
Factors Affecting Formation of Informal Settlements with Emphasis on Urban Landscape and Management, Case Study: Tehran, Iran

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ABSTRACT:

One of the issues which have challenged the urban management systems in the developing countries in recent decades is the informal settlements. This research has been prepared to recognize and analyze the factors affecting informal settlements in Tehran metropolis with emphasis on position of the major policies in its formation. Method of this research is of descriptive, analytical and causal –applied type and its dominant approach is of survey and field type which has been enriched with documentary studies. The result shows effect of three macro, meso and micro levels on the informal settlements among which effective role of major decisions and policies for management has been considered as macro level and regional dimensions and social and economic issues as meso level and finally the physical landscape of the informal settlements has been considered as micro level.

Key words: *informal settlements, urban village, Tehran, urban management, urban landscape.*

INTRODUCTION :

Tehran was a small village with population of 1000 persons in Safavid period (1554) which started growing gradually and was selected at the beginning of the Qajar period (1797) with population of 15000 persons as capital of Iran and has played role as capital of three regimes up to now (Asgharpour et al, 2013). Selection of this city as capital and attention of the government to it gradually increased the number of population and area of this city so that its population increased to about 160000 persons and its area increased to approximately 24 km² during Naseri caliphate period (1227-1275) (Ohadi, 2000). After physical-spatial growth of this city in late century 19(1891), walls of the ancient city were destroyed and the city was extended from four sides and then its population increased by 8 times and its area increased by 5 times (Bahrainy, 2007).

Change in role of Tehran from capital in the Qajar period to major industrial center of the country during Reza Shah's period along with establishment of 48 out of 182 new plants in this city caused large population growth in Tehran (Daryabari et al., 2014) and its population increased from 250000 persons in 1930 to 1.5 million persons in 1956(Ohadi, 2000& ATM, 2012). During 1921-1961, concept of margin changed after destruction of gates and filling the ditches around the city. The ditches were filled to develop the city and residents of ditches resided in the southern growing districts and the slums were formed around the southern gates of the city i.e. Ghar gate, Dolab gate , Khorasan gate and Ghazvin gate. Continual centrality of Tehran during renovation during 1951 to 1961s kept it as the main pole of the immigration in the country. In this decade, the city also lacked the legal limit and its borders were extended after

growth of the urban population and new districts. This trend has been accompanied by social distinctions of districts and different regions of the city. Formation of the southern Shahbaz , Javadieh, Nazi Abad , Dolat and Bisim districts in 1951 to 1961 resulted from settlement of low-income immigrants in the city (Meshkini and Rahimi, 2011& Ohadi, 2000). As a result, intensification of immigration and house crisis in Tehran in the next decades, tenancy and room living rate increased. In addition to district differences, house pattern of the different classes of society became so distinctive. So, between 4606 and 50.1 % of the households lived in rooms (kano, 1996). In this period, the worker districts adjacent to the city were developed more or less while the residential districts of the medium and rich classes of society were formed far from the main body of the city (such as Narmak and Tehranparsin the east , Gisha and Shahreara in the west, Yousef Abad and Behjat Abad in the north) and merged into it in the next stages of urban development (Farji et al, 2014).

In the period before Islamic Revolution in Iran, the most important period in which the urban population reached its peak is the years after 1961s and enforcement of the land reform law on the one hand and growth pole policy and increase of modernization in the metropolises (Lotfi, 1998). So, following these affairs, there was extensive immigration to the urban areas and particularly Tehran which was rapidly being developed and industrialized and population of Tehran increased rapidly (Najmabadi, 1987& Maghsoodi et al, 2011). In this period, population of Tehran increased from 207 million persons in 1966 to 405 million persons in 1976(SCI, 1956-2011).

Following occurrence of the Islamic revolution in Iran (1979) in the early years, urban development control and supervision system was reduced and then the marginal districts adjacent to the city were added to the main part of the city. Area of the city in this period was doubled and low-income classes attacked into the eastern and southern areas of the city for owning land and constructing house. House ownership rate in Tehran increased from 53% to 62% of the urban households in the early years after Islamic revolution. About half of the residential units were constructed and they lacked legal license during these years (Ohadi, 2000 & Lotfi, 1998 & SCI, 1956-2011).

In the early years of the revolution, Iran faced 8-year imposed war in the western and south western regions leading to wandering of hundred thousands of Iranians and their immigration to the local areas and centrally, Tehran and its surrounding areas. In this period, Tehran population increased from 4.5 million persons to more than 6 million persons (Mohammady et al., 2012) while there was difference between the urban points and rural points whether in terms of welfare and enjoyment of services and income and other citizenship benefits. As a result, there was immigration between city and village and small cities to the large cities. This case was expanded particularly after end of the war and included more population. Main destination of most immigrants was Tehran (Kano, 1996). In fact, this period was a new stage of the physical –spatial growth of the city so that the informal settlements far from the city played main role in settlement of the urban poor people in 1981s. Population of the informal districts and estates in 1981s has increased from 1 million persons to 2 million persons and total population of the metropolitan region during this term has increased to 2.5 million persons (Faraji et al., 2014). After 1976 and particularly after 1986, Tehran metropolis was rapidly expanded in its suburban areas (Figure 1) (Allahverdipoor, 2013)

After 1989 and end of Iran-Iraq war , the immigrants and the low-income urban groups formed new cities in margin of Tehran and the government was forced to recognize them formally

(Ohadi, 2000). In fact, during 1991 to 1996 in Tehran region, 8 new cities were recognized formally and in fact, 5 cities were the informal settlements. Settlement of about 19% of the population of the metropolitan region in 1996 in more than 10 cities among which 9 cases have been converted into the city in years 1971 later on and 72 estates which were regarded as hamlet in 1996 due to enjoyment of 10,000 persons are result of informal settlement growth process in Tehran region after Islamic revolution (Meshkini and Rahimi, 2011).

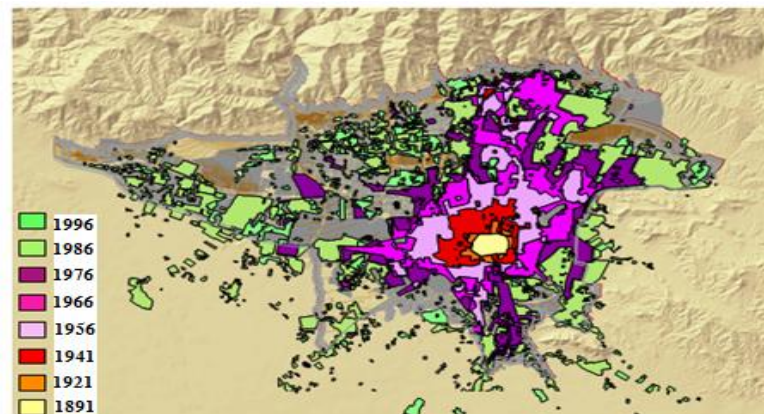


Figure1: Tehran physical spatial transformations in historical, Source: Atlas of Tehran Metropolis

In general, Tehran metropolis continued growing since it was developed as capital so rapidly that its population increased from 15000 persons and area of 705 km in 1790 to 1.5 million persons in 1956 and 802 million persons and area of 707 km² in 2011 . Table (1&2) (Allahverdipoor, 2013). At present, this city is recognized as the 18th populated city in the world and the 27th great city in the world (Kaviani, 2013). Among them, physical and spatial development of this city didn't follow special order and direction in the past years and there was sprawling (Mohammady, 2014) while this sprawling has had important and distinctive role in formation of informal settlements or urban villages in Tehran (Faraji et al, 2014). Therefore, considering physical and spatial growth of Tehran and aspects of urban development , it will be emphasized in this research that what factors had important and distinctive role in formation of informal settlements (urban villages) in this city and to what extent there were role and place of the major political decisions and urban management in formation of these habitats .

Year	Population	Growth Rate%	Population of Iran%	Urban Area population
1956	1560934	5.5	8	1600000
1966	2719730	5.1	10.5	2806000
1976	4530223	2.9	13.4	4869911
1986	6058207	1.3	12.2	6993013
1996	6497238	1.3	11.3	10343965
2006	7711230	-	11.07	13281858
2011	8293140	1.07	9.06	12183391

Table 1: Population growth of Tehran between 1956-2011, Source: Statistical Center of Iran

territorial name	population million	% of the total population	area (sq km)	population density(per sq. km)	internal territorial
Tehran mega city	8.2	63.11	750	10.933	22 zones and a central municipality
Tehran city region	12.25	91.18	16.700	793	12 township about 30 distract, more than 50 urban area
Tehran provir	13.3	19	18.909	703	Tehran Governor

Table 2: Various territories of the city and the region in relation to Tehran(2006)

Informal settlement, symbol of spatial-physical inequality in Tehran

Following urban changes and rapid and heterogeneous growth of urban development in Iran, the phenomenon of suburbanization in Iran was first formed in Tehran and then in other metropolises of the country. In fact, informal settlement of is a special type of urban life in the present era which is unconventionally growing in most large cities of Iran (Taleshi,2011) and it dates back 5-6 decades before (Bazregar, 2014). The habitats which are contrary to the formal norms defined in Iran for using the urban place and equipment and are almost formed on the lands which are legally prohibited for construction from different respects and this caused the urban institutions not to recognize these communities and habitats formally (Malki, 2012). Informal settlements suffer from different physical-spatial weakness and are characterized by chaos, weakness of physical structure, weakness of road network, managerial weakness, high population density, cultural and identity weakness, urban landscape chaos, weakness of welfare, recreational, educational, hygienic services, poverty and unemployment and the like. In this regard, it is estimated that at least one eighth of the urban population in Iran reside in these habitats (Maghsoodi et al, 2011) and 34% of the population reside around the metropolises with population of more than 1 million persons -44 % reside around the cities with population of more than 250000 persons and 22% reside around the cities with population of below 250000 persons. (Rasoolimanesh et al, 2013). Meanwhile, Tehran is a unique case for studying the informal settlements due to rapid population growth. The statistics shows that the population in the legal limit of Tehran has increased 2.5 fold during 1966s to 2011s and has increased from 2.72 to 802 million persons. Meanwhile, about 79% of the total population of Tehran province belonged to Tehran city in 1966 and this value has been reduced by less than 60% in 2011 meaning attraction of the immigrants in the surrounding regions of the city or other cities of the province (SCI, 1956-2011& Meshkini and Rahimi, 2011). The immigrants who have newly come to the urban limit of Tehran are not almost able to reside in the formal regions of the city and are driven to the surrounding villages of the city (Susman, 2010) and caused the ground for formation of the informal settlements. The informal settlements have been formed in the urban region of Tehran by purchasing, constructing or leasing the house in the informal market out of the legal limit of the city and are expanding their zone. The population residing in these regions has increased from 5% in 1956 to 11% in 1986 , 19% in 1996, 25% in 2006 and more than 32% in 2011 (Faraji at al. 2014). Therefore, Tehran city has had 74000 slums and this figure has reached 500000 persons in 2011 that is almost it had growth of 32% compared with 1956 indicating the increasing growth of this phenomenon in Tehran and its suburb.

In addition, condition and structure of the informal settlements dispersion in this metropolis don't follow any specified order and pattern in recent decades and have been mostly scattered (Figure 2) (Latifi et al., 2015). These habitats were formed in southwest of Tehran and in adjacency to the protected area and Karaj-Tehran axis industries (Meshkini and Rahimi, 2011). In the next decade, once the number of slums increased, dimensions of the informal land market grew in the southwest of the region leading to increased number of the informal settlements of this area (inside and outside the protected area) and some informal estates were in fact the villages around the city which accommodated immigrants in the south eastern communication axes (Ohadi, 2000& lotfi, 1998). During 1986 to 2011, the main focus of the informal settlements in the southern and south western area of Tehran led to continuing growth of these habitats in east and in two southeastern (Khavaran and Varamin) and western axes in margin of Karaj highway and in farther radius and in distance between Karaj and Abyek (Figure 2). In this regard, in the surrounding complex of Tehran city, there are large population centers (such as Islam Shahr at present time which gained a population of 50000 persons in 1976 reaching beyond 500000 persons in the southwest section or south of Tehran-Karaj axis and the low-income classes have created new population centers after increase of population and then increase of land and house price. the population centers and habitats such as Akbar Abad , Malard, Pakdasht and Hassan Abad , Bagher Abad and Sultan Abad have been among the slums which have been converted into city but they are regarded as a center for informal settlements (Meshkini and Rahimi, 2011 & JokarArsanjani et al., 2012& Faraji et al, 2014& Ohadi, 2000).

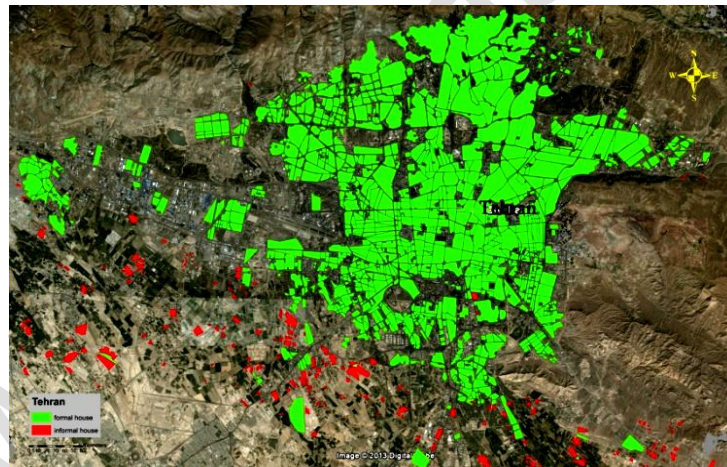


Figure 2: The status of formal and informal settlements in Tehran, Source: (Faraji et al, 2014)

Therefore, it can be said that the most known spatial pattern of inequality in Tehran is the north-south polar duality which was founded in Naseri period. During Pahlavi period (particularly in the Pahlavi period II) , other patterns such as focus of poverty and inequality in center of the city, heterogeneity resulting from merge of the rural textures in Tehran , creation and expansion of the worn textures , suburbanization and creation of informal settlements have been formed in addition to deepened north-south spatial gap of the city . After victory of the Islamic revolution, informal settlement was expanded in Tehran urban complex. In this period, polarity of the city was reduced but center –surrounding polarity and inequality increased. At present, the north and south duopoly model prevailed over urban unequal space in Tehran. The result is formation of most informal settlements of Tehran in southern part of the city (Lotfi, 1998& Ohadi, 2000&

Faraji et al., 2014). In this research, attempt is made to study the factors affecting formation of this phenomenon considering role of major policies of urban management and urban landscape in formation of that considering rapid growth of urbanization in Iran and mainly, Tehran metropolis and increase of informal settlements zone around this metropolis.

The project research model

After the conducted studies and considering different factors affecting informal settlements, a three-level model was defined as follows. Therefore, in this research, condition of the informal settlements in Iran and consequently, in Tehran has been analyzed (Figure 3).

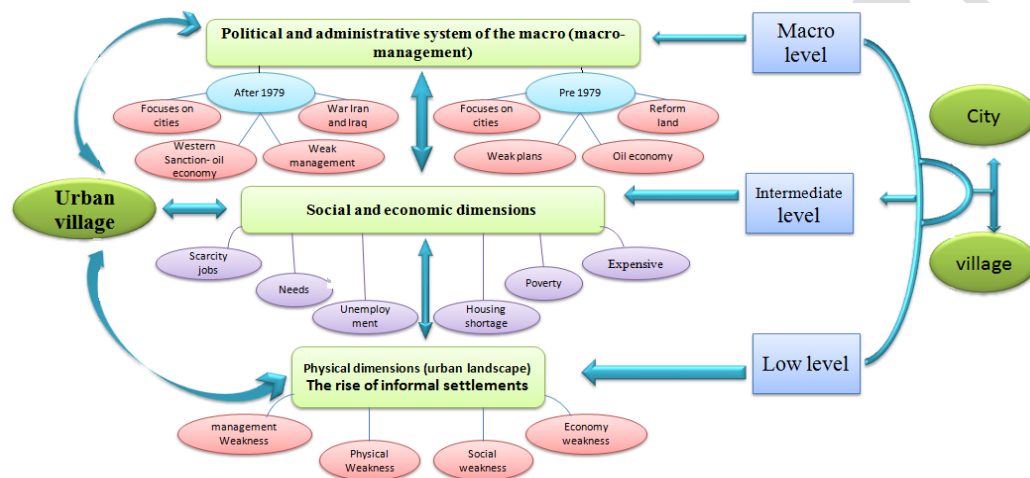


Figure 3- the considered model for analyzing condition of informal settlements in Tehran

Based on the conducted studies, the factors affecting formation of the informal settlements should be studied in three macro, meso and micro levels.

- 1- **Macro level:** At this level, major managerial policies for management of the human spaces had played effective role in formation of the habitats. At this level, weakness of law and legislation, weaknesses of the proposals, shortage of financial sources, largeness of government and promotion of the bureaucracy system and finally weakness of the superior policies have been considered as the most important factors affecting formation of the informal settlements.
- 2- **Meso level:** at this level, regional clashes and economic and social dimensions governing the society such as expansion of unemployment , poverty , shortage of job , high cost at society level, shortage of house , single-product economy, shortage of capital, and failure to promote manufacturing activities , lack of regional balances, formation of assembly industries and marginalization of agricultural activities , immigration and population growth , lack of social justice , shortage of participatory and public fields, weakness of social laws and the like have been considered and caused the people to get far from the main body of society and directed them to formation of the informal settlements.
- 3- **Third or micro level:** this level was the result of two upper levels and manifested as an informal settlement. The settlements which can be distinguished physically and spatially from other surrounding spaces. These habitats have many economical, social-cultural, physical and

political-managerial problems and have different urban landscape from other main spaces of the city.

4- Macro level(urban management and policies)

Of the most important factors affecting social space of each country are the major and managerial policies which are applied by the system governing that country. In fact, the major and superior policies of a country guide other lateral policies. In this regard, two periods before and after 1979 are important in Iran. In fact, this year is the separating point of the major governmental policies in Iran and the urban and rural system of Iran has been affected.

A-Before 1979

Before 1979, Pahlavi regime ruled over Iran. This dynasty gained power in 1920 in Iran and exerted its policies over the society. At the start of the Pahlavi period, there were extensive insecurity and chaos in different parts of the country due to the extensive managerial weaknesses and three urban, rural and nomadic societies were affected by it. As a result, during the Pahlavi period (1920-1979), different major decisions were made to improve and organize issues including policies such as sedentism and nomads control during the first Pahlavi period and following it during the second Pahlavi period(Afzali, 2011), focus on urban spaces (Alaedini, 2015), inattention to marginal areas of cities and villages (), codification of laws and regulations for reconstruction of cities (Bahrainy et al, 2007), inattention to villages (Azkia and Hooglund, 2011), weakness of urban and rural plans (Maghsoodi et al, 2011), lack of efficient supervisory system, execution of the growth pole policy (AjzaShakohi and Akbari, 2013) and focus of industries particularly assembly industries in metropolises (Maghsoodi et al, 2011), land reform policy and change in land ownership system (Lotfi, 1998), modernization policy and rapid growth of the country (Afzali, 2011), open door policy in 1956(Meshkini and Rahimi, 2011), single-product economy dependent on oil (Daryabari et al., 2014) and the like.

Among them, one of the most important policies which affected social system of Iran was sedentism and policy and inattention to their condition. In fact, this caused a sort of unplanned sedentism and irregular settlement of nomads irrespective of potentials in different places and as a result, different villages were formed and rural society grew rapidly (Afzali, 2011 & Latifi et al, 2015). Beside this problem, the presence of the landlord ownership system was increasing through which rural and nomadic spaces management was affected. This condition had formed feudalism in society and caused considerable class differences. Meanwhile, the government enacted land reform law in 1961 to improve living condition of the serfs (Abrahamian, 2008). Once this law was enforced, extensive changes were made in the urban and rural system of the country and the rural ownership system was disrupted. In addition, lack of the specified educational plan, financial weakness of the villagers who have recently owned land and weakness of rural management rapidly affected life of the people and poverty and unemployment increased in the rural society (Latifi et al, 2015).

This condition coincided with urbanism policies of the government and growth pole policy. As a result, some cities grew rapidly due to attention of the government to modernization of them on the one hand and centralization of the industries around them on the other hand (Ajza Shakohi and Akbari, 2013). Meanwhile, more attention was paid to Tehran city as capital of Iran and its population grew rapidly. In this period, different laws and regulations were enacted for reconstruction and renovation of the urban spaces and the old structure of the city which was

filled with irregular and nested alleys was destroyed and regular alleys and streets with the imported style and architecture which almost was derived from the Western European countries were formed and structure of the city which was destroyed for centuries based on system of mosque, bizarre and citadel and street-oriented system governed the urban space of Iran and centrally, Tehran with emphasis on type of style and urban design of the European countries (Bahraïny et al, 2007& Marefat, 2004).

However, there was less attention to villages and poverty and unemployment were being formed and an urban (rich) and rural (poor) bipolar system was being formed leading to the extensive immigration from the rural spaces to the urban areas (Lotfi, 1998& Alaedini, 2015). This attack of immigrants was not accompanied by provision of the necessary infrastructural services such as urban house. As a result, the immigrants take refuge in the suburbs of the cities for settlement and the informal settlements were formed in the surrounding areas of the cities and their surrounding villages and the third society was formed beside two urban and rural societies (Alaedini, 2015). This condition has occurred in the years after 1966 so that the immigrants reached 3 million persons in 1966 and 3200000 persons among whom 67% arrived in Tehran. So, the number of population of Tehran increased from 207 million persons in 1966 to 405 million persons in 1976(Asgharpour et al, 2013) and was rapidly converted into prime city of Iran through which high expenses should have been paid for body of the urban system of the country (Faraji et al., 2016).

Generally, considering the policies applied in this period, urban population growth in the country was rapidly increasing and this was more affected by economic growth of the country which resulted from increase of oil price (Alaedini, 2015). As a result, focus on cities and modernization of metropolises including Tehran were regarded as priorities. Attention to villages except for enforcement of the land reform law in them was regarded as the lowest level (Mahdi et al, 2014). Once this law was enforced due to increased managerial weakness in the villages, the minimum income was earned by selling small parcels of land resulting from land reform and cities modernization policy which increased the number of rural immigrants to the cities (Asgharpour et al, 2013& Latifi et al, 2014). Population of the suburbs grew and the informal settlements were rapidly formed. With increase in the number of slums around large cities including Tehran, the class conflicts were more distinctive and distance between the rich and poor became more sensible (Latifi et al, 2015). Due to inherent nature of suburbanization and its dirty and unfavorable appearance, the government intended to change these spaces. As a result, it destroyed these habitats without specified plan and this led to dissatisfaction of the residents in these regions. This problem is so important that some researchers believe that revolution 1979 has started with suburbs of the cities where the so-called poor and barefooted people lived finally leading to revolution and change in the political regime in Iran (Alaedini, 2015). In this way, the applied policies in the period before 1979 have been effective in formation of the informal settlements.

B- After 1979

After 1979 and Islamic Revolution of Iran, there were considerable changes in the political system and its major management (Eisenstadt, 2011). The new government intended to improve and promote qualitative and quantitative level at society level and in this regard , it adopted different policies and made different decisions with emphasis on the justice-oriented policies (BashirKhodaparasti, 2012). As a result, policy for reduction of poor and rich class distance (Bagheri et al, 2013), improvement of the living condition of the shanty towns around the capital

in the early years after the Revolution (Shahshahani, 2003), promotion of quality and quantity of the cities and villages compared with the period before the Islamic Revolution (Bagheri et al, 2013), establishment of the revolutionary institutions (such as Imam Khomeini Relief Committee, Shahid Rajaei Plan) to help the underprivileged and poor class of the society (IRIC, 1979), construction of social houses such as Mehr House project (Alaedini, 2015& IRIC, 1979) and increase of independency and democracy (Brown et al, 2010) and the like.

In this regard , in the early years of the Islamic Revolution , house construction increased for the urban poor people particularly those who lived in shanty town around Tehran city. However, a new group was added to these people every day and they requested for urban services and house. (Shahshahani, 2003). As a result, there was reverse relation between supply and demand rate (Alaedini, 2015). Therefore, the people who arrived newly constructed houses around the city through which they affected physical-spatial structure of the city.

In addition, the government increased its attention to the villages to reduce the difference between cities and villages leading to attack of the immigrants to the cities due to justice-oriented policy of the new regime and move toward the social justice (IRIC, 1979& Bagheri et al, 2013). In this regard, it took some measures such as establishment of Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, Ministry of Agricultural Jihad , villages development plans , Islamic Revolution Rural House Foundation etc. different policies were also adopted for rapid growth and compensation for retardation of the country , promotion of quality and quantity of life , improvement of policies and laws about the cities and villages, reform of the urban and rural management structure and the like and there were changes relative to the years before the Islamic revolution (Mahdi et al, 2014& IRIC, 1980& Brown et al, 2010). So, percent of the urban and rural poor people in 1991 increased from 13% in urban parts and 28.1% in rural parts to 7.3 % and 7.5%, respectively in 2010 (Bagheri et al, 2013). However, the problems remained unsolved and reaching the desirable point was difficult. These problems became more distinctive due to Iran -Iraq war, sanctions by the western countries, increase of economic costs after war, adoption of policies for renovation and development of the war-stricken regions, weakness of economic and managerial patterns etc (Alaedini, 2015).

In fact, the major post-war governmental policies focused on construction and development of the war-stricken regions and a set of the privatization plans and large number of subsidy houses and lands were transferred by the government without target and transparency and this increased gap between house supply and demand (Alaedini, 2015). The economic policy which governed the country was gradually directed to capitalistic economy (Hakimian, 2007) and emphasis was placed on the oil-centered economic policy (SalehiEsfahani, 2009) and the uptown and downtown regions were gradually formed (). The oil-based single-product economy and lack of the efficient economic plan for growth and promotion of the society in both periods before and after the Islamic Revolution were among the most important factors affecting formation of the misbalance between economic growth and inflation growth in the economic system of the country (Faraji et al, 2014& Dreger et al, 2007).

In this economic pattern, cities were preferred to the villages for development and as a result, difference between cities and villages increased. Therefore, the government reformed structure of urban and rural management but these managerial systems were less efficient considering imported urban and rural management system of Iran and copying structure of the western cities and its estrangement from the previous structure of the urban and rural management system of Iran and this exacerbated problems of the urban and rural society and difference between them

(Pourahmad et al, 2015& Azkia and Hooglund, 2011). In fact, this economic pattern and conflict of the urban and rural policies beside decline of real position of the law in execution of urban plans affected the urban and rural system of Iran in different forms and increased the difference between them(Kaviani, 2013). Immigration of the villagers to the cites grew highly and population of cities was added day by day and the number of villages was reduced (Bergqvist, 2013& Kaviani, 2013). The villages which had been formed before 1979 without special support and under sedentism policy and sustained severe loss due to the land reform law on the one hand and weak management system on the other hand and many of them lost their population so that more than 35000 villages have been uninhabited (Afzali et al, 2011 & Maleki, 2015&SCI, 1956-2011). These immigrants have left villages for cites and settle in them (Susman, 2010). Due to poverty and low specialty level and lack of necessary infrastructures such as house or employment in urban spaces on the other hand, they were driven to margin of cities and resided in the informal settlements (Safarabadi et al, 2015).

In this regard, Tehran metropolis as the capital of Iran was highly impressed by these policies in two periods before and after 1979 and has been considered as one of the most important destinations of immigrants in different years (Asgharpour et al, 2013). So, it was known as the main center of investments and key point for physical-spatial changes of the country in the period before 1979 under the growth pole policy (Dreger et al, 2007). As a result, the poor and vulnerable people of society who seek for better life and welfare attacked to this city. Due to financial and social weakness, they took shelter in margin of the city or the surrounding villages. As a result, they led to formation of the different informal settlements in the marginal areas of the city (Maghsoodi et al, 2011). In the period after 1979, place and credit of this city were not only reduced but also enhanced day by day. So, it is regarded as the prime city of Iran which has larger population distance from the second city and receives new immigrants every day while there are no necessary infrastructures for settling them (Faraji et al, 2016& Asgharpour et al, 2013).

In fact, major place of Tehran in political –economic system of Iran increased credit of this city and its physical and spatial dimensions increased every day. As a result, it has diverted attention of many poor people and job seekers to it. After arrival of the immigrants into this city, issue of their settlement was raised (Asgharpour et al, 2013). Poverty of the immigrants on the one hand and high expenses of settlement in formal section of Tehran on the other hand directed this vulnerable class toward the marginal areas of the city resulting in different informal settlements around the city (Maghsoodi et al, 2011). With elapse of time, some of these settlements have been added to the main body of the city after expansion of physical zone of the city. In this regard, about 70 villages have been added to space of Tehran city during 1966 to 2006. Table (3) (Asgharpour et al, 2013) while other villages also absorb the immigrants in suburb of the city through which they form the informal settlements. These settlements have caused different problems for the target city. Major part of this problem is related to lack of integrity of the management system (in the internal district of the city and limit of cities) and lack of efficient plans for dealing with the informal settlements of the limit of cities.

country	Grand Total	Grand Total	Villages	Population	Villages	population	Cities	population
Tehran	42	12518	30	10807**	12	1711*	-	-
Shemirana	33	19528	31	19421**	1	107*	1	157486
Ray	59	21720	41	16410**	17	5310*	1	102852
Total	132	47556	102	40428**	30	7128*	2	260311

Table (3): Population of cities and villages becoming part of Tehran in the past two decades in 1966

*Population of villages becoming part of Tehran between 1976-1986

** Population of villages becoming part of Tehran between 1966-1976 , Source: Ohadi, 2000

For example, in Tehran, some settlements are regarded as urban limit and also rural limit which caused managerial porosity between Municipality and Governor's office. As a result, each of these institutions transfers responsibility related to the desired settlement to another one and this provided managerial confusion and consequently, intensive physical –spatial chaos in these settlements and provided the profiteers with opportunity for abusing (Faraji et al, 2014 & Rasoolimanesh et al, 2013).

In fact, the informal settlements which are almost formed with settlement of immigrants in the villages around the cities are managed with management system governing the villages which are managed by the Islamic Consultative Assembly of the village and the governor's office and at higher level, by the district governor's offices while it should be managed by the municipality according to the city limit law and this caused intensive managerial interference in this urban-rural limit. Generally, the management system governing the informal settlements in the urban cities of Tehran can be considered at two levels. One of the superior level which is practically related to urban management and municipality of the districts on the one hand and the governor's offices dependent on the Governor General Office on the other hand. The second one is the micro level which is related to the management system governing the internal spaces of village which includes the Islamic Assembly of the village is elected with vote of the people and the village governors are elected by the councils (Khazae et al, 2012 & Rasoolimanesh et al, 2013) while the informal settlements (urban village) which are the regions between the city and village and have different needs from the rural society and even urban society don't have special place in major management system and suffer from confusion between the urban management and rural management. Meanwhile, rapid growth of the informal settlements around Tehran indicates inefficiency of this management system in these regions which require more attentions.

In general, with elapse of time, weakness of the urban and rural management system and their governing laws have become more distinctive so that the major house management policies of the vulnerable class and the laws related to management of the urban limits have become ambiguous and deficient (Alaedine, 2015). In addition, lack of the plans based on needs of the rural society, weakness of urban and rural management models and its disproportion with structure and needs of the existing spaces (Azkia and Hooglund, 2011) , political conflict between the institutions effective in management and development of cities (Pourahmad et al, 2015), weakness and inability to execute the urban and rural plans(Taleshi, 2009), regional and urban-rural conflicts (Rasoolmanesh et al, 2013) and managerial interference in limit of cities

(Faraji et al, 2014), weakness of economic patterns and the like have increased the problems. As a result, structure of cities and villages lacked its balance and differences between them became more distinctive and finally, it has led to immigration leading to evacuation of more than 35000 villages and formation of hundreds of informal settlements in cities and their surrounding districts among which Tehran metropolis has had unique place.

Therefore, considering set of these factors, it can be acknowledged that one of the most important factors affecting misbalance in the urban and rural system of the country and consequently, Tehran were weak decision-making and major superior management policies in the periods before and after 1979 which has manifested one of its effects in the informal settlements.

1- Meso level, regional position and economic and social factors

At this level, attention to the regional position on the one hand and social and economic issues governing the rural and urban system which had considerable effect on formation of the informal settlements are emphasized. In fact, at this level, there ARE some issues such as regional position, economic development, high urban population growth and poverty of people, unemployment and low income, immigration, high cost of urban houses, shortage of rural services, physical spatial discriminations and other lateral issues.

Economic condition of Iran in recent decades has different vicissitudes and this issue has affected urban and rural system of this country. Economic growth affected by the oil single-product economy (SalehiEsfahani, 2009) in different years caused the government to become the main executive of all plans through which role and position of people have been reduced because tax and revenue generating policies related to the social spaces are at the low level and this caused growth of the country to have close relationship with oil and its global sale (SalehiEsfahani et al, 2009 & Hakimian, 2007). In addition, in the years which economic growth of Iran has increased more, attention to the cities has also increased because the cities are management center of the human spaces at country level. As a result, political and economic position of the cities has higher level than the villages intentionally or unintentionally (Alaedini, 2015) while villages are managed based on agriculture and animal husbandry –based economic system which doesn't lead to considerable profit and the minimum budget is allocated by the governmental institutions for solving some problems in them.

Beside this problem, establishment of industries and their entrepreneur role near cities (Meshkini and Rahimi, 2011), high receivable salaries of the industries workers compared with the villagers, increase of service level in cities and other lateral issues caused a relative class distance between the urban and rural societies which was manifested by formation of a rural poor society with the weak welfare services and an urban society with higher relative welfare level.

High attention of the government to cities and increase of services in it on the one hand and considerable income difference between different parts of the country and also rural and urban parts caused inequality and lack of regional balance and also lack of rural and urban balance and has converted into an important factor in formation of the immigration flows. So, some cities receive more immigrants due to their high potentials (Susman, 2010 & Faraji et al., 2014).

In this regard, relation between regional position and place of Tehran metropolis due to issues such as its political position as the capital of Iran (IPOG, 2008), enjoyment of the highest urban population of the country (Maghsoodi et al, 2011), enjoyment of very fertile farmlands (Allahverdiipoor, 2013), enjoyment of major part of the industries (Meshkini and Rahimi, 2011),

enjoyment of the very high production and consumption market, different employment opportunities (Meshkini and Rahimi, 2011), communication bottleneck between northern parts of Iran and internal areas of Iran, its important geopolitical position in Damanvand mountain range, its settlement in the internal parts of the country and its distance from borders (ATM, 2012&IPOG, 2008) and high relative security, enjoyment of many governmental privileges and finally its unique political, economic, cultural and social position in the last two centuries made this city very distinctive in the urban structure of Iran (Gharagozlo, 2013).

Beside the distinguished privileges of this metropolis, many districts of the country have considerable economic and social weakness and this issue has led to formation of the regional conflict at the country level (Heidarian et al., 2016). These regional conflicts don't follow a specified geographical pattern but it can be generally said that the internal and central provinces of Iran have been developed more than many border regions (Meshkini and Rahimi, 2011). As a result, many of the urban and rural poor people of the less-developed regions have paid attention to the central provinces and Tehran metropolis. (Heidarian et al., 2016).

Beside the regional distinctive place of Tehran, attentions of the government to this city have provided abundant social and economic potentials leading to physical spatial development of this city and quality and quantity promotion of the life level in that and made this city more dynamic to other cities of Iran (Gharagozlo, 2013). Different job opportunities in this city (about the third type (service), industrial – plant and agricultural activities) on the one hand and different economic enterprises on the other hand attracted attention of many people (Meshkini and Rahimi, 2011).

In this regard, one can name some service jobs (such as educational, health and therapeutic activities, working in private and governmental companies, hotel management and many informal jobs such as construction, working in restaurants, retailing, beggary etc) which are growing in this city. In this regard, more than 46% of the immigrants for job opportunities, 10% of them for military service and 9.9% for educational issues immigrated to this city between 1996 and 2006. (Daneshmand et al, 2015&Asgharpour et al, 2013).

Among them, educational (scientific) and hygienic position of Tehran in Iran is very distinctive so that more than one third of the universities and scientific institutes and health centers such as hospitals and clinics and private clinics of Iran are located in this city. Therefore, 40% of the professors in the country, 20 important universities of Iran and tens of scientific and research institutes and other important hospitals are located in this city which attracts many students every year. Perhaps, this is one of the factors which converted Tehran into a city which attracts creative and capable persons (Gharagozlo, 2013). The presence of different potentials in Tehran caused most of these students not to return to their main city in case they find a suitable job.

The industrial activities and their related employment are the activities which have involved the people residing in Tehran. In this regard, Tehran province and Tehran metropolis have accommodated 30% of the industries, 26% of the large plants in the country, 40% of the consumption market, 40% of the food industries, 40% of the large cooperatives, 44% of the floriculture industry, 31% of the meat production industries, 17% of the total workshop industrial units with more than 10 workers and finally 584 large companies related to the economic, agricultural and servicing activities in the country (Meshkini and Rahimi, 2011).

Economic position of Tehran province and Tehran metropolis is so high that this city has been converted into the main center of all economic changes of Iran and this is largely affected by its

political position as the capital of the country (Dreger et al, 2007) because, this issue caused centralization of the main wealth centers in this city. Among them, the stock exchange center of the country, banks and major financial institutes, gold market and precious metals etc. have been centralized in this city. Beside these formal economic enterprises, a type of informal and nontransparent economy which has accommodated many of the immigrants should be named. This informal enterprise shows itself in the false and informal jobs (such as peddling, trafficking, begging etc (Daneshmand et al, 2015 &Daryabari et al, 2014). Generally, this province and Tehran metropolis have centralized about one third of the economic power of Iran through which it is regarded as the central point of economic management of Iran (Meshkini and Rahimi, 2011). In this regard, based on the predictions until 2025, Tehran with growth of 4.1% will be placed in rank 55 of the urban economy of the world until 2025(Hawksworth et al, 2009) while this city is in the first rank of GDP which is about 13.97% and then Isfahan has GDP of 3.57 and Khorasan has 3.30 % while 16 out of 31 provinces have GDP of below 1% and this indicates job market in these provinces (SCI, 2011).

Therefore, considering potentials in Tehran city and job market on the one hand and revenue difference between Tehran and other parts of the country doubled chance of the immigrants to attack to this metropolis (Heidarian et al., 2016). In this regard, mean urban annual revenue in Iran has been about 16 million Tomans(5.300\$) and about 10 million Tomans (3.300\$) in villages while mean revenue of Tehran city has been about 40 million Tomans (13.300 US\$) per year. Therefore, this issue is an important and driving factor for attracting immigrants to this metropolis. Despite high revenue, the costs are also high in Tehran. For example, mean annual rental for house in Tehran is 21 million Tomans (7000\$) i.e. more than half of the total revenue of the households (Figure 4) (SCI, 2014). This issue is somewhat possible for the people who have suitable job and necessary skill but very difficult for the immigrants and the unemployed people with low skill. However, the immigrants prefer to live in this city with hope of managing these costs. As a result, most of the poor people and job seekers (urban immigrants and poor people) who don't have necessary ability to settle in the formal part of the city prefer to live in the informal settlements in margin of city(Meshkini& Rahimi, 2011). For example, in 2011, population growth of Shahriar in Tehran suburb has been 9.6% while it has been 2.2% in the internal districts of Tehran (JokarArsanjani et al., 2012).

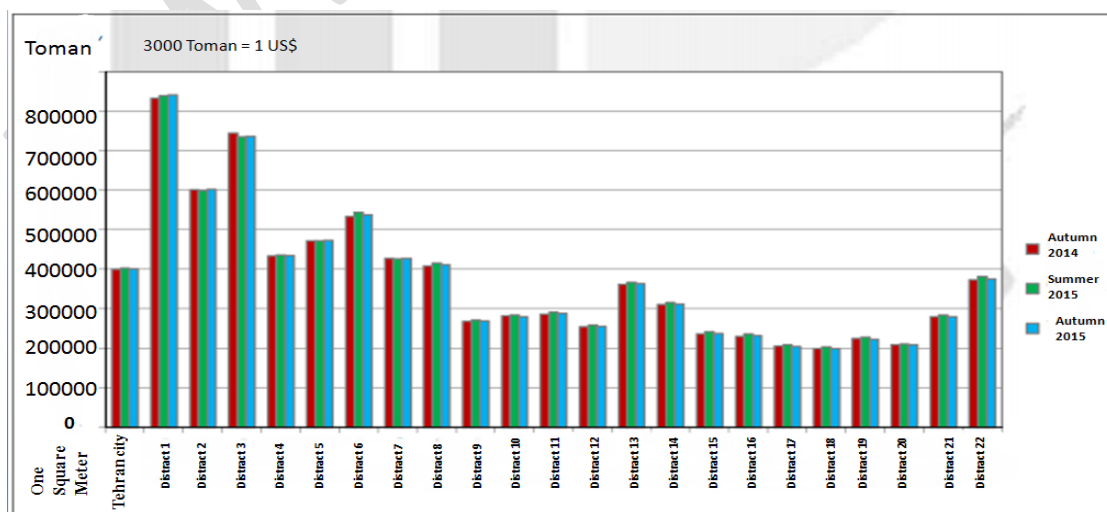


Figure4. average one square meter house price in Theran from 2014-2015, Source: SCI, 2015

At the end, beside all factors attracting population to Tehran, there are repelling factors including high living cost, cultural-social differences, lack of balanced distribution of power and wealth in its different parts which affect the newcomers. The new-coming immigrants and urban poor people who are not able to live in the main part of the city have found way to take shelter in informal settlements around the city because these settlements have led to attraction of many poor urban people and the unemployed and new-coming immigrants through low rental (Dirlik et al., 2012), easy access to the minimum routine services (Li, 2013), dispersion inside and around the city (Alaedini, 2015), easy access to labor market , easy acceptance of culture of different tribes by its residents (Xu Wang, 2013), the transferred place of the urban village due to the intermediate position of city and village (Liu, 2015) and the like them are attracting many urban poor and unemployed and newcomers immigrants to these areas (Liu, 2008). The factors which caused the people to be satisfied with residence in it in these settlements despite different problems of these settlements and provided the opportunity for the other people to attend these settlements and finally caused more dynamicity of most informal urban -rural settlements.

2-Micro-level (physical –spatial formation of urban village)

Following high growth of urbanism and lack of necessary balance between the major management policies and social –economic problems governing the urban and rural society, some places with different structure and space from other surrounding parts were formed and received the population. These places start growing contrary to the existing laws and creepily grow rapidly and adhere to body of the city and form a space as informal settlements (Davis, 2006:151). These places face different problems due to their inherent poverty and cultural, social and economic weaknesses which distinguish them from their surrounding areas (Maghsoodi et al, 2011). One of the most important dimensions which separate these spaces from other urban areas should be found in their physical landscape (Dirlik et al., 2012).

In fact, these settlements have been physically encompassed by lack of necessary supervision by the concerned institutions, multiplicity of the management system, influence of the profiteers, lack of necessary capital, poverty of residents, no obligation of people toward living place , poverty and greed of the owners and the like so that they are far from the known standards and made the urban landscape face considerable duality (Taleshi, 2009 &Liu, 2015& Hao, 2012& Latifi et al., 2015).

This physical weakness and landscape duality can be found in the informal settlements (urban villages) of Tehran metropolis.(Faraji et al., 2012). This was affected by the mentioned factors and currently created different form compare with the formal districts of the city. These settlements have serious problems in terms of road coating , construction patterns , green space , type of material, surface waters curbs and the like and have distinguished them from their surrounding areas (Daneshmand et al, 2015)

In fact, the roads and surface waters curbs in these settlements have considerable weakness. So, they are almost narrow and nested and are far from the necessary standards (Bergqvist, 2013) and provision of any services face serious problems under critical conditions such as fire and earthquake (one great earthquake every 150 years has occurred in Tehran) and the like (Shahshahani, 2003). The internal spaces of these settlements haven't followed any specified urban plan and are almost self-made and based on profit and benefit relation (Daneshmand et al, 2015). In fact, the primary owners have considered a narrow road in lands and segmented and sold the lands. As a result, intra-district open spaces have been encompassed by constructions

and deprived of these settlements of the open and even recreational places (Gholami et al, 2013 Liu, 2015& Li, 2013). This condition is worse in the settlements which lack the primary owners and are based on force.

The buildings in the informal settlements in Tehran are very dense and lack special physical order (Hosseinzadeh et al, 2015). These settlements are very weak in terms of the number of stories and foundation, height of building and width of street (45°view of the height of buildings relative to streets of below 30 m) and its effect on skyline , land use and their location , type of materials and architecture of landscape(Gholami et al, 2013). So, a 5 or 6-story building with different apartment units is constructed in a 5-m alley with weak materials unsupervised by the related organizations (municipality, engineering council etc.)and lack of attention to parking and other necessary standards for an ordinary building and sold in informal market which is based on letter of promise . Beside these buildings which are the ordinary type of informal settlements of Tehran , some settlements with very weak and less durable structures which have no safety have been formed in some regions around the city (Taleshi, 2009& Daneshmand et al, 2015).

Therefore, considering generality of the physical dimension governing the informal settlements in Tehran , it is clarified that there is gross difference between urban landscape of these urban villages and the formal spaces of city particularly the spaces which have been built with urban planning and design (Figure 5). Finally, considering the studies, the urban landscape which is affected by political, social and economic factors or at two macro and meso levels is effective in formation of the informal settlements through the landscape contrast with its surrounding areas. Therefore, physical landscape of the informal settlements should be regarded as one of the other important factors which form the informal settlements of Tehran.

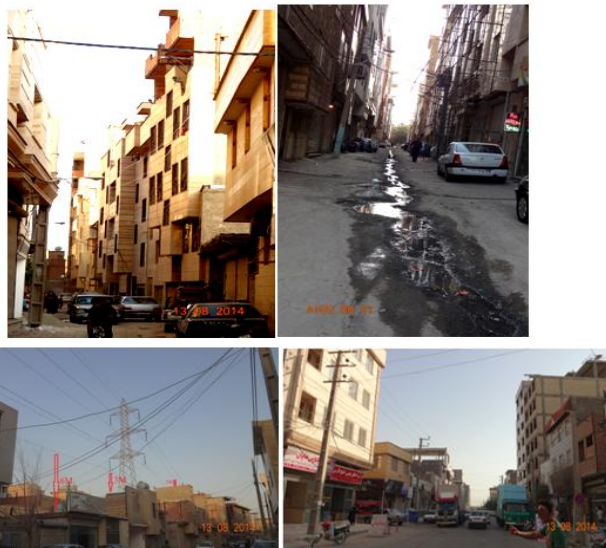


Figure 5- Physical landscape of the informal settlements in Tehran

CONCLUSION

The informal settlements are symbol of the new urban poverty which are imposed on the urban system and have redefined it as Strategic Low-Income Urban Management Systems (Davis, 2006). Formation and expansion of the informal settlements in metropolises of Iran have been regarded as a serious problem for the urban management system. Among them, Tehran as the political and population capital of Iran has not been excluded from this important category and

sees formation of the new informal settlements around it while physical development trend of Tehran metropolis in the past periods hasn't followed specified pattern and has taken the current form dispersedly due to attack of immigrants from different parts of the country. Following physical-spatial development of the city, the urban village settlements were formed inside the urban spaces and its marginal areas and as a result, they accommodated considerable part of the poor and low-income urban populations and immigrants and were regarded as the third type of the settlements beside two types of urban and rural settlements. In this regard, in the present research, factors affecting formation of these settlements in Tehran city were studied and finally, the factors affecting this case were classified at three levels. There is the macro level in which major political and managerial dimensions and decisions resulting from these levels have been studied in periods before 1979 and after 1979. The meso level in which the regional position of Tehran and social and economic issues affecting formation of the urban village settlements has been considered and finally the micro level which is greatly natural manifestation of two higher levels and has manifested itself in the physical dimensions and urban landscape have been studied.

At the end , it is concluded that root of the factors affecting formation of the urban villages in Tehran metropolis cannot be regarded as one-dimensional but it should be affected by a series of the dependent factors which involve the macro level to micro level . However, role and place of the major management policies have had more important and distinctive role than other factors had because the management system governing Iran is a top-down hierarchy while the management system of the cities is a bottom-up local management system which is affected by the superior policies of the system. Among them, lack of necessary integrity in the superior and inferior policies and the applied laws has severely affected the urban and rural system and consequently, the informal settlements. Major part of the regional issues of the country is rooted in the superior and major policymaking. However, the regional position of Tehran and other provinces and their surrounding factors on the one hand and cultural-social and economic factors on the other hand have affected the policymakers and their decisions. As a result, attention to each of the factors has important and distinctive role in its own place.

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