Urbanization and Changing Status of Iranian Women, 1956-1966

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URBANIZATION AND CHANGING STATUS OF IRANIAN WOMEN, 1956-1966

by

Kianoush Ahmadi-Soroosh

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of the
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Kianoush Ahmadi-Soroosh
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CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The purpose of this study was to examine the changes which have taken place in female status and to examine the relationship between urbanization and the changing status of women in Iran during the years 1956-1966.

In Iran, the goals of development planning have been directed toward bringing the basic physical facilities to all areas of the country. The government works on the assumption that physical improvements and technological advances will bring about changes in social values. Moreover, it is assumed that urbanization brings more physical and social facilities that can facilitate changes in social and cultural values. ¹

The government of Iran has tried to increase the status of Iranian women, particularly educational achievement. The condition of illiterate women in all illiterate societies borders upon slavery. The change in the status of women in some countries can be so dramatic that the women's condition changes from a subhuman

to a human one, from an object to a subject. Iran has been one of the nations that has recognized the relationship between upgrading the status of women, educating them, and developing the nation toward industrialization. This recognition on the part of the Iranian government has led to programs to develop work-oriented female literacy.

Iran recognized the need to develop literacy among its women as a result of the United Nations Development Decade survey in 1962. The survey indicated that illiteracy was high among countries with low economic development. Rene Maheu, then Director General of UNESCO, stated: "True human progress is impossible without the advancement of women."¹ This remark prompted the Shah of Iran to extend an invitation to the World Conference of the Ministers of Education on the Education of Illiteracy to take place in Teheran in 1965. At this conference, it was established that the rate of illiteracy was always higher among women than among men in developing countries. Soon after the completion of the conference, the Iranian government made a request to the United Nations, particularly to UNESCO, to develop a work-oriented adult literacy pilot project for both men and women.²

²Ibid., p. 96.
The Iranian government has attempted to bring modern forms of technology and economic organization to all parts of the country, as well as to upgrade the status of women by educating them with the hopes of bringing them actively into the economy.

During the decade 1956-1966, the focus of this study, Iran ranked among the lowest of countries insofar as economic participation of women. In 1956, 6.5 percent of the female population was in the labor force. During the next 10 years, there was an increase of 3.2 percent. In 1966 the activity rate of the female population of 10 years and over was 124 per 1,000 while for the male population it was 769 per 1,000. Of those actively employed, the female population during those years showed a tendency toward working in non-agricultural activities. In 1956, 49.2 percent worked in industry, and by 1966 it had increased to 57.1 percent. However, these figures can be misleading because the 1966 census data reported that 87.6 percent of the women of 10 years and older were inactive. But, inactivity must not be taken literally because rural women play a singularly important role in helping their families.¹

These figures demonstrate the vast potential resource of Iran, namely, its female population, that could be useful in achieving industrial and social progress for the nation. The problem of

¹Economic Role of Women in Iran, Tenth International Seminar on Family Research, Tehran, March 5-12, 1968, pp. 1-4.
women's inactivity in the economy is based upon several reasons, such as traditional attitudes toward the subordinate role of the female, lack of resources and facilities in certain areas, and the low educational status of women, particularly illiteracy.

During the years 1956-1966, there was a substantial increase in female literacy in urban areas, but not in rural ones. In 1956 the female population had a 7.3 percent literacy rate; in 1966 it had increased to 16.5 percent. In urban areas in 1956, 20.6 percent were literate; by 1966 the rate had increased to 36 percent. But, in rural areas in 1956 one percent were literate and this had increased to only 3.4 percent in 1966.¹ Thus, it appears that even before the Iranian government was concerned with increasing the literacy rate for females, urban areas showed much higher rates of female literacy.

It would be useful to examine the role of women and the status they have held throughout the history of Iran. Some knowledge of this history would help to understand the current difficulties involved in changing that role and status.

Iran has had a long tradition of equal rights for women dating back to the period of Zoroastrianism of 2,500 years ago. Even with the coming of Islam, the position of women in Iranian society was strengthened, although this is not always visible in all present day Islamic societies. The principles of Islamic societies, the principles of Islam, which reflected women's status and granted rights still not granted to women in some western nations were appreciated in Iran.

Some of the rights were equality in matters of commerce, mortgage of real estate, gifts of property, partnership and investment, religious endowments, leases, guarantees, deposits, and entry into commercial practices. The exercise of women's right to ownership or possession of property was made independent of the approval, control, or guardianship of anyone, including her husband.  

The destructive changes in the position of women followed this early Islamic era and have been attributed to the Mongol invasion of the 13th century. The status of women in the period following was altered considerably and in some cases to almost that of a servant

---

to her male masters.

During the 19th century, Iran was invaded, although more subtly than previously, as she came into the orbit of European politics and infiltration. A few of the more progressive families who began to travel and study in the West added to the new ideas that were disturbing to the traditional practices.¹

The turn of the century witnessed the advent of the constitutional movement which gave women a chance to make a plea for a change in their position in the society. The irony of this movement, which was supposed to insure rights to all citizens of the country, was that it served to legally stifle women's further participation in political affairs. For example, the electoral law states:

Those deprived of the right to vote shall consist of all females, minors and those under guardians, fraudulent bankrupts, beggars, and those who earn their living in a disreputable way; murderers, thieves, and other criminals punished under Islamic law.²

Thus, women were put in the same category with beggars and criminals despite their level of education and family background. However, it must be remembered that this was not the only factor keeping women in a relatively low position; women were still


imprisoned by traditional attitudes and high rates of illiteracy.¹

In spite of these factors, some families sent their children abroad and began moving away from strict adherence to older traditions. The status and role of women in the upper strata of Iranian society was upgraded as educational status increased, employment opportunities became more available and women were qualified for them. In short, women began making themselves visible economically, politically, and intellectually.²

Women began studying at universities at home and abroad and could be found moving into the professions of physical, biological and agricultural sciences, medicine, teaching, law, economics and statistics, religion and welfare, art, literature, and entertainment.³ Numerous types of women's organizations developed ranging from those based upon professional, political, or philanthropic concerns to those for the unmarried and midwives. In 1963, equal electoral rights were given to women by a decree of the Shah as part of his "white revolution,"¹ and that same year marked the election of six women to the majlis, of whom two were appointed to the Seate. In

¹Bahar Marefi, Changing Perceptions of the Women's Role in a Newly Developing Country, (Tehran: University of Tehran, 1973.)


addition, women have become civil servants, members of the armed
services, active in national sports competition and the traffic police
force in the capital city.

Significance of the Study

The twentieth century has seen some rapid developments
influencing the status and role of women in many societies. Women
have acquired longer life expectancies, healthier children, and
labor-saving devices that have allowed them to acquire more
leisure time. However, leisure time appears to be a "burden"
among women in highly advanced societies; developing countries
confront more formidable problems with their female populations,
namely, illiteracy that impedes their mobility and thus impedes the
growth of the entire society. Illiteracy has been a problem in these
countries not only because there is a lack of teachers and schools,
but because attitudes toward women being educated constrict them.

Some developing nations have recognized the precious
resource of female labor being wasted. Moreover, these nations
have recognized that this lack of education for women is a reflection
of the subjugated role and low esteem for women in that society in
general. With this recognition, nations have attempted to upgrade
the status of their women by introducing educational programs and
generally making educational resources available to them. The
strength and prosperity of a nation relies upon the fullest use of its labor force. Women are not the only ones to suffer if they are subjugated; the whole of society will suffer because a vast resource will be left untapped. There is also the social injustice and inhumanity of depriving an individual of the right to become whatever she is capable of becoming.

Iran is a country which has recognized the need to increase the status of women. The present research is significant because it examines the extent to which changes have been made during the period when the Shah gave this need official recognition, gave the idea his blessing, and conferred status upon women by doing so.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Feminist Ideology and Labor Force Participation

As was previously mentioned, female participation in the labor force contributes to the economic growth and development of countries, since the female population is a vast natural resource.

Wilensky (1968) investigated the female labor force of 34 countries and found that the richest countries were those which provided abundant job opportunities for women outside of agriculture. The level of economic development in a given country was far more important than its ideology in determining the extent of female participation.

Wilensky classified 34 countries by feminist ideology, wealth, and job opportunities for women. Ideology was measured according to sociological opinion and official rhetoric; the countries were divided into those with the strongest egalitarian ideologies, such as Sweden and Israel, and those with less egalitarian ideologies, such as France and the United States. This latter category included 27 countries, while the former category included only seven countries. The measure of economic level was per capita income. Two measures of job opportunity were used:
percent of the economically active civilians in nonagricultural
sectors who were female, and the percent of females age 14 or 15
and over who were economically active civilians.

The results of the investigation were that the most industrial-
ized and wealthy nations had the greatest level of female participa-
tion in the labor force outside of agriculture. Three great industrial
powers, the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet
Union, were among the top five on one or the other measure of job
opportunities for females. West Germany also ranked high. In the
18 richest countries, women comprised not less than 24 percent of
the nonagricultural labor force. In contrast, seven of the 16 poorer
countries fell below that mark. Eleven of the 18 richest countries
ranked in the top 18 in female labor force participation, compared
with six of the 16 poorer countries. Wilensky concluded that the
level of economic development in a given country was a crucial
determinant of the role of women in the labor force more than
feminist ideology. There were countries which espoused feminist
ideologies and still had low female participation in the labor force.
For example, the United States was a country which was classified
as having less egalitarian views than say, India. Yet, the United
States had a high rate of female labor participation and India a low
rate; India is a poor nation and the United States is a rich one;
India is a developing nation and the United States is a highly
industrialized one. So Wilensky concluded that the level of economic development in the country was a better criterion of female labor force participation than feminist ideology.¹

Wilensky's study was instructive because he indicated the link between labor force of women and industrial growth. However, his study does raise some questions that are pertinent to our investigation: Has the growth of female labor participation contributed to the growth of the nation's economy or has the growth of the nation's economy caused a growth in the female labor force? In other words, the economy of a given nation might have increased as a result of female labor efforts, or the growth of a nation's economy might have necessitated the increase in the female labor force. In either case, there would have to be a change in the ideology of the nation regarding the participation of women in the labor force.

Patterns of Female Labor Force Participation in Rural and Urban Areas in Developing Countries

Collver and Langlois (1962) discerned the variations of female labor force participation in poor, developing countries in terms of adjustment between family and economy. The authors suggested that there was a Latin American pattern where young females,

usually migrants from rural areas, frequently postponed marriage while working in private urban homes as domestics. Columbia, Brazil, Nicaragua, and the Dominican Republic indicated this pattern. There was a Caribbean pattern which had somewhat higher rates of female participation in commercial jobs. The countries with this pattern were characterized by the authors by weakness and instability in the family system, with high illegitimacy rates, thus necessitating employment for women as a means of self-support. The countries indicating this pattern were El Salvador and the British Lesser Antilles. The countries with the lowest participation rates of female labor were Egypt, Iran, and Pakistan, characterized by early marriage and female seclusion patterns typical in Muslim populations of the Middle East.¹

Collver and Langlois appeared to have emphasized feminist ideology as a barrier to female labor force participation. However, a glance at the countries mentioned indicated that those with low rates of female labor force participation were also poor countries with low economic levels of development, thus supporting the thesis of the former study cited.

Boserup (1970) also discerned patterns of female labor force participation in

participation in developing nations. Boserup found that in developing
countries female activity rates differed widely both in the villages
and in the towns; patterns of migration and the social situations
arising from migration also differed widely, depending upon the
types of female activity predominating in a given country or region.

Boserup identified four major regions of the underdeveloped
world and found that in each there was a characteristic pattern of
female activity before and after migration. In Arab countries, with
early marriage rates and female seclusion patterns, there were low
rates of female activity in both rural and urban areas. In Latin
American countries, there was a low female activity rate in rural
areas, but a high female activity rate in urban areas. In Southeast
Asian countries, there was a high female activity rate in rural
areas and in urban areas. In Africa and India, there was a high
rate of female activity in rural areas, but not in urban areas.

Boserup takes the two areas with low rates of female activity
in rural areas, but differing rates in urban areas, and contrasts
them: Arab countries and Latin American countries, and attempted
to determine reasons for the difference. Three reasons were given:
in these regions there is a large class of laborers ready to help the
wives with agricultural duties; some new equipment has lightened
the load of women; and there is a cultural tradition of women's
confinement with the home. In rural areas, the women from both
these regions have similarities, but in the urban areas, there are differences. In most Arab countries, there are no more than five percent of the urban women carrying on any economic activity; women are confined to the home performing domestic chores and caring for children. In Latin American towns, however, there are anywhere from 25 to 33 percent of adult women working in some kind of economic activity; this rate is similar to urban women in industrialized countries.

Boserup theorized that in Latin American countries women are attracted to the better employment opportunities in the urban areas and these women are not needed at home to assist in agricultural activities. The poorly educated women find jobs with private families and the better educated find jobs in some commercial venture; the migration of women from rural to urban areas in these countries is greater than for men. Boserup concluded that in Latin American countries there is such little need for women to contribute to agricultural activities that families find it more economically advantageous to send their daughters into the towns for jobs.

In Southeast Asian countries, as was noted, there was a high rate of female activity in both rural and urban areas. In the urban areas of Thailand, more than 40 percent of the adult women were at some kind of job; more than one third of the adult urban women worked in Burma; and in Indonesia, more than 25 percent of the
adult urban women worked. This is due to the wide range of employment opportunities open to urban women in these countries, both in the traditional and the modern sector. Men who bring their wives with them from the rural areas to the urban areas allow their women to work, unlike those in the Arab countries with their traditions of female seclusion.

In African countries there is a high rate of female activity in the rural areas, but not in the towns. Boserup reasoned that this was not due to female seclusion attitudes as in the Arab countries, but because African men resent their women working for foreign men; women are to be under their authority and not the authority of foreign men. These African men do not mind their wives working on their own in bazaar and service occupations, but do mind their dependence on any man outside the family. In rural areas African women are kept very busy, but in urban areas the employment opportunities are few outside of domestic service. When African women migrate to urban areas, they exchange a life of hard work for one of leisure. In contrast, their husbands have to work harder. Thus the women are left in the rural areas, and the male populations in urban areas greatly exceeds that of women; a sharp contrast to Latin American countries, as was noted. African men know that their women will be watched by other family members.

There is a similar pattern discernible in Indian urban areas, where
mostly men migrate and leave the women home in rural areas.  

The studies cited here have attempted to demonstrate a link between female activity in the labor force, level of economic development in given nations, and social and cultural attitudes toward women in general and toward their employment specifically. Wilensky demonstrated that those countries with high rates of female labor force participation were those with the highest levels of economic development; feminist ideology and cultural attitudes were not as strong determining factors as the level of economic development. Colliver and Langlois discerned patterns of labor force participation related to ideology and cultural attitudes. Boserup discerned patterns of labor force participation in rural and urban areas in relation to ideology and cultural attitudes. So it would appear that social and cultural attitudes toward women and their role in society are related to rates of female labor force participation. It follows that when attitudes toward women are changed, there are changes in female labor force participation. When countries make an effort to increase their level of economic development and industrialization, they look to their natural resources; and women are one of their greatest resources. When these resources are left untapped, there is a need to change attitudes.

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One of the chief characteristics of developing nations in recent years is to educate their women with the hope of bringing them into the economic sphere in order to increase the level of economic development in the country. In Chapter I it was described how the Shah of Iran made efforts to educate the female population in his country. The Shah, like many other leaders of developing countries, recognized that education can upgrade the status of women and thereby upgrade the status of the entire nation. By educating their women, these leaders have given official sanction toward changing traditional attitudes toward women. By providing education and training for the women in their countries, these leaders have transmitted new attitudes toward women's role in their societies.

**Education and Labor Force Participation**

Mao Tse-Tsung realized in his Great Leap Forward that women would have to be brought into the labor force if China was to throw off the shackles of her past. The Great Leap drastically changed the assigned and traditional role of women in China; in fact, it probably affected women more than any other group and led to a sudden change in their life styles and roles in Chinese society. For the first time in history, women engaged in commerce, agriculture, and industry. Mao knew that attitudes would have to be changed, so he unleashed a massive propagands campaign to
convince both men and women that women were capable of work just as men. In the cities, women replaced men in all commercial enterprises, thereby freeing them for heavy labor. In the rural areas, up to 90 percent of the women engaged in agriculture or other labor. With the introduction of mess halls, nurseries, and laundries, women's housework was socialized. By 1958, women comprised more than one half of the total agricultural labor force.

Mao released women from their traditional roles for two reasons: he believed that women must work in order to be freed from patriarchal authority and that their efforts in the labor force would be a positive factor in the economic development of the country.¹

In China, there are continuous campaigns geared toward social change and education. Everyone in China belongs to small political study groups organized in factories, communes, neighborhoods, schools, and the military. It is the combination of these mass campaigns and small groups which are the main force in continually educating people, and particularly women, by raising their consciousness and bringing about a change in their attitudes which is necessary for equality of the sexes. Each and every campaign has something to say about women. The continual

pressure to change traditional attitudes toward women and their participation in the labor force has helped to achieve the society envisioned by Mao. All the new institutions developed have been an effort to free women from their household chores and obligations so that they can participate in the labor force. ¹

In East Africa, education for women has been and is in the process of being activated in many kinds of programs. Traditional attitudes toward women influence girls' attitudes toward education, possibilities of employment, and the participation in community life. East African women, especially those who live in rural areas, are reared to consider men as leaders and themselves as second class citizens. Providing vocational programs for women does more than educate them; leaders providing these programs are giving official sanction to the role of women and their participation in the labor force. This contributes to changes in attitudes on the part of men who have been trained to believe that women were meant to serve them.

In addition to these programs for school-age females, the leaders of some East African countries, like Kenya, have provided programs for adults beyond school age. New skills, literacy education, and correspondence courses which lead to recognized

certificates and occupation training are being provided. Radio has even been used to provide education for living, learning about current affairs of state, and skills in agricultural activities. Women are even being allowed to enter colleges. In Kenya, the Ministry of Agriculture originally planned to open farmers' training centers for men only. However, women successfully convinced the Ministry to open centers for them as well and their attendance rate was unusually high despite the fact that they had to walk long distances, often with children on their backs. Places in agricultural colleges are offered to women in Uganda and in Kenya.

In Zambia, the YWCA established a home industries center as a means for enabling women who have finished primary schools to earn a living. A six-month course in sewing was offered to 20 to 25 women in each class, and the finished products were sold to shopkeepers on a wholesale basis. In Tanzania, the YWCA trained girls who had dropped out of school between the ages of 14 and 16 in embroidery, after which they were employed by the YWCA workshop. The aim of the course was to make these girls self-sufficient. Another course was offered to women beyond school age and these women were trained as seamstresses; after completion of the course, these women were employed by the YWCA.

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These vocational programs are important, but the main goal of these African countries is to eliminate illiteracy of their women. A survey of literacy in nine African countries indicated that in each country the rate of illiteracy for women was greater than that for men. The percentage of illiteracy among the whole population in any given country is the principal index of the level of education; the relationship between the figures for each sex becomes an index of the inequality of opportunities offered to men and women. Thus, any country hoping to increase its development economically must take notice of its illiteracy rate, particularly among women. Women have a great impact as mothers and wives; literate mothers and wives can thus change values concerning education.

In countries where literacy campaigns have been begun, there are strong indications that women are just as eager to learn as men and in some cases they form the majority in the literacy classes. For example, in 1965-66, out of 11,904 students in literacy classes in Cameroon, 8,285 were women. This can be partly explained, of course, by the fact that more women were illiterate than men; but it does say something about the motivation of these women. In Somalia, there were 20 women's centers in various parts of the country which ran literacy and home economics classes for women with little or no education. The promotion of literacy, especially functional literacy, has been accompanied by meaningful programs.
in adult education and vocational training in most African countries hoping to upgrade their level of economic development. ¹

In India, one of the most spectacular achievements since its independence was the expansion of women's higher education. A large number of women are attending colleges in order to pursue professions. Mahatma Gandhi was anxious to improve women's status and his influence was such that women worked toward their own cause for rights and education. A large number of educated girls, both married and unmarried, are currently in employment. Formerly, there were only unmarried women in employment in such fields as teaching and medicine. But today conditions have changed and women are in almost every walk of life. These changes have been brought about by a change in social and cultural attitudes toward women's role in society. Gandhi first gave official recognition to women's status in society and the women took up the cause as their own. Increasingly women are playing a part in Indian society. ²

Israel is a prime example of a nation's attitudes in the process of change. Almost half of the number of the Israeli-born Jewish


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women are daughters of people born in Afro-Asian countries. The mothers of these women came from countries that reflected the social and cultural attitudes of Arab countries. The mothers of these women, after coming to Israel, brought their traditional views and had a low rate of participation in the labor forces. Only 25 percent of these women worked in Israel in 1968 as against 33.3 percent of the women born in Europe or America and 36.6 percent of the women born in Israel. The current increase and high rate of female participation in the labor force is a result of changing social and cultural attitudes toward women's role in society and the increase in education.

The level of education in Israel of women, as in every country, appeared to be a central factor in providing motivation, skills, and opportunities for women's employment. For example, in the United States in 1966, 70 percent of women with postgraduate education worked while only 50 percent of women with college degrees worked, 40 percent of the high school dropouts and only 30 percent of the elementary school graduates. Similarly, in Israel in 1968, 58.3 percent of women who had studied more than 13 years were employed as compared with 35 percent of women with nine to 12 years of education; 27.2 percent of those who had studied five to eight years; and only 10.7 percent of women with no background of formal education. Thus, changes in social and cultural attitudes
toward women's role in society and attitudes toward education for women have changed the rate of labor force participation in Israel, a developing nation. Education as a tool for mobility is the same in developing nations as in industrialized nations.¹

In sum, leaders of developing nations have recognized two things: women can be tapped as a vast natural resource in helping to increase the level of economic development; and in order for women to be useful in upgrading the economic development of the nation, they must first be upgraded in status. This status can be upgraded by changing social and cultural attitudes that maintain their low status and keep them as second class citizens and by changing attitudes toward education. When the leaders have changed their attitudes toward education for females, they allocate funds for the programs to educate women. The goal of educating women is to draw them into the mainstream of the economy by providing them with skills and knowledge needed for commercial activities. Some leaders have gone to the rural areas and provided programs where the women live. Others have provided programs in urban areas because facilities are more accessible in these areas.


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
Weaver (1973) asserted that people flock to cities because cities hold promise for them. An urban environment can be the setting to raise living and work standards and provide educational and cultural facilities and programs that can elevate man from the dull drudgery and meagerness of peasant life. It is this promise of economic and social mobility and opportunity for greater realization of one’s potential that primarily motivates the movement from the rural area to the city. The dullness and drabness and economic, political, cultural, and social poverty of rural environments accelerates the process. In urban areas there are potentials, and urban growth is both a basic condition and an inherent consequence of social and economic development.¹

Breeze (1966) differentiated between types of urbanization in developing and industrialized nations. In developing countries, urban areas can be characterized by a lack of facilities, dense populations, and a low level of subsistence. In some urban environments, the vast majority of people have a very low level of housing; their diet and clothing are barely what they can afford. In these areas, people live in worse conditions than they did in their rural

areas. In one city in India, with a population of more than two million, there are only 20,000 modes of transportation, including automotive vehicles, cars, trucks, and buses. These urban areas are vastly different from the urban areas in industrialized countries where urbanization means a continuous growth of transportation facilities and other amenities of life.¹

Sofee (1970) defined urbanization in places in Africa where it was imposed by colonial powers. Urban areas were developed as industrial or marketing centers for the colonial powers in response to their own needs.²

Changing Attitudes and Sex Roles in Relation to Urbanization

Holmstrom (1973) investigated the changing sex roles in Turkey, a developing nation. Holmstrom believed that Turkey was a natural for a study of changing sex roles because it is an overwhelmingly Moslem country with strict attitudes toward female seclusion and the status of women as inferior to that of the male. Moreover, Turkey is a transitional country where the two-thirds of the population that live in rural areas are beginning to feel the

¹Gerald Breeze, Urbanization in Newly Developing Countries, (Bureau of Urban Research, Princeton University, 1966), pp. 4-5.

effects of the industrialization and economic development going on in the rest of the nation. The mechanization of agriculture, the decrease of mortality rate among children, the greater availability of education in the cities, and a gradual but steady reduction in soil fertility have produced a steady drift of population from rural to urban areas.

Upon moving to urban areas, these rural migrants are exposed to new life styles, especially those concerning women. In their rural villages traditional attitudes toward women prevailed, but in urban areas women and men observe different attitudes toward women; they observe a movement toward equality of the sexes and greater participation in the labor force on the part of women. Thus a new set of behavior and attitudes are offered to rural migrants and these ultimately affect the thinking of rural migrants.

The purpose of Holmstrom's study was to identify groups of families with different degrees of exposure to urban life styles and compare the self-images, attitudes, and husband-wife interactions of couples. Three study groups were investigated: rural immigrants in a rural setting in urban areas, rural immigrants in an urban setting in the city, and urban or urban-reared families. On one extreme of urban exposure were the Istanbul born and raised wives of upper middle class families, well educated and
well-emancipated. On the other extreme was the group of rural born wives who had migrated to Istanbul during their adult lives and who were living in squatter-house areas. These were relatively isolated, compact, and homogeneous settlements in or around urban Istanbul, maintaining many characteristics of traditional village life. Squatter-house wives' contact with urban life styles was relatively limited in that their husbands commuted each day to work and left them alone with the household chores. Only on few occasions did they emerge to partake in city life. Thus, their contacts with urban life styles were rather limited in spite of the fact that they lived in close proximity to them.

The rural born wives who had migrated to Istanbul during their adult lives were mostly married to Kapici, doormen who worked and lived in the city, generally in high rent residential areas. The men were generally responsible for the safety and general maintenance of the apartment building in which they lived; also they acted as handymen, ran errands, walked children, and performed other duties. Often their wives helped with cleaning chores and doubled as maids or laundresses for one or two of the tenants. The living and working conditions of these families allowed them to be more fully immersed in an urban way of life than the squatter-house families. They lived in an urban environment, worked for urban families, and interacted with urban families daily,
thereby having greater exposure to urban life than the other women. The urban wives in this study were an elite group and served as the focus for comparison with the other two groups.

The results indicated that the upper middle class urban women were much more active, participant, and modern than traditional ideas about Turkish women would predict. The differences between these women and the other women regarding behavior and attitudes could be attributed to class differences as well as rural-urban differences. The squatter wives lived similarly to how they lived in rural areas and these women responded in traditional ways. The Kapici group expressed dissatisfaction with themselves and their situation. They were not fully urbanized or modern, but they had moved considerably closer to urban ways than the squatter wives. The author theorized that their urban contacts with the tenants had caused them to compare their lives, and this produced feelings of dissatisfactions with their own lives. The author concluded that the migrant wives emerged as more autonomous than their village peers, but this female autonomy was being achieved at some expense, psychologically. Exposure to urban life styles and roles of women was causing some of the new migrants psychological pain.  

Fox (1973) also investigated Turkey and the changes of the status of women. A total of 803 Turkish wives were examined, their type of community background, amount of education, age at marriage, and exposure to mass communications media, and related to modernism or traditionalism. Fox, like Holmstrom, was interested in Turkey because it was basically a nation of Muslim-dominated attitudes toward women and a developing nation. The purpose of the study was to learn how women become "modern" in this land of tradition.

The data for the study were based upon the Ankara Family Study conducted in 1965-66. Interviews were conducted with the families who participated in that study. Fox used three variables to measure the process through which the modern women could emerge: community background defined as rural parents and rural respondent before migration to Ankara; rural parents, but urban respondent; and parents always urban as well as respondent. The second variable was concerned with level of education and age at marriage. The third variable was concerned with exposure to media: low exposure, frequent exposure, and high exposure.

The degree of modern behavior of a respondent was indicated by how many of the following activities were forbidden by her husband: wearing short sleeve dresses, sitting together with men during visits to the house, going shopping alone, talking to men the
husband didn't know, going out without a scarf or head covering, visiting women the husband didn't know, going to matinees at the cinema alone, and going to parties alone. A score of six to eight forbidden activities represented the constrained woman; a score of five or fewer forbidden activities represented the modern woman.

The results showed that there was a relationship between attitude and behavior dimensions. Those women characterized by free attitudes and allowed activities by husbands exhibited free and modern behavior; the opposite was true for other women. The greater exposure to modern ideas as seen or heard in the media appeared to have a relation to attitudes and behavior: high exposure to the media was highly correlated to modern attitudes and behavior; low exposure to the media was correlated to traditional attitudes and behavior. There also appeared to be a link between level of education and attitudes and behavior. The higher the level of education, the greater exposure to the media and the more modern the attitudes and behavior were. All these variables appeared to exert an influence. The longer exposure to urban life styles was also a contributing factor to modern attitudes and behavior. Thus the modern Turkish woman was a woman with a higher level of education than her rural counterparts, with a higher exposure to the media, with an older age of marriage, and a longer period of urban
environment exposure.  

Purdah society in Pakistan is similar to Arab society. Women work with other women in and around the home while men work with other men at other chores outside the home. There is little interaction between the sexes in the different worlds of work, and women do not participate to any significant degree in the labor force. The Census of Pakistan data indicated three outstanding characteristics of the role of women in the labor force of Pakistan. The proportion of women in the labor force was among the lowest in the world; only 14.5 percent of all women over 15 were classified as being economically active. Among Muslim countries, six others fall into the same low range: Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Morocco, Syria, and United Arab Republic; while six other Muslim countries had far larger proportions of women in the labor force. Secondly, Pakistan shared with other Muslim countries the characteristics that the economically active female population was made up of unpaid family labor to a much higher degree than elsewhere. The proportion for Pakistan was 68.3 percent, while the average for Asia as a whole was 36.6 percent. In short, only one third of the few economically active women in Pakistan were working at paid

jobs. Thirdly, Pakistan has an extremely high dependency ratio because of the large number of young children, male unemployment and the low rate of female participation in the labor market. In rural areas, women worked with other women, reflecting traditional attitudes. However, in urban areas, there appeared to be a breakdown in these traditional attitudes because women working in urban areas included both ends of the class hierarchy and were found to work alongside men in various jobs.

In urban areas women were found to work at road and building construction, municipal street sweeping, latrine cleaning, and low status domestic service. Thus the modern urban occupations, in which the most rapid change was taking place for working women, represented only a small percentage of the total labor force of Pakistan. Yet urbanization was found to blur the strict divisions of labor as defined by sex that was so typical of rural areas. Thus urbanization in Pakistan contributed to changing sex roles for Purdah women, women particularly constrained by traditional Muslim attitudes. The increased job opportunities in the urban areas not only produced increased female participation in the labor force, but produced changes in attitudes because for the first time Purdah women were allowed to work alongside men.¹

Touba (1975) investigated sex role differences among rural and urban women in Arak, Iran. Arak is a region which is undergoing planned industrialization. The subjects for the study were 111 urban and 105 rural families chosen through area probability and systematic sampling techniques. The survey technique was used to collect the data. An index of role differentiations was used to determine if there were any rural-urban differences in tasks performed by the two sexes.

The results indicated that some tasks demonstrated differences between the urban and rural areas while others did not. However, the tasks which gave women a chance to assume other types of responsibility and exhibit a little abstract, independent thinking were less differentiated in urban areas than in rural areas. The most significant difference between the two areas concerned handling finances: urban women were given more chances to actually make purchases and allocate funds than rural women in spite of the fact that rural women contributed to the family income. In urban areas, only a small percentage worked. This difference, however slight, is significant because in this society, male domination is traditional and handling finances generally is the domain of males, whether rural or urban. Touba concluded that sex role differentiation in Western societies is still the rule and it should be expected to be found in non-Western, developing societies. While the
differences found in this study were not great, they did not differ greatly from industrialized societies. The important finding is that there were urban-rural differences.¹

Summary

Female participation in the labor force contributes to the economic growth and development of emerging nations and upgrades the status of women. The richest nations in the world are those nations which have the greatest participation of females in the labor force, and the level of economic development in the nation was more influential in putting women to work than the ideology espoused by its leaders.

The vast numbers of women who could be contributing to the economic development of developing nations are recognized by leaders in different parts of the world. But first, these women must be educated. In order to change the status of women and change attitudes toward them, both men and women must be educated. Men must be educated to think of women as equals who can perform meaningful work that will contribute to family income and the economy of the country. Women must be educated to think of themselves as contributors and as people who are equal to men.

Women must also be given the necessary skills, knowledge, training, and competencies that will allow them to perform at meaningful occupations that benefit the economy of the nations.

Urbanization, with its increased facilities for education and learning, greater exposure to ideas and life styles, and interaction among different people with different ideas, has also changed women's roles in developing societies. Urbanization can influence the status of women because they learn to think about themselves differently when they observe urban women living differently from traditional ways. When they observe other women, they begin to project themselves into new roles. In urban areas, women have more access to educational facilities that contribute to their knowledge and skills resulting in better employment. If an urban woman has changed her thinking about herself and her role in society, living close to educational facilities can provide impetus to her new role: what she has developed in theory, she can practice in the urban area, whereas this would be almost impossible for her in a rural area.

In urban areas there are more employment facilities and greater access to these facilities. The same concept that applied to educational facilities applies to employment facilities. Finally, when more women do have education and employment skills and are a sizable proportion of the labor force, the entire nation benefits in
growth and development. Each aspect is like a link in a chain, one step provides access into the next step.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Hypotheses

The main hypotheses for this study were:

1. The greater the urbanization, the greater the educational status of women.

2. The greater the urbanization, the greater the employment status of women.

Furthermore some subhypotheses were also developed:

1. The greater the urbanization, the greater the female literacy.

2. The greater the urbanization, the greater the participation of women in the labor force.

3. The greater the urbanization, the greater the participation of females in the industrial sector.

4. The greater the urbanization, the greater the participation of females in the services sector.

Definition of Terms

For the purpose of this study the following terms were defined as:

_Urban areas:_ areas with a population of more than 5,000 persons.

_Urbanization_ refers to that process that results in a high
density of persons in certain areas, usually cities or large towns. Urbanization is characterized by the areas where there is more employment facilities, more educational facilities, and greater access to employment and education. There is increased interaction among these people transmitting new and different ideas, attitudes, and beliefs.

**Educational status of women** refers to the female literacy rate; literate females were operationalized as those females who were able to read and write in any language, but excludes those who were only able to read and write numbers. In order to standardize the classification in cases where there was some doubt about the ability of an individual to read and write, it was decided that the term should include all those who had completed the first grade of elementary school or more.

**Employment status of females** refers to participation of women in labor force. Women and young girls have always helped the families in the rural areas in agriculture, but it does not count as being in the labor force. So women in labor force was operationalized as those females who received pay for their work.
The Data

This study is a secondary analysis of the census of Iran and other governmental data which were collected by the Census Bureau and Statistical Center of Iran.

The first census was taken in Iran in 1956 and the second was taken in 1966. Iran is divided into 13 states. Each state is divided into different Shahrestans and each Shahrestan is further divided into cities. Some of the Shahrestans consist of only one city. The data obtained in the census were prepared and published in several volumes. Each Shahrestan and its cities' population characteristics were published in separate volumes, i.e., one volume for each Shahrestan. This volume includes population characteristics not only of urban areas but rural areas also.

The data for this thesis were obtained and analyzed from the volumes of Shahrestan censuses which were published and prepared by the Census Bureau of Iran for the years of 1956 and 1966 for Iran.

The following cities from the central states of Iran will be studied: Arak, Tehran, Kohmeyn,-Damavand, Saveh, Rey, Shal, Gazvin, Gom, Kashan, Karaj, and Takestan.

For each of these cities the following data were obtained:

1. Population size

2. Number of literate females
3. Number of schools and colleges in each city

4. Number of employed females

5. Number of gainfully employed females by economic sectors

Naturally there are limitations to using available data. While data on population size, number of literate females, number of schools and colleges, and number of employed females were available as measures of urbanization and the changing status of women in Iran during the years 1956-1966, many other indicators would be desirable but were unavailable. It would have been desirable to have measures of female status in the family, in government, in politics, and in the community. Also we must recognize that the census data available were not totally accurate as was pointed out in the census reports. Some of the information asked from the people was not answered correctly for some obvious reasons, so the government had to rely upon its own assumptions for that information.

Procedures

The following cutting points were used to dichotomize the variables used in cross-tabulation:

Higher percentage difference in female literacy was for any increase above 13.1 percent, so below this percentage difference were for lower. Higher absolute increase in urbanization was for
all cities which had an absolute population increase of 12,513 or more, so lower was for below of this population increase. Higher percentage difference in urbanization was considered for all the cities which had a percentage increase of 32.6 percent or more, so lower was below of this median. Higher percentage difference in the industrial sector was taken as percentage difference of 5.3 percent or above and below 5.3 percent difference was considered as low. Higher percentage difference in services sector was defined as any percentage difference of 6.8 percent and more; low percentage difference was defined as any increase below this percentage.

The Fisher's exact test is reported for each cross-tabulation. This test is appropriate for two by two tables.
CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Table 1 indicates the size and change in population (1956-1966) for 12 cities in Iran. It is clear that the largest absolute increases occurred in the biggest cities such as Tehran (increase of 1,207,648) and Rey (increase of 79,498), but largest percentage increases were in Rey (340.8%), Karaj (204.6%), and Tehran (79.9%), in fact Rey and Karaj had increased even more than Tehran which is a capital city.

As in any developing countries, agriculture in Iran has not used much modern technology. Most of the rural population has remained on, or only slightly above, the subsistence level, with spendable incomes insufficient to purchase many city produced things. Furthermore the high birth rates produce a surplus of people to be "exported" to the cities.

On the other hand, because urbanization is associated with industrialization, most of the factories were concentrated in larger cities. So those small cities which were closer to the big cities would attract population from other areas. Karaj and Rey which are close to Tehran offer the most striking example of this pattern.

Kohmeyn was the only city which has a decrease in population.
The reasons were that some of the areas which were included in Kohmeyn population in 1956 were not taken into consideration in 1966 because those areas were either included in other cities or were counted as separate small independent units.

Shal (16.4%) and Damavand (16.1%) were the cities showing the smallest percentage increase in population.

Table 2 presents the educational status of female population (10 years and over) for 1956-1966. It indicates that the largest absolute increases occurred in the biggest cities (except one) such as Tehran and Gazvin, but the largest percentage differences were in Gazvin (26.5%), Saveh (24.0%), and Damavand (19.8%).

In all but one city the low absolute increase occurred in the smallest cities such as Shal (128) and Damavand (419), but the lowest percentage differences were in Shal (5.9%) and Kashan (8.9%).

By looking at the percentage of literacy, it is clear that the highest percentage occurred in Tehran both in 1956 and 1966. It had increased from 35.4 percent in 1956 to 51.8 percent in 1966. While the percentage difference in literacy was 16.4 percent, that is because Tehran had been in the process of urbanization from long ago while the smallest cities have faced it suddenly.

Most of the cities had a substantial increase in the literacy rate. Kohmeyn was the only city which had a decrease of about 18.5 percent.
Table 1

Change in Population Size (1956-1966)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cities</th>
<th>1956</th>
<th>1966</th>
<th>Increase</th>
<th>Percentage Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tehran</td>
<td>1,512,082</td>
<td>2,719,730</td>
<td>1,207,648</td>
<td>79.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rey</td>
<td>23,327</td>
<td>102,825</td>
<td>79,498</td>
<td>340.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gom</td>
<td>96,499</td>
<td>134,292</td>
<td>37,793</td>
<td>39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karaj</td>
<td>14,526</td>
<td>44,243</td>
<td>29,717</td>
<td>204.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazvin</td>
<td>66,420</td>
<td>88,106</td>
<td>21,686</td>
<td>32.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashan</td>
<td>45,955</td>
<td>58,458</td>
<td>12,513</td>
<td>27.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arak</td>
<td>58,998</td>
<td>70,215</td>
<td>11,217</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takestan</td>
<td>10,534</td>
<td>13,485</td>
<td>2,951</td>
<td>28.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saveh</td>
<td>5,537</td>
<td>17,565</td>
<td>2,028</td>
<td>36.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shal</td>
<td>5,546</td>
<td>6,454</td>
<td>908</td>
<td>16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damavand</td>
<td>5,391</td>
<td>6,259</td>
<td>868</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kohmeyn</td>
<td>10,587</td>
<td>8,397</td>
<td>-2,190</td>
<td>-26.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2

Educational Status of Total Population of Females 10 Years and Over, 1956-1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cities</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Literate</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Literate</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>% Diff.</th>
<th>Absolute Increase</th>
<th>% Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gazvin</td>
<td>23,297</td>
<td>4,542</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>28,199</td>
<td>12,965</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>8,423</td>
<td>185.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saveh</td>
<td>4,532</td>
<td>537</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>5,881</td>
<td>1,516</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>979</td>
<td>182.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damavand</td>
<td>1,470</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>1,793</td>
<td>781</td>
<td>44.6</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>419</td>
<td>115.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tehran</td>
<td>511,899</td>
<td>181,386</td>
<td>35.4</td>
<td>748,993</td>
<td>394,207</td>
<td>51.8</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>212,821</td>
<td>117.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karaj</td>
<td>4,591</td>
<td>985</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>13,541</td>
<td>4,649</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>3,664</td>
<td>371.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rey</td>
<td>20,752</td>
<td>5,255</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>31,622</td>
<td>12,142</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>6,887</td>
<td>131.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arak</td>
<td>7,445</td>
<td>1,223</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>31,335</td>
<td>9,033</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>7,810</td>
<td>638.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takestan</td>
<td>3,376</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>4,183</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>1,400.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gom</td>
<td>32,979</td>
<td>2,420</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>44,052</td>
<td>8,057</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>5,637</td>
<td>232.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashan</td>
<td>16,278</td>
<td>1,613</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>19,427</td>
<td>3,650</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>2,037</td>
<td>126.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shal</td>
<td>1,889</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>2,136</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>4,266.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kohnmeyn</td>
<td>3,444</td>
<td>1,090</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>2,717</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>-18.5</td>
<td>-735</td>
<td>-67.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tables 3 and 4 present the numbers of different types of schools in each city and the increases of different types of schools in each city from the year 1956 to 1966. The types of schools were kindergarten, primary, secondary, vocational, and higher education which included colleges and universities.

Table 3 indicates that in 1956 there were few schools above the primary levels in the cities studied. The secondary schools were concentrated in the larger cities, and the vocational technical schools were only in Tehran. Also Tehran was the only city which had any schools of higher education.

In 1966 in some cities there were almost twice as many primary schools as in 1956. Whereas in 1956 many cities did not have a secondary school, in 1966 there was at least one secondary school in each city studied. Vocational technical schools and higher education have not increased at the same rate as primary and secondary schools.

The highest number of different types of schools were in Tehran in 1956 and in 1966. There were 14 primary, 10 secondary, three vocational technical, and three schools for higher education in 1956. The numbers had increased to almost twice as many by the year 1966. In 1966 Tehran was still the only city which offered higher educational opportunities.
Table 3

Numbers of Different Types of Schools (1956-1966)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cities</th>
<th>Increase in Population</th>
<th>1956</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tehran</td>
<td>1,207,648</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damavand</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kohmeyn</td>
<td>-2,190</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 4
Increases in Different Types of Schools
(1956-1966)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tehran</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gazvin</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>Arak</td>
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<td>Karaj</td>
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<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rey</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Takestan</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>Saveh</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gom</td>
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<td>Shal</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damavand</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kohmeyn</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5 presents the percentage of women in the labor force. It indicates that in 1956 and in 1966, in all but one city, all the biggest cities had the largest percent of women in the labor force. The difference in the percent of women in the labor force between 1956 and 1966 was greatest in Tehran (23.9%), Kashan (16.1%), and Rey (10.1%). In all but one city, the smallest cities had the smallest percent of women in the labor force and small increases occurred between 1956 and 1966.

Table 6 indicates that in 1956 in the cities studied, the gainfully employed females were almost evenly divided among the industrial sector and the combined agriculture and services sectors. That is, the industrial sector always had almost twice as many of the gainfully employed females. The same is true for 1966; however, there has been a decline in the agricultural sector, a slight increase in the services sector, and a somewhat substantial increase in some cities in the industrial sector. So the agriculture sector has seen the greatest decline between the years 1956 and 1966.

Table 7 indicates the percentage of increases of gainfully employed females by economic sector from 1956 to 1966. The highest percentage increase in industrial sector participation generally occurred in large cities such as Tehran (6.5%) and Rey (9.6%). Except for two cities (Gom and Kashan), the lowest percentage increase in the industrial sector occurred in smaller
Table 5

Percentage of Women in the Labor Force (1956-1966)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cities</th>
<th>1956</th>
<th>1966</th>
<th>% Diff.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tehran</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>37.6</td>
<td>23.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashan</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rey</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazvin</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saveh</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gom</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arak</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karaj</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takestan</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shal</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damavand</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kohrmeyn</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>-2.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6

Distribution of Gainfully Employed Females
by Economic Sectors (1956-1966)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cities</th>
<th>Population Increase</th>
<th>% in Agriculture 1956</th>
<th>% in Industry 1956</th>
<th>% in Services 1956</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>25</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>63</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>27</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>29</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
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<td>24</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>20</td>
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<td>27</td>
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<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>21</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Iranian National Census, 1956 and 1966, Tables 16 and 17.
Table 7
Percentage of Increase of Gainfully Employed Females by Economic Status (1956-1966)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cities</th>
<th>Population Increase</th>
<th>% Inc. in Agriculture</th>
<th>% Inc. in Industry</th>
<th>% Inc. in Services</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tehran</td>
<td>1,207,648</td>
<td>-37.5</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rey</td>
<td>79,498</td>
<td>-36.8</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gom</td>
<td>37,793</td>
<td>-12.5</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karaj</td>
<td>29,717</td>
<td>-26.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazvin</td>
<td>21,686</td>
<td>-30.0</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashan</td>
<td>12,513</td>
<td>-10.0</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arak</td>
<td>11,217</td>
<td>-14.2</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takestan</td>
<td>2,951</td>
<td>-8.3</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saveh</td>
<td>2,028</td>
<td>-13.0</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shal</td>
<td>908</td>
<td>-14.2</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damavand</td>
<td>868</td>
<td>-12.5</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>6.8</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-2,190</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>-7.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
cities. Kohmeyn (-7.4%) was the only city with a decrease in the industrial sector.

In the service sector, the highest percentage increases occurred in bigger cities such as Tehran (8.0%), Gom (8.3%), and Rey (7.4%), with one exception (Kashan, 4.1%). The lowest percentage increases occurred in smaller cities such as Takestan (3.8%) and Shal (3.7%).

Kohmeyn was the only city which had no decrease in the agricultural sector. The largest percentage decreases occurred in bigger cities while the lowest difference percentage decreases were small cities.

Tables 8 and 9 indicate a positive relationship between urbanization and female literacy. Higher urbanization measured either by absolute population increase or the percentage increase in population size was associated with higher increase in female literacy.

The higher percentage difference of females in the labor force was taken as the difference percentage of 2.8 percent or above and lower was less than 2.8 percent.

Tables 10 and 11 indicate that there are strong relationships between urbanization and female participation in the labor force. Higher urbanization measured either by absolute population increase or the percentage increase in population size was associated with a higher increase of females in the labor force.
### Table 8

The Absolute Increase in Urbanization by Percentage Difference in Female Literacy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage Difference in Female Literacy</th>
<th>Absolute Increase in Urbanization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ P = .127 \]

### Table 9

The Percentage Increase in Urbanization by Percentage Difference in Female Literacy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage Difference in Female Literacy</th>
<th>Percent of Increase in Urbanization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ P = .127 \]
### Table 10

**The Percentage Increase in Urbanization by Percentage Difference of Females in the Labor Force**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage Difference of Females in the Labor Force</th>
<th>Percent of Increase in Urbanization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>High 5 Low 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High 1 Low 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ P = .0104 \]

### Table 11

**The Absolute Increase in Urbanization by Percentage Difference of Females in the Labor Force**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage Difference of Females in the Labor Force</th>
<th>Absolute Increase in Urbanization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>High 5 Low 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High 1 Low 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ P = .0104 \]
Table 12 indicates there is a relationship between urbanization and female participation in the industrial sector. Higher urbanization by absolute population increase was associated with higher increase in female participation in the industrial sector.

Table 13 indicates there is no association between percentage increase in urbanization and percentage difference of females in industry.

Table 14 indicates there is a strong relationship between urbanization and female participation in services in general. Tables 14 and 15 indicate higher urbanization, measured either by absolute population increase or the percentage increase in population size, was associated with higher increase in female participation in services.

In general, Tables 10 and 11 indicated a strong association of urbanization and female participation in the labor force. Table 14 indicated that there is a strong relationship between urbanization and female participation in services (by Fisher Exact Test, \( p = 0.0104 \)).

Table 13 indicated that there was no association between urbanization and female participation in industry, while Table 12 presented an association between these two variables. This can be attributed to the fact that though the percentage increase of population size was very high in some cities but if we saw the absolute
Table 12
The Absolute Increase in Urbanization by Percentage Difference of Females in the Industrial Sector

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage Difference of Females in Industry</th>
<th>Absolute Increase in Urbanization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
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<td>High</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

P = .87

Table 13
The Percentage Increase in Urbanization by Percentage Difference of Females in the Industrial Sector

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage Difference of Females in Industry</th>
<th>Percent of Increase in Urbanization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>High</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

P = .05

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Table 14

The Absolute Increase in Urbanization by Percentage Difference of Females in Services

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage Difference of Females in Services</th>
<th>Absolute Increase in Urbanization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

P = .0104

Table 15

The Percentage Increase in Urbanization by Percentage Difference of Females in Services

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage Difference of Females in Services</th>
<th>Percent of Increase in Urbanization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

P = .127
increase it was not as such as it should have been, for example, Rey has the highest percentage increase, i.e., 340.8 percent while Tehran's percentage increase was 79.9 percent. The absolute increase for the two cities was reversed. This may be due to that the process of urbanization has been started in Tehran from long ago, while the smaller cities have faced it suddenly. Also "nearness to the big city" is another reason. The cities such as Rey, Damavand, and Karaj are close to Tehran. Some facilities such as new factory buildings and job opportunities are transferred to these small cities (because of overcrowding in Tehran).

For some cities such as Gom because of "traditional or religious" attitudes, the percentage of literate females is low although it is a big city.

For some cities such as Kashan the percentage of females in the labor force is high; that may be because more women are employed in the carpet industry. Kashan's carpet is so famous in the world.

About literacy rate, there has been an increase in the actual construction of schools in each of the cities studied (except one, Kohmeyn). More schools mean a higher literacy rate and increased knowledge of skills and competencies.

In Iran, in the cities studied, the government built new industries that were required to educate and train women for some
of the jobs. By providing jobs easily accessible to the people there
was an increase in participation, brought about by necessity, of
female workers.

Traditionally, Iran has a low rate of women participation,
though in the cities studied, there has been in increase from 1956 to
1966. Regarding the rate of women in the labor force, this is
probably due to "change in traditional attitudes" as well as the
growth of industries and facilities for employment through the proc-
ess of urbanization.

It is difficult to understand why some have experienced major
increases while others have experienced only small increases. The
major increases could be due to Tehran, the capital city, and other
major urban areas. The slight increases are in cities that are
fairly new and the process of urbanization is fairly recent phenom-
enon.

It appears that, in general, hypothesis one (the greater of
urbanization, the greater of educational status of women) and
hypothesis two (the greater of urbanization, the greater of occupa-
tional status of women) as well as the subhypotheses are supported.
The greater the urbanization the greater the female literacy, the
greater the participation of females in the labor force, and the
greater the participation of females in the industrial and services
sectors, were substantiated by the interpreting the cross-tabulations.
We must recognize, however, that while the relationships were generally in the predicted direction, they were sometimes fairly weak.

In sum, the data of this study indicated that greater urbanization resulted in greater educational and employment status of women.

It is possible that increased opportunities for education increased actual education and that increased opportunities for employment increased actual employment for women. These increased opportunities for education and employment are related to the urbanization of the cities studied. The 10 years between 1956 and 1966 indicated growth and expansion of educational and employment opportunities and facilities. At the same time the figures show a steady increase and trend toward female participation and raised status of females in Iranian society.
CHAPTER V

GENERALIZATION AND CONCLUSIONS

The studies reviewed in Chapter II suggested a link between female activity in the labor force, level of economic development, and changes in traditional social and cultural attitudes toward women regarding education and employment (Wilensky, 1968). Those countries cited in the literature demonstrated that as the economic development of a nation increased so did the level of education and employment of women. Women are a large part of the population in a nation and are a large source of labor and thus may aid in economic development. However, there must also be increased opportunities for education because literacy and skills must be enhanced if women are to play meaningful roles in the economic growth of countries.

Various nations cited in the literature have made massive efforts to introduce literacy programs. When literacy has been improved, these programs have been followed by various types of vocational programs that allow people to put into practice what they have learned.

The increase in literacy has brought about some changes in thinking and attitudes of the people. Fathers' and husbands' attitudes...
are changed toward the education of females. Their wives and daughters and, in this regard, government are playing a positive role. Even females' attitudes and thinking are different. Now they have started to think that with their education they will be able to contribute some to the country and to their folks.

So when the government brings programs to the rural areas for women to become literate, women are able to attend; in addition to these chances, there are changes in attitudes that create a climate for participation and taking advantage of these chances. When there are new schools made available, people attend them.

One of the prime concerns of this study was the upgrading of female status in developing nations. The variables for understanding status in any nation are education, employment, and income. As these increase, so does status. The female who knows how to read has a higher status than the female who does not. The female who has higher education and a college degree has a higher status than the female who just knows how to read.

The goal of upgrading women is to draw them into the mainstream of the economy by making programs and facilities available to them. These programs and facilities become available to women with the process of urbanization; with increased participation in these programs, there becomes increased interaction. There is an exchange of ideas about the women's roles in a society, their
attitudes toward work, and the education of women.

Besides the humanitarian aspect of upgrading the status of women, there is a definite need for developing countries to utilize the female labor force. The literature cited many studies of countries that instituted literacy programs and vocational programs for women so that they could eventually participate in the development of the country in a way that would be economically beneficial to the entire country, as well as to the individual women.

From Chapter IV (Data Analysis) the following data have been gathered. There is a relationship between urbanization and female literacy, female participation in the labor force, and female participation in the industrial and services sectors. More urbanized areas have higher literacy rates, more participation of females in the labor force, and finally, more females in the industrial and service sectors.

Also the following generalizations are made on the basis of the review of the literature and the analyses of the data:

1. The process of urbanization increases the rate of females in the labor force.

2. The process of urbanization increases the rate of literate women.

3. The process of urbanization increases the accessibility of education.

4. The process of urbanization increases the accessibility of employment.
5. The process of urbanization increases the adoption of favorable attitudes toward women's education.

6. The process of urbanization increases the adoption of favorable attitudes toward women's employment.

7. The process of urbanization has tremendous influence on traditional attitudes toward women.

8. The process of urbanization creates additional opportunities regarding education that result in increased educational participation for women.

9. The process of urbanization creates additional opportunities regarding employment that result in increased employment participation for women.

Conclusions

Iran is a developing country that has concentrated in recent years upon increasing its economic development through a variety of programs for the people. Iran is a developing nation, but not a poor one. On the contrary, Iran is a nation that has vast sums of money at its disposal to develop and implement programs. In addition, Iran is led by a Western-thinking man.

Iran has directed much of its energy toward bringing physical facilities to all areas of the country. The government recognizes that physical changes and improvements can influence changes in social attitudes. The attempts at urbanization have brought physical and social facilities that could and, indeed, have brought about
changes in social and cultural attitudes.

Iran is a Moslem nation and as such has traditional values regarding women. Women in Moslem nations have no more than slave status. They are kept out of view, in the company only of other women, are completely dominated and subordinated to men, and have few civil rights. But Iran is different because it has tried to provide women with rights that belie Moslem traditions.

One of the first steps was concerning literacy rate for women. A vast program of urbanization was undertaken that would provide all areas of the country with facilities for education and jobs.

During the years 1956 to 1966, there was a substantial increase in female literacy in urban areas, but not in rural areas. However, the literacy rate increased in both rural and urban areas. A general change in attitudes toward literacy could be partially responsible for this growth as well as the increased opportunities to learn how to read and write.

The Shah conferred respect upon women by his provision of literacy programs. This was a new thing in Iranian society and had an impact. The actual building and process of urbanization changed attitudes toward the nation on the part of the public.

There was always an elite group of women in Iranian society who acquired an education and high prestige employment. But these women were few and far between. The status and role of these
women were upgraded as educational opportunities were opened for them as well as employment opportunities. Slowly but surely, women have for years been making themselves visible--economically, politically, and intellectually.

So Iran is a country which has recognized the need to upgrade the status of women if it hopes to achieve the status of a major industrialized power; to bring education to women can be important for participating in the labor force. More schools have been built during these past 10 years than before, so more women became literate. As a matter of fact the female literacy rate has increased from 1956 to 1966. There is still a lack of higher educational institutions in Iran, but these are expensive and there has to be evidence of need for them.

The growth of educational facilities has also contributed to a change in attitudes. Heretofore, men would not allow the females in their families to acquire an education. When the government built schools, the people understood that it was the government's wish that women as well as men attend school.

The increased rate of females in the labor force is attributable to the same reasons. The increased accessibility to employment facilities allowed women to participate. Moreover, their increased educational status allowed them to undertake jobs that required education and skills and training.
It would be foolish for any government to build schools and then leave nothing for the people to use their education with.

Similarly, it would be foolish for governments to build factories for which the people are not trained. The coupling of constructing schools and industrial centers is a combination that is suited to each other. One institution feeds upon the other.

Iran still has a long way to go. The oil provides the nation with a budget that could support programs of any kind. In addition, Iran is rich in population. The population can be trained to work for the country. This population includes the women in society, too. Since women are roughly half of the population, it should be recognized that they can become a vital force in the development of the country.

The increase of participation of females in the labor force and literacy are slight, when the whole nation is considered. That is, Iran, such as any other developing country, has low rates of participation by females in the labor force and literacy in total population of females. Besides, this rate in rural areas is going to be much less than what it is in the cities. But the point is that there is, especially in some cities, the substantial increase in literacy rate and the participation of females in the labor force. However, it suggests that there is a change in attitudes on the part of these traditional people. Most of these centers are fairly new
and it takes time to make social changes. Although Iran, as a developing country, has a long way to go, the results of this study suggest that urbanization has upgraded the status of women in Iran through providing education and employment opportunities.
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