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**Ibn Khaldun, And the Future of Modern World**

Abas Ali Abounoori
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**ABSTRACT**

*Ibn Khaldun* is known as a Muslim Arab historian, sociologist, anthropologist and politician of 8 Hijra century (14th A.D. century). He is the founder of the historical science and the pioneer of the civil science and the father of the economics science. In his introduction book, he has predicted the beginning of different sciences for the future generation that today each of them has become science which is not separable from the life of human beings. What are all the sciences, from civil to sociology to history and economy and politics and jurisdiction is common by *Ibn Khaldun*; is his attention to future of human beings and predicting the effect of these sciences on the life of human beings.

In all the mentioned sciences he is after lightening and designing a perfect future for all human beings. In this paper, we are after recognizing the theories of *Ibn Khaldun* regarding the future of the modern world, the way the know sciences mentioned above would affect the modern life of humans.

KEY WORDS: *Ibn Khaldun*, the future of the world, Modern world, the science of history, the civil engineering science, sociology

**INTRODUCTION**

The special attention of *Ibn Khaldun* to study history with a view of sociology to it, his contemplation in history experiences and basing it on the traditions and regulation ruling the society especially formulating the historical and social phenomenon, has put him in the focus of the sociologists and historians. The way of expressing and his clear vision in history is to such extent that some of the
experts regard his theories so much close to some of the scientific discussion of today. Also, among the different Scientifics, there is a kind of general consensus that Ibn Khaldun has had great way of thinking and theories. Arnold B.Twin believes that "Ibn Khaldun have created a kind of historical philosophy that without any doubt is the most important work in his kind that comparing to any idea, in any time and any place has been performed. In addition the “introduction” of him regarding the content has an integrative structure and from appearance has a pyramid shape that covers a developed idea with organization, chapters, paragraphs and multiple sections.

Reviewing and analyzing the votes of him is important because we can count his prominent work "introduction" as a new model of idea pioneering in Islamic culture framework principles which has happened at one of the most chaotic periods of time. The special importance of this kind of thinking in current situation of Iran society which is involved in theorizing the development of Islamic Iranian pattern appears so much clear.

Ibn Khaldun for personal interest or other reasons turned to sciences which are necessary for a sustainable government. When we study the necessity of each of these designs from the point of view of Ibn Khaldun, we understand the perspective and future he was having in his mind. Even if we cannot find him after the utopia-because he has been so much realistic-but in the end point of each of these designs he was after the salvation and comfort that these sciences could bring for future generation.

Registering and writing the history perhaps doesn't have any use for the current generation, but there is no doubt in the interest that the next and following generations can make from it. Ibn Khaldun with presenting the novel discussion in economics, changes this science into a science which is capable of planning and calculating a few years or even a few generations a head. He founded the science of civil. The one today we call it sociology. This science is seeking to know people and their reaction toward different events in different periods of time. Founding all these sciences without looking a distant and far future is not only difficult but also impossible. But if we cannot say that Ibn Khaldun was living a few years ahead of himself we can say that he could have seen years ahead of him and he was seeking to be able to analyze the matter and event which haven't happened yet.

History and Ibn Khaldun
400 years before the Christ birth, the Aristotle thinking was on this principle that: "money and virtue are placed on the two side of a scale in which the increase in money will lead to decrease in virtue. A fortunate society is one in which scientists

1 Moghadame
are more. Money and wealth would decrease the virtue of any society." With emergence of Christ for three centuries Europe was in the heat of the visions of him. The third century till fifteen century is called middle ages or the ages of mind darkness and the ages of dominance of church. In this period there was no place for scientific, economic or social views and the inclination of values was laid on the church views.

"Saint Thomas Aquinas" is the most prominent philosopher of middle ages and they call him the Aristotle of middle ages. His educative is a combination of the philosophy of Aristotle and the principles of the Christianity. In a way that justice and morals are dominant on all the matters. He presents these in the books of theism. Saint Thomas believes that interest is contrary to morality and justice and says: "interest is the price of passage of time, and since the passage of time belongs to God therefore getting interest is forbidden."

The most important historical event in middle ages is the emergence of Islam. With the emergence of Islam and occupation of Spain and the north part of Africa by Arabs, in fact the powerful religion of Islam stands up against the European Christianity civilization. During this period the way of thinking of Islam is based on correlation between individual and society which is known as the salvation of this world and the other world. And preserving the character of individual and the whole is necessary on one another.

The Islamic scientific believe that science is the most perfect accessory of humans. Arab Mathematicians invented the science of Algebra. *Abureihan Biruni* the famous Iranian astrologer for the first time guessed that it is the earth that turns around the sun. The prominent scientists of Iran *Ibn Sina* in medical sciences are famous all around the world. The philosophy of Saint Thomas is similar to the philosophy of *Ibn Sina*. *Abu Nasr Farabi* is the first philosopher and economists of Iran and some believe that he is the founder of Islamic philosophy. He is named the second teacher and Aristotle is the first one. For *Farabi* the practical logic was important. The Utopia of *Farabi* is more abstract than the Utopia of Plato. *Farabi* believes that human being is a social being and should create the society and with gathering together and dividing the work, the spirit of cooperation and economic cooperation will be created. *Farabi* believes that inclination toward virtue and perfection is placed before the materialistic world. In fact the Utopia of *Farabi* is establishing a kind of divine rule in which philosophers and wise men will rule. He believes that human salvation has two dimensions: provision of economic needs and achieving self-perfection. Economy is dependent to morality. The Utopia of *Farabi* is like the body of a human being which needs both spiritual and material needs.

In such historical situation *Ibn Khaldun* is born in 1332 A.D. in Tunisia. This great Islamic intellectual is pioneer in history, sociology historical sciences in his period.

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1 Fereidoun Tafazoli (1386) the history of economical thought p35 (Ney publications)
The sparkle of industrial revolution was started in Europe and England. And severely progressed to other locations, but it hasn’t still reached to the birth place of the science of its time – Middle East. Ibn Khaldun was living in such an environment. At a time that European people are stealing his science, there is no sign of using technology in where he is living. Even after years of Ibn Khaldun death there was no sign of awakening of science in this country.

Ibn Khaldun in his book "introduction" where he is talking of ups and downs of civilizations, studies the stages of the passage of human civilizations in 4 stages: 1st is the beginning of the human civilization which is based on two elements Bedouinism and Urbanism. Bedouinism is the creation point of the primary societies. The most important activities of humans in this stage are production of food by farming.

Bedouinism is the starting stage of urbanism. Urbanism After that was started. In this stage of creation of the society, is called achieving well-being, comfort and economic benefit which is the basis of the economic activities. People in this stage turn to using luxury products and are more inclined toward using these kinds of products and are changed into such a luxurious society. Greediness of humans motivates them to steal from each other. The animal nature dominates the human nature and humans turns rebellious and cruel and loses their human nature and turn into a machine.

This point of view of Ibn Khaldun has so much in common with the Frederick lift theory, the economist of the Nationalism school in 19th century who says: "the passage from savagery to farming and then agricultural, is the field for economic and social changes of people which is changes into industrial agriculture and them to commercial industrial agriculture." This passage of stage is related to the 2nd phase of civilization, according to theory of Ibn Khaldun.

The 2nd phase is the phase of market emergence which changes the field of producing products and obtaining interest and changes the human civilization. And commerce makes some changes into the social behavior of humans. The behavior of achieving profit creates the most of the main goals of the dominant level of the society on the market. Ibn Khaldun says that moderation in production and achieving profit is the bed of continuity of civilized society in this stage and suggest that to everyone and says in case of not considering that it will collapse the society and brings poverty to the society.

The stage can be considered as the passage of feudal society to capitalism of Marx. Marx believes that in the stage of feudalism, the extension of market and increase in production will provide the field for factories productions and extension of factories and take societies into capitalism stage. In this stage artificial things will be produces that before they weren’t needed.
3rd stage is the stage of economical civil in human civilization. In the beginning of this stage, the motivation for population increase will be increase and together with it the growth rate of population and proportion to it the need for unnecessary products and luxury would increase. Off course in this stage Ibn Khaldun believes that production of necessary products like grain will increase and their price would decrease but the demand for luxury products will be increased and their prices will increase as well.

The 4th phase is the result phase or the conclusion of the economical civil or human civilization that after the passage of the previous three stages will come. Ibn Khaldun believes that in this stage the relation between the morality and economy will reach to a point that extra comfort and accumulation of wealth will become the motivation of domination will be created among the individuals of a society and the focus of wealth in the hands of a special group and poverty in the other group would corrupt the morality of the citizens. This moral corruption will cause the civilizations to decline. Ambition of people in that society for obtaining more money and wealth will lead them to decline. Civilizations are born just like any other live creature, they live and then they decline and again another civilization will replace them. Therefore each civilization has three stage of primary battle, creation of tyranny and eventually luxury and decline.

He also divides the nature of governments in 5 categories: victory, in this period fanaticism is permanent and religion is vital in preserving the government. Self-centered period, in this period the government takes all the powers including religion in his own hand and even takes advantage of it. Culmination of power period, in this period, is the age of luxury, high prices, comfort and society goes toward mass consumption and consumption of luxury and unnecessary products will reach its peaks. Decline period, the nature of this period is happiness, the ruler and condemned are both happy and satisfied and comfort will become habitual and the people of society only thinks of their own interests. In the other stage people and government doesn't have the power to stand against the corruption and are being declined from inside. And eventually the period of downfall, in this period wastage in use by people and government would ruin the civilization and its rules.

"Will and Ariel Duran" recognize the introduction of Ibn Khaldun as one of the most prominent Islamic literature and find its content regarding the historical philosophy so much prominent. Will Durant states that writing and texts of Ibn Khaldun regarding the historical philosophy, although has been written by someone from middle ages but in an amazing way is "modern". It is first time that Ibn Khaldun that present history as one of the most important fields of philosophy science and as a difficult task:

"The main aim of history should be to show the social position of human, mean its civilization. History should show the natural phenomenon of each primary society
and the education of its people and refinement of the behavior of its society and
the various superior that different nations achieve. And also show what the reason
is behind the starting of an empire and dynasties. And also shows the creation of
different profession and sciences and arts and finally all the changes which has
happened during the natural passage of time."

It seems that Ibn Khaldun has strongly believed in registration of events and its use
for future generation and therefore believes that historian have a very difficult and
sensitive job and any kind of fault from their side is a big mistake and unforgivable
one. But instead he believes that the result of their works is so much useful for the
future generations. He says:

"When the world faces a total downfall, as though it is changing its nature to create
the new bases for creating a new civilization. Therefore, today we need historians
who can describe the situation of the world and all the countries and all the nations
and can specify their changes in belief and traditions."1

The attention and sensitivity of him is shown when we see that many pages of his
book is dedicated to evaluating the errors and mistakes of other historians.
Astuteness of him in looking to future and fate in front of the world is even clear by
giving proper attention to the concept of some the words in his texts. He mentions
that after some dark periods again some advanced civilizations are formed and in
these civilizations they give so much attention to the science of history. And the
historical lessons would prevent politician from making the same mistakes. If we
look at is accurately we will be really amazed by his power in predicting the
condition of our current time.

Economic Science and Ibn Khaldun
Ibn Khaldun is known as the real founder of economy science in the world of east.
He was living 400 years before Adam Smith the founder of the science of economy
in the world of west and 400 years before August Kent the father of sociology
science. He wrote the book of introduction in the year of 1376 A.D. and in the
period of European Middle East. But Adam Smith wrote the book of Nation’s
Wealth after 400 years, means in 1776 which has so many things in common with
science” has been written about sociology 400 years before August Kent.
Europe at the time and period of Ibn Khaldun was at the verge of social movement
of Renaissance. This period in Iran was coincidental with the changes of Safavie
period. This comprehensive movement which was started with the downfall of
Constantine the capital of the eastern Roman Empire, lead to extensive changes of
social and economic nature. On the basis of these changes, wealth was named the

1 The civilization history – sixth vol. (religious refinement) a part of chapter 30
main factor of salvation and happiness of humans and trade was the main factor of achieving wealth. The event of the phenomenon is exactly related to a period in which Europe was in the period of middle ages and was at the verge of awakening and growth of economical sciences. European with leaning economical sciences, algebra and nature sciences captured the Islamic sciences for their own benefit. A kind of deed that wasn't done ever by the people of Middle East when they were the most civilized people of their own time.

The theories of Ibn Khaldun have so much in common with the theories of classical economists, and theories of contemporary economist, i.e. John Manard Keynes. The concept of value, the role of government, effect of capitalism and the issue of inflammation, are some of the mentioned common issues.

Government:
Contrary to the theories of classics which say that government shouldn't interfere in the economy of a country, support this idea of intervention of the government and believe that all the economic chaos is cause as a result of the non-intervention of the governments in economy. In modern economy also, John Maynard Keynes believes that governments should intervene in some part of economy of the country which due to its large expenses the private sector doesn't have any interest in investment on it. This includes the large and big investments which benefits the public such as water, power, telephone which are usually the responsibility of the governments. And it is because in a society the public benefit is prior to private ones.

Public goods and products:
Products and public services are products and services which are common and all the individuals of a society have similar right in using them and their benefits. Education, heath, city constructions and constructions of parks are included in this type of services and products which belongs to public. If these products are being produced and managed by the private section, the personal benefits doesn't lead to collective and public benefits and the public benefits will be lost and off course due to the great expenses of these services and products normally private section is not able to provide them. Ibn Khaldun believes that it is necessary that governments will be directly involved in performing these services or producing these products.

Investment:
Centuries before John Minard Keynes, Ibn Khaldun has been aware of the theory of the Acceleration coefficient of investment which means the national profit, as a result of investment increase, will increase more and more. This coefficient depends on the marginal propensity to consume.
Supply and Demand Mechanism of the Market:
In the passage of time during different civilizations, essential and primary products such as grain and summer crops or vegetables haven't had economical inflation, but luxury products or unnecessary products have faced an increase in their price. The reason of this difference lies in the fact that essential products are less a function of (or dependent on) the mechanism of demand but they are more a function of supply or in other words they are dependent on the production expenses. And since the possibility of their production and supply exists, therefore the quantity of them would be more than their demand. This is the reason that their price will not increase. But on the other hand the production of luxury goods ad products will decrease during economic crisis and since during this time the demand for these kinds of products will increase, their price will also increase. Therefore Ibn Khaldun who has been completely aware of the supply and demand mechanism of the market even before the era and period of Alfred Marshall and Keynes, he was aware of the determinant and influential role of supply and demand in prices of products and goods.

Theory of Value:
Ibn Khaldun has been among the pioneers in presenting the theory of value of products and services even centuries before Adam Smith, Ricardo and Marx, and he has given the priority to the amount of work done for producing a product or providing a service as a factor determining the value of a produce or a service. He believes that the value of each product is equal to the amount of work performed for producing the mentioned product. He even has presented the issue of land rent years before Ricardo and has named the difference between a poor and good land “land rent”.

Dividing the work:
Ibn Khaldun has understood the advantage of dividing the work years before Adam Smith and he believes that dividing the work will increase the performance of work force in production. In such conditions with diving the work of the economic system in the society, the social life can be improved. Estimating the human requirement without dividing the work between them and without creating cooperation in the society is not possible. In the current century the main aim of membership of different countries in the World Trade Organization (WTO) is based on dividing the work on an international basis. Although Ibn Khaldun is more known and popular for creating the social and historical sciences, but it should be mentioned that he also has famous works in economics science. In respect of the basic economic issues which are still under consideration he has presented theories that are still discussable even after a few centuries. Although he had never officially presented his theories regarding economy, but his interesting theories can be found if his texts would be read carefully and closely. As we can see, Ibn Khaldun classifies all the incomes into two
categories: interest (the total income) and earning (income for living) or as he writes:

"the income from the same and similar work can be different from one place to another place" or he says: "trade mean purchase of products and goods and storing them until the inflation of market would lead to an increase in the price of the mentioned products or goods. This process is call interest. If you are an Economist and you are reading these texts of him, you will be amazed that how in a simple and clear language he has presented the prominent principles of economics. The only difference regarding his texts is the choosing of words and terms which is the nature of that period of time he was living in."

If we accept that in the modern world of today, the changes of economy is the basic issue of all the current affairs in human life, then you can understand the insight of Ibn Khaldun in putting forward the required matters of the modern society. ¹

Civil science and Ibn Khaldun

Civil science is supervising the principles and nature of phenomenon and needs the historical science. The aim of this science is to study the nature, means and reasons of human society which is possible from discovering and inner and outer dimensions of the events of history. The civil science, according to interpretation of Ibn Khaldun, is the science of studying the society in its different forms and natures.

Social idea is “to study and give attention to the logical and inner relationship of affairs which comparing to sociology, as a ordered and systematic study of the society in the new period, includes a vaster area of functions and areas such as social philosophy, cultural studies, history and registration of history, political philosophy, political studies and economic issues.”

Scientific knowledge of Ibn Khaldun and its relation with religious principles can be studied in this way that: “introduction” of Ibn Khaldun in general and “civil science” in particular, is covered in the area of human sciences. This work can be seen as the result and conclusion of the social ideas and historical ideas and how he sees dos and don’ts from value point of view. It is necessary to mention that this specification, doesn’t mean that there is any gap between the obtained results of these sciences; because on one hand, the fact that selection and choosing of a scientist give direction to his curiosity, doesn’t have any discrepancies with the general validity of historical and sociological sciences. And on the other hand, according to Marx Weber, the general validity of a science doesn’t mean that the

¹ Ibn Khaldun and economic theories, building the fundamental of economics, author: Ibrahim, M, Oveis, Translator: Yaghub Ne’mati Vorojani
scientist, value orders, means not to interfere his aesthetic or political selections in the result of his research. *Ibn Khaldun* considers religion as the source of power and social correlation and put the existing dynasties in history of Islam as proving his point. Considering religion as a source of social correlation is a result of his religion history and his Islamic educations.

Regarding the relationship of the social ideas of *Ibn Khaldun* with the infrastructures of his knowledge and wisdom, it is necessary to describe the lack of acceptance of it as a knowledgeable approach in the scientific literature of contemporary theoreticians of west, after analyzing the relationship between “science and religion”. The theory of Wallerstein and Wilson that know the basic challenges in regards of the validity of “natural sciences” and “social sciences” the reason of the lack of unity cognitive insight between “Islamic culture” and “western culture”, justifies the importance of given attention to “wisdom and tradition” in a correct way.

Some of the western analysts such as Lacoste, in his analysis, believes that the difference between the scientific findings of *Ibn Khaldun* and the presentation of the new issues of sociology, of what the founders of this sciences in the new period has found, is a result of him not giving proper attention to the common issues in the area of religious ideas. This issue shows the importance of presentation of social ideas by *Ibn Khaldun*, as one of the reasons of the scientific approach of “wisdom and tradition” and theoretical facing with point of views of the western describers. One of the examples of discrepancy in these kind of claims, is that *Ibn Khaldun* in the chapter related to different types of sciences in his book “introduction” talks about wisdom and tradition sciences and analyzes some quotes from prominent characters such as Ibn Sina, Imam Mohammad Ghazali and so on and talks about interpretation, tradition, verbal, wisdom, religious jurisprudence and its principles, indisputable verses and similarities of Quran, mysticism, figuring out the magic and miracles in details. And in each subject has defined them and brought examples and various historical proofs.

*Ibn Khaldun* presents the whole social life with the word “civil”. And sometimes with this word he presents the social inherit which has been provided under the efforts of previous generations and has reached the current generation. In the current social terms, this concept, social inherit, is called culture. Therefore; the civil science can be mean the science of cultures which is a branch of anthropology and sociology. The approach of *Ibn Khaldun* in founding and establishing the civil science, is resulted from his belief in convergence between “wisdom and tradition (tradition)” and putting efforts in combining them into one. He counts the “help of God” as one of the value subject, and thinks of his success in complete statement of this science, civil science, and showing the differences between the dimensions and different characteristics of it with other skills as the “God Guidance”. The mentioned interpretation is one of the evidences that can be used against the interpretations and conclude that “the vicinity of *Ibn Khaldun* with Roman and
Greek theories and his angle with Islamic culture and not giving attention to the religious principles of society is one of the reasons of his success in making social theories.

The influences that Ibn Khaldun has taken from the religious knowledge principles in founding the “civil science” are discussable from another angle as well. The mention is made to the nature, aim and approach of the historical science in Islam, goes back to the emergence of Islam which is reflected in the Quran verses and traditions of Prophet (peace be upon him). The Holy Quran in noble verse of Yousef: 111 emphasizes on thinking about the history. The novel point of view of Ibn Khaldun to history, as an independent knowledge, definition of this knowledge, counting the characteristics of it and studying the connection of it with other knowledge is included in his knowledge subjects about history.

Ibn Khaldun names forgetting and ignoring the religious and moral rule and educations as one of the factors of downfall of civilization and he believes: “when a human will get corrupted in power, morality and religion, in fact has ruined his humanity.” Expression of these subjects by Ibn Khaldun, which are derived directly or indirectly from the verses of Quran and Islamic worldview, is another reason which shows that as an Islamic intellectual, he has shaped his knowledge principles with respect of religion.

The defense of Ibn Khaldun of religion is based on proving the revelation and social laws, as the only source of belief to the nature of the educations about the divine rule and prophecy. From his point of view “the only correct relationship with the superior world is through the prophecy and revelation. And it is not superior to other forms of relationships like dream, astrology, previson and soothsaying”. The distinguishing characteristics of Ibn Khaldun, is his support of the righteousness of the religious knowledge. He prefers the absolute religion over any kind of world which is a kind of philosophy. According to the above mentioned, some of the experts, consider his theory about civil is Islamic throughout from the start to the end. Ibn Khaldun also insists on denying any kind of outside effect on conceptualizing the new science based on the above matters and believes: his awareness of these kind of discussions, with the help of God and independent from educations of Aristotle and educations of Zoroastrian priests.

From the point of view of Ibn Khaldun, the creation of a moderate society and human is only possible with the presence of the rule of prophets. In his belief, “if people will follow the truth and justice, and leave the world and false matters and turn to God, in the path they have chosen, they will be unified and as a result of this, wrong competition and fight will leave them and they will face less conflicts and good cooperation will be created among them and the circle of unanimity in a
common path would develop among them. Then the government will go toward
greatness and extension.”

From his point of view “society and religious unity will become double fold as a
result of sacrifice. Hence, no power can resist them”. In addition to that, in his
view, “such things as the characteristics of god, righteousness of revelation and
prophesy, angels, ghosts, fairies, judgment day, heaven and hell are such important
issues that wisdom alone cannot reach to the reality of them. Therefore; the
education of them should be left to the law.” Theory consistencies of his point of
views are also related to principles of insight and wisdom. Based on this that Ibn
Khaldun is an intellectual that his ideas has passed and gone beyond the consensus
of intellectuals and he has been inspired by the legacy ideas of Islam and also the
changes and history and Islamic experience, especially Africa. His mind has always
been in conflict about the main issue of Islamic thinking, means the difference of
the traditional method based on “tradition and news” and the philosophical
method based of “wisdom and reasoning” in studying human and the society.
Analyzing the social thoughts and theories of Ibn Khaldun in the framework of
cultural beliefs dominant on the mind of the Muslims of his time, consistency of his
ideas, due to their unique novelty, shows the common principle of his time and
society.

Based on the theories of Max Waber, the ideas of Ibn Khaldun can be presented as
"a sample" of mindful thinking dominant on Muslims. With the use of concepts
such as social human, social ideas, unity and consistencty of the society he was
setting the "different elevated" social structures and for the first time presented a
new theory regarding the social changes. Max waber accepts the great connection
between "a sample" and "understanding" and thinks that the sample is consisted of
reasonable relationships. Reconstruction of the excellent type, or the excellent
example in cultural science means having all the concepts from mind. Reconstruction of the excellent sample provides the possibility of understanding
the whole image.

With having a consistent point of view, he opened the way for making scientific
theories about social and historical sciences. Searching in the life of previous
generations and critical point of view toward acheivments of previous historians
has been happened for finding great relationships between events and
phenomenon. Since he was seeking to discover the cause and effect relationship in
the heart of historical events, he was looking at the whole of history in a
comprehensive way. This matter, guided him to specific principles which is
comparable to the ideas of the new centuries intellectuals of Europe. Including,
imaginativeness of Ibn Khaldun is similar to the Espencer theory in 19th century. In
this regard he believes: “the situation of nations and generations as a result of
transformations and changes of centuries and ages and passage of time has been
changes. This is like a chronic disease which is latent and is not showing, and will
only show after the passage of some centuries.”
Historical methods are one of the matters that he emphasizes on it so much. From his point of view, history is based on "criticizing" and "explaining the cause of". From critical point of view history can be a science. He also looks at history, from the methodology point of view. In this concept, he as a person who is perfect in understanding the methods, looks at history and the methods of research and understanding the history and you can find the most fundamental theories of today in his words. Although he doesn't directly mention any kind of classification in his introduction book, but his search in analysis and his method of reasoning regarding primary societies and popularity, government, rule proves that he has been using "the science of species" in presenting his more comprehensive theories regarding society and history. From his point of view, gathering so much of knowledge, which will not cause any social or historical movement or changes doesn't have any scientific value. With studying the news, documents in direct and indirect way and extracting general principle from them he was matching the general principles on specific matters. He had got to know about the importance that the scattered elements of science will only get meaningful in the mind of the researcher. On this basis, he has emphasized on the necessity of correcting the mind of the researcher.

In the period of Ibn Khaldun and the importance that Islam was giving to thinking, opened the way for scientific activities. One of the sciences that he progressed in was the science of knowing different nations, religions and ideas. While at the same time Europe was inactive in science and thinking. With studying the idea of learning in Muslims clears the fact that field of the educations of Ibn Khaldun has been Islamic profoundly. On the other hand, he was having a unique experience from the Muslim Arab societies, clans, tribes and group and he has analyzed all of them. In this way we can say his field knowledge and is extensive theories regarding social matters to great extent has been under the influence of the principles of studying cognitive wisdom.

In addition to the documentary theories mentioned above, the numerous interpretations used by the intellectuals about Ibn Khaldun also shows his tangled point of view with the Islamic culture and social relationships of the Muslim societies. Based on this, not only he was a Muslim but also in a way each part of his introduction book testifies that he was having legal knowledge, having divine knowledge. And he was a Godly person who belonged to the lordship school. Religion was the most important matter for him and religious law was the only true guidance for him.

It seems that his approach toward his sick society, but the real one, was finding answers to the existing questions and referring to the society of his time and recreating the ideas and common thoughts of the same geographical knowledge and wisdom. In a way that his new theory was not the repetition of the previous generations sayings and was not even something split from the previous cultural and historical society of him. This wisdom point of view of him, is contrary to the
analysis of some of the western intellectuals who has confirmed the fact that he was split from the treasured gathered wisdom of his society.

But regarding his main theory which is about the sociology, he has put forward some ideas and discussions and even today they are new ideas. Among his writing we encounter the matter of "urbanism". A matter which is new even today in the country and city which we live in. this shows his hawk like view toward the modern future of the world. In some of the parts of him book he present some morality and philosophical discussions. His definition of moral is the common matters and social habits. This very presentation about the moral philosophy and predicting this matter in his morality discussion shows his clear vision about the modern future world.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION:
In this paper it has been tried to show the different effective and multiple fields in shaping the social thought and ideas of Ibn Khaldun in presenting the social matters. One of these was the approach of "convergence of wisdom and tradition" in establishing "the science of civil" or the very same current sociology by Ibn Khaldun, which is called one of the most and main challenges of assumption of the modern western thoughts, based on the necessity of keeping "science" and "religion" apart from each other. The idea of "civil" in "introduction" is the presentation of excellent point of view of "wisdom and tradition" and also the organized combination of these two in the thoughts of Muslims which results in opening the proper way for extending the threshold of the wisdom and knowledge of the intellectuals and assuming different ways in creating knowledge and presenting theories. From the Islam point of view, "wisdom and tradition" is an ideal point of view for achieving a trustable collection of wisdom and knowledge which reduces the shortcomings of the modern positivism, including the uncertainty toward future. According to this, in addition to having a satisfying level of the Islamic science knowledge and the common sciences of his time, the concepts of "human", "society", "being social", "the fate of human and society" can be learned from the works of philosophers, Quran, tradition, "reasonable point of view" from the reason and philosophy, "the relation of human with the beyond the world" from religious law and religious knowledge and eventually "the relation of human with environment" from the geography and "universal point of view" from philosophy and religion.

In this paper, three main subjects in which Ibn Khaldun has strong ideas and theories and there was studied. The history, economy and civil sciences. And in the section of civil science three basic factors in creating the social ideas of him was studied. Religious knowledge, principles of knowledge of him and the common

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1 Ibn Khaldun and the rules of thinking: author, Dr. Ali Alverdi: Translator: Kamyar Sedaghat Samar Hosseini
knowledge of his time and the specification of his character in the field of acquiring knowledge. Regarding the first factor, with mentioning multiple evidences, the effectiveness of "religious knowledge" on "social knowledge" was depicted. Regarding the second factor, the theory of "social knowledge" theory based on the existence of interrelationship between different types of knowledge and also shaping the knowledge in a cooperative way in a specific society, was applied and as a result of it, the mingled social ideas of Ibn Khaldun with Islamic culture and social relationship of Muslim societies on one hand and his attention to social ideas with convergence of "wisdom" and "tradition" has been shown as one of the most important principles dominant on a Muslim mind and ideas.

The result of this paper point to the fact that foundation of "civil science" by Ibn Khaldun is one of the examples of his mind creativity and the real evidence of his historical theories in the framework of Islamic culture. Recreation of the mentioned pattern, in a way that can respond to the scientific needs of today, can have a very valuable role in the novelty process toward historical dynamics of the society. In our today society, studying the profound matter of philosophy, religious laws, verbal law and scientific novelties in the most new fields of science is a kind of effort in this direction that through it the reasonable connection between the scientific and religious fields would be established.

Thinking and searching about any of the matter that in this chapter we discussed them would lead us to the "perfect world" and Utopia that Ibn Khaldun has made it in his mind. Although he was living so many years before us, but still his ideas can solve our problems and even some of his ideas are currently included in the discussable ideas of today and all these point to his mind that could see the future and the extensive ideas of this Islamic scholar.

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CUSTOMER SATISFACTION AND RECOMMENDATION BEHAVIOR: THE CASE OF MTN IN IRAN

Masoud Karami\(^1\)
Somaye Maleki\(^2\)

ABSTRACT
The main purpose of this research was to investigate whether there is a relationship between mobile subscribers' satisfaction and recommendation behavior. To investigate this association, multiple regressions were used; also, both exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses were undertaken to represent a scales measuring subscribers satisfaction and recommendation behavior. Furthermore, the impact of perceived value, interactivity and ease of use on subscribers' satisfaction was examined. The results revealed the impact of subscribers' satisfaction on recommendation behavior of the consumers. The context in which the study was conducted was Iran using MTN and MCI subscribers as the sample.

KEY WORDS: Consumers' satisfaction, recommendation behavior, MTN, MCI, Perceived value, Interactivity, Ease of Use.

INTRODUCTION
As Kotler (2000) posits today, companies face their toughest competition, because they move from a product and sales philosophy to a marketing philosophy, which gives a company a better chance of outperforming competition. In this competitive market, in which winning customers and increasing the market share entails preparing satisfying services, all successful service firms are customer oriented. These companies try to build their operations around the customer rather than forcing customers to conform to their operating model (Lovelock & Wright, 1999). According to Kim, Park and Jeong (2004) customer satisfaction is customer’s reaction to the state of satisfaction, and customer’s judgment of satisfaction level. It is a common phenomenon that the services a brand offers and the price it charges actually determine the level of satisfaction among its customers, than any other measure (Turel et al., 2006). In this context, Customer satisfaction is actually how customer evaluates the ongoing performance (Gustafsson, Johnson & Roos,

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In other words, the marketing domain has increasingly shifted from transactional approach to relationship marketing approach (Fornell & Wernerfelt, 1987). In which having satisfied consumers who like to repeat their buying and spread positive ideas about their consumption experience is critical.

During last decade, Iran’s telecommunication market was a monopoly, in which Iran Telecommunication Company was the sole provider of mobile services. Therefore, Customers did not have any alternative suppliers, or other supplies were just as poor in a quality and services. As (Kotler, 2000) posits such a company, operating on a “leaky bucket” theory of business, believes that there will always be enough customers to replace the defecting ones.

Over the last few years the mobile telecommunication market in Iran is undergoing dramatic changes. After several years of delays, state-owned operator, Telecommunication Company of Iran (TCI), launched Iran’s first cellular network, in June 1994 and that was the starting point for GSM in Iran. Iran has experienced very rapid growth in mobile telephone services. For several years, a state-owned company (MCI) was the sole nationwide provider of GSM services in Iran. Until in May 2005, two million pre-paid lines were released onto the market by a local firm named RIC. The brand that this operator launched in Iran’s market has been named Taliya.

By entering MTN to the market as a third operator after winning the bid in 2006, the competition has started to change. The new entrant launched pervasive marketing campaign and tried to penetrate the market rapidly.

Now customers have more alternatives to choose according to their convenience. They can make decision and choose their operator according to their expectations and desires disconfirmation and perceived performance. With the rapid growth in the size of the cellular phone market in Iran, service providers have to find out the ways of ensuring customer satisfaction.

Due to the above mentioned facts, the ability of mobile telecommunication operators to focus successfully on the customer has proven to be one of the most competitive issues in this new emerging market. Therefore, in order to compete in the market, these companies have to identify the factors related to customer satisfaction (Sattari, 2007).

**Post-purchase behavior:**

Consumer satisfaction has become the critical issue in companies’ long term growth. There is a lot of discussion about this issue in marketing literature. Cardozo (1965) is a pioneer who discussed customer satisfaction in marketing area. He addressed that because the market has become so competitive, more and more companies have paid more attentions to customer satisfaction (Chen, 2011).

Because of the importance of consumer satisfaction in modern marketing, marketers need to be vigilant about consumers’ post-purchase behaviors. In other words, once consumer made his choice, s/he uses his experience in what concerns the purchase of the product as a phase of his future purchase processes (Rabontu, Boncea & Georgiana, 2008). The post-purchase behavioral intention can be used to
predict whether consumers could be long-term customers and bring stable profits to the enterprise or not (Chen & Chen, 2005). In this vein, the purchase act is an apprenticeship element for the future purchases in itself (Rabontu, Boncea & Georgiana, 2008). Engel, Blackwell and Miniard (2001) suggested that the post-purchase behavior is reactions after consumers purchased a product. There are two types of reactions which are feeling satisfied and feeling dissatisfied. Post-purchase behavioral intention governs consumer loyalty, complaint and switch (Keaveney, 1995). As Zeithamel et al. (1996) indicate apart from individual re-purchase intention, consumers’ loyalty also includes their recommendation to others.

Customer satisfaction:
Customer satisfaction is a well known and established concept in several areas like marketing, consumer research, economic psychology, welfare-economics, and economics (Muzahid Akbar & Parvez, 2009). The concept has received considerable attention and interest among scholars and practitioners perhaps because of its importance as a key element of business strategy, and goal for all business activities especially in today’s competitive market (Anderson, Fornell, & Lehmann, 1994; Groˇnroos, 1984; Lovelock & Wirtz, 2007).
Customer satisfaction is very important in today’s business world as according to Deng et al., (2009) the ability of a service provider to create high degree of satisfaction is crucial for product differentiation and developing strong relationship with customers.
According to the service management literature, customer satisfaction is the result of a customer’s perception of the service quality (Blanchard & Galloway, 1994; Heskett et al., 1990) relative to the expectation (Zeithaml et al., 1990 cited in Pezeshki, 2009).
Customer satisfaction is a personal feeling of either pleasure or disappointment resulting from the evaluation of services provided by an organization to an individual in relation to expectations (Oliver, 1980; Leisen & Vance, 2001).
Customer satisfaction is “an experience-based assessment made by the customer of how far his own expectations about the individual characteristics or the overall functionality of the services obtained from the provider have been fulfilled” (Bruhn, 2003 cited in Nimako et al., 2010).
Today, companies need to be concerned about the customer satisfaction level, because of the information technology which enables the quick spread of bad word of mouth marketing, as well as good word of mouth to the rest of the world (Angelova & Zekiri, 2011).
Based on Fornell (1992), there are many benefits for a company from a high customer satisfaction level. It heightens customer loyalty and prevents customer churn, lowers customers’ price sensitivity, reduces the costs of failed marketing and of new customer creation, reduces operating costs due to customer number increases, improves the effectiveness of advertising, and enhances business reputation.
Increase consumer loyalty, enhance firm reputation, reduce price elasticities, lower costs of future transactions, and higher employee efficiency (Swanson & Kelley, 2001), furthermore, Satisfied customers are likely to continue their relationship with the firm, and they are less costly to approach than new customers. They are inclined to purchase more, and they help to acquire new customers through positive word-of-mouth (Reichheld & Sasser, 1990; Zairi, 2000).

Customer recommendation & word-of-mouth:
The value of any one customer does not reside only in what the person buys, in these interconnected society, how customers feel about the company and what they prepare to tell others about the company influences the company’s revenue and profits significantly (Kumar et al., 2007).

There is evidence that recommendations have a strong influence on consumer choice, particularly in the pre-purchase stage (East et al., 2005). It stands to reason that in a purchase decision-making context, consumers rely more on customer recommendations rather than either marketing content or advertising by the provider (Biyalogorsky et al., 2001 cited in Chen, Huang & Chou, 2008).

Most researchers note that satisfied customers are willing to recommend services to others (e.g. Palmatier et al., 2006; Morgan & Rego, 2006). In other words Overall satisfaction plays a critical role in the study of customer recommendation behavior because it affects individual motivations to recommend products or services to potential customers (e.g. Lam et al., 2004 & Morgan et al., 2005).

During the last two decades, considerable amount of researches demonstrates that word of mouth (WOM) is one of the most influential channels of communication in the marketplace (Allsop et al., 2007) and its critical value in the marketplace have been emphasized by many researchers since many evidences have convinced that WOM communication is a pervasive and intriguing phenomenon and indeed tend to be highly effective force in marketplace (Bansal & Voyer, 2000; Goldenberg et al., 2001).

The literature on customer loyalty suggests that satisfaction with products, services, or firms is an important post-purchase response that leads to the spread of customer recommendations to other consumers (Mittal et al., 1999 & Del Rio et al., 2001). Similarly, Lam et al. (2004) showed that a customer satisfied with a service provider might be willing to recommend the services to other customers. Bristor (1990) mentioned that Word-of-Mouth as the approach to obtain others’ experiences through the interaction of social network. This information communication is normally thought more neutral and more reliable, because it is mostly generated directly by consumers rather than by companies (Chen, 2011).

Word-of-Mouth (WOM) is defined as “all informal communications directed at other consumers about the ownership, usage, or characteristics of particular goods and services or their sellers” (Westbrook, 1987). In other definition Westbrook (1987) defined Word-of-Mouth as the opinion which consumers communicate to others in an unofficial way after they have used a product or taken a service.
According to Anderson (1998), however, customers may not recommend services to other people, even though they satisfied with the service. That is, customer satisfaction and word-of-mouth have a U-shaped relationship. This means that if customer does not have a high level of satisfaction, he/she will not be willing to recommend his/her service experience to other people (Chen, Huang & Chou, 2008).

Danaher and Rust (1996) empirically show that customer satisfaction has a positive impact on the Word-of-Mouth, which, in turn, has a positive impact on sales and market share. Hogan et al. (2003) show that Word-of-Mouth is more important during the early part of the product life-cycle, because the early adopters’ Word-of-Mouth affects the growth rate of product adoption.

Fornell (1992) demonstrated that there is a positive correlation between customer satisfaction and positive word-of-mouth; in other words, satisfied consumers are more inclined to express a preference for a service provider and recommend that provider to others (Kaboli, Fathi & Azizi, 2011).

Other authors have confirmed that a significant positive relationship exists between perceptions of superior service quality and consumer recommendation to other potential customers (Proença & Rodrigues, 2011) and satisfaction plays as a mediating attitude between service quality attributes and customers’ word-of-mouth (Pezeshki, 2009).

More importantly, there is a strong relationship between customer satisfaction and customer future intentions (e.g. retention) and profitability (Anderson & Sullivan, 1993; Boulding et al., 1993; Oliver, 1980; Yi, 1990; Rust et al., 1993).

So we supposed:
H1: satisfied subscribers are more likely to recommend others to use the Mobile phone services.

Service Quality and Satisfaction:
Over the past few years there has been a heightened emphasis on service quality and customer satisfaction in business and academia alike (Muzahid Akbar & Parvez, 2009). Parasuraman et al. (1988) distinguish service quality and satisfaction: “perceived service quality is a global judgment, or attitude, relating to the superiority of the service, whereas satisfaction is related to a specific transaction”. Customer satisfaction as an attitude is like a judgment following a purchase act or based on series of consumer-product interactions (Yi, 1990).

Bitner & Zeithaml (2003) stated that satisfaction is the customers’ evaluation of a product or service in terms of whether that product or service has met their needs and expectations.

Service quality can be described as a form of attitude that is related but not equivalent to satisfaction, which results from the comparison of expectations with performance (Bolton & Drew, 1991; Cronin & Taylor, 1992; Parasuraman et al., 1988). Grönroos (1984) proposed two dimensions of service quality: technical
quality and functional quality. Technical quality is “what a customer receives,” and functional quality is “how a service is provided or delivered.”

Parasuraman et al. (1988) defined perceived service quality as “the consumer’s judgment about the superiority or excellence of a product.”

There has been much debate as to whether service quality dimensions are antecedents of customer satisfaction (Cronin & Taylor, 1992; Zeithaml, Berry & Parasuraman, 1996).

Some empirical studies have shown that service quality is related to customer satisfaction (Cronin & Taylor, 1992; Levesque & McDougall, 1996; Taylor & Baker, 1994; Zeithaml et al., 1996; McDougall & Levesque, 2000). As reported in the relevant literature high quality service helps to generate customer satisfaction, customer loyalty, and growth of market share by soliciting new customers, and improved productivity and financial performance (Lewis, 1993; Anderson, Fornell, & Lehmann, 1994).

The basic assumption is that there is a direct and strong relationship between service quality attributes and customer behaviors, for instance; repurchase intention (Fornell & Wernerfelt, 1987, 1988; Reichheld & Sasser, 1990; Anderson & Sullivan, 1990; Grönroos, 1990). The service literature supports that perceived service quality and value serve as drivers of customer satisfaction and loyalty intention (Bitner, 1990; Spreng & Mackoy, 1996; Zeithaml & Bitner, 1996; Cronin, Brady & Hult, 2000; Sureshchandar et al., 2002; Parvez, 2005).

So we hypothesized:

H2: there is a positive relationship between perceived service quality and subscriber’s recommendation behavior.

Perceived value and satisfaction:

According to Babin, Darden, and Griffin (1994), perceived value is a consumer’s perception of the subjective worth of some activity or object by considering all net benefits and costs of consumption. Perceived value can be roughly defined as the results or the benefits customers receive relative to total costs. Simply defined, value is the difference between perceived benefits and costs (McDougall & Levesque, 2000).

Zeithaml (1988) investigated the consumer’s perception of value through a literature review and an exploratory, qualitative study. She defined value as follows: (1) value is low price; (2) value is whatever I want in a product; (3) value is the quality I get for the price I pay; and (4) value is what I get for what I give. She then combined these into a single definition: “perceived value is the consumer’s overall assessment of utility of product based on perceptions of what is received and what is given” (Tung, 2004).

Perceived value is compression between price or charges paid for the services by the customer as sacrifice of the money and utility derived by service perception (Bolton & Drew, Cronin & Taylor, 1992; 1994). Perceived value is the customers’
psychological assessment regarding the product and service about the utility of that product or service comparing with expectation. Recently marketing researchers and managers are focusing on value perceptions as a key strategic component to explain customer satisfaction and loyalty (Lin & Wang, 2006).

A number of recent researchers argue that value is not the only price. For example Babin and Attaway (2000) considered two value dimensions: utilitarian value and hedonic value. Utilitarian value is defined as that value that a customer receives based on a task-related and rational consumption behavior (Babin et al., 1994). Whereas Hedonic value is defined as that value a customer receives based on the subject experience of fun and playfulness (Hirschman & Holbrook, 1982; Babin et al., 1994). Moreover, utilitarian value and hedonic value do not have a mutually exclusive relationship (Babin et al., 1994) so that customers may not only get hedonic value from using mobile phone services but can satisfy their specific purposes (Hirschman & Holbrook, 1982; Babin et al., 1994). Researchers suggest that perceived value is a salient factor in establishing and maintaining relationships (Yang & Peterson, 2004).

The link between perceived value and customer satisfaction has been debated in the service management literature. Previous empirical studies examining the relationship between perceived value and customer satisfaction have found considerable evidence that perceived value directly influences customer satisfaction (Kuo et al., 2009; Tung, 2004; Turel & Serenko, 2006; Wang et al., 2004; Rust & Oliver, 1994; Cronin et al., 2000; Fornell, Johnson, Anderson, Cha, & Bryant, 1996; McDougall & Levesque, 2000; Hallowell, 1996; Patterson & Spreng, 1997).

Among the determinants of satisfaction, perceived value is the important one (Chen & Chen, 2010). These value judgments of customers connect with customer post purchase behavior as desire to repurchase and word of mouth (Lee et al., 2007).

H3: there is a positive relationship between subscriber’s perceived value and satisfaction

Interactivity:

Previous researches define interactivity from three different levels: interactivity as a feature of technology, as a process of message exchange and as a user’s perception after using a technology or going through a process (McMillan & Hwang, 2002).

Perceived Interactivity: Regarded as the crucial element in a successful human-computer interaction (Hoffman & Novak, 1996; McMillan & Hwang, 2002; Liu & Shrum, 2002; Teo et al., 2003), interactivity is one of the key characteristics of the new media (Hoffman & Novak, 1996). Interactivity is a vital concept in computer-mediated communication (CMC) as it is usually considered as an advantage of CMC medium (Rafaeli & Sudweeks, 1997).
Perceived interactivity was defined as “the extent to which users perceive their experience as a simulation of interpersonal interaction and sense they are in the presence of a social other” (Thorson & Rodgers, 2006). Individuals’ rate interactivity on the basis of their perceptions of two-way communication, control choices, and time to load (McMillan & Hwang, 2002). It stands to reason that interactivity is the degree to which mobile phone service users have control over items such as video phone, media, objects, and other similar items (Chen, Huang & Chou, 2008).

The studies related to interactivity were primarily focused on the following aspects: (a) control, (b) two-way communication, and (c) response-time (Ballantine, 2005; Dholakia & Zhao, 2008; Liu & Shrum, 2002; McMillan & Hwang, 2002). Interactivity refers to the ability of websites to dynamically generate outputs based on customer queries and searches. A static website is likely to increase search effort for online shoppers, thereby decreasing their satisfaction. On the other hand, a well designed interactive website could generate higher satisfaction by providing greater control to customers to personalize the information search. Greater customer control of the shopping experience increases the pleasure and convenience of shopping, an important component of customer satisfaction (Marmorstein, Grewal & Fisher, 1992).

Interactivity was found to be an important antecedent of users’ satisfaction (Rafaeli, 1989). Research on web users’ online experience also revealed that satisfaction was positively related to interactivity (Kierzkowski et al., 1996; Yeh & Li, 2009). According to Teo et al. (2003), it has been shown that interactivity increases user satisfaction. Similarly, Liu and Shrum (2002) showed that interactivity increases positive attitudes of the human-computer interaction. Ballantine (2005) found that higher levels of interactivity increase consumer satisfaction. According to Dholakia and Zhao (2008), interactivity strengthens the buyer-seller relationship due to faster information exchanges.

H4: there is a positive relationship between level of interactivity and subscriber satisfaction

Ease-of-use:
Ease-of-use, as defined by Davis (1989) refers to the “degree to which a person believes that using a particular system would be free of effort”, is an important factor affecting technology acceptance (Zhao & Lu, 2010). Perceived ease-of-use refers to the extent to which a person believes using the technology will be free of effort (Johansson & Ba, 2006). Perceived ease-of-use is one of the key predictors of user acceptance of new technology (Davis, 1989).

A significant body of research in information systems has accumulated evidence for the existence of an effect of ease-of-use on initial user acceptance and sustained usage of systems (Venkatesh, 2000). Gefen and Straub (2000) propose that the significance of perceived ease-of-use will vary with the type of task being addressed. They hypothesize that ease-of-use
will not have an important influence on usage for something that is task oriented, such as making a purchase online, but will be significant in a task that is more essential, such as gathering information.

Furthermore, a study by Ramayah and Lo (2007) found that systems or technologies, which appeared to be easy to use and easy to understand, would be more useful from the users perspective.

Ease-of-use has been studied extensively in the context of IT adoption and diffusion (Davis, 1989) and it is one of the important measures for user satisfaction, system adoption, or IS success (Moore & Benbasat, 1991). A study by Yoon (2008) found that impact of ease-of-use on overall attitudes toward the mobile phone and overall attitudes to satisfaction were all significant.

Ease-of-use mobile phone is essential to ensure customer satisfaction. For example, Stone et al. (2007) found support for the notion that IT users have more satisfaction when they feel the system is easier to use. In addition, mobile devices that are easy to use are less threatening to an individual (Moon & Kim, 2001).

H5: ease of use has positive relation with subscriber’s satisfaction

The study and the method:

Specifically, several mobile service studies that were conducted regionally attempted to explore the antecedents of customer satisfaction, loyalty and retention (for example, Gerpott, Rams & Schindler, 2001; Kim, Park & Jeong, 2004). Also as with other countries, the Iranian mobile telecommunications market has changed rapidly and considerably during recent years. In this fast-growing market, entering MTN to competition, gives subscribers more alternatives. In order to compete in this market, telecommunications companies like MCI and MTN have to identify the factors related to customers’ satisfaction and loyalty, but there is not any published research in this regard. This situation motivated researchers to investigate consumers and explore different factors and determinants which influence the level of customer satisfaction and loyalty.

In order to figure out the issue, the overall objectives of the current research is to finding out determinants of customer satisfaction and define its role on consumers’ recommendation behavior in mobile phone service context in Iran. The specific sub-objective of this research is to compare MCI and MTN customers, satisfaction level.

Survey Development and Data Collection:

The review of literature indicates that different methodological approaches have been employed for assessing customer recommendations behavior. These approaches range from survey methods to qualitative, conjoint, experimental, and other designs. The present study utilizes a quantitative research methodology. A sample of 300 subscribers of MCI and MTN companies in Tehran selected and surveyed and finally 293 questionnaires were analyzed (response rate 98%).
The questionnaire is divided into four separate sections. Part I records a brief profile of the respondents in terms of age, gender, education level, and job status. Part II focuses specifically on the issues of perceived value and Perceived Service Characteristics and is articulated as followed: 6 questions for perceived hedonic value dimension, 6 questions for perceived utilitarian value dimension, 6 questions for perceived interactivity, 8 questions for perceived quality and 5 questions for perceived ease of use. Part III focuses on the consumer satisfaction dimension and consists of 6 questions and finally focus of part IV is related to consumer recommendation with 7 questions. The amended questionnaire including 26 items which is extracted after exploratory factor analyses (table 1). Using a 5-point Likert scale, respondents are asked to indicate to what extent are agree with each statement of questionnaire.

Experts acknowledged the content validity of the questionnaire. Moreover, using Exploratory Factor Analysis (as KMO was 0.900 and higher than the acceptable level of 0.6), we approved the construct validity of the questionnaire – results are indicated in table 2.

As presented in table 3 The Reliability of questionnaire is evaluated using Cronbach’s Alpha (it shows the score of 0.931 which is higher than the acceptable level of 0.7) and therefore the questionnaire has been reliable enough. SPSS 18.0 is used to analyze the data. In order to analyze the data and give answer to main research questions; multiple regression analysis, simple linear regression analysis, t-test and factor analysis were used.

TABLE 1: THE ITEMS OF AMENDED QUESTIONNAIRE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part II</th>
<th>Statement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dimension</strong></td>
<td><strong>Statement</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perceived hedonic value</td>
<td>Using this sim-card, I enjoy talking my friends simultaneously.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I feel good for having 24/7 accessibility to technical team of this operator.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ring Back Tone’s of this sim-card makes call waiting time enjoyable for me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Using F&amp;F list of this sim-card, I can talk my favorable people with low cost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Using LBS (Location Based Services) of this sim-card, I can find out my acquaintance's geographic situation every time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perceived utilitarian value</td>
<td>Offered servises of this operator, accurately are the services that I need.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>While using the services of this operator, I accomplished my goals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I often use the services that I really need.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>coverage of this sim-card is fine in all over the country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perceived interactivity</td>
<td>Using this sim-card, I can handle my banking affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Using this sim-card, I can avoid of unwanted calls (for example it is possible to be in unavailable mood)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Using this sim-card, I am not worried about missing any unsuccessful call (for instance moving unsuccessful calls in to voicemail, when the phone is off)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
RESULTS

In order to approve the construct validity of the questionnaire, exploratory factor analysis was run and results illustrated below.

TABLE 2: MEASUREMENT MODEL FIT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latent construct</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Factor Loading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perceived quality</td>
<td>Q1</td>
<td>0.677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Q2</td>
<td>0.583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived hedonic value</td>
<td>Q3</td>
<td>0.768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Q4</td>
<td>0.774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Q5</td>
<td>0.677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived utilitarian value</td>
<td>Q6</td>
<td>0.669</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Q7</td>
<td>0.733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Q8</td>
<td>0.643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Q9</td>
<td>0.690</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note: Factor loadings are from CFA

Since KMO and Bartlett’s Test score is higher than acceptable score of 0.6 (.900), factor analysis is reasonable. Table 2 display acceptable factor loadings for all 26 questions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perceived Interactivity</th>
<th>Q10</th>
<th>0.713</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Q11</td>
<td>0.813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Q12</td>
<td>0.678</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Quality</td>
<td>Q13</td>
<td>0.842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Q14</td>
<td>0.868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer Satisfaction</td>
<td>Q15</td>
<td>0.772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Q16</td>
<td>0.680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer Recommendation</td>
<td>Q17</td>
<td>0.699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Q18</td>
<td>0.816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Q19</td>
<td>0.803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Q20</td>
<td>0.811</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Q21</td>
<td>0.769</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Q22</td>
<td>0.754</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Q23</td>
<td>0.775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Q24</td>
<td>0.886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Q25</td>
<td>0.872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Q26</td>
<td>0.868</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since Cronbach’s Alpha shows the score of 0.931 which is higher than the acceptable level of 0.7, questionnaire has been reliable enough.

In order to test the effects of identified determinants on consumer satisfaction; we tested multiple regression analysis. In order to evaluate the effects of consumer satisfaction on consumer recommendation we tested simple linear regression analysis and finally we carried t-test for two samples, to compare MCI and MTN operators.
Since Durbin-Watson test score (According to table 4) is between acceptable scores of 1.5 to 2.5 (1.793) using multiple regression is permitted.

### TABLE 5: ANOVA (MULTIPLE REGRESSIONS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Sum of Squares</th>
<th>Df</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Regression</td>
<td>75.023</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18.756</td>
<td>73.808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Residual</td>
<td>73.186</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>.254</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>148.209</td>
<td>292</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Predictors: (Constant), QLT, INT, UTL, HDN

### TABLE 6: TABLE OF MULTIPLE REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Unstandardized Coefficients</th>
<th>Standardized Coefficients</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Std. Error</td>
<td>Beta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td>.452</td>
<td>.194</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDN</td>
<td>.134</td>
<td>.049</td>
<td>.135</td>
<td>2.717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UTL</td>
<td>.451</td>
<td>.047</td>
<td>.463</td>
<td>9.689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>.111</td>
<td>.047</td>
<td>.108</td>
<td>2.382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QLT</td>
<td>.205</td>
<td>.047</td>
<td>.217</td>
<td>4.396</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Dependent Variable: TSA
As it is showed above, perceived utilitarian value, perceived quality, perceived hedonic value and perceived interactivity respectively have most positive effect on consumer satisfaction and Regression equation is:

\[ \hat{y} = 0.452 + 0.134x_1 + 0.451x_2 + 0.111x_3 + 0.205x_4 \]

**TABLE 7: SIMPLE LINEAR REGRESSION MODEL SUMMARY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model Summary</th>
<th>Std. Error of the Estimate</th>
<th>Durbin-Watson</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Model dimensi</td>
<td>0.55 0.304</td>
<td>.301 1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ono</td>
<td>1.8 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Predictors: (Constant), TSA
b. Dependent Variable: REC

Table 7 indicates that using simple linear regression is permitted too.

**TABLE 8: ANOVA (SIMPLE LINEAR REGRESSION)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ANOVA</th>
<th>Sum of Squares</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Regression</td>
<td>53.135</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>53.135</td>
<td>126.931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Residual</td>
<td>121.817</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>.419</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>174.953</td>
<td>292</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Predictors: (Constant), TSA

b. Dependent Variable: REC
As it is illustrated above, consumer satisfaction has positive effect on consumer recommendation and Regression equation is: $\hat{y} = 1.162 + 0.599x$
TABLE 11: INDEPENDENT SAMPLES TEST

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Levene's Test for Equality of Variances</th>
<th>t-test for Equality of Means</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>95% Confidence Interval of the Difference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>F</strong></td>
<td><strong>Sig.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDN</td>
<td>Equal variances assumed</td>
<td>.542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Equal variances not assumed</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UTL</td>
<td>Equal variances assumed</td>
<td>2.178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Equal variances not assumed</td>
<td>-.555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>Equal variances assumed</td>
<td>5.791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Equal variances not assumed</td>
<td>3.793</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As it is indicated above, MTN subscribers perceive more hedonic value and interactivity than MCI subscribers, while using the services these operators offer. They are more satisfied and more intended to recommend services to others than MCI subscribers. Regarding utilitarian value and quality dimensions, these two operators don’t have significant difference and subscribers believe that there is no significant difference between service qualities of both operators.

**DISCUSSION**

Since 1990s the subject of customer satisfaction and customer retention, and their relationship with company’s financial performance has become the core of attention for many managers. By interpreting customer behaviours like retention
to profit, firms move closer to the inter-dependent variable – profitability
(Reichheld and Sasser, 1990; Reichheld et al., 2000).

This study examined the influence of satisfaction on customer recommendation
behavior. Using a sample of Iranian subscribers, research questions were
addressed and hypotheses tested.

The main focus of this study was to explore the effect of satisfaction on customers’
recommendation behavior in mobile services in Iran. Findings indicate that there is
a positive casual association between satisfaction and recommendation behaviors;
in other words, consumers' satisfaction leads to their positive recommendation
behavior. In the current research, there was a significant correlation between
consumers’ satisfaction and recommendation behaviors. Also, perceived utilitarian
value, perceived quality, perceived hedonic value and perceived interactivity
respectively have most positive effect on consumer satisfaction.

Our results are consistent with recent studies discerning that the level of
consumer's satisfaction is generally associated with recommendation behavior. For
example Bansal, and Voyer (2000) concluded that since existing customers can be
good sales people, customer recommendations must be considered an important
driver for diffusing products and services. Or Recommendation by positive word-
of-mouth is increasingly seen as a marketing tool that generates the greatest
benefit for supplier firms (Morgan and Rego 2006, Reichheld 2006). Also our
findings are in line with previous studies examining the mobile phone service
markets. They suggested that service quality positively affects customer
satisfaction (Kim et al., 2004; Kuo et al, 2009; Tung, 2004; Turel & Serenko, 2006).
Also Turel and Serenko (2006) and Kuo et al. (2009) examined the mobile phone
service market and showed that customer satisfaction has a positive impact on
purchase intentions. Satisfied customers may use mobile phone services more than
those who are not satisfied, and they may be more likely to continue their use and
recommend the service to their friends and relatives (Zeithaml et al., 1996).

**Managerial Implications**

Since consumer recommendation behavior is critical in today’s highly competitive
markets, Companies must have clear understanding of their consumers’
satisfaction level, in order to be able to utilize their positive recommendation.
Considering Iran’s telecommunication market as an emerging market with a great
number of subscribers, and Iranian collectivist culture in which verbal
communication plays significant role, the importance of this issue gets more
critical.
By having this in mind, local mobile service providers should focus more on factors influencing subscribers' satisfaction. Factors like perceived utilitarian value, perceived quality, perceived hedonic value and perceived interactivity. In other words, they need to pay more attention on subscribers' perception of different sides of mobile services.

International companies also should consider subscribers' sensitivities. They should try to understand Iranian subscribers' recommendation and WOM behaviors to design suitable marketing communication campaign in order to utilize positive WOM in Iranian market.

As findings show, High service quality is crucial for mobile service providers to gain increased market share in Iran's market. Therefore they must pay enough attention to provide quality services and satisfy subscribers.

Limitations and Future Research
The present study is not without its limitations. First, it focused solely on MTN and MCI in Iran. Future research should examine customer satisfaction – recommendation behavior nexus using other mobile service providers like RITEL. Second, the investigation examined the association between consumers' satisfaction and recommendation behavior. Future work could include additional measures of satisfaction as well other individual, cultural, and organizational factors that may have an influence on consumers' recommendation behavior. Third, researchers should collect data from samples having experience of other international simcards, and then compare the findings across different mobile service providers. Finally, further work should seek to develop consumer recommendation scale across industries.

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control, and time in shaping perceptions of interactivity. Journal of Advertising. 31(3), 29-42.


The Silence of Merchants in the Movement of National Oil Industry

Maryam Kamali

ABSTRACT
The absence of merchants as an active and influential class in the movement of National Oil Industry had undeniable effects on the failure of this movement in 1953. The question of this study is to find out the reasons of the absence of merchants in the great oil national movement. The method of research used in this paper is data analysis and the evaluation of the documents in this regard. It seems that the merchants especially the Chamber of Commerce did not regard the national oil industry movement in line with their own benefits, and therefore supported Mohammad Reza Shah.

KEY WORDS: Merchants, National Oil Industry, Foreign Trade, Chamber of Commerce, Iran, Mosaddegh

PROBLEM STATEMENT
The movement of the National Oil Industry as one of the people oriented activities after the Iranian constitution united all groups of people. These movements which emerged through the minority MP’s awareness and guidance, changed in to a turning point in Iran’s history because of the people’s support.
The merchant class had played an important role in the creation of social evolutions in Iran. They were expected to have a leading presence in the movement of the National Oil Industry. Their leading and supportive presence in various historical fields like the Tobacco Revolt (1891), and Constitution (1906) made people expect them to use their historical experience and control the national oil movement. If they had organized or at least supported the movement, the movement might have resulted in a satisfactory outcome and the current events would have evolved into a winning movement.

However, it seems that merchants did not involve themselves in the national oil movement, or perhaps nobody has forced the documents to speak about the untold in this regard.

1. Phd student of Islamic Iran History at Tehran University
This article attempts to review the stance of merchants in the major evolutions of contemporary history. Moreover, it studies the reasons and results of their stance in the national oil movement.

Research Question
What was the role of merchants in the movement of the national oil industry, and what were the effects of their stance in the results of this movement?

Research Hypothesis
Although the movement of the national oil industry might have national and monetary benefits for merchants, they did not actively attend as leading or effective figures in the movement of the national oil industry, and this problem had significant influences on the failure of this movement.

Introduction
The invention of the steam engine in the western world accelerated the economic and political evolutions in the world. The West’s efforts to seize natural resources as well as the international markets led them toward other countries and continents. The current of these incidents in the 19th century affected Iran, which was situated in the crossroads of global trade. At last Iran fell in the path of turmoil and decline in the Qajar era. (19th century).

Despite all the backwardness of Iran during Qajar dynasty, the Iranian merchants tried to use historical experiences and awareness in order to discover the new arena of development and novelty, and were pioneer in many fields of evolution.

The merchants witnessed the failure of Qajar politicians in diplomatic relations and the signature of unfortunate treaties like Golestan (1813) and Torkamanchay (1828) which led to the destruction of the country's trade infrastructure and customs system. Therefore, they tried to engage in alliance in form of institutions and associations to lead the flow of various social and political developments.

Having struggled with the Tobacco treaty (1890) and the established Islamic company (1898) (Sakma, 20834-6; Askrani, 2005) was the result of their historical consciousness to shorten the hands of foreigners from the local economic lifeline and nationalization of the business. (Teimouri, 1929, Najafi, Jafarian, 1994)

We should refer to the inner divisions of merchants that were established with respect to the growth of merchant awareness to their social status in the modern age. They are divided into three major groups: great, medium and guilds. This classification is based on the amount of investment, type and scope of activity and the proximity to central and local governmental institutions.

The merchant’s reactions toward the contemporary events were significantly different regarding their social and inner status.
During the Constitutional Revolution, the great and medium traders played the major role. Medium and small merchants’ belongingness to traditions and their resistance against change were more than big merchants, and their tendency to modernism were less. Their understanding of major issues of trade and beyond political relations, and also political power roles in business affairs was not as big merchants.¹

This attitude which is a suitable format in the Constitutional Revolution for dealing merchants’ inter-group behaviors with modernism progress changed in the nationalization movement of oil industry and was represented completely different, which will discuss further on.

While it seems that until these differences do not lead to differences in goals and interests of merchants, they firmly maintain their unity and try and proceed for national and patriotic interests while maintaining material and personal interests. However, when in conflict of interests and goals, they were separated and sometimes attempted to strike back against each other. This caused them to keep out of foresight and sacrifice long-term material and national interests for the sake of short term profits. On the other hand, absence of an aware and familiar leadership to global currents and events and also national interests caused merchants not to play a role in restoring economic interests, and willingly or unwillingly bring the country into economic and trade recession.

In the constitutional revolution, merchants were seeking to establish security, improvement of methods, fixed and executable rules, and stability in the country while not allowing other countries to use Iranian interests, and guaranteeing security of domestic trade against foreign capital invasion and penetration.

Therefore, the merchants began to change the political system of society along with other social activists. They represented their presences in constitutional movements, both financially and with their direct participation in the sit-ins and protests. Leaders of this group who had high knowledge asked for help of other unions and stimulated them to participate in this important revolution by accepting the financial support.²

¹ One of the internal conflicts among merchants was the difference between large and medium-sized merchants on imports. The country's medium-sized merchants were opposed to foreign goods entering the country due to shortage of capital and dependence on domestic markets. (Torabi Farsani, 2005, pp. 559-553)

² Direct participation of merchants in the first parliament was not continued in the next periods. The first period of constitutional rule failed in political stability, social order, the
Despite providing successful experiences of the constitutional government, political instability occurred in various areas of social divisions. This issue was in contrast with merchants’ interests who were always seeking capital security and abundance of profits. Therefore, they gradually distanced themselves from the constitution, this time not for trade independency or freedom, but to trade under political security.

Reza Shah’s rise could help fulfill this objective. Hence, they started to support him and surrender against his policies. Perhaps in the short term this was useful to them, but their social role was sacrificed in the long-term.

In Reza Shah’s era, the government overcast a heavy shadow on the economy by the affairs of men such as Ali Akbar Davar, and the government became more powerful. In this era, making state and governing it were considered remedial. Davar believed that traders should obey the government due to their lack of knowledge on business principles and guidelines, and also lack of financial facilities for marketing in domestic and international levels. (Qaninejad, 1998, pp. 132-119)

This attitude conforms to the Keynesian economic model that was rapidly expanding in the world preoccupied by war of those days. Concerns about decisions of the private sector for the macro-economy and supporting the government’s policy making to the borders of finance and trade was a problem that until the next era after Reza Shah affected Iran’s economy. Its destructive impacts have been represented in the nationalization of the oil industry, lack of merchant participation in the movements’ leadership and their lack of participation in managing the Iranian oil company was apparent. All events and economic dealings occurred during this era were led by the government.

The government created the possibility that, the economic systems formed gradually into a systematic and defined process in the political risky anarchy and chaos climate, but this led to loss of flexibility and soft flow of trade among people. Studying trade documents in Reza Shah’s era reflects severe dissatisfaction of medium-sized merchants from domestic and foreign trade monopoly caused by the government. In Reza Shah’s era, the great merchants conformed their plans with the government in order to maintain their security of investments and trade, but they were separated gradually from less political and weaker financial power groups in other unions.(See documents of exchange and foreign trade monopoly in the era of Reza Shah (1906-1912), 2001; Daily Mail, England, No. 4457, Date 08.03.1309)

authority of central government and democracy that merchants wanted to apply. (Torabi Farsani, 2005, p 558)
If Reza Shah provided conditions to remove Iran’s trade from the yoke of colonialism and place it under control of private and public business, serious failures would be preventable. Iran’s economic lifeline in foreign control, and failure of Reza Shah’s government to control it, damaged the Iranian economy. Perhaps the nationalization of oil industry and efforts of people and Mossadegh’s government could be considered a step toward this forgotten goal.

Business in Mossadegh’s government

One of the important areas of Iran’s national history is its oil nationalization that in addition to the social and political aspects provides many economic experiences. This time Iran faces experiences in both economic important aspects of controlling oil companies and the economy without oil.

Article 4 of the oil industry nationalization policy that was issued in 18 March, 1950: "The Iranian nation has the incontestable right of revenue from oil and petroleum products. The government is obliged to deal the company with a joint commission supervision and joint commission should take supervision on the company to from the date of this act to determining the board agent who shall monitor the operation closely." (Farmanfarmayan, 1954, pp. 151-150)

It seems that the government undertakes nationalization of the oil industry on behalf of the people. Before complete nationalization of oil, it should be given to the government for a short time to help the government to free it from foreign supervision by its power and facilities and then assign people to control it within an appropriate time.

Merchants as an experienced and prominent class in economic affairs could help Mossadegh’s government. Establishing production companies and refining and transporting oil not only brings an important service to the country, but also provides full economic benefits from this experience. Existence of Committed and influential people among merchants could have many benefits to the country's income. (Douglas, 1973)

Trade development requires the expansion of industry, something that had still not been achieved in the oil industry. (Khatib, 1992, p 115)

Several oil companies occupied by some powers in the world did not allow people to think about possessing their national reserves. The Global market run by major powers, was trying to stop Iran’s oil nationalization by bringing it to a deadlock in selling oil. (See Arahanjideh, 2001; Rouhani, 1973; Movahed, 2004; Yergyn, 1997, p 767)
Taking the strategy of economy minus oil was one of the economic policies of Mossadegh government. Mossadegh tried to preserve the oil reserves from foreign plunder and run Iran’s sick economy without this vital matter resource. Mossadegh tried to reduce the supply of this strategic resource in the world market to promote complete oil industry nationalization. He knew the nationalization of the oil industry as a tactic for Iran’s independence. Economy success minus oil was possible only by reducing foreign trade and expanding domestic production. Reduction in the required currency from oil sales was compensated only with non-oil exports, and issue pursued seriously by Mossadegh’s government (Rohani, 1973).

In 1952, Iran’s oil export volume was low, but the budget was balanced and it seemed that an oil-free economy could save the government from serious economic challenges that it inevitably had to face. This trend continued until the end of Mossadegh’s government. Imports declined 25 percent that year. Non-oil goods such as carpets, Caspian fish and caviar, livestock, rice, tobacco and cotton were exported more to supply currency required for imports. The positive balance in foreign trade was obtained when the exchange conditions had reached from 100 in 1948 to 90 in 1949 and 69 in 1952. (The Bakhtar Emrooz, 3rd Aban 1952)

Total surplus was less than the years before 1951 and that was from the oil exported. However, the outlook was good. The effects of these business patterns were not uniform on merchants; Big merchants which were active in the field of exports especially luxury goods, and were members of the chamber of commerce, experienced severe losses and were isolated. However carpet, nuts merchants and other goods had a good situation (Khamei, 1996, pp. 131-125; Fooran, 2003, 438-428).

Mossadegh was able to increase exports with emphasis on non-oil economy and supply the amount of currency needed. In December 1952 the government was able to cancel the 17 June 1948 act, which prevented foreign merchants from importing goods to Iran. Also to encourage foreign trade and expansion of trade exports, trade licenses were issued. Non-oil exports in this period increased from 390.4 billion Rials in 1951 to 425.8 billion Rials in 1953. (Khamei, 1996, 89-88)

Expert labor shortages in the oil industry probable political risks in this area reduced the possibility of investments in this industry. (Khalatbari, 1977). In this course there is no news from effects of merchants who accompanied other big, medium and small sized market unions using their economic power and social influence. Rapid events occurring after approving the nationalization law until the

1 Mossadegh said in parliament in 16 Dec. 1950: "The truth is that Iran will not suffer any economic loss due to nationalization of oil." (Fatih, 1995, pp. 518-517)
1953 Iranian coup (28th Mordad Coup) did not give traders an opportunity to analyze the company’s affairs and events in the process.

Among merchants, most middle-class merchants and markets remained loyal to Mossadegh. However, due to dependence of many traditional businessmen to clergies there created a gap in the market lines after separating this group from Mossadegh. However, it seems that this group remained more loyal to Mossadegh and the nationalization of the oil industry than big merchants who followed the court at this point.

Middle merchants and market had a better understanding of the nationalization of oil industry high goals. They moved against the public and monopolizing the trade that made middle class and markets vulnerable. Nationalization could guarantee the independence and self-sufficiency of Iran trade, Iran merchants’ freedom from governmental constraints and involving them as an effective class, in the process of socio-economic development.¹

The Chamber of Commerce which is working as an effective agency for bringing businessmen together and synchronizing them with nationalization of oil industry did not progress this campaign, but hindered the situation more difficult for Mossadegh’s government. The Chamber’s incorrect economic reports which people like Senator Abdul Hussein Nikpour, President of the Chamber and the people with anti-Mossadegh ideas represented their unhappiness to nationalization. The disappointing report by Mohammad Reza Kharrazi, Vice President of the Chamber of Mossadegh’s government was prepared and presented to the Shah in May 1952, was of cases which destroyed Mossadegh’s government. (Middleton to Eden, April 28, 1952, Fo 371/98599, Journal de Tehran, April 24, 1952)

Chamber leaders and some businessmen cooperated with the United States and Britain’s intelligence agencies to collapse the government.² Tehran Chamber

¹ After the coup of 1953 (28 Mordad 1332), Zahedi’s government issued reopening order of the market from radio but traders and merchants ignored it. Since the coup could not persuade merchants, they spread the cunning news that shopkeepers and merchants are not willing to open their shops and start working until the Shah’s return. Clerics issued a statement requesting people to commence normal routine of living; (Arghandy, 2006, p 136; Movahed, 2004, p 159)

² Including Nikpour, Kharrazi, and Rashidian brothers: Ghodratollah, Asadullah, Saifullah had cooperated with Britain and America’s spy agencies. After the creation of the Zahedi government, he recognized associations of merchants, tradesmen and craftsmen illegal and established a new union called the Merchants Union. (Nejati, 1377, pp. 89-87). Union representatives, who were elected in December 1953, were comprised of prominent businessmen like Kharrazi Nikpour and influential people were already in the board room, Tehran, Abol Hassan Sadeghi, and Ali Vakili, who later served in the room of presidents, Haji Aboo Hossein, an Azerbaijan market big merchant; Haj Abdullah Moqadam owner of two
Representatives and board of directors continued to obtain importing license for non-essential goods to the country using their relations with government officials.\textsuperscript{1} Medium-sized merchants and their popular leader, Mohammed Mossadegh, repeatedly protested this discriminatory practice and contrary to national interests and reacted against it.\textsuperscript{2}

Chamber leaders who knew Mossadegh’s government economic program was fundamentally incompatible with their material interests, supported Shah in his era as the prime. This caused Mossadegh to take a strong stand against this institution and reduce their sabotage. At the end of the fourth period of chamber, early in 1951, Mossadegh’s government rejected the next chamber period. (Journal of Tehran Chamber of Commerce, 18 April 1955, pp. 1,4)\textsuperscript{3}

In 1952, Mossadegh submitted the case increasing the number of delegates from fifteen to thirty representatives in Tehran’s room using his powers, these people represent different centers such as trade unions and Artisans, industries, transportation companies, and some governmental entities including Iran's Bank Melli, Iran's National Insurance Corporation and the Ministry of economy. In spite of this, the agency could never become a strong base to progress the national goal. (Iran, laws and ordinances, import and export laws and regulations, including all rules and regulations related legislation from the beginning to No. 15, Tehran: Department of Regulations, 1983, pp. 17-27)

\textsuperscript{1} Nikpour was a supporter of many merchants and dealers often negotiated with the authorities, and his political position was strengthened more than ever. He was supervisor in the formation of two political forums of the market unions and trade union Tehran bazaar merchants, the merchants Union was established in Feb. 1943 there was room in Tehran in 1949 joined the market and trade union Party was founded in 1947 to deal with Tehran. (Journal of Tehran Chamber of Commerce, No. 48-49, pp. 15-22, No. 55, pp. 25-27)

\textsuperscript{2} For example, when Mossadegh in the fourteenth parliament (late 1945) criticized the Ministry of Finance to grant a state monopoly to a number of influential businessmen, the board room supported the government and attacked Mossadegh in articles published in newspapers. On the other hand, in this battle, traders and merchants supported moderate nationalist Mossadegh in 1949, led by doctor Mossadegh and supporting a group of merchants and craftsmen primarily young and middle businessmen who were dissatisfied by Nikpour’s policies, including opposition of National Front appeared strong. They formed Merchants and market unions and their community and soon struggled with the leaders of the room (Ky Ostovan, 1950, pp. 203-193)

\textsuperscript{3} Two brothers named Ramzi Sili and Teran whose identities are as yet undisclosed, apparently are brothers named Bousko in Kermit Roosevelt they have great influence in Tehran. Mark, 28th Mordad 1322 coup, translated by Colonel GH Nejati, Tehran: Publishing Company, 1988, p 36.
Documents and sources show that policy makers of Chamber of Commerce did not perceive oil nationalization suitable for the Iranian economy and began to oppose due to their excuses of monopoly. We can see the harmful effects of state economy during Reza Shah’s government. Merchants who before the state economy, saw their share in the fate of the country’s trade, left Mossadegh’s government alone and began to oppose to him to preserve their capital and profits.¹

Nationalization of oil industry, which could have been a serious step toward independence and self-sufficiency for the Iranian economy, was never able to provide immediate benefits to merchants. Difficulties facing in this road and inexperience did not open a clear vision for major parts of Iran’s trade including the Chamber of Commerce.

Political opponents stimulated the merchants to sabotages by magnification of economic problems that were created by the global powers for Mossadegh’s government. They did everything including bribing businessmen and import leaders whom their interests were fundamentally incompatible with the government’s economic program and they also wrote destroying articles aimed to destroying Mossadegh (Minute by Jackson, February 20, 1952, Fo 248/1531)

England and the royal agents were tried to penetrate the market and middle class more than big businessmen who were more loyal to the national interests and objectives of the Mossadegh and make them dissatisfied of state economic programs. Thus, they began to reverse Mossadegh’s actions using thugs and petty political brokers. Emphasizing the dangers of the Party was a good pretext that was used against Mossadegh’s government by various segments of opponents including the clergymen to undermine the government’s fans. Thus, a large part of the various sectors of society including businessmen were intolerant towards the government or joined its opponents. (Azimi, 2004)

Divide among merchants, their following of different events like government, clergy, court and even foreign elements instead of committed leaders of their own,

¹ Some traders like kebab and coffee houses supported Mossadegh and others, such as bakers, butchers and confectionary were opposed to him. Their unhappiness was due to factors such as taxation and pricing policies of the government. (Azimi, 2004, p 36) The leadership of national trade unions in 1951 and the community of certified merchants, tradesmen and craftsmen led by Haj Mohammad Rasekh of the show union supported the oil industry. Most of the costs of nationalization of oil industry markets Tehran, Mashhad and Isfahan were provided. Appropriate number of influential businessmen supporting the market after the overthrow of Mossadegh government he formed the core of the national resistance movement. (Katouzian, 2006, p 187)
created a favorable condition in Iran that once again made the traders independent and move them along nationalization of Iran’s trade, prevented them in reaching this goal. However, the historical fear of their insecurity which is always incompatible with the growth of investment and trade, the fear of investing in industries which did not have domestic growth and also was not in Iran’s ownership, was not compatible with immediate benefits of merchants. Most important of all is that their benefits seeking made them forced them in becoming silent in this historical experience.

CONCLUSION

Despite that nationalization of industry could be an opportunity for merchant participation in the nationalization of the company, and the fact that they could guarantee their material and national interests, witnessed their pale presence in economic events in one hand and opposition to current economic flows on the other hand. Several factors can be considered to be important in contemporary history of their position to be effective, some of them mentioned in this article include:

1. Merchants who represented as a special internal organization in the contemporary period, based on the components of such capital, the type and scope of activity and proximity to local or central government rule adopted different stances in important events such as the Constitutional and the National movement of Oil. Inconformity of material interests of these groups together with the nationalization of oil industry fueled their internal conflicts. Lack of committed and knowledgeable leadership among merchants that prevented their immediate interests in the group associated with the court and the foreign powers deterred domestic absorption of capital in the economy and the trade failure of Iran had a large impact; least of them were alliances of the merchants and the effect of losing the historic opportunity to participate in the national movement of oil industry and using advantages of its full benefits.

Influential merchants which operated inside key organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce, due to their material interests anticipating better outlooks under support of the court and major powers, opposed to Mossadegh’s government and therefore sacrificed national interests and their high social base for the sake of their personal interests.

2 - Governmental economy during Reza Shah and the government monopoly of foreign trade observed in this period also had a serious impact on Iran's trade. Most active merchants in this period followed the court by state monopoly of trade. Those who agreed with Mossadegh as the certified representative were not with him in the intellectual and practical currents as the creators, and only accompanied him.
3- Business growth requires expansion and prosperity in the industry. The Iranian Oil Industry was recognized from the outset with heavy shadow of a foreign power. England which had Iran’s economy under its control did not permit the Iranian Oil Industry to be run by Iranian experts. Nationalization of the oil industry was the first step toward self-sufficiency in the oil industry that provided consolidation opportunities, could have found grounds for the next step to provide Iran with national interests. Mossadegh’s government was attempting to mediate on behalf of people over this valuable resource and would have provided the opportunity gradually to the national and local business, but the court’s sabotages, interferences of major powers and associated factors, each recognized their own national interests in Iran in contrast with the full benefit of this growth, and prevented this movement to the maximum extent possible.

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Oil revenues and social Welfare in Iran of pre-revolution
Islamic

Gholamreza Ghaffary¹

ABSTRACT
The welfare policies and programs in the Iran had started of establish modern state in Iran since 1925. This paper deals with the relation between oil revenues and social welfare in Iran before 1978(1357) revolution. Why developmental activities within welfare policies and programs couldn’t maintain their stability and continuity? The bureaucrats and redefined groups were became the main target groups of welfare programs. Also, the oil revenue has provided financial resource for government and the government has been independent from society in procuring finance for its programs. As a result did not form appropriate interaction between government and society. The welfare programs have been production of political structure. Subsequently, Welfare benefits have served to favor political purposes; form patron-client relationships within government and society. This form of relation acted as one of the main obstacles for the achievement optimal social welfare. The oil revenue has provided financial resource for government so the government had been independent from society in procuring finance for its programs.

KEY WORDS: Oil Revenues, Social Welfare, Development Plans, Government, Social Groups

INTRODUCTION
All modern governments had policies and programs for better management of society and a main part of these are directed to providing welfare to people. So welfare policies have become one of the main sources of legitimacy for governments and election programs. Iranian governments in the twentieth century have paid attention to the welfare of society. The first well organized programs for the modernization of welfare planning can be dated to the Constitutional Revolution, which put the idea of mass education on the political agenda (Messkoub, 2006). Although this program remained incomplete due to subsequent

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events. Welfare programs were continued in the insurance of railroad workers by the state of Reza shah. Modernization programs were pursued with greater intensity in period Mohammad Reza Shah; especially from the fourth developmental program that subject of welfare was emphasized. Also, the apparent aim of the White Revolution was the improvement of rural villagers and urban workers’ livelihoods. Moreover, a modern bureaucracy was formed during the Pahlavi era and became a mechanism for social change. State bureaucrats and army forces enjoyed government welfare programs and, through these, could improve their social statues.

The oil revenue has provided financial resource for government. As a result, the government has been independent from society in procuring finance for its programs. This paper deals with the relation between oil revenues and social welfare in Iran before 1978, in other hand period pre-revolution Islamic. The paper is based on an institutional approach (a state-oriented analysis), whereby attention to understanding the government’s actions and policies. Since the main focus of policies and programs is directed to the improvement of social groups’ conditions, attention to their demands is necessary. Those policies which can be successful, effective, and social needs-oriented are the outcome of interaction between government and society. In the condition that their relation was based on interaction and not the government tries to control social groups and maintain government. Lack of interaction between them has unpleasant outcomes – one being independence of government from society and its hegemony on society.

In fact one of the main causes of the independence of government from society is rooted in a government’s financial resources. When a government has an independent resource for financial provision of its programs, it doesn’t feel the need to seek social support for providing its expenditures and does not have an efficient system of taxation. In this situation, if a government ignores citizens’ rights, it perceives its social and welfare activities and programs as its benevolence towards citizens, not the citizen’s inherent right. In this manner, social programs serve as a tool for a specific political purpose; for instance, to gain legitimacy in specific conditions. In this situation, efficiency of social and welfare policy will decline; as a result, the government’s legitimacy would decline in public opinion. These kinds of governments attempt to co-opt specific groups which could provide partial legitimacy for the government. The range of these groups is different based on government ideology; they may be among the lower class, the marginalized, bureaucrats, workers, farmers, capitalists, landowners, and other groups. In this situation a major part of the policies are directed to co-opt these groups and maintain their dependency on the government. Hence, the social benefits are victim to political purposes in favor of specific groups. In fact, in order to keep and
prioritize these groups, governments provide specific advantages and benefits (such as political, economic, educational, and welfare benefits). This form of relation between government and specific social groups' leads to the creation of new groups within government, which instead of providing of benefits for them, supports the government against opposition groups and legitimizes government activities. As a result the policies take a discipleship form and the government's relation with society becomes a patron-client relationship.

In this manner, the social balance becomes disordered and some groups become more powerful than others; not because of their merit, but garnered from their relation with the government and governmental rents. Since the main governmental benefits are directed to these groups, other groups may be ignored by the government, or at best they would be deemed unimportant and consequently are not provided channels of participation, or mechanisms for participation in policy and decision making are restricted.

OIL REVENUES, MODERNIZATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE

Iran, from 1300s/1920s pursued modernization seriously, but the modernization was incomplete and unit-dimensional. These modernization programs and their outcomes focused on nation-state building, and utilized Iran's ancient civilization as a government ideology to generate needed social legitimacy. In order to gain social legitimacy and strengthen its social basis, the government offered some social and welfare advantages for specific groups, including bureaucracy staff and military forces. Easy access to financial resources allowed the shah to act independently from society, and he did not need to finance these provisions from society. Shah needs to a popularity and social status between people. Indeed he wants to meet the basic needs of material and increasing welfare for obtaining the popularity. He insisted on his statement that reign over a bunch of poor people haven’t an honor for me. The following this policy focused on subsidy payments to the poor and established Social security Organization. Of course oil revenues supported this policy. Hence, he viewed himself as absolute king of the country and other groups as his peasants. He did not allow them to participate in social welfare area. The main target groups of social benefits were the government’s bureaucracy and military forces, and in some cases rural individuals which, when needed, the government used against urban groups' activities. As a result, social welfare policies became a ideological and political tool in the government’s hand and their main purpose were to provide state legitimacy. This approach to social welfare policy and social groups acted as one of the main obstacle for civil society development. Generally, it seems that the Pahlavi state’s social welfare policies were limited, legitimacy providing, non-participatory, and dependent on oil
revenues. Although use of oil started of 1909 in Iran but its revenues was defined into government revenues clearly after the 1932. And portion oil revenues gradually increased that so in current years it’s include 80 percent annual budget that government defined for annual program. While stated” almost 72 percent governmental costs in years 1929-1932 had financed through revenue customs (Ranani, 1990). In the first program development (1949-1955) oil revenues have financed 37 percent revenues this program. In 1965 portion exports non-oil than imports was 20 percent while this portion in 1979, that happened Islamic revolution, is only 2 percent.so that commercial balance sheet had a gap 98 percentile that have to fill by oil revenues. The forth plan began with a budget of 480 billion Rials, but this budget was increased during the plan period to 621 billion Rials as a result of the growing income from oil exports. Oil revenues more strength governmental intervention in development program and indeed in social, economical and political developments society of Iran. Oil prices gradually rose so that in years 1973-1974, because war between Arabs and Israeli it quadrupled. Estimate that sum oil revenues in the 80s in compared to the 70s was twenty times. Heshmatzade (2011) with use of Central Bank static in within the following table showed the increase in the production oil and its revenues also rate imports and non-oil exports in almost decade before of revolution.

TABLE (1) RATE PRODUCTION, EXPORTS AND REVENUE OIL AND NON-OIL

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<td>imports(billion Rials)</td>
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<td>Non-oil exports(billion Rials)</td>
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<td>.582</td>
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Source: Annals and balance sheets of central bank

So that all affairs were done in the shadow of oil revenues, on the other hand society was been experiencing oil-based welfare. In the fourth development program (1970-1974/1348-1352), insurance was granted for workers and the
government’s staff, along with health and safety protection (Ghaffary and Omidei, 2010: 152); but this act included only a segment of the workforce (Halliday, 1980: 183). Of course, its charitable intention was suspected, and this was for generating legitimacy, so that although these programs covered only some workers, in Iranian mass media it was introduced as a show of attention from the shah to the people. Hence, it did not improve the worker’s situation and the working class was dissatisfied with the regime. The shah never could claim their support. But these services have not comprehensive cover and because of inefficiency administrate system often inefficient were implemented. They generated new expectations while with the fall of oil prices development plans involved to serious problems. So that with falling oil exports growth of 17 percent in the 1977 very suddenly decreased to less than 2 percent in 1978(Rashidi,1998). However the shah’s modernization plans did not take into consideration the unintended consequences of the implementation of such ambitious programs. For instance, during the 1970s, increased of implementing housing projects in the southern areas where the migrants settled, the state spent the major part on constructing and developing the modern areas. Meanwhile, the industrial investment between 1963 to 1972 increased from 17.1 billion Rials to 99 billion Rials. The housing and construction increased during this time from 12.2 billion to 23 billion Rials. As a result of a shortage of housing, rents rose and forced many of the new-comers to settle in the areas out of the city zone called kharej-e az mahdodeh (outer zone of cities). The constant flow of people to the cities resulted in the construction of many shanty towns. As will be discussed, the settlement of these people in the outer zone of the cities led to confrontations with municipal authorities (Kamali, 1995:133). Oil revenue and government access to international financial resources increased during the years after coup. The “easy access to these resources together with foreign loans replaced the country need to reform the tax system for the equipment of domestic resources” (Karshenas, 1382: 193). Nevertheless, the government was faced with an economic crisis, financial problems, and a negative balance in foreign trade in the late 1330s and early 1340s. As a result of these crises and US pressure, the Shah was forced to conduct some reforms, such as opening the political sphere a little, and enact some social reform in the White Revolution. In fact, the liberalization policy for 1340-1342 (1961-1963) years was a test of regime legitimacy (Siavoshi, 2009: 34). Some groups opposes to the principles of the White Revolution caused the 1342 uprising that was suppressed, and the political sphere and opportunity for mobility and political activity was closed again. The share of oil revenue increased from the first developmental program to the fifth program; its share in the program was respectively: the 37/1 percent for the firth program, 64/5 percent for the second program, 66 percent for the third program, 63 percent for
the fourth program (Soudagar, 1991: 550), and 80 percent for the fifth program. As oil revenue was increasing, government would revise program expenditures, for example in the last three programs the government increased expenditure as well as increased oil revenue.

One of the major outcomes of increasing oil revenue for the government was an unwillingness to modify the tax system. The important aspect of public finance during 1963-1977 was increases in oil revenue to finance government expenditure and weaken attempts to tax (Karshenas, 2004: 367). Another aspect of the tax system was a very low share of direct tax, and a relatively low share on real estate and commercial profits. Nonetheless, the fifth program planned new capacities for taxing the points of redistribution, such as focuses of new taxes on rich people (PBO, 1961), but increases in oil revenue diverted the government from this plan. “As government’s need for tax revenue was very little, its rent characteristically independent government from civil society, such a system ignored even the most important socioeconomic groups from participation in policy making” (Siavoshi, 2009: 36). This caused the shah to feel that society did not need to supply government expenditure, and thus he treated the programs as examples of his kindness on the people.

Even though the shah removed independent voices for assessment of social policy, labor laws, and social security (Messkoub, 2006), several welfare programs were enacted; such as Military Retirement Fund, development of Workers Social Insurance (created by Mossadeq) to Social Insurance Organization, Organization of Medical Insurance, etc. also, the Pahlavi foundation was established in 1959 as a charitable institution and financed by Mohammad Reza shah’s assets, but gradually all of his relatives/family were involved, investing in it and competing with each other for huge transactions in import and export, banking, and agriculture (Soudagar, 1991: 145-148). It also supported the Iranian students abroad that were approved by the government, especially after the oil revenue increased in the early of 1350s, and paid them regular monthly assistance (Katouzian, 2009).

There was attention to social welfare in the developmental programs. In the fourth program a separate chapter was allocated to social welfare for the first time (Ghaffary and Omidi, 2010: 152), a “Supreme Council of Social Welfare” was established in order to coordination planning and avoided interference, duplication, and wasting of resources; in the fifth developmental program an emphasis on welfare and agricultural expansion; also, the government was obligated to implement a policy of insurance and medical services in the areas where the private sector could not reach (Ibid: 153). Furthermore, a series of food subsides was offered by government. But these subsides had no correct targeting and a major part of them was received by the upper class. This was because the
main part of the subsidies was to control prices, and the upper class consumed more than the lower class.

These modernization programs and the growing of governmental institutions and apparatus caused the formation and expansion of a military-administrative bureaucracy. Shah tried to gain their full loyalty and support as his supporters in order to have a strong social stature. The upper and middle class members of them took a lot of benefits, since they were a part of governmental apparatus, and their number was not small (Foran, 2010: 369). By growing the bureaucracy, the government could influence citizen’s daily life (Abrahamian, 2005: 549). In fact, government had grown as much to have offered wages and other benefits such as medical insurance, unemployment insurance, educational loans, pension benefit, and even low cost housing to citizen and limit them when it was necessary (Ibid: 539). Also shah had a specific attention to military officers because they were the main protector of the shah. The government strategy in the political economy was to create a middle class as a social basis. But its real goal was to gain the satisfaction of educated citizens in order to preventing serious political opposition from arising (Katouzian, 2009: 253). So, these two layers had interests in maintaining the regime. According Amuzegar, governmental expending in more countries exporter oil was cause rapid economical growth (Amuzegar, 1991). So because of increase governmental expending obtained a public welfare in short time through increase welfare goods and services. But this growth due to changes in between social groups and this change more oriented to groups that close and dependent to governor class. In pursuing their interests, the modern industrial and financial groups maintained, good connections, with the shah and other aristocrat families connected to the court. High-ranking military officers also received many economic advantages during the reign of the Shah. They became governors, heads of companies, etc. (Kamali, 1995:126). But in this time the modern middle occupational groups were constituted of teachers, professors, authors, modern shopkeepers, some middle ranking governmental employees, bank employees, and white collar employees in the new private economic activities. The static presented by the National Census of Population and Housing describing Iran’s labor forces showed that, in 1976,a third of Iran’s employed population ,2694778 individuals, worked within the service sector(Milani,1994:61).Wide range of free business and shopkeepers were deprived of any loan and privilege. Parts of employees haven’t enough income and workers were lack of independent labor organizations and unions. Half of the rural population was deprived of land reform. Most villages were lack of services infrastructure such: health water, electricity, educational services, health and Medicare services, social security services, road and
communication. Thus social inequality and feeling deprivation had rapidly increased.

CONCLUSION
This paper showed that Iran in the Pahlavi era, on the one hand observed the creation of modernization programs, but was incomplete and one-dimensional. On the other hand, the government’s ideology became based on nationalism and Iranian ancient magnificence. Like other governments, the Iranian monarchy needed legitimacy and public support. In this period the government relied heavily on military forces and bureaucracy, these groups were the major pillars of the government, and they were major providers of social support and legitimacy. Thus the main part of government’s welfare benefits was directed to these groups. Since government had access to huge oil revenues and foreign finance easily, it could provide and offer welfare benefits for these classes. Hence, the situation of these classes was improved, but subclasses and marginalized groups’ situation did not improved as well as these groups.

The non-democratic nature of government, and the fact that the Shah considered himself the master of all citizens, deprived social groups and receiver of welfare benefits from participation in different aspects of social and welfare programs such as decision making, policy making, and implementation. This set of factors caused the shah to consider himself above all of society, and he saw himself as the patron of society. Therefore all groups should obey the government’s orders and provide legitimacy for his government. In fact the non-taxation and non-participation character alongside reliance on oil revenue cause the creation of a self-centering attitude in the shah towards social different groups. As a result, participation, liberty of political activities, and criticism were suppressed, all political participation pathways were closed, opposition parties were closed, and corporate and civic activities extremely controlled. Consequently, the relationship between shah and social groups became a patron-client relation and this relation acted as a main obstacle for the expansion of civil society. Moreover, oil revenue, as in the pre-revolutionary period, has served as a tool for the revolutionary regime’s ideological purposes and provided necessary financial resources for it. Hence, the government has not tried to reorganize and modify its tax system in order to increase its revenue. On the other hand, the absence of taxation has had a function for government; this revenue caused the government to become independent from a main part of society and prevented the interaction between government and civil society. The target groups which received welfare benefits know government was for themselves, while other groups that are prevented from these advantages and have no participation in any way have become alienated and separated from
government. This caused the government to lose legitimacy from the latter groups and has gained legitimacy from the former groups. It should be mentioned that while these programs have evolved, they do not succeed in diminishing poverty, reducing inequality, creating social justice, and appropriate housing, but in the cases of education and health they were relatively successful. Since these programs were offered only by government and directed towards specific groups, access to them was limited to these specific groups and they do not possess the right of choice. The main features of Iranian modern welfare programs have been non-participatory, legitimacy-generating, based on oil revenue, and unaccountable. Also, since their expenditure was financed by oil revenue, they could not play an important role in income redistribution and the reduction of the inequality and class gap. In fact, welfare policies were offered by government without civic group participation.

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Acculturation and Afghan Refugees’ Leisure Pattern

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Yousof Ahmadi²

ABSTRACT
This study examines the Afghan refugee’s leisure time, focusing on their individual and collective level of challenges. As part of this study, interviews were conducted with 28 youth Afghan refugees in Tehran/Iran from both high and low levels of economic and educational states. Further a comparison is adopted in respect to Tehran/Iran’s youth’s leisure time. It is an answer to the question that after three decades of Afghan’s refugees presence in Iran, how has their quality of life changed. In addition we have tried to investigate the theory of acculturation of Afghan refugees in Iran.

KEY WORDS: leisure times, collective and individual leisure times, acculturation, mode of life, Afghan refugees.

INTRODUCTION
It’s said that “daily life of humans is divided to three parts: existence time like sleeping, meal, and sanitary care time, time of providing livelihood like working and complying economic needs, and finally, free time, about 5 hours in day, or leisure time in which, one desirably does their different and favorable activities” (Tondnevis 1381: 116). Although these three parts is of very importance for researchers, here we just pay attention to “leisure times”. “Leisure times is the time in which the responsible person have no task or work to do and could do whatever he likes in this time” (Dawati & Jamali 1381:124). Also, Beard and Ragheb

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(1980) suggest that leisure is the satisfaction basis and the basic need of human that is summarized in six groups such as mental, social, physical, educational, calmness and aesthetic parts (Luo Lu 2011:139). By mental, we mean spiritual activities like praying. Social part is the intra-individual relationships such as relation with friends and family. Physical part refers to sport and mobility, and educational part refers to new learnings. Finally, calmness needs rest and aesthetics represents enjoying of natural resources and different kinds of hobbies. Thus, leisure is a cultural–social phenomenon that effects on economic, social and political aspects of society and, also, is the common theme of all classes of society” (Dwani & Jamali 1383:124).

So, in every society that leisure times include most of humans’ life, how to spend these times is of special importance for sociologists and behaviorist. Many researches, from different point of views, have done about this matter. For example, in Iran, Fokuhi and Mahabadi studied leisure time and formation of cultural character of high school girls of Tehran. Also, Eslami, Vakili and Faraji studied the rate of depression among medicine students of Gorgan University and its relation with the kind of spending their leisure times. In addition, Varesi, Beig Mohammadi and Qanbarian examined the quality of spending leisure times of elders.

Thus, different groups in Iran society, like students, pupils and elders, are studied in this respect. But, this article, with respect to the presence Afghan refugees in Iran, tries to study their leisure time. In fact, the main aim of this study is to show that how leisure times among Afghan refugees’ families is planned and spent in order to gain their “life style”. To understand that, we divide their leisure time into this groups: individual, collective, and also in low cultural classes and high economical classes.

PROBLEM

The presence of Afghan refugees in Iran goes back to the time of coup of 1357 in Afghanistan, which results to establishment of communist government, full support of Soviet Union, and occupation of the country by red army. All these led to flee of many Afghans to Pakistan and Iran (international and political studies office 1388:21). The religious congruency and cultural likeness of target country was the main determinant factor in choosing the destination. Then, most of Hazaras and a few of Tajiks came to I.R. of Iran and the majority of Pashtuns and a minority of Hazaras went to Pakistan. Thus, “according to the available statistics in state ministry, Afghan refugees in Iran have special social, economic, political and
cultural characteristics. Most of them are shiaa and talk in Farsi. In fact, the only ethnic in Afghanistan that, according to religion and language, have the most similar characteristics are Hazaras” (Jamshidiha & Anbari 1383:53). In addition, their more than three decades presence in Iran cities led to “take distance from demography structure of Afghanistan and get close to demography structure of Iran” (Mahmoudian 1386:64). Thought, this assumption is highlighted that Afghan refugees are affected by “acculturation” in Iran society and have more compatibility with Iranians. But, as they “live in margins of big cities, such as Tehran, Isfahan, Shiraz, Qom and Zahedan” (Jamshidiha & Anbari 1383:50), and as “leisure times is a phenomenon which is in connection to industrial society; namely, it’s resulted from arrival of new technical instruments in which, human is replaced by machine and the time of work is reduced” (Fokuhi 1382:63). This supposition, too, is considered that Afghan refugees, because of doing works that require more time, have lesser leisure time in comparison to host society. Now, these questions also arises that what’s the place of leisure time among Afghan refugees and their families who live in big and industrial cities of Iran? And what’s the effect of their conformity to host society, according to cultural similarities, in refugees’ life style? The study tries to find responses to these questions.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

It’s said that “emigration has major effects on refugees or emigrants’ characteristics... and also it’s a way for transferring cultural norms, values and patterns” (Mahmoodian 1386:44). In other word, one of the necessities of emigration is cultural change. “Englhart uses cultural change as cultural movement. According to him, cultural changes occur in the form of replacement of social values” (Azad Aramaki 1387:92). In fact, “the change and transformation of cultures become clearer when in every society, a macro culture governs over many micro cultures and is special to the available groups in that society, official or unofficial (Salehi Amiri 1388:69).

Also, sociologists use the concept of “acculturation” in the process of migration. They believe “one of the important issues that have close ties to acculturation is migration. In migration, patterns and characteristics are moved from one culture to the other” (Rabbani & Palizdaran 1383:44). “They define acculturation as a set of phenomena that are outcomes of direct and continuum contact among groups of people with different cultures and led to changes and transformations in cultural patterns of one group or both” (Azad Aramaki 1387:93). In other word, deep
compatibility or conformity of individual with cultural norms of other society is acculturation... new technologies and the emergence of media, of course, provide the basis of formation of other kind of on way acculturation: media communication. This new and widespread phenomenon is along many favors which capture minds, interests and beliefs across the world (Salehi Amiri 1388:46). Because, “media are the more widespread and effective institution of productivity, re-productivity, and distribution of knowledge in comparison to other institutions... and with activity in a general sphere, which make them available for everyone freely and cheap, also determine the effect on the most number of people, devoting more time to them, and the limits of symbolic environment in which we live. So, media has to be the creator of symbolic environment that their major impact is the formation of subjective picture of audiences from environment” (Mahdizade 1387:50). As it’s emphasized in the theory of implant, “among modern media, television has such a place that dominate over our symbolic environment and its messages about reality take the place of personal experience and other instrument of cognition of the world. According to Gerbner, the message of TV has distance from reality in some critical aspects, but because of its continual repetition, it’s accepted as the consensus view of society... TV is the cultural arm of modern stabilized industrial order and serves its reinforcement and preservation” (MC Kwail 1385:399). Thus, it’s could be said that Afghan refugees, on one hand, by presence in human community of target society and with continual intra individual and group communication, are affected by dominant culture. On the other hand, they who are affected by mass media, institutionalize cultural values of Iran society and simplify the process of acculturation.

In addition, experts believe in that there is also “assimilation” in the process of migration. It means assimilation is when migrants, by accepting the way and mode of cultural values of host society, try to make themselves similar to the native members of that society. In fact, assimilation is a process of interlacing and conjugation in which individuals and groups try to possess others’ memories, emotions and histories and assimilate in a common culture by participating in their experience and history” (Haqiqatian et al. 1387: 67). Also, experts emphasize on ‘social identity’ in this respect. “Social identity discusses about the relations between individual and environment. Social identity mention this question that how socializing of individuals is gained. Thus, it’s not being different as one among the others, but it’s participating with other that matters... . Social identity shows some characteristics such as age, sex, ethnic background, status and activity of people in the social sphere” (Verkuyten 2005:43). According to Bourdieu, life styles can at best show themselves in a varied set of ‘social activities’, specially activities
which is related to leisure time like hobbies, study, music, cinema and... . The major work of Bourdieu is showing that consumption and life style activities can be explanatory of social identity” (Rabbani & Shiri 1388:214). Bourdieu suggests a unified theory about formation of life styles. According to his model, objective terms of life and status of individual in the social structure leads to the production of special character. Character includes two sets of systems: a system for categorizing of activities and a system for cognitions. The ultimate outcome is the bonding of these two systems of life style. Life style, also, is the representation of individuals’ preferences that are observable (Fazeli 1382). Therefore, “the area of leisure is the main area of analyzing life style that people, symbols, clichés, patterns and special principles of life style and social identity repeat themselves” (Majdi et al. 1389:211).

Also, leisure time is a cultural activity too, as it’s mentioned in “the consumption theory, leisure time activities are formed in cultural, social processes and affect other kinds of consumption” (Kjolsrod 2009:374). Namely, leisure and spending leisure time are most affected and formed by values and views of individuals and families... on the other hand, leisure time always was in relation to social – economic status, but in new consumption society, how to consume is more important in representing the social status of individuals. Because in modern society, salient consumption and life style based on welfare and leisure surround throughout social structure and people of lower classes try to gain more respect and social status through imitating the life style and leisure of upper class and pretend to modern leisure” (Rafatjah 1390:173).

METHODOLOGY

In order to assess Afghan refugees families’ leisure time, quantitative method based on ‘in depth interview’ is used. The advantage of this method is that “main issue is participial observation and also, participating observant and researchers that don’t pretend are part of the studied subject” (Babi 1385:584). Too, researchers believe: “basic issue is that interview has a referential aim and it’s expected that interview discourse be done by reference to people or participant about events, processes, and behaviors outside of interview environment” (Taylor & Lindloff 2011:172). Kate Willis writes about in depth interview: “as it’s clear from its name, understanding in depth interview for grasping the nature of research subject is toward its measure and shape” (Birn 2002:283).
Thus, interviewees talk about their existing experiences or narrations and understandings toward a past event with interviewer. As it’s said, “interview has different kinds and Sarukhani divided it to three groups of open, half open and closed. In open interview, respondent in response and questioner in posing the question are completely free. But, half open and close interviews should only discuss given subjects; in addition to that, in close interview, questioner requirement needs that every question be posed in a special category and in its place. In this study, too, we use open interview or ‘in depth interview’ in order to interviewee has more time to talk and more freedom to respond with more details.

So, as it’s mentioned, this study is based on in depth interview method that in which, 28 people of Afghan refugees are interviewed. For understanding how they spend their leisure time, low economic, upper economic and cultural classes of migrants are interviewed. During that, different groups of Afghan refugees, including labors, students, and capitalists are studied. By labors we mean ordinary labors that have lesser than 1 million tomans salary monthly; by students or cultural class, we mean people who pass higher education; by capitalists or higher economic class we mean people who own factory of productive shops. In this study, due to short of time, we interviewed with 12 labors, 9 students, and 7 from higher economic class. Among them 5 form labors and 3 from students were female and the rest were male, as the below table shows:

**TABLE 1: DISTRIBUTION OF INTERVIEWEES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Social status</th>
<th>Low economic</th>
<th>High economic</th>
<th>High cultural</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FINDINGS**

*Characteristics of interviewees*

As mentioned above, statistic sample of this study includes 28 interviewees of Afghan refugees that most of them are male; namely, 71% of interviewees are male and 29% female. Non-presence of women in higher economic class shows that Afghan refugee women don’t reach this level yet. But, in higher cultural class,
37.5% are devoted to women and shows that women have more shares in higher education. One of the common characteristics among interviewees is the parity in the number of household. Every interviewee mentioned the number of his family between 3 to 5 persons that in average, the number of members of families in low class, cultural and capitalist families could be determined as 4. Though, the profession of interviewees is different; labors mostly work at factories; students spend most of their time in educational centers and less in cultural centers. But, capitalists mostly are owner of factories or traders. An important point that should be mentioned is that the settlement of most classes is in the margins of cities. Here, by margins of cities, we mean townships like Shahr-e-ray, Eslamshahr, and Varamin in which 83% of labors, 56% of culturals, and 57% of capitalists live.

Leisure pattern of Afghan migrants
According data and interviews, we could talk about a ‘leisure pattern’ special to Afghan refugees in which, the ‘limitation’ legislated by government has major effect on freedom and choose of how spend their leisure time. The limitation or restriction that includes non-presence of migrants in ‘forbidden areas’, non-allowance to enter in sport and tourist places, and also trafficking between cities that is forbidden without formal permission from authorities. Therefore, Afghan migrants can’t get out of their zone of settlement and go to recreational places like north cities of Iran or go to another city for leisure time. Thus, their leisure time is in a way that they couldn’t go to cultural and recreational places of Iran. As one interviewee says: “for us, leisure time is only in our houses. We can go anywhere, no one come to see us. The only place we could go and chat is Ziyara-e-Abdolazim.” One other migrant that has finished his higher education, said: “it’s been years that I wish to go to Mashhad with my family, but, due to restriction, we can’t go there”.

Collective leisure time
As earlier have mentioned, Afghan migrants have lesser free time because of doing hard works and longer work time. Here, we first try to assess collective leisure time and then individual leisure time of the low economic, and high economic classes. It should be mentioned that collective leisure, more than of interviews of families’ breadwinners and individual leisure is assessed based on interviews of family members. To understand this, collective leisure of migrants and its indexes are determined by below table:

TABLE 2: THE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS’ COLLECTIVE LEISURE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classes</th>
<th>Collective leisure</th>
<th>Leisure</th>
<th>Leisure Time</th>
<th>Place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor class</td>
<td>indexes</td>
<td>activities</td>
<td>holidays</td>
<td>relatives homes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor</td>
<td>Visiting</td>
<td>Family and relatives</td>
<td>Holidays</td>
<td>Outside of city and cultural centers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>Trip</td>
<td>Familial</td>
<td>Holidays</td>
<td>Abroad of Iran and city restaurants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High economic</td>
<td>Trip and travel</td>
<td>Familial</td>
<td>Required time</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Labor class: One index of labor class’s collective leisure is visiting in which, leisure activities have special issue in the ‘relations’ between a planning for leisure time, but, in this respect, mostly they spend holidays with their families. They, by emphasizing on being cheaper this kind of leisure time, know that as a necessity of family that is dependant of internal relations of family. An interviewee, 42 years old, says: “leisure time has lots of costs for us; I couldn’t go to work, also my salary would be reduced. But, instead of spending in vain, I go to visit my mother and my friends”. And another interviewee, who is the breadwinner of 4 people, says: “in every opportunity, instead of cinema of other places, I go to visit my relatives and friends. This way, we get news of each other. If we couldn’t go and visit them... they think ill about us...” About how to spend leisure time, a third person who is housekeeper says that “when we go to our friends and relatives, we feel good, we sit and talk to each other, complain about difficulties and insufficiencies... help and consult each other”. So, visiting has a major role in families’ leisure time in which, the sympathy and cooperation make internal relations between family members. On the other hand, it strengthens these relations. In other word, the index of visiting among families of labor class as collective leisure, shows their life style in which, low income, being expensive of leisure and full time job, all cause they have cheaper leisure time, but effective in family relations.

Cultural class: in collective leisure of this class, the indexes of ‘trip’ and ‘pastime’ are most observed. Most interviewees of this class mention their collective leisure as trip to outdoor. Trip ‘with family’ in recreational places and nature are main plan of them in holidays. One interviewee, who has higher education, believes that “trip is one of the basic needs of modern human and without trip, we may afflict to mental problems... So, we try to go out of city with family at least once a month.”
Another interviewee says that “my leisure times with family are climbing, going to cultural places like cinema, theatre and concert. But, these programs depend on our economy... If we can, we will go these places every week”. It could be said that the beliefs about leisure time are considered a kind of norm in society and affected the cultural class of Afghan migrants. As one of them says: “Our family doesn’t like to trip, but I always convince them that trip and enjoying of recreational places are social necessities for us” Therefore, cultural class of the migrants have different leisure time which they prefer and includes uses cultural and tourist places like cinema, theatre, concert, climbing, outdoor, instead of visiting relatives. By this approach of cultural class of the migrants, it’s clear that their life style is different from labor class; their collective leisure includes more recreational places, but leisure activities of labor class is limited to between families and relative’s relations.

High economic class: Abroad ‘travel’ and travel outside city are of indexes of leisure time that here, includes members of higher economic class. One characteristics of this class is having ‘residence license’ from State Ministry. They have these licenses because of the registration of their factories in respective centers. Therefore, without any restriction, they can have travels between cities and even abroad. Of interviewees in this class, 6 persons (85%) had abroad travel to spend their leisure time. Their families, of course, have the most leisure time. As an interviewee, who owns a factory, says: “I, personally, couldn’t be away from my factory because of my job, but my family has lots of leisure time instead of me. Every year, they go one or two travel abroad. If I try, I could go one trip out of city with my family to be somewhere safe and private and away from noise and crowd”. Also, another says: “they won’t let us be happy here in Iran, so, we go abroad to be happy... my family is happy there”. The third interviewee in this class believes that “leisure time in Iran is much better and cheaper for families... but, in summers, they should have an abroad travel... so, I take my family with me”. Another person, in response to the question of planning leisure time, says: “planning always takes place in family and they decide where we should go and what plan we should follow, I just obey”. So, what is observed in higher economic class is a kind of assimilation among members of this class to higher economic class of host society. In fact, members of this class try to attract the approach of capitalist class and by travelling abroad and going to famous restaurants, gain a new social identity (Rabbani & Shiri 1388:231).

Individual leisure
In this section, it’s tried that assess individual leisure of Afghan migrants’ classes, according to indoor leisure and outdoor leisure in order to gain their life style and acculturation. By indoor leisure, we mean activities within house such as: resting, listening to music, watching TV, video and satellite, studying books, magazine and journals, and doing artistic works. Also, by outdoor leisure, we mean activities outside house like: sport, going to cinema and theatre, visiting museum and exhibition, participating in cultural bases, participating in mosques and religious groups, visiting holy places, going to parks, recreational centers, travels, visiting relatives and friends, walking in the streets and shopping centers...” (Fokuhi, 1382:66).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Migrants’ classes</th>
<th>Indoor individual leisure indexes</th>
<th>Outdoor individual leisure indexes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labor</td>
<td>Studying, watching TV, listening music</td>
<td>Football, karate, religious ceremonies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>Studying, internet, listening music and watching TV</td>
<td>Climbing, cinema, cultural and scientific events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>Snooker, swim, watching TV</td>
<td>Climbing, going to restaurants and parties</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Labor class: These persons mentioned their indoor leisure time as studying books, watching TV and satellite, listening to music, and artistic works like Khamakduzi. One says: “when I’m home and have nothing special to do, mostly I read books and sometimes watch TV series like Mokhtarnameh, Jumung, and Dung Yee”. Also, another interviewee says: “leisure time is an opportunity to do my artistic work, I just sit in home and do my Khamakduzi... I love this work and it gives me joy”. It seems that indoor leisure of this class is still affected by time. Therefore, in both interview, there is no special planning. But, for outdoor leisure, there is some planning. For example, an interviewee says that “every holiday I go out to play football... we don’t have a specific team and play with everyone who is there”. Another says: “I do Martial Arts in my leisure time... every week, we practice 3 times and it’s good for me... in holidays, also, we go to park for exercise”. The third person, who works in a factory, says: “In holiday morning, I go to holy shrine and participate in praying. This is the best leisure time I have”. So, outdoor leisure for labor class is accompanied by planning which seems, this planning is a
representation of their life style and social activity. In fact, this kind of activity shows their status and social identity in which, people seems active and adapting norms; it’s because they follow participating in religious events and sport exercises by plan.

Cultural class: Indoor leisure of this class is more complicated that labor class. Among interviewees, 89% emphasized on net communications; all women mentioned to using social networks like Facebook and Twitter as hobbies. One woman of this class says about his indoor leisure: “when I’m at home and do household works, I’ll definitely check my Facebook account... I use internet once or twice a day... (In addition,) I read new books”. Another person, who has higher education, says that “for now, our hobby is using internet. It’s, of course, hobby and also, we could get in contact with our friends across the world... I like modern music and films and watch them whenever I can”. Another one, by emphasize on the function of internet as a hobby, mentions: “Internet, in addition to the information it gives us and provides contact to the world, is amusing. I always use internet for one hour after work. I check my e-mail and weblog, review news of Iran and world and...” In outdoor leisure, most interviewees mentioned climbing, going cinema and participating in cultural events. Apparently, it’s due to their new life style or social structure that led them to use modern pattern of leisure. They show a special interest to these patterns. As one woman mentions in her interview: “I take part in every program that is organized by cultural institutions of my country (Afghanistan), I love that... If my Iranian friends invite me to their ceremonies, I’ll go there”. Another interviewee in response to the question of outdoor leisure says: “Going to famous cinemas are of much interest to me. Theses cinemas have good services and always show the newest movies. Another hobby that I like most and do it every month, is climbing. I try to go climbing with my friends, but if they don’t come, I’ll go alone by myself... I’ve done this before and it was perfect”. According to these statements, it could be said that outdoor leisure of this class is kind of showing their social status in which, acts of persons is different from other migrants, but close to target cultural society. In fact, cultural effect and / or acculturation in the class are more observed and are, even, clear in their indoor leisure. This class, by using of modern communication instruments and communicating with friends, shows that they have lots of interest in new activities of their social lives.

Higher economic class: Indoor leisure in this class has more modern state. They have more welfare and better, up-to-date hobbies. One of the interviewees in this class believes that “Basically, leisure time should be spent in home. We feel better
and more comfortable in home, so we need all instrument and requirements of welfare and I prepare them... Mostly, I play snooker with my family or by myself... Sometimes, I use pool in my home that is so pleasant”. Another interviewee says: “I, personally, like to rest in home, but I like action movies. Also, sometimes I play football with my family”. Therefore, it’s clear that their leisure in affected by capitalist behavior. In fact, their leisure activities are due to their modern life style in which there is more welfare. But, their outdoor leisure hasn’t much difference from other migrant classes. Most interviewees of this class state that they spend their outdoor leisure in restaurants, parties, and climbing. For the most interviewees are the breadwinners of their families, they don’t have individual outdoor leisure. One of them says: “our outdoor leisure is this, that go to work and think about our children lives, I just come and go... If we go somewhere for trip, I’ll go definitely with my family”. It seems their job terms cause them to have not outdoor leisure. Namely, this class is bound to their job than their individual hobbies.

The comparison of Afghan migrants’ leisure and host society leisure

In a research that Rasoul Rabbani and Hamed Shiri (1388) assessed Tehran youth, leisure time and social identity, they concluded that “First, patterns of leisure time is affected by class status. It means that the qualities of these patterns about friendship relations, consumption of different spheres in leisure time, cultural consumption or variety of leisure activities, all are accompanied by social class changes”. By social class, we mean high and low class of society which is determined based on monthly salary, parents education, geographical different and their status. The samples of north of Tehran are considered as high economic class and the samples of south of Tehran as low social class. This study shows that ‘friendship relations’ are more in high economic class. This is true among boys and girls, while the friends of low class are fewer. Also, going to each other house and visiting among high class youth has an apparent difference from low class. High class members go to each other houses with many of their friends, have dinner together, participate in each other ceremonies or parties... but, this situation among lower classes is completely different and in comparison to high class, very limit and fewer.

Researchers of leisure time and social identity of Tehran youth remind that about indoor activities, girls of high class are completely distinct from low class; girls of high class are involved in artistic activities like playing music instruments, listening
to western or Iranian music, watching satellite, dancing, studying and sometimes cooking, while indoor activities of low class girls are most helping mother in home, cooking, listening to Iranian music and watching TV series. This is also true in indoor leisure of low class. They spend most of their time in studying, listening to music, and watching TV series. But, for cultural class of migrants, it could be said that Internet hobbies, listening to modern music and watching TV are western examples that show a kind of acculturation among them.

So, this is apparent among Afghan refugees’ classes; low class doesn’t show much interest in leisure or has limited leisure, only in the form of visiting holy places, watching TV series, listening to music and playing football. They try to use less of their leisure time and mostly like loneliness. But cultural class and high economic class have more leisure tie and even have some planning for it. For example, climbing, cinema, going to restaurant, participating in cultural events, watching action movies, playing snooker, using of pool, all are examples that shows their socialization, acculturation, activity and creativity. Thus, in this study, it’s clear that Iranian youth leisure time is affected by their social status and social base which form their patterns and indexes of leisure time. In fact, Iranian youth, as major actors, choose their respective leisure type according to beliefs and available norms among these classes and are affected by their social status. That’s why we could say their leisure is affected by the environment of culture.

This effect and impressibility is also apparent in Afghan refugees’ leisure time. On one hand, the milieu put many restrictions over them and on the other hand, the culture of host society makes them to have more interest in leisure time. By environment restriction, we mean rules legislated by government, economic status, and class situation which sometimes become a barrier on the way of spending leisure time as they want. On the other hand, norms and beliefs in society persuade them to act as social actors in the society, during which acculturation from target society and their life style happens.

Conclusion
In this study, it became clear that Afghan refugees, due to the terms and restrictions posed by government, have a special leisure pattern that happens mostly in their near environment. Namely, their leisure is affected by legislated rules in which, they can’t visit cultural and recreational places of other cities. Thus, their collective leisure is only in some indexes of importance, like visiting for low class who have closer familial and friendship relations. They embrace this index as a hobby and leisure, but also they enjoy its mental function such as consulting,
talking and ... But, high cultural class and high economic class give credit to trip and go to abroad, climbing, cinema, concert and cultural centers. As it’s apparent, this observes among high classes of Iran society. Consequently, we could say there is acculturation among high classes of Afghan migrants and they adopt beliefs and norms of host society. Because of this, members of high cultural and economic classes try to be assimilated in Iran society. So, the hypothesis of this study is true only about low class of migrants, and not about high economic and cultural classes. In other words, accordance and conformity of high economic and cultural classes of Afghan migrants is due to direct and continual connection with high classes of Iran society.

About individual leisure of Afghan refugees, which is assessed based on indoor and outdoor leisure, it became clear that members of labor class study books, watch TV series, listen to music and do artistic works as indoor leisure and play football, do exercise and participate in religious ceremonies as outdoor leisure. As these kinds of activities don’t have salient social aspect, it could be said that life style of individuals is more limit and affected by their economic – environmental situations and social structure. But, members of high cultural and economic classes of migrants, whose indoor leisure is different of low class, use internet as hobby, listen to modern music, study books, go to swim and play snoker as indoor leisure and go to concert, cinema, climbing, travel outside of city, visit cultural centers as outdoor leisure; all these are representations of a more modern social status and life style.

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