

Investigating migration trends to Bushehr

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Abstract: For years, Bushehr port has been one of the outstanding commercial and economic centers in Iran, which has experienced numerous transformations over the centuries. Thanks to tremendous energy resources as well as huge labor market, immigration to the port has been accelerated. Accordingly, the present study aims to investigate reasons of migration to the region. The potential effective factors are establishment of the nuclear power plant, fossil fuels resources, trade and developing higher education centers. After analyzing the factors affect immigration, the results indicated that in the recent years the rate of immigration has extensively increased. So, if the trend continues, by increase in cost of goods and services, the gap between rich and poor classes intensifies. Also, due to lack of spatial development of the city as it Bushehr is a peninsula; we will identify larger number of rich people and extinction of locals in near future. But, if the nuclear power plant is operated fully and the 5+1 talks with Iran do not reach an agreement, a reverse immigration process is probable because of increasing security threats and environmental disasters.

Key words: *Migration; Bushehr port; Immigration; Nuclear power plant; Growth and development*

1. Introduction

Bushehr province is located in southern Iran with an area approximately 25359km², a narrow strip between Persian Gulf and Zagros foothills (Kenin, 1999). The province reaches Khuzestan and Kohkeloyeh provinces from the north, from the east neighbors with Fars, from the east south reaches Hormozgan province and from south and west south include 625 km of Persian Gulf coast lines. Bushehr province is the major center for gas and oil expert. The oil pumping site in Kharg Island and the major gas reserves in Asalouyeh port are the southern ports of the province.

According to the Census 2006, the population consisted of 900000, which 60% were living in cities and 40% were residing in villages. Presently, the city population is approximately 180,000 mostly immigrants from other parts of the country or neighborhood cities and villages.

Bushehr port is the capital city of the province has a long history of 5000 years. Since the Dutch invasion, the city has been invaded five times as it was known Iran's entry. For a while, the port was extremely undeveloped, though it initiates to develop after the militarization program.

In the past, Bushehr had faced several prosperity and isolation periods, though from Nader Shah Afshar (Afsharid dynasty) till present, the city is regarded as an important military port except for a short time it experienced depression. Bushehr port is one of the most developed cities of the province and

a strategic center. Currently, the port is the best living place in the province. Although there are lots of limitations, it is the best place for immigrants. The international airport of Bushehr province is built in the port and despite there is a secondary airport, most of air travels happen through the Bushehr airport.

Increasing volume of economic activities in the port has affected political circumstances and population size and as a result residents continuously increases and decreases. In the 19th century the population was recorded 8500, in 1920 the population went up 20,000 and in 1934 a number of 40,000 peoples were living in the city.

The port has four main old neighborhood naming Behbahani, Shanbadi, Dehdashti, and Kouti also known as "Chahar Mahale".

Behbahani neighborhood: it derives from the name of merchants, and scholars were living in Behbahani in the 12th and 13th Hejra centuries in Khuzestan province. They immigrated to Bushehr and one them was Haj Yahya Behbahani.

He was a merchant in Bushehr and among the very first members of five lawyers in Sadat school. He was selected in 1900. The Haji Baba Haji school is one of Haj Yahya' monuments (Jamali, 1999).

Ayat Alah Beladi's family immigrated and settled in Bushehr from the very first moments they reached the city (Ebtahaj).

The Alavi Behbahani printing office was founded in 1912 and the famous mansion of Haj Mohammad Bagher Behbahani was located in the same neighborhood (Hamidi).

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Shanbadi neighborhood: the Al Asfour family was living in this place. The name "Shanbadi" was derived from the generation XIII, Sheik Shanbeh. Kazeroun merchants were living in this place mostly (Jamali, 1999). Haj Seyed Mohammad Mehdi Malek Al-Tojar was residing in this location.

Dehdashti neighborhood: this place welcomed immigrant from Dehdasht to Bushehr and were engaged with business (Haj Mohammad Ali Dehdashti, Haj Mohammad Hussein Dehdashti, Haj Abdo Al Karim Dehdashti, and Haj Mohammad Taghi Dehdashti) (Jamali, 1999). Some of businessmen from Kazeroun were also settled in the neighborhood like Haj Morteza Davani, Haj Khalil Davani, Seyed Mohammad Hojat, and Seyed Ibrahim Hojat who were the outstanding religious figures of the place.

Kouti neighborhood: because the East India Company building was located in this place since Zand dynasty, it was known as "Kouti mansion" (Jamali, 1999). In Indian language Kouti refers to Kout (castle, walls and fortress). Most of the commercial buildings and embassies as well as other business centers of Bushehr and outside Bushehr were located in the Kouti neighborhood.

Other Bushehr locals have been shaped around the "Chahar Mahaleh" the most important ones are as follows:

Sangi, Ben Mane, Jofreh, Bagh Zahra, Asali, Helali, and so forth, in addition in city suburb there are several old neighborhoods like Reyshahr, Amam Zadeh, Bahmani, Khajeh ha, Dovas, Mikh Boland, Sheghab, Jalali, Rouni, Sartel, Tangak, Halileh, Bandargah. Moreover, the military areas in the city are Sixth Air Force fighter base, second navy area, and the second navy area of Revolutionary Guard are located among these locals. The nuclear power plant of Bushehr is placed in 18 km away from the port near Halileh and Bandargah villages and in Persian Gulf coasts.

The story of formation of Bushehr port with four traditional neighborhoods (Behbahani, Shanbadi, Kouti and Dehdashti) is the same as America's. as early Europeans immigrated the Americas seeking prosperity and welfare and so founded America (Abazari, 2005). Bushehr consists of immigrants aiming at economic development and so established Bushehr. The process of identity construction as well as nationalistic fervor of Bushehr residents especially in the "Chahar Mahale" and introduced themselves as civilized urban dwellers and called strangers "rustic" and "Khalou" was the same as those Europeans who participated in formation of America and then defined American unity. Tolerance of Bushehr locals was rooted type of immigration and thus similar to the European immigrant patience in America (Moazeni, 2007).

Accordingly, in the present study the research aims to explore important and effective factors on excessive immigration as well as the impact of each element. As the second purpose, the investigator is going to propose strategies for decreasing current problems like overcrowded, traffic jam, expensive

goods and services and so forth. It is also intended to identify similar problems may happen in the future and suggest some recommendations.

2. Population changes in Bushehr

Moving the East India Company from Bandar Abbas to Bushehr in 1763 not only attracted attention to the city, but it also becomes an important trade center for merchants (Flor). This therefore made contributions to increase of population. Lorimer British Consul General in 1892 reported the local population 15000 peoples (Nabavi, 2000).

However, in 1958 the city faced depression and the population decreased from 60000 to 14000 peoples. Despite presence of several foreign citizens besides 10 foreign consulates, only one remained who was a Russian maid (Flor). what causes Bushehr prosperity is local market, secure roads, and proper commercial circumstances. Moreover, access to factors such as labor force, and transportation had affected reduced costs and serving the market.

Etemadi Textile Company in Dovas neighborhood was also an important factor in employing skilled and unskilled workers. So, it leads to higher income. According to statistics, in years 1941-1951 approximately 2000 workers were employed in the company.

Considering cultural aspect, in the 19th century there exists no modern educational center except for traditional schools. But, in 1832, a small modern school was built by Armenian Joseph and Wolf near the Armenian cemetery. However, after a while due to ignorance the school lost supports and only 13 students were studying there. The school was closed because of lack of financial support.

The first public school in Bushehr was the Ahmadiyah school that later renamed as "Sadat school" by Sheik Mohammad Hussein Sadat in 1910 after some fundamental changes from traditional to modern educational system. Today, in memory of the event, March 9 is celebrated as "Bushehr Day" (Islamic Council of Bushehr).

3. History of migration to Bushehr

History of migration to Bushehr is divided into 6 periods or waves as follows:

Wave #1: business

Wave #2: military naval and air base

Wave #3: construction companies

Wave #4: Nuclear power plant

Wave # 5: Islamic Revolution 1979

Wave # 6: higher education centers

They are described in details as below.

3.1 The first stage: business

Bushehr port was a small and less important fishing village up to 1734. Yet, the city obtained a significant political and economic reputation from

1734 onward (Flor, 1999). Trading with other merchants and sailors from different countries and getting acquainted with varying cultures, transferring professional experiences and merchants' travel to other countries added to their knowledge. Therefore, the commercial trips contributed to increase of coexistence with foreigners whose religion, language and traditions were totally different. In a way that mosques and churches were built in the same place and Muslims and Christians were living peacefully in Bushehr.

The role of customs and port function of Bushehr (except for the time immigrant entered the four major neighborhoods) was insignificant prior to the Islamic Revolution. It is possible to say that until before the 1970s, there was no excessive immigration as the customs' employees such as assessors and other skilled and simple workers had immigrated to the city since there was limited number of local workers in the customs. The customs services had been performed by the local employees. The number of workers was fixed and only few employees had been hired annually. So, less job opportunity was available for surrounding villages and towns.

Accordingly, it could be mentioned here that port feature and being a commercial center had been effective on the rate of immigration before the revolution, however not very significant. The reason for this is numerous ports in 625 km coast line of Persian Gulf extended into Bushehr province. So, each port may have a more considerable role in smuggling of foreign goods than the legal roads of the customs have. Since Bushehr port is located in a fully secure region, though the minor ports provided the possibility of smuggling goods or free of tax import and export yet highly risky.

3.2. The second stage: air and naval bases

The second immigration wave to Bushehr happened when air and naval forces settled in the city since the Afsharid dynasty and reinforced during the Mohammad Reza Shah period (Vahid Mazandarani, 2004). Establishment, reinforcement and expansion of the second naval base and the 6th air base in Bushehr port encouraged most military and non-military employees to reside inside the bases. In fact, immigration of these highly educated and trained professionals with their families contributed to construction of two modern towns near the old city.

Due to their activity the military experts were living differently, however their families had a peaceful life with the local. The air and naval officers' children were studying in the ordinary schools in the city and learned how to respect for other ideas and traditions. As a result, most of old immigrants were not willing to back to their former city after retirement. A comfortable life, being familiar with the city traditions and higher salaries compared with neighbor towns were motives for further immigration.

After the Islamic Revolution and establishment of Revolution guardians the number of military immigrants was added. However, some point need to be uncovered that immigrants had higher cultural capital and internal capital than the locals had could live peacefully and interact with the locals. In other words, they were properly integrated in the community and their needs were more concerned. Yet, in some places opposite to tolerance, the local showed discriminative behaviors and pushed the immigrants to the suburbs, their needs were overlooked. This continued until the immigrants reached homogeneity.

As Burdieu states, symbolic violence transfers from upper classes to marginal groups unconsciously through humiliating and harmful behaviors, so it may not be regarded as the local's tolerance. Luckily, the problem is not critical in the city, although the educated class talks about while joking. This is not true about the public.

It is a general belief that tolerance and patience defines where people with varying culture, religion and ethnicity cohabit and tolerate each other (Mokhtari, 2002) and are on the opposite party of minorities and poor people. Otherwise, people having higher cultural capital when immigrate a small city have the required power to employ locals and control them and provide a new meaning or patience and tolerance.

The Bushehr local are kind with immigrants have left their home land because of war, earthquake, flood etc. moreover, in addition to immigration from cities outside the province, there are immigrants from inside the province aiming first to find good job and come back their home at night. However, after a while they got absorbed by the urban life. So, they preferred to continue their living as permanent residence. Consequently, the city welcomed greater immigrants.

3.3. The third stage (construction companies)

Presence of construction and road companies as well as their need for blue collars became a strong motive for immigration from West and East Azerbaijan, Ardabil, and entrance of carpenters and skilled workers from Hamadan, plastering workers from other parts of the province. The construction projects were popular in Bushehr, it has proper climate and due to a temperate climate during the year, construction activities are continuous. However, in Hamadan or Tabriz the climate condition was harsh so that construction projects are seasonal. Thus, proper climate conditions are the major cause of the third wave immigration. Yet, ecological-environmental studies have been progressing on cultural and sociological studies (Barker, 2009).

We should also mention that each construction company was responsible for the building projects in specific parts of the city. The firms employed workers from the surrounding villages and cities. As a result, unskilled workers learned different

construction skills of masonry, carpentry, welding and so forth gradually. Then, they transferred their family to the city and lived for ever. According to Manuel Castells, the Spanish sociologist some sort of mobile social identity was created in the city, in which the host city along with providing required economic capital, it also offers an urban and citizenship identity, symbolic capital or cultural capital. Consequently, the immigrants become interested in the city, would love it, miss it and generally find a sense of belongingness to the city.

Castells describes this identity as “network power of urban space” (Fokouhi, 2008). Here, the point is the city success in giving such identity. The present paper author believes that the very first motive for immigration to Bushehr had been economy and manufacturing, however it seems that a secondary motive has shaped the process of identity construction among the immigrants.

A question may be asked why only Azari and southern residents have been successful to find a deep identity. Why other ethnic groups of Kurdish, Blaochi, Torkaman, Mashahdi and so forth have been failed to find a similar identity? The answer is that Turkish people immigrate in group and hold a strong nationalistic features and they construct a community as soon as they enters a new place by building mosques, so the religious centers becomes their power center. But, this answer also adds more complication to the problem, and may be a cultural complexity as well.

Since while the professional and unskilled construction workers immigrated to the city, their families and other citizens of the former city immigrated to Bushehr. After their migration, others who were dissatisfied were encouraged to immigrate to Bushehr in their support. So, a network created where the new immigrants settled in the city hoping to find job and higher salary. This is more significant about Azari people as Azari neighborhoods and mosques are tangible.

The very first entrance of the immigrants who sought for job, after getting familiar with the environment and evaluating the possibility to become permanent resident resulted from the local patience and tolerance were in close economic contact with foreigners. Also, business works of more than 10 active foreign and domestic firms during last years have all created a peaceful and prosperous living place for the citizens. But, Bushehr is also a symbol of unbalanced urban development, which becomes an advantage in relative development of Bushehr compared with other cities in the province over the last fifty years.

Yet, the next conclusion we make is that patience and tolerance as a result of portal connections have been in its highest rate. But it also depends to other urban bias, using some pejoratives such as “Khalou” or “Sahraee” to humiliate people nearby are worthy to mention (Moazeni, 2007). Such point could be the potential subject of the present study. Apparently, Bushehr is the only city in the province whose original residents also named as “Chahar Mahal” are

immigrants show less bias toward other immigrants. This is why Bushehr port benefits from a small scale democracy.

From sociological perspective, this is an important progress as cohabiting with such group of people is considerably more than those with nationalistic bias. As racial orientations cause chaos and engagement (Tabatabaei). On the other hand, in modern anthropological studies, Arjoan Apadori talks about the concept of “self-other” indicating this fact in the “globe-local” world (Fokouhi, 2006) which refers to the modern culture as a “discrete identity” (Shaygan, 2006).

Thus, understanding of immigrants in small and large cities can be achieved in terms of such discrete and varying cultural background doubtless, all immigrants’ living place does not indicate their identity, rather some groups are expectation and due to some reasons such as group migration, being rich in forms of capital and other social values their neighborhood has been named in memory of their tribe, ancestors or other famous figures.

In summary, the result of these continuous immigrations lasted till 1970s yet gradually, faced with a huge change. The first step is activity of construction companies, secondly, establishment of military bases, and thirdly the guardians were settled in the city after the Revolution. It seems that the role of “White Revolution” and “Land Reforms” must be taken into serious account.

After that, the labor force left their villages and immigrated to the cities hoping to gain their missing identity in the context of new socio-cultural conditions. Such rapid socio-economic change greatly transformed socio-cultural orders and as result we faced with a huge number of immigrants. Now, we based on the historical sociology views, may ask this question that what was the impact of land reform on the first rush of immigrants to the port? The answer to such important question is that like other cities of Iran, Bushehr was engaged with immigrants, but because there were lots of construction projects in the city, the impact of the White Revolution and putting farmers into difficulty was overlooked.

3.4. The fourth stage: the nuclear power plant

The fourth stage of migration initiated since establishment of the Bushehr nuclear power plant aiming to use the nuclear energy in November 1976 (www.aeoi.org.ir). The plant was based on an agreement between Iran and Germany (www.aeoi.org.ir) in 18 km away in the city center near Persian Gulf. because of diversity of professional projects there was an urgent need to huge number of different workers including construction, welding, etc. as well as simple and blue collar workers from different parts of Iran a long with immigrants from cities and villages inside the province. So, a rush of immigrant workers from various parts of the country forced them to live in

tenets and prefabricated buildings near the power plant.

Huge job opportunities which had been created in the city had a more considerable impact on economic prosperity in terms of new construction and deals. The reason was because firstly, the number of existing houses to be hired by the immigrants was less than the workers' need. Secondly, by entrance of the rich people and increase of the local and immigrants' salary, the workers asked for larger and more convenient houses. So, the growing demands causes the gap between supply and demands increases as housing activities and needs maximized. The marker flourishing contributed to higher employment as well as demands for higher salaries.

As a result, the local economy flourished and made the city as a developed city is attractive for future immigrants. Like previous stages, in this period some immigrants migrated with lower economic capital and much lower cultural capital and settled in suburbs, found jobs gradually, bought houses and moved to the city.

However, this stage has a significant difference with the previous stages. That was the culture of white collars (employees and millenarians) and the poor families. For the poor classes some new neighborhoods like campaigns were built in order to prohibit from their interaction with the local and former immigrants. On the other hand, the military bases contained immigrants with higher cultural capital, which helped them to be accepted and welcomed by the local. The camps close to the power plant were extremely poor in cultural capital, representing some tracks of minorities. It should be mentioned that in most areas, workers with lower levels of cultural capital have been always discriminated.

Some experts believe that we should use cultural codes of each ethnic group in the modern life and so enrich and reinforce the local's life (Bits, 2008). It seems that using degrading words among the residents has been decreased compared with early years. This is because of more friendly relationships between two groups of immigrants were in racial engagements previously. So, they talk more about the funny aspects. However, this behavior leads to some debates among them and does not have to do with the immigrants or their historical background. Generally speaking, such disputes roots in events before migration not after it.

3.5. The fifth stage: Islamic Revolution 1979

The fifth wave of migration to Bushehr took place after the Islamic Revolution in five stages as follows:

1. Occurrence of the Islamic Revolution and increase of local's knowledge
2. Iran-Iraq war and entrance of war immigrants
3. Strengthening the guardians and foundation of 20 million soldier army

4. War finished and 8 years reformation and construction began and the city found increasing prosperity

5. Industrial activity of Asalouyeh and the gas and oil companies during the Reform period

The Islamic Revolution and creation of fundamental and structural transformations in peoples' understanding and as a result several disputes among the old and new important social peoples among the villages, had made a very unsecure environment for before the revolution politicians. So, they immigrated to other cities especially Bushehr for two main reasons as follows:

1. Losing their local power
2. An unsecure circumstances as well as non-stop local fights

On the other hand, after the Revolution peoples found greater opportunities were applicable only for specific persons. For instance:

When rustic people who had no healthy water, no electricity and safe roads, rushed the cities and got familiar with the urban life, they accelerated the construction process in the villages and became a factor of immigration to cities. Getting used to urban life, they understood that living in cities is much better than living in villages. Establishment of Jihad and transferring water and electricity facilities to villages as well as constructing asphalt roads extended to the smallest villages besides non-stop advertising of cultural committee of Jihad multiplied peoples' eagerness to immigrate to cities. Since, Bushehr was the most developed and attractive destination with lots of job opportunities, migration process speed up and in a just short time there was no trace of rental houses in the city. Consequently, the construction projects increased and played an active role in migration process.

Occurrence of eight year war also contributed to the migration process and so a huge number of war immigrants entered the city. But, because these immigrants had some similarities in language, race, and the former habitat, showed a sense of attachment and cohabited. Thus, the war immigrants' neighborhood, war immigrants market (like Turks neighborhood, Turks mosques so forth) was constructed and they found new identity has been remained powerful till present. It should be mentioned here that after the Revolution a rapid change in number of authenticated businessmen emerged and the greater number of educated businessmen entered the port.

3.6. The sixth stage: universities and higher education centers

Increased number of higher education in Bushehr was other important reasons for migration to the city. We need to stress that until 24 years before, there were no higher education center expect for the secondary school period in the city. But, presently there are a significant number of higher education centers in the port. They include Persian Gulf University having more than 6000 students, Islamic

Azad University with 20000 students. Although, the classes are held in Aali Shahr but most of students are living in the port. Additionally, the Medical Science University, Payam Nour University, Teacher Training center, Fani-Herfee university as well as private educational centers which had a considerable impact on employment of professors and non-local students.

4. Conclusion

Bushehr port has a hot and dry climate in 8 months of the year and since two third of the city area is occupied by the military bases , but due to considerable income have been created by service jobs, business and construction projects , most people are interested in to immigrate to the city . The main center for exporting gas and oil is Bushehr and presence of gas and oil companies have provided the employees higher salaries. Other service activities like sea, air and ground transportation as well as need for unskilled workers besides the port prosperity as a result of interaction with Dubai have led to economic growth of the city has motivated peoples to immigrate to the city.

Furthermore, initiation of the nuclear power plant and extensive need for skilled and unskilled workers and after the Revolution increased knowledge of the local about the urban life due to Jihad activities, the eight-year war which caused several refugees to immigrate to Bushehr and after the war reformation periods all were considerably effective in growing rate of immigration to the city. But, the point made Bushehr exceptional was the presence of nuclear power plant and military bases. Moreover, harsh weather could not prevent immigrants to ignore leaving their home land. That is to say, the point may become a negative issue changed to be useful for immigrants.

Yet, it is probable that in case the nuclear power plant begins its operation and the Iran and 5+1 talk's disputes are not solved, the migration process to Bushehr decreases or becomes reversed. Finally, it worth to note that due to advantages and disadvantages of Bushehr which provide a huge amount of financial benefits for the immigrants differentiating the city from other towns, it is rare to believe that the rich and powerful classes immigrate to other cities. But, there is a possibility that because of risk of the power plant activity as well as increased price of goods , people may face with higher living cost compared with other neighborhood cities especially Aali shahr town.

But, immigrants migrate to Shiraz are two groups, rich and poor people. The rich will be settled in the best city areas and the poor in suburbs. So, we can certainly state that some consequences of uncontrolled and unplanned migration to such cities are the problems occur for the local.

Recommendations

It is suggested that all governmental and military bases and offices as well as the Bushehr airport are too transferred outside the city and by equally geographical distribution of larger stores, medical buildings and so forth next to the new hospitals; it is possible to prevent from overpopulation and traffic in city center. Furthermore, constructing parking lots and prevention from car traffic in city center and giving space to the streets so that does not interfere the car movements could be effective. Along these solutions, it is important to consider local employment in operating governmental and local projects as well as service jobs by the local residents can prohibit from excessive immigration to the city.

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