

**Investigation of Rural-Urban Migration as the Consequence of Regional and International Wars
(Case of Study: Ahwaz City as the Empirical Experiment of Immigration in Iran)**

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Abstract: *Khuzestan province and other western provinces of the country have been mostly affected by the impacts of the imposed war of Iraq against Iran and due to this impact have experienced special changes. As one of these changes, we could mention the phenomenon of the migration. These areas have experienced different forms of migrations such as exterior, interior, return migration and even the acceptance of foreign immigrants. These circumstances have been exhibited in a special form in Khuzestan as the main center of the imposed war and Ahwaz as the major capital of war making. Therefore, research and study related to the field of social and economic problems yields precise experiences to the country's policy makers. In this study as the result of the vast scope of social and economic problems, we have focused on the immigrations occurred in Ahwaz and especially the immigrants entered into this city. To this end, we have used the descriptive and analytical method and the main focus is on the views of immigrants settled in Ahwaz suburb and the villages in this region. In order to analyze the view of immigrants and villagers, a sample group composed of 761 people was selected according to Morgan's table. Among the group 381 people were family guardians in village and 380 were the guardians in the city. The result of this study shows that the imposed war, Iraq's attack to Kuwait and the U.S. military operations against Iraq have directly affected the rate and type of village- city immigrations. Moreover, the disorders have caused more immigration by muddling the area's tribal structure.*

Keywords: *War, tribal structure, village- city, immigration, central district, Ahwaz.*

Introduction

Rural surveys and researches have been taken into consideration in our country. In these studies, the researchers have mostly focused on economic aspects. But the experiences in the western provinces of the country in which we can see the greatest influence of war varies from the other points of the country. In fact, these provinces especially Khuzestan as the province suffering the war destruction to the greatest extent have undergone multiple experiences regarding immigration (MPD, 1990). Among the other cities, Ahwaz as the capital of war policy making has had unique experiences in this regard. Ahwaz has been regarded as the main canon of immigrant's attraction for years. These circumstances have been repeated at the start of the war as the peace era before the war, and Ahwaz attracted a multitude of civil and rural immigrants. However, when Ahwaz turned to be an unsafe place to live and as the Iraq's advancements and the changes in war Policy the exterior immigrations to Ahwaz reached to its maximum. When the war was over, due to the return of the immigrants to Ahwaz, new refreshment appeared in the city. Many of the immigrants, who had immigrated to the safe provinces and cities due to war and unsafe in Ahwaz, entered the city first and as they made sure of the safe conditions in their villages, returned to these areas (MPD, 1990). Among the immigrants, a number of them stayed in Ahwaz forever. Even some of the villagers who considered the new conditions in their villages unsatisfactory, immigrated and settled in Ahwaz particularly in suburban areas. Although in return, residence and even the intensity of the rural- urban immigrations; different economic, social, and political factors are engaged; in this research these factors have been focused on from the point of view of immigrants settled in the suburbs and the villages which have been still remained in rural areas of this city and they have not been in the process of immigration. Meanwhile, the impact of internal and external changes have been considered as long as being focused on by rural habitants and immigrants. In fact, the most

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important emphasis has been on the imposed was of Iraq against Iran, the invasion of Iraq to Kuwait and the interference of the U.S. in this war and finally the occupancy of Iraq by the U.S. army and multi-nationals. The historical review related to the immigration shows that since long time ago, this subject has been given attention by authors and researchers. Due to this reason, each of them has suggested different reasons and elements to explain the issue. For instance, Gustave le bon believes that education alters individual's opinions and they surrender to immigration (Taherkhani, 2010). A number of authors also claimed that the educational systems play roles in immigration. According to their ideas, presenting new educational methods, provide the possibility of assessment for the people and if the assessment represents the self-unsatisfaction, there will be on other options except for immigration (Pitie, 2006).

Some authors believe that the reasons for immigration are the issues related to the military service and the young villager's acquaintance with the civil gaudiness. In their idea, if the village runs out of the population, it is due to the fact that the villagers in their military uniform have lost their perseverance, characteristic to their social class. The rural soldier become attracted to the cafes, concerts and other re-creative places in so far as they cannot neglect them. Henry Kelmane suggests that the familiarity with the city and to refrain from God is the effective factors in village- city immigration. He claimed that "losing the religious believes is the direct factor of rural immigration. Therefore, we have to return this belief to the individuals, lives.

Putting aside these philosophical and intangible believes, we have come in to more realistic factors in consideration of the immigration. For instance, Richard E. Bils investigated that immigration in large multitude is a phenomenon which has been put forward recently. Political, economic, cultural and psychological factors are very effective in rural- immigrated formation. According to this scientist, economic models are more influential to justify the reasons of village- city immigration more than other models. On this basis, the main motive for immigration is related to occupational income and the security levels differences between civil and rural areas. From this point of view, the existing differences in economic, social circumstances, facilities, customs, the background of immigration and the accessory to civil centers can be regarded as the reasons for village- city immigration. God Ferry (1973) with a regard to immigration, explained it as a deferential of civil – rural income and the difficulty of finding jobs in the modern sector of the society. Paul shaw claimed that the nature of individuals, governments and customs along with desire to show collective behavior which its evidences are manifested respectively in ecologic pressures, immigration policies of the government and the elevative motivations and social movements can be effective in village- city immigrations. According to some scientists ideas, the personal values and the level of one's expectance from the society and his place of inhabitants can clarify some important aspects of social issues (Shaw, 1999).

Some scientists believe that the immigrant's view about his dwelling status is one of the main elements which affect immigrants in making decisions. According to Fawcett, there is a relationship between reasons of the personal motivation and the structural characteristics in social and economic perspectives and the expected values of immigration. He has summarized the expected values in seven factors regarding fortune, social status, peace, movement, freedom in operation, independence, dependence and morals explaining each one from the point of personal motivations and the social – structural characteristics.

Table (1): the seven elements of migration to leave hometown to starting in a new place

| The expected values | Personal motivation | | Social- structural Features | |
|---------------------|--|---|--|--|
| | Absorption | malabsorption | | |
| Wealth | Increasing in income, wealth and safe economy | Scape from poverty to reach safe economy | Economic opportunities, achieving occupations with more income | Job opportunity shortage low wage and stagnant |
| Social prestige | Improving social prestige and gaining respect | Get free of not having social prestige | Social movement in order to gain more opportunities | No flexibility and achieving social prestige through appointment |
| Tranquility | Ease of living comfortably | Keep away from rough atmospheres with hard and non-stop working | Using from urban facilities, official job opportunities | Existence of relevant Context of rural poverty |
| Movement | Trend to stimulus activities and recreation and also seeking for entertainment | Avoiding from getting bored impatience | Public facility, variety of activities | Simplicity and lack of diversity of rural life and shortage of attraction. |

| | | | | |
|---------------------------|---|--|--|--|
| Freehand and independence | Freedom of choice and personal independence | Get rid of traditional rules and limitations and also other domination | Impersonal social construction and anonymity in city | Tight social control along with family and social permanent supervision |
| Dependence | Be in touch with friends and deep communication with community due to public-spirited | Avoiding lonely and social isolation | Accessibility to people and social groups | Lack of availability to people and social groups |
| Morality | Tend to the life full of grace along with morality, capability for doing religious practices. | Abstain from sinful life | Low rate of crime, disease, prostitution and high levels religious | High rate of crime, delinquency, prostitution and lack of accessibility to religious departments |

Landale and Guest(1985) believe that although satisfaction level from place people live is the most effective factor of migration. However, some constructional factors such as age, family aspect change, income level, ownership and governmental policy have remarkable effects on migration. Lowe believes migration behavioral motivation is function of two believes.

- 1- Behavioral believes that influence mental aspects of individual and form mental individual preferences.
- 2- Normative believes which are type of mental imagines normative believes and accordingly migrant judges about his/her perception from family, friends, relatives and social environment which is living there.

Based on these believes, a theory formed that migrant is a function of his/her expectations, mental tendencies and norms. The modal which was formed by lowe is called: theory of action along with logic. According to this making decision for migrating makes three objectives concepts in mind.

- 1- Tendency in migration is a function of value expectations levels of this trend comes from the fact that profits of migration can exceed expences
- 2- The norms and belief of individual are made of complicated complex called social networks and contracts, which can be persistent or plan individual`s migration.
- 3- Starting to migrate is always a function of exist impediments. From this vision, if migrants have a successful experience of migration, tend to migrate and reach to their greatest goals.

The studies in order to recognize the factors of migration from the country to the civilization show this meaningful point that migration and its reasons come from economic, social, and cultural factors and related theory of each other. The economic theory of migration which was first propounded by Todaro and further revision by Jogn Harris 1970, Johnson 1972, porter 1973, Findly et al 1975, emphasize on this point that migration at first happens due to income differences of rural and urban expectation and the point that acceleration breaker rate of internal migration in urban terrible unemployment frame in developing countries not only is an explainable event but also from the vision of maximizing the migrant`s expected income is completely logical. This theory is still the acceptable theory in articles related to migration and economic development between societies.

Social theory also considers migration as function of behavioral and normative believes and also individual worthy expectation levels from migration. From social aspects such as achieving esteem, tranquility movement, free hand and morality which are function of psychological aspects of migration can cause rural-urban migration especially between young people. Thus it seems we can brief the most important effective facts of rural-urban migration in table 2 based on studies in different years.

Table (2): the main causes of village-to-city migrations that have been more emphasized in recent studies

| No. | Researcher`s name | Recognized factors as main reasons of village-to-city migration | Year |
|-----|--------------------------------|---|------|
| 1 | Lucin .Gustave le bon romier | Education and improving literacy level | 1905 |
| 2 | Manceav.Mellin .Emil.Bertillon | Passing military service | 1911 |
| 3 | Henry Kelman | Familiarity with urban and getting away from God | 1933 |

| | | | |
|----|------------------------|--|------|
| 4 | Stiglitz.Harris.Todaro | Possibility of getting involved with unemployment and consequence in rural areas | 1970 |
| 5 | R.paolshaw | Ecologic pressures, government migration policies, human norms | 1975 |
| 6 | Shakla | Income differences between village and town | 1976 |
| 7 | Dascuita | Governance of poverty in village | 1981 |
| 8 | Garcia | Exceeding expenses than incomes and tribal and racial features | 1981 |
| 9 | Fawos | Ecologic pressures, normative factors, economic and psychological motivations | 1981 |
| 10 | Klarke | Dissatisfaction from living the place they live in | 1985 |
| 11 | Wenk et all | Make a bad impression to rural area | 1993 |
| 12 | Charney | existence of different levels of welfare in urban and rural areas | 1993 |
| 13 | Belzebarw | migration to reach better life causes by differences in income, security and job | 1996 |
| 14 | Gan.wo.owko | migration due to force and Hobson's choice in village | 1996 |
| 15 | M.Lu | Dissatisfaction from where they live, significant gals base on theory of social contract | 1998 |
| 16 | Fengwang | Exist gaps between village and city | 1999 |

As you see in these theories there is no enough consideration on security and effect of internal and external unrest. While the events such as war and insecurity happen it causes new situations and position which can aggravate effects and consequences of war and even it can do like an independent factor after solving the insecurity and return to the peace time in economic and social events such as migration. For instance, by happening the war, most of villagers of Khuzestan started immigrating and considering the fact that each family left home to difference parts of Iran, their tribal and racial disjointed. While according to Stein's claim: the routine life of makes a refugee to adapt him/herself with new environment. Economic adaption and a successful job increases public adaption tendency (Stein, 1997). As this adaption goes up, rupture in previous racial and tribal tradition increases more. The process that show itself in relation with Khuzestan refugees mostly in disjoining racial and tribal system. This situation causes sort of rootlessness and unprejudiced on hometown that shows itself well in next migration. Accordingly, migration can be considered as an event connected to age, culture and economic situation and sort of social adaption and compatibility that can be created in respond to economic and social needs and cultural changes due to events, in local, national and international levels. Accordingly, in this research, by using strong theoretical background related to migration, the security aspects and effects of war on population movements has been considered.

Research Method

The study area

Khuzeston province with area of 64746 square kilometer is located in southwest of Iran between 29 Degree and 58 minutes to 33 degree and 4 minutes of north width from equator and 47 degree and 39 minutes to 50 degree and 39 minutes of east length from prime meridian and bordering Lorestan and Ilam province in north, ChaharMahalBikhtiari and KohkilueyvaBoyerahmad province in East, Persian Gulf and Bushehr Province in South, Iraq in west. Khuzestan according to latest country division in 2006 is included 16 counties, 28 townships, 36 districts, 114 rural agglomeration and 6573 villages (Management and Planning Department, 1990). Ahwaz is the capital of Khuzestan and base on latest divisions the city is included 8 municipal parts and covers an area of 259 square kilometer. Khuzestan province's location and Ahwaz along with center section's rural agglomeration have been shown. At the present Ahwaz is included three section called: Bavi, Hamidieh and Center section. The center section is Ahwaz and rural agglomerations are: Esmaeilieh, Alhaee, Suisiye, Anafche, Ghezaneih, Mosharahat and KutAbdolah. Bordering Shush and Shushtar counties in north, Ramhormoz counties in East, dashtAzadegan counties in west, Shadegan and Khoramshahr counties in south.

Research Methods

In order to assess the causes of village-to-city migration in under research rural areas, two methods of documentary and objective have been used. In objective method questionnaire techniques, observation and free interview is used for collecting information. In order to collecting information base on scientific standards and principles, two structured questionnaires (one for people live in suburbs and another for villagers) in relation to research subject

has been used and each for specific goal have been written. So has useful and functional information. In order to sampling, Morgan table has been used. According to acceptable samples of Morgan table and base on population in rural areas and suburbs in Ahwaz who are mostly previous immigrants of these places, totally 761 random samples from these places have been chosen. (380 sample from villagers and 381 samples from people in suburban of Ahwaz). For analyzing collected information SPSS software and Kendall test has been used. For assumption test, level of significance 95% and 99% and with error 0/05 and 0/01 has been considered. The main assumptions of this research have been presented as below:

1. Apparently internal and external wars and unrests have been effective on village-to-city migration in under research area.
2. It seems that there is a connection between tribal structure of villagers of Ahwaz and village-to-city migration.

Results and Discussion

The disasters like war, cause inefficiency of usual customs and styles in life of people. Mental forces due to above disasters can sometimes be as major as a cultural impact. In fact, these events make a sense of bewilderment that happens for individual in strange environments. (Mohseni, 2002). This situation shows itself in different changes in life that one of them is migration. That's why in this study migration during war has been considered. For this purpose, these effects in two parts of direct and indirect war effect have been studied. To assess the direct effects and consequences of war, the first assumption has been made as below:

It seems that local and foreign wars and insecurities effect on village-to-city migration. For testing this assumption, seven indexes have been used that has been accessed in seven items in questionnaire. The main result has been shown in table 3.

Table (3): Result of first assumption test.

| Item | Assumption number | Variable title | Rate of probable interviewees from villagers` vision | Test result | Rate of probable interviewees form immigrants` vision | Test result |
|------|-------------------|--|--|-------------|---|-------------|
| 1 | 1-1 | Villages` destruction | 002 | Reject | 005 | Reject |
| 2 | 1-1 | Distributing weapon by Iraq army in villages | 002 | Reject | 085 | confirm |
| 3 | 1-1 | Promoting martyr life level | 15 | confirm | 003 | Reject |
| 4 | 1-1 | Promoting life level of workers in Kuwait | 000 | Reject | 000 | Reject |
| 5 | 1-1 | Indemnify to villagers working in Kuwait | 007 | Reject | 001 | Reject |
| 6 | 1-1 | migration of Iraqi refugees to village | 045 | Reject | 006 | Reject |
| 7 | 1-1 | Rampant smuggling of weapon in village | 026 | confirm | 045 | confirm |

According to the information in above table, both villagers` and migrants` vision, 5 factors have been effective in rural migrations. As a matter of fact, villagers believe that villages` destructions, Distributing weapon by Iraq army in villages, Promoting life level of workers in Kuwait after retreating Iraq army from Kuwait, Indemnify to villagers working in Kuwait and migration of Iraqi refugees to village in two recent decades has been effective in increasing rural migration. For resident immigrant in suburban of Ahwaz the five factors of seven have been proved. In other words, villagers believe that villages` destructions, Distributing weapon by Iraq army in villages, Promoting life level of workers in Kuwait after retreating Iraq army from Kuwait, Indemnify to villagers working in Kuwait and migration of Iraqi refugees to village in two recent decades has been effective in increasing rural migration.

To access the indirect effects and consequences of war, the second assumption of this research has been made as below:

It seems that there is a connection between tribal- racial structure of Ahwaz villages and village-to-city migrations. In order to test this assumption 5 indexes have been used which in 5 items in questionnaires have been made. The results of this test have been presented in table 4.

Table (4): Result of second assumption test.

| Item | Assumption number | Variable title | Rate of probable interviewees from villagers` vision | Test result | Rate of probable interviewees form immigrants` vision | Test result |
|------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|--|-------------|---|-------------|
| 1 | 1-2 | Lack of a doyen in village | 001 | Reject | 000 | Reject |
| 2 | 1-2 | Lack of tribal connection in village | 005 | Reject | 13 | Confirm |
| 3 | 1-2 | Threat from other tribes | 043 | Reject | 38 | Reject |
| 4 | 1-2 | Extended families fragmentation | 000 | Reject | 98 | confirm |
| 5 | 1-2 | Irresponsibility to tribe | 009 | Reject | 2 | Reject |

According to presented information in above table, in people`s vision, tribal and racial indexes can be effective in migration. In fact, with scattering in different parts of country and terminating before war tribal connections, the sequence communication of doyen, people and relevant connections also end. Actually all villages around Ahwaz are permanent tribes that all social and cultural activities are under control of doyen. By ending this situation, each individual finds an opportunity of being independent from doyen, thus causes migration. So, in people`s vision, the 5 mentioned factors in above table are effective in villager`s migration.

Conclusion

In spite of effects of economic factors in studding village-to-city migrations, considering other factors such as security and tranquility, especially in areas where are threaten by foreign enemies, will be useful in explaining social phenomenon such as migration. War is the most effective factor of social changes and is kind of mutual change (Butol, 2009) and migration due to war is the most basic factor of this change. Each highlighted groups of society forms a subculture. Thus, each member of group have their own needs and interests and tent to show more action to each other than other groups. This effect on changes of group highlighted approaches and attitudes and even cause each group to get the separate way of wearing and talking. In fact, values, attitudes and each member of society`s experience differs considering same context, in subgroups frames of that society. This conditions and communications in normal situations effect migration of individual from primary society and shows insistence in opposite of expatriation. But local and international wars play a serious role to moving human via leaving behind indirect consequences in migration and other social phenomenon. Base on Giddens 1994, basically wars cause migration and migration contextualizes deep social and cultural changes. In this study that migration has been considered, shows that not only war makes residents to leave hometown, but also destroys their tribal and racial social communications and this factor escalates migrations. Although, we can categorize war migration in two groups. First group included immigrants who try to form groups in destination base on friendship, traditional customs, and contribution. Second group are non-reactive immigrants who try in destination, sometimes show themselves like war migrations and sometime native. So migration intensity is different and according on the results of this research, if second group come back to hometown tend more to a second migration. So improving previous social and cultural communications and emphasizing on social solidarity can be considered an obstacle in opposite of village-to-city migrations due to war and its consequences. However we should consider that social communication is sort of system that acts dynamic. This system changes when other economic and cultural systems of society change. Population movements in this frame are explainable. As a matter of fact, migration is a function of relevant facilities and changes distribution system and population dispersal will not be organized as long as this system reaches a logical balance.

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