of view the country is young and the average age is between 15-64 (about 50.6%).

Figure 5. 2 Age Distribution: (1986)

0-14	45.9%
15-64	50.6%
65	3.5%

Iranian Statistic Centre (1986)

From the cultural point of view the country contains many different ethnic groups, such as Persian-51%; Azerbaijani-24%; Gilaki and Mazandarani-8%; Kurdish-7%; Arab-3%; Turkmen-2%; Lur-2%; Baloch-2%; other-1%. The majority of the population are Muslim, 95 per cent, however, there also exist people who are Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian. The rate of illiteracy is estimated at 46% (1990). In 1987/88, there were 7,758,000 primary school students; 3,641,000 secondary school students; and 203,000 technical and vocational school students. In 1988, universities and equivalent institutions enrolled 215 000 students. In 1992, there were 29 universities in this country.

Figure 5. 3 Major Cities Population: (1986)

Tehran (Teheran)	6, 042,584
Mashad (Meshed)	1, 463,508
Esfahan (Isfahan)	986, 753
Tabriz	971, 482
Shiraz	848, 289
Ahwaz	579, 826
Bakhtaran (Kermanshah)	560, 514
Qom	543, 139
Orumiyeh	300, 746
Rasht	290, 897

Iranian Statistic Centre (1986)

In economic terms, Iran can be categorised as a developing country. The main economic activities are the agriculture and industry. The significant imported products of this country are: machinery and transportation equipment, foodstuffs, livestock,

paper, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, metals and textiles and its significant exports product include: petroleum, rugs, fruit, hides, nuts, caviar. It is profile that estimated about 33 per cent of these economically active work agriculture, forestry, and fishing, 21 per cent in manufacturing and 64 per cent for the rest of the activities, such as the service sector and so on.

5.2.2 Government

Iran (Jomhori-e-Islami-e-Iran--Islamic Republic of Iran) became a republic on Apr, 1, 1980 following Islamic revolution, led by the religious figure great Ayatollah Khomeini, who unseated the long-time Mohamed Reza Pahlavi's government.

Adopted by a national referendum in December 1979, the present Constitution establishes an Islamic Republic in which Islam is the basis of all social, political, and economic relations. The Council for the Protection of the Constitution ensures that all legislation is in accordance with the Constitution and Islamic law. A July 1989 referendum approved 45 amendments, including the abolition of the office of prime minister and increased powers for the president.

For administrative purposes, Iran is divided into 23 provinces (ostan), which are further divided into 472 counties (shahrestan) and 499 municipalities (bakhsh).

5.3.The process of urbanisation:an introduction

In chapter two the city and its transformations in earlier history has been regarded as an initial social foundation in the human being civilisations. It was argued that the city in past periods was the core place of the many socio-economic activities. However, in

contemporary period, the city has been focused as the dynamic process of many new internal and external socio-economic forces. The new conditions of city are characterised through complicated interactions together with the role of the human being and contributions which should be understood on the basis of time and space circumstances. However, it has been argued that at the beginning of new and widespread urban changes, the process of urbanisation occurred in the West and then this process continued in other places in the world. In the contemporary period, developing countries also were essentially the subject of this process. In particular those developing countries that their internal socio-economic foundations were effected by strong affects from the Western countries and this process has helped to develop new set of urban transformations in these countries.

5.3.1 The definition of urbanisation

Urban expansion is part of the full process of social change and therefore this simply cannot be understood unless within a broader context. The concept of urbanisation it not applied in urban literature with the same meaning and interpretation. Its application largely depends upon the approaches adopted by different scholars. In general, the urbanisation process as understood in this thesis 'refers a process of becoming urban, moving to cities, changing from agriculture to other pursuits common to cities, and corresponding changing of behaviour patterns' (Breese, 1966, p.3). In this respect, studies of urbanisation have often been characterised by a focus on the spatial and demographic levels of analysis. John Friedman (1973), defines urbanisation in two forms. The first refers to settlement and economic location in which urbanisation is defined as the geographic concentration of population and non-agricultural activities in urban environments of varying size and form. In second, he defines urbanisation as: the geographic diffusion of urban values, behaviour, organisation and institutions. In this explanation, the process of urbanisation refers to a complex condition which occurs in a spatially organised social system. Johnson

refers the three points in defining for the urbanisation phenomena. Accordingly, it can be explained based on the density of the total population of an area, the implication of the urban growth and the idea of a process by which the population adopts distinctive social attitudes and organisation associated with city life (Johanson, 1990). In this regard the emphasis is usually placed on an examination of such issues as the spatial pattern of urban growth, the changes in the urban hierarchy, and the variation in the activity structure of urban areas within a national territory.

5.3.2 Urbanisation process in developing countries

The city in developing countries, however, is a study in contrast of old and new, the existence of the smaller urban places and roughly a copy of the urban place in the West. In these countries, the significant characteristic of the city can be shown in the fundamental changes which have taken place under the impressive effects of the contemporary urbanisation process. Consequently, metropolitan areas in developing countries, have continued to grow through an increasing process of population growth and materials movement. However the great contribution of the urbanisation process is in predicting and in increasing the intensification of its spatial expansion. This process in developing countries can not be seen as a sole duplication of the earlier experience of the industrial countries. Furthermore, it has to be characterised based on some specific features which existed in relation to their internal conditions. In addition, the growth of cities in industrial countries in the 19th century was a necessary prerequisite and consequence of industrialisation, whereas many cities in developing countries were and still are vigorously growing without passing the stage of 'real industrialisation'. Therefore, it is necessary to distinguish the specific characteristics of urbanisation in developing countries from what are understood in the West. Nevertheless, in many cases the consequences seem to be the same, the rapid urban population growth, the transformation of the traditional spatial structure

and the emergence of widespread new urban settlements in many modern city places being typical examples in this regard.

Due to the existence of a wide variety of sizes and types of developing countries, which normally implies a complex picture of the occurrence of the urbanisation process, it is necessary that we look at the urbanisation phenomena and its more general characteristics in an universal sense. It is a necessary in particular to note the historical period, countries, and sub-area to which it is happened (Breese, 1966; Gilbert, 1980 Johanson, 1990). These characteristics explain how the process of urbanisation has taken place in quite different socio-historical contexts.

There has been largely used the concept of 'urban place', to identify the process of urbanisation. However, Terry McGee(1971) states that whilst 'urban place' remains a contentious terms, it is accepted that an increasing urbanisation level is symptomatic of a successful urbanisation (McGee, 1971). In focusing on this phenomena, McGee attributes the urbanisation process to three basis; demographic, economic and social.

According to United Nation estimates, by the year 2000 some 50 per cent of the world population and 80 per cent of the population in industrial countries will live in urban areas (Habitat-International-1996, pp. 509-629). The growth rate of the urban population in Asian countries between 1900-1950, is estimated as from 19.4 million to 105.6. The new restatement of urbanisation phenomena denotes the predominance as a general phenomenon that has established a complicated social condition in the majority of larger cities in the world and in particular in contemporary developing countries. It has taken place accompanying many other radical shifts in the structure of urban places and became an appropriate foundation to increase existing social diversity and differences. Moreover, as result of urbanisation, the social structure of modern communities has been changed and the composition of different people through the diversity of attitudes and expectations has newly shaped the outside and inside of these cities (more details in these cases have been discussed in chapter two).

Based on the figures discussed above, it can be realised that the contemporary rapid urban growth continued in many great cities in the world over time. According to the urban ecology perspective (see Chapter two), the city in the contemporary period should be described as the place of increase in many natural areas. The competition among the urban population and the dominance of the material are elaborate characteristics in the cities which were the subject of rapid urbanisation. In other words, the process of urbanisation has to be realised as a basis to enlarge the population in cities and through this the development of new social areas as the growth of competition among the urban population has occurred. Furthermore, the fast growth of the urban population which led to an increase in the number of new urban settlements created many institutional problems for these cities, such as how to identify the social place of economic production and consumption, establishing the proper places to increase urban housing provision, providing a system of urban distribution of services and materials to different urban groups, socio-spatial segregation in particularly big cities, and the like. Since similar materials are discussed elsewhere in this thesis (Chapters 2 and 3), these issues are not pursued here.

Figure 5. 4 World Urbanised Population 1992 (%)

World Total	44
A -more-developed regions	73
B- Less-developed regions	35
Africa	33
Asia	32
Europe	74
Latin America	73
North America	79
Oceanic	71
Former USSR	64

Source: Habitat-International-1996, 20 (4):509-629

5.4 Contemporary urbanisation in Iran

The experience of urbanisation in Iran is not quite same as happened in industrial countries. Nevertheless, it has many significant similar characteristics and consequences. To identify the principal features of the urbanisation process in Iran and the consequences, the urbanisation process in this country it is necessary to look at through particular characteristics of its urbanisation.

5.4.1 The pattern of the urbanisation process in Iran

The existence of towns in the Iran dates from 2500 BC and this country has a long historical tradition of urbanisation. The urbanisation process in Iran has occurred in three distinctive historical stages: firstly, in ancient eras prior to Islam; secondly, after the establishment of Islam, as an universal socio-cultural trend in this country in the 680s, and finally the new stage which started at the turn of this century. The pattern of contemporary urbanisation in Iran has its roots in the internal structural changes which were also widely faced with the intensive effects of urbanisation's consequences in Western countries. More importantly, the growth of the total population in Iran has to be seen as an important factor forwarding urbanisation as a significant flow in changing the existing socio-spatial organisation of cities.

The growth of the urban population in Iran also should be regarded as an adequate source to analyse the various aspects of urbanisation. As an example, Castello calculated that, the urban population of Tehran between 1900 to 1940 increased from 2.1 to 3.2 million. This shows that the rate of urban population was 21 per cent to total population (Castello, 1977). The rapid increase of urban population has taken place when the country began the industrialisation experience and urbanism, as a way of social life, has widely changed the traditional modes of social arrangements. The shifts in the physical structure of existing cities, the emergence of new urban areas and

the fundamental change in the patterns of cultural and social contexts within cities all can be regarded as the significant events in the post-urbanisation period (years post 1900) in Iran. In order to reformulate this process, the following arguments will look at the central issues related to this phenomena and its character.

5 4.2 The social stages of urbanisation

Urbanisation in Iran has occurred in two stages: the first stage was very slow and the second occurred very sharply. The first stage began in 1921 and then went on to 1961. This was the period in which the total rate of urbanisation was about 2.65 per cent. The second stage began in 1961, and continued to the present; the rate of urban growth in this period was 4.42 per cent in 1976. During the years 1921 to 1961 society existed under a pre-capitalist system and the rural (72 per cent) population were the centre of national production. The cities in these periods were both trading and political centres of activities. The reconstruction plans for the country were the construction of roads and railways, the development of consumption industries and so on. Only the structure of cities changed, and rural areas were far way from these advantages. Although in these periods, the total structure of national production was changing, its outcomes did not change the general socio-economic state of social spaces and the socio structure of their population. It also needed other appropriate prerequisites.

In Iran, the socio-spatial transformation of cities in the contemporary time relates to many external and internal factors. Starting in the second half of the 19th century, as a consequence of a series of internal transformations, the structural development at the global level, and direct external influences, Iran passed through a process of change which significantly altered many facts of its society, including its economic system, political structure, social power base, and the status of the state. These transformations were highlighted by the Constitutional Revolution of 1905-1909

(Amirahmadi & Kiafar, 1987). Amirahmadi and Kiafar believe that: 'it was not until the 1920s that the process of transition from primarily pre-capitalist accumulation to capitalism got underway and its impact was noticed' (Amirahmadi & Kiafar, 1987 p. 32). These changes continued and were expanded by a shift in the socio-economic foundations in the whole country and the political system as a whole.

Like many other developing countries, in contemporary Iran, urbanisation has been regarded as a primarily primary step toward the emergence of new social mechanisms in reshaping the structure of traditional cities and in generating the magnitude of new urban settlements. These new urban areas expanded in the wider social and geographical domains. The appearance and development of new social expectations and changes in the pattern of public life among people were other factors which prompted this process. In sum, the social areas created within these settlements accommodated an extreme number of people which were composed many differentiations.

5.4.3 The rapid growth of urban population

Since the turn of this century, under the impact of contemporary social changes and the demographic situation in Iran, there have been efforts employed to use new technology to reduce population disease. 'It had a direct effect on the decline of the deathrate and has increased the total population. Its consequence increased the population of the country from 114, 000 in 1920 to 337, 000 000 in 1974. It means that during 55 years the urban population was about tripled. Other statistical evidence discovered the urban population which in 1956 was about 28.74 per cent, in 1976 had reached 38.5 per cent and increased to 54.3 per cent in 1985' (Dorkoosh, 1993 p. 2).

Another pattern of urbanisation in Iran can be seen in the emergence of a primary pattern of population distribution. In 1956, about 53 per cent of the total urban population lived in cities with a population of 100 000 or more. At the time of third national census (1986), that percentage had increased to 67 per cent meaning the remaining 455 cities with populations of less than 100 000 accounted for only 33 per cent of the total urban population. Of 26.8 million people living in urban areas in 1986, 22 per cent lived in Tehran, and 45 per cent in the eight largest cities with population of 500 000 or more (Atash & Beheshtiha, 1994).

Figure 5. 5 Urban Population (000 000) in Iran (1956-2025)

Year	Total Population	Total Urban Population	Rate of Urbanisation Growth	Annual Rate of Urbanisation Growth	Annual Rate of Population Growth
1956	18.95	5.95	31.4	-	-
1966	25.79	9.79	38	4.98	3.08
1977	33.71	15.85	47	4.82	2.68
1988	49.45	26.84	54.3	5.27	3.83
1995	64.53	37.42	58	-	-
2006*	84.65	54.29	64.1	3.27	2.71
2015*	104.34	72.83	69.8	2.94	2.09
2025*	122.17	91.16	74.6	2.24	1.58

United Nation, Prospects of World Urbanisation 1988, DEC

* These figures are estimated by UN.

Figure 5.4 shows the urban population from 1956 to 2025. According to this figure the urban population during the years 1977 to 1988 had the highest rate of growth. Based on a UN estimate, Iran until 2015 will be an urbanised society as a whole. The estimated figure is 75 per cent which is equal to the standard rate of urban population in advanced countries. Urban population during these years is mainly centralised in greater cities like Tehran.

In the total period of urbanisation in Iran, as result of the lack of structural provisions and strategic urban planning, more national wealth was employed in special urban settlements such as Tehran. This process increased the existing distance between cities and rural areas. One result of this policy was more geographical movement from rural to urban areas such as Tehran. The lack of adequate infrastructure in cities on the one

hand and the internal dynamism of city expansion on the other hand, have helped to intensify the socio-economic inequalities within cities.

5.4.4 The economic basis of urbanisation

City changes in Iran were not taking place regardless of its internal economic foundations. There has been a wider context to enforce the provided conditions for the emergence of urbanisation. In particular, there started the change in the functions of the economic basis. The Iranian economy, which at the beginning of this century was based on internal production, the export of agricultural productions and handicrafts, has fundamentally changed, and then after the emergence of the role of the 'petroleum economy' and its intense effects on the capitalist system, there were established economic activities dependent on external sources (Sultanzadeh, 1983). This shift had a direct impact on the urban economy, and the cities became dependent parts of the domestic economy. The contribution of cities to the production process was reduced and the development of cities became identified through a process of further consumption of extra national income. The growth of oil income in cities remained in dependence on further incomes from production and the export of petroleum products overseas and the import of foreign manufactured goods.

Urbanisation on the other hand required the expansion of capitalism and it could change the traditional structures of rural areas. In this regard, the surplus production of rural areas was not a factor leading to urbanisation, but the city, based on an economic surplus as consequence of oil exports, became the central focus of change. Therefore, the destruction of the traditional economic foundations, as the result of land reform in (1962-73) and the reliance on oil revenues, was the significant factor leading to urbanisation in these years (Dorkoosh, 1993).

The sharp growth of cities gained a quicker rhythm when the fundamental changes in the agricultural sector increased the land reforms made by the Pahlavi regime. As such the urban population increased from 39 per cent in 1966 to 47 per cent in 1979. 'The growth of rapid urbanisation was from three factors: 1-an intense migration from rural areas toward the urban places; 2-the growth and development of city places; 3-the transition of many rural areas to the new towns and cities' (Mashhadizadeh, 1995, p. 59). 'With a total area of 1.65 million sq km, great contrasts appeared in the resource base, population distribution and in economic opportunities. This has given rise to marked differences both between and within regions and cities, leading to much economic and spatial inequality' (Clark, 1981 p. 280).

Figure 5. 6 City Size and Shares of Urban Population

Year	Cities with less than 50.000 P	As % total No Urban	Cities with more than 100.000 P.	As % total No Urban	Cities with more than 100.000 P.	As % total No Urban	Tehran P.	As % total No Urban
1966	242	31.2	15	11	14	57.8	2.27	28
1879	328	27.5	22	9.7	23	62.8	4.53	28.5
1986	409	21.2	46	11.8	41	67	6.027	22.5

Source: Ministry of Housing and Urban Development, Iran. The 1986 National Census Dalireza Dehesh, 1994 Cities, p 413

5.4.5 The general consequences of urbanisation process in Iran

The consequences of urbanisation process in Iran can be summarised as follows:

1-Contemporary urbanisation in the country of Iran has provided a rapid socio-spatial expansion to its cities. This expansion has also changed the early socio-spatial organisation of these cities.

2-The socio-economic basis of urban institutions, which were generally under affects of social structure of the society has been transformed into a new sphere of activity .

The new spatial organisation of the city in many cases became far different from what

were considerable in the previous situation. The created urban duality affects extensively the current social system in the country.

3-The existence of the unequal conditions for distribution of the national investment and the basic provisions also heavily increased the numbers of urban population in particular places. In particular, Tehran as the capital, has transformed into a central place and could attract an aggregate migrant population.

4-The relationship between the city and rural areas has been changed and the rural areas have remained as dependent parts to the cities. The rise in the level of poverty and insecurity in rural areas as well as the lure of urban life speeded up the process of rural-urban migration, and thus created new imbalances in the urban economy. The new imbalances included rapidly rising urban land prices, inadequate housing supplies and the inability of the housing sector to respond in a timely way because of competition for resources generated by massive investment in non-housing construction (Dehesh, 1994).

5-The urban economy became more dependent on petroleum productions (revenues). Notwithstanding that agriculture has been a source of capital accumulation and support in the history of economic development in many nations, the country's large traditional agriculture sector was regarded as evidence of backwardness. The quadrupling of oil prices in 1973 and the concomitant rise in revenues had enabled the Shah's government to pursue modernisation and growth by radically revising the National Development Plan targets for the late three remaining years of 1973 to 1977 (Dehesh, 1994)..

6-Urbanisation has developed general interest toward the modernisation process, therefore, cities have accommodated various social groups and the result has been the emergence of different cultural behaviours. These cultural differences were the sources of the emergence of many socio-cultural differentiations.

7-The large expansion of urban neighbourhoods in cities, particularly in Tehran, and the appearance of different forms of relationships between residents in these areas can be identified as one of the consequences of the urbanisation process.

It is a significant matter to be noticed that among cities in contemporary Iran, which were largely under the effects of urbanisation, Tehran has a particular position. This city was faced with the big consequences of urbanisation and has totally changed its traditional pattern of settlement and the mechanism of its relationships with the environment of its living place. Therefore, it seems to be necessary to acknowledge this city, its foundation and new shape of its spatial organisation, in a broad sense. Following these arguments, attention will be drawn to the growth of population in this city and the ways in which new urban settlements, in the forms of urban neighbourhoods, are increased. The main objective of this section is to discuss Tehran and its development as the primary content to larger urban neighbourhoods. After an introduction to the patterns of urban neighbourhoods in Tehran, the study will continue by looking at two neighbourhoods in Tehran, their construction, development and general characteristics being accounted in detail.

5.5. An overview to the city of Tehran

Contemporary urbanisation in Iran had a direct effect on the existing system of urban places, particularly Tehran, from different sources, was remarkably under the influence of this process. Since this city was selected as the capital (1779-1925), further attention has been drawn to its expansion. In addition, the increase of its internal urban capacity, the development of its civilised institution and influence of administrative activities have given circumstance to absorb the most resources and capitals from the nation level. Ever since the turn of this century, when Reza Shah began to strengthen to hand of central government, Tehran has reflected the aspirations of modern Iran (Graham, 1978).

As the consequence of more internal expansion, the physical appearance and qualities of modern Tehran became sharply in contrast to those of the old districts, most of which had evolved in conformance to the traditional Middle Eastern urban models (Amirahmadi & Kiafar, 1987). The advantages offered by modern districts attracted the affluent of older neighbourhoods which included the upper petty bourgeoisie and particularly the new social group of technocrats and educated professionals. As this shift of population toward the northern city continued, a trend accelerated in the post-Reza Shah era, the traditional quarters came to be filled with new migrants and the former residences of the affluent (Bahrambeygui, 1972).

As a result of the new inhabitant financial difficulties, the lack of demand, and the government's neglect, the older neighbourhoods were not properly maintained and improved, causing their gradual deterioration. The physical decline of the traditional urban sections and the growth of modern quarters increased the intra-urban contradictions (Amirahmadi & Kiafar, 1987).

Specifically, in the Mohammed Reza Pahlavi regime (1941-79), Tehran, became the central place to communicate with world countries (Mashhadizadeh, 1994). Furthermore, growth its centralisation created many social problems, such as the accommodation of a mass population, the marginalization of a great part of the migrated people, the rise of social conflicts, the uneven distribution of provisions and so on. During years after urbanisation (1900) the process of urbanisation in this city had various impacts on all urban planning system. By the late 1950s and 1960s, the distinction between the administrative, commercial sector and the residential sector, as well as between north and south Tehran became more and more pronounced. The location of new shopping centres in the north, and of industries in the south made the contrast even sharper. New factories were also established in the western and eastern parts of the capital. The spatial segregation of social classes accentuated the growing contradictions of the city (Amirahmadi & Kiafar, 1987).

In order to devise the current survey study, Tehran), as the chief accommodation of the study areas, will be investigated in more detail. In addition, the existence of

significant urban notions such as the growth of aggregated urban residential areas, the increase of internal diversity, the appearance of social conflicts and the like, distinguish it from any other big cities in the country. Therefore, this section is organised: 1) Tehran's foundation and the pattern of its urbanisation; 2) contemporary socio-physical expansion of Tehran; 3) the population growth of Tehran; 4) the development of new urban quarters in Tehran; 5) the typology of urban neighbourhoods in Teheran.

5.5.1 Tehran's foundation and the organisational patterns of its urbanisation

Tehran has a population of approximately one sixth of the country's total population. The population of this city at the time of the study (1994) was close to 7,000,000. The city is located in the north central part of Iran, on the low surface of the Alburze mountains. It is an average of about 1158 meters (3, 800 feet) above sea level and spread over about a 282 square kilometre (109 mile) of land area between the Alburz chains to the north and the edge of the great central deserts of salt and sand (Kavir) to the south.

The name of Tehran is first documented in one of the writings of Theodosius, the Greek, towards the end of the Second Century B.C., as a part of Rags (Ray). The oldest available source in Persian of the name of Tehran illustrates that it was a small town that existed since before 850 A.D (Gita-shenasi, 1989). During regime of the Safavid Kings, Tehran became under their interest and in particular its construction and expansion started in the government of Shah Tahmasb the First (1524-76). He gave particular attention to Tehran, because of its wholesome water and gardens, and suitable hunting fields around the city, with four gates for the defence of the city and 114 towers (the number of chapters in the Quran) (Sultanzadeh, 1983).

Tehran was selected as the capital of Iran at the time of Agha Mohammed Kan Gajar, the founder of Gajar dynasty. From this time (1779-1925), its real improvement was due to the Gajar rulers. Tehran expanded under the different rules of the Gajar dynasty, as shown by the construction of many different large mosques, schools, places, bazaars. Urban development in the first twenty years of the regime of Nasereddin Shah made an obvious revision of the plan of the city, with expansion in every direction and with new walls, ditches and gates. In 1870, Nasereddin Shah ordered the preparation of a new map for Tehran; which was printed and published in 1894. The wall encircling the city was measured at 19, 200 meters, the population was estimated at about 250,000 and the number of houses at 9,000 (Gita-shenasi, 1989).

The introduction of European urban change during the reign of Nasereddin Shah (1848-96) brought a new era and some changes to the internal layout and characteristics of the city. In later years, the introduction of modern industrial production and new urban functions extended the reshaping and reorganisation of the city's internal structure. In the late Qajar period, suburban life emerged outside the wall and thus divided the city into modern and old residential quarters. At this time, the centre of the city had extended to the north, beyond the walls and around the Meiden-e Toop Kaneh (public open space). The wealthy and elite of the urban community were attracted to these northern areas. Some of the well established families also began to move towards the northern suburban areas and villages of Tajrish, Qulhak, and Yosefabad (Khavidi, 1978). 'Even in 1919, Tehran was still a walled city surrounded by the dry moat. The only entrance was through the city gates which were closed at night 'to keep out robbers and cut throats' (Graham, 1978 p. 24). 'In 1900, Tehran was just beginning to distinguish itself from the other major cities of the time such as Isfahan, and Tabriz, by being the first to possess some of the attributes of the industrial world' (Graham, 1978 p. 23).

Tehran's major development took place after the Shah Reza reforms in 1920. Reza Shah who had taken over the Qajar dynasty and founded the Pahlavi reign, was interested in changing the structure of the city according to what was considered as

the 'modernised city'. Therefore, on the basis of a new urban development policy, Tehran changed its physical and social foundations. Profoundly since this time many

Tehran's major development took place after the Shah Reza reforms in 1920. Reza Shah who took over the Qajar dynasty and founded the Pahlavi reign, was interested in changing the structure of the city according to what was considered as the modernised city. Tehran profoundly changed its physical and social foundations. From this time many new functions have been added to its previous structure. Besides, being an administrative and political centre it, also gained a greater role in the changing socio-economic situation in the whole country.

At present, the city of Tehran is one of the biggest cities in Iran and in the Middle East. Tehran's primacy, has been developing slowly during the past few decades. To a greater or lesser degree, other cities in Iran are following its example, often unconsciously (Graham, 1978 p. 23). This city today is considered to be one of the best examples of the world's primate cities. In addition to its functioning as the capital, it is the centre for the educational, cultural, industrial, commercial, recreational, transportation and communication services of the country. Besides being the provincial city of the central province (Ostane Markazy), it is the municipal centre of an area known as greater Tehran (Madani Pour, 1992).

5.5.2. Contemporary socio-physical expansion of Tehran

The expansion of Tehran during recent times can briefly be described as follows:

1-The first stage was in the period of the government of Reza Shah (1925-1941). In these years, the ditches around the city and city gates, which had been built in the reign of Nasereddin Shah Qajar, disappeared. With the building of streets and modern buildings, the city expanded in different directions, with improvement of old manifestations and the creation of new streets and boulevards, Tehran's irregular

shape was turned into a fairly geometric one (Brunn & Williams, 1983; Bahrameygui, 1972).

2-This second stage includes the years between 1942-1953 (the earlier years of Mohhamad Reza Pahlavi government). During these years, the development of Tehran was not very fast. The situation of whole country turned back due to external pressures during the Second World War plus different results from the application of internal economic policies.

3-The third stage was between 1953-1978. In this period, Tehran developed rapidly, with the creation of new streets and motorways and newly built districts and townships and also huge buildings. Tehran ranked now amongst the largest cities of North West Asia. It was characterised by rapid urban population growth and high inter and intra-urban mobility a remarkable housing shortage in the city, as well as problems with residential segregation, and in particular residential segregation based on social class (Connel, 1973; Mozayeni, 1974; Brunn & Williams, 1983).

The development of city institutions and the increase of economic opportunities provided the required conditions for migration movement. A rapid population growth in took place in Tehran during this stage of expansion. Natural increase and migration factors led, not only to increase in Tehran's population but also to its predominance within the country's urban hierarchy and to its physical expansion. Thus, in 1967, the capital had a population size 6.7 times that of Isfahan, the second largest city since the 1960s. The physical expansion was equally considerable. In 1966, Tehran was divided into ten districts, including the old city of Ray and the new affluent suburb of Tajrish in the north Shemiran area. In less than years, the city's rapid physical expansion forced the municipal government to redirect the internal expansion of the city again. In 1976, the city was divided into 20 municipal districts covering another 500 hectares of non-municipal area called 'hareem' largely occupied by squatters. The uneven distribution of population across the city boundaries was but one manifestation of the growing inequalities (social, economic, cultural) among social groups in the capital city. The upper classes, modern petty bourgeoisie, and the new salaried middle classes

benefited from a changing system of accumulated capital and improved socio-economic conditions. The upper and middle classes moved to a lifestyle which was sharply different from that of the traditional middle and lower income groups, the emerging industrial working class, and the majority of new migrant population (Amirahmadi & Kiafar, 1987).

4-Since the Islamic Revolution (1979), the process of the development of Tehran continued. In these years, as consequences of the revolution, the Eight Years War with Iraq a mass immigration occurred in to the city. The changes affected its geographical size, and the city became one large urban population centre.

Excluding its suburbs, this is a city which extends over some 570 square kilometres to include all the previously separate settlements and suburban villages. It now extends from the foot of the mountains in the north to the edge of the desert in the south, embracing both Shemiran and Ray (Madani Pour, 1990). At present, this city contains 23 smaller subordinate areas where are called Bakesh (county) and 50 Dahestans (villages) (P. B. M. statistical centre of Iran, 1992). These areas are different in size and population. The largest, 77.5 square kilometres, is the affluent area 1 at the foot of the northern mountains, which has one of the lowest densities in Tehran. The smallest area is 19, with 3.6 square kilometres, which is a poor area on the southern most edge of the city with one of the highest densities (Madani Pour, 1990, p. 49). Each area has own municipality. Furthermore, about 350 quarters or subareas, subdivisions also used by census authorities.

5.5.3 The population growth of Tehran

Since Tehran was selected as the capital, and started its physical expansion, the population of this city has continued to increase. This increase was the result of both the natural growth of the domestic population in the city and external migration,

which often in certain years had a considerable rate of growth. The following table shows the increase of population in Tehran from 1977 when the city started its development.

On the basis of official government figures, Farhad Kazemi points out that: 'from 1966 to 1976, 2.11 million individuals migrated from rural areas to cities. A few major cities, such as Tehran, Isfahan, Mashhad, Tabriz and Abadan absorbed the great majority of these migrants. Kazemi concludes that: 'in 1966 about 40 per cent of Tehran's population was of migrant origin. By the 1970s the number of migrants living in Tehran exceeded 50 per cent' (Kazemi, 1980 p.3). This large migrant population had certain characteristic features. Economically, it caused further urban poor, who lived in the slums and shanty towns which had cropped up around Tehran. For the most parts, they were unemployed. From the social point of view, they were largely isolated.

Figure 5. 7 The Expansion of Urban Population in Tehran (000) From 1775-1986

Year	Population	Annual Rate(%)
1775	15	-
1866	120	3.1
1871	131	0.9
1884	147	0.7
1899	200	1.9
1923	210	0.2
1931	300	4.5
1934	360	6.7
1939	540	8.11
1942	699	8.6
1946	880	5.8
1950	1512	5.0
1959	1629	0.9
1966	2720	5.3
1975	60.43	2.9
1986	7916	2.7
*1996	-	-

An Introduction to Urban Economics, Saeed Abedian Dorkoosh, Iran University Press, Tehran, 1993 Iranian Statistic Centre, The National Annual census, 1364, 1356, 1367

* The rate was not clear , because source changed.

The population of Tehran grew between 1957-1986, from 1, 58 million to 6, 2 million during 29 years (1957-1986) as a consequence of the conditions discussed in the

previous part. Figures 5-7 show the rate of this increase. The population of Tehran has risen from only fifteen thousand in the 1780s to more than six million in the 1980s, far above the other large cities of Iran. According to the latest public population census in 1985, 64 per cent of the Tehranin population were born in the city and 36 per cent are people who moved to this city in recent times. As was discussed above, one of the reasons which caused the increase in the number migrants to this city can be seen as its better urban facilities for residents. As an example, in 1986, Tehran province had 25 per cent of pharmacies, 30 per cent of cinemas, 66 per cent of all published newspapers and magazines and 26 per cent of all establishments in the country (Kayhan, 1989).

Migrants to Tehran have come from all parts of the country, and they have diverse socio-economic and cultural backgrounds. 'According to the 1986 census about half of Tehran's population was born outside the city; about one quarter (750,000) of the migrant population was born in Tehran and Markazi (central) provinces, and one-fifth in the north-west provinces of the country, and one-tenth in Gilan and other provinces of the country' (Nazari, 1989 p.164). These figures show the importance of distance from place of origin to destination, in explaining the volume of migration. The greatest outcome of rapid migration to Tehran is visible in its internal urban structure and in its demographic composition. It was a base upon which a great expansion from its normal size and population density occurred. Despite the urban land use regulations which presented limitations to development and using the new lands in the surroundings of the city, particularly in the post-revolution years, the city has expanded sharply and many new urban quarters were constructed.

Figure 5. 8 Percentage of Average Annual Growth of Tehran Population 1956-80

Year	Total growth %	Migration %	National growth %
1956-66	5.5	3.2	2.3
1966-76	5.2	3.1	2.1
1976-80	5.3	3.2	2.1

Broadly speaking, the following reasons can be put forward as the main factors which motivated migrants to move from their town or rural areas into the city of Tehran:

- 1-The establishment of many industries, factories and their attendant development in the surroundings of Tehran.
- 2-The expansion of the major educational, scientific, arts, literary activities in Tehran.
- 3-The city became well established for medical services, professional clinics and was also equipped with hospitals rather more than other cities.
- 4-Overall expansion of communicative means, mass media and the increase in literacy in the country directly or indirectly motivated migrants to move toward Tehran.
- 5-The lack of adequate attention to the development of the agricultural sector in the country and the increase in the rate of unemployment in rural areas (as a push factor).
- 6-The centralisation of major administrative and executive organisations in Tehran
- 7-Tehran in the eyes of migrants became the place for diverse facilities and urban provisions.

5 5 4 The development of new urban quarters in Tehran

The later Gajar period (1779-1925) can be seen as the beginning of the emergence of suburban life and the division of the city into modern and old residential neighbourhoods. At this time, the centre of the city had expanded to the north beyond the walls and around the Midani Tup-Khaneh (public open plaza). This phenomenon began to draw the residential housing units of the rich and the elite of the community toward the north. Even the affluent groups of families started moving toward the northern suburban areas and villages of Tajrish, Gulhak and Zargendeh, and later on Yosefabad. The first census of Tehran toward the end of the Gajar period in 1884, indicates the existence of five residential quarters and many subdivisions inside the city walls and an additional quarter outside of the boundary with the city's total inhabitants numbering close to 150, 000 (Khavidi, 1978).

From the early years of this century, in Tehran, there has begun a movement toward institutional changes to the geographical structure of this city. As Khavidi (1978) pointed out: the older quarters, or the most crowded and densely populated residential area of Tehran, were still around the Bazaar area, and Tehran was representative of a typical oriental city with all its characteristics (Khavidi, 1978). Accordingly these characteristics were narrow pathways or mazes, large mosques, and a network of bazars which were superimposed on the landscape of the region, with socially segregated wards and quarters, Ark or old citadel, and the existence of public bath and water storage tanks in each neighbourhood (Khavidi, 1978) Although the urban structure of this city has changed from that time, most of these urban characteristics are still in existence with some changes at the present time.

Throughout the era of Reza Kon Pahlavi (1921-1941), Tehran had slow growth and its structural sphere gained a new shape. The city walls were completely demolished and the previous style of building was replaced with a modern urban network that is the present foundation of the city. In order to manage the communication network which was recently developed within the city, numerous broader avenues were designed, some based on their previous alignment. The new expansion of Tehran at this time shaped the city toward both north-south and east-west axes which gradually formed a new built-up area and transported the centre of the city northward. Immediately after the Second World War (Mohamed Reza Pahlavi 1941-1979), Tehran underwent more transformations and a large growth and physical expansion changed its diverse structural aspects. However, rapid urban population growth and a high inter-and intra-urban migration to the city led to considerable housing and urban amenities shortages particularly for poor and migrant residents.

From the second half of this century onward, the city of Tehran expanded more toward the north and Northwest in the direction of major transportation routes and more open areas, and houses of the community of the elite imitated those in some Western cities. The northern suburbs and the one-time summer resorts at the foot of the Alburz are now more a neighbourhood in the city, and less to be seen by those incorporated villages that once were used only for summer residents. Furthermore,

this northward expansion of Tehran has brought many extreme changes in the residential and seasonal migration of the upper classes from the city to the northern resort areas (Khavidi, 1978).

In the post-Revolution years (1979-1994), the major characteristic of Tehran's urban fabric is the presence of many small satellite settlements which have been gradually absorbed by the city in its outward expansion. These settlements have been either pre-existing rural areas or new settlements. There have been some 77 rural settlements which have been engulfed into Tehran. In 1982, in addition to these were 92 new towns and settlements (Shahrak) identified around Tehran and Karaj.

As a consequence of the migration and natural growth of population, specifically between 1975-1985 (1353-1363), Tehran has rapidly expanded toward more new urban places. In particular, the great movement from rural to Tehran has changed its internal social structure. As much evidence shows, in the previous years, socially, the old Tehran was a small community with a roughly recognisable socio-physical environment. Its social and economical activities were simply more organised. Residents in the city were attached to the social environment of their 'living place'. As a unique source of social living, the traditional social standard of urban life could provide a strong type of association between residents and their 'living place' in the city (Tehran's Book, 1993). However, the large expansion of the city and development of its activities has widened the distance between residents, their relationships with environment, and created the conditions from which emerge many urban contradictions.

So far, the development of new urban neighbourhoods occurred as a result of the increasing demands among population and their required settlements in this city. In this regard, one of the important notions related to the housing situation and its instability with respect to the amount of supply and demand. In other words, the rapid increase of population in Tehran caused a housing shortage and then it became very urgent to build new residential areas, in particular surrounding the city where land was cheaper. Speculative landowners started to build houses with little consideration for

urban planning, such as minimal space requirements, and the need to provide adequate lighting, drainage, ventilation and access to public sanitation. Planning regulations provided an ineffective, and irregular building spread especially to the west of the city. In the inner city due to massive growth in housing construction, the increase in the number of urban organisations, the problem of traffic jams, and the existence of the poor services, was not an attractive place for affluent or middle class people.

5.6 Urban space of Tehran

In 1980, the average density in Tehran was 96.2 per hectare. The highest densities were mostly located in a grouping of areas from the south-western corner of the city stretching towards the east and north-east. Against this, the lowest density areas were to the north and north-west. Disparity in densities of the areas became evident in 1988 (Razaghi, 1988, p. 95). In this year, 72 per cent of the Tehranis lived in 46.8 per cent of the city, whereas 53.2 per cent of the city was occupied by only 28 per cent of population (Madani Pour, 1990 p. 50), (Figure 5.9). It was necessary to reshape Tehran's internal socio-spatial structure, in order to establish a new form of urban growth. The core central city became the place of tremendous urban difficulties. In this situation two parallel phenomena occurred: 1-the increase of the idea of inhabitants of the inner side to move out of the centre (which is much better than living the in centre of the city). Particularly this process was more dominant within urban inhabitants who were mainly from higher classes or even the middle class. These people were looking to buy an appropriate side or certain housing around the city. 2- The other phenomena included widespread mobility from outside the city. Migrant groups who were mostly poor households and lacked primary investment were required to settle in peripheral neighbourhoods which were mostly very poor in terms of urban facilities.

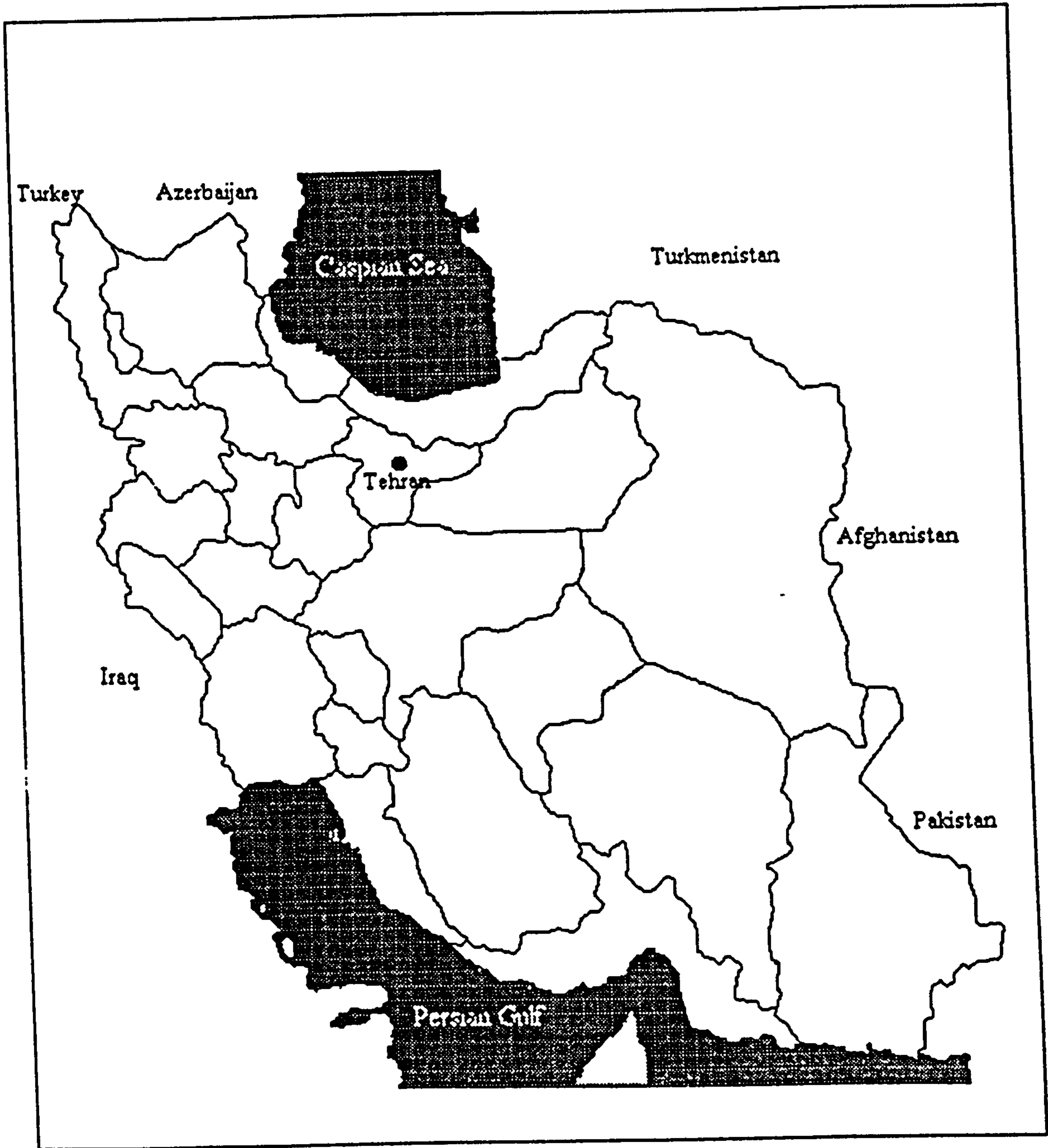


Figure 5.9 The location of Tehran

The present residential divisions in Tehran can be defined as three groups: the first major residential division of Tehran includes many new high buildings and expensive detached family houses and villages with modern and western style architecture located in the northern suburbs of districts 3, 1, 7 and some parts of district 2, such as Shark Garb and Apadana (which is of the neighbourhoods examined the present study). These districts are mainly occupied by high income groups including the social and political elite and high-ranking government officials. The most expensive neighbourhoods in which upper class people live are in the north of Result highway, such as, Vanak, Ghutarieh, Shemiran, Golhak, Sadatabad, Shahrak Garb and Shahrak.

The second major spatial and residential division of Tehran consist of middle class families of self employed businessmen and government employees. They occupy the area north of Bazaar, predominantly. Here one finds vast residential areas which have been built in the mid-twentieth century and which themselves may be divided into two categories. 1- Lower-middle class people who reside close to the old commercial centre, between 15th Khordad street and Jamhuri Avenue and Taleghani Street. Residential areas are mixed with commercial land use especially along the major roads. 2- The upper middle class live north of Talegani Street, an area which includes some modern and multi-story apartments.

The third major residential division is the southern residential area of the city, which is located to the south of the Bazaar (district 12). High population densities of 201-400 persons per hectare have been recorded in this area. In districts 17, 18 and 19 more than 400 persons per hectare have been recorded. Districts 20 and 15 have lower densities with 31-100 persons per hectare. There are no tall apartments in the south and buildings are mostly constructed of brick and iron specially in districts 15, 16, and 20 (Karevan as a neighbourhood mainly for poor urban residents is located in this district, this area is selected as the second case study area in the present study). The housing form is of one or two story houses, often including a courtyard, a small pool and small vegetable garden. This type of house is very common in Javadieh, Khazaneh and Khaniabad. Moving towards the south edge, one finds the majority of houses with two to three rooms, as well as some one room dwellings. The residents of these

districts are mostly low income migrants from other parts of the country, who, because of the low rent and cheaper accommodation, have come to live in these areas. Before the revolution, low income households were particularly affected by the rapid increase in the cost of rented accommodation elsewhere in the city. At this point they invaded or bought cheap, contributing to the expansion of the urban fringe through the formation of new settlements such as Karevan.

The pattern of residential land use mainly shows a fairly orderly distribution in a south-north direction with low-income groups residing in the south, the high income groups in the north and middle income groups in between (Bahrambygui, 1972). During the years 1979 to 1986, the migrants, who became the major body of the urban population, mostly were poor people who, with empty hands, left their previous location, desiring to use urban services. The fast migration had a twofold impact on the structure of city: first their invasion to the older neighbourhoods and the second the creation of squatters or shanties (Zageh) in the surrounding city (Madani Pour, 1990). Most of migrants who moved to Tehran, because they lacked economic abilities, were obliged to settle in poor neighbourhoods in the surrounding city, despite the bad environmental conditions. Since to buy or rent housing was not possible for them and their lack of access to the services in the centre of the city, they were mainly accommodated in squatting areas in the south-east and south-west of the city.

The result of mass mobility to and within the city brought a vast expansion of Tehran. In turn, this widened the cleavage among the different urban region. The disconnection between different parts of city created urban disparities with the increase of structural diversity and contrasts. This feature of urban environmental dimensions are more visible in neighbourhoods which were developed during periods which are discussed earlier. In order to draw attention to the contextual characteristics of urban neighbourhoods in Tehran, the rest part will look at the different patterns of urban neighbourhoods. Then Apadana and Karevan will be considered as two typical examples of existing urban neighbourhoods in north and south Tehran.

5. 6.1 The typology of urban neighbourhoods in Teheran

The concept of satellite town (or peripheral urban neighbourhood) development was first proposed in Iran by Scetiran, a French planning consultant firm, in the mid-1970 for the purpose of decentralising population and economic activities away from the large cities to new satellite communities. In the 1970s, several new peripheral neighbourhoods were proposed and developed as planned residential communities or industrial towns around a few large urban centres. New satellite planned residential communities included Shahrak Gurb in Tehran and Shahin Shahr in Esfahan (Atash, 1994). After the revolution, the new government also pursued the development of new residential areas in this city.

These neighbourhood areas (more details relating to the concept of the urban neighbourhood is contained in chapter three), can be seen as the central part of Tehran's physical structure, and recently they became the subject of heated arguments. The significant forms of these urban places can be classified as advantaged and disadvantaged neighbourhoods. These residential areas surrounded Tehran city to the north, south, east and west. The pattern of urban settlements gave specific features to the overall socio-spatial structure of the city. This is evident in either the form of the housing building, or socially in its urban environments. Disadvantaged or poor neighbourhoods have grown towards the south-east and south-west of Tehran. Although a number of new residential constructions in these areas developed, such as Masoodeh, Moshireh, Koei Sizdai Aban, almost their illegal housing constructions with the low sizes. Insufficient urban provisions can be seen as obvious socio-physical characteristic of these residential settlements. However, another group of urban neighbourhoods in Tehran, which are categorised as advantaged urban neighbourhoods, have developed to north-east and north-west of the city where the middle and upper class groups live.

The high rate of rural to urban migration to Tehran led to the formation and expansion of squatter settlements or poor neighbourhoods in Tehran. The emergence

of squatter settlements in significant numbers began during the 1950's. They are commonly referred to as God-Neshinan "pits" and were in effect abandoned sites where quarrying and gravel excavation and occurred. The location of these "pits" provided low-income migrants with shelter near to their places of employment. The residents of these settlements were initially threatened and later forced out of their shacks (Ettelaat, 1958).

It should be noted that the south of the city, dense and crowded as it is, has the institutionalised form of shanty towns. 'Many of these urban villages (Piran 1988) are incorporated into the main urban fabric through the gridiron of road networks. However, the forceful removal of squatters was not effective. Soon after, the settlements appeared again. In the period 1956-67, a large community project (Nohom-e-Aban) was built in the south of the city with 3, 800 two-room low cost housing units. By early 1967 it was claimed that all residents of squatter settlements in Tehran had been transferred to this new community, and that squatter units had been demolished' (Bartsch, 1996 p. 20).

In the establishment and development of advantaged neighbourhoods, the main objective was to reduce the problems of housing difficulties in the centre of the city and to provide suitable housing for different groups. In the construction of these types of neighbourhoods, with respect to both physical and social facilities, attention were paid to using the higher standards in urban planning. The construction of these types neighbourhoods dates back to 1972, when Tehran was strongly under the force of the increase in population from both inside and outside. This way of establishing advantaged neighbourhoods continued after the revolution. One further difference in the planning of these neighbourhoods was that more attention has been made to link the traditional style of urban planning in Iran to modern planning experiences. Apadana in Northwest Tehran, has been constructed in this respect.

5.6.2 The socio-structural characteristics of the Apadana neighbourhood

Apadana is located in north-west Tehran (Figure 5.10). The neighbourhood is about 600 square kilometres large. According to Tehran's latest census (1986), the population living in this neighbourhood was about 22,000. Towards the north and west, the neighbourhood is connected to a number of similar residential neighbourhoods following expansion in recent years. Among these, the neighbourhoods of Akbatan, Garb, Farhangian and Fakori Shahrak are the most well-known. From the Azadei great square (in the north of Tehran), this neighbourhood has good access to the central regions of Tehran. This planned neighbourhood is very close to Tehran International Airport, to the Tehran great playground and to the northern central bus station. Tehran's main way towards the north of the country is also very close to this neighbourhood.

A set of high multi-story apartments circles this neighbourhood from the east and north. Not very far towards the northern region, a chain of mountains contributes a medium climate in this area for most of the year. In comparison to other residential areas in the south, east and in centre of Tehran, the price of land and property in this area is very high. Since the population of Tehran has increased, many urban difficulties appeared in the centre of Tehran, and, as the direct product of city expansion in the recent period, the Apadana neighbourhood, like many similar areas in northern regions of the city, has become the place for middle and upper class people.

The Apadana neighbourhood is a 'planned neighbourhood'(see Figure 5.11 and Figure 12). The earlier expansion of this type of neighbourhood is related to the activities which were undertaken in the years 1971-1980 by the private and public housing sectors.

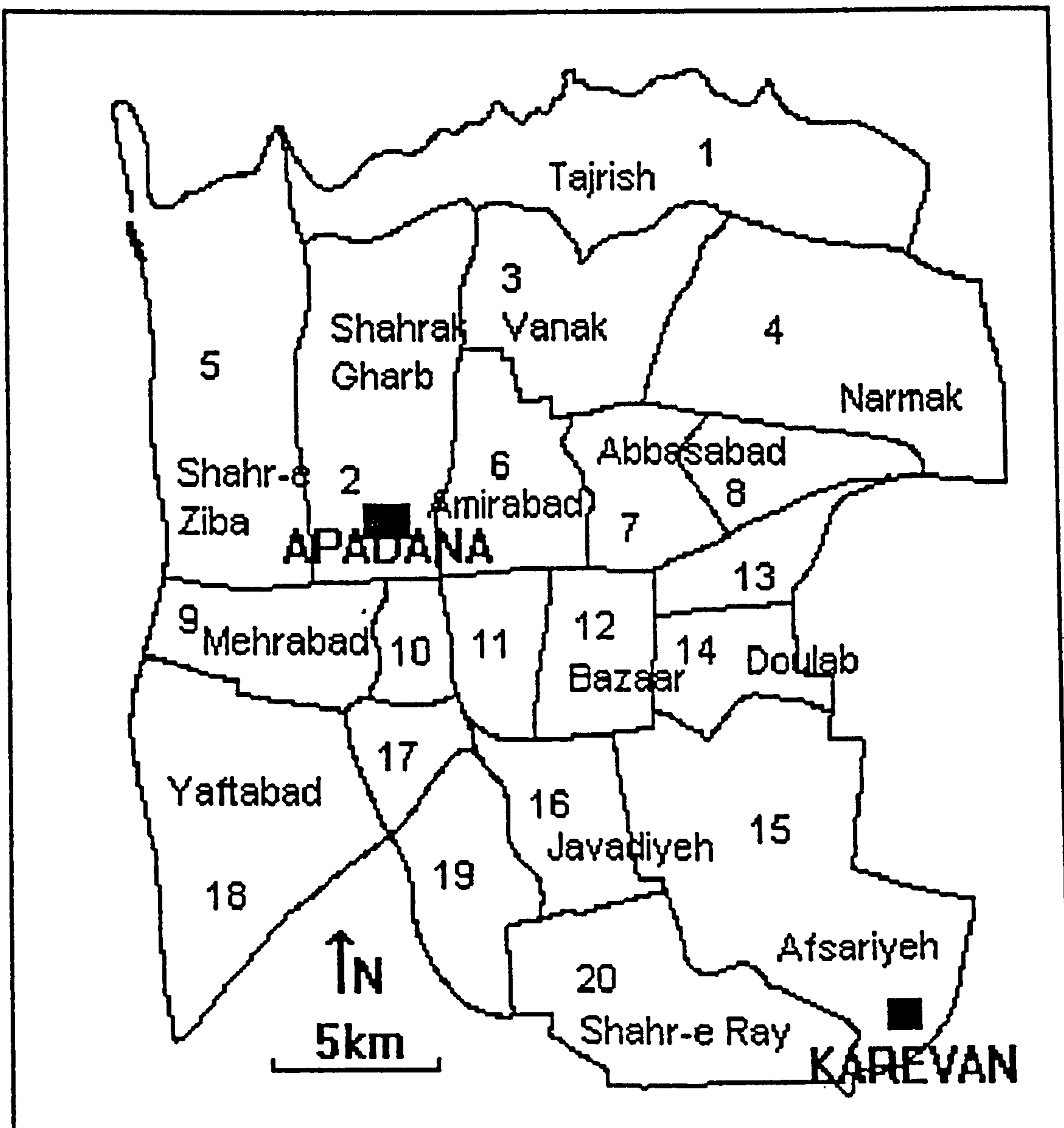


Figure 5. 10 The location of survey areas in Tehran

Figure 5. 11 A view of Apadana

Figure 5. 12 Landscaped area of Apadana

The city of Tehran and a number of the other bigger cities in the country were the subject of these activities. Officially, the construction and the development of these types of urban residential areas dates back to the Housing Development Act (1972) which was initially approved by the National Assembly of Iran in the time of the Shah's government. This law allowed both private and public sectors to establish necessary estates in areas where they were permitted as residential neighbourhoods in the bigger cities. In operation the housing act in Tehran, the objective was also to remove part of the central population to these estates and to reduce the urban difficulties which were growing in the centre of the city.

The primary plan of this neighbourhood backs to the project of housing construction which was applied in the city of Tehran. This city, for reasons which have been discussed in the previous sections in this chapter, was the centre of housing activity. In this year, Rahnei Bank, as a private financial foundation, started to study the establishment of the Apadana neighbourhood in co-operation with the public sector and people who were looking for houses in this area. Some foreign architectural firms also participated in establishing the Apadana housing project. Their contribution has included technical and architectural services. Over two years the legal process was undertaken for this project and then the early stages of the Apadana housing project started in 1975.

Since the Islamic Revolution occurred in Iran (1980), the major part of the private sector's activities in the country has been delayed and their assets as nationalised. Moreover, the executive management of most projects undertaken, such as the Apadana housing project, were replaced by the public sector. According to the new law, the Rahnei Bank, which previously worked as a private financial foundation, has been reorganised as the People's Bank. On the basis of a new plan, a new executive management has been appointed to continue this project. The People's Bank was asked to be the sponsor of this project, with the co-operation of people. Based on new decisions, the contribution of foreign companies ended and the plan continued using internal experts. Four years after the Islamic Revolution (1983), the first stage of the Apadana project was completed and the other three construction phases went

on until 1986. The final stages of operation of this project has needed more time because of the existence of a materials shortage and technical problems in the years 1980-1989 when the country was at war with Iraq.

Similar to other designed neighbourhoods in Tehran, a clear distinctive feature in the Apadana project was a neighbourhood plan, in order to provide good quality conditions for its housing and to allocate adequate space for the required public services and an advanced communication network (see Figure 5.12 and Figure 5. 13). These features, in a factual terms, were maintained in order to establish this neighbourhood. Direct observations of this neighbourhood show that this area has sufficient space a good housing environment than would be expected in other residential areas in the southeast and southwest of the city. In addition, the neighbourhood is sufficiently provided with public services such as adequate water supply, electricity service, gas and other requirement facilities. A number of market places and shopping centres were built in this neighbourhood and in 1994 the plan for building a medical centre was also completed (more details about the socio-demographic situation of this neighbourhood will be outlined in the next chapter). Thus, Apadana may be seen as a high quality neighbourhood where many people would like to live. The summary will explain how far residents in fact feel satisfy with their living place.

5.6.3 The socio-structural characteristics of the Karevan neighbourhood

The Karevan neighbourhood is located on the south-eastern edge of Tehran (Figure 5.15), and consists of 760 square kilometres of urbanised desert. Karevan (the same as caravan in English) previously used to be a temporary stand for travellers who usually travelled from the west of Iran to the north and vice versa through this site. Despite such a historical situation, the Karevan neighbourhood had no opportunity to develop until after the



Figure 5. 13 Open space of Apadana



Figure 5. 14 A residential street of Apadana



Figure 5. 15 A view of Karevan



Figure 5. 16 Karevan has been developed without adequate plan.

Revolution in 1980. According to Municipal sources, in 1979 only 67 households, with a population of around 230, were living there. By 1986 it had increased to about 2,700 households with a population of more than 15,000 people and with 2,324 dwelling units. Based on the latest census of Tehran, its total population is recorded about 22,000. According to many indicators this neighbourhood can be seen an example of a low-income residential area in Tehran.

Administratively, this neighbourhood is an urban place, part of the district 15 of Tehran Municipal Organisation. Karevan is connected both to the Khorasan main road in the south and Moshireh neighbourhood which emerged from the occupation of private land, with an unplanned layout, and lacking basic facilities (Figure 5.16). From the south it is surrounded by desert and mountain and from the north it is linked to Tehran through Basic Square. In the west of this neighbourhood a number of industrial factories are established, such as stone cutting factory, bus body factory, cement factory and warehouse. All these factories were built in the years before the extension of Karevan neighbourhood. Situated beside the great desert region in the south of Tehran, most of year this area has a long summer and a hard winter.

Karevan has grown very rapidly (during the years after the revolution in 1980) through an illegal subdivision of land in which large parcels of unimproved derelict and cultivated land were sold without official permit by private land owners (Figure 5.18). This was usually done through a number of estate agencies acting for the big land owners and the people. The land owners had given the authority to these agencies to sell the land in the area at cheap prices. Therefore, the construction of this neighbourhood was formed under pressure of the migrant demand and the abuse of estate agencies and big land owners who were only interested to earn further profits from the situation of the poor. In addition, to establish this neighbourhood, there was no plan, as its construction was not permitted by official sections from Tehran's municipally. The development of this neighbourhood happened through the invasion of poor migrant groups, so that its primary construction design was



Figure 5. 17 A residential street in Karevan



Figure 5. 18 An illegal housing of the margin of Karevan

based on the interest of landowners who were in position to gain more commercial interests from the housing. Furthermore, for several years, residents in this area have illegally used the available public services such as electricity, water supply and so on. Finally in recent years Tehran municipality attempted to deliver public services to this place.

The area where Karevan is located is generally characterised as a part of greater Tehran, which is deprived of some basic urban public services. The existence of cheap land and simple housing was part of the reasons for the location of this neighbourhood being considered by migrants who were looking for lower price housing for rent or purchase. In 1983 this area was legalised, and this process led it to very rapidly growth. At the end of 1983, Karevan was supplied with electricity, but had no running water, leaving the inhabitants dependent upon water tanks. The only social facilities consisted of three schools, a Mosque and a community centre. Karevan may be characterised as a typical problem neighbourhood, such as are causing so much concern in contemporary debate in Tehran in relation to growing of poor urban areas.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter began with an overview of the specific situation of Iran and the process of urbanisation in this country. To study Tehran, the focus was the city and its rapid expansion over contemporary times. The central objective in this section was to further account for the various aspects of the socio-physical growth of Tehran and its urbanisation and the appearance of new urban quarters within the years since this city was selected as the capital. The urban structure of this city in the last century, the reasons in which this city became the central attention for urban changes at turn of this century and then the rapid growth of its urban population in the second half of this century have briefly been explored. From the socio-demographic point of view, it

has been mentioned that the city became the central focus of many internal and external social forces. So that it was ready to grow into a new shape on the basis of the location of many new social areas and the unequal distribution of population and materials.

From the process of Tehran's expansion it has been concluded that its fast enlargement derived from its strategic location as the centre of political, economic and administrative activities. Moreover, being the seat of the power, it became the largest concentration of people and the most important administrative locus in the country. The urbanisation process that has largely happened in Tehran can be seen as an important event to its transformation from traditional structure. As a consequence of its various impacts, the city has become the place of many structural transformations. This is explained by changes in the urban environment and those reflect, in large measure, changes in the overall nature of a the society and economy.

The more important aspect of Tehran's expansion has been identified as the increase of its urban residential area in terms of new urban neighbourhoods which carefully display the kind of city arrangements which formed over recent years. Indeed, the uneven growth of urban quarters became well manifested in the increasing differences among Tehran's residential districts.

Tehran represents the largest concentration of population in Iran, dominating its urban hierarchy. These functions have resulted in a great redistribution of population from rural areas towards the capital for employment opportunities. This situation has brought different socio-economic problems and in particular housing problems, with the rapid growth of squatter settlements around the city, and difficulty in providing services for their inhabitants. Furthermore, the major consequence of this differentiation was a sharpened contrast between various city districts. In general, northern districts enjoy a significantly higher per capital share of retail shops, medical facilities, physicians, dentists, educational and cultural services, and other basic urban needs and southern districts have less access to these services. This differentiation and diversity has especially been evident in the years after the revolution in 1980.

To devise a typology of urban neighbourhoods for Tehran, the basic indications are based on three considerations: the extent to which individual residents identified with the neighbourhood; the level of social interaction within the neighbourhood residents; and the degree of linkage that exists between neighbourhood residents and the larger community (These will be measured in sampled neighbourhoods in the following chapters). Advantaged and disadvantaged neighbourhoods have two significant types of socio-structural forms of urban neighbourhoods which were the focus of study. The first type of urban neighbourhood is built and developed in the northern part of Tehran and its elaborate characteristics are designed layout, large space and the delivery of services facilities. The second one is extended towards south-eastern and south-western Tehran, without adequate urban facilities and other residential considerations such as local physical and social organisations.

Apadana and Karevan have been described as typical examples of advantaged and disadvantaged neighbourhoods in the city of Tehran. Karevan is very well-known as being a 'disadvantaged neighbourhood'. In very sharp contrast, Apadana is well-established as an advantaged neighbourhood to residents in the city. Even through superficial observation, it would be difficult to imagine two estates more physically dissimilar than Karevan and Apadana. Furthermore, these selected areas are built and extended through different processes. Both of these neighbourhoods were expanded in the inter-war years with Iraq (1980-1988), within a few years of each other.

CHAPTER SIX:

THE DIMENSIONS OF
HOUSING AND SOCIO-
DEMOGRAPHIC
CHARACTERISTICS IN
SURVEY AREAS

6.1 Introduction

The central objective of this chapter is to look at the dimensions of housing, socio-demographic and economic characteristics of study areas. As these dimensions of neighbourhoods and their populations will further extend the sphere of the knowledge in the case of neighbourhoods as living places and their population's main characteristics. In order to explore these dimensions, the focus of discussion will be around the mechanisms of housing construction, the type of socio-demographic specifications and the economic quality of the households who are the subject of the survey in this research.

Broadly speaking, housing construction and housing policy in Iran, are considered as an important subject at the national level. In this regard, the physical dimensions of neighbourhoods needed to be discussed at least in a brief version. Another reason for discussing this item is that the housing construction has a significant impact upon the attitudes of residents in relation to the environment of their living place. Therefore, before starting to account for the socio-economic characteristics of residents, section one will concern itself to find how Apadana and Karevan's housing was constructed and what kind of dominant housing construction was the basis for these neighbourhoods. This section will also prepare a description of housing conditions which are related to the subsequent study (in chapter nine) about housing and mobility in the survey areas. This is more associated with the household's attitudes in the case of housing conditions in their 'living place'.

The dimensions of housing and socio-demographic characteristics of survey areas

Furthermore, the following study will draw attention to the present diverse forms of demographic composition of households which are the unit of analysis in this research. As explained in the methodology chapter, households are chosen as the way in which the social organisational consciences of living place will be considered in a subjective sense.. This section will analyse the structure of the neighbourhood's population as well as gender, marital status and educational situation. The quality of economic activities and occupational status are also significant issues investigated through the various dimensions of neighbourhood organisational bases and their resident's situation. Therefore, section three will concentrate on the context of occupational status, economic activities and financial abilities observed in the study areas. This chapter will end with a conclusion related to the given discussion.



Figure 6.1 A housing complex in Apadana



Figure 6.2 The external structure of housing in Apadana

6.2 Housing characteristic in Apadana and Karevan

The building of housing in the Apadana and Karevan neighbourhoods was designed (see Figure 9.1 and Figure 6.2), and carried out by housing activities which were made by the formal and informal sectors (since the Revolution in this country, major housing activities have been carried out by these sectors). The formal sector contains the public and private activities which are organised in accordance with the country's documented laws. However, there exists another policy area which was involved in building public housing without adequate attention to the quality of this item. In many instances, the activities of this sector were not in accordance with existing laws and in many cases they flouted existing formal commands and regulations. Particularly since 1980, under the rigid socio-economic circumstances which dominated Iran, while the country was suffering from many socio-economic problems (as the result of Revolution and short-term instability in general conditions, to fighting Iraq, also the economic sanctions from the European Common Market etc.), the informal sector benefited from the flux of the existing economic situation. Therefore, there was an increase in its activities dealing with selling or to buying property, housing construction and so on.

The capital owners involved in this sector usually employed unauthorised or illegal construction methods with no legally binding tenure on the land. Such construction is often known as peri-urban or semi-rural and may involve both industrial building materials (such as cement blocks) and traditional styles of building. Informal housing construction is further typified by its flexible housing designs. This type of informal housing can be extended. So the family grows, the house expands too. The house here is often the only security of the owner, who usually occupies one or two rooms with his family and sublets the rest. In sum, housing construction in Apadana is the product of the formal sector, while Karevan's housing has mainly expanded through the activities of informal sector.

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In the case of housing construction in the two study areas, the Apadana Housing Project was under the direction the public sector (Rahni Bank or Mortgagee Bank)*. However, the overall plan of the neighbourhood goes back to pre-Revolution years. The project was reorganised and started again in 1980. The Rahni Bank invested to build this neighbourhood in order to create a suburb based on sound planning principals. The project was connected to wider housing policy, which was taken by the private housing sector in order to reduce the problem of housing, particularly for government employees (Figure 6. 1). In addition, residents who had been classified as middle-income, were the primary target of this project.

The Apadana project was designed to establish an estate with consideration to the style of its building and a high standard in physical foundations. The early records of this project emphasise the use of various resources and materials (from public and private sector organisations) in order to provide a good environmental quality for the neighbourhood. Furthermore, the project was started in the accordance with current housing and neighbourhood's regulations, which were under the control of Tehran's Central Municipality. It was built in the form of a planned neighbourhood and its blocks were normally equipped with the most modern facilities and the necessary internal services such as heating systems, air conditioning, electricity, well water supply, bathroom, heater and the like. Sufficient open spaces were provided on the north and south of this place, and public buildings and shopping centres.

The Apadana area is mostly occupied by high income families who usually have their own private cars. Excellent climate and relatively inexpensive land in this area have counteracted the detraction factor, that is distance from the city centre. In order to provide the houses with good ventilation and direct sunlight, the traditional orientation of houses (i.e. a south-north direction) was favoured.

*-'The Banks which formally contributed to constructing housing in Iran.

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Regarding the date of the neighbourhood's construction, the houses in this area form one of the most modern residential districts of Tehran and nearly all of them have been built since 1980; that is, from the time of the movement of wealthy families from the central areas (see previous chapter). These houses are almost all privately owned and usually the inhabitants are family units with 4 or 5 persons.

Apadana includes multi-story apartments with sufficient dwelling space. The medium area of the flat for each resident is about 120 square metres. The neighbourhood was constructed on the basis of 23 blocks. Each block of apartments included 4 to 7 floors. Two single dwellings are built on each floor. All blocks are also fitted with necessary mechanical services such as alarms, water pumps and elevators. A separate security system is fitted to each block, and all buildings are connected to a technical system in order to respond to urgent needs. The housing study of this neighbourhood shows that about 77 per cent of residents in this neighbourhood are house owners and the rest of them rent.

It is one of the most distinctive and luxurious residential areas of Tehran with a townscape different from many other parts of the city. Furthermore, this is the best high class residential area located to the north of Tehran. It also has a local shopping centre and green space, secluded from the surrounding areas. There is a close relationship between the physical shape of buildings and the price of land. The building density is low per hectare and house values and rentals are very high because of the climatic conditions and social values attached to this area.



Figure 6. 3 The external view of Karevan's housing

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The study of Karevan also provides some data about the construction of housing and the type of activities which were carried out during its construction. Since 1980, many housing units in Karevan, have been constructed. Due to the general poor environment, landowners could sell their land cheaply to buyers who were already living in Tehran or outside it. The area quickly became the central place of economic activity for individuals who were interested in obtaining economic benefits.

Unlike the formal housing construction in Apadana, the informal housing constructed in Karevan was based on a simple type of housing construction. In addition, in comparison to Apadana, the Karevan neighbourhood was built through illegal procedures of building construction. The main objective for the builders was to build cheap houses and then supply those houses to people who normally were low income.

The type of land ownership in Karevan was also different from Apadana. In Karevan, residents bought the land from landowners, albeit illegally. The uncertainty over land tenure in Karevan imposed constraints on the improvement of housing conditions. Since the construction of the Karevan neighbourhood was not on the basis of the legal procedure, some problems have emerged for its residents in relation to necessary services such as electricity, gas system, clean water supply and the deterioration of environmental provisions such as main roads, open space, transport facilities, shops, health services and so on.

In the case of Karevan neighbourhood, at the time of the survey, the Government has implemented long-term and short-term programs to expand the neighbourhood's public services and to promote housing quality. One of the municipal planners in the 20 Tehran district explained that the objective of the neighbourhood reconstruction project was based on the promotion of the quality of its housing. He pointed out that 'one of the main duties given to this municipal district is to provide necessary public services and

provisions to the poor in this neighbourhood, even though the housing condition looks to be worse' (Fieldwork notes) .

This area is occupied predominantly by low income inhabitants of Tehran. They do not usually have private transportation so they prefer to live near as possible to their place of work in order to reduce transport costs and pay less. The houses in this area are almost all of one storey and this is because of the construction techniques and the materials used. The bulk of the population have houses with 2 to 3 rooms, built on a plot of land between 60 to 100 meters in area. Due to the lack of open space in this area, population density is very high, reaching more than 700 persons per hectare. The great number of two or three roomed houses with small pit-like yards are a dominant feature. The influx of low income migrants from the provinces to live in the southern parts of this area is the main reason for the ever-increasing population density and the acute housing shortage (Figure 6.2).

6.3 Demographic dimensions: the population characteristic

According to the sample census of Tehran's population in 1990, 21,380 individuals were living in Apadana and in Karevan there were 21,263 (Iranian Statistics Centre, 1990). In comparison of these figures, about 45,000 individuals lived in Ekbatan neighbourhood in the north of Apadana and the population close to 12,000 was in Fakory neighbourhood, located to the south of this neighbourhood. Demographically, a medium population size is the characteristic of Apadana's neighbourhood among similar neighbouring residential places.

As explained in the previous chapter, the surroundings of Tehran toward the north and south has been developed into many peripheral neighbourhoods. A permanent

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characteristics of these areas is their varied socio-demographic differences. Some of these neighbourhoods have been built with a high density and population; such as Ekbatan, with 45, 000 residents or Dolatabad; with an estimated 120, 000 population. However, the structure of the population of these neighbourhoods is shaped by a big and middle size of the population and has been characterised through different environmental conditions; examples such as Farhangian (which was established in 1985) with 7, 000 population and the Fakori (which was built in 1987) with 4, 000 population (Iranian Statistic Centre, 1990) can be given in this respect. The existence of various sizes of population in these areas reflects the dissimilar social dimensions of the population who live in the urban neighbourhoods surroundings of Apadana. Karevan is also surrounded by several urban neighbourhoods; this residential area to the east and south was located among neighbourhoods which have in recent years had very rapid expansion (Afsari (170, 000) population on the south and Moshirei Masoudei (27, 000) population on the north).

A significant point to be mentioned here is the proportion of males and females in the survey areas. In terms of male population, no considerable difference was identified in total population of both neighbourhoods who took part in the survey. However, according to the 1980 census, 51, 75 per cent of the total population in Apadana was male and 48, 24 per cent females and the proportion of males to females was 1, 07 (P.B.O. Statistical Centre, 1988). These figures in Karevan were about 51, 95 for male and 49. 5 to female (P.B.O. Statistical Centre, 1988). Thus, the proportion of male and female situated was not very distant from each other

Table 6. 1 Numbers of Participants in the Sample Survey by Gender

Gender structure	Apadana		Karevan	
	No	%	No	%
Male	108	64.07	124	90.06
Female	59	35.03	35	9.04
Total	167	100.0	159	100.0

Author's survey in 1995

Based on the results of the survey questionnaire conducted in these areas, Table 6.1 shows the distribution of gender in both neighbourhoods. Although the procedure of the survey was based on a random sampling of households, the results demonstrate that the percentage of males who were interested in responding to the questionnaire was higher than females. In this case, in Karevan, the percentage of females participating in survey was less than in Apadana. This difference maybe relates to the existing social situation of females in Apadana as more educated residents, so far as the existence of further chances for females to have social participation than in Karevan.

Table 6. 2 The Household Dimension in Apadana and Karevan

Type of household	Apadana		Karevan	
	No	%	No	%
Extended household	23	13.08	32	20.01
Nuclear household	146	85.05	127	79.09
Missing	2	1.02	0.00	0.00
Total	167	100.0	159	100.0

Source: sample in survey areas

Table 6.2 reveals the structure of the households who participated in the survey. The result of the questionnaire shows that the households structures were not very different. Based on this table, the major form of the structure of households in both neighbourhoods was the nuclear family form which included father, mother and children. In Karevan, there were more extended families, containing the father, mother and children who were married and occasional granddaughters and grandsons. In Apadana neighbourhood, around 85 per cent of all the households had three family members (nuclear family), and the percentage of families who replied who had more than 9 persons was 13.08. Whereas in the Karevan area, the most households had three family members and the average of family size was about 5 person. In other words, family size in Karevan was larger than Apadana. In contrast, the figures show that the nuclear form of family was a little more evident than in Karevan. This demographic feature reflects socio-demographic differences between the two neighbourhoods. The two noted

neighbourhoods did not follow the same life style in terms of family size and children, may be as the existence of different internal systems of socio-economic conditions.

6.3.1 Age structure

The structure of age groups demonstrates whether or not this parameter is employed to describe the demographic characteristics of the population. Since this study is based on a random sample, it was anticipated that its final findings would indicate the situation likely to be formed total population.

Table 6. 3 Percentages of Age Groups of the Total Sample Population in Study Areas

Age group	Apadana		Karevan	
	No	%	No	%
Less than 20	2	1.20	0	0.00
20-29	21	4.75	22	3.77
30-39	57	39.13	46	28.93
40-49	55	32.93	67	42.13
50-59	24	14.37	16	10.06
60-69	10	5.99	3	1.88
70-over	4	3.00	0	0.00
Missing	6	3.60	8	5.03
Total	167	100.0	159	100.0

The head of households who were the subject of this study ranged from 19 to 75 years old, from a total of 167 individuals in Apadana, and between 22 to 66 years old from a total of 159 in Karevan. As Table 6.3 shows, the age distribution among residents in both Apadana and Karevan are approximate. The population ageing had a dissimilar statistical proportion in sampled populations in study areas. The major age group which replied to the questionnaire was between 30-39 in Apadana and 40-49 in Karevan.

According to statistical evidence in Iran, the youth element of the population is one of the permanent demographic characteristics of population in Iran. In 1992, there was an estimated 55 per cent increase in the young group (aged between 25-45) in a population about 60 000 000. This figure was estimated in 1990 at 59 per cent for Apadana and about 63 per cent for Karevan. The characteristic of the youth population is an important feature which can be found in other statistical sources in the country.

6.3.2 Marital status

Marital status is a social category that clarifies the pattern of socio-cultural foundation. The result of the survey revealed that two particular forms of marriage were most common amongst the sampled households in the Apadana and Karevan neighbourhoods. Firstly, the traditional form of marriage, which is defined the marriage of couple through the family group. Believers in this type of marriage respect, and in this regard consider it to be a social advantage. Second is, the modern pattern of marriage based on married relations with individuals (girl or boy) outside of the relative system. The former has a strong root in the traditional pattern of cultural values and was more common among households in Karevan. However, the latter form of marriage, which is symbolised as the modern style of married life, was more popular in Apadana.

Furthermore, in Karevan, a marriage with close family was more acceptable than in Apadana. Households in Karevan expressed their interest in maintaining a close relationship with their relatives, and in this sense marriage through traditional pattern, or the selection of couples through kinship members, seemed to be a logical way of life. However, in Apadana, although many males and females had married through the traditional pattern of marriage, they expressed the significance of the new type of marital

relationships. Among them, some said that "this notion is not very important for thinking about that".

Table 6. 4 The Pattern of Marriage Within a Sampled Population in Apadana and Karevan

Marital status	Apadana		Karevan	
	No	%	No	%
Endogamy form of marriage	30	18.00	84	52.08
Exogamy forms of marriage	126	75.04	71	44.07
Single	6	3.06	4	2.05
Total	167	100.0	159	100.0

Source: sample in survey areas

Table 5.4 reveals a considerable difference between households in Apadana and Karevan. In Apadana, about 75.4 per cent of the total observed population of 19 years of age or over were married in the form of exogamy (or non-blood relative marriage). Whereas in this neighbourhood only 18 per cent of sampled population married within the traditional pattern of marriage. The figure of 52.8 per cent of kinship marriage demonstrates that this type of marriage was more dominant in the Karevan neighbourhood.

6.3.3 Educational status

To survey the demographic characteristics of Apadana and Karevan, educational status was employed as an indicator among respondents in these neighbourhoods. Generally speaking, educational status as a demographic category was defined by the scale of literacy, the improvement in specialised skills, and the potential ability of individuals to accurately benefit from the social environments. To evaluate educational status, one recommended way is to analyse whether or not the target population is attending school or college. By this means it is possible to show their official qualifications, in order to draw out their present level of educational achievement.

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The survey findings in Apadana show that the majority of respondents in this neighbourhood had already gained at least one type of official certification. In this respect, no significant difference had been observed among male and female participants in the survey. In Karevan, of 159 respondents, only 7 heads of the households said that they had an official certificate, and within them, only one head of household had a level as high as a doctoral.

Table 6. 5 Education Status of the Heads of Households in Survey Areas

Educational Status	Apadana		Karevan	
	No	%	No	%
Can not read and write	1	0.06	22	13.08
Can read and write(only)	1	0.06	35	22.00
Elementary period certification	3	1.08	57	35.08
Secondary level	10	6.00	28	17.06
Diploma	42	25.01	2	2.06
Junior collage	18	10.08	2	1.03
Graduated level	65	38.09	2	1.03
Post-graduate	23	13.08	0	0.00
Doctoral	4	2.04	1	1.03
Total	167	100.0	159	100.0

Source: sample in study areas

Table 6.5 also shows that within the sampled population of the Apadana neighbourhood, only 0.6 per cent were illiterate, whereas the rate of illiteracy in Karevan was 13.8 per cent. In this neighbourhood, the heads of households who could read and write only was about 22.0 per cent of the total sampled population. However, this figure in Apadana was only about 0.6 per cent. A great difference had been identified in the level of educational status between the two areas. In Apadana, the rate of graduation from high schools was about 25.1 per cent, but this figure in Karevan was 2.6 per cent. Furthermore, in regard to the place of higher educational achievement and the more specialised households, the percentage in Apadana shows 38.9 per cent, whereas only 1.3 per cent in Karevan graduated at the higher degree. Thus, from an educational point of view a great difference has been understood between the two neighbourhoods.

6 3.4. Occupation situation

The aim of this section is not to test a specific theory. However, it intends to use the occupation category in order to show the difference in the major economic characteristics which exist between residents in Apadana and Karevan. The issue of occupational status has been traditionally suggested by social commentators as an appropriate indicator to highlight the social ranking of individuals or households. The application of this category to study city dwellers is necessary, in order to discover economic differences. Furthermore, the levels of occupational status might appear in distinct residential locations and these in the end would be associated with the pattern of occupational location. The provision of adequate employment is of paramount importance to the maintenance of individual neighbourhoods. Employment also ensures the individual of the income needed to procure safe and healthy living. In this respect, it has been assumed that employment location also has a great effect on the quality of life in residential environments.

The overall findings of the survey conducted in the Apadana neighbourhood showed that people who had a job were mostly occupied in certain organisations which were directed by the public sector. Only a small business group in the neighbourhood employed a small number of the neighbourhood's residents. However, a considerable number of employees were working within private centres which were expanded outside of the neighbourhood. This pattern of occupational location more or less dominated in most new urban neighbourhoods which have been recently built and then expanded in Tehran. In the case of Karevan neighbourhood, the results of the survey showed that the majority of working groups were involved in working outside the neighbourhood. However, they were occupied in the unofficial sector. Their jobs, and also workplace, demonstrated that most of them were self-employed, or were working in the informal sector without sufficient income and opportunity for improvement.

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Table 6.6 provides some important information related to the occupational status of the population sampled in the survey areas. In Apadana, of those at 19 years of age and over, 88.2 per cent were employees and about 2.39 per cent were without employment. Among roughly the same age group in Karevan, some 66.3 per cent had employment and the number of respondents who said that they were out of a job was 29.55 per cent. The percentage of retired people was about 4.79 and 1.88 of the total sampled populations in Apadana and Karevan, respectively. In comparing the two neighbourhoods, the higher rate of unemployment or individuals seeking for a job in Karevan shows that this neighbourhood has problems with this.

Table 6. 6 Occupational Status of Smpled Population in Survey Areas

Occupation status	Apadana		Karevan	
	No	%	No	%
Employed	147	88.02	105	66.03
Unemployed	4	2.39	47	29.55
Retired	8	4.79	3	1.88
Others	7	91.00	4	2.51
Missing	1	0.06	0	0.00
Total	167	100.0	159	100.0

Table 6.7 shows that in Apadana 71.42 per cent were working as waged or salaried employees in the public sector and some 21.75 per cent were working in the private sector. The situation in Karevan was different. A higher proportion of respondents were occupied in the informal sector, with 42.85 per cent working in this sector. In comparing the employment sector in these areas, it can be seen that Karevan has a higher proportion working in the informal sector. This may be because they had less access to public sector jobs than Apadana's residents. The main difference between the two settlements was in the percentage of self-employed. Apadana can be compared to Karevan. Self employment in Karevan appears to be higher although this may, in part, be a result of differences in definition, since the inverse is true of the proportions describing themselves as being in casual jobs.

The occupation structure shown in Table 6.7 confirms the predominance of unemployed, marginally in the Karevan area. In this neighbourhood, for example, about 47.61 per cent were either unemployed or were engaged in casual jobs.

Table 6. 7 Type of Employment of Those in Work: Comprising in Both Neighbourhoods

Occupational status	Apadana		Karevan	
	No	%	No	%
Wage/salary (private sector)	32	21.75	45	42.85
Wage/salary (public sector)	105	61.42	35	33.33
Self-employment	18	12.24	25	23.80
Casual jobs	5	1.36	50	47.61
Others	7	3.46	4	3.80
Total	167	100.0	159	100.0

6.3.5 The household's economic situation

In terms of demographic characteristics, the economic situation of people demonstrates their general status within the socio-economic context. This situation has essentially a direct association with the specific economic patterns which shape the overall activities of individuals. In the case of Iran, most economic activities are derived from the productive and service sectors. The study of the type of economies in neighbourhoods, will make clear whether or not the people had a productive role in the society as a whole, or their contribution was to service jobs. Furthermore, to evaluate the social status of people in relation to their economic involvement, the use of a financial measurement, which is based on a household's income or expenditure, can be a suitable tool to clarify real economic power in a particular time and place.

Due to the lack of productive activities in the survey areas, the objective was to explain the service sector which was the main part of economic activity in both neighbourhoods. In Karevan, a number of productive locations had been established around the neighbourhood. However, the proportion of occupants working in these places was

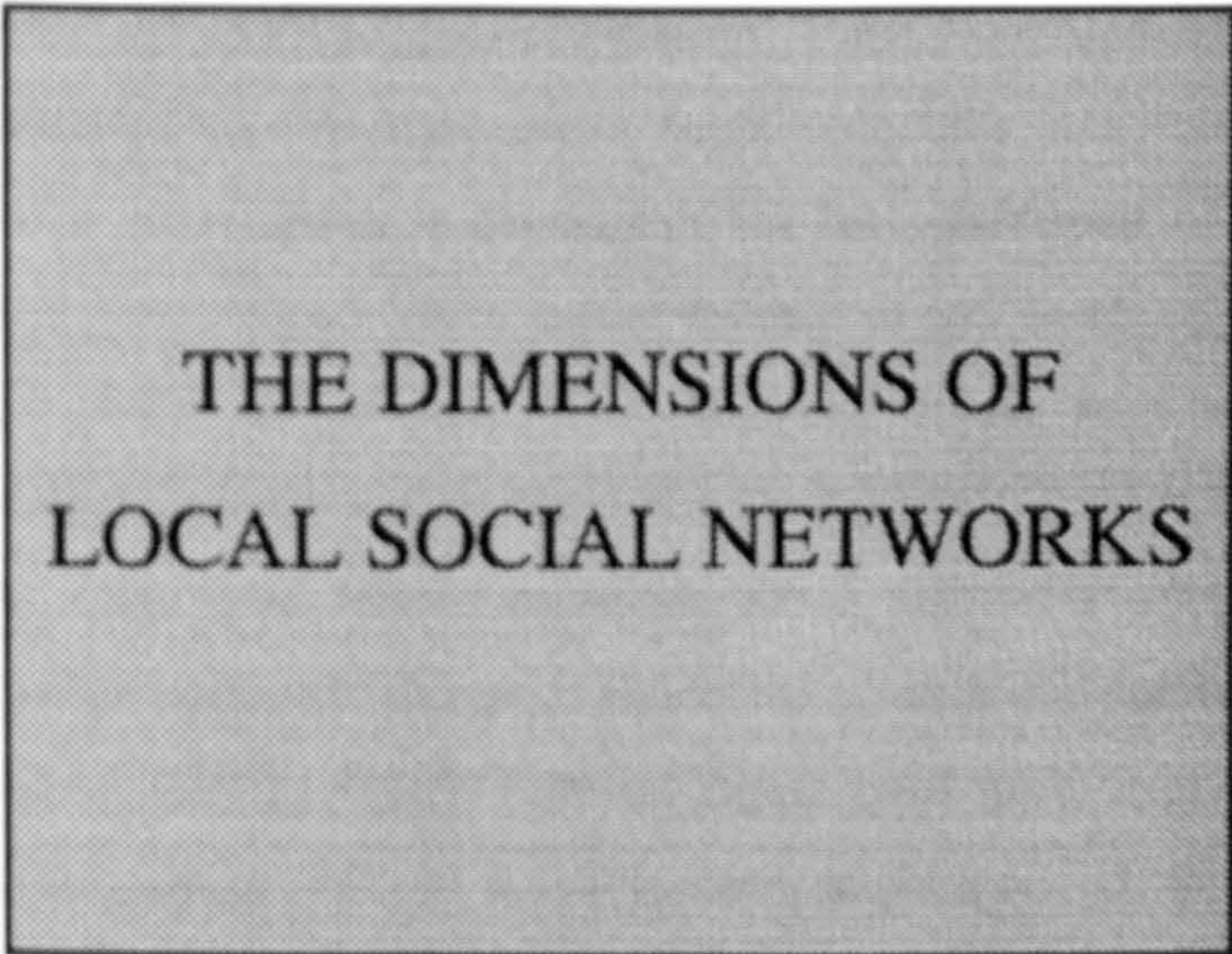
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limited. Many of the employees were occupied with service activities which were located outside the neighbourhoods. In this respect, Apadana neighbourhood was similar to Karevan, but its population was mainly employed in public organisations (this issue is discussed in more detail in the previous section). Generally speaking, the main environmental characteristic of both neighbourhoods has to be defined as residential places, where, in terms of first or second employment, service activities contributed a greater role than the productive sector in both areas.

The economic situation, in particular in poor neighbourhoods like Karevan, is partly due to the effects of various socio-economic factors which are basically transferred to the local places during a transitional period and also as a consequence of the socio-economic circumstances which dominated in this place when the neighbourhood was built. In this regard, some Iranian researchers who are more involved in studying the conditions of life in the new urban neighbourhoods concentrated on similar socio-economic characteristics which are clearly recognisable in a large number of new poor peripheral townships or urban neighbourhoods in cities like Tehran. According to Piran the majority of these neighbourhoods, grown up as the consumption communities around bigger cities such as Tehran (Piran, 1988). His investigation demonstrates that the number of these areas became larger in more recent years as the effect of the great movements into these poor areas which naturally strengthened the scale of service activities and created the development of illegal economic relationships (Piran, 1988). Additional to this, in such neighbourhoods basically the standard of labour training is not adequate to encourage residents to be occupied in productive affairs and not enough supports exist to change their negative attitudes to the productive activities (Zanjani, 1992).

Another notion in relation to the general position of people in the economic system is their 'economic power'. On the basis of economic definitions, the expenditure variable can be defined as an integrated part of the household's income. (In both neighbourhoods expenditure has mainly

CHAPTER SEVEN:



THE DIMENSIONS OF LOCAL SOCIAL NETWORKS

7.1 Introduction

The housing, socio-demographic and economic characteristics of residents in Apadana and Karevan were the subject of the previous chapter. These have been defined as part of the objective and also important aspects of neighbourhood's inhabitants and their life place. In the case of Apadana, a description has been presented of its physical environment. It is an advantaged urban region located in the north of the Tehran, which had a high growth in the price of its land and stock. In terms of social environment, the neighbourhood was designed as a place for middle-class groups, who were largely state employees. Higher economic status and high income earnings distinguished this neighbourhood from poor residential areas in the south of the city. As with the Apadana neighbourhood, Karevan experienced rapid expansion in the years after the Revolution (1979). As a low-income neighbourhood, this place was informally constructed and accommodated mainly poor residents from different parts of Tehran or other areas in the country.

In relation to the research objective, this chapter intends to survey the environmental dimensions of the study areas in terms of the local social networks. It aims to explore the structure of the interaction system among the local residents. It also seeks to describe the different patterns of social relations in each neighbourhood. Social networks, in this respect, have been identified as the major social aspect of the environment of these neighbourhoods. Moreover, recent urban changes in Iran, have extremely impacted upon the patterns and directions of the social networks. These can be seen in the various ranges of the urban settings, such as neighbourhoods. Moreover, the consequences of these changes became the causes that with the issue of local social networks and the alteration of their general patterns became the subject of public debate. The important point here is that the change of the patterns of local interactions

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must be regarded as the consequence of the process of urbanism as a whole. The fact that urbanism has extensively affected the overall behaviour of people in different senses, who for many years have lived in the city or recently have left their original life to live in the city or town as a new life place. Tehran and its urban neighbourhoods should be respected as the central target of these changes. However, the overall structure of these changes seem not to be necessarily very similar for all social groups in Tehran's neighbourhoods. Semi-traditional neighbourhoods are supposed to be more under the strong effects of the traditional style of interaction than neighbourhoods of so-called advantaged which are more under the influence of a modern style of interaction.

It is evident that changes in the pattern of social relationships are conditioned by many social criteria such as the length of residence in a particular location, the variable access to resources such as economic abilities and educational achievements. Neighbourhoods in Tehran have different patterns of social interactions, since their populations are characterised by different social identities in terms of economic status, educational achievements and cultural backgrounds. The survey in this regard intends to clarify how, in semi-traditional neighbourhoods, such as Karevan, the local networks are regarded a localised ties and provide its residents with a social support system; and how advantaged neighbourhoods, such as Apadana, lack integrated local relationships and the degree of local sentiment is much less than in semi-traditional areas. In a middle-class neighbourhood such as Apadana, the pattern of social networks is affected by the number of social variables such as socio-economic status and the general attitudes which are expressed by residents. In this regard, the study will offer an analysis of kinship and neighbouring relationships. These categories finally subjectively explore how residents are integrated to the social environment of their living place and what attitudes and perspectives segregate them in terms of the social network system.

This chapter is comprised of four sections. Section two briefly reviews the conceptual definitions of social networks. Broadly speaking, although the term 'social networks' at first glance seem to be very broad, the following review will clarify its specific

function. This section is focused to the analysis of the attitudes of households regarding their local relationships in terms of kinship system of ties. Part two of this section seeks to identify whether or not there exist particular interests among residents in the survey areas toward the social environments of their living place; and what are the major advantages and disadvantages in maintaining the kinship relations at the locality level. In other words, the objective is to study the differences in the patterns of relationships and to tackle how the spatial structure of the city of Tehran contains various social areas within quite different social environmental contexts. Neighbouring relationships is the subject of section three. The study here clarifies the attitudes of households in relation to their neighbours, to the relationships with neighbours and the social environment of the living place. The concluding section will present a summary of the discussion and a number of key points which emerge from the study.

7.2 Kinship ties and living place

To understand the attitudes of people in relation to the social environment of their residential area and to identify their overall behaviour, the following review clarifies the significant aspects of social networks in a community such as a neighbourhood. 'Social networks' in this context are defined as integral parts of the social environment of the living place and are regarded as social phenomena which are socially structured by many determinants. The nature of social networks can be understood through the inclinations, motivations and general ideas of people who might be faced with different conditions. It also examines the integrated or disintegrated relationships which people have with the social environment of their living place. As Fischer (1982) has remarked, however, 'people do not live in 'special' realms, neighbourhoods are foci of emotional and financial investments, and potential sources of friends for children and adults. While granting the largely unbounded nature of the contemporary community, the assertion implies that relations with neighbours are vital components of personal networks, worthy of close attention (Fischer 1982 as quoted in Campbell & Lee, 1992).

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Apart from an effective role which is given to the structural foundations of human settlements in shaping the attitude of people in relation to their social environment, the interaction process has specific characteristics which lie between the overall structure of community and the features which are given to individuals as human agencies. Generally speaking, people would perceive their social environment through a complicated system of their environmental constraints, and their socio-economic status which inevitably affects their personal ideas, perceptions and behaviour. In addition, individuals have many opportunities to manage their personal networks based on the organisation of existing social system. The 'choice-constraint' model of relationship ties implies the identification of the behaviour of individuals. The social interaction in small communities like a neighbourhood has to be regarded as a set of activities which proceed through the community and individuals. It is not possible to see any of these elements in an isolated way. Two alternative explanations of links between status and personal networks among neighbours are focused on more instrumental or pragmatic considerations. Instrumentally, neighbourhood ties may be considered as a response to need; those with limited alternatives will turn to neighbours as a handy source of emotional and instrumental support (Campbell & Lee, 1992).

In chapter two it was pointed out that many factors constitute the social environment of neighbourhoods. It was explained that these were rooted in wider conditions which are characterised through many socio-economic and environmental components. Regarding the conceptualisation of the urban structure of residential areas, Structuration theory implies that individuals are not entirely imprisoned within conditions in which these are constituted by some former determinants; in contrast, individuals as human agencies, are potentially powerful in constituting their ideas, actions and practices, since they are specified by independent features as human beings, such as rationality, creativity, selectivity and freedom potentials. These characteristics give them an opportunity to express their understanding and expectations in relation to outside phenomena, such as interaction with others. Nevertheless, under particular social determinants, individuals in a community might be requested to act or take up a behaviour which is prepared by environmental conditions which are out of their control. In this respect, the great contribution of individuals is reduced. Based on

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Structuration theory explanations, it may be concluded that social interaction is a process in which there are specified two roles, that is the role of the community as a whole and its vast manifest or latent constraints, and the role of individuals and their many potentials to be free, as human agency. To summarise, the environmental conditions of communities such as neighbourhoods cannot be separated from these conditions.

In chapter 3, it has been suggested that social interactions describe the various forms of interrelationships through which individuals seek to improve themselves. These often occur according to the particular time and space circumstances in order to respond to the particular social needs. Regarding the given definition, individuals within the interaction process usually suggest different ways to touch on a particular type of interaction to respond to their socio-biological needs. They do not want to live in isolation, and through the interaction process they are able to realise an effective social support system through which they benefit and construct a collective co-operation towards various purposes in their social life.

For the purpose of this study, the kinship and neighbouring relationships are categorised as two major elements of the interaction process through the local social network system in the study areas. Urban research typically counts neighbours as a single category regardless of kinship (Logan & Spitze, 1994). However, in this study, kinship and neighbours together have been determined both together as the substantial source of local interaction. To identify these categories, the research has benefited from various sources at the level of the survey areas. The following discussion concentrates on kinship ties as a core social network in Apadana and Karevan and it focuses on the attitudes of households in this context.

7.2.1 How households regard to kinship ties?

In the context of local interaction in a society like Iran, the emphasis is on kinship because family relationships are at the core of many people's social networks. It is also

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well established that a large proportion of family social interaction is highly localised, particularly in semi-traditional neighbourhoods.

Due to family networks (as discussed in chapter three), the diverse patterns of relationships should be analysed on particular locality conditions. In this chapter, it was explained that the urban neighbourhoods in a city such as Tehran can be considered as a large place within which it is expanded to maintain various patterns of family ties. This is because of the effects of contemporary socio-economic change on the one hand, and the urbanisation process and its social consequences on public urban life on the other hand. The explicit form of family ties in this city is the combination of the traditional and also the new style of network system, which are specifically identifiable in the new urban neighbourhoods of this city. The social environment of these areas is shaped through a co-existence of a network elements which were originated through various socio-cultural sources.

During the past few decades the characterised Iranian family relationships have been much affected by social changes. As with other characteristics that exist in the social structure, the structure and functions of kinship relationships have shifted among urban groups. In this case, two important factors play a major role. Firstly, the dynamic of the internal social factors, as the result of rapid growth, have pushed the existing social forces toward re-construction of a new system of social life. Secondly, the consequences of widespread relationships with the Western societies and the affects of their popular routines as a whole which have introduced new ideas about family ties. These factors can be identified as important elements in transforming the traditional structure of the family relationships into new forms. In this regard, urban families have been changed to accommodate new structures of social relationships. These structures of relationships are growing at the level of society and its internal social networks. In the context of the particular cultural conditions and the socio-economic situations, new social groups of families, mostly immigrants from rural areas, have moved to the city (Tehran) and have formed the major part of the increasing population of the city. Urban immigrants, over time, been affected by the influence of new social values that were developing at the scale of the city. As a result of such circumstances, questions

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about the structure of urban kinship in this city, and its association to geographical mobility, become an important aspect of the environment of urban areas. However, the dichotomy between the structure of traditional and the new form family relationships is still at the core of interaction process.

The process of kinship relationships in the Iranian society is affected by many social variables such as education, social values, economic characteristics. In particular the religious context has a great contribution in shaping structural identity. The size of the kinship group and economic status are also important factors in this regard. Living in a society with strong traditional values is reason for people to maintain the pattern of kinship ties which are encouraged through their general cultural system. Nevertheless, the family system is affected in all the different groups by the existence of contemporary changes and are different again from semi-traditional areas to more modernised places. These differences are also evident in changes in behaviour, in words and in feelings. Such changes are natural and to be expected as the individual moves from one social position to another. The social environment, that is to say, the web of relationships and the knowledge of right or wrong, can be implied from what people do, and from what they say (Sarokani, 1985).

7.2.2 The pattern of kinship relationships in the survey areas

Regarding kinship networks in Iranian society, it has been said that how the despite of the rapid transformations which helped the conditions toward changes in the traditional patterns of social life, the kinship networks has still the great status. They are major sources and forces for social support in the social system. In particular in semi-traditional settlements where the inhabitants are more socially integrated through a set of the interrelationships and norms. To these people, the interrelationships provide a protective basis to resist to daily difficulties. In addition, it can be said that the positive operation of kinship relationships turns back to the cultural means and grounds which were flew over general attitudes, traditions and social behaviours of people. However, modern technological changes have basically replaced the former styles of cultural

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understanding and norms and encouraged new forms of interrelationships which are more compatible with the present life circumstances. The tremendous traces of these changes are easily elaborated through the general lifestyle of many people, especially those that live in big cities. Nevertheless, considerable sections of urban settings are associated with more traditional forms of the kinship system and therefore, the dichotomy between the former and new forms of the interaction system, is the source of a vast social differentiation, particularly at the level of the more urbanised setting.

To study the attitude of residents in relation to their family ties, the number of the sampled households who were living with their relatives in the same neighbourhoods were the subject of the inquiry. Table 7.1 demonstrates the results of the study in this regard.

Table 7.1 Households Who Were Living With Some Relatives at the Same neighbourhood

Frequency Percent	Apadana %	Karevan %
Yes	38.32	78.06
No	61.68	21.38
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: author's survey

Table 7.1 shows further households in Karevan lived with their close family members in their living place. This table also demonstrates that the majority of households in the Karevan neighbourhood, (about 80 per cent of the total sampled population), had at least one or two family members in their living area. However, in Apadana this percentage was about 38.32 per cent of household population. Being with relative members in the same living place implicitly implies more opportunities for households to make frequent contact with family members and this usually increases the chance to be more integrated overall. On the opposite side, for households which have a long trip to visit their family members or relatives or they might prefer to contact their relatives in occasionally, therefore, geographical and social distances maybe provide less opportunity for them to be more integrated.

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7.2 The Attitude of Households Towards the Significant of Kinship Relationship Through Their Network System

	Apadana	Karevan
Frequency	%	%
The kinship relationship is top of relationship preferences	20.95	49.00
The kinship relationship is not very important, while other type of social networks have to be considered	43.11	29.55
The type of kinship relationship depends on many other life circumstances	41.09	21.38
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: author's survey

As it shown in Table 7.2, households in Apadana are less associated with the family system of interrelationships. Their attitudes in this context, illuminate a contrast point to there which are formed in Karevan. More households in this semi-traditional neighbourhood are strongly engaged in maintaining the traditional style of relationships towards family members. In other words, more respondents replied that a kinship relationship was a top social preference in their living area and only fewer of them expressed that it was to be a secondary of their social life.

As a semi-traditional residential area, the existence of a strong kinship network system explicitly indicates the operation of this system in relation to the background of people in kinship and the mechanism of social affiliation through the system of cultural values. The local kinship network was stronger because of its function in relation to the social needs of residents in this area, particularly, if one bears in mind that residents in this area were living under poor economic conditions and in the neighbourhood which suffered from social frustration due to the lack of social support services.

7.2.3 The importance of the kinship system of marriage

In chapter six, Table 6.4 showed that how marriage through kinship members was much more common in Karevan than Apadana. In order to understand the attitudes of residents in relation to the social environment of their living place via the marriage system and to clarify the difference which existed in this context, this part aims to look at the positive or negative attitudes of residents in regard to endogamous and exogamous forms of marriage. This will add to the understanding of whether the

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residents in individual neighbourhoods were more related to the traditional or a modern pattern of social relationships in their living place.

It has to be noted that in the contemporary Iranian context, the overall structure of marital relationships, as with many other social patterns of relationships, has been the subject of social changes. Nevertheless, a considerable part of the population in this country are extremely allied to the traditional form of social relationships. A mixture between the past and new forms of relationships is growing as a dominant form of life style in cities and towns, which explicitly implies the elaborate configuration of the social environment of these areas. In the context of Tehran, the demographic characteristics of its urban population might be regarded as in the border of the past and new. Not all traditional forms of social life have disappeared or have been forgotten in the interest of new forms of life style. This situation is more evident in the semi-traditional areas in the city such as Tehran, where households regard the traditional relationships as a major part of their social support system in terms of social solidarity and identity. In this regard, the city is characterised through varied forms of married systems which represent the establishment of traditional and new social values. In the previous discussion (chapter six), the Apadana neighbourhood has been regarded as the place which is more characterised by the new form of social interaction among its residents and the Karevan neighbourhood was selected in terms of a semi-traditional social place. Based on anthropological perspectives, marriage through kinship groups should be an indicator of an early period in cultural attribution. In this way, there has risen and then scattered the view that the affects of modern socio-economic changes over newer generations led to the appearance of a new pattern of marriage system. This view is clearly confirmed in social areas which are established in modern cities widely faced with the phenomena of urbanism and its vast social consequences.

However, the traditional style of family marriage which was more popular in Karevan (and also in many similar neighbourhoods in Tehran) has root in existing cultural patterns, at the level of whole society and its contribution supported by social values which are accepted by people. For many years this form of marriage was the great

source for the family association. Historically in Iranian society, it can be seen that family ties were the core of the local family network for local groups and it was a great foundation that acted to individuals to provide for them the required social support opportunities. Nevertheless, contemporary social change has affected to arise new ideas in this context, as nowadays for many households the family form of marriage appears in the form of a social constraint. However, they respect it because it is valued as a part of their cultural traditions.

7.2.4 How households regard to the system of marriage?

The heads of households were asked some necessary details in relation to their form of marriage. A key question was given to the households sampled in both Apadana and Karevan in relation to this category. They were questioned to specify which system of marriage they began their shared life with. The objective was to clarify which pattern of marriage was more common within households in the survey areas and how they were positively or negatively integrated to traditional or modern forms of the social network system. Obtaining information on this item was a practical value as an indicator of the socio-cultural basis, which was concerned as a suitable criterion to use for understanding the particular aspects of the social environment of the neighbourhoods.

Table 7.3 Households Who Married With a Family Member

Frequency Percent	Yes %	No %	Missing %	Total
Apadana	18.56	80.74	0.59	100.0
Karevan	62.26	36.66	0.59	100.0

Source: author's surveys

As table 7.3 demonstrates, residents in the survey areas did not have similar situations in relation to the kinship system of marriage. Unlike Karevan, the majority of respondents in the Apadana neighbourhood married through an exogamous (or non-kinship system of marriage) form of marriage. The percentage 36.66 demonstrates that fewer households in Karevan were engaged to the exogamous form of marriage than in Apadana. The statistical evidence in Karevan also demonstrates a highest percentage of

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the kinship system of marriage. This percentage was about 62 per cent in this neighbourhood, compared to only 18.56 in Apadana. Accordingly, about 37 per cent of people in Karevan, using the non-kinship marriage, represent a particular change in the context of the marriage system of a traditional form in neighbourhood which was socially established according to more traditional patterns of social network.

The following argument is a summary of household ideas in Apadana, in relation to their more regard attitudes to the kinship system of marriage. These ideas were expressed in an open question which was given to them in this context.

They disagree with the endogamy or relative system of marriage because:

- 1-It leads to serious medical problems for future generation.
- 2-It will generate many social problems among family members.
- 3-It is impossible to react to all the expectations and demands of both sides of male and females family members.
- 4-The kinship system of family marriage is related to the past.
- 5-In this system of marriage, less rights would be held to the couples in choosing their suitable spouse.

Note: the difference between genders in relation to these attitudes was not very great. Households mostly hold the views which were parts of the common sense in the social environment of their living place as a whole.

In contrast to Apadana, many households in Karevan expressed their agreement with the kinship system of marriage. Their general ideas in this case are listed as follows:

They agree with the kinship system of marriage because:

- 1-It was part of their family traditional values and brought to them many social benefits.
- 2-They were not able to change it; it seemed to many of them a strong social constraint.
- 3-The kinship system of marriage would ensure the family foundation as a whole and maintain its safety and solidarity.

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4-They agreed to this form of marriage, because their ancestors followed this way and they are encouraged to maintain this.

5-They had no clear idea about it.

7.2.5 How frequent did households have contact with their relatives?

Family members often visit each other inside or outside their neighbourhood. Through the survey, the objective was to understand how family members normally organise their family visits and which pattern of kinship relationships were more current among residents in both Apadana and Karevan. This was also regarded as a useful social category to identify the contextual changes which have occurred in relation to the kinship ties in both the survey areas. More visiting is supposed to be common in the traditional ways in the semi-traditional neighbourhoods like Karevan, and the Apadana area has been defined as reflecting the growing interest toward new pattern of social behaviour in this respect.

Subsequent detail associated with the characteristics of meeting family in the city of Tehran suggests that relatives in the neighbourhood areas of this city have visited each other through home-visits or on specific occasions such as memorial ceremonies, wedding ceremonies, private parties and certain religious occasions. However, under the effects of the recent social changes, the pattern and the ways of conduct among family members have changed towards more to fit in with the patterns of life circumstances, which have generally altered, particularly through inhabitants who have stayed longer in this city. It seems that urbanism as the new pattern of social life becomes a basis for the emergence of the another form of social relationships.

In the case of family visiting, the results of the survey show that in Karevan, where its residents were largely recent urban immigrants, traditional relationships were more concentrated. However, two particular forms of meeting kinship members are found in this area. One group of residents were largely interested in maintaining the traditional means of relationships and the second group were mainly under affects of urbanism

process and were interested in adapting further new perspectives to maintain their interaction with family members.

Table 7.4 The Frequency of Family Visiting in the Survey Areas

Frequent meeting with relatives	Apadana %	Karevan %
Regularly	19.16	41.05
Very often	10.17	24.52
Some times	33.32	17.06
Rarely	26.09	13.83
Never	2.09	1.25
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: author's surveys area

Table 7.4 also reveals that in Karevan, the number of respondents in the first category (regularly visit) and the second (very often) category was much larger than in Apadana. Over 66 per cent of the total sampled population in Karevan had a regular visit with their relatives in their living place or its outside through home-visiting. This percentage for Apadana was only 19.16 But the number of households were only sometimes visit their family members in Karevan was 17.6 per cent of the sampled respondents. This percentage in Apadana was about 33.32 out of the total households sampled. There has been a significant difference in the case of last category in these two areas. In Karevan only 1.25 per cent replied they did not make any visit with their relatives, however, this percentage in Apadana was about 2.9.

Table 7.5 The Length of Contact Among Family Members in the Survey Areas

Frequent meeting with relatives	Apadana	Karevan
Home-visiting	31.73	64.54
Phone contacting	36.52	8.80
Particular occasions	23.53	23.89
Other ways	8.30	3.14
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: author's surveys

Table 7.5 shows the average frequencies of the ways in which the residents in both neighbourhoods used to contact with their relatives. This demonstrates a higher level of home-visiting in Karevan. However, households in Apadana contact with their relatives through an indirect way such as phone or through a formal meeting. In this context home visiting means giving more respect to the relative relationship.

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There follows a summary of the information which was collected through the interviews with residents in the Apadana neighbourhood:

First of all the average number of kinship visiting in Apadana was higher than any other kind of relationship, and followed by kinship and neighbours. Telephone contact was strongly oriented toward family outside of the neighbourhood. Visiting was also most frequent with family outside the neighbourhood. But here the effects of proximity seem to come into play.

In Karevan the average number of kinship contacts with relatives was more than contacts with friends, but neighbouring contacts also had a high rate and home visiting and attending at the occasional ceremonies were seen to be common forms for visiting relatives. Women had more a positive attitude subject of visiting relatives as the same strong opinion which they have expressed in relation to neighbouring relationship.

For many families members, visiting relatives in other neighbourhoods becomes an affair for the week-end or for special occasions. Although in places and in societies where mobility, geographical or social, is very common, blood ties may become a less important force; the evidence from Apadana and Karevan show that these forms of relative ties were not a very significant aspect of relationships in their daily involvement in Apadana or Karevan.

7.3. Neighbours and living place

In chapter 3, the issue of neighbouring relationship is presented as a significant part of social relationships, focused in the place of urban neighbourhoods. It was noted that the contemporary social approaches to this subject also acknowledge large influence of the quality of neighbouring relationships in making a living place desirable. This is a focus on interpersonal relations where two or more people provide their setting place such as neighbours. Proximity has been an essential and key attribute of neighbours. Neighbours live very close together and meet frequently each other. Therefore, their

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relationships form on the basis of their attitudes which have shaped during the personal experiences. On the basis of different residential areas in the city, the social attitudes of residents can be interpreted through the pattern of neighbouring relationships. In this context, different perspectives will be discussed. The only evidence from the previous research suggests that the urban residents are more socially isolated than non-urban residents. However, they have less frequent contact with their neighbours (Kelly 1968). People with few resources, such as the poor or the elderly, maybe more strongly affected by characteristics of the environment, such as community size, than the people with more resources (Franck, 1985). This also affected different characteristics of the social environment of living place. In addition, more positive attitudes to neighbouring contacts might be shown in more social integration with the overall environment of living place and vice-versa. In many instances, the existing social differentiations in the case of neighbourhoods should be interpreted as a valuable source for clarification of a strong or poor social relationship which inhabitants in these areas make with the social environment of their living place.

Neighbouring relationship has been outlined as a significant section of the social interactions in the human community as a whole, which can produce many social benefits. As Bulmer (1986) suggests: 'this, constructed within many different spatial and institutional settings-each of which provides a peculiar context of opportunity and of constraint so far as the character and content of actual relationships are concerned' (Blumer 1985, p. 36). Everyone, who lives in a city or a particular place such as a town or neighbourhood, has some neighbours. Social relations among them are the significant form of social exchanges. Neighbours may provide tangible assistance for each other in the form of tasks performed or services rendered. To social groups neighbours may be a source of social support and provide some types of social aids. Individuals in their residential areas are almost a part of different groups. Firstly, groups who have extended relationships with others in the living areas, and secondly people who dislike this type of neighbouring relationships, and their relationships are very limited. Clearly, the behaviour of individuals in these cases are subordinated to many socio-economic and physical contexts. Moreover, the neighbouring relationship according to Kelley (1968) are 'socially defined relationships ranging from highly

formalised and institutionalised rules and obligations to highly variable voluntary exchanges' (Bulmer 1985, p.36).

In chapter three, different forms of neighbouring relationships have also been described. The distinction was made between manifest and latent neighbourliness, which were proposed by Peter Mann (1954). According to his definition: 'manifest neighbourliness is characterised overt forms of social relationships, such as mutual visiting in the home and going out for leisure and recreation. Latent neighbourliness is characterised of favourable attitudes to neighbours which result in positive action when a need arises, specially in times of crisis or emergency. These two forms can be thought to occur in combination, together capable of describing the pattern a relationship takes (Mann, 1954 p. 22)'.

The objective of this section is to understand whether residents in the two survey areas have a positive or a negative relationships to their living place in terms of the quality and the form of neighbouring relationships. In other words, the aim is to identify whether the social environment of the living place for residents in Apadana and Karevan was considered by them to be a desirable living place as regards the quality of neighbouring relationships. In doing this, the survey has benefited from some categories which used in order to measure their perception in this respect. These categories are based on general ideas which were developed through the primary interview with households in the research areas and they are designed also to draw upon the contextual characteristics of the survey areas. Views about neighbours relationships with neighbours, neighbours and social environment of neighbourhood are the core categories in this concentration.

7.3.1 How households regard their neighbours

Acceptance or rejection of neighbours, ties is very permissive in the context of Iranian society. The neighbours are located in different categories. Every urban dweller, as distinct from those suburban inhabitants who have a large house, has neighbours and

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since Iranian people have been living in towns, it might be expected that a common attitude would develop towards neighbours. To examine the attitudes of residents in relation to the neighbours, the character of the neighbours in living place and the time and the place when neighbours often meet together, a number of questions were given to the households. The following comments were expressed in Apadana:

Man: I'm not one for going into people's houses unless for illness'.

Women: 'I said to my husband when I first came here 'this isn't the place for us. The people are unfriendly'. This family has lived in Apadana for seventeen years.

We don't mix with the people round here. they're not too bad this end of the street but at the far end the people are always standing on the door front gossiping (Field notes).

If more specific reference is intended the contiguous houses, to the right and left, are designated 'the neighbours'. Every family in Karevan has neighbours of this kind; in this neighbourhood the majority of the houses were semi-detached types, though there were several sets of six dwellings in a single unit. Each of these house types was represented in the random sample from Karevan. People in them, irrespective of type of house, referred to their next-door neighbours.

7.3.2 Relationships with neighbours

In the case of relationships with neighbours, the focus of study was to explore the existence of manifest and latent forms of neighbouring relationships. The head of households in both Apadana and Karevan were asked to express whether or not they were interested in maintaining or developing the relationship with their local neighbours and if so what was the specification of these relationships. In Apadana, for many households, to be involved in neighbouring relationships was not a major concern. The inclination to develop a strong relationship with neighbours was not significantly reported and a short contact in the street or public places in neighbourhood was the only way that they met their neighbours.

Table 7.6 The Attitude of Households in Relation to Neighbours

Frequency Respondents	Apadana %	Karevan %
Know many of them very well	12.57	56.60
Recognise only some of them	69.44	37.69
Do not know any body	16.16	4.40
Missing	1.79	1.08
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: author's surveys

The statistical results of Table 7.6 reveal that the pattern of neighbour relationships was not similar in the two survey areas. In Apadana, many households replied that they knew the local neighbours through only their name and some overall personal characteristics. Fewer numbers of these respondents replied that they recognised their neighbours well or that they had a regular relationship with them in neighbourhood. About 17 per cent of households in Apadana said they did not have any detailed information about their local neighbours. However, in Karevan, more households replied that they knew their approximate neighbours by name and some personal information. The percentage of households in this case was 56.60. This indirectly implies that more neighbouring communication existed between local neighbours in the Karevan area. About 38 per cent of respondents in this place said that they could only recognise some of their neighbours by the name. Only a few percent of households replied that they did not know any neighbours in their living place.

Related to different socio-economic conditions which existed in Apadana and Karevan neighbourhoods, the quality and form of neighbouring relationships have been supposed to be different. In Apadana, as an advantaged neighbourhood in terms of housing, public services and the economic, the neighbouring ties were less the focus of social relationships. In contrast, people in Karevan, as a poor area, in terms of housing, economic and public services, put significantly more emphasis on relationships with local neighbours, acquaintances and relatives in the living area. However, the households in the two areas in some instances criticised their neighbours. These were expressed in different languages. The cleanness of the neighbourhood was an important neighbouring issue in Apadana. However, the way of using open space for the playing of children was a major problem in relationships between neighbours in Karevan. Another issue in this case was the concentration on privacy of house and the required

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respect for the rights of neighbours in using the existing facilities in the Apadana neighbourhood. However, one demographic specification of residents in Karevan was the multi-national source of the local residents. From early, many big family groups from different parts of the country have departed from their previous living place and settled in this neighbourhood. Therefore, they were interested in maintaining and developing their local relationships with certain groups of residents who had a shared cultural background and language. As it was explained, different socio-cultural backgrounds and language are used in some instances as the source of social intentions between neighbours in this area.

7.4 Conclusion

In this chapter the main objective was to clarify the differences between residents in survey areas in terms of their local kinship and neighbouring relationships and to understand the attitudes of residents in this case. In chapter 5, Tehran was described as a city which contains diverse social residential characteristics in its spatial structure. Segregation in term of local networks has been determined as one of its environmental dimensions. To analyse the existing differentiation of its neighbourhoods, particular aspects of local relationships were the focus of the concern in this chapter.

Section one started with a brief review in relation to the conceptual framework of the social relationships generally and their characteristics in neighbourhood areas, specifically. It was outlined that the dimensions of local interaction, as a part of the social environment of local areas, has an important contribution in understanding the relationship between residents and their living place. In order to conduct the surveys, it was necessary to focus on particular conceptual definitions which have recently developed within urban studies.

Following the conceptual definition, the results of the survey conducted in Apadana and Karevan have been comparatively discussed in two separate categories in order to

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explain whether there were similarities or differences between the two neighbourhoods. Firstly, in section one the family relationship was the focus of analysis. Secondly, in section two the neighbouring relationship has been discussed based on the attitude of households living in these neighbourhoods. The first category has been classified into family relationship in a broad sense, the pattern of the family marriage, the regarding the family relationship by households, the frequency of contact with family members and finally, the manner of contact.

In the context of the family relationship, it was highlighted that many households were living with their close relatives in the same place and they had very close and regularly contact with their relatives. The Karevan neighbourhood, which was defined as the semi-traditional urban neighbourhood in Tehran, was seen to be more integrated in the traditional ways of family interaction and its population, who were mainly from similar living areas, further emphasised maintain the traditional family ties. The family relationship, it was suggested, is important to them as part of their local social support system. Whereas in Apadana, which was defined as a modern style of urban neighbourhood, local family ties were considered not very strong. It has also been understood that, although the households in these areas were largely under the affects of cultural values in the society as the whole, the life style and their interaction pattern was the new facts of urbanism, more isolated in terms of family ties and integrated to a widespread relationship outside the neighbourhood.

The findings of the survey demonstrate that more households in Karevan had a number of family members in their living place. It was understood that in Karevan, the family base was well-established on the base of kinship or endogamous form of marriage and this form of marriage was a strong type of married institution in this neighbourhood. The views of Karevan's residents concentrated on the many socio-cultural advantages through this type of marriage and a summary of their comments has been highlighted that, although there can be seen among some of them a particular interest toward the exogamous form of marriage however, the traditional form of marriage was the most common in this neighbourhood. In contrast to Karevan, the exogamous form of marriage was more dominant in Apadana and households in this neighbourhood were

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more interested in maintain this new form of the marriage since they were more absorbed to its socio-cultural values and advantages.

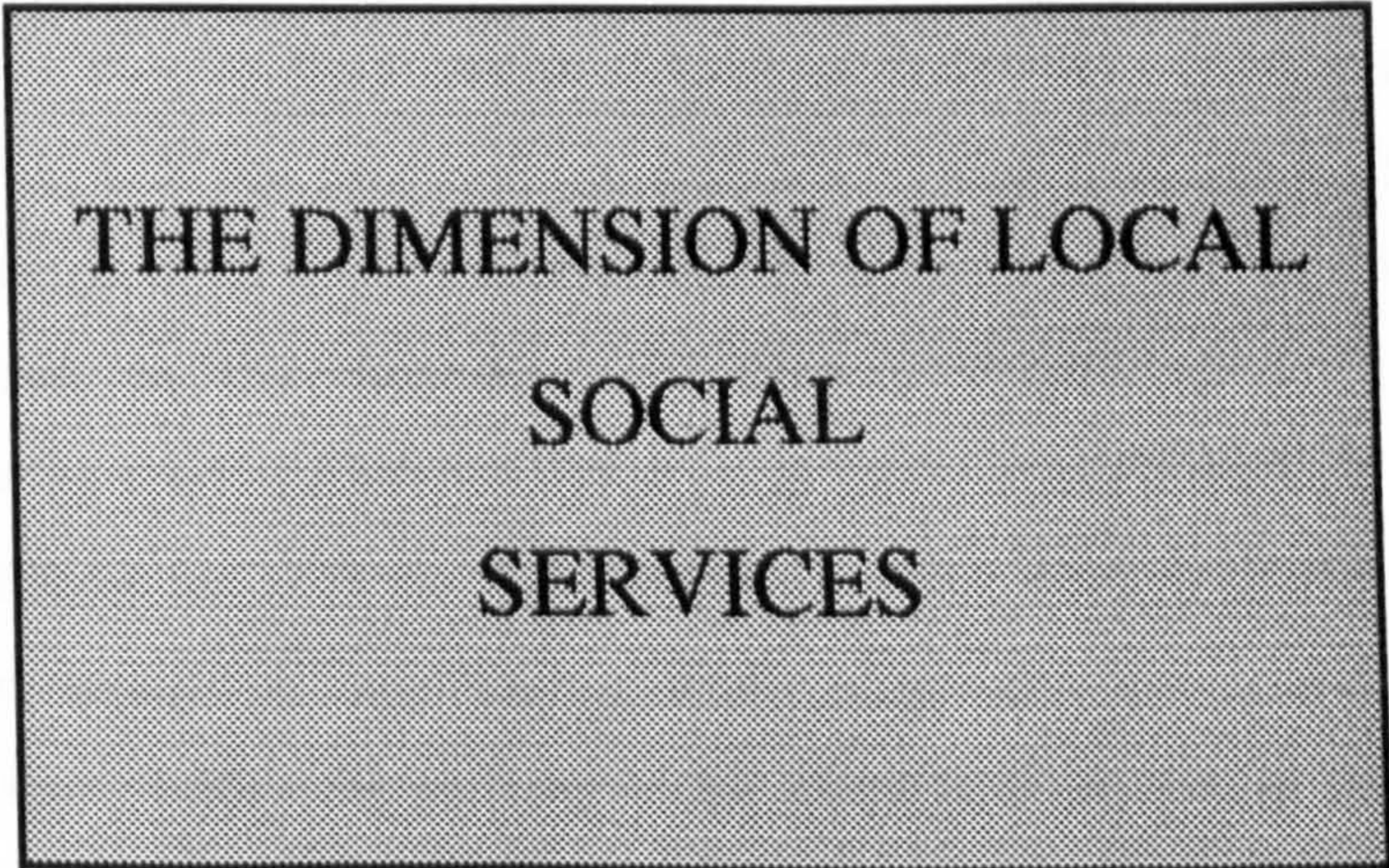
Section two in this chapter concentrated on the neighbouring relationship in the survey areas. This category has also been analysed on the bases of attitudes of households in these neighbourhoods. The poorer quality neighbourhood, because its lacked sufficient social support services, was more dependent to neighbouring, while the better quality of neighbourhood seems to be less in need of neighbours. The details collected in this case also show that the respondents who live in neighbourhoods where a higher proportion of residents have at least 10 years residence know more of their neighbours. Thus, both the longer one lives in the neighbourhood and the longer one's neighbour stays in the neighbourhood, the more local ties are maintained. The manifest form of neighbouring relationship in Karevan was very important to its residents. Many of them knew their neighbours very well by the name and personal characteristics. Home-visiting and collective co-operation in the neighbourhood was the bases of neighbouring relationship in this area. As has been outlined in earlier chapters, the neighbouring contact can be seen as a major characteristic in the area of neighbourhoods as the whole. Living very close in the same place, regarding facing each other, having shared social needs and the like mean that the concern of neighbours become part of primary interests to all of these who share a living place. This is particularly so in the semi-traditional neighbourhood as Karevan, which is deprived of the advanced social support system . However, in Apadana, though not exactly the same as Karevan, neighbouring contact was also the centre of concerns to its residents. To some of the households, this neighbourhood was of interest of them because it has a good social context in terms of social environment and particularly its neighbours. The physical design of buildings and the many social occasions which were held in the neighbourhood caused that households in Apadana to give a particular consideration to the issue of neighbouring.

From the discussion above, it is concluded that both neighbourhoods were located in two different environments in terms of the structural web of relationships. Furthermore, the form and concept of local social networks in Apadana contrasted to

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these in Karevan. As has been seen the social meaning the households in relation to the social relationship and the types of its performance varied. In Apadana, people were mainly concerned with extending their relationships on the ground of modern patterns of interests and requirements. Less close-relatives were living in their life place and their social preferences in the case of family marriage or neighbouring relationships were not same as in Karevan. People in Karevan were living through the traditional way of life and it was important to them to maintain their previous style of social ties. There, two different patterns of lifestyle in terms of family and neighbouring relationships socially segregate these neighbourhoods and clearly demonstrate the existence of a vast difference in attitude and shapes the structure of the city of Tehran. The interaction dimensions discussed above specify the existing diversity which is one of the major environmental features of urban neighbourhoods in the city of Tehran. Finally, it has been shown how different socio-physical structures accommodate different forms of social interactions based on the fact of different socio-physical characteristics. Nevertheless, this diversity is only limited to the context of social environments. In Apadana and Karevan there were also understandably some environmental characteristics which segregate these areas in the form of local public provisions. The building of housing and the social services delivery system, these are the significant environmental dimensions which elaborate how these areas are specified into different environmental conditions and how people manage their relationships with these conditions. The following chapter will clarify the particular dimensions of the local social service delivery system in the study areas. Focusing on educational and transport services, the reality of a neighbourhood's public facilities and the attitudes of residents will be explored in detail.

CHAPTER EIGHT:



THE DIMENSION OF LOCAL SOCIAL SERVICES

8.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the structure of local social networks in study areas was the focus of concern. It has examined the attitudes of local residents in relation to the important aspects of the social interaction in the environment of their 'living place'. It presented that in the Apadana and Karevan neighbourhoods, which were characterised by a set of distinct socio-physical characteristics, the local residents had extremely diverse outlooks on their interrelationships through their social network system. The family and neighbouring relationship were the core discussion. The survey has also clarified the patterns of the social network system and examined to what extent or extents residents were more wished to express their positive or negative social interaction experiences; and what was the framework of differentiation in this regard. The pattern of present social networks, demonstrates strongly the mixture of their traditional and new routines within the current local social networks. Apadana emerged as the area which was further motivated to follow the new style of social interaction and Karevan, as a semi-traditional neighbourhood, was mainly regarded as the neighbourhood representing more traditional manifestations focusing on local traditional social interactions.

As explained in the previous chapters, the research follows an exploration of urban neighbourhoods in Tehran in terms of the relationships between residents and their major environmental dimensions. In this regard, the social networks, the public services and the stability and liveability or non-liveability of neighbourhood areas were determined as most major aspects of the research purpose. This chapter intends

basically to examine the second of these key questions. This is that concerned the structure and quality of public services in the survey areas and additionally the potential availability of public services for the inhabitants. The main objective here is to draw upon the overall quality of public services to provide the possible assessment of the views of households in relation to the general framework of these services and the situation of their delivery system. Education and transport services are selected as the central focus in this respect, since these are the focus of attention either for local residents or in public debates.

Firstly, the attention examines the mechanism of public services delivery in the survey areas. Secondly, the study follows particular patterns of the attitudinal concerns which are based on the household's daily experiences in their local 'living place'. Based on the primary procedure which is followed in this study, the most major aspects of the public services will be highlighted. These are indicated by local residents as their preferences. In an actual sense, these priorities are examined significantly, as they seem have a profound contribution in shaping their environment of life place as to their sense of or leading isolated from their residential areas. In addition, the characteristics of time and space of the public services delivery system which in survey areas are also considered, importantly. Firstly, the great social changes which happened in Iran after 1979 Revolution have increased the general interests of urban residents to receive more educational and transport facilities. Secondly, the two neighbourhoods are built in two different social directions the north and south of the city of Tehran and are vastly characterised by different socio-economic frameworks. Finally related to the environmental conditions of these neighbourhoods, this chapter explores the key elements of the survey findings and considers the structure of education and transport facilities in detail.

The organisation of this chapter is shaped by three sections. Section one briefly reviews the conceptual background of public services and the chief characteristics of their delivery system. Section two considers the quality of the relationships between parents and the local schools. To deal with this subject, the section is established upon a number of interrelated issues. These issues are: the establishment of the education

system in Iran, the education services in urban neighbourhoods of Tehran, the child and school, the parents and school and the parents and teachers and the parents and the choose of favour school for children. In this respect, the main objective is to examine whether residents, who were the parents of the school age children in both neighbourhoods, were interested to show their relationships with the local schools of their child/children.

Section three reviews the transport services and the mechanisms of its delivery in the survey areas. It explores the different forms of services which are stand on the neighbourhood areas and the ways in which they are used by local households. This section is also focused by a number of issues namely: an overview on the transport services in Iran, accessibility to transport services, the available transport services and the problems of public transport services. In this case, the focus will be concentrated on the form of differentiation which are reflected on their abilities to use these services. This also reviews how residents use private or public transport services and how they view the quality of their services and its delivery system mechanisms in their 'living place'. A the end of this chapter, a summary of the whole discussion will be given.

8.2 The dimension of social services in urban neighbourhoods

This section draws on the conception of social services presented in Chapter 3. In this chapter, it was explained that different countries in the world employ different policies of social services. These policies are designed based on different kinds of socio-economic systems. Therefore, the policy and the regime of this activity can be seen to vary. Generally speaking, this focuses on the dominant pattern of economic activities, the national priorities, the existing administrative characteristics, the basic needs which are expressed by people, and finally the performance of public policy.

Regarding social services in smaller areas such as urban neighbourhoods, this notion should be considered in a twofold way: one is the policy of central government as a whole and the other the basic needs of people in this context. The second type also depends on the information system which is available to people and gives to them new expectations and willingness. This information system also includes the materials as the exchanging of experience with the environment of living place and that will be generated through the daily exchange experiences of the people. Thus, the environmental consequences of a city or a neighbourhood comes to be acknowledged through attitudes and expectations of the inhabitants as they would express it, environmentally, as an advantaged or a disadvantaged 'living place'.

In Chapter 3, it was also noted that people who live in a city or its neighbourhoods have various needs. These include the need for the basic facilities like housing and less basic needs such as the need for recreational opportunities. In regard to the re-establishment of public services, it was concentrated on public services which are evaluated as the part of vital needs of the individuals. In the case of urgent needs, Walmsley (1988) believe that: 'it refers to the wants that are expressed by individuals when they are asked, usually in a survey, if they feel a need for certain services or facilities. As such it is a poor indicator of 'real' need because the answers that individuals give to such questions tend to depend on both their aspirations and their perceptions of what they think is available for any possibility. Expressed need is best thought of as felt need turned into action' (Walmsley, 1988 pp. -578).

Social services are defined as the reflection of the distribution of activities and materials over social spaces. These are the major parts of the everyday involvement of the people. To study the different aspects of urban neighbourhoods, the situation of social services, their quality and performance also play a great role in the interrelation between people and their environment of life.

8.3 The overall patterns of social services in the study areas

In Chapter 5, it was argued that the expansion of cities in Iran, in the contemporary era, has led to the establishment of different urban neighbourhoods. Tehran, as a representative example, was the focus of this concern. It also was outlined that the overall spatial structure of this city had sharply divided into various new social areas. The results of diversity in terms of the social basis of its urban neighbourhoods has given a specific figure to its overall structure of environment. Through this context, there has been developed different patterns of relationships between residents and their environment of living place. Social services activities seem to be the central aspects in this context. It said that such a situation would also be reflected in terms of its residents in accessing these services and their views about what should be available to them.

Accompanying the socio-spatial expansion of Tehran, particularly in more recent years, the situation of peripheral neighbourhoods were the subject of service development activities. This process also was deeply under the influence of the overall social policy which was being carried out in the country. Since 1980, the present local services in neighbourhoods areas have greatly expanded in terms of staff and work done, and their structures and methods of work have been modified under the influences of needs of whom have been met. The establishment and development of public facilities in some neighbourhoods and the lack of sufficient provisions in other areas have created different environmental patterns of the living place at the level of the city of Tehran and its neighbourhoods.

As has already been described in Chapter 5, both Apadana and Karevan neighbourhoods were constructed on the basis of different public services conditions. The Apadana neighbourhood was built as a designed residential area and was comparatively well provided by public provision of adequate and modern urban services. In contrast, the Karevan neighbourhood was a poor and exploited residential area, despite the large activities which are delivered by Tehran's central municipality

and the local quarter agencies (Section 20 of Tehran Municipal). Overall, the neighbourhood lacked of an adequate improvement in terms of social services. To be connect to the city of Teran, has given a good opportunity to both neighbourhoods to use the further public facilities which exist in this city. However, residents in Karevan, since they were economically situated in a poor condition and were not socially very familiar with the existing public services, therefore, there was less opportunity to them to use the public services provided in the city. For instance, to use the better public services such as education, health, shopping and the like, they often were required to pay much money and time, which were beyond their abilities. This pattern of the operation of service activities articulated the internal social organisation of poor neighbourhoods from improved neighbourhood areas where the public services system worked more successfully.

In the case of Apadana and Karevan, most social services are provided by the formal and informal sectors. In this regard, the role of the formal sector in delivering the local services is more discernible. Nevertheless, from the early years of the establishment of these neighbourhoods, through voluntary activities, the social participation of local residents had a significant role for distribution of these services in both neighbourhoods. Particularly during years when the country was at war with Iraq (between 1980-1988), many activities were delivered the efforts of local people to improve their public services. Most of these collective activities were organised the more Local Mosques. Furthermore, many volunteers among local residents, particularly the young, have taken part in setting Local Economic Committees to distribute the basic needs foods. In the post-war years, the mechanism of public services returned to its normal conditions and the key role of activities maintained by the formal sector and its local organisations. The duty of state organisations in this regard entitled the distribution and the control of the quantity and quality of services. The following information provides a general picture of the services available in each area based on a summary of a comprehensive statistical inquiry which was undertaken by the statistical centre of Iran in 1994.

From Table 8.1 it can be understood that, in Apadana the proportion of the urban provisions based on its population (about twenty-two thousand residents) looks to be higher than in Karevan. In recent years the district 15 of the Tehran Municipality has started to increase the amount of public services in the Karevan neighbourhood and started to reconstruct its organisations based on the increasing of public demands in this area. However, because of characteristic population in this neighbourhood as a main constraint (which are already existed in movement), the existence of cultural poverty (as neighbourhood managers described to author) and some other socio-economic constraints which affect its general social development, to set up an impressive services program in this area requires a long term upgrading development project.

Table 8 1 The Distribution of Particular Services Activities in the Survey Areas

	Apadana	Karevan
Food, drinking and smoking units	14	5
Nutrition units	4	2
Stores	20	11
Shops and supermarket	17	12
Transport centres	15	2
Public and domestics services	4	14
Garage	15	5

Statistical Centre of Iran, 1994 (in Persian).

As it has been explained in the earlier part of this chapter, to account for the different patterns of public services at the level of the neighbourhoods studied, firstly, the study will concentrate on education services and secondly, on transport services. The overall framework of these reviews follows two objectives: the first, to provide a brief review at the overall structure of these services in Iran and then to deliver a discussion to analyse the finding of the surveys which were conducted in Apadana and Karevan.

8.4.The education services Iran

There are many definitions of education in the context of society. Haralambos & Holborn(1990) believe that 'education is simply one aspect of socialisation. It involves the acquisition of knowledge and the learning of skills. Whether intentionally or

unintentionally, education often also helps to shape beliefs and moral values' (Haralambos & Holborn 1990 p. 228). Moreover, research in education has shown a change in emphasis, in relation to those processes of providing skills and knowledge for children. In particular the educational role of parents has come to be regarded as much more important than hitherto. Furthermore, a child's life in school is an important part of his total experiences of growing up; but it is only a part and in the past few years increasing attention has been paid to the fact his educational development is locally related to other aspects in his environment, the major one naturally being his home. The relation between his parents and the school can also be crucial to child's progress and development. In turn this has an emphasis on the opinions of the parents themselves, what they think of the school, what their expectations are for their children's future, how they would like see things change.

Public spending dominates the educational systems of all contemporary societies. In Iran, education conducted in formal institutions staffed by teachers was established in the last century. The educational program in Iran is divided into two phases: Education and Training at the primary levels and Higher Culture and Education at the advanced levels. According to Article 30 of the I.R. of the Iran Constitution (established in 1980), education is gratis for all children and young adults up to the end of high school level and the government provide primary and secondary schools, technical colleges, polytechnics and universities-all largely free of direct charges or at heavily subsidised prices. Educational spending is the second largest item of government expenditure (after social security). A central institution, the Ministry of Education and Training, is responsible for providing the services for public schools.

Based on the present principal law in Iran, the government has the responsibility to build and to organise schools in the country. However, since the middle of the last decade, there has been documented a new law in the Islamic Parliament of Iran to allow the private sector to establish and to run the school based an national curriculum which is provided by the Ministry of Education and Training. The private schools which are called Non-Profitable Schools (Madresei Gheire Antefaie) have mainly developed through the activities of private sector. These activities have

developed, particularly at the level of big cities and more advantaged areas. Schools that are built by the private sector are mainly well provided with facilities and have much better provisions. The financial support of these schools are provided by parents and all services are settled by their financial assistants.

There is another type of schools which are named the Popular Typical Schools (Madresei Nemoneiy Mardomei) and these are established with the co-operation of state and people. The parents of children of these schools are also expected to share in providing the schools financial sources. Regarding to services provided in schools, there is a general view that these schools are better provided facilities with than schools which are entirely sponsored by the state sector. These patterns of private schools are more developed in the great cities such as Tehran. In rest of the country, the state sector has a profound role to establish and to organise of all schools. In Tehran, during recent years, the number of private and semi-private schools increased and many affluent groups were attracted to their advanced services and provisions.

In recent years, as the consequence of institutional changes in overall structure of the society and the increase of concerns of the new government to develop the provision of schools, there has been a general expansion in the sphere of education activities across the whole country. Much financial resources and materials are allocated to expand this part of public services in cities and towns. To take an example to explain the increasing demand for the use of education services, the statistical evidence are one valuable sources in this regard. The figures of enrolled students in schools increased from 15 million in 1990 to about 20 million in 1996 (Kyhan Havay Newspaper, 1996). This increase can be interpreted as the result of the natural growth of national population and more provision of school services in the country in order to respond to the demands which seem are growing, basically.

The training system in Iran has two further important policies: one is to increase the level of public information for children based on Islamic principals and to transfer the achievements of human beings in history to them and second one is to promote their

technical experience and skills in different ranges of fields in order to respond to the widespread social needs which are growing in the society.

In order to draw a picture of the increasing significance of education sector in Iran and to make a shape of its existing demands, the following table gives the number of pupils at different institutional levels for the academic year 1989-1990.

Table 8.2 No. of Students for Academic Year 1989-1990.

Students	Male	Female	Total
School for exceptional children	19819	12636	32455
Pre-school course (dorehe AmAdeghi).	114151	103345	217496
Elementary school	4790250	4026895	8817145
Middle school	1782130	1213665	2995795
General secondary school	830419	630128	1460547
Technical and vocational school [1]	170416	41684	212100
Teachers training centres [2]	63524	30514	94038
Adult education[3]	157386	57320	214706

Source: A Statistical Reflection of I. R. Iran, No.9, p.34, May 1992 (English ed.)

Figure 8 1 The Division of Pre-college Level Program in Iran.

1: Preparatory school	duration: 1-2 yrs (1).
2: Primary school	duration: 5 yrs.
3: Orientation school	duration: 3 yrs.
4: Secondary school	duration: 4 yrs(2/3).
[1] Including technical, commercial & vocational and agricultural schools	
[2] Including rural teacher training school (graduate receive diploma), vocational & technical teacher training centres, teacher training centres (graduate receive associate degree) and technical joiner colleges.	
[3] Including evening general courses, evening complementary courses and 5th grade evening school, but excluding literacy movement organisation courses.	

Source: A Statistical Reflection of I. R. Iran, No. 9, p. 34, May 1992 (English ed.)

State involvement in education in Iran, can be justified in a number of ways. These include the necessity to advance culture, to promote social cohesion and to stimulate economic growth. Generally speaking, there is increased further attention, particularly through state activities to extend the numbers of schools and to establish the proper distribution of education facilities, particularly at the level of cities and their urban locations as far as is suggested in National Constitution.

Furthermore, with the rise of new patterns of life activities and the increase of public consciousness there is establishing an exclusively interest among parents toward schools and their provisions to train children and to guarantee their future life. This can also be seen as a reflection of an increasing awareness of the connection between education, social mobility and employment opportunities. This is intensified among larger families, particularly after the great changes that occurred in the Iranian society in Post-Revolution years (see chapter 5). The development of education has also increased the interest in parental opportunity, especially over choice of school and the standard of training system. However, despite public efforts to establish schools in equal conditions, schools seem different, particularly within bigger cities. This difference is more obvious in the organisation, the provided educational resources and also the location reputation of schools which are built in cities. Such situation is particularly visible in the city of Tehran.

As argued in Chapter 3, an equal distribution of services can best be understood as implying equality of access and an objective achieved if all individuals regardless of their social settings face the same services for each 'unit' of education undertaken. This is a form of equality of use, that is, each individual should use educational resources to the same extent. Despite the provision of free education and the expansion of its basic services, the lower groups in disadvantaged areas face greater financial problems in sending their children to school than the higher groups in advantaged areas.

What follows is an attempt to educational services based on the reality and the attitudes of users in typical example of urban neighbourhoods in Tehran. In other words, in terms of education services, the aim of the survey was: to gather information on the needs of parents, their relationship to the school and their satisfaction or dissatisfaction, as seen by the parents themselves at the level of the local neighbourhood.

8.4.1 The education services in urban neighbourhoods of Tehran

In the neighbourhoods of Tehran, in many cases and for various reasons, the pattern of school services seems to be established in different ways. Over several years, the schools that have been built in more advantaged areas in the north of this city were in areas where already had better services available. This is because, these areas are extended as the settings of more better-off people and the establishment of public policies was toward the interests of this group.

After the Islamic revolution, the nature of the policy roughly altered toward an equal structure of public services at the level of cities to serve to the whole people without consideration a particular socio-economic discrimination. However, to be located socially in poor areas in the South of Tehran (where an aggregate population was living), many particularly poorer households were still deprived of access to adequate facilities and were under pressure of the poverty of materials and resources for their children. In the years after revolution, particularly when the war with Iraq has been ended (1988) and there have been started the plans of Socio-Economic Development in reconstructing the internal settings of the regions where being destroyed or were delayed in wartime. After the war some schemes of upgrading to poor urban neighbourhoods has been devised for neighbourhoods which were located in the south of this city, has changed the situation of school service and increased its facilities. However, it was evident that at the time of survey, still many residents in south of Tehran, were faced with services problems in the case of school and provision for their needs.

The various conditions that existed in the city of Tehran would in any case have made it a particularly interesting and useful case to study from the point of view of the quality of education system as viewed by its real users that are the parents. Nevertheless, the local education service had to meet the needs of the residents in neighbourhoods. However, there are factors at work which make it probable that a number of schools in poorer areas, such as Karevan, will come under increasing pressure to demonstrate their economic effectiveness.

8.5 The education services in Apadana and Karevan

The overall structure of schools and their services in Apadana and Karevan are part of the education system and its services which are provided in the country as a whole. Schools that were built in Apadana and Karevan were organised by state sector. As regards their internal services and the pattern of the training system, they were situated in a similar situation. Staff and the school's primary provisions are provided by the Ministry of Education and Training and the parents of children were officially and unofficially asked to financially collaborate with the school organisers to provide the better training services based on the schools needs.

Table 8. 3 Numbers of Schools in Apadana and Karevan

	Apadana	Karevan
Primary schools	2	2
Middles Schools	2	2
High schools	2	1
College	0	0
Total	6	5

In both neighbourhoods schools are administratively organised by the central institution of Ministry of Education and Training which acts in Tehran through twenty distinct regional sections. As part of the Education Ministry and internal subdivision, the Section 1 of Tehran Education has responsibility for Apadana's schools and Section 19 is involved to organise schools that are built in Karevan neighbourhood. In Apadana, at the beginning of neighbourhood construction, there had been established a few schools. Overall, at the time of survey, six separate primary, middle and high schools existed in this neighbourhood. The average number of the pupils in these schools was around 700 pupils. This figure could be compared to more than 1100 pupils who were enrolled in schools that existed in Karevan.

The survey also took account of the physical situation of schools such as: the design of the school, environment of classrooms, laboratory facilities, playground and so on in both neighbourhoods. All these features have been observed of a higher standard in Apadana. The Apadana estate builders, who were charged with establishing qualified

schools, have equipped these schools with required facilities, such as an adequate space, an appropriate size for classrooms, laboratory and so on. In the interview conducted in Apadana, only a small number of households who had children in schools established in this neighbourhood complained about the insufficient physical facilities. In contrast, the majority of parents admitted that they were satisfied in this respect and were happy to send their children to the neighbourhood schools. The physical situation of schools in Karevan has been developed during recent years. The number of schools are increased from one to three and many facilities are allocated to these schools. However, because the number of households who had to attend their children to school in this neighbourhood was too high, residents in this area faced many constraints. The major constraints were such as: the shortcoming of space, lack of playground, the number of classroom for students.

Table 8 4 The Number of Households Who Had Children in School

	Yes	No	Total
Apadana	91.10	8.98	100.0
Karevan	61.63	38.36	100.0

Source: author's surveys

As Table 8.4 shows most residents who were living in Apadana and Karevan can be categorised as households who had school age children. Because the survey was not conducted in relation to a comprehensive study about the relationship between children and their schools, therefore, in this respect, the survey did not have the expected information in this case. Nevertheless, interviews in Karevan illuminated that a considerable number of school-age children in this area who were not able to attend in school or were working to the financial assistane their family. Whereas, only few cases had been discovered showing that children in Apadana had left early the school or were working to help their family, financially. This difference refers to existing socio-economic conditions that encourage poor families, in disadvantaged areas such as Karevan, who are not able naturally to prepare the required materials and equipments for their children, to send their chidden to go to school, to work.

8.5.1 Parents and schools

One potential influence is the extensive involvement of parents in the provision of services for children-age-school. This experience suggests that as children reach schooling age there is a considerable body of parental interest, and expertise on which to build. Parents of school age children have a demanding and important role to play in the social, psychological and educational development of their children. The parent's ability to help and guide their children is crucial for the successful transition from children to young adulthood, from school to work or unemployment.

The importance of the home background and of parental interest in their children's education has been a primary focus for involving parents in their children's schooling. Such involvement can be initiated in a number of ways: giving more information; increasing access to the school and the encouraging more informal contact with teachers; inviting parents into the school in both a teaching and non-teaching capacity; consulting with parents and incorporating their views into management structure of the school; extending the role of school, by community school and linking with parents, community networks and other forms of provisions (Pugh & De'Ath, 1984).

Above all, in the case of this study, the parents were greatly concerned with the notion of the education of their children and they have attempted to express it through different ways. Therefore, they were selected as the central means to explore the school services in the survey areas. In addition, because the aim of this study was to understand the relation between residents and particular aspects of the education system, especially at the level of local schools, the following study is focused on related categories which were of more concern among parents in these areas. These items will be discussed under four topics, namely: the child and school, parent's satisfaction with the school, parent's attitude about teachers, and the choice of school.

8.5.2 The child and the school

In terms of educational services, the objective was to examine the views of households, who had children of school age, in Apadana and Karevan, about the services of schools in their local neighbourhoods. In an earlier discussion in this chapter, it was explained that education services, either as an essential social issue or a public desire had occupied a high degree of priority for people in neighbourhood areas. It also has largely been acknowledged that there is a growing tendency among these households to criticise the school facilities and the training system. Particularly in Apadana, the school and its higher quality was one of the important local preference priorities in choosing to live in this place. Moreover, in many instances, households were interested to move into another house or neighbourhood to find a more suitable school (see Chapter 9). Some of them suffered a long distance from home to school in order to send children to school which was situated in the central city (Tehran) and supposed to have good facilities or has a reputation for high standards.

Parents first were asked about the kind of problems that they met with their children and if they had any particular concerns. Some answers given by the parents were difficult to interpret by virtue of their vagueness, but they do illustrate the range of concerns as shown in Table 8.5

Table 8.5 Kind of Problems Which are Expressed by Parents in Local Schools

	Apadana %	Karevan %
Behaviour	18.56	25.78
Physical provisions	27.54	36.47
Physical health	6.58	18.86
Quality of educational discipline	37.72	17.10
Contact with school	8.98	1.25
Total	100.0	100.0

Sources: author's surveys

Table 8.5 reveals that physical provisions such as school materials, space of classes, chairs and the like were main problems to parents of school age children in Karevan, whereas for residents in Apadana the major problem related to the quality of

educational system and its required facilities. This normally refers not only the poor situation which existed in Karevan in the case of physical provision in schools, but also because people who were living in this neighbourhood were comparatively far away from the advanced educational priorities. In contrast, parents of children in Apadana, although, they complained about insufficient physical facilities in children's schools, their central attention as the major problem was connected toward more advanced aspects of educational priorities such as the quality of educational system in school and the improvement of its necessary facilities. From this it may be concluded that Karevan still exists in the primary stage of the to development of its school physical priorities, whereas Apadana has passed this step and the educational expectations of its residents concentrated on the further promotion of the quality of the training system and its specific technical means. Parents were also asked to indicate the best and worst things about the school. Answers are summarised in Table 8.6 and 8.7, respectively.

Table 8 6 Best Things About the School as Perceived by Parents

	Apadana %	Karevan %
Nature of problems		
Small classes, pace geared to child	23.35	14.46
Teacher very kind and helpful	50.29	63.52
Modern facilities	14.97	5.66
New building	10.07	6.28
Don't n know	0.59	10.06
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 8.7 Worst Things About the School as Perceived by Parents

	Apadana %	Karevan %
Nature of problems		
Nothing at all bad about it	12.57	11.32
Bad language poor disciplines	17.96	52.83
Poor educational training	63.44	12.57
Don't know	5.98	23.27
Total	100.0	100.0

As can be seen by statistical evidence presented in Tables 8.6 and 8.7 the expectation of the sampled households about local schools and their conditions and facilities were quite different in the two neighbourhoods. The best thing in Apadana was expressed as the kind teachers and their effective role to children. The main complaints about the

school centred around the quality of the education. Negative attitudes to the educational standards of the school were perhaps, more justified, at least for many parents in Apadana because they expected to high quality program and jobs for their teachers. In contrast, the results in Karevan show the poor environment for local schools and the parent's poor information about the quality of education and services.

8.5.3 The satisfaction of parents with their child/children's school

The parents were asked if they were satisfied with their child/children's school. Their responses were linked into one of four categories, ranging from 'quite happy' to 'not happy'. The distribution of the parent's responses is shown in Table 8.8.

In Apadana, the majority of parents had positive feeling in relation to the school (see Table 8.8). The combined total of parents who were either 'quite happy' and 'happy' was high on each item. These figures portray a group of parents who in Apadana are very satisfied with their children's schools. There is, on the contrary, a considerable degree of parental dissatisfaction in Karevan.

Table 8.8 Parents Satisfaction With the School of Their Children in Their Neighbourhoods

	Apadana %	Karevan %
Quite happy	74.84	22.01
Mixed feeling	4.79	9.43
Not happy	12.59	51.57
I don't know	7.76	16.98
Total	100.0	100.0

In Apadana the results of survey show (Table 8.8) that while a great majority (about 74.84 per cent) of the parents interviewed seemed to be quite happy about their child attending at school in their neighbourhood, but 12.59 per cent simply replied to sorry and 4.79 per cent per cent expressed a mixed feeling. The reminder expressed varying degrees of indifference-they did not mind, its all right' and so on. Similar question has been asked from parents of children in Karevan. About 22.01 per cent of parents was

quite happy from their local school and a greater number (51.57 per cent) replied not happy and 9.43 per cent of respondents expressed they had mixed feeling about the educational situation of their children. The rest of parents interviewed had no a clear view.

Those parents who were essentially happy with the school tended not to explain why this was, but they had no major case for concern. The following two comments, which are arose in interviews, are typical of many satisfied parents in Apadana:

1- Yes, they seem to be doing very nicely.

2- Very happy, even more so. There's many parents wanting children to go there. They had to take on extra educational concerns and have more classes and facilities (Author's interview).

Some parents had mixed feeling. These neither positive and negative expressions ranged over a number of topics and included concerns about progress, discipline, communication between home and school, overcrowding. There often concerne a member of staff, and in many cases parents took care to say that they were still happy with the school as a whole. As can be seen from table 8.8 there were a more parents in Apadana who simply said they were happy. This merely reflects the fact that the parents in Apadana are satisfied with the school and its undertaken educational programs than parents in Karevan.

8.5.4 The job of teachers

Another way to measure parents' attitude to their child/children's school was by asking them whether they thought the teachers at the school were sufficiently, on the whole, committed to their job. This question should also refer to the teaching staff as a whole, However, parents did seem to answer it through a particular term. In Karevan, there were a few parents, however, who really only knew about their child's teacher. The parent's responses were coded into one of six main categories, and the distribution of responses over both neighbourhoods given in Table 8.9.

In Apadana, about 34.63 per cent of parents replied positively about the teachers at their child/children's school. As Table 8.9 shows, the combined total of parents who thought the teachers' performance was either 'excellent', or 'good' was more across Apadana-ranging from 34.63 per cent in Apadana to 9.43 per cent in Karevan. A comparison with Karevan, Table 8.8 suggest that, if anything, the parent's responses to the question were less positive than the responses in Apadana.

Table 8. 9 Do Parents Think Teachers Do a Good Job?

	Apadana	Karevan
	%	%
Excellent job	34.63	9.43
Good job	27.04	14.46
Not doing a good job	28.14	21.38
Not sure/ don't know	10.17	54.71
Total	100.0	100.0

As regards the job of teachers in both neighbourhoods, many parents did not spontaneously provide their responses. Therefore, by the 'yes', 'very good' and 'excellent' categories it can be identified whether they were satisfied. But in both neighbourhoods, there were also a number of parents who give particular reasons for why they had answered as they did, and these justifications provide interesting insights into the criteria which the parents were using to judge the teachers' performance.

Through the direct interview parents in both neighbourhoods expressed some statements about teacher's of their children. A few examples are as follows:

Apadana:

1-Teachers were very concerned about teaching materials. They're doing many different practices.

2-I'm very gratified with the teachers. There's a real feeling of responsibility.

3-School is running with a high discipline.

Karevan:

1-The teachers who are not very concerned about school children should be asked to work harder.

2-I feeling some difficulties with my child in school, but it is difficult to demonstrate these (Author's interview)

Nevertheless, it was clear that many parents in Karevan were aware of the difficulties which schools were facing because of the location of the neighbourhood. Parents became particularly concerned with staff shortages. At the same time, there was a great awareness of the pressure and difficulties that teachers were experiencing, and a genuine appreciation of teachers who were, they thought doing well their job in hard circumstances. Many parents were also aware of the strained financial situation which many schools found themselves in, and that insufficient resources and facilities was not necessarily the school's fault.

8.5.5 Choice of school

The final criteria, parental attitudes, was whether parents were sufficiently unhappy that they were considering to move their child/children to another school beyond another neighbourhood, and whether any parents actually did so. This parameter can be seen as particularly relevant to the role of parents as responsible to further development of their children. This issue is also extremely relevant to the opportunity which is provided to them in the society as a whole. One of the assumptions underlying this condition is that parents will have a school which is not performing well in improving the skills and educational aspects of children's behaviour. In this regard, the objective was to find out how far parents in survey areas were concerned about this issue.

Parents of children in both neighbourhoods were asked whether they would consider moving of their child/ children to another school, and if so, what would make them do this. In Apadana, more parents said they would consider moving their child if necessary, although for a considerable number it was only something they would contemplate as a last solution.

The most frequently stated reasons in Apadana were if their child/ children were unhappy, if their child/children were not making adequate progress and if the teaching was unsatisfactory. They were asked if at any point in the previous year they had

considered moving their child or they knew that any other parents had actually moved their child to another school. Different attitudes were found among parents in relation to these questions. While parents in Apadana were concerned to move their children to somewhere out of the neighbourhood, their motivation mainly was to find a new school with a higher standard in training system and services. However, some parents in Karevan were forced to move their child because they could not find a sufficient space at schools in the previous year in their neighbourhood. Schools which are run by state are often under pressure of financial shortcoming and the parents during academic year are required to charge. Such situation was worst in Karevan, as many of parents who changed the school of their child or children have said that the reason was to find a school (in the city) even too far from home or neighbourhood which would be economically reasonable to them.

Table 8 10 How Parents Considered Moving or Actually Moved Their Child?

	Apadana %	Karevan %
Not considered moving child	86.22	42.13
Actually moved child	14.77	57.86
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: author's survey

In Apadana, most parents did not consider moving their child during the period of the study. In almost all cases the reason was simple: they were happy with the school and did not need to think about moving. Some parents commented that they would try to sort it out first, that such a move would be too disruptive for the child, that there was no guarantee things would be better elsewhere to the current school. However, in Karevan the situation was different. As a neighbourhood with many constraints, parents who were living in this area were forced to move the school of their child/children. About 57 per cent of parents replied positively to this question.

The following comment is obtained through interview with one parent in Apadana give some idea in relation to the moving of her child to the new school:

‘One of the parents who was in a good financially position had always encouraged to do this, as her older child was already at the private school’ (Author’s interview)

The survey illuminates that there was no single reason why parents consider moving their children from one school to another, or why they actually do so. Although concern about children's lack of progress appeared to be the most common reason in Apadana, however, it was not the adequate factor for parents in Karevan who moved their child/children to another school in the previous year. The examples of parental dissatisfaction amongst parents need to be set in the broader context of general satisfaction amongst the majority of parents in Karevan.

8.6 Transport services: an overview of transport services in Iran

Transport is a pervasive element in modern society. 'It has particular linkages with the broader context of the society and its land use development policies, as well as substantial impacts on the economic, social and environmental aspects of the community. The efficiency of an urban transport system is greatly influenced by its management, its capacity, the conditions under which the system operates and the demands made upon it, the settlement' geographical location, its population size, and urban form' (Dimitriou, 1992 p. 158).

To discuss of urban transport 'system' in many developing countries like Iran, cities may to imply a greater degree of integration and co-ordination of transport modes than in reality exists. 'Nevertheless, co-ordination among traditional and modern, as well as informal and formal transport operations, does take place, although with varying degrees of efficiency. The structure, mix and organisation of such working relationships are, however, more a product of the evolution of the city in question, and less an outcome of the city's management and investment programs' (Dimitriou, 1992 141). Dimitriou also has pointed out the problem of transport provision in less developed countries and particularly to their lower income-groups. According to him, 'access to transport facilities in developing country's cities is particularly important for the poor. Transport-related problems among urban low-income groups are

exacerbated by rising transport costs and the subsequent growing need for the poor to travel longer distances in search of employment (often due to their residential displacement to the periphery)' (Dimitriou, 1992 p. 160).

There are many types of urban transport systems around the world. However, the nature of the present transport system in Iran, stems from a combination of the political, economic, and geographical factors. In this regard, main transport provisions are provided by the state sector. Cities, are mainly provided with an unique transport system and the different parts of city are basically connected to the delivery system of transport activities. The transport system in cities in Iran, should be specified through the various ways of activities which are related to the geographical setting of the city, the level of car ownership and the economic significance of the area.

In Iran, based on location and some socio-economic bases, an unequal accessibility to transport services is more evident, particularly in larger urban settlements. Not only are areas distinct in affording the sufficient transport services, but also people who are living in these areas have unequal access to either private or public facilities. There is a great deal of academic study associated with the inequalities in income, housing, education and etc. but the effort to analyse the personal usage in accessibility in a physical sense is quite poor-developed. Indeed, often it has related to the households and individual level with those other, and as a familiar, element of social and economic deprivation, and as an element of multiple deprivation it takes on extra force and consideration. Moreover, over the Post-Revolution years in Iran, because the fast growth of the national population, the increase in geographical mobility and the rise of new social expectations, the amount of use of transport facilities, particularly in urban areas, has been accelerated. Since the existing transport provisions could not sufficiently respond to the increasing demands, cities such as Tehran, have experienced a serious problem in terms of the delivery system of public transport and insufficient distribution of its provision at the level of its different social areas.

In other words, Tehran as the capital of Iran, is changing at an ever-increasing pace. This city indeed has a particular situation in the context of transport. The city is a large and growing place and its major challenge is to supply the transport facilities and services needed in a climate of financial restraint. Although there is no published exact statistical evidence to show how people usually move in the city, it can only be said that the main popular transport means in this city are the car, bus and minibus. The city is equipped with a railway system which is connected to other cities and towns. The policy of transport is designed by the public sector in the country. Government provides most of the road and urban public transport infrastructure and all the regulatory controls for road transport services are provided and controlled by the government. Internal mobility in the level of this city is irregular or made on a more individual basis, such as business, working and shopping trips are more amenable to car use. Not only are there more trips of the types that tend to be made by car, and fewer of those for which public transport is more suitable, but the change in average trip length exacerbates such trends. In disadvantaged areas, the lack of a car and of a good public transport service is often compounded by complementary deficiencies: there is in fact a high degree of multiple mobility deprivation among residents who are living in poor areas such as semi-traditional peripheral neighbourhoods. The resident in poor neighbourhood moves within many transport difficulties, the public services is slightly less available and, a new set of demands for public and private services will result. There has been a dramatic growth in internal-travel in the city over the past few years. The average number of internal-travel per year has grown by 35 per cent over a period of about 10 years (1985-1995, 1360-1375) (According to Public Papers in Iran). A number of reasons can be cited for this growth: for example, increasing private car use, changing trip patterns, the mass daily movement and dispersal of urban activities. In this regard, the basic notion of accessibility embraces three components:

- 1- people, the residents of neighbourhoods areas.
- 2-the services which they demanding.
- 3-the private or public transport services link between the two.

The following section examines some of inequalities which are existed in terms of transport services in the Apadana and Karevan neighbourhoods. It then discusses, who enjoys the mobility that higher levels of car ownership imply, and who suffers most from the deterioration of public transport. Who are deprived from the capacity to more mobility? Whether the neighbourhood dimension in terms of transport facilities can be specified and what are the main features of its household's expectations in this term?

8.6.1 Accessibility to transport provisions

The focus of this section is with car ownership and not with the use, but as was stated by Moseley et al (1977) ‘... the lack of a car is probably the single most important factor in identifying those groups of residents who are disadvantaged in access term’. (Quoted by Banister, 1980 p. 47). According to Moseley: ‘accessibility is... a slippery notion... one of the those common terms that everyone uses until faced with the problem of defining and measure it’. When we talk about some thing accessible we are referring to put it crudely, to the degree to which it is 'get-at-able'. But the reason why someone or something may be 'inaccessible' or 'difficult to get at' may be quite varied’ (Moseley, 1979 p. 56).

Any discussion of transport deprivation should be related to the broader issues of accessibility. ‘This is a 'multi-dimension' term and concerns the nature and location of people, link (transport and communications) and activities (services and facilities), and it can be defined as the ability of residents to get to or be reached by the activities which are relevant to them’ (Banister, 1980 p. 4). According to Banister: ‘there is personal accessibility where the unit of study is the individual rather than the location. Here the individual is limited by the available modes of communication, and these are modified by the person's perception and determined by the individual's demand pattern’ (Banister, 1980 p.5).

The basic concern of this survey study is not to examine the whole issue of accessibility, but mainly to concentrate on perceptions of resident about its specific aspects. However, it is obviously very difficult to isolate one part of an interactive system, and so some of the methods suggested to evaluate latent demand will include the distribution of the transport system in the study areas. Based on the primary design of this study and because to obtain more detail in this case was not possible, therefore, the study is restricted to the outlooks of the households who are the real users of these services.

8.6.2 The available transport services in study areas

Both Apadana and Karevan are connected to the public transport services which are provided by the public and semi-private sectors at the level of the city, Tehran. There were also working several mini-buses in Karevan to transport residents either into the city centre or around of the neighbourhood. A number of private taxis and cars (basically without legal permission) also were functions for this purpose. However, the services available seemed not to be enough, as it will be understood in the following discussion. In Apadana, although a considerable number of households had a private car, the public transport system also worked better. This neighbourhood was afforded with systematic taxi service and recently internal-travelling bus services within neighbourhood has provided further services for residents. The neighbourhood has also access to the use of private car services which were run by the informal sector (car services without legal permission).

The study indicates that the urban poor tend to spend on average between 1 and 10 per cent of their income on transport (Author interview). Some urban poor who particularly were living in disadvantaged areas (such as Karevan), could only afforded to walk, Nevertheless, new efforts to improve of urban transport systems were employed. The focus of these attempts is concentrated on pedestrian infrastructure and low-cost public transport facilities serving basic needs.

In Karevan, the chief sources of complaint about the transport services were first, the insufficient services; second the high fares; and third the type of the vehicles. Since 1981 (The year in which the neighbourhood was developed), the first two of these characteristics has deteriorated further in many areas, but it is salutary to consider the comment of one respondent from Karevan:

To visit our old members in hospital costs... . This means that their old friends cannot afford to visit them. This is a problem (Author interview).

In Apadana, the situation was quite different. No particular complaint were noted. However, residents in this neighbourhood had their specific concerns. There were more focused on car maintenance, car parking and insufficient public facilities over their residential area. From the Apadana location, residents had access to the central transportation system which called the Tehran Northern Terminal. Several main roads around this neighbourhood connected this place to the surrounding places and residents could easily travel by local taxis available in neighbourhood. Admittedly the journey to other areas for whatever purpose was not normally a serious problem to them. To demonstrate the primary concern in relation to the availability of transport facility they were asked whether they had car or not. The result of this question is presented by the Table 8.11.

Table 8 11 Car Ownership in Apadana and Karevan

	Yes	No	Total
Apadana	68.26	31.73	100.0
Karevan	40.88	59.11	100.0

Source: author's surveys

Table 8.11 shows that household car ownership, that was high at nearly 70.0 per cent in Apadana. There is however, a noticeable spatial variation in these figures, particularly in comparison with Karevan, where there were 59.11 per cent of households who responded they had no private cars. The higher percentage in Apadana may in part be due to the higher level of income of respondents in this neighbourhood. The ownership of private transport appears to be lowest in Karevan. This reflects lower income levels in this area.

As a consequence of emergent of travelling difficulties, related to the use of public transport, the private car became a significant item for the travelling purposes. Significantly, we should consider the other additional social motivations which have encouraged people to own a private car. One of these includes the people is concern about the new style of urban life and their interest in using more different facilities to operate their daily businesses more comfortably in the city as a whole. Furthermore, it is understood that for some people possessing the private car was a sign of a particular social position in society and they thought that it would guarantee their social setting.

The lack of a car is probably the biggest factor in any identification of those neighbourhood people who are disadvantaged in access terms. It has been noted that car ownership level was typically high in Apadana. The household's income was the prime determinant of car ownership. For a considerable number who own cars in this neighbourhood, the car is needed to work and for personal travelling purpose. They use their private car to travel to see people in the city as the source of producing income and a second job.

8.6.3 Problems with the public transport

In many cities in developing countries, the rapid rise in population coupled with limited financial resources available for investment in urban infrastructure has produced severe transport problems. Many people live on the periphery of cities, particularly low-income groups, and consequently they have to travel long distance to work, to places of higher education, to hospitals and to other amenities. The principal kinds of access problem which are experienced by the poor of Third World cities include problems of:

- '1-physical proximity to transport facilities;
- 2-ease of access onto public transport vehicles;
- 3-affordably of public transport services; and
- 4-city-wide access provided by the transport system' (Dimitriou, 1992 p. 162).

Such a situation can be suggested for the people who were living in particularly poor areas around the city of Tehran. In this city, there can be considered many advanced urban neighbourhoods in its surroundings, where the public services, such as transport, were working relatively better than other areas. Many poor areas, such as Karevan, were obviously deprived from sufficient public transport services and their residents were facing severe difficulties in making trips. For instance, separation of functions imposes long trips for practically all purposes. Being in a long trip becomes a part of normal workers for who settled around cities and they must have a long trip to get to their workplace. Furthermore, a real transport difficulty have been discovered in Karevan, where many households who were settled in this neighbourhood suffer from the lack of adequate public transport services and they were not able to access the private services same which were readily available in more advanced areas such as Apadana.

Table 8.12 Households Views on Access to Public Transport Services

Frequency	Apadana %	Karevan %
Insufficient transport services	16.76	57.86
Satisfied with services	65.86	13.20
As a public problem in the neighbourhood	2.99	5.66
Few public facilities to travel	2.99	5.66
Hard access to transport needed times	11.37	17.61
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: author's surveys

The result of survey shows that in Karevan, more than half of the respondents perceived that 'public' transport in this part of the city is not as good as it was in other parts. Of all the respondents about 5.66 per cent perceived some effect of these changes upon their household, and 13.20 per cent expressed a positive reaction about the satisfactory effects of public transport in their neighbourhood. The frequently reported about the 'fewer public facilities to travel' was 5.66 per cent. Overall, more than half of respondents they thought that public transport services were not provided adequately. They have referred to the difficulties of reaching specific services-shopping, doctors, hospitals and child's activities.

In general terms, the deterioration in public transport services in Apadana had been modest but prolonged. In this neighbourhood, respondents were asked about public transport services, and almost 65.86 per cent replied positively, a high level. About 16.76 per cent believed that transport services provided in their neighbourhood were not sufficient. Respondents were also asked in what ways, if any, the general decline in public transport and service provisions was affecting their neighbourhood as a whole. Only 2.99 per cent claimed to perceive effects upon their neighbourhood.

Both Apadana and Karevan neighbourhoods had access to public transport services which were provided inside or surrounding these areas. However, as Table 8.12 demonstrates, a higher number of households in Karevan complained about insufficient public transport services in this area. Particularly, they had difficulties at times when the climate condition was very hard and when under particular circumstances, in the begging of academic year, which usually is an increase for the movement of people and material in the city. Households in Apadana have expressed their interest to have a private car, as access by public transport was a serious problem in their residential area. Above all, when they were asked whether or not the private car brings any benefit to them, most households replied that they preferred to use of their private car to escape from the problems of insufficient public transport services. Problem such these were more observable in Karevan, since the area lacked the public transport services were provided in Apadana. As more than half of households sampled in this area expressed that the neighbourhood had not access to sufficient public services.

In the absence of private transport, how far does public transport fill the gap? Inevitably its quality varies considerably both between neighbourhoods. The study reveals two particular trips which posed problems for the carrels residents particularly in the Karevan neighbourhood: trips to workplace, and trips to get children to school for parents whose children's school were outside the neighbourhood. Karevan women, with children and without a car, have real problems as some of the preceding quotations suggest. One particular problem derives from the burden of accompanying children to and from school, sometimes four times a day. Other difficulties to trips

which posed problems for the careless households in Karevan were trips to the hospital, to visit friends and shops outside the neighbourhood.

8.7 Conclusion

This chapter started with review of the mechanisms of the social services deliver system in the survey areas, their operation and the socio-economic basis through which the public services act, perfectly or imperfectly. In other words, the central objective was to explore whether households in Apadana and Karevan had access to public services in their living place; and what their attitudes to the quality of these existing public services were in the environment of neighbourhood. In this context, the specific focus was on education and transport. The general structure of this chapter has followed the focus of study areas in relation to investigating the environment of urban neighbourhoods in Tehran, to show the existing differentiations in this respect. These differentiations have been considered as a part of the wider socio-spatial consequences which have happened to Tehran in more recent years.

Section one in this chapter has reviewed some chief definitions about local services and their characteristics which were discussed earlier in this thesis. Then, the discussion has been continued concentrating upon the structure of services activities in the survey areas. The central purpose of this section was to provide background information for those who are not familiar with the general context of the social services activities in Iran.

Section two has been organised into two separate parts: part one was focused on an overview of education system and its services in Iran. Part two investigated how the parents of school age-children expressed their attitude about their local school facilities and how was the quality of the education system. Four issues have been indicated to examine the attitude of households who participated in the survey. The

survey findings demonstrated that, in the neighbourhoods studied, two different patterns of parental evaluation exist. In Apadana, considerable satisfaction has been observed about the schools and their facilities. Many parents expressed their positive views about the provided services and the training techniques which were concentrated on training facilities and the role of teachers. Furthermore, more opportunity has been observed for parents in this neighbourhood in sending their children to school with a higher quality of services and technical standards outside the neighbourhood. Whereas, parents of school-age children in Karevan were under pressure of vary insufficient services in their local schools. There have been observed a set of constraints in this respect. In the one side, the most uneducated parents who could not carefully express their ideas about the desirable services and on the other side their poor economic situation required to them accept the present conditions.

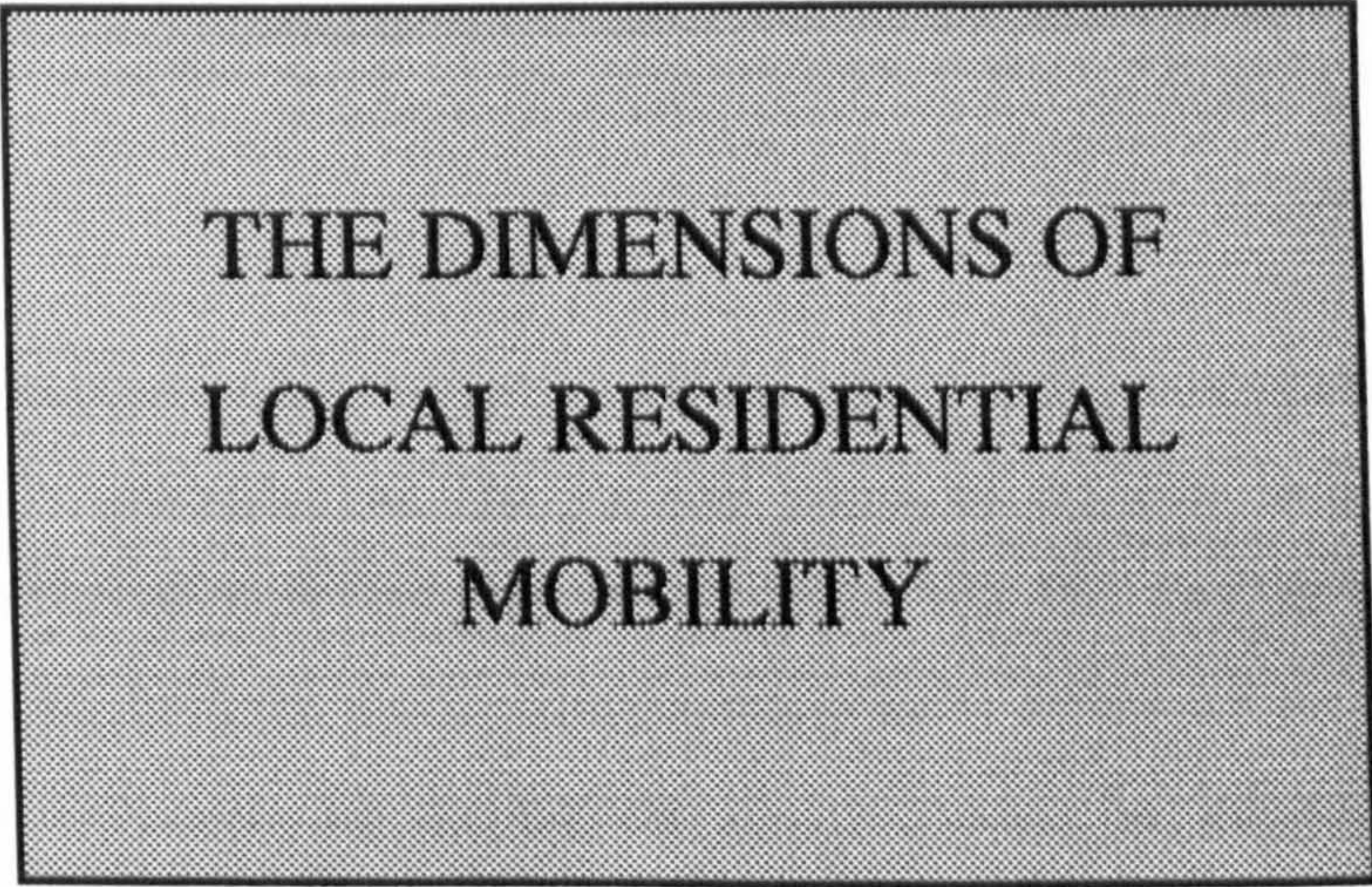
Section three was about transport services in study areas. The first part of this section drawn on the setting of transport services in Iran and the significance of this issue at the level of big cities in developing countries. In this part, the policy through the transport system in Iran and the type of transport facilities have briefly been described. Another concern in this part was to explain the general structure and also the quality of the urban transport system at the level of Tehran and its urban neighbourhoods. Through this part, it has been explored that the recent overwhelming growth of this city produced problems for its residents and their daily mobility, particularly at the level of poor urban neighbourhoods.

To examine the attitudes of households about the accessibility of transport services and to find similarities and differences, two particular categories were more concerned. The notion of accessibility to the transport services and the problem of public services were chosen as suitable measurements in this regard. Through the various ways residents in the Apadana neighbourhood had access to the public services. The amount of public services facilities adequately responded to the everyday needs of residents. Located in an area very close to the main public transport services and the available means of such as bus, mini-bus, taxis and several other semi-private or private transport services has mobilised this neighbourhood to a nice

necessary public transport facilities. The results of survey showed that residents in Karevan followed another pattern of needs and facilities. Most households who participated in the survey replied that they did not own any private car and access to public transport facilities was not easily possible. In this regard, another problem was the high cost of private or semi-private transport services in their area. Residents in Karevan used public transport services mainly for three purposes: one to travel to workplace and to visit family and for special occasions.

Based on last findings in this chapter, a key point can be drawn in this respect. This is that the different patterns of services delivery system eventually led the Apadana and Karevan neighbourhoods into distinct social areas. In this term, the neighbourhood characteristics may be seen as the result of different patterns of social needs and expectations among the households, particularly in Karevan. More positive attitudes and behaviour are evident in Apadana in relation to education and transport services, with more negative attitudes and behaviours evident in Karevan. In such circumstances, the question which arise in this course is that, how the mobility of residents has occurred? While the survey shows that residents do not have a similar situation with respect to access to the public services, how do they regard their 'living place'? Are they really enjoying to live in their neighbourhood or is the neighbourhood for them not a desirable place to live? Which area is a more desirable living place? To reach proper answers, the structure of survey is designed to describe the mobility of residents, their motivation and purposes in this respect. These are issues which will be discussed in next chapter.

CHAPTER NINE:



THE DIMENSIONS OF LOCAL RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

9.1 Introduction

Lee, Oropesa & Kanan (1994) declare that: 'at a minimum, investigators explicitly should take into account the social milieu (e.g. racial mix, income level, relations among neighbours) and the physical quality (density, congestion, street maintenance, type of housing) of the neighbourhood in which their respondents live. Together these two substantive categories cover most of the significant contextual characteristics identified to date, and they are applicable to both the subjective and objective realm of the neighbourhood' (Lee, Oropesa and Kanan, 1994 p. 34).

In chapter 7, an account has been given of the existing social milieu in the Apadana and Karevan neighbourhoods. The physical layout of the two neighbourhoods, different patterns of their local social networks and the way in which these differences could shape the social environments of these areas have been considered in detail. In terms of the inclinations of households in interpersonal local relationships, the outcomes of the survey elaborated more traditional ways which are established in Karevan, and new style of the social interactions which are presented in Apadana. In the case of the delivery of social services, in term of local public services, discussed in Chapter 8, some advantages were evident in Apadana, whereas the Karevan neighbourhood has been seen deprived of sustainable socio-physical infrastructures and advantaged local public services.

The results of these chapters ultimately led to identification of key specifications for these neighbourhoods. This framework of the study also provides a suitable basis upon which to pursue a wider concern with other necessary aspects of

neighbourhood's social environment. Residential mobility, its different forms and performance at the level of two neighbourhoods, are investigated to understand the context to which residents are integrated to their living place and examine further the main characteristics of these areas. Therefore the objective in this chapter is to explore further differences, in terms of residential mobility, which exist in the relations between households and their social environment. Before presenting the outcomes of the surveys undertaken, it is a necessary preliminary to review the concept of residential mobility and its various aspects.

In order to interrelate the various lines of investigation, it is necessary to consider some of the ways in which residential mobility might clarify the differentiation which existed between the two urban neighbourhoods in Tehran. Therefore, the study also will identify the reasons which stimulated the residents in both Apadana and Karevan to move into these neighbourhoods and their intention to staying in or moving from their living place. The larger identification of this issue also will show whether the different patterns of residential shifts produced diverse forms of social behaviours among residents with respect to a strong or weak cohesion within their living places.

The relation between neighbourhood and mobility remains under investigated for several reasons. Following Rossi's (1955) lead, social scientists have been encouraged by mobility theory to regard movement as a function of the need for new shelter created by major life cycle changes, or more generally, as the result of a mismatch between a household's demographic and housing circumstances (Lee, Oropesa & Kanan, 1994). This idea is also drawn from the assumption that residential mobility has a significant role in the explanation of the social context of neighbourhood areas.

Basic research about residential mobility is of importance in urban areas. Change in urban residential neighbourhood takes place through the flow of different populations. There is the need to understand why residential shifts take place and how the organisational characteristics of the neighbourhood, its social context, its location

with regard to important urban activities, and its physical characteristics has relation to this phenomenon. These issues can be evident in two different ways: questions may arise concerning the mobility of urban areas and the identification of resident's motivations beyond the residential shifts. Regarding the former, is it necessary to analyse how they are characterised by particular types of structures, or inhabited by particular types of residents? What effect does mobility have upon the residents or upon the social structure of the area? At the household level, are there characteristics which distinguish mobile from stable households. How does mobility fit into the housing needs of a household? As households make decisions concerning whether to move or to remain, what do they take into account? What role does their dwelling play? How does the social environment fit into their decisions? Focusing on these aspects of the neighbourhoods context, the research will be better equipped with more evidence to identify the distances which segregate individual social parts of Tehran from each other. Since at the time of study, housing has been considered as the primary household preference, therefore, in relation to this item, the social attitude of households will also be examined through a number of related issues.

Generally speaking, through local mobility perspectives, housing condition has been the centre of consideration particularly in urban areas. In many instances, this item demonstrates the form or forms of relationships which would be established between households and their living places. This category is also used to identify the positive or negative concerns which individuals usually express in relation to their living places. Therefore, to achieve a clear understanding of the local situation in Apadana and Karevan and to explore further differentiations, residential mobility is employed in terms of a descriptive and an exploratory instrument. The decision to move is ordinarily broken into two parts, a decision to move from a dwelling and a decision to select an alternative dwelling. In the typical case, a household which becomes dissatisfied with its dwelling decides to move, searches for alternative dwelling that appears to be more satisfactory, and then decides upon the options available (Rossi, 1980). The central concern here is to explain the ways in which households decided to move into their neighbourhoods and it focuses on the reasons behind staying for

longer in their 'living place'. Overall, the general organisation of this chapter is as follows:

Section one of this chapter intends to review the concept of residential mobility in general and its specifications in Iran. Several sources of evidence show that neighbourhood is not the only type of community context which may influence mobility behaviour. Regional effects were detected in one recent analysis (Dean 1990), and vacancy rates, housing prices, and other features of metropolitan-wide real estate markets no doubt structure individual possibilities for movement (Lee, Oropesa & Kanan, 1994). Therefore, this section is based on a number of issues in order to explore the reasons that urban neighbourhoods have been built in a wider context of the Iranian society, and to examine the basic elements which affect the environment of neighbourhoods and the process of resident mobility decisions. After this consideration, section two discusses the primary background of mobility in Apadana and Karevan. This part uses the results of survey to present the general process of moves which have occurred in these areas from earlier years.

In chapter six, there has been adequate discussion on housing and its construction in Apadana and Karevan. Following this discussion, section two of this chapter will have a quick look at the situation of housing in developing countries such as Iran. It is concerned with the housing condition in the survey areas, then three separate parts are designed to look at the attitudes of households in relation to housing occupation, its significant characteristics and the various ranges of outlooks which are expressed in this field.

In section three, more important items will be used to explain the factors which are connected to the different patterns of relationships between residents and their residential place. Part one of this section examines to study the attitude of residents in relation to their residential areas and the main concern focuses on the motivations of households to move into their present neighbourhood. The concerns of households with regard to staying or to moving from their neighbourhoods are the core discussion

in part three of this section. Consideration of an alternative residential place is the subject of part four. Finally, a concluding discussion will be provided at the end of this chapter.

9.2. A brief outline of residential movement

Understanding the mobility decision of households requires observations to be made about the mobility choices as well as the socio-economic characteristics of households, the value of relocation and the quality of residential services (Clark & Moore, 1980). Residential mobility or the relocation of a household from one dwelling to another can be seen as a fundamental process in the dynamics of the socio-spatial structuring of urban areas. It also has variable consequences at the level of the local place, such as the neighbourhood and its inhabitants. Mobility, whether social, occupational, or residential, is the accepted way of improving one's circumstances. Although there are constraints which apply differently to social class, particularly those relating to access to financial resources, society is organised to facilitate such patterns of adjustment.

'Urban mobility first appears in the sociological literature as a term expressing rather generalised qualities of urban, as opposed to non-urban, life. In his classic essay, *The Metropolis and Mental Life*, Simmel (1950) refers to the mobility of the city as the considerable sum of myriad and incessant sources of stimulation impinging upon the urban dweller, a sort of sensory overload which produces sophistication, indifference, and a lower level of affect in urban dwellers' (Rossi, 1980 p.15). It is mobility in this sense that produces some of the special qualities of urban life, according to the Simmelian formulation, qualities which, on the one hand, appeal to migrants as an escape from the dullness and oppression of rural existence with its lack of change and stimulation, and, on the other hand, produces anomie and alienation in a society where

men see each other primarily as means to ends rather than as ends in themselves (Rossi, 1980).

'In some of the classical studies of the Chicago 'Ecological' School, residential mobility expressed as rates of moving within small areas becomes an important explanatory variable in analysing the distribution of small area rates of admissions to mental hospitals and other 'pathologies'. Residential shifting is regarded in the same way as mobility in the larger sense with the same consequences (Rossi, 1980 16). Some perspectives have focused on individuals and families and developed this meaning of mobility. Excessive residential shifts would produce untoward effects, at a minimum, increasing isolation and loneliness, at maximum, leading to individual pathological conditions. With reference to the significance of this process and its long story, Walmsley and Lewis declare that 'migration, or movement of people from one home location to another, has been taking place since the origins of man. During recorded history it has not only increased in volume but has also involved steadily lengthening distances' (Walmsley & Lewis, 1984 p. 135).

A certain distinction is between migration (changes in address involving distinctly different localities) and residential mobility (address changes within one locality). However, from early work in the study of the urban sphere, mobility has been identified as a prominent aspect of the structure of land uses in urban areas. Three general types of studies which, in one way or another, involve the analysis of patterns of residential mobility: disciplinary studies (sociology and demography, geography, economics and ideological inquiries (neo-classical economics, Marxism, pluralism, and pragmatics problem solving (organisational theory, planning, policy analysis). The typical sets of questions in each of these forms can be varied. 'What is important about the study of mobility is that it is at once a cause, an effect, and an intermediary; localised and spatially extended; a consequence of public and private policies and a policy instrument; endogenous and exogenous. However, the focus and contexts of mobility are clearly heterogeneous' (Clark. & Moore, 1980 p. 34)

To analyse the process of residential mobility, some urban approaches emerged among commentators, and furthermore, a number of practical models are also used in this respect. Pacione, in relation to the varying nature of mobility approaches believes, that 'it was demonstrated by the importance of population models such as the filtering model or the access-space and trade-off model. It was vital to the understanding of the evolution of urban areas over time and the interaction between city structures and the population to know why people move within urban areas and the process by which they achieve a desired move' (Pacione, 1987, p. 32). The amount of residential movement has clearly increased and urban movement has become the centre of much attention; great academic works are devoted to exploring both its social or economic basis, and its excessive impacts on particularly urban households. (Simmons., 1968 Kennedy., 1975 Clark & Moore., 1980 Harris & Moore., 1980 Michelson., 1980 Lee, Oropesa & Kanan., 1994). Evidence of this can be seen among urban areas in differing societies throughout the world.

The intellectual origins of this work have led to an emphasis on a somewhat narrow range of questions. At the macro level, the dominant concerns have been identifying the structure of household differentials in the propensity to move and representing flows between subareas in such a way that changes in the overall distribution of the households are characterised. At the micro level, two basic themes have evolved. The first has attempted to build on the seminal contribution of Rossi (1955), in which the main goals have been to identify the nature of motivations and preferences underlying the decision to look for a new dwelling and to examine the structure of subsequent search, evaluation, and choice procedures. The second reflects primarily in the work of Straszheim (1975), Hanushek and Quigley (1978). This extended the neo-classical location models of Alonso, Muth, and Mills to the analysis of movers who enter the market in a given time period. The studies by Quigley and Straszheim stress the importance of adopting a dynamic perspective on the analysis of location decisions (Clark & Moore, 1980).

Most academic writers have treated the description and explanation of mobility behaviour as the primary goals of analysis. However, in pursuing these goals, the

emphasis has been on producing behavioural generalisation, and the importance of the local context has been downplayed. There is substantial evidence on the contrasts in movement rates between socio-demographic groups and the desire to move or stay (Speare & Golsstein 1975). The behavioural approach can generally be reviewed as a clear example by which the process of residential mobility can be understood. The appearance of this approach returns to some weaknesses which were discovered in the previous styles of urban thought. The general way in which this approach considers residential mobility is more subjective than in the previously dominant trend in social science. For many years social science writers were mainly interested in tackling such propositions by using the positivist philosophy. However, they then shifted the way of study, and the behavioural approach became of a great worth as an alternative philosophy. 'The reason for residential mobility in behavioural studies is usually attributed to some specific decision-making process which encourages people to move from one area to another. In studying these phenomena the consideration focuses at least on three inter-related elements: the place of migration; its causes; and its selective nature' (Walmsley & Lewis, 1984 p. 135).

Such approaches argue that residential movement occurs because individuals believe that they will be able to satisfy themselves in a new location rather than the one in which they were resident. In other words, the decision to move is made on the basis of perceived opportunities (with different locations providing different levels of opportunities to different individuals and groups) (Pacione, 1987). It is evident that people located in different social structures have usually different ranges of knowledge and they benefit from the different extents of the existing opportunities at places rather than those in which they recently reside. As the consequence of this, the conflict in the socio-physical conditions of different patterns of residential places are considered through differences in residential 'satisfaction' levels. Despite that satisfaction is just a relative notion and it varies according to the needs and aspirations of individuals and groups in different places. 'Whatever differences arise in theoretical statements on the structure of individual movement decisions, there is no denying its complexity. The outcomes of decisions are a function not only of goals and preferences of households which vary as a function of life-cycle stage and

accumulated housing experience but also of resources, opportunity and information' (Clark & Moore 1980 p. 57).

Another theoretical model which is used to study residential mobility is posed by Speare (1975). Speare's model proposes that residential satisfaction is the proximate determinant of the decision to consider moving. Satisfaction, in turn, is determined by the characteristics of the individual and household, the residential location, and attachment to the home and local community. The model, as set forth by Speare, is depicted in Figure 9.1. The theory predicts that household location characteristics and social bonds only affect the process of mobility insofar as they generate residential satisfaction (Landale & Guest, 1985).

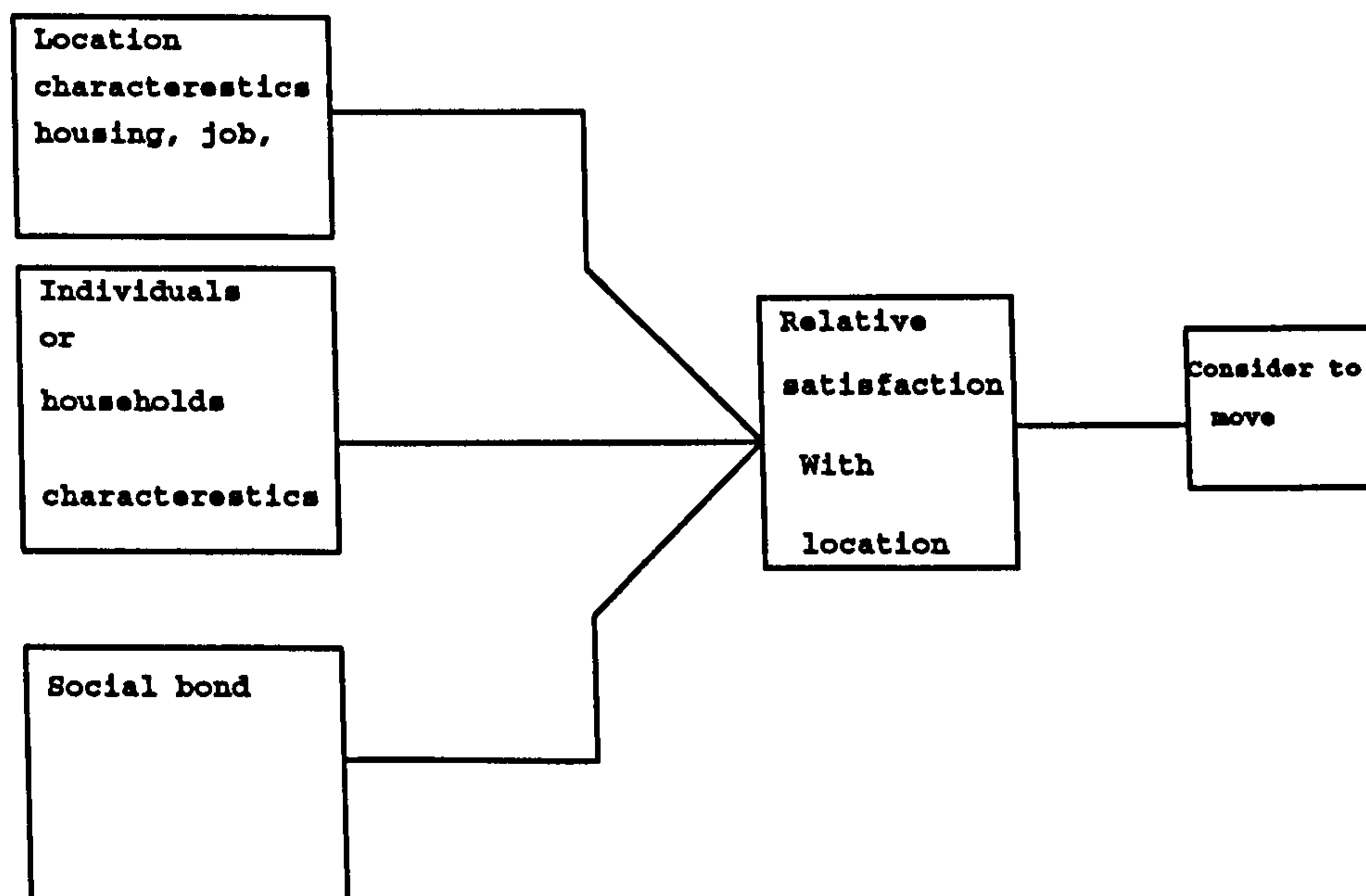


Figure 9. 1 Model for the First Stage of Mobility Decision Making

***The Determinants of Who Considers Moving Source: Landale, & Guest, 1985, p. 201.**

In summary, the residential movement should be defined based on the overall conditions in the neighbourhood or living place, particularly in terms of its quality of housing, the desire of residents to obtain a satisfactory living residence. and eventually is based on particular environmental determinants. The type and path of the mobility would be varied, since it is associated with different contexts of neighbourhood environment and its socio-demographic dimensions. In addition, to clarify its broader

context, it is necessary to look at the socio-economic mainstreams which in dynamic and static terms would provide a particular pattern of residential mobility in a specific area for specific households or residents.

To analyse the different patterns of residential mobility in the study areas and to understand their basic wider socio-economic contexts, the following section reviews the materials which have been produced in this respect. It intends to clarify whether the early origin of the sources of residential mobility in urban neighbourhoods in Tehran, as a typical city which is regarded as the primary content of different urban neighbourhoods would be found. The objective of this review is to identify the wider pattern of mobility in this city which would justify the geographical movement of residents in the survey study areas (which is the central concern of this chapter).

9.3. The primary sources of residential mobility in Iran: an overview

A set of constraints can be indicated, particularly in developing countries, which operate on the relocation decision process. 'The most widely accepted [constraints] model is introduced by Brown and More, in which mobility was conceived as a form of adaptation to stress in the environment. This model highlights the needs and expectations of the household as well as changes in characteristics of both dwelling and the environment' (Brown & Moore 1970, pp.1-13). For instance, amongst these constraints, bad economic conditions, deterioration of housing and access to basic services are considered in depth. Beside the existence of a normal tendency toward mobility among individuals in cities, especially in less developed areas, these constraints act as prerequisites to produce the obvious conditions for the excessive residential shifts. In relation to the developing countries the 'push factors' are indicated stronger for the movement than 'pull factors', and usually the positive 'pull factors' lack some combination of the knowledge, time, motivation for migration (Ozo, 1986).

To a large extent, residential mobility and its constant effect over the process of urban differentiations can be detected as a contemporary social trend in many larger cities in developing countries. It is also an obvious feature which characterises the overall structure of these cities. The contemporary social changes which occurred in these countries has replaced their previous structural stability with a flexible one. This phenomenon is also characterised by a high rate of migration from rural areas into cities. The fast growth of most cities in developing countries has largely been due to rural-urban migration. Most of the new migrants were unskilled, or under-employed and consequently poor. Over time, however, some of these migrants acquired skills, sometimes accompanied with social mobility. With or without social mobility, however, many other factors trigger off geographical mobility. As urban conditions were harsh, kinsmen and friends who acted initially as hosts to the migrants, were under severe pressure. Consequently, very soon migrant mobility became one of the important factors in the pattern of intra and inter-sectional movements in the cities in these countries (Ozo, 1986). Nevertheless, based on the overall social structure of these countries and the specific function of the current socio-economic system, the general pattern of geographical mobility and its particular content in each city has been different.

In connection to internal demographic conditions in Iran, over recent decades, dramatic shifts have occurred in most of the socio-economic conditions of the new households, in labour force participation and in the growth of primary households. In the light of the rapid inflation in housing prices and costs of borrowing, changes are occurring in the societal context in which a wide variety of movement decisions, including mobility, are made (Piran 1988). Whether the exact amount of mobility in Iranian households exhibited within the last two decades became excessive, is not examined in this inquiry. According to some commentators, the rates of mobility during the two last decades are as much as twice those experienced in previous decades (Piran 1988).

Regarding recent residential mobility in Iran and its overall causes, there are various factors which would be applicable in explaining the wider socio-economic conditions

to the appearance of further mobility. The following discussion is a brief sketch of some social mechanisms which have a significant contribution either in producing or increasing the amount of residential mobility across the country in the period which particularly followed the Islamic Revolution in 1979.

9.3.1 Social change in a general sense.

In Iran, this process originates from contemporary social events, affected by both internal and external factors. This has led to the emergence of a new system of social life. In chapter 5, it was outlined that primarily contacts (approximately 80 years ago), and some modern establishments developed in Western countries, were part of the activities contributing to the speeding of the social changes in the contemporary of Iran. One of the immediate results of this transformation was a new shape of the social structure of the country as a whole, replacing the traditional form with ideas based on modern urban spheres which were mainly copied from Western societies. The result of these processes eventually led to the establishment of many new urban institutions in cities and the reshaping of the activities of individuals and the flow of materials towards more social and geographical mobility. The reorganisation of urban land use and planning policies (based on new circumstances) changed the previous physical structure of cities. Consequently, a few years later, the social system of urban areas basically started to shift. These changes were fit foundations to generate greater needs and aspirations among new generations and increase the normal demands of the population to achieve a better quality of life. All these social changes can be reviewed as basic sources emerging from process of urbanisation and eventually social mobility (see chapter 5).

9.3.2 Urbanisation.

In chapter 5, the process of contemporary urbanisation in Iran was explained in detail. One central point, which must be re-emphasised here, is the contribution of this process to the emergence and also to the growth of the amount of urban mobility in terms of residential shifts as a whole. Broadly speaking, the contemporary urbanisation in Iran was the major foundation for the social mobility and in the end, it has increased the quantity of residential mobility, particularly at the level of cities. Under new circumstances, people who were living in a disadvantaged area started to move into urbanised places in order to get access to more welfare and social opportunities, which they thought existed in cities. Socially, these people were under a positive impression in this process and increasing interest encouraged them to move into these centres. Therefore, it can be seen that the residential mobility which took place in later years was mainly due to the attractions of urbanism. In other words, one of the permanent consequences of recent urbanisation in Iran can be viewed as the migration process. In chapter 5, the cause and effect of migration in urban areas was outlined and it was described that this phenomena should be examined as a direct reflection of modern urbanisation in this country. Nevertheless, one must bear in mind that, in addition, particular internal and external factors have stemmed from existing socio-economic conditions. For instance, on the one hand more favourable circumstances have attracted poorer people. On the other hand, the existing poor socio-economic conditions in other areas also acted as an adequate force to push these people into cities; these altogether have caused the residential mobility toward larger cities.

9.3.3 The Islamic Revolution in 1979.

Conditions in the post-Revolution years and the rise of new social motivations and expectations among people in many parts of the country were important reasons to

further increase in geographical mobility as a whole; this process has also intensified the move from rural areas toward towns and from towns toward big cities (Zanjani, 1992). Furthermore, it has to be noted that a specific factor which was closely related to the former urban residents in cities and the shift of their expectations which were largely affected by internal conditions existing inside cities. The significant feature of these conditions entitled the type of urban policies which were designed on the interests of reach urban groups. The new spheres of economic activities (which have given more opportunities to the middle class groups), the lack of controlling urban land use regulations and the poor operation of the existing urban organisations, have helped to the internal conditions of the cities to be increased their residential mobility.

9.3.4 War with Iraq (1980-1988).

Numerous cities and human settlements, particularly in the south of Iran, have been completely destroyed or partly damaged under massive bombing attacks during the eight years of war with Iraq (1980-1988). Many residents from these areas moved out towards safer cities, like Tehran. According to official statistics, in Tehran as an example, the existing population of 5 000 000 at beginning of war (in 1980) had increased to about 7 200 000 by the end of the war (1988); as a consequence of unwanted movement (Public Media). Eventually this movement changed the previous composition of Tehran's population and further intensified the social differentiations within different social areas of this city. This process also indirectly increase the level of residential mobility in big cities like Tehran.

Among cities in Iran, Tehran is characterised by a particular situation. Briefly it can be said that in recent decades, two major forms of mobility have taken place in this city: migration from rural areas towards it, and, in various cases, moving from the centre of the city into its peripheral neighbourhoods. These two social trends, under specific socio-economic conditions, have occurred simultaneously. From this point of view, a

considerable amount of residential mobility was from the inner city to its surroundings to neighbourhoods like Karevan.

9.4 Residential mobility in the survey areas

In earlier discussions, it was stated that Apadana and Karevan were built as the part of great Tehran, and their environmental structures were affected by the process of urban development in this city and its rapid expansion. In other words, Tehran and its peripheral urban neighbourhoods (such as Apadana and Karevan) are generally affected by the same conditions. In many urban networks, the dominant urban system of the city and its functions link these socio-physical parts to a wider city place.

In several places in this study, it has been pointed out that Tehran, has remarkably become the central place for materials and people in the modern period in Iran. The city could also accommodate a massive migrant population, which with the fact of its socio-cultural differentiations, are defined as its significant demographic characteristics. On one hand, its political setting as the capital which was the focus of administrative activities and on the other hand, its existing socio-economic mechanisms such as its land use policies, the flexible property purchasing regulations, the easier accessibility to public services and provisions and the like, have caused the city to become the focus of much domestic geographical mobility (Sultanzade, 1983) (More details related to the population mobility toward Tehran, and its immediate outcomes, have been produced in chapter 5).

Current residential mobility in Tehran has not only been restricted to people who came from outside, but because of the existence of many urban difficulties inside, the process of inner city mobility has also changed the structure of its urban spatial expansion. Some specific reasons have been examined which lead to the emergence of this condition. A considerable amount of these are the mechanisms of development of

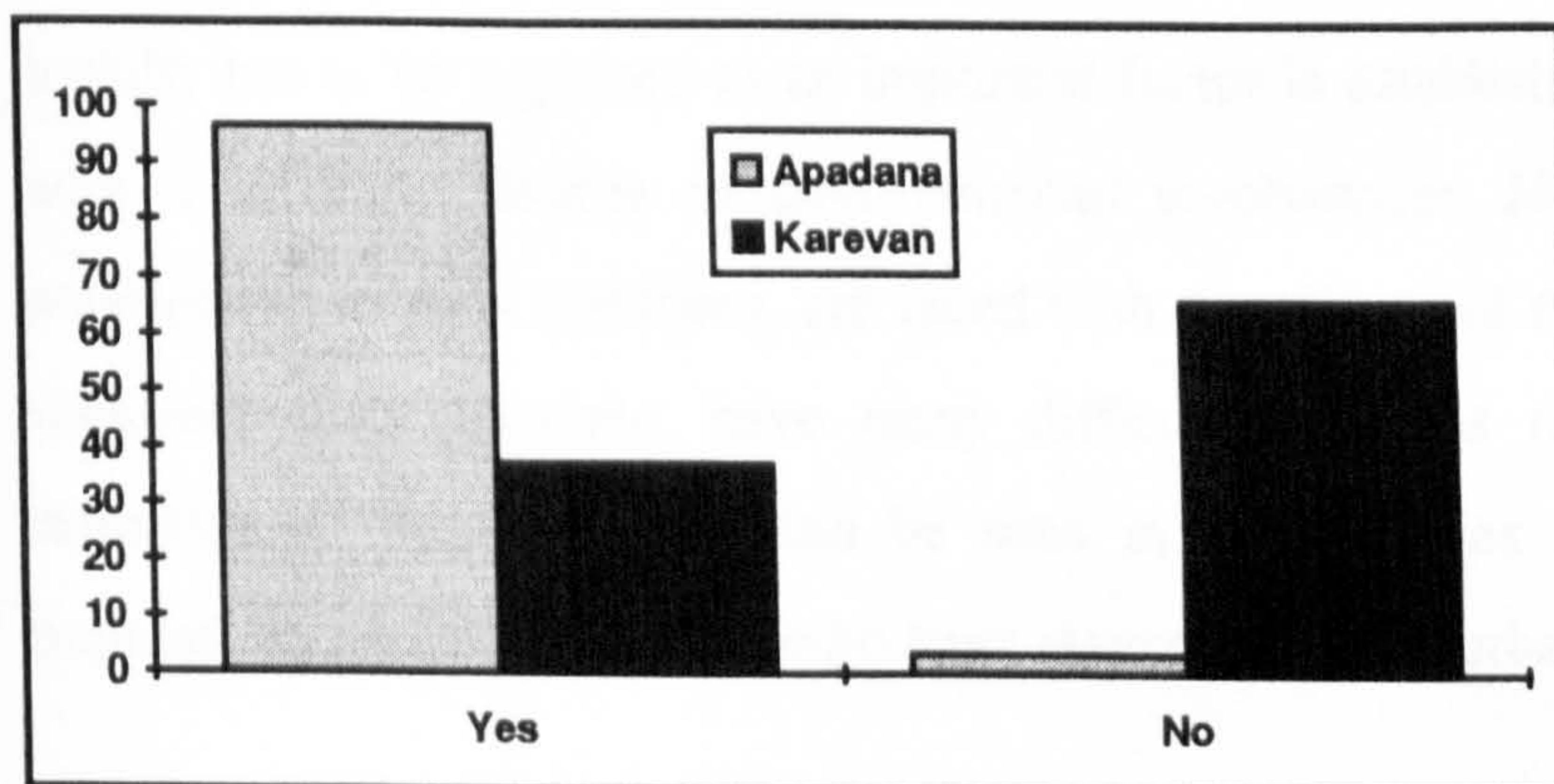
the internal quarters to accommodate people and materials, the application of specific urban policies, such as supplying the pre-constructed mass estates surrounding Tehran, and the mass estates that were built by the public housing department (Sultanzade, 1983). As the implication of existing urban policy and the effects of the influx of population, residential mobility progressed to the surroundings of the city, among residents who were facing many urban difficulties. The north, once pre-constructed housing had been built in the periphery of Tehran, became the restriction for the middle class households, who appeared to have better financial conditions in order to purchase these homes. The Apadana neighbourhood is a good example of such an estate, which was planned by one of the formal organisations, Rahni Bank (see chapter 5). In addition, the policy of decentralisation that was followed by the public housing sector strongly influenced households in selecting housing in new neighbourhoods, which were growing in the west and north of Tehran.

Furthermore, the transformation of Tehran into one overcrowded city has clearly given a new shape to its population structure and completely changed its infrastructure mechanisms. One of the consequences of recent mass mobility into the city can be seen in the increase in the numbers of the various types of advanced and non-advanced neighbourhoods in the periphery of Tehran (in chapter 5 this issue has been dealt with in more detail). These neighbourhoods accommodate various people who had previously lived in areas with dissimilar local characteristics.

It is possible to distinguish different patterns of residential mobility for Apadana and Karevan. On the one hand, there was a neighbourhood where residents were people who had lived for several years in Tehran or another city and had some experience of living over there; they were indeed more familiar with the urban situation which existed in this city. On the other hand, there were residents who mostly came from outside Tehran. The interests and expectations of these people were formed under environmental conditions which were obviously different from the former groups. However, both sorts of residents were connected to the same system of urban life, and Tehran as a major urban centre was where this connection took place.

The situation in this later neighbourhood was apparently the reflection. Since the Karevan neighbourhood has started to grow as a cheap urban area, its residents were better represented in the initial phases of the influx settlements, whereas the number of Apadana residents increased over different times. of a preference and ability to purchase, rather than an invasion to secure building plots. In turn, it has resulted in an increased proportion of residents with greater satisfaction with their residential area. In contrast, the residential and social mobility that has been identified amongst the population of Karevan, as an informal settlement, was closely linked with the socio-cultural heterogeneity and the particular features of the conditions of the settlers (who were mostly unemployed or semi-skilled workers). In Apadana most residents had moved to this neighbourhood as a result of opportunities in being able to afford adequate housing. This was the main motivation for the first stage of movement. There were certainly other environmental advantages that encouraged these residents to settle in this neighbourhood, such as its general location, e.g. connection to the major urban provisions that existed in the neighbourhoods nearby (in chapter 5, the general characteristics of these locations were discussed).

Figure 9. 2 Urban residence prior to living in present neighbourhood (yes= a positive respond and no=a negative respond).



The study of this dimension of residential mobility in Apadana and Karevan and its distinct patterns will continue below through a review of the attitudes of households to housing and neighbourhood as preference themes. First, there will be consideration of the housing condition and its priority for both households, then the two

neighbourhoods and their significant social organisational aspects will be considered upon through the views of residents.

9.4.1 The situation of housing

Within chapter 6, the main characteristics of housing and its major socio-physical characteristics in both neighbourhood each were described. It was concluded that housing was a primary item for the most of resident in the survey areas in taking the decision to move into their present neighbourhoods.

In order to realise the contextual aspects of housing, it has been explained that in developing countries such as Iran, the overall housing condition in large cities (like Tehran) is reflected in the social inequalities and conflicts which characterise the social status of its inhabitants. Broadly speaking, the common failure to provide proper housing often leads to the creation of a negative attitude, particularly among the urban poor in relation to their residential environment. Therefore, this notion socially has to be regarded as an important factor in establishing an urban community with a sufficient degree of environmental involvement. Nevertheless, most urban populations in such countries, are faced with the effects of recent internal and global socio-economic changes, have many difficulties in this respect. In addition, the reflection of these changes can be seen in the attitudes and expectations of the population, particularly those who have stayed in poorer urban areas.

In chapter six, with regard to the social aspects of housing, some perspectives were outlined which emphasised the more social characteristics of housing in developing countries. This argument supports the recent research-oriented projects which are related to the vast investigations carried out on certain social aspects of the housing construction issue in these countries. Based on the results of these enquiries, the notion has been provided that, housing condition in developing societies should not

only be considered in its physical dimensions, but it is also important to realise its condition on the basis of its services considerations and the expectations of users. The World Bank document criticises current housing policies in many developing countries and points out that, 'more than just a roof overhead, it (shelter) requires a series of services that are an integral part of the specific location and dwelling' (World Bank, 1980 p. 1).

The issue of housing and its 'contextual characteristics of the survey areas' are adequately discussed in earlier chapters (chapter six), the following section is devoted to how households regard the basic aspects of this item, which has affected the decision to move into these neighbourhoods.

9.4.2 How do households regard their housing?

The material presented in this section investigates how an observer may categorise the neighbourhood in the way in which the residents of the areas view the issue. Some housing data have been obtained though the survey concentrated on certain aspects each of the two areas: the physical characteristics of housing, its location, the space allocated in its housing units and the main problems of housing.

The satisfaction or dissatisfaction with certain physical aspects of each area is the criteria which will contrast objective and subjective rankings. This category is composed of problems arising from such matters as open space, the quality of a neighbourhood's environment, and the amount of public services in the living place. These issues appear are easily identified by survey enquiry in the research areas. What follows in this examination of the housing condition in survey areas mainly examines the housing conditions through attitudes of residents.

9.4.3 Housing occupation

According to Table 9.1 the number of home owners in Karevan is close to that discovered in Apadana. 76.72 per cent of the sampled population in Karevan occupied their own homes and this figure in Apadana was about 78.44 per cent. So far, the result of study presented in this table reveals that the number of tenants in Apadana was 18.86 per cent. Statistics reveal that about 18 per cent in total must be compared to the total of about 15 per cent in Karevan. This, regard to housing ownership, not a large difference has been observed between these neighbourhoods. If home ownership is taken as an indicator of stability, then both neighbourhoods might be considered quite stable.

Table 9 1 The Ownership of Housing in the Survey Areas

Frequency	Owner %	Tenant %	Other %	Total %
Apadana	78.44	18.86	2.99	100.0
Karevan	76.72	14.46	8.80	100.0

Karevan: frequency Missing = 1

Given this situation, the survey goes back to the initial scheme of housing in these areas that provided the conditions for the majority of households to afford private property. Chapter 6, however, showed that, the process by which residents became ownership in these areas was very vary different. In Apadana, as a designed neighbourhood, housing has been supplied to occupiers on the basis of the agreement between customers and a formal organisation (Rahni Bank). By this agreement, voluntary customers have accepted all the conditions to buy the house which was under construction by Rahni Bank at the time of the contract. Whereas in Karevan, the consumers, who were mostly poor residents, were under increasing economic pressures to look at cheap, but not necessarily, properly-provided housing. Therefore, they could buy their own housing based on current local housing market situation (which was mainly mass cheap housing and aimed at achieving more profit by quickly supplying high demanding it) without adequate consideration to other required services. However, the ownership condition does not explain what they thought of the

quality of their housing. Before looking for any answer to this, it is important to consider the priority of housing in the survey areas as has been expressed by the sampled respondents.

9.4.4 Housing and movement

In respect to housing, Table 9.2 shows the main reasons why people moved to Apadana and Karevan. Space and design were paramount in Apadana. The design of housing was not as a great factor to move in Karevan. However, the location of housing and the quality of its environment were important factors to households and their mobility in both neighbourhoods.

Table 9.2 Primary Reasons Why Heads of Households Moved to Apadana and Karevan Areas

Reasons for move	Apadana	Karevan
Space	18.56	3.14
Job change	0.00	15.72
Economic factors	5.38	44.02
Consideration for children	13.77	2.51
Design of housing	24.55	2.51
Dissatisfaction with previous house	37.72	32.07
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: author's survey

It is noticeable that in Apadana, one third of respondents moved to this neighbourhood because they were not satisfied with their previous house. This was for the space shortage, the poor quality of environment and so on (see Table 9.5). In Karevan, the economic factor was the first concern and then the dissatisfaction with the preferred condition of the home were the significant factors which motivated households to move into this area. Although space was a considerable reason for respondents in Karevan, only 3.14 per cent out of all the sampled population (159 sample) in Karevan replied that they left their previous living area because of insufficient space. Again a substantial figure in Apadana indicated that the design of housing was an important factor in their decision to move into the new neighbourhood, however, this figure was 18.56. When the head of households were

asked whether they would measure the significance of housing and its quality in their neighbourhood in comparison to other basic needs, they have expressed quite differently. The following table shows the results of their correspondences in this respect:

It can be seen in Table 9.3 in both neighbourhoods that, the housing item was measured with the highest degree of significance in comparison to the households personal priorities to living place. In Apadana a more value is given in Apadana to housing than in Karevan. Nevertheless, the survey reveals that even in Karevan the category of housing occupied was a top priority in comparison to other significant things, such as public services like transport, medical facilities, shopping centres and the like.

Table 9.3 The Significance of Housing Location for Residents

	High	Med	Low	No response	Total
Apadana	76.04	13.77	4.76	5.38	100.0
Karevan	52.20	14.80	6.28	33.33	100.0

Source: author's surveys

9.4.5 The physical aspects of housing

Regarding the aspirations of residents to the physical aspects of housing, heads of the households were asked if they had any housing problems. In Apadana, a number of respondents complained about the type of accommodation (apartment) and some of them were not satisfied by the size of space. A few of households criticised the noisy conditions in apartment blocks. However, more households complained about some services and they criticised the increasing cost of building maintenance.

Problems of space and the lack of housing services were the main physical features in Karevan. From the list of housing problems which was designed in order to measure the significant of housing in survey areas (presented in Table 9.4), it can be

understood that more respondents were satisfied with their accommodation in Apadana. The figure to show no housing problem in Apadana was 12.57 percent in Apadana. While this figure in Karevan was about 2.51 per cent.

Table 9. 4 The overall housing conditions in survy areas

	Apadana	Karevan
Inappropriate neighbourhood	19.16	11.32
Bad neighbour	17.97	32.07
Small space	34.73	25.76
Poor housing services	15.56	28.30
No problems	12.57	2.51
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: author's surveys

In the Karevan neighbourhood, as a result of the existing economic constraints that prevent residents from moving to more expensive housing estates, the necessary need for residents was security for their land and property, which would encourage them to extend their existing dwelling. Despite environmental problems and inadequate provisions, they generally preferred to maintain their housing. When asked whether if the government provided cheap public housing for rent or sale in another part of the city, would they be willing to move, most of them responded positively, but only on the condition that the provided houses were located near their work with good services and sanitation and with enough space. (The issue of moves to another place will be discussed in the following section in more detail).

As described in an earlier discussion in this chapter, the Karevan neighbourhood was built by the informal housing sector in the south of the city. In earlier years of its construction, the main housing problem was related to the illegal occupation of the land and property. However, after a few years, the Government agreed through the request of occupiers to issue the documentation recognising their rights to their properties. At present the problem of documentation for the majority of housing was solved, but especially in the south of the neighbourhood the illegal situation did not completely disappear. As the main concerns of households are presented in Table 9.4, the lack of insufficient housing services, small space and the overall poor

environmental conditions, are realised as the significant aspects of the housing in this area.

The majority of households in Karevan responded that they wanted to improve their housing but could not afford to do it. They have viewed the possibility of constructing one or two storeys for renting as a desirable move that would help them to improve their economic situation. It would serve as an immediate source of income, and in the long term provide accommodation for a son or daughter in the dwelling by adding one or two rooms for more space, while others wanted to improve the stability of the building. It must be noted that the Karevan residents did not mention insecurity.

9.5. How households regard their neighbourhoods

The issue of neighbourhood and its selection as a residential location can be discussed in two ways: one is the geographical characteristics of the area and its social context which includes the social relationship among residents and the quality of public services. The second is the socio-economic characteristics of its residents and the process in which they moved to, and then stayed in, the neighbourhood. Residents plan with respect to the present neighbourhood and their prospects about an alternative place are also other criteria in this respect. The outcome of the operation of these criteria leads to carefully explore the similarities or differences which exist between neighbourhoods, the different patterns of these features, the reasons which lead to such specification and in turn the situation of these neighbourhoods in the future.

It seems that one way to study this notion is to regard the criteria which were more significant to the households. In general terms, some neighbourhoods are more desirable than others because they contain more public services or a favourable social environment, or are located close to the central public facilities or the available

transportation. Residence is a largely a self-selective phenomenon. Households which desire a particular neighbourhood's characteristics tend to settle in areas where these aspects are maximised. For a number of households, accessibility to main lines of transportation is extremely important. However, there are households who are under pressure to move into areas which are not so desirable.

In the previous chapters the study has focused on characteristics which are mentioned above. The remainder of the discussion here is about the residential mobility of typical neighbourhoods, and their concerns in this regard will be accounted for in the following section. However, the key question is: how would residents who are defined by different socio-economic characteristics, and are living in different locations, have different attitudes in relation to their neighbourhood as a whole?

9.5.1 Former places of residence

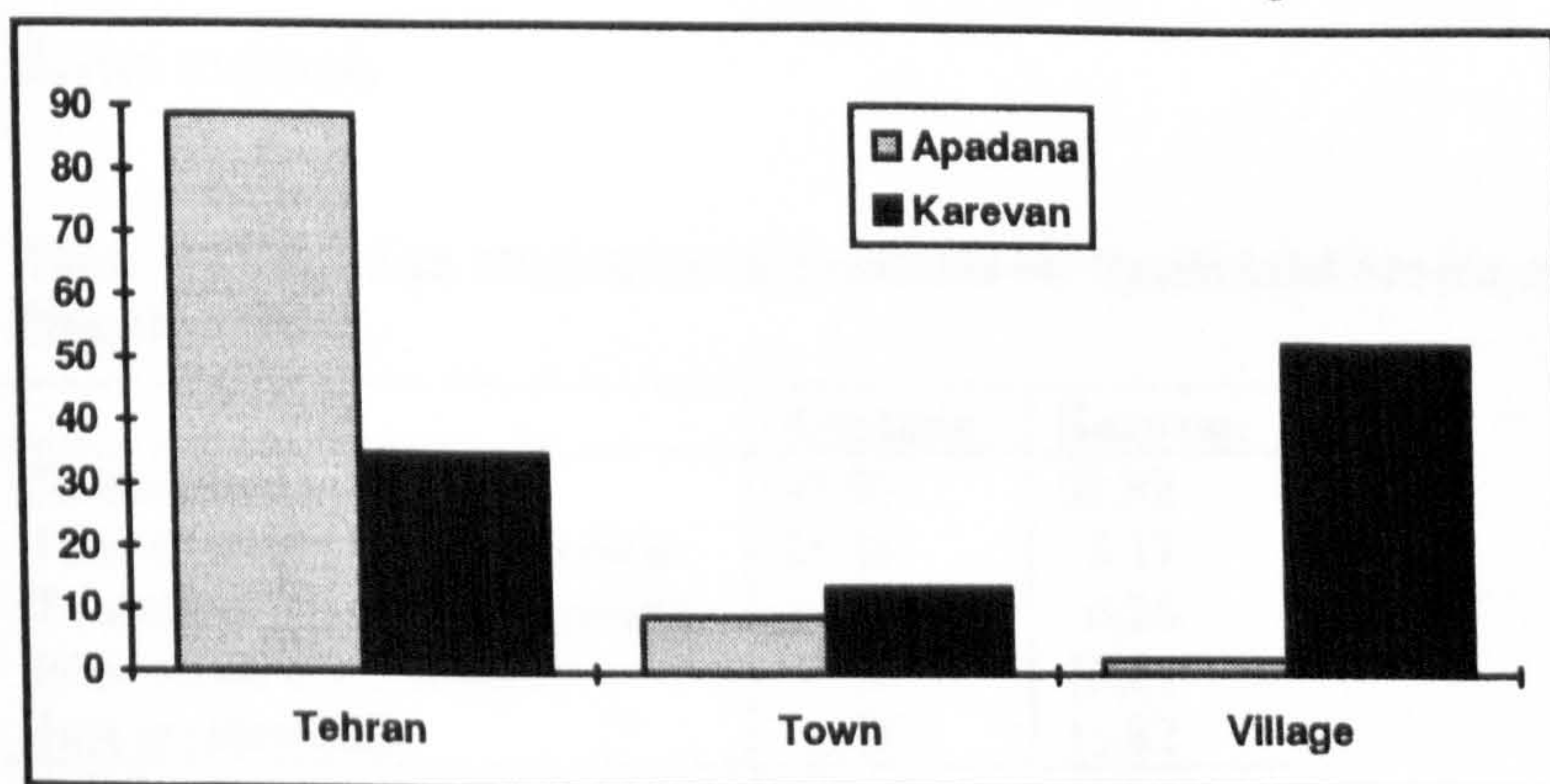
The heads of households in both neighbourhoods were asked to indicate their former residential places. In Apadana, 88.5 per cent out of 159 sampled said that they came to this neighbourhood from inside Tehran and about 9.0 per cent replied that they spent a part of their life in cities or towns which are located outside this city. In previous years, areas where Apadana's residents used to live included different residential locations mainly inside the city of Tehran. A number of households lived in areas that had a similar situation to Apadana. However, to many of households residence in a planned neighbourhood such as Apadana was a new experience.

In Karevan, the results of the survey reveal that only 34.6 per cent out of the sample had indicated that they have lived inside Tehran previously, and 13.92 per cent of households replied that their former residential locations were towns and cities which were located out of this city. In this regard, one significant outcome which was obtained from the survey was the considerable percentage of residents who moved

into this neighbourhood from the rural areas. This figure in Karevan was 52.73 per cent of the sample. Karevan, where the majority of residents were from towns or rural areas located out of Tehran, also accommodated people who have lived for a short period inside Tehran. However, these residents during the migratory process, have realised that they were not able to stay any longer in this city because of increasing economic difficulties which they faced. It is important to notice that the period of residence of this group of people who had stayed in poor urban places inside Tehran was between 2-10 years (Fieldwork notes). In addition, many of these residents can mainly be categorised as seasonal migrants. This means that they were obliged to live in their original town or village for a part of the year and they selected Tehran as the residential or work place for the rest of the year (usually for winter). Urban constraints in Tehran which have caused the massive residential movement were not only indicated in housing needs, but other social needs also provided the conditions to move (These are discussed in section two of this chapter). Therefore, as they expressed, they have moved into this neighbourhood due to its cheaper housing and other conditions, such as proximity to the workplace and some other social considerations (This issue will be discussed in the next part in more detail).

In the following histogram it can be seen how the two neighbourhoods are distinguished from each other by their former residential places:

Figure 9. 3 The Previous Living Place of Households in Apadana and Karevan



Source: author's surveys

9.5.2 The main motivation in mobility toward present neighbourhoods

The analysis of residential shifts obviously requires information on each move in certain categories. There is the need to know not only what the respondent found attractive enough about his new place to move into it but also what complaints led him to contemplate moving. Moreover, desire is not always followed by the desired activity, as everyone experience. The gap between desire and its fulfilment varies with the kind of desires involved. Wanting to move is not ordinarily followed by an immediate residential shift. At any one point in time, it is to be expected that more families are inclined to move than the actual level of turnover would apparently indicate. Mobility desire, therefore is not the best predictor of moving. Mobility intention and its relationship to mobility behaviour is therefore a central topic here.

The study reveals that residents in both areas, before leaving their previous residential area already had different motivations in looking for a new residential place. These motivations can be interpreted based on the priorities which of the residents in each neighbourhood.

The starting point of the moving process, for the purpose of this survey, was the decision to leave the old dwelling. Some households left voluntarily, others were forced to move by the pressure of circumstance. Either they moved out voluntarily or obligatorily, the survey sought to identify the dissatisfactions which given rise to their desire to leave.

Table 9 5 The Main Motivation in Residents for Residential Movement to Present Neighbourhood

	Apadana	Karavan
To seek better housing	45.50	38.99
To seek better public services	25.14	8.17
To change the style of housing	15.56	6.26
Poor social environment	5.38	30.81
Just accidentally	6.58	15.82
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 9.5 shows that access to the better housing was a top priority in both neighbourhoods. However, the social environment was a significant factor which motivated 30.81 per cent of the overall sampled population in Karevan to move into this neighbourhood, while this percentage in Apadana was only 5.38 per cent. From the above table, social services, such as transportation and education, have motivated Apadana's residents to this neighbourhood, while in Karevan this was much less to significant. The percentage which shows that in Karevan, residents are moving into this neighbourhood without any previous decision was more than Apadana. In the later neighbourhood, more households replied that they have chosen this area on the basis of their original information.

The above description compares the distribution of the areas of motivation among households in both neighbourhoods. However, the overall results of the direct interview with a number of households in Apadana and Karevan has given the following results:

Some were purely economic (opportunity to change the style of housing, mostly in Apadana), while others perceived to be social relational motivation (in Karevan). Some were quite voluntary (upgrading housing largely in Apadana); some other were based on purely demographic conditions (moves to larger apartment in Apadana), while others reflected lifestyle considerations (moves to particular suburbs considerably in Apadana),(All obtained in fieldwork notes).

9.3.3 Resident's intentions (to move or stay).

In measuring mobility intentions, the head of households were asked to predict their own behaviour over the year following the survey. If one knows certain crucial characteristics of a family, its desires, and its intentions, the prediction of its mobility behaviour can be made with a relatively simple account.

Table 9.6 below contains the mobility intentions of the household studied in these areas, along with their mobility desires. In Apadana, mobility intentions run far behind the expressed desires to move. Nearly half of households expected to be at the same dwelling; only 5.38 percent definitely expected to move; another 15 percent claimed to have a fifty/fifty percent opportunity to move. The proportion percentages in Karevan were a complex contrast. While in this neighbourhood 25.15 per cent of the households had definite intentions to move, the percentage of households interested in staying was only 21.38. In comparison to Apadana, the stated percentage states that more households motivated to move for this area. Moreover, the higher percentage in Karevan in comparison to other indicated categories demonstrates that more residents wanted to move into other residential areas, and this also consider the assumption that the general conditions in this neighbourhood did not satisfy most households.

Table 9 6 Mobility Intentions

Mobility intentions	Apadana	Karevan
Expected to stay on	55.29	21.38
50-50 chance of moving	18.56	25.15
Definitely moving	5.38	34.59
Undecided	25.74	18.86
Total	100.0	100.0

Apadana : frequency missing =9

Karevan: frequency missing =1

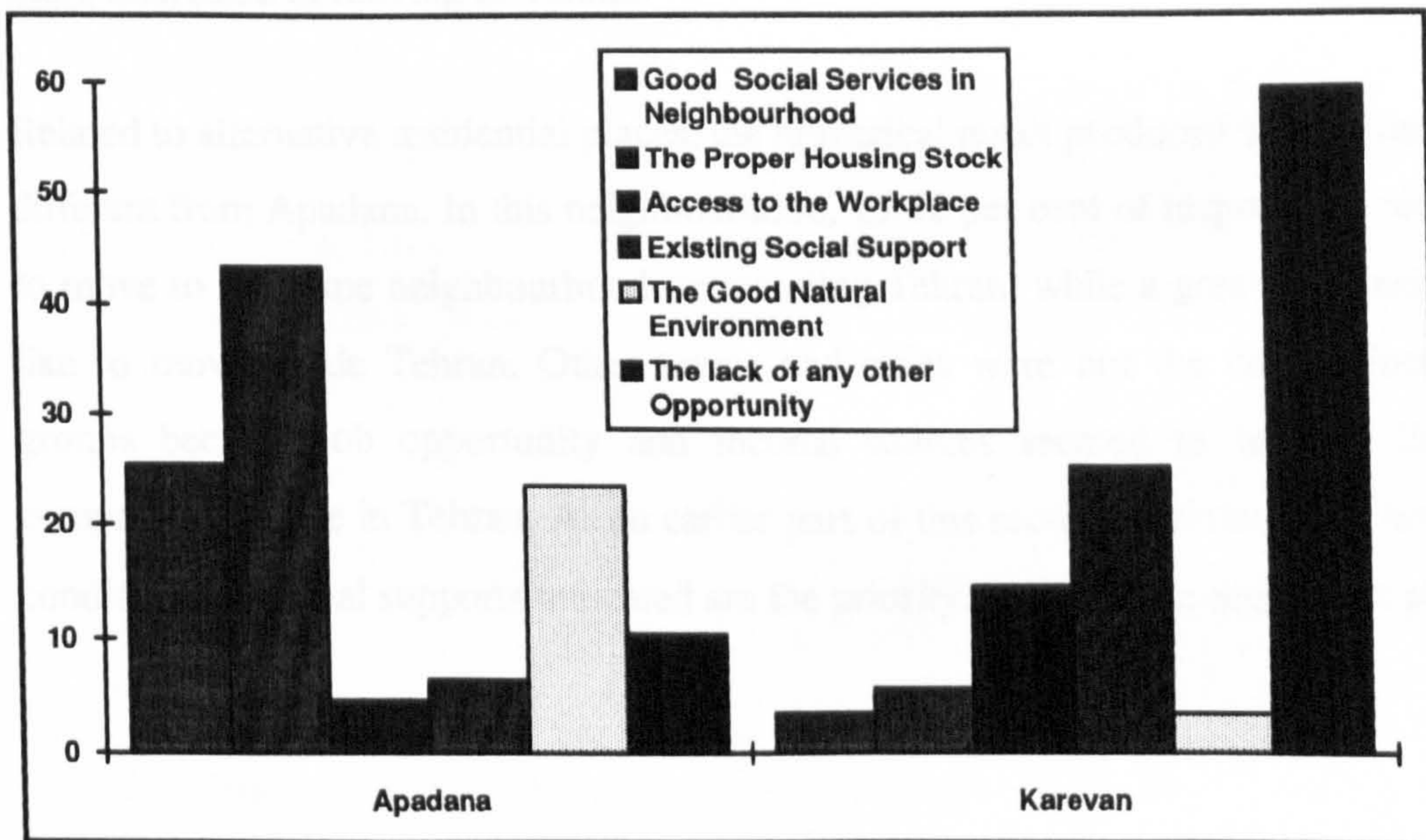
With regard to their decision to move, the result of Table 9.6 shows that in Karevan about 25.15 percent of sampled population replied they had not yet taken any decision to move from or stay in this neighbourhood. This figure in Apadana was about 18.56 per cent Not a considerable difference was observed between two neighbourhood in this expect.

Some of the households wanting to move have developed plans for doing so; some have not. In order to understand the dynamics of residential mobility, it is necessarily to consider what factors play a greater role in the crystallisation of plans from initial desire. Some of the factors which have been found in the previous chapters play a very large role in the formation of mobility potential and will help in providing an explanation. It has been found that the socio-economic potential, consisting of

measures of certain qualities of each household, environment, and the household's dissatisfaction with aspects of its dwelling, as expressed in a complains index by themselves and taken together, have a very strong effect on whether or not a household wanting to move will formulate mobility plans.

The head of households in both neighbourhoods were asked which one of the indicated motivations caused them to settle in the present neighbourhood. In Apadana about 30 per cent replied they were satisfied with the housing condition and about 25 per cent confirmed that existing social services had caused them to want to stay longer. However, in Karevan, the results were quite different. Only 5.45 and 12.34 per cents, respectively, out of the sampled population have replied that the social service and housing condition motivated them to stay in this neighbourhood. The histogram presented above shows whether other particular indicators also affected the motivations of residents to stay in a neighbourhood.

Figure 9. 4The Priorities Which Motivated Households to Stay



The illustration above shows that households in both neighbourhoods were under the influence of different socio-environmental priorities. More respondents in Apadana were satisfied with the existing social services and less of them complained about the environment of the neighbourhood. However, both these issues did not motivate

residents in Karevan to stay there. In respect to the movement intention, one difference that is clearly discovered here is a sharp difference in the context of social relationships. In Karevan, more residents were satisfied from the informal social support facilities. This difference also explains the greater benefit which local social relationships provide to residents in Karevan.

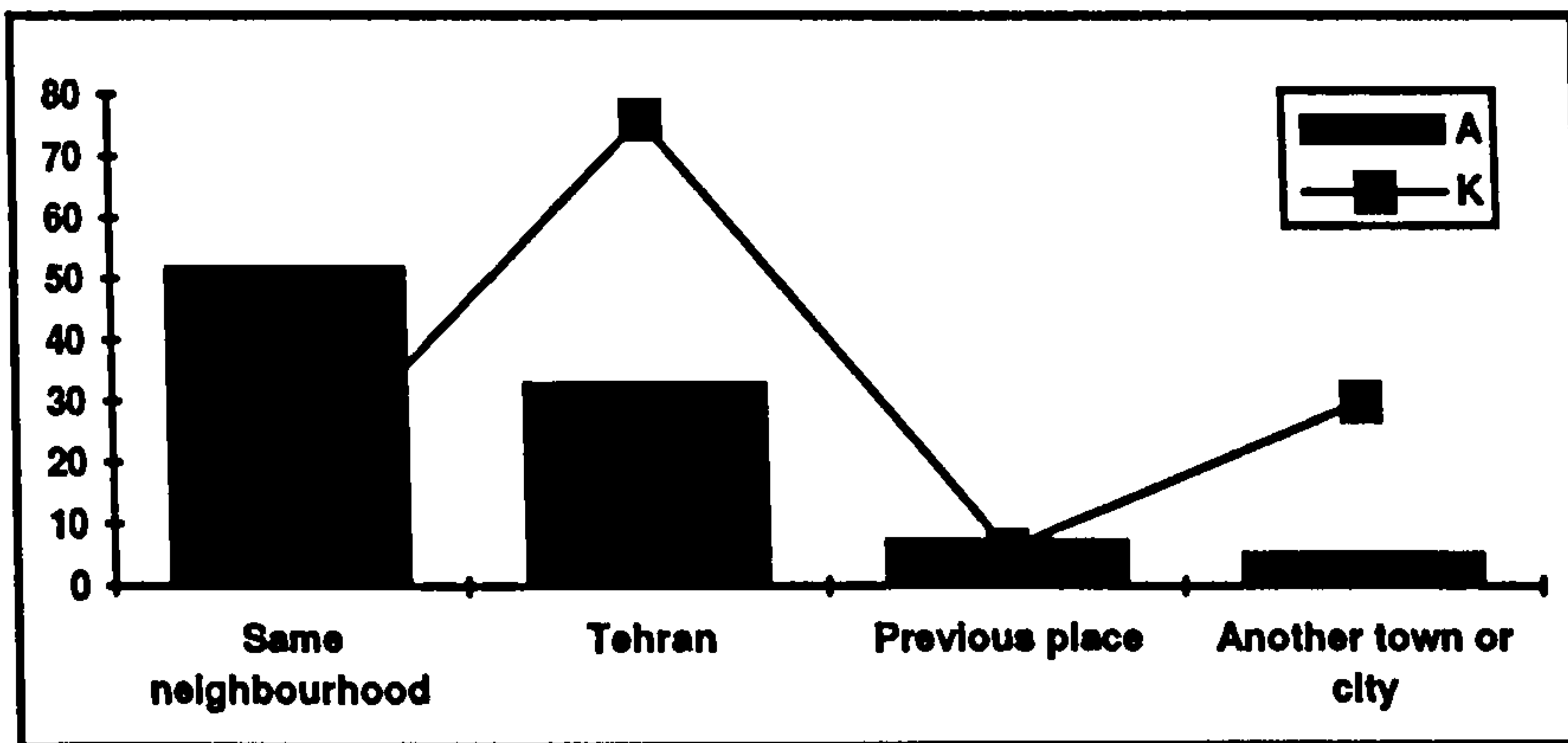
9.5.4 The alternative living place

In the previous section of this study, it has been established that most households in Apadana, if they will decide or have an opportunity to move, would prefer to reside in similar neighbourhoods surrounding Tehran. About 33 per cent of households in this place replied that they wanted to move inside of Tehran and 51.77 per cent replied they desired to move to similar residential places surrounding Tehran. Obviously, these figures altogether show that the majority of residents, if they moved, would be more interested in moving to Tehran.

Related to alternative residential places, the numerical result produced in Karevan was different from Apadana. In this neighbourhood, 15.82 per cent of respondents wanted to move to the same neighbourhood surrounding Tehran, while a greater of residents like to move inside Tehran. Other towns and cities were not the central focus of groups because job opportunity and income sources seemed to be very limited compared to those in Tehran. As an earlier part of this section explained, the housing condition and social supports indicated are the priority in seeking an alternative place.

A number of households emphasised that in other cities or towns it will be more difficult for them to access such public services as are developed in Tehran (Fieldwork Notes).

Figure 9. 5 The Illustration of Interests of Households Toward Alternative Residential Places



In Apadana the average number of households who wanted to move to a similar neighbourhood surrounding Tehran was 45.77 per cent, compare this figure in Karevan which is 15.82 per cent. A higher number in Apadana are interested in moving into a similar residential place surrounding Tehran. In other words, more households in Apadana are satisfied with their residential place than in Karevan. The next section looks at the interest of residents in both neighbourhoods in returning to the previous living place 12.35 per cent in Apadana replied that they were interested in going back to their previous living place to continue their life there. In Karevan only 5.06 of the overall sampled population expressed their interest to go back to their previous living place (which were mostly towns or villages). In Apadana about 17.23 per cent replied that they desired to move into their previous residential place. As explained earlier (chapters 5 and 6), most of the residents in Karevan were migrants who in recent years have moved inside Tehran and then under the very worst circumstances were forced to move to this neighbourhood. However, they moved to this area several years ago and were expected to adapt themselves to this place. Nevertheless, the survey results suggest that their neighbourhood place is still considered temporary rather than as a locality with a set of an adequate socio-physical sense of belonging.

9.6 Conclusion

The central objective of this chapter was to study the effects of housing and neighbourhood on the residential movement of residents in the survey areas. It also aimed to clarify in which way or ways the mobility process was the subject of the behaviour of households before and after moving into their neighbourhoods. It also intended to deal with various priorities which were indicated by households as at the top of their desires in providing social cohesion between them and their residential places. In doing this, the study has concentrated on an effort to tackle the satisfaction or dissatisfaction of residents in relation to their housing and dwelling units. The analysis was focused to highlight the specific tendencies which were expressed by households in regard to staying or moving from the neighbourhood. Moreover, the primary purpose of this chapter was to illustrate how the addition of socio-physical depth in analysing the differences between the two areas would lead to different formulations of the organisational characteristics of neighbourhood areas. From a point of view, the kind of information which was used in this chapter has illuminated the basic character of residential mobility.

The findings in section one show that the household's housing, in socio-physical terms, has played an important role in both the study areas. The study has considered housing in terms of its occupation and the physical aspects of its layout have been defined as more significant characteristics in survey areas. Recognising these characteristics, the objective was then to deal with how much the housing was part of the motivations and aspirations of households in regard to their residential places. The study identified that households were different in their housing needs. The greatest demands were placed on housing among residents in Karevan. In this neighbourhood there were households who were most likely to want to move and to be classified unsatisfied with their present housing. The way in which the households housing requirements were satisfied by its dwelling was another important determinant of mobility desires mainly in Karevan. The more households complain, either because of housing problems or neighbourhood dissatisfaction, the more likely was the desire to

move. This was in contrast to Apadana, where housing conditions were more satisfactory. Housing condition was a core motivation for households to move into this neighbourhood and had been considered as a significant factor in making the conditions satisfaction in order for them indoor to stay longer in their present place and it was a significant factor in the view of many households in seeking a new place too.

From the analysis of the data presented in this chapter, it can easily be anticipated that space requirements occupied a prominent position among the organisational specifications of both neighbourhoods. More than half of the respondents in both neighbourhoods indicated that they had particular place dimensions in mind when looking for their new space. Just as important was as a factor which received much attention as source of complaint, was, dwelling unit design. About half of the respondents indicated that they had some particular type of dwelling unit in mind. Next in importance as a criteria for the household's alternative dwelling were particular locations. Most households in both neighbourhoods were looking for new homes in specific locations and desired to move.

Through section three of this chapter the household's complaints about their residential places were also shown to be highly related to mobility. Particularly important were those complaints in Karevan referring to the characteristics of the dwelling unit. In contrast, in this area the environment of the residence and its location did not seem to be particularly relevant. Residents in this area were settled because in their initial years the housing and land were very cheap and easily available; some considerations such as the opportunity to get jobs and to use of public services in the city (Tehran) have motivated them to move to and stay in this neighbourhood. Social support through the family system has also been observed as an another important factor which has played a great role in making adequate cohesion between residents and their residential place. Nevertheless, the findings reveal a considerable number of residents in this neighbourhood were looking for an alternative residential area. The new place was decided upon through a number of desirable priorities such as proper housing, good enough job opportunities, the availability of social services and

adequate social support systems. More desire has been observed to move from Karevan and to a new place inside Tehran, this was characterised as the best alternative residential place. The result demonstrates that the Karevan neighbourhood was as a mobile place. It was chosen as a suitable, but temporary place to live the inside the city, but other locations inside the city were more desirable.

The results in Apadana were a contrast. Sufficient cohesion has been observed between households and their residential place. Generally less complaints were made about the neighbourhood and its environment,. The neighbourhood unit has been seen as a desirable dwelling place; the frequency of answers produced demonstrated that less consideration has been paid to its public services. The average number who expressed their desire to move was much less than in Karevan. From this point of view it maybe concluded that Apadana is a more stable neighbourhood and further cohesion existed between the neighbourhood and its inhabitants. The desire of its residents to move into a similar place surrounding Tehran, demonstrates that further households were satisfied by the established characteristics in their place. Another implication of this study is that, Apadana as a suburb, with its large owned units, provided the setting for minimal mobility and attracted households in the most stable period of their life cycle stages. In contrast, while mobile areas offer small housing units with limited facilities for family living, they contained the housing adjustable to changes occurring to families in over time.

Finally, it has been evident how small a role social networks played in Apadana as a significant determinant to mobility. While this notion has been very important to residents in Karevan. From this point of view it is concluded that social ties and their location were independent of mobility inclination in Apadana. But, they were related to the mobility of an area in the sense that the more stable the area, the more likely a household is to establish ties in a neighbourhood, but the existence or absence of such ties does not affect a household's desire to remain or move. In summary, most of these households were interested in particular localities because these neighbourhoods symbolised a specially desired 'social climate', rather than some aspect of accessibility either to friends or their jobs.

CHAPTER TEN:

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION
AND
RECOMMENDATION

10.1 Introduction

The chief idea behind this study started from the different social relationships which are supposed to exist between inhabitants and the environment of their 'living place' in the urban neighbourhoods of Tehran. The essence of these differences has been presumed as the result of the rapid socio-spatial expansion and the development of different patterns of urban infrastructures in this city. Recent decades in Tehran have witnessed great transformations in its urban structure and the quality of environments of 'living places'. Neighbourhood areas, in terms of their local conditions such as social networks and public services, became the place of multiple environmental conditions. Following a conceptualisation derived from Structuration Theory, the inhabitants of these areas have been regarded as agents, whose ideas are shaped through different social constraints. These social constraints, are also being transformed by the sharp changes which have taken place in the wider socio-spatial organisation of the city (As it was the central focus of Urban Ecology analysis). In relation to the inhabitants in these areas and their relationships with the environment of living place, it is supposed that the main factors in understanding the nature, causes and consequences of different urban visions, expectations and behaviours of individuals, are affected by the rapid socio-spatial expansion of the city and the appearance of varied local conditions in its neighbourhoods.

Furthermore, some ideas from, the Urban Ecology perspective has also been used in order to explain the dynamics of socio-spatial transformation which were assumed to be applicable in the field of current study in order to understand the nature of spatial transformation of Tehran. In this regard, two significant aspects of city growth were the focus of attention. The socio-spatial growth together with the transformation of

the socio-economic framework of the city of Tehran both have been indicated as the subject of the present study. Since Tehran has been the subject of new spatial divisions, in the form of its 'living places', and has accommodated widespread different social organisations, the city was faced with massive difficulties in the context of the quality of the public life in the views of its residents, particularly in poor urban areas. On the one hand, living many years in a one place has significant effects on the inhabitants and their general views and behaviour. On the other hand, the high centralisation of urban population, materials and activities in the city, that were formed based on various social and economic frameworks, has eventually intensified the increasing problems in relation between inhabitants and the environment of their 'living place'. The internal spatial setting of Tehran was shaped through very complicated circumstances and the role of its citizens becomes frequently ambiguous in relation to the socio-spatial organisation of their 'living place'. This rapid urban growth has also led to the management of the city being faced with many dilemmas in the planning process across the city. Everyone, in all neighbourhoods, demands action to improve their 'living place'. But organising a desirable urban environment for inhabitants, particularly in poor urban areas, presents the city with a very difficult task.

In summary, there are two concerns behind the issue of urban neighbourhoods in Tehran, and the relation between inhabitants and the urban environment of these areas. The first concern is the dramatic urban changes that have been witnessed in the contemporary period in this city (particularly in the years after the revolution in Iran in 1979). These urban transformations were the major source of the emergence of the many socio-cultural differences at the level of its residential areas. This is the issue that the tradition of Urban Ecology proposes as a general process for contemporary cities. The second concern was the lack of understanding and sensitivity among urban authorities to the environmental consequences in the form of urban understanding, behaviour and expectations which generated multiple diverse relationships between inhabitants in this city and its neighbourhoods'. In this sense, the lack of sufficient understanding of local variables has been criticised through the ideas of Structuration theory. According this school of thought, policy for the development of urban areas

should consider the reality of urban life not only in a macrosociological point of view. Significantly, it should take account of the facts of urban settings which are more emphasised in the frame of reference of recent micro-sociological analysis. Nevertheless, in the case of Tehran, in particular in poorer urban areas, the long term results of this urban change have taken place and become more problematic; and these areas recently attracted much public debate. In addition, the growing concern for urban development and the design of buildings in recent decades has resulted in using several urban initiatives to establish some planned and more liveable urban residential areas. Apadana in north of Tehran was investigated as a good example of one of these. However, the city is faced with many difficulties in terms of the environment of its particularly disadvantaged neighbourhoods such as Karevan in the south of the city. Socio-spatially, these areas have basically expanded in the south of the city and become the focus of much attention in terms of their poor public services, quality of housing and rapid residential mobility. Meanwhile, the designed neighbourhoods remain as desirable residential areas and had obtained a good reputation as further stable and attractive living places, especially for middle-income people. The main approach of this study was to investigate the attitudes, behaviour and desire of residents who are defined as key informants, rather than to evaluate the implementations of a particular policy or policies, which is the key concern in other similar studies.

The central aim of this study was not only to put forward some empirical findings, but also to achieve and develop some understanding of the nature of differentiations which existed in the urban neighbourhoods of Tehran. It was intended to contribute to the goal of expanding choice and opportunity with special responsibility for the needs of resident groups and individuals. The identification of this issue in the city of Tehran has been undertaken as a contribution to bridging the existing gap between planning for the city and the reality of the urban environment of its living places. From this investigation and the exploration of neighbourhood problems, it is anticipated that this study and its findings will facilitate attempts to investigate and manage the local conditions in areas such as these.

This chapter is the final conclusion of the research and it includes recommendations for policy action. It intends to review how the study of urban neighbourhoods of Tehran has used contemporary urban perspectives to understand the problem of the relationship between residents and the urban environment of their neighbourhood. In the next section, some recommendations are given in relation to the problems of the environmental differentiations of neighbourhood areas. These recommendations are put forward in order to review the possibility of discovering solutions to reduce these problems and to think about some alternatives, particularly at the level of less advantaged residential areas.

10.2 Review of the research

After an overview of the content and the structure of this thesis in the introduction, chapter two tackled the theoretical basis of the city and suggested the main and inherent causes of its contemporary socio-spatial development. As a conceptual basis to the study, two contemporary urban perspectives, Urban Ecology and Structuration perspectives, were the focus of discussion in two respects. One set out to explore the dynamic changes of the city, and their extensive effects on the overall fate of its localities. The second urban perspective concentrated on the relation between human agency and the social structure in the context of city. It aimed to examine the determinant roles of individuals in relationship with the structure of their living place and clarify some general ideas which are related to this discussion. The argument in this chapter focused significantly on the foundations of the city in the modern period, its spatial transformation, the way in which urban divisions are derived and the problems arising in relation to the urban inhabitants and overall structure of their 'living place.

The structural characteristics of urban neighbourhoods were developed through some conceptual frameworks which are discussed in the urban literature. In chapter three, investigations into neighbourhoods were followed in order to find a particular

conceptual framework for the study. This chapter has also drawn on a descriptive model for the study of neighbourhoods that was suggested by Olson (1984). This model of neighbourhood description was used because of the emphasis on significant dimensions of its social organisation through a systematic analysis. The selected model of the approach to the study of neighbourhoods was also used as it defined the various factors which acted behind the formation and development of neighbourhoods. Olson's model was selected because it had many theoretical and empirical merits in terms of neighbourhood typology, their internal social networks and public services characteristics. This model of neighbourhood study could also help the present investigation to formulate the undertaken dimensions of neighbourhood according to common local variables which are widely shared in many similar cases.

A variety of research methods and tools were used; interviewing local informants, structured observations; analysis of available documents; and a household survey of a representative sample of residents in each of the neighbourhoods. Accordingly the fourth chapter described the basic methods of the research. With respect to the methodological sense of the study, the Structuration and Urban Ecology perspectives were used to underpin the research. Then the study continued to introduce the unit of analysis and indicate the sample size of surveys. It was stressed that both quantitative and qualitative approaches were to be the focus of our survey method.

In terms of Tehran and the expansion of its urban neighbourhoods, chapter five looked at the contemporary process of urbanisation in this city and attempted to deal with the major factors which were behind this process. This chapter also served as an introduction to the survey areas. Through discussion in this chapter, it was argued that the urban socio-spatial expansion of Tehran was traced back to the many experiences which were rooted in the earlier years of this century in Iran. However, the remarkable urban changes in this city widened since 1965. From that time to the present, urban contrasts over its internal socio-spatial structure have been steadily increasing. Most important of all was the emergence of different residential areas in the various sections of the city and the increase in urban environmental problems in

relation to people and their living place. The city and its many neighbourhoods became the centre of urban conflicts in terms of public services and housing provision. The neighbourhoods of the city have grown in different ways without an adequate improvement of the quality of their environment and the increasing differentiation in the form of advantaged and disadvantaged areas. Accordingly, the impressive affects of this gap were reflected in the behaviour of inhabitants in their degree of integration to their living place. It has been shown how different kinds of urban areas were established based on a high accumulation of population and activities in the city and what the role of the socio-economic forces behind this expansion actually was.

The internal expansion of the city had been associated with the widespread and continuing growth of urban population. It has increased at a rate of from 1.45% in 1965 to 4.12 % in 1989. The rapid growth of population had made a big contribution to the process of urban expansion. Moreover, as the result of the rise of new expectations in the capital and the increase in the life difficulties in rural areas, the migration movement into this city has been accelerated in the years after the Revolution (1979). The elimination of previous land use regulations in the city helped to generate more physical expansion. This expansion has been accompanied by substantial shifts toward the establishment of new large and small urban neighbourhoods, particularly in its peripheral areas. New residential areas such as Akbatan, Gouds, Apadana, Karevan, and Masoudie developed as medium-sized neighbourhoods over the last three decades in the north and south of this city and became considerable urban places in terms of their environmental differences.

In the city of Tehran, the neighbourhoods of the city vary a great deal in their contextual dimensions. Some neighbourhoods are planned, formally or informally organised and capable of maintaining their quality of environment. Others are environmentally poor and not able to preserve a sufficient integrity between residents and their 'living place' and, are seen as temporary residential places. They can be specified in terms of their social relations and environmental conditions. The advantaged neighbourhoods have been the places where more opportunities are available and to which increasing numbers of middle-class households are moving,

while the less advantaged neighbourhoods are becoming socially and economically worse. A more accurate description is that these neighbourhoods have great variety within them. Many of the smaller localities, or urban neighbourhoods, established in the city of Tehran are said to have distinctive qualities in terms of the relations between residents and their 'living place'. In other words, some of them have been built as modern 'living places'. What has attracted households to these areas is the establishment of an appropriate scale of building, convenient location, and limited density of population. These conditions consequently have provided a positive relationship between residents and their 'living place'; whereas disadvantaged neighbourhoods are the places where the quality of housing and public services are viewed as very low. These areas largely suffered from the lack of sufficient public services and from housing shortages. In relation to the advantaged and disadvantaged residential areas, the two urban neighbourhoods, Apadana and Karevan, have been presented as typical examples in the city of Tehran as new neighbourhoods are emerging in the 1980s.

The sixth chapter discussed the socio-demographic conditions of population sampled in Apadana and Karevan. In this chapter, the housing construction of the survey areas was also a key focus. As a filter system of reference for the population, the socio-demographic features have been discussed as the primary specifications of these areas. It was highlighted how the two areas, through the filter of socio-economic characteristics, were located in distinctive conditions. This part of the study provides detailed information of two kinds. Firstly, it specifies the demographic conditions in the two neighbourhoods in Tehran, and the secondly, it describes the different places of better off and low-income social groups who have lived in Apadana and Karevan as advantaged and disadvantaged residential areas. Finally, it shows that, in advantaged places, some residents had adequate capacity to realise a good standard of their social life and see this improve. Others who had lived in poor residential areas were on the opposite side.

Regarding the housing construction, the objective in this chapter was to describe how the development of Apadana and Karevan has taken place through the framework of

the formal and informal housing development process in the city of Tehran. Through this regard, it was argued that the increasing difficulties associated with housing demands, on the one hand, and the lack of a sufficient housing policy on another hand, have significantly led to the emergence of different patterns of residential areas in this city. Apadana was structured as a successful example of the operation of a formal housing project. The designed housing of this place and its improved environment led to this neighbourhood developing to a high reputation. In contrast, Karevan as the result of the execution of informal housing activities, has grown into a poor area in the south of this city. The intention of the informal sector is to supply cheap, but poor quality, housing to urban immigrants. The increasing demands from these people has then caused the growth of this area without sufficient resources for its improvement as an advantaged residential place.

Local social networks as a part of a household's daily engagement in their neighbourhoods was the focus of chapter seven. It intended to clarify the attitudes of households in relationship to the quality of the social environment of their living place. In this respect, the objective was to understand how residents have perceived, in an integrated or disintegrated perspective, the environment of their neighbourhood through a system of kinship and neighbouring relationships. The attention was also given to the patterns of relational differences which existed between residents in the two areas from the point of view of traditional and modern style of social relationships. These were considered as important means to qualify the social environment of the neighbourhoods which would eventually help to define the social worlds of residents in these areas. In other words, in terms of social relationships, this chapter attempted to examine how the new patterns of kinship and the neighbouring system of relationships were more dominant among residents in Apadana and why the life style of residents was the subject of more recent urban changes. Through this account it has been shown that both neighbourhoods were urban localities, but with different social qualities. This situation was basically more evident in disadvantaged areas such as Karevan. The results of the survey showed that the traditional pattern of relationships was more dominant in Karevan than in a semi-traditional area than in Apadana. In the former area, the kinship system of marriage was the dominant form of

marriage. In contrast, in relation to kinship, Apadana was a modern social place, the exogenous system of marriage was more predominant and residents were more interested to maintain the new forms of social relationships with their kins, friends and neighbours. In the case of neighbouring relationships, Karevan has been shown to be a much more socially integrated place. The social framework of residential networks in this area was obviously grounded on different social groups which came from different regions in the country. Finally, the various attitudes in relation to the kinship and exogenous system of relationships and also neighbouring associations showed that urbanisation in terms of its social consequences, had led to a large affect over the system of relationships in Apadana. So far as in the urbanisation discussion is developed, fewer residents are integrated into place-based relationships. That was the situation which has been identified in Apadana.

Local social services as significant aspects of the environment of the neighbourhoods was the focus of chapter eight. This chapter has attempted to explore whether residents in Apadana and Karevan had enough access to the existing public services in their living place. Moreover, the attitudes of residents in relation to the quality of these services were the subject of the study as well. Two main items of public services were the focus of discussion. School and transport services were selected as representative examples of the main services in neighbourhood areas. Regarding the school facilities, the results of the survey show that two different ways of parental evaluation existed in these areas. In Apadana, parents were generally satisfied with the schools and overall facilities of their areas. Many parents expressed their positive views about the existing facilities, the training advantages and the good enough job done by local teachers. Their concerns were with the quality of education. However, parents of school-age children in Karevan were faced with various difficulties in terms of school services. Poor facilities at the local schools and the lack of opportunities for many residents to send the children to the high quality schools were the major problems in this regard. Their concerns primarily focused on access to education.

Regarding transport services, the results of the survey demonstrated that in Apadana, as a middle-income area, households had access to both public and private transport.

In addition, the amount of public services facilities available adequately responded to the everyday needs of its residents. Located in an area very close to the main public transport services in the city and the available travelling instruments such as bus, mini-bus, taxis and several other private transport services, the neighbourhood was well-placed to serve the mobility needs of this neighbourhood to access basic facilities. However, the findings in Karevan show that residents in this area have relied on other sorts of facilities. Most of them had many difficulties to access public transport facilities. Two reasons were explored in this regard. One related to the poor economic situation of people in this area and another was the lack of public transport services needed in this area.

After the identification of the dimensions of local social networks and public services in Apadana and Karevan, the central objective of the ninth chapter was to analyse the residential mobility of households. It basically intended to clarify how households viewed their residential mobility decisions. In this regard, an attempt was also made to understand whether they had the inclination to stay in or to move from their present living place. Through this analysis, the purpose of the study was to acknowledge which urban neighbourhood had a more stable (liveable) and also desirable place. The survey also aimed to deal with various priorities which were indicated by households as the top of their desires in relation to their environment of living place. In doing this, the study has tackled the issues which were able to encompass the satisfaction or dissatisfaction felt by households in relation to the housing and neighbourhood units as a whole. Residents in Apadana, although they had not strong local social networks, however, were more satisfied with staying longer in their living area. The more liveable conditions to this place were understood in several directions. However, the Karevan neighbourhood suffered from the lack of satisfactory conditions in its housing and physical conditions. Despite more integrated local residential networks, however, the instability to this area was an elaborated environmental characteristic. For many, it was a transient location.

10.3 The application areas of theories

The main hypothesis which was put forward in chapter 1, stated that the recent socio-spatial expansion of the city of Tehran has led to the emergence of different urban neighbourhoods. In these neighbourhoods, it was supposed that the relationships between residents and the environment of their 'living place' would be shaped through differentiations of their urban conditions in terms of quality of housing, social networks and public services. Based on these differentiations, it was assumed that more positive feelings would be demonstrated by inhabitants in advantaged areas in Tehran. In addition, it has been added that the notion of positive relationship with living place would also be understood through the interests of residents in staying longer in their living places. However, in poor neighbourhoods, because of particular local problems, it was expected that the amount of residential mobility would be high, showing a poor relationship with the environment of the living place in such areas. Through hypothetical statements, it was also been argued that, what affluent inhabitants in the advantaged neighbourhoods can afford, in terms of housing and public services, maybe is also the desire of the poor in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. To provide desirable and stable neighbourhood areas in Tehran, it was suggested that the policy-orientations should focus to bring the same standards of public services for all neighbourhoods and locality-based reconstruction plans are needed in order to bridge the gap which existed between neighbourhood areas in the city of Tehran.

In terms of theoretical explanations, it was suggested in chapter 2 and 3 that two modern urban perspectives would have particular value for the analysis of the process of socio-spatial growth and the structural characteristics of large human settlements. The Urban Ecology perspective has been used in its emphasise on how the process of urban immigration changes the former socio-spatial organisation of modern cities. This process, as the result of a complicated situation of 'push' and 'pull' factors, has shaped the socio-structural conditions of the cities in a quite new form and content. As argued by the Urban Ecologists, the dynamism of urban changes will continue in two major directions: one is to attract mostly poor migrants from the out of the city

and another is to increase the sphere of internal mobility. Both of these processes can be clearly seen in the Tehran context. As a result of processes of internal mobility, the rapid expansion of the city was analysed as the outcome of physical development of new areas. From this urban school point of view, this process of socio-spatial change will socio-economically increase the social inequality in the city. This is been reinforced by the lack of systematic planning for city growth as a whole. The Study of Tehran and its modern dynamic transformations shows that the city has been followed the model of physical development that is the proposal of the Urban Ecology school. In regard to internal spatial divisions, affluent groups have found the opportunity to move into more advantaged places, while poor inhabitants, mainly urban migrants, are forced to settle in more disadvantaged city areas. In general speaking, the distribution of different urban groups has to be considered as a subordination of many specific socio-cultural and also economic forces. As has been argued in the previous section, without any distinct differences, most big urban places, particularly in developing countries, are faced with the problem of poor organisation and supply of basic infrastructures at the level of their social areas in relation to their rapid socio-spatial expansion. In this sense, public services often are more well organised for affluent groups. However, the urban poor are doubly deprived in their access to these services. One is related to their normal poor socio-economic conditions and another is the dynamism of urban growth which helps to maintain this condition for them. The reviews of the undertaken research in the context of Tehran demonstrates that the city became the place of a great gap between advantaged and disadvantaged social areas. Differentiations of urban neighbourhoods in this city have been understood as a typical example in this case. Finally, the Urban Ecology school described city growth and spatial differentiation in a market economy with little urban planning to constrain the patterns of socio-spatial differentiation. Modern Tehran, is in a different context and there has been more effort both in planning and building a cohesive society. Yet similar processes to these described by the Urban Ecologists can be found here.

Based on Urban Ecology analysis, the urbanisation process and the rapid growth of urban places have been presented as the main context in shaping the pattern of social ties and specifically the structure of inter-personal relationships. By many evidence,

this approach emphasises the ideas which were popular among classic urban sociologists in relation to the transformation of traditional strong social ties into the modern fragile ones. Although the philosophy of this change has been argued in relation to the dominant social ideology and contemporary style of social life, as well as the structural changes of relationships between human beings and their environmental resources, the cities have been the outstanding spatial context to increase the amount of this change and to reshape the content of its social networks. The overall results of the undertaken study in the context of Tehran confirm that the contemporary urbanisation of this city has changed the traditional pattern of social ties. In other words, urbanism as a process of urban life has caused that the new style of social life affected the general patterns of social activities, attitudes and behaviours of urban inhabitants. However, Urban Ecology does not suggest all the dimensions of the living areas. Due to relationships between agencies and the structure of their environment, Structuration theory focuses on power, the ability and various possibilities of individuals, in the context of modern places, to choose and organise their relationships with other environmental elements i.e. it focuses on social changes in the society as a whole. This view of urban thought has been helpful in providing some ideas in order to grasp the structural and also functional aspects of changes which are manifest in the social relationships of inhabitants with their social and also physical environment. However, Structuration theory by itself does not give guidance as to the kinds of structure-agency relations which may exist in urban neighbourhoods. Nevertheless, the findings in this research show that how inhabitants in neighbourhood areas were living through many socio-economic constraints and the less opportunities were available to them, particularly in poor areas, the more likely they are to change their local conditions.

In relation to the objective of the current study, there has been needed more attempt to define locality or urban neighbourhood in its specific structural characteristics. By focusing on dynamic and structural conditions of new urban areas, in chapter three a model of neighbourhood typology was suggested to further understanding of neighbourhoods and their study based on existing patterns. Based on major local and environmental variables, the Olson typology of neighbourhood was the central focus.

In this regard, the spatial divisions of the city in terms of many different forms of urban areas, the differentiations in terms of public services and their organisations and the existence of different patterns of social networks have been accounted in detail. Conceptually, the social organisation of neighbourhood has been analysed through the combination of more significant aspects of each neighbourhood's socio-functional elements. By following this model the survey study for this research has been formed based on mentioned local variables. In addition, the analysis has been taken to understand the pattern of social organisation of urban neighbourhoods in Tehran as was proposed in this model. The undertaken survey study in urban neighbourhoods of Tehran has led to valuable findings to demonstrate the differentiations of these areas (in terms of social relationships with living place) by using the major dimensions of neighbourhood's environment as were suggested in Olson's model.

10.4 Overall findings

In the study of the relationships between inhabitants and their environment of living place in the case of Tehran's neighbourhoods, overall, it has been found that residents in both advantaged and disadvantaged neighbourhoods in Tehran used, interpreted, and evaluated the environment of residential areas through the filter of their socio-economic reference system. Their attitudes in this case were based on four socio-economic dimensions: the physical pattern of the dwelling, educational achievements, financial status and jobs. In addition, overall satisfaction with the environment of neighbourhoods was the result of congruence in major components such as: being able to afford suitable housing, the accessibility to public service and informal social support system in terms of local social networks.

The objective of this section is to present the final findings of the research undertaken in this thesis, as the basis for the development policy forwards the neighbourhoods in Tehran. These results will be discussed in relation to the city as the locus of urban neighbourhoods and the expansion in Tehran, an emphasis on major socio-

demographic and housing characteristics of survey areas as a key focus of policy orientation to reorganise particularly disadvantaged areas. The major findings also concentrated on the quality, causes and consequences of different patterns of relationships which residents had with their living place in terms of their local social networks and the quality of public services; that were the basis for the emergence of two social worlds. These issues will show how the city of Tehran is constituted through multiple aspects of relationships with the local environments. Finally, the final findings illustrate an approach to the specification of the urban neighbourhoods of Tehran in terms of the quality of the urban environment as a whole, their desirability or undesirability, their stability or instability.

10.4.1 The city as the basis for the large expansion of the urban neighbourhoods

The research has partly benefited from the dynamic model of the Urban Ecology perspective in its analysis of the city of Tehran and its rapid transformation. This model was used to clarify the process through which the socio-spatial pattern of the city has been widened towards new aggregate social areas. The study shows that the socio-spatial expansion of Tehran has occurred on the framework of its great population, mainly recent migrants, the profound affects of the modern urbanisation in the country and its social outputs and finally, the increase in the level of intra-urban contrasts towards the division of the city into advantaged and disadvantaged areas.

The replacement of Tehran, from a small place to a large city, in terms of population and materials, has been regarded as the most obvious manifestation of rapid urbanisation in Iran. This has taken place since the country has generally encountered the necessity of reconstruction to its former socio-spatial structure. The new urban changes in a city such as Tehran were also the result of the activities which were demanded by many internal sources to produce a new shape to its urban structure.

The increasing needs and ideas in the country have forced this movement to go ahead. The urbanisation process which took place in Iran and in the city of Tehran has followed the urban transformation which has occurred in European cities in the last century. It has continued in Tehran accompanying many other radical shifts in the structure of urban places and become a driving force behind the increase in the environmental differences in its socio-spatial organisation.

The findings reveal that changes in the urban environment reflect, in large measure, changes in the overall nature of a society and economy. The city of Tehran was not apart from this process. The most notable changes to have affected the urban scene came in the turn of this century, and reflected the shift from the traditional society into a new society. This development, incorporating both diverse social organisations and vast new residential tracts, has changed the social configuration of this city as a whole. The pattern of residential land use shows mainly a fairly orderly distribution in a south-north direction with low-income groups residing in the south, the high income groups in the north and middle income groups in between. The most important aspects of Tehran's expansion have been identified as the increase of its urban residential area in terms of new urban neighbourhoods which carefully display the kind of city arrangements which have formed over recent years. The uneven growth of urban quarters became well manifested in the increasing differences among Tehran's residential districts. In the years post-1960, the city expanded considerably in all directions, particularly to the east, north, and northwest, where the upper classes came to reside. The expansion of the city from west to east created new neighbourhoods for the middle class, particularly its traditional strata. The poor and new migrants, along with other strata of the working class, settled in the expanded south and southeast districts. This spatial differentiation has accompanied and reinforced the class differentiation emerging in the society.

The final result from the study of Tehran's rapid growth explains the primary source for the emergence of new urban neighbourhoods in this city. The enduring effects of an aggregate population in the city, which was not sufficiently ready to face the increasing needs, expectations and desires of this population, simply can be seen in the

extreme diversity and fragmentation among its social areas. The essential factors contributing to the appearance of new urban divisions in Tehran might be analysed in the dynamics of its modern social trends. These dynamics have been implemented by the poor implementation of urban policies and , which have forwarded the interests of the urban affluent, in particular. The size, density, and heterogeneity of the city has changed, and its urban environment has been reshaped based on the results of the rise of a new competition among its residents, as is well illustrated by the inhabitants in Apadana and Karevan, to achieve better urban opportunities. The design of its physical areas has been changed and new plans were used to establish the required residential areas for increasing demands through its population. The expansion of the city led to the change in the previous design of residential areas. However, in the commercial centres the old design of the city remained. Due to the limitation in its space in the central districts, the city has expanded into many social areas in its surroundings. The normal process of rapid city growth through the emergence of varied living places has reshaped the behaviour of residents in relation to the environment of the city. From the process of Tehran's expansion it has been concluded that its fast enlargement derived from its strategic location as the centre of political, economic and administrative activities. This attracted residents to the city. Once there, they have moved around in the city to find the best location for them, depending on their resources, following a process which is very similar to that put forward by the Urban Ecology Perspective. Regarding this spatial expansion, the city became the centre of many varied socio-physical areas. Planning for this city has now become difficult, because of very different patterns of needs, ideas and expectations.

10.4.2 The complexity of the socio-economic differences between urban neighbourhoods

The study of the socio-demographic and also economic conditions of the urban neighbourhoods of Tehran demonstrates how the spatial organisation of the city has been divided into segregated areas in terms of economic and demographic constraints.

Poor-quality urban neighbourhoods accommodate many low-income groups whose demographic features are very low with respect to the rate of their literacy, the high amount of their unemployment and poor income earnings. While there are residential areas in Tehran which can be distinguished from the former ones in terms of high quality of housing, education and economic situation.

The city and its residential areas are faced with another different demographic structure. The pattern of family and the characteristics of ethnocentrism ties in the advantaged neighbourhoods are not as strong as they are in disadvantaged neighbourhoods such as Karevan. The second area remained so-called semi-traditional, since their inhabitants are culturally rooted within diverse social groups, in terms of cultural background, language used, customs and public manners.

Nevertheless, economic factors were important dimensions of difference between two areas. If the study in Apadana and Karevan applies more generally in the city, the cumulative pattern of population segregated in terms of occupational features suggests that the social foundation of the city is shaped to a way that produces a great distance between social opportunities available for the educated groups living in advantaged neighbourhoods compared to the disadvantaged areas. This suggests that the socio-spatial organisation is the product of more complex processes than those emphasised in the Urban Ecology work. This suggestion also has many implications for the potential demands and needs for services and facilities such as education, health, social welfare support and the job. The evaluation of the social framework of the two areas illuminates how the socio-spatial pattern of the city is faced with the problem of inequality and many similar social problems in terms of social organisation, economic welfare and public services. The existing social differences have generated segregated social areas which created complicated conditions in terms of the pattern of social groups, their social achievements and status. This is an important factor which has effect on to the emergence of more urban problems and contradictions in the city and its neighbourhoods.

10.4.3 Traditional and integrated but transient, versus modern, but autonomous and stable

The existence of the traditional cultural foundations, in the context of Iranian society, re-enforces the expansion of the relationships between family members and also neighbours. Nevertheless the city of Tehran and its neighbourhoods were the subject of recent rapid social changes and urbanism as a new way of urban life had profound effects in the circumstances and structure of these interactions in all urban places. Urbanism in the city of Tehran began from the earlier years of this century. It has changed the traditional methods of public life and become the basis for establishing a new structure to the social networks as a system of interaction. The city was socially constructed through a complex situation in this regard. If the city in the modern era is defined as a place of modernised social interactions and manners, however, the city of Tehran can also be considered as the place of the manifestation of the various sources of traditional and modern styles of social networks. Based on multiple patterns of relationships, residential networks have provided an important environmental dimension in shaping the social worlds of neighbourhoods. In the reality, even in a single urban place such as Tehran, which is often supposed to be the central model for the rest of the cities in the country, there have appeared multiple forms of interactions. In this regard, the study has revealed that within the city of Tehran, there are variations in the degree of integration among residential social networks, that is place-based network. More integrated neighbourhoods, in terms of social relations, were found in the poorer urban areas and the less integrated areas were found in the more advantaged neighbourhoods. Regarding the type of social relationships, since the urban changes that have occurred in the country of Iran, cities and their social areas have socially undergone great alterations. However, the range of these changes has not occurred in a similar way for all urban settlements. Therefore, residential networks in cities such as Tehran can be characterised as a mixture of the former style of social interactions, adapted to modern patterns of social relationships. This implies that, at least in the short-term, the process of urbanism cannot be expected to be equally beneficial to all urban areas and social groups.

10.4.4 Local social networks

In evaluating low-income neighbourhoods in Tehran, this study has identified a desire to have private family places and personal space, but at the same time to be close enough to neighbours both for friendship and help in time of need. In the case of Karevan the role of the family in the lives of the residents is so important that it justifies the designation of the social worlds of these neighbourhoods as reflecting a family-oriented mode of life. The semi-traditional neighbourhoods of Tehran remain much more under the influence of the previous social network system. Regarding the more satisfied feelings and expectations of residents in semi-traditional neighbourhoods in relation to their family and neighbouring relationships some key points can be made. The first one relates to the existence of different social group relationships in these areas which supports a close relationship between households through traditional values, norms and manners. The second one is the reality of the very poor socio-economic conditions for residents in these places and their social need to maintain relationships with similar cases in order to give support to each other in their time of need. The third reason is related to the place-based background of these people, as they have not the opportunity to adapt to the city and its complicated conditions. Therefore, belonging to the traditional style and values of social ties seems to them as a reasonable way to protect them from any unexpected social risks in the new environment of the living place. Finally, the lack of an adequate institutional support system for these groups who were vastly faced with many problems in their living places forces them to turn to their family and neighbours for help.

Most new suburban environment developments, such as Apadana, take into account the interaction desires of the middle-income perspectives of residents by providing maximum separation and privacy. Households were faced with significant problems in choosing how much time and effort to deploy in maintaining their kinship networks and how much in building up their career-oriented networks. The latter were the subject of short term rewards; the former was the basis for longer term security. In some sense, the family oriented mode of life was counteracted by the process of

individualisation in modern life which can be described as a tendency for the individual increasingly to be integrated into non-familial activities, organisation and institutions as only representing themselves. This contradiction comes through in Apadana and provided a source of duality between the former style of activities and the new one. In addition, it related to the overall life strategies of the households which were developed in tension between a cultural transition from one generation to another as regards the values of family life work and lived space, and reflected consideration of possibilities set in contrast to the lives of the previous generation. Many of the inhabitants expressed an attachment to the neighbourhood based on social ties to their kin, friends or neighbours. However, in contrast to the semi-traditional living place and poorer urban areas, the attitude to the kinship system in the new urban areas does not mean, as is assumed in the community debate (see Chapter 3), that the new neighbourhood is a closed social system where the families form the major part of their social environment. In contrast, the social networks of families are much more spatially dispersed, with links to employment or personal friendships established all over the city.

10.4.5 Local public services

In terms of public services, the consequences of the social organisation of neighbourhoods has been regarded as the result of different patterns of social needs and expectations in both advantaged and disadvantaged areas in Tehran. The use of local services and facilities has been shown to vary widely according to the economic and cultural characteristics of the residents, the types of facilities and their adequacy, the accessibility of non-local facilities and their adequacy, and the degree of isolation of the area, economically, and symbolically. In middle-class neighbourhoods, such as Apadana, residents are generally satisfied with the available public services and the quality of existing facilities. However, households in poor areas, such as Karevan, complain about the lack of easy access to public services in their living place and the

difficulties in obtaining the provided services in the city. The problem of poor public services in these areas can be seen as the result of the operation of poor public policy over the years during which these areas were designed. This area is a consequence in particular of the illegal process of housing construction. This process caused these areas for many years to be ignored by the formal policy authorities. The current public policy attempts to prevent the expansion of these ill-designed areas. But the social forces through the demands of immigrants and poor groups have enforced the expansion of these areas in peripheral locations of the city. At the present time poor urban areas are faced with two major problems in relation to the environment of the living place in terms of public services. The first one relates to the existence of high poverty and the poor socio-economic foundations for inhabitants. The second one relates to the poor organisational conditions in relation to the development of a proper public services delivery which implies the necessity of more resources and financial investment to support the renewal of the organisations of public services in these areas.

This situation meant that that residential behaviour in relation to the residential environment was varied because the organisation of public services is organised in widely different ways. In effect, a different public service system was devised for advantaged and disadvantaged areas. Although all these neighbourhoods were connected to the educational and transport system and facilities which were provided by the government, residents in disadvantaged areas had less access to these services. In other words, the framework of accessibility to these services was not evident in the same way. Insufficient integration in relation to the existing local organisations and the city services institutions has been an important factor, and not enough investment has been allocated to provide public services which could change the quality of the environment of living places in disadvantaged areas. The nature of public poverty for many residents in these areas additional in their desire to have more facilities should be considered as another factor increasing this dichotomy. The key point is that, despite the different contexts of the social networks and social backgrounds between neighbourhoods such as Apadana and Karevan, access to public services (and housing as well), their quality and management system were the top priority for residents in

both advantaged and disadvantaged neighbourhoods in Tehran. This means that providing better public service and the construction of suitable housing should be the focus of attention in residential areas of Tehran as a whole from the point of view of their inhabitants.

10.4.6 Residential mobility

The findings with respect to residential mobility show that the household's dwelling also plays a key role in both advantaged and disadvantaged areas in Tehran. The study has considered housing in terms of its occupation and the particular physical aspects of its construction. With regard to the attitudes of residents, the attention was on housing problems particularly among residents in poor neighbourhoods. The way in which housing requirements were satisfied by the dwelling was another important determinant in the desire to move. In contrast, for residents in advantaged neighbourhoods, the housing condition was more satisfactory. This was a core motivation to households to move into this neighbourhood and had been considered as a significant factor in generating a positive feeling in relation to the living place. Dwellers in advantaged neighbourhoods saw their neighbourhood as a liveable area. Many would stay for longer and few of them think that they would move away from their present neighbourhood in the next five years. In social terms, few households had a negative feeling about the environment of their living place as a whole, its physical features and the provided facilities.

In disadvantaged neighbourhoods, social support through the family and neighbouring relation system has been seen as an important factor which provided an adequate cohesion between residents and their residential place. Nevertheless, residents in this area were looking for an alternative 'living place' of the kind already constructed in Apadana. The priorities to them for alternative places to live were housing with a high quality and available public services such as transport and education. Moreover, from the analysis of the data presented in this research, it can easily be anticipated that

space requirements occupied a prominent position among the organisational specifications of particularly disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Just as important was the design of the dwelling, which received much attention as a source of complaint. Next in importance as a criterion for the household's alternative dwelling was a particular location.

From the survey findings, it was also evident how small a role local social networks played in advantaged neighbourhoods as a determinant to mobility while this notion has been very important to residents in disadvantaged areas. From this point of view it is concluded that social ties and their location were independent of mobility inclination in advantaged areas. But they were related to the mobility of an area in the sense that the more stable the area, the more likely a household is to establish ties in a neighbourhood, but the existence or absence of such ties does not affect the household's desire to remain or move. Most of these households were interested in particular localities because these neighbourhoods symbolised a specially desired 'social advantage', rather than some aspect of accessibility either to friends or their jobs. However, research illuminates that the quality of housing and social services play a key role in relation to the resident's desires and their inclination to stay in their living place both in advantaged and disadvantaged neighbourhoods. It has been shown that neighbourhoods which were provided with standardised housing and higher quality of public services have accommodated their inhabitants more satisfactorily. In contrast, poor neighbourhoods despite more desirable integrated social ties are not typically as strong liveable areas.

10.5. What are the lessons for further research?

'Learning about neighbourhoods is more difficult than learning about cities, states or firms. Unlike neighbourhoods, these latter entities all have formal, institutional, bureaucratic, constitutional, and social dynamics that are well documented and more easily predicted. Neighbourhoods, however, are fundamentally social units.

Since neighbourhood behaviour is mainly non-institutional and a non-additive sum of individual actions and beliefs, its structure and dynamics are more difficult to understand' (Clay, 1979 p. 5).

The investigation of urban neighbourhoods of Tehran as a whole and the analysis of the varied relationships between their residents and life place are not isolated phenomena. These are but parts of the wider urban trends in this city. As the proceeding study has presented, the city has become the setting of an aggregate immigrant population, its early socio-spatial structure has radically changed; and the rapid growth of different forms of urban housing has led to the appearance of neighbourhoods developing in opposite directions. Regarding the final conclusions of the study, it is acknowledged that only through the emphasis on the city, as the primary context for the neighbourhoods, and drawing upon the multiple aspects of their environmental conditions, may it be possible to reformulate the reality of the relationships between residents and the environment of their living place. In other words, both neighbourhoods, as individual socio-spatial settings, and the general behaviour of their inhabitants, are closely interrelated issues. An increase in the quality of environment of these places, in terms of housing, local organisations, and social networks has an extensive impact over inhabitants and their positive or negative perceptions to be more strongly integrated to their living place and its environment of public life. This would also increase the degree of interest of people to maintain and support the environmental advantages of their living place and to develop the integrity with their living place. On the contrary, poor environmental conditions would be the basis which leads to the living place being perceived as undesirable and an unsatisfactory location. In such circumstances, no strong integration to the living place can be expected, which is admitted as an important factor for the sustained development of the living place. Therefore, the suggestion is that, the policy towards the quality of life in urban neighbourhoods and the degree of satisfaction of their residents should draw attention to the quality of the local environment, the quality of housing, and the different structures of local social networks, as has been investigated in this research.

The findings reported here do more than expose some ideas about the patterns and determinants of neighbourhood dimensions; they suggest some alternative perspectives as well. The inspiration of this alternative view of residential behaviour comes primarily from the growing interest in the quality of residential environments. The overall findings of this investigation demonstrate the dominant role played by perceived local conditions in resident's overall rating of their neighbourhoods. Of the three sets of conditions covered: quality of social networks, quality of public services and residential mobility prove to be the strongest predictors of residential behaviour of inhabitants in regard to the urban environments of their neighbourhoods in Tehran. It may be suggested that similar relationships would be foreseen in similar cases in many cities in developing countries such as Iran.

Regarding the environment of neighbourhoods in Tehran and the attitudes of their residents, the great lesson is the importance of paying attention to the environmental problems of living places, particularly in poorer urban areas. Public services and their delivery system are the centre of these problems that should be considered as a main concern in any conceptual and practical focus. Another lesson is the key attention that should be given to the many urban constraints which exist in developing cities such as Tehran and their expanding new areas. In particular, the poor socio-economic foundations of some of these areas are the major obstacle to generate positive relationships between residents and their living place. The last point suggests the orientations of policy which would be proposed for the urban neighbourhoods of Tehran. The research emphasises that, in order to build a good residential environment in a city such as Tehran, there are several essential factors which contribute to success. The first is to understand the contemporary urban changes through the wider context of the processes which lead to establishing new areas. The second is to look at those processes, from the urban policy point of view, which lead to urban segregation for these areas in terms of economic involvement or education. The third is to learn from the existing neighbourhoods which are planned formally and their urban environmental advantages and disadvantages in order to establish a framework for new residential areas through

to cultivate positive and favourable relationships between residents and the environment of their living place. Finally, an essential reform seems to be necessary to the local institutions of neighbourhood areas in the city of Tehran, which have the main responsibility to deliver the development policy of neighbourhoods toward a sustainable environment in term of its inhabitants' satisfaction. This is of great significance, particularly in poor areas. Especially, attention should be drawn to lessons which are gained through the study in the case of school and transport service delivery systems, as typically representative of public services preferences in the study areas. A short-term solution is to provide sufficient services which are needed in these local areas and to upgrade the existing services. However, in the long-term, the reconstruction of poor urban areas should be based on the objectives of achieving a decline in the rate of poverty, illiteracy and unemployment and the reconstruction of housing and other local infrastructures; these would also generate a more desirable balance between city areas.

10.6 The policy implications

This thesis has argued that planning for neighbourhoods should look at the environmental dimensions of these areas and organise those issues which are the subject of urban differentiations in the city of Tehran. However, of more significance here is the part of government in understanding and identifying the difficulties of neighbourhood places in the city and to employ policy which is both sensitive to the reality of particular neighbourhoods, and strategic in its methods and goals (Healey 1997). But the government characteristics are related to the particular policy-driven or planning approach. The approach to government developed here expresses both a top-down and bottom-up point of view, in order to emphasise not merely the dynamic aspects of the socio-spatial evolution of the city, but the way that the relation between its inhabitants and their social place has been developed through the structural point of view. However, the system of governance of a society or community refers to the process through which collective affairs are managed. In this regard, the collaborative

approach, as an influential approach in the planning field, emphasises the need to understand and analyse the neighbourhood based on the spatial structure and institutional organisations of this area. It is concerned with the everyday characteristics of people and the relationship between individuals and the environment of their 'living place' (Healey 1997). The policy of governance in Tehran or in similar cases can only succeed if it is shaped by the reality of the social organisation of neighbourhoods in the city and has regard to the basis of the advantages and disadvantages which exist in these areas in relation to residents and their living place.

This study was one step towards developing such a view of urban neighbourhoods and their social organisational contexts and basically has helped to explore the structure of the relation between residents and their 'living place'. One of its lessons is that sufficient attention is needed for the social organisational contexts of neighbourhoods in order to reconstruct the local environment of these areas. One way to produce this objective is , in contrast to the current approach as a 'good' or 'bad' judgement to establish urban neighbourhoods, to use the results of this study which are gained through attitudes, comments and behaviours of local inhabitants. These are produced instead of an emphasis on the perspective of formal decision makers, social and political institutions and professional bodies. Since it has been emphasised that the inhabitants of neighbourhoods are the key subject of any public policy taken, therefore, it is quite necessary to regard the perceptions of people who are expected to benefit from the implementations of policy actions. In other words, it is evident that the people, their attitudes, their general behaviour and aspirations should be the central purpose of any policy orientation. In addition, it is a crucial task to develop some related ideas about what residents feel and perceive and how they evaluate the environment of their living area and to apply the presented results to construct a sustainable urban policy to the improvement of the social and urban environment. This has indeed been the central task of this research.

This research should be helpful for the activities which are focused on local plans to establish or re-establish a strong relationship between inhabitants and their living

place in the city of Tehran or similar places. The study in this respect suggests a research framework, particularly concentrated on the needs, aspirations and behaviour of the urban poor. This study was initiated also to develop a neighbourhood-based perspective for the city of Tehran and its social areas which have expanded so much in recent years as a whole and to provide a systematic analysis in relation to their differentiations in terms of housing, social networks and public services. At the heart of this study was the idea that the needs, perceptions and attitudes of inhabitants and their different trajectories have to be taken in to account as the central focus in urban planning considerations which are focused on residential areas. It was informed by the idea that attention to urban inhabitants and their attitudes provides valuable material to utilise for any policy undertaken for neighbourhood improvement.

The policy-relevant implications of the present study should be used to help develop an applicable strategy for improving the quality of the environment of neighbourhoods in order intensify the integration between inhabitants and their living place. It basically depends on the government's overall policy and the sense of strategy chosen to develop the local environmental conditions for neighbourhoods in a city such as Tehran. The government has most responsibility in a very close relationship with local institutions and people to provide the necessary basis helping a neighbourhood to become a liveable environmental place. Moreover, the implementation of this policy depends on dimensions of governance, and different modes which governance may take (Healey 1997). Alongside the general results of ongoing research, it is evident that the resident's dissatisfaction concerning the quality of the residential environment was not manifested in the same ways. However, most attention was drawn upon the quality of public services such as education and transport facilities, in less-advantaged areas. Therefore, the policy for neighbourhood renewal would provide the greatest dividends in disadvantaged neighbourhoods by focusing effort on problems with housing shortages, the poor physical environment of residential areas and the weakness of existing public services to respond to the urgent needs of residents. It also should be concerned to initiate and develop the local informal social support system in

parallel to encourage and maintain local social networks. In a more speculative way, the pattern of neighbourhood dissatisfaction should be addressed in planned areas by focusing on the efforts of residents with respect to the social integration with the 'living place'. In this regard, the implication is that a concern is necessary for local provision in order to improve the quality of the physical environment in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, instead of helping people to think about alternative places, and to facilitate these areas with improvements in the basic public services. This is one way which might prevent these neighbourhoods from being unstable places. However, in relation to the neighbourhoods which are well-designed, the strategy should be to concentrate on improving the domain of socio-cultural activities in order to convince residents to accept the priority of the social network as the significant satisfactory determinant in their 'living place'. In relation to the selected research areas, the study only addressed the equality of the distribution of urban provision in terms of housing and public services. These have been concentrated upon as significant and typical of the environmental characteristics in the study areas. The redevelopment and renewal of areas, however, this demands joint response of both residents and policy makers to reconsider the quality of these services. In this respect, the study attempted to clarify neighbourhood problems which are important for a more productive dialogue between residents and planners of neighbourhood areas. The crucial point here is to establish strategically a desirable and liveable neighbourhood and to provide a strong and integrated relationship between residents and the environment of their living place.

10.6. 1 The policy orientations for residential areas

1-The context

Following the insights of the Structuration approach, it is important to look at individual needs and desires in the social context in which people have. This way of

exploration and presentation of the reality of the neighbourhood environment rejects the notion that the social world is constituted of autonomous individuals. It is based instead on the conception of individual identities, as socially constructed (Healey 1997). In this respect, individuals in their social worlds, should be the central focus. However, the Urban Ecology analysis, is a suitable basis to understand the process of socio-spatial divisions for the city such as Tehran. The urban context of this city in its poor areas suffers a great lack of amenities, infrastructure maintenance, and worst of all the poor maintenance of the surrounding environment. The process of neighbourhood development, the quality of its environment and the nature of differentiations at the level of neighbourhoods should be regarded as a part of the wider process of the city growth. These are socially urban phenomena rather than as isolated outcomes of the urban policy undertaken in a particular city.

The primary socio-spatial conditions which have led to the internal expansion of the city and the way in which this process accelerated the generation of neighbourhood units must be concentrated upon. Yet, this process of neighbourhood establishment will be faced with problems if the quality and the amount of internal urban facilities of the city and its residential areas do not sufficiently improve. The process of urban neighbourhood development has to be regarded as an integrated part of the urbanisation process in general. Whether the urbanisation process produces a positive or negative phenomenon to the socio-spatial structure of the city in developing countries, however, the large rural-urban migration should be considered as the significant factor in this respect. To manage an organised city, it is required to look at the quality of its neighbourhoods at the all levels and to set up a plan based on following dimensions:

2- Socio-spatial dimensions of neighbourhoods

The problem in residential areas in Tehran, in relation its inhabitants and their living place, is not limited to the physical expansion of this city. The socio-spatial dimensions of this development should also be considered carefully. As this

investigation has revealed, in relation to social interaction in the neighbourhoods of Tehran, three perceptions were strongly identified by the majority of the sample. However these perceptions are missing in most urban renewal policies in Iran; the promotion of neighbouring relationships, the promotion of the family system of relationships, and the enforcement of the social support systems in both advantaged and disadvantaged residential areas. More attention should be given to strengthening the system of social networks at the level of local living places. The indigenous social values of the society are the affective sources which encourage people to promote social networks more efficiently in their neighbourhood. In the context of Iranian society, many valuable moral and social principles should be suggested to encourage people toward a proper and effective interaction in 'living places' in order to adequately provide an informal social support system, as the neighbourhoods become socially integrated and more lively and desirable areas for their inhabitants. .

3-The locality-based view of urban neighbourhoods

The revitalisation of poor neighbourhoods can be aggregated into several types of activities and it leads to anticipated results if sufficient attention is given to these areas in terms of locality rather than a locale which traditionally was the focus of theoretical and empirical works in the past. Locality, according to Structuration Theory, is a socially-based place rather than anything else. In addition, the two major activities that compose this revitalisation are housing and institutional local services. The improvement, renewal and rehabilitation of settlements should therefore be designed on the basis of the urgent needs of residents, particularly in disadvantaged areas. The policy of renewal can also be devised to develop the new concept of urban neighbourhood which is based on contemporary urban perspectives which emphasise the dynamic and structural aspects of the neighbourhood and its socio-physical foundations. In the light of these perspectives and explanations, the renewal policy should concern the broader compositions of factors which have taken part in the emergence of the city and its new areas.

4-The priority of housing policy

Although people were satisfied, the pattern of housing of the advantaged neighbourhoods faced some problems. The multi-story apartments and the lack of adequate privacy should be considered as significant factors in this respect. However, a continuing attempt is necessary to deal with residents' outlooks about the housing, its design and privacy characteristics. However, an alternative policy is to increase the size of housing, its density and improve the quality of housing facilities. More attention should be given to the style of housing and its construction based on a flexible, but formal, and effective housing policy. The housing policy should be in relation to the interests and motivations of all urban groups, their socio-cultural backgrounds and overall desires in the 'living place'. Only a housing policy which is originated from the people and their ideas would provide neighbourhoods which are more favourable to different urban groups. Finally, there is a necessity to establish local organisations and to increase the co-operation action and assistance among residents to reduce locality-based difficulties such as neighbouring and housing privacy. In this case, the research suggests reducing these problems through an active system of socio-cultural advice.

5-Making public satisfaction

Residential satisfaction has been realised as an important element in shaping the stability and instability of residential areas. Dissatisfaction with the quality of the urban environment of residential areas has largely been evident in disadvantaged areas such as Karevan. The evidence presented here shows that these areas are obviously faced with the problem of instability in terms of their residential mobility. Instability, in the context of a city such as Tehran, would affect the overall urban system in terms of residence, population and facilities needed. Therefore, concerning themselves with this condition, will help the policy makers to specially make an attempt to reconstruct the urban environment of such places and to upgrade their public facilities delivery system. The focus of this policy should also concentrate on the change in the system of providing materials and also to providing adequate social support elements in more

advantaged neighbourhoods. Nevertheless, it is clear that any local plan should be concentrated largely on the specific time-space circumstances and look at the locality preferences as have been clarified in this research.

6-Providing the social cohesion

To maintain a sustainable environment for the city, more stability is required in people's residence in neighbourhoods and these should become more desirable in terms of residential cohesion. These characteristics also provide a strong relationship between residents and their 'living place'. More attention should be given to the causes which have led to the unstable conditions in the disadvantaged neighbourhoods and the development within these of the same conditions which produce the stability and attraction of the advantaged neighbourhoods. Rapidly increasing numbers of households in a given neighbourhood or increase in household size may initiate or accelerate neighbourhood deterioration. We know that higher population densities place greater demands on housing and infrastructure. Therefore, the urban policy for these areas should be concerned to organise the movement of living place, the reasons which are behind the increase in the amount of population in a particular place. It is necessary also to look at the 'push factors' which encourage the households to replace their living place and to manage the 'pull' factors, as are expected to be developed sufficiently within the city and its residential areas.

7- Making balanced residential areas

There should be created better balanced residential areas, which blend different social groups, occupation, housing and amenities. Thus the provision of adequate housing, employment, transport, education service for the poor urbanites are the primary tasks to establish balanced residential areas in a city such as Tehran. Housing demand is determined by objective conditions, such as a household's income and the share of income available for housing, urban growth and the rate, age and status of rural migrants, in providing availability of rented accommodation,

and its location. It is also influenced by the household's payment propensity, the place of housing on its list of priorities, rural housing traditions or customs, and the attitude of the rural migrant towards his urban sojourn. Attempts to quantify housing needs usually lead to wrong or exaggerated conclusions, as attitudes toward space requirements, overcrowding, etc., depend on cultural features and dwelling traditions, subjective judgement, and similar factors. Adequate shelter is a basic human right which places obligations on governments to ensure its attainment by all people. Responsible organisations should endeavour to remove all impediments hindering the attainment of adequate shelter. The provision of adequate employment is of a paramount importance in the maintenance of individual homes. Employment also assures the individual of the income needed to procure a safe and healthy 'living place'. In modern societies, the government is responsible for the provision of employment to its citizens. The provision of education and transport are also considered as the first priority for people. All these should be the focus of the responsible organisations to generate better balanced communities at the level of the city and its neighbourhoods.

10.6.2 The final recommendations

1: The expanding of the same public services standards in all neighbourhoods

So far as in discussion of the urbanisation in Tehran (in chapter 5) and its outcomes in the emergence of different residential areas, in terms of the uneven development of physical conditions, it has been described that the social structure of the city has been shaped through contrasting patterns of physical expansion. The uneven development of the city created different possibilities with respect to the use of public facilities. However, if the public policy aims to bring all development and prosperity for all social groups under the same standards, thus, there is a need to

construct and apply strong policies and plans which will achieve sustainable conditions. Public policy can focus on the following points to achieve these aims.

The first is to look at the socio-economic status of inhabitants in poor areas to explore the structure of poverty, unemployment and illiteracy. Following this, there is also necessary to generate effective short-term and long-term plans in order to demolish the picture of relative poverty and illiteracy from these areas and to improve the public education. More attempts are needed to change the structure of the socio-economic situation of people in such areas. Because it is clear that the poor economic setting and the lack of adequate motivation and interest are important factors which not only allow to maintain the poor quality of life and probably to occur uncontrolled social violence but also these will lead to the many kinds of other social problems for the city and its management such as crime, disorder, social isolation and dysfunctions of provided city organisations as well.

To change the general conditions of disadvantaged areas, the second path is to reconstruct the body of public policy based on the localities urgent needs, aspirations and potentials. In this way public policy should provide and then develop the formal public services agencies and organisations. Poor areas in the city such as Tehran in particular suffer from the lack of sufficient school and transport services. Therefore, for these areas, the top priority of public policy in terms of public services is to reshape the existence of public services on the ground of service shortcomings and the real demands of people. The reform of the structure of services organisations, the increase of the amount of these services and related organisations can be followed through co-operation of the public and private sectors. It is clear that the encouragement of government to develop the quality of public services in poor areas and to provide sufficient regulations and plans will lead to attract the private sector for more investment and activities in poor areas under the framework of public policy. The ultimate results of this process will improve the poor structure of public services and help residential areas to acquire the same standards in public facilities.

The third is to generate long-term plans in order to develop the quality of the physical settings of poor neighbourhoods. In this regard, housing, main roads, public conjunctions and green space should be the focus of attention. There is a need to allocate more capital by the public sector in order to generate new buildings or reconstruct the existing buildings. As has been discussed in the previous section, housing and the physical quality of the environment of neighbourhoods are significant factors either to attract people for to stay longer in their living place or to move into another areas. Therefore, the policy orientation to the neighbourhood cannot neglect these issues or give a lower second priority to those development. Through housing policy and planning for Tehran, the supply of suitable housing, the materials needed and the financial support can be the basis of policy in this regard. However, housing is not only a problem in poor areas. There is a urgent need to look at overall physical conditions such as connecting roads, green space and playgrounds. The development of the neighbourhood in terms of public facilities is a great step towards the generation of more balanced social areas at the level of the city. Furthermore, the outcome of this policy will also be the renewal of urban neighbourhoods as more desirable and stable such as have been seen in advantaged areas.

2-The enforcement of local social networks

The strong local social networks in Karevan have been an important factor to encourage people to be socially integrated to their living place. It has been understood that the nature of these local networks is related to the social solidarity which exists between different social groups in semi-traditional neighbourhoods of Tehran. In addition, because of the existence of poverty and the lack of sufficient social support facilities there does not seem to be another alternative for local residents. However, if the public policy is concerned to develop a pattern of more effective and sustainable social relationships at the level of locality, particularly in more advantaged areas, it has to be followed through below directions. These directions need to be connected to overall local conditions and also to the current social policy in the country as a whole.

At the locality level, it is necessary to call residents towards shared ideas and aspirations in order to strengthen the spirit of local co-operation and friendship. This is a great task that could come about through local organisations agencies, local institutions and also will be institutionalised by the continuous support of the dominant formal policy. Providing suitable social conditions through which people could play more of a role in the social environment of their living place is another important factor.

The socio-economic structure of local population in more advantaged areas is different from poor areas. Therefore, public policy should attempt to foster the development of network system which responds to motivations, ideas and expectations of these people. To preserve same neighbouring rights, the advising people and their duties in relation to neighbours in the locality and attempting to institutionalise the informal social relationships through development of public settings are effective elements to construct more sustainable social networks. However, the great factor in the case of new advantaged areas is the quantity and quality of residence. More time and social activities are needed until the local residents became more integrated together within their living place. The reason that people in modern urban areas do not feel very socially cohesive to their living place is because they are not as much involved with each other as in traditional or semi-traditional areas. However, after staying for many years and to find similar interests, motivations and paths it is very natural that the locality will be a strong social basis to integrate people together and to their living place. This issue indirectly calls the public policy to impose some devised programs in order to reduce the rate of internal residential mobility as a whole and to foster the overall contexts at the level of the city to encourage residents to stay longer in their neighbourhood. Otherwise the high residential mobility will result in the new residential area looking for their resident as strange and non desirable living place.

To develop an advanced social network at the level of advantaged areas is also related to the wider social context of the society as a whole. There are

currently many public debates which are going on in Iran in terms of the promotion of the quality of social networks at all levels of localities in the city. The main emphasis in these concerns is to combine the traditional and also modern styles of social life. Critics in Iran believe modernisation and its positive approach to the future life of people is not socially a final remedy to solve of social problems in terms of the network system. To them, the alternative policy is to select those valuable elements of the traditional pattern of network systems which are easily applicable in the context of people in the present days. In this regard, the attention is towards social norms, traditional treatments and cultural references as the main basis of public policy agendas and activities.

10.6.3 Some particular suggestions

The overall suggestions for the achievements of the same public services standards and a strong social network in all neighbourhoods can be summarised as follows.

-For disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods (like Karevan)

- * More national investment in order to improve the quality of public life
- * Improvement of socio-economic situation
- * Improvement of public services such as education and transport
- * Reconstructing of the body of public policy based on the locality conditions
- * Reorganising of existing local organisation's public services
- * Improvement of local organisations and institutions
- * Improvement of housing and residential environment

-For advantaged neighbourhoods (like Apadana)

- * Improvement of the social policy towards locality and social integration basis
- * Imposing of social policy to reduce the amount of residential mobility in general and to provide a table neighbourhood place in particular

- * Improvement of motivation and a spirit of collective co-operation through local inhabitants
- * Reforming of the local social network system based on educational needs and desires of the inhabitants
- * Development of the local social networks through the informal and formal support system
- * Providing new effective organisations in order to enforce the potentials of local network system
- * Encouragement of the inhabitants to maintain the traditional patterns of social network

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Appendix

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The Questionnaire Design

Relationships of residents with the environment of their living place in urban neighbourhoods of Tehran

Dear the head of family!

This questionnaire is a part of an academic work. It intends to examine the quality of relationships between neighbourhood's residents and the environment of their living place. The major objective of this attempt is a survey in urban neighbourhoods of Tehran to that have been assumed are quite different. With respect to the major dimensions of environment of living place, it seeks to deal with specifically the views, ideas and suggestions of residents who are important factors in this study.

One of the effective manners in helping the reconstruction of neighbourhood and organising its environment is an attempt to tackle the significant aspects of the quality of neighbourhood in terms of environmental dimensions towards planning purposes. With respect to this aim, the important step is to get required information through residents of neighbourhood areas who are the focus of our study. We hope so your kindly collaboration helps us to deliver a successful survey study and gives us a possibility to acknowledge your relationships with environment of your living place as it is existed in the reality.

I would, therefore, appreciate if you could take some time to answer the following questions. Thank you for your sincere co-operation.

A few key points

1-Since this is an academic research it does not need your name. Your answers are totally confidential.

2-Since this questionnaire is constructed in relation to the households, it would be greatly appreciated if either the man or women who is the head of family answer to the questions.

3- This questionnaire is presented into five sections of closed- questions and open. Would you please tick (×) the appropriate box(s) and answer to open questions as you like.

1-What is your sex?1

1	Male	
2	Female	

2-How old are you?

Less than 20	
20-29	
30-39	
40-49	
49-59	
59-69	
Over 70	

3-Would you please tick the level of your educational achievement.

1	Can not read and write	
2	Can read and write only	
3	Elementary period certification	
4	Secondary level	
5	Diploma	
6	Junior college	
7	Graduate level	
8	Post-graduate	
9	Doctoral	

4-Are you currently working ?

1	Employed	
2	Unemployed	
3	Retired	
4	Others	

5-Would you please tell us what is your job?

1	Wag/salary (private)sector	
2	Wag/salary (public sector)	
3	Self-employment	
4	Casual jobs	

6-How much is your monthly expenditure?

1	Less than 100.000 Rials	
2	100.000 -180.000	
3	180.000-300.000	
4	300.000-400.000	
5	More than 400.000	

7-How many persons live with you?

8-Are your kinship members (such as your parents, grandparents, and so on) living with you?

1	Yes	
2	No	

9-Do you have any kinship member in your living place?

1	Yes	
2	No	

10-Do you have kinship relationship with your spouse?

1	Yes	
2	No	

Do you agree with this pattern of marriage? Why?

11-How long have you lived in this neighbourhood?

1	Less than 5 years	
2	More than 5 years	

12-Did you ever lived within Tehran?

1	Yes	
2	No	

13-If you came from another living area, would you tell where was it.

1	Tehran			
2	If your living place was another settlement, would you please state in which area did you lived previously.	town	rural	city

14-If you did not came from Tehran, what have exactly motivated you to move into this neighbourhood?

1	Space	
2	Job-change	
3	Economic factors	
4	Consideration for children	
5	Design of housing	
6	Dissatisfaction with previous house	

15-Do you have a plan to stay at or move from this neighbourhood for following fifth years?

1	Yes	
2	No	
3	I do not know	

16-Would you please tell us what were your intentions to choose your neighbourhood?

1	To seek better housing	
2	To seek better public services	
3	To change the style of housing.	
4	For better social environment	
5	Just accidentally	

17-If you had the option to move to another area, where would you prefer?

1	Similar neighbourhood in Tehran	
2	To the residential area within Tehran	
3	Previous place	
4	Another town or city	

18-Basis on your view, let us to know what dimensions of the environment of living place, (physical social, cultural, economic and so on) are most significant to wider of neighbourhood?

19-Would you please state which sorts of environmental issues are most important to you to select your desirable living place?

1	Housing condition	
2	Local educational provisions	
3	Local transport	
4	Local social networks	
5	Local medical services	
6	Natural situation of environment (fresh air, water, climate)	
7	Workplace	
8	Another things	

20-To have a proper environment in living place is required to be more participated in its all collective affairs such as to keep clean its streets, to pay tax for its more upgrading and s on. Do you agree with these statements or not? Why?

21-Are you owe your house the covert renege?

1	Owner	
2	Renter	
3	Other	

22-Which type of accommodation do you live in?

1	House (Yard)	
2	Apartment	
3	Upstairs Apartment	
4	Downstairs Apartment	
5	Single Apartment	
6	Block Apartment	
7	Other	

23-Would you please tell us if you have any sort of housing problems?

1	Inappropriate neighbourhood	
2	Bad neighbours	
3	Small space	
4	Poor housing services	
5	No answer	

24-Do you have a child or children currently attending school?

1	Yes		How many	
2	No			

25-If your children are student, are you happy to the location of school?

1	Quite happy	
2	Mixed feeling	
3	Not happy	
4	I don't know	

26- Would you please tell what are the best things available in your local schools?

1	Small classes, pace geared to child	
2	Teacher very kind and helpful	
3	Modern facilities	
4	New building	
5	Don't know	

26- Did you considered to move your children to school over recent five years?

61	Not considering moving child/children	
2	Actually moved child/ children	

27- Would you please tell us what are the worth things available in your local schools?

1	Nature of problems	
2	Nothing at all bad about it	
3	Bad language, poor discipline	
4	Poor educational training	
5	Don't know	

28- How often do you visit your kinship members?

1	Regally	
2	Very often	
3	Sometimes	
4	Rarely	
5	Never	

29- What do you think about your relations to your kinship?

1	The kinship relationship is the top of the relationship preference	
2	The kinship relationship is of very important, while other types of relationships have to be considered	
3	The type of relationship depends on many other life circumstance	

30--Would you please state whether do you through prefer to contact with your kinship members and friends and so on.

1	Home-visiting	
2	Phone-contacting	
3	Particular occasions	
4	Other ways	

31-Do you know yours neighbour?

1	Know many of them very well	
2	Recognise only some of them	
3	Don't know anybody	

32-Do you have a private car?

1	Yes	
2	No	

33-For what works do you use the public transport services?

1	Travel to work	
2	To visit family members	
3	Social and leisure activities	
4	Travel to school	
5	Any other reasons	

34-Do you have any difficulties related to use transport services in your neighbourhood? Please tell us what kind of problem you were faced.

1	Insufficient transport services	
2	Satisfied with services	
3	As public problem in the neighbourhood	
4	Few public facilities to travel	
5	Hard access to transport needed times	

35-Do you have a travelling to your previous living place? If yes, would you please tell us what are your interests?

1	To visit family and relatives	
2	For temporary employment reason	
3	For leisure and picnics	
4	It is impossible to forget the life background	
5	Any other reasons	

36-How can we participate to change the environment of neighbourhood towards building a desirable place.?

37-Have you any major problem (in terms of transportation, the lack of shop, the high distance from your home to shop and so on) in shopping?

1	Very much	
2	Considerable	
3	Moderate	
4	Few	
5	None	

38-Where usually do you go for shopping of main needs of life?

1	Big stores in Tehran	
2	Local shops	
3	Others	

39-What is Tehran 's significance for you?

40- How do you spend your free time? Please tick in order your preference(1-11).

1	Family visit	
2	Travelling	
3	Using public provisions such as a park and so on	
4	Going to the mosque	
5	The study of the book, paper and so on	
6	Shopping	
7	To watch T.V and listen to the radio	
8	Cinema\theatre\art	
9	Sport	
10	Household\Domestic activities	
11	Anything else	

Appendix B: The questions of interviews

1-How long you have been in this neighbourhood and how did you come here?

2--What do you think about the social relationship in your neighbourhood? Is it as you wish or there are some disadvantages?

3--Do you live with your kinship in this area? If the answer is positive what caused you to live with them in same living place?

4--Do you agree with kinship marriage? Why? What are the advantages and disadvantages of kinship marriage?

5--Why is the neighbouring relationship important? Would you please explain your ideas in this case?

6-Are you satisfied from their delivery of services and what are their sufficiency and insufficiencies?

7--How far would you change your child or children's school and how?

8--Is there any transport services problem? What are your ideas in this context?

9-Why would you like to stay or move from your neighbourhood? What are the reasons behind your decision?

10-Which areas are more desirable to you? Could you explain why?