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The quiddity of familiarity concept (taarof concept) and reasons weakening it in contemporary Iranian cities

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ABSTRACT

BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES: The concept of familiarity (taarof) is one underlying concept of an Islamic city, which has received less attention. Adherence to this concept that is adopted from Quranic teachings has a considerable influence on the neighboring or neighborhood concept. However, the evolutions in the contemporary Iranian community have left this concept in serious challenges over recent decades, causing underlying developments in the concept of neighborhood. This study investigates the advent of challenges threatening the familiarity concept in terms of evolutions in the contemporary history of Iran, particularly in terms of the contemporary political economy of Iran to find how these changes and developments in the political economy have threatened and weakened the concept of familiarity in contemporary Iranian city.

METHODS: This study is based on the library-documentary method in terms of data collection, and is based on logical reason in terms of data analysis and judgment. Logical reasoning encompasses a wide spectrum from computer programs and formulas to cultural discourses and theses, and this study comprises the cultural discourse extreme of this spectrum.

FINDINGS: According to the results of this study, some political economy developments in the contemporary history of Iran, including land reforms, the municipality's income generation system, injecting the oil revenue into metropolises, and lack of adherence to principles of land-use planning have led to the advent of the concept of displacement (or relocation) and permanent population changes and migration from rural to urban areas or inside the urban areas (especially in metropolises). Subsequently, such severe population changes have resulted in a weakened concept of familiarity threatening the neighborhood concept.

CONCLUSION: The most important requirement for deepening neighboring relationships and stabilizing the concept of familiarity in the contemporary Iranian city is revising macro-policies of political economy to stabilize the citizens' settlement in the place they are living by adopting appropriate policies, so this stabilization would lead to longer neighboring relations and deepen the familiarity and familiarity between neighbors. In this case, the issue of displacement can be somewhat solved, and the social harms caused by the weak concept of familiarity can be eliminated in contemporary Iranian cities.

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INTRODUCTION

After Western communities transitioned from tradition to modernity, the new system, such as the feudalist system created necessary institutes for its survival or coordinated the traditional social institutes by applying some changes in some cases (Giddens, 2013). Moreover, as one of the institutes forming the traditional city, the concept of the neighborhood was changed due to the transition from tradition to modernity and the advent of capitalism. As an introduction to modernity, the Industrial Revolution required workers to make themselves ready for jobs anywhere leaving their native lands and residence places, which threatened neighborhood relationships preventing them from being deepened. Durkheim (2013) considers labor division as the driving force for achieving a developed community. When a community becomes larger, the previous reconciliation factor that is collective consciousness cannot alone create community connection while individual responsibility becomes meaningful in response to actions because family and group relationships are weaker and the person is more free, responsible, and autonomous to make decisions. In modern communities, social action characteristics have been institutionalized at a high level of individuality (shahesmaili Nezhad khorasani and Azadarmaki, 2020). Giddens (2013) believes that modernity has changed some concepts, such as time and place through labor division and formulation of new organizations and institutions. These two concepts were matched in premodern communities meaning that social life dimensions were in the framework of local activities depending on the time and place. Modernity advent allowed non-attendance interactions by strengthening the relationships between absent individuals. After the emergence of modernity, the time calendar was separated from the geographical location, and the whole world found a single criterion. Emptying the time was a prerequisite for emptying the place. After modernity, the place has been separated from location. Time-place separation is the prerequisite for the occurrence of displacement processes leading to the separation of social relationships from the local interaction environments and renovation of them in infinite time-place structures and zones (shahesmaili Nezhad khorasani and Azadarmaki, 2020), and this displacement phenomenon is the factor for transiting from tradition to new era. Displacement

or relocation threatens the concept of neighborhood and weakens the familiarity among occupants of habitats (including metropolises and cities) due to population displacements. This familiarity is defined with the term "*Tarof*" in the Holy Quran, which implies the concept of familiarity "*Taarof*" (Surah Al-Hujurat, Verse 13). "*Taarof*" is rooted in "*Araf*" which means familiarity with individuals and familiarity with people. This study examines the effects of the displacement phenomenon in the frame of migrations and population relocations on the concept of familiarity in the contemporary Iranian city and aims to answer the main question of the study to find reasons for weakening familiarity in the contemporary Iranian city. This question asks "What are the reasons for weakening the familiarity and subsequently the concept of neighborhood in Iranian cities in terms of the developments that occurred in the political economy of Iran?" According to the mentioned points, this study focuses on two main subjects; the first one is the concept of familiarity and the concepts associated with it, including neighborhoods in Islamic cities, and another one includes factors weakening this concept in the contemporary urban-planning system of Iran. Therefore, the research background has two parts. Few studies have been conducted on the first part (related to the concept of familiarity and concepts associated with it) because urban planning literature is a novel field with a minor background. Raeesi and Mohammad Ali Nezhad, (2021) conducted a study titled "Explanation of the scale and general model of the neighborhood consisting of neighborhood units from an Islamic perspective" and investigated the necessity of the neighborhood scale limitation (in terms are area and population). They explained that when the area and population of the neighborhood exceed a certain limit then the concept of neighborhood and subsequently, the concept of familiarity, which are the most important concepts emphasized in Islamic teachings become weak. Keshvari (2016) explains that if the physical structure and architecture of the neighborhood ensure maximum familiarity among neighbors, the concept of familiarity would be strengthened, providing many advantages, such as increased security, decreased crime, and improved human relationships. Consideration of the relationships created in traditional neighborhoods within Western contemporary urban planning has led to the advent

Table 1: Comparison between Western and Islamic neighborhood units

Component's type	Component's name	Islamic neighborhood unit	Western neighborhood unit
Functional	The main pillar of the neighborhood unit	Mosque	School
Functional	Population	Between 1000-1500 people	Around 5000 people
Physical	Neighborhood unit radius	Varying (based on the size of residential blocks), while observing the maximum 500m radius	Maximum 800m
Physical	Area	A total of 40 blocks from 4 directions, up, down, left, and right (160 blocks in total) with mosque orientation at the center of the neighborhood unit and an approximate 20-hectare area totally	Around 160 acres (each acre almost equals 4000m ²) with school orientation at the center of neighborhood unit and an approximate 64-hectare area totally
Historical	Background and history	More than 14 centuries and returning to early Islam (cited to hadiths narrated by Imams)	Around one century and returning to the pattern proposed by Clarence Perry in 1923
Semantic	The main nature of neighborhood unit	Social-cultural	Physical-functional

of some patterns, such as Clarence Perry's pattern (Rohe, 2009). According to this pattern, residents used certain social services jointly within the single neighborhood unit, whose population and size were defined based on the educational use of elementary school (Eslami and Aminzadeh, 2013). Table 1 presents the comparison between two concepts of the Western neighborhood unit (based on Clarence Perry's pattern) and the Islamic neighborhood unit (based on the religious documents).

According to Table 1, despite some differences, the concept of neighborhood and particularly the neighborhood unit have been considered in both Islamic and Western urban planning. The reason is that architectural and urban-planning structures weakening the familiarity among citizens especially at the neighborhood scale would result in social divergences, and subsequently in social capital erosion (Mohammadi and Musavi Moqaddam, 2022). In contemporary urban planning also concentrated social correlations have been replaced with various networks of transient social relationships due to the changed physical structure of neighborhoods and centralized neighborhood divisions to a set of noncentralized layers and extensive developments in the settlement system of cities (Eslami and Aminzadeh, 2013). In cities that are heterogeneous, diverse, and multicultural, however, a neighborhood is a place for urban subcultures (Rapoport, 2001). There are other studies indicating the relationship between

architecture and urban planning on the one hand, and social relationships and interactions on the other hand (Mendes et al. 2017; Williams, 2005). According to the results obtained from these studies, the architectural structure of a place is not independent of the lifestyle of the users and social structure (Aydin and Sramkaya, 2014). This is highly critical in the Islamic culture because the Islamic teachings emphasize the quality of the social structure of the neighborhood and city with particular concentration on the mosques (Araki, 2021). Accordingly, the Islamic city must be directed in a way that familiarity becomes an alternative for some concepts, such as pride to improve intercultural communications (Ghamami and Islami Tanha, 2022). In the second part of the study (effective factors in weakening the concept of familiarity), few studies can be found about the factors affecting the concept of familiarity in contemporary Iranian cities since this concept is a novel and innovative topic. However, few studies have examined some components, such as weakening the concept of neighborhood (that is associated with the concept of familiarity) in contemporary Iranian cities through an indirect approach. Shahesmaili Nezhad Khorasani and Azadarmaki (2020) have investigated the displacement issue in the modern Iranian family considering some social developments during Qajar and Pahlavi periods. They explain the process through, which this topic has led to migration to contemporary Iranian cities. Mahdavi

Table 2: A brief comparison between some relevant studies and extant studies and an explanation of the innovative aspect of this study

The main subject of research	Sample	Main themes	Novelty aspect of this study
What is the concept of familiarity?	Raeesi and Ali Nezhad (2021); Keshvari (2016)	The nexus between the area and the population of the neighborhood with the concept of familiarity	Generalizing the concept of familiarity to the contemporary cities of Iran and addressing why the concept of familiarity has been weakened in these cities
Factors affecting the weakening concept of familiarity	Shahesmaili Nezhad Khorasani and Azadarmaki (2020); Imani Shamlou <i>et al.</i> (2016); Abadian (2018)	The role of some factors, such as oil revenues, land reforms, and other contemporary economic political developments on the population displacements and its social consequences	A holistic and extra-sectoral view on the effective factors in weakening the concept of familiarity in contemporary Iranian city

Vafa *et al.* (2009) have explained the effect of some factors, including the oil-dependency economy on the spatial developments of Iran, and subsequently the population displacements and severe formation of social classes in the Capital City by reviewing the role of political economy in the spatial structure of Tehran and its surrounding environment. Hatami Nezhad and Abdi (2007) have explained the effect of political economy on urban spaces and the incidence of some issues, such as the entrance of numerous migrant workers to urban areas. Imani Shamlou *et al.* (2016) have analyzed the spatial developments in the Tehran Metropolis but also confirmed the role of the oil economy on the spatial divergence, social and class gap, and separation between the rich and the poor in the capital. Abadian (2018) examined land reforms the effects of this project on the migration of villagers to Tehran, and the social consequence of this phenomenon. Table 2 reports the difference and novelty aspects of the present study compared to the other cited studies in the literature review.

Although the literature reviews have all addressed the population displacements (particularly from villages to contemporary metropolises of Iran), the distinctive difference between them and the extant study can be seen in two points: firstly, the mentioned studies have considered just a certain aspect of the migration issue without having a comprehensive view on the factors affecting the extensive displacements and migrations to contemporary metropolises of Iran. Secondly, none of the mentioned studies have concentrated on the effect of these numerous migrations on the concept of familiarity and weakening it. These two issues constitute the

innovation aspect of the present study.

The current study has been carried out in Qom in 2023.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

This study is based on the documentary-library study in terms of data collection and is based on logical reasoning in terms of data analysis and judgment. Although the logical reasoning technique consists of a wide spectrum from computer programs and formulas to cultural discourses and theses (Groat and Wang, 2013), the nature of the logical reasoning method in this research includes the cultural-discourse extreme of this spectrum, while formulas and models are eliminated in this study. It is worth noting that theses in this spectrum comprise systems that have persuasive potential relying on a worldview and logical expression of these concepts, and using theoretical clarity. These systems present their claims based on excellent logic by using discourse language and regular analysis and explanation. One of the most important features of the logical reasoning method is that it is more comprehensive than other research methods because every conceptual framework must reach a form of logical reasoning. In addition, if the reasoning framework is followed correctly, it can hardly be rejected, which is another feature and advantage of the logical reasoning method. But at the same time, care must be taken that logical reasoning does not fall short in describing a wide range of facts. In terms of methodology in all types of studies, dependability criteria are important, but this significant point depends on the paradigm in which, the research is carried out because the

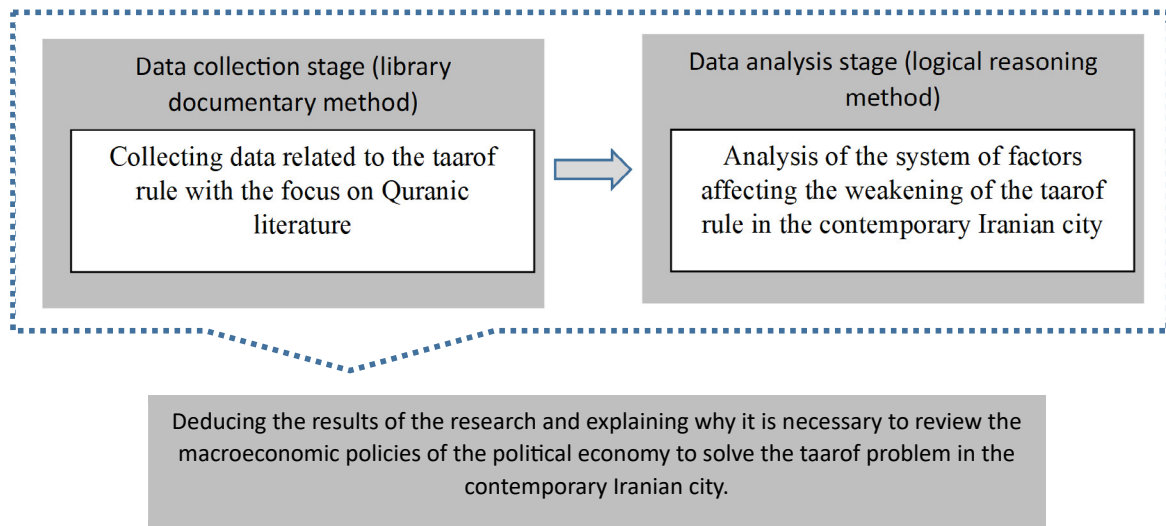


Fig. 1: The general path of the current research and the research method appropriate to each stage of the research

various paradigms used in research provide various criteria for validation and dependability of a certain research (Raeesi, 2016). For instance, the common criteria called validity and reliability are used to assess the quality of knowledge in the positivism paradigm; however, this study is not of this kind of paradigm. Hence, the dependability of this research that has used a logical reasoning technique must be determined. As mentioned before, this study belongs to the logical cultural-discourse systems in which, confirmation of logicity does not mean in the cultural setting of the same system. In such studies, “persuasiveness” can interpret the concept of “dependability” (Groat and Wang, 2013), which this case is rooted in its inner logical integrity. Ultimately, it can be stated that in such studies that are not dependent on the metrics of positivist research, the knowledge quality criterion includes confirmability and transferability (Mohammadpour, 2011). Fig. 1 depicts the general process of the present study and the research method related to its various steps.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The quiddity of the concept of familiarity (taarof)

In the Islamic city, the concept of taarof can have different scales (including local scale, urban scale, national scale, international scale, etc.), each of which has its requirements; But since the single cell in

the structure of the Islamic city is the neighborhood, and considering that the Islamic city is neighborhood-oriented, this research is focused on the concept of taarof at the local scale, because in the neighborhood (as the basic cell of the Islamic city) if the concept of taarof is not respected, then it will not be achieved in other scales. Since the interpretation of the familiar concept depends on describing the neighborhood boundary at the neighborhood scale, the optimal boundary of the neighborhood must be determined based on the Islamic perspective. The reason is that when the size of the neighborhood exceeds a certain area, getting to know neighbors and familiar concepts becomes difficult in that neighborhood. Mosque has a special position in Islamic city (Amirabadi Farahani and Raeesi, 2022), so that Islamic city is a mosque-oriented city, and each city consists of many neighborhoods with a center at its center and its surrounding context (Raeesi, 2018). Many historical documents confirm this claim; for instance, it has been stated that when Madinah Al-Nabi was developed, the Prophet Mohammad determined 10 Gaz (a unit for length) for the width of the mosque’s road and then ordered to consider 7 Gaz for other roads (Amili, 2012). It has been also narrated in another document that he first outlined the location of the mosque and then projected houses around it (Raeesi, 2018). According to these documents, the

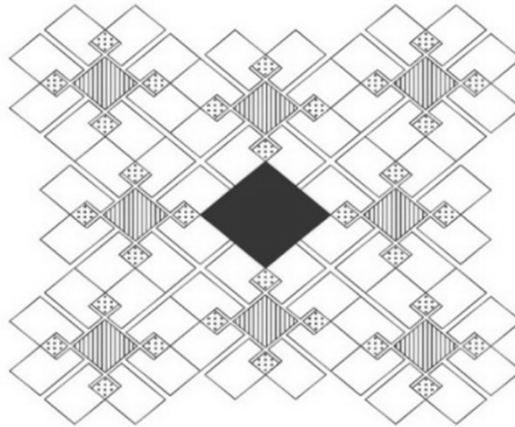


Fig. 2: A sample of the physical pattern of an Islamic neighborhood consisting of 8 neighborhood units and a neighborhood center with mosque orientation

mosque must be posited in a higher hierarchy rather than other uses then the other elements and details of the neighborhood must be organized around the mosque. On the other hand, it has been narrated in this document that “privacy of mosque equals 40 Zeraa, 40 mosques located in four directions of it” (Koleini, 1988). There are other hadiths similar to this narration that have specified the number 40 for determining neighborhood limits. Since the mosque is at the center of the neighborhood and neighborhood boundaries of the mosque are outlined, the approximate area of a neighborhood can be measured by integrating several neighborhood units so that the mosque’s neighbors (that sum of them in addition to the mosque and its surrounding context form one neighborhood unit) are forty houses in four directions of the mosque. The reason is that this narration emphasizes the four directions not per direction. It means that when we move from mosque centrality to four directions each direction (north, south, east, west) must cover 40 houses that lead to 160 blocks indicating the boundaries of a neighborhood unit (Raesi and Mohammad Ali Nezhad, 2021). Now, the boundaries and physical pattern of a neighborhood can be obtained by combining several neighborhood units (Fig. 2). The concept of “familiarity” is determined based on the same neighborhood boundaries that are adopted from the Surah Al-Hujurat (The Rooms): “O humanity! Indeed, we created you from a male and a female and

made you into peoples and tribes so that you may ‘get to’ know one another.” (Al-Hujurat/13).

According to verse 13 of Surah Al-Hujurat, God has created people of various ethnicities and branches to allow them to know each other or get familiar with others. The term “*Letaarafou*” in this verse is rooted in the word “*taarof*” which means knowing each other and getting familiar with others (Keshvari, 2016). Allameh Tabatabaie interprets this verse, “We created you from one father and one mother; all of you are born from two bodies, either you are white or black, Arab or other ethnics; we created you in different branches and races, not for this reason that a race of you is superior with more dignity than others but for just allowing you to know each other and do your social activities, communications, and transactions in a better way” (Tabatabaie, 2018). Subsequently, in case the design of a neighborhood is outlined in a way to make more recognition with inhabitants permitting them to know each other, this information leads to the next quality of social communication among individuals. Fortified nature with other inhabitants gives different points of interest, such as more recognition with others, security, and controlling wrongdoings by moving forward care and forming self-control by tenants living within the neighborhood. Another benefit is improved human relationships as a substantial case in Islamic urban planning, which familiarity is its infrastructure that its development

would facilitate the society management based on the Islamic teachings (Keshvari, 2016). This important point indicates that the quantity and quality of the neighborhood (in terms of area, population, construction pattern, etc.) must result in deepened neighborhood relationships to improve familiarity with neighbors allowing them to know each other, which in this case shapes the nature of the concept of "familiarity". The most significant requirement for improvement of the concept of familiarity is the relative stability of a neighborhood occupant's residence in a place where they live because the unstable residence of occupants, relocating from one to another neighborhood or city would prevent deepening the neighborhood relationships due to time shortage. The consequence of this case is seen in weak neighborhood relationships and their familiarity with each other threatening the concept of familiarity. This phenomenon has occurred in many contemporary cities of Iran over recent decades (particularly since middle Pahlavi II). In other words, permanent population displacement (between different cities and mainly from villages to metropolises) in recent decades has prevented deepening the concept of familiarity due to the short-term residence of individuals in a neighborhood or city. The mentioned case has led to many problems, such as increased crime rate, social harm, and many other issues affected by the weakened concept of familiarity. This is the situation that which its opposite condition over past centuries in Iran has led to social solidarity in neighborhoods of traditional cities, and subsequently the participation of occupants in neighborhood affairs (Shieh, 2005; Pakzad, 2003; Habibi, 2001). This process has changed the type of social solidarity and participation of occupants in the affairs of the neighborhood, reduced the social harm and crime rate, and led to many other advantages in traditional Iranian cities. The following section explains why macro-popular displacements have occurred and why the concept of familiarity has been weakened in contemporary Iranian cities.

Reasons for weakening the taarof concept in contemporary Iranian city

Villages played an important and effective role in economic, social, and political relations in the early Qajar period, because agriculture was

the dominant action, so villages had an effective position in economic relations. Land tax was the main source of income for governments, so villages were at the center of attention of the governing system. In the late Qajar era, the formation of an industrial system in the European method gradually made cities important, which changed the economic production that in turn led to cultural and social changes. Therefore, the power was transferred from villages and nomads to the cities, which obtained political success (Shahesmaili Nezhad Khorasani and Azadarmaki, 2020). No industry or factory was concentrated in cities of Iran to gather the population in the city before that time. In late Qajar, Iran's population increased, which provided the field for dividing the complicated work. In terms of job and employment system complexity in the current world, Giddens believes that there are three important market capacities: property owner, educational and professional competencies, and manual labor force indicating that there are three major categories in the contemporary community: upper-class (those who own most of the properties), middle class (those who exchange their proficiencies and skills in the market), and lower class or low-income class (who sell their manual works). The triple residential patterns are created based on the three available social classes (Mahdavi Vafa *et al.*, 2009). The severe urbanism process and transition to industrial life occurred after the Pahlavi era in Iran; hence, modernist ideas especially in the industry sector led to considerable migration from villages to cities during this period (Foran, 1992). The most important reasons for this migration flow are land reforms, increased oil revenues, and incomplete implementation of civil and economic development plans without considering the principles of land-use planning (Abadian, 2018). The consequence of these factors led to fundamental changes in the ratio of urban to rural population, so the urban population of Iran increased from 31% to 74% during 60 years (1956-2016), while the inverted situation occurred for the rural population and rural population that made up more than 65% of Iran's population in 1956 has declined to 25% (Fig. 3). The effect of each factor affecting the creation of migration flow from cities, and the subsequent formation of the concept of displacement and weakened concept of familiarity are explained in the following sections.

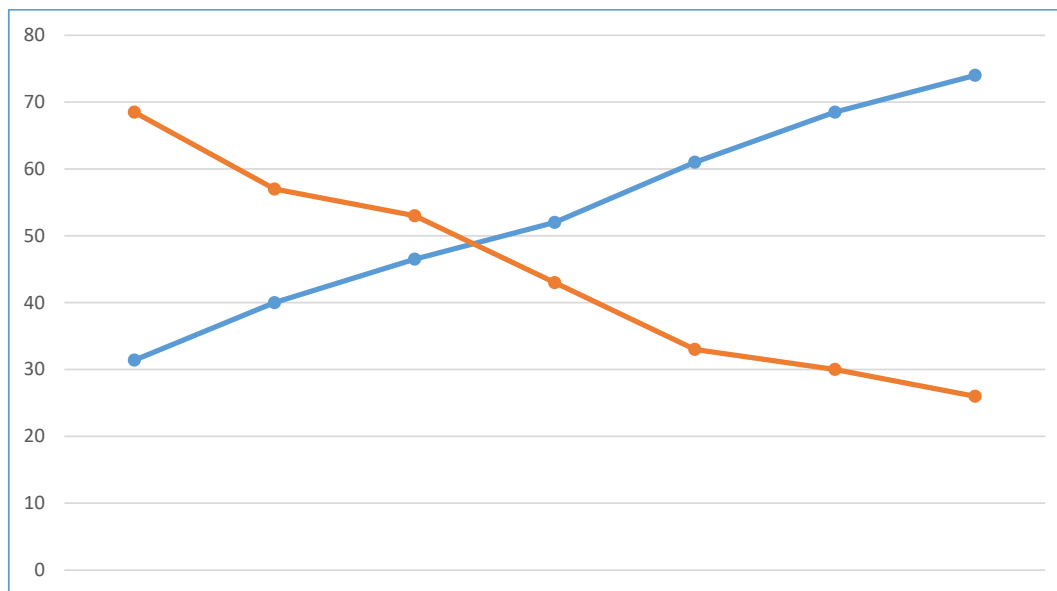


Fig. 3: Variation in the urban population (blue line)-to to-rural population (red line) ratio in Iran from 1956 to 2016

Effect of land reforms

Land reforms were the most significant reason causing migration from villages to cities, which was a determinant measure in weakening the agriculture of the villagers. These governmental measures were highly determinant and effective, so village life can be divided into two parts before and after land reforms (Saiedi, 2001). The rate of migration from far and near villages to mega cities, especially Tehran was intensified from 1963 to 1978. After land reforms, various factors increased villagers' migration the most important ones included the lack of yield of the divided lands caused by extensive land division, the noneconomic nature of activity in the lands that required the formation of agriculture cooperatives, the prevalence of hoarding, brokerage and speculation, usury, and small and large debts of farmers to the agriculture bank making farmers to sell their lands and go to Tehran to find job. In this period, various workshops and industrial or semi-industrial factories were created in Tehran and marginal areas, and these centers needed rural professional and semi-professional laborers. The labor forces from all around Iran went to Tehran to find jobs in industrial centers, while they had no occupational guarantee for their future. Employers usually recruited them for daily wages, so they

would be fired without minimum social insurance when the employees did not need them (Abadian, 2018). Therefore, they had to find new jobs and new places for settlement subsequently. This plan led to dramatic changes in the number of employees in the country so that farmers who had the highest number of employees in Iran before land reforms lost this majority after the implementation of this plan because they became unemployed in villages and migrated to cities. Now, farmers make up only 15% of the employees in Iran. After land reforms, owners' lands were distributed among villagers, but they had no money to cultivate these lands; therefore, agricultural lands had no fertility. When land reforms started, no cooperative system existed in the country to allow owners of small lands to farm together and divide the obtained profit. More importantly, small lands had no economic value for cultivating products in them. Hence, most peasants sold their lands and migrated to metropolises, such as Tehran to find jobs (Abadian, 2018). According to research achievements in 1965, around 62% of migrant workers in Tehran were simple workers, 12% of them included semi-skilled workers, and 14% of them were skilled workers. According to documented reports done by the Social Research and Study Organization in 1972, 91% of custodians

in Tehran working in public places, noble houses, and government offices were from rural migrants. The remaining 9% of custodians migrated from small cities to Tehran. In General, 72% of this statistical group included farmers and small owners (Abadian, 2018). This group was mostly farmers who had lost their jobs and had to migrate due to land reforms.

Effect of increased oil revenues

In the urban system of the oil-dependent countries, an underlying development appeared making a deep connection between these countries and capitalism after oil discovery and obtaining oil revenues since the early 20th century. Oil discovery in these countries led to capital concentration and increasing growth of cities, subsequent development of infrastructures and constructions, and formation of comprehensive concepts that entered these cities into a new phase (Witlox and Derudder, 2007). In other words, oil discovery is a critical point in urban-planning developments linking urban planning to mechanisms of capitalism and liberal schools in those metropolises depending on the oil economy, including Iran's metropolises (Wiedmann *et al.*, 2012). In terms of political economy, the consequences of this phenomenon in less-developed countries include the entrance of many workers who do not know the industrial culture and a mass of middle classes without any horizontal and vertical bond (culturally and socially) to urban areas. Therefore, both groups take advantage of the city centers and their worn-out fabric. While the just-arrived classes and young households formed among the upper middle class have considered high-quality spaces, the central fabric tests the social groups in the same way (Raies Dana, 2002). In Iran, the construction rate and civil engineering activities also capital accumulation in the form of fixed capital are considerably affected by the oil revenues since the significant role of profit in capitalist relations in oil countries, speculation, and rent play an important role in civil engineering activities. Finally, the consequence of these relations and interactions appears in the form of a spatial gap and the farthest distance between the city and the village (Imani Shamlou *et al.*, 2016). Hence, such a gap leads to migration from deprived areas that are villages to more prosperous areas that are cities, especially metropolises. It

is worth noting that, unlike land reforms that had an effect range in macro scale and territory zone (displacing from villages to cities), the entrance of high oil revenues to metropolises led to population displacement at moderate and intracity scales in addition to macro and territorial scale due to lack of balanced distribution in geography of metropolises. The result of such population displacement led to the advent of some concepts, such as uptown and downtown in contemporary metropolises. According to statistics, Iran's metropolises have been always dominated by capital accumulation and turnover relations resulting from oil revenues. Hence, oil revenues led to modernization and new constructions after 1973 (Imani Shamlou *et al.*, 2016). Because this capital accumulation and turnover was concentrated in certain areas of the metropolises, this process broadened the class difference and subsequently intensified the migration to more privileged areas. In the book "Iran Between Two Revolutions," Abrahamian expresses, "Social-economic development was achieved due to increasing oil revenues. Oil revenue that equaled 555 million dollars in 1963 reached 958 million dollars in 1968, 2.1 billion dollars in 1971, 50 billion dollars in 1974, and 200 billion dollars in 1976 after the price of oil was quadrupled in world markets. Total oil revenues reached 13 billion dollars in 1964-1974 and reached 38 billion dollars between 1974 and 1977" (Abrahamian, 2007). However, the Pahlavi government could not effectively use these increased incomes to reduce the difference between cities and villages; on the contrary, higher oil revenues widened the gap between cities and villages due to the wrong policies. The development obtained from oil revenues led to the widened gap between urban and rural revenues, agriculture recession in villages and indiscriminate migration to cities, hidden unemployment in cities, income inequality in urban areas, and a wider gap between social classes due to these wrong policies. Hence, only 2% of the urbanist population assigned 40% of the costs to themselves until the mid-1970s (Amid Zanjani, 2002). In this period, reliance on higher oil revenues enhanced the service sector and public systems without planning, so this sector became big falsely. A considerable breakdown also occurred in terms of financial distribution; the banking system made rich people richer and the poor poorer, and

the low-income class tolerated the highest load of inflation, lack of a plan, financial corruption, and an unsound economy. Therefore, migration to cities multiplied the population of some cities over one decade (Amid Zanjani, 2002). Although villages received considerable attention after the Islamic Revolution based on the bases and mottos of the revolution, migration from villages to metropolises continued because a major part of oil revenues was spent on the service sector, and the geographical scope of these services was mainly concentrated in metropolises.

Effect of economic development without considering principles of land-use planning

If economic development is done in an unbalanced way without considering land-use planning principles, this case would lead to large population displacements from deprived areas to privileged areas. The economic plan of Pahlavi II was unbalanced, while urban and central areas had rapid growth experiencing more consumption, marginal and rural areas were at risk of facility shortages and bad health situations, which led to considerable migration flows. In general, urbanism growth in Iran was slow from 1921 to 1961 in Iran, urban population growth equaled 2.65% and natural population growth was 2.12%, and 0.53% of cities' population comprised rural migrants. During the 15 years from 1961 to 1976, however, urban population growth equaled 4.42% while the natural growth of population was 2.77%, and the rate of rural migration equaled 1.65% in this period. Accordingly, the urban population of Iran equaled 31.4% in 1956, exceeded 40% in 1966, and the urban population of Iran reached 48% in the revolution of 1978 while the previous migration process continued after the revolution, and the population balance between the city and village disappeared. Urban and rural population balance became equal in 1981, while the urban population made up 71.5% of the total population in 2012, and now 75% of the whole population lives in cities based on the reports published by the Statistics Center of Iran (Abadian, 2018). According to available reports, the population-to-hospital bed ratio equaled 940 people in 1967, but the hospital beds were fully distributed in an unbalanced method; for instance, 2556 beds existed in the central province (with Tehran centrality), and 1089 beds were available in

Tehran, while there were 15 beds in Headquarters of Ilam, 175 beds in Lorestan Province, and 105 bed in Baluchistan. Therefore, there is a high concentration of physicians, hospitals, and beds in the central province with the centrality of Tehran; also, the bed ratio was more critical in villages. According to official statistics, around 47% of physicians and 57% of dentists lived in Tehran in 1973. Although there was one physician per 880 people in Tehran, one physician was available per 14900 and 12500 people in Ilam Headquarters and Zanjan Province, respectively (Asghandi, 2005). Public education and health status were not developed in line with the needs and population of each area so educated people and educational facilities in megacities were more and better than the marginal cities and villages. In this lieu, the improper status of the rural economy and the increasing attraction of megacities and central cities resulting from economic and service activities accelerated the migration of rural laborers to cities. According to consensus in 1976, around 97% of rural migrants entered the metropolises, such as Tehran, which had the first rank by accepting 50% of the migrants due to more requirement rate in service-based jobs. The extraordinary population rise in Tehran indicates that this city has followed the concept of priority and single-city domination in the urban system and neglected the principles of land-use planning. This kind of development is matched with capitalism's pattern through which, relocation is confined only to certain areas of the country so that some areas are evacuated in favor of a certain area. Moreover, due to non-independent development, third-world countries show a different face and features so that most of these countries experience a higher rural migration rate, and this is the same case that occurred in contemporary Iran over recent decades (particularly since the mid-years of Pahlavi II then).

Effect of municipalities' income generation system

In addition to the three mentioned factors their effects are seen at the territorial scale and large population displacements from villages to cities, a fourth factor also affects the population displacements and subsequently the weakened concept of familiarity. Unlike the three previous factors, the effect range of this factor is at middle scale and intracity displacements. The fourth factor is

Table 3: Factors affecting the weakening concept of familiarity in contemporary Iranian cities in terms of political economy

Factor	Type of nexus between the factor and other factors	The main context of the factor	The scale of effect on the concept of familiarity
Land reforms	Transverse	Political economy	Macro (territorial scale)
Injecting high oil revenues to metropolises	Transverse	Political economy	Mostly macro and sometimes at middle scale (in both territorial and intracity displacements scales)
Economic development without considering principles of land-use planning	Transverse	Political economy	Macro (territorial scale)
Municipalities' income generation system	Transverse	Political economy	Mostly for middle deciles and at the scale of intracity displacements but sometimes for poorer deciles, macro and intercity displacements scale in the territorial zone.

the municipalities' income generation system in Iran, whose major part depends on the incomes gained from issued construction licenses and selling density in particular. Therefore, the contribution of unstable income (especially selling density) out of total urban management revenues now exceeds 50% or even 70% in most of the metropolises of Iran. Because the urban planning system of Iran is based on severe control over city areas, the land supply in legal areas of metropolises has been considerably limited over recent decades. Under such circumstances, any type of density-selling and license issuance for increasing height or building density is considered economic rent and is given to capitalists and property owners who can afford to buy the surplus density not to the poor classes and tenants who do not own a house. However, what happens due to this density rise is the price of the land and property density rise has been approved for them- will be more stimulated. The reason is that under severe constraints imposed on land supply and prevention of horizontal expansion of the legal area of the city, the price of lands and properties that received surplus density and vertical expansion license will be increased. Such a price rise would not have occurred if the surplus density was not approved. In other words, giving surplus construction density and higher housing supply through selling density would lead to land inflation and higher prices due to the value-added created in this market. Subsequently, unlike what is assumed, these measures not only cannot control the housing price but also leave a reverse effect on the housing price, causing a housing price rise and a decline in the rate of

access to housing. For instance, various statistics over recent years have shown that the highest housing price rise has occurred in some districts of Tehran, which not only are not facing a housing shortage but also have a greater number of vacant houses in these districts (northern district of Tehran). This case indicates the significant relationship between selling density and house price rise. Therefore, selling density, which is the main strategy for municipalities' income generation in metropolises of Iran could solve the issue but caused land inflation and higher prices due to the value-added created by it leaving to reverse effect on the housing price unlike what is assumed in the early stage. Therefore, the strategy of selling density has intensified the reduction in housing access rate and subsequently weakened the concept of familiarity because the effect of density-selling on the asymmetric and unbalanced rise of housing prices in metropolises has widened the class difference and spatial Gini Coefficient in metropolises. This case has made the poor class poorer and the rich class richer. This widened class difference has intensified the displacement phenomenon, especially in the middle class of the community; hence, a considerable part of the community (poorer deciles and middle deciles of the society) has faced more pressure on access to affordable housing due to such strategy because they cannot find a house based on their needs in their demanded districts and neighborhoods. Therefore, the phenomenon of relocation and population displacements between different urban districts would be intensified. In other words, this kind of income generation system

for municipalities would direct the middle deciles and classes of society towards poorer deciles by intensifying the class differences and widening the spatial Gini coefficient. The consequence of this issue is the lack of deepened neighborhood relationships weakening these relationships due to constant population displacements leading to a weaker concept of familiarity in contemporary metropolises of Iran. Table 3 has reviewed the factors affecting the weakened concept of familiarity in contemporary Iranian cities in terms of political economy.

According to Table 3, the nexus between the four factors is transverse, not longitudinal; it means that the reasons are not considered before each other in terms of the origin of the causes, so all of them affect the weakening concept of familiarity in contemporary Iranian city within a transverse hierarchy parallel to each other. In terms of the effect scale, it can be stated that unlike land reforms and lack of balanced land-use planning that have had a macro effect on the territorial scale, high oil revenues affect both territorial and urban scales. So, the unbalanced distribution of oil incomes and rents resulting from them in the geography of cities, especially metropolises, has sometimes led to population displacements and relocations inside the metropolises (between deprived and privileged areas). This case is seen at the severer level in the factor of municipality's income generation system, and the effect of this factor is seen on the middle deciles of the community, mainly at the average level and intracity displacements scale, while sometimes is seen for poorer deciles, macro level, and scale of intercity displacements. Based on the comparison of the research background with the discussion presented in this study, what can be stated as the main finding of this research is that since the middle years of the Pahlavi Government, the political economy's evolutions led to the advent of displacement phenomenon at the national level and large flows of migration to metropolises in the frame of some factors, such as land reforms, government dependence on the high oil incomes, and economic development without considering the requirements of land-use planning. The mentioned issue weakened the neighboring relationships because the ratio of rural to urban population ratio was changed due to relocation, extensive migration flows, and numerous demographic displacements that occurred in the territorial zone over several decades. Therefore,

these migrations and numerous displacements made many Iranian households enter metropolises (mostly marginal and poor areas of metropolises) as a new space to live there. On the other hand, most of these households who were rural farmers did not have permanent and fixed jobs in the new city (mainly metropolises), so had to look for different jobs during seasons to live their lives. Therefore, a major part of migrants had to experience the relocation phenomenon again under the new conditions after migration because they had no constant job. Hence, these frequent displacements of residence places at the scale of migration from villages to metropolises and also at the scale of intracity displacements from one area to another, and lack of a constant job made frequent breakdowns in the neighboring relationships preventing them from being deepened. In comparison with other urban fabrics, therefore, many social harms such as insecurity and higher crime per capita rates occurred in the areas where migrants lived because the concept of familiarity was weak in these districts. In addition to three factors of land reforms, the dependence of the government on the high oil incomes, and economic development without considering requirements of land-use planning over recent decades, a fourth factor titled municipalities' income generation system was added to the effective factors weakening the concept of familiarity in contemporary Iranian cities. This factor mainly affected the middle scale of intracity displacements. Therefore, the most important requirement for deepening the neighboring relationships and stabilizing the concept of familiarity in contemporary Iranian cities is revising macro political economy policies to stabilize the citizens' residence in a place by adopting accurate policies. This stabilization would make longer neighboring relationships and deeper familiarity between neighbors allowing them to know each other better. This is a promising case for a relative solution for displacement and lower social harms caused by the weakened concept of familiarity in the contemporary Iranian city (Fig. 4).

The emphasized and innovative aspect of this study compared to other studies is the research background cited in this study. Although these studies have examined a certain aspect of displacement and relocation in contemporary Iranian cities, none of them has firstly provided a comprehensive and multifaceted view of the field of political

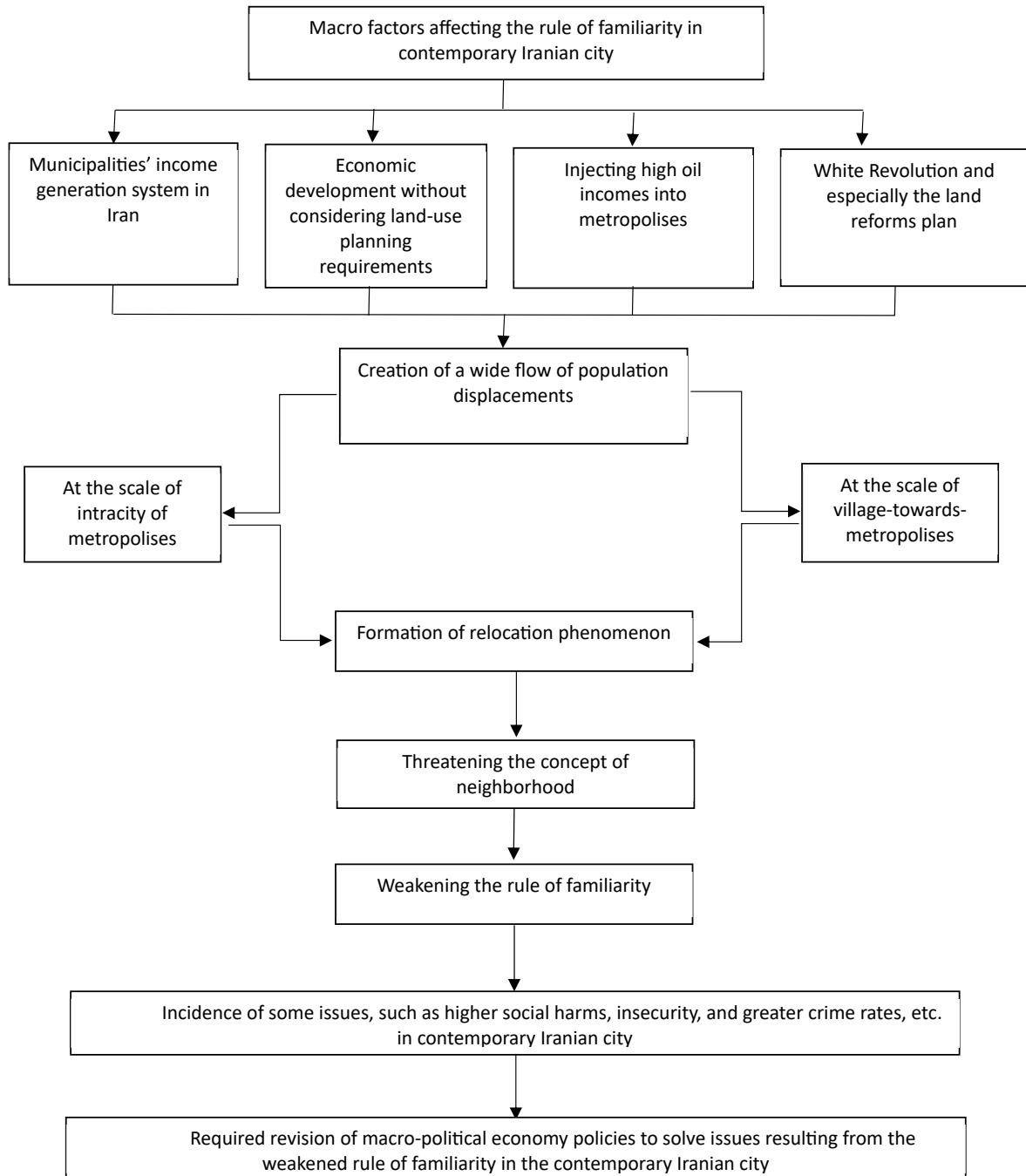


Fig. 4: How factors affect the weakening concept of familiarity in contemporary Iranian cities and conditions required for solving the resulting issues

economy. Secondly, none of them has considered the relationship between this issue and the concept of familiarity (which is one of the most important concepts in an Islamic city). These two shortcomings were covered in the extant study forming the innovative aspect of the current study

CONCLUSION

Based on the discussion and findings, it was determined that the concept of familiarity that is adopted from Quranic teachings has a considerable influence on the neighboring or neighborhood concept. However, the evolutions in the contemporary Iranian community have left this concept in serious challenges over recent decades, causing underlying developments in the concept of neighborhood. In this study, it was tried to find how changes and developments in the political economy have threatened and weakened the concept of familiarity in contemporary Iranian cities and what strategies should be adopted to prevent these threats. The essential factor for confirmation of the concept of familiarity is a Quranic concept, and the requirement for the realization of the desired Islamic city is deepening the neighborhood relationships. The reason is that the deeper these neighborhood relationships and interactions, the more familiarity among neighbors will be. Subsequently, neighbors more know each other in a neighborhood, leading to more social solidarity, less social harm, a higher security rate, and fewer crimes in the neighborhood among other benefits related to familiarity among neighbors allowing them to know each other better and deeper. It is worth noting that this study would complete the findings about why the concept of familiarity has been weakened in contemporary Iranian cities by relying on the library documentary references and logical reasoning of the results reported in this research and using other research methods (including qualitative methods, questionnaire, etc.). Further studies can be done to complete and accomplish these results. To complete this study, researchers can focus on such issues as examining the quality and conditions of achieving the concept of familiarity (taarof) in extra-local scales (such as urban, national, and international scales), examining other Quranic and Islamic concepts that are effective in strengthening the concept of taarof, evaluation of the quality and quantity of the concept

of taarof in traditional cities, especially in the early days of Islam by citing historical sources, explaining the jurisprudence and legal rules necessary to strengthen the concept of taarof in the Iranian Islamic city.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

M.M. Raeesi has performed the writing of the original draft, investigation, methodology, and supervision.

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CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors declare no potential conflict of interest regarding the publication of this work. In addition, the ethical issues including plagiarism, informed consent, misconduct, data fabrication and, or falsification, double publication and, or submission, and redundancy have been completely witnessed by the authors.

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