

**Female Rural-Urban Migration of Azari Women In
Iran: The Case Study Of Tabriz**

**Dissertation Submitted In Partial Fulfilment Of
The Requirement For The PhD Degree**

Masoumeh Velayati

University Of York

Department Of Politics

October 2003

Abstract

In this thesis, I try to bridge a gap in literature in terms of the Iranian migrant women's invisibility. The study, which is based on fieldwork, investigates the impact of rural-urban migration on the socio-economic conditions of migrant women in Tabriz and maps them in different sectors of the formal and informal economy. Women's responses to two main sets of questions shape the structure of this thesis. I use the empirical information to test feminist hypothesis that female migration and their contribution to household economy are key variables in liberating and empowering women's status within the family and society. My findings reveal that for many older poor women, due to class and gender inequalities as well as traditional gender ideologies, migration has not improved their economic and social situation. Most of them work in the invisible sector of the economy, and some who manage to work outside the home, do so out of necessity.

Migration has mostly benefited younger generation of migrant women. Contrary to expectations, the gender policies of the Islamic state in terms of veil and segregation has created a sense of security for both parents and girls. Since contact with the outside world has been regulated by the accepted traditional gender ideologies and therefore less threatening to family honour, there has been a change in the patterns of female migration. This is particularly the case among younger women who pursue higher levels of schooling or employment in the city. It seems that socio-political transformation has brought some opportunities for younger women, who are resourceful in responding to these changes within a social and cultural context. They adjust themselves to the available opportunities and negotiate and challenge the cultural constraints to promote their interests in the family and society. However, there is a long way to go for many young migrant women.

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Table of Contents	ii
List of Tables	vi
List of Figures	xii
Acknowledgement	xiii
Introduction	1
Introduction	1
Migrant women absent from migration literature as well as from the literature on Iranian women.....	1
Outline of the thesis.....	5
Chapter 1: Review of the Literature: Theoretical Debates on Rural-Urban Migration	8
Introduction	8
Migration as a subject of interest in various disciplines	8
The Structural approach	9
The individualistic approach to migration.....	15
The impact of internal migration on urbanisation.....	21
The impact of internal migration on urban unemployment and the growth of informal economies	24
Conclusion.....	26
Chapter 2: Review of the Literature: Different Patterns of Female Migration and its Causes and Consequences for Female Migrants	28
Introduction	28
Female migration.....	28
Women's association with migration and the feminisation of the labour market ...	31
Cultivation systems and social norms	36
Shifting cultivation systems and a high degree of freedom in female mobility	36
The plough cultivation system and ideological barriers to women's mobility	37
Costs and benefits of migration and economic involvement for women	39
Non-economic factors affecting female migration.....	41
Conclusion.....	43
Chapter 3: An Overview of Migration In Iran and the Impact of Socio-Economic Changes on Women's Work in Rural and Urban Areas	45
Introduction	45

Historical outline of agrarian conditions, the 1963 land reform and urbanization process in Iran	45
The land reform project and its impact on migration.....	47
Economic opportunities in the urban areas and its impact on migration	49
Post-revolutionary migration.....	50
General information about the location of the study, East Azarbaijan province, Tabriz district (shahrestan-e-Tabriz) and the city of Tabriz.....	51
Activity information	55
Migration to Tabriz and estimated net female rural-urban migration	61
Densely populated slum areas in Tabriz.....	62
Gender and socio-economic changes in Iran.....	64
Rural women and work	65
Urban women and work	67
Conclusion.....	71
Chapter 4: Methodology	72
Introduction	72
The feminist critique of epistemological issues	72
Rethinking feminist methodology	76
The method.....	81
The data	82
The Interview Process	86
Conducting the interview	89
Access to the informants	90
The presence of men and its effect on the interviews	91
The advantage of my gender and indigenous status in this study ...	94
Conclusion.....	96
Chapter 5: Preliminary Analysis of Women’s Migration Among Slum Dwelling Women...	98
Introduction	98
Factual information about the informants	99
Age	99
Marital status	100
The demographic pattern and the duration of migration.....	101
Marital status at the time of migration	103
Children	104
Education.....	104
Some information on the educational levels of husbands and other family members	105
Household information	107
Ownership	107
Kind of buildings.....	110
Facilities	110
Migration questions.....	114
Reasons for migration of single women (with parents), at the time of migration	118
Reasons for migration of single women who migrated for marriage	121

Reasons for migration of single women.....	122
Reasons for migration of married women, at the time of migration.....	123
Reasons for migration of widowed and divorced women, at the time of migration	126
With whom did they migrate?.....	128
Tabriz as the first destination for the majority of the respondents	128
Economic activities of respondents.....	129
Income and expenditure of the family	132
Problems of migrant women in the city	133
Conclusion	134
Chapter 6: Examining practical obstacles towards educational success among female migrants	135
Introduction	135
Female literacy in Iran from the early twentieth century until late 1970s	136
Female literacy since the Islamic revolution of 1979, particularly rural female literacy	138
The level of education among migrant women	142
The degree of access to educational opportunities for different categories of migrant women	146
Information based on questionnaires.....	146
Information based on interviews	150
Constraints on educational progress of young, especially female migrants	151
Poverty.....	152
Honour and how it affects female education	162
The impact of marriage on female education.....	166
Positive correlation between early marriage and high fertility rate	170
Information based on interviews	180
Conclusion	191
Chapter 7: Migrant women in different sectors of economy: Women's involvement in domestic carpet industry.....	192
Introduction	192
1- The range of weaving and related activities.....	193
2- Migrant women in unpaid sector of household industry of carpet	196
2-1 Spinners.....	198
2-2 Carpet weaving through the putting-out system or family business	201
2-3 Retirement from weaving.....	207
2-4 How and where do carpet weavers, particularly women, learn their skill?	208
2- 5 What women's contribution means to the family?	211
2-6 Attitude changing towards carpet weaving among young women	215
Conclusion	217
Chapter 8: Migrant women in different sectors of economy: Women in wage-earning occupations.....	219
Introduction	219

1- Women's involvement in home-based activities	220
1-1 Self-employment and skill learning	220
1-1-1 The problems of self-employed women	224
1-2 Shop-keepers	227
1-3 Home-working based on piece rate	229
2- Women's work outside the home.....	233
2-1 Women in cleaning jobs in public sectors or in private households	
.....	234
Domestic worker	234
Wage and work hours	239
Low-status jobs in public sector	242
2- 2 Young women in factory.....	248
2-2-1 The workers' contribution to the household income	250
2-3 Young single women's work in other production lines	252
Conclusion.....	254
Conclusion	255
Appendix	265
Glossary	270
References	272

List of Tables

Table 3. 1) The population of the city of Tabriz between 1956-1996.....	54
Table 3. 2) Distribution of the population aged 10 years and over, by sex, form of activity and region, 1996 (in percentage).....	56
Table 3. 3) Distribution of economically active people aged 10 years and over in the urban areas of the <i>shahrestan</i> of Tabriz, by sex and major types of employment, 1996 (in percentage).....	57
Table 3. 4) Employees by occupational groups, sex and region, 1996.....	58
Table 3.5) Distribution of major occupational groups in different sectors for the <i>Shahrestan</i> of Tabriz.....	59
Table 3.6) Distribution of major urban occupational groups in different sectors.....	60
Table 3.7) Distribution of women in major urban occupational groups in different sectors.....	60
Table 3.8) Estimated net female rural-urban migration in Tabriz <i>Shahrestan</i> (1986-1996).....	62
Table 3.9) Different locations of northern and southern fringes of Tabriz as well as estimated population.....	63
Table 5.1) The age frequencies of respondents: number of respondents ($n=925^*$)- no. (%).....	99
Table 5.2) The frequency distribution of respondents in terms of their marital status and ages: ($n=925$)- no (%).....	100
Table 5. 3) The numerical and percentage distribution of migrant women in nuclear and extended families: number of women ($n= 925$)-no. (%).....	100
Table 5. 4) The distribution of the members of extended families among the married women: number of married women ($n= 105$).....	101
Table 5. 5) The distribution of the members of extended families among the widowed women: number of widowed women ($n= 18$).....	101
Table 5. 6) Age-group of migrant women at the time of data-collecting and on their arrival in the city: number of women ($n=925$)- no. (%).....	102
Table 5. 7) The duration of migration by comparing the age-group of migrant women on their arrival to the city and their current age: number of women ($n=925$)- no.	

(%).....	102
Table 5. 8) The frequency distribution of respondents in terms of their marital status at the time of migration: (n=925)- no. (%).....	103
Table 5. 9) The marital status of migrant women at the time of migration and at the time of data-collecting: number of women (n=925)- no. (%).....	103
Table 5. 10) Children's distribution among the sample: number of women (n=900)- no. (%).....	104
Table 5. 11) The educational level of respondents: number of women (n= 925)- no. (%).....	104
Table 5. 12) The educational level of respondents' husband: number of the husbands (n= 840).....	105
Table 5. 13) Cross-tabulation count of family members' educational level	106
Table 5. 14) The economic activities of respondents' husbands: number of the husbands (n= 840).....	106
Table 5. 15) Ownership condition of the sample: number of women (n= 925) -no. (%).....	108
Table 5. 16) Number of room stated by respondents: number of women (n= 911) -no. (%).....	109
Table 5. 17) Respondents' ranking of factors important for choosing to settle: number of women (n=925).....	109
Table 5. 18) Different kind of building among the sample: number (n= 925) -no. (%).....	110
Table 5. 19) The respondents' level of satisfaction in terms of access to social services.....	111
Table 5. 20) The percentage of informants who have access to different services in their houses: (n= 925) – (%).....	112
Table 5. 21) The percentage of access to other facilities for those who do not have a kitchen in their house: (Numbers = 275).....	112
Table 5. 22) The percentage of access to other facilities for those who do not have a bath in their house (Numbers =319).....	113
Table 5. 23) The percentage of access to other facilities for those who do not have running water in their house (Numbers =107).....	113
Table 5. 24) The percentage of access to different facilities in respondents' houses: (n=	

925) –(%).....	114
Table 5. 25) Women’s willingness for leaving their rural areas (<i>n</i> = 925).....	114
Table 5. 26) Respondents’ ranking of factors important for migration: number of women (<i>n</i> =925).....	115
Table 5. 27) Factors stimulating female migration and the degree of their importance to migrant women: number of women (<i>n</i> =925)- <i>no.</i> (%).....	116
Table 5. 28) Age-group of migrant women who accompanied their parents at the time of migration: number of women (<i>n</i> =284)- <i>no.</i> (%).....	118
Table 5. 29) Factors stimulating single female migrants who accompanied their parents at the time of migration: number of women (<i>n</i> =284)- <i>no.</i> (%).....	119
Table 5. 30) Age-group of single women (for marriage) at the time of migration: number of women (<i>n</i> =129)- <i>no.</i> (%).....	121
Table 5. 31) Factors stimulating single female migrants for marriage: number of women (<i>n</i> =129)- <i>no.</i> (%).....	122
Table 5. 32) Age and the priorities of single women who migrated to work/study: number of women (<i>n</i> =3).....	123
Table 5. 33) Age-groups of migrant women who were married at the time of migration: number of women (<i>n</i> =498)- <i>no.</i> (%).....	123
Table 5. 34) Factors stimulating married female migrants at the time of migration: number of women (<i>n</i> =498)- <i>no.</i> (%).....	124
Table 5. 35) Age-group of migrant women who were widowed at the time of migration: number of women (<i>n</i> =10)- <i>no.</i> (%).....	126
Table 5. 36) Factors stimulating widowed female migrants at the time of migration: number of women (<i>n</i> =10)- <i>no.</i> (%).....	127
Table 5. 37) Number and percentage of migrants to the city of Tabriz, in terms of intra- or inter-province: number of women (<i>n</i> =925).....	129
Table 5. 38) Numerical and percentage distribution of migrant women in terms of their determination to find a job: number of women (<i>n</i> = 925) – <i>no.</i> (%).....	129
Table 5.39) Numerical and percentage distribution of migrant women in terms of being successful in finding a job: number of women (<i>n</i> = 925) – <i>no.</i> (%).....	130
Table 5. 40) The different reasons for not being successful in having an urban job or even for not being determined in finding a job: number of women (<i>n</i> = 686) – <i>no.</i> (%).....	131
Table 5. 41) Kind of economic activity after migration: number of women (<i>n</i> = 925) – <i>no.</i>	

(%).....	131
Table 5. 42) Respondents' jobs after migration (n= 284); and their current jobs: number of women (n= 246) –no. (%).....	132
Table 5. 43) Problems of migrant women in the city (n= 486).....	134
Table 6. 1) The educational level of the respondents: number of women (n= 925).....	142
Table 6. 2) Educational level of literate respondents and the place of starting their schooling: (n= 322).....	143
Table 6. 3) The marital status of the respondents along with their ages on their arrival to the city (n= 925).....	146
Table 6. 4) The educational level of the respondents in terms of their marital status on their arrival: number of women (n= 925).....	147
Table 6. 5) The marital status of illiterate respondents along with their ages on their arrival to the city (n= 603).....	147
Table 6. 6) The marital status of literate respondents along with their ages on their arrival to the city (n= 322).....	147
Table 6. 7) The educational level of the respondents who migrated with their families along with their ages on their arrival to the city: number of women (n= 285).....	148
Table 6. 8) The educational level of single respondents who migrated with their families: number of women (n= 25).....	149
Table 6. 9) The educational level of other categories of migrant respondents along with their ages on their arrival: number of women (n= 640).....	149
Table 6. 10) The marital status of the interviewed migrants on their arrival to the city (n= 90).....	150
Table 6. 11) The educational level of the interviewed migrants: number of women (n= 90).....	150
Table 6. 12) The educational level of the interviewed women who were single (with parents) along with their ages: number of women (n= 33)- no. (%).....	150
Table 6. 13) The educational level of other categories of the interviewed migrants: number of women (n= 57)- no. (%).....	151
Table 6. 14) Children's distribution among the sample: number of women (n=925)- no. (%).....	171
Table 6. 15) The age and marital status of illiterate women in the sample at the time of migration: number of illiterate women (n= 603).....	171

Table 6. 16) The current marital status of illiterate women in the sample and the number of their children: number of illiterate women (<i>n</i> = 603).....	172
Table 6. 17) The age and marital status of those who have basic reading skill in the sample at the time of migration: number (<i>n</i> = 59).....	173
Table 6. 18) The current marital status of those have basic reading skill in the sample and the number of their children: number (<i>n</i> = 59).....	174
Table 6. 19) The age and marital status of those who have primary education in the sample, at the time of migration: number (<i>n</i> = 194).....	175
Table 6. 20) The current marital status of those who have primary education in the sample and the number of their children: number (<i>n</i> = 194).....	175
Table 6. 21) The age and marital status of those who have secondary or high-school level of education (less than diploma) in the sample, at the time of migration: number (<i>n</i> = 51).....	176
Table 6. 22) The current marital status of those who have secondary or high-school level of education in the sample and the number of their children: number (<i>n</i> = 51).....	177
Table 6. 23) The age and marital status of those who have Diploma certification or more in the sample at the time of migration: number (<i>n</i> = 18).....	178
Table 6. 24) The current marital status of those who have Diploma certification or more in the sample and the number of their children: number (<i>n</i> = 18).....	178
Table 6. 25) Total and average number of children in each categories of illiterate and literate women including and excluding single women: number of women (<i>n</i> = 925).....	179
Table 6. 26) Cross tabulation count of the number of children in a household in terms of illiterate and literate status of their mothers: number of women (<i>n</i> = 900).....	179
Table 6. 27) Correlations between the educational level of women and the number of children.....	179
Table 6. 28) The mean number of children in each educational groups: number of women (<i>n</i> = 900).....	180
Table 6. 29) The number of existing children among the sample: number of women (<i>n</i> =90)- <i>no. (%)</i>	180
Table 6. 30) The number of deceased children among the sample: number of women (<i>n</i> =75)- <i>no. (%)</i>	181
Table 6. 31) The number of Step-children among the sample: number of women (<i>n</i> =75)-	

<i>no. (%)</i>	181
Table 6. 32) Marital status of illiterate interviewed women at the time of migration: number (<i>n</i> = 48).....	181
Table 6. 33) Current marital status of illiterate interviewed women and the number of their children: number of women (<i>n</i> = 48).....	181
Table 6. 34) Current marital status of illiterate interviewed women and the number of their deceased children: number of women (<i>n</i> = 48).....	182
Table 6. 35) The current marital status of illiterate interviewed women and the number of their step children: number of women (<i>n</i> = 48).....	182
Table 6. 36) The marital status of interviewed women with primary level of schooling or less, at the time of migration: number (<i>n</i> = 27).....	183
Table 6. 37) The current marital status of interviewed women with primary level of schooling or less, and the number of their children: number (<i>n</i> = 27).....	184
Table 6. 38) The current marital status of interviewed women with primary level of schooling or less, and the number of their deceased children: number (<i>n</i> = 27).....	184
Table 6. 39) The current marital status of interviewed women with primary level of schooling or less and the number of their step children: number of women (<i>n</i> = 27).....	184
Table 6. 40) The marital status of interviewed women with secondary level of schooling or more, at the time of migration: number (<i>n</i> = 10).....	185
Table 6. 41) The current marital status of interviewed women with secondary level of schooling or more, and the number of their children: number (<i>n</i> = 10).....	185
Table 6. 42) The marital status of interviewed women with diploma or more, at the time of migration: number (<i>n</i> = 5).....	185
Table 6. 43) The current marital status of interviewed women with diploma or more, and the number of their children: number (<i>n</i> = 5).....	186
Table 6. 44) Total and average number of children in each categories of illiterate and literate women including and excluding single women: number of women (<i>n</i> = 90).....	186
Table 6. 45) Cross tabulation count of the number of children in a household in terms of illiterate and literate status of their mothers: number of women (<i>n</i> = 75).....	181
Table 6. 46) The mean number of children in each educational groups: number of women (<i>n</i> = 75).....	187

List of Figures

Figure 3. 1) Map of Iran and its position in the region.....	52
Figure 3. 2) East Azarbijan Province and its <i>Shahrestans</i> (districts)	53

Acknowledgement

I would firstly like to offer my thanks to my supervisor, Professor Haleh Afshar, for her intellectual guidance, patience, support, and helpful suggestions throughout the different stages of not only this thesis, but also during difficult stages of my personal life.

I would like to offer my special thanks to my husband Hossein Godazgar. I am indebted for my educational success to him. His compassion, encouragement and support did not waiver, even when it meant personal sacrifices on his behalf. He has helped me to progress throughout the different stages of my further education, with his love, grace and even anger. He went through the loneliness stage of his life for the sake of my PhD. He is the man of my heart.

Special thanks go to my four lovely children, Mahdi, Hadi, Faezeh and Mahdieh, without whose love, emotional and practical support and understanding of my situation, I really could not have managed. They had to learn to cook and keep the house at the stage in their lives when they should be playing. They tolerated lonely weekends and late evenings when I had to stay in the university. I gratefully acknowledge Hadi and Mahdi's late night escorts home, with their stress-relieving stories. I would like also to offer my special thanks to Faezeh and Mahdieh for being patient and understanding that mum had to be busy with her study. I will always remember the late night e-mails: "Mum when are you coming home? Stay as long as you want, we can come and collect you" and their warm hugs to welcome me home. I am proud of all of them

I would like to express my love and gratitude to my father, Karim, who always encouraged me for acquisition of knowledge and to my mother, Fatemeh, who I remember with love and who was so proud of my progress.

Many thanks go to my mother-in-law, Laya, who endured the pain of separation from her grandchildren because of my study.

I would like to offer my gratitude to all my interviewees for their valuable help in terms of giving their time and willingly sharing their experience with me. Certainly without the co-operation of these women, completion of this thesis would have been impossible. I am equally grateful for the students as well as the staff of Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of University of Tabriz, who collected 925 questionnaires from migrant women in my absence. I also would like to express my special thanks to Masoumeh Sadeghi, who accompanied me during the fieldwork.

Thanks to my many friends, especially Vahideh Bayat and Shahla Tizro, Sheelan Jamal, Maria Sossoki, all of whom were superb in giving support, comfort and boosting my strength, when I badly needed it. Last but not least, I am also grateful to lecturers and the staff of Politics Department at the University of York, particularly Caroline Moore, Val Cresswell, Linda Lofthouse for being very supportive, friendly and good listener to my various problems. My friends and colleagues in the department all were great and supportive. I would like to express my love to all of them.

Introduction

Introduction

This research focuses on the relationship between female migration and development. The thesis rests on the general feminist literature on gender and work, and aims to understand the implication of different social, economic and political conditions on socio-cultural factors in motivating peasants, to migrate. Given that Iranian migration is often a family movement (Jamali, 1985 and Bayat, 1997), and the high living costs in the cities, migrant women are more likely to be involved in income generation activities. Many studies of female migration indicate that there is a positive and direct correlation between migration and economic and social mobility for migrant women. However, the social and economic aspects of such a relationship have not been investigated in the existing Iranian migration literature. Thus, this research aims to find out if the connection holds true in the Iranian context; particularly in East Azarbaijan among migrant women in Tabriz.

The main question of the study is to consider the main factors contributing to the process of migration and the outcome for the women who participated in the research.

Migrant women absent from migration literature as well as from the literature on Iranian women

Iranian migration literature mainly covers the pre-revolutionary era and focuses on Tehran, and is blind to gender issues and the social and economic situation of migrant women in the cities. In Iran cultural factors often prohibit married women's independent migration, and the prevalent form of migration seems to be family migration.

Although the statistics indicate that women have constituted a considerable part of internal migration, particularly since 1960s, women's independent responses to many economic and non-economic factors have been ignored in migration literature. In fact,

there is a significant gap in the literature concerning the impact of local and global policies and the feminisation of the labour market upon women's rural-urban migration in Iran. This is particularly so in East Azarbaijan¹ and its central city Tabriz, which is the country's fourth major host city for rural migrants.

Under reporting the position of women in the migration literature is partly due to the role that domesticity plays in Iranian traditional culture. In Iran, like many other societies, sex segregation of social roles has been traditionally viewed 'as necessary for maintaining social organisation within the family and society' (Touba, 1980: 51-2). The invisibility is also partly due to the construction of Iranian Family Law, even under the Pahlavi regime. According to Articles 1105, 1114 and 1117 of Iranian Family Law, men are the head of households and also according to Articles 1106 and 1107 they are considered as the main breadwinners of the family (Civil Law, 1991). Responsibility for the family's welfare and maintenance is seen as men's religious and national duties (Afshar, 1989a), and a wife does not have any responsibility for her own and her children's maintenance, even if she is very rich (Civil Law, 1991).

As a result of these cultural and legal factors, women have often been considered economically inactive and thus invisible in the official statistical reports. This is despite the fact that for a large proportion of women in the lower sections of Iranian society, work has been a matter of necessity. However, strict definitions of what constitutes the economically active population, pre-defined assumptions about housewives who are not supposed to be economically active, as well as methods of measuring labour force participation in terms of international guidelines like self-employment, seasonal work, underemployment, integration of domestic production for use and for exchange value all contribute to the omission of women from census data not only in Iran, but also in other developing countries (Boserup, 1975 and Dixon-Mueller, 1991: 226-7). Thus, home workers, unpaid family workers and many other workers in the informal sectors, are largely made up of women, who are disproportionately and systematically excluded from national censuses as well as from social studies.

Moreover, despite an extensive body of literature on women's issues in Iran, only a

¹ - North-West Iran comprises three provinces of: Eastern Azarbaijan, with its capital in Tabriz, Western Azarbaijan, with its capital in Uromiyeh, and Ardabil, whose capital is also called Ardabil. A fourth Iranian province Zanzan, with the capital in the city of the same name, also has a dominant Azari population. There are about five million in Azarbaijan, and three million scattered throughout many other parts of the country, where they form a strong middle class. Like the people of the Republic of Azarbaijan, Azarbijanis in Iran are mainly Shiite Muslim ethnic Turks (TSP, 1996: 72).

few studies give some consideration to women's work (Afshar, 1985a, 1989 and 1997; Razavi, 1992, Ghavamshahidi, 1996; Hoodfar, 1995; Moghadam, 1993, Poya, 1999), the rest pay little attention to working-class women's employment or economic position, particularly that of migrant women. Generally most literature deals with political aspects of Iranian women's life due to the enforcement of Islamic ideology upon them in the post-revolutionary era. Most published literature in the 1980s, considered the oppressive nature of Islamic gender ideology on women's position within and outside the home (Afsar, 1982, 1985c, 1987, 1989a & 1989c; Tabari, 1980; Tabari and Yeganeh, 1982; Touba, 1980; Moghadam, 1993). They argued that not only did Iranian women not get much benefit from their active participation in the 1979 revolution, they were also excluded from economic, social and political activities outside the home, and confined to the private sphere of the home by state policy regarding women. In the 1990s, gender consciousness began to develop in post-war era, and women began to call for change. They offered different interpretations and readings of Islamic laws, which led to some reforms of women's position in terms of law, education and employment, all despite the stated gender ideology. This trend caused many secular feminists to attempt to demonstrate through their writings the centrality of women's political discourses under the Islamic state (Afshar, 1994, 1997 & 1999; Mir-Hosseini, 1995 & 1996; Hoodfar, 1996; Moghissi, 1994; Najmabadi, 1991; Paidar, 1996).

In Iran, state policies, through distinct and different gender ideologies, have played important roles in determining women's economic and social position within society. In the pre-revolutionary era, the emphasis was on capitalist modernization based on Western values and cultures (Najmabadi, 1991; Paidar, 1996) and during the subsequent political era, the emphasis was on women's primary role in the family. Natural and biological differences between the sexes were highlighted and patriarchal relations over women have been strengthened by giving men the right to control women's access to every aspect of education, employment and travel (Afkhani, 1994; Afshar, 1987, 1989c & 1994; Yeganeh, 1993: 5). The gender ideology and domesticity, which were strongly emphasized after the 1979 revolution, not only limited women's access to the socio-economic sphere, but also had a direct and in many cases a detrimental affect on poorer women (Afshar, 1989a and Ghavamshahidi, 1996). On the other hand, despite the claims of women's emancipation, the reforms under Pahlavi, did not improve the socio-economic position of women in the lower classes (Najmabadi, 1991; Ghavamshahidi, 1996: 115-7).

In this dissertation I examine the nature of women's work with two sets of questions: one is related to their migration history and another to their involvement in economic activities. Migratory questions are about push and pull or economic and non-economic factors, which played a crucial role in migration within this region. I asked to what extent women are likely to migrate independently and how far do they go. What is the impact of women's marital status, class, and life course insofar as their migration is concerned as dependents or independents? How did/does the migration decision and associated negotiations occur? Do they have limited power to act independently? Do rural traditional and kinship relations affect female migration? What difficulties and obstacles do female migrants confront during the process of migration and through their involvement in economic activity? How do they find work outside the village? Given that the economic variables are the most important explanatory variables for migrants in most migration literature, my aim was to uncover their survival strategy, their contribution to the family's cash income, and the sort of economic activities that are often involved in it. Studying an Egyptian peasant settlement community in Iraq, El-Solh (1988) observed that boys' educational progress was encouraged by their parents and this increased the women's importance as an economic asset whose paid labour could increase the family's income. It is important to see if this was/is the case among migrants in my research community. I was also interested in women's position within the nuclear family, particularly the relationship between migrant women and their husbands after migration to the city. I wanted to find out whether the absence of a rural female hierarchy based on age and status and on which their husbands relied, has reinforced their position in their new situation (El-Solh, 1988: 109).

Women's responses to these questions shape the structure of this thesis. In the following chapters we will find out to what extent migrant women have been able to break away from their traditional roles, and find new opportunities; if there is any variation or correlation, positively or negatively, between urban migration as an independent variable and the socio-economic development of women as a dependent variable; if migration as a component of the process of economic development, has improved women's access to economic and social resources; and the differences and similarities between young and older women regarding migration and economic involvement.

At an empirical level, this study maps migrant women in different sectors of the formal and informal economy. It describes their work, education, wages, hours of work,

and employment and family relations. I use this empirical information to test feminist hypothesis that female migration and their contribution to household economy are key variables in liberating and empowering women's status within the family and society.

At a theoretical level, using feminist literature, this study demonstrates that migration and employment can only play liberating role when women enter more visible and regulated sectors of the economy. The inadequacy of conceptual tools to define different forms of employment, particularly more invisible and hidden forms of it, which is often done by women, paves the way for greater exploitation of women both in the household as unpaid family labour, and by the employers. The inadequacy of conceptual tools plays an important role in social relations and creates the basis for class as well as gender oppression of poor women by both state and rich private employers, men or even women (in the case of paid domestic workers), particularly when there is no written employment contract between the worker and employer.

Within migrant families, one can find a contradiction of co-existing ideologies regarding women and work. Older illiterate married women are more restricted and confined to the private sphere and unpaid family labour by traditional norms and practices. In response to my question if they looked for a paid job outside their home after moving to the city, they often replied that: 'it is a shame (*nam, eaib*) for a women to work outside the home'. However, women working in domestic industry mainly as unpaid family labour solve the conflict between traditional, cultural and patriarchal ideologies, on the one hand, and the economic realities, on the other. The reality that makes women's work invisible unrecognised and unrecorded. This pattern is very common in South and West Asia (Mies, 1982; Afshar, 1989; Shaheed, 1989; Custers, 1997). Only economic deprivation mainly as a result of widowhood, or having handicapped husbands, compels some poor women to seek paid employment outside the home. Whereas for the younger educated unmarried girls of migrant families, the ideologies of domesticity concerning women's restriction to the confines of the home are often diluted, internalised and accepted by many families whose older daughter(s) have been controlled by traditional ideologies regarding education and paid employment. This is despite the state's gender ideology, which puts more emphasis on women's role in the family. In this process of social changes, younger educated women exercise greater autonomy within the family over decisions that affect their lives, such as work, education, marriage and fertility, and like their counterparts mainly in the Asian continent are active subjects in social changes.

Outline of the thesis

Chapters 1 and 2 review the main literature on migration in general and female migration in particular. The principal objective of chapter 1, is to examine how migration occurs, using the structural and the individualistic approaches. It will examine the theoretical and the economic aspects of migration and their association with the process of development, and the consequences of migration on urban sectors. It will also concentrate on migrants themselves in order to explain who is more likely to migrate and why.

Chapter 2 reviews the main literature on female migration and its different consequences and patterns around the world, with specific concentration on their labour market participation. It will look at the different factors, which have been important in stimulating internal female migration.

In chapter 3, I will give a background to land reform and the urbanization process in Iran, which have been important economic variables in population redistribution from rural areas to the cities. The chapter will have an overview on general information about the location of the study, such as population, economy, literacy rate of men and women, major urban occupational distribution between the sexes, and the areas where rural-urban migrants are usually settled. Since the study has a gender dimension, the chapter will also briefly look at Iranian women's socio-economic status among lower middle- and working class families in rural and urban areas.

Chapter 4 addresses the methodological processes upon which this study is based. Since my aim was to study migrant women's experience of rural-urban migration and also to study their involvement in income generating activities, I used feminist methodology in my research. The chapter first will concentrate on the theoretical and practical issues regarding the production of knowledge and how the research should be conducted from a feminist perspective. Then it presents method and practical details of the study in terms of gathering data and getting access to the informants.

Chapter 5 will describe the preliminary data, drawn from 925 questionnaires collected in the summer of 2000. This chapter provides a general overview of migrants' lives in the slum areas of Tabriz, using four different sets of information.

The discussion of chapter 6 will be on the subject of female migrants' education and literacy both in their places of origin and destination. It will look at different social, economic and ideological factors that have impact on female literacy among the informants

of this study. By comparing migrant women in terms of many different factors such as age, social class, marital status during migration, marriage age, reasons for migration and so forth, I will try to show that access to knowledge and education has been one of the scarce resources available to old, poor and particularly those who accompanied by or joined their husbands in the process of migration. I will try to show that, on the other hand, migration and urbanization result in increased access to education for younger generation of migrants or those who migrated in their childhood. I will also look at women's fertility behaviour as well as infant mortality and their correlation with the level of female literacy in this study.

In chapter 7, I explain in detail migrant women's involvement in the largest domestic industry, which is carpet weaving in the slum areas of Tabriz. In the analysis of women's work in this home industry, I will use the concepts of housewifization, patriarchy and subsistence labour, which are relevant to the analysis of women's unpaid work at home. The analysis will demonstrate women's invisibility as well as their vulnerability due to the nature of their work. I briefly argue that there is changing attitude towards the work in this industry by young unmarried migrant women.

In chapter 8, women wage earners are the centres of the study. They are concentrated in different sectors of the informal and formal economy in terms of their age structure, education and marital status, as well as their economic needs. Younger, unmarried and educated women in this sample are more visible in factories or small-scale units of production line or even in state employment depending on the level of their educational achievement. Their engagement in labour market, and their income play important roles in the socio-economic changes in migrant households and increase their gender consciousness. The interviews suggest that they and have greater autonomy in making important decisions that affect their lives.

Chapter 1

Review of the Literature: Theoretical Debates on Rural-Urban Migration

'The city is the defining element of a civilization, and the transition to an urban society and the concentration of population are key elements of human progress' (Skeldon, 1997: 195)

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to review the main literature on internal rural-urban migration and its association with the development process from the 'structural' as well as the 'individualistic' approaches. The structural approach concentrates on the theoretical and the economic aspects of migration, as well as labour transfer. This review will enable us to understand the role of economic variables such as rural-urban income differentials, the role of labour transfer for economic development under dualistic conditions, the idea of 'expected' income, and the probability variable in migration. The 'individualistic' approach to migration is considered, utilising various economic and non-economic factors and concentrating on migrants themselves in order to explain who is more likely to migrate and why. Finally, this section will illustrate the consequences of migration on urban sectors such as urban population growth, urban unemployment and the growth of informal economic sectors. The principal objective of this chapter is to examine how migration occurs.

Migration as a subject of interest in various disciplines

Migration has been a subject of interest in various disciplines, and depending on what emphasis is given to key determining factors, different models and conceptual frameworks have been developed in various fields. At the macro-level economists who focus on labour transfer and adjustments in the labour market are studying it. As an integral part of

development, it has attracted considerable attention in the development literature (Skeldon, 1997). The motivation, social mobility, assimilation, adaptation and individual behaviour of migrants to new urban settings is being examined by sociologists and anthropologists. Geographers examine spatial patterns of population redistribution and their relation to broad social, economic and environmental changes, as well as the consequences in areas of departure and destination. Demographers have traditionally been interested in migration selectivity.

Although the impact of out-migration on the social and economic organisations of rural communities has been relatively ignored (Thadanin and Todaro, 1984: 42; Jamali, 1985: 16), economists, sociologists and human or social geographers have made fundamental contributions to migration theories (Cohen, 1996: xv). In general, the literature on migration mainly follows 'structural' and 'individualistic' approaches (Brydon, 1989: 122-5). Recently a third approach to migration has been identified which links the interaction of approaches already mentioned to a consideration of the mutual dependency of human agency and social structures on migration (Wright, 1995: 771).

The Structural approach

The 'structural' approach, with its econometric framework, takes into account more theoretical and economic aspects of labour transfer in less developed countries in terms of the establishment of capitalist development. Rural-urban migration attracts the attention of structural and development economists as it represents a basic transition in 'spatial dimensions' by moving from low-productivity agricultural and traditional areas to high-productivity modern and capitalist areas. It also takes into account 'socio-economic dimensions', which includes a permanent transition of skills, attitudes and behaviour patterns (Mabogunje, 1970: 44). According to this approach, out-migration as a form of labour transfer from labour-surplus origins to labour-scarce destinations, is associated with industrialization, employment opportunities and a positive and beneficial movement for development which fosters economic growth, affects income distribution among the population and reduces regional income disparities in the short term (Lewis, 1954; Brigg, 1971; Hakimian, 1990: 1-2 and Brydon, 1989: 124). Out-migration causes and is caused by changes in the economic, social as well as political structures of an area (Skeldon, 1997: 3).

Prior to the 1970s, the traditional indicators of development were economic growth and the capacity of a national economy to generate and sustain an annual increase in its 'Gross National Product' (GNP), by moving from a traditional subsistence agricultural economic structure to a more modern diverse manufacturing and service economy. Economic development was defined as a dynamic process of rapid industrialisation based on an alteration of production and employment structures (Todaro, 1994: 14), though it was driven by leading sectors, or in some cases by a single industry with a high growth rate in relation to the rest of the economy (Amuzegar and Fekrat, 1971: 3). Migration was traditionally considered as useful in effecting sectoral shifts in the development process, and providing the required labour force in the urban industrial and service sector as well as a fuller utilisation of the labour force (Lewis, 1954; Ranis and Fei, 1961).

One of the earliest theoretical models for the economic development of less developed countries was the neoclassical dual-sector economic model of migration. Lewis introduced the 'dual-sector model' in the mid-1950s and regarded migration as a 'natural process' (Todaro, 1994: 260). The model was then formalised and extended by Ranis and Fei in 1961 (Todaro, 1976: 21). Lewis argued that an unlimited supply of labour is available at subsistence wages in over-populated economies where the 'marginal productivity of labour is negligible, zero or even negative': this is true not only in agriculture, but also in petty retail trading, domestic service and other casual jobs (Lewis, 1954: 141-2). Due to their dualistic structure, in labour-surplus economies there are two distinctive sectors that have a basic relationship with each other and are essential for economic growth. These are a large traditional rural subsistence sector with low productivity whose reluctant labour can be withdrawn without any fall in output; and a small 'capitalist' sector, either private or public, which uses reproducible capital and has access to the subsistence sector in order to hire labour for profit. This is true not only for the urban industrial sector but also for plantations and mines where output is saleable (Lewis, 1954: 142-6).

Lewis's focus was 'on various aspects of the interaction between the capitalist and non-capitalist sectors' (Hunt, 1989: 63). For economic development and industrialisation to occur, Lewis argues that a gradual reallocation of labour should take place from a stagnant, subsistence economy into a dynamic, capitalist economy. Mabogunje (1970) argues, however, that isolated and self-sufficient villages are not likely to experience rural-urban migration. He argues that a combination of different factors such as industrial

development, the integration of the rural economy into the national economy, improved transportation and communications, educational, health and social welfare development, as well as governmental legislation and policies can create an environment in which social and cultural integration of rural and urban areas increases and the isolation of the villages decreases.

Ranis and Fei (1961) subdivided the process of labour transfer into two phases. Phase one is the transition of a redundant labour force with zero marginal productivity in the agricultural sector, into the capitalist sector where labour's marginal productivity rises to a positive level and wage rates equal the marginal productivity of labour. The second phase is the transition of disguised unemployment, with marginal productivity that is less than the institutional wage to urban areas (Ranis and Fei, 1961: 537). Lewis suggests that earnings in the subsistence sector determine the wage level in the capitalist sector. But, to encourage 'labour migration' in order to cover relevant expenditures such as transportation and housing costs, Lewis believes that urban wages have to be at least 30 percent higher than average rural incomes (Lewis, 1954: 149-50).

For Lewis, a crucial factor in economic development was capital accumulation within dualistic economies where only small minorities of people, the capitalists, are able to save and reinvest. Since the incomes of capitalists increase relatively to the national income, he argued that 'the central fact of economic development is that the distribution of incomes is altered in favour of the saving class' (Lewis, 1954: 157). By redirecting capitalist surplus to productive investment, new industries will be created or old industries in the capitalist sector will expand, and more people from the rural subsistence sector will be drawn into the capitalist sector where wages are constant. This process continues until the labour surplus is absorbed.

According to the price adjustment model of Ranis and Fei (1961), when the structural transformation of the economy takes place and disguised rural unemployed labour shifts into the industrial sector, the wage differentials between the two locations would cease as agricultural incomes increase and urban incomes decrease. On the other hand, since urban wages in Lewis's model are constant, as the capitalist sector expands the proportion of the national income represented by profits and saving increases. Since the Lewis model concentrates on the role of both capital accumulation and structural transformation in the development process and the acceleration of economic growth, it preserves its analytic value, despite the many criticisms of the applicability of the model

(Meier, 1995: 125).

In terms of the adjustment mechanism, the loss of under-employed people in rural areas should not result in a significant decline in the volume of agrarian output. Rather, it should result in an increase in the productive capacity of the remaining units (Lewis, 1954), as some migrants might give up partially or wholly their rights to productive resources, especially to the land. The remaining villagers will be able to produce more, not only for their own consumption, but also to satisfy the increasing demands of the expanding capitalist sector providing food for the labour force and raw materials for industrial production. This is particularly true in the context of closed and dual economies where 'input-output relations ensure a perfect complementarity in production between agriculture and industry' (Bacha, 1995: 385).

To increase agricultural output and the net income of remaining villagers, in some societies, governments directly affect the distribution of productive resources such as land, for the favour of some sections of rural population through their state policies. This process often results in accelerated migration from the rural areas (Mabogunje, 1970: 50). In Iran, state policies directed by the land reform project in 1963, which will be discussed later, resulted in heavy migration in the 1960s and afterwards. Many studies, however, indicate that migrants retain close ties with their place of origin by sending contributions in the form of cash or goods. These contributions not only improve the living standard of the remaining individuals, in the case of African countries they also act as a system of security for retirement and return migration, as migrant's rights to the land are maintained (Farsakh, 1999: 9 and Byerlee, 1974: 548).

Todaro argued that a more realistic model would view labour migration as a two-stage phenomenon. If migration is the inevitable result of rural-urban wage differentials, why is it not reduced by the increasing difficulties of finding an urban job? The decision to migrate should be therefore explained through a number of variables, particularly the 'probability' of finding a more permanent modern urban job (Todaro, 1969: 139 & 1976).

For practical policy guidance on migration problems in developing countries, economists provide econometric methods for identifying and evaluating the quantitative significance of alternative explanatory variables. Most econometric studies, however, are cross-section studies that explain step-by step migration, usually between regions within a country. Very few deal with rural-urban migration (Yap, 1975: 11). An analysis of female migration is absent from almost all 'econometric models' that assume men and women

migrate as a result of the same motivations (Thadani and Todaro, 1984: 36). Researchers have, however, recently begun to ask why and how the gender division of labour developed at the heart of the migrant labour system. They analyse gender at three distinct levels: the micro-level of individual behaviour/agency; the macro-level of political economy and the household-level (Wright, 1995: 280). The gender-related differences in the migratory process will be considered in the next chapter.

Independent variables which have been used to explain migration from a place 'i' to another place 'j' (M_{ij}) are wage and income levels (Y), unemployment rates (U), the degree of urbanisation (Z) for the people in the areas of 'i' and 'j', the distance between 'i' and 'j' (D_{ij}) and the presence of contact in the form of friends and relatives in the destination 'j' (C_{ij}) (Yap, 1975: 11). Economic variables such as the dispersion of incomes between rural and urban areas appear to be the most important explanatorily for the decision to migrate in those countries that have been the subject of most studies, i.e. those within Africa, Latin America and Asia.

In Iran, push factors of poverty in rural areas as a result of decrease in the production of subsistence food crops or their replacement by cash crops demanded by foreign markets (Katouzian, 1981: 95; Razavi, 1992). At the same time economic development and industrialization in urban areas have been more effective in persuading internal migration (Hammasi, 1974 and Jamali, 1985). In addition, some rural industries such as the carpet industry which made up the bulk of Iranian manufacturing exports, soap manufacture and some textile and footwear production began to move to the cities (Katouzian, 1981: 95) or some handicrafts were replaced by manufactured products (Keddie, 1972: 365-8). The nature of early migration, however, was slow, restricted and seasonal because of technological as well as institutional conditions such as poor transportation, uneasy access to urban areas, and the feudal relations of landlords through imposing their implicit rights on peasants (Zahedi, 1367/1988).

Yap states that 'when wage or per capita income differentials are included explicitly, the rate of migration increases with the size of the differential. When average wages for the two areas are included separately, migration is positively related to the wage level in destination and negatively related to the wage level in origin' (Yap: 1975: 13). When dealing with internal migration, however, some studies concentrate on the socio-economic structure of the place of origin only, and others only on the attributes of pull factors at the place of destination (Jamali, 1985: 17). The variables of distance and access

to contacts at the destination, although they are not precisely economic variables, both have an economic component because the cost of moving is reduced or increased by the existence or lack of contacts and by the variation in the distance involved (Yap, 1975: 2).

Given that migration is basically sensitive to economic conditions, and thus a rational individual decision, Todaro assumes that migration is a response to rural-urban differences in 'expected' income rather than 'actual' income. There is no distinction between men and women in this regard. Expected income is determined by the interaction of two variables: rural-urban real income differential; and the probability of getting an urban job that is indirectly related to urban unemployment (Todaro: 1969: 139). By formulating the probability variable Todaro explained his migration model as follows: if an un/semi-skilled labour has a choice between working in the agricultural sector for annual average of 50 units, or working in the urban sector for annual average of 100 units, in terms of the traditional economic model which emphasizes the wage differential factor, the worker would choose the urban job. But, in the context of most developing economies, this analysis is not realistic. Owing to urban-surplus labour, many newly arrived migrants are unable to find a highly paid job soon after their arrival in the urban labour market. As a result, for a certain period of time, most of them will become totally unemployed or irregularly employed in the informal sector or 'urban traditional sector' (Todaro: 1969: 139).

The decision to migrate should therefore take into account the limited chance of finding a job immediately upon arrival in the city and the probability of being un/underemployed for a certain period of time as well as the positive rural-urban income differentials. In Todaro's model, rural-urban migration continues until there is equality between the actual rural wage and the expected urban wage (Meier, 1995: 114). He argues that the actual probability of securing a higher paid job within a one-year period is one chance in five and the 'expected' urban income for the first year after migration is 20 units not 100 units. Thus, with a one-year period horizon and a probability of 20 percent success, it would be irrational for a migrant to seek an urban job. But if the decision to migrate were made on the basis of a 'permanent income' calculation, the decision to migrate would be rational, even though the expected urban income during the initial years would be lower than the real rural income.

Although the idea of the 'expected' income is supported by many migration studies, the importance of the probability of employment as a significant variable in the

decision to migrate has not been proven by two Kenyan rural-urban studies (Yap, 1975: 14). As in Todaro's model, the actual rural and urban wage is assumed to be fixed over time, the migrant is assumed to migrate only once, and the costs of migration and job turnover are also ignored (Gallup 1997: 3-4). Moreover, Fields (1975 cited in Gallup, 1997: 4) argued that it is possible to search for an urban job from a rural area, although this is less efficient than urban-based job searching. Banerjee (1991) found that 17% of a sample of Indian rural-urban migrants had found their jobs before they migrated. For those who choose to migrate when they have secured an urban job and remained employed during job-searching period, a rural-based search reduces the equilibrium relationship between unemployment and migration, known as the Harris-Todaro model (1970). It is also possible that those employed in the urban traditional sector can search for a job in the urban modern sector, although the probability of being successful would be less for them than for the unemployed.

The individualistic approach to migration

In detailed anthropological and sociological case studies at the micro-level, the individualistic approach concentrates on migrants themselves to explain who is more likely to migrate and what factors influence their decision to migrate based on various non-economic factors such as social, cultural, demographic, physical, and communication variables (Todaro, 1994: 263). However, economic variables remain the main basis for migration. One of the earliest contributors to this approach was Ravenstein¹ (1885 and 1889), whose 'Laws of Migration' is one of the most long-standing theories of migration. He introduced the pull-push hypothesis for explaining why people migrate. According to this model, economic inducement is the major reason for the 'rational' behaviour of most migrants responding to negative circumstances of origin such as the lack of job opportunities or the population growth on agricultural resources, and the beneficial socio-economic character of another geographical location. For some people, however, like children and wives who are mostly followers of men and bound to the familial residence, 'the decision to migrate is never completely rational' (Lee: 1966: 18). Thus, net gain from

¹- The nineteenth and early twentieth century British economist who examined internal migration in the British Isles during the period between the censuses of 1871 and 1881 and called his study, 'Laws of Migration'. In 1889 he expanded his study to other areas, collecting data from twenty

migration would be negative for some members of the family, particularly women, because of their divergent interests and the loss of alternative means of support in their origins (Gallup, 1997: 5).

In an attempt to understand the backgrounds to migrational movement, Mabogunje's study identified basic interacting elements in the migration system. He identified various institutions in rural and urban areas (sub-systems) that control the flow of migration. Urban sub-systems operate mainly at residential and occupational levels, and under national laws, in order to control, regulate or limit the free movement of people. For example, during the colonial era in Southern Africa, urban areas were defined as 'white' spaces in order to prevent permanent African urbanisation and so that they could benefit from the rural subsidy produced by women. Women's mobility in Southern Africa was thereby deliberately controlled and restricted through a variety of practices and prohibitions exercised by the colonial state (Wright, 1995: 784-7). Family and rural communities are rural sub-systems that react differently to migration within different societies. Rural communities might impede migration where cooperative farming and marketing is prevalent or it might be promoted where social betterment via education and employment is privileged. The status of potential migrants as single or married, male or female, the role of the sexes in agricultural activities, and the relation of the family member to family land are crucial factors for rural sub-systems in determining who does, and who does not, migrate (Mabogunje, 1970: 48).

The circular migration of men in Africa during the colonial era can be explained by women's central role in the food production of pre-colonial Africa. Apart from the role of the colonial state in preventing female city-ward migration, rural authorities were also against female migration for two main reasons: the need to keep agricultural production ongoing and the benefit derived from women's reproductive labour, and the need to secure male migrant's links with their place of origins and thereby retaining access to some of their earnings (Wright, 1995: 784-7). As a result, in terms of rural/urban sub-systems and based on very different objectives, a curious alliance was formed between colonial and rural authorities in order to prevent female migration to the cities.

Considering the factor of distance in migration, researchers are divided between those who find a link between migration and distance and those who do not. The first

countries in which he found more evidence for his 1885 findings.

group hypothesize that most migrants move only a short-distance, and that long-distance migration to major trading and industrial centres often occurs in stages as migrants pass through a series of places. This is called step-by step migration or step-wise migration (Ravenstein, 1885 and 1889; Redford, 1929/1964; Makower, Marschak and Robinson, 1938, 1939 and 1940). Studying labour migration in England during 1800-1850, Redford (1929/1964) stated that 'migration into any centre of attraction having a wide sphere of influence was not a simple transference of people from the circumference of a circle to its centre, but an exceedingly complex wave-like motion' (Redford, 1964: 186). Makower *et al.* (1938, 1939 & 1940) found a strong relationship between distance and mobility: an increase in distance resulted in a decrease in mobility and the redistribution of labour. They argued that labour-movement between districts and industries takes time and that labour is not perfectly mobile. If it were so, workers would move into any district or industry that tended to have a higher level of affluence or general prosperity.

In the case of Iran, various types of step-by step migration seem to occur. Many migrants use a halfway or first quasi-permanent destination on their way to the more economically and socially developed regions, particularly Tehran. Step migration often occurs in three forms: rural-intra-provincial, inter-provincial, and intra-provincial migration (Hill, 1973 cited in Jamali, 1985:135). It has also been argued that step-migration occurs inter-generationally too, when parents move from rural areas to small cities and their children move on to larger cities (Jamali, 1985: 136).

The studies of the second group indicate that there is not necessarily a direct relation between mobility and distance (Stouffer, 1940; Lee, 1966; Hemmasi, 1974; Yap, 1975; Hakimian, 1990; Bayat, 1997; Barnum and Sabot, 1975; Schultz, 1975 and Todaro, 1976). The negative impact of distance as an intervening obstacle can be balanced by considerable income differences and economic and occupational attractions elsewhere. The distance coefficients in migration, when combined with the existence of alternative opportunities such as employment, education and urbanisation variables, modern technological improvements in transport, high wage levels, availability of information about the destination, are very significant particularly for the more educated migrants who seem to rely less on friends and relatives (Yap, 1975: 22-3). In his theory of 'intervening opportunities', Stouffer (1940) argues that the ratio between opportunities in the place of destination and intervening opportunities in the place of origin are important factors when considering mobility and distance: 'The number of persons going to a given distance is

directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities of their origin' (Stouffer, 1940: 846). Hakimian (1990) follows the traces of migration in Iran and argues that the first traces were recorded as early as 1855, and were from the north-western province of Azarbaijan to Russia by peasants in search of short-term seasonal employment to do jobs which were refused by the local workers due to poor working conditions and inferior wages. Given the shorter duration, the 'international migration' of Azari peasants to Russia seems to support the positive linkage between distance and migration. What makes this more complicated is the usage of the boundaries as the 'measures of distance which is mainly based on binary divisions of national and international' (Skeldon, 1997) to separate spatial units in order to define short or long distance. If in this case one ignores the binary boundaries, migration to Russia can be accounted as a short distance to Azari peasants comparing to the most migrant-absorbed cities of the time. Moreover, the job opportunities and their distribution in different places as well as between different occupational or ethnical groups that depend on political, geographical, economic and social factors, vary from situation to situation.

Lee (1966) is in favour of 'pull-push' factors, but emphasises the role of 'intervening obstacles' and 'personal factors' in his analysis of the internal migration process. Most of the studies from developing countries indicate that rural migrants are not a random sample of the rural population; rather they are from two main economic groups. One group is the very poor, landless and unskilled who are mainly compelled to move as a result of economic necessity as there were no jobs available in their villages. The other group is those with education or wealth who are pulled into the cities by attractive opportunities: to improve their job, or to benefit from better working and living conditions (Brigg, 1971 and Todaro, 1976: 28). The former group tends to be 'negatively' selected and the latter group are 'positively' selected, those who are able to move longer distances (Lee, 1966). There is a correlation, however, between migration, and age and education: migrants from these two economic groups tend to be younger, often between the ages of 15 and 24, and are educationally superior to non-migrants in their place of origin, and in some cases to urban natives.

Two different views have been stated regarding the responsiveness of the young to higher urban incomes and better employment opportunities. The economic view explains the 'human capital investment model' in which the costs and returns of migration are

important indicators for individuals whose decision about whether to stay or move is made in terms of net benefits (Gallup, 1997). The possibility of early employment and the longer period of earning for the young migrants increase the expected returns from, and the profitability of migration, in terms of a better job, education, housing and status. This is the case particularly for skilled workers (Brigg, 1971: 67). 'Investment in migration, like other investments of human being, is expected to pay-off in the long run if not immediately' (Jamali, 1985: 383). Thus, the older the people are, the less they will be inclined to migrate because of the intensive economic and non-economic costs of migration combined with shorter period of net benefit. Moreover, the non-economic costs of migration are less for young people who are usually able to adjust and assimilate more easily than older people to the social, psychological and environmental conditions of their chosen destination (Jamali, 1985: 383). The demographic selectivity in migration, however, results in a decline of valuable human capital in rural areas, and a growth in the urban unemployment rate (Byerlee, 1974: 548). On the other hand, although out-migration is related to rural-urban differentials, rural development projects are less likely to effect the migration of the more educated for whom more opportunities for better jobs exist in urban areas (Yap, 1975: 15). The availability of different types of education in urban areas, particularly in less developed countries, is one of the more important factors influencing the migration of young people (Brigg, 1971; Yap, 1975: 17; Jamali, 1985 and Bayat, 1997). Moreover, due to the direct relationship between migration and development, migration increased with the level of development and is unlikely to decrease as a result of development (Skeldon, 1997: 6).

The bipolar division of migrants from these two main economic groups has also been supported by Banerjee and Newman (1998). They have examined the interactions between different institutional arrangements in the dual economy and how information asymmetries in the traditional and modern sectors effect credit availability and consequently the rural population's decision about whether or not to migrate to the more productive modern sector. They reached the same conclusion: that two groups are more likely to migrate; the wealthiest who have the highest incomes and are the most skilled and productive; and the poorest whose skill levels are very low. The former are able to finance themselves without a consumption loan and have much to gain in the modern sector, and the latter group do not have access to rural informal security mechanisms such as credit institutions and consumption loans, and therefore have nothing to lose (Banerjee and

Newman, 1998: 632). They also argued that more people will move to the modern sector when the interest rate in rural areas is either very low because the temptation to default is too weak and monitoring by lenders is limited, or very high when the rural credit institution does not facilitate borrowing and non one can afford to take out the consumption loan.

In addition to economic reasons there are important non-economic factors that affect migration. There is evidence from Africa that freedom from elders and social pressure were important reasons in the decisions of the young adult males. On the other hand escaping from rural violence was a major factor for Colombian migrants (Brigg, 1971: 71). Political instability in part of a country also encourages out-migration from that area (Jamali, 1985).

In terms of the sex of migrants, men have largely dominated movement as they universally been regarded as the obvious source of labour. However, comparative studies of urbanisation and migration in developing countries indicate that different sexes predominate in different parts of the world. These differences are mostly related to a society's marriage customs, economic transition patterns as well as socio-cultural aspects (Smith et al., 1984: 15).

Many studies demonstrate a positive correlation between migration and destination contact in the form of friends and relatives who provide information about the new location, and can make the social transitions and the adjustment of migrants to the new environment easier. In many cases, the choice of location is influenced by the existence of such contacts. In fact, the existence of previous migrants encourages new migration. They often provide necessary information about jobs as well as initial financial security during job finding processes by offering them low-cost or even free accommodation and, of course, companionship (Brigg, 1971; Byerlee, 1974: 547 and Todaro, 1976: 73). Bayat's (1997: 30-1) study of poor people in Tehran reveals not only ethnically based communities with a high degree of internal cohesion and solidarity, but also occupationally based communities. Slum dwellers often construct their identity as the basis of the community in which they live.

The impact of internal migration on urbanisation

Migration studies suggest that the greater the difference between rural and urban areas in terms of economic opportunities such as high wages, job availability, and social services, the greater the flow of migrants to urban areas. The deterioration of social structures in rural areas and the 'destabilisation' of rural employment in most developing countries is due to such factors as population pressure on limited resources in rural areas, a reduction in capital, the sale of land and the expansion of capitalist farming, the breakdown of the traditional rural economies; improvements in transportation, and a lack of educational opportunities in villages. The combination of some of these factors accelerates the volume of rural-urban migration (Bromley and Gerry, 1979: 17). Moreover, the positive benefits of migration to individual migrants, at least to those who gradually established a permanent residence in the cities, have reinforced its attractiveness (Yap, 1975: 35). However, there is often a disharmonious relationship between internal migration and job creation in urban areas that causes imbalances in rural-urban structures and the growth of urban populations in the most of Third World's largest cities. Annual urban growth rates in many Asian and Latin American cities are 5 percent and in many African cities growth rates of 7 percent have been reached (Todaro, 1994: 248). On the other hand, the growth in urbanisation brings structural transformation in ecological system through the disappearance and transformation of agricultural lands into industrial or residential areas.

A rapid socio-spatial growth at the national level is a common feature of most Third world societies. It manifests itself in population growth, physical expansion and the centralisation of socio-economic as well as politico-administrative institutions in main cities (Amirahmadi and Kiafar, 1993: 109-10; Jamali, 1985). Along side socio-spatial growth there is an increasingly uneven distribution of wealth and benefits among different social classes within those cities. This is the result of rapid capitalist development that causes quick accumulation of capital for a small minority and poverty for the majority, as well as their spatial separation in the cities (Amirahmadi and Kiafar, 1993: 109-10; Bayat, 1997).

However, the contribution of rural-urban migration to the urban population growth differs in different parts of the world. The European population shift to urban areas was initiated by the Industrial Revolution and was followed by the growth of a service sector (Smith *et al.*, 1984: 18). Capitalist accumulation and the gradual transition of a society

from a pre-capitalist situation to a dependent capitalist position has been seen as a cause of rapid urban growth and uneven spatial and socio-economic development in most Third World cities in general and in Tehran in particular (Amirahmadi and Kiafar, 1993: 114-130). In the pre-capitalist period, production took place in rural areas and peasants were normally tied to the land; cities were a centre for the distribution of the national surplus as well as political and administrative activities. In this phase the disparity between rural and urban areas was not very profound, despite heavy taxation on rural areas. In the capitalist era, on the other hand, apart from being the centre of political activity, cities became the centre of a state-led capitalist system within which emerged the middle and working classes (Amirahmadi and Kiafar, 1993: 115; Hemmasi, 1974 & 1976). For instance, in Tehran, in the pre-capitalist era, despite the existence of different social groups, there was no spatial segregation among them, while in the capitalist era the socio-economic differences led to spatial separation of different social classes (Bayat, 1997: 24-5). This transition resulted in labour transfer and the engagement of a high percentage of young migrants in the mostly informal service sector (Smith *et al.*, 1984: 18).

Poverty in rural areas and government policies to improve the living standards of the urban poor, such as improved housing and public services has an unquestionable impact causing increased migration, urban growth, and the expansion of urban slums. The majority of migrants in slums are not satisfied with their new situation, but prefer it to the one they left behind where they struggled against poverty and destitution (Bayat, 1997). On average, migration has caused nearly half of the growth in urban population in developing countries, and in some more than half (Bayat, 1997: 20). Two-thirds or more of the adults in many large, expanding cities within developing countries are migrants, and their high fertility, due in part to their youthfulness, higher birth-rate and decline in mortality as a result of improved sanitation and health care, means that the cities are growing very rapidly (Jamali, 1985 and Costella, 1993: 142). The expansion of slums and squatter settlements in the main cities of developing countries seems to be a by-product of a process of social change resulting from the combined effects of continued in-migration, urbanisation and modernisation (Jamali, 1985: 15).

Since the most urgent need of migrants on their arrival is for accommodation and work, heavy in-migration contributes to a shortage of housing, a rise in construction costs, and high rents in the cities. Investment priorities of LDC governments that favour industrialisation and defence rather than social welfare (Afshar, 1985a: 58-62; Pesaran,

1985: 18-19), as well as strict regulations in urban planning policies prevent poor people from buying or renting an officially 'legal' house (Lloyd, 1979: 23 and Jamali, 1985: 336). Such policies also contribute to the growth of slums and squatter settlements, which in many cases form more than 60% of the urban areas (Todaro, 1994). As a consequence, land invasions and illegal house building without any public services such as clean water, sewage systems or electricity has become a quite common practice in the Third World countries (Todaro, 1994:248-252). In the case of Iran, particularly Tehran, the construction standard set by the City Planning established in the 1940s, made house building un-affordable for low-income groups. As a result marginalised settlements were set up informally, and often illegally outside the city boundaries (Bayat, 1997: 25-6). Thus, by the late 1950s and 1960s, the distinction between the prosperous north and industrial south of Tehran was pronounced in terms of a number of quantifiable variables such as population density and average monthly income (Costello, 1993: 139). By the mid 1970s, Tehran had around fifty overcrowded slums and squatter settlements, some of them virtually without any amenities, all of which indicated the growing social, economic and cultural inequalities. By 1980, of five million people in Tehran at least one million were living in slums and 400,000 in the squatter settlements (Bayat, 1997: 29). Many other Iranian cities had similar settlements with poor living conditions. Thus, 'the physical expansion of the cities was not as fast as population growth' (Amirahmadi and Kiafar, 1993: 118).

To understand migrant's access to various urban services it is necessary to observe the availability of urban services as well as their utilization (Yap, 1975:4). The destructive behaviour of the urban poor and the clandestine use of urban amenities are daily practices in many urban centres of developing countries in the Middle East, Asia, Latin America and Africa (Abdel Taher, 1987; Soto, 1989; Bienen, 1984 and 1985; Leeds and Leeds, 1976; Leiva and Petras, 1994; Stiefel and Wolfe, 1994; and Bayat, 1997: 2-4). This utilization of urban amenities by those urban poor who have migrated from rural poverty to unused or cheap urban land in Tehran was also observed by Asef Bayat (1997). Slum dwellers, by setting up community networks and associations outside the formal institutions, resorted to collective and direct action by stealing from the electricity grid and the water pipes in the streets when their urgent demands for electricity and running water were refused or delayed. These practices, 'the quiet encroachment of the ordinary represent the natural and logical ways in which the disenfranchised survive hardships and improve their livings ...

and it is largely the feature of undemocratic political systems, as well as of cultures where primordial institutions serve as an alternative to civic associations and social movements' (Bayat, 1997: 4 & 21).

The impact of internal migration on urban unemployment and the growth of informal economies

In urban areas, the growth in urban surplus-labour as a result of continued city-ward migration, the population concentration in a few large cities, and the failure of the dynamic productive sectors of those cities to absorb the increased migrants often reduces the marginal productivity of migrants to very low levels. In many developing economies, the reinvestment of surplus capital in labour-saving technical equipment causes a disharmonious relationship between labour transfer and job creation as well as capital accumulation in the urban sector and a shift in un/underemployment from rural to urban areas. Thus, urban surplus-labour in the form of unemployed or underemployed people is becoming empirically greater in less developing economies (Todaro, 1976: 23-5). Spontaneous large-scale in-migration is seen as the major factor contributing to increased urban unemployment and the growth of the informal economic sector. As has been shown, the availability of a job is a major reason for migrants, but the majority of recent migrants are not able to find a job in the formal sector. As a result, they become involved in the traditional or informal sectors of the economy doing casual work and hoping that eventually to move into the formal sector (Todaro, 1969). The informal sector, which is unorganised, unregistered and unregulated, acts as a major source of employment and has an important impact on the wider economy. It does not have a fixed definition: it is sometimes defined by the industries involved, such as construction, commerce or services (Yap, 1975: 31), or by the size of firms which do not contribute to social security or tax and are not governmental nor professional organisations (Yap, 1975: 31). In terms of Merrick's definition, self-employment, autonomous subsistence activities such as street vending, hawking and many other similar activities and services constitute the informal economic sector. This sector, through its linkage to the rural sectors unlimited labour force provides raw materials and cheap labour, and subsidises the formal sector (Todaro, 1994: 253-7; Bayat, 1997; and Harris, 1999: 10). According to another definition, employment is

subdivided into 'stable wage-work' with a considerable degree of security and stability; and 'casual work' defined as any form of employment, including productive or unproductive, and legal or illegal activities without any security of income or continuity of employment (Bromley and Gerry, 1979: 5). It is divided into four categories of 'short-term wage-work' contracted on a daily, weekly, or monthly basis for specific periods such as pick period assistance, 'disguised wage-work' in which part of the production is performed through the piece work system by out-workers often in their own homes; 'dependent work' in which the worker is dependent upon one or more larger enterprises for credit, the rental of premises or equipment, or the monopolistic supply of raw materials for production; and 'true self-employment' in which a self-employed person is in control of the means of production, though s/he is constrained by the general economic and social conditions (Bromley and Gerry, 1979: 5-11). The working classes and other low-income groups were by no means financially secure or able to obtain a guaranteed job (Amirahmadi and Kiafar, 1993: 118). A substantial number of them often combine two or more of the above-mentioned categories by having several jobs at the same time in order to manage their lives.

Casual workers do not enjoy job security, good working conditions, pensions or other forms of protection, and their incomes are sometimes too low to meet even their primary needs such as shelter (Todaro, 1994:253-7). But they seem to have greater flexibility and mobility. For instance, street subsistence workers are sometimes free from the discipline and controlling relations of the modern institutions (Bayat, 1997: 12-4). In order to make their living, however, they have to carry the burden of risk, particularly excluded groups such as older people, young children, or those who do not have work permits (Bromley and Gerry, 1979: 10). There is little evidence, however, to indicate that migrants disproportionately dominate the informal sector (Yap, 1975: 31). Different studies demonstrate similar proportions of migrants and non-migrants in the informal sector, and some even reveal the predominance of non-migrants in the informal sector (Yap 1975).

Despite high levels of local unemployment, however, migration correlates with labour demand in destination areas (Skeldon, 1997: 82-4; Harris, 1999). Although Harris's study covers international migration to Europe, his findings also apply to rural-urban migration too due to the fact that the characteristics of migration from low-productive economies to more advanced ones are similar to rural-urban migration. In answering the

question 'do migrants take the jobs of the lower skilled native workers?', Harris argued that migrants do not compete with the native people for the same jobs, rather, they do jobs which are refused by the native people due to poor conditions of work and the low wages (Harris, 1999: 8-10). Considering the age/education composition of migrants and urban natives, many rural-urban migration studies show that migrants tend to have lower unemployment rates and higher labour force participation rates than urban natives (Jamali, 1985: 373; and Yap, 1975: 29). Young migrants tend to enter lower quality employment and their urban counterparts are either at school or are not willing to take such jobs. Unskilled migrants, therefore, have a minor impact on the earnings and job opportunities of natives. Moreover, since the majority of migrants appear to be unskilled, poor and unorganised labourers, they are willing to take jobs that skilled organised labourers would not take.

Coleman (1992: 456 cited in Harris, 1999: 12) believes that the availability of cheap labour hinders modernisation of the economy and the substitution of capital for less skilled labour. But the German experience of 1990 demonstrates that not only did international migration controls fail to reduce the native unemployment problems, it induced the relocation of industries abroad or indeed their complete closure. Highly educated and skilled migrants could increase native unemployment, but many un/semi-skilled migrant labourers in urban jobs who might have been regarded as skilled in their place of origin, 'can reduce the levels of urban unemployment by supplying complementary rather than competitive inputs' (Harris, 1999: 10).

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to outline the literature on rural-urban migration as one of the integral parts of societies and economies and a dominant type of population movement in developing countries. The migratory literature illustrates that migration is not only a simple labour transition from rural to urban areas. Rather it is a complex system that has a close relationship with social and economic development, caused by economic as well as non-economic variables. It can be simultaneously both positive and negative for the development, depending on the context and the levels of analysis such as individual, community, state and so forth. This is also true for international migration.

Despite the limited capacities of the large cities in less developed countries to

provide employment, public service and decent accommodation for the migrants, all are the targets of considerable in-migration. The studies show that the trend of raising rural-urban migration is due to the relatively better conditions of life in the urban areas and their higher labour force participation rates compared to the non-migrants. This is due to the existence of the informal sector, which offers ample job opportunities in construction, manufacturing and service for unskilled or semi-skilled migrants through personal network channels.

The cities that have high net in-migration often have high net out-migration either to other urban areas in the national boundaries but also often up the hierarchy or to more developed countries. This part of the argument, however, is not in the scope of this study. Gender relations in migration are the subjects to be pursued in chapter 2.

Chapter 2

Review of the Literature: Different Patterns of Female Migration and its Causes and Consequences for Female Migrants

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to review the main literature on female migration and its different consequences and patterns around the world, with specific concentration on female labour market participation. It will look at the different factors which have been important in stimulating not only internal, but also international female migration, though the focus will be on internal migration. The feminisation of the labour market along with gender-specific patterns of urban employment, poverty in rural areas as a result of differences in income, and their association with the process of development, social norms and networks, customary patterns which limit or promote women's mobility and productivity, women's challenges to traditionally defined gender roles and expectations, and the influence of these factors on women's independent migration will all be discussed, in this chapter. To conclude, the objective is to examine the different factors that play important roles in female migration.

Female migration

In response to different circumstances, different patterns of female migration have emerged in different parts of the world (Bauer, 1984 & 1985; Brydon, 1982 & 1985a; Buijs, 1993; Fawcett et al., 1984; Smith et al., 1984; Strauch, 1984; Swaisland, 1993; Thadani and Todaro, 1984; Wright, 1995; Zhang, 1999). Female migration occurs as both associational and autonomous migration. The former occurs through marriage or family migration where women accompany or join their migrant male relatives; and the latter, which is

rapidly increasing, is an independent response of women to many economic and non-economic factors (Elmhirst, 1998a& b; Davin, 1998; Zhang, 1999; Rudnick, 2000).

Until the mid 1970s, women were often invisible in the migration literature and typical migrants to most metropolitan areas of the world were described as young adult males usually in the 15-24 age group (Buijs, 1993: 1). When women appeared in migratory literature, they were considered within the category of dependents whose traditional and associational migration had not been seen as having much social or economic impact on their place of origin or destination. This view was based on the assumption that women are not economically active (Smith et al., 1984: 22). Feminist analysis of women and development in developing countries and women's significant absence from historical accounts, particularly from rural-urban migration literature, has raised gender awareness with respect to migration. More comprehensive consideration of the question of female migration commenced in the 1980s (Zhang, 1999: 21 and Wright, 1995: 781).

Feminist analysis also concentrated on the inevitable consequences of male dominance in migration for the women left behind in the sending areas, who were also invisible in the literature. The alteration of the demographic balance in sending and receiving areas as a result of male migration or desertion, leads to change in the sexual division of labour and the formation of *de facto* female-headed households not only in the developing countries, but also in industrialised countries (Davin, 1989: 55-6). In *de facto* female-headed households, women usually undertake the same tasks as men or have greater participation to a greater extent in agriculture and other activities that traditionally were allocated to men (Brouwer and Priester, 1983: 120) without any changes in property rights to land. In societies where there is a taboo against women's ploughing or where women have relatively less power to act independently and their seclusion is favoured, they become more dependent on male relatives or face greater disadvantages, such as poverty and destitution, which in some cases may lead to their migration to urban areas (Agarwal, 1989: 73 and 87-89; and Chant, 1997: 15-19 & 69). In some cases, marital relationships come under strain, as men form another family in their destination area, and send little and irregular remittances back to the family left behind (Brouwer and Priester, 1983). However, in societies that have strong family ties, and where there is a sense of reciprocal obligation, the whole family benefits from male migration (Mascarenhas-Keys, 1990: 116- 123; Davin, 1999: 125- 6), though women have to perform the roles of both

mother and father for the children.

The early male dominance in migration within European societies was considered to be connected to the uncertainty of the first migratory movements: 'Men usually migrated first and when they became settled, their wives and families followed them. In this way, the number of female migrants gradually expanded or even exceeded that of males, particularly as the character of the urban economy shifted from manual to non-manual occupations' (Thadani and Todaro, 1984: 37). Some European studies, however, indicate that early and extensive female migration took place during the industrialisation process, due to the existence of occupational opportunities in textiles, manufacturing and domestic services (Weber, 1899 and Lesthaeghe, 1977 cited in Smith *et al.*, 1984: 16).

In the United States, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the earliest workers in urban textile factories were generally rural women who could easily be withdrawn from agricultural labour and replaced in the factories (Safa, 1986: 60-1). In Southern Africa, during the period of colonization, female city-ward migration was prevented for myriad reasons by both rural authorities and colonial rulers. However, there was a small but very visible female migration to African cities, even if these women were not employed (Wright 1995). The employers were heavily subsidised by women's non-waged domestic work and services offered to migrant men working in the mines, which gave a boost to profits, and their expulsion from urban areas would cause some miners return to home (Moroney, 1982: 261 cited in Wright 1995: 785). In such cases, female migration was even promoted by policy planners, despite colonial legislative constraints upon women's mobility. In early twentieth century Zimbabwe, 'the state punished and tactically encouraged female labour migration' (Wright 1995: 785). In some regions, the wives of African miners were permitted to join their husbands, but unmarried women were prevented (Wright 1995: 785). Moreover, the liberation of many women from male control and customary laws governing gender relations was passively facilitated by the missionaries who often offered refuge to runaway women (Walker, 1990: 182; Gaitskell, 1982: 342 and 1990: 253; and Hughes, 1990: 209-12 cited in Wright 1995: 785).

Women's association with migration and the feminisation of the labour market

The patterns of female migration are 'both a reflection and a cause of some of the major social and economic transformations of their societies' (Fawcett *et al.*, 1984: 5). Many different factors, such as the relaxation of migratory rules, independence, the gradual eradication of institutionalised economic barriers and social stratification as well as institutional changes in the structure of urban employment contribute to women's migration (Boserup, 1970; Wright, 1995 and Zhang, 1999). In addition to the expansion of urban employment opportunities for women, rural un/underemployment due to agricultural decline, over-population, intensive agricultural development in some regions, the undermining of women's traditional activities in agriculture or craft industries, the lack of a male breadwinner or his insufficient wage, devaluation, inflation, difficulties caused by structural adjustment policies and poverty, and rural-urban income differences, demanded that women contribute additional income for survival of the household and encourage their migration to cities (Brydon, 1989; Amin, 1997; Safa, 1995). A study of female migration in Anhui, a province of China, where women's work in agriculture is a tradition, shows that the surplus of labour on the land is one of the reasons for the migration of young single women to the big cities to work as domestic servants to earn their keep (Davin, 1999). A strong agricultural sector, little or no male out-migration, and poor development in urban areas seem to be directly related to low female migration (Walker, 1990: 190-1 cited in Wright 1995: 785). Considerable urban wage-earning opportunities as well as the gender-specific patterns of the urban labour market in the late twentieth century, however, are important elements in accelerating female migration.

It is not easy, therefore, to separate female autonomous migration from associational migration. Although single women have a better chance of migrating, when married women have opportunities to work, their migration is more likely to be family migration (Yap, 1975: 19). However, a lack of skills and educational qualifications affect many poor female migrants' access to better economic opportunities and they are less able to support themselves adequately or experience modest social mobility (Lessinger, 1990: 129-148). Their substantial contribution to the subsistence needs of the family, as well as their traditional roles in rural societies make them better suited to work within the flexible

arrangements of the informal sector, often as home-workers without job security or other benefits (Thadanin and Todaro, 1984: 46-7). In urban areas, however, due to the prevalence of the nuclear family structure, traditional shared childcare is replaced by expensive and scarce state or private childcare, which causes difficulties for working mothers attempting to cope with the demands of both childcare and a job simultaneously. In many developing countries, such as East and West Africa, the Caribbean, Indonesia in Southeast Asia, and Brazil in Latin America, the common practice for migrant women is to leave their children with their grandparents in their natal villages where child care is cheaper (Chant, 1997: 24). In China, due to strict regulations, female migrants are compelled to leave their children, particularly school-aged children, in rural areas under the guardianship of their families. In China, under the household registration system, migrants do obtain temporary residency, but do not have the same rights as urban people who have permanent household registration, particularly in respect of their children's access to urban schools, as well as to free or low cost healthcare facilities in the cities. Moreover, since children's household registration follows that of their mother, female migrants who marry men of urban origin are also compelled to send their school-aged children to their villages, or to return to their homes with their children, or obtain very expensive permanent residence permits for their children (Davin, 1998: 59-60).

Gender-specific patterns of urban employment have developed as a result of the rapid expansion of 'transitional production' as well as 'the global feminisation of labour'. Maximising profits and minimising the costs of production required the process of production to be divided into several integrated stages. The assembly stage of production, which is low-technology and labour-intensive, is increasingly carried out in Third World countries due to the abundance of cheap female labour (Hancock, 1983).

In general, within developing countries the autonomous migration of women, most of whom are single or the sole breadwinners for their families, (Todaro, 1994: 263-4), is rapidly increasing, particularly in Latin America, West Africa (Brydon, 1989: 125), Southern Africa since independence in the 1950s and 1960s (Wright, 1995), and China with an influx of young unmarried women into factory employment, following the 1980s Post-Mao economic reforms which resulted in a massive city-ward population movement (Yu & Day, 1994: 124- 5; Zhang, 1999). Most of the studies of female migration in Asia concern the countries of Southeast Asia as compared to other parts of the world, and the independent migration of women in many Asian or Middle Eastern countries is at a

relatively low level.

The ideology of space, which divides society into private and public, is a major factor that traditionally imposes a limitation and boundary on women's mobility and participation in the labour market (Shaheed, 1989). However, empirical country-level studies and sociological and anthropological observations of the situation in Asia suggest that the feminisation of migration, particularly of single women, is an integral and growing part of the process of economic change in Asia (Smith *et al.*, 1984: 15). Some studies suggest that poverty relaxes and modifies the role of conservative norms and practices, and cultural and religious beliefs as far as women's participation in the labour market is concerned (Feldman, 1983 and Amin 1997). In Bangladesh, a patriarchal society where the norm is that women do not work outside their home (Rudnick, 2000: 2), increasing poverty since the 1970s as a result of economic erosion, famine and high pressure on available land, has resulted in the increased participation of women, particularly young poor rural women, in the labour market: not only in the urban centers of Dhaka and Chittagong, but also in export-oriented factories in Malaysia (Rahman and Sen, 1994 cited in Amin, 1997: 216; Rudnick, 2000).

Responses to wage differentials and urban economic opportunities have different patterns and consequences, particularly among and for single women, in terms of the structure of urban employment. In some areas, most female migrants became engaged in domestic work and in others the majority work in the expanding export industries (Davin, 1998: 59). In some areas the decision is made for them, as for example young female migrants in Latin America who are sent by their families to work in multinational factories or the domestic sector in order to send remittances to their families in rural areas (Brydon, 1989: 126). In South-East Asia, among some poor families, young girls are forced into prostitution or are taken away from their home by agents in order to support the needs of their impoverished families (Lee, 1991). In others, women are active agents in the process of decision-making and convincing their families.

However, one of the important factors, for the feminisation of migration and the labour market, is the appearance of multinational factories in Latin America, Southeast Asia and China (Safa, 1995; Chant, 1997: 75; Davin, 1996 & 1998; and Zhang, 1999). A great number of women, the majority of them young migrants and better educated than men, are involved in these industries, however, occupational segregation, sexual inequality and wage differentials based on gender, are common practice. Women are employed in

low-ranking unskilled occupations for a minimal wage, and men are employed in managerial, professional or supervisory positions with higher salaries (Safa, 1995:105). This is despite the fact that women are preferred to men due to their greater productivity in detailed manual tasks because of assumed innate qualities such as discipline, submissiveness, agility, dexterity, careful concentration, nimble fingers, and the fact that they are easy to control (Hancock, 1983; Ecevit, 1991; Safa, 1995). In the Special Economic Zones of China, and Southeastern SEZs, employers even send agents to the villages to recruit cheap female labour, in such cases supplying dormitory accommodation in the city and even helping with transport as part of the employment agreement (Davin:1999: 115- 9). The traditional views about women as supplementary wage earners held by states, families, employers and policy planners is one of the major reasons for the fact that women are paid less and drawn into the labour force as cheap labour during industrialisation and development (Afshar, 1989). Thus, the global feminisation of labour (Safa, 1986; Bakker, 1988; Ecevit, 1991; Pearson, 1998) targets women as a 'cheap labour force', particularly in export-oriented factories that operate on the basis of the sexual designation of industrial tasks.

Although in export-oriented factories, the wage is based on gender, in some other sectors or regions, sex wage differentials are related to the supply of female labour. In different parts of India, as Boserup (1970) illustrated, women's wages reflect the different patterns of their participation in work. In the regions with a large supply of female labour, women's wages are low in relation to men's; whereas in regions with a small supply of female labour due to restrictive attitudes towards women's employment, customary sex wage differentials are eliminated, and men and women tend to be paid equal wages (Boserup, 1970: 73-75).

The important issue regarding women's independent migration is that the pull factors from the urban area are enhanced by social networks that are based on kinship ties (Elmhirst: 1998b: 8-14). In urban-oriented labour markets, settled migrants besides their monetary remittances, provide other important benefits for their rural communities by finding and providing suitable jobs and securing reliable homes for younger relatives who move to the city for the first time to find education or employment. Social networks offer village parents peace of mind as young migrants, particularly women, are well supervised and controlled in the cities by these networks (Strauch, 1984: 67). In fact, social networks and destination contacts 'enable the exertion of power and influence by certain actors over

individuals without face-to-face contact' (Elmhirst: 1998b: 13), particularly as far as female migration is concerned.

Kinship groups may, and sometimes do, impose limitations on women's freedom of movement in wider societies that have a heterogeneous nature with a higher number of unknown men around, particularly in respect of women's morality issues due to the impact of religion as well as traditional patriarchal beliefs (Shaheed, 1989: 20). The rules relating to women's mobility in urban areas, however, depend upon women's age, class, marital status and socio-economic conditions. Older women (who maintain more traditional gender roles in terms of patriarchal norms), divorced, widowed, and the poorest women have the least restriction imposed upon them and have more freedom even in respect of their resistance to male autonomy, than younger and unmarried women who are considered more vulnerable and need more supervision in terms of the virginity issue which will affect their marriageability (Bauer, 1984 & 1985; Davin, 1999).

Although rural and urban social systems, according to Ross and Weisner (1977), are spatially separated from each other, they are often interdependent socially, economically and politically (Ross and Weisner, 1977: 360-1 cited in Strauch, 1984: 60). In the process of internal migration, people alter and re-evaluate the old and traditional social relationships in order to form new ones 'when one party moves to the city and becomes a potential link to new opportunities for others still in the village. Female mobility today results in just such a re-valuation of kin connections that traditionally lay relatively dormant' (Strauch, 1984: 61). Elmhirst's study indicates that the existence of an institutionalized social network adjusted unmarried women's factory work according to prevalent local cultural ideologies and prescriptions. In China, the traditional kinship networks took on a new role in linking rural women to emerging urban employment opportunities through information exchanges about jobs (Zhang, 1999).

One of the characteristics of young unmarried women's migration is circulation as a result of which, female migrants keep their close ties with their villages and often return to their place of origin after many years (Davin, 1998; Elmhirst: 1998a & b: and Rudnick, 2000). Because of the rapid increase in female circular migration in the 1980s and 1990s within China, migrant women themselves became a vital source of continuous connection between their friends and relatives in the place of origin and employers in the place of destination. For instance, migrant women in domestic service are often identified by their origins. This identification, as well as the close and informal association of migrant

women through the mutual aid and exchange of information about jobs, not only helps them to adjust easily to the new environment, but also provides them with a strong, collective bargaining position in relation to their urban employers (Zhang, 1999: 27-8).

In the early 1990s, when unmarried women in the North Lampung area of Indonesia, began their circular migration to work in export-orientated factories, women's own informal networks, consisting of friends and relatives, helped them to gain parental consent for their migration, despite the strict sanctions on their movement and work practices. Parents were, however, concerned for their daughters morality due to the loosening of parental control on their daughters whilst they are in the city. Later on, local cultural and religious figures in the village along with a member of prominent family from that village who had been living in the city for a long time and kept his close ties with his village, institutionalised the city-village social network. This formal network 'increased parental trust and smoothed the path of migration decision-making process between parents and daughters' (Elmhirst, 1998b: 13) and enabled not only parents, but also village authorities to exert control over the practice and behavior of young migrant women in the city (Elmhirst, 1998a and b).

Cultivation systems and social norms

Since rural-urban female migration is the concern of this study, it will be useful to see how different social norms, ideological belief systems and customary patterns of women's mobility and productivity exist in different cultivation systems within rural areas.

Shifting cultivation systems and a high degree of freedom in female mobility

Most African, and some Southeast Asian countries, particularly the tribal people of India, have a shifting cultivation system with a high percentage of female participation in nearly all agricultural tasks. In Latin America, female farming has also been widespread among Indian and Negro communities. The transplantation system of agriculture in the rice and tea-producing districts, also demand more female participation (Lessinger, 1990). In these regions which have a long tradition of female wage labour in agriculture such as South India, and the northern provinces of Iran, women enjoy a degree of status and economic independence due to their active participation in agriculture (Afshar, 1989:48-9).

Their heavy involvement in productive activities paves the way for their participation

in the urban informal sector particularly, in retail marketing and trading. In many regions, particularly in African countries, traditional trading and marketing in food is left mostly, or even entirely, to women as a main occupation or as a subsidiary occupation to agriculture (Boserup, 1970). Although, in terms of independent access to material means or legal rights, they have a relatively powerless position (Wright, 1995), they enjoy a degree of economic independence through access to markets, which enable them to generate income by selling their surplus production. In many cases, however, their restricted access to capital or the means of production for market-oriented activities means that their work cannot guarantee survival. Moreover, their limited access to capital causes polarisation between them and men, both economically and politically, and this makes the competition between the sexes more difficult (Todaro, 1994:257-8; Mies, 1982). In the case of creating opportunities for women to earn more from trading and marketing, men perpetuate their gender superiority over women, particularly if women do not enjoy the support of a male relative (Lessinger: 1990:129- 148).

The plough cultivation system and ideological barriers to women's mobility

Some agrarian regions have plough cultivation systems which employ a high percentage of hired male agricultural labourers. A common practice in these areas is male control over agriculture, partly due to ritual taboos against women ploughing, particularly in India. Breaking the taboos, even when survival is threatened, may result in severe punishment for women (Boserup, 1970 and Agarwal, 1989). A social and class hierarchy due to the privatised land owned by a small number of rural population, is one of the major characteristics of these regions. Lack of access to land increases the risk of poverty and affects the well-being of landless families, particularly women and children. On the other hand, for land owning people, the direct and indirect advantages are access to credit from moneylenders or institutional sources in order to purchase agricultural technology and modern agricultural inputs, which are otherwise, are not available to them (Agarwal, 1989).

Apart from land privatisation, limited female inheritance rights also create a gender hierarchy, which bars women's independent involvement in agriculture (Agarwal, 1989: 73 and Hoodfar, 1993). In India, under traditional Hindu law, women do not inherit any ancestral land or immovable property. Although, among some of the matrilineal societies, women's inheritance rights to immovable property, including land, has been traditionally

recognised. Islam does not allow a father to deprive his daughter of her right, and women can theoretically inherit ancestral land and wealth and have the right to control them after marriage. But in patrilineal societies, even where they are titled to do, women's ability to claim their legal share in land is circumscribed by patriarchal, traditional, social and psychological resistance (Afshar, 1985a: 68). Post-marital residence in case of village exogamous marriage automatically deprives women of their parental land in favour of their brothers, or poses practical difficulties in managing the parental land. Intimidation by male kin in order to prevent women from claiming land, and official policies which reinforce traditional attitudes by giving title in land to men as the heads of households are other important factors in this regard (Agarwal, 1989).

One of the features of gender hierarchy in these societies is the existence of strong ideological barriers that restrict women's mobility and participation in outside activities, often through social institutions. These institutions, by exercising the ideology of space, purdah and seclusion, take control of female sexuality, particularly when they have some economic independence. Ideological practices, such as the ideology of domesticity, have a close connection with families' upward social and economic mobility in cultivator families to describe women's social status in the society as housewife (domesticated) or worker (Boserup, 1970; Mies, 1982). In some societies, particularly in India and Pakistan, in rich families women's un-paid work in the fields is replaced by male labourers and women are driven into seclusion by the rules of purdah due to the domination of the domestication ideology and the importance of the family's social upward mobility (Shaheed, 1989). Seclusion, however, does not mean the non-participation of secluded women in production, as they often perform domestic duties, or contribute to harvest work and to the care of domestic animals. Only women in the lowest social groups who are working-class labourers from the indigenous point of view and the 'African' type of women (Boserup: 1970), are expected to have a paid job, 'whatever it is' (Mies, 1982). Since the majority of rural people are poor and women's economic and reproductive labour is essential for the family's survival, they are more likely to observe sex segregation roles, but not seclusion (Razavi, 1992 and Hoodfar, 1993: 6).

In rural societies where strong ideological controls are exercised over women, household industries, often categorised under the heading of 'housework and subsistence work', absorb quite large numbers of women. The women often remain 'invisible' in national and international data despite their active role in production and wealth generation

for their employers. Studying rural lace-makers in India, Mies (1982) found that this industry, introduced by the early missionaries to provide work for poor Christian converted women, was intended to fit into an ideological framework. Through conversion to Christianity, and by learning the lace industry, the untouchable women who were all doing agricultural labour, were given the status of respectable housewives who could move away from their lowest cast situation by generating income within the home.

With the growth of pauperisation in India, Mies (1982) observed that more respectful rural housewives of other castes were drawn into this industry out of necessity. Faced with absolute poverty and aware that they would earn more in the fields, women were not willing to lose their social identity and secluded status as respectable housewives, by working or moving outside their home. Although both they and agricultural labourers belonged to the same class of pauperised poor peasants, they were distinguished from each other, as one group was considered as housewives and the other as workers according to their own perception and that of others. In practice, therefore, based on the ideology of domestication, women's whole production process becomes 'invisible' and the exploitative relationship between them and their employers is reinforced economically and politically (Mies, 1982 and Ghavamshahidi, 1996).

However, social norms and the strict regulation of women's mobility and economic activity is diluted by poverty, particularly when women are obliged to contribute to the household economy. Extreme poverty, the deterioration of their socio-economic position, male desertion and the struggle for survival, force some women to migrate, though the sphere of their movement might be very limited (Mies, 1982: 114). It seems that the lower class status of women, along with the existence of social networks in urban areas, give poor women greater flexibility in social terms to some extent. As a result, the poor and those who can not rely on the protection of a male relative, are more likely to move as independent agents in search of paid employment, and challenge the structural social, political and sexual order. In Rudnick's (2000) case study of Bangladeshi women working in Malaysian export industries, poverty and economic pressure were important reasons for the majority of women.

Costs and benefits of migration and economic involvement for women

Various studies indicate that the burden of economic hardship at the household level falls

primarily on women who have to minimise expenditure and maximise earnings not only through their non-wage domestic work, which is universally and socially considered to be women's duty, but also through paid or un-paid labour (Afshar, 1989; Amin, 1997; Mies, 1982; Razavi, 1992 and Safa, 1995). When their contribution to the familial economy involves spending more time on cost-saving activities or home-based production which are not measurable and do not generate cash, most women do not see their unpaid contribution to the familial economy as 'work' and do not identify themselves as potential workers (Elson, 1991 and Ghavamshahidi, 1996). Access to paid employment and contributing to the household economy, however, despite the inferior position of the majority of women in the labour market, are liberating experiences which enable women to challenge traditional patriarchal patterns of authority and move beyond the physical and psychological constraint of familial control towards more egalitarian family structures (Afshar and Dennis, 1992; Standing 1991; MacEwen, 1994; Safa, 1995; and Amin, 1997). 'When male bread-winning inadequacy becomes chronic and women became co-breadwinners on a permanent basis, men are no longer able to maintain their superior and authoritarian position vis-a vis their wives' (Safa, 1995: 122), 'even if women consider their husbands to be the head of household' (Safa, 1995: 111). Women, who become the main supporters of their families, often question the ideology of the dependent housewife and often show a new gender awareness and self-confidence. Though due to the informal nature of their work, they do not see themselves as *workers*. Moreover, 'control over distribution is a critical economic aspect of the status and power differential between men and women. Since women usually are in a subordinate position in the traditional social hierarchy, urban migration and urban job may represent the promise of economic independence which is a positive differential for women compared to men' (Thadanin and Todaro, 1984: 47).

Amin, however, argues that the cultural impact upon women's status is such that as women's liberty increases in one sphere, there is a decline in another. This is so particularly in societies where, due to the impact of religion and traditional patriarchal patterns, women's seclusion and exclusion from outside work is considered a symbol of status. She states that in such societies, apart from the inferior position of women in the male-dominated labour market, their paid job also results in a loss of status (Amin, 1997: 215). Although women's inferior position in the labour market has been revealed by many studies, less work has been done on the relationship between women's status and paid employment. Most of the studies of migrant women in different parts of the world

implicitly or explicitly indicate the opposite result. For instance, Elmhirst's (1998) study of migrant women in the North Lampung area of Indonesia shows that, despite cultural and moral prescriptions and restrictive attitudes to rural women's mobility and participation in work, particularly unmarried women, their circular migration has been accepted. Their factory work not only does not cause a loss in status, rather it is highly valued by their communities, their parents and themselves for three reasons: 'First, in terms of aesthetics and prevailing ideas about female beauty and appearance such as wearing beautiful clothes and jewellery; secondly, in terms of expanding more worldly experience, learning and developing social skills; and thirdly, in raising the value of unmarried women on the marriage market' (Elmhirst, 1998a: 14).

Non-economic factors affecting female migration

Although, the expected urban-rural income differentials, lead to a greater female out-migration rate (Thadani and Todaro, 1984: 44 and 52), freedom from parental supervision, greater personal autonomy regarding marriage and fertility, a sense of self-esteem, responsibility for improving the economic prosperity of the family, and increased income have all been considered important motivating factors for female migrants (Davin, 1998; Zhang, 1999; and Elmhirst, 1998a & b; Rudnick, 2000). When women are active agents in the process of decision-making and convincing their families, their (mostly single and unmarried) involvement in urban paid employment, as Elmhirst (1998), Zhang (1999) as well as Rudnick's (2000) studies illustrate, is not merely related to economic reforms. The structure of urban employment and official relaxation of rural-urban migration controls, also demonstrate that young migrant women are actors and agents in an economic and social transformation. They have won a gradual battle against traditional values, patriarchal authority, state control and restrictions over their lives, economic opportunities and freedom of movement (Zhang, 1999). The increase in women's active and autonomous migration and involvement in the labour market, is a measure of women's challenge to traditionally defined gender roles and expectations, as well as to spatial and socio-economic boundaries which have prevented women having their own aims and achievements (Zhang, 1999: 21-5). Most women in Elmhirst's (1998) and Zhang's (1999) case studies were not taking their urban job out of necessity. Rather, a large proportion of their wages were spent on clothes, jewellery or household goods bought in expectation of

marriage.

Migration also offers many women an escape. Social pressures and a hard life within the village, sexual subordination within patriarchal rural households, women's traditional status, customary sanctions against unmarried mothers, the experience of widowhood, and an unhappy and broken marriage can all reinforce women's final decision to migrate (Bryceson, 1985: 144-5; Boserup, 1970; Wright 1995: 786 and Little, 1973 cited in Thadani and Todaro, 1984: 45). In many cases, African women in Kenya, Basutoland, and Zambia were escaping from unendurable male oppression or unwanted prospective or violent husbands, the quarrels of polygamy, and the stigma of childlessness (Bonner, 1990; Kimble, 1983; Nelson, 1992; Hansen, 1984 cited in Wright 1995: 786). Those who could not be re-absorbed into their natal kin-group were forced to migrate due to the lack of a 'male guardian' as a result of widowhood or abandonment by a migrant husband. For instance, according to the 1967 Tanzanian census, the proportion of divorced women in urban areas was twice as high as in rural areas, whereas this was not the case for men in urban areas. Of the 295 women workers interviewed in Dar es Salaam, 63 % were either single, divorced or widowed, and most of them were the heads of their households with children to support (Bryceson, 1985: 144-5).

Marriage customs dictating that a woman should move to her husband's parental residence, in the form of rural-rural, rural-urban and short or long-distance movements, also play an important role in female migration. This form of female migration, 'marriage migration', usually takes place where village exogamy (marrying someone from outside natal village) and patrilocal patterns of marriage are prevalent, and where village endogamy is forbidden for example in South-eastern China and in most of rural India, particularly North-western India (Strauch, 1984: 62; Davin, 1998; and Agarwal, 1989: 70 and 79-82). In such societies, economic causes do not seem to play as important a role. Moreover, despite a correlation between education and migration, it seems that when women use migration as an escape, or migrate to the cities as wives or as domestic servants, their level of education is not as important a factor in their movement as it is for men or autonomous female migrants, who are mainly economic migrants (Bauer, 1984, 1985 and Brydon, 1982, 1985a).

Migration for marriage, 'marital migration', has been suggested as another reason for female migration. Through marital migration, women expect to gain socio-economic status and achieve upward social mobility: such marriages are called 'mobility marriages'

(Thadani and Todaro, 1984: 45-6). This form of mobility marriage is common in West Africa where there is an imbalance between the sexes or local marriage prospects are not good for young women. The higher the probability of mobility marriage or the higher the actual disproportion between the sexes, the greater the female out-migration rate (Thadani and Todaro, 1984: 52). This statement would be true for any sort of female migration including rural-urban migration and international migration.

The emigration of many single British women from impoverished labouring and middle class families to South Africa as domestic servants during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century may have been as a result of marital as well as economic concerns (Swaisland, 1993: 161-176). Women's emigration was a result of two main events in their own society. On the one hand, industrialisation and urbanisation in Britain had brought about socio-economic upheavals, and on the other hand, the expansion of the British colonial empire and the exodus of many young men to the colonised territories as a result, had resulted in a high imbalance between the sexes. Therefore, as a result of poverty, distress and lack of any welfare provision, many single women emigrated to societies where their 'past' was unknown in order to cross class boundaries and improve their social status and/or get married. Swaisland notes that although the outcome of marriage for middle-class servants was often not good, marriage provided upward mobility for most working-class servants who married men of a higher class who wanted British wives (Swaisland, 1993: 175-6).

Conclusion

Although the number of migrant women is rapidly increasing in most parts of the world, single women are more visible than married women in this process. It is a reality, particularly where multinational factories prefer a single female labour force, who do not have any family responsibilities and can work for longer hours in sometimes harsh conditions. Like any other social changes, migration can be seen as both positive and negative from different angles. Women's economic independence; autonomy and self-esteem in terms of making important decisions for themselves, weakening of the family power structures and hierarchy; challenging tradition gender relations; greater freedom of mobility; their experiences and remittances and many other factors indicate that female migration is a liberating experience for many woman. However, female migrants'

engagement in low-wage, low-status temporary jobs, the replacement of family authority with the authority of their employers, the bad conditions of the work and many other factors related to employment are viewed as negative implications of female migration. Although the benefits of migration and employment for female migrants exceed the costs, for women who are left behind in the sending areas either as a result of male or female migration, the costs exceed the benefits.

Chapter 3

An Overview of Migration In Iran and the Impact of Socio-Economic Changes on Women's Work in Rural and Urban Areas

Introduction

This chapter is divided into three sections. In the first section it gives a historical outline of the land reform project and urbanization process in Iran, which are considered to be important factors in motivating rural-urban migration. The second section provides general information about the location of the study, such as population distribution between rural and urban areas, literacy rate between women and men, economic activity information, slum areas, etc. Iranian state policies have played important roles in determining women's economic and social position within the society in both the pre- and post-revolutionary eras. Therefore, the third part of the chapter is briefly allocated to the socio-economic situation of Iranian women in rural and urban lower middle- and working class families focusing on their engagement in economic activities.

Historical outline of agrarian conditions, the 1963 land reform and urbanization process in Iran

In Iran the ownership of the land and irrigation water was traditionally under the exclusive control of a class of absentee landlords. Peasants had certain rights to given areas without having ownership rights. The economic and political position of landlords over the peasants was, however, reinforced from the mid-nineteenth century onwards through the spread of the political influence of Western powers in Iran (Razavi, 1992). Crown lands were sold to the highest bidder each year by central government, which needed money to buy Western products, especially weapons (Keddie, 1972). To keep incomes high, the

landlords were also arbitrarily raising taxes at the expense of the peasants. The political influence of foreign powers also affected the self-sufficiency of many rural areas. Agricultural production was largely divided between food crops, usually for domestic consumption, and cash crops for export, particularly in market-oriented areas (Katouzian, 1981: 95).

The landlords' practice of imposing ever-higher taxes and rents, usually to be paid in cash, was consolidated during the Reza Shah's¹ reign, without any agrarian reform (Razavi, 1992: 209). His industrialization and modernization program, based on strong central bureaucracies in the 1920s and 1930s, concentrated on the development of the oil industry and foreign trade in general as well as heavy investment in infrastructure, such as roads and railways, in order to absorb 'the periphery into a centralized bureaucratic state' (Akhavi, 1986: 204-5). The intention of Reza Shah's policies was to include the rural population in state investment activities, particularly through internal migration (Akhavi, 1986: 205). Reforming the agricultural sector was only pursued through exempting agricultural machinery imports from customs tariffs to increase the productivity of the sector. However, since the peasants' labour was extremely cheap, combined with the fact that they did not have any economic rights and thus were not protected by law, landlords preferred the old system of cultivation, as investment in modern productive enterprises was perceived to be risky (Pesaran, 1985: 16-7).

The whole modernization project of Reza Shah resulted in a strengthening of the position of the landlords within the agricultural sector, and capital investment in unproductive areas, i.e. money lending which worsened the economic and political status of the villagers (Keddie, 1972: 370-5). These measures became more severe after the Shah's abdication in 1941, during the Second World War. A dualistic approach to the country's development planning, designed mainly by foreign companies, neglected the agricultural sector, the major sector of the economy, and gave more attention to selected industries, which demanded large numbers of unskilled labourers, accelerating the migratory process in Iran (Afshar, 1985a: 58; Bayat, 1997: 26). This process was, however, halted for a short time due to the economic sanctions and rapid deterioration of the economy that resulted from the oil nationalization crisis during the early 1950s. But, after the post-oil-nationalism and the coup of Dr. Mossaddeq² in 1953 by the CIA, foreign

1- The founder of the Pahlavi dynasty in Iran (1925-1979).

2- Iranian Prime minister, who in 1951 nationalised the Anglo-Iranian oil company, the forerunner of BP, which had a monopoly of Iranian oil.

interventions increased: including private investment and economic aid, particularly from America. In 1955 another development plan, which did not have a rational basis, was launched, and again a very small proportion of funds was allocated to the agricultural sector, less than a third of that allocated to the industrial sector. As a result of this plan, making a livelihood from agriculture became increasingly difficult (Afshar, 1985a: 60-2 and Pesaran, 1985: 18-9).

In general, the lack of capital investment in the agricultural sector, the exploitation of the peasants, indebtedness, poverty and insecurity in rural employment due to the periodic redistribution of the tenants by the landlords, overpopulation in rural areas, and on the other hand, the improved transportation and the increased income earning possibilities in the urban areas, were 'pull-push factors', which encouraged peasants' city-ward migration (Ajami, 1976: 189- 190).

The land reform project and its impact on migration

Since one of the important causes of the backwardness of the traditional sector were absentee landlords with political power, who were supported by law and took the agricultural surplus to the cities, land reform was considered essential for the economic development of the country in the early 1960s (Keddie, 1972). During 1963, in response to internal and external pressures, a land reform project was launched. This redistributed the land of large absentee landlords, whose land incorporated more than one village, to the tenants, who worked on the land. Under the provisions of the program, orchards and mechanized farms with hired labourers that had developed at the expense of small subsistence farms, were exempted from the reform. The first phase of land reform covered only one-fifth of the total lands and 20% of peasants, most of whom were sharecroppers (Afshar, 1985a). Labourers, who according to the 1960 survey constituted 47.5% of the rural population, did not benefit from the reform and once more the law discriminated against them. As a result of the program, under-employed labour was supposed to be disposed to migrate to the cities to strengthen the country's selected industrial and manufacturing sectors (Afshar, 1985a; Ajami, 1976; Keddie, 1972; Pesaran, 1985 and Razavi, 1992).

Before the land reform, the villagers were alienated from the prime means of production, i.e. land and water. They were all governed by the landlord-tenant relationship

and were dependent on the *kadkhda* (headman), the landlords' representatives, to administer their dealings with the landlord and urban administrations (Ajami, 1976: 190-1 and Craig, 1978, 143-4). Although the implementation of land reform was meant to modernize Iran's backward subsistence agricultural sector, its main objectives were political rather than economic development. Through the reform, firstly, the power of the landed aristocracy against the Shah was being abolished, and secondly, villagers who were oppressed socially, politically and economically by the landlords would become a class ally for the Shah (Craig, 1978, 141).

As reform moved on from its first stage, it became less effective and less beneficial to the villagers. In 1965, the second phase of reform gave landlords the right to keep a reasonable proportion of their most fertile lands in the proximity of the market. The villagers who had gained the land in the first stage, therefore, became immediately landless during the second phase of reform (Afshar, 1985a: 62-3; Ajami, 1976; Pesaran, 1985: 28-31; Craig, 1978). In practice, land reform stratified the homogeneous villagers into two classes: the landed, and the landless who occupied the lowest level on the social ladder. Socio-economic change is a 'moral as well as a material process, its impact felt not only through changes in income and production, but through the reshaping of identity, aspirations and authority' (Elmhirst, 1998: 7). The situation that was supposed to be abolished by land reform, 'absentee landlordism', was recreated in a new form by the land reform project. Moreover, instead of creating an ally in the peasantry class for the Shah, it created a situation in which landless peasants felt hostility toward both the landed peasants and the central government (Craig, 1978, 146).

The landless peasants, called '*khushneshin*', had to work either in the fast-growing urban industrial centres or as agricultural labourers for a new landlord. They had no job security, no right to get loans from agricultural banks, no life insurance from the government, and were reluctant to work for the new landed villagers. In some regions, the new landholders had to transfer their lands to the farm-corporation in order to modernize agricultural production. They could either sell their land to the cooperatives and migrate to the cities, or become shareholders employed by the cooperation as agricultural labourers to receive a proportion of the product (Ajami, 1976: 200-3). The land reform, therefore, played a major role in motivating a great number of both landless and landed peasants who found it difficult to cope with the high costs and the low profit levels of agricultural activities, to move to the edges of the large cities. Apart from the land reform, overpopulation in the rural areas, due mainly to the general improvement in health and

hygiene within the country which led to a reduction in the death rate without any change in the birth rate, was another push factor. The amount of land under cultivation did not increase but the surplus population, and a large proportion of the population, was left with the same amount, or even less land for production (Jamali, 1985: 77).

Economic opportunities in the urban areas and its impact on migration

Political and economic contexts in Iran were of crucial importance in underpinning 'pull-push factors' in migration by creating economic distress in the villages and economic opportunities in the rapidly developing urban economy and thus the hope for better living conditions in the cities (Bayat, 1997: 24-9). As a result, most migration studies in Iran indicate that people's decision to migrate is a response to employment opportunities both in the place of origin and the destination. Migrants are strongly attracted to the cities characterized by high social, occupational and educational facilities (Hemmasi, 1974; Hossein-Zadeh-e-Dalir, 1982; and Jamali, 1985). Despite the rapid rate of economic growth in the country, disparity between rural and urban incomes was increasing (Afshar, 1985b: 59- 68), as a result of which the migratory process was accelerating. The annual number of rural-urban migrants increased by 78% during 1966-76 compared with the period 1956-66, and the urban population rose very sharply from 31.4% of the total in 1956 to 46.6% in 1976 (Pesaran, 1985: 29).

Unequal income distribution not only resulted in socio-economic imbalances between rural and urban areas, but also created a severe regional disparity in income, health care and educational facilities which attracted migrants to the fast-growing and overcrowded cities with occupational, educational, and entertainment facilities (Jamali, 1985). For example, in 1973 half of the country's doctors were located in Tehran, while in the rest of the country there was one doctor for every 5,011 people, and even less in remote provinces. In the same year, the literacy rate for Tehran was 76%, while for the rest of the country it was 38%, and less for remote areas (Pesaran, 1985). Three out of twenty-one *ostans* (provinces) attracted nearly 90% of the total inter-*ostan* migrants throughout two decades between 1956 and 1976 (Jamali, 1985). Moreover, in terms of the number of the net in-migrants, there were massive differences between these three *ostans*. The Central *Ostan*, in which Tehran is located, attracted migrants from all over the country: more than 50% of the total in-migrants settled in Tehran, and the other cities of the Central *Ostan* acted as temporary residencies for a large number of step-wise migrants. By the mid-

1970s Tehran had some fifty slum and squatter communities and Tabriz had the highest ratio of slum and squatters in the country (Bayat, 1997: 26).

The primary pattern of migration in Iran was mostly male-dominated oscillating (circular) migration, usually temporary or seasonal labourers, who maintained their relationship with their origins by sending a portion of their wages to their families left behind (Hoodfar, 1993: 10-3). Although this form of migration is still prominent in Southern Africa, South Asia and Latin America (Brydon, 1989: 130), in Iran this pattern is prevalent among single migrants who tend to migrate further afield, whereas shorter distance migration is usually a 'family migration' (Jamali, 1985).

Like elsewhere, migration in Iran is a selective process and is dominated by the 20-24 age-group, who have the highest percentage of migrants in all national censuses. Although on the whole the percentage of male migrants is higher than females, the difference is not great. For instance, in 1966, 13.6% of the male population and 12% of the female population were reported as migrants. In 1976 male migration had increased by 2.1%, and female migrant by 1.4%. In 1976, within the age groups of 20 to 24 and 25 to 29, female migrants outnumbered male migrants in inter-*shahrestan*³ migration (Jamali, 1985: 103). However, men dominated inter-*ostan* migration.

Post-revolutionary migration

Extensive rural-urban migration continued after the 1979 revolution too, despite the state's long-standing commitment to reverse the tide of city-ward migration. After the revolution the agricultural revolutionary organization, *jahad-eh Sazandegi*, was specifically employed to improve rural conditions and provide economic incentives for the peasantry to stay on the land. Agricultural improvements were considered an important issue and many projects such as road construction, irrigation projects, encouraging the small-scale mechanization of agriculture, and developing the electricity supply were set up to promote rural development. The government, however, failed to achieve its goals. In some cases the migratory process even accelerated as communications improved. Between 1976 and 1986 the urban population increased by about 72%, with an annual growth rate of 5.5%. For example, a survey conducted by *Jahad-eh Sazandegi* in 1984, indicated that over 85% of the peasants in the provinces of Isfahan and Hamadan had left their settlements due to

3- In Iran each *shahrestan* is a smaller administrative division of a Province. Each *shahrestan* is in turn divided into many cities and villages.

low income, an inadequate water supply, or unproductive land (Bayat, 1997).

Between 1981 and 1984 migration was at its highest level, and Tehran received 1,500 new comers each day. The other big cities, such as Mashhad, Isfahan, and Tabriz, had similar experiences (Bayat, 1997). The early post-revolutionary migrants came to the big cities hoping to get free housing, jobs and other fruits of the revolution. Yet later on migrants were forced out of their places of origin by economic pressures (Bayat: 1997: 81-3 and 136). Although in 1981, two years after the revolution, the *Majles*, parliament, passed a land law in order to redistribute the land of large landlords to landless or small holders peasants, the land question remained unsolved (Akhavi, 1986: 214).

General information about the location of the study, East Azarbaijan province, Tabriz district (*shahrestan-e-Tabriz*) and the city of Tabriz

According to the statistics and limited literature available, migration has been widespread in East-Azarbaijan, a province situated in the northwest of Iran (Figure 3.1). In 1956, of the total population, 50.2% were involved in agriculture and 19.4% in manufacturing (Hemassi, 1974: 89-90). Almost three-fourths of the population was living in rural and one-fourth in urban areas. In 1971 the province's population was still mostly concentrated in rural areas and the agricultural sector. In the last census of 1996, however, 60% were living in urban areas. The *shahrestan* of Tabriz is one of the fourteen administrative districts of East Azarbaijan (Figure 3.2) and is located in the west of the province.

The *shahrestan* of Tabriz has been divided up into three smaller districts, which include nine cities, fourteen rural districts and one hundred and sixty habitable villages.⁴ The city of Tabriz, due to its strategic position in the area as a political, economic, administrative, industrial and trading centre, has been a destination for massive immigration. Population growth in Tabriz city (Table 3.1) indicates that the highest growth rate occurred during 1976-1986 and then during 1991-1996. In 1984 illegal night-time construction in the squatter settlements of Tabriz was seen by the city's authorities to be a major threat that needed to be stopped (Bayat, 1997).

4 - The statistical information in this paper is based on surveys carried out every ten years by Statistical Centre of Iran (SCI), which has been recognised as the country's most reliable source of statistics, which is part of the Planning and Budget Organization (PBO).



Figure 3.1: Map of Iran and its position in the region

Figure 3.2: East Azerbaijan and its administrative districts

Table 3.1: The Population of the City of Tabriz between 1956-1996

Year	1956	1966	1976	1986	1991	1996
Population	472000	600000	877000	1146000	1038985	1191040



Figure 3.2: East Azarbaijan and its *Shahrestans* (districts)

Table 3. 1) The Population of the City of Tabriz between 1956-1996

Year	1956	1966	1976	1986	1991	1996
Population	289996	403413	597976	971482	1088985	1191043

Source: taken from Hemmassi and Jamali's study as well as from National Census of Population and Housing 1370, 1375 (1991 and 1996).

In the period between 1986-1996, 161,395 people migrated to the *Shahrestan* of Tabriz or moved within it, of whom 61% were male and 39% were female. Migration was highest amongst 20 to 29 years old. The distribution of migrants in terms of their residency in the Tabriz district also shows that the greatest number of migrants (15%) had entered the *shahrestan* or moved within it one year before the census, and the lowest number (3%), nine years before the census, which indicates the continuing rapid rate of migration.

According to the Population and Housing Census data of 1996, the population of Tabriz *shahrestan* in 1996 numbered 1,486,509, constituting 44.7% of the population of East Azarbaijan. Out of the total population of *shahrestan*, the number of people living in urban and rural areas was 1,304,584 (87.8%) and 181,925 (12.2%) respectively. The sharp decrease in rural population in this region might have occurred for two reasons: the fact that some rural areas became urban areas in the latest administrative divisions of the province, or the heavy migration of peasants to the cities, particularly to Tabriz. Given the population of Tabriz⁵ the second possibility seems more likely, particularly when we consider that 90% of the urban population was living in the city of Tabriz.

According to the latest census, in 1996, the literacy rate for the 1,053,509 people aged 6 years and over in city of Tabriz was 82%: 87% for men and 76% for women. The corresponding figure for urban areas of the *shahrestan* was similar to the city's literacy rate, but for rural areas it was 78% of male and 64% of female.

Out of the 392,511 men aged 15 years and over in 1996, 65% were married, 2% were widowers or divorced, and 33% were unmarried. Of the 465,603 women aged 10 years and over 55% were married, 7% were widows or divorced, and 37% were unmarried. Ninety-three per cent of the households in the *shahrestan* were headed by men and 7% by women. The highest proportion of women (49%) who headed their households was among those aged 60 years and over and most of these women (81%) were the head of small families with one or two members. Thus, the reason for the majority seems to be

⁵- Apart from the role of migration, natural population growth due to a fall in the mortality rate and the relatively high fertility rate particularly among migrants is another factor in the population

widowhood and the spread of nuclear families.

Activity information

In terms of activity, people aged 10 years and over has been divided up into three categories: the active population, the inactive population, and unclassifiable people. The active population is comprised of those who are employed and those who are jobless (whether they were previously employed or not), but are looking for a job. The inactive population is made up of four groups: students; homemakers⁶, those with an income but no job⁷, and others. No information is available regarding the activities of the unclassifiable people.

Out of the 942,231 people aged 10 years and over in the city of Tabriz in 1996, 35% were economically active: 32% employed, 3% unemployed looking for a job. 61% were economically inactive: 28% studying in schools, universities or other institutions, 30% homemakers, 3% had an income but no job. The rest (4%) were among the uncertain group or had not classified their activities by status.

In the *shahrestan* the active population constitutes 36% of the people aged 10 years and over. This proportion for the urban areas is 35% as against 44% for rural areas. It is interesting to mention that out of 22,110 unemployed people looking for a job, 18,951 were men, who were classified as part of the active group. Of the unemployed population, 42% were aged 10 to 24 and 48% were aged 25 to 64. 30% of unemployed people were illiterate, 20% had primary education, and 49% secondary education. The homemakers/housewives, who in the case of the *shahrestan* constitute 30% of the population aged 10 years and over, 61% of women both in urban and rural areas, were classified as part of the inactive group. Therefore, vast numbers of women were not being counted as part of labour force. As a result, there is a huge gap (disparity) between the activity rates for men and women: only 10% of the active population of the *shahrestan* was women, while 90% of the economically active population was men.

growth in Tabriz.

⁶- In the 1956, 1966, 1976 censuses, all women who were not employed or unemployed, but looking for a job seven days before the collection of the data, were classified as homemaker/housewife (*khane-dar*). However, in the 1986 and 1996 population and housing data, students and the retired were added to the previous criteria for homemakers, which was applied to both men and women.

⁷ - Income without job: those who are not employed, unemployed (looking for a job), students or homemakers/housewives, but have a permanent salary such as a pension, dividend, an income from

Table 3.2 sets out the relative distribution of the population aged 10 years and over for the *shahrestan* of Tabriz for the period 1996, in terms of activity, sex and urban and rural bases.

Table 3. 2) Distribution of the population aged 10 years and over, by sex, form of activity and region, 1996 (by percentage)

Kind of activity	<i>Shahrestan</i> (Sum total)	Urban Areas		Rural Areas	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Employed	33.75	57.94	5.92	70.39	14.6
Jobless (previously employed)	0.84	1.73	0.06	0.54	0.03
Jobless (previously unemployed)	1.24	2	0.6	0.91	0.31
<u>Total active population</u>	<u>35.83</u>	<u>61.67</u>	<u>6.58</u>	<u>71.84</u>	<u>14.94</u>
Student	27.48	28.43	28.39	21.86	19.15
Homemakers	29.95	0.57	60.69	0.57	60.52
Income without job	2.62	4.29	1.18	1.69	1.37
Other	2.89	3.58	2.14	2.75	3.11
<u>Total inactive population</u>	<u>62.94</u>	<u>36.87</u>	<u>92.4</u>	<u>26.87</u>	<u>84.15</u>
<u>Uncertain group</u>	<u>1.23</u>	<u>1.46</u>	<u>1.02</u>	<u>1.29</u>	<u>0.91</u>
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: official figures taken from National Census of Population and Housing 1375 (1996).

From the 303,174 employed people in the city of Tabriz, who made up 89% of the urban employed people of the *shahrestan* (from 342,481 persons), 2% were involved in the agricultural sector, 47% in the industrial sector, 49% in the service sector, and the rest (2%) in other forms of activity. For the *shahrestan* these proportions were 9%, 45%, 44% and 2% respectively: for urban areas 3%, 46%, 49% and 2%, and for rural areas 41%, 40%, 18% and 1%.

Each sector in turn has been divided up into smaller sectors. The agricultural sector is made up of two sectors: the agriculture, hunting and forestry sector and the fishing sector. Fishing is one of the rarest occupations in the *shahrestan*. Industry is made up of four main sections of which manufacturing and construction absorb the largest number of employees. The service sector has been divided up into 12 groups.

There is no separate data for the city of Tabriz. However, since the employed population in Tabriz city constitutes 89% of the urban employed population of the

shahrestan, the relative distribution of the employed population aged 10 years and over for the urban areas of the *shahrestan* (Table 3.3) can explain the city's economically active population. Since the rural population constitutes only 12% of the *shahrestan*'s population and because I want to look at the labour force in the urban areas, particularly the city of Tabriz, I will omit the data about rural areas.

Table 3. 3) Distribution of economically active people aged 10 years and over in the urban areas of the *shahrestan* of Tabriz, by sex and major types of employment, 1996 (in percentage)

Major Occupational Groups	Male and Female	Male	Female
Agricultural sector	2.94	3.04	1.91
Industrial sector	45.88	47.15	32.86
Service sector	49.27	48.01	62.18
Others	1.91	1.8	3.05

Source: official figures taken from National Census of Population and Housing 1375 (1996).

As shown in table 3.3, in line with the economic sectors, most urban employed women in the *shahrestan* in 1996 were respectively found in the following occupational sectors: the service sector, industrial sector, others, and agricultural sector. Of the 18,919 urban employed females, who constitute 62% of women in the service sector, the largest percentage of them (59%) was employed in education, and 16% were employed in health. Few women were employed in the other ten sections of the service sector. The percentage of women in the education department was 48% against 52% of men.

Out of the 9,997 urban women employed in the industrial sector, 96% were part of the labour force in large industrial establishments. The highest proportion of women in urban factory employment was in textiles (76%), clothing factories (11%) and food and beverage production (3%). Of the women employed in the industrial sector, 3% were involved in construction, and a very small numbers were involved in two other sections of this sector. The employees are also divided up into eight main occupational groups. Table 3.4 indicates these occupational groups by sex and region.

Of the urban women in employment in the *shahrestan*, 89% were literate. Of literate women, 36% had higher education, 31% were educated in high schools, and 16% had primary education. Although women comprise only a small part of the labour force in the *shahrestan* (10%), as table indicates, women in urban areas tend to be highly educated

and employed in professional or technical jobs, mainly in the educational and medical sectors. This is true for all urban areas of Iran (Moghadam, 1993:195).

Table 3. 4) Employees by occupational groups, sex and region, 1996

Main Occupational Groups	Male and Female		Male		Female	
	<i>shahrestan</i>	Urban Areas	<i>shahrestan</i>	Urban Areas	<i>shahrestan</i>	Urban Areas
Managers and supervisors	2.29%	2.62%	2.05% of ST* (2.28%) of SM^	2.34% of UT** (2.57%) of UM^^	0.24% of ST (2.38%) of SF/	0.28% of UT (3.12%) of UF//
Professional, technical and related workers	11.58%	13.22%	8.05% of ST (8.95%) of SM	9.17% of UT (10.06) of UM	3.53% of ST (35.18%) of SF	4.05% of UT (45.55%) of UF
Clerical and Administrative workers	4.01%	4.59%	3.46% of ST (3.85%) of SM	3.95% of UT (4.34%) of UM	0.55% of ST (5.45%) of SF	0.64% of UT (7.15%) of UF
Service and sales workers	13.24%	14.77%	12.74% of ST (14.17%) of SM	14.24% of UT (15.63%) of UM	0.50% of ST (4.93%) of SF	0.53% of UT (5.92%) of UF
Agricultural workers	8.31%	2.81%	7.25% of ST (8.05%) of SM	2.66% of UT (2.92%) of UM	1.06% of ST (10.53%) of SF	0.15% of UT (1.71%) of UF
Artisans, production & transportation workers	44.08%	44.61%	40.47% of ST (44.99%) of SM	41.91% of UT (46.00%) of UM	3.61% of ST (35.94%) of SF	2.70% of UT (30.37%) of UF
Unskilled workers	10.21%	10.69%	9.99% of ST (11.11%) of SM	10.47% of UT (11.49%) of UM	0.22% of ST (2.20) of SF	0.22% of UT (2.52%) of UF
Not adequately defined	6.28% (100%)	6.69% (100%)	5.94% of ST (6.60%) of SM	6.37% of UT (7.00%) of UM	0.34% of ST (3.39%) of SF	0.32% of UT (3.66%) of UF
Total	402399	342481	361932	312054	40467	30427

Source: official figures taken from National Census of Population and Housing 1375 (1996).

* ST: out of Shahrestan's total employees

** UT: out of total urban employees

^SM: out of Shahrestan's male employees

^^ UM: out of male urban employees

/SF: out of Shahrestan's female employees

// UF: out of urban's female employees

The employed population is also are divided into four sectors: the private sector, the public sector, the co-operative sector, and the non-classified sector. The private sector is divided up into four sections: employers, self-employed, employees, and unpaid family workers. Table 3.5 clearly shows the distribution of the employed population in the different sections within the *shahrestan*.

Table 3.5) Distribution of major occupational groups in different sectors for the *Shahrestan* of Tabriz

Major Occupational Groups (Tabriz Region)	Total	Private sector					Employee in public sector	Employee in co-operative	Non-classified
		Total	Employer	self-employed	Employee	Unpaid family worker			
Men and women	402399	279645	17164	163415	80711	18355	107945	1039	13770
Agricultural sector	34678	32975	1194	23107	1673	7001	839	39	825
Industrial sector	181001	146498	9564	68158	59503	9273	27848	334	5221
Service sector	179352	95350	6002	70046	17571	1731	77213	616	6173
Others	7368	4822	404	2104	1964	350	2045	50	451

Source: official figures taken from National Census of Population and Housing 1375 (1996).

As table 3.5 indicates, the private sector absorbs 70% of the employed population of the *shahrestan*, mainly in the agricultural and the industrial sectors. Seven per cent of the workers in this sector are unwaged family labourers. Almost half of the unpaid family labourers (51%) are found in the industrial sector. The agricultural sector absorbs 38% of the unpaid workers.

Table 3.6 and 3.7 also illustrate the distribution of the urban employed population and urban female employed population of the *shahrestan* in different sections.

Table 3.6) Distribution of major urban occupational groups in different sectors

Major Occupational Groups (Urban areas of the region)	Total	Private sector					Employee in public sector	Employee in co-operative	Un-classified
		Total	Employer	self-Employed	Employee	Unwaged family worker			
Men and women	342481	226974	15550	132443	72110	6871	102412	954	12141
Agricultural sector	10062	9065	451	7053	885	676	663	26	308
Industrial sector	157135	124713	8902	58618	52673	4520	26623	301	5498
Service sector	168744	89031	5818	64925	16752	1536	73202	580	5931
Others	6540	4165	379	1847	1800	139	1924	47	404

Source: official figures taken from National Census of Population and Housing 1375 (1996).

Table 3.7) Distribution of women in major urban occupational groups in different sectors

Major Occupational Groups (Tabriz Region)	Total	Private sector					Employee in public sector	Employee in co-operative	Un-classified
		Total	Employer	self-employed	Employee	Unwaged family worker			
Women	30427	12405	355	6182	3526	2342	16112	75	1835
Agricultural sector	580	524	3	224	54	243	30	1	25
Industrial sector	9997	8604	165	4247	2189	2003	789	12	592
Service sector	18921	2748	154	1514	1033	47	15007	50	1116
Others	929	529	33	197	250	49	286	12	102

Source: official figures taken from National Census of Population and Housing 1375 (1996).

Migration to Tabriz and estimated net female rural-urban migration

Investigations of early migration to Tabriz (Hosseini-Zadeh-e-Dalir, 1982 and Jamali, 1985) reveal that the negative impact of the 1963 land reform on landless peasants resulted in heavy out migration. East Azarbaijan was the first province to which the project was applied. This caused critical economic and social problems for those who not only did not benefit from the project but also lost their access to rural employment. Rapid industrialization and increased building construction in the domestic sector of the city of Tabriz, by creating a demand for unskilled labour, stimulated a large-scale movement of rural population to the city in search of work and a better standard of living than that available in their villages.

The most commonly available source of information about the internal migration is the Population and Housing Census data, which is carried out by the Statistical Center of Iran (SCI) every ten years. However, there is no separate data for the city of Tabriz, and no data on the intra-*shahrestan* level, to show the volume of the rural-urban migration within the *shahrestan* and the city of Tabriz. Rather, data has been provided on the inter-*shahrestan* level and the information has been collected based on place of birth. Since in the Iranian Censuses, the age tables are designed separately for rural and urban areas and for men and women, the net rural-urban migration for the *shahrestan* level can be estimated by means of the Census Survival Ratio (CSR) technique, suggested in Methods of Measuring internal migration, (United Nations, 1970). In the field, my effort to obtain access to existing local data and information, published and unpublished, in order to estimate female rural migrants in the city level were fruitless, for such data does not exist. However, as was mentioned earlier, according to the 1996 census 90% of the urban population of the *Shahrestan* were living in Tabriz, the estimation of net migration at the *Shahrestan* level, can be explain at the city level.

In order to estimate net female rural-urban migration in 1996, access to successive censuses of 1986 and 1996 is necessary. The method can be explained as follows: a table is divided into four columns. The first column, which is divided into two columns, gives the age group; within its first column all ages from 0 to 65+ are situated for the former censuses and all 10+ to 75+ ages for the second census. The second column is designed for the urban female population, which is also divided into two columns for inter-censual periods. The third column is for total female population, which again is divided into two columns for inter-censual periods. Estimated net female rural-urban migration is situated

in the fourth column.

CSR method was already applied by Jamali (1985) to estimate rural-urban migration in East Azarbiajan and I used the method and formula to calculate net female rural-urban migration between 1986 and 1996. The formula is:

$$\text{Col. (5)} = \text{Col. (2)} - [\text{Col. (4)} / \text{Col. (3)}] \cdot \text{Col. (1)}.$$

To estimate net female rural-urban migration by using the CSR formula, urban female population in the former census, Col. (1), is multiplied by the total female migration in the later period, Col. (4), divided by the total female migration in the former period, Col. (3), and then subtracting all of it from urban female migration in the former period, Col. (2). Table 3.8 illustrates estimated net female rural-urban migration in Tabriz *Shahrestan*.

Table 3.8) Estimated net female rural-urban migration in Tabriz *Shahrestan* (1986-1996)

Age Group		Urban female population		Total female population		Estimated net rural-urban migration, 1986-1996
1986	1996	1986 (1)	1996 (2)	1986 (3)	1996 (4)	1986-1996 (5)
0- 4	10- 14	85289	89166	121125	102098	17274.68
5- 9	15- 19	78945	77792	112838	88832	15642.35
10- 14	20- 24	63810	60543	92382	69716	12388.84
15- 24	25- 34	107488	102112	143581	114850	16132.68
25- 34	35- 44	79319	77591	102652	86383	10843.02
35- 44	45- 54	45492	43183	60937	48689	6834.64
45- 54	55- 64	39355	33206	53440	37919	5281.18
55- 64	65- 74	30266	23522	39935	26623	3344.92
65+	75+	16842	7005	20669	7788	659
All ages	10+	546806	514119	747559	582898	87755.16

Note: Col. (5) = Col.(2) - [Col.(4) / Col. (3)]. Col.(1).

Densely populated slum areas in Tabriz

As was already discussed in the review chapter, migrants often live in slums and shanty owns. Migrants to Tabriz are not exceptional in this regard. Slums and squatter settlements in Tabriz are located in the northern and southern fringes of the city, and have

different geographical characteristics (Jamali, 1985). Although an exact number of slum dwellers is not available, according to the latest announcements of the city's authorities in 2000, the population in these northern and southern fringes is about 400,000 people, about one-third of the city's population. They constituted about 70 to 75 thousand households with the average family size at 5.8 persons. In 1995, this population was about 310,000 people, about 45,000 households with the average family size at 6.5 persons making up about 20 to 25% of the city's population. In 1982, this percentage was about 7.5% of the city's population (University of Tabriz: 1995: 222).

There are 5 main densely populated squats in Tabriz. As shown in table 3.9, the northern fringe is divided into four locations: *Daraeichi*, *Gorbani*, *Selab*, *Hydarabad-Dadashabad*, and in the southern fringe there is one location, called *Yanuog*.

Table 3.9) Different locations of northern and southern fringes of Tabriz as well as estimated population

Location	Population	No. of households
<i>Daraeichi</i>	61587	8714
<i>Gorbani</i>	93395	13516
<i>Selab</i>	42625	6436
<i>Hydarabad-Dadashabad</i>	46458	7225
<i>Yanuog</i>	65516	9119

Source: Table 5-11 from Research conducted by Tabriz University, 1995.

The northern settlements are mostly occupied by migrants from the rural areas of *Ahar Shahrestan*, located in mountainous areas where the socio-economic conditions are the worst in East Azarbaijan. Environmental, physical and ecological factors such as water shortages, soil infertility, and a harsh climate all adversely affected agricultural production and undermined the subsistence economy. The remoteness of the villages from prosperous centers, and the lack of public, educational and social facilities in nearby areas as a consequence of the uneven distribution of facilities, have also reinforced out-migration in this region (Jamali, 1985). Seventy-nine per cent of the northern fringe dwellers in Hossain-Zadeh's study were rural migrants who lived in densely populated slums and squats. More than half of them had migrated to the city during the post-land reform and pre-revolutionary decade of 1963-1973. For the majority of them, the lack of sufficient

social services and other means of supporting themselves, such as land, were the main reasons for migration. Only a small number of them were concerned about the pull factors of the city (Hossain-Zadeh, 1982, table 14). The southern fringe, due to its closeness to the industrial zone of the city, has attracted rural as well as urban migrants from the southern districts of East Azarbaijan province (Jamali, 1985).

In the 1980s, the Iran-Iraq war played a role in the accelerating migration to Tabriz. Information about female migrants in Tabriz is almost none existent, except in a research on the squatter settlements of Tabriz, in which Hossain-Zadeh (1982) allocated a small amount of space to women. With the exception of two tables (tables 57 and 59), which indicate that migrant women were engaged in carpet waving, the other questions posed do not offer any indications about women's motivations, their role in the process of decision-making for migration, or their role in other forms of economic activity. The main focus of his and Jamail's (1985) research was male motivations.

Gender and socio-economic changes in Iran

The socio-economic situation of urban middle- and upper-class women is beyond the scope of this study. However, a few remarks are relevant to women's social and economic position in the society. Until the twentieth century, women of all social classes were generally deprived of social rights, and there was a prevalent negative image of female economic participation, particularly among the urban upper and middle-classes (Touba, 1980; Tabari and Yeganeh, 1982: 143). The constitutional movement in 1906 was of great significance in generating an interest in women's questions and their place in a modern society from a political context. Because of the secular nature of early twentieth century nationalism in Iran, an interest in women's liberation, mainly in terms of women's education, brought some slow changes to traditional values regarding their economic and social position in society. Women were expected to participate in the state-building project of Reza Shah (Najmabadi, 1991: 54). The consequences of the changes for women, however, have been viewed differently. Although in the Pahlavi era women's participation expanded in social, economic, educational and political terms, there was a continuation of social inequalities between rural and urban women as well as urban women from different social classes (Afshar, 1989a, 1989c & 1997; Tabari, 1980; Tabari and Yeganeh, 1982; Touba, 1980; Mir-Hosseini, 1995 & 1996; Moghadam, 1993; Moghissi, 1994; Hoodfar, 1993; Najmabadi, 1991: 48-50; Paidar, 1996).

Educated and elite urban women whose male relatives had social, economic and political power, benefited from the social changes as well as the educational and employment opportunities of the reforms, though they still faced many restrictions in terms of getting paid employment (Tabari and Yeganeh, 1982: 148). The patriarchal and cultural tradition of Iranian society was part of the problem: a woman in paid employment was seen as a negative indicator of a family's position. Society's definition of what type of economic activity was appropriate for women, the availability of training in certain sex segregated traditional occupations, and the marginality of the market economy, were other important indicators of women's problems (Najmabadi, 1991). As a result, in the 1950s, despite the development of industry and services, women from elite and upper-class families were largely absorbed into education and medicine (Touba, 1980: 69). Since the 1960s, due to a more sustained attempt to change attitudes toward women's role in the economic system, many women from the middle-and upper classes began to enter professional and academic positions (Touba, 1980: 52-3).

Rural women and work

In rural areas, women contribute substantially to the production process in animal husbandry, agriculture and industry, as paid (mainly in kind) or unpaid family labour. Animal husbandry is an important economic function for the rural family in respect of which women play an important role and as a result can gain more influence over family affairs even if they have not received a direct remuneration for their effort (Razavi, 1992; Touba, 1980: 55). The amount of women's participation in agriculture is related to the nature of the agricultural system as well as to the degree of religiosity in the region. In most regions, weeding, fruit picking and harvesting are typical of female economic activities (Afshar, 1985b and Razavi, 1992 & 1993). The carpet industry in Iran has been an important traditional home industry for centuries. Before Iran's industrial development, particularly through the oil industry, the Persian carpet was an important export and a major source of foreign currency. In areas where women participate less in agriculture, including some regions of Azarbijan, their active and continues participation in carpet weaving brings in an important second income for the family (Afshar, 1985b; Gavamshahidi, 1996 and Touba, 1980).

Payment in kind (which was prevalent before the 1963 land reforms) or cash, gives

women a say in family affairs. Unpaid family labour, on the other hand, means that women are considered as economically inactive and are neglected in the collection of census taking. This also affects their status in the family. Women's work that does not generate cash remains immeasurable, invisible and home-based, despite their economic contribution to a household's income.

The unpaid family labour of women and children was promoted by the land reform project and the penetration of capital into rural areas (Tabari, 1982: 7). Before land reform, men and women were in a similar position of social isolation, and both were working for landlords and receiving their wages mostly in kind. A study from a south-eastern province of Iran, where the plough cultivation system has been dominant, indicates that before the land reform women were involved in agricultural work and were remunerated in cash or in kind separately from their husbands regardless of their class position, i.e. whether they belonged to sharecropping or casual labour families (Razavi, 1992). In the carpet industry too, the looms were owned by a single loom owner, and women, even those who were weaving in their own homes, received a direct wage for their labour (Touba: 1980: 55).

The abolition of the feudal system and the spread of 'dependent capitalism' (Tabari and Yeganeh, 1982: 144) through money and market relations created a socio-economic crisis in rural areas and deteriorated rural women's socio-economic status. The distribution of land and looms among individual families enabled men to utilize their family's, particularly women's, labour free of charge and this intensified their traditionally degraded status. Men took charge of the means of production, had contact with the outside world through the increased employment opportunities in construction and industry, and sold the final products in nearby cities. This resulted in the development of family-based agriculture and industry, which increased the exploitation of women (Touba, 1980: 55-9). The proportion of unpaid labour carried out by the rural female population increased from 30.9% in 1966 to 56.8% in 1976, not only in agriculture but also in rural industry (Iran's National Census of Population and Housing, 1966 and 1976 cited in Touba, 1980: 57). The hard labour performed by rural women in the fields or rural industry, in addition to their daily domestic work and care of children, offered them no social and economic privileges.

The situation was different for women in other regions with mechanised farms (which had been exempted from reform). In the mechanised and highly agricultural farms of Mazandaran, in the north of Iran, the proletarianization of many peasants due to

economic changes as a result of capitalist relations, compelled many women to work as wage labourers in the rice or tea plantation of large landowners. Women's involvement in paid employment, mainly due to men's lack of access to means of production and inability to provide sufficient means of subsistence, resulted in social and cultural changes in the region. As a result, women's paid employment raised their status in the family (Touba, 1980; Tabari and Yeganeh, 1982: 146; Afshar, 1989a).

The growth of an urban home-market due to prosperity in urban areas, as well as traditional export markets for Iranian carpets, increased women's opportunities to contribute to the family income throughout the year (Tabari, 1982: 7). A daughter became an asset to the family and their marriage age as well as their value in the marriage market increased without any improvement in their social conditions. Despite the fact that a carpet was a cash product, sold for a profit, women remained unpaid family labourers and were excluded from money relations. They were not able to own the means of production or to sell their product, partly due to the lack of access to the market, and partly because the market was a male-oriented place (Afshar, 1985b).

Rural-urban migration was another factor affecting the socio-economic status of women in rural areas. The early internal migrants were mostly men who migrated permanently or seasonally, leaving their families behind to take over the work previously performed by men. During her research in a region near Esfahan, Touba (1980: 58-9) observed villages that were almost completely without young adult males. Studies in northern Iran illustrated that the migration of men resulted in greater participation of women in non-traditional aspects of agriculture (Safai, 1978: cited in Touba, 1980: 59).

Apart from the gender disparity in rural areas, the gap also increased between rural and urban women, due to educational development and occupational opportunities for women in the cities.

Urban women and work

Lower middle and lower class families in urban areas have always been dependent on the joint income of men, women and children. Women, most of who are illiterate or with little education, have always worked in service occupations as servants, cooks, nannies, and washerwomen, mostly for wealthy families. Some have worked in industrial occupations such as spinning, weaving or needlework, at home or in small workshops (Afshar, 1989a & 1985c; Ghavamshahidi, 1996; Razavi, 1992; Touba, 1980; Shadi Talab, 1997). The majority of these working and middle class women prefer to work in segregated

environments.

Studying urban low-income families in the 1920s and 1930s, where the majority of urban women were located, Hoodfar (1993) argues that, as a result of economic difficulties, young women were an essential economic support for their family. By working in small workshops or other community networks their supportive activities gave them legitimacy in terms of social relations. However, the modernisation policies of the Pahlavi state along with its gender ideology, particularly the introduction of compulsory unveiling in 1936 in the name of women's emancipation, by attacking traditional practices had even more negative effect on women's economic and social activities. Since veiling was the only socially acceptable way of dressing for the majority of women and a fundamental value concerning honour and shame (Touba, 1980: 67), many independent urban women were driven into seclusion and became dependent on men doing their daily public tasks. If their male relatives had migrated to the larger cities they would have suffered more as their veils would have been pulled off and torn by the police (Hoodfar, 1993: 9-11). As a result, some skilled women set up private carpet frames through the putting-out system, but they were exploited to a greater extent and paid even lower wages by carpet traders who provided the raw materials and knew that women had no other choice. Women lost control over their wages and became subject to more control by their families through cultural, patriarchal and religious norms (Hoodfar, 1993: 10).

Later on, although the unveiling law was relaxed, in practice there was discrimination against veiled women in the labour market, particularly in government occupations. During the 1960s and 1970s, due to the rapidly growing economy, the government encouraged female emancipation through participation in the labour market and promoted a state policy of utilisation of female labour, whose potential or actual labour could positively contribute to society (Etemad Moghadam, 1994: 88- 93). Although the government regulations extended insurance, maternity leave, guaranteed employment and the provision of nurseries and day-care centres for employed mothers, they were hardly put into practice and the facilities were not widespread. In 1972, only 20% of officially recognised working women had insurance, let alone female workers in small workshops, or private houses who were not included in official statistics. In 1976, 38.4% of employed workers in the industrial sector were women. But 80% of them, due to their socio-economic conditions, had been confined to traditionally segregated female labour sectors of industry doing so-called 'unskilled', repetitive, and monotonous jobs. In the service sector, they were also at the bottom (Afshar, 1989a: 43-4). We have to bear in mind that

by that time the percentage of migrant women had increased above 50% of the total, most of them were illiterate and came from the poorest sections of the peasantry. Those workers who were not insured had no rights after an accident, had to pay for medical treatment, medicine, and were without sickness, maternity or retirement benefits. In state textile and food factories where female workers were dominant, their wages were not only less than those of male workers, they were also less than the minimum wage set by the state (Tabari and Yeganeh, 1982: 147-51).

Despite the growth of commerce and modern techniques in industry, the attitude of employers towards women's employment remains traditional. A 1976 report by the Plan and Budget Organisation of Iran, in collaboration with UNDP/ILO, indicated that for the majority of employers women's employment and training was considered as a waste of time and money. Unreliability in attendance, absence during maternity, reluctant to do shift-work, religious objections, the inconvenience and expensiveness of social legislation regarding women workers, social problems risen from women working with men in a work place, and the fact that women would leave to follow their husbands if they moved, all were given as reasons for not providing training for women or putting them in skilled occupations (Lindsey, 1977: 94 cited in Touba, 1980: 94).

Apart from employers' traditional attitudes towards women's work, the process of female economic participation has been hampered by the family, particularly parents and husbands, and by society in respect of traditional lower-middle class families. As a result, despite the existence of economic opportunities for women, many women, particularly married women who were more affected by religion and patriarchal culture and were totally dominated by their male relatives, were forced out of paid jobs (Tabari and Yeganeh, 1982: 149). Thus a small proportion of married women were reported to be economically active (Touba, 1980: 93). The proportion of economically active divorced and widowed women has been always greater than that of working married women in urban areas, as they usually obtain less support from their families and have to fend for themselves and their children. Unlike rural areas, where kinship groups provide a support system for widows, in urban areas a widow or divorcee is less likely to enjoy economic support. They face economic problems, which force them into the labour market in order to support their families (Afghahi, 1977 cited in Touba, 1980: 82).

The Islamic ideology of the post-revolution era, emphasizing dress code and reinforcing patriarchal ideology has also affected many women's lives. The introduction of compulsory *veil/hejab* by the post-revolutionary state and its long standing national

policy of retaining women within the household through the ideology of domesticity, had various and sometimes very contradictory outcomes for women from different classes, but did not lead women into seclusion (Afshar 1989a, 1989c, 1994, 1997 & 1999; Hoodfar 1993 and 1996; Mahdavi 1983; Mir-Hosseini 1995 & 1996; Moghissi 1993 and 1994; Najmabadi 1991; Paidar 1996; Tabari 1980; Tabari and Yeganeh 1982; Tohidi 1994). Rather it reintroduced the ideology of segregation, which generated employment possibilities for women to deal with female clients. Since in Islam women's participation in the social, political and economic arena is open to interpretation, it was difficult for the Islamic state to prevent women from working (Etemad Moghadam, 1994: 92- 3). From the beginning, many modern educated middle-class women found themselves in a confrontation with Islamic ideology and left their jobs voluntarily or were sacked because of their disagreement with or resistance to compulsory *hejab*. On the other hand, many other traditional middle or lower middle-class women who were less privileged and had been discriminated against by the gender policy of the Pahlavi state, used the Islamic ideology, particularly the *hejab*, as an empowering tool of emancipation. For them and their families, the practice of veiling and its moral code changed the definition of work outside the home, and paved the way for women's public presence and economic engagement (Tabari 1980: 20; Hoodfar, 1993: 12; Omid, 1994: 189 and Mir-Hosseini, 1996: 149-156). The poorest women, however, some of whom were the principle providers in their families, had to carry the double burdens of poverty and state policies and ideologies which gave priority to male employment (Afshar, 1989a; Etemad Moghadam, 1994; Ghavamshahidi, 1996).

In terms of official employment statistics, it can be argued that the ideological commitment of state policy was successful in stemming the tide as far as the participation of women in the formal labour market is concerned. There has, however, been an increase in the number of white-collar female workers (Etemad Moghadam, 1994) and women working in the informal sector (Afshar 1997). The census data of 1966, 1976, 1986 and 1996 demonstrates an upward trend for the first decades and a rapid fall in the post-Revolutionary era: women's employment level fell from 13.7% of total employment in 1976, to 8.9% in 1986. It increased to 9.4% in 1991 and 12.12% in 1996. Between 1976 and 1986 the number of employed women came down from 1.2 million to about 1 million. It had risen to almost 1.8 million by 1996 (The National Census of Iran), but by then the total female population was well over 29 million as against some 16 million in 1976 (Afshar, 1997).

Of the employed women in 1996, 33% were employed in the ministries of education and health. There was a marked decline in female employment in industry in the post-revolutionary era. The 1996 census, however, reveals an increase. For example, female employment in industrial work was 14.5% in 1986, compared to 38.4% in 1976 (Moghadam, 1993) and it reached 33% in 1996 (The National Census of Iran). It is worth noting that the decline in industrial employment in the 1980s was not only the result of the imposition of Islamic ideologies on women. The weakness of this sector, due to the generally depressed state of the national economy, affected both men and women (Moghadam, 1993). Increasing pauperisation, however, along with the general emphasis on domesticity had a more dramatic influence on poor, unsupported women than men.

One of the important issues about women's employment opportunities, which Moghadam (1993) and Amin (1997) have pointed out, is that female work opportunities are limited and the few that exist are of low status so that women are not eager to take them up, unless forced to do so out of necessity. In the next chapters I will examine female employment among rural migrants in Tabriz to see which factors affect female employment positively and negatively.

Conclusion

This chapter provided an outline of different economic and political contexts in Iran, which are of crucial importance in population distribution between rural and urban areas. State policies, economic distress in rural areas and economic opportunities in the rapidly growing urban areas as a result of a dualistic approach to development plans, have been important factors in underpinning 'pull-push' factors in internal migration in East Azarbaijan. It also provided an outline of socio-economic changes in Iran and their impact on women's economic and social position in society. The literature indicates that in Iran state gender policies have different and sometimes very contradictory outcome for women from different social classes. Traditional and lower class women hardly benefited from the educational and employment opportunities of modernisation policies of the Pahlavi state. Although the introduction of segregation ideologies by the Islamic state does not serve the interest of modern educated middle-class women, they have become empowering tool for many young women who observe traditional and religious values and had been discriminated by the secular gender policies. In the next chapters, I will investigate how these gender ideologies have affected the lives of migrant women in Tabriz.

Chapter 4

Methodology

Introduction

This chapter addresses the methodological processes upon which this study is based. My methods of data collection have been quantitative and qualitative. Since my aim for this study was to understand women's experience of their migration, it was obvious that my research would use feminist methodology. Thus, I will first describe the theoretical and practical issues regarding the production of knowledge and how the research should be conducted from a feminist perspective that informed the process of this study. Then I will present my method and practical details of this study in terms of gathering data and getting access to the informants.

The feminist critique of epistemological issues

Questions about the production of knowledge from a feminist perspective and the discovery of a sex/gender system which has been described in terms of 'ontology', 'patriarchy', 'misogyny', 'sex-roles', 'subordination of and discrimination against women' (Elshtain, 1981; Harding, 1983) have led feminists to argue that there is a distinctive feminist method of conducting social research (Oakley, 1974). This perspective, however, developed historically through continuous criticism of traditional social science methods and old feminist orthodoxy (Maynard, 1994: 10) to become a complex area of methodology and epistemology. The review of feminist debates on methodology 'can provide a basis for understanding and [allow us] ... to move onward with more clarity about the discipline' (de Groot and Maynard, 1993: 1).

Changes in feminist personal and social consciousness emerged from the interaction of academic and activist approaches to the situations and problems of women during the women's liberation movement of the early 1970s (Millman and Kanter, 1975/1987: 30).

Friedan's *Feminist Mystique* (1963) and Millet's *Sexual Politics* (1971) played important roles in unveiling 'the ideological nature of the 'values', 'norms', and 'beliefs' concerning women's role and the relations between the sexes which was taken for granted' (Smith, 1979; 136) and led some early scholars to criticise male-oriented concepts, methods and theories in mainstream studies. Although in almost all disciplines women had been silenced, marginalized and misrepresented (de Groot and Maynard, 1993: 2), sociology was the focus of attack for its empiricist-derived epistemology (Oakley, 1974; Smith; 1974/1987 & 1979; Harding, 1983: 314-7). It was also criticised for containing within the research community social relations that were dominated by men, particularly white men. Women, as a social group, remained invisible and their experiences and situations were omitted or distorted. Early feminist critiques addressed primarily the methodological issues and the way sociological theories were applied to women. Epistemological issues were also considered important, the main argument being that the pre-occupations and assumptions in sociology do not provide an objective, reliable and universal ground for knowledge. Rather, they produce gendered and biased knowledge by fitting women's experiences into pre-known sociological categories (Oakley, 1974: 4). Therefore, the external validity of accepted methodologies and theories in social sciences was questioned by female social scientists who underlined the importance of the researcher's gender in terms of access to knowledge. This is particularly important in sex-segregated societies, where due to exclusion of men from women's world, access to knowledge is more limited (Altorki & El-Solh, 1988: 4- 5).

It was also argued that sociology has a socio-spatial dimension because its focus is upon public, official and visible spheres of social life, rather than the private, unofficial and invisible spheres which are largely populated by women (Millman and Kanter, 1975/1987: 32-3; Oakley, 1974; and Graham, 1983). This focus on the public sphere produces distorted picture of women's lives and experiences in sociology, for example by excluding an analysis of housework from both the sociology of the family and the sociology of work (Oakley, 1974). The two worlds of public and private, and thus the bases of men's and women's knowledge and experience, are not considered equally. The public world, which is constituted by men, remains authoritative over the women's world, which stands in a dependent and subordinate relationship with it (Smith, 1974/1987: 86).

The existence of male dominance or the 'sex/gender system' like racist and class based variables, was seen as an 'organic social variable' penetrating into all social institutions and structuring every aspect of social relations, action and thought in both the domestic and public arenas of life (Smith, 1974/1987 & 1979; Harding, 1983: 311-14). It was therefore argued that women's experience should be understood and interpreted from the perspective of feminism (Smith, 1974/1987 & 1979) or what Harding calls, 'the feminist standpoint' (Harding, 1986: 26-7 & 1987b: 184- 6).

Sexual and spatial dimensions of disciplines were seen to have their equivalent within language in terms of 'dominant' and 'muted' modes of expression (Graham, 1983). Since the experiences or actions of the muted group remain unexplained or un-verbalised, the significant aspects of their experiences remain not only unspoken but also unspeakable due to the lack of a conceptual framework (Graham, 1983: 135). Thus, feminists sought a research approach that would maximize the ability of the researcher to explore the experiences of women's lives: 'the world that emerges through the words of women is a world fundamentally different from the world prescribed by the 'pervasive' male discourse' (Mernissi, 1984: 4). They emphasised the importance of listening to the language of silence, and an open-ended exploration of women's own descriptions and accounts of their experiences in order to see how they are subordinated, how their world is organised and to what extent their world is different from that of men (Graham, 1983: 143). This means the legitimisation of the subjectivity, body and emotions associated with femininity as an empirical and theoretical source of knowledge (Maynard, 1994: 21).

In this perspective, quantitative research was seen to be a more male type of knowledge (Oakley, 1974 & 1981). Nevertheless it was acknowledged that quantitative analysis had significantly contributed to feminist knowledge and understanding of women's problems such as violence to women, the feminisation of poverty and women's lack of progress in achieving equality with men in paid work etc. (Maynard, 1994: 13). The specific criticisms were various, for example the selection of centrist and sexist research topics in science. The solution for this epistemological problem was 'feminist empiricism' (Harding, 1986 & 1987) which suggested that by removing a sexist bias, and adding feminist values to the research process, value-free and unbiased knowledge could be produced regardless of the social identity of the researcher and without any challenge to the existing scientific methods, i.e. rather than questioning the partial assumptions that are

constitutive of science *per se* (Harding, 1986: 24-6 & 1987b: 182-4). Objectivity in the social sciences was considered through a set of procedures for avoiding the subjective bias of the researcher in order to gain a reliable and valid body of knowledge. Some feminist argued that objectivity and the methods used in its practice could result in an exploitative relationship between the researcher and researched, and an impersonal approach to subject matter through the separation of the knower and her interest from what is known (Smith, 1974/1987: 88; Oakley, 1981). Nevertheless, the researcher is not located in the same critical position as those being researched (Glucksmann, 1994). To attempt to offer power relations to some extent to those being researched in the case of an interview, some argue that the interviewer would be permitted to slip out of the role of researcher and share information about herself and her experiences (Oakley, 1981; Fawzi-El-Solh, 1988).

The enumeration measurement method and the pre-defined and taken for granted assumptions that lead to over-generalization or mis-interpretation were also criticised by feminists (Oakley, 1981; Graham, 1983; and Jayaratne and Stewart, 1991). For instance, the survey method, one of the dominant research methods in social science particularly in family and household studies, was criticised as an unsatisfactory source of data. This is especially so when the aims of the study is a sociological understanding of women's experiences because this method deals with individuals in terms of equivalence and rationality, while women often have different and unequal positions (Graham, 1983: 132-41). The family, in household surveys, is considered as the unit of social stratification, an autonomous and self-functioning entity, in which the members are attached to men, and not as made up of individuals with different gender and generational characteristics. Differences are, therefore, highlighted between families rather than within the families and as a result inequalities in the distribution of resources and responsibilities between members of the family are neglected (Oakley, 1974; Pahl, 1980; and Graham, 1983: 139).

By doing feminist research *with, by and for* women in the 1970s, one of the hallmarks of feminism was to add women to sociological analysis in order to universalise women's experiences and validate their subjective situation in society. Their research used qualitative methods through which they could generate useful knowledge about women through their 'experiences', 'though the qualitative methods are all an integral part of social science research, not specific to or created by feminism' (Maynard, 1994: 14). Feminist criticism was based on the premise that there is no one reality in the world, there

are different experientially based world views and that these multiple constructions may all be equally valid (Smith, 1974/1987: 93; Glucksmann, 1994: 159), but they do not necessarily reflect those of society in general (Altorki and El-Solh, 1988: 4). The social identity of the researcher, knowing a socially constructed reality from within its own context and not from a privileged location, was therefore seen as an important factor in the creation of knowledge (Kelly *et al*, 1994). Although sociological research necessarily requires social relations, sociology recovers only one part of these relations: it views knowledge as if it 'stood all by itself and of itself' and does not provide a place for the presence and the experience of the researcher as knower and discoverer of the other's experience (Smith, 1975/1987: 92).

Thus, as a result of the theoretical division between the public and private domains and the methodological division between 'quantitative' and 'qualitative' methods (Jayaratne and Stewart, 1991), the in-depth face to face interview and a more personal approach involving direct contact with women was considered by feminists as the best method to acquire knowledge about women (Oakley, 1974 & 1981). The interview method in classical methodological textbooks was criticised using the masculine imagery of 'mechanical and psychoanalytic' paradigms in which objectivity, detachment and hierarchy were highly valued. It was seen as a one-way process without personal meaning in terms of social interaction in which both parties in an interview 'are depersonalised participants in the research process whose role is merely data-producing and data-collecting particularly when the interviewer is not the researcher' (Oakley, 1981: 35-7). They were also critical of the hierarchal relation within the interview process which creates a dominant and subordinate position insofar as 'the interviewer utilise non-directive comments to encourage the respondent to reveal whatever truth the research has been set up to uncover particularly when the interviewer is the researcher' (Oakley, 1981: 37).

Rethinking feminist methodology

Attempting to establish a non-hierarchal relation between interviewers and interviewees became a feminist research strategy. Respondents were encouraged to consider the researcher as a friend and to understand the goals of the research project (Oakley, 1981). Although this approach was 'so useful in their early work when women were more

invisible in research topics, it gradually developed into a concrete principle against which all feminist research should be judged' (Maynard, 1994: 12). It became 'a form of political practice in feminist research method which if it is achieved successfully, it would count as being or acting feminist' (Glucksmann, 1994: 150-1). The other problem with feminist research was that it continuously and intentionally ignored 'women's differences' and emphasised their socially constructed oppression 'in order to create an illusion of solidarity and sisterhood' (Kelly *et al*, 1994: 31). Thus, 'the category of 'women' in their writing appeared to be all white, middle-class, First World women only whose oppression was treated to be single, determined and universal' (Stanley and Wise, 1990: 21-22).

Classical feminist research has concentrated on 'feminist research practice' (Kelly, 1988: 6) – 'the position from which distinctively feminist research questions might be asked, and the political and ethical issues involved in the research process' (Maynard, 1994: 14). Since the mid-1980s, however, major developments have emerged in epistemological and methodological areas of the feminist discipline. These developments are as much due to the accessibility of conceptual language as a result of the widely disseminated writings of feminist scholars, as well as post-structuralist, deconstructionist and post-modernist theoretical writings (Stanley and Wise, 1990: 25; de Groot and Maynard, 1993: 2). Three interwoven aspects of research in both traditional social science and feminist approaches to research are: 'method', techniques of data collecting; 'methodology', a theoretical framework of how to conduct research and how to apply the general structure of theories to the research process in order to produce an undistorted knowledge; and 'epistemology', theory of knowledge. A lack of clarity in respect of these three aspects has been problematic in terms of feminist methodology and epistemology, as they tend to be confused methodologically (Harding, 1987a: 2-3). The focus of the feminist debate on methods and the dynamics of the traditional research process had led them to reconsider many aspects of their epistemology: this has come to be known as the 'feminist critique' of the social sciences. But, feminist methodology is still identified with the ethical questions and feminist values posed by early feminists which were leading to 'a feminist 'methodology' without any particular feminist 'methods'' (Jayaratne and Stewart, 1991: 92).

Although concentrating on women or including them in feminist research was the main feature of feminists' academic research, 'which women', in terms of both the

researcher and the researched, has become a fundamental feminist question since the mid 1980s (Kelly *et al*, 1994: 28-9). 'Diversity' among women, with its two corollaries of *differentiation* and *variation*, has been recognised (de Groot and Maynard, 1993: 150-1). *Differentiation* refers to the fact that women's lives are not always structured in the same ways, rather there are dissimilarities as well as similarities in their lives, both of which need to be taken into account. Women do not all share the same problems and difficulties and those who do find themselves in different circumstances or have different characteristics. *Variation*, on the other hand, refers to different experiences of women which are structured in similar ways or to women that share similar responsibilities such as motherhood but have different social attributes such as class, race, religion, nationality, physical ability, culture, etc. (de Groot and Maynard, 1993: 150-2). Influenced by post-modernism, rather 'feminist postmodernism' (Harding, 1986), the discovery of diversity led feminists, particularly feminists of colour, to be critical of the legitimacy of many universalised and generalised theories and concepts of classical feminists which were based on the idea of the homogeneity of womanhood. Patriarchy, the sexual division of labour, women, experience, truth, etc. were some of these generalized theories and concepts (de Groot and Maynard, 1993: 155-6).

In addition to the fact that diversities between women and their experiences were not considered, academic feminist writings were also criticised from another perspective. Two kinds of women often appeared in feminist research: women who contributed to public life, i.e. to the 'men's world', and women who were the victims of male dominance either individually in the domestic sphere through male violence, or collectively in the public sphere through economic exploitation and political discrimination. These studies were based on feminist theories with a strong emphasis on the social identity of the researcher. Women producing objective knowledge, unlike the subjective knowledge of the 'ruling gender', i.e. men, also produced a partial analysis of women's lives. In the case of women's public activities, they ignored the *meaning* of the public activities for *women* themselves, and in the case of women's victimisation, women were only victimised people who could never successfully define themselves or resist male domination (Harding, 1986: 26-7 & 1987a: 4-5). There are, however, contradictory tensions within and between feminist epistemological discourses, i.e. feminist empiricism and feminist standpoint, known as 'transitional culture' (Harding, 1987b: 186 & 187).

The recognition that there is no 'universal woman' means that there is no 'universal women's experience's too. 'Experiences' begin to appear to be problematic, as they are shaped according to race, class, culture and so forth, all of which differ across cultural categories (Harding, 1987a: 6-8 & 188; Kelly *et al*, 1994: 28-9). Post-structuralist thinkers believe that people's experiences of their lives are not 'raw' experience. The experiences are not only culturally structured, but are also a mixture of facts coloured by people's own interpretation (Maynard, 1994: 23). This growing awareness that knowledge is historically, culturally and socially conditioned, illustrates that the production of knowledge and its validity is closely associated with the social identity of the producer (Altorki and El-Solh, 1988: 3-5). The fundamental questions and rethinking about the production and validity of knowledge, and the fragmentation not only of experiences, but also of individuals in terms of their personal and social identity, led feminists to reject the idea that a single appropriate research method existed and instead focussed on multiple research methods (Maynard, 1994: 19).

As a result, many feminists adopted a combination of different research methods in a complementary rather than a competitive relationship, and promoted the value of both qualitative and quantitative methods with a framework of feminist values and ideology (Jayaratne and Stewart, 1991: 90-1). Many feminist scholars claimed that the polarization of qualitative versus quantitative methods reduces the validity of research, and that the existence of male bias in quantitative research did not mean that bias was irrevocable. This 'association is an historical one but not a logical one' (Jayaratne and Stewart, 1991: 93). Therefore, 'feminist researchers must be critical of both quantitative and qualitative research which is used against women and must be able to marshal the richest and most persuasive evidence in the service of women' (Jayaratne and Stewart, 1991: 100). For instance, for Kelly and her co-researchers' study of sexual abuse, the use of questionnaires produced more reliable information about distressing and sensitive experiences than interviews (Kelly *et al*, 1994).

The participation of the researcher in the construction of knowledge, and the relationship between the researcher and researched which had been criticized by early feminists, were also reassessed. Glucksmann (1994) argues that the power hierarchy between the researcher and researched is unavoidable, even if a behaviour is adopted according to the research being conducted. The researcher and the subject of the research

have different attitudes to the production of knowledge since the primary aim of the researcher, unlike the subject of the research is to produce knowledge. It is the researcher who is in control of data collection and decides what material needs to be collected during the interview. It is the researcher who decides how the different accounts of past experiences should be analysed, explained and interpreted for her own research purposes in the light of other secondary data to which the researcher has easier access. An interpretive analysis will not be produced if the study is confined to repeating and describing women's accounts (Glucksmann, 1994: 154-6). In her study of female assembly line workers, Glucksmann (1994) argued that she did not rely entirely on women's own understanding of their situation, even though her aim was to give priority to women's subordinate position at work. This was because they had a partial and fragmented knowledge of the assembly line procedure due to their position in the production process, where women tended to have an inferior position as operators and men were in higher hierarchy positions in charge of machinery or in supervisory and management roles (Glucksmann, 1994: 157-8).

One of the developments in feminist post-modernism was the inclusion of men in feminist research. The discovery of sex/gender systems in terms of division and inequality, and the emergence of theoretical perspectives such as patriarchy, created a number of intended and unintended exclusions of men from feminist studies. This perspective has been criticized in recent feminist theory because a concern with gender necessarily requires a close focus upon men and masculinity (Stanley and Wise, 1993). To understand women's experience of oppression, and to know how their experience is structured in a male world, men and male institutions, the individual and collective dominance of masculinity should be included in feminist research (Glucksmann, 1994; and Kelly *et al*, 1994: 33).

The status of the researcher as insider/outsider or indigenous/non-indigenous, seems to be one of the important elements to the construction of sociological knowledge. Although there is not an agreed criterion for the definition of an insider, it indicates the researchers belong to a cultural group that mainly covers language, religion, and ethnicity. This status gives the researcher more power in terms of familiarity with the culture of the wider society. Outsider is often the opposite of the insider and does not indicate belonging to a specific sub-culture which is under study or sharing a similar body of knowledge with them (Altorki & El-Solh, 1988: 7). However, at the same time that a researcher in the field

is an insider because of the shared cultural similarities, s/he can be an outsider or a 'partial insider' (Abu-Lughod, 1988: 143- 149) due to the differences such as class, education, way of life and gender. It is worth mentioning that despite the advantages that being an insider give to the researcher, it does sometimes put limitations on him/her that an outsider does not have.

The method

This study aims to understand women's experiences of their migration and economic involvement and uses feminist methodologies to do so. The feminist debates on qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis helped me to employ a combination of methods (Denzin, 1978) as the appropriate use of both qualitative and quantitative methods have been considered satisfactory to promote feminist theory and goals (Harding, 1987). The research data for this study includes a survey of 925 women using questionnaires for a random sample of slum dwelling women. This was followed by 90 focused and semi-structured informal interviews. This was done to take advantage of the potential of each method to bridge a significant gap in the existing body of literature concerning the impact of local and global policies and feminisation of the labour market in determining women's city-ward migration in East Azarbaijan or their involvement in labour force.

Interviews helped extensively, as they revealed women's work and their contribution to their families' well being in greater detail than they were included in the questionnaires. The women mainly worked in the informal sectors of the economy whose employers do not declare them as their workforce in order to avoid paying tax and insurance; or they work as unpaid family workers, whose contribution to the welfare of their families is considered as part of their domestic life, rather than economic activity. Of the 90 women interviewed who were involved in income-generating activities, only 10 were registered as workers, four of whom would have been automatically sacked from their jobs as soon as they married.

By and large my respondents have similar social attributes in terms of religion, language, class, and ethnicity. However, there are some differences in patterns of work, education and marital status, particularly between the younger and older generations of women, which will be discussed fully in the next chapters.

The data

The initial data, upon which this study draws, has been collected from 925 questionnaires from migrant women in 31 locations in five main densely populated slums and squatter areas in the northern and southern fringes of Tabriz in summer 2000. According to the studies conducted in 1995, the population of the city's slum and squatter settlements was about 310,000 people, about 20 to 25% of the city's population, who constituted about 45,000 households with the average family size at 6.5 persons (University of Tabriz, 1995: 222). Therefore, my statistical sample with 925 respondents is 0.3% of the city's slum and squatter settlements' population. During the second stage of my field work in early 2001, however, I came across the latest announcements of the city's authorities that this population has increased to 400,000 people, about one-third of the city's population, who constituted about 70 to 75 thousand households with the average family size at 5.8 persons. In this case, my statistical sample would be 0.23% of the city's slum and squatter settlements' population.

I had planned to send researchers with prepared questionnaires to collect data from 1000 slum dwelling women. I drew up the questionnaires at York, translated them into Persian and sent them to the Faculty of Humanity and Social Science of Tabriz University to be administrated by 13 female students who had applied to the unit to interview the women in their homes and fill the questionnaires. Through e-mail and telephone, I discussed the prepared questionnaire with lecturers who had worked in slum and squatter settlements of Tabriz, but not with migrant women, in order to make sure that the data would be collected according to the social and geographical situations of migrants. At the initial stage they suggested some minor changes to some questions and a few additional sub-questions about the materials that had been used in the buildings as well as the kind of ownership they had over their houses. They believed that these questions would distinguish the social groups of the informants. In one of the questions, they suggested to replace 'economic activities', *faaliyyatha-ye Eghtesadi*¹, with 'job', *Shogl*². I rejected this suggestion and explained that the informants might work at home and not be paid for their

1- *faaliyyatha-ye Eghtesadi* is any form of activities that generates income.

2- The term "*Sohogl*" is a formal definition that is used to refer to paid employment undertaken outside the home.

work, which is not accounted as job, *Shogl*, and as such they would not answer to this question. One of my divisions for the type of work, which was 'working outside the home as a self employed', did not seem to them to be standard in terms of the divisions in sociological textbooks in Iran. I accepted their slight change, which divided it into three parts: working outside the home as employer; as independent labourer; and as an unpaid apprentice. After this process, it was announced in the faculty that some female students were needed to collect data from female migrants from the slum and squatter settlements of Tabriz. Thirteen students, the majority of them in the last year of their studies, were selected from 21 students who had applied. One student was also given the responsibility to stay in the office to collect the completed questionnaires, to be available if help was needed. The selected students were all from the same ethnicity as the rural-urban migrants in Tabriz and all spoke the local language, Azari Turki, fluently, as both ethnicity and language are essential in establishing trust and support between researchers and those who are being studied (Jamali, 1985).

Before going to the field, the students and one of the lecturers went through the questionnaire, in case something was unclear. For the questioners and sometimes even for the lecturers of the University, some questions about migration and economic activities of women were a bit difficult to digest because of the public perception of traditional culture of rural areas and their women as completely dependent to their male relatives. The questions that were confusing for them, were for instance, 'Did you want to leave your village?' and 'Did you come to the city alone?', with yes/no answers. The students and lecturers' perception of the rural norms and traditions about its women was that in rural areas women are not allowed to leave their places alone or do not contribute in the decision making process about something important like migration. Thus their desire for migration, or the lack of it, could not have any impact on the process of migration. Another one of the questions was: 'Who helped you in your migration?' Two of the options for this question were 'Future employer' and 'Potential employer'. They made fun of this question as if I did not know anything about Iranian culture and how an unknown person could have access to a rural woman. They asked: 'where were the women's fathers and brothers to let the potential employer help their women in the process of migration?' I explained that my supervisor is an Iranian who has experienced the period of land reform in Iran and she had added these two options. I explained that by 'future or potential employer' we do not

mean any business or firm. Rather according to my supervisor's own experience, in many cases rural girls or women were staying and working as 'domestic workers' in the houses of the landlords or wealthy families in the cities, though in most cases the decision might have been made for them by their parents or employers, particularly in the case of maids. But women who had to fend for themselves and their families, might have an active role in the decision-making process.

The data was collected in two to three weeks from 31 locations in the five main areas of densely populated slum squatters located in the northern and southern fringes of Tabriz. The choice of these geographical areas for statistical study is due to the fact that most migrants live in slums and shantytowns. These locations were divided equally between 13 questioners in order to have data from all migrant settlements. In the biggest locations the data was collected in a cluster method.

The female students were also divided into four groups in order to go together to the field. In order to give them self-confidence and security (at least psychologically), for each group, the most experienced student who was familiar with the area either by doing research or being close to the area, was selected as the head of the team. It was hoped that those who had research experience in these locations would do their work successfully.

There were two main concerns before and during the process of data collecting. One of them was about gaining research permits from the local authorities which often makes the process of the work longer, as in Iran social science research, particularly being undertaken by Western academic institutions, is always the subject of political suspicion (Razavi, 1992, Godazgar, 1999). I established some form of co-operation with the Social Science Department of Tabriz University in order to avoid any problems with the authorities regarding the study. I also assumed that since the research would involve the study of migrant women, the majority of whom belong to the lower strata of the society and lived in city slums, the nature of the work might not be considered explicitly political, which means less problems with the authorities during the research. I assumed that the authorities were not aware that feminist research, because of its emphasis on 'research *for* women', is something political. The political nature of feminism is due to the feminists' commitment to challenge the patriarchal social structures in order to change women's lives (Smith, 1979; Elshtain, 1981: 201-98; Harding, 1986: 24; Stanley and Wise, 1990: 21; Glucksman, 1994: 149). Feminists are also committed to raise gender consciousness, not

only for women, but also for local authorities that are in a key position to make changes in the wider society (de Groot and Maynard: 1993; Kelly *et al*, 1994). If feminist research is not directly linked to policy transformation, it is often associated with a drive for political empowerment by providing knowledge and authority for women in order to increase their ability to change their conditions (Maynard, 1994: 17). Thus the process of research in this case could lead to an awareness of the part of the women that they could exercise choices.

In the field, the students were given an official letter from the head of the Social Science department, and it was carried out under the authority of the University of Tabriz. Although the letter did not guarantee the protection of the researchers either from the police or the revolutionary guards, *Bacij*, in the event the data was collected without any real problem or confrontation with authorities.

The second concern was about the safety of the female students. They were advised to take care of each other, fill the questionnaires wherever they felt safe, and be in the field only during daytime. They were also told not to declare in the streets that they are doing research, but just to knock on doors and ask one of female members of the household to answer the questions.

The questions were asked in the Turkish language, and were explained whenever it was necessary. The students filled the questionnaires even if the respondents were literate. Each questionnaire took 15 to 20 minutes, the work for which the normal price was 1000 Rials or 100 Toummans. In order to improve the quality of the work and prevent any exploitation of the students, 2000 Rials was paid for each completed questionnaire. In a few cases where the questionnaires were not filled in completely the students were sent back to the field to complete them.

In general, there was good co-operation between the students and the respondents in the field. On the first day, few students offended some women because they asked their respondents if they were villagers (*Katdi*), an offensive word to be used for migrants. The students asked for advice and they were told that they should ask that question indirectly; for instance they should first ask the respondents where they came from, if they named a city, ask them if they are from the city itself or from its rural areas, which in this way they can find their respondents.

The completed questionnaires were coded and recorded in SPSS by two MA research students. This process also took two to three weeks. The whole process from sending the

translated questionnaire until the information was completely recorded in the computer, took two and a half months.

I conducted an initial analysis of those questionnaires about migrant women's social and economic characteristic as well as the factors associated with their migratory movement (see chapter 5). The main purpose of the primary data was to help to identify individuals for in-depth interviews. Although the majority of women had stated nine different reasons for not working in the city, their responses to two other questions indicated that most of them have/had been involved in income generating activities either by working at or outside the home. Having started out with the expectation of interviewing some of the informants from the first stage of study, I eventually shifted to a position of interviewing migrant women randomly as it was done in the first stage of data collecting. This was because I wanted to include other migrant women into the study, particularly those who had paid jobs and were working outside the home.

The Interview Process

The second stage of the study was conducted by myself in Tabriz. Given the experience of the first stage I already had the research permit to confirm the work. Moreover, being a native woman helped my entry to the world of migrant women. My marital status also played a positive role in encouraging my respondents, most of who were married, to express freely their beliefs, their womanly experiences and problems at home and in the wider society.

From mid March to the end of June 2001, I interviewed 90 migrant women in their homes or workplaces and a few in the city's prison. Only two of the interviewed women participated in the both stages of the study, as I soon decided to choose my interviewees randomly, in order to integrate more migrant women in the study. Interestingly, the 'factual information' about the demographic, social and economic features of the informants and their families, was very similar to that of the first data. Most of the interviews took place at homes, and those who had a paid job outside the home were interviewed at their work place, with the exception of domestic workers. Most of the interviews took place in groups. Sometimes the group was made up of mother and daughter(s); mother-in-law and daughter-in-law; some neighbors, or, in the workplace,

colleagues. The interviewees were selected from each stratum of the pre and post-revolutionary migrant, which covered cross-generations of young and old women who were engaged in income-generating activities regardless of whether they acquired a wage, based on their willingness to participate in the interview.

In order to obtain a fuller picture of the motivations and experiences of female migrants, a less structured interview with open questions followed. I covered 5 areas in the interview. They were: background information and family; education and literacy levels at the points of departure and arrival; background information about migration and factors contributing to their mobility such as their living circumstances in their villages and in their post-migratory destination; employment and social and economic features of their occupational and economical situations, the reason for being involved in that activity, skill, income; what their work and earning mean to them and their families; family relations and kinship ties in the city, the spatial and physical constraints placed on them as a result of their migration by the family and society and most importantly their relationship with their husbands. The factual questions are useful in the processing of data, particularly in terms of categorizing respondents.

Probing, an important instrument in this sort of interview was also used to encourage the respondents to clarify the answer or to explain further, particularly when their accounts, opinions and attitudes seemed to vary during the course of the interview. This is important, because for many women the interview was like telling their life histories/stories. Some even mentioned that their stories would make a good film. However, some respondents required constant prompting, and some said the most interesting things after the tape recorder has been switched off and during their informal conversation. Respondents were also encouraged to say more about issues that were important and interesting to them but had not been covered by the interview.

The personal interviews were most useful, as they provided me with details of personal experiences, attitudes, opinions, and reactions in the 'context of the social and economic structures within which they live' (Franks, 1998: 114). They also gave me the opportunity to observe the emotions and nonverbal behavior of the interviewees (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 1996). Since the focus of the study was upon women, in order to 'give them an opportunity to provide a spoken account of their existence' (Elshtain, 1981: 304), I tried to adopt an egalitarian, reciprocal and non-hierarchical

relationship with my respondents. I started with an informal introduction about the research and why I needed to interview them and how important they and their information were to my work.

The first hesitation that the majority of women expressed was their sense of inadequacy by saying that they were illiterate and would not know what to say. I told them that my questions would only be related to their households, children, and the work they did and so forth. Then they took an active role during the interview. During the interview, I noticed that the women were pleased and felt important by being researched and asked questions about the details of their work and their contribution to the welfare of their family, particularly if they were interviewed in the presence of their husbands. This was mainly because women's work, particularly when it is unpaid family labour, is often undermined by women themselves and their family. I also noticed that apart from some degree of confidence that women might gain from the interviews, men found it interesting to see that for the first time their women, not they, were being asked for information about the reasons behind their migration or about work.

I asked permission to record the interview or take pictures, and reassured them that their information and personal details would be treated confidentially and I would be the only one to listen to the tapes. I taped some of the interviews and when they preferred not to be taped, I recorded the interview in writing. Most women were afraid that their interviews, if taped, would be exposed to the public on TV, the most used media among the migrants. Franks (1998) also experienced the same feeling from her British interviewees, more than half of whom had university education. In the field, I preferred to tape the interviews as it made it more like a conversation, which was carried out without any pause and I was able to be a more active participant during the interview, in terms of listening and sharing my emotional feelings with them. In some cases I cried with them when I saw their problems in dealing with poverty combined with other misfortunes of life such as having disabled children, or a violent relationship. Writing the interviews made me more distant, I was more a note-taker and kept interrupting the informants to repeat what they said already or to stop them in order to write their thoughts before I forgot them. I was also more conscious about time and found the writing the interviews made the process slower. In some cases I was not able to write down everything that was said, particularly in the case of group interviews when women kept interrupting each other. In

these situations, I tried to remember the conversations and jot down the key points. But in all cases, I followed the respondents' wishes about the use of tape. However, during the transcription of the tapes, I found the taped interviews difficult to handle, as the background noises were sometimes disrupting, sometimes because of very quiet noise of the respondent, or many people speaking at the same time. In one case, a child was crying continuously as the mother was talking to me. I also lost two or three of my valuable interviews by unconsciously taping other interviews over them.

Conducting the interview

During the interview, I talked with my informants about our common experiences and similarities such as motherhood, child rearing, housework, all of which are strategies that have been employed by many feminists (Oakley 1981; El-Solh, 1988). It has been argued that an intimate and non-hierarchical relationship is not possible in terms of producing collective knowledge, as 'structured inequalities of knowledge between researcher and researched are unavoidable within the research context' (Glucksmann, 1994: 156-8). Although there is an implicit power relationship between interviewee/interviewer, in terms of for instance knowing the questions and their orders, controlling the flow of the interview and even scribing the interviewee's account (Franks, 1998: 116), I found that shared experiences and having common language and ethnicity and a real interest in the women and their lives can create an intimate relationship. It produces a new level of self-knowledge for those being studied and sometimes this knowledge was very useful for establishing trust between us. Often it was not only me that interviewed my informants. They were also interviewing me by asking questions about my family life, where I come from, how many children I have, where I live, what my husband's job is, does he help me at home, etc. In some cases, when I asked about the number of their children³, they asked a similar question back to me by saying that: 'Why do you have four children? We were illiterate and unaware of our surrounding, what about you? You are literate and you should have had fewer children.' The questions that my informants were asking me, I think, were useful for them in producing a degree of unwritten and unrecorded knowledge and in

³ - See chapter 6 about the fertility behavior of my informants.

making comparisons between themselves and middle class women. They found my life interesting because often they had not had the possibility of probing into the lives of educated urban women such as primary teachers, nurses and doctors, with whom they have either very limited contact or their social relations are mainly constructed in terms of power relations.

Access to the informants

Before going to the field, I was thinking that in order to get access to women and obtain their trust, as well as to avoid creating suspicion towards myself and the research, I would use my personal contacts through an informal network of relatives and friends or through local communities such as schools, mosques or female religious ceremonies as safe channels. In the field, however, I soon realized that I did not need any intermediate in order to get access to most of my informants. In fact, some of the 'safe channels' that I had planned to employ in the field turned to be a main obstacle between the women whom I wanted to interview and myself. For instance, I learnt that I could get access to some women with migrant backgrounds in the schools such as teachers, cleaners and even pupils or their close female relatives who were involved in income-generating activities. I was informed that in two high schools, some pupils came from nearby villages and traveled between the city and their village everyday. But because the schools are under tight control of the state, getting access to schools even to the private schools was not actually possible without getting a written letter from top educational authorities of the city. My support letter from the Social Science Department of the University of Tabriz proved to be worthless. In one of the high schools my request for an interview was rejected immediately. In another school two of the teachers showed interest in being interviewed, but because the head teacher was not in, her assistant said that she needed to get permission from the Governmental Office (*edareh*, Educational authorities) and told me that I would not be allowed to interview anybody unless I personally applied for permission from the Office. However, I did not want to get involved with educational authorities, as I knew that it would be a long process and, in the end, I might be refused. I only managed to get access to one primary school through one of my informal channels. Fortunately my uncle's wife was an assistant to the head teacher of the school. I

interviewed her in front of her colleagues, and she asked them to participate in the interview and co-operate with me. Two of the teachers were interviewed, both of whom were urban-urban migrants up the hierarchy with rural-urban migrant husbands. I did not use those interviewees in this dissertation.

Access to women who were interviewed at their own homes was easy. In most cases I received a warm welcome from my informants and was touched by their hospitality. In some cases when my informants were older, I was treated as a member of the family and was invited to eat with them, particularly when it was around lunchtime. In one of the poorest areas the people had had a good experience of a woman MP who had brought water and electricity to their area. Therefore, they perceived me as a state agent and, in addition to the interview, they discussed the problems of their area such as sewage, etc., which needed to be improved by the council. In that area, I felt that I was seen as a savior. I found this perception unpleasant as I felt that I extracted information from them without being useful to them. In two cases I strongly followed up their cases, though ultimately my attempts were fruitless. Contrasted with the poorer women, women in better-off families were more hesitant to let me enter their houses. However, their first suspicion did not affect their willingness to give information about their work experience or talk about their daily life and problems. Sometimes, for more than an hour, I had to stand on my feet in the alleyways while I was writing the interview, and meanwhile had to explain about the research to other women who came to see what was going on. However, as soon as the suspicion and fear were removed from their minds they became more relaxed and invited me into their home where we carried out the rest of the interview.

The presence of men and its effect on the interviews

The focus of the interviews were on migrant women, though a few men were partially interviewed, mainly when they were present during the interview and felt obliged to talk when the questions were on the issue of migration. They were more eager to talk about the political, economic, and social as well as climatic factors that had played important roles in their decision to leave their villages. In a few cases, the male employers stayed during the whole period of the interview. In one factory, the manager stayed with us while I interviewed four of the employees. In one case, the employer stayed for a while and

interrupted and answered the questions that were related to wages, insurance, benefits, etc., and explained about the difficulties of having and continuing his business. However, when he was sure I was not a state agent and I was more interested in women's work and experience, rather than in his business, he left us alone. In another case (in the University's kitchen), the manager became aware of my existence among his workers and came to see who I was and what I was doing there. I explained I was from the University and was carrying out research on migrant women. The women laughed and said that 'they want to deport the villagers from the city', and again we were left alone. In fact the presence of the employers did not have any profound effect on the process of the research, as far as the questions were related to women's life experiences.

Different studies indicate that the presence of a husband is problematic for the research process, directly or indirectly; sometimes they do not let their wives to participate in research. Sometimes they take over or stay in the room. Though they may keep silent this still has a definite impact upon the interviewer and interviewee insofar as women do not reveal the truth in front of their husbands, or sometimes women defer to them and let them answer the questions (Shaaban, 1988; Razavi, 1992; Glucksmann, 1994; Ghavamshahidi, 1996). Some researchers have stated that in many cases their informants wished to be interviewed whilst not in the presence of their husbands.

In my work although the presence of the husband disturbed the process of the interview, it produced a different picture of women's views and their relations with their husbands. In most of my interviews that took place at home, the husbands/men were either not at home, or in a few cases, when they were in, did not get involved and left us alone. The norm in Iran is that the husband leaves the room or even the house when an unfamiliar woman enters so that the women feel comfortable in their socialization. In one of the interviews, however, the husband stayed with us, because of his mistrust towards his wife and to a lesser extent because of his curiosity to know what I was doing. It was obvious that his lack of trust in his wife was because of the greater education that she had had, which he perceived as a threat to his superiority and tried, directly or indirectly, to control his wife. Unlike other cases when women only talked freely when their husbands got bored and left the room, in this case, the husband's presence did not stop the woman from telling me everything that she wanted to say. In fact, in some cases, he was surprised by his wife's answers and interrupted the interview to express his unawareness about the issue,

particularly about her teaching the Quran in one of the mosques the previous summer. She freely talked in front of her husband of her preference to study rather than marry but, because her father had died, her mother wanted to marry her off. She also said how her husband had broken his promise before the marriage regarding her continuation of her education, and about him preventing her from getting involved in social activities outside the home. When I asked about her job, she explained about her being a Quranic teacher and being invited from many mosques to teach the Quran to young children during the summer holidays, an activity which her husband prevented her from doing. She did not look at her job from an economic point of view and mentioned that she had not used the money that came from teaching the Quran for herself or her family, as the maintenance of the family's welfare is her husband's responsibility. Rather, she had used her wages in a charitable way, most of the time helping a poor, old widow in the neighborhood, as she believed that teaching the Quran is her religious responsibility which gave her an opportunity to get involved in social activities. She had progressive ideas about gender relations and Islamic womanhood according to which she believed she had a right to education, social and economic activity required freedom of movement. She actively resisted her husband's traditional notion of Islamic gender relationships between wife and husband, and was fighting for her Islamic rights, particularly in terms of having freedom to get involved in social activities and continuing her education.

What I found interesting was that it was not only the presence of the husband that affected the process of the interview, but that sometimes the presence of another woman might be as distractive as the presence of a man. In one of the cases, I asked a widow, retired from carpet weaving recently, about her engagement in income-generating activities in front of her daughter-in-law and my assistant. She replied to me with pride that 'I have not worked at all. I have been a *khanoum* (lady) and have only eaten and slept.' When I asked in response 'but you have worked on carpets, don't you consider it as a work?' she found it offensive and replied 'So what, you are working too, aren't you? The only difference is that you are working outside the home.' However, when her daughter-in-law left the room and my assistant went out to make a call, she admitted that she could not speak in their presence. Then she began to talk about her sufferings and the hardships she faced in bringing up her young children for many years after the death of her husband, with only her income from weaving carpets and some contribution from a local religious

mission. She explained that how some nights she could not go to sleep from the fear of what would happen to her family, how she could cope with such a life and many other similar questions.

In one of the group interviews, with seven women, one of the interviewee's daughters interrupted the interview whenever her mother was talking about her husband, particularly about his behavior and attitudes towards her. In such cases, her daughter found those claims offensive, and tried to protect her father. I asked her to not interrupt her mother, as their truth about her father is 'narrowly confined to the sense of reflecting two different person's experience' (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002: 43) with the same man with whom they have different relationships. He might construct his relationship with his wife based on marital gender relations from a dominant position, but at the same time, his relationship with his daughter might be constructed based on affection, care and love in filial relations. However, at the end, the interview remained unfinished as the mother said: 'I have too many thing to say, but I can't'. This was the only case that the conflict of interest between a mother and her daughter affected the process of the interview.

In one case, I found the daughter of one of my informants very supportive. By chance, she was an undergraduate student at the Social Science Department of Tabriz University, who constantly reminded her mother about the importance of the research and the co-operation of respondents, according to her knowledge from her studies. In some cases she even corrected her mother and explained to her that she should not underestimate the interview.

The advantage of my gender and indigenous status in this study

The importance of gender in the production of undistorted and unbiased knowledge about women's lives from a feminist perspective and standpoint has already been discussed in this paper. Apart from those arguments, gender has a great significance in highly or even in less sex-segregated societies, in terms of access to the research community and to specific information, particularly where segregation leads to the separation of men and women's social and cultural knowledge (Altorki and El-Solh, 1988: 2). In sex-segregated societies, female researchers might have access to the world of men due to the role of other factors apart from gender mainly education and class, but their male counterparts are

excluded from the world of women. Therefore, exclusion of men from the women's world increases the possibility of neglecting important differentiations in gender roles in different 'situational contexts' (Clark, 1983 and Altorki and El-Solh, 1988: 4). The importance of gender roles increases when studying your own society, particularly when that society has a high degree of sex-segregation, rigid definition of gender roles and expected behavior (Schwartz and Schwartz, 1955 and Altorki and El-Solh, 1988: 11). This is why it is important the local women become more engaged in the production of knowledge about women in their own societies. They can then produce more complete and less distorted knowledge than that produced by men (El Guindi, 1981; Mernissi, 1984 & 1985; Altorki and El-Solh, 1988; Abu-Lughod, 1988 & 1993; El-Solh, 1988; Shaaban, 1988).

I believe that my gender and indigenous status facilitated my entry to the world of migrant women much easier than a female outsider or a male insider researcher. Male kin would rarely permit them to talk freely with a male researcher in their home, particularly without them being present (El-Solh, 1988: 112). Migrant women fulfill expectations and display more of the behavior expected of them by their community during contact with the outside world, especially with men in an urban society where there are 'more unfamiliar and stranger men around' (Bauer, 1984 and 1985). Women themselves also might not be willing to be interviewed by a male researcher (Hossain- Zadeh, 1982). Apart from easy access to the women's world, other critical variables such as my age, marital status, the topic of research, class, education, enabled me, like other researcher who have studied their own sex-segregated society, to manipulate the traditional social barriers that exist between men and women among migrant families (Altorki and El-Solh, 1988: 11-7).

Studying your own society also has other advantages. Having the same nationality, ethnicity or language with your informants not only avoids problems, but also defines your indigenous status, a definition that often gives the researcher a safe passport into the world of the informants with whom s/he shares a similar body of knowledge. Having an indigenous status, which in one sense implies being an insider, enabled me to understand easily the social realities and meanings of cultural patterns. Others studying their own society have also observed the similar benefits (Altorki and El-Solh and 1988: 8; Altorki: 1988). Knowing my respondents' customs, beliefs and cultural norms was an invaluable asset both in establishing trust and support and in making the interpretation of the research

much faster than would be possible for a non-indigenous researcher who is unfamiliar with the culture of the wider society (Razavi, 1992).

In a research process, language is not only a tool for communication, it is also a symbol of closeness (Pelto and Pelto 1973 and Altorki and El-Solh, 1988: 7). In his study of Tabriz squatter settlements, Jamali (1985) and his staff were identified with as they all were from Tabriz and were familiar with the study area and fluent in the local language, Azari Turki. As a result they easily obtained the confidence of those being studied (Jamali, 1985: 350). Moreover, speaking the same language makes differences between passive and active understanding (Schuetz, 1944 and Altorki and El-Solh, 1988: 7). For a non-indigenous researcher employing a native speaking assistant, there is always the possibility of summarizing, simplifying or leaving out some parts of the study that seem to be irrelevant to the interpreter (Razavi, 1992). I personally experienced how an assistant could affect the quality of data particularly in the case of interview recording. All of my interviews were conducted in the Azari-Turkish language, which is the native and only spoken language, while the writings were in Farsi language, which meant I had to listen, translate and write at the same time. I found these simultaneous tasks very difficult particularly at the beginning, since I had not practiced Persian writing for many years and could not write as fast as the informants talked. At times, a student who was one of the data-collectors of the first stage of the study and was familiar with the field accompanied me to the field. On the first day she asked me to let her to write down the interview. Later on that day, I noticed that she did not record most of the interviews and wrote only the parts she recognized or decided to be important for the study.

Conclusion

In this study a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods based on feminist methodologies, was employed to understand migrant women's social and economic situation in Tabriz, a destination for massive in-migration. Being a native researcher had a profound impact on the process of both stages of my fieldwork. The initial stage was facilitated by the contacts that I had in the University of Tabriz, who managed to complete the data collecting process without my physical presence. However, my continuous communication with the University staff involved in the research,

compensated my absence in that stage. Sharing similar culture, language and ethnicity were important factors in securing my access to research community and structuring my relationship with my informants. But I had to remain aware of the possibility of being confronted with local authorities who are suspicious of social science research, particularly being undertaken by Western academic institutions. My gender status was also another important factor that influenced my easier access to female informants in migrant communities where they observe a greater degree of sex segregation. However, my freedom of mobility and my interaction with men were not restricted by my gender role, mainly because of my status as an educated, middle-class married woman.

Chapter 5

Preliminary Analysis Of Women's Migration Amongst Slum Dwelling Women

'I wanted to become a khanum¹, now look at my hands'

*'I had heard that women in the city are khanum and I wanted be one of them' (Interviews
with two migrant women).*

Introduction

Most of the literature on migration considers it to be one of the structural characteristics of capitalist development, which is undertaken mainly by younger people who supply low-wage labour to labour-deficient economies within and across national boundaries. The informants of this sample, the majority of whom are from the poorest rural areas in the East Azarbaijan province, also mentioned economic factors as one of the main reasons for their migration. The data also showed that migration to Tabriz is mostly affected by inequalities in the distribution of income, resources and services between rural and urban areas, which affect different age groups in different ways. However, examination of individual motivations, with particular emphasis on gender differences and differences in age and marital status provided a richer account, showing that not all of the migrants are moving uniformly, but wider socio-economic factors motivate and affect different individuals in different ways. For instance, those who migrated with their family, particularly in their childhood, did not play an important role in the migratory decisions, as a result migration was not a rational decision for them, though for many it may have had a positive impact. This is more or less the same for women who migrated to start their married life. However, married women with children were more involved in decisions to migration as they could significantly affect the economy of the family, and the health and education of the children.

¹- Khanum literally means a lady who does not often do household or other chores.

This chapter describes the preliminary data, which is drawn from 925 questionnaires collected in the summer of 2000. It will analyze the four sets of questions to describe the social and economic characteristics of the informants.

There are different measures of migration (Skeldon, 1997), and in Tabriz, there are several types of migrants, which may be classified differently by migrants themselves, policy makers and researchers. In this study, however, migrants are defined as those who have moved from rural areas to the city (Tabriz), regardless of their economic activities, marital status, age and the period of their settlement in the city. Although, those who migrated permanently a long time ago, or perhaps in their childhood, might not consider themselves to be migrants and may put greater emphasis on their integration into urban society. Thus, based on this definition, 925 questionnaires were collected from migrant women with rural origins.

Factual information about the informants

Age

The ages of the respondents are within a range of 71 and have an inter-quartile range of 17. The age of two women are missing. About 95 per cent of the sample is between the ages of 19 and 60. However, the exact age given by many may not be very reliable, especially those given by older women. This can be explained by three factors: the fallible memories of older women; the fact that in the case of infant mortality, birth certificates were passed on from the dead child to the new-born baby, and the fact that in rural areas, particularly among the older generations, dates of birth are/were not usually used except on special occasions such as marriage. Moreover, as the data will show, more than two-thirds of the women are illiterate, which contributes to these women not knowing their precise age.

Table 5.1) The age frequencies of respondents: number of respondents ($n=925^*$)- no. (%)

Mean	37	Minimum age	12
Median	35	Maximum age	83
Mode	30	Range	71
St. Deviation	11.96	Inter-quartile	17 (45- 28)
Variance	143	No. of respondents	923

* The ages of two women are missing.

Marital status

Ninety-one per cent of the women in the sample are married, 5.9% widowed, 2.7% single, 0.3% divorced, 0.2% separated and 0.1% deserted. Table 5.2 indicates the marital status of the respondents and their ages.

Table 5.2) The frequency distribution of respondents in terms of their marital status and ages: (n=925)- no. (%)

Marital status	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Separated	Deserted	Total
n	25	840	54	3	2	1	925
%	2.7	90.8	5.9	0.3	0.2	0.1	100
Ages	12- 33	16 - 80	30 - 83	24 - 25	32 & 80	41	12 - 83

The ages of single women range from 12 to 33 with the mean, median, mode and Std. Deviation at 20.60; 20; 20; and 4.22 respectively. The ages of married women range from 16 to 80, with the mean of 36.33, median of 35, mode of 30 and Std. Deviation of 10.66. Married women's ages have a range of 64 and inter-quartile range of 14 (42 -28). The widows vary in age from 30 to 83 years old. The mean, median, mode and Std. Deviation are 55.81; 55.50; 60; and 12.07 respectively. Their ages also have a range of 53 and an inter-quartile range of 19 (65-46).

The majority of the informants (86%) live in nuclear households, and a small percentage (14%) live in extended families. Table 5.3 illustrates this distribution.

Table 5. 3) The numerical and percentage distribution of migrant women in nuclear and extended families: number of women (n= 925) -no. (%)

Kind of household	Nuclear	Extended	Total
n	796	129	925
%	86.1	13.9	100

Of 840 married women, 105 of them (12.5%) live in extended families in which the more common pattern for younger women is to live with their in-laws rather than with their own families, and it is more common for older women to live with their sons (and their wives) rather than with their daughters (and their husbands).

Table 5. 4) The distribution of the members of extended families among the married women: number of married women (n= 105)

Father-in law	Mother-in law	Father	Mother	Brother-in law	Sister-in law	Brother	Sister	Daughter-in law	Son-in law
27	62	2	5	13	17	9	8	31	1

Of 54 widows, two-thirds of women (36) live in nuclear families with their children; and seven live alone. The other 18 women live within extended families, with their sons and daughters in law, except one who lives with her son-in-law.

Table 5. 5) The distribution of the members of extended families among the widows: number of widows (n= 18)

Father	Mother	Mother-in law	Brother	Daughter-in law	Son-in law
1	1	1	2	15	1

The majority of single women live within nuclear families, except four who have no father and stay within extended families with their brothers and their families. Three divorced women stay with their parents and siblings. The separated women live with their children and the deserted woman lives with her parents and her own four children.

The demographic pattern and the duration of migration

Table 5.6 gives the numerical and percentage distribution of the population by nine age groups (their current age and their age on arrival). The demographic pattern of migrants in the table indicates age selectivity for migration. The percentages are highest for those who left their villages between the ages of 10 and 20 or in their childhood (85% altogether), and lowest among the other age-groups. This pattern, the association of migration with age regardless of gender, has been shown in many studies of migration. Of the informants who were between the ages of 15 and 22 at the time of migration and comprised 42.4% of all migrants, had the highest propensity to migrate. The average percentage for each of the ages between 15 and 22 is 5.4, while for the other ages it is 0.9.

Table 5. 6) Age-group of migrant women at the time of data-collecting and on their arrival in the city: number of women (n=925)- no. (%)

	At the time of data-collecting		On their arrival in the city	
	n	%	n	%
Less than Tens	0		182	19.7
Tens	12	1.3	364	39.4
Twenties	259	28.1	240	25.9
Thirties	315	34.1	77	8.3
Forties	190	20.5	39	4.2
Fifties	88	9.5	12	1.3
Sixties	43	4.6	2	0.2
Seventies	12	1.3	0	0
Eighties	4	0.4	0	0
Missing	2	0.2	9	1
Total	925	100%	925	100%

The duration of migration for the respondents, which is found by comparing their age-groups on their arrival to the city and at the time of data-collecting, is shown in table 5.7.

Table 5. 7) The duration of migration by comparing the age-group of migrant women on their arrival to the city and their current age: number of women (n=925)- no. (%)

Age-groups	10's		20's		30's		40's		50's		60's		70's		80's		Missing	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Migrated in their																		
> 10 (182)	8	4.4	76	42	62	34	26	14	7	4	3	2						
10's (364)	4	1.1	127	35	139	38	62	17	21	6	7	2			2	0.5	2	0.5
20's (240)			56	23	99	41	60	25	16	7	8	3	1	0.5				
30's (77)					12	16	33	5	25	34	7	9						
40's (39)							6	15	16	41	12	31	4	10	1	3		
50's (12)									1	8	5	42	6	50				
60's (2)													1	50	1	50		
Missing (9)					3	33	3	33	2	22	1	11						
Total	12		259		315		190		88		43		12		4		2	

For a small number of women, the duration of migration is a long period of even five or six decades. For the majority, however, it is between less than a decade to two decades, which indicates that in this sample, the majority have migrated during or after the revolution, particularly those who had a higher propensity to migrate.

Marital status at the time of migration

Regarding the marital status of women at the time of migration, the data initially indicated that the majority of women, about 67%, were married followed by single, widowed and divorced women respectively, as table 5.8 illustrates.

Table 5. 8) The frequency distribution of respondents in terms of their marital status at the time of migration: (n=925)- no. (%)

Marital status	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Total
n	294	620	1	10	925
%	31.8	67	0.1	1.1	100

However, in analysing the other questions and comparing them with women's marital status at the time of migration, and also during the interview process, I noticed that women who categorised themselves as single or married, in practice can be divided into four categories: single, and migrating with parents; single, and migrating for work or study; single, and migrating due to marriage; and married. Table 5.9 illustrates the findings.

Table 5. 9) The marital status of migrant women at the time of migration and at the time of data-collecting: number of women (n=925)- no. (%)

Current marital status	Marital status at the time of migration											
	Single parent with		Single job/study for		Single marriage for		Married		Widowed		Divorced	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Single (25)	25	9										
Married (840)	250	88	3	100	124	96	461	93	1	10	1	100
Widowed (54)	6	2			4	3	35	7	9	90		
Divorced (3)	2	1			1	1						
Separated (2)							2	0.5				
Deserted (1)	1	0.5										
Total (925)	284	31	3	0.3	129	14	498	54	10	1	1	0.1

Children

Apart from 25 single women in the sample, 25 women have no children, of whom 21 are married, 1 widowed and 3 divorced. Although these women range from 17 to 60 years old, 65% of them are between 17 and 26 years old, i.e. capable of reproduction.

Of the women who have children, the numbers of children are highly diverse, ranging from 1 to 14. 96% of these women, however, have 1 to 8 children (mean 4.2; median 4; and mode 2). A few women have 10 children or more (2.2%). Table 5.10 shows the distribution of children among 900 women.

Table 5. 10) Children's distribution among the sample: number of women (n=900)- no. (%)

No. of Ch.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	14
No. of wo.	25	102	151	113	134	121	101	84	36	14	16	1	1	1
%	2.8	11.3	16.8	12.6	14.9	13.4	11.2	9.3	4	1.6	1.8	0.1	0	0.1

Note: Single women are excluded from the table.

Education

Six hundred and three of the informants (65%) in the sample are illiterate, of whom only one was single. The illiterate women range from 12 to 83 years old, however, 50% of them are between 39 and 83 years old. Three hundred and twenty-two women (35%) are literate of whom 4 were studying at the time of data collection. Table 5.11 illustrates respondents' educational levels.

Table 5. 11) The educational level of respondents: number of women (n= 925)- no. (%)

Level of education	Illiterate	Basic reading skills	Primary	Secondary	Higher-school	Diploma and more
n	603	59	194	43	7	18
%	65.2%	6.4%	21.0%	4.7%	0.8%	1.9%

Education is an important variable that can be used to find out whether there is a positive or a negative correlation between the distribution of children and the women's level of education. Considering the educational level of the studied sample, the variation in the number of children can be explained by the variation in the women's level of literacy. In the next chapter, I will look at this important factor in detail, and by separately examining

the women's age and marital status at their time of migration, as well as their current age and marital status, and the numbers of children at different educational levels, I will show that there is a negative correlation between women's illiteracy or a lower level of education and their higher reproductive behaviour. As women's levels of schooling increases, the number of children they have decreases. The next chapter will examine this relation in detail.

Some information on the educational levels of husbands and other family members

The mean age of married women's husbands in the sample is 41, and the mean of their own ages is 37. Comparison of the husbands' educational levels with those of the respondents' showed that men are more educated than women in this sample. 36% of the husbands are illiterate against 65% illiterate women; and 64% are literate against 35% literate women, which comprise a 29 percent gap. The gender gap in the literacy rate in this sample supports that of national level. The majority of men, however, have primary education. The higher rate of illiteracy among the respondents and the lower level of education among their husbands can be explained in terms of their poor economic conditions, particularly in rural areas, that have prevented their access to educational resources. Table 5.12 illustrates the educational levels of the 840 husbands in the sample.

Table 5. 12) The educational level of respondents' husband: number of the husbands (n= 840)

Level of Education	Illiterate	Primary	Under-diploma	Higher education	Religious Education
Numbers	304	391	130	11	4
%	36.2%	46.5%	15.5%	1.3%	0.5%

I have also grouped respondents' family members into four groups of husband, children, parents and siblings, including daughter or son-in-laws who live in the same household as the respondents. Thus, any married children of the respondents are not included in this division.

Table 5. 13) Cross-tabulation count of family members' educational level

Family members in four groups and the level education	Husband	Parents	Siblings, daughter or son-in laws	Children	Total
Illiterate	304	132	23	65	523
Primary	391	14	74	984	1461
Under-diploma	130	0	97	1207	1433
Diploma and more	11	1	11	55	77
Religious Education	4	0	0	0	4
Total	840	147	205	2311	3498

Comparing the educational levels of different generations indicates that younger generations tend to have a better education than older generations, which shows the increased access of the population to education, particularly at the primary and middle levels of schooling in recent decades. Illiterate children are those who have not reached school age.

Table 5. 14) The economic activities of respondents' husbands: number of the husbands (n= 840)

Activity	n	%	Activity	n	%	Activity	n	%
State- employed	90	10.7	Shop-keeper	31	3.7	Agriculture	3	0.3
Army officer	3	0.4	Open job	100	12	Laborer	312	37
Carpet-waver	92	10.9	Shoe-maker	10	1.2	Builder/ Painter	59	7.1
Driver	58	7	Hair-dresser	2	0.2	Un/under employment	64	7.6
Clergyman	4	0.5	Tailor	2	0.2	Missing_cases	10	1.2

The table of the economic activities of the respondents' husbands shows that they are mostly concentrated in the informal sector of the economy. If these activities are categorized into state-employment; self-employment; construction sector; and un- or under-employed, the table shows that the construction or factory sector with 44.1%; and self-employment with 36% absorb the majority of the male migrants in Tabriz. The share of state-employment with 11.1% is lower than the other two sectors. However, the percentage of un- or under-employed people including the missing cases (8.8%) illustrates that, as was discussed in the chapter 1, the unemployment rate is lower among male migrants.

Some migrants retain their rural interests, particularly their cultivatable land, even

though they have no intention of returning to their villages. Interestingly, the interview process revealed that some male migrants have maintained their land in the village and have dual participation in urban and agrarian activities, or have withdrawn from agriculture only after securing good occupational opportunities due to their initiatives, skills and mobility in either the informal or formal sectors. These male migrants are better off than those who do not hold anything in the village, due mainly to owning no land in the village, and remain as unskilled poor labouring families in the city. Moreover, those male migrants who left their families behind in the village to take care of land or animals and migrated alone, were able to consolidate their position in the city through obtaining an urban occupation, or buying house or land for building before their rural families to join them. They were well better off economically and socially than those who left the village with their families without securing any home or job. In fact, the latter group did not retain any links with or interest in their villages, whereas some of the former group did benefit from a partial involvement in farming. They compensate for the higher living cost of the city by receiving in kind products from their cultivation. Some even commercialise the surplus of their products in local market or in their urban neighbourhood. None the less, this practice is not very widespread.

Household information

Ownership

At the time of the data collection, 740 of the respondents (80%) were living in privately owned houses and 104 of them (about 11%) were renting their houses (91% altogether). Nine per cent of the respondents, however, had different relations to their housing: 68 of them were living in their parents' or in-laws' house free of charge, which is called *Bela-avas*. Even though they were not part of an extended family, eat separately and their budget was separate from that of their parents or in-laws with whom they share their houses. Eleven of them had leased their houses, and 2 of them had state houses.

Table 5. 15) Ownership condition of the sample: number of women (n= 925) –no. (%)

Ownership of the house	n	%
Privately owned	740	80
Rented	104	11.2
Living in parents' or in-laws' house without paying rent (<i>Bela-avas</i>)	68	7.8
Lease ² (<i>Rahni</i>)	11	1.2
State accommodation	2	0.2
Total	925	100

The majority of the respondents (510) had two rooms; 207 of the respondents stated that they had one room and 126 said that they had 3 rooms (91% altogether). Of the remaining 9 %, 52 had four rooms; 11 had five; 3 had six; 2 had either eight or nine rooms; and 14 (1.5%) respondents did not give any information on the number of their rooms.

About 5% of those (10 respondents) who stated that they had one room were living within extended families, particularly with their mother in-law in the case of five of them. The other five respondents were either living with more than one person of their in-laws or with their daughters-in-law. It seems that they either had misunderstood the question and meant the number of the rooms in the household that specifically belong to them, as so many people cannot live in one room; or they may have been extremely poor. According to my own observation during the interview process, the extended families had more than one room. About 53% of extended families, in this sample have 2 rooms. Table 39 indicates the number of rooms stated by respondents as well as the numerical and percentage distribution of extended family in each case. Three of the extended families (2.3%) were among those who did not say how many rooms they had.

2- In a leased house, the tenant pays the house-owner a relatively large sum of money in advance for a contract of one or more years, without paying monthly rent. At the end of the contract, either the contract is extended for a new deal, or the house-owner pays the same money back to the tenant. This process works due to the high inflation rate.

Table 5. 16) Number of room stated by respondents: number of women (n= 911) –no. (%)

No. of rooms	n	%	n and % of extended families in each case
1	207	22.8	10 (7.8%)
2	510	56	68 (52.7%)
3	126	13.8	29 (22.5%)
4	52	5.7	16 (12.4%)
5	11	1.2	2 (1.5%)
6	3	0.3	1 (0.8%)
8	1	0.1	0
9	1	0.1	0
Not mentioned	14	1.5	3 (2.3%)
Total	925	100	129

Five different reasons were given in the questionnaire for choosing the area of the residency after moving to the city, and the respondents were asked to rank them in terms of their importance to them. Table 5.17 shows these factors and their importance for the respondents for choosing the area.

Table 5. 17) Respondents' ranking of factors important for choosing to settle: number of women (n=925)

Priorities	Factors
1	Cheapness of lands to build a house
2	Closeness to migrant relatives
3	Closeness to friends and village-mates
4	Other
5	Closeness to my village

The majority of the respondents chose the low cost of land for building a house, and closeness to migrant relatives as their first and second priorities. Six hundred and eighty-two women (74%), and 67 women (7%) chose respectively the cheapness of land and closeness to migrant relatives as their first priority; and 53 women (6%) and 136 (15%) chose these two factors respectively as their second priority for choosing the area for settling in the city. Closeness to friends and village-mate was allocated the third highest rank.

Kind of buildings

In order to find out the informants' living conditions, data-collectors were asked to write down the kind of buildings in which respondents were resident. In this sample, the most common kind of building is 'brick and wood' of which 46% of the respondents' buildings are made. The second most common kind of building is 'concrete and iron³' for 41% of the respondents. A very small percentage of respondent's buildings had facade. Table 5.18 shows the different kinds of buildings that the respondents are living in.

Table 5. 18) Different kind of building among the sample: number (n= 925) –no. (%)

Kind of building	n	%
Sun-dried brick and wood	17	1.8
Brick and wood	425	45.9
Concrete and wood	32	3.5
Concrete and still	389	42
Pre-assembled building	3	0.3
Reinforced Concrete	21	2.3
Brick or Stone facade	41	4.4
Total	925	100

Facilities

In terms of the facilities that the migrants enjoy in the slum areas and in their own household, they were asked three sets of questions. One of them was about their degree of satisfaction in terms of access to social services in the city, such as schools, work places, health centers, pharmacies, shopping areas, mosques, and public transport. The second set of question was on the availability of public facilities and services that are often provided by the city council and indicate the urban policies of the state and slum dwellers' access to such facilities as: running water, electricity, a telephone line, gas, sewage, and to what

3- Buildings made of concrete and iron are strong houses. Houses made of brick and wood, particularly mud brick are very vulnerable to environmental disasters, and are indicators of the residents' poverty. These sorts of housing are normally built by their residents, often without design, or legal permission from the city council. During the interview, the residents of these sorts of housing did not use the word 'building', the process which is done by the skilled builder, proper building materials, plumber, electrician and etc. They often stated that: 'we have sewed the house ourselves', sometimes with the help of a builder or even without. Women were also involved in

extend they are able to utilize the best of these facilities in terms of having a bath and a separate kitchen in their house. The third set of questions asked migrants to tick the electrical appliances and furniture they had in their own house.

Table 5.19 indicates respondents' satisfaction in terms of their access to health, educational, economic and religious centres. The numbers, however, differ according to their interests. The last column from the right shows the numbers of respondents who answered to this question. As the table shows, a small number of the informants expressed satisfaction regarding being close to their work place, which indicates the low involvement of the informants in the labour market. In terms of access or closeness to doctors and pharmacies, their satisfaction is much lower than for other services, even for health centres. This might be interpreted, as showing that closeness to health centres, does not necessarily facilitate access to free or cheaper health services, particularly when their illnesses are serious. This is because those who work in the informal sector, and do not pay insurance, are not covered by the subsidised health care system. Table 5.13 showed that the majority of informants' husbands are concentrated in the informal sector, mostly in self-employment and the construction/factory sector. In the factories, the employers pay health insurance for their employees, but this does not cover their wives and children.

Table 5. 19) The respondents' level of satisfaction in terms of access to social services

Access or closeness to	Level of satisfaction (in percentage)					Number of the respondents (out of 925)
	Very Low	Low	Moderate	High	Very High	
Schools	13	13	32	28	14	776
Work place	17	15	18	17	33	169
Health centre	15	16	20	26	23	905
Doctor	22	24	19	20	15	915
Pharmacy	24	22	17	21	16	892
Bus stop	9	8	15	30	38	918
Main road	7	8	14	32	39	919
Mosque	11	8	16	28	37	906
Shopping centre	14	12	28	20	26	923

Tables 5.20 to 5.23 shows the informants access to different services in their houses.

the process of 'sewing' as labourers for the men who were doing the 'building job'.

Table 5. 20) The percentage of informants who have access to different services in their houses: (n= 925) – (%)

	Running water	Electricity	Telephone-line	Running- gas	Sewage	Radiator
Have access to	88 %	91 %	52 %	42 %	14 %	1 %
Do not have	12 %	9 %	48 %	58 %	86 %	99 %

Electricity and running water are the most common facilities that 91% and 88% of our respondents respectively have access to, in their houses. Sewage is the least common facility, with only 14% of the respondents having access to it. In fact, in one of the poorest slum areas of the city, which is situated on a very uneven piece of land, one of the major problems for the residents was the lack of sewage. As I observed during the interview process, and according to my informants, in both the hot and rainy seasons of the year, the conditions become very unpleasant and hazardous for the health of the residents. However, in this area, residents did have a water supply and electricity, as well as telephone lines. In order to examine the living conditions of the households, I will look at the percentage of the respondents who did not have the most common facilities, such as a kitchen, a bath and running water in their houses and I will compare this with the other facilities that they do have access to, as well as with the sample's findings.

About 30%, (275) of the respondents stated that they did not have a separate kitchen in their house and that they did their cooking in their living room, which also functions as a bedroom, and for some, even workshop. Table 5.21 shows their access to other facilities.

Table 5. 21) The percentage of access to other facilities for those who do not have a kitchen in their house: (Numbers = 275)

	Bath	Running water	Electricity	Telephone-line	Running- gas	Sewage	Radiator
Have access to	82 (30 %)	201 (73 %)	224 (81.5 %)	84 (30.5 %)	42 (15.3%)	28 (10%)	1 (0.4 %)
Do not have	193 (70 %)	74 (27 %)	51 (18.5 %)	191 (69.5 %)	233 (84.7 %)	247 (90 %)	274 (99.6 %)
Do not have (Sample)*	35%	12 %	9 %	48 %	58 %	86 %	99 %

* This row of the table shows those who do not have access to the other facilities in the whole sample.

About 35%, (319) of the households in the sample did not have a bath in their house.

Table 5.22 shows their access to other facilities.

Table 5. 22) The percentage of access to other facilities for those who do not have a bath in their house (Numbers =319)

	Kitchen	Running water	Electricity	Telephone-line	Running-gas	Sewage	Radiator
Have access to	126 (39.5 %)	225 (73.5 %)	257 (80.6 %)	87 (27.3 %)	47 (14.7 %)	34 (10.7 %)	2 (0.6 %)
Do not have	193 (60.5 %)	94 (29.5 %)	62 (19.4 %)	232 (72.7 %)	272 (85.3 %)	285 (89.3 %)	317 (99.4 %)
Do not have (Sample)*	30%	12 %	9 %	48 %	58 %	86 %	99 %

* This row of the table shows those who do not have access to the other facilities in the whole sample.

About 12%, (107) of the households in our sample did not have running water in their house. Table 5.23 shows their access to other facilities.

Table 5. 23) The percentage of access to other facilities for those who do not have running water in their house (Numbers =107)

	Kitchen	Bath	Electricity	Telephone-line	Running-gas	Sewage	Radiator
Have access to	33 (30.8 %)	13 (12.1%)	56 (52.3 %)	12 (11.2 %)	6 (5.6%)	7 (6.5 %)	0 (0 %)
Do not have	74 (69.2%)	94 (87.9 %)	51 (47.7 %)	95 (88.8 %)	101 (94.4 %)	100 (93.5 %)	107 (100%)
Do not have (Sample)*	30%	35 %	9 %	48 %	58 %	86 %	99 %

* This row of the table shows those who do not have access to the other facilities in the whole sample

The tables indicate the percentage of those respondents in each case who do not have a kitchen, bath or running water, in terms of their lack of other facilities. These are, in most cases, almost twice the sample, in some cases even more, which indicates their level of poverty.

The informants were also asked about the electronic and household appliances that they own. Table 5.24 shows that cookers, fridges, rugs, TVs, heaters, sewing machines and radios are the most common items found in the migrants' houses in the city. The other, more luxurious, items are rarely owned or used by the informants.

Table 5. 24) The percentage of access to different facilities in respondents' houses: (n= 925)

Accessories	Have it (%)	Do not have it (%)	Accessories	Have it (%)	Do not have it (%)
Cooker	90	10	Sewing machine	64	36
Fridge	92	8	Knitting machine	1	99
Freezer	4	96	Heater	73	27
Washing machine	19	81	Fan	33	67
Vacuum cleaner	28	72	Cooler	4	96
Rug	81	19	Video-recorder	6	94
Sofa	3	97	Satellite	0.1	99.9
TV.	86	14	Computer	0.5	99.5
Radio	72	28			

Migration questions

The data shows that the majority of the respondents were concerned about their migration and were willing to leave their villages. Seven hundred and twelve women (77%) were concerned to leave their villages, 145 women (15.7%) were not and 68 women (7.4%) had no idea. The latter group mainly comprised those who migrated with their parents in their early childhood.

Table 5. 25) Women's willingness for leaving their rural areas (n= 925)

Willingness	No.	%
Wanted	712	76.9
Did not want	145	15.7
Had no idea	68	7.4
Total	925	100

To discover the reasons for female migration in this sample, the respondents have been asked to rank 12 given factors in the questionnaire, according to their own priorities. The majority have chosen between four to five factors in terms of their importance to them.

Table 5. 26) Respondents' ranking of factors important for migration: number of women (n=925)

Priorities	Factors
1	Access to better employment and higher income in the city
2	Accompanying the family
3	The lack of health services
4	The lack of agricultural land and facilities
5	Marriage
6	The lack of educational facilities
7	Unfavourable land for agriculture
8	Others
9	Escape from social and class conflicts
10	The lack of employment possibility for women
11	Escape from family authority and rural hegemony
12	The loss of family breadwinner

Table 5.27 illustrates the numerical and percentage distribution of these priorities up to six, among 925 women in the sample. The total column, however, shows the number of informants who have chosen the factor, regardless of its priority for them.

Table 5. 27) Factors stimulating female migration and the degree of their importance to migrant women: number of women (n=925)- no. (%)

	First Priority	Second Priority	Third Priority	Forth Priority	Fifth Priority	Sixth Priority	Total
Access to better employment and higher income	144 36.0 %	133 33.25 %	66 16.5 %	37 9.3 %	11 2.8 %	9 2.3 %	400 (43.2 %)
Accompanying the family	274 75.5%	33 9.1%	32 8.8%	15 4.1%	7 1.9%	2 0.6%	363 (39.2 %)
The lack of health services	28 8.5 %	107 32.6 %	110 33.5 %	61 18.6 %	16 4.9 %	6 1.8 %	328 (35.5 %)
The lack of agricultural land and facilities	99 35.5%	123 44.1 %	36 12.9 %	14 5.0 %	7 2.5 %	0 0.0 %	279 (30.2 %)
Marriage	172 85.1 %	20 9.9 %	3 1.5 %	4 2.0 %	1 0.5 %	2 1.0 %	202 (21.8 %)
The lack of educational facilities	26 11.2 %	48 20.7 %	82 35.3 %	52 22.4 %	21 8.9 %	3 1.3 %	233 (25.2 %)
Unfavourable land for agriculture	68 44.7 %	47 31.0 %	25 16.6 %	10 6.6 %	1 0.7 %	1 0.7 %	152 (16.4 %)
Others	44 53.7 %	25 30.5 %	8 9.8 %	3 3.7 %	1 1.2 %	1 1.2 %	82 (8.9 %)
Escape from social and class conflicts	23 28.0 %	31 37.8 %	7 8.5 %	9 11.0 %	8 9.8 %	4 4.9 %	82 (8.9 %)
The lack of employment possibility for women	7 9.9 %	16 22.5 %	19 26.8 %	14 19.7 %	12 16.9 %	3 4.2 %	71 (7.7 %)
Escape from family authority and rural hegemony	9 22.5 %	11 27.6 %	7 17.5 %	10 25.0 %	2 5.0 %	1 2.5 %	40 (4.3 %)
The loss of family breadwinner	18 69.23 %	6 23.07 %	1 3.85 %	0 0.0 %	1 3.85 %	0 0.0 %	26 (2.8 %)

As is clear from tables 5.26 and 5.27, in this sample, women usually migrated for one or many reasons. 'Access to better employment and higher income' is a pull economic factor, which indicates the response of migrants to employment opportunities in their destination. In Tabriz, the expansion of industries, mainly the construction sector, and investment in infrastructure provided employment for many un/semi skilled labourers. This factor, which mainly applies to male migrants, was chosen by 43% of the respondents, mostly as their first, second or third priority. As was discussed earlier, in the case of the informants' husband's literacy rates and their employment, 83% of them were either illiterate or had

primary education which greatly affected their chance of employment in the lowest sectors of particularly the informal economy. Table 5.14 showed that more than half of the husbands were employed in the construction sector as either unskilled, semi, or even skilled labourers. This pull factor was followed by two important push factors for rural areas, including: 'Leaving the village to go with the family'; and 'the lack of agricultural land and facilities', which were chosen by 39 % and 30 % of women respectively, mostly as their first and second priorities. These economic pull and push factors mentioned by the informants are strongly supported in other Iranian migratory literature, which discusses rural-urban migration in Iran in general and to the city of Tabriz in particular as a result of industrialisation and modernisation processes in urban areas, as well as land reforms in rural areas (Afshar, 1985a; Ajami, 1976; Akhavi, 1986; Bayat, 1997; Hemassi, 1974; Hoodfar, 1993; Hossein-Zadeh-e-Dalir, 1982; Jamali, 1985; Keddie, 1972; Pesaran, 1985; Razavi, 1992).

Other factors which are relevant only to women such as 'the lack of employment opportunities for women in the village' as well as 'the loss of family breadwinner' have been chosen by a small percentage of women, 8% and 3% respectively. At this stage, it can be argued that pull-push factors, particularly 'access to better economic opportunities' as a result of 'unfavourable conditions in their origins or more favourable conditions in the city, reflects the reasons of the family as an economic unit, particularly those of the breadwinners of the family, such as husbands, or fathers in the case of children.

Social factors such as 'the lack of health and educational services and facilities are important factors after the economic ones, which have been chosen mostly as second, third and fourth priorities. For 21.8% of the informants, 'marriage' is an important factor. Other factors seem to have less importance to women in this sample.

Looking at women's marital status and their age groups at the time of migration, however, will help us to gain a better understanding of the variation of the priorities among different categories of women.

As table 5.9 indicates, with the exception of eleven women (ten widowed and one divorced, 2.2% of all respondents), other migrants were either single, accompanying the parents; single, mainly coming to start married life in the city; single, coming to study or to work; and married women who came with their families or joined their migrant husbands, at the time of migration. Tables 5.28, 5.30, 5.33 and 5.35 divide each marital group of women at the time of migration into different age-groups. Tables 5.29, 5.31, 5.32, 5.34 and 5.36 illustrate the factors which were important in stimulating each marital and age-

group separately and cumulatively. However, since the fifth and sixth priorities comprise a small percentage of respondents, in the allocated tables to different marital and age groups, the concentration will be mostly on the first four priorities in terms of their significance to the respondents.

Reasons for migration of single women (with parents), at the time of migration

Table 5. 28) Age-group of migrant women who accompanied their parents at the time of migration: number of women (n=284)- no. (%)

Age-group	1- 9	10- 19	20- 29	Total
n	180	95	9	284
%	63.2	33.3	3.2	100

Table 5. 29) Factors stimulating single female migrants who accompanied their parents at the time of migration: number of women (n=284)- no. (%)

	Age-group of single women accompanying their family			
	1- 9 (180)	10- 19 (95)	20- 29 (9)	Total* (284)
Access to better employment	30 S. & F. 16.6 %	25 S. & Th. 26.3%	6 F. & S. 66.6 %	97 (34.0 %)
Accompanying the family	142 F. 78.9 %	50 F. 52.6 %	3 F. 33.3%	213 (74.7 %)
The lack of health services	28 S. & T. 15.6 %	31 S. & Th. 32.6%	1 Th. 11.1%	89 (31.2 %)
The lack of agricultural land and facilities	18 S. 10.0%	23 S. & F. 23.2 %	3 S. 33.3 %	61 (21.4 %)
Marriage	0	1 Forth 5.1 %	0	1 (0.7 %)
The lack of educational facilities	23 Th. & S. 12.8 %	22 Th. & S. 23.2 %	2 For. 22.2 %	70 (24.6 %)
Unfavourable land for agriculture	7 S. 3.9 %	16 F. & S. 16.9 %	2 F. & Th. 22.2 %	39 (13.7 %)
Others	5 S. 2.8 %	4 F. 4.2%	0	13 (4.6 %)
Escape from social and class conflicts	8 S. 4.4 %	7 F. & S. 7.4 %	1 Th. 8.3 %	30 (10.5 %)
The loss of family breadwinner	5 F. 2.8 %	6 F. & S. 6.4%	1 F. 11.1 %	13 (4.6 %)
The lack of employment possibility for women	6 S. & Th. 3.4 %	5 S. & F. 6.4 %	1 F. 11.1%	23 (8.1 %)
Escape from family authority and rural hegemony	3 S. & Four. 1.7 %	1 Fourth 5.1 %	0	5 (1.8 %)

*The total column shows the number of the informants who have chosen the factor, regardless of its priority for them

Note: F. : First Priority

S. : Second Priority

Th. : Third Priority

For.: Forth Priority

F. & S.: First & Second Priority (respectively)

F. & Th.: First & Third Priority (respectively)

S. & F.: Second & First Priority (respectively)

S. & Th.: Second & Third Priority (respectively)

Th. & S.: Third & Second Priority (respectively)

As is clear from the table, the largest age-group among those who accompanied their parents at the time of migration is those who were less than ten years old, 63%. For the

majority of them (79%) the main reason for migration was obviously to accompany their families, as they could not stay behind if the family was moving. 'The loss of the family breadwinner' was chosen by only 5 of them, (3%), as their first priority and 'the lack of employment possibilities for women' was chosen by 6 women, (3.4%), as their second and third priorities. However, it seems that, these factors might have been relevant to their female relatives such as their mothers but not to themselves, as none either started a job in the city at the time of their arrival or even looked for work. It seems to me that this group of the respondents did not play any role in decision-making. Class conflict was chosen by 8 of them as their second priority; and escape from family authority and rural hegemony was chosen by 3 of them as either their second or fourth priority. It is not clear what 'class conflict' and 'family authority and rural hegemony' meant to them, particularly the latter factor for those who left their villages when they were too young.

In the second age-group (10 to 19) of those who accompanied their parents at the time of migration, the first priority for 53% of them was to accompany their families in the migratory flow. Unfavourable economic conditions in their village such as the lack of agricultural facilities and unfavourable land for agriculture were chosen mainly as first and second priorities by an average of 40% of women in this age-group. Access to better employment and a higher income was chosen by 26% of the respondents as their second and third priorities. Social factors such as the lack of educational and health services were chosen by an average of 56% of the respondents as second and third priorities. The loss of the family breadwinner and the lack of employment opportunities for women was chosen by 11 women, (12.0%), as their first or second priorities. As the data indicates, however, only two of them who were 15 years old at the time of migration, searched for a job, and only one of them was employed in a state job four years after her migration. Although both of them wanted to leave their villages, it is not clear if they played any role in decision making, and if they did, to what extent they influenced the decision making process.

Nine women were in the third age-group of 20 to 29. For all of them, the pull-push economic factors in their home villages and mainly in the city played an important role in their migration. Six women chose 'Access to better employment' as their second or first priority. Although all of them wanted to leave their villages, they did not try to find a job in the city, for reasons such as illiteracy or the barriers which married life in the city brought them such as the lack of permission from their husband to work or go outside the home, and the burdens of housework and motherhood. For this age-group, the social and

cultural factors, were less important.

Reasons for migration of single women who migrated for marriage

One hundred and twenty nine women migrated to the city to start married life. They often married male migrants from their villages who had migrated to the city in search of employment and maintained links with their home villages. However, when the family migrates as a whole, the young male's connection with their home village is cut off and the marriage pattern changes. The interview process (the next stage of the study), provided more scope to explore the pattern of marriage among migrants. In most cases, as the informants mentioned about regarding their children's marriages, male migrants or the younger generation of migrants normally find their partners in their neighbourhood squatting in the slums. These partners are also more likely to be migrants from rural villages. Yet sometimes they marry village girls. It seems that those who find their wives from their own villages usually marry their own close relatives. Whereas, those who marry girls from other villages are usually severely socially and economically deprived, and the women they choose have approximately the same or worse socio-economic conditions. Although this pattern cannot be generalised, the story of the nine women who migrated for marriage (in the next stage of the study), and the informants' children's marriages to some extent indicates this argument. Zahra Shojaie, advisor to the president on 'Women's Affairs' also stated that the number of unmarried rural women is increasing because of the increased migration of rural males to the cities and a change in their sense of spouse selection. She added 'the statistic indicates that in current year (1380/2001) the percentage of unmarried rural women were 41% against 21% in last year (1379/2000)' (Shojaie, 2001). The minimum age of marriage on the basis of which the number of unmarried rural women has been calculated, however, was not given.

Table 5. 30) Age-group of single women (for marriage) at the time of migration: number of women (n=129)- no. (%)

Age-group	1- 9	10- 19	20- 29	30+	Total
n	1	102	24	2	129
%	0.8	79	18.6	1.6	100

Table 5. 31) Factors stimulating single female migrants for marriage: number of women (n=129)- no. (%)

	Age-group of single for marriage				
	8 years old (1)	10-19 (102)	20-29 (24)	30-39 (2)	Total * (129)
Accompanying the family	1 S 100 %	5 F., S. & Th. 4.9 %	2 S. 8.3 %	1 S. 50 %	11 (8.5 %)
The lack of agricultural facilities	0	14 S. & Th. 13.7 %	4 S. & Th. 16.6 %	0	22 (17.1 %)
unfavourable land for agriculture	0	4 S. 3.9 %	1 Th. 4.2		7 (5.4 %)
The lack of educational facilities	0	3 S. 2.9 %	2 Fourth 8.3 %	0	8 (6.2 %)
The lack of health services	0	9 S. & Th. 8.8 %	5 S. & For. 20.8 %	0	21 (16.3 %)
The lack of employment possibility for women	0	1 Fifth 1.0%	1 Th. 4.2 %	0	4 (3.1 %)
Access to better employment	1 Th. 100%	14 S. & Th. 13.7 %	5 Th. & S. 20.8 %	1 S. 50 % %	27 (20.9 %)
Marriage	1 F. 100 %	101 F. & S. 99.0 %	24 F. 95.8 %	2 F. 100.0 %	128 (99.2 %)

*The total column shows the number of the informants who have chosen the factor, regardless of its priorities for them

As is clear from the table, for more than 99% of women in this category, marriage is the main reason for migration, followed by 21% for economic opportunities in the city, mainly for their husbands. Other factors did not play an important role in their migration. The loss of the family breadwinner and escape from social and class conflict were not chosen at all. Only one woman in her twenties did choose 'escape from family authority and rural hegemony' as her fourth reason; and two women chose the 'other' factor. During the interview, some women from this category mentioned that they were either not willing to leave their villages, or were not happy in the city mainly because of being away from their family, and their support when they face domestic violence in their marital relationships.

Reasons for migration of single women

Three women migrated mainly to work and study, and they gave only one reason for their

migration. Table 5.32 illustrates the ages of these women and their reasons for migration.

Table 5. 32) Age and the priorities of single women who migrated to work/study: number of women (n=3)

Age at the time of arrival to the city	Only one reason
15	The lack of educational opportunities in the village
21	Access to better employment in the city
25	The lack of employment opportunities for women in the village

Reasons for migration of married women, at the time of migration

Married women have been subdivided into seven groups on the basis of their age and there is a concentration of female respondents in the first and second age-groups.

Table 5. 33) Age-groups of migrant women who were married at the time of migration: number of women (n=498)- no. (%)

Age-group	10- 19	20- 29	30- 39	40- 49	50-59	60-69	Missing-age	Total
N	166	203	74	35	9	2	9	498
%	33.3	40.8	14.9	7	1.8	0.4	1.8	100

Table 5. 34) Factors stimulating married female migrants at the time of migration: number of women (n=498)- no. (%)

	Age-group of married women							
	10-19 (166)	20-29 (203)	30-39 (74)	40-49 (35)	50-59 (9)	60-69 (2)	Missing-age (9)	Total*
Accompanying the family	41 <i>F, S. & Th</i> 24.7 %	37 <i>F. & S.</i> 18.2 %	17 <i>F. & S.</i> 24.0 %	8 <i>F.</i> 22.9 %	2 <i>F. & S.</i> 22.2 %	0	2 <i>F.</i> 22.2 %	140 (28.1 %)
The lack of land & agricultural facilities	47 <i>S., F. & Th</i> 28.3 %	68 <i>F. & S.</i> 33.5 %	33 <i>F. & S.</i> 44.6 %	15 <i>S. & F.</i> 42.8 %	2 <i>F.</i> 22.2 %	2 <i>S.</i> 100 %	2 <i>F. & S.</i> 22.2 %	193 (38.8 %)
Unfavourable land agriculture for	25 <i>F. & S.</i> 15.1 %	35 <i>F. & S.</i> 17.2 %	13 <i>F. & S.</i> 17.6 %	10 <i>F. & S.</i> 28.5 %	0	0	2 <i>F. & S.</i> 22.2 %	104 (20.9 %)
The lose of family breadwinner	0	1 <i>Th.</i> 0.5 %	0	2 <i>F.</i> 5.7 %	0	1 <i>F.</i> 50.0 %	1 <i>F.</i> 11.1 %	6 (1.2 %)
The lack of educational facilities	25 <i>Th. & For</i> 15.1 %	55 <i>Th., S. & Fou</i> 27.1 %	17 <i>Fo & Th</i> 23.0 %	7 <i>Fou. & Th</i> 20.0 %	2 <i>F. & S.</i> 22.2 %	0	1 <i>F.</i> 11.1 %	151 (30.3 %)
The lack of health services	53 <i>S., Th. & Four.</i> 31.9 %	81 <i>Th., S. & Four</i> 39.9 %	22 <i>Th. & S.</i> 29.7 %	9 <i>S. & Th</i> 25.7 %	5 <i>S. & F.</i> 55.5 %	0	1 <i>S.</i> 11.1 %	216 (43.4 %)
The lack of employment for women	6 <i>Th.</i> 3.6 %	11 <i>Fo. & Th</i> 5.5 %	2 <i>S.</i> 2.7 %	2 <i>S.</i> 5.7 %	1 <i>Th.</i> 11.1 %	0	0	42 (8.4 %)
Access to better employment	77 <i>F., S. & Th</i> 46.4 %	102 <i>F., S. & Th</i> 41.6 %	40 <i>F., Th & S</i> 54.1 %	8 <i>S. & F.</i> 22.9 %	3 <i>F. & S.</i> 33.3 %	1 <i>F.</i> 50.0 %	6 <i>S. & Th</i> 66.6 %	270 (54.2 %)
Escape from family & rural hegemony	9 <i>Th. & F.</i> 5.4 %	10 <i>S. & For.</i> 4.9 %	2 <i>S.</i> 2.7 %	2 <i>Th.</i> 5.7 %	0	0	0	33 (6.6 %)
Escape from social and class contact	11 <i>S. & F.</i> 6.6 %	8 <i>F. & S.</i> 4.0 %	10 <i>F. & S.</i> 13.6 %	2 <i>F. & S.</i> 5.7 %	1 <i>F.</i> 11.1 %	0	2 <i>S.</i> 22.2 %	50 (10.0 %)
Marriage	33 <i>F. & S.</i> 19.9 %	26 <i>F. & S.</i> 12.8 %	2 <i>F.</i> 2.7 %	0	0	0	1 <i>F.</i> 11.1 %	72 (14.5 %)
Others	19 <i>F. & S.</i> 11.4 %	22 <i>F. & S.</i> 10.8 %	6 <i>F.</i> 8.1 %	3 <i>F.</i> 8.6 %	2 <i>F. & S.</i> 22.2 %	0	1 <i>F.</i> 11.1 %	66 (13.3 %)

*The total column shows the number of the informants who have chosen the factor, regardless of its priority for them

Compared to single women (with parents) for the majority of whom (75%) the major reason was to accompany the family, or those who mainly migrated to start a married life in the city, for married women economic factors were the most obvious reason for migration. The prevalence of economic factors for migration is in evidence in all of the subdivisions of married women by age-group. The economic pull-push factors, however, have a different indication among different age-groups. As table 5.34 indicates, between the first two age-groups, the pull factors of the city are chosen as their first or second priority by a high percentage of the respondents. Whereas for the other age-groups, the push factors and the unfavourable conditions in the rural areas, particularly the lack of agricultural land and facilities are more important than the economic opportunities in the city. The majority of married women (81%) were willing to leave their villages, and economic factors, particularly 'access to better employment and higher income', were chosen by much of the first three age-groups as their first or second priority. A small number of them (9%), however, looked for an urban job, and less than half of them (47%) were successful in finding a job within two years. More than half of the married women (52 %) mentioned three main reasons for not looking for, or finding an urban job. These three reasons are illiteracy, the burden of motherhood and housework, and the lack of their husband's permission for 23%, 20% and 9% of the respondents respectively. Although four of the women between 40 and 60 years old left their village as a result of the loss of family breadwinner or the lack of employment opportunity for women in the village, none of them were concerned about finding an urban job. Surprisingly, during the interview some women mentioned that due to the workload for women in rural areas, they were willing to leave the village. 'I wanted to become a *khanum* (lady)', was mentioned by some women immediately after I asked them why they migrated to the city.

Despite the fact that a small number of women looked for and found an urban job, in answer to the question of what kind of work they did after their migration to the city, 56% of them declared that they did unpaid work (42 %) and paid labour (8%) at home. The main job was carpet weaving. As the age of married women increases, their husbands' reluctance to give them permission for them to work declines. So that, of 109 women between the ages of 30 to 49, no one mentioned their husband's permission. Illiteracy, the burden of motherhood and housework, and illness were given as the main reasons for not looking for an urban job.

Although the social factors of health and educational services were mentioned as second or third priorities, the lack of health services seems to be more important than the

lack of educational services. During the interviews, fewer women talked about the lack of educational services for their children in their villages or better access to educational opportunities in the city as an important factor causing family migration. This was mentioned mainly by women who came from relatively better off villages with better economic indicators. And more importantly, when education becomes a factor encouraging migration, it is usually children, most often male children, that are sent to the city to be educated. The majority of women were talking about illnesses and the sudden death of family members, children, as well as their animals, which affected the family emotionally or economically. Most women were talking about how the lack of primary health care in the villages, such as vaccinations, doctors, medicine, clean water, and the lack of access to health services in the city, due to the lack of transport facilities, turned simple and curable illnesses into fatal ones. For instance, one of the interviewees explained how the sudden death of her young brother a day before his wedding, brought great shock and misery to the family: the father threw himself into a hot oven and died from burns, the mother lost her speech due to shock, and she, as the oldest child of the family at the age of 13, had to bring her mother to the city to take her to the doctor, but she was never cured. For mothers, the memory of the sudden death of their adolescent children was very painful. They also talked about how the death of their animals affected the family economically. For instance one of the women said that:

In those days, there were only a few people who could diagnose animal diseases who were not in the village all the time. In the middle of the summer suddenly some of the animals became ill and if we had no access to those experts, we immediately had to kill the animal for our own consumption. There was another sort of disease, which was called 'madness'; in that case we had to leave the animal in the countryside to be eaten by predators. There was a kind of cow from which you could get between 15 to 20 kilos of milk each day. Whenever those cows became ill they were immediately killed for consumption, but nowadays there are vets in the cities and town nearby who can save the animals. This is because of the paved road in the village and the villagers' access to transport, either their own transport or public transport.

Reasons for migration of widowed and divorced women, at the time of migration

Table 5. 35) Age-group of migrant women who were widows at the time of migration: number of women (n=10)- no. (%)

Age-group	10- 19	20-29	30- 39	40- 49	50- 59	Total
N	1	1	3	2	3	10
%	10	10	30	20	30	100

Table 5. 36) Factors stimulating widow migrants at the time of migration: number of women (n=10)- no. (%)

	Age-group of widows					
	10- 19 (1)	20-29 (1)	30- 39 (3)	40- 49 (2)	50- 59 (3)	Total
The lack of agricultural facilities	0	0	2 <i>F. & Th.</i> 33.3 %	0	0	2 20.0 %
Unfavourable land for agriculture	0	1 <i>Th.</i>	0	0	0	1 10.0 %
The loss of family breadwinner	1 <i>F.</i>	1 <i>S.</i>	3 <i>F. & S.</i> 100.0 %	2 <i>F.</i> 100.0 %	0	7 70.0 %
The lack of educational facilities	1 <i>For.</i>	1 <i>For.</i>	0	0	1 <i>F.</i> 33.3 %	3 30.0 %
The lack of health services	1 <i>Th.</i>	0	0	0	1 <i>S.</i> 33.3%	2 20.0 %
The lack of employment possibility for women	0	0	0	0	1 <i>Th.</i> 33.3 %	1 10.0 %
Access to better employment	1 <i>S.</i>	0	0	1 <i>S.</i> 50.0 %	2 <i>F. & For.</i> 66.7 %	4 40.0 %
Escape from family authority and rural hegemony	0	1 <i>F.</i>	0	0	0	1 10.0 %
Escape from social and class contact	0	0	1 <i>S.</i> 33.3 %	0	0	1 10.0 %
Others	0	0	0	0	1 <i>F.</i> 33.3 %	1 10.0 %

The first and second priorities for the 15 year old widow in the first group were respectively the loss of the family breadwinner and access to better employment, however, she did unpaid work in her own home after migration. For the woman in the second age-group, escape from family authority and rural hegemony was ranked as the first priority, though, the loss of her family's breadwinner did not cause her to have any paid job due to the lack of any occupational skill.

None of the other eight widows, who left their villages mainly because of the loss

of the breadwinner and economic factors, had any urban job mainly because of illness and the burden of motherhood and housework. Most of them, however, did unpaid work at home as carpet-weavers and one of them as a shopkeeper.

As has been mentioned already there was only one woman who was divorced at the time of migration. Her reason for migration was only unfavourable land for agriculture. At the time of migration, she was 24 years old and divorced; while at the time of data collection she was 72 years old and married.

With whom did they migrate?

Of 925 women, 877 women migrated to the city accompanied by either their husbands and children or by their parents and siblings. Of the other 48 women, 2 migrated with only their children, and 46 women said they migrated alone, but when I looked at their answers, I noticed that the majority misunderstood the question. For instance, for 73% of them, the first priority was marriage; three of them chose to accompany their families as a first priority; and two other respondents were 2 and 5 years old and obviously came to the city with their parents. Only three of the 48 women came to study and work, and all of them were successful in their attempt. Therefore, with exception of a few women, the majority followed their families.

Tabriz as the first destination for the majority of the respondents

The majority of respondents (94%) left their villages and went straight to Tabriz. Only 6% went to Tabriz on their second migration, most of whom left their village to go to another city, and then moved from that city to Tabriz. According to this sample, it can be argued that the main pattern of migration to Tabriz in slum and squatter settlements is rural-urban migration. In chapter 3, I explained that according to the studies, the northern squatter settlements of Tabriz are mostly occupied by migrants from the rural areas of Ahar *Shahrestan*, for whom the socio-economic conditions are the worst in the East Azarbijan province, because of the mountainous nature of the area, the harsh winters and the unsuitable land for agriculture. In this sample more respondents are from the rural areas of Ahar *Shahrestan* (34% of respondents) than any other area; the second largest group are migrants from three neighbouring districts of Ahar *Shahrestan* (21%); and *Bostan-abad* with 16%, is the third highest migrant-sending *Shahrestan* to the city of Tabriz. One

hundred and ten respondents (12%) came from different villages of Tabriz *Shahrestan* to the city. A small number of the respondents migrated from other *Shahrestans* of the province, and even fewer from other provinces.

Ninety-six per cent of migrants undertook intra-province migration, and 3% undertook inter-province migration. Table 5.37 illustrate the number and percentage of migration to the city of Tabriz, in the sample, based on provinces.

Table 5. 37) Number and percentage of migrants to the city of Tabriz, in terms of intra- or inter-province: number of women (n=925)

Name of Province	n	%
East-Azarbaijan	885	95.7
Ardabil	16	1.7
West Azarbaijan	10	1.1
Gilan	2	0.2
Missing cases	12	1.3

Thus, 96% of the sample undertook intra-province migration, however, at the *Shahrstan* level, the majority of migrants undertook inter- *Shahrstan* migration.

Economic activities of respondents

One of the questions in this context was whether they looked for an urban job after migrating to the city. I explained this question to some extent in conjunction with questions about factors that encouraged the respondents to migrate. About 10% of the respondents answered that they looked for a job. Table 5.38 indicates that 88% were not determined to have a job; only about 10% of women in the sample were determined to find a paid job and 2 percent of respondents did not reply to this question at all.

Table 5. 38) Numerical and percentage distribution of migrant women in terms of their determination to find a job: number of women (n= 925) –no. (%)

	n	%
Looked for a job	91	9.8
Did not look fora job	815	88.1
No reply	19	2.1
Total	925	100

The next question was whether they were successful in finding an urban job. Eighty-nine per cent of respondents did not answer this question, and of the remaining 11% who answered the question, about 5% were successful in finding a job and a just over 5% were not. Table 5.39 illustrates these findings.

Table 5.39) Numerical and percentage distribution of migrant women in terms of being successful in finding a job: number of women (n= 925) –no. (%)

	n	%
No answer	826	89.3
Were successful	48	5.2
Were not successful	51	5.5
Total	925	100

One of the questions was what was the reason for the lack of success in finding a job for either those who did not look for an urban job or those who did, but were not successful. Forty respondents, those who were successful in finding a job, did not answer the question. The total number of respondents who answered the question was 686 (74%). Nine different reasons were stated in response to this question: illiteracy, the lack of the husband's permission for either working or going outside the home, illness, having more children and the burden of housework, the lack of work, the lack of skill, not having somebody to guide them, the lack of interest, and other specific reasons for some respondents such as not being in need, being a stranger in the city, being in education, and preparing for an internal examination to go to universities. Table 5.40 shows the numerical and percentage distribution of the different reasons for not being successful in finding an urban job among the respondents.

Table 5. 40) The different reasons for not being successful in having an urban job or even for not being determined in finding a job: number of women (n= 686) –no. (%)

Reasons	n	%
Illiteracy	206	30
lack of husband's permission	124	18.1
Illness	46	6.7
Burden of motherhood and housework	156	22.7
Lack of skill	83	12.1
Lack of guide	8	1.2
Lack of interest	37	5.4
Lack of work	14	2
Others	12	1.7
Total	686	100

The respondents were also asked two other questions about the kind of activity they did after their migration to the city as well as their current job. As was explained earlier, these two questions indicate that most of the women contributed to generating the family's income. In answer to the question 'what was your first kind of activity after migration to the city', 55% stated that they were involved in income generation, however, 82% of them were unpaid workers at home, 14% were home-workers, and 4% had job outside their home. Since the majority of the informants were working at home, they looked after their children themselves, and some were able to share childcare with their older daughters or other female relatives in the home.

Table 5. 41) Kind of economic activity after migration: number of women (n= 925) –no. (%)

Kind of activity	n	%	Valid %
Unpaid worker at home	416	45	82.4
Paid worker at their own home	69	7.5	13.7
Work outside the home as employer	4	0.4	0.8
Work outside the home as self-employed	4	0.4	0.8
Work outside the home at other's homes	3	0.3	0.6
State-employed	7	0.8	1.4
Un-paid work experience	2	0.2	0.4
Total	505	54.6	100
Missing	420	45.4	

Although 505 respondents stated that they had some sort of employment after migration, either at home or outside the home, only 284 of them named their jobs, and only 246 women named their current jobs.

Table 5. 42) Respondents' jobs after migration (n= 284); and their current jobs: number of women (n= 246) –no. (%)

Activity	after migration (n)	%	Current (n)	%
State-employed	3	1.1	5	2
Carpet-wavers	246	86.6	217	88.2
Labourer	3	1.1	3	1.2
Shopkeeper	6	2.1	7	2.8
Open-job	1	0.4	0	0
Hair-dresser	4	1.4	4	1.6
Dress-maker	4	1.4	4	1.6
Wool-carding	17	6	6	2.4
Total	284 (31% of the respondents)	100	246 (27% of the respondents)	100

Of the respondents who named their jobs, 14 are single, 222 are married, 9 are widowed and one was deserted.

Income and expenditure of the family

In terms of income and expenditure, the respondents were asked general questions about the level of the family income as a basic unit, is the level of their expenditure, who contributes to the family income, how much each contributes, and if their income is enough to meet their basic needs. It is difficult to assess the average income and expenditure of the families in the sample, as the information given in relation to some of the questions does not match with the information given to other questions, and it seems that the majority of the respondents have given arbitrary answers to the questions on the income and the expenditure of the family. Forty-four and forty-nine of the respondents did not answer the income and expenditure questions, respectively. Of the 246 women who stated that they have jobs, only 38% of them (93 women) stated that they contribute to the income of the family. Only 50% (122) of 246 women mentioned two contributors to the family income; and four of them did not name anyone as a contributor to the family income, even though they mentioned that they do work. This indicates that the majority of

women, who work in the carpet industry and contribute to the family income, do not appreciate their contribution and regard their economic contribution as part of their housework.

Two hundred and forty-two women mentioned only one contributor, and the earning of that contributor was the same as the total income. Of the whole sample about 27% of the informants named a second contributor to the family income. One of the striking issues arising from the data is that since the majority of these women had unpaid home-based jobs, they did not consider themselves as income generators for the family and did not perceive themselves as economically active, when they were asked simple questions in the form of questionnaires. While the interview process, which will be discussed in the following chapters, indicates that the majority of the women were actively contributing to the income of their families, which highlights the importance of qualitative research. Although questionnaires are one of the several ways of collecting information, they are not always very reliable, and they can easily omit or distort the valuable experiences of some women.

In most cases the income and expenditure given was the same, or the expenditure was higher than the income. For these reasons, I did not construct a table for these two variables. However, according to the data, more than half of the respondents are low-income earners and the majority of the informants stated that their income is not enough to meet their basic needs.

Problems of migrant women in the city

The respondents were also asked to talk about the problems that they face in the city. About 52% of the respondents answered this question, and more than half of them mentioned economic problems and pressures. This is evidence for aforementioned claim that more than half of the respondents are living on an extremely low income, particularly if this is considered in the context of the housing problem and the lack of living facilities as well.

Table 5. 43) Problems of migrant women in the city (n= 486)

Problems	n	%	Valid %
Economic problems	255	27.6	52.5
Violence by men	2	0.2	0.4
Housing problems and the lack of living facilities	150	16.2	30.9
Being away from home	37	4	7.6
Cultural problems and stress in the city	29	3.1	6
Having more children	9	0.9	0.18
Health, because of the load of work	4	0.4	0.8
Missing	439	47.5	

Conclusion

According to the 'structural' approach to migration, the roots of rural-urban migration in Tabriz are mainly related to the economic aspects of labour transfer as a result of inequality between rural and urban areas, as is the case in many less developed countries. Push factors of poverty in rural areas, and at the same time pull factors of economic development and industrialization in Tabriz have played important roles in encouraging internal migration from low-productivity agricultural and traditional areas to urban area. Although there are gender-related differences in the migratory process, and women and children are affected by other cultural and social factors, the economic pull and push factors and the macro-level of the political economy affect the spatial movement of female orientated household carpet industries from rural areas to the city.

After the revolution, one of the main concerns of the state was to reduce the flow of rural-urban migration by providing projects such as road construction, irrigation projects, the encouragement of small-scale mechanization of agriculture, and the development of the electricity supply, in order to improve rural conditions and provide economic incentives for the peasantry to stay on the land. In some cases, the migratory process actually accelerated as communications improved, due to the income gap between rural and urban areas, inadequate water supplies, unproductive land in rural areas, and better economic and educational opportunities in the cities not only for men, but also for women.

Chapter 6

Examining practical obstacles towards educational success among female migrants

Introduction

Women did not cite access to education as a main reason for their migration, but the interviews confirmed that access to education was important to young migrant women. Education, or 'human capital formation' (Blumberg, 1995: 7), is a basic need for human development and the expansion of people's capacities. Its integral role in social and economic development has been highlighted by economists, sociologists and development scholars (Todaro, 1994; World development report, 1990). Female education and literacy has also drawn the attention of researchers and scholars in the field of WID/GAD due to its central role in women's social and economic status within the family and the wider society (Moghadam, 1998: 27- 48). It is argued in migration literature that there is a correlation between education and migration, though the correlation fades in comparison with that of men or autonomous female migrants who migrate mainly for economic purposes, when women migrate as dependents, mainly as wives (Bauer, 1984, 1985 and Brydon, 1982, 1985a). This chapter will discuss the education and literacy of female migrants, both in their places of origin and destination. It will look at different social, economic and ideological factors that have impacted on female literacy among the informants of this study. The analysis will be based on 925 questionnaires and 90 interviews conducted with migrant women. I will first examine data from questionnaires and then in explaining the factors cutting off rural or migrant women from access to knowledge, I will use personal interviews with 90 female migrants.

I will also look at women's fertility behaviour as well as infant mortality and the correlation with their literacy level. The data suggests that the number of the children among these informants varies by the variation in the levels of their literacy.

Female literacy in Iran from the early twentieth century until the late 1970s

The Constitutional Revolution of 1906 provided an opportunity for Iranian women to participate in a social movement for the first time. Literate and intellectual women mainly from upper classes, inspired by the revolution, started to question women's inferior position in the society. The period of 1919 to 1932 was the era of rising women's rights movements in Iran. Women formed their own organizations and periodicals and gave more priority to women's education in their periodicals. They set up girls' schools in major cities, particularly in Tehran, though the schools were attacked by those opposed to women's education (Sanasarian, 1982: 32-49). Those who opposed the schools were mainly were religious authorities that had been exclusively in charge of education for centuries (Nafisi, 1992: 170), and regarded girls' non-religious schooling as an act against Islam which would pose a threat to society (Moghissi, 1996: 49).

The educational reform initiated by Reza Shah (1925- 41) who, in his attempt to modernise, Westernise and secularise the Iranian society, replaced the traditional schools with centralised Western-style schools in major urban areas (Fallahi, 1993 & Maboudian, 1995 in Godazgar, 1999). The reform increased women's access to education mostly through private schools that received support and protection from the state. In the beginning, girls' increased access to education was confined to mainly upper middle classes and developed much slower than the education of boys. This was mainly due to societal resistance towards girls' education and the ideological beliefs and practices in the majority of traditional and working class families that gave priority to the education of boys (Paidar, 1997: 108 & Sanasarian, 1982: 61-2).

The size of educational systems increased rapidly in the following decades and social attitudes were changing in the favour of women's education in urban areas. Until the late 1960s, however, literacy was practically non-existent among rural women (Touba, 1980). In 1971, according to UNESCO, 92 % of rural women were illiterate as compared to 52% of urban women (Moghissi, 1996: 46- 7). 'I didn't go to school, for there was no school in our village' was a statement often expressed by the oldest informants of this study.

To some extent the establishment of rural Literacy Corps in 1968 for the purpose of facilitating women's participation in the society, increased rural female literacy (Paidar,

1997: 158). The increase in girl's rural school attendance has been attributed to the availability of unmarried female high school graduates in the rural areas who were required to serve a two-year compulsory military service in Literacy Campaign/ Literacy Corps (Touba, 1980: 74). Although access to education in rural areas was improving slowly, the ideological norms played a preventative role in female literacy. For instance, the existence of male teachers in the village schools often had negative effects on girl's school attendance and education. Many of my informants were proud of sending their sons to Tabriz to continue their education, while their daughters were prevented from studying in their village despite the availability of primary schools in their locations. The literacy rate for rural women was only 17% in 1976, most of whom had only a few years of primary education (Aghajanian, 1994)¹. In the same census of 1976, more than half of the Iranian female population were living in rural areas (Mirani, 1983: 72). Despite the Pahlavi state's intention to enhance women's participation in social, economic and educational arenas, there was a continuation of social inequalities between not only rural and urban areas, but also between different social classes of urban settlers.

Women's education, particularly in lower class families, was mainly affected by two factors of social inequality and ideology. Due to the crucial role of social class in the allocation of the educational resources, the female migrants normally coming from the poorest sections of the peasantry and belonging to the lowest urban social strata were more affected by the social inequalities. Given that the important factors affecting these women's education were ideological. For decades, education, particularly female education, was a main ideological discourse between the Pahlavi state (1925-1975) and its

¹ - Failure of Pahlavi's educational programs for rural women is seen as a result of modernization from above during the Pahlavi era. Sullivan (1998) interviewed the head of the Literacy Campaign for rural women before the revolution, who was responsible for the education of village women and the teaching of women's rights. She explained how the organisation's lack of understanding of village psychology led to reactionary violence and anger on behalf of the male villagers against rural women. She also explained that part of the literacy campaign was 6 staffed centres where some selected village girls were educated outside their villages in buildings like English boarding schools (very different from their own environment), in order to become 'agents of development' and make changes when they return to the villages. The project of social progress, progressive rights and freedom for rural women, however, were proceeding in the reconstruction of Identity, the loss of community and even the use of repression and violence (Sullivan, 1998: 223- 7).

Not having enough teaching qualification, no continuity or stability in the teaching process by military conscripts of the literacy campaign, their replacement by new and inexperienced ones, the lack of motivation and enthusiasm for teaching as a result of being sent to remote villages where occasionally they were unable to speak native language, the load of responsibility given to them in teaching both public education as well as adult literacy and inadequacy of allocated budget to educational service were all important factors that led to the failure of Literacy Corps in general (Godazgar, 1999: 99-101).

religious oppositions, the *ulama*², who were critical of the modern educational system which they believed to be a the hub of cultural dependency and immorality, which alienated the Muslim youth from Islamic traditions by importing western ideas (Nafisi, 1992: 163-4). This ideological factor, which supported the traditional norms and beliefs regarding gender inequality within the families as well as in the society, was accepted and used by most traditional, religious as well as working class families to prevent girls access to limited educational opportunities. Male education in migrant families was mainly affected by social inequalities rather than ideological factors.

Female literacy since the Islamic revolution of 1979, particularly rural female literacy

After the revolution, the Islamic state attempted to desecularize the educational system and convey a new ideological framework through education. The basic goals of education listed in the post-revolutionary High Council of Education was in this order: religious and spiritual goals, scientific, cultural, social, political and economic goals (Higgins and Shoar-Ghaffari, 1994: 19- 27). Educational services were expanding in both formal education and adult literacy in urban and rural areas. In terms of state policy, article 30 of the post-revolutionary Constitution of Iran obligated the government to provide free education for all citizens up to the secondary level (Higgins and Shoar- Ghaffari, 1994: 21).

During the transitional period after the revolution, illiterate adults were/are also encouraged to participate in the literacy classes. In 1981, '*Neh-zat-e savad-amouz*³', which literally means 'Literacy Campaign' was established mainly for promoting basic literacy and eradicating illiteracy among deprived adults in both rural and urban areas. At the beginning, *Neh-zat* classes were delivered in two phases of elementary and supplementary. Since 1991, however, two more phases were also added. Moreover, since 1986, in order to prevent the growth of illiteracy, the organisation, also covered school-aged children in both rural and urban areas. These children, who are called 'indispensable to teach' (*Savad-amouz-eh lazem-ottaleam*), aged between 7 and 18 and out of school either due to the inaccessibility to formal education or its incompatibility with their daily

² - Ulama are religious leaders.

³ - Khown as *Neh-zat* and the classes are organized in local mosques and schools.

lives, are taught at the primary level as it is in the formal education program (Iran Statistical Yearbook, 1986: 512-3 & 1996: 534-9 and National Census of Population and Housing, 1996).

By comparing women's literacy over the period of 1976 to 1986 in different provinces of Iran in terms of their degree of economic development as well as linguistic and ethnic factors, it has been argued that 'women in less developed, more ethnic and rural regions of the country have greater access to at least elementary education in 1986 than they did in 1976' (Higgins and Shoar-Ghaffari, 1994: 27). For instance, in East Azarbaijan the female proportion of literates⁴ has increased by 7.5% between the periods of 1976 to 1986, while the increase for the whole country for the same period was 4.8% (Higgins and Shoar-Ghaffari, 1994: table 2.3 in page 25).

According to the statistical yearbooks, in terms of adult literacy women outnumber men both as the learners, '*Sa-vad amouzan*', and as teachers, '*Amou-zesh yaran*'. In most provinces of the country, the rural *Neh-zat* classes and participants outnumber the urban ones. In the latest added phases to adult literacy, however, the learners of *Neh-zat* in urban areas outnumber the rural learners at the national level (Iran Statistical Yearbook, 1996: 537-8). These facts hold true in the case of the province of East Azarbaijan as well as Tabriz district, *Shahrestan-e Tabriz*.

In rural areas, however, despite the increase in female literacy rate⁵ from 17% in 1976 to 36% and 62% in 1986 and 1996 respectively and the declining gender gap in literacy, higher levels of schooling do not enjoy the same status as elementary education does (Aghajanian, 1994: 45- 9). The lack of access to higher levels of schooling in rural areas has not had the same effect on rural boys as it has on rural girls. In the case of the scarcity of educational resources rural sub-systems⁶ react differently towards the migration of different sexes. While young male, socially and culturally, have more freedom to migrate, female mobility, particularly for education, is deliberately controlled and restricted through a variety of deep-rooted traditional and patriarchal practices and norms. Yet the migration of young rural males does not necessarily mean that they all migrate for educational reasons. More often, migrants in the search of education are from the

⁴ - Female proportion of literates is defined as the percentage of female literate among the literate population six years and older, regardless of their gender.

⁵ - Female literacy rate is defined as the percentage of female literate among the female population six years and older, regardless of their educational status of literate or illiterate.

wealthiest section of the peasantry who can meet the extra costs. The harsh socio-economic conditions of the rural poor are often crucial factors in preventing access to educational resources in the cities for rural males.

Moreover, gender inequality and the discriminatory attitude of particularly poor rural families towards female education originate from the fact that girls education is costly for the family with no payoff, which prevents any investment in female education. Contrary to thus, a girl's unpaid labour around the home or in the farm, which needs no investment, is more valuable for the families. R. M. who had elementary education from her village, told me that:

I only did my primary education because in our village there weren't much educational facility, and most importantly we were poor and my father was ignorant about the value of education. Thus, I worked on carpets.

Although for R. M. the access to education was limited in her village, the most important issues were the poverty of the family and her father's attitude to her even free education, which was not considered valuable. For him, her involvement in carpet-weaving activity, which added some income to the family's budget, was more valuable. In fact, in any society, any social change in women's status or any social consciousness against gender discrimination, particularly in terms of women's access to social resources, needs a certain degree of socio-economic development of the families. When people live in absolute poverty, female education would be too much of a luxury to afford.

In addition to poverty, girls' marriage is another factor for the discriminatory attitude of rural families towards female education. The fact that the girls will move to their husbands' home after marriage contributes to their low literacy compared to the boys. Thus, in rural areas, the cultural norms and practices are more applied for women regarding education, and/or migration for education. Geographical distance from major urban areas is another significant obstacle to female migration for education. The greater the distance of the rural areas or their isolation from the main cities means the greater extent of poverty, which reinforces the discriminatory practices and attitudes for rural females. In terms of female migration for education, one of the informants from a remote village stated of the attitudes of rural families to female migration for education: '... in my time, it was disgraceful to send the girls to the city for education'.

⁶ - See chapter 1

Although in remote villages from Tabriz, rural girls are less likely to migrate except for marriage, the practice seems recently and gradually to have been weakened by two important factors. One of them is the development in transportation that increases the possibility of daily coming and goings between the villages and cities. The second factor is the emphasis of the Islamic state on social principles of women's modesty in the society in terms of women's dressing, sex segregation, male-female interactions in daily life, etc. The regulation of a set of moral codes among which the practice of veiling is socially and culturally accepted, is ideologically important in terms of having a sense of security on the part of families, which increases women's mobility and their limited space. One of the informants who had only elementary education from her village said that:

In our village the boys are mainly sent to the city to study. But now things are changing, there is transportation between our village and other cities and recently some girls are going to Varzghan⁷ to study. They travel every day by going to the city in the mornings and return back to the village after school (Karim-zadeh).

As these girls were not covered by the study it is not clear to which social group they belong and if the mere development in transportation has caused the social change in the attitudes of the rural families or community towards their females, or if the compatibility of new gender policies with their cultural, traditional as well as religious norms and practices, brought in changes in the social norms regarding the status of these rural girls. I, however, interviewed three young female migrants who had migrated to Tabriz mainly for education and three others who had migrated for work. Most of those informants were in the proximity of Tabriz and enjoyed some rural prosperity compare to remote villages, as they stated. The villagers had close contact with the main city in the region, i.e. Tabriz, and were more aware of the position of women in urban society and their women observed less strict cultural and traditional practices in their mobility:

In our area many young people migrate to the city because of education. My mother stayed in the village to look after our orchard and animals and my sister and I moved to the city with our father' (L.).

From the quotation, it is clear that there are less discriminatory attitudes towards female migration for education. In some cases, the single girls had migrated independently and were living without even being accompanied by their families, but in the company of female siblings or friends. This practice is not very common, but its occurrence is more

⁷ - A small town in the proximity of their village.

observable among young literate single women.

The level of education among migrant women

Of 925 women who responded to the questionnaire in the first stage of the study, 603 (i.e., 65%) were illiterate and ranged from 12 to 83 years old. 50% of them, however, were 40 years old and over, for whom the chance of education has been very limited. 322 women (35%) were literate. Although the data shows an increase in female literacy among the migrant generation, as the level of education increases the number of women drops. Of the literate respondents in this sample, 21% have managed to attend higher levels of schooling such as secondary or high school and 18 (26%) of them have been able to receive a certificate at Diploma level or more. Low attendance in the levels above the elementary level is not confined to this sample. In the national level too school enrollment shows decline for both males and females at both secondary and high school level (Aghajanian, 1994: 48). Table 6.1 illustrates respondents' educational levels:

Table 6. 1) The educational level of the respondents: number of women (n= 925)

Level of education	Illiterate	have basic reading skill	Primary	Secondary	High-school	Diploma or more
n	603	59	194	44	7	18
%	65.2	6.4	21	4.7	0.8	1.9

142 (44%) of literate women had started their education in their villages. The remaining 180 (56%) had started their education in the city. Migrant women have better access to educational resources in an urban area because of the greater availability of education in the city in the forms of formal schooling or Adult Literacy Education than in rural areas. Moreover, compared to their rural counterparts, migrant women have more spare time and show more interest towards one of the necessities of modern life. For most of the women I interviewed, whether they themselves were educated or not, education was often perceived as the best way for success and upward mobility.

Table 6. 2) Educational level of literate respondents and the place of starting their schooling: (n= 322)

Educational level	Started in their villages	Started in the city	Total
Having basic reading skill	15 (25%)	44 (75%)	59
Primary	94 (48%)	100 (52%)	194
Secondary	20 (46%)	24 (54%)	44
High school	4 (57%)	3 (43%)	7
Diploma or more	8 (44%)	10 (56%)	18
Total	142	180	322

In terms of the place of schooling, according to table 6.2, there is a 50% gap between those who have only basic reading skill, obtained mostly from *Neh-zat* classes. The acceptability of *Neh-zat*, among women in both rural and urban areas might be attributed to its flexibility to women's domestic responsibilities as well as its compatibility with ideological norms and practices. These classes are normally set up in the proximity of women's houses, the teachers are female and they are allowed to take their infants to the class. They rarely faced any interference by their families, particularly male relatives, in their interest in participating in Adult Literacy classes. S. B., a 34 year-old widow, was the only woman to say that:

In the village my parents didn't send me to school. In the city I wanted to go to *Neh-zat*, but my husband told me that: 'if you want to go to *Neh-zat*, you have to take your birth certificate with you and go to your father's house straight away.' He didn't like me to study. After his death, my co-wife went to *Neh-zat*, now she can read and write. She also went to the Koran class and is able to read Koran as well. Now I am left with four children to fend for ourselves and I do not have time for *Neh-zat* '(S. B.).

The main reason that S. B. was prevented from schooling by her parents was due to the ideological practices, not due to the availability of school in the village. Three of her brothers had university educations and her mother was very proud of that. Her husband's opposition to her interest in learning might have been related to the fact that he had remarried and wanted to limit his wife's interactions with other women who might have provoked her to be rebellious against her husband.

Although many interviewed women had attended *Neh-zat* classes, most of them found it difficult to continue. Some of the informants particularly the aged and poor, did not even find a chance to try it. Some of the informants were in dreadful plight and were struggling with absolute poverty for daily survival. The difficulty of trying or the

continuation of the literacy classes for many women is mainly due to its conflicting with women's motherly and wifely responsibilities and daily preoccupations with often large families, informal economic involvement, mental occupations about their daily problems, poverty, etc. Language also plays an important role in women's learning ability. Since the spoken language in the region is Azari Turki and the language in which education is carried out, is Farsi (Persian), the whole process of learning becomes much more difficult. For education is not only learning to read and write, it is also the learning of a completely different language. The followings are some quotations about why they did not take advantage of literacy classes available to them in the city:

I was very busy with my children as well as my work as domestic servant. Then my husband became very ill and I had to look after him for more than three years. Now I have other sort of problems. I never have had an opportunity to go to *Neh-zat* (F. Z.).

I am illiterate and didn't go to *Neh-zat*. How can a poor person go to school? I was working to raise my children (B. M).

I am illiterate. I didn't even go to *Neh-zat*. The anxieties and worries of life didn't leave any room in our mind for study (Kh. G.).

How could I go to *Neh-zat* with nine children? On top of that I have to look after my mother-in law and my deaf-and-dumb father as well as my ill husband. We are very poor (S. D.).

I have seven children; all of them are after each other. I did not have any help with raising my children. I didn't take a rest, even after my labours. Housework and child rearing didn't give me any opportunity to do anything else (Z. P.).

The women who found an opportunity to take part in literacy classes faced either similar problems with their maternal obligations or had other sorts of problems that prevented them continuing with their literacy studies. In this regard, one the informants who was interviewed along with her mother, said that:

I went to *Neh-zat* for one year because I was told from my son's school that I should go to literacy classes. I passed the exam, but couldn't continue with it, for I always suffer from neurasthenia as badly as ever. I have too much to think about; therefore, I cannot stand things that affect my nerves (L. L.).

Her mother revealed the source of her anxiety by interrupting my informant and saying that: 'her husband is foolish. That's why she thinks too much. She was doing well in *Neh-zat*, but she didn't continue ' (F. Z.). When I was interviewing L. L., her husband was a street vendor selling hair-colours. He had incurred a loss in carrying on with the business and had lost their shop and house. They had to move to her mother's house to live in one room and she was very worried about her children's future. She explained that her

husband is bad-tempered and does not acquaint her with the details of his business affairs. When she asked about the losses, her husband's answer was: 'business has got gains and losses'.

Another informant who had migrated to the city because of marriage and was living with her in-laws had also gone to *Neh-zat*, but had not been able to concentrate. She said that:

... my mother in-law registered my name to *Neh-zat*, but I couldn't study (M. L.).

She also had problems with her husband and didn't know about his earnings. She was not cared for by her husband and was economically very dependent on her in-laws. In the case of these two interviewees, worries about money and marital difficulties proved too distracting to go to literacy classes.

For some, domestic responsibilities are too heavy, which affects their learning ability. When I asked one informant about *Neh-zat* classes, her daughter said that:

When she (her mother) was going to *Neh-zat*, we were doing her homework. She rarely did it herself.

This woman had six children, one of them disabled. She was also involved in spinning and carpet weaving and did not have time for practising what she had learnt. In fact, for her and many other women like her, *Neh-zat* classes provide a time for women to get away from their domestic responsibilities, rather than a time for learning an ability and skill to be useful for them. 'I could not continue studying in *Neh-zat*' was a statement expressed by many of the informants who had participated in *Neh-zat* classes.

As a primary essential, literacy classes are a good step in increasing the number of literate adults. They play direct or indirect roles in women's socialisation process, in gaining self-esteem and knowledge about family planning, receiving social identification, and having time for themselves. Women's accounts, however, reveal that most of them do not achieve functional literacy and those who have studied in *Neh-zat* for one or two years easily forget their learning skills and lose much of what they have learnt. This is partially due to the nature of the work of the majority of migrant women that does not involve reading and writing and partially due to the lack of usage of Farsi language in their daily life. In fact, they became functionally illiterate after a while. Only one employed woman who could use her learnt ability in her work place or daily life stated that she is literate and able to read and write through the *Neh-zat* classes. The others usually categorised themselves as illiterate, but stated their participation in literacy classes. In this study they

have been categorised as those who have basic reading skill.

The degree of access to educational opportunities for different categories of migrant women

Of the informants, those who migrated with their parents have had more chance to receive formal education compared to the other categories of married, divorced and widowed or even single women who had mainly migrated for marriage. The following argument will be based on information from questionnaires as well as interviews.

Information based on questionnaires

Table 6.3 shows the marital status of the respondents along with their ages on their arrival to the city.

Table 6. 3) The marital status of the respondents along with their ages on their arrival to the city (n= 925)

Marital status	Single * (With parents)	Single ** (for marriage)	Single (for work / study)	Married ~	Widowed	Divorced	Total
n	285	129	3	497	10	1	925
%	30.8	13.9	0.3	53.8	1.1	0.1	100
Ages	1- 34	10- 41	15-25	10-69	15- 56	24	

Notes: * 90% of them were ranged between 1-15. ** 92% were ranged between 10-20
 ~ 99 % were ranged between 13-69

In order to show the gap in literacy, table 6.4 shows the educational level of different categories of women in terms of their marital status on their arrival. And tables 6.5 and 6.6 will show the marital status of the illiterate and literate respondents along with their ages on their arrival to the city separately.

Table 6. 4) The educational level of the respondents in terms of their marital status on their arrival: number of women (n= 925)

	Illiterate	Have basic reading skill	Primary	Secondary	High-school	Diploma or more	Total
Single (With parents)	137	24	81	24	6	12	285
Single (for marriage)	65	10	46	8	0	0	129
Single (for work / study)	1	0	0	1	0	1	3
Married	389	25	67	10	1	6	497
Widowed	10	0	0	0	0	0	10
Divorced	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	603	59	194	43	7	18	925

Table 6. 5) The marital status of illiterate respondents along with their ages on their arrival to the city (n= 603)

Marital status	Single * (With parents)	Single ** (for marriage)	Single (for work / study)	Married ~	Widowed	Divorced	Total
N	137	65	1	389	10	1	603
%	22.7	10.8	0.2	64.5	1.7	0.2	100
Ages	1- 34	10- 41	25	9- 69	15- 56	24	

Notes: * 87% of them were ranged between 1-15, but the current ages of 78% are between 30- 69.
 ** 75% were 15+ on their arrival.
 ~ 93 % were 15+ on their arrival. 88% of married women are currently 30 years old or more.

Table 6. 6) The marital status of literate respondents along with their ages on their arrival to the city (n= 322)

Marital status	Single (With parents)	Single (for marriage)	Single (for work / study)	Married	Total
N	148	64	2	108	322
%	46.0	19.9	0.6	33.5	100
Ages	1- 25	11- 22	15- 21	10- 45	

Notes: * 93% of them were ranged between 1-15. 65% of single women (with parents) are aged between 12-30.

** 80% were ranged between 11- 18

~ 94 % were 15+ on their arrival. 55% of married women are currently 30 years old or more.

As the above tables demonstrate, the highest illiteracy rate (of 65%) belonged to women who were married at the time of migration and the highest literacy rate (of 46%) belonged to women who migrated with their parents mainly in their childhood. Attention to the

notes given in the three above tables also indicates that illiterate women are older and have had less educational opportunities compared to their literate counterparts in each group. For instance, while 78% of illiterate single women (with parents at the time of migration) were 30 years old or over during the survey, 65% of literate women from the same category (i.e. single with parents), were aged between 12 and 30 when the data was collected. It means that literate women who had migrated with their parents are much younger than illiterate women within the same category. Or of married women at the time of migration, 88% of illiterate women were 30 years old or more at the time of data-collecting, while 55% of the literate women were 30 years old or more. Again, literate women in the category of married (at the time of migration) are younger compared to their illiterate counterparts.

Migrant women who came to the city in their pre-school age with their parents, have had more opportunities than those who were teenagers or older at their arrival. The comparison of these women in better off and poorer households during the process of interview also indicates that those who have better off families to undertake their educational expenses or who are not desperate for their labour, enjoy more educational opportunities than those in poorer households whose often unpaid labour is more essential for the family's survival than their education irrespective of their ages. The table below indicates the literacy level of the single respondents who migrated with their families.

Table 6. 7) The educational level of the respondents who migrated with their families along with their ages on their arrival to the city: number of women (n= 285)

Level of education	Illiterate *	Basic reading skill **	Primary ***	Secondary ~	Higher-school ~~	Diploma or more #	Total
N	137	24	81	25	6	12	285
%	48.1	8.4	28.4	8.8	2.1	4.2	100
Ages	1- 34	1- 17	1- 25	1- 24	2- 15	1- 16	

Notes: * See the * sign in notes for table 6.5

** 92% of them were ranged between 1-12, and the current ages of all women in this category is between 20- 49

*** 84% were between 1-12 and the current age of 50 % of this category is between 17- 27

~ 92 % were between 1-9 and the current age of 50 % of this category is 24 years old and less

~~ 83 % were between 2-12 and the current age of 83 % of this category is 23 years old and less

All were aged between 1-16 on their arrival and 58 % of them currently are 24 years old or less

Although there is no big gap between the illiterate and literate respondents who migrated with their families, their arrival and current age indicate the promotion of female education for younger generation even in the rural areas, and the scarcity of educational opportunities for older rural or migrant women. The notes on ages also show that the younger the informants the better chance of receiving some education whatever little it is. Of the respondents who had migrated with their parents, 25 were single at the time of the data collecting. All of them, with the exception of one, were educated to some extent or were in the process of schooling. The duration of the illiterate woman, as the following table shows, is shorter than the rest of other single women.

Table 6. 8) The educational level of single respondents who migrated with their families: number of women (n= 25)

Level of education	Illiterate	Basic reading skill	Primary	Secondary	High-school	Diploma or more	Total
N	1	1	10	5	2	6	25
%	4	4	40	20	8	0.9	100
Arrival age	19	17	1- 19	1- 14	2 & 8	2- 16	
Current age	20	25	17- 24	12- 20	15 & 16	20- 28	

The gap in literacy is more pronounced when we compare the category of single (with parents) with the other categories of migrant women. Although altogether 65% of the respondents are illiterate, 23% of the illiterates were single (with parents) during the migration; the remaining 77% belong to the other categories. The gap is again more pronounced in the middle or aged generation than among the youth. The older the respondents, the more illiterate they are. Table 6.9 illustrate the literacy level for different categories of migrant respondents with the exception of single women who came with their parents.

Table 6. 9) The educational level of other categories of migrant respondents along with their ages on their arrival: number of women (n= 640)

Level of education	Illiterate *	Basic reading skill **	Primary ***	Secondary ~	High-school ---	Diploma or more #	Total
N	466	35	113	19	1	6	640
%	72.8	5.5	17.7	3	0.1	0.9	100
Ages	9- 69	13- 36	10- 45	14- 27	17	20- 30	

Notes: * 90% of them were aged between 15-69, and the current age of 80% of the illiterate women is between 30-83.

** 80% of them were 15+, and the current ages of all women in this category is between 23-48.

*** 80% of them were between 15+, and the current age of 85% of this category is between 23-60 ~ 63% were between 14-18, and the current age of 84% of this category is between 21-38.

~~ She is currently 43 years old.

All were aged between 20-30 on their arrival and 83% are currently between 21-36.

The comparison of tables 6.7 and 6.9 with table 6.1, which illustrated the literacy level of whole samples, will magnify the gap in literacy for different categories of migrant women.

Information based on interviews

The gap in literacy was also high among the randomly selected interviewees. Table 6.10 shows the marital status of the interviewees at the time of migration.

Table 6. 10) The marital status of the interviewed migrants on their arrival to the city (n= 90)

Marital status	Single (With parents)	Single (for marriage)	Single (for work & study)	Married	Widowed	Total
N	33	9	5	41	2	90
%	36.7	10	5.6	45.5	2.2	100

Table 6.11 shows the educational level of the interviewed women. Tables 6.12 and 6.13 shows their educational level in terms of their marital status at the time of migration.

Table 6. 11) The educational level of the interviewed migrants: number of women (n= 90)

Level of education	Illiterate	Basic reading skill	Primary	Secondary or less than diploma	Diploma or more	Total
N	48	17	9	10	6	90
%	53.3	18.9	10	11.1	6.7	100

Table 6. 12) The educational level of the interviewed women who were single (with parents) along with their ages: number of women (n= 33)- no. (%)

Level of education	Illiterate *	Basic reading skill **	Primary ***	Secondary or less than diploma ~	Diploma ~~~	B.A.	Total
N	7	10	5	8	2	1	33
%	21	30.1	15	24.2	6.5	3.2	

Although altogether 53% of the interviewed women in the sample are illiterate, only 15% of the illiterates are those who migrated with their parents. By contrast, of the 47% of literate women, 74 % were single at the time of migration and had migrated with parents or alone for work/study.

Table 6. 13) The educational level of other categories of the interviewed migrants: number of women (n= 57)- no. (%)

Level of education	Illiterate	Basic reading skill	Primary	Secondary or less than diploma	Diploma	Total
N.	41	7	4	2	3	57
%	72	12.2	7	3.5	5.3	100

As was shown in tables 6.3 and 6.10, women married at the time of migration outnumbered the other categories of migrant women in both stages of the study. The majority of the illiterate women in both samples belong to this category. Among the 925 women who answered the questionnaires in the first stage of study, 78% of the illiterate women were those who were married at the time of migration. Among the interviewed women 85% of married women at the time of migration were also illiterate. All divorcees and widows were also illiterate. Low female literacy and educational attainment, early age of marriage, high fertility rates, low formal female labour force and high engagement in the informal sector of traditional carpet and related industry are common features of these category of women who mainly accompanied with/ joined their husbands, or migrated after the break up of their marital relations or after the death of their partners.

Constraints on educational progress of young female migrants

Despite the primacy of education and better educational opportunities in the city for single women (with parents) after their migration, they still face a number of obstacles that limits their access to those opportunities. Factors such as poverty, marriage and the issue of honour have been discussed by the informants as being hindrances in the process of educational progress of young migrants (especially young girls) both in the elementary as well as in the higher levels of schooling. I will explain these factors separately.

Poverty

Poverty is a major factor in intensifying the discriminatory attitude of parents towards children's, particularly girls', education. Although many women believed in the primacy of both girls' and boys' education, the scarcity of family's financial resources led them to put more importance on their sons' education than their daughters'. Women had different attitudes towards female education, mainly based on their own experiences of married life and their involvement in income generating in or outside the home. Those women who were working outside the home and earning money had more control over the allocation of resources and a more egalitarian attitude towards their children's education. Those who were working in the lowest sectors of the economy, particularly when it was combined with widowhood, were more careful to meet their daughter's needs for upward social mobility through education or vocational training. They did not want their daughters to experience the same difficulties that they have been through. One of these women was very worried about her daughter's education, who was in year 4 and not very keen on her schooling. The mother had committed herself to her daughter's education and was doing her best to keep her interested in education in order to ensure her economic future and prevent her from undergoing the same experience as her mother. She described the lack of education as equal to blindness. In this regards she said that:

I encourage her very much. I go to school and talk to her teacher to know what I should do to keep her interested in her study. I even bought her jewelry and passed it to her teacher to give it to her as a price for her achievement. If she manages to finish secondary level, then I can send her to be trained in a skill that she is interested in. I have few years of primary schooling and am like a blind person, I don't want her to be the same.

However, withdrawing children from school, or even not sending them to school at all, is a common practice among the poor. There are two main reasons for this that are directly related to poverty: the need for children's labour and the lack of financial ability to provide the necessities of education, particularly when there are many school-aged children in a family. The poorer families cannot cope with the high schooling expenditure, which often results in the withdrawal of children from school. Although according to the post-revolutionary Constitution of Iran education must be free for all Iranian citizens, in practice the pupils' parents should pay a partial sum of public schools' expenses in the name of 'voluntary contribution' (Godazgar, 1999). They should also provide all the necessities of schooling for their children such as textbooks, stationary and so forth. The number of children in the poorer households is an important factor in the allocation of financial

resources for the education of different sexes. During the process of an interview with one of the informants, the daughter asked her mother for some money that the school had asked for and the mother who was obviously annoyed by this but tried to keep herself calm said:

This school asks for too much money, we have to give money to the school frequently for different reasons. For us the education of boys and girls are the same. We like them to be educated. But we suffer from shortage of money and in my daughters' school they keep asking for money. My husband says that 'because our financial situation is severe, I want to pull out the children from school. In that case, at least they can weave carpets'. But my oldest son says: 'if you don't let me study, I will kill myself'. But he doesn't study well. He has failed once .

Another woman also said that:

Now in the villages, the education is completely free and the pupils are given free books, notebooks, pens, pencils and etc. They are also given free nourishment. On top of that they are not obliged to wear uniforms. But in the city, there is no sign of free education.

For many families whose migration was a consequence of the pressure of poverty in the village, education did not have any place in their life. Therefore, the majority of the informants, who migrated within poorer households, mostly in their adulthood, remained illiterate. Almost all of them have been involved in home-based activities, mainly in carpet weaving and related activities in order to generate income for the family. A woman from a poorer background said that:

I was single when we moved to the city. We were very poor and I didn't go to school. We all were weaving carpets at home... After marriage I also found it difficult to go to *Neh-zat*, both because of working on carpets and doing housework and looking after my young children (S. Y.).

Many women from the same background connected their lack of education to the severe economic condition of their parents. Many poor women have also stated that they have withdrawn their children, either boys or girls, from school as a result of poverty, although they try to keep some of them in school at least to finish their primary education.

The children in these households suffer interruptions to their schooling depending on their gender. Girl's education is often interrupted as the families are concerned about the cost of schooling. For instance, according to two very poor women, girls' uniform is an extra expenditure in the family budget. Unlike the boys, who are not required to wear uniform in any stage of the schooling, the girls have to wear uniform from the beginning of their education at the age of six. One of the informants who had eight children, four of whom were single and school-aged, said regarding her children's education that:

We have lots of financial problems. With the exception of my three children, the

others have been dismissed from school. They will also be dropped out from school, because we cannot manage to provide their books, clothes, etc. They will be working on carpet at home.

Boys' education is also interrupted in the case of economic pressure, as they are able to meet the family's immediate needs for money by doing any sort of casual work. One of the informants' sons had also been pulled out from school because of the family's poverty.

In this regard she said that:

My husband became very ill, his foot was badly hurt. He was not fit for labouring or carrying weight any more. The poor man became street vendor. He used to sit in a corner to sell cigarettes. Later on his condition became very critical. He was falling down when he was coming home. The children with difficulty could take him to street or bring him back home. In that time, one of my sons was in year 10, we thought what's the point of his study. He could work and the poor man could stay at home. Then, we pulled the poor boy from school to do labouring.

Another woman had two children - one boy and one girl. His son was also pulled out of school while her daughter was carrying on her study. Regarding her children's education she said that:

This year, we didn't let my son to go to school because we couldn't manage to pay the rent. My husband is a street vendor and his earning is not sufficient to cover our expenses. Therefore, we pulled my son from school to support us with his earning.

Meeting the family's immediate need for money by children's work, however, cannot only be generalized to male children. Despite the fact that the majority of female carpet weavers worked in their own homes, there were some cases in which young girls worked in the neighbouring workshops, when their mothers were not involved in weaving. This may prove the discussion of some studies (Amin, 1997; and Rudnick, 2000) about the effect of poverty in the dilution of cultural norms and practices concerning women's paid job outside the home. M. D was a very deprived migrant with ten children, whose only child who could meet the family's immediate need for money was a 14 year-old girl. She was working in a workshop for daily wages. As a result of severe poverty they were not able to own the means of production or to buy raw materials. They could also not get loom and raw materials through putting-out systems because the girl was not skilled enough to work on her own initiative, and more importantly, they needed a daily income to spend on food. Another poor illiterate woman who had worked in a carpet workshop, also said that:

We were very poor. There were carpet workshops in our area. Therefore, on our arrival to the city I started to work on carpet to earn money.

A 12 year-old girl, the daughter of very poor migrant parents, had also worked as a day

worker in a carpet workshop from the age of 7. She was also withdrawn from school to look after her 2 year-old brother because her deaf-and-dumb father's income from casual labouring did not meet their daily necessities and her mother had to take a job in domestic service. She had completed 4 years of school but was interrupted in year 5. Regarding her education and work in a workshop she said that:

I was working and studying simultaneously since I was in year 1. After finishing year 1, during the summer holiday, I went to work in a carpet workshop. Then during school times, in the mornings I was going to school, in the afternoons to carpet workshop and in the evening I was doing my home-works. When I was in year four I went to *Neh-zat* to give my mother a chance to go and work in the people's houses. When my brother was born, my exertion to go to school lasted only a few months. *Neh-zat* classes are normally set in the afternoons, but during the Ramadan⁸ it is changed to the mornings a time which interrupted my education and I didn't get any chance to go back to study. Because if I wanted to go to school my mother wouldn't be able to go to work. We desperately needed her work and money, but there was nobody to look after my little brother and do our housework. Therefore, I gave up my study.

S. Z, who came from a poor family, managed to study up to high school but left the school because her family needed her income and one of her relatives had found her a job in a hospital's crèche. For some families, the death of the male head of the family has intensified the poverty. In my sample, some women have moved to the city after the death of their fathers or husbands. Although women are active participants in the agricultural process, particularly in the process of weeding and harvesting, men play the primary role in agricultural management, such as cultivating, purchasing and selling off the products. In the case of the death of the family head, women, particularly those with few or no sons, cannot act as an independent farmer to cultivate the land on their own. The plantation is given up or the land is leased out. Thus, the pressure of poverty and not being able to contribute to agricultural work, as a result not gaining from their land, became a main reason for migration. These deprived migrant women in the city have no chance to study as a result of poverty, and are unable to have a paid job even doing domestic service because of their illiteracy as well as their unfamiliarity with the city. Therefore, they carry out their traditional weaving or spinning activities at home. In this regard, one of the informants said that:

I am illiterate and have had no opportunity for study either in the village or in the city. I was one year old when my father died. My brothers were too young to cultivate father's

⁸ - Fasting month for Muslims.

land. Therefore, other people were cultivating for us taking two-thirds of the yields for themselves and leaving one third of it for us.

We were hard pressed for living and could not manage our life without animal husbandry and *Kanareh*⁹ weaving. When my brothers grew up, they moved to the city to work and my mother and I came with them. I did not go to school nor look for a job, as I was illiterate. I just continued carpet weaving at home (G. D.).

The father of one of the women died when she was young and her mother remarried and moved to the city with her husband. She said that:

I am illiterate, because I was orphaned, I was not allowed to study and was forced to weave carpets.

T.Kh. was a 25 year-old women and had married 3 years before the interview. She had also lost her father when she was young.

I am illiterate.... It is six or seven years since we have migrated to the city because we were hard pressed for living, as my father had died and we were poor. In the village we were weaving carpets and my brothers were working in the city. Therefore, we came to live with them.

F. P. and her sisters were working in a clothes workshop and their education was mainly reading and writing. They had migrated to the city after the death of her father and had interrupted her education as a result. In this regard, she said that:

I have studied only two years in the village. My father died and my oldest brother could not manage to support the family and provide our schooling expenditure. I liked to continue my schooling, but it was not possible for me and my two other sisters.

A seventeen year-old girl from a poor household, who had migrated in her early childhood, was interrupted in her education by her mother after the death of her father for one year.

The mother said that:

My daughters are studious and diligent in their education and doing well in the exams. Their grade average is not less than seventeen. I do not like them to give up their education. Last year, contrary to my inward desire, I did not let them to go to school, because we have to weave in order to live (S. B.).

Sometimes, some widows are lucky to have the economic or emotional support of their parents or brothers. But in the case of some rare economic support they are embarrassed at

⁹ - *Kanareh* is a kind of carpet that is woven by the poorer women. In the next chapter I will explain in detail the different kinds of carpets.

being a burden. Thus, they try to rely on themselves by all means possible, withdrawing their children from school. This is because most of the time the parents are themselves suffering from economic hardship, and the brothers either have their own families or need to begin their own married life. Despite the limited economic support of the family, S. B. preferred to have the emotional and psychological, rather than economic support of her family. About her family's support for her children's education, she said that:

This year with the help of my parents and my brothers, I managed to send the girls to school. If I face any difficulty, I won't let them continue their study. I've already told my oldest daughter that next year I will take her out of school, but she says that she will go. I have to buy them school uniform as well as other clothes. I become ashamed to tell my father about our needs. If for example, he buys clothes for one of my daughters, I have to buy another one myself. Each year, we only can manage to weave one finely woven carpet and what we earn from it is spent throughout the year. When the girls go to school and I am working alone I cannot produce much work.

And S. B.'s daughter, inattentive to her mother's talk, said that:

I like to study in 'Experimental Science or Mathematics-Physic'¹⁰ fields. But because the educational advisor of the school is aware of our condition, says that if I choose one of those fields, I have to do further education to get a job. But if I choose Technical and Vocational field, I will get a job after I obtained my diploma (S. B.'s daughter).

But because they were losing free accommodation in the grandparents' house upon the marriage of her mother's brother, it seems unlikely that S.B.'s daughter will continue to study either in her area of interest or even in what the educational advisor had recommended her. Moving to a rented house means extra economic pressure on the family and the urgent need for her labour on carpets. Therefore, what S. B.'s parents could economically offer her and her children was free accommodation that they lost because the

¹⁰. In Iranian educational system, in high school, a stage with more emphasis on specialization, pupils choose their optional field from one of the four educational fields of: Social Science; Experimental Science; Mathematics-Physic; and Technical-Vocational fields in order to obtain their diploma in those areas.

son had priority. Obviously if S. B.'s brother had the financial ability to help her, he himself could go to a rental house and let her have the free accommodation. Another orphan girl's access to education was also interrupted by her mother as she could not manage to pay the school's expenses. She was two months old when her father died. Her mother said that:

I was 25 years old with two children of four years and two months old, when my husband died. My brothers didn't let me to stay with my in-laws, because I had an unmarried brother in-law and I was so young. I stayed in my mother's house for eight years. When I was sending my kids to school, my mother ridiculed my action. She even taunted me by saying that she is taking care of my orphan children. I managed to send my daughter to school for nine years, but school was demanding too much money. Therefore, I didn't let her continue.

Therefore, the death of the father, and often being brought up in female headed households, brings poverty to the family and has a negative effect on a girl's life. Those informants who had lost their fathers in childhood thought of their lives would have been better if their fathers were alive. For some of the informants, the lack of a mother, mainly in the case of divorce, also had a negative effect on their lives. Their attitude towards their lost mother, however, was completely different compared to those who had lost their father. They had lived with a stepmother and experienced extra discriminatory behavior, and were often angry with their mother for not being there for them. I interviewed some women whose mothers had been divorced. I also met one of them while I interviewed her stepmother. They were either not sent to school, particularly in the poorer households, or their studies were interrupted, not necessarily due to poverty. R. B. was one of those who were interrupted in her education, even though the family could afford her educational expenses. In this regard, she said that:

I have studied only eight years. Sometimes I cry and ask my father why he didn't let us continue our education as your brothers and sisters' daughters did. He then lays blame on my mother and says that: 'what could I do, your mother shouldn't listen to her friends. She had to tolerate and stayed to look after you'. Though he confesses that he mistreated my mother by leaving her behind in the village with his family and ignoring her needs and rights while he was working in Tehran, I am so angry with my mother and I've never wanted to see her when I've had the chance (R. B.).

She and her brother and sister had been suffering emotionally, physically and psychologically from the misbehavior of their stepmother. They attributed their misfortunes and suffering to their own mother, despite being aware of her unhappy marital life and the experience of domestic violence.

Overcrowded rooms in tiny houses, which are usually related to poverty, cause

poor performance in education, which most of the time results in the ending of education.

M. L. had left the school at secondary level exactly because of this reason. She stated that:

There were three rooms in our house and a family in each room and the rooms all opened to one corridor. We had one room for a family of six with a handicapped brother. In each of the other rooms, there was a family of four. All together there were eight children in one house. I could not concentrate on my study in such a overcrowded house. When I saw there is no hope in such circumstances, I left the school (M. L.).

M. Gh. was also living in a similar condition. Although she left school, her sister managed to continue by staying with their relatives during her exam times. I interviewed M. Gh. in the exam season when her sister was not at home.

In this house three families are living in three rooms: my grandparents (father's parents); my uncle's family of five; and our family of seven. In our family, there is no different attitude towards girls' and boys' educational success. One of my sisters is doing her final year. She has gone to my brother's house to prepare herself for her final exams because our house is small and too crowded. Last year she went to my aunt's house for eighteen days and came back home when she finished her exams (M. Gh.).

In the Iranian educational system each pupil has to pass the final exam of the year in all of his or her subjects in order to qualify for the next level of study. Some of the children have difficulty coping with the mainstream curriculum. This is partially because the parents are often illiterate and poor and not able to help their children or spend extra money on buying revision books and materials. If they fail to pass any of the subjects they have another chance to re-sit the exam at the end of the summer. Sometimes they become unqualified for the next level as a result of their poor performance even in one subject. Having difficulty with the curriculum leads to the loss of interest in education and the giving up of study. Many respondents stated similar experiences:

I have studied up to high school, but because I was not bright and interested I gave it up (M. Gh.).

I studied for only five years in school. I was always struggling with my study and didn't like it. So I left the school (Z. E.).

I have studied for five years. Then, because I was not clever enough, I could not study any more and gave up (M. S.).

The family's need for labour intensifies the disapproval they feel when the child has to re-sit an exam. A woman from a poor and extended household said that:

My oldest daughter studied up to year 7. She failed two years and left the school. My other children are going to school. My son should be in year 5, but because he had failed one year, he is in year 4.

In a discussion between one of the informants and her son about the children's education, the son told me that:

My parents did not allow me to study. They put their problems on me.

The mother became offended and interrupted her son by saying that:

He is lying, he sat each year twice. That's why we didn't let him to go.

The son jokingly answered his mother back:

I wanted my knowledge to be multiplied.

Most of the times, the disapproval of the family ends the children's access to education. But as soon as the children realize the importance of education in better upward economic opportunities, particularly state employment, they put the blame on their parents. F. M. explains her feeling in this manner:

As soon as we arrived to the city, we sent the children to a carpet workshop. We didn't send them to school. Now my children taunt me for not having sent them to school. I feel ashamed towards my children. I cannot raise my head to look at their face when they complain about it. I think I haven't done my motherly obligation towards my children. But I didn't have a choice. Poverty is an evil (F. M.).

Those families that are economically and intellectually better off provide the greater opportunities for the formal education and vocational training of girls. These families show less discrimination towards girls' education and are under less pressure from the traditional practices and norms regarding female education.

I interviewed two single girls in their house who had come to the city to get education and had circular migration. One of sisters was studying in the higher school and another in the secondary school. Their father had bought a two floor house in one of the slums of the city and all the children were living there while their parents stayed in the village.

We have come to the city because of education. We spend summers in the village and during school times we come back to the city. Our parents are living in the village. We prefer the city and believe that migration is good for the youth, because they can educate and easily make decisions about their future. We want to find a good job when we finish our education (two sisters).

Mrs. Kh. was a head teacher in a primary school in a slum squatter area and had a bachelor degree in primary education. Concerning her education, she said that:

I was five years old when we migrated. Migration has had lots of positive influences

on my educational and economic situation. The environment in which they live affects human beings. Of course, family also has its own strong role to play. My uncle wanted his daughter to weave carpets, but my father told me that he would work to let his children study. I am a head teacher and my cousin is a carpet-weaver. If my parents stayed in the village, I would have remained illiterate too because there was no school for girls in our village. I would have married at an early age and had lots of children (Mrs. Kh.).

The majorities of those who go to school and perform well see education as a liberalizing tool and want to go to university or get a paid job in the future when they graduate. Many mothers also consider education a tool that presents opportunities for personal development in terms of employment and social mobility¹¹. Thus, the mothers do support and encourage their daughters to keep up with their education, even at the university level. One of the mothers said that:

My daughters' education is very important for us. My oldest children are girls, while my son is in year 4. We do not pay that much attention to his study as we do to our daughters.

However, the high expenses of university study affect both boys and girls continuation with university study even if they have passed the entrance exam successfully. In Iran there are two types of universities: state and private universities. Education in state universities is free without tuition fees and entry is very challenging. In the private universities, Open Islamic University (*Danesh- ghah-e Azad-e Eslami*) being one of the more popular ones, the tuition fee is expensive and entrance is much easy compared to state universities. One of the women said that:

My daughter has been accepted by the University twice. But because of the lack of financial ability, we could not manage to send her to the university. She has a Diploma. We are not against her working. We have supported her both in her attempts to study and to find a job. She has applied for a job and next week will have an interview.

Another mother also said that:

In our village there was only primary education. We sent two of my sons to my sister's house to continue their education. All of my three sons have gone to private university. One of them was accepted in Open University, but he gave up in the middle as it was too expensive and he started to work in a firm. For my second son,

¹¹- In her study of Muslim migrants in West Yorkshire, Afsar (1989b) also argues about immigrants willingness to accept social changes and to believe in educational system as a means of upward social mobility, regardless of their own educational achievement (Afshar, 1989b).

the tuition fee was about sixty-four thousand Toummans per term. Last term, my third son's tuition fee was one hundred and four thousand Toummans, very expensive....

In another case the son of one of my informants had been accepted in a state university in another city. Even though they did not have to pay tuition fees, his accommodation, travel and other expenses were too high for the family to afford and he stopped his university education after one year.

Honour and how it affects female education

Although women's increasing access to education is an important indicator of social change among the migrant households, traditional values concerning women's morality were strongly pronounced among some of my informants' families. Apart from poverty, of which the profound effects on young migrants' education have been discussed, the issue of honour also plays an important role in interrupting women's progress to higher levels of education. In Iran, as in many other Muslim societies, the notion of honour is generally linked to the sexual conduct of women. The strength of the concept differs from one society to another; from one sector of a society to another; and from one social class to another. However, the ideology of honour is stronger in traditional and lower sections of any society (Al-Khayyat, 1990: 21- 5), including rural people and particularly migrants who find the city a strange place (Bauer, 1985). Different terms are used for honour. *Aib*, which is translated as immodest or shameful, is more related to behavioural concept of honour and women's behaviour such as how to talk, how to walk and how to behave, is regulated in this manner. *Ghirat*, *sharaf* and *namous* are more connected to the sexual concept of honour, which has direct relation to family ties. If a woman breaks the rules of morality by her sexual misconduct, she brings shame and dishonor to her family and damages family's moral reputation. This damage is often irreparable (Al-Khayyat, 1990: 21-6). Since women are guardians of family honour, their behaviour and sexual conducts are controlled by both family as well as other social controls such as gossip and accusations of acting shamefully and dishonorably (Al-Khayyat, 1990: 23- 6). The issue of moral reputation and its relation to women morality, particularly to that of young unmarried women, was more pronounced during the interview. Some families believe their daughter's education might not be compatible with chastity. Thus, they do not encourage education for their daughters and place informal restrictions on women's

mobility. Some families, particularly from poorer households, believe that it would be enough if their daughter could only have an elementary level of education that could allow them to read and write. Different families, however, use different excuses for interrupting their daughter's education. Although restrictions on women are defended by the concerns for women's safety, they limit women's chances for education and paid employment.

K. Kh. had only five years of formal education, because her father did not let her continue. In this regard, she said that:

I could not manage to finish year five. Until half way through the year my mother and I concealed my schooling from my father. But as soon as he understood our secret, he did not let me go to school anymore (K.).

One of the informants also states that:

My daughters have only studied five years, because my husband didn't let them continue their studying, even though they were very interested in it. But he has let one of the girls go to a Quranic class, which has been set up in the neighborhood.

F. Gh. was 21 years single woman who has studied up to secondary level in the *Neh-zat* classes. When I asked her why she did not continue her education, she replied that:

'My family, father, mother and brother did not allow me to do so because *Neh-zat* classes were in the late afternoon and there were not any classes nearby for the secondary level. On top of that my parents would not let me have a paid job. Then what is the point of my studying?' (F.).

Obviously she was aware that she would have faced family disapproval if she had found a paid job, which affected her desire to continue her study. Her brother who stayed with us during the interview said that:

You don't study only to get a job. You should study for life. Tomorrow when you'll have children, you can bring them up well, if you are educated (F.'s brother).

The notion of the educated mothers who play a crucial role as the first nurtures and educators of the nation in upbringing and educating their children, emerged in the reformist critical literature in Iran since mid-nineteenth century: '... motherhood became a meditating term between two concepts of modernity: progress and women's rights and emancipatory promises' (Najmabadi, 1998: 94). By the early twentieth century the idea that women deserve the blessings of education entered into Iran's political culture. Although the nature of early nationalism changed from secularism to cultural nationalism later on, women in the political cultures were seen as the mothers of the nation who should be educated for bringing up the children of the nation (Hoodfar, 1993). Therefore, this idea is strongly

accepted by many families, particularly male members of the family who do not view women's education simply in terms of future employment. But F.'s mother was concerned with the issue of honour:

In the village you live in peace and security. But in the city if my daughter goes out, boys would start following her, harassing her and causing inconvenience. Therefore, I am obliged to keep her at home. If your kids are kidnapped you lose both your honour and your kid, don't you (F.'s mother).

In an interview two unmarried daughters had gone to *Neh-zat* in the city for another two years, but their father did not let them study any more for exactly the same reason that F.'s mother mentioned: loss of honour or reputation. At the time of the interview, one of the girls was going to Koran class in a local mosque once or twice a week. The younger sister, who was fifteen years old, felt deep anger and spoke bitterly when talking about the interruption in her education. She said that:

My father does not let us to go to school. He is a respected and well-known man in the community. He believes that the city is in a bad state and if the girls (me and my sister) go to school and something unpleasant happens to them, it would result in the disgrace of him (the father) and the family. I was thinking that in the city we would have more freedom of mobility and less relatives spying on us. But for me here is like my village, most of our migrated relatives live on the same street as ours and keep a close eye on our actions' (M. T.).

When I asked her if she likes to study, she shook her head and with a deep regret told me that:

Yes indeed. When I was in the village, my teacher told my father that: 'if you let your daughter study, she will be able to work up to a doctorate'. Now my Koran teacher is also very astonished with my progress (M.T.).

In my view, most of the times, the fear of losing honour is not due to the lack of trust that parents have towards their single girls. Rather they do not trust the host society and are afraid that their daughters will be at the risk of unknown threats or would be deceived as a result of their simplicity or carelessness. At the time of the interview however, many younger sisters of these women were studying in the higher levels of school without their parents having that much strong anxiety about losing honour simply by studying. By comparing the interrupted women with their younger sisters, I noticed that as the duration of the residency in the city increases, their fear or the lack of trust in the city decreases. This may partially signify the importance of socio-psychological factors in the experience of marginality and insecurity of early years of migration.

It can also be argued that the imposition of hejab on women by the Islamic state

and the Islamisation policy in regard to women, emphasizing their modesty, chastity and dignity, demonstrates conformity to traditional norms and practices for migrant families (Mir-Hossaini, 1996). In that case, this conformity would be able to decrease education's morally and politically negative implications among traditional and lower class families. K. Kh., who has been quoted already, talked about her father's reasons for his interference in the education of her sisters in this manner:

Although my father interrupted my education, my other sisters are studying and aiming to gain their diplomas. Whenever, I complain about my father's interference in my study, he says that in that time Mullahs (Low-rank clergy) were saying that girls should not go to school (K. Kh.).

Mr. Kh., the head teacher also said that:

During the revolution I was studying at secondary level. One summer before the revolution I wanted to go to a Quranic class running in our neighborhood, but the teacher did not accept me, because the clergy said that the Quran should not be taught to girls who go to school (Mrs. Kh.).

From these quotations it is clear that during the Pahlavi era, there was a prevalent negative attitude towards modern education and educated women among lower classes. If it is correct that the imposition of an Islamic ideology conformed to the traditional norms and practices, then this conformity could be regarded as emancipatory tool, which has increased younger women's mobility and their access to higher levels of education.

The introduction of compulsory *hejab* (veiling) and dress code¹² changed the definition of the public sphere from a 'corrupt' environment to an acceptable one for many traditional and working class families (Mir-Hosseini, 1996: 149). In a study exploring contradictory and complex meanings and messages of *hejab* including its compulsory imposition on women, the author argues that when *hejab* is imposed into a context where it is already an important part of that culture, its practical application by women themselves is very important (Velayati, 1998). Women from traditional and religious families employ the Islamic ideology and the practice of *hejab* as a tool accepted by the families and society to release themselves from patriarchal domination and to help them struggle for emancipation

¹² - Dress code is a set of cloths, called *man'to-shalvar*, which was initially invented by female students during the revolution for wearing outside the home as an alternative model of dress called *hejab-e Islami* (Islamic veiling). After the revolution this set of dressing was adopted by the Islamic state as an alternative to *chador*, the traditional Iranian hejab (covering), which covers women from head to toe. This set came into fashion after the revolution and particularly after the compulsory dress code in 1981. Modern, educated and employed women as well as younger generation of traditional families usually wear *Man'to-shalvar*. *Manto* is a long coat; *Shalvar* is trousers; and *Maghnaeh* is a large scarf covering the head, hair and shoulders.

and access to the public spheres and social and economic participation, 'an alternative entry to modernity' (Sullivan, 1998: 226). Getting access to higher levels of education, employment and social presence for women from traditional and religious families can be regarded as advantages of Islamic ideology, particularly the removal of the discriminatory practices against veiled women in the society (Velayati, 1998: 57).

The anxiety about honour might surface again when the daughters want to do further education in university in other cities, as they will have to leave the home. Only one of the informants said that:

My father is against my education in the university, for he does not approve of me going to another city to study. I stayed at home a year after getting my diploma. I was clever, I told myself that it is better if I can get my '*pish daneshgahi*¹³', in case the possibility of education would be available later. I like to study very much. Although there was a year gap between my diploma and '*pish daneshgahi*' and I was doing a hairdressing course and studying simultaneously, I managed to pass the exam successfully (Hairdresser).

However, among my informants some single women had migrated alone to Tabriz to either study or to work in a factory. In many cases girls do negotiate with their parents, win the case and play active roles in social change, if their demands are not contrary to the basic foundation of traditional beliefs and notions.

The impact of marriage on female education

Girls' marriage is also an important factor, which interrupts their study in not only the higher levels of education, but for some, even in the early years of schooling. In Iran as in many other Muslim countries, the institution of marriage is an essential part of a woman's life and a natural step towards motherhood. Although marriage is strongly valued by all families, it is more highly regarded among traditional social classes. F. T. married at the age of 13 and, regarding her education and marriage, she said that:

¹³ - In the new educational system in Iran, one of the conditions for entering the university is to take an extra course after getting a diploma that is one year long. This one year course is called '*pish daneshgahi*', literally meaning 'pre-university course'.

I have studied for three years. I married at the age of 13. My husband's family and mine were related. One day my parents asked me: 'Do you wish to go to Tabriz?' I, who didn't realise why I was being asked, said yes. Here (in Tabriz) they took me to a marriage notary office and asked me if I wanted to marry my husband and I had no choice but to nod because in those days we were embarrassed in front of our parents. I then realised that they wanted to marry me off (F. T.).

Despite the restriction on female migration for education, for between 10 and 14 per cent of the informants in both stages of the study, the reason for migration was 'marriage'. Almost half of the population of this category were also illiterate. For the majority of these women, the engagement had taken place in the village and the wedding in the city where their migrant husbands lived and worked, as they explained in their interviews¹⁴.

The practice of early marriage, a trend that appears to be the norm in a number of villages where the migrants came from, seems to be a very important factor for low female literacy. The early marriage of a girl, even before she reaches puberty is a matter of cultural norms about parental obligations to settle their children in marriage. It also lifts some of the parents' responsibilities for their daughters' moral conduct (Jeffery and Jeffery, 1996).

For most parents, particularly rural as well as working class, a girl's marriage is more important than her education mainly because of poverty and the domination of the notions of honour, dignity and modesty. According to the Iran Fertility Survey of 1986, more than 50% of Iranian women married before the age of 17 and the rest were mostly married by the age of 20 (Aghajanian, 1994). There was/is, however, an obvious difference between rural and urban areas in terms of marriage age. Some of my informants' talk about their marriage in terms of its destructive effects in female literacy and the existence of limited educational opportunities, especially if married at an early age. Many women, particularly the older and aged ones, have stated that they got engaged or

¹⁴ - In most cases, male migrants or the younger generation of migrants normally find their wives in their neighborhood with slum squatters who are more likely to be migrants either from different villages or the same as their own. Yet sometimes they marry village girls. It seems that those who find their wives from their own villages usually marry their own close relatives. Those who marry girls from other villages are usually socially and economically very deprived and the women they choose have almost the same or worse socio-economic condition. Although we cannot generalize this pattern, the story of the 9 women who migrated for marriage as well as the informants' comments about their own children's marriage to some extent support the above argument.

The change in the sense of spouse selection among male migrants also was stated by Zahra Shojaie, the advisor to president in 'Women's Affairs' who referred to an increase in the number of unmarried rural women as a result of increased male migration to the cities. She added that 'the statistics indicate that in the year 1380 (2001) the percentage of unmarried rural women were 41%

married at the ages of 12 and 13 or even 9 or 10. Most of them, however, have stayed in their parental home for many years where they could get training about adult duties and domestic responsibilities that are traditionally viewed 'as necessary for maintaining social organisation within the family and society' (Touba, 1980: 51-2). One of the illiterate women, who was married off at very young age, said that:

I was nine or ten years old when I got married. In those times parents or the elder people of the family decided when and to whom they marry off a girl. My oldest brother made the decision as my father had died. Once I understood that I was taken to my husband's house (Fateme).

One of the illiterate informants did not even remember how old she was when she got married. Smiling back to my question, she answered that: 'I swear to God if I said I don't know, you wouldn't believe me'.

Another woman also did not remember her marriage age. In response to my question, she laughed and said that:

I was a child when I got married. Don't ask about it, but I remember our engagement lasted eight or nine years. In my days, girls didn't have a say in their marriage. The parents decided everything. Nowadays, the girls want to like somebody before they get married which I think is better.

S. B. who is also illiterate, accompanied her husband in migration, and had an early marriage as well as early widowhood at the age of 30 with four children aged between 11 and 17. Regarding her marriage, she said that:

I married when I was 14. My mother thought that a husband could not be found for me. Therefore, she married me off as early as she could.

The impact of marriage on education is not confined to rural girls. It also affects migrant girls who often live according to traditional norms even in the city. L. Y., who had migrated mainly because of education, was unhappy about her educational situation following her marriage. About her education and marriage, she said that:

I have educated upon '*pieash daneshgahi*'. I was fond of education and didn't want to marry, but because my father had died my mother married me off straight from school. He (her husband) promised me that he will let me to continue my education, but after the marriage he prevented me (L. Y.).

against 21% in the pervious year 1379 (2000)' (Shojaie, 2001). She, however, did not mentioned the minimum age of marriage by which the number of unmarried rural women has been identified.

L. Y. has not been the only woman experience the breaking of such promises. It occurs to many women who want to refuse the marriage because of education. In L.'s case her husband had less education than her and she was successful and more confident, which her husband saw as a threat to the marital life or to his authority, as became clear during the interview. L. Y. teaches Koran in a local mosque, and regarding her interest in education said that:

.... because I had a good voice in reading the Koran (*Tashavi*) my teachers were encouraging me so much and I was reading the Koran and other recitations in school assemblies. I managed to gain second place in a penultimate heat in a national competition. I have been invited to teach Koranic recitation in many parts of Tabriz . However he prevents me. If I find any chance to study, I would like to continue my education in religious studies, as I am very interested in theology.

The practice of early marriage has been carried out in many migrant households in the city. It seems, however, that marriage age is gradually rising among the youngest generation of migrants, despite the lowering of the legal age of marriage after the revolution. For instance, when the older daughters in these households married at an early age, the marriage age increases for their younger sisters. A girl's marriage in the city is seen as a potential cost for the provision of dowry, *Jahaz*, which leads to increased anxiety on the part of the parents, particularly in the poorer migrant households. Although in Iranian culture dowry is part of the marriage custom, in rural customs the quantity and quality of dowry is not very important whereas, in the city it is all that matters. Thus, the higher demand or expectation about dowry in the city compared to the villages is a considerable factor for the increase in girl's marriage age in migrant households. For many women who had many daughters, the main concern was the issue of their daughters' dowry. F. M. was a 60 years old widow whose two youngest children were girls. One of them is engaged to be married and another one is single. In this regard, she said that:

One of my daughters is engaged. Another one has some suitor, but I cannot afford to give dowry for two girls. I refused my youngest daughter's suitors.

Another woman from a very poor household had six daughters, four of them married and two unmarried. About the major problems in the city as a migrant, she said that:

Our major problem in the city is the issue of dowry. Four of my daughters are married and we managed to give dowry for one of them, but this has caused problem for my other daughters. Their husbands have threatened them with divorce if they don't get any dowry. We cannot afford our expenses. How can I give dowry for my married daughters? On top of that I have two more unmarried daughters.

Studying in the higher stages of secondary or high school is itself another important reason for the increase in the age of marriage. Early marriage is not only is an obstacle preventing girls from taking up educational opportunities but also results in a high birth rate as well as high infant mortality, which is discussed in the following section.

Positive correlation between early marriage and high fertility rate

The survey responses showed that birth rate was high among illiterate women. On the whole they tended to have had early marriages. Of the 925 women who participated in the survey, 25 were single. Of the remaining 900 respondents, 25 had no children of whom 21 (84 %) were married, one was widow and three were divorced. Although the ages of these women ranged from 17 to 60 years, 65% of them were between 17 to 26 years old, which due to their youth and marital status, makes them more likely to have had children.

The women who had children, had between 1 and 14. However, 58 % of them had 2 to 5 children. A few women had 10 or more children. It is worth noting that in this stage women only mentioned their existing children. In the interviews, they also mentioned their deceased children, but did not include them in the number of their children. When the deceased children were included, the fertility rate dramatically increased among many illiterate women.

Of 90 women interviewed, 15 were single at the time of survey. Of the remaining 75 women, six did not have any children, of whom four were married, one widowed and one divorced. Because the divorced woman was infertile she gave permission for her husband to remarry in order to have children, but after her husband's re-marriage she asked for a divorce. In this regard, she stated that:

My husband did not want to divorce me, but I knew that I could not stand to see another woman bear my husband's children. Then I decided to get a divorce before he has any children.

The ages of the women who did not have children ranged from 22 to 55; those of childless married women were 22 to 38. Of women who had children, the number of children was highly diverse from 1 to 10. Ten women had stepchildren between 1 and 7, whom they had to look after and 22 women had children who had died in infancy. Six women, who were interviewed in the first day, were not asked whether any of their children had died. I start with the distribution of children among 925 respondents and then among the 90

interviewed women, including single unmarried women.

Table 6.14) Children's distribution among the sample: number of women (n=925)- no. (%)

No. of Ch.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	14
No. of wo.	50	102	151	113	134	121	101	84	36	14	16	1	1	1
%	5	11	16	12.2	15	13	11	9	3.9	2	1.7	0.1	0	0.1

Note: Single women are also included in the table.

In tables 6.15 to 6.28 I will separately examine women's age and marital status at their time of migration, as well as their current age and marital status along with their number of children in different educational levels, to see if there is correlation between these factors and the distribution of children among women. Excluding single women, as we will see, the higher the education of the woman the fewer the number of children in the family. Those who have more children tend to be those who are illiterate or have less education.

Table 6.15) The age and marital status of illiterate women in the sample at the time of migration: number of illiterate women (n= 603)

A ge-group	Less than ten	Tens 10-19	Twenties	Thirties	Forties	Fifties	Sixties	Missing	Total
Mari. sta.									
S.	72	59	5	1	0	0	0	0	137
Sm.	0	50	13	0	2	0	0	0	65
Ss/w.	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
M.	1	112	157	66	34	9	2	8	389
W.	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Di.	0	1	1	3	2	3	0	0	10
Total	73	222	178	70	38	12	2	8	603

Notes:

S. = Single

Sm. = Single for marriage

Ss/w. = Single for study or work

M. = Married

W.= Widowed

Di. = Divorce

Table 6.16) The current marital status of illiterate women in the sample and the number of their children: number of illiterate women (n= 603)

No. of Ch.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	14
Mar. St.														
S.	1													
M.	9	27	58	64	96	95	80	64	30	8	14	1	1	1
W.	1	1	4	1	5	7	8	13	3	6	1			
Div.	1													
Sep. /Des.					1	2								
Total	12	28	62	65	102	104	88	77	33	14	15	1	1	1

Illiterate women represent 65.1% of the respondents; among them the number of children was highly diverse from 0 to 14. The majority (62 %), however, had four to seven children. The average number of children in this category was 4.8. The total number of boys and girls among these women were 1488 and 1424 respectively.

Of 12 illiterate women who have no children, one was single and 20 years old. One was a 25 year old divorced woman one was a 60 year old widow. The nine remaining were all married: three in their 20's, one of 38, three in their 40's, and the final two were 55 and 60 year old women.

Twenty-eight women had one child (17 boys and 11 girls altogether). All of them were married except one 60 year-old widow. Of the married women, 18 were between 19 and 28, three between 30 and 37, three between 40 and 44, and three of them were more than 60 years old.

Of 62 women who had two children (64 boys and 60 girls altogether), 58 women were married and four were widow. The widows were 60 years old and above. Of married women, one was 16 years old, 38 were between 21 and 29, 13 between 30 and 38, four between 40 and 46, one 50 and another one was 72 years old.

Sixty-five illiterate women had three children (106 boys and 89 girls altogether), all, with the exception of one 38 year old widow, were married. Seventeen of them were between 22 and 29, 40 between 30 and 38, and seven between 40 and 45.

One hundred and two women had four children (200 boys and 208 girls altogether). Five of them were widow aged between 34 and 80, one was a 41 years old deserted woman, and 96 were married. Thirteen of them were between 21 and 29 years old, 59 between 30 and 39, 17 between 40 and 45, and 8 were more than 50 years old.

One hundred and four women had five children (276 boys and 239 girls altogether).

Seven of them were widows aged between 43 and 66, two deserted/separated aged 32 and 80, and 95 were married. Of the married women, four of them were between 28 and 29, 49 between 30 and 39, 25 between 40 and 48, and 18 were more than 50 years old.

Of 88 women who had six children (260 boys and 269 girls altogether), 8 were widows aged between 40 and 83, and 80 were married. Of married women, 32 were between 30 and 39, 28 between 40 and 48, and 21 were more than 50 years old.

Of 77 illiterate women who had seven children (252 boys and 287 girls altogether), 13 were widows aged between 35 and 65, and 64 were married. Of married women, one was 28 years old, 9 were between 30 and 39, 27 between 40 and 49, and 27 were more than 50 years old.

Of 33 women who had eight children (142 boys and 116 girls altogether), three were widows aged between 43 and 70, and 30 were married. Of married women, two were between 35 and 39, 14 between 40 and 48, and 13 were more than 50 years old.

Of 14 illiterate women who had nine children (68 boys and 58 girls altogether), six were widows aged between 47 and 75, and eight were married. Of married women, one was 38 years old, five were between 40 and 48, and two of them were 52 and 80 years old.

Of 15 women who had 10 children (81 boys and 69 girls altogether), one is a 65 years old widow, and nine married. Of them, seven were between 40 and 46, and another seven were more than 53 years old.

Three illiterate married women who had 11 (4 boys and 7 girls), 12 (5 boys and 7 girls) and 14 (10 boys and 4 girls) children, were 50, 37 and 49 years old respectively.

The ages of women in different categories indicate that illiterate women were more likely to bear more children until they are naturally unable to fall pregnant. To what extent the current attempts of birth control exercised by the state might affect illiterate women's pregnancy is the issue, which in depth interview will find out.

Table 6.17) The age and marital status of those who have basic reading skill in the sample at the time of migration: number (n= 59)

Age-group	Less than tens	Tens	Twenties	Thirties	Missing	Total
Mari. sta.						
	14	27	13	4	1	59
S.	14	10	0	0	0	24
Sm.	0	7	3	0	0	10
M.	0	10	10	4	1	25

Table 6.18) The current marital status of those have basic reading skill in the sample and the number of their children: number (n= 59)

N. of Ch.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Mar. St.								
Si.	1							
M.	3	11	13	6	9	5	7	2
W.		1			1			
Total	4	12	13	6	10	5	7	2

Fifty-nine women who had basic reading skill (6.4% of the respondents) had between 0 to 7 children. The average number of children in this category was 3.1. The majority (69%), however, had one to four children. The total number of boys and girls among these women were 89 and 88 respectively. Their current ages and the number of children they had, are as follows.

Of four women who had no children, one was a single 25 years old woman. The rest were married between 25 and 29 years old.

Twelve women had one child (10 boys and 2 girls altogether), one of them was a 30 year-old widow, and the rest were married aged between 20 and 29.

Of 13 women who had two children (14 boys and 12 girls altogether), all were married. Seven were between 22 and 29, 5 between 30 and 39, and one of them was 45 years old.

Of 6 women with basic reading skill who had three children (10 boys and 8 girls altogether), all were married. Four were between 27 and 37, and the other two were 42 and 48 years old.

Of 10 women who had four children (14 boys and 26 girls altogether), one was a 43 year-old widow, and the rest were married. Of married women, 6 were between 32 and 39; and three were between 40 and 46.

Of 5 women, who had five children (12 boys and 13 girls altogether), all were married. Three of them were between 33 and 37, and two were 43 and 45 years old.

Of 7 women who had six children (21 boys and 21 girls altogether), all were married between 36 and 46.

Two women had seven children (8 boys and 6 girls altogether); both married and were 27 years old.

Although the number of children among women who have basic reading skill is

much less than the number of children among illiterate women, compared to illiterate women, they are much younger. For instance, none of them have reached their 50's and we cannot judge whether their little amount of education might have affected their decision to have fewer children.

Table 6.19) The age and marital status of those who have primary education in the sample, at the time of migration: number (n= 194)

Age-group	Less than tens	Tens	Twenties	Thirties	Forties	Total
Mari. sta.						
	56	98	38	1	1	194
S.	56	21	3	0	0	80
Sm.	0	40	6	0	0	46
M.	0	37	29	1	1	68

Table 6.20) The current marital status of those who have primary education in the sample and the number of their children: number (n= 194)

N. of Ch.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	10
Mar. St.										
Si.	10									
M.	6	37	62	33	20	9	6	5	2	1
W.				1		1				
Di.	1									
Total	17	37	62	34	20	10	6	5	2	1

One hundred and ninety-four women who have primary education represent 21% of the respondents. Among them the number of children was highly diverse from 0 to 10. The majority (68.5%), however, had one to three children. The average number of children was 2.7. The total number of boys and girls among these women were 235 and 255 respectively.

Of 17 women who had no children, 10 were single and nine of them were between 17 and 24 years old and another one was 33 years old. Of the remaining seven women, one is a 24 years old divorced woman and six were married between 18 and 33 years old.

Of 37 women who had one child (19 boys and 18 girls altogether), all were married and aged between 20 and 32.

Of 62 women who had two children (61 boys and 63 girls altogether), all were

married. Thirty-seven of them were in their 20's, and 25 were between 30 and 41.

Of 34 women who had primary education and had three children (51 boys and 51 girls altogether), one was a 45 year old widow and the rest were married. Twenty-eight of them were between 26 and 36, and the other five were between 38 and 45.

Of 20 women who had four children (42 boys and 38 girls altogether), all were married. Five of them were between 27 and 37 years old; and the other five were between 38 and 44.

Of 10 women who had primary education and had five children (28 boys and 22 girls altogether), one was a 42 year-old widow, the rest were married and all were between 35 and 45.

Of 6 married women in this category who had six children (12 boys and 24 girls altogether), five were between 32 and 37 years old, and one of them was 46 years old.

Of 5 married women who had seven children (12 boys and 23 girls altogether), four were between 40 and 49 and another one was a 60 year-old woman.

Two married women had eight children (7 boys and 9 girls altogether). One of them was 37 years old and another one was 45 years old.

The woman who had 10 children (3 boys and 7 girls) was a 50 year-old married woman.

Among 194 primary educated women, only three women were more than 46 years old. However, it seems that the number of children declines with the increase in women's educational level.

Table 6.21) The age and marital status of those who have secondary or high-school level of education (less than diploma) in the sample, at the time of migration: number (*n*= 51)

Age-group	Less than tens	Tens	Twenties	Total
Mari. sta.				
	27	16	7	51
S.	27	2	1	30
Sm.	0	6	2	8
Ss/w.	0	1	0	1
M.	0	7	5	12

Table 6.22) The current marital status of those who have secondary or high-school level of education in the sample and the number of their children: number (n= 51)

N. of Ch.	0	1	2	3	4	5	8
Mar. St.							
Si.	7						
M.	2	21	10	6	2	2	1

For 51 (5.5% of the respondents) women with secondary or high school levels of education (less than national diploma), the number of children varied from 0 to 8. The majority (63%), however, had one or two children. The average number of children was 1.6. The total number of boys and girls in this category were 46 and 39 respectively. As the table 6.22 shows seven of these women were single and the rest were married.

Of 9 women who had no children, 7 were single and aged between 12 and 20 years old. Of two married women one was 21 years old and another one was 26 years old.

Of 21 women who had one child (13 boys and 9 girls altogether), all were aged between 20 and 36.

Of 10 women who had two children (13 boys and 7 girls altogether), nine of them were between 22 and 32 and, surprisingly, another woman was 66 years old.

Three women who had secondary education with three children (8 boys and 10 girls altogether) were all between 27 and 34.

Two women had four children (5 boys and 3 girls altogether). One of them was 38 years old, the other was 45 years old.

Two women who had five children (5 boys and 5 girls) were 34 and 43 years old.

A woman who had eight children (4 boys and 4 girls) was 49 years old. Although the majority of women in this category are much younger than women in other previous categories, the number of children is shown to be dramatically reduced by the increase in women's educational level.

Table 6.23) The age and marital status of those who have Diploma certification or more in the sample at the time of migration: number (*n*= 18)

Age-group	Less than tens	Tens	Twenties	Total
Mari. sta.				
	11	2	5	18
S.	11	1	1	13
Sm.	0	0	0	0
Ss/w.	0	1	0	1
M.	0	0	4	5

Table 6.24) The current marital status of those who have Diploma certification or more in the sample and the number of their children: number (*n*= 18)

N. of Ch.	0	1	2	3
Mar. St.				
Si.	6			
M.	1	4	4	2
Di.	1			

Only 2.0 % of the respondents of this sample (18 women) had certification at diploma level or higher. Six of them were single aged between 20 and 28. Of those who had no children, one was a 21 year-old married woman and another one was a 24 year old divorced woman. Four of them who had one child (2 boys and 2 girls) were aged between 22 and 27. Four of the women who had 2 children (6 boys and 2 girls) were between 29 and 40. Two women who had 3 children (3 boys and 3 girls) were 40 and 41 years old. The total number of children was 13 boys and 7 girls. The average number of children in this category was 1.1.

Women's marital status, ages and number of children indicated that: the majority of older women were illiterate and had more children, increase in women's educational level correlated with a rise in their marriage age and a decline in the number of children they had.

In total, women in this sample had 3724 children altogether. I divided these women into illiterate and literate, 2912 of the children (78%) belonged to illiterate women and 812 (22%) to literate, while illiterate women constitute 65% of the sample. The average number of children is 4.8 among the illiterate women, and 2.5 among the literate

women. If we take out single women from literate women who are 24, the average number of children would be 2.7.

Table 6.25) Total and average number of children in each categories of illiterate and literate women including and excluding single women: number of women (n= 925)

	No. of women	No. of children	Average of the children
Illiterate	603	2912	4.8
Literate (including singles)	322	812	2.5
Literate (excluding singles)	298	812	2.7
Total	925	3724	4

Table 6.26) Cross tabulation count of the number of children in a household in terms of illiterate and literate status of their mothers: number of women (n= 900)

No. of Children	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	14
Illiterate (602)	11	28	62	65	102	104	88	77	33	14	15	1	1	1
Literate (298)	14	74	89	48	32	17	13	7	3	0	1	0	0	0
Total (900)	25	102	151	113	134	121	101	84	36	14	16	1	1	1

Note: Single women are excluded from this table.

Tables 6.25 and 6.26 clearly indicate that there is a negative correlation between illiteracy and the greater number of children among illiterate women. Moreover, by giving two values of (0) for illiterate and (1) for literate women, statistically negative correlation of -0.45 between the level of education and the number of children is shown in table 6.27.

Table 6.27) Correlations between the educational level of women and the number of children

	Number of Children	Educational level
Number of Children	1	-.451**
Educational level	-.451**	1

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

Note: Single women are excluded from the correlations.

Grouping literate women into five categories and comparing them with illiterate women also indicate this negative relationship in table 6.28. The mean number of children is decreasing in each group with the increase in the level of education.

Table 6.28) The mean number of children in each educational groups: number of women (n=900)

Grouping Educational level	Mean	Number
Illiterate	4.8	602
Having basic reading skill	3.1	58
Primary education	2.7	184
Under Diploma	1.9	44
Diploma and more	1.7	12
Total	4.1	900

Note: Single women are excluded from this table.

Information based on interviews

Now I examine the distribution of children among interviewed women in terms of their literacy. As was already mentioned in the last chapter, interviewed women were composed of 58 married, 15 widowed, 15 single and 2 divorced women. These women will be divided into four groups: illiterate, literate with primary level of education or less (this includes 17 women with basic reading skill plus 10 women with primary education), literate with secondary or higher level of schooling, and literate with national diploma or more. In this stage I am also aware of the step- as well as deceased children of the interviewed women.

Table 6.29) The number of existing children among the sample: number of women (n=90)-no. (%)

No. of Children	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
No. of women	21	6	15	9	8	8	9	5	5	3	1
%	23	6.7	17	10	8.9	8.9	10	5.6	5.6	3.3	1

Note: Single interviewees are included in this table

Table 6.30) The number of deceased children among the sample: number of women (n=75)- no. (%)

No. of deceased Chi.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unknown
No. of women	47	7	6	3	2	1	2	1	6
%	62.7	9.3	8	4	2.7	1.3	2.7	1.3	8

Note: Single interviewees are excluded from this table

Table 6.31) The number of step-children among the sample: number of women (n=75)- no. (%)

No. of step Chi.	1	2	3	4	7
No. of women	4	1	1	1	2
%	5.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	2.7

Note: Single interviewees are excluded from this table

Tables 6.32 to 6.46 separately examine the age and marital status of interviewed women in each educational levels at the time of migration, as well as their current marital status and number of children including existing, deceased and step children.

Table 6.32) Marital status of illiterate interviewed women at the time of migration: number (n= 48)

Marital Status	Single (for marriage)	Single (with parent)	Married	Widowed	Total
No of women	4	7	35	2	48
%	8.3	14.6	72.9	4.2	100

Table 6.33) Current marital status of illiterate interviewed women and the number of their children: number of women (n= 48)

No. of Children	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Mar. St.											
M.		2	5	2	3	3	7	3	5	3	1
W.	1	1	1	4	1	2	1				
Div.	1										
Total	2	3	6	6	4	5	8	5	5	3	1

Note: Single interviewees are excluded from this table

Table 6.34) Current marital status of illiterate interviewed women and the number of their deceased children: number of women (n= 48)

No. of deceased Ch.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Missing
Mar. St.								
M.	4	2	3	2		1		5
W.	2	2			1	1	1	1
Div.								
Total	6	4	3	2	1	2	1	6

Table 6.35) The current marital status of illiterate interviewed women and the number of their step children: number of women (n= 48)

No. of step Ch.	1	2	3	4	7
Mar. St.					
M.	3		1		1
W.	1	1		1	1
Div.					
Total	4	1	1	1	2

Illiterate women represented 53% of the interviewees. Among them the number of children was highly diverse from 0 to 10. The average number of children in this category is 4.9. The total number of boys and girls among these women are 124 and 110 respectively (234 altogether). Six of these 48 illiterate women were not asked about their deceased children, but 19 of them had lost between 1 and 7 of their children in their childhood. There were 55 deceased children, which if we account for raises the average number of children which these illiterate women have given birth to up to 6.0. Moreover, 9 of these women had between 1 and 7 stepchildren.

Two illiterate interviewees had no children, one was a 30 year-old divorcee and the other was a 55 year-old widow, who had seven stepchildren.

Three women had one child. Two of them were married and aged 25 and 26 years old, one was a 60 year-old widow.

Six women had two children, one was a 45 year-old widow and five were married. Three of them were between 24 and 29 years old, one was 40 years old and one was 56 years old.

Six illiterate women had three children. Two of them were married and aged 30 and 35 years old, and four were widows. Two of them were 32 and 39 years old, and

another two were 65 and 71 years old.

Four women had four children, of whom one was a 34 year-old widow and the remaining three were aged between 36 and 57.

Four women had five children. Two of them were married and aged 40 and 43 years old, and another two were widows and 47 and 98 years old.

Eight women had six children. One of them was a 40 year-old widow and the rest were married. Of the married woman, one was 38 years old and the other six were aged 43 to 58.

Five illiterate women had seven children, three of them married and aged between 47 and 50 and two were widows and 58 and 60 years old.

Five women had eight children. All were married and aged between 44 and 57.

Three illiterate women had nine children. All were married and aged 35 to 54.

One woman had 10 children and was a 40 years old married woman.

The ages given by women in both stages of the study do not seem to be very reliable, especially those given by older as well as illiterate women. This might be true because in rural areas among the illiterate and older generations, date of birth is rarely used. Sometimes during the interview, the age given by the women was corrected by their literate daughters or daughter-in-laws. Using their married age and their oldest child's age, in many cases I was finding a big gap between the calculated ages and the ages that they claimed to be. This was repeated by the older as well as illiterate women. In order to estimate the duration of their residency in the city, they either made it known by their own family calendar (such as how many children they had when they migrated, the age of the oldest child born in the city and the current age of that child, their married age in the case of migration for marriage) or they gave a hint of major national events (such as the revolution, before or after the arrival of the Ayatollah Khomeini to Iran, or departure of the Shah from Iran, the early or the latest years of the war between Iran and Iraq, etc).

Table 6.36) The marital status of interviewed women with primary level of schooling or less, at the time of migration: number (n= 27)

Marital Status	Single (for marriage)	Single (for parent)	Single (for work or study)	Married	Total
No.	5	15	1	6	27
%	18.5	55.6	3.7	22.2	100

Table 6.37) The current marital status of interviewed women with primary level of schooling or less, and the number of their children: number ($n= 27$)

No. of Ch.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Mar. St.							
Si	5						
M.	1	1	8	3	4	2	1
W.			1			1	
Total	6	1	9	3	4	3	1

Table 6.38) The current marital status of interviewed women with primary level of schooling or less, and the number of their deceased children: number ($n= 27$)

No. of deceased Ch.	1	2
Mar. St.		
M.		2
W.	1	
Total	1	2

Table 6.39) The current marital status of interviewed women with primary level of schooling or less and the number of their step children: number of women ($n= 27$)

Mar. St.	M.	Total
No. of step Ch.		
6	1	1

Thirty per cent of the interviewees were educated at primary or low level of education. Five women of this category were single and the rest had between 0 to 6 children. The average number of children in this category was 2.4. The total number of boys and girls among these women was 28 and 37 respectively (65 altogether). Only one woman in this category had 6 stepchildren and 3 women had lost one or two of their children during childhood. There were five deceased children which, if they are included, raises the average number of children for whom these women have had given birth to 3.2.

Five single women in the category were aged between 15 and 39. There was a childless 24 year-old married woman. There was a woman 23 year-old married woman who had one child.

Nine women had two children, one was a 45 year-old widow, and another eight

women were aged between 23 and 36. Three women had three children. All of them were married and aged between 30 and 38. Four women had four children. All of them were married and aged between 30 and 34. Three women had five children, two of them were married and aged between 50 and 55, and another one was a 44 year-old widow. One married 40 year-old woman had six children.

Table 6.40) The marital status of interviewed women with secondary level of schooling or more, at the time of migration: number (*n*= 10)

Marital Status	Single (with parent)
No.	10
%	100

Table 6.41) The current marital status of interviewed women with secondary level of schooling or more, and the number of their children: number (*n*= 10)

Mar. St.	Single	M.	Div.	Total
No. of Ch.				
0	7	2		9
1			1	1

Eleven per cent of the interviewees had secondary or higher level of schooling. Of 10 women in this category, 7 were single and the remaining three women had between 0 to 1 children. None of them had any deceased or stepchildren. The average number of children in this category was 0.3 excluding single women or 0.1 including them.

Seven single women were aged between 14 and 21. Two of them were studying at the time of the interview. Two married women without any children were aged 22 and 27. Only one woman in this category had one child (boy). She was a 27 year-old divorced woman.

Table 6.42) The marital status of interviewed women with diploma or more, at the time of migration: number (*n*= 5)

Marital Status	Single (for work/ study)	Single (with parent)	Total
No.	2	3	5
%	40	60	100

Table 6.43) The current marital status of interviewed women with diploma or more, and the number of their children: number ($n= 5$)

Mar. St.	Si.	M.	Total
No. of Ch.			
0	3	1	4
1		1	1

Interviewed women with national diploma level or more represent 6% of the sample. Of 5 women in this category, 3 were single and the remaining two were married with 0 to 1 children. None of them had any deceased or stepchildren. The average number of children in this category was 0.5 excluding single women or 0.2 including them.

Three single women were 23, 26 and 30 years old. Of two married women, one was childfree and 38 years old and another one was 24 years old with one child (girl).

In total, interviewed women had 301 children. Accounting for deceased children would raise that number to 361. I divided interviewed women into illiterate and literate. 234 existing children (77.7%) and 55 deceased children (91.7%) belong to the illiterate women. If they are added together, the number of children that the illiterate interviewed women have given birth to would be 289 (80%), while the illiterate women constitute 53% of the interviewed women. Again the number of stepchildren among these women is high. Table 44 shows the total and average number of children for illiterate and literate women.

Table 6.44) Total and average number of children in each categories of illiterate and literate women including and excluding single women: number of women ($n= 90$)

	No. of Wo.	No. of existing chl.	Average of existing chl.	No. of existing chl. & deceased chl.	Average of existing chl. & deceased chl.	Step-children
Illiterate	48	234	4.9	289	6	27
Literate (Including singles)	42	67	1.6	72	1.7	6
Literate (Excluding singles)	27	67	2.5	72	2.7	6
Total	90	301		361		33

Table 6.45) Cross tabulation count of the number of children in a household in terms of illiterate and literate status of their mothers: number of women (n= 75)

No. of Children	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
No. of women											
Illiterate (48)	2	3	6	6	4	5	8	5	5	3	1
Literate (27)	4	3	9	3	4	3	1				
Total (75)	6	6	15	9	8	8	9	5	5	3	1

Note: Single women are excluded from this table.

Grouping literate women into four categories and comparing them with illiterate women also indicate the negative correlation in table 6.46. The mean number of children is decreasing in each group with the increase in the level of education.

Table 6.46) The mean number of children in each educational group: number of women (n= 75)

Grouping Educational level	Mean number of children	Number of women
Illiterate	4.9	48
Primary education or less	3	22
Under Diploma	0.3	3
Diploma and more	0.5	2
Total	2.2	75

Note: Single women are excluded from this table.

As was shown in detail, the older illiterate women have many children compared to younger literate women. The main reason for this, especially for the older women who mainly gave birth to their children in the villages, was the lack of health service in the rural areas. The children were simply dying and women were carrying on with their reproduction. In this regard, one woman said that:

I've lost five of my children when they were infants. In those times there were no doctors, vaccinations, nothing. Epidemic diseases such as whooping cough and measles easily destroyed the life of young children. 34 years ago vaccine came to our village. My daughter was vaccinated against those diseases and she didn't catch them.

Another woman who was 71 years old, and only three of her children survived from death

and diseases, said that:

Five of my children have died. Four of them were 17, 15, 10, and 7 years old when they died, and one was a baby. When I talk about their death, I become very sad. In the village unexpected death happened more often. Children and adults became ill very suddenly. They were told they have caught a cold, but soon they passed away. In our village, there was no health centre, no doctor, no car, nothing. Sometimes we could not find a horse or donkey. One of my children who died at the age of 15, perished from measles. All of my deceased children died in the village. The three children whom I brought to the city are all alive. Whenever they became ill I took them to the doctor. My sister has given birth to nine children, 7 of whom died. At nighttime they became ill and by the following morning they were dead. In the village we were fighting with death. God bless the doctors, they have found the cure for most of diseases which easily killed people, particularly the young children (Khosh-Ghyadam).

A 64 year-old woman put it in this way:

'I've got three children. Six of my children have died in their childhood. In the old days, there was no doctor, medicine nor remedy. When a disease came, many perished at once. In those days we had no other alternative except bringing up more children.

Another woman who had seven surviving children and seven deceased ones, said that:

'Seven of my children (four boys and three girls) all died in their childhood. In the village there was no doctor and we did not have money to bring the ill children to the city'.

Nowadays family planning offers Iranian women free access to contraceptive medicines and methods such as the pill, condom or sterilization by obstruction of the reproductive organs. The illiterate women, however, were reluctant to use sterilization and thought that they would lose one of their important womanly functions. They would prefer to use other contraceptive methods, if they take it seriously. The duration of migration did not have very strong effects on old, illiterate and poor women's reproductive habits. Some of them were even unaware of the health resources available to them and some were not taking an active responsibility towards getting contraceptive medicines. Some of these women had severe living conditions and were the poorest of the poor. The family income was barely sufficient for subsistence and the only mass media that could be found in some of these houses was the radio. The women in these households were isolated and not assimilated to urban life. S. B. was one of them. She had two children, one of whom was very ill and they were not able to treat him due to their indigence. When I told her that there is no point having more children and not being able to feed or cure them when they are ill, and it would therefore be better for her to be sterilized, which is completely free of charge, she would not believe me. During the interview process, I also informed deprived and married

women of family planning programs and encouraged them to use birth-control methods. The condition of these women shows how much adult literacy programs can be an important element in delivering useful information to women who have no social contact with the outside world. M. D. was one of the poorest and illiterate interviewed women with 10 children. Her youngest child was five years old who, due to malnutrition looked only two years old. I asked her why she had many children despite their absolute poverty and having no access to the health services in the city. She responded that:

I don't know! We suffer great misfortune. Once somebody told me that I should limit the number of my children. I didn't listen, for I thought the cost of their food and clothing wouldn't impose that much economic burden on us. But now, I realise how expensive it is to have many children, especially girls for whom you have to provide dowry (M. D).

She seemed unaware of a child's educational and other needs.

A. Gh. had a large family of seven children with a disabled son. In response to my question about family planning, she said that:

My husband was the only child of his parent to be alive. All his siblings died in childhood. When my children were born, I was told that this one is his sister, this one is his brother, this one is his son, this one is his daughter and so on, until I bore eight children, one of whom died when he was a baby.

Some of the women had better economic conditions and most of their children were born in the city. When I asked them why they did not take advantage of family planning programmes, most of them mentioned the low cost of living in the past and the current inflation, which put economic and social pressure on them and their children. Some of them, simply said that:

In those times, the cost of living was low, and we were unwise. Inflation was not this high so, we thought we would be able to manage having many children.

Another woman put it in this way:

In the old times, the children's expectation from the parents was little. The cost of living was reasonable and we could meet their little expectations. But nowadays, both the expectation of the children and the living cost has increased. When we are not able to meet their expectations, they start to criticise us for having many children.

All the above-mentioned reasons, plus the privileging of male children, resulted in bigger families:

In the old days, people wanted to have more male children, and there wasn't this much inflation. So we did not care much about birth control.

Surprisingly, a mother of seven children (six boys and one girl), in response to my question about birth control, said that:

I've given birth to my last three children, for I wanted to have a sister for my daughter. But all were boys and I gave up.

The younger migrant women who are to some extent educated, migrated in their childhood, are more likely to practice family control and have fewer children. Unlike the older women, they are more aware of children's diverse needs and desires and feel more responsibility towards their welfare and are very concerned about how they raise their children and meet their needs. In his study of the relation between fertility and female education in Iran during the two censuses of 1987-1992, Salehi-Isfahani (2001), finds a close association between these two factors, which leads women to substitute quality for the quantity of children and become more productive in raising the human capital of their children. Salehi-Isfahani's study also supports these facts at the national level, plus the impact of education in the increase in the first marriage age among educated women (Salehi-Isfahani, 2001: 311- 37).

In terms of the quality of upbringing of her son, one of the younger women told me that:

I am very concerned about my child's progress. He is going to kindergarten, but if I don't spend more time with him from now on, I won't be able to bring him up well and his talents won't flourish.

One of the main differences between older, illiterate and poor women with the younger women is their perception of children. The older women perceive children, particularly male children, as assets, while children are perceived by the younger women as a cost who need more caring in order to become assets. For many younger women the sex of a child did not matter. What is important for them is to have healthy children. A. P. is a young mother with primary education. She and her husband have two daughters and are in favour of having a small family. She takes family planning seriously and uses the contraceptive methods available in health centres. She gives does not privilege male children. In this regard, she said that:

Rural and old people privilege males. Whenever we go to the village to visit family, my in-laws insist me on bringing a son. They are very serious about it. I have tried to convince my mother in-law that nowadays there is no difference between boys and girls. A girl can bring her parents pride and make them honoured by being educated and getting involved in social life. I gave her an example of my uncle, whose daughters are educated and employed and bring him honour like a male child can do.

Last time when we were in the village, they tried to manipulate my husband. But he told them that we wouldn't go to the village any more, for they interfere in our personal life. I hope his threats work.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I concentrated on migrant female literacy and education in both their places of origin and destination and discussed access or lack of access to educational opportunities and services both in terms of availability as well as ideology. The study revealed that there is a considerable difference between old, women and the younger generation of migrant women or those who migrated to the city with their parents in terms of access to educational opportunities. As a result of the limitation of educational opportunities due to social inequalities, poverty and ideological issues both in the villages and urban settings, the only alternative for the older women was marrying at an early age. This had an important effect on their fertility behaviour leading them to have high number of children. Migration and better access to education brings social changes in migrant families for younger and, unlike their older counterparts, they do enjoy the emancipatory possibilities of education. Marriage does not become the only alternative for both young women and their families. This supports Salehi-Isfahani's findings that education delays their first marriage age (Salehi-Isfahani, 2001). The increased economic demand of marriage on both sides also made it impossible for younger women to marry at an early age.

Younger women's fertility behaviour is different from that of older women as they have a desire for a smaller family with fewer children. They have more aspirations for their children's welfare in terms of better education, better health, and better conditions of their upbringing. The illiterate women, mainly with higher fertility rate, were either unaware of free and accessible contraceptive methods in the hospitals and clinics, or were more concerned about the net cost of children. This was mainly irrespective of the duration of their stay in the city. As is clear from the fertility behaviour of women, the effectiveness of the family planning programme depends on women's awareness of its existence and also their willingness to practice it. These factors are more related to women's education and their awareness of children's needs. In the next two chapters, I will concentrate on migrant women's involvement in income generation activities and how women's age, education, and marital status play an important role in determining the different sectors of the economy in which my migrants are engaged.

Chapter 7

Migrant women in different sectors of economy: Women's involvement in domestic carpet industry

Introduction

Chapters of 7 and 8 will address the issue of migrant women's contribution to the household income. Migrant women's involvement in generating income in- or out-side the home is affected by different factors of class, age structure, marital status, education, access to the means of production, and etc. Although the majority of migrant women are involved in informal sector of the economy, the analysis will show that the mentioned factors play an important role in determining the sub-sectors of informal or formal economy within which women can fit better. In terms of economic activities, my informants can be categorized into two groups: unpaid family labourers and wage earners. The first group are mainly weavers/ spinners who produce market goods in their own compounds in slum areas and are more invisible to the public at large. They constitute not only the bulk of my informants, but also the wider migrant communities in Tabriz, though there is not any statistical information about their number and work. The second group are scattered in different sectors of the formal and informal sectors of the economy: some have home-based jobs and are home-workers, who earn their wage on piece-rate; others are self-employed and have their own business. The first group will be the focus of this chapter and in the next chapter I will concentrate on the second group (wage-earners).

First, I will briefly describe the range of weaving activities, and then women's work and their contribution to the household economy.

1- The range of weaving and related activities

Hand-woven Persian carpets and rugs have always been and still are an intrinsic part of Iranian culture and its people's daily lives. Carpets are traditionally known for their tremendous variety in design, colour, size, and weave. The particular pattern of Persian carpets, palette, and weave are uniquely linked with the indigenous culture, and weaving techniques are specific to an identifiable geographic area or nomadic tribe. Back in the 13th Century, Tabriz was an important weaving centre and by the 16th century the city had become one of the leading producers of carpets in the east. It was the first carpet making area to provide carpets for the Western market. Tabriz carpets have been prized for their intricate designs and for being finely woven with many more knots per inch than most of the other Persian carpets¹.

Different sorts of carpet (*farsh*); including *kenareh* (side carpet), *Tableau* and *varny* are produced by migrant women or their families in Tabriz. In terms of what materials are used, the quality of materials, the pile of warps and wefts, the number of knots in each square inch, size and design, *farsh* is normally subdivided into two categories of 'normal' and 'finely woven'. Each category has its own ranks. The material used in normal *farsh* is woollen yarn on cotton base, and the value of the *farsh* depends on the coarseness or delicacy of the yarn. The thinner the yarn, the more desirable and expensive the carpet would be. The thicker the yarn, the fewer the knots in each square inch with limited and simple design and colouration. The lesser quality *farsh* is natively called village *farsh* (*kat farshi*). Normal *farsh* are usually in room size or large size which varies from 6'5ft² by 6'5ft to 14ft by 12ft. The number of knots in good quality *farsh* is between 200 and 300 per square inch. According to the women interviewed, the completion of any normal *farsh*, normally in room size, usually takes six to eight months. During the period of this study, depending on the quality and the size of carpets, the selling prices for the weavers varied between 300,000 and 400,000 and 700,000 and 800,000 Toummans³ depending on

¹- To see the prices and designs of Tabriz carpets go to the following websites:

http://www.caspiancarpets.com/persian_products.htm

<http://www.buyrug.com>

<http://search.ebay.com/search/search.dll?query=Tabriz+Rug&newu=1>

²- Each foot is equivalent to 12 inches; and each inch is equivalent to 2.54 cm.

³- *Toumman* and *Rial* are Iranian monetary units. One *Toumman* is equivalent to ten *Rials* and during the period of the fieldwork, £1 was approximately equivalent to 1,300 *Toummans*. To show

the size, design and delicacy of the carpet. In the international markets, Tabriz carpet prices are very high⁴.

Kanareh is one kind of normal *farsh*, which is longer and narrower; its length is usually three times greater than its width. It takes between two and three months to be woven and the material is not normally of good quality. *Kanarehs* are not normally sold for more than 100,000 Toummans.

Finely woven *farsh*⁵ is the most luxurious version of the carpet and its luxuriousness is increased by a deeper pile and the beauty of its colours and intricate designs and patterns. It requires the highest skills and the finest materials. The material used in its weaving is a mixture of thin multi-coloured woollen and silk yarns, or even only silk yarns which are thinner than knitting thread. The number of knots in each square inch is variable between 400 and 500 or even between 500 and 600. In other words, they vary between 50 and 80 *Raj*⁶ depending on the *farsh's* elegance. Finely woven *farsh* are well-designed, high quality products with various nice colours, usually in smaller sizes and require more skill and dexterity. *Tableau*, which is a woven portrait used for decoration by hanging it on the wall, is a kind of finely woven *farsh*. It takes between one and three months depending both on how many people are working on it, and on its size and elegance.

The value of finely woven *farsh*, encourages relatively better off families and skilled artisans to move into the industry, even though they might get a loan or borrow money from money-lenders particularly carpet-dealers. A small portion of the interviewed women or their families, however, were solely involved in this production as it demands the investment of more skill and capital, and the completion of the work takes more time. Although finely woven *farsh* are very expensive, there is no guarantee for the price of

the purchasing power of Iranian currency, I will later bring statements from interviewed women.

⁴- See <http://www.art-arena.com/tabrizc.htm> and other website mentioned in footnote 1.

⁵- This kind of *farsh* is natively called '*Jis farsh*' or '*Zar-nim*'.

⁶- The number of knots tied in each inch.

particularly finely woven carpets due to the ups and downs of the market. When the market falls, the weavers lose a lot.

Even though we put a lot of capital and effort into our last carpet 8 years ago, we fared badly. We invested 200 thousand Toummans, with only 90 thousand Toummans for the design of the carpet. In those days, that kind of carpet could easily sell for 800 and 900 thousand Toummans, whereas we sold it for 315 thousand Toummans. The design of the carpet was very difficult, and by the time we finished its weaving, the market had fallen and we were forced to sell it cheap. The carpet weavers are not able to keep the carpet until the market rises, as they need the money.

At the time of this study, the price of finely woven carpets had also dramatically fallen off.

One of the informants mentioned that:

Last year, the prices of each of these *farsh* were four million Toummans, but this year it has fallen to 1.5 million Toummans.

But she did not know how the market worked because, unlike the weaving which is mainly a female craft, the sale of *farsh* is entirely in the hands of men and women are not involved in marketing their products. One of respondent's sons, who was present at the interview, informed me that:

Finely woven *farsh* are expensive and take longer to be finished. If two people together weave for eight hours a day, they have woven only eight rows. If they weave every day continuously, it takes a year and three or four months to be finished. Finely woven *farshes* are traded on the basis of the value of the dollar and gold. If their prices fall, the price of this kind of *farsh* will also fall and vice versa.

Varny is the most basic variety of *farsh*. It is a thinner, simpler, smaller kind of carpet for which a carpet-knife⁷ is not used in its weaving and the knots are tied by the fingers. It is simple to weave and requires neither complicated designs, nor large capital investment, particularly for those who are also involved in other sorts of weaving and can use the left-over yarns. One of the interviewees involved in *varny*-weaving said that:

Varny does not cost us dear; we usually use leftover yarns from the carpet.

But another woman who had to buy the yarn, said that:

With 16 thousand Toummans, you can easily start a *varny*. Tradesmen buy it from us at about 35 thousand Toummans. They make a good profit from our work by selling

7- Carpet-knife is a hooked sharp knife. The hooked part is used to make knots and the knife part is used for cutting the yarn.

each *varny* for between 70 and 100 thousand Toummans.

As far as the weavers stated, *Varnys* are mainly exported to Turkey.

2- Migrant women in unpaid sector of household industry of carpet

In migrant families, particularly labouring households, women's subsistence production is essential for the survival of the family. There are degrees of poverty among the migrant households and the poorest, are the most disadvantaged and marginalised group. In poor households, as other empirical studies in the field of women and development indicate, women often tend to devote more time to working in income-generating activities. In the city, however, the range of occupational options available to migrant women is extremely restricted and their traditional domestic skills such as bread-making or dairy-making are not useful anymore. Most of the illiterate migrant women are well aware of not having marketable skills in the city, and realise that this will force them into the informal sector, if they want to seek a job outside the home. In the first stage of the study, women gave nine different reasons for their low response to work in the labour market. Their main reasons⁸ were: illiteracy (30%); the lack of husband's permission for either working or going outside the home (18%); illness; having more children and the burden of housework (23%); the lack of work; the lack of skill; not having somebody to guide them; the lack of interest; and other specific reasons for some respondents such as not being in need; being unfamiliar with the city; being in education; and preparing for an internal examination for the universities. Thus, migrant women's limited access to non-domestic spheres, particularly due to their family responsibilities or unwillingness to participate in labour market, might be more 'the result of rational economic assessment of the opportunity-cost ratio than the consequence of purely cultural factors' (Hoodfar, 1997). One of my widowed informants, 34 years old with four children involved in the carpet industry, in

8- For detailed numerical and percentage distribution of the different reasons for not looking for an urban job or not being successful in having an urban job, see section 'Economic activities of the respondents' in chapter 5.

response to my question as to why she does not search for a job in the labour market, said that:

I am illiterate. The only job that I might be offered in the city is labouring. I would like to do those kinds of jobs, but my father and brothers would not approve or allow my engagement in those sorts of jobs (S. B.).

As Hoodfar argues, women's low response to work in labour market 'is more often the result of rational economic assessment of the opportunity-cost ratio than the consequence of purely cultural factors' (Hoodfar, 1997), though the latter has its own influences. Thus, migrant women have limited access to non-domestic spheres due to their family responsibilities or unwillingness as well as patriarchal norms and practices, which hardly approve women's engagement outside the home. They rarely work outside the home unless they are too needy to avoid doing so, or are educated to some extent. The next chapter will explore the nature and diversity of the work that wage-earners are involved in.

Based on the traditional model of the sexual division of labour, the majority of poor women often become involved in the predominantly home-based female occupations of the carpet industry, for income-generating pursuits. The ideological consequence of the work of women in this industry, is the reinforcement of patriarchal and sexist norms and institutions. This is especially so when they blend with the male-structured religious ideologies about gender relations within the household in the name of Islam. Within patriarchal traditional ideologies men are considered as breadwinners and women as housewives and dependents on the income of their husbands (Mies, 1982). This ideology, leads to women's unequal access to, and control over the resources, which have been partially produced by their labour (Afshar, 1985a; Whitehead, 1984).

In slum areas of Tabriz and surrounding villages, carpet production and related activities are the largest domestic industry which integrates into national and international markets. Most migrant households are an important exchange-value producing enterprise in which the unpaid labour of most women contributes to the well-being of their family as well as the national economy (Mies, 1982; Goldschmidt-Clermont 1982 and 1987). The skill and knowledge of people involved in the industry is mainly home-based. The industry is a supplementary or even essential part of the income in many migrants' households. It employs mostly women and children, particularly in poor households, as the income of male breadwinners does not cover families' reproduction costs. In most migrant families, in order to guarantee the survival of the family, the combination of men's income, mainly from wage labour and women and children's income, mainly from market-

oriented production of carpet, is essential.

In poorer households, men are often engaged in low paid, irregular jobs like portage, hawking, casual labouring on construction sites and etc.; and women are mainly involved in spinning or low quality weaving jobs. Although rapid building construction in the domestic sector of the city of Tabriz creates a demand for unskilled and semi-skilled male labourers, the large supply of labour in this sector makes it more competitive for the labourers. Many women in the labouring families stated that their husbands are unemployed at times and that their subsistence work is part of the survival strategy that they have adopted to improve their families' lives. About 70 percent of the interviewees in this study, were/have been involved in one or both of the weaving and spinning activities. And most of them were illiterate or had taken part in literacy classes for not more than two years. These women, however, do not appear in the statistics, precisely because their work is done within the home and is unpaid.

2-1 Spinners

A small number of women interviewed for this study, were only spinners and were unable to weave. The spinners are usually oldest, poorest and most disadvantaged of all the women employed in the carpet industry. Either they had not had the opportunity to learn the skill of weaving, as a result of extreme poverty and the lack of access to the means of production, or they had shifted from weaving to spinning, as they needed money but were unable to weave anymore due to their poor health. Spinning is closely linked with poverty, and the proportion of women's income from spinning is the lowest in the carpet industry. Spinners' wages are 'below the value of their labour power' (Beechey, 1977), because of the low status of the work and the secondary nature of their wages as a woman and a migrant.

The expansion and prosperity of the carpet industry has also resulted in the transformation of worsted yarn from a domestic industry into a factory industry, which has had an impact on poor women's jobs. Although the work has declined as a result of labour-saving techniques and mechanisation, there are still some disadvantaged women involved in spinning. One of these women stated that:

21 years ago when we first came to the city, many women used to do spinning. The dealers used to come to the streets and give wool to women and collect the finished work later. But now, their number has decreased because most of them get the job done on machine, rather than giving it to us. We are/were given work in terms of

*batman*⁹. The price of finished work depends on the quality of wool.

F. M. was a 64 year-old woman, according to her daughter-in-law¹⁰, whom I interviewed not long after the death of her husband. She and her daughter were also involved in spinning. Regarding their involvement in income generating activities, and how and on what they spend their money, she said that:

Since we came to the city, sixteen-seventeen years ago, we have been doing spinning. I used to spin one *batman* (five kilogram) of wool in four-five days. But after the death of my husband, I am not able to do as much as I used to do. We don't get much from spinning, and the money we get from our work, goes to the necessities of life, particularly food.

The spinners' number was relatively few in the carpet industry and they were predominantly older and poorer migrant women. Most of them have had experienced strict gender relations and subordination to the male heads of the family. Some of these women when talking about their husbands used the word of *sahab* or *sahabim*¹¹. In the traditional extended families, however, the older women often have control over the younger women, particularly their daughters-in-law, a practice that leads to a doubling of the burden on the younger women. They have to be subordinate to their husbands as well as to the senior women in the household, particularly mothers-in-law. Many older women have had experienced this double burden. Some have a strong belief in the superiority of their husband from a religious point of view. The following quotations were offered by some women, for instance when I asked their permission to take some pictures of them and their work.

I don't have permission from my husband.

⁹ - *Batman* is equivalent to five Kg. and is the common yardstick for spinners and dealers. Spinners usually take one *batman* or half a *batman* of wool from the dealers.

¹⁰ - Most old women did not know their ages, they either guessed their ages and often were corrected by their daughters/daughters-in-law; or if they did not have any clue, asked their children to bring their birth certificate.

¹¹ - *Sahab* literally means owner or master and *sahabim* means 'my owner'.

No my husband will be annoyed. He says that the secrets of the house should not leak.

We don't do anything without our husbands' permission. Otherwise what answer would we have in judgement-day?

Two different points can be drawn from these women's reasoning for not doing any thing without the permission of their husbands. One is to avoid any violent behaviour of men and another is religious teaching which demands a woman's absolute subordination to her husband, and which threatens them with eternal punishment in Hell for not fulfilling their marital obligations (Nashat, 1983: 8-10). One of the older women had stronger traditional and religious ideas about the roles of men and women and believed that a man (husband) is a woman's second God¹². These patriarchal structures and ideologies, particularly when they are partially internalised by women themselves, lead to women's social and economic subordination in terms of the social relations of production which regulates women's work within the confines of their home (Mies, 1982; Mackintosh, 1984; Bennholdt-Thomsen, 1984). Although these patriarchal ideologies are shared by many illiterate old women in the weaving sector, it seems that they are more prevalent among the most disadvantaged women, particularly the spinners.

Although the spinners are aware of the exchange-value of their labour within the home and their contribution to the well being of their poor families, they do not appreciate their skill, and are not happy with their earning and working condition. When I asked permission from two spinning-women to take a picture of them while they were spinning, they were reluctant to have their picture taken with their spinning device. One of them gave the permission after her children convinced her, and in the other case I was given permission on condition that I took another picture of her with her grandson.

12- There is a *hadith* (narration) attributed to the Prophet of Islam, which says that 'if I was allowed to order women to prostrate themselves in front of someone other than Allah, I would have ordered them to prostrate themselves in front of their Husband'. This attributed *hadith* to the Prophet discredits the main message of Islam, there is no God, but Allah. However, it has its credibility among traditional illiterate people.

2-2 Carpet weaving through the putting-out system or family business

The weaving sector employs the largest number of women in slum areas of Tabriz who mainly carry out the work at their home coupled with their reproductive functions in the domestic unit, like their sisters in the spinning sector. The poorest families rarely own the means of production and are not able to afford to buy raw materials. In such cases, merchants usually step in and take advantage of women and their households' poverty through the putting-out system, and supplying equipment and raw materials. Raw materials are usually distributed among the individual home-workers by middle men, and finished work is collected for a very low rates. The contract is often agreed between the dealers and men. However, women are responsible for the maintenance of the and for the management of the production process until the delivery of the completed work.

Poorer women's work, either in the spinning or the putting-out system, is a fundamental part of capital accumulation and advantage for the dominant economic class in the society. As Mies (1982) argues in detail about the lace-makers of Narsapur, the putting-out system creates class polarisation between women producers and non-producing male dealers. In this system, women are the most exploitable labour force in the carpet industry, completely dependent on their traders and are bound to weaving work out of economic necessity. They work hard, but are not protected by any labour legislation, and receive no benefits and no proper wages.

I interviewed a 25 year-old woman who was involved in carpet weaving through the putting-out system. Her husband was a casual labourer, most of the time underemployed. They were very poor and living with the extended family of her husband in a very small self-built house of mud bricks. They were given the worst part of the house which was a small dark room with no window. They had two young children one of whom was suffering from a lung illness and they did not have enough money to take him to the hospital, and the child looked much younger than his age. I asked her about her work and wage and about why her family was involved in the putting-out system, rather than working for themselves? She told me that:

because we are very poor and we do not have the loom and can not afford to buy the raw materials, I am weaving for carpet-dealers. I am used to this sort of work, because we have been always very poor. When I was in our village, my father used to take the raw material from carpet-dealers and we wove the carpet. The carpet which I am working on, is not a big carpet (two metres by two and half metres) which usually takes seven to eight months to be finished, but it is eight months since I have started and I haven't finished it yet. Our deal was that I be paid 33,000 Toumman for the whole work. I have taken the money bit by bit in advance to take my son to the doctor and not much of it remains. My son is suffering from lung disease, but the doctor's visit fee is eight hundred Toumman and the medicine costs three to four thousand Toumman. We took him to doctor and he recommended us to hospitalize him, but because we didn't have money we couldn't (S.B.)

By the figures that S. B. provides about her income from weaving the carpet and the cost of medicine and the visit-fee, it becomes clear that just how vulnerable these poor women and their families are made by their meagre income. Their vulnerability is not only in the case of illness, but also in their normal life, especially when the husband does not have regular earnings. Moreover, because of their involvement in the informal and invisible sector of carpet-weaving and related industries, they do not have access to subsidised health service, insurance or credit. If one calculates S. B.'s income for the eight months spent finishing a carpet, we find that she would earn 4,125 Toummans per month which is equivalent to the medicine cost; or 137.5 Toummans per day, which is almost one-sixth of a visit-fee. This means that what is she paid, is the payment for the work only, not for the reproduction of labour power, as Marxist theorists and feminists argue. The income from one month spent working on a carpet through the putting-out system rarely covers the cost of basic necessary expenditure, let alone the costs of a visit-fee and the prescribed medicine.

However, most of the families involved in the carpet industry, own the means of production, mainly the loom. Those who are not able to buy good quality raw materials often become involved in weaving ordinary carpets or coarse weaving work of *farsh*, *kanareh* or *vary*. Compared to good quality carpets, the initial investment is cheaper and the time required to finish these sort of carpets is shorter. As a result, they can exchange their production for cash with less difficulty. In these families, women, the majority of whom are skilled weavers and are responsible for directing and carrying out the whole production from the beginning to end without any supervision from as young as 12, do the largest portion of the work.

Economically better off families are more involved in the weaving of better quality carpets, particularly finely woven *farsh*. These families own the means of production, mainly looms and carpet-designs, as their own capital, and have the financial capability to buy the raw materials of good quality or have access to credit, and are not desperate for the immediate income of the carpets. In most of the good-quality weaving households, men are partially or entirely involved in carpet weaving activities. When the men's main job is weaving, they are more responsible for carrying out of the job as well as pre- and after-weaving material preparation and polishing tasks which are essential parts of a good quality finished product. In most cases, skilled women sit at the loom to share the weaving task with men or work at their own carpet. Some unskilled women do only preparation or lateral tasks which do not need any skill. This second group of women assume that they are not involved in the production process and that what they do, is part of their housework. P. T. is a 23 year-old young woman and her husband is a professional carpet weaver who makes finely woven *farsh*, and she helps him with the preparation and side work. In

this regard, she said that:

My husband is a carpet weaver and is partner with somebody. For doing a casual labour, he could only earn 15 hundred Toummans per day. Earning from carpets is much better, but nowadays the price of our carpets has fallen badly. I don't know how to weave a carpet, as I was the only daughter of my parents and I used to do the easiest tasks at home. He does the weaving and I help him with winding hanks of wool or silk into balls, washing the yarns and doing the other tasks of carpet. When we start a new carpet, normally in each day I wind 10 hanks into balls, each of which normally takes 20 to 25 minutes.

Most master-weavers of finely woven carpets are men who have more access to training opportunities as well as credit facilities. Some young women are also professionals in the weaving of these carpets. They learn the initial skills from their mother or female relatives and the complementary skills from their brothers or husbands. F.G. is a young single girl of 21 who works with her brother on a finely woven carpet. In this regard, she said that:

My brother and I weaving together. It takes us more than a year to finish this carpet. We work between 8 and 9 hours each day. Everyday we work from 7.30 in the morning until 6 o'clock in the afternoon. Everyday, we have to weave 8 lines.

F.G's mother, however, was working on her own carpet. In this regard, she said that:

I cannot work on delicate carpets. I work through the putting-out system and the carpet which I weave is a coarsely woven one. When I finish it, they pay me 80 thousand Toummans. If I work well, it takes me three to four months to finish. I also do some spinning, which enables me to have some money, before receiving the carpet money (A. G.).

Z. T. was working on a very delicate carpet, most of its yarns were silk, with her husband, but he had been jailed for burglary for about six months and she had to work alone on the carpet while looking after her three-year-old son. Another woman, who had worked with her husband for years, said that:

Since I got married, I started to weave carpet with my husband for about 10 years. However, he didn't work full time on the carpet. When we were in the village, we used to have two or three apprentices and I used to work with them from morning until 4 o'clock in the afternoon. But, after we moved to the city and I had my children, I worked more flexibly. We always wove delicate carpets and the number of knots per inch were between 70 and 80. The yarn that we used for them was very fine, and most of them were silk. There was a lot of drudgery involved in weaving that sort of carpet, but at the end, we could sell them for a good price. However, there isn't a guarantee for the price of the carpets. Although my husband and I were working together, if you kept a record of the time spent on each carpet, it would show that I was doing most of it. He was going to evening classes to get his diploma, and, in the afternoons, I was working alone. I did all the work by myself. When he was unable to help me in the weaving, we set up a small carpet of one metre by one and half metres in order to finish it soon. I usually worked six, seven hours per day, with the exception of Fridays (A. P.).

Many women stated that they do the largest portion of the weaving, and their husbands or

children help them when they have time. For instance, one of them said that:

We used to finish a normal carpet every four months. Carpet weaving was my main job, and my husband and the children were helping me in their spare time. In those days, our carpets could be sold for 200 thousand Toummans, while my husband's wage was not more than 20 thousand Toummans per month. The money we earned from the carpet was spent on household and children's expenditure.

Another woman said that:

Although my children and I were doing the job, my share was the largest, since I was working when they were in the school or doing their homework.

Most women were aware of the value of their work, but often considered it as a cooperative, which operated in the interest of their family. A. P. stated that:

For several months, my husband found a job in the tractor factory and earned 18 to 19 thousand Toummans per month, but when we counted my contribution to the production of carpet, it was almost one and half times as much as he earned, despite the fact that I was also doing housework: cooking, washing and looking after two young kids.

Despite women's active participation in the production process, they are excluded from money relations, and the buying and selling of the carpets and raw material is exclusively the men's job, even in the female-headed households. I asked one of the widows, who was involved in weaving good quality carpets, who sells her carpets and who buys the raw materials for her work? In response to my question, she said that:

I weave *Zar-nim*, finely woven *farsh* in a small size. When I finish my work, I send it to my sister in the village and her husband sells it for us. In our village, the buying and selling of carpets is very common.

The gender-specific ideological barriers, which traditionally prohibit the participation of female producers in any transactions in the market (Afshar, 1985), create gender inequalities between men and women as well as the exploitation of women's labour in most carpet producing families. This inequality, which Mies (1982) calls 'gender polarisation' restricts women's access to capital and excludes them from the cash economy. Concerning the sale of the carpets, one of the informants said that:

When the carpet is finished, men take it to the bazar. They usually take a portion of the money from the *farsh* to buy raw material for another work, take some money for themselves and give the remainder to the women. We usually spend the money on household and children's school expenditure such as uniform, books, stationary, etc. (M. M.).

In most of the households, the income from the sale of the carpet, into the production of which women put the largest portion of labour, is not considered a joint income of the men and women of the family, even by some women. K. M., a 47 year-old woman who enjoys an egalitarian

relationship with her husband said that:

The main cause of this house is me. I don't mean that I worked and bought this house. NO!! But, we only have this house because of me. I saved my husband's earnings and salaries and managed the budgeting of the household and we were able to buy the house.

However, K. M. had already stated that apart from her other subsistence activities, she was working on carpet at home, but consciously she did not recognise that part of her unpaid labour had also contributed to the purchasing of their house. Regarding her work, she said that:

Until last year, I was weaving carpet and my husband was also involved in the weaving activity after coming from work. Once I fell down from the loom and my foot was fractured; I was nine-month pregnant. I did not even tell this to my mother, instead I told her that I had fallen down outside the house. I have been unable to work for almost a year now. We have kept our agricultural land at the village and until three years ago we cultivated them. Whenever my husband went to the village, I went too in order to help him. In order not to pay for the fertiliser, we collected the refuse of the animals. We had a truck. If my husband lifted one sack, I would lift another sack. He became annoyed and told me not to lift the heavy sacks, but I did not listen to him (K. M.).

Almost all of the women in my sample stated that they spend the money on food, household's and children's expenditure. However, within the gender relations between the couples, men hold the greatest power and women are subject to the economic control of men over the fruits of their labour. This control is very tight in the poorer and very traditional households where patriarchy is strongly practised and women are almost secluded from the outside world and are confined to the sphere of domesticity to work in the pre-capitalist mode of production. M. M. was involved in and responsible for producing a big ordinary carpet and a small delicate *Tableau* simultaneously, but she remained outside the money economy and experienced the social construction of gender and the ideological superiority of her husband. In this regard, she explained that:

When my husband sells the *farsh*, he gives the money to our eldest daughter. She is our treasurer, whenever we need money, we ask her. My husband did not trust me and asked me too much about how I spent the money: what I spent it on and why, etc., despite the fact that I rarely spent it on my own needs. He was getting on my nerves very much and I couldn't take it, so I told him to give the money to her. She is good at keeping the statement of expenses in her notebook in order to keep her father happy'.

Another woman also mentioned that her husband gives the money to their eldest daughter who was 21 years old, despite the fact that they had an older son of 24, whose main job was weaving delicate carpet at home with his sister.

In the extended families, it is not only the husband who exercises his power over money relations, but also his extended family, particularly his father. In this regard, G. K stated that:

I started to weave carpet after my marriage and my father in-law took the carpet money

saying that he had paid for our marriage ceremony. In the end, after many years of working on carpets, we were dismissed empty-handed from his house.

Yet despite the autocratic control of men in some older and poorer families, there have been changes in the practices of the younger generation compared with that of the older generation. Many young women, particularly in nuclear families, stated that their husbands are more gentle and that there is a great deal of loyalty between them. They stated that their husbands trust them on how and on what they spend the household's money. A.P., who for almost ten years wove delicate carpets, in response to my question about her relationship with her husband in terms of money-related issues, stated that:

All the money is in my hands. Whatever my husband has, is for the all of the household members. When we used to sell the carpets, he brought the money to me, and when he gets his wages, it is the same. He trusts me fully; he knows how I spend the money. It is not like that when we have money, I spend it as I like. I manage it very carefully. He has never complained about how and what and why I spend the money.

Another young woman laughed when I asked her whether she got any wages from her husband for her labour. She said:

No!!! All his efforts are for my comfort. When we sell the carpet, we buy household items, clothes and jewellery for me.

As was already mentioned, some women work on more than one carpet: one main carpet and one small carpet; or they combine the weaving and spinning activities simultaneously. Having additional work enables them to have 'their own money' and to spend it or save it in terms of their own priorities. A. G. stated that:

I spend my money according to my own priorities. I buy clothes for myself or for my children. I buy gifts and presents when I am invited to a wedding, or if there is a childbirth in the family. My husband is not aware of this spending. I also buy trousseaus for my daughter or save money some money for it.

Another woman also said that:

For many years I did spinning, but Allah is aware that I did not spent a penny of it in the house. With whatever I earned, I bought gold for myself. But one of my sons was unemployed with a wife and a child. I could not bear his suffering. Last year, I gave all of my jewellery to him, and told him to sell it and to use the money as a deposit to buy a car with which to pick up passengers so as to feed his family. He sold the jewellery for a million and 200 thousand Toummans, and bought a car, but one of his friends convinced him that, instead of boarding passengers in the city, which is not very profitable, the two of them could smuggle goods through one of the borders and thereby make more profit. Now I regret giving my golds to him and he doesn't listen to me. I am sure that one day he will be arrested.

Although in the end, both of the women spent their money for the welfare of the family, they

considered it as their 'own money', not the family's money.

2-3 Retirement from weaving

After many years of weaving, women engaged in the market-oriented industry of carpet, are no longer able to work long hours and are forced to retire due to either the old age, or health problems. One of the poor and old women said that:

It is almost 30 years since we came to the city. In the village, we didn't have any land to cultivate and we were *gara*¹³. I used to do spinning until last two or three years ago when my arms went numb. I went to the doctor and I was told that if I don't stop spinning, I will be paralysed.

F.J. was about 42 years old. She had stopped carpet-weaving almost a year before the interview, because of her health problems. In this regard, she said that:

From the age of six to sixteen, I was weaving carpet in my father's house. After I got married, I continued the work at my husband's home. For eight years, I was unable to get pregnant. In those years, the only thing I did, was weaving carpet and *Kanareh*. Since last year, I have been unable to weave anymore, as it was getting on my nerves, I was having bad headaches and my eyes were hurting. Now my eyesight is very weak, I cannot see the design properly. So I decided to stop weaving. The last work I did, was weaving a *Kanareh*, which took me eight months to finish while I was looking after my indisposed child. Before, when I was younger and I had good nerves, I used to weave the similar *Kanareh* in 20 days.

I asked her how many hours she would normally work when she was younger and able to weave a *Kanareh* in twenty days. She replied that:

I was working constantly. I didn't have any child for eight years and there wasn't any amusement for me. I could not go to a neighbour's house or visit my family or go to the park in order to say that I was working many hours and had that much pleasure time. I was always weaving carpet. I worked from the morning until late afternoon. The only time I left the loom, was the time I spent on the cooking and housework.

But for some, stopping the weaving activity, does not mean that they will get some rest after many years of weaving. Their poverty often obliges them to devote themselves to working in low-earning job, i.e. spinning in order to earn a little money to meet the necessities of their lives.

Z. N. was a poor old woman whose main job was weaving low quality carpets and *Kanareh* (side carpet), and had ended up with spinning. She said that:

13- In the Turkish language, *gara* literally means 'black' and in the rural community, the people who have no land are called *gara* indicating their lowest social stratum.

I was weaving carpet and *Kanareh* at home until recently, as we were not able to manage the maintenance of a family of 10 by my husband's labouring income. Now I am not able to weave any more because of my ill-health. But I do spinning, because we need the money. Within three days I manage to spin two and half a kilos of sheep's hair into worsted wool and earn about 400 Toummans.

In many cases, however, the economic upward movement of the family results in the discontinuation of women's work or the reduction of their work load. As soon as the families become sufficiently well-off to live on the men's income, women give up carpet weaving completely or lessen their work. One of the woman who had reduced her work load, said that:

At the moment I don't have anything in the loom. A couple of months ago, I finished a *Zar-nim* (finely woven farsh in a small size). We don't need my work on the carpet and I do not spend much time on it, particularly now that the price of these sorts of carpets has fallen. The only reason I weave is to overcome boredom.

One of the informants said:

Now I am only a housewife¹⁴ and don't weave carpet anymore.

Sometimes the whole family stop their engagement in the carpet industry, if their earnings from other economic activities, are substantial. In this regard, K. B. said that:

We have stopped carpet-weaving. My husband has two jobs and his earnings cover our expenses. My oldest son who is studying electrical engineering in the Open University, earns enough money to cover his own costs, the second one has a scholarship from his university. Not only they do not pose any difficulties for us with their studies, but also they help us when we need their assistance. We are building a house, and the boys are helping financially or with their skills. For instance, one of them will do all the wiring for the building, which otherwise would have cost a lot.

2-4 How and where do carpet weavers, particularly women, learn their skill?

Carpet-weaving skill is usually obtained from informal training on the job, in homes or in neighbourhood workshops for which no cash payment is made for the instruction. Some women have small looms beside their big looms and their children, particularly the girls, help them in weaving, which is part of the skill learning process. In labouring classes families,

14- In fact all of the women involved in the carpet industry are categorised as housewives by themselves, their families, statistics as well as policy makers. But this informant's emphasis on 'only housewife' indicates her separation from the production unit.

because of economic pressure, girls from as early an age as four or five start to learn how to make the carpet from their mothers or other female relatives within extended families. Among the poor, education, especially for girls is not productive in the short term. The most accessible skill to be learned for many poor girls is carpet weaving. They are often trained in the skill, which can maximize the family's income. A mother stated that:

For girls in poor families like us, craft and skill learning, particularly carpet, is much better than education.

During the interview, the eight year old daughter of one of the interviewees came from school and said with joy that:

I finished my exams and from now on I will help you to finish the carpet sooner.

One of the interviewees was working on the domestic industry of carpet in her basement, and her children were helping her in their spare time. Concerning the work, she said:

For us, the big *farsh* usually takes six to seven months to be woven, but *tableau* takes one month. Every day, three of us, her and her two daughters, manage to weave 10 rows of the big *farsh* and the rest of the kids, whoever has the spare time, helps me by working on *farsh* or *tableau*.

M. T. was 64 and worked with her two daughters aged 16 and 14, on their three looms. In this regard, she said that:

We work every day from eight o'clock in the morning until 5 o'clock in the afternoon. My eldest daughter does most of the housework and cooking. We take a break from the weaving only to cook food, have dinner or to prepare materials for weaving.

In poor migrant families, if women are not involved in carpet weaving, their children, boys and girls, as young as 7 or 8 and sometimes even younger, are usually sent to neighbouring workshops on a sub-contract basis as draw-boys or girls. P. P is a widow of almost 50, who does not remember when she moved to the city. She had been involved in carpet weaving activities since she moved to the city and until a year before the interview. In this regard, she said that:

My eldest brother motivated the family to migrate, but my father did not like the city and returned back to the village. We stayed in the city with our mother. I was very young, not more than six or seven years old. In those times there were carpet factories in the city and my mother sent all of us to the factory. We learnt the carpet after moving to the city. Our job was to tie knots. My mother used to collect our wage and spend it for household consumption.

E. B. was a young girl of 12 who dropped out of school as a result of poverty. Despite her young age, it seems that she has left the tender years behind a long times ago. She seemed

to be tempered by the difficulties of life and was talking like a grown up adult about her daily life and problems. Regarding her work, she said that:

I learnt to weave *Varny* since the age of 4. We used to live with my grandmother who used to do spinning work and my aunt was weaving *Varny* and carpet. I learnt my skills from them. At the age of 6, I started to work in a workshop during the summer holiday. When the school started, I worked part-time while I was going to school. In the beginning, I was slow and my boss was only paying me between 250 to 350 Toummans per day, which my mother used to collect. When I was able to work faster, I was paid 600 Toummans daily.

M. N. and her family were living in poverty too. She did not have weaving skills, but her children learnt the skill by working in neighbourhood factories, while she was involved in spinning work at home. In this regard, she stated that:

I have been spinning *Jahra* (spinning device) since we've moved to the city. I don't know how to weave a carpet, but my three daughters do. One of them married at 12 ... now she is weaving carpet at her home and her opium addict husband buys cigarettes and drugs with her money. My seventeen-year-old daughter has recently married, but her husband is unemployed. Since he had no job and no capital, we gave them a guarantee payment and borrowed some money for him to start a carpet. Now, both of them are weaving together at home. My third daughter is 14 years old and is weaving carpet in a neighbour's workshop. She is paid five hundred Toummans per day, which I spend on our food.

Girls' work in workshops, however, is held back when they grow up or reach to their puberty and in most cases they continue the work at home. In this regard, E. B. said that:

It is almost two years since I last went to the workshop, partially because of my illness, I was operated on twice for tonsillitis. At the moment, I have a gland on the back of my ear. It is small, but hurting. The doctor says that if it gets bigger, it should be operated on. Some nights I can't sleep for the pain and I have bad headaches at times. I am too weak to weave a carpet. Since I had my operations, I have become anaemic and some times I feel dizzy. But the main reason for not going to the workshop was my boss's sons. They are of age and I don't like it. First I didn't realise, but now I don't feel comfortable to work there.

I asked her whether she decided not to go because they were harassing her. She replied that:

Not really. I don't like to go. My boss has grown up sons. When I worked for him, he let me to be off from the work late afternoon, and I didn't like it. Moreover, I don't have only one boss, I have four bosses. If I start to work with one of them, the others will say: 'you have to work with us too'. Now I am able enough to do a whole carpet by myself and I prefer to bring the work to home and to do it without any boss. Last year, my boss provided me the loom and yarns to weave a carpet at home, but because I became ill and had household responsibilities¹⁵, I was unable to finish it and they took it incomplete. I

¹⁵- Her mother is working as a domestic servant and she is taking her responsibilities at

want to weave a *varny*, but my mother says that: 'weaving *varny* doesn't pay off.

P. P. also said:

I stopped going to the factory, when I got engaged. After the marriage, I started to weave carpet at home until last year when my sons stopped me from weaving carpet.

2- 5 What women's contribution means to the family?

The value of women's contribution towards the family budget and how well the family values it, mostly depends on the social and economic well-being of the family. In the carpet industry, as is clear from most of the interviews, the majority of women are unpaid family labourers and are not involved in the buying and selling process of the production. As a result of this, they do not have any control over their income from the carpet. The exclusion of women from the market and their ability to weave carpet 'enslaves them in an unpaid relation of production which is kept separate from the money economy of the man' (Afshar, 1985: 76-77). However, the structure of female authority in maintaining some degree of familial control (Afshar, 1989) exists in most migrant families. Through patriarchal bargaining, women gain old-age protection and security in exchange for their submissiveness and propriety' (Kandiyoti, 1988: 285). Moreover, due to the cyclical nature of women's power in Muslim, particularly extended, families, senior women usually inherit authority and control over the younger women in the family, particularly their daughters-in-law. Although younger women, due to their cultural socialization, are expected to be subordinate to men as well as the old women of the family, particularly mothers-in-law, in nuclear, young and better-off families, women enjoy a greater degree of self-esteem and a more egalitarian relationship than their older sisters in the poorer households.

Many young women stated that they are actively involved in taking the key decisions of their households regarding children's education, the management of household budgeting, and the assignment of priorities. They stated that, although they do not get a wage for their labour, men bring the money home and they decide together how to spend it.

Women's contribution towards the family budget through engagement in weaving or spinning often goes towards the household's daily and basic expenditure mainly on consumption and the reproduction of labour power. The use of every conceivable source of material for the benefit of the family is a woman's primary job. The tasks of providing of

home.

food, clothes and the general living conditions for the family combined with the task of supplementing the family income with their work, all indicates the sheer physical burden which the women bore in their domestic life, particularly in the poorer households. In the poorer households, women rarely spend money on their own clothing or health. In this regard, one of the informants, said that:

I don't know how to buy clothes. My husband buys the clothes, even for me. Some times it takes a year for us to buy new clothes. One of my aunts (uncle's wife) relatives is well off. She takes their old clothes and gives them to us. We provide most of our clothes in this way. (Referring to her son and daughter) Their clothes all come from my aunt's family.

One of the women sated that:

We have lots of financial problems. My husband is a casual labourer in a factory and his income has not ever been enough to cover our expenditure, particularly since he has lost one of his kidneys and has been unable to work full-time. I have never worn new clothes or even new socks even though I have work most of the time on carpet or spinning. I have eight children, who take priority over me. They come first.

Recreation is also something that almost is non-existent for poor women. Through the combination of productive and reproductive activities, women have shorter resting hours and a greater intensity of multiple, simultaneous occupations. Apart from socialising with neighbours or visiting immediate family and relatives, the only diversion I witnessed among my interviewees, was participation in the mourning ceremonies of Imam Hussain¹⁶, which was held at some homes, often in the afternoon.

Food is an area in which the majority of women's earnings are concentrated. Many poor women found food expenditure costly in the city when they compared it to the village. One of the poorest women said that:

16- Imam Hussain is the third Imam of shi'a sect, to which almost 90% of the population of Iran belongs. Iranian people sustain the memory of the martyrdom of Imam Hussain and his followers in Karbala over 1400 years ago by participating in *Aza'adari* (mourning) ceremonies, which are held in mosques or homes for almost two months. I conducted most of my interviews during this time.

In the village, feeding was cheaper. We provided our yogurt, cheese and bread, but here we pay 200 Toummans for a small piece of cheese, which children grab at.

This is almost a half of her daughter's daily income came from working in the carpet industry in the neighborhood, who earns 500 Toummans for a full day's work and what is earned, is spent on the food. Sometimes, women's income is diverted even beyond their basic needs. One of the women said that:

I am weaving to pay off my husband's debts, as he is underemployed and the creditors keep asking for their money.

Some women mentioned that the money from their works was used in the purchasing of building materials for their house. One of the women said that:

At first, we badly needed money. We had a small and very old house. It was such a ruined place and was almost collapsing. We had to tear it down and built it over again. My husband was a labourer in a firm and I was weaving carpet at home. The money from the sale of the carpet was going toward the building. We bought doors, windows and this sort of the material for the house with the money from carpet.

Another single woman and her family of six were living in the basement of the grandfather's poorly self-built house of mud-bricks. On the first floor of the house, the grandparents and her uncle and his family were living in two rooms. I was guided through crooked steps and a dark passageway to the yard, not to the room. She said that:

The small room is our living room, bedroom, kitchen, and working room. We have land to build a house, but we don't have money. We (she, her mother and sisters) are working hard to save some money either to rent a place to move out or to build on our land if we can. If it were up to my father, he would make us work until two o'clock at night. But we resist him and ask him if we are humans.

However, with the crucial contribution of women, men are the owners of the property and women's contributions are valued differently in better-off and poorer families. In better-off families women often gain respect as well as old-age protection and security in exchange for their contribution to the welfare of the family, whereas, the social status of poor women is as bad as their economic plight. The old-age security of poor women is sometimes undermined by the socio-economic condition as well as transformation, and their contribution to the family's well-being is ignored by the family members. F. M. was a 60 year-old widow, who had contributed to the household economy and to the purchase of part of their small house with money she had earned. However, after the death of her husband, his sons demanded their small share from their 'father's house'. In this regard, she said that:

I have worked hard in this house and suffered a lot. For 15 years we were almost alone in this place which used to be a valley. I had managed to buy the half of this house's land with my money from spinning. For six years, we were living in the basement, which is now wet all over and soaked in water. Then we had to load up the courtyard with fillings to level it and make two rooms, as it was impossible to live in the basement. When we were building these rooms, we hired a bricklayer and my husband and I did all the labouring jobs. It is not a strong house. If an earthquake comes, all of us will be buried under the debris. I was carrying heavy stones and bricks, and doing other relevant tasks. Before my husband died, he called some of the neighbours and bequeathed the house to me, but all but one of my sons insisted that his will does not have any credit as it has not been registered in the notary office and I don't have any document to indicate that I have given some money to my husband to buy the half of the land.

Most of the poor old women have spent a large portion of their life in income generating activities such as wool spinning and/or carpet weaving, but some gain less security for their old age. Old widows, particularly those who did not have any children, or any support of an adult male, were the most deprived among my informants. It is because, traditionally, sons are expected to look after their old parents. S.N. was an ill, helpless and anxious widow, who was suffering badly from long-term hiccups as well as loneliness. She was 55 years old and had migrated to the city 22 years ago and did not have any children of her own. To explain her social as well as economic plight, she said that:

We were very poor and I used to do spinning. Everyday I could make two or three spindles and earned 200 Toumman which was spent on food, but now I am ill and unable to spin. I have no child of my own and nobody to support me. The Committee Emdad (Aid Committee¹⁷) is giving me 2,000 Toummans per month, but I cannot manage to live on that money; I hardly manage to pay my electricity and water bills. I am selling second-hand clothes to get some food. I need an operation, but I have no money for it.

Even if the widows have children, in some cases the disappearance of patrilocally extended families and the earlier separation of male children from the parental household as a result of socio-economic transformation breaks up the normative orders. Because men are the owners of the property, after the death of a husband/father, the children usually ask for their share of father's house. Having a house, for most of my informants and particularly the older women, is the only valuable thing that they have managed to gain in their life, and in

17- Commite-e Emdad Emam Knomyini is a charity organisation established after the 1979 revolution.

some cases they have even contributed to its building. Children's requests for their heritage share is one of the major issues that, in many cases, exacerbates the older women's anxiety and insecurity, practically or psychologically. The large proportion of these women's daily activities have been unpaid both for the maintenance and the reproduction of the domestic unit, and for the production of items that have been entered into the market and have made a significant contribution to the economic function of the household as well as the national economy. Thus, poor widows find not only that their contribution of their labour to the household's income is ignored or unvalued by their children, but also that they face an insecure future.

Changes in material conditions seriously undermine the normative order and affect the bounds of obligations between the members of the family, this is particularly apparent in the case of sons' fulfilment of their normative obligations towards their mother. Therefore, the widows became the head of their household, struggling to make their living while their options are extremely limited either because of their age or because of the segregated and strict nature of the labour market. The uncertainties to which are exposed serve to deepen the condition of their poverty and this transformation represents a personal tragedy, for they lack any empowering alternatives in the event of losing normative form of protection (Kandiyoti, 1988). One of the widows, who has six children, two of them unmarried girls, said that:

My sons are waiting for the girls to get married, then they will sell the house. God knows what my share will be or where I will live. One of my sons was urged by his in-laws to get his parental legacy, but I resisted and told him that, if we sell the house, he won't get that much money and, beside that, from my and that of these two girls, we will not be able to buy a small one-room house to live in. Do you want your mother and sisters to keep moving from one rental house to another one all the time? When your sisters get married, I won't have any objection and you are allowed to do what you wish.

However, these sorts of experiences by the widow have promoted some men as well as women to think about women's security in old age. Men who are the owners of the property, sometimes make a registered will insisting that the property not be sold while their wife is alive. It is even sometimes the case that older married women ask their husband to make the will.

2-6 Attitude changing towards carpet weaving among young women

Although the carpet industry is the most common income generating activity in most migrant households, young, unmarried, educated girls are not keen on learning weaving

work and do not have positive attitudes towards weaving. Working in the carpet industry is devalued, and, in their view, it is very strenuous with little remuneration, though they might have more opportunity than older, illiterate women, to learn the very professional skills of the industry, which would be very profitable for them or their families. In many cases, the young unmarried women show their resistance towards learning the professional skill of traditional carpet weaving and show their interest in working outside the home or obtaining a better education, state employment or in other fashionable skills such as tailoring, beautician, computer, etc.

I interviewed two single girls, who had come to the city in order to get an education at secondary and higher-school levels. The family was involved in a circular migration and they were living in a house that their father had bought in one of the slums of the city. They had divided the domestic work between themselves, and in the evenings when they had finished their homework, they wove *Varney* in order to maintain themselves. Although their brothers were professional carpet-weavers, they knew just the basic skill of carpet weaving and had resisted learning its professional skill. In this regard, they said that:

Our parents have agricultural land in the village and send us our food supplies from the land. Sometimes my father sends us some money, but we still need to weave *Varney*, to be more independent in order to stand on our feet and manage our needs. For us, each *Varney* usually takes three months to be woven. We have woven carpet since we were in year one, and later on we learnt *Varney* weaving. Although our brothers are professional carpet weavers, we deliberately chose not to learn carpet design. All we know about the carpet, is how to tie knots, none of us learned *Nagsheh* (the design of carpet). We did not want carpet weaving to be imposed on us by the family. We would like to be employed by the state after we finish our study. We prefer the city and believe that migration is good for the young people, as they can easily decide for their future. The only thing which is hard for us here is the work-load. Our friends go home and find everything ready for them, but we have to start cooking, cleaning, washing, and, after doing our homework, we have to do some weaving (two sisters).

This attitude is echoed in Cho's (1989) study of female divers in Cheju Island in South Korea, where women are traditionally associated with productivity. She argues that the economic transition and increased access of village families to cash income in the 1970s enabled them to send their daughters to higher-schools in the urban areas. Exposure to education and city life-styles, and access to modern alternatives in the city, changed the concept of femininity and masculinity to the village girls for whom diving was now regarded as 'primitive' and 'hard labour' (Cho, 1989: 163- 172).

M.G. was a 19 year-old single girl educated up to ten years of schooling. She knows how to weave carpet and helps her mother and sister, but has not learnt the skill

properly. In this regard, she stated that:

One of my sisters knows everything about the carpet-weaving. She can do all pre-weaving preparation tasks, work on difficult designs, and do polishing and all other relevant tasks. She has learned them from my mother. But I did not want to learn the skill fully, I knew my work would be a lot and my responsibility would increase. I do help my mother in weaving, because we do need money desperately. But that's it, nothing more. She is responsible for carrying out of the *Nagsheh* (design) and other tasks. I like and prefer tailoring. Carpet gets on your nerves. Besides, my mother is a professional weaver, but what she has achieved from her skills that I can achieve? Nothing, except work, work and work without any rewards.

Ram (1989: 141- 5) has shown that in Munkkuvar society¹⁸ the younger generation of female fish-traders reject their mothers as role models to be aspired to. M.G. and many other unmarried, educated girls in Iran do the same. This, as will be discussed in the next chapter, is the result of increased female access to education and the availability of other alternatives in the city, which gives them freedom of choice, as little as it might be.

Conclusion

This chapter illustrated how crucial women's unpaid labour from dawn till night is for the survival of migrant households. In many cases it is wrong to call their income supplementary, as the total amount of the use- and exchange-value workwomen do every day well exceeds that of male members of the family. But, the lack of spatial separation of home and workplace means that the nature of their work, due to the combination of productive and reproductive activities in the households (production unit) under the ideology of housewifezation, makes this economically active population invisible.

The analysis also illustrates that, due to the existence of patriarchal ideologies according to which men are the breadwinners of the family, there is a use-value-orientated attitude towards women's labour when they are the main producers of the carpet. In general, it is assumed that women are working in their spare time and that their main responsibility is bringing up the children and fulfilling their domestic duties. Many women stated that they do not work and are housewives, mainly because their labour is not remunerated. Some women even mentioned that the carpet industry is good for women as they can do the work while doing their housework and looking after their offspring. By contrast, when men are

¹⁸ - A fishing community in South India.

the main producers in the family, there is an exchange-value-orientated attitude towards the production (Bennholdt-Thomsen, 1984) and what they do is considered as proper work. These attitudes can also be extracted from the level of investment in the production and the household's engagement in the production of different qualities of carpet. According to my own observations, in almost all good-quality carpet-producing households, men were partially or entirely involved in the process of the production. But in lower quality or simple weaving and spinning activities, men were not involved at all, even when they were un- or underemployed.

The assumptions and attitudes about and towards unpaid women workers have significant implications for their status in their households and in the wider society. It is clear from the interviews that the traditional patriarchal structures of gender and social relations, such as the authority of men, the subordination of women and their dependency on men, are deeply embedded in the poorest and most deprived migrant families, regardless of women's economic contribution to the household's income. However, despite the deprivation and hardship women have experienced throughout their lives, they, and particularly the older ones in poorer households, are often part of the internalization process of patriarchal structures and their own subordination.

Chapter 8

Migrant women in different sectors of economy: Women in wage-earning occupations

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I reviewed the labouring activities of unpaid home-based workers involved in the carpet-industry, their economic experience and marginalization. I concentrated on the concepts of housewifization, patriarchy and subsistence labour, which were relevant to the analysis of women's work in the household carpet industry. In this chapter, I will concentrate on women who are involved as waged-labour. In terms of the sphere of their employment, some of these women are active in home-based jobs as home-workers and/or self-employed, and some are involved outside the home. In this sample most of home-workers are often young and educated to some degree. The women, who work in the public sector of economy, are located in different sectors of the informal or formal economy in terms of their age structure, education and marital status, as well as their economic needs. Most of middle-aged illiterate, married/widowed destitute women, who work outside the home, are involved in low-paid labouring activities predominantly in the informal sectors of urban economy. They are mainly employed in 'cleaning' occupations in hospitals, schools, university dormitories and kitchens, or in private houses as domestic labourers. Often younger, unmarried and educated women of this sample are more visible in factories or small-scale units of production line or even in state employment depending on the level of their educational achievement. This chapter reviews women wage earners in different sectors of economy and shows how women take advantage of the changing socio-economic conditions for their own benefit.

1- Women's involvement in home-based activities

Women involved in different sorts of home-based activities, can be categorised into two groups of self-employed women and home-workers. Both groups earn their wages in terms of piece rates. Self-employed women work in their own homes and run their small business. They are often involved in activities such as tailoring, hairdressing, handicraft and embroidery. Some women work in small shops, which are part of their house, and do the buying and selling jobs, often when their husbands are not around. Some women are involved in home-working activities for factories or do cleaning and cutting vegetables and legumes for greengrocery shops or private customers.

1-1 Self-employment and skill learning

To receive a professional vocational training, a basic education to at least the level of secondary stage is needed. Given the removal of one of the main obstacles, i.e. illiteracy, the younger women are keener on learning new and modern skills. Tailoring is one of the most favoured skills among my informants. The skill not only minimises household expenses, but also enables some women to set up their own small business and get some earnings from their skill. One of the informants said that:

I am planning to go to a sewing training course this summer. My husband has also agreed with my decision. If I learn how to sew professionally, I will do our sewing as well as others'. After all, it will bring in money.

Many women in the carpet industry stated that due to their illiteracy, they were not able to learn any professional skills such as tailoring, knitting with machinery or beauty-therapy. However, most of them, due to the family's irregular and low income, do most or all of the mending tasks for their family, in order to reduce the extra costs and meet the family's immediate needs. For the poor, however, skills acquisition is costly and needs initial capital investment on training fees, and purchasing the learning tools, equipment and raw materials. In the case of tailoring or knitting, raw materials such as fabric, as well as the necessary equipment for production, mainly sewing or knitting machines, are quite expensive. Although the government provides craft and skill training courses through youth clubs for lower prices than private trainers, the other lateral expenses are still very high. Thus, the poor are either not able to commence the training at all or are obliged to give it up during their course. One of the informants said that:

One of my daughters went to a sewing training course, but because of its high cost, she was compelled to stop it. She was learning the skill from her father's relatives, for which we did not pay any fee, but her trainer was living very far from our house and she needed daily transportation¹. More importantly, she didn't have a sewing machine to practice what she was taught. Thus, she gave it up (Z. P.)

One of the widow informants also had sent her daughter to a sewing training course, but she was unable to complete the course. In this regard, she said:

My sons were against my daughters going outside the home, because they assumed that: 'if they (girls) go out, they will be harassed or followed by young men. Then, we won't be able to stay in this area any longer'. Despite this objection, I managed to send one of them to a sewing training course, but because we had very little money, we could not manage its expenses and she had to give it up (F. M.).

However, some girls had managed to complete their training courses. They work and earn money in their self-running businesses. R. T. is a single, young woman in her twenties, who is a tailor and lives in one of the slum areas of Tabriz. Regarding her training and work, she said:

I did my tailoring and embroidery training courses in *Kanoun*² (youth club) during the summer holidays, before I finished my school. After I get my business licence, I will be able to open a shop and get an apprenticeship. It is almost a month since I have had this room of the house as my own workplace. As soon as I get my licence, I will change this room to an independent shop. My father has invested in my business. I've got two sewing machines: one is for doing ordinary sewing tasks and the other operates more cleaning tasks, such as making button-holes, the finishing parts of clothes or embroidery jobs, etc.

Another informant also said that her daughter participated in one of the training courses and has managed to earn the training expenses already:

During the last summer holidays, one of my daughters took part in a handicraft and doll-making training course, and taught it to her younger sister too. Now, both of them follow the handicraft programmes on TV and make dolls and other handicrafts and sell them to the neighbours or relatives. They have managed to earn what we had paid for the training and have found some customers.

Some of the younger girls even embark on more modern training. One of the widows' daughters, from a carpet-weaving family, had finished a filmmaking-training course and was working for her trainer. In this regard, she said that:

My youngest daughter wanted to work and earn money. I paid 500 Toummans to register her in the Labour department (job centre). She was given a night shift job,

1- Even though the public transportation is cheap and available in even very poor and remote areas of city's slums, some find it costly, particularly when they have to use it often.

2- Full name for '*Kanoun*' is *Kanoun-e parvareshi-e kudakan va nojavanan*, which literally means: Society for contemplative training of children and youth adults.

but only after one night, she was unhappy with the work conditions. My sons did not let her continue, as they told her that if she wants to work only on night shifts, she would fall sick. I sent her to an intensive filmmaking course. The course-fee was eighty thousand Toummans, but we paid fifty thousand Toummans, as her master is one of our acquaintances. She learned the skill in ten days. Whenever there is a wedding, she is called to take a film of the women's section. For each session, she is paid 3 thousand Toummans. They send a taxi for her to and from the wedding. She has not yet gained back the course-fee, as she has only recently learnt the skill, and now because of *Moharram* and *Safar*³, there are no weddings.

Unlike single girls, young married women have less opportunity to attend skills training courses. This is sometimes because of the family's poor financial situation, which means they cannot afford such training. In this regard, a married woman said that:

In the early years of my married life, I loved to learn professional sewing. But, we were unable to afford the necessary expenditures, for my husband was a casual labourer and we were hard pressed for living.

Sometimes, this is because of having to look after young children or other domestic responsibilities, which do not leave spare time for women to attend the training courses and also to practice their skills. Sometimes married women encounter their husbands' or in-laws' disapproval of getting engaged with anything outside the home. One of the informants in response to my question regarding skill learning, said that:

I married at a young age and since then, my husband does not like me going out and he hardly even lets me go to my parents' house. How could I be able to learn any skill?

R. M. was newly-wed young woman, who had married about eight months before the interview, and was living within the extended family of her husband. The income of her husband was very low to support the extended family of four. She had migrated because of the marriage, and did not have any skills other than carpet weaving, but had been prohibited from weaving by ophthalmologist due to her poor eyesight. She wanted to learn a skill so that she could earn money and support her husband, but her mother in-law was strongly against her wishes. She described her forlornness and idleness in this manner:

I feel upset and I am bored most of the time. Whoever does not work, has too much spare time, sleeps too much, and becomes bored and impatient, especially when you don't have anywhere to go and anything to do. I like to learn some skills such as hairdressing or sewing, which would enable me to earn money, supplement my husband's income and not spend my time uselessly. But my mother-in law severely disagrees with my desire and is convinced that if I, as a newly wedded woman, go out of the house very often, people will create rumours

3- *Moharram* and *Safar* are two consecutive Arabic lunar months in which because of the martyrdom of Imam Hossain, the third Imam of Shiites, weddings and other kind of celebrations do not usually taken place.

that the in-laws are unable to take care of the bride. Either way I try, I cannot gain my husband or my mother-in law's consent.

Young unmarried girls, usually win over the opposition of a family member, such as father or brother, with less difficulty and enjoy more mobility, particularly when they have the support of their mother. But for married women, particularly if they are newly wed and living with in-laws, winning this battle is more difficult. Not only did they not enjoy the same support as unmarried girls, but they might also get improper interference from in-laws, mainly mother-in law. One of the informants said that:

My daughter has her national diploma and a hairdressing certificate. She works at home and her business is good, though she has not opened a shop. Recently, she got engaged and her fiancé is against her working.

Different reasons can be given for why a husband has the right to prevent his wife from working or engaging outside the home. Some of these can be explained in terms of the Islamic ideological framework and the perception of women and their marital duties. Firstly, according to the Islamic legal system, women's sexuality is sold in marriage, and since it is an integral part of women, a married woman is partially owned by her husband, who is entitled to a degree of control over his wife: such as the right not to give her permission to work outside the home (Etemad Moghadam, 1994 & 2001: 348). Secondly, it has been argued that since in the Islamic law a woman is entitled to *mahryyeh*⁴, *nafaqeh* (the full financial support of her husband) and *ojrat-ol mesl*⁵, her employment outside the home should be approved by her husband. Thirdly, family law recognises the productivity of female labour at home, and introduces a man's right to give permission for his wife's paid employment, particularly outside the home (Etemad Moghadam, 1994 & 2001: 348). However, there is no agreement between religious leaders on this issue, and some argue that: 'the law requiring the husband's permission is an incorrect interpretation of the Islamic jurisprudence' (Ayatollah Bojnurdi, 1993 cited in Etemad Moghadam, 2001: 351). Although before the revolution, when the state was secular, women's personal and legal

4- A financial obligation of a husband to his wife, which has been agreed during the marriage contract, *aqd*, and is due when the marriage is consummated. However, in practice, women demand it at divorce.

5- In 1992, parliament amended the divorce section of the Family Protection Law. According to the new reform, so called *ojrat-ol mesl*, if a man wants to divorce his wife unilaterally, he should pay his wife a wage equivalent to the household labour performed during the marriage. The household labour of women is not covered by *nafaqeh* and *mahryyeh*. For detailed information regarding *ojrat-ol mesl*, see Mir-Hossaini, 1995.223

status was defined within the Islamic law, post-revolutionary changes in family law reinforced patriarchal structures. The fourth reason, which is more cultural, is that since men are traditionally considered to be the breadwinners in the family, women's direct involvement in cash-generating activities, particularly outside the home, undermines men's important responsibility. Men's frustration and humiliation as being unable to fulfill their breadwinning role has been mentioned in Hoodfar's and Poya's studies, (Hoodfar, 1997; Poya, 1999). This attitude is more widespread in more traditional and less educated households. A man's or his family's⁶ resistance towards women's paid work or direct involvement in income-generating activities, is in fact to protect his gender identity and his bread-winning role. None of my informants in the carpet industry mentioned their husband's resistance towards their involvement in the spinning or weaving activities⁷. In many cases, however, a man's legal, religious and traditional right to deny his wife's right to work or to leave the house is not exercised strongly, particularly if a woman is determined in her legal demands. It is socially and traditionally supposed that a woman asks for her husband's permission and he is supposed to agree (Hoodfar, 1997: 255). As the interviews will show, many women faced the initial disagreement of their husband when they decided to work or to take any training, but they managed to obtain their husband's consent. However, women's income is treated differently from that of men, the attitude serves 'to maintain the general characteristics of the sexual division of labour under capitalism' (Whitehead, 1984: 113), both within the labour market and within the home.

1-1-1 The problems of self-employed women

Despite young women's enthusiastic effort in learning and using these skills, many factors cause the reaping of the fruits of the skills, and investments of these skilled women to be small. These factors are directly or indirectly related to poverty. A poor neighbourhood is one of these factors, where poor families do not see the services of skilled women as major

6- Mainly in extended families women face the disapproval of their in-laws towards their paid work. In some cases, however, living within the extended family gives the working women the advantage of transferring part of their domestic responsibilities, particularly child-rearing to other women in their households, particularly to mother-in-law.

7- Hoodfar (1997) writing anthropologically about household economy and women's role in it in three low-income neighbourhoods in Cairo, questioned men's views about women and 'work'. She writes that: 'Traditional and older men said a woman should go out to work only if her husband fails to feed her and her children but she should participate if there is a family business and her husband needs help' (P: 138).

PAGE

NUMBERING

AS ORIGINAL

commodities, and offer little money to the services that they occasionally have to use. R. T. was complaining about her poor neighbourhood and its effect on her earning as well as the kind of the job she gets. She said that:

I charge my customers two thousand Toummans for each dress, while in the city⁸, the same work is done for six to seven thousand Toummans. The people here are poor, they only manage to get new clothes for the New Year or if there is a wedding. The busy season for my work is before New Year (*biyram*) and after *Safar*, during the period when most marriages take place. Most of my customers are young women. Sometimes I am annoyed by the customers, who bring low quality cloth and expect a smart dress, or they bring a small quantity of cloth when more is needed. I have to struggle to use every bit of the cloth very economically, which takes more time and doesn't look as good. I tolerate these difficulties in my job, because I like it and it brings in money (R. T.).

A very skilled and successful woman in sewing, embroidering and decorative arts such as needle work with pearls, lace, etc., had moved to a slum area after her marriage and experienced a serious fall in her earnings due to high expenses with less return. She soon noticed that her skills were unprofitable in that area and changed her activity to glove-making for a firm on piece rate. For most of the self-employed women, including those in the carpet industry, since the size of capital is small, they need to sell their products and have access to their capital, in order to re-investment. Otherwise the lack of a sizeable amount of money resources ends up with the loss of capital. For every one thousand Toummans that my informant invested in making the products, she made at least two thousand Toummans profit from the finished products. In this regard, she said that:

In my parents' area, more people appreciated my work and were interested in my art than here. Here nobody notices the significance of my work, and fewer people are willing to pay for it. Two years ago, I was making embroidered portraits, which cost me one thousand Toummans and I managed to sell each for five thousand Toummans. But in this area, it took me a couple of months to get it sold, so I didn't receive the money immediately. I didn't have enough capital to produce more portraits one after the other, as I put most of the money I had earned, before I married, as a deposit to buy this house. I had to wait for the money to come in and inflation made the costs of the raw materials increase. Making the same portraits now costs five thousand Toummans each, and in order to make a profit, I have to sell it for fifteen thousand Toummans. I was also doing tailoring, but because the people are poor in this area, they haggled over my wage. They either gave me the money bit by bit, or sometimes I pitied my poorer customers and made their clothes free of charge. These factors not only decreased my profits, but also made me lose my capital. Therefore, I decided to work on piece-rate. In this way, at least I earn my money daily (F. B).

⁸- The non-migrant areas of Tabriz are usually called 'the city' by the slum dwellers.

Kh. B. was a hairdresser in one of the most deprived slums of Tabriz, where they could afford to buy a house and set up a nuclear family. Before moving to this area, she was living with her in-laws and had rented a shop for her business, which was doing well. However, her work was affected by changing house. In this regard, she said that:

First, when I wanted to learn the skill, my husband was against my wish, but I begged him and in the end I got his permission. Before coming to this area, I had rented a shop and my business was doing well, but here I do not have many customers to open a shop. I work at home and the customers come once in every two to three months to get their eyebrows and facial hair plucked, and have their hair cut, for which I charge them 250 Toummans (half of what I was charging in the other area). Here, rarely women dye or perm their hair. During *Moharram* and *Safar*, I almost get no customers.

I interviewed another hairdresser in another slum area, where people are relatively better off. Regarding her job and earnings, M. M. said that:

It is almost five years, since I have learned hairdressing and beauty-therapy. As soon as I got my certificate, we immediately changed the garage into a shop, so I would not forget the skill. For one year, I studied at school to get my diploma and worked at my shop. If I work well, I earn between 40 to 50 thousand Toummans, every two to three weeks. Now because of *Moharram* and *Safar*, I don't get many customers. In these two months, mostly state employees come to get their eyebrows and faces cleaned. I have different sorts of customers: some just come for simple services, and some come for beauty treatment. Married women usually dye their hair, and single girls prefer curling, though in our area it is not very common for single girls. I also dress up brides in the wedding seasons for which I get very good money. In general, I am very satisfied with my job.

The sister of one of the informant who was living in a relatively better off area, and often ran training classes to train 'urban-women' carpet weaving or knitting with machines, was satisfied with her work. In this regard, she said:

My sister has learnt her skills from *Kanoon* (youth club), and runs training classes at home. She sets up weaving-loom(s) at home and trains those who want to learn the skills. Her carpets are usually portraits a half-metre square. There is no exchange of money between them, but at the end, she gets the carpets, which her trainees have woven, and sells it in the market. In this way she earns good money.

Apart from poor neighbourhood, unpaid services to close relatives as well as small and overcrowded houses do affect young women's occupational success and their earning ability. Some young women complained that their unpaid sewing for their family and relatives deprives their opportunity to work for money. M. G. and another young single

girl were unhappy with what they earned from their skills. In this regard, they said that:

Since I have learned sewing, I do all the sewing of my family and relatives. This does not leave me enough time to sew for money. Sometimes, I think I would probably be better off with carpet weaving. This week I have sewn four dresses: one for my aunt, who gave me one thousand Toummans (almost one third of what she had to pay for a tailor); one for my cousin, of whom I didn't accept money, as we are close friends. For the other two dresses, which I made, I don't know if they would pay or not. I don't ask for money, if they offer it, I will take it, if not, I won't ask.

Last year my mother sent me to a tailoring course. Since then I do the family's sewing. I sew for my aunts, as well as the neighbours. I also have to help my mother with the carpet; I don't get enough time to sew for money. Most of my service is unpaid (S. B.'s daughter).

Another informant whose daughter could not complete her sewing training course, as they could not afford the initial investment in training fee and purchasing machinery, stated that:

Even if she had learnt it, there is no space for her to sew. We only have one room for all of us.

Therefore, women in poor families, who want to learn new and modern skills, face many practical obstacles, and there is no guarantee for them to reap the fruits of their skills and investments. However, these women have more self-confidence and are able to try different alternatives and not to get stuck with only one option.

1-2 Shopkeepers

Some women in slum areas are involved in family shops⁹, which are mainly set up to supplement the household's cash income. Many young unmarried girls, however, are paid shop-assistants in shopping centres, often selling women's clothes and underwear, toiletry and hosiery. I could only manage to interview a few women in this sector. My request to interview some of the female shopkeepers in the shops or in their homes, was simply refused under the pretext of not having time to spend for the interview, even when they had no customers around. In fact, they were afraid that I might be a state agent, who had been sent to collect tax or information that would lead to paying more tax. When a family own a shop in their own homes, women are often involved in the management of the shops and

9- Different items are sold in these shops, some of them mainly provide the very essential food items in the neighbourhood, some sells household equipment and others sell clothes, decorative items and haberdasheries. In the poorer areas, however, most of the shops are mainly groceries, selling daily necessities.

its running, but purchasing goods and material from wholesale market, or doing administrative tasks with city council regarding tax, issuing licence, etc., are mainly men's responsibility. These women are often middle-aged or even older and illiterate. Only one woman in my sample was young and unmarried in her early thirties, who held national diploma and had set up her own haberdashery in the other area of the city. She denied being a migrant¹⁰. Regarding her work she stated that:

My family have provided me with the initial capital to invest in my business and to rent this shop. I deal with the management of the shop, in terms of accounts, buying, selling and other issues. I open the shop every morning at 9.30am and close it at 9 pm, with one-hour break to eat my dinner and have some rest. I often arrive home at 10 o'clock. We people in business do not have enough resting time and would be very happy if the government set some regulations about the start and finishing times, in order to give us some times to meet our other needs. To survive in the business, you have to compete with the others, and in my case with men, who do not have any family responsibilities. I cannot close my shop earlier than them, otherwise, I would lose my customers and they would go to other shops. I am a single woman and do not have family responsibilities, so I can stay longer in the shop. But I have other needs to meet too. I struggle to find a trusty person to take my place, when I have to go to doctor or to a party or to buy items for the shop' (F. B.).

Although F. B.'s shop was in a better off migrant area and the shop was full of goods and commodities, and customers kept calling in, she tried to not talk about her income. Instead she tried to imply that without her parents' financial assistant, she cannot manage to survive and preferred to talk about migration and migrants' life in their places of origin and destination. Regarding her income from the shop, she said:

My income from the business is not enough. Because I am single and do not have to pay much for the costs of living, I have stayed in this business. If I had to maintain a family, I would be compelled to try different occupations. Most of the young people in business, move their capital from one activity to another in order to find the most profitable activity, and each time they endure lots of loss.

10- Younger successful migrants do not often wish to be disregarded and disrespected for having a rural origin. In response to my question that do you consider yourself an urban person (*shahri*) or an individual with rural background, unlike older women who mostly considered themselves as villagers (*katdi*), most of young women stated that they are *shahri*, even though they were aware of the differences. My request to interview some of the shop assistants in a shopping centre was refused as they denied being migrants. Similarly my informant denied being a migrant, despite her good knowledge about migrants of a geographical area, their reasons for migration, condition in their place of origin in terms of the lack of educational and health facilities, agricultural possibilities, employment, etc. She explained in detail rural women's daily problems such as the lack of access to clean water, carrying heavy washed dishes and clothes on the top of their head from the spring to their homes and their fights over water taps in the streets, which are sometimes transferred to men, and so on.

Other small groceries, particularly in the poorer areas, however, are not very competitive and are not prosperous. Due to the lack of initial capital to purchase fresh vegetables and fruits constantly for their shops, some of them cannot attract or keep their customers. One of the poorer women whose part of the house had been changed to a shop, stated that:

We do not have enough capital to run the shop and were forced to close it. Though we have a refrigerator in the shop to keep dairy products preserved, we cannot afford to buy food materials and sell them in the shop. One of my sons is doing his military service and it is almost 15 months since my husband is doing animal husbandry in one of the villages and sends us his meagre earning to feed ourselves. I cannot even rent the shop to other people to run it, as I have young daughters and people will think that I do this to attract young men around my house (M. N.).

Poverty and being under moral pressures from the community in terms of unmarried girls' honour, often worsens the poor's economic plight. M. N.'s older daughter was fourteen years old during the interview and she was working in a carpet factory in the neighbourhood. But the family decided to avoid any unspoken rules in the community in order to prevent any action that might jeopardize their daughter's prospective marriage.

1-3 Home-working based on piece rate

Some women in my sample worked for clothes production factories at their home. Like everywhere else, for the employers young unmarried women are considered to be a convenient target for exploitation. However, these women have more freedom of mobility and face less restrictions from their families towards their work and engagement with outside the home. Their network is also wider than their sisters in the carpet industry. Greater freedom of social mobility and wider social network gives them more chance to explore their environment to find out available occupational opportunities through which to contribute to the household economy while doing their domestic responsibilities at home. They easily shift from one activity to another according to any changes in their domestic responsibilities. Some of the informants in the carpet industry were aware that some factories give part of their work to be done at home, but because of restricted mobility and social networks (mainly due to their low self-esteem), they did not know how to find out these factories, how the system works, etc. In terms of exploitation in home-working activity, one of the informants, who used to get work from a towel factory, stated that:

I used to bring sacks of towels to sew their borders. If I brought a very big sack,

which normally took me a week or more, I would be paid 10 thousand Toummans. However, at the end what I gained was about 4 thousand Toummans, which was very little for all of the time and effort I put in the work. I had an apprentice for whom I had to pay from the same money; I had to pay for the sewing-thread and strip, which should be sewn into the edges of the towels. The factory only provided a sewing machine for its workers. I gave it up after a while, as the money was not good. Now I am a domestic labourer.

F. B., whose handicraft work was affected by the poor neighbourhood and as a result, moved to work for a factory at home, said that:

The firm that I am working for provides labouring gloves for manufacturers. The cutting job is done in the firm and then glove pieces are distribute among the women, who have been trained in the firm to do the stitching tasks with the provided sewing machines at their homes. I see other women, who work for the firm, when I deliver the finished work, or when I was getting my training. One of them has been working for ten years and another single woman for seven years. For each pair of gloves, we are paid thirty Toummans and we have to do at least fifty pairs per a day, to earn 1500 Toummans per day.

Another new form of home working in Tabriz, in recent years, is working for green-groceries, which give extra service for their customers. One of the new changes, which has become more widespread and more visible in some areas of Tabriz, is buying clean and ready-chopped vegetables from shops. According to one of the woman involved in this activity, cleaned and chopped vegetables for sale have become very brisk in Tabriz, in the last two or three years. Vegetables are one of most common and important ingredients in the Iranian diet. Before and still in most places, cleaning vegetables and chopping them into pieces were/are done at home by women. However, in some parts of the city, this work has become commercialised and integrated into service job in the informal sector, which has created some employment opportunities for some women, who get different kinds of vegetables from the greengroceries and do all the cleaning and chopping activities and get their wages in terms of the weight of the cleaned vegetables. Some slums or squatters of Tabriz are scattered around the relatively good areas of the city, where employed women mainly from formal sector of economy or economically well-off people can afford to pay for some of the domestic tasks to be done outside the home. Thus, in the poor and isolated slums, this practice does not exist and more marginalised and poor women are not even aware of this activity. Or if some might be aware of it, they live very far from these shops or their homes is too small and crowded to let them to get involved in this activity.

One of these shops, which sells the cleaned and chopped vegetables and has attracted many customers by this service, is located between one of the slum and busy areas of the city. The shop is a family business and mainly run by a man and his two young sons. Sometimes when the shop is busy or when the men are not around, the wife helps them in the running of the shop and the serving of customers. I asked her: who does the cleaning and chopping jobs for the shop? Herself and some other women, was her reply. I asked for permission to interview her and some of the women, who work for the shop, but she had started work before the other women joined her, so they were not around. One afternoon I went to interview them. There were four women working together in a courtyard; two of them were sister-in laws (their husbands were brothers) and sharing a house; one was their neighbour; and the other was the shopkeeper's wife who would only help out in the shop, when needed. All of them were educated, two of them had up to ten years schooling, and two had a national diploma. They were doing all sorts of vegetables. For instance, they peeled carrots and chopped them into three shapes for different uses: very small cube shapes to be used for soup or two different grated sizes. However, there is more demand for small cubed ones and since its chopping takes more time and effort, they were paid one hundred Toummans per kilo of finished work. While for the shredded carrots, they used to be paid eighty Toummans, which was reduced to fifty Toummans, as the shopkeeper could not make any profit. Some vegetables such as artichokes, legumes like broad beans, green beans and peas have their own seasons, during which the women became very busy doing them. One of them, stated that:

We also do different green vegetables in terms of their usage, which should be in different sizes, and combination, all of which are chopped by hand and we are paid 100 Toummans. Apart from working for the shop, we also have some private customers, who are employed, and have not much time and are satisfied with our service. They give us different sorts of work. For instance, one day, a woman brought me 4 kilos of onion with some oil and asked us to chop and fry them for her. One day a woman, who had a big party, brought us vine leaves and stuffing to make 'dolma'¹¹. Another time, a woman, who brought me 5 kilos of aubergine, asked me to take out its inside. We've decided to distil the water and essence of plants and herbs such as musk-willow, mint, rose, etc. In the pickle season, we will make pickles; women like us make all the different pickles you see in the shops.

Their work-hours differ in terms of the workload. In this regard, one of them said that:

Some days, we are given 3 big sacks of carrots or sacks of green vegetables with different orders. In this case, it is clear that we will have a very busy day. My

¹¹- A kind of Mediterranean food.

neighbour and I do the peeling and cutting with a knife, which takes more time. For instance, today we have started our work from early morning and had managed to do 20 kilos of chopped carrots. At the most, we manage to chop twenty-five kilos per day. With the green vegetables we can even do more. The speed of our hands has almost become the same as each other.

One of the women, who had also found this sort of work, explained it in this way:

I had heard about this sort of job in *Vali-asr* (one of the wealthiest areas of Tabriz). Within the last year, it has become widespread in our area too. It is three months since I have started work. One of my relatives was very needy and was looking for a job. She said she could even take vegetable cleaning and chopping jobs for the shops or private customers. I didn't like her idea, but when I saw she was very desperate, I took her to the greengrocery in our neighbourhood. The shopkeeper gave her work, and because her house was very far away and it was very difficult for her to carry the large amounts of vegetables to and from work, he also agreed to deliver the vegetables to her house. He even asked me if I wanted to do the same job, but I did not accept it. They talked about payment and when everything was agreed between them, she was also given a special grater. When I saw the grater, I noticed that I have a similar one at home, which I had kept it unused to put it in my daughter's trousseau. When I talked to my mother, she blamed me for not taking the job. Her reproaches proved effective and I started the job' (H. M.).

At the beginning, she was ashamed of doing the job and tried to avoid people finding out about her involvement, but she could not hide it from her sister-in law with whom she was sharing a house, or the neighbours, who came to their home regularly. In the early days, she was pretending that all the vegetables were for their own consumption, and knew that those with whom she had close contact did not believe her. However, earning daily income and the encouragement of some women whom she respected, such as school teachers and employed women, changed her attitude towards her job, though her teenaged daughter was still unhappy with her job. In this regard she said that:

Now I see my job as a service job and think that this is my contribution to the society and the people who need this service. The educated women, as well as my mother, encouraged me a lot. In less than three months, since I've started it, I have earned seventy thousand Toummans. I have a diploma and always wanted to work, but my husband is prejudiced. He used to take me to work and bring me back home, when I worked. I worked in a food factory as a secretary, for about three months, but many things were happening to the kids at home. My husband, who was against my work, used the kids as an excuse and opposed against the continuation of my work. After a while, I found another job and it was the same story. But now he cannot disagree with this because it is a home-based job and I can look after the kids and do my own housework at the same time. I love working. I accustomed everybody in my family to turn over part of their job to me. I was also doing my brother's bank-related jobs. A few days ago, he asked for my help, but I told him: I am sorry, now I am busier than you, if I leave my work for one day, there are others, who will take it. But, my daughter is still very ashamed of my job. Since I have started this job, she uses another route to her

school so she does not see the shopkeeper. Once, when I told her about my conversation with one of her teachers in the shop, when I was delivering the chopped vegetables, she became very angry and didn't talk to me for a few days.

Her involvement in this job has encouraged some other women to commence doing similar jobs and enjoy earning money. She also managed to play an intermediate role between these women and the shopkeeper, as well as private customers and enjoys some power relations. In this regard, she said that:

One day I had to clean and chop twenty kilos of artichoke¹². I told my sister-in-law that if she cleans half of it for me, I would pay her. She accepted and later on, my neighbour's daughter showed her interest. They asked me to bring them work and even suggested that I get a portion of their wages for myself for acting as a middle person for bringing them work. I did not accept this, but instead I asked them to do the carrot-peeling task for me. Now, the responsibility of getting orders, delivery and paying the wages is with me. They do not deal with either the shopkeeper or the customers. I ask the customers about their views on how they want their vegetables chopped. A few days ago, I received orders for chips from the university's kitchen. I provided them with some samples, for their orders, in terms of their preference. We have to keep the customers happy, otherwise they will go to others. Apart from the three of us, three other women are also working for the same greengrocery.

All of these women appreciated their work, which gave them the opportunity to earn money. None of them handed over their income to their husbands: they either save their money, or spend part of it on the children or household. One of the women, who joined us during the interview and had worked at her home as a self-employed woman, for many years, said that: 'Women's money is spent on the household', but she immediately was corrected by other women that: 'both men and women's money is spend on the household'. However, they stated that a woman's money gives her more power in the household in terms of self-recognition and she can spend her money on things that a husband could or would not spend on.

2- Women's work outside the home

Women's working outside the home differs in terms of their education, age and marital status. In this sample, the middle-aged illiterate women, who were often widows, were involved in domestic services in private households or low-paid cleaning jobs in the public

12- Artichoke is a kind of leafy vegetable, which is covered with sharp prickles. After removing the prickles it is used for stew. The plant comes to the market for a short period of time and women usually buy it in large amounts, remove the prickles, then chop and freeze them for the later use.

sector such as hospitals, schools and university dormitories and kitchens to keep themselves and their children alive after the death of their partner; or to enhance the family's income. Younger women, however, were more visible in production lines in factories or small tailoring workshops and in state employment. I will start with more disadvantaged women in low-status jobs and move on to the younger women.

2-1 Women in cleaning jobs in public sectors or in private households

The majority of the widows, or impoverished married women whose husbands are unemployed or underemployed due to physical or old age problems worked as cleaners. Their work in this sector is out of dire necessity, for working in this sector rank amongst the lowest in prestige. Women often avoid to taking these low-status jobs unless they are so desperate to work in order to sustain themselves and their families. I first describe the conditions of paid domestic workers in the private households, then move onto women who are doing the lowest status jobs in the public sector.

Domestic worker

In this sample, some domestic workers are full-time workers, whose employers are either employed or are too old to look after themselves; in such cases they do almost everything in their employer's household. Some are part-time workers employed by housewives to work one or more day(s) per week; or just to do some specific tasks such as window cleaning, the New Year cleaning, or to work on special occasions such as weddings, funerals, parties, and etc. The use of part-time domestic labourer reduces the conflict of interest between middle-class women and their husbands over the gendered division of labour in reproductive work, mainly in nuclear families (Anderson, 2000: 1).

Domestic workers are often introduced to other people, if the quality of their service as well as their honesty is proven. Thus, access to paid domestic work in private households for a beginner is not an easy task. The domestic workers whom I interviewed and other women in professional jobs, or housewives who had a part time domestic worker, stated that they find the job or the workers through their social networks.

N. B. was a widow with five daughters. When her husband died, her oldest and youngest daughters were eight and one years of age respectively. For five years, her father and father-in-law supported her, but life was getting difficult as the children got older. In

this regard, she said that:

I did not have any skill and didn't know what to do and how to support the girls and myself. One day I heard that somebody is looking for a domestic worker. I met the person, and explained my situation and my willingness to work. I started my work in her house and extended my customers through her network and worked in other people's houses too. In the last five years, my main employer set up a restaurant near their house and I became a full-time worker for them to work, in their house as well as restaurant. It is almost 10 years, since I am working.

Z. P was another poor widow, with six children, whose husband died of a sudden death, fourteen years ago, soon after her youngest child was born. The only thing that her husband had left was their unfinished house, in which her in-laws had an interest. Regarding her struggle to survive with her six children, one of whom was diagnosed with Haemophilia, she said that:

We were very poor and without any support and income when my husband died. In addition to our poverty, one of my sons was suffering from Haemophilia. One day, a man, who had heard about our plight and struggle, came to our house on behalf of a religious mission (*Heyat-e Azadary*), and issued an income for us. It was four thousand Toummans per month, and was increased to twelve thousand Toummans, later on. It is three years since it has been cut off, because the children have grown up. They used to give us New Year gifts, school accessories and uniforms at the start of the school year. However, this income was insufficient and I had to work. I worked for some teachers at a nearby school, and I did anything I could do at home, so I wouldn't have to leave my children alone in the house. Because they were satisfied with my work, they recommended me to other people. Sometimes, they asked me to serve tea at their parties and special occasions. When my children got older and were able to look after themselves, I started to work in private households, which embarrassed my children, particularly the girls. For the last two years, I was a nanny for the two young children of employed parents.

F. Z. was a 58 year-old widow whose husband had died a year and a half before I interviewed her. Her husband was a porter whose income was too small to support his family of seven children. In the last three years of his life, he was in bed, which made the situation more difficult for F. Z. who had to work to earn money, to look after her ill husband and to manage their lives. She expressed her working history in this way:

Since I moved to Tabriz, I have worked. I was doing spinning, when I was younger. Then I started to work in people's houses doing everything from mornings until evenings. Some of my employers were housewives and some were state employees. One asked me to go and clean her house, while the other wanted me to wash and make their beddings¹³, and etc. Some pleased me by paying a fair wage, while some

13- In Azarbaijan, the beddings such as mattresses, duvets and pillows are made from wool. Mattress and pillows are unsown at least twice a year: once at the end of winter as part of the New Year cleaning, and once at the end of summer. The wool is washed and beaten by thin, long rods and sticks. When the wool is finely dried and beaten up, the washed mattresses are filled up with wool and sewn by special needles and threads. Duvets are also made at home and they need a special skill. Washing and making the

others were stingy with their money. When I was younger, I could work better and earn more money, but as I was getting older I could not work the same as I used to and started to lose my customers. Then I started to do other jobs. For two years, I was cleaning broad beans. Sometimes I did the work with my daughter and sometimes with my daughter-in-law. I had to work, otherwise we could not survive. For three years, my husband was in bed, not only was he unable to work, but he was also unable to speak. Sometimes, when his condition got worse, I preferred to stay with him, but he gestured to me by his hands to go to work. Now I can't work. I have heart and stomach problems, and my only income comes from renting one of the rooms in the house.

H.B. was a 30 year-old woman with three children and a deaf and dumb husband. She was from a very poor family and had started her work as a maid since she was six years old. She worked in the carpet industry after her marriage, and then moved to other home-working jobs and ended up as domestic worker:

I have always worked since I was a child. In my first job, I was sent to Tehran to live with a family. I stayed with them for six years, during which, they never let me come and visit my family in Tabriz. I just saw my father a few times when he came to collect my wages. After six years, I returned to my family and never saw the family in Tehran again. Then I was sent to another house in Tabriz, where once every two months I was allowed to come home. We were very poor and since I remember, my mother was, and still is, working in houses. That's why she married me off to my deaf and dumb husband. She was very concerned about our honor and wanted to take her daughters' responsibility off her shoulder. She married all of us almost to the first suitor. After my marriage, I learnt spinning from my mother-in-law, but one day my husband broke the spinning device, as the wool's dust irritated his chest. Then, I tried other jobs, either outside or at my home, but in each I faced difficulties and ended up with domestic labour again. I tried very much to find a permanent cleaning job in a hospital, but wherever, I went I was told that they prefer to give the job to women, who had at least have five years of schooling.

S. Z. was a 22 year-old childless married woman whom I interviewed in prison. In the last year of her three years of married life, her husband became unemployed as his employer closed down the business since it was not making any profit. His unemployment forced her to work as a domestic worker for an old couple, doing everything, for only 1,000 Toummans per day, which was paid monthly, while their house rent was 12,000 Toummans. She had objected about her wage, twice, for which the answer was that if she is not satisfied with the wage, she can leave after paying off her debts, the money that she had borrowed from her employer. Later on, her 74 year-old employer became interested in her and started to harass her and

beddings are hard labour and often if the family can afford to pay for the service, they may employ a worker to do these jobs. Most of the part-time domestic workers whom I interviewed mentioned their involvement in this activity.

treat her as his property. The employer, who sometimes asked her to stay overnight, ignored her dignity and sense of humanity. Regarding her work and how she was harassed by her employer she said that:

He, who is even older than my grandfather, started to harass me, but I could not leave, because we did not have any income to live and to pay off our debts to him. For the New Year, he bought me a ring as a gift (*Eidi*), but reduced my wage, which was equivalent to 5 to 6 days of my work. Many times, I told him that it is true that I am poor, and I have lots of financial needs and problems, but if I wanted to commit wrong deeds, I could have earned much more money, and I wouldn't work in his house six days a week from morning until evening for only 1000 Toummans. One day, when I was hovering, he took my hand and threw me on the bed, but I resisted and pushed him aside, and left the house immediately. I went home, my husband realised that something was wrong. I first denied it, but then I told him what had happened to me. He told me to take a tape, and record him, so I will have proof¹⁴. But I decided to go and kill him first and then myself. The next day, I went to work, he asked me if I would stay that night. I said 'no!!' He told me that basically I don't deserve anything except my poor, lazy, unemployed husband. I told him that he is taking advantage of my social and economic situation and taunting me. He left the house and I took some medicine, trying to commit suicide. When I wanted to leave the house, I saw my employer's wife (who was disabled, and unable to protect herself and talk), and I thought that I might as well steal her jewellery, while I was going. I took her earrings, and her necklace, but in order to show that I had not been the one who had stolen these, I injured my hand with a knife, and rang her son, and told him that there had been burglars, who broke into the house. They didn't believe me, and took me to the police station and complained against me. There I told the police about my employer's abuses and harassment, but I saw him pay 10 thousand Toummans bribe to the police to not record what I had said. My case was referred to the court for stealing, and there I didn't talk about my employer's sexual abuse and harassment, as I thought that I won't win the case and I admitted to my crime.

Due to class differences, employing a paid domestic worker for a middle-class employer, seems to be more a matter of buying the worker's personhood, rather than buying her labour power (Anderson, 2000: 2). However, the experience of harassment and abuse by the employer, was only mentioned by S. Z., for most of the workers do mainly deal with the female employers. Moreover, the majority of the domestic workers are middle-aged with many children. Only one of the workers mentioned that she was a maid when she was single. Although women's work in private households is a rational response to survival and the economic motivations, they are aware of gender identities, sexual codes and cultural and ideological constraints. They often challenge these constraints and carefully

14- This was very surprising to me when I heard it, as I was expecting to hear about her husband's anger towards the man; or embarrassment as he could not function his religious and national bread winning duty. Unlike other men, who are often concerned about the family honour, her husband, instead of preventing her from going to work, where their was a great threat to family honour, suggested taking a tape with her and record the man's sexual offers to his wife.

consider and practice the cultural expectations and norms (Kabeer, 1994). Most of the workers or their families are concerned about the possibility of harassment and abuse by male members of the family, and are conscious about choosing safe homes to work within. In this regard, N. B. said that:

At the beginning, my brothers-in-law were opposing my work by saying that I was too young to work in private houses. I told them I would be happy not to work if they, as three brothers, take part of our expenditure and provide our food, clothes and other needs. I told them I can re-marry and leave the kids¹⁵ with them, but I want to stand on my own two feet to bring up my children, and nobody or anything will stop me. I've heard too many things spoken behind my back, but I try to ignore them and get on with my life. I've had a very difficult life. When my children were younger, I had to leave them alone at home. At the beginning, my oldest daughter looked after the kids and later on, they got older and were able to take care of themselves and help me with the housework.

Women often use mixed strategies to confront constraints that deny their access to limited material resources. They are rarely rebellious against the patriarchal and ideological constraints, rather most of the time they bargain with patriarchy by confirming to most of its rules to secure their access to economic resources (Kandioti, 1988; Poya, 1999: 148-154). For some poor older women, the low status of the work is another kind of constraint that puts women in a dilemma between choosing to work or to guard the poor family's dignity. In this regard, one of the informants stated that:

We first moved from our village to Marand (a city close to Tabriz) where most of our relatives were settled. Even though we were very poor, I didn't go to work, because of our relatives. Since we have moved to Tabriz, I started to work in people's houses, as nobody knows me here. In the early years, I was working a lot, particularly doing mattresses, each for 500 Toummans, as well as other domestic work. Now I have reduced the amount of my work; firstly because of my health, due to overworking with water, and secondly, whenever I go to work, the children became embarrassed in front of the neighbours and quarrel with me. But whenever, I am offered a job, I don't say no. Now one of the neighbours has land and has planted tomatoes and chillies, and I go for weeding and get paid 1000 Toummans.

Most of the women who were working in the lowest status jobs, particularly as domestic servants, mentioned their children, particularly their daughters' dissatisfaction with their work, though they were well aware of the material reality of their lives and the importance

15-When a widow re-marries, her in-laws usually take the custody of the children, but if she does not re-marry, she would be in charge of her own children. One of the widowed informants mentioned something stranger in this regard. She said that: 'Three days after the death of my husband, I saw that my in-laws are dividing my children between themselves and telling me that I could be free to re-marry. I told them that I won't marry, and will take care of my children. I have already married once and if it was my fate, he would have stayed alive'.

of their mother's domestic services in private houses to their survival strategy. In one of the interviews with a domestic worker, her young teenaged daughter could not help herself from crying and left the room in the middle of the interview as she became more embarrassed as her mother was explaining her work experience and the frustration with her employer.

Wage and work hours

Domestic labourers normally work from 8am to 5pm; some even work longer hours, depending on the needs of their employers. As Anderson (2000) argues, a domestic worker at the same time as being treated as a worker, may be treated as part of the family, when there is a matter of hours and flexibility. Due to the informal nature of the work, there is no control over this sector at all, no minimum wage or insurance. Better wage and good treatment of the workers often depends on the sense of humanity of the employers. The part-time workers, who work for many employers, are paid daily, but those working for one family, are often paid monthly. Most of the workers were unhappy with their wages. Only one woman was paid a good and reasonable money of 3000 Toummans per day for her service, but she was part-time and said that for the last two months, she was not called to work. Between 1200 and 1500 Toummans per day, is common, but barely adequate for a family's subsistence, particularly if the family relies only on this money, which is often the case. One of the retired domestic workers said that:

When I started my work at people's houses, I was paid 500 Toummans, lately it was 1200 Toummans. In those days, you could manage with 500 Toummans, but now because of the inflation, it is difficult to manage life with 2 to 3 thousand Toummans. Otherwise, you have to stay in hunger, in order to pay off your bills (F. Z.).

Sometimes they are paid on piece rate. Many women, whose main job is making mattresses, said that they are paid 500 Toummans per mattress, which includes washing and beating the wool, and the re-making of the mattress. They hardly make more than two in a day, if they are very fast and skilled.

These women, particularly widows, often have to struggle in different ways. Apart from their limited access to material resources and the low wages for low status jobs, they are facing the interferences of their in-laws, who perceive themselves as the guardians of these women and their children due to the Islamic and traditional ideologies. Z. P. described her problems in this manner:

For two years I worked as a baby sitter. I started my work from 6 o'clock in the

morning until 5 o'clock in the afternoon, and got paid 20 thousand Toummans per month; less than 700 Toummans per day. I stopped working since the New Year, because they didn't increase my wage over the last 2 years, and the money wasn't even enough to pay for the bills, let alone to cover our other costs. I don't receive any support from either my own family, as they are very poor, nor from my in-laws either financially or emotionally. Not only do they not support me, but they also get upset whenever I work. They don't like us to stand on our own feet, and want us to be in need of them to survive. They think that their son has left me lots of treasures, but they don't recognise the difficulties that I face, bringing up the children. When my husband was alive, he abused me and was violent towards me, but now that he is dead, his family and poverty irritate me.

Some employers are, however, more generous or helpful in terms of providing their workers in-kind assistance, or giving them useful information about other alternative jobs, that might be regular and more secure in terms of the continuation of the work and other labour benefits. For instance, one of the workers said:

One of my employers gave me a sack of 10 kilos of rice and another one gave me 5 kilos of cooking oil, at the beginning of the *Ramadan*. They also gave their old and small clothes to me and I occasionally bought clothes for the kids or me.

Or another woman whom I interviewed in the university dormitory stated that:

I was doing domestic work in private houses. One of my employers encouraged me to do the same job in the public places, such as hospitals, schools, university dormitories and etc. She told me I would secure my earnings, and beside that I could benefit from insurance and other lateral benefits, which I could not get from private employers.

N. B. who has been working as a domestic worker for ten years, the last five years of which she has worked for one employer, both in the house and the family business, has a different experience:

I start my work every weekday, sometimes-even Fridays, from 8am to 3 to 4pm. It is five years that I have worked in the restaurant every day and done everything, including the cooking, serving food, washing the dishes and cleaning and chopping the vegetables, but my employer doesn't insure me. He pays 1200 Toummans per day, for the other workers in the restaurant, but pays me 2500 Toummans, which has been recently increased. The extra pay is for working as a supervisor in the restaurant, and at his house as a domestic labourer. I am paid daily and get dinner too. He pays the same for ordinary days, holidays, Eid, over work and etc. A few days ago, I started from the morning and stayed till 11 o'clock at night, as they had a party, but still he paid me the same wage. I came home and got mad, as I had worked from morning till mid-night without any overtime pay. I have told him that I won't forgive him for what he pays me. However, his wife is more generous, and when I do her house cleaning for the New Year, I receive 10 thousand Toummans *Eidi* (New Year gift).

When she was explaining this, she was full of anger and saying that if she didn't have so

many children, she wouldn't be obliged to work until midnight. But immediately, she said that she shouldn't be ungrateful as her daughters are very good, and it is not their fault that she has produced so many children. However, her work and earning was valued by herself, as it has given her independence and enabled her to meet her children's needs. By doing domestic work, she moved from her first survival goal, to secure the socio-economic conditions of her family and the future of her children. Her work was also valued by her children, which make the hard work bearable. Her only complaint was about not being insured by her employer, which would give her old-age security. She was the most successful woman among my many domestic worker informants. About her motivation to work, she explained that:

Women like me are working because of their children. I believe that I have to work and meet my children's needs and wishes. I have managed to send all of my daughters to school, and the one with the least education has nine years of schooling. Without my work and earnings, it would be impossible. My oldest daughter has said to her husband, many times, that what I have provided for my children, her husband is unable to provide, and this is everything to me and encourages me to work harder. I am happy that I can keep my children satisfied.

Most of the women working outside the home mentioned that their employment was valued by their family as their job is not only essential for the improvement of the family's economic situation, but also for their survival, particularly when women are the sole breadwinners of the family. Some mentioned that when they come home, their children hug them and show their love and affection towards them and directly or indirectly thank them. Some, particularly those who have grown up daughter(s), mentioned that their daughters do most of their housework. There are, however, always exceptions or sometimes women's expectation from their family is more than the family's actual ability. F. Z. was complaining too much about her children's disrespect towards her. She was demanding them to look after her, for only three years, as she had done for her husband (their father). At the same time, she was aware of their problems as unemployed youth, who have emotional and sexual demands and need to form a family, but because of economic deprivation and unemployment they had to cope with them. Her daughter, who had a teenage boy, blamed the mother and believed that she is teasing them and has too many demands. Regarding her children's behaviour towards her, F. Z. said that:

My husband was neither well tempered, nor bad-tempered, he was a normal man. I could get on with him; we were both working to raise the children. Now they have grown up and this is my fate, they break my heart. I cannot tolerate their bad behaviour. Now when I look back, I notice that my husband, being a porter and

carrying loads on his back all the time, did not transfer his pressures of work onto me, as much as my sons do.

Low-status jobs in public sector

For low-status jobs in the public sector, I interviewed some women in the University of Tabriz's kitchen, dormitories and a woman in the Medical School's dissection sector. Most of the women have found their jobs through their relatives and friends, who have already been working at the University. Some years ago, the Medical School with its hospitals became independent from the University of Tabriz, and till that time the cleaning staff in the University and the hospitals was moved from one place to another. Some of the women interviewed are employed by the university and are permanent, insured, paid during national holidays, have one month paid holiday and work eight-hour shifts. Some others, are employed by private firms, insured only during the time they work, for instance when the students are gone for summer holidays, they do not work and are not be paid or not insured, and if there is a need for them during this time, they are called to work for several days and are paid daily.

Privatisation of some sections of state sectors is one of the changes that have happened in the recent years. Cleaning sectors as well as the kitchen of the University have been given over to whichever private firms offer to run them at the lowest cost. One-year contracts are made by the University and the private firms, which are then renewed or terminated. The lack or inadequacy of control by the University, over this section, has made the workers more vulnerable. All of the women employed by the private firms, were unhappy about their work conditions and believed that they were better off when they were working under the university.

Work in the kitchen is done in different sections. Men do cooking and chefs and assistants, are all men. There are three main dining areas, one for the University's academic and administrative staff, one for male students and one for female students. Serving the food, is also the men's responsibility, even in female dining areas. Both men and women do washing up and cleaning the eating areas. Some women work near the rice store and their main responsibility is cleaning rice and sometimes grains. There were 7 women in the rice-cleaning area, only one of them was permanent, and five of these women were migrants. Two of them were middle-aged, widows and with children; one

was deserted and childless, who was also responsible for her mother's maintenance; and four were married, one of their husbands was in prison, while another was unemployed. Most of these women have worked in the hospital and the University's dormitories.

The current workers in the dormitories whom I interviewed (4), are all employed by another private firm, of whom two had worked in the hospital, one was a domestic worker, and one was a newly migrated woman who had found her job through her sister-in-law, who has already been working there. Only one of these women was an unmarried 41 year-old woman, whose unpaid contribution to family agricultural land in her village was too valuable for her father to marry her off. This practice was also observed by Afshar (1985a) in another Iranian village among the carpet weavers, despite the lowering of the marriage age of girls by the Islamic state (Afshar, 1985b). After the death of her father, once Gh. V. came to visit her sister and her family in Tabriz, which was informed by her sister's husband about the availability of a job in the hospital. She stayed in the city and never went back to the village except to visit her immediate family, who migrated to the city later on. She supported her two younger brothers for many years. Then when her sister's husband was building a house, she helped them financially, and in return she got access to free accommodation from her sister. The moral economy of kin (Afshar, 1989b) is very strong among the migrants, and they support each other by providing useful information, emotional support, free services, and many other things. Three of the other women interviewed in the dormitories were married with children and their contribution makes a big difference to their family. Only one of them faced disagreement from her husband towards her job, but she first secured her job and then told her husband that in any case she has to start her work from the next day and his written permission would not really matter, as it is only a bureaucratic issue. In this way, she managed to get his permission.

To compare the situation of the permanent workers employed by the University with those employed by the private firms, I bring quotations of these two groups of women. During the interview, one of the permanent workers, who had worked as a rice-cleaner, cleaner in the hospital and many other jobs in the University, joined us and talked about her work experience.

F. D., the deserted woman, explained her working condition in this manner:

It is twenty-two years that I am working. I started my job in the hospital, then after many years I was moved to the dormitory, I worked there for many years.

Now I am working here and helping these women and to make four to five *dami*¹⁶ everyday. The cover of ballet-boxes, and moneybags are sewen by me. I am employed permanently, and have insurance and a one-month paid holiday per year. If I don't use my holiday, I will save fifteen days for the next year and so on. Once I fell over and my hand was broken. The doctor issued me with a six-month sickness leave, and I asked for two more months, from my last years unused holidays allowances. Then the doctor said that I can carry on with my work, but wrote a letter to the university and asked them to change my work and they moved me here. I should have been considered as disabled (*as kar oftadeh*), and got an early retirement, but the University didn't consider me as disabled.

A. A. was a fifty-five year old woman, who had married at the age of fifteen, and started to work as a cleaner when she was seventeen because her first husband was a drug addict. She was about to retire and was working as a caretaker in one of the University's departments.

A lot of people from my area are working in the University. Because my husband was a drug addict, and couldn't support the family, our neighbours told me that there is a need for a window cleaner at the University. I started my work as a window cleaner and was given different jobs during my service. I have also worked in the kitchen as a rice-cleaner, but my longest service was in the hospitals, where I worked for eighteen years. When I was in the hospital, the nurses trained us to inject and now it is about 20 to 22 years that I inject patients outside the hospital, including my colleagues, which gives me extra income.

M. T. was a 56 years old married woman, who has worked for more than 20 years at the Medical School and her main responsibility was to dissect female corpses for anatomy examinations. She migrated to the city when she was almost 13 years old, after the sudden death of her young brother, a day before his wedding. The incident brought a great shock to the family, the father threw himself in a furnace, and the mother lost her speech, from horror, and became dumb. As the oldest child of the family, M. T. brought the mother to the city with the help of their close relatives, but she never got cured from her illness, and died 3 months before the interview. All these years, she lived with M. T. and helped her with childcare and domestic work, while she was working outside the home in different factories and workplaces. She found her jobs through the network of her relatives. Regarding her paid work and being the main provider of the household economy, she said that:

I have been working, since I moved to the city, in different places and then I ended up at the dissection sector of the Medical School. I married a man who didn't

16- *Dami* is a kitchen utensil, which is used for the steaming of rice, and is made of lots of fabric and a basket made of sticks. The basket is covered by the fabric and sewn by hand, then it is again covered by another layer of fabric and sewn, this continues until a very thick, firm and hard *dami* is made.

want me to continue with my work, but I insisted to work in order to support my mother, who had moved to live with me, and also looked after the children and did the housework. After a while, my husband became ill, so I had to support the whole family, including four children. It is almost 25 years that he has died. My second marriage also became a disaster, and I remained as the main provider of the family. He was working as a taxi driver for his employer. Because I had access to credit, I bought a coach, and he started to carry passengers between Tabriz and Tehran. Before we had even paid half of our debts, he had an accident and two people were killed and I became responsible for the blood money, as I was the owner of the coach. I sold the coach, and paid for a part of the blood money, but we ran into big debt. I was about to be jailed, so my husband drew cheques to pay off my debts, in order to be jailed instead of me. In more than 10 years, we managed to pay for his debts and it is almost 7 months that he has been released from the jail. In all these years, the burden of all the responsibilities has been on my shoulders. All of my children are educated up to 6 years of schooling, but they gave up their education, as they didn't want to put more pressure on me, and they started to work, to earn an income.

In order to supplement their income to pay off the debts and meet the family's needs, she employed other survival strategies mainly through developing her social network. The survival strategies in her case were having free access to some public services as well as in-kind assistance of hospital professional personnel, such as free treatment and free medicine. One of the doctors in the hospital bought her a house when she became widow with four young children. In her spare time, she works in the private households of the doctors. She also works everyday, from 12pm to 2 pm in the university's self-service, in order to help the staff with the washing-up, in lieu of free food. During that time her two male colleagues¹⁷ cover her shift and she was very grateful to them. In this regard, she said that:

It has been years, that I provide most of my family's food, in this way. I am not paid for my work, but I receive free food. It was, in fact, my colleagues' idea to explain my situation to the authorities in the University, so I could take food for my family, but in all my conscience, I wanted to make the food lawful (*halal*) by doing some unpaid work. We also cut some of our expenses by using my workplace facilities. For instance, till last year, all of the family were using the showers at the dissection sector of the hospital, because we didn't have a bath of our own. I brought my mother and children on a weekend, and if one of the authorities noticed, and became angry, my colleagues tried to hide it from me, so I wouldn't get upset; or denied it when they were asked directly.

Other workers, who were employed by the private firms, had bitter experiences, particularly from their current employer. The firm undertook the management of the catering sector a year before this research. I interviewed some workers whose main job

17- One of her colleagues was originally from Tabriz, and the other was a migrant from a rural area, and she was blessing both of them.

was cleaning rice. Their numbers had been reduced in this area, by removing male workers. Before women sat and cleaned the rice in big trays, and men emptied the clean rice into big sacks, took them out of the room and passed more rice to the women. The firm removed the men and when women objected to the issue, the manager told them that he has to choose between having the men in that area, or keeping the men, but reducing 5,000 Toummans of each of women's wages. He did both, removed the men and reduced women's wages, which led to an increase in their workload, so in addition to rice-cleaning, they also had to move heavy rice trays around, empty them into big sacks and remove them from the room. The rice comes in 50 Kilo bags, but cleaned bags are between 65 and 70 kilos. Women were doing these tasks in shifts and every three days, two of them did the standing tasks, and the rest did the cleaning tasks. They were angry about their work conditions, wage, and their exploitation by the firm:

We are paid 38 thousand Toummans per month, 5,000 less than last year, which is not even paid on time, sometimes it is paid once every 45 days or even every two months. Our *Eidi* (30,000 Toummans) was also less than last year. One of the women protested against the *Eidi* as well as the reduction. The manager sacked her and said that she doesn't need money and she is a troublemaker. Then all of us, interceded with the manager, as her husband is in prison and she does not have any other income-earner. When we were under the University, married workers with children were paid 4,900 Toummans per month, as *Hag-ge olad* (children's right), in addition to their wages. The firm has cut that off too, in addition to the uniform, tea and sugar for our consumption at work. Now we only get dinner, and that is because it is the University's dinner; if it was firm's, we couldn't get that either. We work from 7.30 in the morning till 3.30 in the afternoon, sometimes even till 5 or 6. It is not our responsibility to clean and wash chickens, but they sometimes take us to the kitchen by the men, to clean chickens and pay only 200 Toummans per hour, which is the price of a packet of crisps. Even then, they put too much pressure on us to finish an hour or so quicker, so they would pay even less. They exploit us and whenever, we want to protest against it, they say two of us are excessive. Nobody is on our side, and when we complain to the University authorities, they say it's not their concern.

At the same university, under another firm, women working in dormitories were paid 42,500 Toummans per month for an 8-hour workday and were more satisfied, though they also believed that the work of four people was being given to three people.

K. M. was a 33 year-old married woman, with two children, who has been working for more than 7 years. Her husband was a bakery labourer and his income was not sufficient for meeting their needs. Regarding the factors which affected her decision to work and the different kinds of work she has done so far, she said that:

When my oldest son was seven months old, my husband was taken for the military service for two and a half years, during the war. He could only manage to cover our expenses for four months. After that we had to borrow money from relatives.

When my husband finished his conscription, he was not able to pay off the debts by his income. One day, I talked to my son's headmaster and informed him of my interest to work in the girls' school as a cleaner. He introduced me to a male Teacher Training College, and my job was cleaning the lecturer rooms, serving tea and etc. Since it was my first job outside the home and I was amongst men, I was suffering. If it was now, I think I would be more comfortable. One day, I told about my feelings to my employer and asked him to introduce me to another place. He introduced me to a hospital, where I became patient-carrier for one year, and then I was sent to the operation section to help the nurses. There I was more involved with dead bodies. I had two night shifts and some nights I was asked to move the dead-body to the morgue, which was so scary and distressful, and I couldn't continue any more. I told them either to send me to another job or to clear my account and let me go. Now it is five years that I am working in the dormitories. Here my workload is more than when I was in the hospital, but here I am happier. I am among women and because there are no men around we are freer in terms of dress code.

Although the status of the jobs these groups of women are doing either in the public sector or in the private households are low, they and their children are much better off compared with the other poor women, who are concerned with cultural and ideological constraints and regard women's work outside as disgraceful to family honour. Working women are more concerned about their children's education, particularly their daughters' and encourage them by any means to do their schooling or do vocational trainings in order not to follow their mother's path. The fertility rate is lower among these women, except for widows, who worked after the death of their husbands. They have more access to social capital and their social network is wider, which in many cases enable them to work more in their spare time, for additional money, when it is required. They have also more access to social welfare such as insurance, credit and pension for their old age security, particularly for permanent employees. These social changes activate women's gender consciousness and some question the existence of gender as well as class inequalities in the society and culture. S. Z., a domestic worker jailed for stealing from her employer, bitterly talked about women's and the poor's position in the society and the importance of having female lawyers and judges, who would understand women's situation better and fight for their rights. In this regard, she said that:

Here (in prison) there is nobody to inspect jailed women's problems and the reasons they end up in prison. I was sentenced for only six months, but I was told that it was two years. Last week when I went to court, the same judge told me that my sentence is six months; I asked him why last week he said it was two years. In my response, he said that if I talk too much, it would be changed to one year. I told him there is no Ali's justice¹⁸ (*Adl-e Ali*) in this society, if there was, I would

¹⁸- Ali is the first Imam of Shiites for whom, he is a good example of justice and fairness.

have been inspected separately and asked the reasons that provoked me to steal. This talk offended him, and he issued me with twenty lashes. I haven't seen the period of *taghout*¹⁹, but I have heard and read that women were treated as commodity (*kala*), but now under Islamic state women are given more privileges and are treated as human beings. But, in practice women are worthless and nobody serves their right, and I think being a *kala* in Shah's time is better than this. A woman doesn't know what to do; if she wants to commit suicide from the pressures of life, the people will say 'see what she had done, that she wanted to hide it by committing suicide'; if she gets aggressive and fights, people will say 'she is insane'; if she doesn't say or do anything about her problems, people will condemn her for her insularity. Now in our society, there is much talk about humanity, but in practice, there is no humanity and spirituality. Now, money is the solution to all problems. If my father or husband had money, I wouldn't end up in prison or even have to work at all or in such circumstances. When I come out of prison, the people will behave differently towards me. I haven't committed a sin, I have made a mistake, and I am being punished for it.

2- 2 Young women in the factory

The Anata Chocolate factory is one of the export-oriented factories in Tabriz, which produces confectionary products, and sells them to national and international markets. The factory's products are exported to the neighbouring countries, particularly Gulf countries as well as some African and East-European countries. During the study, more than 60% of the factory's employees (250 out of 400) were young unmarried educated women. All of them hold national Diploma certificates. All of the five supervisors, however, were men.

According to the factory's manager, who was also responsible for the recruitment of staff and was present during the interview, 80% of the girls are 'villagers'. By this, he meant that: they are originally from the rural areas, directly or indirectly. I interviewed four of the workers: two of them had migrated to Tabriz, because of the factory work, from a small town and a village in the proximity of Tabriz; one had migrant parents; and another one had migrated to the city in her childhood. Most of the girls in this factory had found their jobs through their relatives or friends, who had already been working there.

The shift starts from 7.00am and finishes at 7.00 pm with one hour break per day. Part of the shift is overtime work for which they get a reasonable overtime wage. According to the employment law, the minimum monthly salary is 50 thousand Toummans. Most of the girls, however, earned about 90 thousand Toummans with their overtime work and incremental increase. The factory has some mini-buses, which collect factory's staff in the mornings and give them a lift to their homes in the afternoons. The

19- Taghout literally means Satan, who prevents humans from being on the right path; or any idol. After the revolution, the period of Pahlavi's dynasty is also known as '*doran-e taghout*'.

PAGE
NUMBERING
AS ORIGINAL

factory also organises some trips where the workers contribute to its expenditures.

All of the employees are subject to insurance and are entitled to a one month holiday per year, most of whom do work in their holiday time and get overtime wages. The overtime wage rate is 100% of their minimum wage, whereas, according to the manager, in other factories, it is 40%. Equal pay legislation operates in this factory and women's earnings, in comparison to other factories, are quite high. However, the manager thought that equal pay is a discriminatory law against male workers, who do the heavy jobs and are also the main providers of their families. Regarding the equal pay, the managers said that:

The 50-kilogram sugar sacks, 17 kilogram bags of flour or any other heavy items are moved around by men. The girls sometimes move around the 10 kilograms sacks. They mainly sit behind machines and whenever the machines go wrong, they call for men to fix them²⁰. Moreover, the former employment codes used to differentiate between single and married workers, but now they are treated the same by the law. We, the managers, told the owner of the factory that these laws will cause discontent among male workers. He told us that the allowances and other benefits are in our own hands, and we can manage them in a way that they benefit male workers more than female workers.

However, the major discriminatory act against female workers in this factory is the women's withdrawal from the work as soon as they get engaged. This affects female workers' attitude towards marriage, as they will lose their job and their economic independence by getting married²¹. They think they ought to be housewives and dependent on their husbands; or have to get another job, the income of which would be much lower. One of the workers has been working in the factory for nine years and because she did not want to lose her job, had preferred to remain unmarried. In response to my question about their marriage, they preferred not to think about it. M. A. was 20 years old and told me that:

It is very early to think about marriage. I think work outside the home gives me more freedom. I have worked in the factory almost a year and half. I wouldn't be able to stay at home from morning till night. I passed the entrance exam to study at the Open University, but we couldn't afford to pay the tuition fee. I wanted to do a job outside the home in a textile workshop or to be a shop assistant, but the work-conditions were not suitable. I applied for this factory and after a month I was given the job.

R. A. was 23 years old and told me that:

²⁰ - The girls are also responsible for cleaning of the machine at the end of each day.

²¹ - This is different from what their single sisters in other sectors think.

Whenever I think about marriage, I become upset. I refuse my suitors. I don't want to lose my job and seek another job, but living alone in the city and being far from the family, has got security and safety problems.

I asked the manager why they sack the girls when they get engaged, even before starting a married life. He responded that:

For us, the moral behaviour of female workers is very important. We don't like to recruit, or keep, married women to come and disturb the work environment by their misbehaving, such as talking about their private relationships with the single female workers. The families of these girls have trusted our safe environment and sent their daughters to our factory.

I asked him: 'Are you more anxious about the morality of your single female workers or about the production of the factory? Don't you take into account, the married female workers' marital responsibilities, which will affect their productivity in the workplace? Anyway, there are moral codes in the society, as well as the factory, that they will be obliged to follow even after their marriage.' He responded:

We consider both factors: their potential impact on single girls' behaviour as well as on the factory's productivity.

2-2-1 The workers' contribution to the household income

Three of the four workers interviewed mentioned that they contribute to the family income. One of them is supporting her family financially, particularly the education of her youngest brother, who would have had to work and support the family from a young age. The good income, gave the women greater autonomy to make important decisions about themselves regarding marriage, earning and disposal of their income, and about whether save their money or help their family with their income.

'I give my wage to my parents, who either spend or save it. Whenever I need money, I ask my parents for it.'

'My family back home were struggling because of the lack of work in the village and the low income. My mother had become depressed due to our poverty and prayed to God that I would be able to find a job, as I was educated and had a national Diploma. My cousin, who works in the factory too, had encouraged me to come and work here. My parents are very happy that I am working and my sister also wants to come and work here. Two months of my income is more than my father's annual earnings from agriculture.'

Only one of these four interviewed workers said that she spends her money for her own

expenditure. She said that:

My cousins and I have rented a flat and we pay 30 thousand Toummans per month. One of them got married and moved on. I spend my money as I wish. I buy jewellery, clothes and whatever else is needed for the house. On Fridays and other holidays, I go to see my parents and I sometimes buy them small gifts. Whenever they come to visit me, they bring dairy products and sometimes meat; they spend more on me, than I spend on them.

In rural areas, the family usually oppose the young, single women's work outside the home. However, when the girls gain education, they also gain negotiating power and actively get involved in cultural negotiations for their own benefit. In this case, one of the girls said that:

Because I had been educated, my family were aware that I would finally get a job. One of my cousins used to work in this factory and I had asked her to inform me of any job opportunities in the factory. At first, when I got the job, both of my parents were against my decision, as I was the only daughter of the family and we were among the wealthiest in the village, but I finally convinced them. Now it is three and a half years that I have been working in this factory.

Work outside home and earning an income has increased the social status of the girls within the family. For them marriage is not the only alternative to gain social prestige.

Since I have been working, my status in the family has risen, by at least 80%. Before I worked, my parents did not discuss any family issues with me, but now they ask for my advice and now the three of us make decisions together. In the area where we live, the slum area of Tabriz, there are not many girls who work outside. Most of them weave carpets or knit, etc.

With the exception of the discriminatory act against married women in this factory, the workers enjoy more benefits. In some other factories they either do not recruit women or their working conditions are not satisfactory for women or their families. One of the widows, who was a domestic worker, said this regarding her unmarried daughter's work in the factory:

My neighbours tell me to send the girls to work in the factories, but I can't trust the factories, and I'm frightened that they might be deceived because they're young and inexperienced. Work in the factories starts from early morning till the late afternoon, and the supervisors are all men. They get along with women, who are easy going, but not with dignified women. My oldest daughter worked in a factory for seven months, but she didn't want to go any longer.

Many other informants also said that they refused permission their daughter to work in the factories due to long hours or the lack of safe environment in factories due to the existence of male supervisors.

2-3 Young single women's work on other production lines

In Tabriz, garment production lines are small-scale units and the number of their workers is often between three and nine²². They are often owned privately²³ and do not often observe the country's employment laws and legislations. The work hours are usually from 9am to 5.30 pm or even from 7am to 4.30 pm. In most of the small-scale workshops the wages of employees are not fixed, and they vary in terms of the amount of production and the sales of the workshop, as well as the experience of the workers and their involvement in the different stages of the production. In most of the workshops there is task division of labour between the workers. Machine operators, finishers and ironers are young, and often unmarried women and the job of cutting clothes is often done by the male owners, as it is also monopolised by men in other countries (Custers, 1997: 109). The machine operators usually get higher wages than unskilled workers, who start working as apprentices and get their training as they go along. These young women also find their jobs through their social networks of family and friends, and learn new skills, including cutting. However, most of them mentioned that they would not be able to work in the workshop after they marry, because of the hours of the work and the demands of house working and child-rearing. They often save their money to buy a sewing machine and work at home. One of the informants was an ironer three years before I interviewed her. In terms of the condition of her work, she said that:

I worked in a garment workshop for a year, as an ironer, with my cousin. I didn't face any opposition from my family towards my work and learning a skill. We were seven single women: two machine operators, an overcast stitcher and four ironers. The employer was the owner of the workshop, who was doing all the cutting jobs and passed them onto the machine operators. The ironers were paid six thousand Toummans per month, while the machine operators were paid three times as much. The only benefit of working there was that we sometimes made clothes out of our own material, without having to pay for it. After a year, my dad didn't let me go to work because I was getting too tired by working long hours for a very low wage (a nineteen year old girl).

One of the informants, who was working in another clothes workshop, said:

My stepmother wouldn't let my father pay the fees of a tailoring training course, so I worked in a workshop to earn money and to learn the skill. My father didn't object towards my decision, but my brother was seriously opposed, as he felt

22- According to the 1996 census, 93% of the manufacturing workshops in East Azarbaijan employed between one and five workers and 4% of them employed six to nine workers.

23- According to the 1996 census, 99% of the manufacturing workshops in East Azarbaijan were categorised as 'privately owned workshops'. All or at least 50% of invested capital in privately owned workshops belong to individuals, often the owners.

sorry for me and wanted to pay for my training fees, but I didn't accept it. We are three single women in this workshop, and we make sixty to seventy bras a day. I take orders from my relatives and friends, and do all the jobs myself. I write all my own work in a booklet and my employer deducts three hundred Toummans, per each item, but instead I charge my customers eight hundred Toummans. My training took two to three months, and now my wage is higher than before. I have been trained to do cutting and I can cut ten at once, but not sixty or seventy. My monthly wage is between twenty and twenty two thousand Toummans, but including my own work, my earnings are between thirty and thirty five thousand Toummans.

Since women's earnings are 'not lucrative enough to pull most women out of poverty, and not sufficiently different in their content or context to seriously challenge existing ideological constructs' (Afshar and Aawal, 1989: 14), the majority of women have a framed concept of 'femininity' and 'masculinity'. Almost all of my informants believed that providing for the family's welfare is the men's responsibility, and many girls in paid employment stated that they will quit when they marry. R. T., nineteen years old, said that:

I won't work after I marry, I like my husband to work and bring money for me. I might buy a sewing machine and work at home and set up my own business.

Part of this idea that they will quit after marriage, is due to the labour market's conditions, such as the lack of flexibility for married women in terms of working hours, in order to manage their domestic, as well as working, responsibilities accordingly. The lack of childcare facilities is another major obstacle for women, particularly in nuclear families. The women, whose mother or mother in-law looked after their children, while they were working, have fewer problems with their child-care responsibility. Cultural norms and practices such as the men's responsibility for doing outside jobs and women doing housework and looking after the children is a normal and acceptable practice in the majority of households. I asked a twenty-three year old single woman, who was earning very well from her business and was satisfied of her job as well as earnings, 'what will you do, if your married partner does not agree with your work? She replied that:

If he is my desired partner, who has a permanent job and a good salary, I will accept not to work.

One of the domestic workers said that:

I tell my daughters to study well, so if their husbands die, they will be able to find a better job and not be compelled to do the demeaning jobs.

Conclusion

This chapter illustrated the diversity of economic activities among migrant women and their contribution to the total earning of their families. It also illustrated that the four factors of age, education and marital status as well as economic situation of the family, are important elements in determining to which sectors and sub-sectors of the economy women can fit better. By earning money directly, women's contribution is more visible and valuable for the family, and women have more control over their labour and means of production, particularly in the case of self-employed women in spite of their individualized and atomized existence. In the case of married women, men's resistance towards their paid activities is more a matter of power management on the part of husbands, in order to sustain their traditional role as the heads of households, unquestioned. Most of the time, as the informants mentioned, as well as from my own observations, there was no violent disagreement between husbands and wives. Some married women, first find and secure their job, then ask for their husband's permission.

As the interviews revealed education plays an important role in empowering young, particularly unmarried, women to move out from the carpet industry, the most common, and invisible sector of the economy, among migrant families. Although their income in some sectors are less than their sister's economic contribution to the family in the carpet industry, they enjoy greater self-esteem and have greater gender consciousness, and see their outside engagement as a positive change. Education often helps that their marriage age to rise. This has a profound impact on women's physical and psychological health and welfare. They tend to have more self-confidence and are better able to promote their own interests in the marital relationship. As the level of education increases, the age disparity between them and their husbands often decreases and they may experience more egalitarian relationships with their partners. For instance, some illiterate women in this study were the second wife of their husbands, either because of divorce or the death of their co-wives, whereas, none of the women with some levels of education had this sort of marriage.

Conclusion

In this thesis, I have tried to bridge a gap in terms of the migrant woman's invisibility, in both migratory literatures in Iran, and in Western literature on Iranian women's issues. The former invisibility is mainly due to general assumptions regarding the perception of gender roles in migrant families, according to which women are assumed mainly to accompany their economically active male relatives in migration. In the latter, the main focus of most studies is on the macro level analyzing political discourse and legal changes, particularly those concerning Islamic state policies, gender ideologies and doctrines, that construct or affect the living conditions and life experiences of Iranian women in general. Few studies, however, concentrate on the micro level analyzing economic role of working class women, and in those that do, migrant women are largely ignored¹. Thus, the central concern of this study was to examine the impact of migration on migrant women's socioeconomic status within the family and society, and to reveal the individual voices and their motivations and experiences based on their own accounts, as they may be motivated to migrate by different factors to those affecting men.

Before the empirical study, I assumed that migrant women in Tabriz were more or less a homogenous group who benefited from migration and changes in social and economic conditions; and who, like their counterparts in different parts of the world, played a role in migration-related decisions. Data shows that the majority of the respondents were willing to leave their villages and in general they chose economic pull and push factors, mostly as their first and second priorities for migration. Social factors such as: the lack of health and educational services and facilities were important factors after the economic ones, mostly as their second, third and fourth priorities. These findings are strongly supported by Iranian migratory literature that discusses rural-urban migration in Iran in general (Afshar, 1985a; Ajami, 1976; Akhavi, 1986; Bayat, 1997; Hemassi, 1974; Hoodfar, 1993; Keddie, 1972; Pesaran, 1985; Razavi, 1992) and to the city of Tabriz in particular (Hosseini-Zadeh-e-Dalir, 1982; and Jamali, 1985) as a result of industrialisation and modernisation processes in urban areas as well as land reform in rural

¹- See introduction

areas. Looking at their marital status and their age groups at the time of migration, the data, however, indicates the variation of the priorities among different categories of women.

Almost one-third of the respondents were bound to the familial residence, as children and majority of them were less than ten years old at the time of migration. For 75% of this category, accompanying their family was the only reason behind their migration and they did not play a role in decision-making process, though the net gain from migration was positive for some of them. For a group of women who migrated to the city to start a married life, marriage was the main reason for their migration and for some of them who experienced unhappy marital relationships, the net gain of migration was negative due to the loss of family support. For a few single women who had migrated independently, access to better employment and educational opportunities were the main reasons for their rational decisions. For married women, economic inducement was the important reason for the migration of the family as an economic unit in response to rural-urban inequalities. However, age-group subdivisions indicate that migration for the high percentage of the younger, was a response to positive socio-economic characteristics of urban life, and for the older respondents, it was a response to negative circumstances of their place of origin. The 'human capital investment model' and economic and non-economic costs and returns of migration in terms of longer or shorter periods of net benefits can explain the diverse responsiveness of different age-groups to pull and push factors both in general and in this case study.

Economic migrants are often male relatives of the respondents mainly due to the sexual division of labour and ideological beliefs and practices that consider men as the main providers of family income. For some married women, however, migration was considered as an opportunity that could free them from the rural workload. Though most of them ended up working in the cottage industry of carpet weaving. The majority of migrant women in this study undertook family-related migration, mainly due to marriage. It is almost impossible for married women to migrate independently, due to the gender ideologies and the sexual division of labour that define married women's centrality at home. This situation differs from that in many parts of China, South-East Asia, North Africa, and Latin America where married women at times leave their children in their villages in the custody of their female relatives and even their husbands, and migrate independently to the city in search of employment (Brydon, 1989; Campani, 1995; Chant, 1989; Davin, 1998 & 1999).

The lack of primary health care services in the villages, which affected families both economically as well as emotionally due to the sudden death of family members and children, as well as animals, was another important factor mentioned by married women both in poorer and better off households. The lack of education opportunities in the villages was only mentioned by women whose families could afford better educational services for their children in the city.

The value of interviews with migrant women from different generations was great, as they revealed issues in terms of their life and work that have been studied relatively little in Iran. One of the most important and interesting aspects of the interviews was that they illustrated the variety of living standards of women and their status in migrant families, who are often seen as undifferentiated social groups. Although the main concern of the study was examining migrant women's socio-economic conditions within a social and cultural context with a specific focus on their income generation activities, during the study I noticed considerable differences between different generations of women mainly in terms of the level of their literacy. Therefore, during the processing of the data, I focussed on two specific areas, namely — education and employment in order to assess migrant women's socio-economic status.

Until the late 1960s, rural women were almost excluded from education and according to UNESCO, 92 % of rural women in Iran were illiterate (Touba, 1980; Moghissi, 19996). Older informants of the study also stated that there was no school in their villages. Apart from the lack of access to educational services, ideological norms have also played a preventative role in female illiteracy in both rural as well as urban areas. In urban areas social inequalities between different social classes as well as ideological factors resulted in a higher female illiteracy rate in migrant families. Despite the establishment of a national educational system in 1918 and the promotion of female education by the state from the era of Reza Shah's nation building and modernisation, there was strong criticism on the part of the religious establishment of the educational policy of the Pahlavi State, which struck a cord with many working class families as well as traditional and religious families. These ideological criticisms often exacerbated the gender inequalities in traditional families, particularly in terms of female children's access to the limited educational opportunities. Ideological factors, particularly those related to honour, seemed to affect girls in migrant families more than their counterparts in traditional and religious urban families. Most often, the migrants do not integrate into mainstream society and thus do not trust it easily and are afraid of the vulnerability of their

female members, particularly that of their daughters (Bauer, 1984 & 1985). In most of the migrant families whom I interviewed, the older female children had usually been prevented from receiving education by their families. Some of the informants mentioned the influence of the clergy on their parents' decision, particularly in relation to their fathers. However, many younger sisters of these interrupted women were studying at higher levels of schooling without their parents having too much anxiety concerning the loss of honour through studying. By comparing the interrupted women with their younger sisters in migrant families, it can be argued that as the duration of residency in the city increases, fear or lack of trust towards the city environment decreases. This may partially signify the importance of socio-psychological empowerment achieved by overcoming the initial experiences of marginality and insecurity. It can also be argued that the desecularisation of the educational system, regulating female contact with the outside world in terms of the accepted traditional gender ideologies of veil and sex segregation as a result of the gender policies of the Islamic state, might have had a positive impact on many young girls in migrant working class families. In terms of young women's access to educational opportunities, it seems that the current gender policies have ironically freed and facilitated their attendance at primary and secondary schools by creating a sense of security for parents who are concerned about their daughters morality and modesty. If earlier, traditional and ideological values and beliefs had a stronger preventive role in female literacy in most migrant families, nowadays it is the poverty of the families and their material circumstances that restrict not only young females, but also young male's access to education.

Although earlier, almost all female migration in this area occurred in the family context. Now there is a change in the patterns of female migration, particularly among younger women in their mid-teens or early twenties, who come to the city with a purpose, independently from their families, to be educated, acquire different skills, and to take skilled jobs, as a result of which they even postpone marriage. The migration of young single women either to continue their education or to seek employment, also illustrates an improvement in female education in rural areas. For younger educated women, education plays an important role in expanding their human capacities as well as their freedom of mobility. These single women are being helped by their parents who feel that their daughters' morality is not under threat in an Islamic context. There is a change of attitudes towards independent female migration, as their level of education increases. However, this change is slow, due to the perception of single women's vulnerability in dealing with the

wider and unfamiliar world.

The study indicates that female literacy has a profound impact on women's marriage-age, their fertility behaviour as well as their engagement in different income generating activities. For the majority of illiterate women, involvement in the production of goods for exchange values, or in the informal sector of the economy, forms part of the survival strategies that many migrant households adopt to cope with the commercialized style of urban life. This, however, does not detract from the role of ideological factors, mainly gender and traditional ideologies such as the sexual division of labour, sex-segregation and the domestication of women, which undermine women's valuable contribution to the family income. The greatest burden of the struggle to survive in labouring migrant families falls not only upon the male migrants who have been the focal point of interest in almost all Iranian migratory literature, but also on women. The informal and traditionally segregated sectors of economy in Tabriz in which women workers have been traditionally concentrated, such as the carpet industry, cleaning jobs, and the domestic sector, absorbed a large proportion of the impoverished female migrants. In most labouring families, women are obliged to work in order to supplement insufficient male income, as most men do not work throughout the whole year and are unemployed at times. The poorer the family, the more crucial the contribution of a woman's earning to the total income of the family, often through the invisible burden of their work. As the analysis showed, the older women, particularly the first generation, have been mostly confined to the locality, weaving carpets or spinning wool according to the level of economic well-being or poverty of the family. Some of these women have participated in literacy classes, but because of the nature of their work and the lack of an immediate use of literacy, the classes had little impact on them, except in offering them an opportunity to socialise with other women.

The impact of the household production system on the living conditions of the women involved indicated similar problems to those faced by their poor and impoverished counterparts in lace-making industry in Mies's (1982) study. In both cases, there is a basic patriarchal structure responsible for the exploitation of women's labour and the invisibility of their work. As unpaid family workers, they are not considered to be workers; rather they are seen as housewives who work in their spare-time. They do not have access to the market and their exploitation in the family is high mainly in terms of money relations, particularly in poorer households. They are less self-confident, and more dependent on male relatives, and their work and income remains invisible, both at household and

national levels. At the policy level, women's involvement in household industries, such as the carpet industry, is not defined as 'work' and women are not defined as 'workers', therefore, they are totally deprived of access to social and economic resources, particularly in terms of health insurance and credit. This lack of access to economic resources, particularly in the poorer households, exacerbates the plight of women and their children and makes them more vulnerable to the external exploitations of those who are engaged in the carpet business, who obtain considerable benefits from women's cheap labour in carpet industry.

The low rate of female participation in the labour market in Muslim countries including Iran may be explained by the widespread belief that Islamic ideology is hostile towards working women. But although Iran is an Islamic country in terms of governance, it seems that it is not the Islamic ideology that is the main obstacle for women's involvement in work outside the home. Out of 90 women whom I interviewed, only two illiterate and old women involved in the carpet industry talked about Islam and sin, but their comments were made in the context of women's obedience towards their husbands. No other women mentioned anything about Islam prohibiting female work outside the home. Rather they were mainly talking about traditional ideologies and values that prevented them from having access to paid employment. In response to my question as to whether they searched for a paid job outside the home after their migration, many women said 'no' and the reason for that was: 'it was *ayeb* (dishonourable) for us to work outside the home'. Although some women were in favour of a single-sex work environment, their preference were more socially rather than religiously.

Apart from traditional ideologies as well as patriarchal practices in the economy that sometimes prevent male employers to employ female workers, supply factor, i.e. women's unwillingness to work outside the home, seem to be another important reason for women's low participation rate in the labour force. Most women are not inclined to undertake low status jobs in the labour market; due to a lack of education or their womanhood/motherhood responsibilities. Some middle aged migrant women, most of whom have had very little education, managed to work outside the home in the lowest sections of the informal sector of the economy, but did so out of necessity, as they were from very poor families, often widows, who had to fend for themselves and their children. Although they found a space outside the home to work, they also experienced great exploitation as well as class and gender polarisation in their workplace, often perpetuated by their male employers. However, since these women earn money and engage with the

outside world, they do receive some benefits from their low status jobs, have more self-confidence and play a greater role in household decisions. Their work is more visible and more valued by their families, as it brings in cash. These women strongly encourage their daughters to study in order to be able to work in improved conditions and not to experience their own circumstances.

It seems that state's gender policies emphasising on family values and gender relations within the society, have been more beneficial to younger women. Although women's work outside the home still carries a social stigma among the majority of migrant families, there is a change of attitudes towards women's education and their work in the labour market. As a result of gender policies of the Islamic state, which includes practising the dress code and sex-segregation that is compatible with the traditional culture of many working class families, women's involvement outside the home are not considered as something that necessarily would lead to shame or dishonour. These policies have removed some of the obstacles in terms of social values and have brought changes in the attitudes of families towards the role of women in society, particularly that of young and educated women. Otherwise they would have faced the disapproval of their families in their interaction with the wider society and opposite sex.

Greater access to higher levels of schooling increases women's chances of getting employment outside the home, or running their own business. As the level of women's education increases, women become more aware of their social rights and become active participants in the process of social change. This is blatantly obvious from the cross-generational comparison of migrant women in the study. Education clearly increases younger women's aspirations, and they bypass the early stages of unfamiliarity with the city, which their mothers experienced, and assimilate easily into the urban living conditions. They mostly resisted learning the professional skill of carpet weaving and showed interest in learning modern and new skills, which would give them greater freedom of mobility, self-esteem and control over their labour and income. The service sector and the monetarised demands of modern economic relations and industrialization, along with access to educational opportunities, increase women's employment opportunities. Some of these young women, who are single and do not have family responsibilities, work for many years in the paid labour market. They save their money either to set up their own small business after marriage, or to some extent finance the setting up of their married life, which in rural areas or among those who do not work, is the sole responsibility of the parents. These investments give young women negotiating power as well as prestige in the family.

The social changes seem to have accelerated female migration too. This is particularly so for young women whose independent migration is facilitated by social networks in the city based on kinship ties. Their successful migration encourages their peers, younger sisters and relatives to join them. Single women in the Anata chocolate factory or other single girls, who came to the city to be educated, are good examples of the new developments in female independent migration for employment and education. They emphasised that their independent migration promotes their autonomy and their central role in the decision-making processes in their own and their families' lives, which in the past were rarely shared with them. They are proud of their jobs or education and postpone their marriage for that reason, though the number of these women is limited. Unlike their counterparts in many rapidly developing countries (particularly East and South-East Asia) for whom there is a strong demand for labour, particularly in the export-oriented manufacturing sector, there is no such demand for female labour in the city of Tabriz that could encourage the development of female independent migration from rural areas.

On the part of women these changes, particularly the opportunity to gain paid employment, raises their gender consciousness and their experiences are important in bringing about social change and encouraging other women with whom they have close connections. They might earn less in paid employment than they could contribute to the family income in the carpet industry, but paid work is very important as they have choice and exercise more control over their own resources and enjoy more freedom of mobility. They often use different strategies to challenge traditional gender roles and family authority and negotiate with their families, most of the times through their conformity to some gender ideologies, for their own benefit (Poya, 1999: 150-154). Some gender ideologies applicable to older women become less pronounced for young single women. There are even changes in some younger women's dress pattern in some migrant families, from *chador*, the traditional form of women's dress, to *manto-shlavar*², the officially accepted dress of middle class women's clothing since 1981.

Migration and the urbanisation process in Tabriz have benefited younger women and the second generation of migrants more. Yet, new forms of inequalities are created for them in the wider society, particularly in the labour market. While younger women have better mobility, vision and wishes, they face some major problems with their labour market

2- See footnote in page 147.

participation or their self-employment as gender relations have been regulated based on patriarchal Islamic framework that demands women's subordination to men not only within the family, but also within the wider society. They are affected by demand factors such as limited employment options for women and also a limited market for women's labour; or by job conditions (such as low wages and the lack of long term security, as employment is often based on temporary contracts); the inflexibility of employment for married women, particularly in the informal sector of the economy such as the lack of part-time jobs as well as the unwillingness of employers to employ married women. Although state employment and the formal sector offer some employment benefits to female employees, the privatisation process in some sectors of the economy and also the lack of sufficient qualifications or skills prevents many women from gaining access to better paid jobs in middle-level positions with good conditions. Although patriarchal structure is responsible for the exploitation of women's labour, it is consolidated by Islamic ideology and practices.

The discriminatory and gendered practices towards women's paid employment, particularly in the informal sector, give women no choice but to leave employment after marriage, which makes them economically dependent on their husbands. However, most of them do not wish to be totally dependent on the financial support of their husbands, and try to save their earnings to buy the relevant essential machinery of equipment to run their own small business after the marriage. Many younger women stated that they will leave their job, as soon as they get married, as their work outside the home would not be compatible with the requirements of married life. They face low rewards in their jobs, and do not see themselves as the main breadwinner of the family, due to their approval of the gendered ideological definitions of women as wives and mothers, and men as breadwinners, but in the context of an egalitarian relationship.

To sum up, the findings of this study indicate that rural-urban migration has had different impacts on migrant women in Tabriz in terms of their age, marital status, education, the duration of the migration and other socio-economic factors. Migration has been more beneficial for younger women as well as the second generation of older women. The life experiences of different categories of migrant women suggest that migration and urbanisation can only be beneficial to women if they facilitate and increase their upward socio-economic mobility. For many older poor women, due to class and gender inequalities as well as traditional gender ideologies, migration did not improve their economic and social situation. They remained the poorest of the poor, particularly those

who did not benefit from the support of a male member of the family. However, socio-political transformation has brought some sense of security and potential opportunities for younger women, who are resourceful in responding to socio-economic as well as socio-political changes within a social and cultural context. Acting as active agents, they adjust to the available opportunities and negotiate and challenge the cultural constraints to promote their interests in the family and society. Although there is a long way to go for many young migrant women, they have started their journey for liberation.

Appendix: Questionnaire

Starting time:

No:

Location (*Mahalleh*):

Area:

A. Background Question

Please circle the right answer

1. How old are you?

2. What is your marital status now? Are you:

1- Single 2- Married 3- Divorced 4- Widowed 5- Separated 6- Deserted

3. How many children have you got? -----

Number of boys -----

Number of girls -----

4. Who are the people living in your household? (Specify their gender, age as well as their relation to you)

No.	Relationship to Respondent	Sex	Age	Education	Activity

5. How old were you when you moved to the city?

6. When you moved to the city, were you:

1- Single 2- Married 3- Divorced 4- Widowed 5- Separated 6- Deserted

7. What is your literacy level?

1- Illiterate 2- Basic reading skill 3- Primary Education
 4- Secondary Education 4- Diploma 5- Further education

8. At what age did you start your education?

9. Where did you start your schooling?

1- In the village

2- In the city

B. Household and family conditions

9. Is you home:

Owned -----

Rented -----

Bala-avas¹-----

Lease (Rahni)-----

State houses-----

Other ----- (specify)

10. How many rooms do you have in your home?

11. What is the type of your home?

House -----

Flat -----

12. Kind of Building?

13. What facilities are available in your home? *(Please tick)*

Kitchen -----

Bath -----

Running water -----

Electricity -----

Piped gaz -----

Sewage -----

Telephone -----

Radiator -----

14. Please specify your satisfaction in terms of your access to the following services:

Services	Very little	Little	To some extent	Good	Very good
School					
Workplace					
Health centre					
Doctor					
Pharmacy					
Bus stop					
Main road					
Mosque					
Shopping centre					

¹- Living in parent or in-laws house without paying rent

15. Which one of the following amenities do you have in your household? *(Please tick)*

Cooker -----	Refrigerator -----	Freezer -----
Vacuum cleaner -----	Washing machine -----	Sewing machine -----
Knitting machine -----	Carpet -----	Sofa -----
Gaz heating -----	Heater (<i>Bokhari</i>) -----	Cooler (<i>Pankeh</i>) -----
Television -----	Radio -----	Video -----
Satellite -----		

C. Questions about migration and related issues

16. Which village did you come from? (Including the name of the village, Rural district, *Shahrestan*, and province)

17. Did you migrated alone? Yes ----- No -----

18. (If not) With whom did you come to the city?

1- With my parents	2- With my husband	3- With my children
4- With my children	5- With my brother	6- With my sister
7- With other (Please specify)		

19. Did you come straight to Tabriz? Yes ----- No -----

20. (If your answer is No, Please specify the right answer)

1- First to another village, then to Tabriz	2- First to another city, then to Tabriz
3- Other (specify)	

21. From your family who first migrated to the city?

1- My father	2- My Mother	3- My brother	4- My sister
5- My husband	6- My son	7- My daughter	7- Myself
9- others (specify)			

22. Did you want to leave your village?

Yes ----- (Give the reason)

No ----- (Give the reason)

23. Why did you decide to leave your village? *(Rank them according to their importance to you: Rank the most important one 1, and the next 2 and so forth)*

----- Because my family was leaving the village

----- Insufficient or poor land to cultivate

- Lack of land and agricultural facility to work on land
- Marriage
- Loss of breadwinner in the family
- To find a better job and more income in the city
- Lack of educational services for children
- The lack of health service
- Lack of rural employment for women
- Escape from social and class tension
- Escape from the dominance of family or elders and the strict controls of the village
- Other

24. Who helped you in your migration?

- 1- Family 2- Friends 3- Future employer
- 4- People from my village 5- Potential employer 6- Nobody
- 7- I accompanied my family and I did not paly any important in decision making process

25. Why did you chose this part of the city to be settled in? *(Please rank)*

- Because of cheap housing
- Proximity to my migrated relatives
- Proximity to friend and fellow countrymen
- Proximity to my village
- Other

26. Have you migrated permanently or temporarily?

- Permanently -----
- Temporarily -----
- Not Decided -----

D. Questions about migrant's economic activities after arrival

27. Did you search for a job, after your migration? Yes ----- No -----

28. Were you satisfied in finding an urban job? Yes ----- No -----

29. If you answer is no, please give your reason?

30 How long did it take to you find an urban job?

31. What was the type of your first job in the city after migration? *(Please specify the kind of work)*

- Unpaid work at home in a family business -----
- Paid home-based work -----

- Working outside the home as a self employed -----
- Working outside the home as a domestic worker -----
- Working outside the home in a factory -----
- Working outside the home as a state employees-----
- Unpaid apprentice -----

32. What is your current job?

33. Who does/did look after your children when you were/are at work?

34. Who is contributing to income generation in your family?

The contributors	Type of work	Income	Does it meet your basic needs

35. What is the main problems of migrant women in the city?

36. Could you include an additional questions which you think we should have included.

37. Respondent's name: (optional) -----

Telephone number: (optional) -----

38. Researcher's name: -----

Telephone number: -----

Thank you very much for your co-operation.

Ending Time:

Interview Questions

Interview questions were set out semi-structurally. They mainly covered the same questions that are included in the questionnaire. However as the interviews were carried out, the respondents were asked many other questions relevant to their situations as well as the scope of the study.

Glossary

<p><i>Aib</i></p> <p><i>Abero</i></p> <p><i>Amou-zesh yaran</i></p> <p><i>Aqd</i></p> <p><i>As kar oftadeh</i></p> <p><i>Ayeb</i></p> <p><i>Aza'adari</i></p> <p><i>Batman</i></p> <p><i>Bela-avas</i></p> <p><i>Chador</i></p> <p><i>Danesh- ghah-e Azad-e Eslami</i></p> <p><i>Eidi</i></p> <p><i>Faaliyyatha-ye Eghtesadi</i></p> <p><i>Farsyh</i></p> <p><i>Gara</i></p> <p><i>Ghirat</i></p> <p><i>Hadith</i></p> <p><i>Hejab</i></p> <p><i>Hejab-e Islami</i></p> <p><i>Jahaz</i></p> <p><i>Jahra</i></p> <p><i>Jis farsh</i></p> <p><i>Kadkhda</i></p> <p><i>Kala</i></p> <p><i>Kanareh</i></p> <p><i>Kanoun</i></p> <p><i>Kanoun-e parvareshi-e kudakan va nojavanan:</i> Society for contemplative training of children</p> <p><i>Katdi</i></p> <p><i>kat farshi</i></p> <p><i>Khane-dar</i></p> <p><i>Khanum</i></p> <p><i>Khushneshin</i></p> <p><i>Mag'na'eh</i></p> <p><i>mahryyeh</i></p>	<p>Shameful, immodest</p> <p>Honour, credit</p> <p>Teachers in adult literacy</p> <p>Marriage contract</p> <p>Disabled</p> <p>Dishonourable</p> <p>Mourning</p> <p>A unit equivalent to five Kilogram</p> <p>Living in parents or in-laws house without paying any rent</p> <p>Traditional Iranian veiling</p> <p>Open Islamic University</p> <p>New Year gift</p> <p>Economic activity</p> <p>Carpet</p> <p>Black</p> <p>Narration attributed to the Prophet and his successors</p> <p>Veiling</p> <p>Islamic veiling</p> <p>Dowry</p> <p>Spinning wheel</p> <p>Finely woven carpet</p> <p>Headman in a village</p> <p>Commodity</p> <p>Side carpet</p> <p>Youth club</p> <p>and youth adults</p> <p>Villagers</p> <p>Low quality carpet</p> <p>Housewife</p> <p>Lady</p> <p>Landless peasants</p> <p>Scarf sewn to keep shut under the chin, which covers hair and the chest</p> <p>A financial obligation of a husband to his wife, which has been agreed during the marriage contract, and is due when the</p>
---	---

<i>Majles</i>	Parliament
<i>Man'to</i>	Long loose dress down to the knees or ankles
<i>Man'to -shalvar</i>	An alternative veiling to <i>chador</i> , adopted by the Islamic state after the revolution
<i>Moharram and Safar</i>	two consecutive Arabic lunar months
<i>Mullah</i>	Lower rank of clergy
<i>Nafaqeh</i>	The full financial support of a Muslim man towards his wife
<i>Namous</i>	Honour
<i>Neh-zat-e savad-amouzi</i> or <i>Neh-zat</i>	Literacy Campaign
<i>Ojrat-ol mesl</i>	A wage equivalent to the household labour performed by a married woman during her married life, which is not covered by <i>nafaqeh</i> and <i>mahryyeh</i> .
<i>Ostan</i>	Province
<i>pish daneshgahi</i>	Pre-university course
<i>Rahni</i>	Lease
<i>Raj</i>	The number of knots tied in each inch
<i>Ramadan</i>	Fasting month for Muslims
<i>Sahab</i>	Owner or master
<i>sahabim</i>	My owner or my master
<i>Sa-vad amouzan</i>	Pupils, Learners (adult literacy)
<i>Savad-amouz-eh lazem-ottaleam</i>	Indispensable to teach
<i>Shahrestan</i>	Smaller administrative division of a Province
<i>shalvar</i>	Trousers
<i>Sharaf</i>	Honour
<i>Shogl'</i>	Paid employment undertaken outside the home
<i>Tableau</i>	Woven portrait
<i>Taghout</i>	Satan
<i>Toumman and Rial</i>	Iranian currencies. Each one Toumman is equivalent with 10 Rials
<i>Ulama</i>	Religious scholars
<i>Varny</i>	Sort of thinner, simpler, smaller kind of carpet
<i>Zar-nim</i>	Finely woven carpet

References

- Abdel Taher, Nadia (1987). 'Social identity and class in a Cairo neighborhood' Cairo Papers in Social Science 9(4, winter).
- Abu-Lughod, Lila (1988). 'Fieldwork of a dutiful daughter'. In S. Altorki and C. El-Solh (eds.) Arab Women in the Field: Studying your own Society. New York: Syracuse University.
- Abu-Lughod, L. (1993). Writing Women's Worlds: Bedouin Stories. Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford: University of California.
- Afkhami, Mahnaz (1994). 'Women in post-revolutionary Iran: A feminist perspective'. In M. Afkhami and E. Friedl (eds.) In the Eye of the Storm: Women in Post-Revolutionary Iran. London and New York: I. B Tauris.
- Afshar, Haleh (1982). 'Khomeini's teachings and their implication for women'. In A. Tabari and N. Yeganeh (eds.) In the Shadow of Islam: The Women's Movement in Iran. London: Zed; and in Feminist Review 12(3): 59-73.
- Afshar, H. (1985a). 'An assessment of agricultural development policies in Iran'. In H. Afshar (ed.) Iran: A Revolution in Turmoil. London: Macmillan.
- Afshar, H. (1985b). 'The position of women in an Iranian village'. In H. Afshar (ed.) Women, Work, and Ideology in the Third World. London and New York: Tavistock.
- Afshar, H. (1987). 'Women, marriage and the state in Iran'. In H. Afshar (ed.) Women, State

and Ideology: Studies from Africa and Asia. London: Macmillan.

Afshar, H. and Agarwal, B. (1989). 'Introduction'. In H. Afshar and B. Agarwal (eds.) Women, Poverty and Ideology in Asia. London: Macmillan.

Afshar, H. (1989a). 'Women in the work and poverty trap in Iran'. In H. Afshar and B. Agarwal (eds.) Women, Poverty and Ideology in Asia. London: Macmillan.

Afshar, H. (1989b). 'Gender roles and the "moral economy of kin" among Pakistani women in West Yorkshire'. New Community 15 (2): 211-225.

Afshar, H. (1989c). 'Women and reproduction in Iran'. In N. Yuval-Davis and F. Anthias (eds.) Women- Nation- State. London: Macmillan.

Afshar, H. (1989d). 'Education: Hopes, expectations and achievements of Muslim women in West Yorkshire'. Gender and Education 1 (3): 261-272.

Afshar, H. (1992). 'Introduction'. In H. Afshar and C. Dennis (eds.) Women and Adjustment Policies. London: Macmillan.

Afshar, H. (1994). Why fundamentalism? Iranian women and their support for Islam. The University of York: York Working Papers in Politics, no.2.

Afshar, H. (1997). 'Women and work in Iran'. Political Studies 45 (4): 755-767.

Afshar, H. (1999). Islam and Feminism. London: Macmillan.

Agarwal, Bina (1989). 'Women, land and ideology in India'. In H. Afshar and B. Agarwal (eds.) Women, Poverty and Ideology in Asia. London: Macmillan.

Aghajanian, Akbar (1994). 'The status of women and female children in Iran: an update from the 1986 census'. In M. Afkhami and E. Friedl (eds.) In the Eye of the Storm: Women

in Post-revolutionary Iran. London and New York: I.B.Tauris.

Ajami, Ismail (1976). 'Land reform and modernization of the farming structure in Iran'. In K. Farmanfarmanian (ed.) The Social Sciences and Problems of Development. New Jersey: Princeton.

Akhavi, Shahrough (1986). 'State formation and consolidation in twentieth-century Iran: The Reza Shah period and the Islamic Republic'. In A. Banuazizi and M. Weiner (eds.) The State, Religion, and Ethnic Policies: Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan. New York: Syracuse University.

Al-Khayyat, Sana, (1990). Honour and Shame: Women in Modern Iraq. London: Saqi Books.

Altorki, Soraya (1988). 'At home in the field'. In S. Altorki and C. El-Solh (eds.) Arab Women in the Field: Studying your own Society. New York: Syracuse University.

Altorki, S. and El-Solh, C. F. (1988). 'Introduction'. In S. Altorki and C. El-Solh (eds.) Arab Women in the Field: Studying your own Society. New York: Syracuse University.

Amin, Sajeda (1997). 'The poverty-purdah trap in rural Bangladesh'. Development and Change 28 (2): 213-233.

Amirahmadi, Hooshang and Kiafar, Ali (1993). 'The transformation of Tehran from a garrison town to a primate city: A tale of rapid growth and uneven development'. In H. Amirahmadi and A. Kiafar (eds.) Urban Development in the Muslim World. New Brunswick: Centre for Urban Policy Research.

Amuzegar, Jahangir and Fekrat, M. A. (1971). Iran: Economic Development under Dualistic Conditions. Chicago: The University of Chicago.

Anderson, Bridget (2000). Doing the Dirty Work?: The Global Politics of Domestic Labour. London and New York: Zed.

- Bacha, E. L. (1995). 'Industrialization and agricultural development'. In G. M. Meier (ed.) Leading Issues in Economic Development. 6th ed. New York and Oxford: Oxford University.
- Bakker, Isablla (1988). 'Women's employment in comparative perspective'. In J. Jenson, E. Hagen and C. Reddy (eds.) Feminization of the Labour Force: Paradoxes and Promises. Cambridge: Polity.
- Bakker, I. (ed.), (1994). The Strategic Silence: Gender and Economic Policy. London: Zed.
- Banerjee, A.V. and Newman, A. F. (1998). 'Information, the dual economy, and Development'. Review of Economic Studies 65(3): 631-653.
- Bani-Fatemeh, Hossian (1375/1996). '*Vazat-e Eshtegal-e Zanan dar Ostan-e Azarbaijan-e Shargi va Tat-big-e an ba Kolleh Keshvar* (the situation of women's employment in East Azarbaijan and comparing it with the whole country)'. In Ta-avon, Zan, Eshte-qal: Maj-mouaye Maqalat ve Amal-kard (cooperative, women, employment: A collection of papers and function). Tehran: *Veزارat-e- Ta-avon* (The Ministry of Cooperative).
- Bauer, Janet (1984). 'New Models and Traditional Networks: Migrant Women in Tehran'. In J. T. Fawcett, S. E. Khoo and P. C. Smith (eds.) Women in the Cities of Asia: Migration and Urban Adaptation. Boulder and Colorado: Westview.
- Bauer, J. (1985). 'Demographic change, women and the family in a migrant neighborhood of Tehran'. In A. Fathi (ed.) Women and the Family in Iran. Leiden (Netherlands): E.J. Brill.
- Bayat, Asef (1997). Street Politics: Poor People's Movements in Iran. New York: Columbia University.
- Beechey, Veronica (1977). 'Some notes on female wage labour in capitalist production'. Capital and Class 1(3): 44- 66.

- Bennholdt-Thomsen, Veronika (1984). 'Subsistence production and extended reproduction'. In K. Yong, C. Wolkowitz and R. McCullagh (eds.) Of Marriage and the Market: Women's Subordination Internationally and its Lessons. 2nd ed. London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Bienen, H. (1984). 'Urbanisation and Third World Industry'. World Development 12(7): 661-691.
- Bienen, Henry S. (1985). Political Conflict and Economic Change in Nigeria. London: Frank Cass.
- Blumberg, Rae Lesser (1995). 'Introduction: Engendering wealth and well-being in an era of Economic Transformation'. In R. L. Blumberg and *et al.* (eds.) Engendering Wealth and Well-Being: Empowerment for Global Change. Boulder and Colorado: Westview.
- Boserup, Ester (1970). Women's Role in Economic Development. London: Aberdeen University Press.
- Brigg, Pamela H. (1971). Migration to urban areas. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development Association: Economic Staff Working Papers, no.107.
- Bromley, Ray and Gerry, Chris (1979). 'Who are the casual poor'. In R. Bromley and C. Gerry (eds.) Casual Work and Poverty in Third World Cities. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Brouwer, Lenie and Priester, Marijke (1983). 'Living in between: Turkish women in their homeland and in the Netherlands'. In A. Phizacklea (ed.) One Way Ticket: Migration and Female Labour. London, Boston and Melbourne: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Bryceson, D. F. (1985). 'Women's proletarianization and the family wage in Tanzania'. In H. Afshar (ed.) Women, Work, and Ideology in the Third World. London and New York: Tavistock.

- Brydon, Lynne (1989). 'Gender and migration'. In L. Brydon and S. Chant (eds.) Women in the Third World: Gender issues in Rural and Urban Areas. Aldershot: Edward Elgar.
- Buijs, Gina (1993). 'Introduction'. In G. Buijs (ed.) Migrant Women: Crossing Boundaries and Changing Identities. Oxford: BERG.
- Byerlee, Derek (1974). 'Rural-urban migration in Africa: Theory, policy and research implication'. International Migration Review 8(4): 543-566.
- Campani, G. (1995). 'Women migrants: From marginal subjects to social actors'. In R. Cohen (ed.) The Cambridge Survey of World Migration. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Changizi, Mehr-Angiz (1996). '*Mosh-kelat-e Eshtegal-e Zanan dar Iran va Taj-zieh-e Ta-avoni-e Zanan-e Chini dar Afarinesh-e Eshtegal*' (the problems of women's employment in Iran and the analysis of Chinese women's cooperative in creating employment). In Ta-avon, Zan, Eshte-qal: Maj-mouaye Maqalat ve Amal-kard (cooperative, women, employment: A collection of papers and function). Tehran: *Vezerat-e-Ta-avon* (The Ministry of Cooperative).
- Chant, Sylvia (1989). 'Gender and urban households'. In L. Brydon and S. Chant (eds.) Women in the Third World: Gender Issues in Rural and Urban Areas. Aldershot: Edward Elgar.
- Chant, S. and Radcliffe, S. (1992). 'Migration and development: The importance of gender'. In S. Chant (ed.) Gender and Migration in Developing Countries. London and N.Y.: Bellview.
- Chant, S. (1997). Women-Headed Households: Diversity and Dynamics in the Developing World. London: Macmillan.
- Cho, Hae-Joang (1989). 'Internal colonisation and the fate of female divers in Cheju Island,

- South Korea'. In H. Afshar and B. Agarwal (eds.) Women, Poverty and Ideology in Asia. London: Macmillan.
- Clark, M. H. (1983). 'Variations on themes of male and female: Reflections on gender bias in fieldwork in rural Greece'. In N. Scheper-Hughes (ed.) 'Confronting problems of bias in feminist anthropology'. Women's Studies 10(1): 116-33 (special issue).
- Cohen, Robin (1996). 'Introduction'. In R. Cohen (ed.) Theories of Migration: The International Library of Studies on Migration. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar: 14-24.
- Craig, Daniel (1978). 'The impact of land reform on an Iranian Village'. The Middle East Journal 32 (Spring): 141-155.
- Custers, Peter (1997). Capital Accumulation and Women's Labour in Asian Economies. London and New York: Zed.
- Davin, Delia (1996). 'Chinese women and the politics of reform'. In H. Afshar (ed.) Women and Politics in the Third World. London and New York: Routledge.
- Davin, D. (1998). 'Gender and rural-urban migration in China'. In H. Afshar (ed.) Women and Empowerment: Illustrations from the Third World. London: Macmillan.
- Davin, D. (1999). Internal Migration in Contemporary China. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- De Groot, Joanna and Maynard, Mary (1993). 'Doing things differently?: A context for women's studies in the next decade'. In J. De Groot and M. Maynard (eds.) Women's Studies in the 1990s: Doing Things Differently? London: Macmillan.
- Denzin, Norman K. (1978). The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods. 2nd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Dixon, Ruth B. (1978). Rural Women at Work: Strategies for Development in South Asia.

Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University.

Dixon-Mueller, Ruth (1991). 'Women in agriculture: Counting the labour force in developing countries'. In M. M. Fonow and J. A. Cook (eds.) Beyond Methodology: Feminist Scholarship as Lived Research. USA: Indiana University.

Ecevit, Yildiz (1991). 'Shop floor control: the ideological construction of Turkish women factory workers'. In N. Redclift and M. T. Sinclair (eds.) Working Women: International Perspectives on Labour and Gender Ideology. London and New York: Routledge.

El Guindi, Fadwa (1981). 'Veiling *infitaliah* with Muslim ethic: Egypt's contemporary Islamic movement'. Social Problems 28 (4): 465-486.

Elmhirst, Rebecca (1998a). Daughters and displacement: Migration dynamics in an Indonesian transmigration area. Poverty Research Unit. University of Sussex: Workshop on 'Migration and Sustainable Livelihoods': 5-6 June.

Elmhirst, R. (1998b). Gender, culture and space: Political geography of factory labour in Indonesia. Euroseas. Hamburg: Conference on 'Changing Labour Relations in Southeast Asia': 3-6 September.

Elshtain, Jean Bethke (1981). 'Feminism's search for politics'. In J. B. Elshtain (ed.) Public Man, Private Woman: Women in Social and Political Thought. Oxford: Martin Robertson.

El-Solh, Camillia Fawzi (1988). 'Gender, class, and origin : Aspects of role during fieldwork in Arab society'. In S. Altorki and C. El-Solh (eds.) Arab Women in the Field: Studying your own Society. New York: Syracuse University.

Elson, D. (1991). Male Bias in the Development Process. Manchester: Manchester University.

Etemad Moghadam, Fatemeh (1994). 'Commoditization of sexuality and female labour participation in Islam: Implications for Iran, 1960- 90'. In M. Afkhami and E. Friedl

(eds.) In the Eye of the Storm: Women in Post-Revolutionary Iran. London and New York: I. B Tauris.

Etemad Moghadam, F. (2001). 'Iran's new Islamic home economics: An exploratory Attempt to conceptualize women's work in the Islamic Republic'. In E. M. Cinar (ed.) The Economics of Women's Work in the Middle East and North Africa: Research in Middle East Economics. Vol. 4. Amsterdam: Elsevier Science B.V.

Farsakh, Leila (1999). North African labour flows and the euro-med partnership. Paris: Conference on 'Europe and the South in the 21th Century: Challenges for Renewed Co-operation'.

Fawcett, James T., Khoo, Siew-Ean and Smith, Peter C. (1984). 'Urbanisation, migration and the status of women'. In J. T. Fawcett, S. E. Khoo and P. C. Smith (eds.) Women in the Cities of Asia: Migration and Urban Adaptation. Boulder and Colorado: Westview.

Feldman, Shelley (1983). 'Purdah and changing pattern of social control among rural women in Bangladesh'. Journal of Marriage and the Family 45(4): 949-60.

Franks, Myfanwy Carmel, (1998). 'Choosing a gendered solution: why do some women embrace Islamic and Protestant revivalism today?' Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of York.

Frankfort-Nachmias, Chava and Nachmias, David (1996). Research Methods in Social Sciences. 5th ed. London: Arnold.

Gallup, John Luke (1997). Theories of Migration. Harvard Institution for International Development: Harvard Development Discussion Papers, no.569.

Ghavamshahidi, Zohreh (1996). 'Bibi Khanum: Carpet weavers and gender ideology in Iran'. In E. Boris and E. Prugl (eds.) Homeworkers in Global Perspective: Invisible no more. New York and London: Routledge.

- Glucksmann, Miriam (1994). 'The work of knowledge and the knowledge of women's work'. In M. Maynard and J. Purvis (eds.) Researching Women's Lives from a Feminist Perspective. London: Taylor and Francis.
- Godazgar, Hossein (1999). 'An analysis of social and cultural changes in rural Iran, with special reference to the impact of cultural factors on educational change'. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Warwick.
- Goldschmidt-Clermont, Luisella (1982). Unpaid work in the household: A review of economic evaluation methods. Geneva, I.L.O.: Women, Work and Development Series, no.1.
- Goldschmidt-Clermont, L (1987). Economic evaluation of unpaid household work: Africa, Asia, Latin America and Oceania. Geneva, I.L.O.: Women, Work and Development Series, no.1.
- Graham, Hilary (1983). 'Do her answers fit his questions? Women and the survey method'. In E. Gamarnikow and *et al.* (eds.) The Public and the Private. Aldershot: Gower.
- GRCTU (*Markaz-e Pa-suou hesh-hi-ae Gog-raphi-ae Danesh-gah-eh Tabriz*) [Geographical Research Centre of Tabriz University]. (1374/1995). Bar-rasi va Shenakht-eh Asarat-eh Tose-eh bar Mohit-eh Zist-eh Shahrestan-hi-ae Tabriz va Shabes-tar (the Investigation and Acknowledgment of Development Impacts on Ecological Environment of Tabriz and Shabes-tar Shahrestans). Tabriz: University of Tabriz.
- Hakimian, Hassan (1990). Labour Transfer and Economic Development: Theoretical Perspectives and Case Studies from Iran. Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Hancock, Mary (1983). 'Transitional production and women workers'. In A. Phizacklea (ed.) One Way Ticket: Migration and Female Labour. London, Boston and Melbourne: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Harding, Sandra (1983). 'Why has the sex/gender system become visible only now'. In S.

Harding and M. B. Hintikka (eds.) Discovering Reality: Feminist Perspectives on Epistemology, Metaphysics, Methodology, and Philosophy of Science. Boston and London: D. Reidel.

Harding, S. (1986). 'From the women question in science to the science question in feminism'. In S. Harding (ed.) The Science Question in Feminism. Milton Keynes: Open University.

Harding, S. (1987a). 'Introduction: Is there a feminist method?'. In S. Harding (ed.) Feminism and Methodology: Social Science Issues. Milton Keynes: Open University.

Harding, S. (1987b). 'Conclusion: Epistemological questions'. In S. Harding (ed.) Feminism and Methodology: Social Science Issues. Milton Keynes: Open University.

Harris, John R. and Todaro, Micheal P. (1970). 'Migration, unemployment and development: A two-sector analysis'. American Economic Review 60 (1): 126-142.

Harris, Nigel (1999). Should Europe End Immigration Controls? Paris: 9th General Conference on 'Europe and the South in the 21th Century: Challenges for Renewed Co-operation': 22-25 Sept.

Hein, Catherine (1986). 'The feminisation of industrial employment in Mauritius'. In R. Anker and C. Hein (eds.) Sex Inequalities in Urban Unemployment in the Third World. London: Macmillan.

Hemmasi, Mohammad (1974). Migration in Iran: A Quantitative Approach on the Occasion of the World Population Year. Shiraz: Pahlavi University.

Hemmasi, Mohammad (1976). 'Migration and problems of development: The case of Iran'. In K. Farmanfarmaian (ed.) The Social Sciences and Problems of Development. New Jersey: Princeton.

Higgins, Patricia J. and Shoar-Ghaffari, Pirouz (1994). 'Women's Education in the Islamic

Republic of Iran'. In M. Afkhami and E. Friedl (eds.) In the Eye of the Storm: Women in Post-revolutionary Iran. London and New York: I.B.Tauris.

Hoodfar, Homa (1993). 'The veil in their minds and on our heads: The persistence of colonial images of Muslim women'. Resources for Feminist Research: Colonialism, Imperialism and Gender 22 (3/4): 5-18.

Hoodfar, H. (1996). 'Bargaining with fundamentalism: Women and the politics of population control in Iran'. Reproductive Health Markets 8 (Nov.): 30-39.

Hoodfar, H. (1997). Between Marriage and the Market: Intimate Politics and Survival in Cairo. Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California.

Hossain Zadeh-e-Dalir, Karim (1361/1982), Tarheh e-Tahqiqi e-Hashieh neshinan-e-Tabriz (The Research Project of the Slum Dwellers of Tabriz). 2nd ed. Tabriz: Tabriz University.

Hunt, D. (1990). Economic Theories of Development: An Analysis of Competing Paradigms. New York and London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Iranian Civil Law, (1370/1991). '*Dar Hogug va Takalif-e Zojain Nesbat be Yek-di-khar*' (Right and Duties of Couple towards each other). Book 8. Tehran: Amirkabir.

Jamali Zanjeerabad, Firooz (1985). 'Inter-Provincial migration in Iran with specific reference to East-Azarbijan Ostan'. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Durham.

Jayaratne, Toby Epstein and Stewart, Abigail J. (1991). 'Quantitative and qualitative methods in the social sciences: Current feminist issues and practical strategies'. In M. M. Fonow and J. A. Cook (eds.) Beyond Methodology: Feminist Scholarship as Lived Research. USA: Indiana University.

Jeffery, Patricia and Jeffery, Roger (1996). Don't Marry me to a Plowman! Women's Everyday Lives in Rural North India. Boulder: Westview.

- Kabeer, Naila (1994). 'Women's labour in the Bangladesh garment industry : Choice and constraints'. In C. Fawzi El-Solh and J. Mabro (eds.) Muslim Women's Choices: Religious Belief and Social Reality. Oxford: Berg.
- Kandiyoti, Deniz (1988). 'Bargaining with patriarchy'. Gender and Society 2 (Sept.): 274-290.
- Karbalai Saleh, Mariam (1375/1996). '*Ta-avon, zan va eshte-qal*' (cooperative, women and employment). In *Ta-avon, Zan, Eshte-qal: Maj-mouaye Maqalat ve Amal-kard* (cooperative, women, employment: A collection of papers and function). Tehran: *Vezerat-e- Ta-avon* (The Ministry of Cooperative).
- Katouzian, Homa, M. A. (1981). The Political Economy of Modern Iran: Despotism and Pseudo-Modernism, 1926-1979. London: Macmillan.
- Keddie, Nikki R. (1972). 'Stratification, social control, and capitalism in Iranian villages: Before and after land reform'. In R. Antoun and I. Harik (eds.) Rural Policies and Social Change in the Middle East. Bloomington and London: Indiana University.
- Kelly, L. (1988): Surviving Sexual Violence. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Kelly, Lis, Burton, Sheila and Regan, Linda (1994). 'Researching women's lives or studying women's oppression: Reflections on what constitutes feminist research'. In M. Maynard and J. Purvis (eds.) Researching Women's Lives From a Feminist Perspective. London: Taylor and Francis.
- Lee, Everett S. (1966). 'A theory of migration'. Demography 3 (1): 47-57. Also reprinted in R. Cohen (ed. 1996) Theories of Migration: The International Library of Studies on Migration. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar: 14-24.
- Lee, Wendy (1991). 'Prostitution and tourism in south-east Asia'. In N. Redclift and M. T. Sinclair (eds.) Working Women: International Perspectives on Labour and Gender

Ideology. London and New York: Routledge.

Leeds, A. and Leeds, E. (1976). 'Accounting for behavioral differences: Three political systems and the responses of squatters in Brazil, Peru and Chile'. In J. Walton and L. Magotti (eds.) The City in Comparative Perspective. London and N.Y.: John Willey.

Leiva, F. I., Petras, J. and Veltmeyer, H. (1994). Democracy and Poverty in Chile: the Limits to Electoral Politics. Boulder: Westview.

Lessinger, Johanna (1990). 'Work and Modesty: The Dilemma of Women Market Traders in Madras'. In L. Dube and R. Palriwala (eds.) Structures and Strategies: Women, Work and Family. New Delhi and London: Sage.

Lewis, W.A. (1954). 'Economic development with unlimited supplies of labour'. The Manchester School of Economic and Social Studies. 22(2): 139-191.

Lloyd, Rodwin (1979). Planning Urban Growth and Regional Development: the Experience of the Guayana Programme of Venezuela. Mass.: Cambridge.

Mabogunje, Akin L. (1970). 'Systems approach to a theory of rural-urban migration'. Geographical Analysis. 2 (NO.): 1-18. Also reprinted in R. Cohen (ed. 1996) Theories of Migration: The International Library of Studies on Migration. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar: 43-61.

MacEwen, Scott (1994). Divisions and Solidarities: Gender, Class and Employment in Latin America. London and New York: Routledge.

Mackintosh, Maureen (1984). 'Gender and economies: The sexual division of labour and the subordination of women'. In K. Yong, C. Wolkowitz and R. McCullagh (eds.) Of Marriage and the Market: Women's Subordination Internationally and its Lessons. 2nd ed. London & Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

- Makower, H., Marschak, J. and Robinson, H.W. (1938). 'Studies in mobility of labour: A tentative statistical measure'. Oxford Economic Papers 1(Oct.): 83-123.
- Makower, H., Marschak, J. and Robinson, H.W. (1939). 'Studies in mobility of labour: Analysis for Great Britain, Part I'. Oxford Economic Papers 2(May): 70-97.
- Makower, H., Marschak, J. and Robinson, H.W. (1940). 'Studies in mobility of labour: Analysis for Great Britain, Part II'. Oxford Economic Papers 4(Sep.): 39-62.
- Maynard, Mary (1994), 'Methods, Practice and Epistemology: The Debate about Feminism and Research' in Researching Women's Lives from a Feminist Perspective, in Maynard, M. and Purvis, J. (eds.), London: Taylor and Francis.
- Meier, Gerald M. (1995). 'What is economic development? -Note and Lewis's dual-sector model-note' in G. M. Meier (ed.) Leading Issues in Economic Development. 6th ed. New York and Oxford: Oxford University.
- Mernissi, Fatima (1984). Doing Daily Battle: Interview with Moroccan Women. London: The Women's Press.
- Mernissi, F. (1985). Beyond the veil: Male-female Dynamics in Modern Muslim Society. London: Al Szaqi.
- Mies, Maria (1982). The Lace Makers of Narsapur: Indian Housewives Produce for the World Market. London: Zed.
- Millman, Marcia and Kanter, Rosabeth Moss (1987). 'Introduction to another voice: Feminist perspectives on social life and social science'. In S. Harding (ed.) Feminism and Methodology: Social Science Issues. Milton Keynes: Open University.
- Mirani, Kaveh (1983). 'Social and economic change in the role of women, 1956- 1978'. In G. Nashat (ed.) Women and Revolution in Iran. Boulder: Westview.

- Mir-Hosseini, Ziba (1994). 'Strategies of selection: Different notions of marriage in Iran and Morocco'. In C. Fawzi El-Solh and J. Mabro (eds.) Muslim Women's Choices: Religious Belief and Social Reality. Oxford: Berg.
- Mir-Hosseini, Ziba (1995). 'Stretching the limits: A feminist reading of the Shari'a in Iran today'. In M. Yamani (ed.) Feminism and Islam. London: Ithaca.
- Mir-Hosseini, Ziba (1996). 'Women and politics in post-Khomeini Iran: Divorce, ceiling and emerging feminist voices'. In H. Afshar (ed.) Women and Politics in the Third World. London and New York: Routledge.
- Moghadam, Valentine M. (1993). Modernizing Women: Gender and Social Change in the Middle East. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner.
- Moghadam, Valentine M. (1998). Women, Work, and Economic Reform in the Middle East and North Africa. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner.
- Moghissi, Haideh (1993). 'Women in the resistance movement in Iran'. In H. Afshar (ed.) Women in the Middle East. London: Macmillan.
- Moghissi, H. (1994). 'Women and fundamentalism in Iran'. In R. Lentin (ed.) Gender and Catastrophe. London and New York: Zed.
- Moghissi, H. (1996). Populism and Feminism in Iran. 2nd ed. London: Macmillan.
- Nafisi, Rasool (1992). 'Education and the culture of politics in the Islamic Republic of Iran'. In S. K. Farsoun and M. Mashayekhi (eds.) Iran: Political Culture in the Islamic Republic. London and New York: Routledge.
- Najmabadi, Afsaneh (1991). 'Hazards of modernity and morality: Women, state and ideology in contemporary Iran'. In D. Kandiyoti (ed.) Women, Islam and the State. London: Macmillan.

- Najmabadi, A. (1998). 'Crafting and educated housewife in Iran'. In L. Abu-Lughod (ed.) Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East. Princeton and New Jersey: Princeton University.
- Nashat, Guity (1983). 'Women in pre-revolutionary Iran: A historical overview'. In G. Nashat (ed.) Women and Revolution in Iran. Boulder: Westview.
- Oakley, Ann (1974). The Sociology of Housework. London: Robertson.
- Oakley, A. (1981). 'Interviewing women: a contradiction in terms'. In H. Roberts (ed.) Doing Feminist Research. London, Boston and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Omid, Homa (1994). Islam and the Post-Revolutionary State in Iran. London: Macmillan.
- Pahl, J. (1980). 'Patterns of money management in marriage'. Journal of Social Policy 9(3): 313-35.
- Paidar, Parvin (1996). 'Feminism and Islam in Iran'. In D. Kandiyoti (ed.) Gendering the Middle East: Emerging Perspectives. London and New York: I. B Tauris.
- Paidar, Parvin (1997). Women and Political Process in twentieth-century Iran. Cambridge: Cambridge Middle East Library.
- Papps, Ivy (1993). 'Attitudes to female employment in four Middle Eastern countries'. In H. Afshar (ed.) Women in the Middle East: Perceptions, Realities and Struggles for Liberation. London: Macmillan.
- Pesaran, M. H. (1985). 'Economic development and revolutionary upheavals in Iran'. In H. Afshar (ed.) Iran: Revolution in Turmoil. London: Macmillan.
- Pearson, Ruth (1998). 'Nimble finger's revisited: Reflections on women and Third World industrialisation in the late twentieth century'. In C. Jackson and R. Pearson (eds.)

Feminist Vision of Development: Gender analysis and Policy. London and New York :
Routledge.

Pelto, P. and Pelto, G. (1973). 'Ethnography: The fieldwork enterprise'. In J. L. Honigmann
(ed.) Handbook of Social and Cultural Anthropology. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Poya, Maryam (1999). Women, Work and Islamism: Ideology and Resistance in Iran. London
and New York: Zed

Ram, Kalpana (1989). 'The ideology of femininity and women's work in a fishing community
of South India'. In H. Afshar and B. Agarwal (eds.) Women, Poverty and Ideology in
Asia. London: Macmillan.

Ramazanoglu, Caroline and Holland, Janet (2002). 'Can feminists tell the truth?' In C.
Ramazanoglu and J. Holland (eds.) Feminist Methodology: Challenges and Choices.
London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage.

Ranis, G. and Fei, John (1961). 'A theory of economic development'. American Economic
Review. 4(4): 533-565.

Ravenstein, E. G. (1885). 'The laws of migration'. Journal of Royal Statistical Society
XLVIII(2): 167-227.

Razavi, Shahrashoub (1992). 'Agrarian change and gender power: A comparative study in
Southeastern Iran'. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Oxford University.

Razavi, Shahrashoub (1993). 'Women, work and power in the Rafsanjan basin of Iran'. In H.
Afshar (ed.) Women in the Middle East: Perceptions, Realities and Struggles for
Liberation. London: Macmillan.

Redford, Arthur (1964). Labour Migration in England 1800-1850. 2nd ed. Manchester:
Manchester University.

- Rostow, W.W. (1960). The Stages of Economic Growth. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Rowbotham, Sheila (1973). Hidden from History: 300 Years of Women's Oppression and the Fight Against it. London: Pluto.
- Rudnick, Anja (2000). Bengali migrant women in Malaysian industry: The impact of a contemporary adventure on women's lives. University of York: Seminar at the Study Group of the Women and Development: 27 May.
- Safa, Helen I. (1986). 'Runaway shops and female employments, the search for cheap labour'. In E. Leacock and *et al.* (eds.) Women's Work. Massachusetts: Bergin and Garvey.
- Safa, H. I. (1995). 'The Dominican Republic: Export manufacturing and the economic crisis'. In H. I. Safa (ed.) The Myth of the Male Breadwinner: Women and Industrialization in the Caribbean. Oxford: Westview.
- Salehi-Isfahani, Djavad (2001). 'Fertility, education, and household resources in Iran, 1987-1992'. In M. E. Cinar (ed.) The Economics of Women and Work in the Middle East and North Africa: Research in Middle East Economics. Vol.4. Amsterdam, London and New York: JAI, An Imprint of Elsevier Science.
- Sanasarian, Eliz (1982). The Women's Rights Movement in Iran: Mutiny, Appeasement and Repression from 1900 to Khomeini. New York: Praeger.
- Schuetz, A. (1944). 'The stranger: An essay in social psychology'. American Journal of Sociology 49: 499-507.
- Schwartz, M. and Schwartz, C. (1955). 'Problems in participant observation'. American Journal of Sociology 60: 343-53.
- Shaaban, Bouthaina (1988). Both Right and Left Handed: Arab Women Talk About Their Lives. London: The Women's Press.

- Shadi Talab, Jaleh (1375/1996). '*Eshtegal-e-Zanan dar Farayand-e-Toseah*' (women's employment in the process of development). In *Ta-avon, Zan, Eshte-qal: Maj-mouaye Maqalat ve Amal-kard* (cooperative, women, employment: A collection of papers and function). Tehran: *Vezerat-e- Ta-avon* (The Ministry of Cooperative).
- Shaheed, Farida (1989). 'Purdah and poverty in Pakistan'. In H. Afshar and B. Agarwal (eds.) *Women, Poverty and Ideology in Asia*. London: Macmillan.
- Shakori, Ali. (1998). 'Rural reform policy in the post-revolutionary Iran'. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of York.
- Shojaie, Zahra (1380/2001). '*Dokh-taran-e rousti-e ezdevaj na-kardeh ham ziyad sho-de and!*' (the number of unmarried rural women have also increased!). *Ettela'at International*, 20 September (29 *Shahrivar*), p.4.
- Skeldon, Ronald (1997). *Migration and Development: A Global Perspective*. Essex: Longman.
- Smith, Dorothy (1987). 'Women's perspective as a radical critique of sociology'. In S. Harding (ed.) *Feminism and Methodology: Social Science Issues*. Milton Keynes: Open University. Published earlier in 1974 in *Sociological Inquiry* 44(1): 7-13.
- Smith, D. (1979). 'A sociology for women'. In J. A. Sherman and E. T. Beck (eds.) *The Prism of Sex: Essays in the Sociology of Knowledge*. Madison: University of Wisconsin.
- Smith, Peter C., Khoo, Siew-Ean and Go, Stella P. (1984). 'The Migration of women to cities: A comparative perspective'. In J. T. Fawcett, S. E. Khoo and P. C. Smith (eds.) *Women in the Cities of Asia: Migration and Urban Adaptation*. Boulder and Colorado: Westview.
- Soto, Hernando de (1989). *The Other Path: the Invisible Revolution in the Third World*. London: I. B. Tauris.
- Stanley, Liz and Wise, Sue (1990). 'Method, methodology and epistemology in feminist

- research processes'. In L. Stanley (ed.) Feminist Praxis: Research, Theory and Epistemology in Feminist Sociology. London and New York: Routledge.
- Stanley, L. and Wise, S. (1993). Breaking Out Again: Feminist Ontology and Epistemology. London and New York: Routledge.
- Statistical Centre of Iran (1996). National Census of Population and Housing 1375 (1996), (Total *Shahrestan* Summary). Tehran: Planning and Budget Organisation.
- Statistical Centre of Iran (1996). National Census of Population and Housing 1375 (1996), (Total *Country* Summary). Tehran: Planning and Budget Organisation.
- Statistical Centre of Iran (1983). Iran Statistical Yearbook of 1982, (Total *Country* Summary). Tehran: Planning and Budget Organisation.
- Statistical Centre of Iran (1996). Iran Statistical Yearbook of 1995, (Total *Country* Summary). Tehran: Planning and Budget Organisation.
- Stiefel, Matthias and Wolfe, Marshall (1994). A Voice For the Excluded: Popular Participation in Development: Utopia or Necessity? London: Zed.
- Stouffer, Samuel A. (1940). 'Intervening opportunities: A theory relating mobility and distance'. American Sociological Review 5(6): 845-867.
- Strauch, Judith (1984). 'Women in rural-urban circulation networks: Implications for social structural change'. In J. T. Fawcett, S. E. Khoo and P. C. Smith (eds.) Women in the Cities of Asia: Migration and Urban Adaptation. Boulder and Colorado: Westview.
- Sullivan, Zohreh T. (1998). 'Eluding the feminist, overthrowing the modern? Transformation in twentieth-century Iran'. In L. Abu-Lughod (ed.) Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East. Princeton and New Jersey: Princeton University.

- Swaisland, Cecillie (1993). 'Female migration and social mobility: British female domestic servants to South Africa, 1860-1914'. In G. Buijs (ed.) Migrant Women: Crossing Boundaries and Changing Identities. Oxford: Berg.
- Tabari, Azar (1980). 'The enigma of veiled Iranian women'. Feminist Review 5: 19-31.
- Tabari, Azar and Yeganeh, Nahid (1982). In the Shadow of Islam: The Women's Movement in Iran. London: Zed.
- Thadani, Veena N. And Todaro, Michael P. (1984). 'Female migration: A conceptual framework'. In J. T. Fawcett, S. E. Khoo and P. C. Smith (eds.) Women in the Cities of Asia: Migration and Urban Adaptation. Boulder and Colorado: Westview.
- Todaro, Michael P. (1969). 'A model of labour migration and urban unemployment in less developed countries'. American Economic Review 59(1): 138-148.
- Todaro, Michael P. (1976). Internal Migration in Developing Countries: A Review of Theory, Evidence, Methodology and Research Priorities. Geneva: International Labour Office.
- Todaro, Michael P. (1994). 'Urbanization and rural-urban migration: Theory and policy' and 'Education and Economic Development'. In M. P. Todaro (ed.) Economic Development. 5th ed. New York and London: Longman.
- Tohidi, Nayereh (1994). 'Modernity, islamization and women in Iran'. In V. M. Moghadam (ed.) Gender and National Identity. London: Zed.
- Touba, Jacqueline Rudolph (1980). 'Sex segregation and women's roles in the economic system: the case of Iran'. In H. Z. Lopata (ed.) Research in the Interweave of Social Roles: Women and Men. Vol. 1. Greenwich: JAI.
- TSP (The Softback Preview), (1996). The Hutchinson Softback Encyclopaedia. 3rd ed. Middlesex: Helicon.

- United Nations (1970). Methods of Measuring Internal Migration: Manuals on Methods of Estimating Population. Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Studies. New York: United Nations.
- Velayati, Masoumeh (1998). Does Hejab serve Iranian Women's Interests? Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Warwick.
- Whitehead, Ann (1984). 'I'm hungry, mum: the politics of domestic budgeting'. In K. Yong, C. Wolkowitz and R. McCullagh (eds.) Of Marriage and the Market: Women's Subordination Internationally and its Lessons. 2nd ed. London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- World Development Report (1990). 'Box 5.2: Education and economic growth'. In World Development Report (1990): Poverty. Oxford: Oxford University.
- World Development Report (1991). 'Figure 2.5: Female educational attainment and decline in infant mortality in selected economies, 1960- 87'. In World Development Report (1991): The Challenge of Development. Oxford: Oxford University.
- Wright, Caroline (1995). 'Gender awareness in migration theory: Synthesizing actor and structure in southern Africa'. Development and Change 26(4): 771-791.
- Yeganeh, Nahid (1993). 'Women, nationalism and Islam in contemporary political discourse in Iran'. Feminist Review 44(2): 3-19.
- Yap, Lorene Y. L.(1975). Internal Migration in Less Developed Countries: A Survey of the Literature. World Bank Staff Working Papers, no.215.
- Yu, Xion and Lincoln H. Day (1994). 'Demographic characteristics of the migrants'. In L. H. Day and M. Xia (eds.) Migration and Urbanization in China: Studies in Chinese Environment and Development. New York: An East Gate Book.

Zhang, Heather Xiaoquan (1999). 'Female migration and urban labour markets in Tianjin'.
Development and Change 30(1): 21-41.

Zahedi, M.J. and Kazeroni, M.R. and Darvishi, K. (1367/1988). '*Mohajerat rustaie va ravan-e yek sad saleh-ye akhir on dar Iran*' (rural migration and its one century process in Iran).
Ettelaat-e Syassi-Iqtisadi 11: 31-43.