THE TRANSFORMATION
OF
PUBLIC SPACE:
CITY SQUARES AS LOCATIONS FOR POWER STRUGGLE -
THE CASE OF TEHRAN (1934-2009)


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## THE TRANSFORMATIONOFPUBLIC SPACE:
## CITY SQUARES AS LOCATIONS FOR POWER STRUGGLE -
## THE CASE OF TEHRAN (1934-2009)

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**ABSTRACT**

THE TRANSFORMATION
OF PUBLIC SPACE:
CITY SQUARES AS LOCATIONS FOR POWER STRUGGLE -
THE CASE OF TEHRAN (1934-2009)

Soltani, Zohreh
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This thesis explores the transformation of public spaces, with reference to power relations and the struggle for power. In this regard Tehran has been chosen as the main concern and the case of the study, while in its short history of being the political center of the country, the city has been hosting several uprisings and political tensions that are projected on the body of the city. The agencies of this power struggle will be analyzed sociologically and politically, to comprehend the way public spaces of the city and the conception of space are transformed. The spatial analysis of the case of the study in different periods of its history, in relation to socio-political elements of effect, will cause the study to evolve around a simultaneous concentration on spatial transformation and power relations. With such a framework this thesis will question the role of architecture and urban design in the transformation of space, which is dominated by the power struggle, and its balance.

The primary aim here is to understand how public space becomes a political apparatus in using urban public spaces historically, in the struggle over power, and how the ruling power represents its ideology in public spaces and how in response the resisting forces of the society manifest their demand for change in public spaces and appropriate those

spaces to live in. Alongside the theoretical discussions, the case of Tehran will provide a multi dimensional source for these explorations; the discussions will mainly focus on a great public square of Tehran (Azadi Square), and the entrance of Tehran University, as the critical and symbolic nodes of public gatherings in the recent history of this city, to analyze how public spaces which are created by one authority of power might totally change in terms of function and meaning, and be transformed into a new entity with similarities and contradictions with the previous one.

# ÖZ

## KAMUSAL MEKANIN DÖNÜŞÜMÜ: GÜÇ MÜCADELESİNİN YERİ OLARAK KENT MEYDANLARI – TAHRAN ÖRNEĞİ (1934-2009)

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Bu tez, kamusal mekanların dönüşümünü, güç ilişkileri ve güç mücadelesine göndermeyle inceler. Bu kapsamda, Tahran araştırmamızın eksenini oluşturmaktadır; ülkenin kısa süreli de olsa, politik merkezi olması nedeniyle kent, kentin fiziki yapısında da kendisine yansıtan bir çok sivil ayaklanmalara ve politik gerginliklere ev sahipliği yapmıştır. Bu süreci oluşturan aktörler sosyolojik ve politik değişkenler vasıtasıyla analiz edilerek, kentin kamusal mekanlarının algısı ve bu mekanların dönüşümü anlaşılmaya çalışılmaktadır. Farklı dönemlere atfen, sosyo-politik değişkenlerin mekansal dönüşüm ve güç ilişkilerini eş-zamanlı olarak etkilediği varsayılmaktadır. Bu kuramsal çerçeve içinde, Tahran'ın çok boyutlu somut örnekler içerdiği düşünülmektedir; bu bağlamda, Tahran Azadi Square (Azadi Meydanı) ve Tahran Universitesi girişini oluşturan meydanlar sembolik mekanlar ve kamusal etkinliklerin önemli odak noktaları olarak özellikle tartışılmaktadır.

Buradaki temel soru, belirli otoriteler tarafından yaratılan kamusal mekanların, anlam ve işlev olarak nasıl değiştiği ve bir önceki dönemden farklı bir niteliğe nasıl kavuştuğu üzerine kurgulanmıştır. Bu araştırma sırasında, özelleşmiş iki alan üzerinde yoğunlaşarak, farklı dönemlerdeki kullanım ve algısal çatkılama, ideolojik boyutlarıyla birlikte

tartışılmaya açılmıştır. Son olarak, tüm bu süreç içerisinde, mimarın rolü sorgulanarak, kent mimarlığının mekansal dönüşüm içindeki kurumsal etkisi anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır.

ANAHTAR SÖZCÜKLER: Kamusal Mekan, Mahremiyet, Mekan Algısı, Mekansal Dönüşüm, Güç İlişkisi, Kent Meydanları, Sivil Ayaklanma, Tahran

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I am indebted to my friends here and in Iran, who supported me directly or indirectly in different stages of my work, and offered me trust, patience, and cooperation to complete this study.

Finally, I am eternally grateful to my dearest parents and sisters, who have always been truly and endlessly supporting me, through all the stages of my education. Words cannot do justice to the tireless support and patience my family offered me.

To them, who believe in change …

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**CHAPTER 1**

**INTRODUCTION**

There is a complex dialectic between power and space; a dialectic that produces and forms the socio-spatial practices in the urban environment and transforms public space. This complex relationship between the power and space is the outcome of the quest of the source of power for a tool of legitimization in the public space; the tool is architecture and urban design. There are series of external forces that modify this dialectic, such as history, politics, social forces, economy, and so forth. The built environment is to be studied here within the frames of the struggle over power that causes the modification of the space, as well as the spatial practices. The public sphere, conceptualized as a separate and autonomous domain of our social life in which such a thing as public opinion can be formed, is used to shed light on the power struggle, between the people and the ruling government, taking place in, and at the same time forming, the urban environment. The physical aspects of the problem concern of this study is the appropriation of the public spaces by the ruling authority on one hand and the civil forces on the other hand which has led to diminishing of some aspects of public spaces and production of some other types.

This study explores the agencies and the context of the power struggle, which is going on in the public spaces specifically city squares, in the case of Tehran.[1] Such a discussion is going to be contextualized in the case of Tehran, as the capital of a country which has been experiencing deep social and political conflicts in the last century. While revolutions provide a proper research opportunity in which the mechanism of operation of the dominant forces, shaping the urban form, may be untangled with more lucidity, Tehran provides an all-embracing research opportunity over the power relations and spatial transformations, in a modern middle-eastern city.The temporal aspect of the study is chosen and framed according to a metaphorical use of the main route of the greatest public

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[1] The genesis of this discussion is the class discussions of a course which I had taken in Fall 2008-2009, named ARCH 526, Politics and Space, with the theme of "State and Ideology", given by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Guven Arif Sargin.

demonstrations held in Tehran in the contemporary era; metaphorical in the sense that the temporal aspect of the study is driven from a physical route of public demonstrations. Since the anti-regime demonstrations in Mohammad Reza Shah Phalavi's period, it has become a tradition to start the demonstrations from Tehran University and move toward Azadi (Shahyad) Square.[2] The importance of this time span, starting from 1934, which is the establishment of Tehran University, to the present time, is the existence of university as a locus of intellectuals which later act as an engine for the civil resistance and struggle in the body of Tehran. On the other hand Tehran University and Azadi Square have been extensively used by the ruling government after 1979 to exhibit their power and hold the Islamic rituals such as Friday Prayers in those public spaces. Thus this timeline is important because it juxtaposes the physical movement of protests in the city.[3] Furthermore this time range is important and interesting because it provides the opportunity to compare three periods of rule, with different strategies, shaping the city and the conception of space.

The analysis of the transformation of public space in relation to the power balance in the case of modern Tehran is tied up with the analysis of political and social atmosphere of the city as well as the country. Hence space and its production and transformation is to be considered as a socio-political process of production in the frames of this study. In other words the aim here is to understand the process of production of public space in a society confronted with deep political changes in a time period starting with the establishment of Tehran university, which became a center for intellectual political movements, to the recent presidential elections in 2009. The theoretical framework of this study is to be based on Lefebvre's conception of public space as a social product, Castell's understanding of city and power, Mitchell's discussion of the fight for public space, and other theoretical analysis of

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[2] "Shahyad was a visual/physical gate. It was the master door with which Mohammad-Reza Shah -- like Tehran's other shahs -- imprinted the era of his rule on the capital city. Shahyad was *The Gate* of the second Pahlavi King of Kings. The monument was placed at the limits in entering Tehran from the International Mehrabad Airport and it served as pro-paganda being the gateway to the capital. The presence of the monument - emphasized by its location, color, size, and dynamic shape - was visually and physically inevitable. In fact, most Tehranians associated Shahyad with the airport only. They experienced it in passing to the airport. Its placement *en route* to the largest airport of Iran was not accidental. The Mehrabad Airport was the most important air traffic center of the country. Shahyad was also and more importantly the door to the outside world. It connected Iran and its citizens to the West; it made it part of the 'civilized' nations via flight. Through Shahyad, Iran was relocated to Europe and its progressive state of being. Shahyad was even meant to be seen from air, as the traveler was about to land at the airport; an entrance to Iran, before even landing on its land."
Der-Grigorian, Talin. Construction of History: Mohammad-Reza Shah Revivalism, Nationalism, and Monumental Architecture of Tehran 1951-1979
Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Science of Architecture Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, June 1998, p. 99

[3] Indeed this juxtaposition of the timeline with the route of demonstrations is the author's interpretation of the both historical and existing public resistance movements in Iran.

power, space, and resistance. To better introduce the position of this study towards space, and the conception of it, used in this study about space, it is proper to mention about the way Lefebvre analyzes and fragmentizes the space, as a social product.[4] What Lefebvre discusses as social space and its production is to be discussed here with an analytical approach to the historical background of public space in the case of Tehran. The power struggle in the context of public space in Tehran is to be concerned as series of actions that are prohibited in some cases and permitted in some others.

Beyond the discussions going around over-privatized life in Tehran, and the position of Tehran as a middle-eastern town, among modern capitals of the world, in terms of its contradictions of form and function, the significance of this study is the observation of the city in a time period that includes periods of reign of three ruling powers, and one major revolution; furthermore, highlighting the interventions into the urban form, public spaces, the hierarchy of spatial organizations, and the functional properties of the space, by different powers of domination, and position these discussions in theoretical intellectual works. One of the major theoretical bases of this study is grounded over Lefebvre's conception of space as a social product, dependant upon power relations, and his definition of urbanism that does not form space as a work of art, but in fact the space as a political outcome.[5] Urban entities of Tehran and their transformation, will be discussed in this study from Lefebvre's point of view that considers those spaces as a ground of clash of different strategies; the strategies which were not the goals or objectives but they were means and tools that were used to reach a specific organization that will ensure the power of the ruling system.[6] This study will observe the space and its transformation from Lefebvre's stand point that observed the urban phenomenon and urban space not as mere projections of social interaction and relations, but the realm of clash of different strategies; in other words urban design is considered not the goal in the struggle of power, but it is the means and the apparatus of action.[7] Space, as the ground of power exercise for the ruling authority, can not be studied independent from the power relations, specifically in a politically loaded city such as Tehran; and while the force of power authority that has engendered the space and aims to

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[4] Lefebvre, Henri. The Production of Space. Trans. By: Donald Nicholson-Smith. Blackwell Publishers, Oxford and Cambridge, 1991, p. 26
[5] Lefebvre, Henri. The Urban Revolution. Trans. By: Robert Bononno. Foreword by: Neil Smith. University of Minnesota Press, London, 2003, p.180
[6] Ibid, p.87
[7] Ibid, p.87

dominate it, seek, but fail to master it completely,[8] this study will proceed with a dual plan, that will simultaneously observe the strategies of the power and the tactics of resistance on the body of Tehran.

Manual Castells' discussions over city and power, and his conception of the emergence of urban development and quality of life, which are important factors for the new middle class, as the elements of confrontation of different political parties in modern era, create another pillar of the theoretical frame of this study.[9] Considering the urban space and social change, as two inseparable entities reveal the fact that spatial transformation is a fundamental dimension of the overall process of structural change.[10] Thus to observe the process of change and transformation in the urban form and spatial organization of modern Tehran, one should observe the direct link between the public space and social movements, revolutions, and upheavals. In order to develop this approach in a study of spatial transformation of Tehran, Don Mitchell's discussions over space, are aimed to be used to broaden and strengthen the frames of this study. Representation of power in public space, material public space as the requirement of public visibility, and public visibility as the requirement of public democracy, open up the perspective of this study toward an analysis of the spatial transformation of Tehran.[11] Thus the role of socio-political movements in the analysis of space in the context of Tehran, based upon Mitchell's conception of public space, as simply those spaces in cities that are publicly owned and used by citizens to gather and communicate political ideas, will provide the reader with the socio-political atmosphere of the city, reflected on its urban space.[12]Production of space, domination, control, and show of power,contribute to the analysis of space in Tehran in the perspective of this study. This thesis will stress the role of public protests in analyzing the power of public space to communicate civic sentiments and social resistance through its design and commodification.[13] In general, the theoretical frame of this study is composed of predominant paradigms of the discussions of transformation of space in relation to power.

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[8] Lefebvre, Henri. The Production of Space. Trans. By: Donald Nicholson-Smith. Blackwell Publishers, Oxford and Cambridge, 1991, p.26

[9] Castells, Manuel. City, Class, and Power. Trans. By: Elizabeth Lebas. St. Martin Press, New York, 1978, p.1

[10] Castells, Manuel. Space of Flows, Space of Places: Materials for a theory of urbanism in the information age. Ed by: Bishwapriya Sanyal. Comparative Planning Cultures. Routledge Press, New York, 2005, pp.45-46

[11] Mitchell, Don. The Right to the City; Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space. The Guilford Press, New York, 2003, p.148

[12] Mitchell, Don. "Introduction: Public Space and the City". Urban Geography 17(2), pp. 127-131, 1996, p.127

[13] Low, Setha M. On the Plaza: the politics of public space and culture. University of Texas Press, Austin, 2000, p.183

While the context of the study is a combination of strong social forces of production in a highly political atmosphere, with critical traditional and modern power balance, in an ever changing status, struggling between the traditional and the modern, over different narratives of democracy, the above mentioned theoretical bases are considered as main nodes on the map of the theories of the discussions here.[14]

Since a wider perspective over the context of this study is required for the aim of this thesis, this study also includes a literature survey over the historical and spatial body of Tehran, from the social, political, cultural, and urban dimensions, in each period of time. On this account, to unveil the dual relationship between spatial transformation and power relations, this study will be located between the urban-architectural studies and socio-political studies. On this basis local and international literature has been extensively used to provide and inner and outer gaze about the subject of the study. On the historical analysis of each period, blended with the social and political discussions, a comprehensive contextual analysis is provided to make the ground for analyzing and understanding the spatial reflections of socio-political change and struggle. While on the discussions over Iranian modernity, Abbas Milani, Ali Mirsepassi, and Homa Katouzian are referred more often, on the general socio-political history of the city as well as the country Ervand Abrahamian, Nikkie R.Keddie, and Ali M.Ansari have been generally used as reference. On the spatial analysis of the city, apart from the surveys about the works of different architects and spatial interventions of the power authorities and the resisting forces into the urban arena, the urban studies of Ali Madanipour, Shahab Katouzian, Asef Bayat, Mohsen Habibi, and Bernard Hourcade are more often instrumentalized to depict the spatial transformations of Tehran in different period of the study.

In short, the significance of this study lies in its specific concern about analyzing the spatial transformation of Tehran with reference to the power struggle, taking place in the body of this urban form; and we will try to draw this image from different local and international perspectives of theoretical and contextual studies. In other words, public space, as the space of political action, authoritarian control, and social resistance, where power

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[14] Lefebvre's discussions help to understand the role of the social forces of the traditional and modern Iranian society in the transformation of public spaces of the capital. On the other hand Castells' discussions are used to shed light on the other important aspect of the observations of this study on the role of public upheavals and revolutions on the space. And Mitchell's discussions provide a way for this study to deal with role of space, as an arena of the representation of power. Thus these theatrical bases together form the pillars the study of the role of power in the transformation of space in modern Tehran, and guide the spatial observations of this study to offer its critical analysis.

relations and dominant ideologies find the chance to be represented, is the perspective from which this thesis aims to observe Tehran. The claim of this thesis is that, it is impossible to study Tehran, the city of the coexistence of the opposites, without going through its layers of transformation due to the fight for domination and power, taking place in its body, and analyzing the materialization of the struggle over power in the conception of space in the context of this study.

1.1. Aim of the study

The aim of this study is to raise a discussion on the public space, specifically city squares, as locations of power struggle, and to have an analytical approach to the civil society and political dynamics of Iran in formation and use of public spaces. This thesis provides comparative analysis on the way the political changes and the tendencies of the ruling power have formed the city of Tehran and the conception of space within the city, and how the socio-political movements have used public spaces to demonstrate their resistance and opposition. Such a descriptive and analytical study will be structured upon historical, political, social, and cultural background of the public spaces of Tehran. The passage of the city of Tehran from a feudal city to a modern-nationalist one, and then to a modern-western city, and back to an Islamic city is to be analyzed with observing the socio-political factors of change. Beyond the discussions going around public spaces and the over-privatized everyday lives stemming from the lack of the proper public spaces, in the case of today Tehran, there is a new conception of socio-spatial practices rising as the cultural heritage of the city, which is formed after the Iranian Revolution of 1979.

The time range of this study covers one major Revolution and several uprisings in the city of Tehran; the city as the scene of struggle and clash will be discussed in the context of those political movements. Furthermore the great shift in the conception of public space, coming up with Revolution, as a "turn around" of the power system, is to be read from the urban body of Tehran and its spatial qualities. After the 1979 Revolution, with the religious government, urban activities started to get limited and thus the urban spaces of those activities started to be diminish and never be reproduced. This thesis is concerned about the political aspects of this phenomenon and its reflection on the use of public urban spaces at

the moment of resistance. Alongside studies on the form of the city, and different spaces produced in accordance to the ideologies of the ruling regime since 1934, by contextualizing few public square of Tehran in the political atmosphere before and after Iranian Revolution, this thesis will discuss the following questions: How are the public spaces used as means of power exhibition and political resistance in politically charged societies? How the structural transformation of the public space happened in Tehran? How the architecture of the city and its urban fabric are reproduced and governed by the political power on one hand while it is a scene of social resistance on the other hand? What is the role of institutions on the conception of public space?and how the public spaces are used to demonstrate the opposition of everyday person against the existing dominance of the political power?

To discuss these questions, this thesis will conduct a research on the transformation of the urban form of Tehran and its public spaces, with more focus on the main entrance of Tehran University, Azadi Square, and Enqelab axis, in functional terms and visualize the struggle between the political power and the social construction of the city in the scene of public spaces, based on the debates of socio-political urban study theories.The study aims to draw an image of the layers of the intervention of power and the resistance into the urban space, creating the overall image of the city of Tehran, as it is observed today.

1.2. Method of the study

Since the main concern of this study is the transformation of public space as the scene for power struggle, it will utilize a method that will combine both the historical and socio-political background of the case of the study and its urban and spatial analysis in the framework of the theoretical discussions. It will be a spatial analysis in a socio-political perspective. The main method will be an analysis departing from a case study research and this observation will lead to a discussion on the basis of the theoretical framework of the study. The conceptual framework of this study will position the author in an analytical position to observe the qualitative and quantitative results of the case study and place them in the theoretical framework. This study will observe the conflicts upon the use of public spaces and the transformation of the public sphere according to the ruling power to better

understand what transformations, public space in Tehran, has gone under.

The method of combining the theoretical frames of the study, with spatial analysis of the context of the study, with reference to socio-political atmosphere of the time, will be classified under specific time spans, with a theme of observation for each range of time. The spatial analysis observed in the same frame with the socio-political context of the specific period, will lead to derivations on the relation of power and space, and those derivations will be supported by theoretical discussions. Examined in temporal-spatial frameworks, the descriptive and analytic approach will discuss certain highlighted spatial properties of the city manifesting the struggle of power in space, in each period. Through a classification based upon the dominant forms of control over space in each period, varying forms of domination of space will be discussed.

1.3. Scope of the study

The significance of Tehran as the capital of Iran and thus the center of the political movements in one hand, and as an infra structure for the existence of public man in modern era on the other hand, makes this study focus on this specific city. Tehran which today ranks among the largest and most crowded cities of the world, is historically a newcomer among Iran's ancient cities but it has rapidly grown since 1785 when it was selected as the Qajar capital – the city grows from 15,000 inhabitants at the end of the 18th century to about 150,000 by the 1860's.[15] Tehran with a population of around 7 million in a metropolitan region of 12 million inhabitants has been a signifier of migration from other towns and thus holds a great varying profile of people from different social and ethnic groups. Since eighteenth century almost all the political movements have started from Tehran. Therefore it seems as the most significant model and case for a study on the power struggle in public sphere, as a forerunner of modern urban environment in Iran. I chose Tehran as the object of my study for two distinctive but interconnected reasons: first because of the position of this city as the laboratory of practicing modern architecture in Iran, and second because of

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[15] Madanipour, Ali. Tehran; The making of a metropolis. John Willey and Sons Ltd. West Sussex, 1998, pp.5-6

the international significance of Tehran with the Islamic Revolution that caused variation in the balance of power in the Middle East region.



Figure 1.1: Panoramic view of Tehran
Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tehran (visited: January 03, 2010)
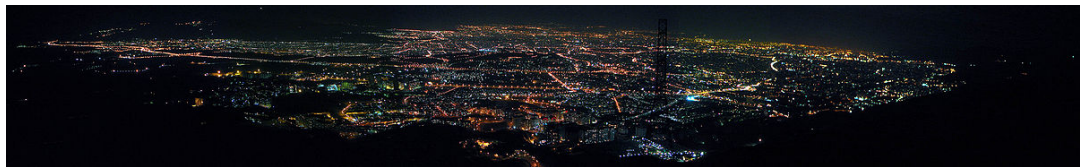


Figure 1.2: Panoramic view of Tehran at night
Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tehran (visited: January 03, 2010)

The systematic transformation of public spaces and the conception of space by the ruling power, and the appropriation of space by the citizens, in the context of active modern history of Tehran are questioned, debated, and analyzed within this study. The issue of "change", as the dominating theme of the period of Tehran's history, concerned here, will be discussed form different social, political, and cultural dimensions, to shed light on the transformation of space due to power relations.

> "Iran and its capital city Tehran which houses more than a fifth of its population, have undergone considerable transformation in the modern period, a change whose dimensions and, especially, pace have been beyond control, creating tensions and political, economic, and cultural difficulties. For too long, however, this change has been seen as beyond control, managed by powers from outside and causing unforeseen consequences. (…) What is needed now is to abandon the legacy of victimization and of being overwhelmed by change. What is needed is to develop a confidence with which it is possible to appreciate the necessity of change as well as the need for continuity, to realize that it is not impossible to be in charge of change, despite its unintended consequences, and to devise ways of collectively managing this change and its balance with the continuity of the

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socio-spatial world."[16]

In last two centuries, Tehran has always been a political center for the country; thus a center for political movements and demonstrations. The great squares of Tehran have witnessed tens of huge demonstrations, and have become a scene to exhibit power, during the Revolution by people and after the Revolution by the ruling government. In the time range of this study, the same squares that were used by Anti-Shah demonstrators, started to be used by the ruling authority after the Revolution to make propaganda for its ideology. The point that this study aims to highlight here is the fact that, Tehran, with revolutions and socio-political movements on one side, and its varying citizen profile on the other side, is a city with a main theme of "change" and transition; the city is in constant transition while it is a transitory area for its inhabitants. The image of today's Tehran, which lacks harmony, and is perceived as an entity with juxtaposed but in-contrast layers, which hosts practices which do not have spaces, and spaces that are occupied for certain imposed practices, is aimed to be observed here as an outcome of the manifestation of changes, imposed upon spaces of this city, due to socio-political tensions and transformations.

The study will start with a history of the emergence of Tehran as the capital of the country and provide brief information on the history of public spaces, specifically city squares in Iran. The wok will continue with four time spans with specific themes attained to each of them that will highlight an issue on the role of power in the transformation of space in the context of the study. The first time span from 1934 to 1963, with the main theme of transition from feudal to secular, discusses the issue of power structure and its role on spatial organizations of the city. This time span starts with the establishment of Tehran University, to stress the highlighted role of intelligentsia in the public movements within the new structure of power in the body of Tehran. The traditional structure of power with its spatial manifestations in the body of the city will provide an understanding of the turning points in which the transformations in the urban form according to the new structure, started to take place. The development plans of the city, showing the modern interventions into this urban form, will clearly depict the expansion of this small city on the route to become a metropolis.

The second time span, from 1963 to 1971, with the main theme of modern urban developments - starting from Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi's White Revolution, to the opening of Shahyad (Azadi) monument, as manifestation of Shah's power - will stress the

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[16] Madanipour, Ali. <u>Tehran: The Making of a Metropolis</u>. John Wiley, Chichester, 1998, p. 257.

issue of modern urban developments, and the change in the pattern of urban squares in Tehran. This time span, starting with political reforms, will to stress the way political reforms, proposed by the ruling authority, used urban development and spatial programming to manifest the change in the body of the cities, to represent the change within the system. Urban squares, as powerful urban entities, on providing gathering nodes, or arena of show of power for the ruling authority, will be focused in this part of the study; and Shahyad (Azadi), as the specific symbol of public movements in modern Tehran, will be analyzed.

The third time span, starting with the opening of Shahyad monument, up to the Iranian Revolution of 1979, includes the years of high socio-political tensions of the country, that lead to a major revolution in 1979. The main theme that is to be attributed to this time span is the role of urban space as a political apparatus in the hands of the ruling regime as well as the forces of resistance. Visual materials will be used in this part that will show the way urban environment is manipulated and used to fight the source of power. The role of streets as public properties will be examined with materials that represent the use of them by dissatisfied masses. Within this part of the study, through analyzing the role of space and the shifts in its identity, when it becomes a field of clash and struggle, it is aimed to derive the role of state and citizens in re-shaping the spatial identity.

Within the fourth and the last time span covering the thirty-year old ruling period of Islamic Republic, from 1979 to 2009, the role of power in transforming the urban culture, urban practices, and the conception of public and private spaces, are to be examined. This chapter will be constructed on the analysis of the spatial transformations of the public spaces in Tehran, through observing regulations of public appearance, limitations of public activities, and changes in the architectural hierarchy in the spatial programming. The way strategies of power aim to control the public sphere, through control and transformation of public spaces, and the way city dwellers deal with the situation within the same spaces, will be discussed in this part of the study. Special stress will be put on a provocation line that is shaped gradually in the body of modern Tehran, symbolizing the public movements in this urban entity. A comparative-analytic approach will be used in providing comparisons of the use of the same spaces for show of dissatisfaction in 1979 and in 2009.

After all, the conclusion part of the study will bring out derivations of space, as the outcome of power relations, and space as the frame and the context of the struggle of power, in the context of Tehran. In fact the study will result in a sketch that makes the current

image of Tehran, the conception of space within it, and the role of power in its control, more clear, with distinguishing some of the layers of its spatial dimensions, closely intertwined with its socio-political shifts. According to this analytical approach to the study of Tehran, a general theme of constant "change" in all aspects of urban form, spatial conception, and socio-political atmosphere will be attributed to this complex urban context. The current position of space and spatial transformations of this urban context will be read through the analysis and interpretations provided over the layers of varying socio-political elements, affecting this urban form. The mutual and strong relationship between power and space, being analyzed within the frames of the study, will be used to shed light over understanding the conception of space, in the existing image of Tehran.

## 1.4. General expectations

The main claim of this study is the analysis of the relationship between power and space, in the modern history of Tehran. Under the rule of different political systems, the space and the structure of city will be discussed in an interdisciplinary manner, covering the political, social, and cultural spheres. This work will touch upon the conflicts of modernity and tradition in as the important factors in the formation and transformation of this modern capital of a traditional society. This study will speak of space and its constant transformation, alongside the political shifts of the society, as the product of power relations. Throughout the study, due to the recent issues and eventsof the context of the case that is analyzed here, this study has the privilege of including very recent instances of the transformation of public space due to the ideology of the ruling power as well as the instances of the forces of resistance, which has not been specifically studied yet. The main expectation from this work is a description, analysis, and interpretation of the incarnation of socio-political "change", in the space, without justifying the result, but with the sole purpose of comprehending the dimensions of the inter-relation of power and space, within a constantly shifting, contradictory, socio-political context.

## CHAPTER 2

## A REVOLUTIONARY CAPITAL OF 200 YEARS OLD FOR AN ANCIENT COUNTRY – LONG HISTORY, SHORT MEMORY

2.1. The history of public spaces in Iran

The name Persia is derived from the word *"Parsa"*, a tribe in southern Iran, who created a world empire in the sixth century BC, often mentioned in Bible and classical European writings; and the name Iran, comes from the term *"Aryan"*, and means "the land of nobles" and was first used about the first millennium BC.[17]Since the plateau of Iran has no long navigable rivers but many mountains, which surround the cities even today, its pattern of cultural advancement was not like Mesopotamia and Egypt, and it was not a unified urbanism leading to centralized states, but it was a gathering of prehistoric settlements, developing individually on the edge of alluvial plains, each with its own style of building, pottery, and customs.[18] The ancient Persian cities of the Sasanian period, before the Arab conquer in seventh century, were highly organized urban strongholds that were built to support the administration of a large empire, and to provide amenities for an improving trade network and a sophisticated sedentary population.[19]They were square-shaped settlements with two main axes intersecting at right angles leading to four gates.[20] With the Arab conquer, the newly established Islamic cities generally followed the Sasanian city pattern, in terms of physical setting, material, and layout, that were composed of three main sections: *kohandezh, sharestan,* and *rabaz* (central castle, town quarters, and suburbs); In quarters which surrounded the castle and the main square, administrative and religious buildings were situated, which were surrounded and protected by the city walls, and orchards

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[17] Booth-Clibborn, Edward. Editor: Nasr allah Pourjavady. The Splendour of Iran, Vol. l, Booth-Clibborn Editions, London, 2001, p.46
[18] Ibid, pp.46-47
[19] Booth-Clibborn, Edward. Editor: Nasr allah Pourjavady, The Splendour of Iran, Vol. ll, Booth-Clibborn Editions, London, 2001, p.84
[20] Madanipour, Ali. Public and private spaces of the city. Routledge Press, New York, 2003, p.207

and gardens of non-residential suburbs were extended beyond those.[21] In fact despite the Muslims' attempts to break the pre-Islamic character and significance of the Iranian cities, this pattern can be found in Iranian cities until the nineteenth century, as in the case of Tehran.[22]

Some twenty-five hundred years ago, whenHerodotus was writing his *Histories*, Persia or Iran, as the crossroad of many civilizations, was the West's ultimate "other".[23] Today this otherness has kept its position and the most influential evidence of such a judgment is the country's image of its public sphere, which encapsulates the overall political, social and cultural atmosphere of the country. To comprehend this "otherness" in the urban and spatial analysis of the context of this study, politics, as the instantly shifting and effecting element, needs to be studied alongside the observations on the physical layout of the city. As Manuel Castells analyzes the transformation of the cities in the information age, with reference to key elements of socio-spatial change around three bipolar axes of function, meaning, and form, it appears that to discuss the transformation of public sphere and city squares in the context of contemporary Tehran, the discussion should be based on the contemporary elements of socio-spatial change and their function, meaning and form in the modern history of the country.[24] The transformation of the public spaces of the city from traditional to modern in the context of Iran demands an analysis of the historical account of the socio-political atmosphere of the country as well as an analysis of its functions and forms of specialization. Such a background will contribute to understand how in the modern Iranian cities, public space continued to be a place of sociability and of political contest.[25]

To comprehend the public sphere in contemporary Iran, a discussion on the Iranian experience of modernity and the way it preceded in Iran is inevitable. Modernity and the quest for democracy and freedom has a long and extensive history in Iran and it has appeared as political and social conflicts, which has lead to revolutions during 19th and 20th century in the country. Iranian state has started to invest its intellectual, cultural, economic, and political sources with the hope of transforming Iran into a modern nation-state since

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[21] Booth-Clibborn, Edward. Editor: Nasr allah Pourjavady, The Splendour of Iran, Vol. ll, Booth-Clibborn Editions, London, 2001, p.85
[22] Madanipour, Ali. Public and private spaces of the city. Routledge Press, New York, 2003, p.207
[23] Milani, Abbas. Lost Wisdom; Rethinking Modernity in Iran. Mage Publishers, Washington, 2004, p.9
[24] Castells, Manuel. Space of Flows, Space of Places; Materials for a Theory of Urbanism in the Information Age. Ed by: Bishwapriya Sanyal. Comparative Planning Cultures. Routledge Press, New York, 2005, pp.49-50
[25] Madanipour, Ali. Public and private spaces of the city. Routledge Press, New York, 2003, p.207

1850s.[26]Inevitably there have already started a contest among traditional and modern, while the transition from a feudal traditional system to a modern secular system was not without opposition. As Ali Mirsepassi states, "it is with the imposition of Eurocentric "universalism" by the West that the emphasis on the "local" has become important in non-Western struggles for modernization".[27] Hence Iran as a non-Western context of modernization was not an exception to this struggle over modernism. In addition to this ongoing struggle of modernity, Iran as a country which was ruled by kings, was experiencing different narratives of modernization through the intellectuals on one hand, and through the ruling authority on the other hand.

Naser al-Din Shah Qajar, who was the king of Persia from 1848 till 1896, was a prominent figure in importing the Western innovations to Persia during his several visits to Europe; and still in his narrative of modernity, democracy and freedom had no role to play.[28] Yet it was during his reign when attempts for establishment of modern industries, the establishment of locus of intellectuals, and new systems of land ownership and property rights, which was a consequence of the interest of foreign powers in commercial activities with Iran, could be observed.[29] By 1905, during the reign of Mozaffar al-Din Shah Qajar, who ruled Iran after the death of his father, between 1896 and 1907, middle-class intellectuals united with some of the more enlightened clerics and forced the king to sign into law a new constitution that limited the power of the monarch.[30] Indeed this was an attempt to create a modern democratic system in the country that was ruled by monarchy. This attempt, categorized under modernization attempts, was the genesis of Persian Constitutional Revolution or *Mashruteh*(1906-11), which led to the establishment of parliament. The period between Iran's encounter with the modern West and the Constitutional Revolution is identified as the *Asr-e Bidari* (Period of Awakening), in which the leaders of the movement had to introduce modernity into Iranian culture and democratize the existing political institutions.[31]

[26] Mirsepassi, Ali. Intellectual Discourse and the Politics of Modernization: Negotiating Modernity in Iran. Cambridge University Press, United Kingdom, 2000, p.10

[27] Ibid, p.11

[28] Milani, Abbas. Lost Wisdom; Rethinking Modernity in Iran. Mage Publishers, Washington, 2004, p. 17

[29] Chaichian, Mohammad A. Town and Country in the Middle East: Iran and Egypt in the Transition to Globalization, 1800-1970. Lexington Books, NewYork, 2009, p.65

[30] Milani, Abbas. Lost Wisdom; Rethinking Modernity in Iran. Mage Publishers, Washington, 2004, p. 17

[31] Mirsepassi, Ali. Intellectual Discourse and the Politics of Modernization: Negotiating Modernity in Iran. Cambridge University Press, United Kingdom, 2000, p.56-57

With all these historical account of modernity in Iran, it was Reza Shah Pahlavi, the founder of Pahlavi Dynasty, who is known to be a reformer-dictator, at the same time the father of modern Iran. He, who was a commander in army, came to power with a coup d'état on 21 February 1921, with the help of British government.[32] The four years after the coup was a period of power struggle between the three main political powers of the country, which were the forces of chaos, the forces of dictatorship and the constitutionalist. Constitutionalists consisted of both conservative and democratic figures, who wished to have order without arbitrary rule. On December 12, 1925 the constituent assembly voted to vest the monarchy in the person of Reza Shah Pahlavi and the chaos ended in dictatorship within a constitutional framework.[33]

"What is remarkable, and true to the pattern of Iranian history, is the speed with which chaos was turned into subjection. It had been a feature of Iran's arbitrary society that an arbitrary regime that one day seemed to be eternal could be overthrown the next day, if for some reason the public felt that it had lost its grip. By the same logic, a state of chaos that might have persisted even for decades could be ended almost abruptly, once the will was there to end it."[34]

The shifting political atmosphere of the country, characterizing the Iranian society, mentioned by Katouzian here, causing shifts in the conception of space and spatial transformations, is to point that will be studied in the interrelation of politics and space in Tehran, in the further sections of this study. Indeed the 1921 coup was an act to end the chaos, which was going on from 1906 Constitutional Revolution, stabilize the country, and create a strong central government with initial motive of the establishment of a republic. As an army man, it seems that the most appealing characteristic of Reza Shah's period of reign was its militaristic character. In the first years of his rule he created a strong army and central government and broke the tradition of local autonomy.[35] Architecture, urban development,

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[32] Ghani, Cyrus. Iran and the rise of Reza Shah: from Qajar collapse to Pahlavi rule. MPG Books Ltd., United Kingdom, 1998, p.161

[33] Katouzian, Homa. Ed. By: Touraj Atabaki and Erik J. Zurcher. State and Society under Reza Shah. Men of Order: Authoritarian Modernization under Ataturk and Reza Shah. I.B. Tauris and Co. Ltd., London, 2004, p.17-18

[34] Ibid, p.18

[35] Marefat, Mina. Building to Power: Architecture of Tehran 1921-1941. Thesis Supervisor: Prof. Stanford Anderson. Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of

and building programs of his reign, which started in 1925 and ended in 1941, with the British and Russian forces that occupied Iran and forced him to abdicate in favor of his son, have been quite extensive and important in the history of contemporary architecture in Iran. During his reign, with the aim of modernization and secularization, he built roads, tunnels, railways and great number of governmental and non-governmental buildings such as hotels, cinemas, and theatres. The buildings and urban developments of his sixteen years period of reign were built in a surprising speed. Tehran University, which became the locus of intellectuals, was built in 1934, during his reign.[36] Thus 1930's, covering the most important public building programs of the contemporary history of Iran and the period of rapid transformation of Iran towards a modern country, is considered as a breaking point in this thesis.

With the establishment of Tehran University and other culturally loaded public spaces, the country and the nation started to transform into a more educated, political and thus active nation; therefore 1930's can be considered as a breaking point in contemporary Iranian history, not just in the political arena, but also in terms of social improvement, urban betterment, and modernization. It was during this decade that Tehran started to be built as a capital with all its buildings and create a different image among Iran's historical cities. Tehran was being added to the historical cities, which has been the center of movements and oppositions since ever, as an active political city. The rapid modernization and urbanization in Iran started with the reign of Reza Shah, and it faced a pause from 1941, when Mohammad Reza, Reza Shah's son, was put to power by foreign forces, to 1953, and continued on its way with the new regime after the coup d'état of 1953,[37] against Mosaddegh's government.[38] 1953 can be considered as a point of a new start for the modernization of the cities with the capital gained by rapid consumption of oil and trading it to western countries thus the start of a great migration from rural parts of the country to the cities. It should be noted that post-coup d'état period of 1950's was the era that Iranian planning was more and more in interaction with western, and particularly American expertise; as a result in 1956 a national association of municipalities was established to transform municipalities from a "control" to a service oriented agency, and master plans

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Philosophy in the field of Architecture, Art, and Environmental studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, April 1988, p.70

[36] Kiani, Mostafa. Trans. By: Author. Kudeta-ye Nezami-e 1299 va Memari-e Nezami-Gerayane. The Institute for Historical Contemporary Iranian Studies, pp.2-3

[37] 1953 Coup d'etat (*kudeta-ye 28 Mordad*) was the overthrow of democratically-elected government of Iranian Prime Minister Mohammad Mosaddegh by the United State's Central Intelligence Agency

[38] Hesamian, Farrokh. Trans. By: Author. Shahr-Neshini dar Iran. Agah Press, Tehran, 2004, p.27

started to be drawn for many cities for the first time.[39]This process continued till 1977, two years before Iranian Revolution which lead to the formation of Islamic Republic of Iran. Urban historians divide the modern period in Iranian urban history into two major sub periods: 1920-1960, the period slow urbanization, which is the beginning of urbanization and transition to a capitalist market economy; 1960-1975, the period of rapid modernization.[40] As it can be observed this periodical classification of urban history of the Iranian cities is based on the political history of the context of the study.

Among the many variable theories on the reason of formation of revolutions, there are some reasons that are more used in defining Iran's 1979 revolution; socio-economical inequality, the sense of injustice due to this inequality, the conflict between social classes, impossibility of declaring these conflicts due to dictatorship, the rise of dissatisfaction among different groups of the society along side intellectuals, the emergence of leaders which were accepted by people, and on top of all these elements, when the governmental security did not oppose the people, the regime elapsed.[41] From 1977 till 1988 there was a 33 percent of rise in the number of the cities of the country, which indicates a sudden rise in urban settlements and urban population of the country.[42]Although Iran was experiencing a war with Iraq from 1980 till 1988, but along side the war, people who were deeply in the courage of the success of their Revolution were highly in courage of re-building the villages, and improving the living quality of the poor settlements, and trying to lessen the gap between the rich and the poor.

Public spaces of the cities in general, can be described as places that are not within the boundaries of control of individuals or small groups, and they are the mediators between private spaces and are used for various and often overlapping functions and symbolic purposes.[43] In the case of modern Iran, the forces of tradition, religion, and intelligentsia play pivotal role in attributing these roles to the public spaces. The public space in Iran in modern times is an outcome of the encounter of a "change" brought by modernization with traditional context of the cities. The traditional middle class and modern intelligentsia and

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[39] Tajbakhsh, Kian. Planning Culture in Iran: Centralization and Decentralization and Local Governance in the Twentieth Century (The Case for Urban Management and Planning). Ed by: Bishwapriya Sanyal. Comparative Planning Cultures. Routledge Press, New York, 2005, p.74
[40] Ibid, pp.70-71
[41] Kamrava, M.Ali. Contemporary Town Planning in Iran. University of Tehran Press, Tehran, 2009, pp.72-73
[42] Ibid. p.89
[43] Madanipour, Ali. Public and private spaces of the city. Routledge Press, New York, 2003, p. 232-233

their relationship and contradiction in the Iranian encounter with modernity have formed the background of the urban and rural transformations in Iran's past 150 years; where two sets of elites have competed to shape the society and the public space according to their ideal image, and the social life of the masses have been kept at the background and been deactivated.[44] The authority of the power over public spaces in Iran, intensified by the religious culture of the country, reveals the rooted force of state in dominating the living spaces. Because of the religious stratification in Iranian society, spatial segregation was enforced through residential layout, limited access, and exclusion from specific areas; the residential quarters of the Zoroastrians, a religious minority in Iran, are instances of such a spatial segregation in nineteenth century Iran, which were located in marginal areas of the cities of Yazd and Kerman where their location outside the city walls left them vulnerable to raids.[45] The socio-spatial analysis of the Iranian cities highlights the role of religion and the encounter of modernity with tradition, in the spatial layout of the cities, and the segregations due to different social, political and cultural elements.

## 2.2. The history of Tehran: from village to metropolis

"Tehran is an oddity. It is a city with a long history and a short memory. As a human habitat, it is almost eight thousand years old, but as a capital city, it is a neophyte."[46]

The small village of Tehran, around 1200 years ago, had an area of 0.18 square kilometers, and was even less known than the city of Ray in its neighborhood;it became the political capital of ancient Iran, when it had only reached an area of 4.4 square kilometers.[47] Among ancient Iranian cities, which were rich in terms of culture and infrastructure, it was

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[44] Madanipour, Ali. Modernization and everyday life; Urban and rural change in Iran. Ed by: Ali Mohammadi. Iran Encountering Globalization: problems and prospects. RoutledgeCurzon Press, New York, 2003, p.139

[45] Mazumdar, Sanjoy. "Autocratic Control and Urban Design: The Case of Tehran, Iran". Journal of Urban Design, Vol. 5, No. 3, 317-338, 2000, p.319

[46] Milani, Abbas. Lost Wisdom; Rethinking Modernity in Iran. Mage Publishers, Washington, 2004, p.83

[47] Mahmoudian, Ali-Akbar. Trans. By: Author. A Glance At Tehran from the Beginning uptill Now. Gitashenasi Geographical & Cartographic Institute, Tehran, 2005, p.39

Tehran that was going to be chosen as the capital of the country in 1780's, with the shift of power to Qajar Dynasty. Due to military support from his pastoral nomadic group in Varameen area, Aqa Mohammad Khan chose it as the capital of the country in 1786, when Qajar Dynasty came to power.[48] Since then Tehran remained as the political center of the country and started to move towards becoming the economic, social, and cultural center of the country with a grate rate of rise in its population and its rapid urbanization. Tehran's population increased fifty folds from 200,000 in 1900 to 10.3 millions in 1996, while the total population of the country increased only five folds.[49] This number represents that although Tehran did not have a rich historical background, but it is an important focal node for the population explosion in the context of Iran, and the short history of this capital city is comparable with capitals such as Ankara and Brasilia. A study on Tehran will pave the way for a general study on Iran, because this young metropolis is a mirror of the whole country, while its inhabitants have come from around the country with varying cultures, beliefs, languages, and life styles, and have formed a modern society, which became the co-existence of differences.[50]

The city of Tehran is the capital of the country as well as the center of Tehran province. It is located in north-center of Iran, and it is surrounded by the provinces of Mazandaran (Sari) in north, Semnan in East, Qom in south, Qazvin in west, and Markazi (Arak) in southwest. In terms of geographical position, Tehran is located between the Karaj River on west, Jajrood River on east, Alborz Mountains in north, and Shahriar and Varameen plains in south (Figure 2.1, Figure 2.2). Being situated on the skirt of the countries highest mountain, between the mountain and the Dasht-e Kavir desert, seems to be one of the symbolic reasons behind the selection of Tehran as the capital of the country. The city is situated on a sloppy plain, which starts from 1500 meters height of land in northern parts and gets to 800 meters height of land in southern parts.[51]The mountains of Alborz, which include the highest mountain peak, named Damavand, with 5671 meters height, provide a magnificent view and a chance to enjoy natural spaces, cool air and snow, for Tehranis.[52]

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[48] Habibi, Mohsen & Bernard Hourcade. Atlas of Tehran Metropolis: Land & People. Publishers: Urban Planning & Processing Company, Tehran GIS Centre, Tehran Municipality, Tehran, 2005, p.E32
[49] Ibid, p.E11
[50] Ibid, p.E11
[51] Takmil Homayoun, Nasser. Trans. By: Author. Tehran. Iran Cultural Studies, Tehran, 2006, p.19-20
[52] Habibi, Mohsen & Bernard Hourcade. Atlas of Tehran Metropolis: Land & People. Publishers: Urban Planning & Processing Company, Tehran GIS Centre, Tehran Municipality, Tehran, 2005, p.E12

In 1797 Tehran had a population of 15.000 people, one fifth of which were military personnel, and its area was approximately 7.5 square kilometers.[53] Tehran had 5 districts surrounded by the hexagonal walls of the 16th century; residential areas were placed at the eastern parts of the city in *mahallehs* of Oud-Lajan and Chal-e Meidan, commercial district which included the Bazaar was placed at the southern parts, the royal residence and the administrative area was at the Arg in northern parts of the city, and the western parts of the city, named mahalleh-e Sanglaj, was gardens or unused.[54] Tehran had five gates, which were placed at the end points of the critical roads of the city, connecting each *mahalleh* to the gates of the city walls. The city had one central square, named Sabzeh Meidan, which was located at the southern part of the Arg, close to Bazaar (Figure 2.3). The four living quarters of Oud-Lajan, Chal-e Meidan, Sanglaj, and Bazaar, which represented a parochial social structure, were not physically separated from each other, and each housed a mixture of lower and higher social classes.[55] Compared to the contemporary Tehran, it can be observed that the city expanded within the similar pattern, in terms of the position of districts, while today still the northern parts of the city are occupied by the rich and the Bazaar is located in the heart of the city, towards the south, but the social structure of the city in terms of the segregation of poor and rich is not the same. The proximity of Bazaar and Arg, as the economical and the administrative powers of the traditional Iranian society, have been continuous in the pattern of development in the body of Tehran, where the two, remained as the main sources of power in the city, and represented the spatial nodes of the power structure of the city.

Later, to grow the city, the first urban plan of the city was presented at the period of the rule of Fath Ali Shah - the second Qajar king, ruling Iran from 1800 to 1834. This plan consisted of the king's mosque, the bazaar and castles. Shah Tahmasb Safavid indeed previously built bazaar in Tehran, along side with walls and gates around the city and the citadel, and since then it became the jugular vein of the city; and it has always played a key role in political movements in Tehran. The first urban map of Tehran was drawn by a Russian orientalist, Berezine, in 1842 (figure 2.4), and the next map, which was a more detailed one, was produced at the Darolfonun (School of Polytechnic established in 1851 as the first cornerstone of modernization in Iran) by Augustus Krziz, an Australian faculty

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[53] Bahrambeygui, H. Tehran: An Urban Analysis. Sahab Books Institute, Tehran, 1977, p.14
[54] Ibid, p.14
[55] Madanipour, Ali. Tehran; The making of a metropolis. John Willey and Sons Ltd. West Sussex, 1998, p.31

member of the school in 1858 (figure 2.5).[56] In those maps, Tehran had an axial spatial structure with a clear functional organization: a political authority (Arg), an economic center (bazaar), a religious focus (Friday mosque), and living places of the townspeople (four quarters).[57] No long and wide streets can be observed in this map, and instead, the city is based on narrow alleys, and a new gate has been added to the southern wall of the city. As it can be observed, the main streets of the city are the ones that connect the Arg to the gates. The maze-like street pattern of the city is visible in this map, and it can be observed that the royal and administrative buildings have been spread in small scales outside the boundaries of Arg, in other parts of the city. In general, Tehran, as the new capital of Iran, was disappointing to the travelers, who were shocked by the absence of domes in Tehran compared to other Persian cities, its location in the hollow of a plain, its dense fabric, its narrow, twisting dusty streets, and except the citadel, the simple building style, with flat roofs and blank facades.[58]

In 1886 the city was rebuilt according to Vauban fortification type by a design made by Alexander Buhler with a periphery of 19 kilometers with new walls and moats in an octagonal shape (Figure 2.6). The bulky wall of the 16th century was pulled down and the new octagonal shaped wall, modeled after Paris fortifications, with 12 gates replaced it. Thus the king of the time (Naser al-Din Shah), who was a great fan of Paris, has reached his dream of abandoning the traditional pattern of the Persian cities and building a city like Paris.[59]Arg that was previously attached to the northern gate of the city was now more to the center, while the city had expanded from all sides. The first modern multi-story buildings and palaces were constructed along the new broadened streets and for the first time a municipality by the Ministry of Tehran was established.[60] In this new map the fortifications of the city allowed the development of new quarters in the northern parts, which formed locations for foreign embassies alongside a main axes, called Ambassadors Boulevard, now called Ferdowsi Street. This area was initially settled by Europeans, attracted high class Tehranis, with the advantage of a better climate, and while the physical distance between these residential areas and Bazaar was far, a new type of shopping area, with foreign-type

[56] Mahmoudian, Ali-Akbar. Trans. By: Author. A Glance At Tehran from the Beginning uptill Now. Gitashenasi Geographical & Cartographic Institute, Tehran, 2005, p. 45

[57] Madanipour, Ali. Tehran; The making of a metropolis. John Willey and Sons Ltd. West Sussex, 1998, p.30

[58] Ibid, p.31

[59] Takmil Homayoun, Nasser. Trans. By: Author. Tehran. Iran Cultural Studies, Tehran, 2006, p.58

[60] Habibi, Mohsen & Bernard Hourcade. Atlas of Tehran Metropolis: Land & People. Publishers: Urban Planning & Processing Company, Tehran GIS Centre, Tehran Municipality, Tehran, 2005, p.E33

goods, emerged along this Boulevard.[61] In the process of transforming Tehran into a more planned city, streets were improved for the movement of vehicles and a new large square, named Toopkhaneh – which will be referred in the following periods of the study of Tehran – was laid out, and the two main squares of the city – Arg and Sabzeh Meidan – were improved and beautified.[62]The boundaries of the city, which was surrounded by walls and gates, today exist in terms of their name and location, but nothing is left out of them. Interestingly the northern rib of the octagonal city today exists as a main east-west axis, named Enqelab Street (Revolution Street), which passes Tehran University and movers toward Azadi Square(Figure 2.7). In short, the urban transformation of Tehran, during the reign of Naser al-Din Shah Qajar, not only helped in establishing a national and international importance for the capital, but also had social and economic impacts on the city.[63]

"Rarely it would happen that a Tehrani obeys the government. If in case this rare occasion happens and Tehranis accept to pay imposition and toll to the Soltan, then come and see what an uproar they make."[64]

Tehran with its citizens, characterized with disobedience of the central government, started to be a node of political movements and demands of change in Iran since late 1800's. During the reign of Mozaffar al-Din Shah Qajar (the son of Naser al-Din Shah) the *Mashrutiyyat* Movement (Iranian Constitutional Revolution), which aimed to limit the authority of the king and establish a parliament in Persia, started to form in Tehran (1906-1911). This movement was the first serious political movement in Tehran. Tehran did not grow in terms of buildings and facilities, but it became the center of power struggle and political attraction since then, till the coup d'état of 1923 when Pahlavi Dynasty gained the rule of the country. The Constitutional Revolution (*Mashrutiyyat*), the discovery of petroleum, and the First World War, that lead to the overthrow of Qajar Dynasty, evolved the notion of

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[61] Bahrambeygui, H. Tehran: An Urban Analysis. Sahab Books Institute, Tehran, 1977, p.19
[62] Madanipour, Ali. Tehran; The making of a metropolis. John Willey and Sons Ltd. West Sussex, 1998, p.31
[63] Ibid, p.33
[64] Ghazvini, Zakariya. Trans. By: Author. Asar al-Belad va Akhbar al-Ebad. Trans. to farsi By: Abdolrahman Sharafkandi. Moassese-ye Elmi-e Andishe-ye Javan, 1987, Tehran, p.112

citizenship and made Tehran a capital that was appropriate for a society that was involved in deep change, with citizens who participated in socio-political movements.[65]

The emerging Pahlavi regime willed to westernize the country and thus engaged in different activities for this improvement such as establishing new rules for *Baladiyeh* (municipality).[66] With the aim of expanding the city and creating new streets, Reza Shah Pahlavi, ruined the gates and walls around the city in 1930, five years after coming to power.[67] It can be noted that since then Tehran started a rapid, non-stop process of expansion, and even today it continues its expansion as if it will never reach its out most boundaries. Along side with its area, the population of the city increased during the reign of Reza Shah. In the way to transform Tehran into a modern city, Reza Shah launched a serious building program for the capital of his country. The traditional and irregular pattern of Tehran, interpreted by a new image of streets, which would provide modern transportation for the city and replace the narrow streets. The octagonal Tehran of the Naser al-Din Shah was transferred into a square city. *Khiaban-e Shahreza* (Shahreza street), placed at the old northern walls of the city, was built as a broad avenue with wide sidewalks and a central *Meidan* (square) (Figure 2.8).[68]Fundamental changes in the physical body of the capital was one of the most appealing characteristics of the Reza Shah reign; reflecting on the construction of wide and straight Streets (*Khiabans*), such as *Khiaban-e Pahlavi* and *Khiaban-e Shah*, and geometrical Squares (*Meidans*) such as *Meidan-e Rah Ahan* (Railway Square).[69]

New networks of avenues, streets and squares were built in Reza Shah period, as part of his modernization program for Tehran. To emphasize the principles of the new regime, Reza Shah, transformed the city into an open matrix and brought a new structure to it, which included building of large squares at the intersections and enlarging the urban spaces alongside demolishing the walls of the Arg and some palaces of the Qajar period.[70]

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[65] Habibi, Mohsen & Bernard Hourcade. Atlas of Tehran Metropolis: Land & People. Publishers: Urban Planning & Processing Company, Tehran GIS Centre, Tehran Municipality, Tehran, 2005, p.E34

[66] Takmil Homayoun, Nasser. Trans. By: Author. Tehran. Iran Cultural Studies, Tehran, 2006, p.65

[67] Mahmoudian, Ali-Akbar. Trans. By: Author. A Glance At Tehran from the Beginning uptill Now. Gitashenasi Geographical & Cartographic Institute, Tehran, 2005, p.62

[68] Marefat, Mina. Building to Power: Architecture of Tehran 1921-1941. Thesis Supervisor: Prof. Stanford Anderson. Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the field of Architecture, Art, and Environmental studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, April 1988, pp.82-83

[69] Bahrambeygui, H. Tehran: An Urban Analysis. Sahab Books Institute, Tehran, 1977, p.34

[70] Habibi, Mohsen & Bernard Hourcade. Atlas of Tehran Metropolis: Land & People. Publishers: Urban Planning & Processing Company, Tehran GIS Centre, Tehran Municipality, Tehran, 2005, p.E34

Impressive administrative buildings were built in large open spaces, such as *Meidan-e Mashgh* (Parade Square), and several constructions in quasi-European and pre-Islamic style such as Central Post Office, the Ministry of Justice, and Bank-e Melli Iran reflected the nationalistic interests of the new ruler (Figure 2.9, Figure 2.10, Figure 2.11).[71] The royal compound was fragmented, in order to be replaced by a new government quarter, and the buildings that survived faced a functional change, such as Golestan Palace, which was turned into a museum.[72] The new municipality and constructions laws supported the development plans of Tehran; according to the new laws the limits to the building heights were established and shops were required to have a glass window towards the street.[73]The fastest growth and the highest evolution of Tehran happened in Pahlavi period when Tehran became a metropolis and in the last years of Mohammad Reza Shah's reign, after the Reza Shah period, an urban crisis which divided the rich and the poor, the north and the south, immersed the city.[74]

In the early and chaotic years right after the Iranian Revolution in 1979, low-income groups started to occupy the lands inside the borders of the city, built their own residential units, and named them in the name of the leaders of the Revolution by means of scuttling the law.[75] These settlements are considered as the main reason behind Tehran's irregular expansion after the Revolution. The area of Tehran, which was 515 square-kilometers in 1981, reached 864 square-kilometers in 1999, and today it is more than 900 square-kilometers.[76] In terms of population of urban area, Tehran is the most populated town of Iran with 12 million inhabitants in 2004, which is the highest concentration of population in Middle East and equals that of Istanbul and Cairo.[77] Further discussion on the history of modern Tehran, from 1934 onwards will be provided in the following chapters of this study.

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[71] Bahrambeygui, H. Tehran: An Urban Analysis. Sahab Books Institute, Tehran, 1977, p.34
[72] Madanipour, Ali. Tehran; The making of a metropolis. John Willey and Sons Ltd. West Sussex, 1998, p.37
[73] Habibi, Mohsen & Bernard Hourcade. Atlas of Tehran Metropolis: Land & People. Publishers: Urban Planning & Processing Company, Tehran GIS Centre, Tehran Municipality, Tehran, 2005, p.E34
[74] Milani, Abbas. Lost Wisdom; Rethinking Modernity in Iran. Mage Publishers, Washington, 2004, p.86
[75] The author uses the word "*Zoor Abad*" for these settlements; *Zoor* meaning "power" and *Abad,* which is a suffix used for the name of small towns in Persian.
Mahmoudian, Ali-Akbar. Trans. By: Author. A Glance At Tehran from the Beginning uptill Now. Gitashenasi Geographical & Cartographic Institute, Tehran, 2005, p.64
[76] Ibid. p.65
[77] Habibi, Mohsen & Bernard Hourcade. Atlas of Tehran Metropolis: Land & People. Publishers: Urban Planning & Processing Company, Tehran GIS Centre, Tehran Municipality, Tehran, 2005, p.E15

Figure 2.1: A map of Iran in the region
The map the position of Tehran in the whole country as well as its position in relation to the important cities of the country and its neighboring countries.
Source: http://iranto.ca/En/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=62&Itemid=62 (visited: May 03, 2011)
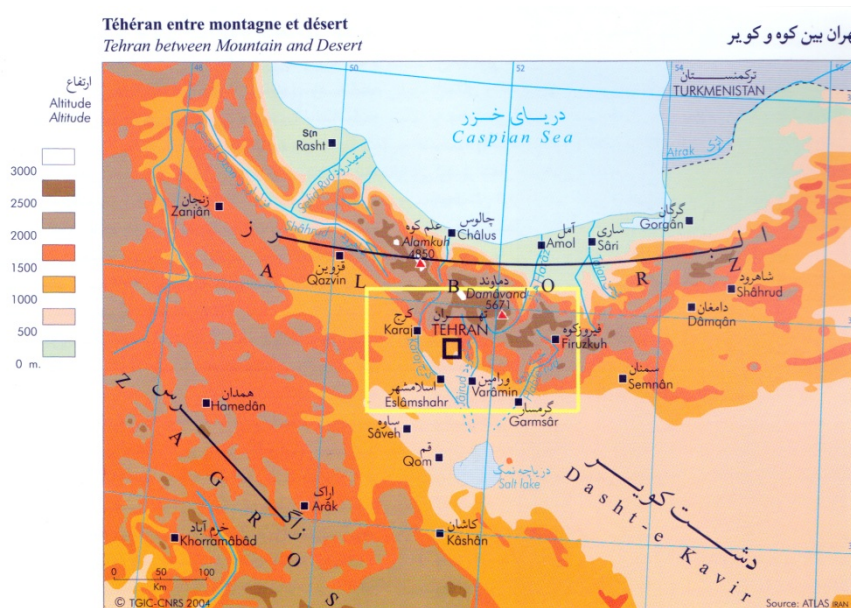


Figure 2.2: The climatic position of Tehran
Tehran is situated between Alborz mountains in north, and Dasht-e Kavir desert in south, and the rivers, as the source of water of the city, streaming from the mountains in north and passing the city, are visible in the map.
Source: Habibi, Mohsen & Bernard Hourcade. Atlas of Tehran Metropolis: Land & People. Publishers: Urban Planning & Processing Company, Tehran GIS Centre, Tehran Municipality, Tehran, 2005, p.22

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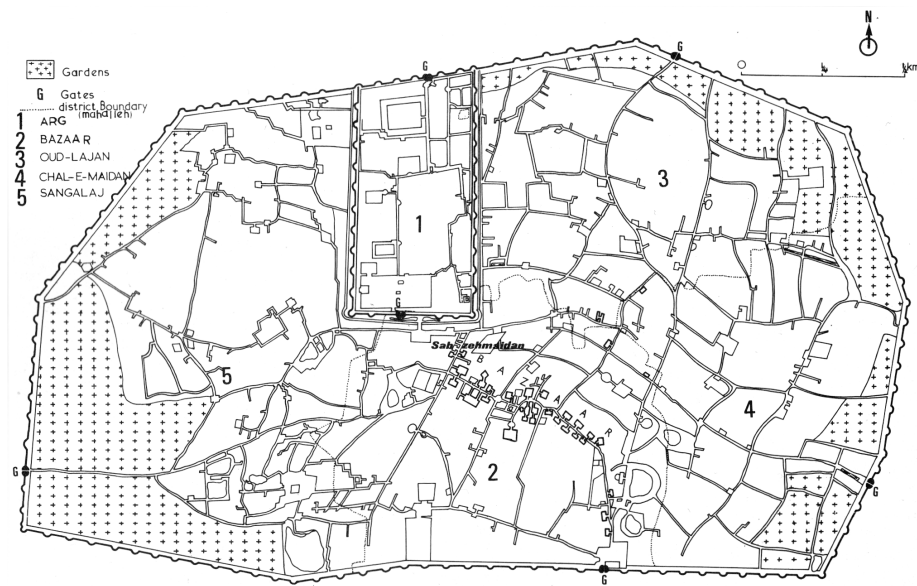
Figure 2.3: Tehran in 1852, after "Town Plan of Tehran" by Berzin, 1852
The map indicates the place of Arg, in northern part and the Bazaar in the southern part of the city. The main square of the city, *Sabzeh Median*, is visible in southern part of Arg.
Source: Bahrambeygui, H.Tehran: An Urban Analysis. Sahab Books Institute, Tehran, 1977, p.18
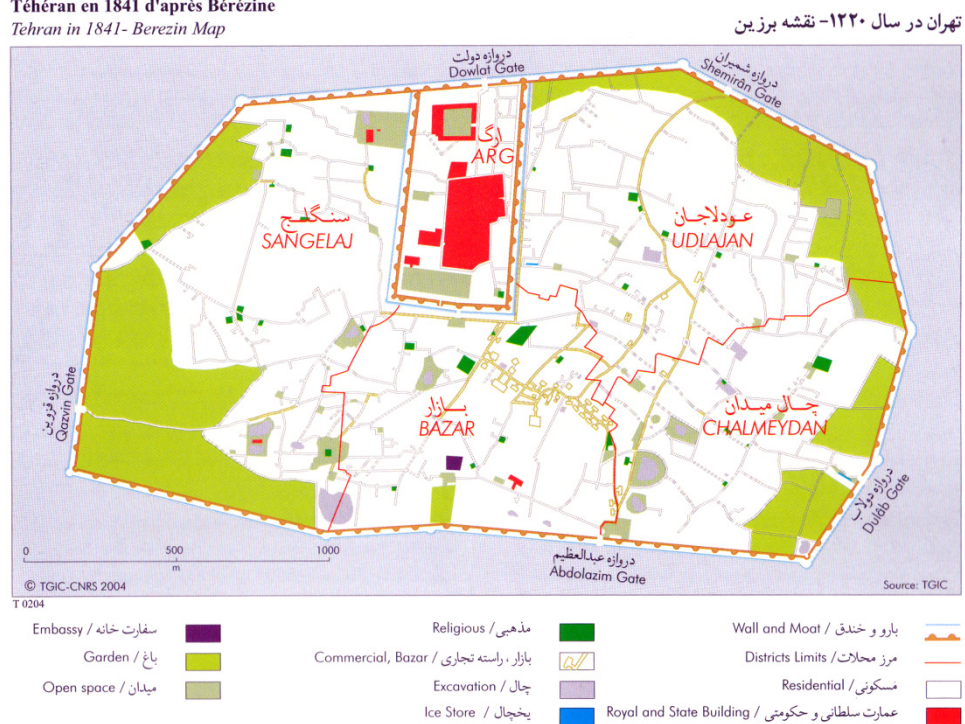


Figure 2.4: The map of Tehran's Dar ol Khalafe, drawn by Berezin in 1841
The map indicates the place of Tehran bazaar and the commercial center of the city, with royal buildings, embassies, and religious buildings of the time. It shows that the city is surrounded by green spaces.
Source: Habibi, Mohsen & Bernard Hourcade. Atlas of Tehran Metropolis: Land & People. Publishers: Urban Planning & Processing Company, Tehran GIS Centre, Tehran Municipality, Tehran, 2005, p.66

Figure 2.5: Tehran's map in 1857, drawn by Krziz
In the more detailed map, drawn by Krziz, Tehran is a maze-like city, with narrow alleys, while the constructed areas have been expanded and the green areas have decreased.
Source: Habibi, Mohsen & Bernard Hourcade. Atlas of Tehran Metropolis: Land & People. Publishers: Urban Planning & Processing Company, Tehran GIS Centre, Tehran Municipality, Tehran, 2005, p.67
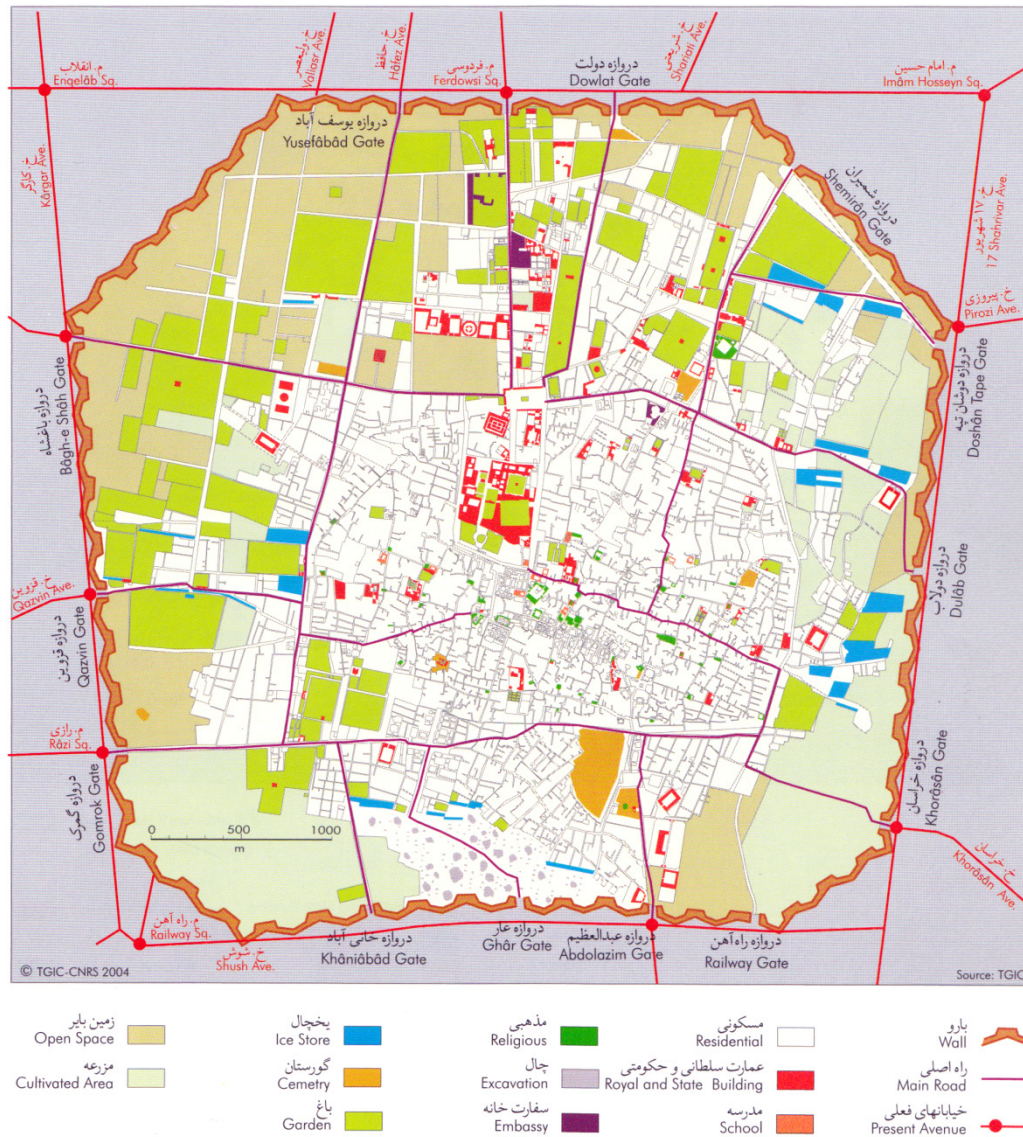
Figure 2.6: Tehran's map in 1890, drawn by Abd-ol-Ghafar
The map shows the octagonal Tehran, with new walls, 12 gates, and few, main wide avenues.
Source: Habibi, Mohsen & Bernard Hourcade. Atlas of Tehran Metropolis: Land & People. Publishers:
Urban Planning & Processing Company, Tehran GIS Centre, Tehran Municipality, Tehran, 2005, p.68

Figure 2.7: The limits of Tehran from Safavid to 1953
Three main periods of Tehran's expansion have been show on this map, juxtaposed upon eachother. As it can be observed the city has expanded northwards and Shahreza (Enghelab) Street, which was at the northern edge of the city, have been taken into the boundaries of the city by time. The place of Tehran University, Shahreza (Enghelab) Square and Bazaar can be seen in this map.
Source: Habibi, Mohsen & Bernard Hourcade. Atlas of Tehran Metropolis: Land & People. Publishers: Urban Planning & Processing Company, Tehran GIS Centre, Tehran Municipality, Tehran, 2005, p.59
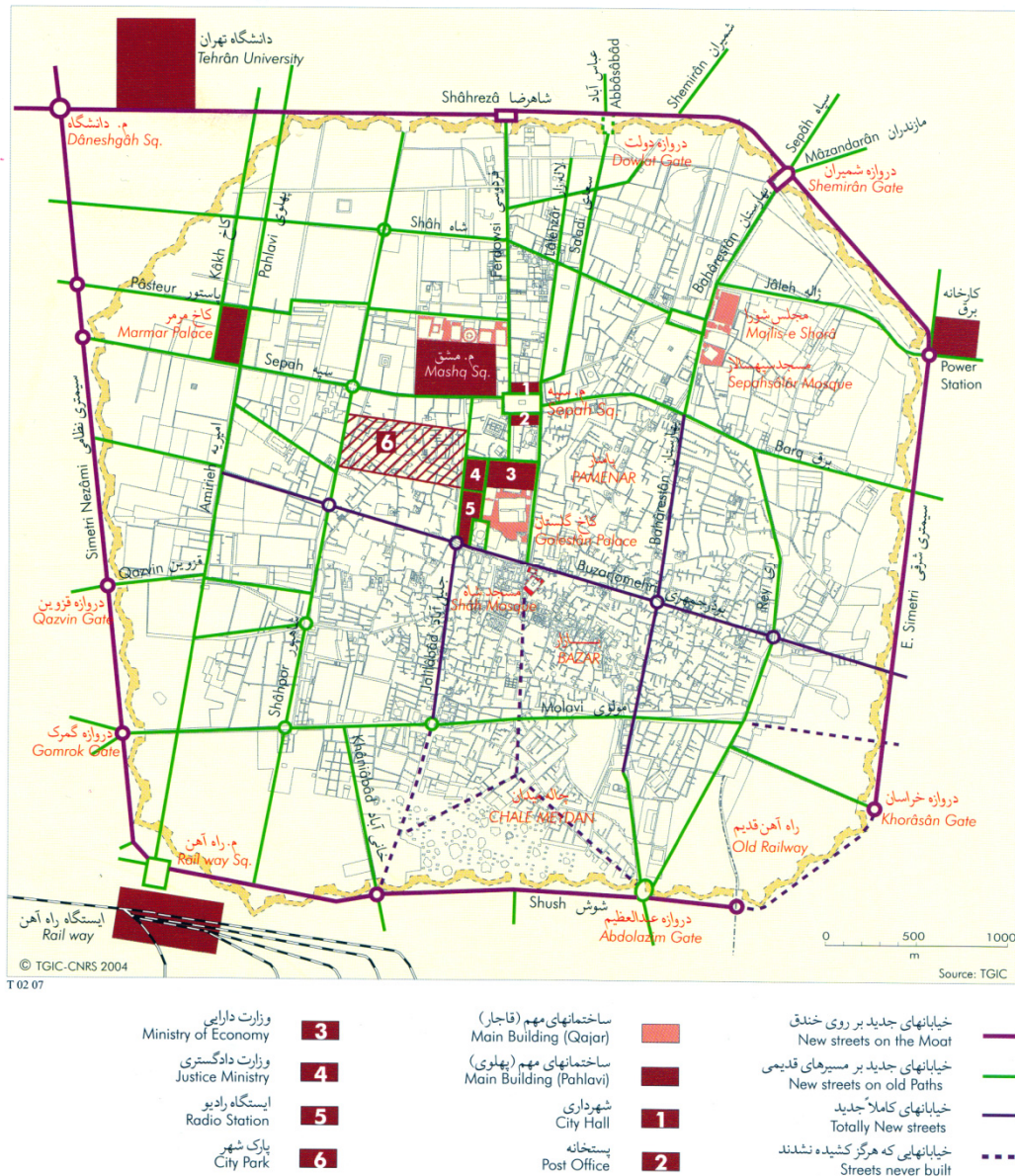
Figure 2.8: The Plan of Tehran in 1937
The image shows the map of Tehran during Reza Shah's period of reign in 1937, with modernization imposed upon the city plan. The new square city plan has the administrative buildings, in the place of old Arg, close to Bazaar.
Source: Habibi, Mohsen & Bernard Hourcade. Atlas of Tehran Metropolis: Land & People. Publishers: Urban Planning & Processing Company, Tehran GIS Centre, Tehran Municipality, Tehran, 2005, p.72

Figure 2.9: Tehran Central Post Office, 1946
Source: Old Tehran, Photography By Mahmoud Pakzad (1941-1975). Did Publications, 2003, p.295



Figure 2.10: Tehran Ministry of Justice, 1946
Source: Old Tehran, Photography By Mahmoud Pakzad (1941-1975). Did Publications, 2003, p.304

Figure 2.11: Bank- Melli Iran, Tehran
Source: http://www.kavehfarrokh.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/04/firdowsi-street-and-melli-bank.jpg
(visited: May 03, 2011)

2.3. The history of public squares in Iran

Squares of the cities are important parts of the history and the culture of the cities. The squares appeal the life and the historical identity of the cities, while they are scene of contest and sociability. They encapsulate the political, social, and cultural movements of the inhabitants of the cities. In a historical account of the cities in Iran and the role of squares, one might move back to the ancient architecture of Iran, around 4000 B.C. The first appearance of public squares in the cities of ancient Iran were in the junction of the routes which were ending at the gates of the city; these junctions, which were at the path of trade, would provide centers for trade, while another square for the gatherings would be beyond the walls of the cities, in front of temples or at the front of palaces. The most important remaining of those cities is the city of Persepolis or Parse, which has been built around 518 B.C., and hold the great attention in terms of architecture and city planning because of its alleys, streets and public spaces, which indicate an advanced stage of planning of the

cities.[78]In a general analysis of the history of square in Iranian cities, it can be observed that, traditional Iranian cities have at least one major *Meidan,* or large public square located either near the city gates or at the center of the cities, and smaller *Meidans* or squares that form the centers of residential neighborhoods.[79]

In many traditional Iranian cities, a large *Meidan,*is the entrance to a major bazaar, such as *Meidan-e Naqsh-e Jahan* in Isfahan, *Meidan-e Ganj Ali Khan* in Kerman, and *Sabzeh Meidan* in Tehran.[80]The meaning of Square or *Meidan* in Iran as the center of cultural, economical and official exchanges has mostly been derived from the city planning of the Selucid Empire in 312-63 B.C.[81] With the concurrence of Iran by Islam in 651 A.C. the mosques as the centers of religion started to be added to the previous important elements of Persian cities. Indeed the gathering spaces in the history of Persian cities have been the huge platforms of palaces and fire temples before the rise of Islam, and the platforms of mosques and bazaars after the rise of Islam. *Meidans* in the Iranian cities, were specifically used as gathering places during the important religious, political, and socio-cultural events, such as rituals of Muharram and Ramazan, elections and executions, and the celebration of Persian holidays, such as Nourooz; in ordinary days of the year the squares were used by retailers for the trading purpose.[82]The most important of those platforms in the Islamized Iran, have been the platforms of *Masjed-e Jame* or Great Mosque of each city. Each city was to have one GreatMosque, which would be located at the main road of the city and at the junction of Bazaar, Madreseh and other commercial and official centers of the city. The platforms of these mosques were to be used to announce and perform the governmental sentences, hold the public gatherings, judgments and public education. *Meidan-e Naqsh-e Jahan* in Isfahan (also called Shah Square, and Imam Square after the Revolution of 1979) is the most sophisticated form of urban Square in Iran in the capital of the country in sixteenth century (Figure 2.12,

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[78] Parse or Persepolis was the capital of Achaemenid Empire, and was founded by Darius the Great in 518 B.C, and it took around 150 years to build the whole city with all its ceremonial parts and magnificent palaces. The city was burnt and ruined by Alexander the Great in 330 B.C. It is situated 70 km northeast of Shiraz.
http://www.iranchamber.com/history/persepolis/persepolis1.php (visited: June 12, 2010)
[79] Kheirabadi, Masoud. Iranian Cities; Formation and Development. University of Texas Press, Austin, 1991, pp.77-78
[80] Ibid, p.78
[81] Mohammadzadeh Mehr, Farrokh. Trans. By: Author. Meidan-e Toopkhane-ye Tehran; Negahi be Seire Tadavom va Tahavvol dar Fazahaye Shahri. Moavenat-e Shahrsazi va Memari, Tehran, 2003, preface
[82] Kheirabadi, Masoud. Iranian Cities; Formation and Development. University of Texas Press, Austin, 1991, p.78

Figure 2.13); this square was used to play polo and trade.[83] This integrated heart of the city was renowned in Shakespeare's England and even until the middle of the twentieth century it was the largest public square in the world.[84]*Meidan-e Naqsh-e jahan,* with 507 meters length and 158 meters width, is surrounded by important buildings of Safavid period; in east the Sheikh Lotfollah Mosque, in west the royal Ali Qapu Palace with its famous music pavilion, in south Masjed-e Jame Shah, and in northern edge the entrance of the main bazaar, surround this large urban square.[85]

The axial geometrical pattern of Iranian cities, with the walls surrounding them and their square-shaped form and internal axial layout, specifically in eastern Iran, were more developed from the middle of the first millennium BC.[86] As Madanipour quotes from de Planhol, "A main street stretched from a single gateway, flanked by courtyard houses, and led to a central square, which was the communal park of the cattle (de Planhol, 1968: 425-8)."[87] This pattern of Parthian and Sassanian cities did not change, despite Muslims' attempts after the conquest of the country in seventh century, and the symbolic, pre-Islamic significance of Persian cities continued until nineteenth century.[88] Even in Tehran of nineteenth century, which was a city mostly built on western visions, the axiality of urban form was working along side public squares. They were built to hold festivals and be used as marketplaces. Tehran had two squares, one inside the citadel and the other out of it, for political and economical activities, for the meetings between the government and the inhabitants.[89] It can be derived that, *Meidan,* has been the spatial node of an intricate relationship between the cultural, religious, commercial, and political activities. Alongside being a node of gathering and contest of the society, it held the spatial representation of the power pillars of the society.

"During the twentieth century, the urban squares of Tehran and the large cities, such as Baharestan Square in front of the parliament, have frequently been the

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[83] Madanipour, Ali. Public and private spaces of the city. Routledge Press, New York, 2003, pp.207-209
[84] Ibid, pp.207-209
[85] http://daneshnameh.roshd.ir/mavara (visited: April 28, 2011) (Trans. By: Author)
[86] Madanipour, Ali. Public and private spaces of the city. Routledge Press, New York, 2003, p. 207
[87] Ibid, p. 207
[88] Madanipour, Ali. Tehran; The making of a metropolis. John Willey and Sons Ltd. West Sussex, 1998, pp.224-225
[89] Ibid, p.385

spaces of political contest. Whoever controlled these urban spaces, controlled the city and society. While the kings used them as displays of their power, the revolutionary masses used them as their meeting points and places of challenging authority. The two revolutions that have shaped Iran's modern history were both performed in its public spaces. In this sense, there was a close link between the social movements and the public spaces of the city."[90]

The traditional patterns of use for public squares were in charge till the modern ages when the kings started to travel to Europe and import the European patterns of city planning and mix them with the traditional layout of the cities. Those new patterns would create squares with new functions around them; such as cinema, theatre, bank, hotel, university, and etc, while on the other hand the entry of automobile had an effective influence on the form and size and number of squares. *Meidan* which was once the most important node for the daily activities of the inhabitants of the cities, started to be loaded by new functions as well as new form and loose its vital and active role in the minds of the inhabitants of the cities. They started to be used to indicate the directions in people's daily lives until the stage that there was a need for gathering and protesting for their rights or for the struggle of power (Figure 2.14). Then the square becomes the scene of power struggle, and political movement takes place in the city squares, as if the struggle is over the ruling of that square. What makes *Meidan*, a key element in Persian architecture is its role as the social, economical and political node of the city; but what we observe today is that they are losing their identities, while they loose the presence of people. Citizens, pass through *Meidans* intensely but they do not stay in them in the practice of everyday life, because the functions such as trade or sociability have been erased from the body of the squares and the newly loaded function, acting as a traffic node, generates movement rather than presence.

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[90] Madanipour, Ali. Public and private spaces of the city. Routledge Press, New York, 2003, pp.207-209

Figure 2.12: View of Naqsh-e Jahan Square From Masjed-e Shah
Naqsh-e Jahan Square (meaning the map of the world), in Isfahan, the previous capital of the country, before Tehran, is the most sophisticated Square in Iran. The image is captured from Masjed-e Shah, showing Sheikh Lotfollah Mosque, and the Square.
Source: http://www6.worldisround.com/photos/5/326/575.jpg (visited: June 15, 2010)



Figure 2.13: Naqsh-e Jahan Square, view from Bazaar in a normal day.
The view from Bazaar, shows the Sheikh Lotfollah mosques in left, Masjed-e Shah in center, and Ali Qapu Palace in the right hand side. The water is the central element of the Square.
Source: http://didiran.com/di-user-images/album/36/89/hi/89-Naqsh-e-Jahan-Square-Isfahan-Iran-Safavid-Shah-Mosque-Sheikh-Lotf-Allah-Masjed-Ali-Qapu-Bazaar-px-naghshe-jahan-square-isfahan-modified-1268567987-4.jpg (visited: April 29, 2011)

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Figure 2.14: Naqsh-e Jahan Square, Isfahan, 2009
The Square is used for political gatherings. Isfahan greets Khatami at a rally for Mousavi, one day before the 2009 presidency elections. Symbols of the green movement are visible. The view is from Masjed-e Shah.
Source: http://windowsoniran.wordpress.com/2009/06/25/windows-on-iran-67-election-special-13/ (visited: June 12, 2010)

## 2.4. Contemporary Tehran: a city without a square

*Meidan* or square in contemporary Persian cities, are the places which are at the junction of important streets and hold specific activities around them as an atrium and those activities are the essences that attribute the identity of that square. In certain circumstances the squares can be used to hold ceremonies and protests. The word *Meidan* has pre-Islamic roots in mai-ta-ni (hippodrome), and in the case of Persian cities, it has been observed that each city had at least one central *Meidan,* used for trade and public gatherings.[91]Keeping in mind this definition one would easily understand that Tehran today, has no real *Meidan*. The squares in Tehran do not involve the characteristics of *Meidan*. While there have been no plan for gathering spaces around the squares, they are only used for traffic or they are

[91] Marefat, Mina. Building to Power: Architecture of Tehran 1921-1941. Thesis Supervisor: Prof. Stanford Anderson. Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the field of Architecture, Art, and Environmental studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, April 1988, pp.86-87

blockade by inappropriate buildings which do not cover public use. Indeed today in Tehran there are no spaces for public gatherings and the spaces that people use today are usually occupied by themselves and tried to be modified according to their will. In other words, it is not the functions around the squares that keep them alive in Tehran, but it is their critical location in traffic that makes people pass through them, and there are no more squares, which are used as spaces to pause, but as spaces to pass.

The oldest square of Tehran goes back to 1540, when the king of the time ordered to surround the city with walls, and the inhabitants could build their homes on the ground level; before that because of security problems, people of Tehran used to build their homes under ground level. It is believed that the oldest square of Tehran has been in a region, called "*Chal Meidan*", andthe square was at the place of the mosque of that district.[92] The change in the function of the squares rise from the social and intellectual developments of a society; but the point that is aimed to make here is that the squares of Tehran have lost their identities with loosing their form and functions and not being loaded by new functions. The urban history of Tehran can be determined by reading the history of squares of the city, while the entire social, economical, and political conflicts of the society took place in those squares. Despite various political and economical changes, Tehran of twentieth century was still an axial city, in which the leading elite of the society were situated in the northern part of the axis, while the rest of the society were along side the southern parts of the axis; and the central square which was previously used to connect the two poles of the axis, was gradually disappeared.[93]

Although the nature of streets had changed during the first transformations of the city, in late 1800's, at the time that the narrow, twisting streets, partly roofed when they became main arteries like bazaars, were transformed to wide, straight, and unroofed streets, the nature of squares did not change till the modernization programs of Reza Shah.[94] The squares of Tehran lost their function of sociability and transformed into circulation apparatuses since Reza Shah Pahlavi's period of reign and his westernization programs. When Reza Shah introduced modern new organs to the city, the previous city squares started to loose their meaning. During the second half of 20th century, the squares of the city, which were once built in a coherent architectural language and were holding crucial commercial and

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[92] Motamedi, Mohsen. Trans. By: Author. Historical Geography of Tehran. Markaz-e Nashr-e Daneshgahi, Tehran, 2002, pp.237-239
[93] Madanipour, Ali. Tehran; The making of a metropolis. John Willey and Sons Ltd. West Sussex, 1998, pp.225-226
[94] Ibid, p.34

official functions, and thus were fully alive, were almost diminished. As it is stated about *Meidan-e Toopkhaneh,* which is one of the oldest squares of Tehran, that is still active today, along side with the fundamental changes in the structure of the city, the square started to convert to a formless and incommensurate space, which has lost its identity. The buildings around the square have no coordination with each other and the whole square acts as a traffic joint.[95] In addition, the name of the square was changed to *Sepah Square,* in honor of Reza Shah Pahlavi.

Several squares in Tehran such as *Sabzeh Meidan,* and *Meidan-e Mashq,* which were originally used as marketplaces or for public activities, and traditionally served multi-purpose functions, were transformed through proposed streets - which passed through medians and changed their nature - or other new building programs.[96] The new identity of the public squares in Tehran and gradually in other cities of the country did not have the historical and social background to evolve naturally; rather it was imposed through planning principles of the time. Indeed the squares of Tehran, as the most political spaces of the country, were not produced through a sophisticated process of evolution; they were the outcomes of the strategies of the source of power. While earlier *Meidans* were like medieval open spaces that were evolving in time and covering variety of pubic activities, Reza Shah's modern *Meidans* were static places dedicated to symbolism rather than activism.[97] In other words the new squares of the city, were not naturally evolved spaces for the daily activities of the inhabitants, in addition they were carefully planned open spaces to demonstrate the power of the state and represent its grandeur. In fact the central element of the new squares paved the way for the squares to become the most suitable places for the source of power to represent itself through placing statues in a focal public node that symbolized its power.

In the traditional Persian *Meidan* the same pattern of design of courtyard houses and mosques was followed; they were oriented around a central pool that was an aesthetic center as well as a practical feature for the people who used them (Figure 2.15).[98] Water was the central element of the Persian courtyard houses and it provided cool weather and was

[95] Mohammadzadeh Mehr, Farrokh. Trans. By: Author. Meidan-e Toopkhane-ye Tehran; Negahi be Seire Tadavom va Tahavvol dar Fazahaye Shahri. Moavenat-e Shahrsazi va Memari. Tehran, 2003, p.146
[96] Marefat, Mina. Building to Power: Architecture of Tehran 1921-1941. Thesis Supervisor: Prof. Stanford Anderson. Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the field of Architecture, Art, and Environmental studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, April 1988, pp.88-89
[97] Ibid, p.91
[98] Ibid, pp.93-94

used for different purposes. New *Meidans,* as the new centers of urban activity, were for the fist time filled with figurative sculptures, as an evidence of departure from the past and rupture from the Islam's disapproval of public representation of figures.[99] The figures of national heroes or poets, as well as the figures of Reza Shah, replaced the previous pools and gardens of the squares in Tehran, as it can be observed in the comparative images of *Toopkhaneh* Square (Figure 2.16, Figure 2.17, Figure 2.18). The visibility of the source of power in the city squares attributed the characteristic of being a scene of power struggle to the public squares of Tehran and materialized the opposition of the masses and the ruler in the body of city squares. Despite the fact that there was no real *Meidan* left in the urban arena of Tehran anymore, in which the daily activities of trade or sociability would take place, there emerged a new identity for the new public squares that is continuous till the present time. Even though they are not used as means of sociability in the everyday lives of the inhabitants, and they only act as traffic junctions, the symbolic space of public squares, have made them a scene of socio-political conflict when it comes to a demonstrate the need for change.

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[99] Ibid, p.93
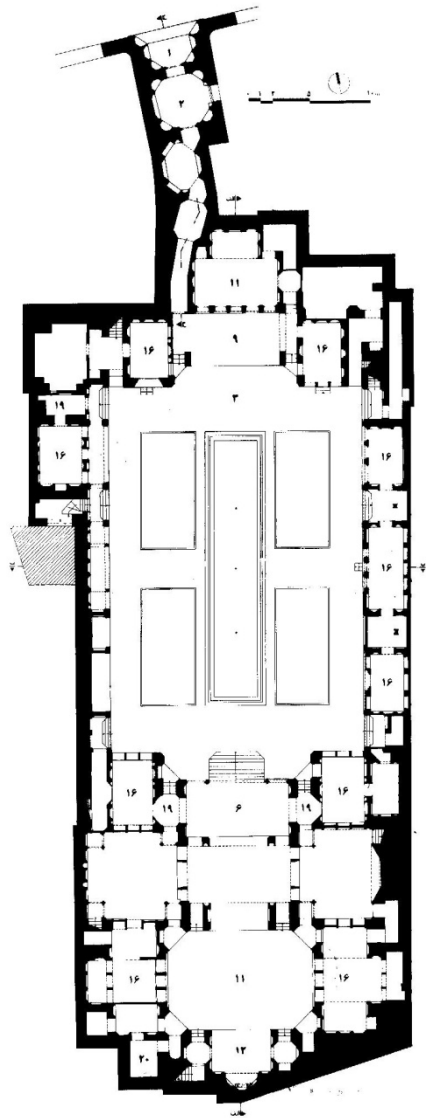
Figure 2.15: The grand floor plan and a view of Borujerdia house in Kashan-Iran
Borujerdia House was built in 1857, in Kashan, a city close to Tehran, with a hot climate. The courtyard is surrounded by Eyvan's, and pool and small gardens are the central elements of these yards. The water is not just a visual element, and it is used in daily affairs of the inhabitants of the house.
Source: Plan (http://sites.google.com/site/semnanun/boresh1.jpg) (visited: April 29, 2011)
Photo (http://artnewsyasna.persianblog.ir/post/18/) (visited: April 29, 2011)
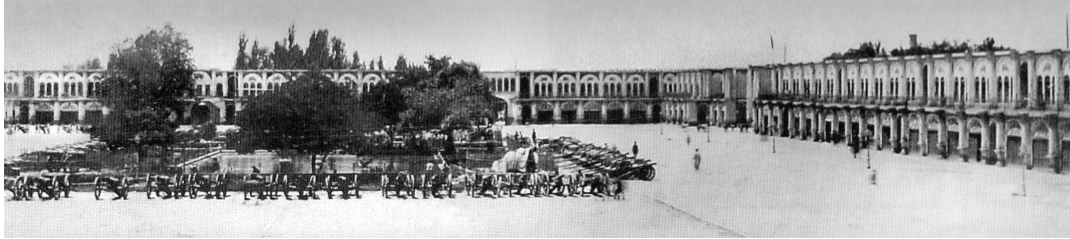
Figure 2. 16: The Western view of Toopkhaneh Square (Canon House Square), Tehran, 1880- 1920(Qajar period)
This period includes the first formation of the square. The pool and trees are the central elements of the square. The square is used for festivals, and trade.
Source: Mohammadzadeh Mehr, Farrokh. Trans. By: Author. Meidan-e Toopkhane-ye Tehran; Negahi be Seire Tadavom va Tahavvol dar Fazahaye Shahri. Moavenat-e Shahrsazi va Memari. Tehran, 2003, p.11



Figure 2.17: The Western view of Toopkhaneh Square, Tehran, 1920 – 1960 (Reza Shah Pahlavi period)
Reza Shah's period of reign was till 1941, but the main changes in the square till 1960, were parts of his modernization program. The landscaping has changed, and the grass has replaced the tress. A statue of Reza Shah is erected in the center of the Square.
Source: Mohammadzadeh Mehr, Farrokh. Trans. By: Author. Meidan-e Toopkhane-ye Tehran; Negahi be Seire Tadavom va Tahavvol dar Fazahaye Shahri. Moavenat-e Shahrsazi va Memari. Tehran, 2003, p.11



Figure 2.18: The Western view of Toopkhaneh Square, Tehran, 1960 – 1980 (Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi period)
The whole body of the urban environment as well as urban life has changed. Pedestrian movement is less visible and the buildings around the square are mostly demolished.
Source: Mohammadzadeh Mehr, Farrokh. Trans. By: Author. Meidan-e Toopkhane-ye Tehran; Negahi be Seire Tadavom va Tahavvol dar Fazahaye Shahri. Moavenat-e Shahrsazi va Memari. Tehran, 2003, p.11

2.5. The history of Tehran University as the locus of intelligentsia for the new modern capital

The idea of establishing an institution of higher education such as a university first appeared in Iran in 1851; this institute was called Dar al-Fonun and aimed to train upper-class Persian experts in different fields. In 1928 professor Mahmoud Hesabi proposed the establishment of an educational institution, which would cover a wide range of sciences, to the ministry of culture of Reza Shah Pahlavi's government. The ministry of culture, who believed that Tehran is going to be a modern capital and the only thing it lacks is a university, convinced the authorities to establish Tehran University. For this aim, Andre Godard, a French architect who was living and working for Persian government, was put in charge.[100] They were looking for a suitable plot around Tehran and finally they decided on *Jalalieh* Garden, which was a wide and well-positioned garden, full of old trees, in northern part of Tehran. Godard started the design of the university with designing the streets around the university using huge buttonwood trees. Tehran University was opened in 1934 with the universal education policy of admitting woman to enter the educational system, and it stressed the fact that Tehran was the country's educational and cultural center.[101]

The first plot of the university campus was surrounded by *Shahreza (Enqelab)* Street on the south, and *Poursina* Street on the north; it was located in the northwestern corner of *Shahreza* Street. The campus, designed by French-educated Iranian architects, was composed of series of independent structures, each with its own courtyard, and all centered around a large open plaza (Figure 2.19, Figure 2.20).[102] While contemporary campuses in Europe and America were dipping into medieval, gothic, and Georgian styles, Tehran University, with its rational style that appealed the intend behind it, which was to build a secular monument to exemplify higher education throughout the country, broke with the past entirely.[103] The architecture became an apparatus in the hands of Reza Shah's regime to direct people towards living in a secular, modern society, with national ethos. In fact Tehran University served to train Iranian experts and professors within the country. The architectural

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[100] http://www.ut.ac.ir/fa/contents/About_Un/Background_Un (visited: June 15, 2010)
[101] Bahrambeygui, H. Tehran: An Urban Analysis. Sahab Books Institute, Tehran, 1977, p.41
[102] Marefat, Mina. Building to Power: Architecture of Tehran 1921-1941. Thesis Supervisor: Prof. Stanford Anderson. Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the field of Architecture, Art, and Environmental studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, April 1988, pp.106-107
[103] Ibid, p.107

vocabulary of the buildings of the campus, although designed by different architects, shared a singular language; the concrete buildings with undecorated facades are embellished by simple columns bearing arcades or entry porches, and they look neither traditional nor eclectic, despite the fact that their architects were well-versed in traditional Persian architecture (Figure 2.21, Figure 2.22).[104]

Indeed the reason for choosing Tehran University as a case study here is the belief in the capacity of this specific urban form as a generator of socio-political movements in the body of Tehran. Tehran University, the symbol of modern secular institutions in Iran, became the center of political movements of the country since Mosaddegh's – the prime minister of Iran from 1951 to 1953 - nationalization movement during the 1950's.[105] In terms of location, Tehran University transformed that specific part of the city into a node of continuous conflict and an over-crowded center. With the establishment of the university the southern parts of the *Shahreza (Enqelab)* Street became the country's most important center of any kind of publication and bookstores. In addition, before the 1979 Revolution, it became the center to publish and distribute manifestos and statements and protesting programs illegally, while interestingly after the Revolution, it was possible to find illegal music or books within the same spaces. After the Iranian Revolution in 1979, the name of the street in which the university is located, was changed to *Enqelab*, which means revolution; the reason behind it was that many protests, starting from the university and moving towards Azadi Square passed along this wide, critical street.

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[104] Ibid, p.107

[105] Mohammadi, Ali. The sixth Majles election and the prospects for democracy in Iran. Ed by: Ali Mohammadi. Iran Encountering Globalization: problems and prospects. RoutledgeCurzon Press, New York, 2003, p.228

Figure 2.19: Tehran University, Faculty of Medicine, 1940's
The building style is simple and modern, with no ornaments.
Source: http://popartmachine.com/artwork/LOC+1116522/0/Faculty-of-Medicine,-Tehran-University,-Iran-LOT-6261-%5Bitem%5D...-painting-artwork-print.jpg (visited: May 02, 2011)
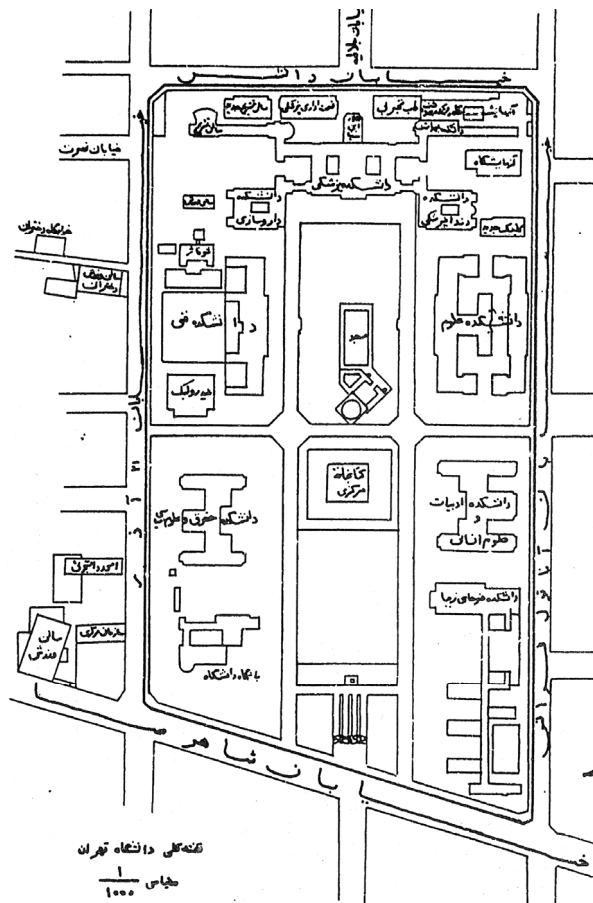


Figure 2.20: Campus Plan of Tehran University
The plan shows the main campus plan of Tehran University, in Shahreza Street. Different building of the campus, are designed by different architects. They mostly have courtyards. The main library, and the mosque are at the center, and the faculties are in the peripheries.
Source: Marefat, Mina. Building to Power: Architecture of Tehran 1921-1941. Thesis Supervisor: Prof. Stanford Anderson. Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the field of Architecture, Art, and Environmental studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, April 1988, p.448

Figure 2.21: Aerial view of Tehran University in 1950's
The view shows Shahreza Street, with campus of Tehran University and the other surrounding streets.
Source: http://aksghadimi89.persiangig.com/image/Tehran_University.jpg  (visited: May 03, 2011)
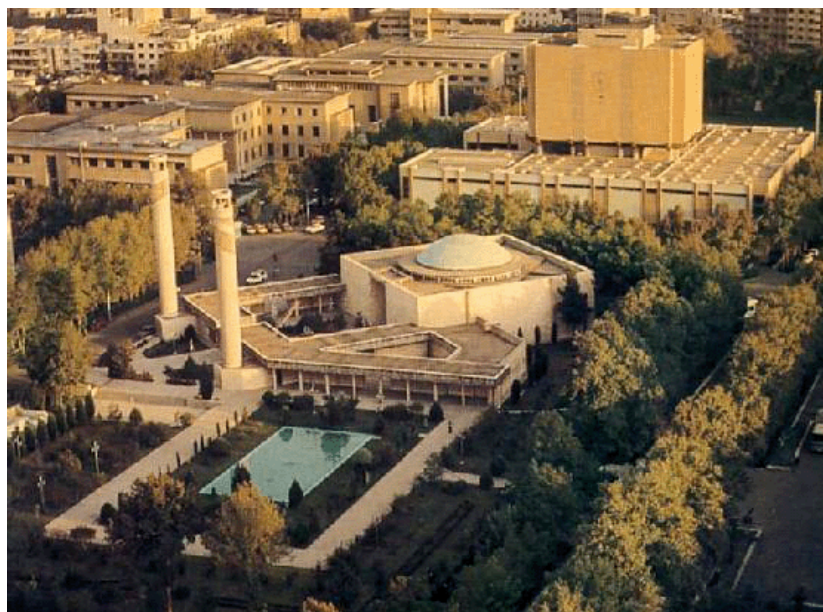


Figure 2.22: an aerial image of Tehran University, 1970's
The mosque and the main library building of the campus can be seen in the image. The pool and the gardening give reference to traditional Persian architecture, while the buildings are in modern style.
Source: http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=481563&page=6 (visited: May 01, 2011)

# CHAPTER 3

## 1934-1963: TRANSITION FROM FEUDAL TO SECULAR- RULE OF LAW

### 3.1. Establishment of a locus for intellectuals- Tehran University

The Third World emerged from a role these countries had, as a force which challenged the balance of power between First (capitalist) and Second (socialist) Worlds. It was in 1930's when it became apparent that universal involvement was in progress, and this fact was confirmed in 1940's by a war, which involved most of the world. Where the non-western countries were once seen as undifferentiated masses of societies which had not yet learned to be western, after 1940's the term non-western was born by western scholars and started to be studied as transformative agglomeration of newly independent nations who were to be helped to enter the process of modernization.[106] Therefore to comprehend the urbanization process of a Third World country, the best point of start seems to be the role of intellectuals and scholars and their position toward western modernization and western scholars. In discussions about Iranian intellectuals in twentieth century's socio-political context, their role in formation of revolutions cannot be ignored. In turn a study of the dynamics of urban transformation in modern Iran also leads us to a study on the influence of Iranian intellectuals over this process. While the social movements which lead to the transformation of public spheres, take place in the body of the cities; and the degree of the intellectuals participations and their centers as generating unit of the criticism and theories which causes awareness and thus uprising can not be ignored, the establishment of Tehran University as a locus of intellectuals in Iran is to be mentioned here. Since its establishment, Tehran University has always played a key role in the attempts for social and political

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[106] Abu-Lughod, Janet and Richard Hay. Third World Urbanization. Methuen Inc. Press, New York, 1979, pp.1-2

changes for the society. It generated awareness of social issues, and a group of people who would be called intelligencia (*rowshanfekr*).[107]

The background of Iran's encounter with modernity appeals the tension between democracy, intellectuals, nationalism, and state. The argument of a majority of Iranian intellectuals, who were active in national and international journals of the twentieth century, was based on debates on national policy and cultural directions. Towards the end of Qajar period Mohtasham al-Saltaneh(1866-1945), an intellectual and statesman of his time, stressed the conflict between knowledge and ignorance on one side and justice and injustice on the other side, and named them the core of political corruption and social rebellion and stated that a turn to a consultative government (*hokoumat-e showravi*) which depends on knowledge and justice will be the key to save the society.[108] Justice was to be observed through meritocracy, while knowledge was to be promoted through education and building schools and libraries.[109] Indeed the establishment of universities and schools was a step towards a systematic shift from a feudal system to a democratic system. Along side many new institutions which were westernized, the major towns were also put into a new set of changes towards modernization. Building new factories and a railroad, which would pass the whole country from northern Caspian Sea to the southern Persian Gulf, are examples of the series of changes. Tehran University is the most appealing example in terms of country's intellectual and educational improvement. It was to offer a standard education to both sexes and it was established in 1934.

The idea of the establishment of an institution, where Iranian youth can study the sciences of the west, first came up in 1830's by the founder of the French Lazariste mission in Iran, Eugene Bore.[110] It took almost a century till the idea was to be realized and the only higher educational faculties, which were medicine and law, were to be incorporated in a new university that was going to cover engineering, mathematics, literature, commerce, and

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[107] The notion of *Rowshanfekr* is composed of two words in Farsi; *Rowshan* meaning enlightened, *Fekr* meaning mind. This was a term that replaced the old Arabic term used in modern Persia. This notion was very much contemporaneous with the formation of Iranian *Tudeh* Party, and hence it conveyed Marxist connotations, embodying the belief in revolutionary struggle against the state of power and thus the notion of *Rowshanfekr* became politicized.
Nabavi, Negin. Intellectuals and the State in Iran; Politics, Discourse, and the Dilemma of Authenticity. University Pres of Florida, Gainessville, 2003, pp.5-7
[108] Gheissari, Ali. Iranian Intellectuals in the 20th Century. University of Texas Press, Austin, 1998, pp.41-42
[109] Ibid, pp.41-42
[110] Matthee, Rudi. Education in the Reza Shah Period. Ed. By: Stephanie Cronin. The Making of Modern Iran; State and Society under Riza Shah, 1921-1941. Routledge Press, New York, 2003, pp.129-130

political economy.[111] Andre Godard and Ali Asghar Hekmat, with a team of Iranian and foreign architects, were put to plan a campus for the university. Monsieur Godard (1881-1965), who was a French architect, graduated from L'Ecole des Beux Arts, first presented the design of the surrounding streets and interior side of the university campus. After confirmation, on February 3, 1934, the executive operation was started by planting shady, grand, and young plane trees in the margins of the streets.[112] The ground of the university was chosen at the western edge of the city, and it took around 17 years till all the faculties could have their own building at the main campus.[113] Tehran University was established as a secular institution and it underwent various stages of development since its establishment. The main campus of the university was located in the lands out of the old borders of the city and in terms of architectural style it was in the framework of modern style buildings of the time.[114] The campus of the university soon started to be scattered in different parts of the city, with new departments and research centers.

With the leadership of Taqi Arrani (1902-1940), who was a graduate of Berlin University, Iranian intelligentsia were exposed to Marxism; his ideas influenced a group of young people who later formed The Party of Iranian Masses (*Hezb-e Tudeh-ye Iran*) in 1941, and the party tried to convert the Iranian intellectuals with British tendencies to pro-German intellectuals.[115] In fact Todeh Party became one of the most important political parties in later periods of Iran's political and social history. They were active in universities and important cities, which had always been political, such as Gilan, Mazandaran, and Azarbaijan, which are located in northern part of the country, geographically close to Soviet Union.[116] It

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[111] Ibid, pp.129-130

[112] http://ut.ac.ir/en/main-links/overview.html (visited: January 15, 2010)

[113] Eilers, Wilhelm. Educational and Cultural Development in Iran during the Pahlavi Era. Ed. By: George Lenczowski. Iran Under the Pahlavis. Hoover Institution Publication, Stanford, CA, 1978, p.306

[114] Mohammadzadeh Mehr, Farrokh. Meidan-e Toopkhane-ye Tehran; Negahi be Seire Tadavom va Tahavvol dar Fazahaye Shahri. Moavenat-e Shahrsazi va Memari. Tehran, 2003, pp.78-112

[115] Gheissari, Ali. Iranian Intellectuals in the 20th Century. University of Texas Press, Austin, 1998, p.65

[116] "Originally Iranians were more of a race than a nation, the Persians being only one people among many Iranians. Apart from the country that is today called Iran, Afghanistan and Tajikistan all belong to wider Iranian entity in historical as well as cultural terms."
Katouzian, Homa. The Persians: ancient, medieval, and modern Iran. Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 2009, p.10
"The main ethnic groups in Iran are Persians (65 percent), Azerbaijani Turks (16 percent), Kurds (7 percent), Lurs (6 percent), Arabs (2 percent), Baluchis (2 percent), Turkmens (1 percent), Turkish tribal groups such as the Qashqai (1 percent), and non-Persian, non-Turkic groups such as Armenians, Assyrians, and Georgians (less than 1 percent). Persian, the official language, is spoken as a mother tongue by at least 65 percent of the population and as a second language by a large proportion of the remaining 35 percent. Other languages in use are Azeri Turkish and Turkic dialects, Kurdish, Luri,

might be stated here that in the transition from a feudal system to a secular system, the establishment of universities, as centers for the global knowledge, rather than local religious education, played a key role; and Tehran University was the first example for such a movement. Todeh party with its Marxist essence was indeed working as a consequence of such a transition, and these newly emerging intellectuals believed that religion is ill-equipped to cope with the demands of this transition.[117] The role of intelligentsia is quite important in the fall of Reza Shah, as it is in the fall of Mohammad Reza Shah; Reza Shah lost the enthusiasm and support of intelligentsia with loosing the assistance of an organized political party. Thus to comprehend the physical conditions of Tehran's public spaces in modern times, it would be necessary to couple the architecture of the time with modernization process of the country, and one of the crucial elements of modernization in the context of Iran, lies in the modernization and secularization of the educational system, which Tehran University was an instance of the first step towards this process.

## 3.2. The physical conditions of the public spaces in Tehran- the material body

The processes that take place in a society are affected by and reflected in its spatial development; in other words the way public sphere reflects on public space. Reza Shah initiated a rapid and extensive program of urban change for Tehran during his reign from 1921 to 1941. Indeed the most intensive spatial transformation along side the modernization process in Iran happened during his reign. To have a step toward modernization process he needed to create an infrastructure, which would carry the load of a fundamental change in all aspects of public life. Tehran was an Islamic town in terms of architectural features till early twentieth century, and with the Reza Shah, gaining the power of ruling the country, it started to be a field of manifesting the change that was going to be brought to the country together with other features of western modernization. To study Tehran's physical conditions from 1934 to 1963, the starting point lies in the midst of a historical account of coupling architecture with modernization, in a town that was neither an attractive city among Persian

Arabic, and Baluchi. Azeri and Kurdish autonomy movements arose in the 1940's, and a Kurdish autonomy movement was active in the period 1979–83."
Library of Congress, Federal Research Division. (http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/Iran.pdf) (visited: May 01, 2011)
[117] Milani, Abbas. Lost Wisdom; Rethinking Modernity in Iran. Mage Publishers, Washington, 2004, p.69

historically valuable and beautiful cities, nor among the world's modern cities. Reza Shah,as a firm believer of the necessity of law and order, aimed to bring a new order to the Iranian society in all the fields; to raise a new state with the help of nationalist elite.[118] In his opinion to accompany the process of modernization in Iran, secularization, centralization, and bureaucratization were the pillars of this change. Some of the social results of the new system were the secularization of system of primary and secondary education and the establishment of Tehran University in second decade of his reign and the acceleration of participation of women in education, economy, and public life.[119] Tehran, as the representative city of Reza Shah's transformative period, was put into a large-scale urban reconstruction; which was neither repeating what was occurring in Europe and Turkey, nor accelerating a process of change already underway in Iran.[120] He created a totally new image that was going to be a pattern for other cities and Tehran was going to function as a model which would be repeated in other cities to visualize modernization in different fields of inhabitant's daily lives.

Tehran was a walled city with twelve gates, which were meant to control the entering and exiting of people and objects from the city, built of mud brick, and was expanded around a covered bazaar and a mosque.[121] The capital city, which was a city with Islamic pattern in the early twentieth century, consisted of four main structural elements: wall and gates, royal citadel (*arg*), religious structures (*masjed, madrese, tekye,emamzade*), and residential quarters (*mahalle*). The walls of the city, which had changed in terms of form for several times, were demolished to allow the growth of the city, and this demolition has been considered as the first application of Iranian modernization process into the city. The public spaces of the time were mostly the religious structures of the city; and Arg, Bazaar, and Masjed-e Shah were the three elements of the power and sources of authority.[122] The traditional pattern of the city as briefly mentioned above, started to be replaced by the new image of the city that was composed of streets, squares, and monuments. The city walls and gates were demolished to allow the imposition of a network of streets which was meant to

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[118] Boroujerdi, Mehrzad. Triumphs and Travails of Authoritarian Modernisation in Iran. Ed. By: Stephanie Cronin. The Making of Modern Iran; State and Society under Riza Shah, 1921-1941. Routledge Press, New York, 2003, p.147
[119] Cronin, Stephanie. The Making of Modern Iran; State and Society under Riza Shah, 1921-1941. Routledge Press, New York, 2003, pp.1-2
[120] Marefat, Mina. Building to Power: Architecture of Tehran 1921-1941. Thesis Supervisor: Prof. Stanford Anderson. Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the field of Architecture, Art, and Environmental studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, April 1988, pp.73-74
[121] Graham, Robert. Iran: The Illusion of Power. Lowe and Brydone Printers, London, 1978, p.23
[122] Ibid. pp.32-48

work as an open matrix that would provide ease for circulation of goods and services through transforming the narrow pedestrian streets of Tehran into wide avenues; and not surprisingly reconstruction of Tehran was supported and carried out by modern intelligentsia who were a part of the process of recreation of society in a new image.[123] On behalf of the secularization of the country, Davar, a Swiss-educated jurist, was put in charge of reorganizing the Ministry of Justice; he outlawed public demonstrations on religious occasions and the performance of passion plays, mourning the martyrdom of Imams, opened the ancient mosque of Isfahan to foreign tourists, denied the pilgrimage visa applications and erected statues of himself in city squares.[124] In short, while anything related to past and traditions was supposed to indicate backwardness, therefore the traditional urban fabric was to be replaced by a totally new layout that was borrowed form the west.

In moving Tehran from an introverted Islamic urban fabric to an extraverted metropolis, Reza Shah created large avenues, urban squares, and pleasure parks, which were meant to represent openness and democracy. The existence of statues in such voids was a representation of the authority, and that was in contradiction with Islamic architecture and Islamic understanding of space where the concern was void rather than object.[125] As an instance, the pool in the central area of *Meidan-e Toopkhaneh* was replaced with a statue of Reza Shah, and a European style landscaping (Figure 3.1). In fact this is an instance of what should be called the monumental architecture in Iran, which started to be extensive with the reign of Reza Shah. One of the most appealing characteristics of Reza Shah's period of reign was the military essence of all the aspects of his period of rule; and the architecture of his period is not an exception in that.[126] In the buildings of this period one can observe huge colonnades in the entrances which would represent the grandeur and elegance of the building and use of symmetrical, repetitive elements in the rhythmic facades (Figure 3.2).

[123] Madanipour, Ali. Modernization and everyday life; Urban and rural change in Iran. Ed by: Ali Mohammadi. Iran Encountering Globalization: problems and prospects. RoutledgeCurzon Press, New York, 2003, p.140

[124] Abrahamian, Ervand. IRAN Between Two Revolutions. Princeton University press, New Jersey, 1982, pp.140-141

[125] Der-Grigorian, Talin. Construction of History: Mohammad-Reza Shah Revivalism, Nationalism, and Monumental Architecture of Tehran 1951-1979
Thesis Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Nasser O. Rabbat. Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Science of Architecture Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, June 1998, pp.18-20

[126] "After a British-engineered coup in 1921, he became war minister, using his position to assert control over a splintering polity. In 1923 he seized the premiership, and set out to establish a strong autocratic state - initially on the model of Atatürk's Turkish Republic, though by 1925 he had reconsidered, opting instead to crown himself Shah and found his own Pahlavi dynasty."
Bayat, Asef. "Tehran: Paradox City". New Left Review, 66, November – December 2010, pp.99-122, p.102

Archeology and architecture were brought into a symbolic relationship within Reza Shah's modernization process, while archeology provided the vocabulary for the architecture to start state propaganda through use of pre-Islamic motifs.[127] Motifs of pre-Islamic architecture were used in this period to stress the state's legitimization through nationalistic zeal (Figure 3.3). One can observe the motifs or Achaemenian architecture in the architecture of 20's and 30's in Iran, derived from the archeological finds of Persepolis and Susa.[128] In fact new institutions, such as police headquarter, replacing old *Nazmieh*, banks, universities, hotels, and new ministries were the product of the urban transformation project of Reza Shah's period of rule.

In modern Tehran of Reza Shah period, the path of the old walls and gates provided routes for the new wide boulevards and streets. Indeed *Enqelab* (Revolution)street, which was named *Shahreza* at that time, was built at the place of the northern walls of the city.[129] In the 1937 map of Tehran (Figure 3.4), it can be observed that the new wide streets are set on a grid system, and wide avenues were built at the place of previous city walls; Shahreza in the place of northern wall, Shoosh in the place of southern wall, Shahbaz in the place of eastern wall, and Simerti in the place of western wall. While in the old maps of Tehran the map was named according to *Mahalles*, the new map was identified according to the names of streets, squares, the place of embassies, governmental buildings, hotels, and public spaces. Public squares, the railway station, Tehran University, and a new hospital are the urban elements, which were added in the map of 1937.[130] New avenues, and particularly Shahreza and Pahlavi avenues, became commercial hubs of activity within city-scale and drew residential population (Figure 3.5, Figure 3.6, Figure 3.7); The whole path of the streets were lined with plane trees and Shahreza's main *Meidan,* named 24 Esfand, and after the 1979 Revolution named Enqelab, close to the campus of Tehran University,was planted with flowers and grass, that was a European landscaping technique, not familiar to Iran (Figure

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[127] Marefat, Mina. Building to Power: Architecture of Tehran 1921-1941. Thesis Supervisor: Prof. Stanford Anderson. Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the field of Architecture, Art, and Environmental studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, April 1988, pp.98-99
[128] Ibid, p.97
[129] Derived from the juxtaposition of old and new map of Tehran in the source below.   This Street is the street that connects Tehran University to the Azadi Square. It was named *Shahreza Street,* since it was constructed in 1930, till the Iranian Revolution in 1979, when it was extensively used for anti governmental protests, and since then it was named *Enghelab street,* which means Revolution Street. Mahmoudian, Ali-Akbar. A Glance At Tehran from the Beginning uptill Now. Gitashenasi Geographical & Cartographic Institute, Tehran, 2005, pp.58-59
[130] Mohammadzadeh Mehr, Farrokh. Meidan-e Toopkhane-ye Tehran; Negahi be Seire Tadavom va Tahavvol dar Fazahaye Shahri. Moavenat-e Shahrsazi va Memari. Tehran, 2003, pp.76-79

3.8, Figure 3.9).[131] With the growth of industries, health facilities, job and educational opportunities in Tehran, it started to absorb the migration and step into a path of rise in population, which did not stop never after. The population of Tehran, which was 156,800 in 1867, rise to 540,000 in 1939, at the start of the Second World War.[132] Indeed late 1930's can be considered as a breaking point in the urban history of Tehran, while for the first time with an extensive plan the city was moved from a traditional layout to a modern layout, and spontaneous non-designed development of the city left its place to urban planning interventions. The point to be highlighted here is that, Reza Shah's imposed modernism, created a kind of duality in terms of architecture and urban fabric of the city. New institutions and structures that were imported and were juxtaposed to the existing traditional social practices and physical environment created an uneasy coexistence of in-contradiction entities.[133]

With the Second World War and the invasion of Anglo-Soviet forces into Iran in August 1941, Reza Shah was forced to fall from power, and he left the country in favor of the crown prince in the hope of saving his dynasty. Mohammad Reza Shah, who was 22 years old at that time, was announced as the king of Persia. While "Reza Shah saw himself as a patriot; his son went beyond this and sought to give his rule a sense of divine mission."[134] He was opposed to attempts of assassination for several times, and one of them was at Tehran University in 1949, when a young man shot him five times. From 1941 till the rise of Mohammad Reza Shah's military monarchy in 1953 power was to shift between the court, *Majles*(parliament), the cabinet, the foreign embassies, and the general public.[135] This shift of power was in fact a rise of pluralism in the political arena. 22 significant parties active

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[131] Marefat, Mina. Building to Power: Architecture of Tehran 1921-1941. Thesis Supervisor: Prof. Stanford Anderson. Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the field of Architecture, Art, and Environmental studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, April 1988, pp.85-86

[132] Mahmoudian, Ali-Akbar. A Glance At Tehran from the Beginning uptill Now. Gitashenasi Geographical & Cartographic Institute, Tehran, 2005, p.66

[133] "Iran had experienced this juxtaposition of old and new in various invasions of different cultures and armies, as best exemplified in the dual city tradition after the Arab conquest in the seventh century, when the new and old were first put together and were integrated later. The speed of change in our time, however, could not allow the combination to develop gradually into a new cultural tradition."

Madanipour, Ali. Modernization and everyday life; Urban and rural change in Iran. Ed by: Ali Mohammadi. Iran Encountering Globalization: problems and prospects. RoutledgeCurzon Press, New York, 2003, p.140

[134] Graham, Robert. Iran: The Illusion of Power. Croom Helm Ltd, London, 1979, p.57

[135] Abrahamian, Ervand. IRAN Between Two Revolutions. Princeton University press, New Jersey, 1982, pp.165-170

between 1941 and 1946 have been recorded.[136] Such an active political atmosphere was accompanied by an energic press activity; while in 1943 it has been noted that there were 47 newspapers in Tehran, this figure had rise to 700 newspapers only in Tehran by 1951.[137]

Tehran continued to grow as the country's center of industrialization and employment. From 30's onward the new network of urban road system facilitated the movement in the city, but on the other hand space became fragmented and commodified.[138] The city expanded along a north-south axis and this axis lead to a segregation of poor and rich in the city, which exists till the present time. The northern part of the city which is closer to the Alborz mountain, and have a better climate is occupied by high-rise, modern buildings, better facilities, nice houses, thus quite high prices of land; while the southern part of the city is occupied by smaller buildings with lower quality and higher density, and thus it is accommodated by lower class of the society. In 1951 Mosaddeq was elected as the prime minister, and his election shifted the focus of attention from the Majles to the prime minister and streets; streets were the main source of strength for National Front and the prime minster was supporting the meetings and demonstrations everywhere to put pressure on Majles, and finally he succeeded to nationalize Iran's oil andto erode Shah's authority and isolate him from political contact.[139] Foreign forces which were not satisfied with the situation and Iran's growing independence and strength in political arena, started to propaganda against Iranian prime minister and it was the time when the streets and public arenas of Tehran, Isfahan and many others cities of the country became the scene of clashes. Finally with a coup d'état in 1953, Mosaddeq was removed, and shah came back to power and became the monarch of Iran till 1979 Revolution.

The oil industry, with British capital dominating the sector, became central in the social, economic, and spatial life of Tehran, and when Prime Minister Mosaddeq in 1951 nationalized it, it prompted his removal in a CIA-instigated coup, two years later.[140]His removal allowed Mohammad Reza Shah, Reza Shah's son, to consolidate his autocratic rule and accelerate modernization project alongside rapid industrialization, national education,

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[136] M. Ansari, Ali. Modern Iran since 1921: Pahlavis and After. Pearson Education Print, England, 2003, p. 78
[137] Ibid, p.78
[138] Madanipour, Ali. "City Profile: Tehran." Cities. Vol. 16, No. 1, pp.57-65, 1999, p.60
[139] Abrahamian, Ervand. IRAN Between Two Revolutions. Princeton University press, New Jersey, 1982, pp.267-269
[140] Bayat, Asef. "Tehran: Paradox City". New Left Review, 66, November – December 2010, pp.99-122, p.102

and urban development.[141]While in terms of architecture and city planning, it can be observed that the period of Reza Shah's reign was a period of modernization along side Persian ancient imagery and local expertise, the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah, after the Second World War was a period of European images and experts.[142] Indeed both periods were moving toward modernizing the public sphere and their built environment especially in large cities where with the urban scale renovations they were aimed to host a fundamental change in all the aspects of public sphere. Hence culturally and economically Tehran was the center of all this process and the center of country's economic growth and its representative in world market. Tehran was already an important city economically, while it was located at the intersection of east-west Silk Road path and the north-south trade path, which connected Caspian Sea to Persian Gulf. But this economic role started to be more intense in the last century. Madanipour defines the study of Tehran as "a case study of the tensions of modernity and of globalization"; which points out the role of contemporary Tehran in the new structure of power in the world and in the global market, especially after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the rise of oil economy.[143]

The study of the physical conditions of public spaces of Tehran in the second stage of its transformation, which is at the period of Reza Shah, opens up discussions on the way the modernist tendencies of the state, were implemented on the city, and the way the whole public arena was aimed to be reformed through an all-embracing series of changes, which held the spatial properties at their core. All the discussions of this part of the study that demonstrate a radical nature in the series of changes in urban spaces, brought by Reza Shah's modernization and westernization, can only be comprehended through understanding the overall socio-political and cultural impositions of the ruler of the time. The nature of the streets and squares, being spaces of sociability, were changed at this period; and as the concern of this study is on the use of public spaces as spaces of power struggle, the imposed shift on the nature of streets and squares from spaces to gather to spaces to pass, is vital to be mentioned. Public spaces of Tehran, from their names to their form and the statues placed in them, suddenly became spaces that symbolized and praised the visions and the power of the ruling authority.

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[141] Ibid, p.102
[142] Madanipour, Ali. "Urban Planning and Development in Tehran." Cities. Vol. 23, No. 6, pp.433-438, 2006, p.434
[143] Madanipour, Ali. "City Profile: Tehran." Cities. Vol. 16, No. 1, pp.57-65, 1999, p.57

Figure 3.1: Sepah (Toopkhaneh) Square in Tehran, 1940's
At the back Tehran municipality building can be seen. This was the main square of the city till 1940's.
The statue of Reza Shah can be seen in the image.
Source: http://www.worldisround.com/articles/255726/photo96.html (visited: July 23, 2010)



Figure 3.2: Tehran Police Headquarter, 1940's
The repetitive, rhythmic elements are of the characteristics of the architecture of Reza Shah's
modernization period.
Source: http://www.shahyad.net/iiarmy/Police/photos/police-setad.jpg (visited: May 03, 2011)



Figure 3.3: The Entrance of Tehran Police Headquarter, 1940's
Use of ancient Persian motifs, representing pre-Islamic Iran, in the entrance of the building.
Source: Kiani, Mostafa. Trans. By: Author. Kudeta-ye Nezami-e 1299 va Memari-e Nezami-
Gerayane. The Institute for Historical Contemporary Iranian Studies, pp.2-3

Figure 3.4: Tehran's map in 1937

The map shows the street grid system, with wide avenues at the place of the previous city walls, which are totally demolished. Shahreza avenues, becomes the main east-west street of the city since then, while Tehran university is placed in this axis, and Lalezar and Ferdowsi avenues which were the luxurious areas of the modern Tehran were connected to this street. The Rey Street in south-east Tehran is visible on this map.
Source: Habibi, Mohsen & Bernard Hourcade. Atlas of Tehran Metropolis: Land & People. Publishers: Urban Planning & Processing Company, Tehran GIS Centre, Tehran Municipality, Tehran, 2005, p.72
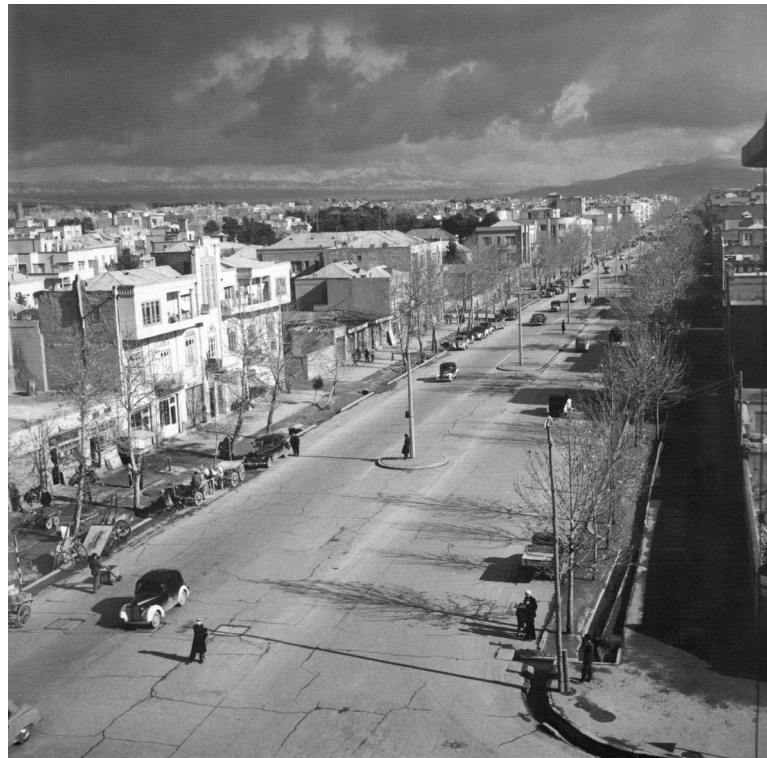
Figure 3.5: Shahreza Street, Tehran, 1957
In 1950's the new avenue, Shahreza, was filled with commercial, as well as residential buildings.
Source: Old Tehran, Photography By Mahmoud Pakzad (1941-1975). Did Publications, 2003, p.184



Figure 3.6: Pahlavi avenue (Vali Asr), Tehran, 1955
Pahlavi avenue, which is was the wides and longest street in Tehran, connects the Tajrish Square in North, to the Rah-Ahan Square in south. In Reza Shah's period this street was built and lined with trees, which are vey old and valuable today.
Source: Old Tehran, Photography By Mahmoud Pakzad (1941-1975). Did Publications, 2003, p.218

Figure 3.7: Pahlavi Avenue (Vali Asr), 1961
Pahlavi Avenue, as the main north-south axis of the city is one of the most beautiful avenues of Tehran.
Source: Old Tehran, Photography By Mahmoud Pakzad (1941-1975). Did Publications, 2003, p.120



Figure 3.8: 24 Esfand (Enqelab) Square, 1959
This large square is planned in a European landscaping fashion, with grass and monument.
Source: Old Tehran, Photography By Mahmoud Pakzad (1941-1975). Did Publications, 2003, p.134
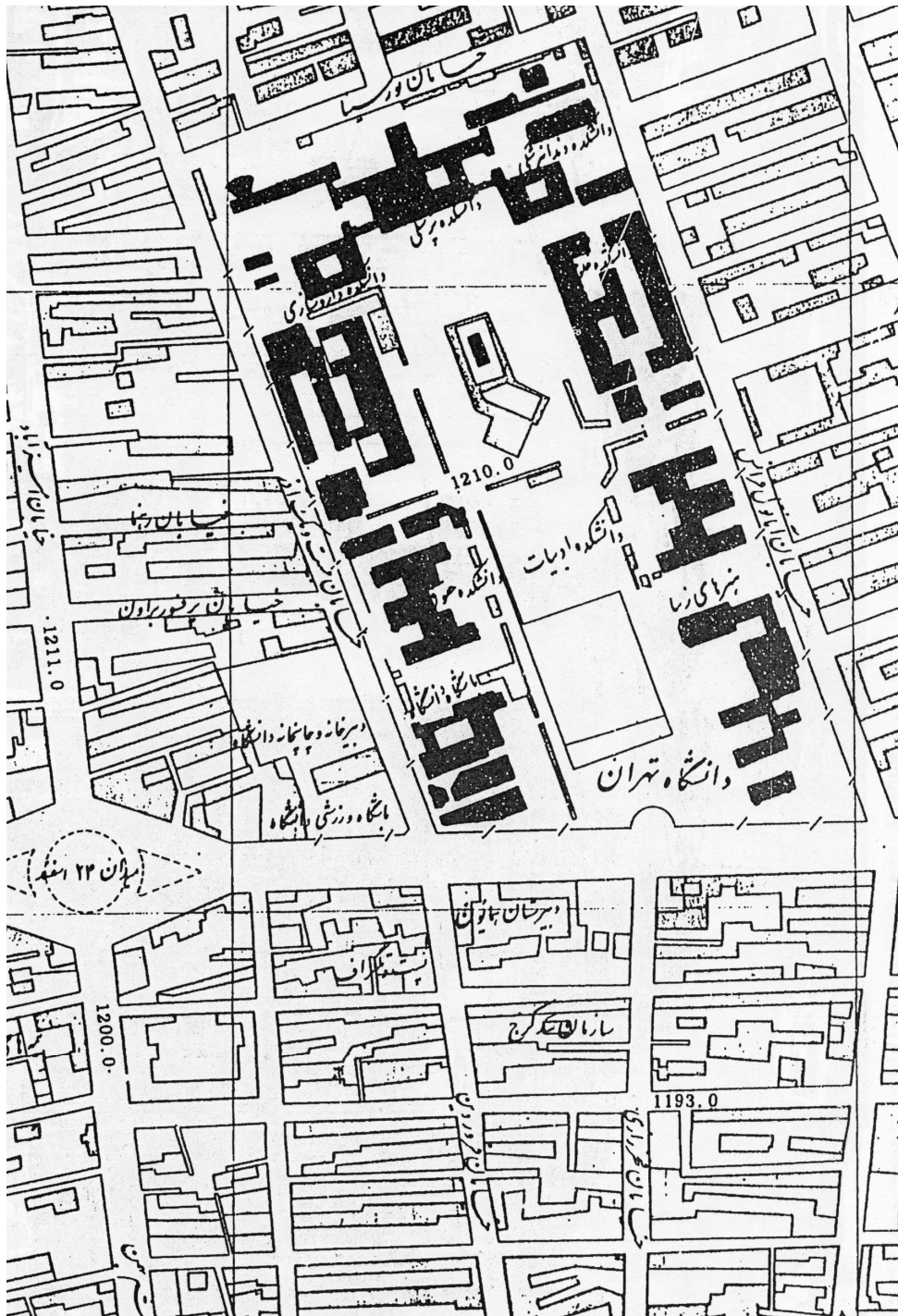
Figure 3.9: Map of Shahreza Area with Tehran University
The map shows Enqelab (24 Esfand) Square, with Tehran University. The main entrance of the campus is close to the Square.
Source: Marefat, Mina. Building to Power: Architecture of Tehran 1921-1941. Thesis Supervisor: Prof. Stanford Anderson. Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the field of Architecture, Art, and Environmental studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, April 1988, p.371

### 3.3. The trinity of power in squares- the case of Naqsh-e Jahan Sq.

"The city's Naqsh-e Jahan Square, with its spatial grandeur and name, which means, "map of the world," was designed according to the King's astute and carefully enforced calculus of power. The trinity of the mosque, the bazaar, and the crown, the three pillars of power and commerce in traditional Iran, dominated its landscape."[144]

Milani describes what exists in the main square of Isfahan, an ancient Persian city, which was the capital of the country for a while, as a combination of the main elements of the power in a society. It implies the way the built environment performs as a mediator between the sources of power and its balance and the social structure of a community. The square is not just an architectural element in the urban plan of the cities, but the structure of the square has a nature that weaves it with its contemporary social and political atmosphere and brings a new image and concept for it. Tehran, as the capital of Iran, has always been considered with modernization and globalization; therefore a study on the urban built environment of the city is a study of the modern pillars of the power in the Iranian public sphere. The first modern great square of Tehran, which was named *Toopkhaneh,* meaning the "Cannon House", was a physical evidence of the use of urban design by the ruling power to control the society, and an element of defense against public uprisings and demonstration.[145] Perhaps this is an extreme sample of the vitality of the manifestations of power and control for the ruling authority through urban forms, as means of control.

To provide an understanding of the concept of power, it can be proper to refer to the root of the word itself; it is derived from the Latin "*potere*", which means to be able to achieve an end; but it is loaded with a different meaning in human affairs, which is control over others.[146] What is meant here by power is the power of one over the other, which includes the power relations between its different pillars and sources. The relations that take place in the frame of built environment and manifest themselves in those built forms. Urban design and architecture, used as the manifestations of power and control over a society, create specific actions and frame the relations of the inhabitants with the sources of power; on the other hand the struggle to gain the power and articulate the built environment

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[144] Milani, Abbas. Lost Wisdom; Rethinking Modernity in Iran. Mage Publishers, Washington, 2004, p.84
[145] Ibid, p.85
[146] Dovey, Kim. Framing Places; Mediating Power in Built Form. Routledge Press, London, 1999, p.9

according to the new sets of power relations, take place at the same arena of public spaces or the same built environment. This double side relation is the issue that forms the primary concern of the discussion, on power in the case of Iranian society, in this study. The continuation of monarchy (palace), and the absolute power of the ruler, the intermediary role of religious (mosque), and economic institutions (bazaar), and the symbolic notions of order and direction have all had direct implications on urban form of Tehran, even today; and the axial form of the city, causing the segregation of poor and rich, derived from the historical segregation of the ruler and ruled, is the other observable consequences of the power structure on the urban form of Tehran.[147]

The discussion of power relations and the power of one authority over a group of people are deeply linked with discussion of legitimization; the way one authority legitimizes itself and gains the power over the others. A basic framework to settle this discussion can be based on Weber's typology of three types of legitimate domination, which is to cover all historically possible forms of legitimate government. Those three types can be briefly named as 'legal rule', 'traditional rule' and 'charismatic rule'.[148] Charismatic rule is the authority, which is gained by familial or religious status, while the traditional rule is due to social class and money, and legal rule is what can be described under political parties. Applied to Naqsh-e Jahan Square, as a square that can be named as a geometrical position for the power, the manifestations of these three pillars of power can be categorized under simplifying the Mosque as the representative of charismatic domination, Bazaar as the representative of traditional domination, and the Palace as the representative of legal domination (Figure 3.10). In such an interpretation, the square as a whole materializes the struggle ground between the sources of power, while each source tries to keep its role and effect on the control of the society, via showing strong appearance in their greatest struggle ground, which is the square. They seek to gain the authority of the public sphere and in such an attempt they reach to a balance; whenever this balance is broken, that's the time when the square becomes the scene of clashes.

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[147] Madanipour, Ali. Tehran; The making of a metropolis. John Willey and Sons Ltd. West Sussex, 1998, p.234

[148] "Charismatic legitimacy originates in the personality of the leader…traditional legitimacy can be described as the routinization of the charismatic authority; it rests upon the belief that what has always been is legitimate… Legal legitimacy depends on the belief that everything that has been enacted in accordance with established procedures may be considered legitimate."
J. Mommsen, Wolfgang. The Political and Social Theory of Max Weber. The University of Chicago Press, Cambridge, 1989, pp.46-47

The pillars of power in Iran have not always been in contest, but sometimes they work together against another source of power as in 1891, when it might be summarized that Bazaar and Religious power work together against the King, who is the ruling authority; Naser al-Din Shah's sale of major concession of a fifty-year monopoly over the production, distribution and exportation of the country's tobacco, provoked protests among merchants - Bazaar. With the mass protests in Bazaar in 1891, Ayatollah Mirza Shirazi issued a religious decree (*fatwa*) against using tobacco; the strike was soon spread in all the Bazaar's of the other cities, and by the support of the clergy the strike turned into a nation-wide consumer boycott and mass demonstration in public spaces, and led Shah to annul the concession (Figure 3.11, Figure 3.12).[149]  The architecture and urban design have always been manipulated by the sources of power and politics. The way architecture of a period affects the image of a government through the style of the governmental buildings of the period is what can be discussed in this context. Although heavily influenced by western ideas, but still the analysis of the conception of space in the city of Tehran can not be separated from the inherited concepts of space, used in its production and transformation; which are basically concepts that are associated with the ongoing political and social institutions, symbolic significance, or with a combination of old and new.[150] Hence while the historic structure of power have affected the later representations of power in the urban environment of the city of Tehran and the conception of space within its physical body, it is necessary to comprehend the power pillars of the society, to be able to analyze the transformation of the space due to the power relations.

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[149] A. Chaichian, Mohammad. Town and Country in the Middle East; Iran and Egypt in the Transition to Globalization; 1800-1970. Lexington Books, Lanham, 2009, p.61
[150] Madanipour, Ali. Tehran; The making of a metropolis. John Willey and Sons Ltd. West Sussex, 1998, p.234
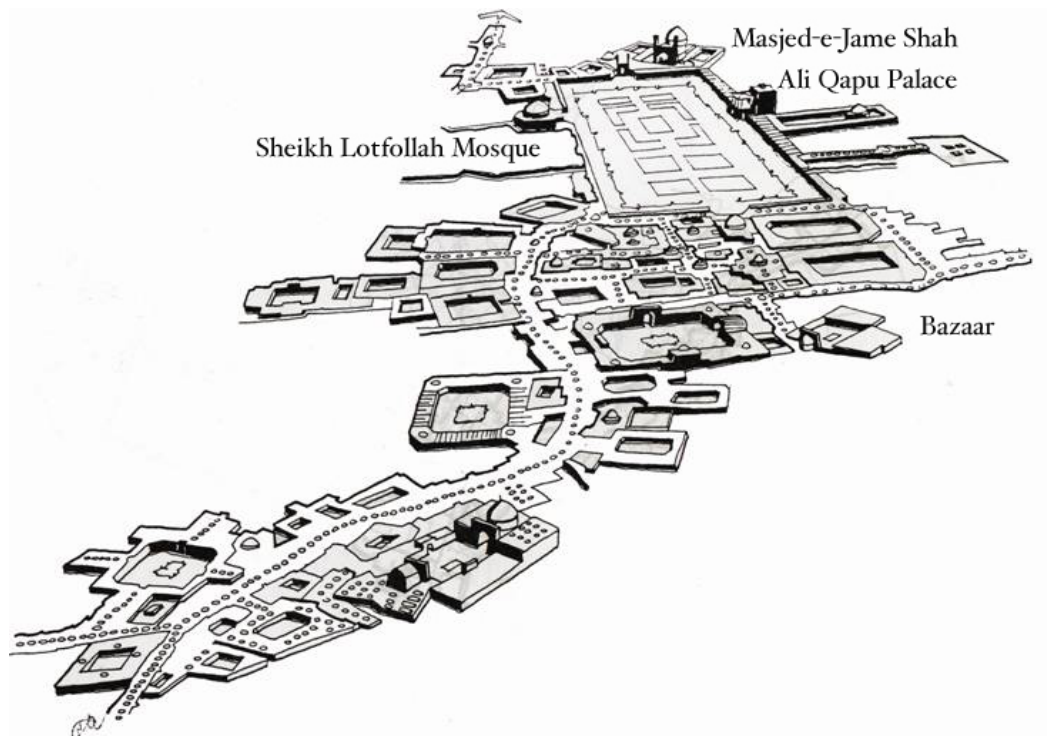
Figure 3.10: a schematic perspective of Naqsh-e Jahan Square in Isfahan
The power pillars are symbolized in this square. The square is connected and weaved to the city fabric through Bazaar area.
Source:
http://www.biya2danlod.ir/www/YUhSMGNEb3ZMMkZrYjI1cGN5NXdaWEp6YVdGdVoybG5MbU52Yl M5cGMyWmxhR0Z1THprdWFuQm4= (visited: April 28, 2011)
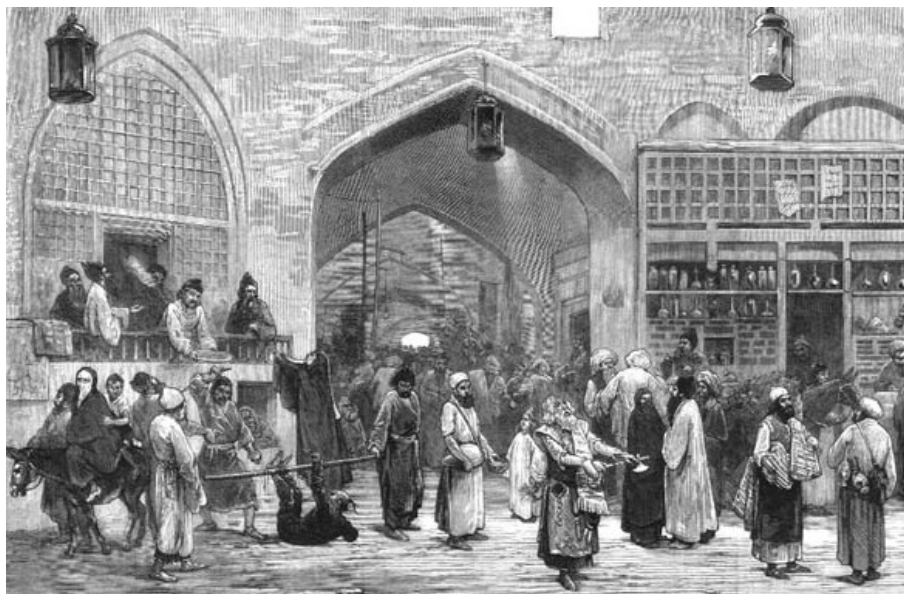


Figure 3.11: A drawing of Tehran Grand Bazaar, 1873
The image shows the normal daily activities of the Bazaar.
Source: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/8b/Tehran_Bazaar_old.jpg (visited: May 03, 2011)

Figure 3.12: Tehran bazaar in Qajar period
In this image the Bazaar is closed on a strike.
Source: http://www.fararu.com/images/docs/000013/n00013587-r-b-007.jpg (visited: July 25, 2010)

## 3.4. Urbancrisis and the segregation of poor and rich

> "Tehran saw its fastest growth, its evolution from an over-grown village into a
> metropolis, in the Pahlavi era. In the last years of Mohammad Reza Shah's reign
> a veritable "urban crisis" engulfed the city, which was by then dangerously
> divided between the rich and the poor, "the South and the North."[151]

As a natural result of Tehran's geographic and topographic position, being situated
between Alborz mountains in the north and the Salt Desert in the south, on the northern
edge of the great central plateau, with a difference in level of several thousand meters
between its southern and northern limits, it has a constant tendency to grow towards
north.[152] The city has grown in north-south axis since its initial growth in the past, while the

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[151]Milani, Abbas. Lost Wisdom; Rethinking Modernity in Iran. Mage Publishers, Washington, 2004,
p.86
[152] Der-Grigorian, Talin. Construction of History: Mohammad-Reza Shah Revivalism, Nationalism,
and Monumental Architecture of Tehran 1951-1979

northern parts provided better water and fresher air, but after a certain limit, it became impossible to grow in that axis, and new areas started to be urbanized in eastern and southern parts, but nevertheless, even today Tehran is characterized with placing the rich groups in the northern parts, while the southern parts of the city are occupied by the lower class citizens. Tehran's traditional urban fabric was based on *Mahalleh* (quarter) system, which organized urban spaces of the city according to ethno-religious divisions, rich or poor of the same religion or ethnicity in the same quarter, rather than class lines; but the pattern changed when the city walls were demolished and the grid street pattern was imposed on the city fabric in order to modernize the image of the city, in the image of western cities.[153]

The urbanization process in Iran, had its most rapid form in Tehran; and the segregation of poor and rich was a noticeable and an unquestionable side effect of it. The Pahlavi era, starting with Reza Shah and his attempts of modernization, initiated the rules that later gave rise to such a segregation; more than being a mere concern of Reza Shah, moving from a feudal economy to a capitalist system was an objective of foreign forces to enter Iran, which was considered as an important economic node for its oil resources and a potential in being a consumption market, into the world market; while achieving this goal had an outcome of urban development in Iran. Reza Shah forced the tribes to settle and sedantarize in villages or urban areas, in order to establish a centralized state free from tribal and regional threats.[154] The side effect of such a forced sedantarization of the nomadic was the emergence of a poor social class, who was facing unemployment or had to work in seasonal jobs, while they had lost their means of production.[155] On the other hand, with the industrialization, which had started before the First World War but had its rapid growth in 1930's, there emerged an industrial working class who were employed in modern factories. These seem to be the first steps toward a phenomenon of poor and rich segregation in the body of the city in later decades.

The concentration of industrialization and economic activities in Tehran, absorbed a great rate of migration to the city, while in terms of infrastructure city was not ready to service to that amount of sudden rise of population, there occurred urban crisis. As

Thesis Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Nasser O. Rabbat. Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Science of Architecture Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, June 1998, pp.87-88

[153] Bayat, Asef. "Tehran: Paradox City". New Left Review, 66, November – December 2010, pp.99-122, pp.101-102

[154] A. Chaichian, Mohammad. Town and Country in the Middle East; Iran and Egypt in the Transition to Globalization; 1800-1970. Lexington Books, Lanham, 2009, pp.66-67

[155] Ibid, p.67

Chaichian states about the transition to globalization in Middle Eastern town, "the uneven nature of capitalist development not only manifested itself in spatial disparities among cities, but it was also visible within industrialized urban areas, particularly in the Capital."[156] As the city becomes a metropolis, its population increases, and what it brings up is alienation, in different forms; in it and through it segregation of any kind, by class, neighborhood, profession, age, ethnicity, and sex, becomes commonplace.[157] Tehran was having broad avenues, luxurious shops and cafes on one side, while it had squatter primitive houses on the other side. While, as Katouzian states, in the great urban stages such as *Meydan-e Toopkhaneh* and *Lalezar* Avenue the "modernity" was being celebrated by the ruling class of the society,[158] one might say that, on the southern parts of the city one could observe slum dwellers (Figure 3.13, Figure 3.14). Indeed what is called as the "bipolarity" of urban fabric in Tehran, was the physical appearance and spatial manifestation of the emerging social stratification, that was also associated with the integration of the economic structure of the country into the world capitalist market; in short the urban fabric was opened up to support new power structure and it lead to a spatial divide, which was enhanced by time.[159]

By 1960's, the class segregation of the north-south axis, became problematic, with the south including industrial area and cemetery of Ray in old Tehran with dense bazaar and needy residential quarters, and north consisting of Shemiran and areas up to slopes of Alborz, with new villas, modern minimal markets, and fresh air and water; they set against each other and took social symbolism.[160] Such segregation was reinforced with Shah, moving from marble palace in central Tehran, to the Niavaran royal complex in Shemiran, leaving the traditional heart of the city.[161] The growth of population in Tehran was not proportional to the housing opportunities of the city, and as Madanipour states about the urban development of Tehran, "Demand for housing always exceeded supply, and a surplus of labor and capital was always available; hence the flourishing construction industry and the

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[156] Ibid, p.104

[157] Lefebvre, Henri. The Urban Revolution. Trans. By: Robert Bononno. Foreword by: Neil Smith. University of Minnesota Press, London, 2003, p.92

[158] Katouzian, Shahab. "Tehran, Capital City: 1786-1997. The Re-invention of a Metropolis." Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre, 1,pp.34-45, 1996, p.96

[159] Madanipour, Ali. Tehran; The making of a metropolis. John Willey and Sons Ltd. West Sussex, 1998, p.113

[160] Der-Grigorian, Talin. Construction of History: Mohammad-Reza Shah Revivalism, Nationalism, and Monumental Architecture of Tehran 1951-1979 Thesis Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Nasser O. Rabbat. Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Science of Architecture Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, June 1998, pp.87-88

[161] Ibid, p.88

rising prices of land and property in Tehran."[162] The high prices of land and property in the northern parts of the city in comparison to the southern parts legitimized and institutionalized the segregation and difference between these two urban areas. When this rise in prices is juxtaposed with the new emerging poor class of the society, the outcome is un-planned settlements in suburban areas, which were expanding the city in different directions. The social segregation, that was growing everyday and creating a greater gap between the living conditions of poor and rich, destroyed suburban gardens and green spaces, to provide housing for the poor. The boundary between the old Tehran district and new Shemiran area was Shahreza Avenue. Although there was no real boundary or obstacle between the northern Tehran and southern Tehran in Shahreza Street, but this conceptual axis was very real and imagined.[163] Thus spatial segregation and social struggle can be defined as embodied issues of the structure of the city of Tehran since 1960's, and it reflects the social and political stratifications of a system moving from a feudal structure to a global one.



Figure 3.13: Lalezar Avenue, Tehran, 1937
Tehran's pleasure district, where theatres, cabarets, and clubs were placed.A European image for the modern Tehran.
Source: http://www.worldisround.com/articles/255726/photo134.html (visited: May 03, 2011)

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[162] Madanipour, Ali. "Urban Planning and Development in Tehran." Cities. Vol. 23, No. 6, pp.433-438, 2006, p.435
[163] Der-Grigorian, Talin. Construction of History: Mohammad-Reza Shah Revivalism, Nationalism, and Monumental Architecture of Tehran 1951-1979
Thesis Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Nasser O. Rabbat. Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Science of Architecture Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, June 1998, p.96

Figure 3.14: An image of Rey Avenue in Pahlavi era
Although the modern shops and streets were celebrating the modernity, there existed southern districts in Tehran, where the city dwellers did not have public facilities.
Source: http://www.hamshahri.org/images/upload/news/pose/8509/oldtehran-0914-e.jpg (visited: May 03, 2011)

# CHAPTER 4

## 1963-1971: MODERN URBAN DEVELOPMENTS

### 4.1. Pseudo-reforms as real changes - White Revolution

The transformation of public sphere as an umbrella term which covers the transformation of the public space as well as the social transformation of the communities, occur in the urban public spaces; the public spaces which are on one hand used in everyday lives of their inhabitants and on the other hand they are politically loaded as the manifestation of the power of the ruling elite. Thus the social and political events and proceeds are the main catalysts of the formation and transformation of public spaces of the cities. In 1960's with the growth of political consciousness in Middle East in general and the Iraqi Revolution in 1958 and the coup against the Menderes regime in Turkey in 1960, Iranian Shah - although considered as an ancient, stable monarchy system - was in the thread of political instability.[164] Despite the viable and unsecure political atmosphere of the region and the riots - specially anti-imperialist rebellions - taking place in the neighboring countries, the country was heading towards modern urban developments in different scales; and these modern urban developments were accompanied by a ground of social and cultural transformations. In 1958 the "Modern Art" gallery was opened in Tehran and the first Tehran Art Biennale took place. In fact in terms of cultural activities the country at the time was in a yielding and productive period; a period in which, one can observe the production of many works of art in its different branches such as cinema, poetry, literature, and painting, loaded with socio-political concerns of time.[165]

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[164] M. Ansari, Ali. Modern Iran since 1921: Pahlavis and After. Pearson Education Print, England, 2003, p.147

[165] In the beginning of 1960's *Ketab-e Hafteh* "The Book of the Week" whose in editor in chief was Ahmad Shamlou - the famous Iranian poet - and whose designer was Morteza Momayyez – the famous Iranian graphic designer - started to be published.

Drawing an image of the social, political, and economical topography of the Iranian society in 1960's and the way citizen participation acted in relation to the dominant discourses of the time, is crucial in having an understanding of the Habermasian notion of public sphere. Public sphere and its transformation is coextensive with public authority, while the line between state and society divided the public sphere from the private realm;[166] thus the physical appeal of the transformation of the public sphere in the realm of urban environment is linked to the political atmosphere of the context of study. In a critical point of view, the weakness of public sphere in Iran was the barrier, which kept the country from nourishing and localizing the modernity; during the reign of Reza Shah and Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, who were the pioneers of modernism in Iran, and sacrificed the public sphere in the sake of keeping their dictatorship.[167] This criticism implies that the public sphere in modern Iran was occupied by the ruling government to save its identity and legitimize itself; while this act is in contradiction with the nature of public sphere as a sphere between society and the state. Since 1953 coup against Mosaddeq's government, Iran had already been a dictatorship, but from 1964 onwards the case was not the lack of political development, but more a case that politics itself began to be forced to disappear from the public sphere.[168] To analyze the modern urban developments, being intensified, during 1960's, this part of this study will provide a socio-political account over the public sphere of the country at that time, and then discuss the way public space and public sphere were reflected on each other.

In modern Iran of 1960's the political impact of increasing social awareness was leading the government to loose its popularity and this issue was forming a growing synthesis

In 1962 Forough Farokhzad – the Iranian poet and director - produced her film named *Khane Siah Ast* "The House is Dark", and the same year Jalal Al-Ahmad wrote *Gharbzadegi* "West-struck-ness"
In 1963 the faculty of Dramatic Art was established
In 1964 Jalal Al-Ahmad wrote *Dar Khedmat va Khianate Rowshanfekran* "In the Service and Treachery of the Intellectuals"
In 1966 Iran was hosting the first "International Children Film Festival"
In 1967 Sohrab Sepehri – famous Iranian poet and painter - published *Hajm-e Sabz* "The Green Bulk" and the same year "The Society of Iranian Writers" was established
In 1972 the publication of the monthly photography magazine *Tasvir* "Image" was started
Minoufar, Setareh. Trans. By: Author. "A Hundred Year Timeline". _Herfeh: Honarmand_ "Profession: Artist" Art Quartely Magazine, Vol.4, No.18, Winter 2007, p.48
[166] Habermas, Jurgen. The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere; An inquiry into a category of bourgeois society. Trans. By: Thomas Burger. Polity Press, Cambridge, 1989, p.30
[167] Athari, Kamal. Trans. By: Author. *Jame'e Shiftegi va Jame'e Gorizi dar Honar* "Society Infatuation & Society Escape in Art". _Herfeh: Honarmand_ "Profession: Artist" Art Quartely Magazine, Vol.3, No.15, Spring 2006, p.109
[168] Katouzian, Homa. The Persians: ancient, medieval, and modern Iran. Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 2009, p.264

of socialist and Islamist discourse in the society.[169] The crisis, which was about to happen and might lead to a red revolution, was put into a solution with the White Revolution. The White Revolution was to prevent a red revolution and survive the regime rather than being an economic necessity. With Shah's reforms from above which were later named by the regime, as the 'Revolution of Shah and the People' the feudal system of the country was to be replaced to avoid a revolution from below. The masses were to be convinced that the program had something for the peasant and the man in the street; and the first image of such an act was to be displayed in the urban environment of the cities, specially the capital of Tehran; and therefore the streets of Tehran were planted with nice gardens.[170] While the capital city was renewed on behalf of stressing the modern image of the state in the eye of its citizens, on the other hand the peasants were guided to migrate to the cities, due to new reforms. With the new reforms the majority of Iran's peasants did not get enough land for subsistence, and had to find additional works to survive, and at the same time the cities were praised for having better living facilities; thus migration to cities by laborers and poor peasants, grew.[171]

Along side the development of a significant middle class, the social and political awareness, which was a danger for the stability of the ruling government, was nourishing more and more with the expansion of geographic mobility and education; many Iranian students were studying in western countries and many middle and upper class Iranians were travelling abroad every year for different reasons and in reverse the country was invaded by foreigners; the European and American communities in Iran were numbered more than 10,000.[172] The Iranian students' societies had risen in Europe around 1950's and they had created the Confederation of Iranian Students in Europe in 1959 that was modified as the Worldwide Confederation of Iranian Students – which would include the Iranian students in America – in 1961.[173] In the first place, this cultural interchange was directly affecting the

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[169] M. Ansari, Ali. Modern Iran since 1921: Pahlavis and After. Pearson Education Print, England, 2003, p.148

[170] Ibid, pp.149-150

[171] R.Keddie, Nikki. Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution. Yale University Press, New Haven, 2003, pp.152-153

[172] M. Ansari, Ali. Modern Iran since 1921: Pahlavis and After. Pearson Education Print, England, 2003, pp.150-151

[173] In describing the complex political and ideological atmosphere of the country and how it was possible to be Marxist-Leninist, Anti-Tudeh and Anti-Soviet at the same time in 1960's, Katouzian states that:
"At the same time as the CIS was created in Paris, there was a rift in the movement, since the Tudeh students felt that they would be in a permanent minority vis-à-vis the National Front other pro-Mosaddeq organizations. The rift was patched up in the 1962 conference in Lausanne. By the time the fourth conference was held in London in December 1963, the White Revolution and the revolt of

intellectual milieu of the country and thus the socio-political activities. Iran as many other Third World countries at the time, was ruled by a "semi-feudal and semi-colonial" system with the Shah as the representative of the feudal system, and surprisingly the White Revolution was going to eliminate the feudal system; "In fact politics was abolished and one-person (arbitrary) rule replaced the dictatorship (i.e., government by the minority) which had prevailed since August 1953".[174] White Revolution was aiming to open up a new era in the dialectic between the state and the society; and it means a transformation in the public sphere in one hand, while avoiding a revolution on the other hand.

White Revolution was a series of social and economic reforms following a referendum in January 1963, composed of six pillars: land reform, sale of government factories, a new election law that included the right of vote for women, nationalization of forests, foundation of a literacy corps, giving workers a share of industrial profits.[175] The White Revolution was going to move Iran in its path towards becoming a "Great Civilization".[176] The land reform, which was limiting the power of the landlords and the feudal forces, was seen by many intellectuals as a program launched by imperialist forces to preserve the interest of the bourgeois from a full destruction which was threatening them (Figure 4.1).[177] In other words among all the principles which were planned to bring change, it was the principle of land reform that gained the most attention because it enabled the ruling elite to gain the support of the peasants and stand against the urban intellectuals.[178] This reform modified the pre-capitalist relations of production in rural parts of the country

June 1963 had taken place, highly radicalizing the political atmosphere both inside and outside Iran. Thus from 1964 the Confederation, which had been mainly a students' union with a significant interest in political matters, began to function almost as a political organization. Not long afterwards came the Maoist split from the Tudeh Party and the collapse of the second National Front, leading to the emergence of National Front Maoists, both of which, made the Confederation their main home. Soon the Confederation became an ideological organization."
Katouzian, Homa. The Persians: ancient, medieval, and modern Iran. Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 2009, p.305
[174] The Persians: An Interview with Homa Katouzian (Part One), by ESKANDAR SADEGHI in Oxford, 04 Oct. 2010 20:15, Why there was no industrial revolution in Iran.
(http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/tehranbureau/2010/10/arbitrary-rule-and-chaos-are.html) (visited: October 16, 2010)
[175] Nabavi, Negin. Intellectuals and the State in Iran; Politics, Discourse, and the Dilemma of Authenticity. University Pres of Florida, Gainessville, 2003, p.49
[176] The "Great Civilization" is the term used by Mohammad Reza Shah in his book "Towards the Great Civilization", where he foresaw a glorious future for Iran.
[177] Nabavi, Negin. Intellectuals and the State in Iran; Politics, Discourse, and the Dilemma of Authenticity. University Pres of Florida, Gainessville, 2003, pp.51-52
[178] Ibid, p.54

and prepared the country for the investment of foreign capitalist investors.[179] As in other Third World countries, in Iran, American investors were having the highest share of foreign investments.[180] The White Revolution, which was planned to bring a fundamental change, could not reach out its premises fully, because it did not hold the background, sociology, and logic of a true and tangible change, and in nature it can be named as a pseudo reform; Thus while it was to prevent a Red Revolution, it paved the way for an Islamic Revolution, which took over the country in 1979.[181]

While the White Revolution and the rapid rise of oil revenues, gave rise to a rapid process of urban renewal in the body of the Iranian cities, specifically Tehran, on the other side, it resulted in an urban uprising, as a response of urban traditional forces against Shah's reforms; the reason was that the new reforms were the beginning of a shift of the social bases of the regime from the traditional forces of the landowning classes, *ulama*, and the *bazaaris*, to the rapidly growing modern classes of bureaucrats, professionals, and the new bourgeois elements.[182] For the Pahlavi regime Bazaar was a dangerous zone, because in it,deals were made, ideas were exchanged, generations were shaped, and revolutions were planned; thus the new planning and reorientation of the urban fabric and function of old Tehran was a strategy to reduce the power of certain interest groups who interacted and operated within the traditional spaces.[183]This prelude movement of the 1979 Revolution was not in a period of economic failure of the regime; on the contrary, it was the period of country's rapid industrialization and urban development that caused a flow of population from the rural areas to the cities. Tehran was the spatial embodiment of this accumulation process and turned into a site of ever-increasing consumption, as new consumption patterns and western lifestyles were adopted; restaurants, cafes and exclusive uptown neighborhoods appeared all around the city.[184] In other words, White Revolution is considered as a milestone in the architecture and urban planning of Tehran, because the building hysteria

[179] Chaichian, Mohammad A. Town and Country in the Middle East; Iran and Egypt in the Transition to Globalization; 1800-1970. Lexington Books, Lanham, 2009, p.82
[180] Ibid, p.100
[181] Abrahamian, Ervand. A History of Modern IRAN. Cambridge University press, New York, 2008, p.140
[182] Ashraf, Ahmad. "Bazaar-Mosque Alliance: The Social Basis of Revolts and Revolutions." Politics, Culture, and Society, Vol.1, No 4, Summer 1988, Human Sciences Press, pp.538-567, p.549
[183] Der-Grigorian, Talin. Construction of History: Mohammad-Reza Shah Revivalism, Nationalism, and Monumental Architecture of Tehran 1951-1979
Thesis Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Nasser O. Rabbat. Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Science of Architecture Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, June 1998, p.90
[184] Bayat, Asef. "Tehran: Paradox City". New Left Review, 66, November – December 2010, pp.99-122, p.103

that reached its peak in the seventies is the most visible expression of Shah's White Revolution.[185]

White Revolution can be assessed as the backbone of the state intervention into the transformation of public sphere as well as public space, through manipulation of the structure of power in the society. Due to these series of reforms, which aimed to encourage the capitalist transformation of the countryside in Iran, the urban-based employers grew from 51.5 to 78 per cent.[186] Tehran, as the largest concentration of economic activities, absorbed a grate rate of population in this period; the rural masses who were going to be marginal citizens of Tehran, living in poor areas. This historical observation reveals the manner in which the economic growth of the state, reflected on the urban space, as the rapid modernization and urban development, and has caused the creation of urban poor and enlarged the gap between the social classes of the city, and thus created a city of discontented masses.[187]



Figure 4.1: Iran's Shah distributing land deeds, 1963
As one of the pillars of the White Revolution, land reforms took place, which reduced the power of the traditional forces of the society, and aimed to create a new image for the state, to prevent a Red Revolution.
Source: http://www.iranchamber.com/history/white_revolution/white_revolution.php (visited: November 23, 2010)

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[185] Vanstiphout, Wouter. "The Saddest City in the World; Tehran and the legacy of an American dream of modern town planning". Architectural historians association's Bulletin; The New Town, 02 March 2006 (http://www.thenewtown.nl/article.php?id_article=71) (visited: May 08, 2011)
[186] Madanipour, Ali. Tehran; The making of a metropolis. John Willey and Sons Ltd. West Sussex, 1998, pp.18-20
[187] "The urban fabric of Tehran grew faster than ever before. During the period 1967-80, the number of dwellings grew two and a half times. The new developments, supported by the oil boom of the 1970s, were built in different forms, from low rise to high rise and from single developments to large new towns, constituting a complex and ever-expanding metropolis."
Ibid, p.20

## 4.2. Modernization of public squares - case of Tehran

Without reading the architecture of a period in the context of social and political changes of the country, it seems not to be possible to find the breaking points in the architecture and urban planning styles and policies. Understanding the socio-political dynamics of change and resistance and the struggle over power in the context of Iran provides a vision about the urban society of the contemporary Iran and forms the perception of the urban public spaces and their transformation along different periods of the history. The public square in pre-Islamic Persian city was the main center of the city that was connecting the citadel to the Bazaar (Agora), and it was a meeting place between the rulers and the people, and it was used to play Polo and defend the city when it is needed.[188] The squares in pre-Islamic Persian cities were usually placed out of the main walls of the city, in front of fire temples. As an example the excavations at Nush-i Jan, located 14 km west of Malayer, reveals an instance of an ancient Persian city with its religious characteristic; the site's four principal buildings consist of the central temple, the western temple, the fort, and the columned hall; they were probably constructed in that order and predate the squatter occupation of the first half of the 6th century BC (Figure 4.2).[189] In the Islamic period the Iranian cities had one main square that would be surrounded by the Bazaar, Mosque, Madrase, Palace, Music Pavilion, and etc, and these squares would have political and economical functions as well. In addition the open spaces in front of the mosques were also transformed into squares in time.[190] As it can be observed in the map of the main *Meidan* of the Safavid capital, Naqsh-e Jahan Square in Isfahan, in 16th century, the square is connected to the old city fabric through Bazaar, and two mosques, one palace, and a commercial zone of bazaar are the main consisting elements of the square (Figure 4.3). With the modernization and secularization attempts in 19th century and the decrease in the power of religious forces of the city, there was a decrease in the number of the mosques and other religious buildings, and it could be observed that the mosques were not at the main squares of the cities anymore. The new elements of the modern cities were forming the body of the city squares in important cities of the country, specifically in Tehran.

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[188] Ibid, pp.226-227

[189] Stronach, David. Iranian Art &Archeology: Median Dynasty, Median Archaeology. Encyclopedia Iranica.
(http://www.cais-soas.com/CAIS/Archaeology/median_archaeology.htm) (visited: May 21, 2011)

[190] Madanipour, Ali. Tehran: the making of a metropolis. Trans. by: Hamid Zarazoond. Sherkat-e Pardazesh va Barnamerizi'e Shahri Press, Tehran, 2002, p.373

During 1960's the political and social attempts of change were creating a new way of life and a new social order, which were being manifested in the urban built environment of the cities and in reverse the new modern built environment of the cities was penetrating in the everyday lives of their inhabitants. The contemporary architecture and urban planning of Iran lies between the tension among riot, war, peace and reconstruction of a nation. Modernization, as a break with past, created the dichotomy of traditional and modern in non-western contexts; while as an ongoing process "keyed to the dynamics of human invention", in a socio-historical approach, every period of the history is characterized by predominant form of modernity.[191] 1960's, the beginning of the period of rapid urbanization, was the decade in which cities became a pressing national issue, and in response, two macro strategies were formulated; the allocation of the central budget for the cities grew, and the creation of urban infrastructure and institutions for the development of the cities gain importance.[192] As a result all the urban development and architectural building programs were dependant upon the regulations of these institutions, which were parts of modernization program of the system.

Since the beginning of the rule of Reza Shah in 1925 Iran had entered a period of political stability in the global arena, and thus foreign investors from USA and European countries were encouraged to invest in Iran.[193] Going on the path of his father, Mohammad Reza Shah followed the attempts to build a strong social structure through building programs while modernization and globalization were keeping on overcoming the urban fabric of the cities in a rapid way during 1960's. Modernization, globalization, the rise of new social and economic classes, the rise in population, and the building policies of the period seem to be the most influential factors in the architecture and urban planning of 1960's. It was in 1960's that Iranian academia attempted through research to educate themselves about the encounter between Iran and the West, and under the impact of social and political events new ideas of "Westoxication", and "return to self" were emerged; in short it was a cultural romanticism, which brought to mind the memories of Germans escaping cities and returning

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[191] W.Soja, Edward and Richard J.Tobin. The Geography of Modernization: Paths, Patterns and Processes of Spatial Change in Developing Countries. Ed. By: Abu-Lughod, Janet and Richard Hay. Third World Urbanization. Methuen Inc. Press, New York, 1979, p.156

[192] "New institutions were created to manage the process of urban change. In 1964 the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development and in 1972 the National Council for City Planning and Architecture were created. Together with Interior Ministry, these three central institutions based in Tehran were charged with the responsibility of guiding urban development through master plans and land-use plans."
Tajbakhsh, Kian. Planning Culture in Iran: Centralization and Decentralization and Local Governance in the Twentieth Century (The Case for Urban Management and Planning). Ed. By: Bishwapriya Sanyal. Comparative Planning Cultures. Routledge Press, New York, 2005, p.76

[193] Bahrambeygui, H. Tehran: An Urban Analysis. Sahab Books Institute, Tehran, 1977, p.34

to villages.[194] Hence while the state was intensely imposing modernism in all aspects of life, society was in a stage of a return to self and traditional identity, and architecture and urban planning and public space were not exceptions to this process.

It should be noted here that the modernization and westernization process had started long time ago since 19th century in terms of the form of the city; in 1868 Tehran went through the first phase of itstransformations which brought the city a new central square, new streets, a bank, an institute of technology, a hospital, a telegraph house, hotels, and European-style shops.[195] In contrary the function of the squares had remained as a synthesis of traditional and modern till 1960's when new policies were launched to appropriate the urban public spaces for the new social structure of the country. In the new social structure of the city, the newly emerging middle-class, whose wealth was reflected in owning a car and travelling abroad, was one new social class.[196] Another newly emerging social class was a poor rural-urban class, which was formed due to the quite high rate of migration from rural to urban areas and transferred the rural people to an urban poor class. New construction projects and the housing demand for the migrant groups encouraged the rural people to migrate to Tehran, work in the construction projects, and live in suburban areas - due to their low income - and this issue increased the poor and rich segregation in the city.

The uneven and unplanned expansion of Tehran, which was more evident after the Second World War, was seen as a problem in 1960's and thus a new master plan was put forward in 1964 to control the expansion of the city.[197] The comprehensive plan of Tehran was assigned to Farmanfarmaian, consulting engineers in Tehran in cooperation with Victor Gruen in Los Angeles, under the direction of Fereydun Ghaffari.[198] The planning council identified a series of problems for the city of Tehran: high density, especially in the city center, development of commercial activities along the main roads of the city, pollution, inefficient infrastructure, unemployment in poor areas, and continuous migration of low-

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[194] Behnam, Jamshid. Iranian Society, Modernity, and Globalization. Trans. By: Alireza Rahbar Shamskar. Ed. By: Ramin Jahanbegloo. IRAN; Between Tradition and Modernity. Lexington Books Press, Oxford, 2004, pp. 5-6

[195] Madanipour, Ali. "Urban Planning and Development in Tehran." Cities. Vol. 23, No. 6, pp.433-438, 2006, p.433

[196] Graham, Robert. Iran: The Illusion of Power. Lowe and Brydone Printers, London, 1978, p.25

[197] Takmil Homayoun, Nasser. Tehran. Trans. By: Author. Iran Cultural Studies, Tehran, 2006, pp.80-81

[198] Habibi, Mohsen & Bernard Hourcade. Atlas of Tehran Metropolis: Land & People. Publishers: Urban Planning & Processing Company, Tehran GIS Centre, Tehran Municipality, Tehran, 2005, p.E36

income groups to Tehran, were the main problems.[199]In this critical phase, the problems were to be overcame by a new development plan, that would transform the city as a whole, with all sides of its formal, economical, and social order. Tehran was to be reshaped according to American city planning pattern, Los Angeles type of a decentered suburban entity; the plan which was published in 1966, projected a linear city including ten large and self-contained districts, with 500,000 inhabitants each, linked to each other through a network of freeways and a rapid transportation system (Figure 4.4).[200] The districts were to be separated from each other by green belts, while Each of those districts (*mantaqeh*) would be subdivided into a number of areas (*nahiyeh*) and neighborhoods (*mahalleh*); and each district was planned to have a commercial and an industrial center with high-rise buildings.[201] In fact urban design has been a tool of politics and a field of representation for the ideologies of a state that had full control on the enormous amount of oil income. The urban form is used as a tool to form the activities of the citizens, while it is a framework that includes the political and social spheres.

Victor Gruen's image of the ideal city plan for Tehran resembles Ebenezer Howard's "social cities", in which a central city was surrounded by a cluster of garden cities.[202] However his post-modern plan failed to account for the three million landless peasants released from the countryside, due to the land reform programs of White Revolution, and looking to build their future in Tehran.[203] Except some of the design ideas that were rooted in American city planning, such as a network or freeways to connect the disjointed parts of the expanded metropolis, zoning as the basis of management of social and physical character of different areas, and the introduction of Floor Area Ratios for controlling development densities, other parts of Tehran's comprehensive plan remained unimplemented.[204] The aim of the plan was to provide a modern, urban infrastructure for the capital to serve for the rapid rise of population, from rural areas to the capital. The migrant groups were poor, and could not afford housing prices of the rich or middle-class urban areas. But it was the urban planning and zoning policy that turned them into

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[199] Madanipour, Ali. "Urban Planning and Development in Tehran." Cities. Vol. 23, No. 6, pp.433-438, 2006, p.435

[200] Bayat, Asef. "Tehran: Paradox City". New Left Review, 66, November – December 2010, pp.99-122, p.103

[201] Madanipour, Ali. "Urban Planning and Development in Tehran." Cities. Vol. 23, No. 6, pp.433-438, 2006, p.435

[202] Ibid, p.435

[203] Bayat, Asef. "Tehran: Paradox City". New Left Review, 66, November – December 2010, pp.99-122, p.103

[204] Madanipour, Ali. "Urban Planning and Development in Tehran." Cities. Vol. 23, No. 6, pp.433-438, 2006, p.435

'marginals' (*hashiyeneshinan*), and forced them to put up their shelters informally, outside the city limits, in underdog neighborhoods such as Shahbaz Jonoubi, Javadieh, Naziabad and Biseem-e Najafabad.[205] Thus one of the main concerns of the new plan was to provide new apartments for the migrant groups in the margins of the city, to provide housings, to replace squatters and illegal communities around the city. One of the most impressive features of the new plan of Tehran was the immense landscape park Pardisan in North Tehran, which was designed by the famous American ecologist Ian McHarg, who designed a huge park that contained microecologies representing the five major climate zones in the world (Figure 4.5).[206] In the new map of Tehran the city-limits were set at 25 kilometersfrom Tajrish in the north, Rey in the south, Mehrabad Airport in the west, and Tehran-Pars in the east.[207] Planning of huge parks became an important concern in the plan of Tehran, since then till the period of Islamic Republic, for various reasons, but it could never balance the amount of the green space, needed for this large, populated, dense and thus polluted metropolis.

Despite the condensed body of the Persian cities, they are based on an organic spatial structure, mainly formed of streets and squares. As it can be understood from the map of the ancient Persian city of Heart, today located in Afghanistan, as an example of eastern Iranian city, the city is surrounded with walls and gates, and has streets or central axes of communication, which connect the gates and divide the city in to quadrants (Figure 4.6).[208] The squares had the function of gathering people while it is the outcome of the gathering of some spatial elements around a center, to provide the social interaction for the inhabitants. With the expansion of the streets, to solve the problems of the automobile traffic, they were the squares, which were transformed into junctions of main traffic roads rather than spaces for social gatherings. In 1960's, it was the time when the form of the city and the public urban interactions were totally changed, thus the form and function of the

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[205] Bayat, Asef. "Tehran: Paradox City". New Left Review, 66, November – December 2010, pp.99-122, p.103

[206] "Ian McHarg's humanitarian, utopian vision of designing communities by giving a central role to nature had been prepared in projects for the Potomac river and the New Town of The Woodlands, Texas."
Vanstiphout, Wouter. "The Saddest City in the World; Tehran and the legacy of an American dream of modern town planning". Architectural historians association's Bulletin; The New Town, 02 March 2006 (http://www.thenewtown.nl/article.php?id_article=71) (visited: May 08, 2011)

[207] Der-Grigorian, Talin. Construction of History: Mohammad-Reza Shah Revivalism, Nationalism, and Monumental Architecture of Tehran 1951-1979
Thesis Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Nasser O. Rabbat. Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Science of Architecture Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, June 1998, p.89

[208] Gangler, Anette & Heinz Gaube &Attilio Petruccioli. Bukhara – The Eastern Dome of Islam; Urban Development, Urban Space, Architecture and Population. Edition Axel Menges, Stuttgart/London, 2004, pp.35-36

city squares lost their traditional meaning and got under the effect of the new urban construction projects. The rise of new social and economic classes was the most influential element in the process of change in urban fabric of the cities and the change in the function of the squares in 1960's. The interpretations of the Iranian intelligentsia declared the search for identity of the newly emerging class, therefore this time history was considered not only for stylistic concerns as in previous decades, but as a structural element in the formation of the new living concept for the inhabitant who were bewildered between the modern environment and traditional living habits, in search of their true identity through referring to past (Figure 4.7).[209]

During the period from 1956 to 1966 when Iran had an overall growth rate of 32 per cent, Tehran's growth rate was 79 per cent, which indicates that Tehran was in a quite different stage in comparison to other cities of the country.[210] Tehran's incompatible expansion rate was not a new phenomenon; since 1930's streets of Tehran experienced widespread street-widening projects for the automobile access and the wide boulevards which were built at the place of old city walls and widening of the existing streets were providing ease for the movement of goods, services and military forcers and thus empowering the market economy and supporting the centralization of power.[211] The organic forms of the Persian cities provide a semi-public phase of space, which are the narrow streets and alleys. Tehran, due to its climate, had narrow streets, sometimes partially roofed or planted with tall trees, which would provide shadow for the pedestrians and were used as semi-public spaces of socialization; in another perspective, with the project of widening the narrow streets and alleys of Tehran, the city started to loose its semi-public spaces. The semi-public spaces of the city were spaces of socialization of the inhabitants and were used as the spaces of the manifestation of resistance of the society (Figure 4.8, Figure 4.9). They were the territory of the rule of the man in the street; the spaces that would cause difficulty for the ruling power in the suppression of riots, due to their form and constant presence of the inhabitants in those alleys. "The city was turned into an open matrix, which was a major step in laying the foundations for further modernization and future expansion."[212]

[209] Katouzian, Shahab. "Tehran, Capital City: 1786-1997. The Re-invention of a Metropolis." Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre 1, pp.34-45, 1996, p.38
[210] Bahrambeygui, H. Tehran: An Urban Analysis. Sahab Books Institute, Tehran, 1977, p.XV
[211] Madanipour, Ali. "Urban Planning and Development in Tehran." Cities. Vol. 23, No. 6, pp.433-438, 2006, p.434
[212] Ibid, p.434

The first years of 1970's are known for being the period of rapid acceleration of development, due to the increase in oil revenues.[213] The city was transformed into a borderless and extreme construction site, which was creating investment and working opportunities for foreign companies who were brought to the city to bring new technologies to the building industry.[214] The new architecture and city planning were acting as tools of an all-embracing, expansive break with immediate Islamic past and a return to Persianization and Iranian-ness, to stress the national identity.[215]The image of Tehran University as the symbol of modern, secular education of the country, and the spatial node of country's intellectual force, in the urban body of Tehran, was always in the center of attention. A new entrance gate, with Persian and at the same time modern image was foreseen for the University. The design of a new main entrance gate for Tehran University was made byKorosh Farzami, a student of the faculty of Fine Arts of the University, and the construction was finished in 1969.[216] The design is inspired from the image of two birds that have opened their wings to fly and this entrance has become the symbol of higher education in Iran since then (Figure 4.10, Figure 4.11, Figure 4.12).[217] This gate has witnessed tens of protests since it was built, and has become the architectural symbol of the resistance of the young and intellectual forces of the society; representing the spatial node of the intellectuals socio-political movements.

The architectural styles and new intervention into the architectural elements, which affected the urban image of the city, were forming alongside the urban plan of the city. Widening of the streets were definitely affecting the existing squares of the city; in that the streets which were leading to the squares were not the old narrow ones but they were wide and different in function. From 1930's to 1940's there was a densification of the actions for the fundamental changes in the image of the public squares due to the new socio-political structure of the country. The governmental and commercial buildings around the main squares of Tehran were manifesting the independency and change of the governmental

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[213] Katouzian, Shahab. "Tehran, Capital City: 1786-1997. The Re-invention of a Metropolis." Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre 1, pp.34-45, 1996, p.39

[214] Ibid, pp.39-44

[215] Der-Grigorian, Talin. Construction of History: Mohammad-Reza Shah Revivalism, Nationalism, and Monumental Architecture of Tehran 1951-1979
Thesis Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Nasser O. Rabbat. Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Science of Architecture Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, June 1998, pp.35-36

[216] https://mymoein.wordpress.com/2008/07/13/sarda/ (Trans. By: Author) (visited: May 08, 2011)

[217] Ibid

institutions.[218] In terms of typology, the squares had totally changed at that time, and they were arranged according to the new lives of their inhabitants. The square and the main streets leading to them were constructed for automobile traffic but still the pedestrian movement was apparently more common than the automobile movement; but yet, it was in 1960's that with the White Revolution the squares started to loose their identity and function in everyday lives of the inhabitants and act as traffic junctions (Figure 4.13, Figure 4.14, Figure 4.15). As it can be observed in the images provided here, the view of *Meidan-e Tajrish, Meidan-e Sepah (Toopkhaneh),* and *Khiaban-e Shahreza*, demonstrate the way these urban spaces have been transformed with the dominance of automobile traffic on one side, and the dominance of the elements and statues, representing and glorifying the monarchy on the other side.

The architectural shift in 1960's, reflected in the body of the squares through their surrounding buildings, acting as a display row of the political power; they acted as exhibition of the tendencies of the ruling power in the space. Even though the architecture of Reza Shah's period aimed a connection with pre-Islamic history of the country, still this trend of dialogue with past did not end in Mohammad Reza Shah's period as well. The differential point is that, at this time, after about 30 years of imposed westernization, the architecture, as well as other fields, started to search for an identity that was lost due to the oppression of their traditional values. In architecture, history was reconsidered, this time not for the mere stylistic reasons, as in previous decades, but for more structural issues of re-building of an identity that was considered as lost.[219] The architecture of Mohammad Reza Shah's period of reign is categorized under four main periods; 1941 - 1953, the first years of his rule, which is passed in tensions, 1953 - 1963, the period of the stabilization of the government, 1963 – 1971, the peak of returning to the concepts of modernism in social, cultural, political, and urban fields, 1971 – 1979, the period of incline that lead to the revolution.[220] Among all the periods, the third period, from 1963 to 1971 holds an important meaning in the architecture and urban planning of the country, while it has been considered as a period of constructing the new pillars of power through the urban environment and architectural tendencies.

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[218] Mohammadzadeh Mehr, Farrokh. Meidan-e Toopkhane-ye Tehran; Negahi be Seire Tadavom va Tahavvol dar Fazahaye Shahri. Trans. By: Author. Moavenat-e Shahrsazi va Memari. Tehran, 2003, p.114

[219] Katouzian, Shahab. "Tehran, Capital City: 1786-1997. The Re-invention of a Metropolis." Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre 1, pp.34-45, 1996, p.38

[220] Habibi, Sayyed Mohsen. Intellectual Trends in the Contemporary Iranian Architecture and Urbanism (1979-2003). Trans. By: Author. Cultural Research Bureau Press, Tehran, 2006, pp.35-36

At a time that the Iranian architecture was melted in the new building technologies and western architectural schools such as Bauhaus, modernism, and International style, the traditional Persian architecture started to loose its popularity.[221] While there was a search for the Iranian identity, with referring to the history of the nation, Iranian architects of the time, such as Nader Ardalan, Kamran Diba, and Hossein Amanat began to elaborate an authentic Iranian architecture, in search of a new language for Iranian architecture, through drawing on the city and buildings of the past; they have digested the architectural ideas of Louis Kahn, generated from his understanding of the architectural works of the past, and observed the affinities between the philosophical thought of the master and the neoplatonic conception of the Iranian architectural tradition.[222] This group of architects can be named as the pioneers of post-modern movement in Iranian architecture, or neo-traditionalist.[223] This movement in the architecture of late 1960's aims to have a modern interpretation of the traditional forms, motifs, and concepts of the Iranian architecture. The new buildings, within this movement, were conceived through the re-elaboration of the ancient types as the *bazaar, madrase, carvansaray*, and involving such archetypes of the Iranian constructive tradition such as the *iwan, hashti* (octagonal entrance space), *dalan* (vaulted corridor),and*chahartaq* (four vaulted space) (Figure 4.16, Figure 4.17, Figure 4.18, Figure 4.19).[224]

Kamran Diba who was a graduate of Harvard University and started his career in USA in 1960's, is famous for his projects such as the Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art, and Niavaran Cultural Center. Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art was started to be designed in 1969, and was opened in 1977.[225] Being a vernacular architect as well as a modern designer, he proposed a low-rise building with the courtyards for the museum. Having a total usable surface of 5000 m2, the museum is designed with interconnected galleries, which gradually go downwards, and the entire circulation of the museum functions with a ramp system, and stairs are avoided (Figure 4.20, Figure 4.21).[226] While the museum is located in the neighborhood of Laleh Park, the architect has used courtyards to create a separated open space for the museum. The light is mostly provided from the roof windows.

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[221] Ibid, pp.36-37
[222] Katouzian, Shahab. "Tehran, Capital City: 1786-1997. The Re-invention of a Metropolis." Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre 1, pp.34-45, 1996, pp.38-39
[223] Habibi, Sayyed Mohsen. Intellectual Trends in the Contemporary Iranian Architecture and Urbanism (1979-2003). Trans. By: Author. Cultural Research Bureau Press, Tehran, 2006, p.38
[224] Katouzian, Shahab. "Tehran, Capital City: 1786-1997. The Re-invention of a Metropolis." Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre 1, pp.34-45, 1996, p.39
[225] http://www.kamrandiba.com/content/view/12/2/ (visited: May 11, 2011)
[226] Ibid

The Niavaran Cultural Center and Garden (1970-1978) in Tehran, is another famous project of Diba in Tehran. The center consists of library, gallery, auditorium for performing arts, cafeteria, and restaurant. It is designed around a plaza, which is connected to a Persian garden with extensive waterways.[227] Water, courtyard, and the existence of arcades in human scale are the central themes in his design, which give reference to traditional Persian architecture (Figure 4.22, Figure 4.23).

Nader Ardalan was another Iranian architect who influenced the architecture of the country in late 1960's, through his modernist designs alongside his traditional concerns. He has not only been influential in his native country, but also in Middle East, as an architect, urban planner, and theoretician.[228] His most well known project in Tehran is the Iran Center for Management Studies, built in 1972, and known today as Imam Sadeq University. The architectural concept was derived from a combination of Madrase and Garden, with all ecological adaptation concerns; in the development of the garden concept the water of the river was pumped to the highest point of the site and then in a series of terraces flowed down to irrigate trees (Figure 4.24, Figure 4.25).[229] The living areas surrounding the courtyards, give reference to the Persian housing type, and the geometrical layout of the spaces is a re-elaboration of the ancient Persian architecture.

Although the modern interpretation of the traditional forms was a strong movement in the architecture of Iran in 1960's and 1970's, but never the less this traditionalist movement in architecture could not bring the traditional functions to the urban spaces, specifically urban squares. The desire to create modern spaces, through imposition of western styles and design principles, had diminished the traditional life of the public spaces, and a return to past did not result in a return to traditional structure of sociability in the public spaces. Different stages of the transformation of Tehran's urban fabric, despite their contradictions causing to an apparent disorder in the body of the city, have resulted in a

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[227] http://www.kamrandiba.com/content/view/13/ (visited: May 11, 2011)
[228] http://www.bookrags.com/tandf/ardalan-nader-1939-tf/ (visited: May 11, 2011)
[229] "The *madrasa* is set out on an east-west axis; the main enclosure forms a double square in plan (c. 70x140 m). Gates on the axis of the cardinal points provide entry to the *madrasa*'s courtyard. The latter has been conceived as a *char-bagh*. The main gate from the east leads to a pathway, which follows the perimeter of the courtyard, linking living courts, dining area, administration areas, and classrooms, all clustered around the courtyard. The only isolated structure is the library – a pavilion in the courtyard's center. The living courts are designed to accommodate 8 people, with a central, hexagonal, small courtyard linking 6 secondary spaces: four student rooms, one study or living area and a gateway space. Services are all contained in the remainder of the geometric lattice."
Project summery of Aga Khan Award for Architecture, 1989 Award Cycle
(http://archnet.org/library/sites/one-site.jsp?site_id=152) (visited: May 11, 2011)

modern western image, which could not be abandoned with the nationalist tendencies of 1960's and nor after the Islamic Revolution, with its traditionalist tendencies. This part of the study aimed to bring an insight about the modernization of city squares in Tehran, but while the character of a square depends on the enclosing buildings around it, their style and function as much as the design of the square itself,[230] a general observation of the architecture of the city, its trends and its shift was necessary. In short it should be noted that, in following the western forms of public space, while their forms of sociability were ignored, the spatial quality of public squares of Tehran shifted from being the node of sociability to being traffic joints; and as the discussions of this study leads, several reasons can be mentioned lying behind this shift: the change in the pattern of the streets leading to the squares, the change in the form and functions of the buildings surrounding the squares, the change in the size and form of the square, and the change in the design of the squares, from being open spaces with gardens and pools, to spaces with central statues of the ruling authority.
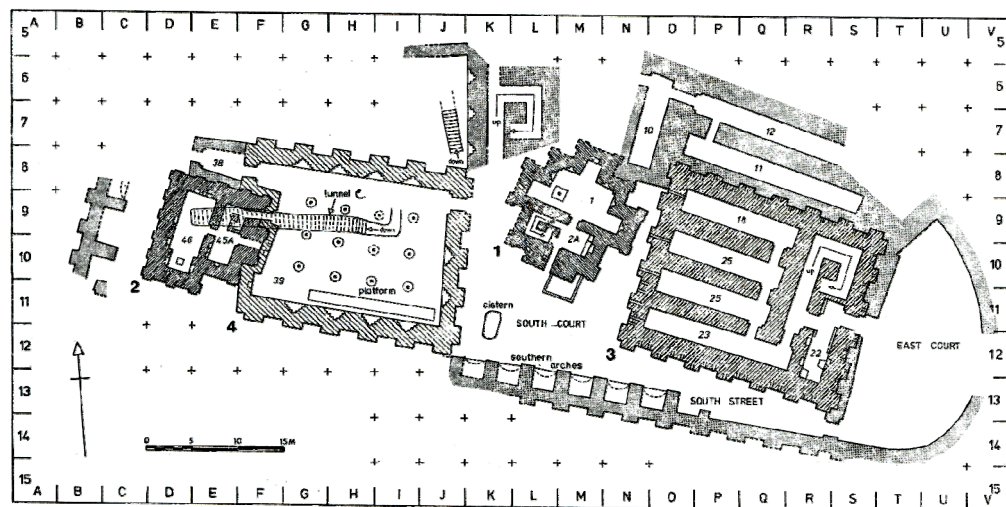


Figure 4.2: Tepe Nush-i Jan Plan, located 14 km west of Malayer-Iran,predates the squatter occupation of the first half of the 6th century BC
The plan including the four principal buildings: the Central Temple (1), the Western Temple (the Old Western Building) (2), the Fort (3), and the Columned Hall (4), the platforms in front of the temples were used as gathering spaces, like *meidan.*
Source:http://www.cais-soas.com/CAIS/Images2/Median/Tepe_Nush_i_Jan_plan.gif (visited: May 15, 2011)

[230] Lang, Jon. Urban Design: a typology of procedures and products. Elsevier Press, Oxford, 2005, p.88
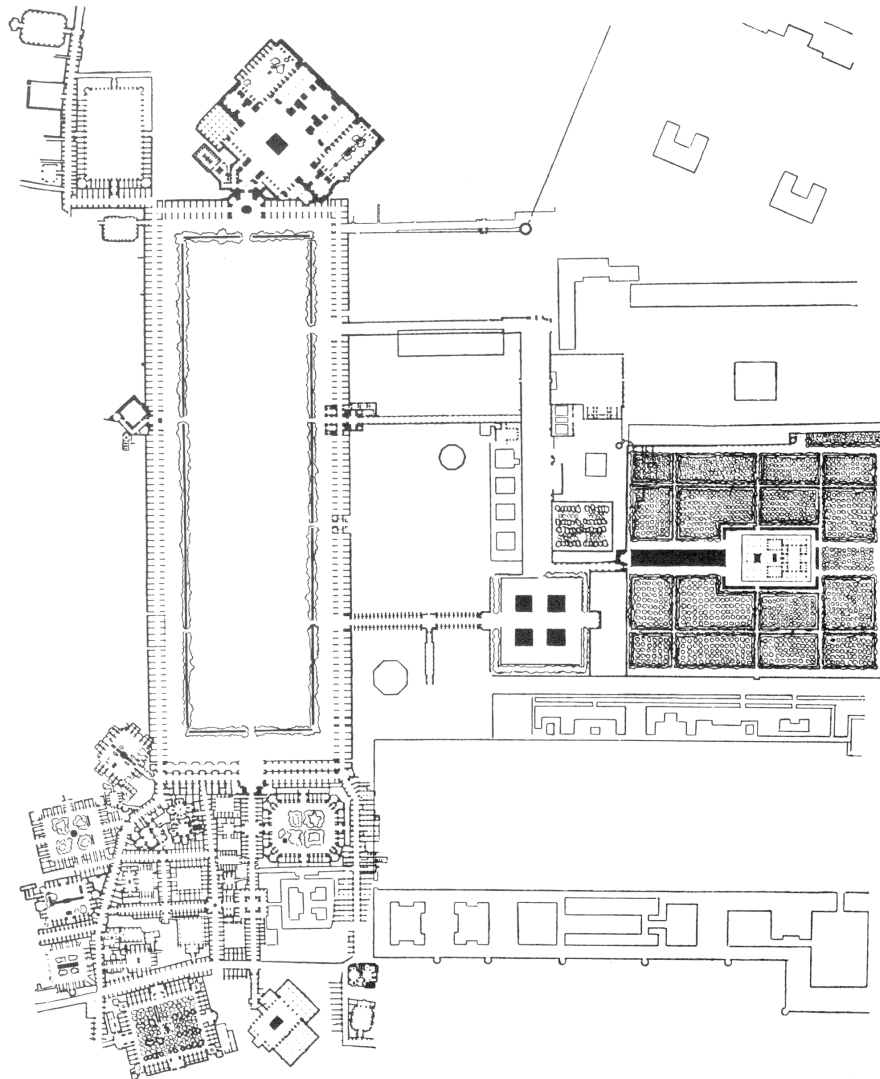
Figure 4.3: Isfahan Naqsh-e Jahan Meidan and surrounding areas, drawn by: E. E. Beaudouin
The plan of the Isafahan's main square shows the main urban square of the city in relation to mosque, bazaar, and palace. Pope concludes that the plan of this square and its surrounding buildings "are enough to remind us that here was one of the most grandiose and at the same time rational and reined city plans ever accomplished. The Persians, at once mathematicians of historical importance and master decorators, combined the two talents essential to conceive and execute a great and significant project of urbanism."
Source: Pope, Arthur Upham. A Survey of Persian Art; From Prehistoric Times to the Present. Vol lll. Oxford University Press, New York, 1967, p.1408
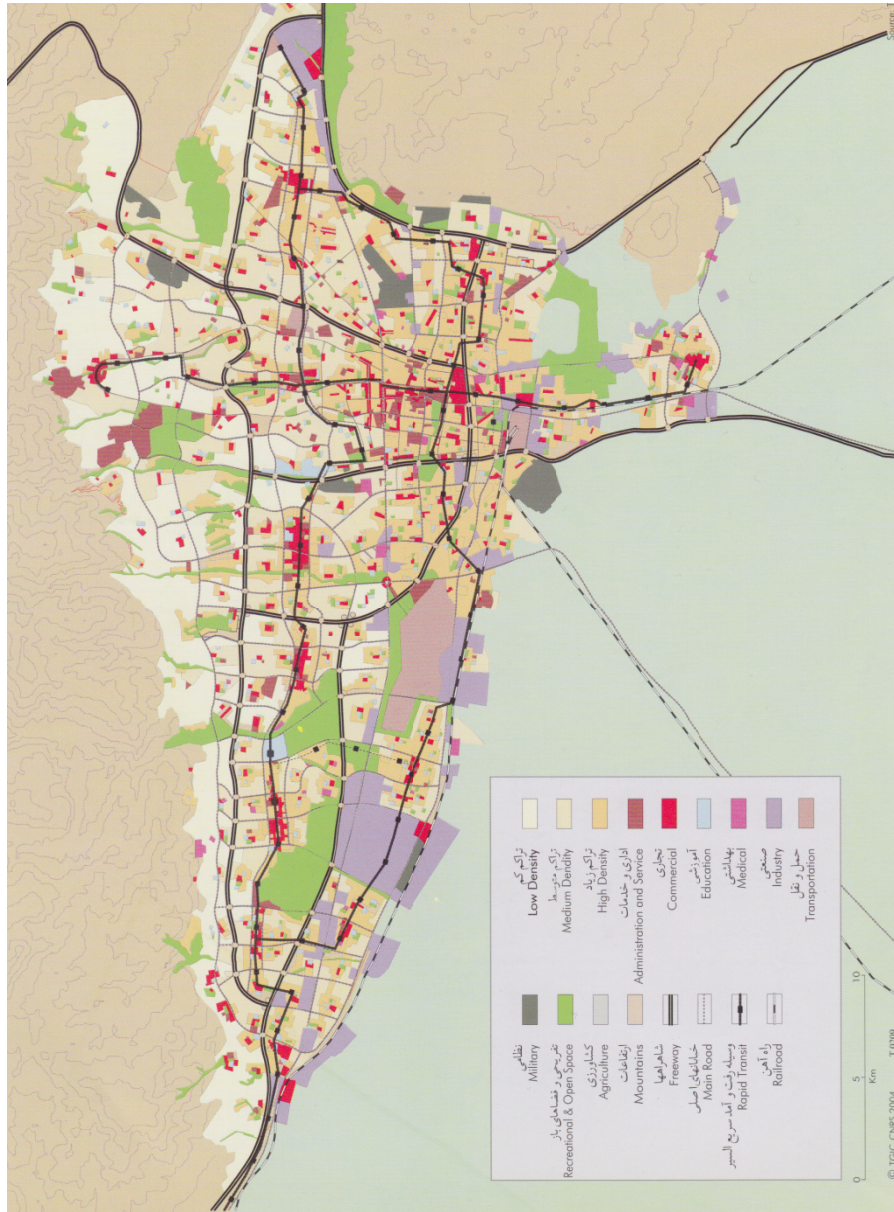
Figure 4.4: The master plan of Tehran, 1968

The plan was published in 1966, and implemented in 1968. It has projected the idea of building a linear city, with 10 urban districts, which were linked with a network of highways.

Source: Habibi, Mohsen & Bernard Hourcade. Atlas of Tehran Metropolis: Land & People. Publishers: Urban Planning & Processing Company, Tehran GIS Centre, Tehran Municipality, Tehran, 2005, p.74

Figure 4.5: The map of Tehran
The map shows Park Pardian, Park Laleh, and Tajrish street in the north, Rey in the south, Mehrabad Airport in the west, and Tehran-Pars in the east, which were the limits of the city in 1968 plan, but only the northern and southern limits still remain the same, while the city has expanded on east-west axis, because the north-south axis has reached its outmost limits.
Source: http://olden.tehran.ir/Portals/25/Image/1386/51/TehranImportantPlaces-M-01.jpg (visited: May 18, 2011)



Figure 4.6: An example of an ancient Eastern Iranian city, Herat
The maze like narrow streets, reach varying squares, in different and usually irregular forms. The city as a whole has a square form.
Source: Gangler, Anette & Heinz Gaube &Attilio Petruccioli. Bukhara – The Eastern Dome of Islam; Urban Development, Urban Space, Architecture and Population. Edition Axel Menges, Stuttgart/London, 2004, p.35

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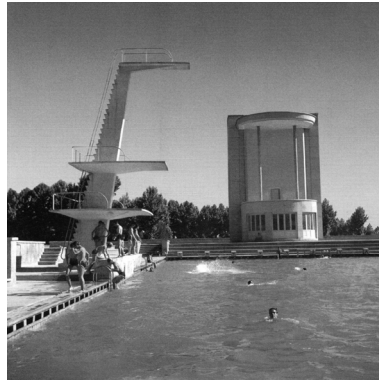
Figure 4.7: Amjadieh Swimming Pool, 1958
While on one side of the city people were living their traditional life, on the other side, urban infrastructure were bringing new habits of urban life for the citizens.
Source: Old Tehran, Photography By Mahmoud Pakzad (1941-1975). Did Publications, 2003, p.172



Figure 4.8: a view of an old alley in Tehran
The narrow alleys that could not be entered by car, were semi-public spaces of the city, in which the inhabitants knew each other. In revolts and anti-regime activities, it became difficult for the regime to control these spaces, while they were not just passages, and were under surveillance of their dwellers.
Source: http://www.peymanmeli.org/Images/1-OldAlley.jpg (visited: May 18, 2011)



Figure 4.9: December 07, 1953, which was named student day in Iran afterwards.
University students in Tehran, poured in to streets to protest the coup of 1953, and got shot by regime forces.
Source: http://www.iichs.org/magazine/bahar/82/82_berevayat_7.jpg (visited: May 20, 2011)

Figure 4.10: Tehran University Entrance Gate
The symbol of the higher education of the country. Constructed in 1969, as a result of a competition. It reminds of the wings of two birds, and has been interpreted as the form of an opened book as well.
Source: http://news.ut.ac.ir/Images/News/Larg_Pic/14-10-1388/IMAGE633981880191725000.jpg (visited: May 20, 2011)



Figure 4.11: Entrance gate of Tehran University, pre 1979 Revolution
The entrance of the university has been a gathering point for meetings and protests that lead to the 1979 Revolution, and still it is a focal point of protests and political movements.
Source: http://www.shenidar.com/sec/news/pr/2010/10/10100922365_4969_Tehran_University_door.html (visited: May 22, 2011)



Figure 4.12: Tehran University Entrance gate on banknotes
This gate became a symbol of higher education, and was used on banknotes.
Source: http://www.farsinet.com/toman/images/iri_500rb2.jpg (visited: May 22, 2011)

Figure 4.13: Tehran, Pahlavi Avenue towards Tajrish Square, 1960's
Pahlavi Avenue with its famous trees, and the Tajrish Square, with a statue of Shah's crown, over colonnades from Persepolis.
Source: http://www.fouman.com/Y/Picture_View-Tehran_Tajrish_Square_1960s.html (visited: May 10, 2011)



Figure 4.14: Tehran, Sepah (Toopkhaneh) Square, 1960's
The Squares are widened for automobile traffic and started to loose their characteristic for socialization.
Source: http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=220917&page=2 (visited: April 17, 2011)



Figure 4.15: Tehran University from Shahreza Street, 1960's
A view of Tehran University from Shahreza Street, which was named Enqelab, after the 1979 Revolution.
Source: http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=220917&page=2 (visited: April 18, 2011)

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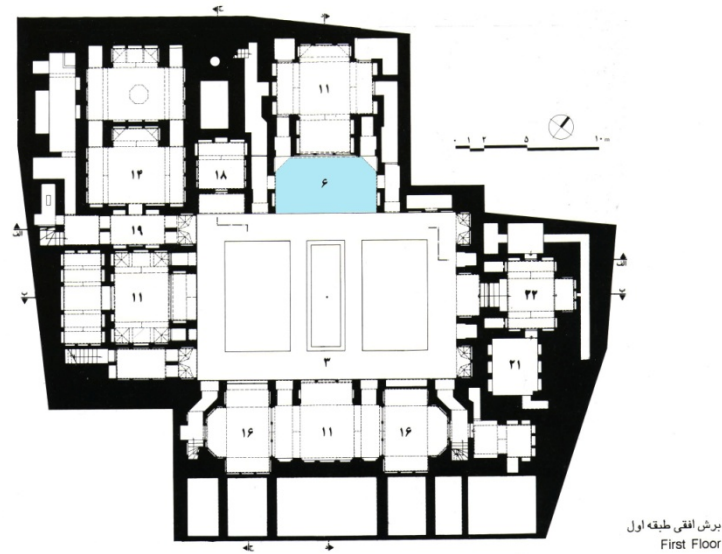
Figure 4.16: Kashan, Abbasian mansion, First floor plan
An example of *Iwan* in traditional Persian housing can be observed in this house. *Iwan* is a covered semi-open space. One side of *iwan* is opened to the courtyard, while the other side is usually opened to the more public spaces of the house.
Source: http://www.cafedexign.com/showthread.php?p=160394 (visited: May 24, 2011)
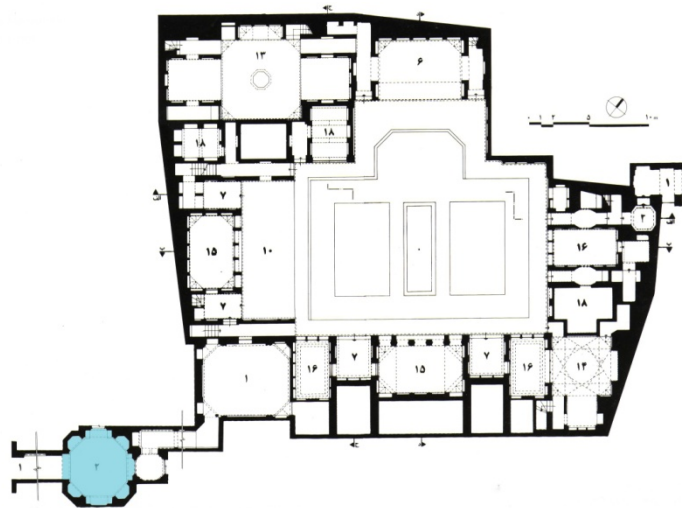


Figure 4.17: Kashan, Abbasian mansion, Ground floor plan
Hashti is a mediator space, between the entrance of the Persian houses, and the interior spaces of the house. It is a cooler space, with less light, which welcomes the visitor, and leads him to the private or semi-private spaces of the house.
Source: http://www.cafedexign.com/showthread.php?p=160394 (visited: May 24, 2011)
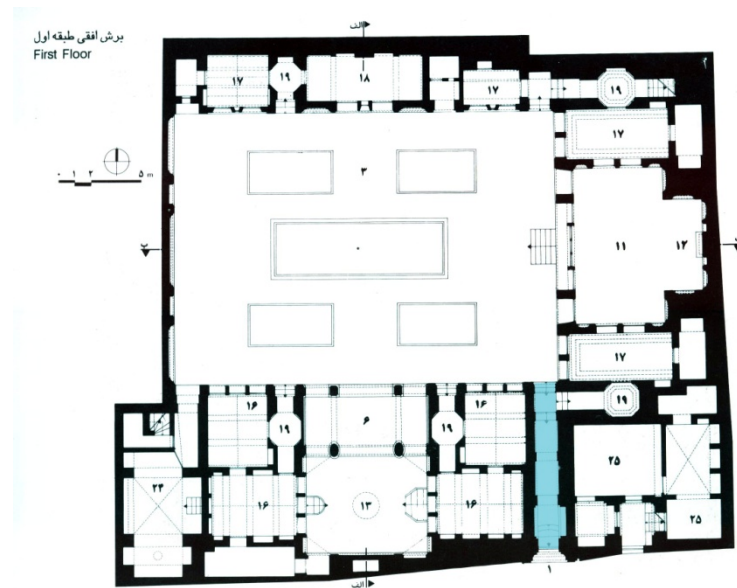
Figure 4.18: Attar-ha Mansion, Kashan-Iran
Dalan, is an enclosed space, like a corridor, which does not have openings on sides. It usually leads the person from entrance to private spaces of the house. In all the plans of the three houses provided here, the "courtyard", as the central elements of the house, with pools and gardens is visible.
Source: http://www.cafedexign.com/showthread.php?p=160394 (visited: May 24, 2011)



Figure 4.19: Niasar Temple, Isfahan-Iran
A sample of the use of Chartaq in Niasar Temple, which dates back to pre-Islamic Persian architecture. Chartaq, meaning four-vaulted space, is a vault supported on four columns.
Source: http://www.flickr.com/photos/aryobarzan/2822053821/ (visited: May 24, 2011)
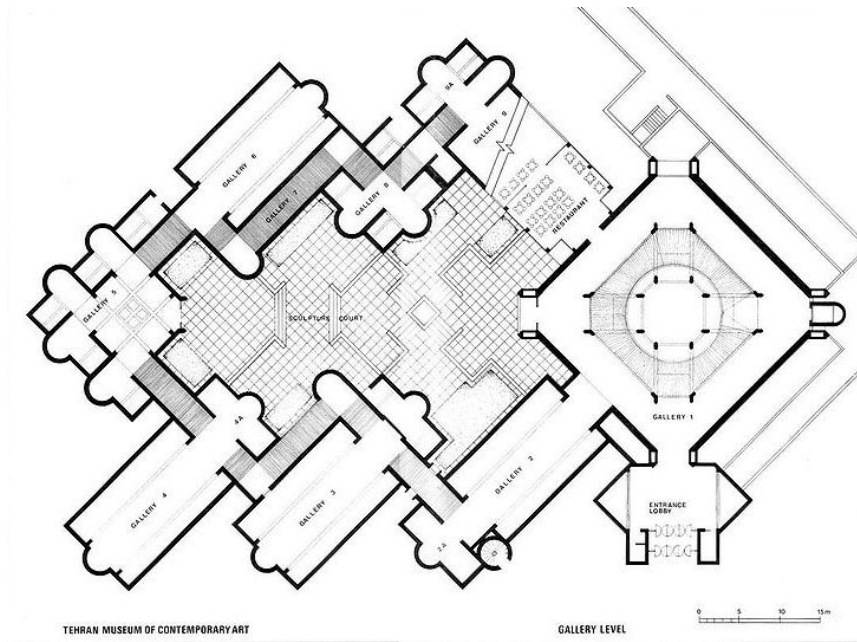
Figure 4.20: Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art, Plan of gallery level
Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art is designed by Kamran Diba in 1970's. Alongside being a modern design, the plan gives reference to the traditional elements and principles of Persian architecture.
Source:http://www.shamkhani.com/picture/pelan%20tehran%20museum.jpg (visited: May 20, 2011)



Figure 4.21: Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art
The project is located close to Laleh Park, so the architect has used courtyards to provide semi-private open space for the building, while on the other hand the low-rise building is well integrated to the space of the park.
Source:http://www.trekearth.com/gallery/Middle_East/Iran/East/Tehran/Tehran/photo586876.htm (visited: May 20, 2011)

Figure 4.22: Niavaran Cultural Center and Garden, Tehran
Kamran Diba designed the cultural center and the garden. The image shows a view from the courtyard to the building.
Source: http://www.kamrandiba.com/content/view/13/ (visited: May 12, 2011)
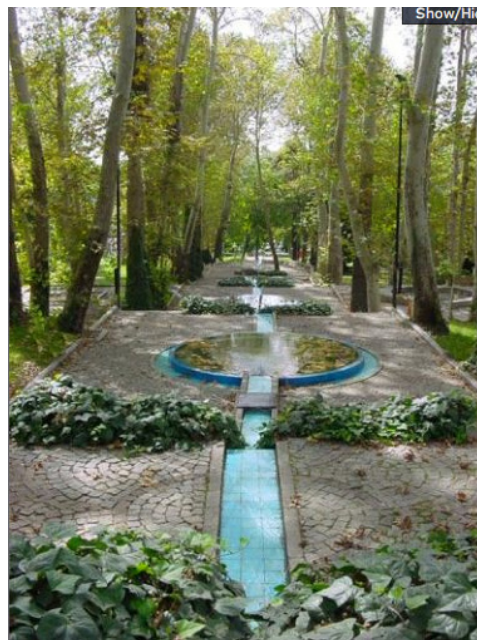


Figure 4.23: Niavaran Cultural Center and Garden, Tehran
A view of the waterway of the garden, derived from the pattern of Persian gardens.
Source: http://www.kamrandiba.com/content/view/13/ (visited: May 12, 2011)
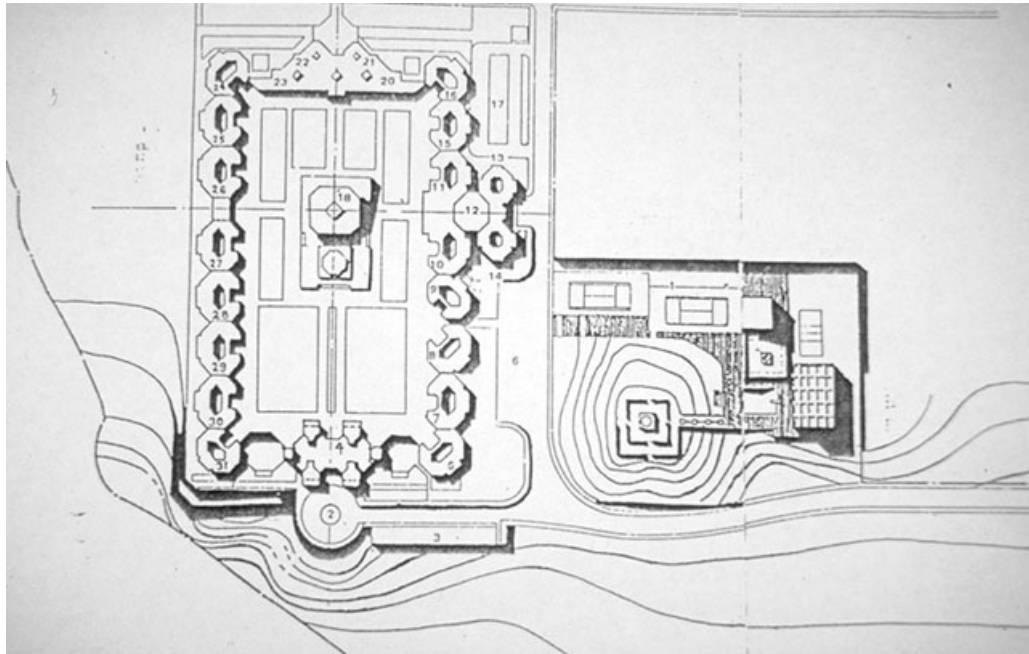
Figure 4.24: Site Plan of Iran Center for Management Studies, Tehran, 1972
Designed by Nader Ardalan, the complex gives reference to traditional Persian architecture, through the use of courtyards, and spaces with characteristic of *hashti* in entrances.
Source:http://archnet.org/library/images/one-image.jsp?location_id=1543&image_id=14632 (visited: May 19, 2011)



Figure 4.25: Iran Center for Management studies, Tehran - Photographer: Atilla Yucel (1989)
An axial view down the water channel to the library building.
Source: http://archnet.org/library/images/one-image.jsp?location_id=1543&image_id=14632 (visited: May 19, 2011)

4.3. Transformation in the perception of urban squares in Tehran

A formal examination of city squares in the transformative period of Iranian encounter with modernization from 1930's onward has distinctly depicted the transformation in the nature of public squares in the context of this study; what is less clear is that, how people as the social agencies perceive, construct, and attend in those public spaces, specifically in city squares. And yet in the context of a revolutionary society, the revolutionary sentiment, not as the sole substance of social involvement, but as an important element of that, functions actively in the transformation of the perception of public squares in Tehran. As a consequence of series of changes in the body of public squares, the transformation in the way the inhabitants of the city perceive that public space is inevitable. Perception, as a mutually dependent process of interaction among environment, observer and perception, is based upon gaining information about the environment.[231] Providing an appropriate definition of the perception in the context of this study requires a degree of sociological perspective; considering the popular fact that due to its configuration, modern urban street act as an obstacle to socialization.[232] The criteria which transforms the role of public squares in the lives of the inhabitants and the factors in question of the perception of those spaces, can be revealed through analysis on the way those spaces act appropriate to their meanings and characteristics, in their historical timeline.

The new street network within the body of Tehran has been quite effective on the form and character of the squares of the city. The grid system imposed upon the street network, along side the widening of the streets, as parts of the a series of urban design efforts to modernize the image of the city, have caused some junctions to be transferred into squares in name, but never to hold the full function of a public square. One of the main defects of Tehran's street pattern have been mentioned as the lack of continuity in 1970's; except for Shahreza Street which has been continued and connected to the external roads in east and west, all other main avenues, convert after some distance into local narrow streets.[233] It means that even Pahlavi (Vali Asr) Avenue, which was the main north-south axis of the city in those times, was not connected to the external roads and it came to an end when it reached the square in front of Railway Station in south. The unauthorized passage of

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[231] Barlas, M.Adnan. Urban Streets & Urban Rituals. METU Faculty of Architecture Printing Workshop, Ankara, 2006, p.22
[232] Ibid, p.6
[233] Bahrambeygui, H. Tehran: An Urban Analysis. Sahab Books Institute, Tehran, 1977, p.146

pedestrians in the streets and squares was considered as a traffic problem in Tehran in those years, while the city squares and streets were in a period of transformation in nature, from human based public spaces, to automobile based spaces. The width of the streets has been indicative in defining the character of their intersections, as squares or junctions. In 1970's the avenues of Tehran have been categorized in three groups according to their width: a) main avenues with an average width of 24 to 40 meters which facilitate the passage of traffic on direct routes (today the width of the continuation of Shahreza (Enghelab) street, which connects Tehran University to Shahyad (Azadi) Square, is more than 50 meters), b) second class network avenues with an average width of 10 to 24 meters, which lead the local traffic to the main avenues, c) local streets with a width of less than 10 meters, which are short, narrow, twisting streets.[234] The main squares of Tehran have not been independent from the character, form, and width of the streets ending to those squares. Still this characteristic of Tehran's squares in relation to the streets, which are connected to them, exists in a different scale. Their formal properties alongside their huge proportions, with pedestrian over passes, which are not properly used, have produced a confusing and blurred definition of the form and function of the squares and junctions (Figure 4.26, Figure 4.27, Figure 4.28).

The perception of the public square in pre-modern Iran was an outcome of the tangible spaces of the city squares and their identity apart from their surrounding buildings; the identity that was not due to the mere characteristics of the surrounding buildings, but was perceived and experienced independently. Public square as an open space with the characteristics such as: being a node of events and gatherings, a space of halt and suspension, a meeting space, and an attachment point of forces from different directions, reflects its formal properties on its function and social perception.[235] Indeed the modern urban spaces in Iran were not an exception to the ongoing process of change coming up with modernization and industrialization; the Iranian traditional architecture and the Iranian city as parts of an introverted culture, were used to have a hierarchical order of privacy, intimacy and thus enclosedness; all the public spaces of Persian cities, from courts of the houses to the bazaars and city squares were enclosed spaces.[236] The new order of architecture and city planning that was an antagonist movement to the nature of the Iranian culture and living

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[234] Ibid, pp.146-148

[235] Alavi Belmani, Maryam and Mohammadreza Poorjafar. Trans. By: Author. "Influential Factors on the Spatial Perception of Urban Squares". <u>Abadi</u> Scientific & Research Quarterly in Architecture and Urbanism, Vol.19, No.63, Summer 2009, pp.6-15

[236] Misaghian, Gholamreza. Trans. By: Author. "Reflecting on the concepts of Urban Space". <u>Abadi</u> Scientific & Research Quarterly in Architecture and Urbanism, Vol.19, NO.63, Summer 2009, pp.16-19

habits was acting as a modifier to the function and perception of the public spaces. The square was not acting in everyday lives of the citizens but it was in the margins of their lives till the appearance of an emergence of a social gathering for a social or political demand.

In an overall assessment of the shift in the perception of public squares in the body of Tehran it should be mentioned that the street starts to be a place of mere consumption, as if the traditional bazaar, which was a section of public spaces of the traditional city, to hold the commercial activities, is now spread all over the streets, and every public space has been transformed into a commercial zone. Sociability, as a vital essence of the public spaces, streets, and squares of the traditional cities, left its place to the functions of a culture of consumption, that gradually transformed the whole public spaces to commercial (Figure 4.29). When the surrounding buildings of a square do not serve for functions that would require concentration of the social agencies, then it looses its function in everyday lives of the inhabitants, and thus it starts to be perceived in a different manner. In the comparative images of Toopkhaneh (Sepah) Square, in 1940's and present time (Figure 4.30), it can be observed that, while in 1940's the street patterns were just changed to the grid system, and the square had just been westernized through putting the statue of Reza Shah in its center, but still it was hovering between the modern and traditional; it was used as the field of representation of state power, and the form of the square was changed, but still while the automobile traffic was not intense, so the presence of people is more visible than the later periods. Generating from the position of Tehran in the socio-political atmosphere of the country, and its rising migrant population alongside the changes in its pattern, it can be observed that the policies and the ideologies of the ruling regime, could diminish the culture and thus the perception of the public squares through interventions into those spaces in terms of form and function, with less difficulty in comparison to other cities.
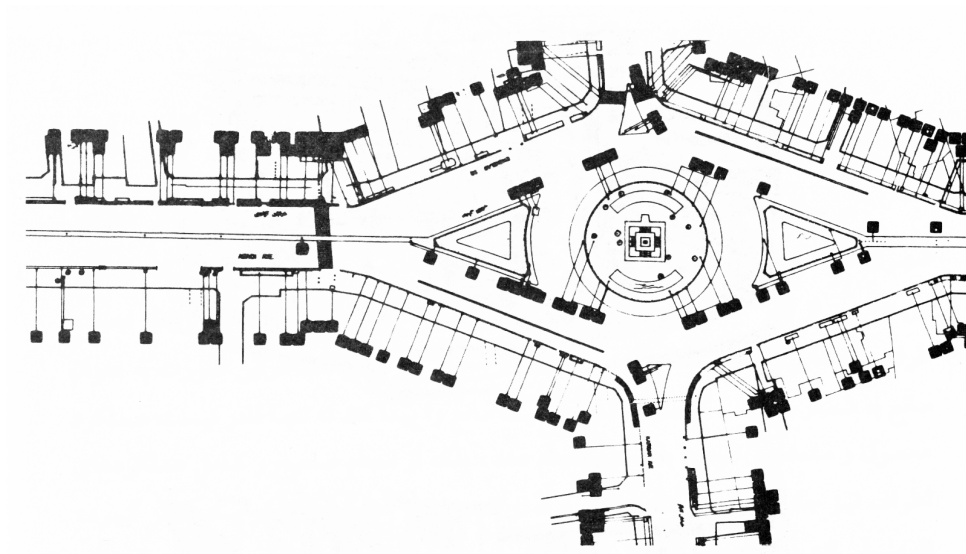
Figure 4.26: The plan of Enqelab Square, Tehran
The main square located on Shahreza Street, close to Tehran University, which is a space of chaos of cars and pedestrians movement in contemporary Tehran. From the right side the square is connected to Shahreza Street, from the left to Azadi Street, and from the north and south to Karegar Street.
Source: Bahrainy, S. Hossein. Urban Space Analysis; In relation to users behavior pattern. Trans. By: Author. Tehran University Press, 1996, p.32
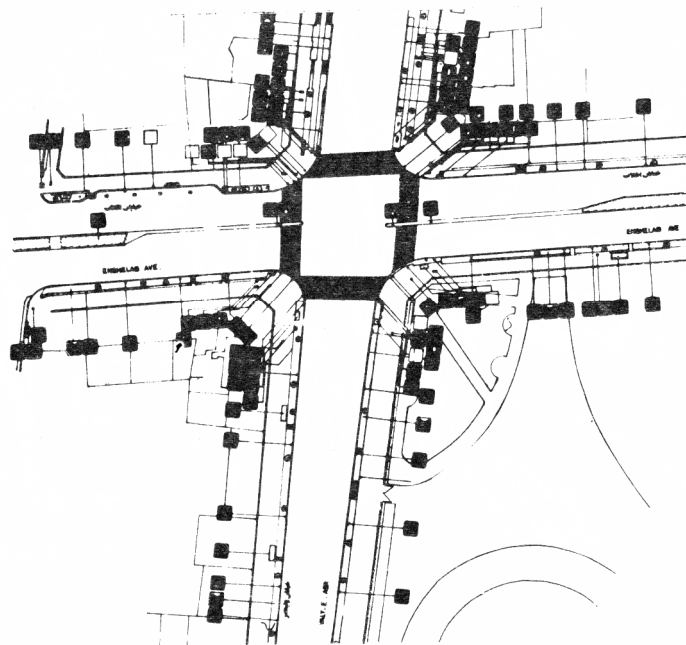


Figure 4.27: The plan of Vali-Asr (Pahlavi) Junction
The junction of Pahlavi (Vali-Asr) and Shahreza (Enqelab) avenues, which is almost covered with a network of pedestrian overpasses today.
Source: Bahrainy, S. Hossein. Urban Space Analysis; In relation to users behavior pattern. Trans. By: Author. Tehran University Press, 1996, p.33
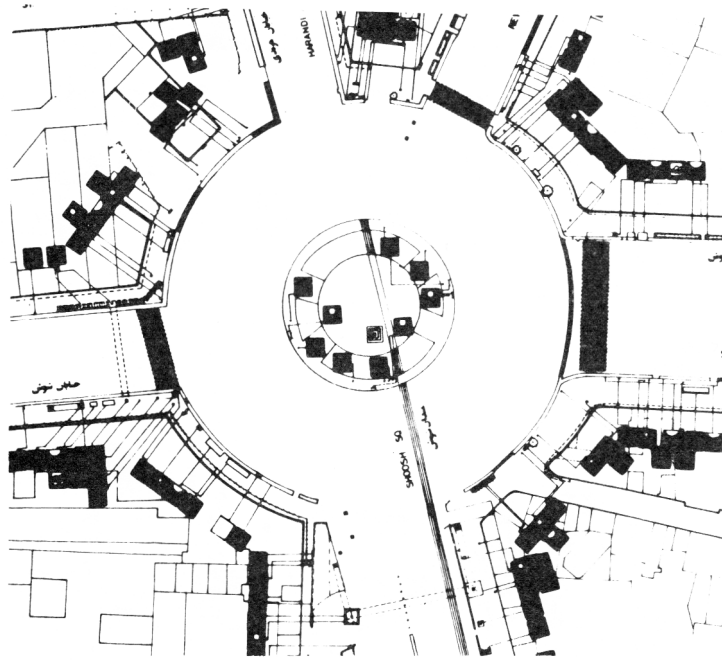
Figure 4.28: The plan of Shoosh Square, Southern Tehran
An important square in the south of Tehran, circular in form and chaotic, as many other squares of the city.
Source: Bahrainy, S. Hossein. Urban Space Analysis; In relation to users behavior pattern. Trans. By: Author.
Tehran University Press, 1996, p.39
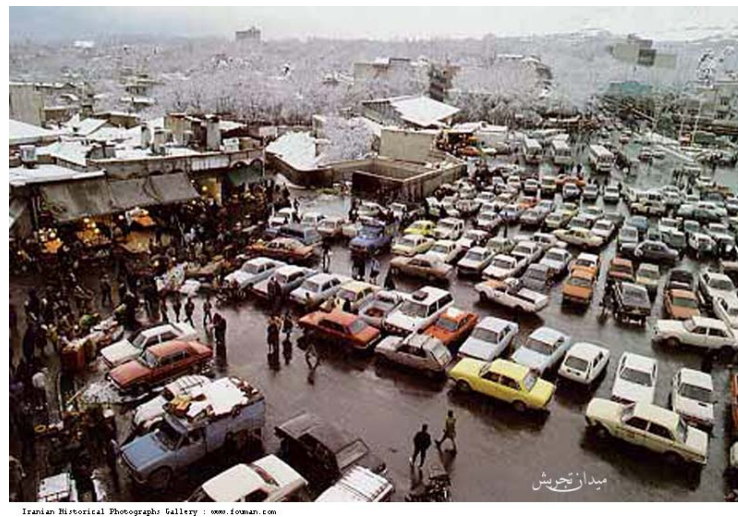


Figure 4.29: Tehran's Tajrish Square, late 1970's
The square was started to be used as bazaar, but with the rising number of the cars, it looks as a
parking area. Culture of consumption, spread in every part of the city, has occupied the urban
squares.
Source: http://www.fouman.com/Y/Picture_View-Tehran_Tajrish_Square_1970s.htm (visited: May
09, 2011)

Figure 4.30: Toopkhaneh (Sepah) Square (meaning canon house), named Imam Square after the Revolution, in 1940's and 2000's

The comparative images of the square, show the square in 1940's, not as a canon house, but centered with a statue of Reza Shah, and four statues of Achaemenian soldiers, used in a military marching. The image below shows a view of the square, after the 1979 Revolution. The Reza Shah and Achaemenian figures are replaced with a sign of Allah, and it has become a node of traffic circulation.

Source: http://ashreshteh.com/images/gallery/tehran_ghadim_jadid/tehran-16.jpg (visited: June 14, 2011)

## 4.4. Shahyad Tower (Azadi Sq.) as a manifestation of Shah's power

"In his speech at the tomb of Cyrus the Great launching the unpopular and extravagant international celebrations marking the 2,500[th] anniversary of the Iranian empire, the shah famously had said 'Sleep well, Cyrus, for we are awake'."[237]

Mohammad Reza Shah, the young Shah, educated in Europe, with a romantic vision of rescuing the glory of the past to the Iranian nation, wanted to be recognized as the heir to the throne of Cyrus, Xerxes, and Darius, and move Iran towards a Great Civilization through gaining the glory of the past.[238] The Iranian Shah believed that Iran was at the gates of the Great Civilization and is heading towards a bright future, which would be even more glorious than it's past and "it would produce a way of life superior to both capitalism and communism."[239] Declaring his Great Civilization, Shah always mentioned about "The Gateway", which would lead to it; his wish – the building of Shahyad Tower - was set into action as one of the projects of the committee that was established for 2500 Years Celebrations in November 1959.[240] In the midst of the peak point in the hostility of the society towards state in the modern history of Iran in 1971, Shahyad Tower – which was named Azadi Tower after the Revolution of 1979 – was built in commemoration of the 2,500[th] anniversary of the Iranian Empire. This huge gateway was indeed a monument of the shah's psyche in entering the path of being a great civilization. In that sense the monument projected onto the land a conception of the world, while the city as whole projects the social life.[241] An observation of the physical characteristics of Shahyad, will provide the raw materials for an understanding of the conceptions it aimed to represent. Throughout the height and depth, along a dimension that is alien to urban trajectories, the monuments proclaim duty, power, knowledge, joy, and hope.[242] Shahyad proclaimed the nationalistic

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[237]Katouzian, Homa. The Persians: ancient, medieval, and modern Iran. Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 2009, p.291
[238]Der-Grigorian, Talin. Construction of History: Mohammad-Reza Shah Revivalism, Nationalism, and Monumental Architecture of Tehran 1951-1979
Thesis Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Nasser O. Rabbat. Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Science of Architecture Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, June 1998, pp.81-82
[239]Abrahamian, Ervand. A History of Modern IRAN. Cambridge University press, New York, 2008, p.131
[240]Javaherian, Faryar, Trans. By: Azita Izadi, "Double-Edged Icon: Kings' Memorial Tower/ Freedom Square". Memar, Oct. Nov. 2008, pp. 32-40
[241] Lefebvre, Henri. The Urban Revolution. Trans. By: Robert Bononno. Foreword by: Neil Smith. University of Minnesota Press, London, 2003, p.22
[242] Ibid, p.22

hopes of Shah in leading its nation towards a better future, and reminding the glorious history of the Persian Empire, as well as himself (Figure 4.31).

While the Shah was recalling and redefining the memory of Persian Empire, he wanted to ensure that the future generations would not forget him, through building of Shahyad tower, which was to impress the foreign and domestic audience, en route to the airport.[243] Shahyad, meaning the king's memorial, was opened to a national competition in 1966 and was planned to be built in the main western entry to Tehran, in the crossroad of Tehran's main East/West axis in a 122,375 square meters plot of land, to be the main square of Tehran and the greatest plaza in the world.[244] Indeed being positioned at the western limits of the city, close to the Mehrabad Airport, was a decision made in order to make a symbolic entrance gate for the guests who were going to attend the celebrations of the 2,500[th] anniversary of the Persian Empire; and still it acts as the main symbol of the city of Tehran (Figure 4.32, Figure 4.33). To make clear the symbolic value of Shahyad in manifesting the policy of the government, it can benote here that: "Through Shahyad, Iran was relocated to Europe and its progressive state of being. Shahyad was even meant to be seen from air, as the traveler was about to land at the airport; an entrance to Iran, before even landing on its land."[245]

The White Revolution was seen as a process in heading towards Shah's Great Civilization in his own vision; for a return to the Iranian culture rather than Islamic culture. In that sense the Cyrus Cylinder, which is known to be the first human rights charter of the world, was brought to the museum of Shahyad tower from British museum due to the 2,500[th] anniversary of the Persian Empire in 1971. Although the main pillar of White Revolution was land reform, it could not promote the living conditions of rural areas, but it raised the urban culture of Iranian society in a notable extent. In November of 1971, the first phase of the celebration took place in Persepolis in the tomb of Cyrus, where Mohammad Reza Shah gave a speech addressing Cyrus; "The act of speaking to the dead and past generations is often a part of the discourse of nationalism"(Figure 4.34).[246] The second phase of the celebration took place in the opening of Shahyad Aryamehr Monument that was designed by the 25 years old Iranian architect, Hossein Amanat, who had just graduated from Tehran University's

[243] M. Ansari, Ali. Modern Iran since 1921: Pahlavis and After. Pearson Education Print, England, 2003, p.174

[244] Ibid

[245] Der-Grigorian, Talin. Construction of History: Mohammad-Reza Shah Revivalism, Nationalism, and Monumental Architecture of Tehran 1951-1979
Thesis Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Nasser O. Rabbat. Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Science of Architecture Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, June 1998, p.99

[246] Ibid, p.91

School of Fine Arts.[247]It was presented as an apparent gift from a grateful nation to the Shah, in the presence of international dignitaries, following a visit to the mausoleum of Reza Shah; and the young architect in charge of construction argued that the design was meant to incorporate Achaemenian, Sassanian, Safavid, and modern Iranian influences, and was meant to symbolize the link between ancient and modern.[248]The architectural glory of the Persian Empire – Persepolis – and the grandeur of modern Iranian architecture – Shahyad – were the central themes for what was aimed to be shown by the source of power; a link between modern Iran and its glorious past.

> "This monument is 50 meters tall and completely clad in cut marble. The main concept of Shahyad's design is the *chahar-taq*or four-vaults which is the primordial paradigm of Persian architecture: four pillars rise and are covered by a four-partite dome. In the case of Shahyad, the four pillars twist in a complex system of curvatures and rise to end up in a quasi square at the top. The similar concept has been applied in the design of the entrance of Tehran University, in a smaller scale, which was designed in 1965 and built in 1967. The most interesting fact about this memorial tower is that it is designed without columns or load-bearing walls, but rather as a single sculptural element that supports itself."[249]

As a complex that was going to represent Persian culture to the visitors, Shahyad was to include the structural patterns and motifs of ancient Persian architecture, as well as Islamic architecture. The symbolic formal characteristics of the tower and the plaza have been associated with the social context, through the functional properties, of both complex of the tower and the plaza. As it can be observed in the plan of the complex, the existence of the museum, exhibition areas, library, and ceremony halls, have loaded the tower with a cultural meaning that would represent Iranian civilization (Figure 4.35). On the other hand the huge plaza, thatcontains fountains and landscaping in patterns similar to traditional Persian gardens, was foreseen as an active plaza for celebrations, parades, cultural events and activities.[250]This 45 meters high tower - which could not be taller, due to its proximity to the airport – is planned on four pillars, that are not rectangular in plan but have a complex

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[247]Javaherian, Faryar, Trans. By: Azita Izadi, "Double-Edged Icon: Kings' Memorial Tower/ Freedom Square". Memar, Oct. Nov. 2008, pp.32-40, p.33
[248] M. Ansari, Ali. Modern Iran since 1921: Pahlavis and After. Pearson Education Print, England, 2003, p.174
[249] Ibid, p.174
[250] http://www.amanatarchitect.com/shahyad/index.php (visited: May 23, 2011)

wrench-shape (Figure 4.36).[251] In the East-West axis that is along the main path from the airport to the city the arch has a generous opening, and it reminds the view of *Taq-e Kasra*, the Sassanid arch entrance to Ctisphun Palace; on the top of this arch is a quasi-jenaqi (wishbone) arch (Figure 4.37, Figure 4.38).[252] Alongside being a well-done work of geometrical calculations, not only the mosaic designs and the formal properties of the tower give reference to ancient Persian architecture, but also the landscaping of the plaza is designed according to geometrical patterns, used in Persian architectural ornaments. The architect has been inspired from the geometrical pattern, used as ornaments of the dome of *Sheikh Lotfollah* mosques, in Isfahan (Figure 4.39, Figure 4.40).[253] The Sheikh Lotfollah mosque is located in the Naqsh-e Jahan Square in Isfahan, and is considered as one of the most beautiful mosques of Iran.

The interior spaces of the tower are in contrast to the polished and ordered appearance of the exterior, but still the ancient and Islamic motifs of Iranian architecture is in use in those spaces (figure 4.41, figure 4.42, figure 4.43, figure 4.44).[254] Shahyad is a compilation in the nature; and that is the identity, attached to this tower in terms of its social use, since it was built. This monument, with its large plaza, is a collection of the contradictory elements of ancient, Islamic, and modern periods of Iranian architecture. In addition, it has becomes a node of collection for the people in critical points of Iran's contemporary socio-political movements. The urban location and context of particular buildings and spaces, their accessibility to different groups of the society from different regions of the city, and their symbolic value, have been critical in the unfolding of the political events.[255] While Tehran has many squares, which hold historical symbolism for the city, it is Shahyad tower and plaza (Azadi Square) that turn into the symbol of the city, as well as the symbolic gathering point of Tehranis. The ordinary space of the square, used as a traffic junction, turn into an extraordinary space of power struggle, in certain points (Figure 4.45, Figure 4.46, Figure 4.47).

Today, Azadi Square hosts a great number of automobile traffic in non-occasional

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[251] Javaherian, Faryar, Trans. By: Azita Izadi, "Double-Edged Icon: Kings' Memorial Tower/ Freedom Square". Memar, Oct. Nov. 2008, pp. 32-40, p.35
[252] Ibid, p.35
[253] http://www.bbc.co.uk/persian/iran/story/2007/10/071023_ka-tehran-azadi-amanat.shtml (Trans. By: author) (visited: May 21, 2011)
[254] Javaherian, Faryar, Trans. By: Azita Izadi, "Double-Edged Icon: Kings' Memorial Tower/ Freedom Square". Memar, Oct. Nov. 2008, pp. 32-40, p.37
[255] Irazabal, Clara & John Foley. Space, Revolution and Resistance: Ordinary Places and Extraordinary Events in Caracas. Ed. By: Clara Irazabal. Ordinary Places, Extraordinary Events. Routledge Press, Oxfordshire, 2008, p.144

days and a great number of people in different social events, who find this space proper in terms of form, symbolic quality, and location, to gather in. 70,000 square meters of its land is occupied by automobile circulation and 50,000 square meters is left for the landscaping around the project, which provides a huge plot that can host great number of people.[256] Being situated close to Mehrabad Airport and one of the main bus terminals of the city, has transferred it to a traffic junction.[257] The monumentalist characteristic of the tower has given the same essence to the square; the tower is the symbol of the country's capital and thus a symbol of Iran. The square has been the main gathering place of demonstrations, which lead to the Revolution of 1979, and thus it was named as Freedom Square and since then the celebrations of the anniversary of the Revolution take place at that square. In 2009, Azadi Square again started to be used for anti-regime demonstrations after 30 years, which shows that the square has been used by contradictory forces, for quite in-contrast reasons, and it is not serving for the ideology of just one group or movement.

As mentioned previously due to the topography of the capital city, there was a segregation of poor and rich in the vertical direction of the city; the city used to expand rapidly in north-south direction, which was a sloppy topography, till 1960's, when the land was not enough for serving the rising population of the capital, who has migrated from rural areas. In the northern direction the city was expanding towards Alborz Mountains, which meant good weather and water conditions, and to the southern parts, the city was expanding to more polluted and crowd regions of Bazaar. As it has been clearly stated by Der-Grigorian, "Shahyad was that epitome of Shahreza axis which divided the rich and the poor, the beautiful and the ugly, the new and the old, the aristocrat/elite and the blue collar worker/merchant."[258] This situation on the divide axis of the city, and at its western gate, gave Shahyad a symbolic value, since it was built. Indeed Shahreza street as the main horizontal street of the city at the time, was hosting the main entrance gate of Tehran University as well as the Shahyad monument, which both were the critical nodes of gatherings in the recent history of the city.

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[256]M. Ansari, Ali. Modern Iran since 1921: Pahlavis and After. Pearson Education Print, England, 2003, p.174

[257]Tabarsa, Mohammadali. Trans. By Author. "The Square and its Function: A Comparative Study of Tehran's Azadi and Isfahan's Naqsh-e Jahan Squares". Abadi Scientific & Research Quarterly in Architecture and Urbanism, Vol.19, NO.63, Summer 2009, pp.28-37

[258]Der-Grigorian, Talin. Construction of History: Mohammad-Reza Shah Revivalism, Nationalism, and Monumental Architecture of Tehran 1951-1979

Thesis Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Nasser O. Rabbat. Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Science of Architecture Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, June 1998, p.96

The building of Shahyad monument and its plaza, being the greatest square of the city, can be categorized under a form of autocratic control through urban interventions by making self-glorifying interventions into the urban space. This form of control over space is visible when an autocrat uses his or her power to build magnificent and impressive structures such as parks, squares, and roads, often naming them after himself or herself, basically to glorify his or her power and draw praise from the citizens, foreigners, and historians.[259] The building of Shahyad can be categorized under this type of interventions of the state into the space, while it was primarily aimed to bring glory and credit for the Shah. In the discussions over politics and public space, regarding the urban developments within the modern history of the city, as the reflection of the power structure, it was aimed to briefly observe the role of the urban developments and the interventions of the source of power into the space in creating new perceptions of space. The time span from 1963 to 1971, covering the construction of Shahyad, and stressing the shifting character of the public squares of Tehran, alongside the accelerated modern urban developments, created the background of understanding the way urban developments build the ground for the accumulation of dissatisfied masses. The new European image of the city, constructed with the increased oil revenues, widened the gap between the poor and the rich, and unconsciously supplied the anti-regime movement, with more dissatisfied masses. The architectural tendencies of the time, alongside the intellectual atmosphere of the period opened up the vision of the discussion over the understanding of the transformation of the public sphere and public spaces of the city. The way the new structure of the power, decreasing the role of bazaar and mosque, were manifested in the urban spaces and the formal layout of the city, reveal the fact that the urban spaces of Tehran in that time served for power while it would later be turned into spaces for serving the struggle of power.

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[259] Mazumdar, Sanjoy. "Autocratic Control and Urban Design: The Case of Tehran, Iran". Journal of Urban Design, Vol. 5, No. 3, 317-338, 2000, p.332

Figure 4.31: Shahanshah Aryamehr (Mohammad Reza Shah) visiting the model of Shahyad Monument
In the image, Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi is visiting the model of Shahyad monument and its plaza, that was going to be a symbol of his power and glorious nation.
Source: Shahyad-e Aryamehr, p.18
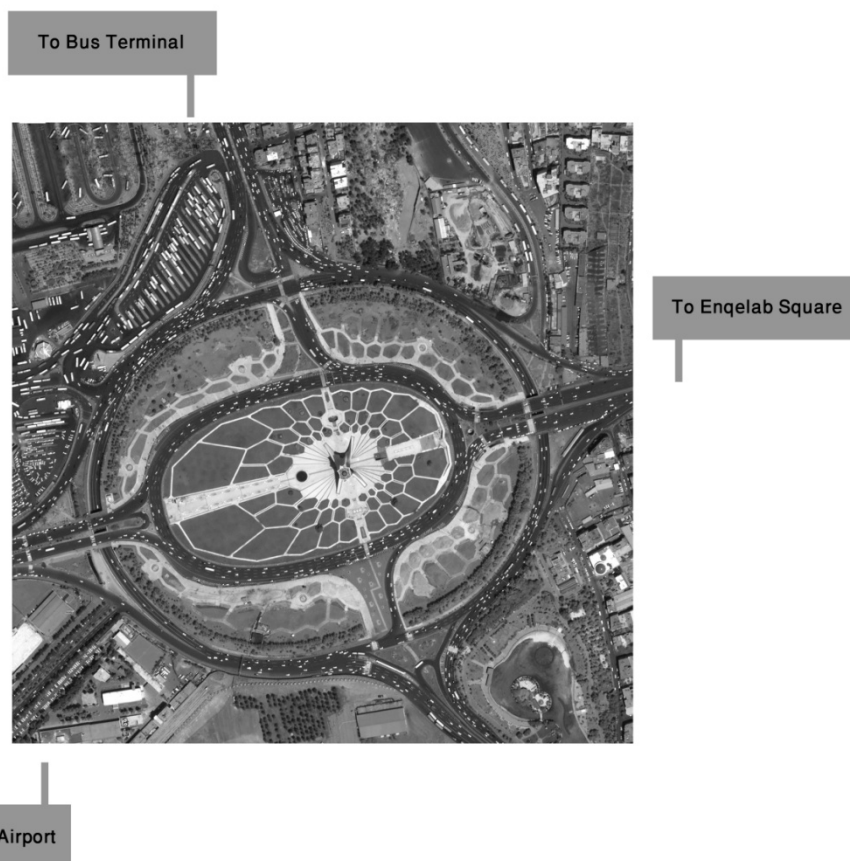


Figure 4.32: Shahyad site and the surrounding streets, Tehran
The image shows the whole plaza in relation to the Mehrabad Airport, bus terminal, and the Shahreza (Enqelab) Avenue.
Source:http://www.digitalglobe.com/downloads/featured_images/Iran_Tehran_Azadi_Tower_JUN24_2009_WV-1.jpg (visited: May 21, 2011)

Figure 4.33: Shahyad Tower under construction
The tower with 50 meters height, clad in white marble, "became a quintessential specimen of this epoch with her *de novo* use of methods, such as an unprecedented use of exposed concrete and travertine and the utilization of a computer program to calculate the exact dimensions of her 25,000 building blocks. Cut into 15,000 different sizes, the blocks ranged from 40 centimeters to 6 meters in length and frequently featured unique curves."
(Baharloo, Morteza. "Shahyad (Azadi), A Monument of Many Faces".Art Lies; Architecture Is Not Art, No 68, April 2011)
Source:http://persianbelgium.com/عکسی-از-مراحل-اولیه-ساخت-میدان-آزادی/ (visited: May 21, 2011)



Figure 4.34: Shah and Empress and their entourage arrive at the celebrations of the 2500th anniversary of Persian Empire in 1971, Pasargadae –Tomb of Cyrus, near Shiraz
Source: http://www.worldisround.com/articles/254158/photo265.html (visited: May 20, 2011)
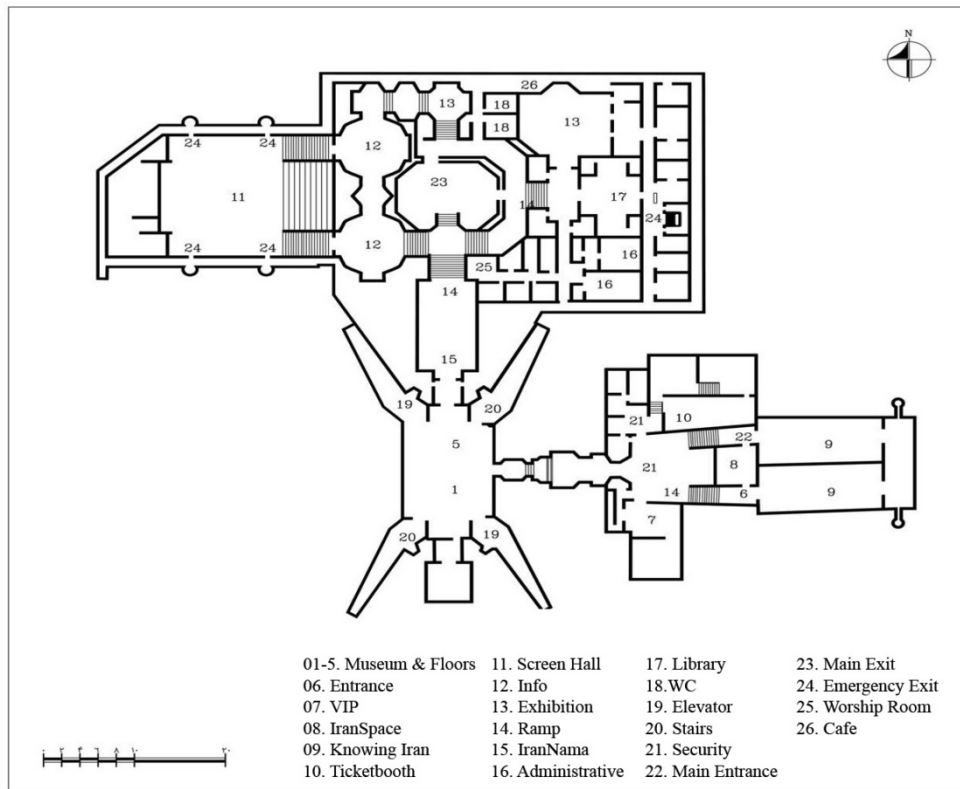
Figure 4.35: The plan of Shahyad complex
The plan shows the functional layout of the spaces of the tower, including museum, screen halls, exhibition areas, and other cultural spaces.
Source: http://www.iran-eng.com/showthread.php/255239-درخواست-پلان-برج-ازادی (visited: May 20, 2011)



Figure 4.36: Shahyad (Azadi) Tower
The tower is planned on four pillars which are not rectangular in plan, and rise and twist at the top.
Source: http://www.amanatarchitect.com/shahyad/007.jpg (visited: May 21, 2011)

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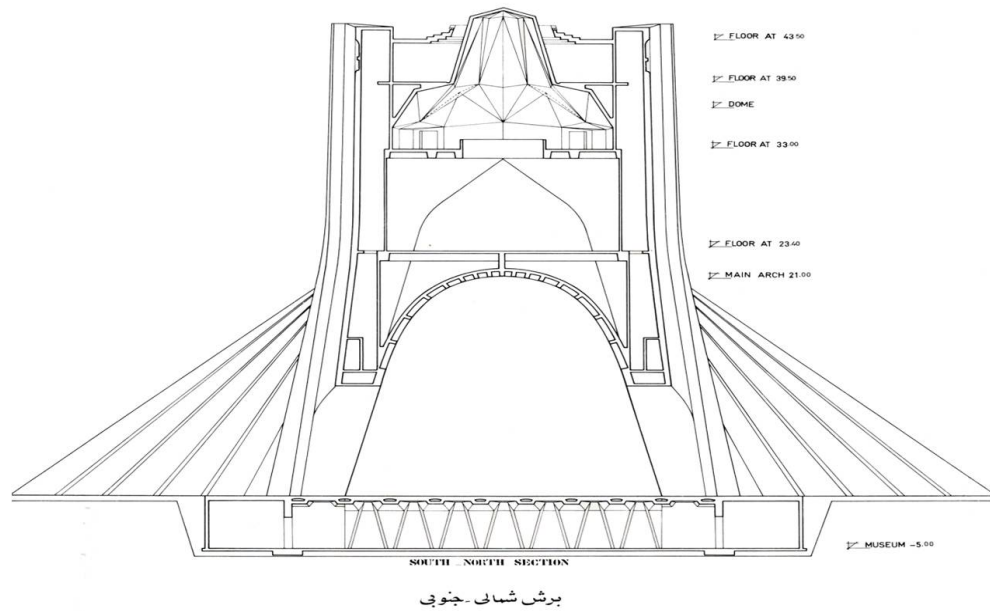
Figure 4.37: North-South Section of Shahyad Tower
The arches facing the side that welcomes the path from airport to the city.
Source: http://www.iran-eng.com/showthread.php/255239-خرداوست-بالین-برج-ازادی (visited: May 20, 2011)



Figure 4.38: Taq-e Kasra, the Sassanid arch entrance to Ctisphun Palace
The same type of arch is used in the design of the Shahyad Tower.
Source: http://p.mdcd.net/product_images/full/e25c693f1407b02dbf503ad613daf69603663094.jpg (visited: May 20, 2011)

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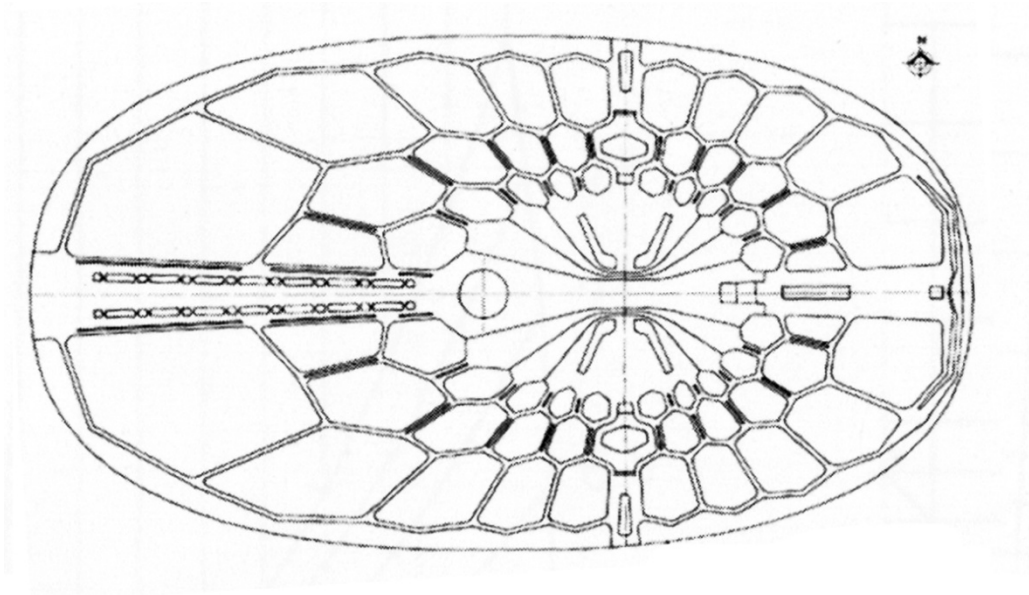
Figure 4.39: the plan of Shahyad Square landscaping
The concept of the pattern of the landscaping is derived from the ornaments of the interior of the dome of Sheikh Lotfollah Mosque in Isfahan.
Source: Javaherian, Faryar, Trans. By: Azita Izadi, "Double-Edged Icon: Kings' Memorial Tower/ Freedom Square". Memar, Oct. Nov. 2008, pp. 32-40, p.35
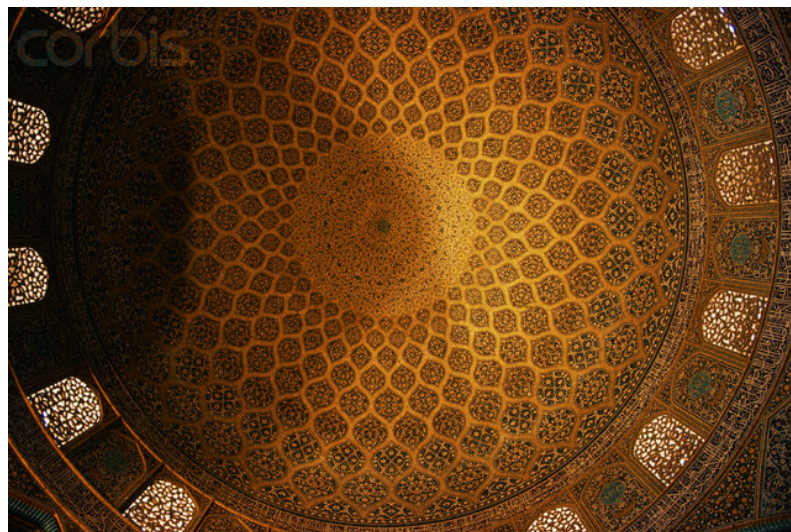


Figure 4.40: Reversed ceiling plan of Sheikh Lotfollah dome in Isfahan
The landscaping of the plaza has been derived from the pattern of the interior of this dome.
Source:http://www.corbisimages.com/stock-photo/rights-managed/LL001598/masjid-e-sheikh-lotfollah-dome-detail/?ext=1 (visited: May 20, 2011)

Figure 4.41: Interior of the Shahyad Tower
Source: http://www.flickr.com/photos/aryamehr/5235481293/sizes/l/in/photostream/ (visited: May 24, 2011)
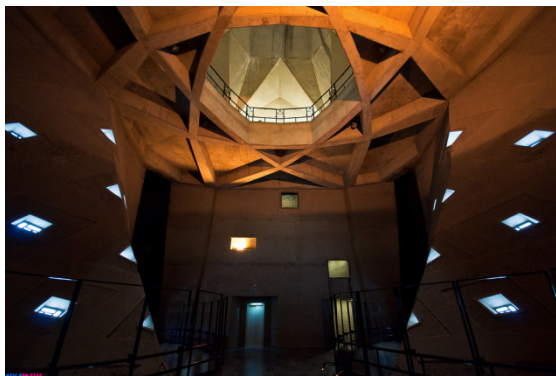


Figure 4.42: Interior of the Shahyad Tower
Source: http://www.flickr.com/photos/aryamehr/5239417886/sizes/l/in/photostream/ (visited: May 24, 2011)



Figure 4.43: Interior of the Shahyad Tower
Source: http://www.flickr.com/photos/aryamehr/5238843763/sizes/l/in/photostream/ (visited: May 24, 2011)



Figure 4.44: Interior of the Shahyad Tower
Source: http://www.flickr.com/photos/aryamehr/5238851043/sizes/l/in/photostream/ (visited: May 24, 2011)

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Figure 4.45: Shahyad (Azadi) Square in everyday life
The Square acts as a traffic node in everyday life.
Source: http://www.amanatarchitect.com/shahyad/006.jpg (visited: May 25, 2011)



Figure 4.46: Shahyad (Azadi) Square during the pro-Green Movement protests, 2009
The Square gains a different characteristic in extraordinary socio-political events, such as the time it was used to protest the results of the 2009 presidency elections.
Source: http://www.peykeiran.com/Content.aspx?ID=2249 (visited: May 25, 2011)



Figure 4.47: Shahyad Tower on banknotes of the Shah's regime.
Tehran University entrance gate was visible on the banknotes of the post-revolutionary regime.
Source: http://www.axis-mundi.com/ebay/CUR2416IRANP103e.jpg (visited: May 25, 2011)

# CHAPTER 5

## 1971-1979: URBAN SPACE AS A POLITICAL APPARATUS

5.1. Manipulation of public space and its manifestations

The question of urban space being a political apparatus during 1970's in Iran has two sides, each covering a range of topics on the debate of power struggle in the urban arena; on one side the way government constructs the urban space politically, on the other side the way people modify the urban space sociologically. To understand the manipulation of public space, provides an understanding of how various social classes, achieve what they want in terms of urban resources. Lefebvre describes the term, urbanism, as a mask and a tool: a mask for the state and political action, a tool of interests that are dissimulated within a strategy and a socio-logic; therefore a definition of urbanism which insists that urbanism does not form space as a work of art, but in fact the space it creates is political, is the basic attitude of this study towards city and space.[260] Based on such a definition of urbanism, this dual relationship between the society and the state, over public space and interventions into it, in the context of revolutionary Iran, is to be examined. The relevance and the vitality of a study of the revolutionary Iran of 1970's, in the context of a reading of the transformation of the space, lies under the fact that the urban space in general, as the space of socialization, engenders new orders of struggle and contest between different sources of power and society. Revolutionary events take place in urban spaces and transform all other public and private spaces of different institutions, through bringing new orders to them.

Mohammad Reza Shah's White Revolution could not solve the social problems of the regime; in theory it was going to trickle down the wealth, but in practice wealth tended to

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[260] Lefebvre, Henri. The Urban Revolution. Trans. By: Robert Bononno. Foreword by: Neil Smith. University of Minnesota Press, London, 2003, p.180

stick at the top and it did not move downward the social ladder.[261] The unequal income distribution was more intensified in 1970's in comparison to 1950's, and enlarged the gap between rural and urban consumption; Tehran was the most visible image of this widened and huge gap between the rich and the poor, while there was a great gap between the capital and other cities.[262] The six-fold increase in oil income brought large development projects to Tehran, as the capital, and the city received the greatest share of the economic change of the country.[263] Not surprisingly this gap encouraged the villagers and the inhabitants of the other cities to migrate to Tehran for a chance of better education and living facilities, and while they mostly could not afford a life in rich regions of the city, they had to settle down in poor districts. Migration to Tehran had a remarkable effect on the population of the capital and creating a colorful profile of the citizens. The 1966 census reveals that there was a close correlation between the distribution of the migrants in Tehran, and their economic status; the poorest districts of the city, in the southern parts, contains the highest proportion of migrants, whilst higher income migrants tend to settle in the northern districts.[264] Thus the southern parts of the city hold the highest rate of increase in the population, created by mainly new migrants (Figure 5.1).

The peak point of the social dissatisfaction of the country, caused by the sudden rise in oil income, could be subjected as 1970's. One of the side issues of this dissatisfaction lead to the emergence of the term "brain drain", which was first attached to Iran in 1970's.[265] Within the tense socio-political atmosphere of the country, not only modern middle class and intelligentsia were moving toward political radicalism, but also ulama and the traditional middle class were involved.[266] Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and Dr. Ali Shariati were two main figures of the religious and intellectual forces of the society, articulating this

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[261] Abrahamian, Ervand. A History of Modern IRAN. Cambridge University press, New York, 2008, p.140

[262] "Inequality was most visible in Tehran where the rich lived in their northern palaces and the poor in their shantytown hovels without public amenities – especially a decent transport system. A member of the royal family was rumored to have commented that "if people did not like being stuck in traffic jams why didn't they buy helicopters?" In the words of a Pentagon journal, the oil boom had brought "inequality" and "corruption to a boiling point."
Ibid, p.141

[263] Bahrambeygui, H. Tehran: An Urban Analysis. Sahab Books Institute, Tehran, 1977, p.Xlll

[264] Ibid, p.59

[265] "By the 1970's, there were more Iranian doctors in New York than in any cities outside Tehran" Abrahamian, Ervand. A History of Modern IRAN. Cambridge University press, New York, 2008, p.142

[266] "*ulama*" is the term, used to refer to Muslim, religious, educated persons, who are experts on Islamic rules and texts.

radicalism.[267] Khomeini kept on criticizing the regime - when he was in exile in Najaf - on the occasion of 2500's anniversary of Persian empire in 1971, which was the opening ceremony of Shahyad monument as well, when he started to be more radical. It was a significant shift in Khomeini's political outlook, when he declared his opposition to the monarchy as a whole; despite generous praise for the Shah's achievements in the world's press, Khomeini urged Iranian and foreign people not to participate in the ceremonies, while 'to participate in it is to participate in the murder of the oppressed people of Iran.'[268]

By 1970's when the tension between the state and the society had reached its breaking point, Khomeini brought terms that he had rarely used beforeto the public realm of discourse, while he was making denunciations about the regime; terms such as *Mostazafan* (oppressed), *Taqut* (idolatry), *Tabaqeh* (class), *Enqelab* (revolution).[269] Alongside the Islamic group, who were the followers of Khomeini, a group of Shariati's followers, whose ideas were widely spreading among young intelligentsia, formed a guerilla organization named *Mojahedin-e Khalg* (People's Mojahedin) in mid-1960's; and there were more political activist groups - such as the secular opposition, Marxists, the young members of Tudeh and National Front, that have launched their own guerilla organization named *Fadayin-e Khalgh* (People's Fedayin) in 1971, and *Jangal* (Forest) guerilla group – which carried out a series of daring raids, bombings, and assassinations.[270] The young intelligentsia and university students were of dramatically influential role in that period; general strikes broke out in the country's thirteen universities in the unofficial student day on December 7, in the anniversary of the death of three students who had been killed in 1953, when they were protesting the visit of Vice-President Nixon.[271] Indeed the Confederation of Iranian Students – as a forum for exiled opposition, maintained by Iranian students living abroad - was highly active and organized; they organized conferences, press reports and interviews, and publications to

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[267] "Ali Shariati, a French educated social scientist, highly popular among college and high school students; and Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, who had been exiled after 1963 for accusing the Shah of granting Americans "capitulations."
Ibid, p.143
[268] M. Ansari, Ali. Modern Iran since 1921: Pahlavis and After. Pearson Education Print, England, 2003, pp.174-175
[269] Abrahamian, Ervand. A History of Modern IRAN. Cambridge University press, New York, 2008, pp.147-148
[270] Katouzian, Homa. The Persians: ancient, medieval, and modern Iran. Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 2009, pp.306-307
[271] Abrahamian, Ervand. A History of Modern IRAN. Cambridge University press, New York, 2008, pp.148-149

marches, demonstrations, sit-ins and even, occasionally, occupations of Iranian consulates in westerns countries.[272]

A quite complex set of dynamics resulted in the Islamic Revolution of 1979 in Iran; some of which had been already taken action long ago, and most of which started to operate effectively during 1970's as mentioned above. The socio-political activists had taken action as a consequence of the existing socio-economic condition of the country due to the increasing oil revenues; the oil price of he world was quadrupled in 1974.[273] This was modifying Shah's position in international arena as the engineer of this four folding of oil revenues and the 'Emperor of oil'.[274] The injected money into Iranian economy was not invested on an even development but it exaggerated the worst excesses of the regime and caused a greater growth rate in income disparities, and thus a grater gap between poor and rich.[275] In the field of industry, due to the extensive investments of the state, the country experienced a minor industrial revolution from 1963 to 1977.[276] Indeed as Abrahamian states:

> "By 1977 the gulf between the developing socioeconomic system and the underdeveloped political system was so wide that an economic crisis was able to bring down the whole regime. In short, the revolution took place neither because of overdevelopment nor because of underdevelopment but because of uneven development."[277]

The urban development and quality of life, which are important factors for the new middle class, emerge as the elements of confrontation of different political parties.[278] The problems of development and urban life form the ground of competition for parties and thus

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[272] Katouzian, Homa. The Persians: ancient, medieval, and modern Iran. Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 2009, p.306

[273] Abrahamian, Ervand. IRAN Between Two Revolutions. Princeton University press, New Jersey, 1982, p.427

[274] M. Ansari, Ali. Modern Iran since 1921: Pahlavis and After. Pearson Education Print, England, 2003, p.182

[275] Ibid, pp.192-193

[276] "The annual industrial growth jumped from 5 to 20 percent. Moreover, the number of small factories (employing between 10 and 49 workers) increased from 1,502 to over 7,000."
Abrahamian, Ervand. IRAN Between Two Revolutions. Princeton University press, New Jersey, 1982, p.430

[277] Ibid, p.427

[278] Castells, Manuel. City, Class, and Power. Trans. By: Elizabeth Lebas. St. Martin Press, New York, 1978, p.1

their quality is improved as a result of this competition. Controversially, what happened in Iran in 1975 was omitting the ground of political competition and eliminating the issue of power struggle. The Shah dissolved the *Mardom* and *Iran-e Novin* parties in 1975 and declared the establishment of the brand new Resurgence Party *(Hezb-e Rastakhiz);* and added that Iran as a one-party state of the future gives all the citizens the duty and the right to attend the elections and join the party, and those who do not want to join must be "secret communists", and have the choice to either go to prison or leave the country.[279] Further more, the Party was based upon the belief that Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, mentioned as *Arya Mehr* (Aryan Sun), had pulled up the roots of the concept of class and class conflict from Iran forever.[280] The one-party system was preparing the ground for the state to have more and more control over social, economic and cultural aspects of the lives of urban working class; even the bazaaris and the clerics.[281] Bazaaris, who had their independent crafts and trade guilds till 1975, were forced to join the Chambers of Guilds and thus the political party, which was created by the Resurgence Party; and the clergy that was controlling all the town mosques, endowments, and meeting halls were denounced by Shah as "black medieval reactionaries."[282] In other words, the traditional rulers of the public sphere and public spaces were outdated according to the new policies of the regime, and they were planned to be replaced by the modern middle classes, according to western patterns.

As a consequence of the new attempts of state towards bazaar and ulama, the new order was emerging in architecture and town planning. The press – controlled by the state –

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[279] "The remedy came in the shape of Samuel Huntington. This distinguished political scientist was best known in the early 1970's for his book *Political Order in Changing Societies* – at the time a must-read for any graduate course on political development. According to Huntington, rapid "modernization" in the economic and social realms generates new demands, new pressures, and new tensions in the political realm. In other words, in the Third World political instability inevitably follows social modernization. To prevent revolution, Huntington argued that governments had to create one-party states in which the sole party would serve as an organic link with the country, mobilizing the population, transmitting orders form above to below, and, at the same time, channeling upward interests from below."
Abrahamian, Ervand. A History of Modern IRAN. Cambridge University press, New York, 2008, pp.149-150
[280] Ibid, p.150
[281] The two zones, bazaar and traditional clerical establishments were two grounds that the previous governments had feared to tread, while they were poles of power in the traditional Iranian social, economical and political arena.
Ibid, p.151
[282] Ibid, pp.151-152
In under estimating the religion, Shah told Oriana Fallaci, an Italian journalist, that he received messages from the prophet and Imam Ali; he added that "if God didn't exist, it would ne necessary to invent him." Indeed in has been repeatedly stated that the Shah fell because he was too secular for his religious people.
Ibid, p.153

began to talk about replacing the bazaar and the old city center with highways and modern markets modeled after London's Convent Gardens.[283] Indeed the attacks towards changing the traditional order of the society were set to be reflected on the urban society and the street; the urban society and the urban fabric that was more apparent in Tehran and other big towns of the country, as a result of the process of urbanization, which had started in previous decades. In other words, the urban fabric that is aimed here is the built environment of the cities as well as all manifestations of the dominance of the city over the country.[284] New retail shops in the expanded areas of the city, replaced the role of the old bazaar; while still in the master plan of 1968, the Central Business District of Tehran, is located in central Tehran, close to bazaar, but expanding to the north, and replacing the traditional bazaar and small shops, with modern malls (Figure 5.2).[285] Although in 1970's throughout Tehran small sized shops were dominant, and the whole city had only 154 retail outlets, with major department stores of "Ferdowsi", "Iran", "Sepah", "Kourosh", and "Safavi", Bazaar was gradually loosing its vitality and power in the urban structure (Figure 5.3, Figure 5.4, Figure 5.5, Figure 5.6).[286] In accordance with the poor-rich polarization of the city, not surprisingly, most of the new retail centers were located in the northern parts of Shahreza Avenue, attracting the economically higher classes of the society.

A vitally important decree by Shah in 1976 was a blatant act of historical revisionism; he decided to replace the Iranian solar calendar with the imperial calendar, which dated from the reign of Cyrus the Great, overnight. Iranians who were in the year 1355 (1976), according to solar calendar, found themselves in 2535.[287] This act was a quite illustrious act, representing the underestimation of Islamic order, and stressing the Persian monarchial history of the country. In fact there was an ongoing process of alienation of the people from their livelihood traditional environments, from their political and social order, and even their cultural habits. Not surprisingly architecture and urban planning were also totally institutionalized and converted to tools to praise the dynasty; architecture became a tool for propaganda of the regime and revivalism of historic forms.[288] As mentioned before,

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[283] Abrahamian, Ervand. IRAN Between Two Revolutions. Princeton University press, New Jersey, 1982, pp.443-444
[284] Lefebvre, Henri. The Urban Revolution. Trans. By: Robert Bononno. Foreword by: Neil Smith. University of Minnesota Press, London, 2003, p.4
[285] Bahrambeygui, H. Tehran: An Urban Analysis. Sahab Books Institute, Tehran, 1977, p.79
[286] Ibid, p.88
[287] M. Ansari, Ali. Modern Iran since 1921: Pahlavis and After. Pearson Education Print, England, 2003, p.189
[288] Der-Grigorian, Talin. Construction of History: Mohammad-Reza Shah Revivalism, Nationalism, and Monumental Architecture of Tehran 1951-1979

the emerging trends in architecture, with a neo-traditionalist essence alongside a modern image, as a professional tendency of the field, indeed served for the nationalistic political character of the period; alongside the manipulations of the public spaces, public sphere was aimed to be transformed.

Resurgence Party was planned to save the regime from its unstable status, instead it weakened the monarchy and lead to more intensified public dissenting and anger. Different groups in opposition to the regime, from intellectuals to bazaaris and from ulama to guerillas, started to go on strikes and public demonstrations; this time with less hope for reform and more hope for revolution. Mass mobilization came up with mass manipulation and in turn it lead to mass dissatisfaction; indeed what fired the masses was the monopoly over organization, which was imposed by the formation of Resurgence Party, and it prevented social forces of avenues, through which they could direct compliments of the masses into the political arena.[289] The streets were manipulated to be used as paths of marching in favor of the government, praising the great monarchy. The gradual but continual social and political tensions that had started in a clear form in 1971, temporal with the 2,500th anniversary of the Persian monarchy, was carried out of the private talks and papers, to the streets and public arena. The first military operation was organized by Mojahedin to interrupt the 2,500th anniversary celebrations; after bombing the Tehran electrical works and trying to hijack an Iran Air plane, nine of them were arrested by SAVAK - national intelligence and security organization —[290] and under torture one of them gave information that lead to the arrest of sixty-six other members.[291] SAVAK, as the central pillar of Shah's regime, used torture systematically to extract information.[292] However, in such a tense socio-political environment, the urban is not indifferent to all differences, although it units them.[293] The city identifies and

Thesis Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Nasser O. Rabbat. Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Science of Architecture Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, June 1998, p.166

[289] Abrahamian, Ervand. A History of Modern IRAN. Cambridge University press, New York, 2008, p.153

[290] SAVAK (National Security and Information Organization), was established in 1957 by the technical assistance form the Israeli intelligence service and CIA and FBI as a new secret police system, which gradually expanded its network and became Shah's eyes and ears.
(Abrahamian, Ervand. IRAN Between Two Revolutions. Princeton University press, New Jersey, 1982, pp.419-436)

[291] Ibid, p.491

[292] Graham, Robert. Iran: The Illusion of Power. Lowe and Brydone Printers, London, 1978, pp.144-148

[293] Lefebvre, Henri. The Urban Revolution. Trans. By: Robert Bononno. Foreword by: Neil Smith. University of Minnesota Press, London, 2003, p.118

delivers the essence of social relationships that appear in the same body; it manifests the differences that are due to conflicts or they result in conflicts.[294]



Figure 5.1: Population changes in Areas of Tehran (1956-66)
In the population change map, Shahreza Street as the northern outmost boundary of the Tehran of 1930's, depicts the great variation of the growth rate between the northern part of the street, and the areas in its south. The old city center has the lowest growth rate. The western areas have less important growth rate than the eastern parts, due to the presence of industrial areas and large open spaces, including Mehrabad Airport. The southern part had a relatively slow growth of 77.5 per cent during 1956-60 period, but from 1960 onwards it showed a rapid increase of 301.0 per cent over the 1956 population. Such an increase, created by new migrants, resulted in this part of the city becoming the most densely populated areas of Tehran.
Source: Bahrambeygui, H.Tehran: An Urban Analysis. Sahab Books Institute, Tehran, 1977, p.64

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[294] Ibid, p.118

Figure 5.2: The Central Business District and retailing groups, Tehran, late 1960's
The map shows the Central Business District of Tehran, with the Grand Bazaar in the south, and the new retailing groups to the northern parts, close to Shahreza Avenue.
Source: Bahrambeygui, H.Tehran: An Urban Analysis. Sahab Books Institute, Tehran, 1977, p.79

Figure 5.3: Ferdowsi Department Store, Tehran
An inside view of Ferdowsi Department Store, located in Ferdowsi Avenue, in a central area of Tehran, as an instance of modern commercial centers, replacing the Bazaar.
Source: Bahrambeygui, H.Tehran: An Urban Analysis. Sahab Books Institute, Tehran, 1977, p.88



Figure 5.4: (Left) Kourosh departmental store, Tehran, 1970's
This branch of Kourosh Chain Stores, was built in northern partof Central Business District of Tehran, in Pahlavi Avenue.
Source: Bahrambeygui, H.Tehran: An Urban Analysis. Sahab Books Institute, Tehran, 1977, p.88
(Right) Kourosh departmental Store, Tehran, 2009
The image shows Kourosh Store today, covered with a painting of Khomeini. Its name is changed to Qods, after the 1979 Revolution.
Source: http://mw2.google.com/mw-panoramio/photos/medium/32072930.jpg (visited: June 23, 2011)

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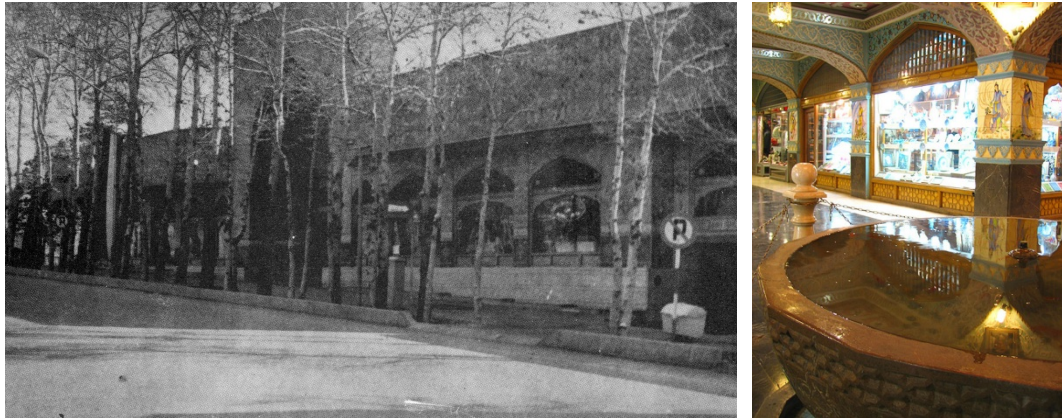
Figure 5.5: (Left) Safavi Bazaar, Tehran, 1970's
This shopping center was built on Pahlavi Avenue, as one of the instances of the new shopping centers of the town.
Source: Bahrambeygui, H.Tehran: An Urban Analysis. Sahab Books Institute, Tehran, 1977, p.89
(Right) Safavi Bazaar, Tehran, 2007
In the image of the interior of Safavi Bazaar in Tehran, the elements of the Persian art and ornaments, representing the Safavid era can be seen.
Source: http://www.trekearth.com/gallery/Middle_East/Iran/East/Tehran/Tehran/photo690364.htm (visited: June 23, 2011)



Figure 5.6: People shopping at Plasco mall, from Life magazine, 1975
Western style shopping mall were built to replace the traditional bazaar.
Source: http://fouman.com/Y/Picture_View-Plasco_Shopping_Mall.htm (visited: January 20, 2011)

## 5.2. Islamic Revolution as an anti-modernism attempt

"They (clerics) have offered their theocentric paradigm as an alternative to the rational and secular model of modernity. The Islamic Revolution, too, was, at least in its architect's mind, an attempt at halting the march of modernity."[295]

With the White Revolution in early 60's some serious actions were taken to reshape the traditional order of Iranian society and bring a new order of modernization to bazaar and clerical establishments. Clerics were in threat of loosing their power as the society was turned toward the path of secularization; in addition, bazaar, as "the key source of revenue for the clerical purse", was being pushed to a new western-capitalist system.[296] The bazaaris were under the thread of being replaced by the new capitalist class educated companies and institutions. Ulama and bazaaris, who formed the traditional middle class, used to have a specific degree of control over social and economic affairs in the context of Iran; they were under the thread of being marginalized in the new system (Figure 5.7, Figure 5.8).[297] As the result of such a discontent among clerics, bazaaris, and the urban poor – who had migrated from rural areas to the cities – the dissatisfaction movement started and later was dominated by Ruhollah Khomeini.[298] Islamic law, in its political aspect, came to power in Iran as a Muslim, Shiite society. To describe the deep contradiction among the modernity that was being imposed to the Iranian society by the monarch, and Islamic, Shiite law, that was in the traditional Iranian society, it can be mentioned that, rationalism, skepticism, and progress, as cardinal elements of modernity, were in contradiction with Shiite fundamentalism; and the certitude it promises appears as a critical response to the anxious incertitude of modernity.[299] Shi'i political thinkers assumed that to free Iran from foreign control, Islam could be used as a base to set up a just political and economic system. In

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[295] Milani, Abbas. Lost Wisdom; Rethinking Modernity in Iran. Mage Publishers, Washington, 2004, p.23

[296] Ibid, p.26

[297] Madanipour, Ali. Modernization and everyday life; Urban and rural change in Iran. Ed by: Ali Mohammadi. Iran Encountering Globalization: problems and prospects. RoutledgeCurzon Press, New York, 2003, p.139

[298] Other policies pursued by the "modernizing monarch", such as governments close ties with Israel, the regime's tolerance for the Baha'is, and its continuous attempts to enhance the power of pre-Islamic Persia, added to the anger of the traditional spheres of the Iranian society.
Milani, Abbas. Lost Wisdom; Rethinking Modernity in Iran. Mage Publishers, Washington, 2004, p.27

[299] Milani adds that: if as Dostoyevsky, Erich Fromm, and Hannah Arendt are right that people fear freedom and choice, and prefer magic, mystery and authority, then the rise of fundamentalism in recent years can be understood as a balm to the "unwanted" freedoms of modernity.
Ibid, p.28

reality the new Islamic thought was used as a potent weapon to make a revolution, but it was not successful in building up new institutions; Islamic thinkers could not derive from Islamic law, a system that would provide a basis for social justice, mass participation in economics and politics, rights for minorities and women, a truly functioning economy, and so forth.[300]

Modernism as the dominant paradigm in Iran, since the beginning of the twentieth century, had lead to a loss of identity in the country, and thus 1979 Revolution was considered as a cure that would restore confidence and arm Iran with a renewed spirituality; in contrary, even though all social classes had taken part in the course of events, which had also been influenced by diverse intellectual trends, when the Revolution destroyed the monarchy, it was the Islamist groups who assumed the helm of power.[301] Although intellectuals such as Saeed Hajjarian have considered the Islamic Revolution, as the victory of the project of modernity over that of modernism,[302] the challenge of modernity that took place in Iran before and after the Revolution is not that clear to be categorized. The Iranian Revolution involved in itself two diverse issues: on one side the revolution by nature, as a modern social phenomenon, on the other side being an Islamic revolution with religious concerns. The reason lies between the ambiguous conditions that composed the context of the revolution. The state presented the "great civilization" moving on the path of modernization, and the society presented a vague notion of a "return to the self", on the conditions that the revolutionaries utopian theories, on their own, could not steer the masses, and the polity of the proponents of modernism alienated the masses and pushed them towards ready-made ideologies.[303] This social and ideological contradictory situation was interwoven with the contest among the traditional and the modern power pillars, and resulted in a more complex context.

The process of modernity was clearly more tangible in Tehran, in that it was reflected on the body of the urban environment. The city, as the outcome of each mode of production in each period of the history, represents the relative mode of production by making the abstract legal, political, and ideological relationships, visible and tangible.[304] Thus the urban environment of Tehran of 1970's is the visible image, and tangible representation

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[300] R.Keddie, Nikki. Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution. Yale University Press, New Haven, 2003, pp.212-213
[301] Rajaee, Farhang. Islamism and Modernism; the changing discourse in Iran. The University of Texas Press, Austin, 2007, p.IX
[302] Ibid, p.1
[303] Ibid, p.91
[304] Lefebvre, Henri. The Urban Revolution. Trans. By: Robert Bononno. Foreword by: Neil Smith. University of Minnesota Press, London, 2003, p.24
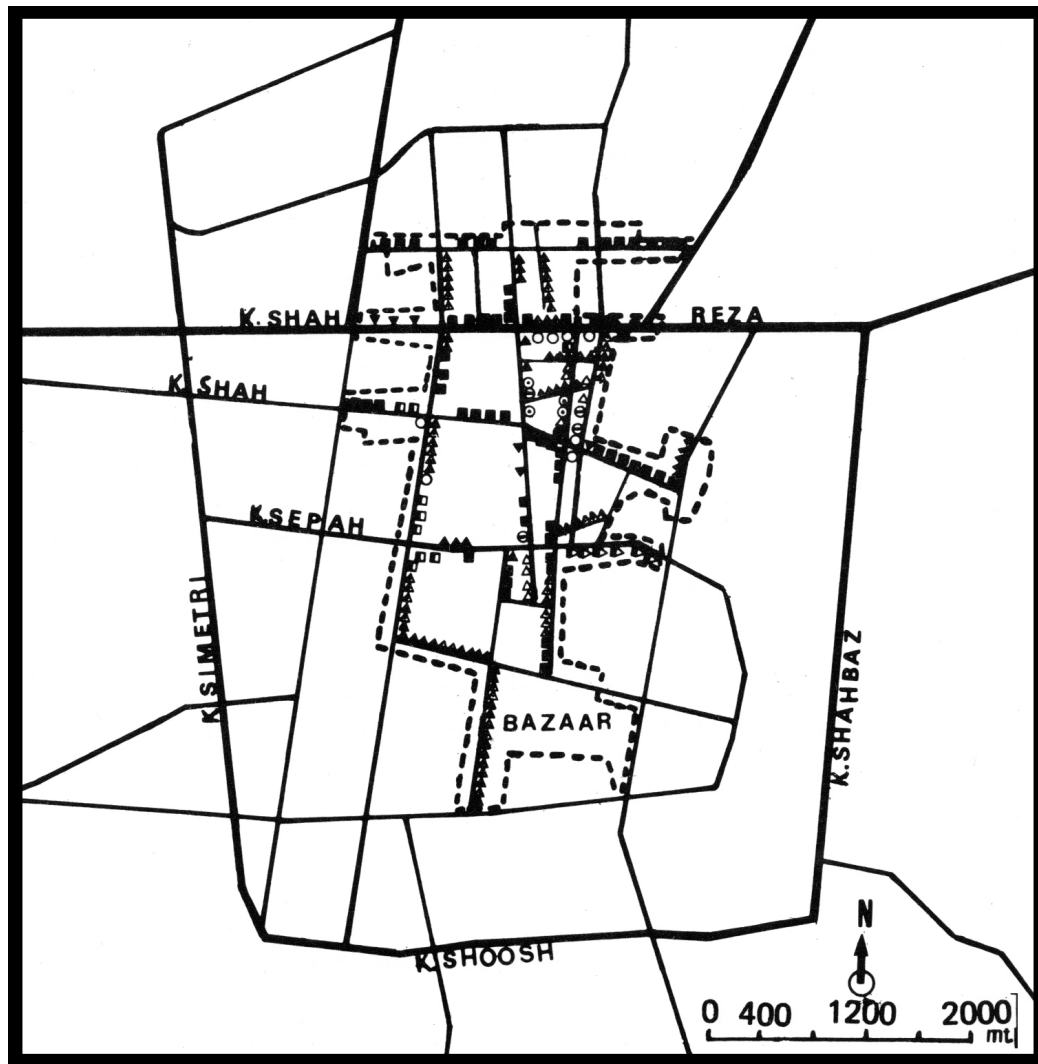
of the political and ideological relations of that period. In Tehran, as an example of the coexistence of traditional and modern modes of production in the body of urban form, the duality of old and new, two modes of production, and two cultures, found spatial manifestation in different aspects.[305] The ideological opposition to modernity was in fact an opposition that was represented in the body of the city and had its opponent in the same body. Indeed since the attempts of modernizing the country, in the sense that institutions and the environment would change to refashion country in the image of powerful west, there was a reaction emerged to such change; for some it was unpleasant and humiliating to change the traditional order and for some more powerful groups it was threatening because it could lead to losing their position – bazaar and ulama are the main instances of such an opposition.[306] The tension upon modernity in Iran was not limited to an internal tension, but it was also a tension in international arena; in expanding the capitalist economics, west forced Iran to integrate into a new world system, to have Iran in the middle east region as its peripheral partner.[307] Both the Constitutional Revolution – from 1906 till 1911 – and the 1979 Revolution and other several upheavals had the issue of the internal and external tensions of modernity as their central theme in the modern history of Iran, thus a study of the socio-political and spatial transformations of the Iranian cities in modern times, can not proceed independently from an analysis over the tensions of modern and traditional.

In the battle of modern and traditional – modern intelligentsia and traditional middle class – in the first sight it appeared that the traditional won over the modern in the Islamic Revolution of 1979; but surprisingly the strength of modernity continued in different aspects of everyday life even after the Revolution. In contradiction with what is observed from one point of view that names the Iranian Revolution of 1979 as a traditionalist movement, there was an element of modernism in the act of revolution itself, while it aimed to turn the tide of events and discard the immediate past; in addition, the Revolution was another phase of modernization in Iran.[308] The same contradictory nature of modernism in Iran undergoes in the analysis of spatial transformation of Tehran in the revolutionary phase of its history.

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[305] Madanipour, Ali. <u>Modernization and everyday life; Urban and rural change in Iran.</u> Ed by: Ali Mohammadi. Iran Encountering Globalization: problems and prospects. RoutledgeCurzon Press, New York, 2003, p.141
[306] Ibid, p.137
[307] Ibid
[308] Ibid, pp.146-147

"It (the Revolution) struggled against the executive monarchy and established a republic with a more active parliament. It was at the same time a postmodern movement, in that it challenged the humanist notions of reason and the modernist notions of progress, seeking a return to historically tested values."[309]
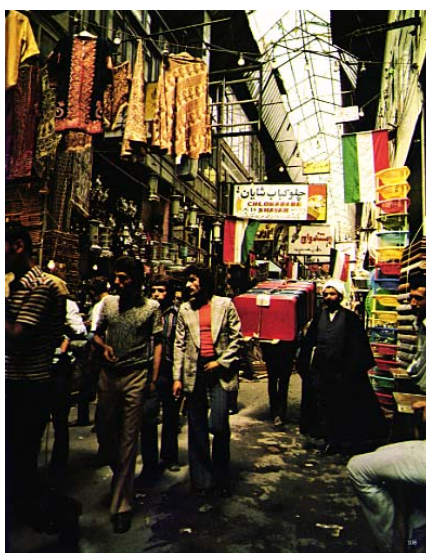


Figure 5.7: Tehran Bazaar, 1974
Bazaar was the traditional heart of Iranian economy, as well as the support of clergy
Source:http://www.iranianhotline.com/OldTehran/Old-Tehran.htm (visited: January 20, 2011)



Figure 5.8: 1970's , Pahlavi Queen
Pahlavi Queen, Farah Diba is greeted by a group of Shiite clerics. The photo is taken on the occasion of inauguration of a mausoleum in honor of Farah Diba's mother, which was destroyed after the revolution. It shows a contradictory relation between the monarchy and clerics.
Source: http://fouman.com/Y/Picture_View-Pahlavi_Farah_Diba_Molla_Kissing_Hand.htm (visited: January 20, 2011)

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[309] While the quotation fro Milani in the beginning of this sub-chapter defines the revolution as an act against modernity, the finishing quotation of the text from Madanipour, describes the spirit of the revolution as a postmodern event that brought up a major social change in all levels of the society. Ibid, p.147

## 5.3. Urban design to fight "the barricades"

> "There was *Toopkhaneh*, a square whose military function and ominous name (Canon House), were reminiscent of what Benjamin calls the "Haussmannization of Paris": an attempt to use urban design to fight "the barricades," to make the city and the citadel more defensible against a popular uprising."[310]

Milani uses the term that Walter Benjamin had used in The Arcade Project, about Paris; he interprets the essence of a famous square in Tehran, which was built as the first touches of the modernity in 19th century Tehran, as an essence of the use of urban design to prevent social uprisings, and to fight against (Figure 5.9). Although named as a modern intervention to the city, the building of such a square in the capital aimed nothing rather than defending the state against public riots, and to drive the attack away from the power pillars of the state. When the state is in the danger of social upheavals, the urban environment, which is the field of the appearance of the society as well as the government, has to be pre-settled to prevent that and moreover be modified to deal with the situation. The urban design and policies are equipped to deal with civil resistance and uprisings, which have occurred in various forms in different periods of history; and Tehran, as a context of socio-political conflicts and tensions of the country, in its short political history, embodies the urban arena of such struggle.

Since the Iranian Revolution of 1979 was an influential event in the world arena, and Tehran as the capital of the country was the most active body of this movement, it is important to mention about the position of it's spatial qualities and their manipulations in the course of those events. The urban environment of Tehran was driven into the world attention as the Revolution was coming. Since the revolution was televised worldwide, it had some effect on the up-coming events in the world, especially in Eastern Europe.[311] The 1979 Iranian Revolution is described as an outstanding case of a revolution through civil disobedience and named as the 'largest protest event in (world) history'.[312] Public spaces, as

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[310] Milani, Abbas. Lost Wisdom; Rethinking Modernity in Iran. Mage Publishers, Washington, 2004, p.85

[311] Abrahamian, Ervand. Mass Protests in the Iranian Revolution, 1977-79. Ed by: Adam Roberts & Timothy Garton Ash. Civil Resistance & Power Politics; The experience of non-violent action from Gandhi to the present. Oxford University Press, New York, 2009, pp.162-163

[312] About the reasons of the success of the Iranian Revolution of 1979, Abrahamian mentions that, "the crowds became larger and more radical as people realized that the authorities were not willing to crack down hard."

the outcome of the dialectic between representations of space and representational space, between the ordered and the appropriated, are quite valuable spaces for representation and manifestation of dissatisfaction; which means that they are the spaces within which political movements can jump out the territory that allows them to be visible.[313] In the case of Tehran, while the urban environment was repeatedly used by the masses to protest against the source of power, to represent themselves to larger populations, and to become visible in public, the urban policies on the other side, serving for the government, had to be modified to fight against those movements. While demonstrations, strikes, petitions, and taking of sanctuary (*bast*), were integral parts of the Iranian national experience, it can be said that Iranians resorted to street protest not because of religious culture but because of national history; and it should be added that they were as Iranian as apple pie is American (Figure 5.10, Figure 5.11).[314] Therefore it should be noted that, in a society that public resistance activities were traditionally rooted, the role of public space, as a space of contest and struggle is of outstanding value in a study on the public spaces of power struggle.

During 1975-76 the issue of human rights violations in Iran started to be inspected in the west; as main stream papers such as 'Sunday Times', and the International League of Human Rights, Amnesty International, published papers and reports on torture in Iran and further more Jimmy Carter, during his 1976 presidential campaign, mentioned Iran as a country where US should do more to protect human rights.[315] In response, Shah instructed SAVAK, his secret police, to stop torturing prisoners.[316] Although universities were among those institutions, which could be easily isolated, and SAVAK was put in charge of an intense surveillance of the lectures and the campus and even the education system as a whole, students were among the groups that were highly active in protests in the context of 1979 Revolution in Iran.[317] In terms of the urban policies, the universities were not sited close to Bazaar; they were carefully controlled in a way that armed guards checked all those entering

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Ibid, p.163

[313] Mitchell, Don. The Right to the City; Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space. The Guilford Press, New York, 2003, p.129

[314] "Iranians did not have to study theories of civil disobedience to appreciate the power of the street. Even school children with limited familiarity with the stock histories – such as those of Ahmad Kasravi on the Constitutional Revolution – knew that crowds had played major roles in the recent past."
Abrahamian, Ervand. Mass Protests in the Iranian Revolution, 1977-79. Ed by: Adam Roberts & Timothy Garton Ash. Civil Resistance & Power Politics; The experience of non-violent action from Gandhi to the present. Oxford University Press, New York, 2009, p.165

[315] Ibid, p.166

[316] Ibid, p.166

[317] SAVAK and the security system of the universities had quite ease of access to a complete documentation on each student in the universities.

and leaving the campus (Figure 5.12, Figure 5.13).[318] By the means of keeping the university isolated from the rest of the city in terms of its location and relation to the city, the riots and protests that happened in the universities were brutally repressed and had only limited echo throughout the rest of the city (Figure 5.14).[319] In a deeper observation of the location of the universities, it could be said that by being sited in a distant location to bazaar, mosques, and clergy, which were integral parts of the bazaar and another pillar of the resistance, they were kept in distance to the public potential of the campus.

The disruption of the streets, demanding change, became a daily image in the urban arena. The urban elements were used in different manners to publicize the movement and attain a specific physical space to it. By taking over and transforming the urban space, a movement wills to create a space for representation, and have a public visibility; while public democracy requires public visibility, and public visibility requires material public spaces.[320] In different Iranian cities when the peaceful demonstrations turned violent, thousands marched from central mosques into down town, attacked royal statues, police stations, luxury hotels, movie houses showing Hollywood films, stores owned by the royal family, the offices of the Resurgence Party, the Iranian-American Society, Pepsi Cola, and in some cases, banks (Figure 5.15, Figure 5.16, Figure 5.17).[321] The targets were chosen carefully by the protestors, and each of those spaces, were representing an element of dissatisfaction of the society. The invasion of the urban public spaces, and their manipulation, stresses the importance of the physical space in representing the struggle and resistance of the society and the ruling authority. Hence, In the case of Tehran, before urban policies of the new regime was set, the demonstrations and the civil uprising, had already started to manipulate the urban spaces.

Despite the modernization of the economy, bazaar was still powerful in Iran, and it was the hub of Iranian urban life; indeed bazaar was not a mere commercial center, but due to its tradition and formal layout, it was a unique type of community center. Its formal layout, with one or several mosques, public bath, the old religious school and numerous teahouses, had provided a condensed system of activities within a relatively small area, which lead to ease of communication and thus the main source of political mobilization in the traditional Iranian

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[318] Graham, Robert. Iran: The Illusion of Power. Lowe and Brydone Printers, London, 1978, p.214
[319] Ibid, p.215
[320] Mitchell, Don. The Right to the City; Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space. The Guilford Press, New York, 2003, p.148
[321] Abrahamian, Ervand. Mass Protests in the Iranian Revolution, 1977-79. Ed by: Adam Roberts & Timothy Garton Ash. Civil Resistance & Power Politics; The experience of non-violent action from Gandhi to the present. Oxford University Press, New York, 2009, p.169

society (Figure 5.18); although it was tried to be weakened with the new economic system but that has not reached its aim totally.[322] There seems to be no doubt that bazaar and mosque were, institutionally and spatially, crucial in the protest movements of the last two hundred years of the country's political history. The physical proximity and interdependence of bazaar and mosque in the structure of the Islamic towns have reinforced them as a closely-knit community in addition to their institutional alliance, and thus has transformed them into sources of power within the urban fabric.[323]

The urban design policies of Shah to decrease the power of bazaar, which was a political power and a potential barricade of a social class against the modernist sanctions of the state, took its urban design strategies to diminish different aspects of the life that was going on in bazaar. Along side the other re-formations that were taking place to change the social and economic order of the country, new schools, and housing projects and shopping centers were built outside the bazaar district, to faint the color of bazaar as a strong community. In order to make ease in enforcing the security in bazaar and thus providing better control over it, the narrow streets within the bazaar were widened as parts of a plan to impose a modern gridiron pattern of roads on the old narrow alleyways.[324] To prevent the empowering of bazaar, as a source of political power, the government used various strategies that were not only re-organizing the material body of that urban space, but also the social relations taking place within that body. In one sense bazaar, like any urban space, was not only a projection of social relationships but also a ground of clash of different strategies; the strategies which were not the goals or objectives but they were means and tools that were used to reach a specific organization that will ensure the power of the ruling system.[325]

In the campaign against the ruling power, bazaar offered financial support to the families of the demonstrators who got killed, and also for strikes of different guilds. The Bazaar of Tehran, which was the most important bazaar in the country, was occupied for the first time by tanks on May 1978, and as early as January there had been shutdown protests that continuously happened afterwards.[326] The functional plan of Tehran Bazaar changed with the new policies of the regime towards bazaaris; the oldest sections of the bazaar became

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[322] Graham, Robert. Iran: The Illusion of Power. Lowe and Brydone Printers, London, 1978, p.223
[323] Ashraf, Ahmad. "Bazaar-Mosque Alliance: The Social Basis of Revolts and Revolutions." Politics, Culture, and Society, Vol.1, No 4, Summer 1988, Human Sciences Press, pp.538-567, pp.541-542
[324] Ibid, p.224
[325] Lefebvre, Henri. The Urban Revolution. Trans. By: Robert Bononno. Foreword by: Neil Smith. University of Minnesota Press, London, 2003, p.87
[326] Graham, Robert. Iran: The Illusion of Power. Lowe and Brydone Printers, London, 1978, pp.225-226

the shopping area for the urban poor and rural customers, whereas other sections of the bazaar adjusted themselves to the more middle-class clients and succeeded.[327] With the eradication of the 'worm-ridden shops' the state would gain control over the economy and thus over the masses.[328] This scheme of intervention was not only imposed upon Tehran Bazaar; a similar scheme was used to redevelop the area around the holy shrine of Imam Reza in Mashhad. Like many shrines in the country, Imam Reza's shrine was also surrounded by a dense bazaar area that unified bazaaris and ulama; not surprisingly the plan was set to erase all the buildings around the shrine and replace them with a green space and a broad traffic circle, as a part of modern urban development projects.[329] This act was protested by several bombing acts that would target the construction equipments. While the ruling power used the urban design to disperse the opposition, guerilla tactics kept on protesting those interventions of the ruling power in the same urban arena.

Before the protests were taken to the streets, which happened in the last months of the life of the regime, the anti-regime activities and protests were portrayed by the guerilla groups in different urban areas; they arranged bank robberies, bombing of police stations and other public buildings, and the assassination of SAVAK officials and persons who were symbolizing foreign domination, specially in large cities.[330] Indeed while they could not appropriate the public space to manifest their repressed voice, they were directed to invade the space and even diminish it to remit their aggression to the state and the masses, and demonstrate it in the body of the cities and public buildings. Urban space in this sense was not just a site of a long-term continual conflict, but as a fundamental dimension of the society, it was inseparable from the overall processes of organization and social change.[331] Street protests had the central role in Iranian Revolution of 1979, in contrast with what was often said that the midwives of revolution are catastrophic wars, financial meltdown,

[327] Ashraf, Ahmad. "Bazaar-Mosque Alliance: The Social Basis of Revolts and Revolutions." Politics, Culture, and Society, Vol.1, No 4, Summer 1988, Human Sciences Press, pp.538-567, p.550
[328] Der-Grigorian, Talin. Construction of History: Mohammad-Reza Shah Revivalism, Nationalism, and Monumental Architecture of Tehran 1951-1979
Thesis Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Nasser O. Rabbat. Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Science of Architecture Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, June 1998, p.161
[329] R.Keddie, Nikki. Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution. Yale University Press, New Haven, 2003, p.223
[330] Graham, Robert. Iran: The Illusion of Power. Lowe and Brydone Printers, London, 1978, p.216
[331] Castells, Manuel. Space of Flows, Space of Places: Materials for a theory of urbanism in the information age. Ed by: Bishwapriya Sanyal. Comparative Planning Cultures. Routledge Press, New York, 2005, p.46

economic depression, food shortages, and peasant uprisings.[332] The architectural and urban elements of the city, project and narrate the story of the power struggle going on between the state, masses, and powers pillars of the society; while each of them intend to represent themselves in the urban body. Thus Tehran, with modern interventions, alongside few instances of public involvement in urban projects, became and extraordinary urban construction of chaos and conflicts.



Figure 5.9: Toopkhaneh Square, Tehran, early 1900's
The image shows this historically important square of Tehran, in the beginning of 20th century, hosting a parade of armed forces on their horses.
Source: http://www.iran-forum.ir/thread-36909.html (visited: August 16, 2011)



Figure 5.10: A group of people at a street near Ayatollah Khomeini's home in Qom (the most religious city in Iran), protesting against "anti-revolutionary" groups, around spring of 1979.
Source: http://www.iranian.com/Times/Subs/Revolution/Aug98/protest.html (visited: June 11, 2011)

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[332] Abrahamian, Ervand. Mass Protests in the Iranian Revolution, 1977-79. Ed by: Adam Roberts & Timothy Garton Ash. Civil Resistance & Power Politics; The experience of non-violent action from Gandhi to the present. Oxford University Press, New York, 2009, p.162

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Figure 5.11: Kurdistan strike against recent execution, May 2010
The image shows a view of bazaar in Kuridstan, going on strike, protesting recent execution of five Kurdish prisoners in Evin prison. The strikes in bazaars are very common in socio-political conflicts in Iran, since many years ago.
Source: http://www.rottengods.com/2010/05/kurdistan-strike-against-execution-iran.html (visited: June 13, 2011)
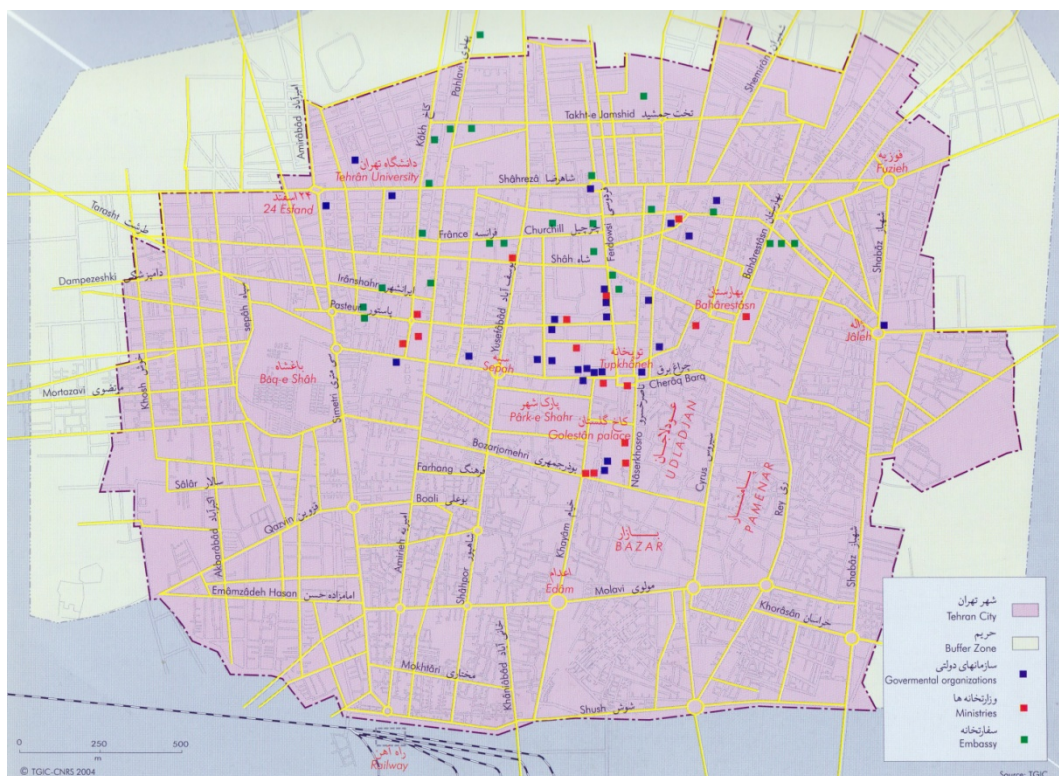


Figure 5.12: Tehran in 1953, before the great extension
While Bazaar is located from center to the south of the city, Tehran University is at the north-west edge of the city.
Source: Habibi, Mohsen & Bernard Hourcade. Atlas of Tehran Metropolis: Land & People. Publishers: Urban Planning & Processing Company, Tehran GIS Centre, Tehran Municipality, Tehran, 2005, p.73
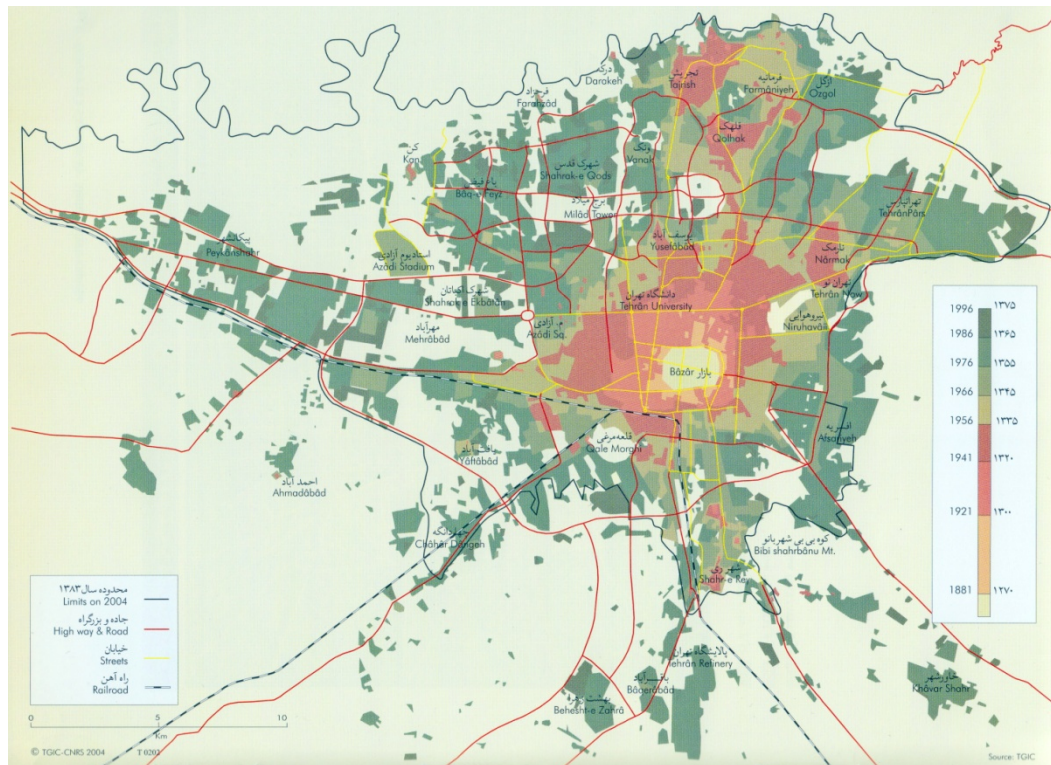
Figure 5.13: The evolution of built up areas in Tehran from 1880's till 1990's
In the expanded map of Tehran today, the location of Bazaar and Tehran University appear relatively closer.
Source: Habibi, Mohsen & Bernard Hourcade. Atlas of Tehran Metropolis: Land & People. Publishers: Urban Planning & Processing Company, Tehran GIS Centre, Tehran Municipality, Tehran, 2005, p.60



Figure 5.14: Tehran University, 1978-79
Security forces confront the student protestors in Tehran University, who try to break up the fences and flow into the streets.
Source: http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/tehranbureau/2009/09/another-cultural-revolution.html
(visited: June 20, 2011)

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Figure 5.15: Rex Cinema in Abadan was set on fire, 1978
The fire was set when 700 people were watching movie, and 377 people burned alive. Regime blamed
Islamic terrorists and guerilla groups for the incident, while there were controversial statements that made
people believe that regime was responsible for the fire.
Source: http://www.fouman.com/history/Iranian_History_1978.html#BKM825  (visited: January 22, 2011)



Figure 5.16: Armed revolutionaries in the streets, 1979
Armed revolutionaries have blocked the street, and built a rifle-pit. They have occupied the streets to show
their dominance over urban space.
Source: http://www.cais-soas.com/CAIS/Images2/Misc/Iranian_revolution.jpg (visited: June 23, 2011)

Figure 5.17: Tehran, December 1978
An anti-shah demonstrator sets a bus on fire in downtown Tehran.
Source: http://www.contactpressimages.com/44Days/inside.html (visited: June 23, 2011)
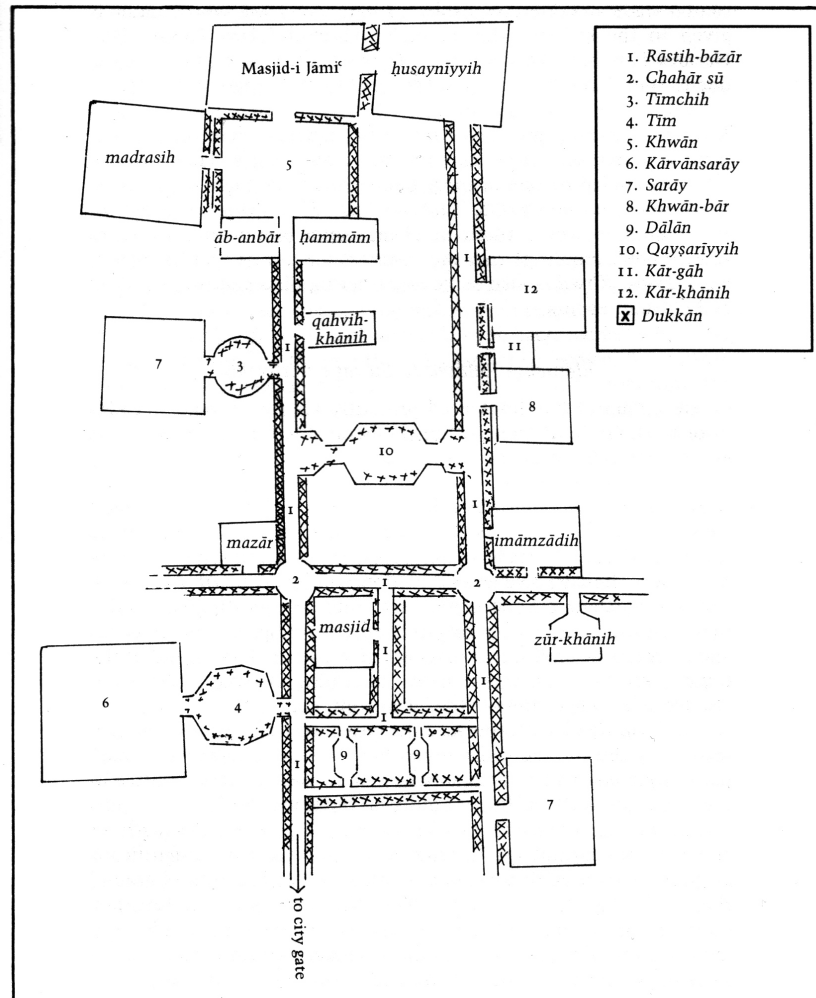


Figure 5.18: Elements of a typical Iranian bazaar
The main elements of this hub of Persian cities, are depicted in this map, which can be categorized under
elements related to trade activities, elements related to storage activities, and elements related to production
activities; but apart from the commercial zone, Masjed-e Jame, Huseyniyeh, madrase, hammam, ab-anbar, and
zur-khaneh were also included in the setting of all the bazaars.
Source: Kheirabadi, Masoud. Iranian Cities; Formation and Development. University of Texas Press, Austin,
1991, p.97

## 5.4. Arenas of power struggle

Within the great complexity of urban environment, being an incomplete phenomenon, the coordinates of the boundaries of urban life and thus the arenas of power struggle seem to be ever changing. In the context of Iran, from 1960 to 1975, as the period of rapid urbanization, as well as the period of internal socio-political tensions in the country, the complexity of the boundaries of urban life, in which the struggle over power demonstrates itself, is increased. During the years of internal political conflict in Iran, around 1976, even people's appearance in the public arena was aimed to be used as means of protest, to express their political tendencies. In 1970's there was a trend among some woman students to return to chador or to adopt a new costume, with a headscarf and a knee-length smock and loose trousers, all in plain neutral colors; some of these students were genuinely religious, others wished to stress their protest in this way (Figure 5.19).[333] The secularized educational arena was facing a resistance through civil disobedience; while it's system was in advance secularized and has gained independency from the religious institutions and culture.

To clarify the contribution of the urbanism and urban transformations to socio-political movements and demands for change, in the context of Iran, it would be useful to discuss the arenas within which the issue of power struggle has distributed its roots. One of those critical arenas, in the case of Iran, was the educational arena, and universities. The campuses of the universities of the main cities were not only public spaces for education, but they were scenes of clashes and struggle over power and right; university was converted to a great political threat inside and outside the country. Due to major protests and strikes in many universities of the country, they remained closed for months at a time. Indeed student protests remained inside the borders of the campus area for years, but when the national protest movement broadened in 1977-78, students, as the agencies who had the habits, inclination and experience, were important participants in revolutionary public demonstrations and protest (Figure 5.20).[334] While the public atmosphere was not open for protests, and the opposition was convinced that any protest would be violently suppressed,

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[333] This costume became a kind of uniform for the women of the Mojahedin-e Khalq.
Chador is a garment made of fabric, cut in form of a semi-circle and it is open on the front, and covers the whole body.
R.Keddie, Nikki. Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution. Yale University Press, New Haven, 2003, p.218
[334] Ibid, p.218

guerilla groups were formed and militant students created small secret groups to translate and study works by Mao, Guevara, and Fanon and discuss guerilla tactics.[335]

In the urban development of the Iranian cities in modern era, the country's oil income has played a decisive role; but in 1970's the countries overreliance on oil revenues and its rapid urbanization process had indeed negative social and political outcomes. Increasing oil revenues deferred the need to involve citizens politically and economically in the management and decision-making process of public affairs, and urban planning was one important aspect of that problem.[336] In other words, along side the rise in oil revenues and prevention from the intervention of people in the public affairs, and the change in the social mode of production of the country to a capitalist development, the urban society was moving towards a boom, while it was alienated from the rapid modernization process taking place in the urban arena, as well as all other aspects of urban life. Urban poor, working in temporary and seasonal employments in constructions, representing the dark side of the dependent capitalist economic development, started to strike frequently. In such a condition it seems that the Revolution of 1979 in Iran emerged, as the outcome of a society that was in a stage of over-development economically while it was not developed politically.

As Castells states, "spatial transformation is a fundamental dimension of the overall process of structural change."[337] In the Iranian context and more precisely in the context of Tehran, as the capital of the country that witnessed many social movements and two main revolutions in its short modern history, we can observe a direct link between space and social movements, as attempts for change. In the case of the Constitutional Revolution in 1906 the event that caused the masses to gather and start an uprising, was an opposition against an urban development project in Tehran. A Russian bank bought an abandoned cemetery and a religious school as parts of a restoration project, and a creditable cleric was against this project, due to religious reasons; and following that, a public protest lead to demolition of the under construction building.[338] Thus the urban space was the scene of the

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[335] Ibid, p.219
[336] Tajbakhsh, Kian. Planning Culture in Iran: Centralization and Decentralization and Local Governance in the Twentieth Century (The Case for Urban Management and Planning). Ed by: Bishwapriya Sanyal. Comparative Planning Cultures. Routledge Press, New York, 2005, p.78
[337] Castells, Manuel. Space of Flows, Space of Places: Materials for a theory of urbanism in the information age. Ed by: Bishwapriya Sanyal. Comparative Planning Cultures. Routledge Press, New York, 2005, p.45
[338] Madanipour, Ali. Tehran; The making of a metropolis. John Willey and Sons Ltd. West Sussex, 1998, p.43

struggle and clashes between the masses and the government, while its policies and the interventions into it were also the subject of tension and contest.

The Revolution of 1979, which was an unexpected urban revolution, took place in the urban arena of large cities. In the first years of the movements that lead to the revolution, the leaders, from intellectuals to bazaaris and from clerics to students, were used to gather in private spaces of houses; while there was no free political space that would encourage unmediated interaction, and public spaces of the cities were under control and there was no tolerance in the public spaces for political activities.[339] Later the meetings started to move beyond the very private realm of houses, to the more public arenas, such as mosques. Since the political system of the country was a single-party system, there was no place for the opposition to gather and talk about politics; it was illegal and forbidden. Thus mosques became very important during the Revolution, because they were the one and the only place that people anywhere could gather, talk, and organize (Figure 5.21, Figure 5.22). In fact mosques became an organizing tool in the hands of people, via which they could organize protests and participate in politics.[340] On the other hand of this urban scene of struggle, there was the state; the first reaction of the state was to send out the revolutionary leaders from Tehran to other cities, and then to settle soldiers and police forces in streets and city squares (Figure 5.23). Then the next tactic of the opposition came up; they started to gather in holy shrines and foreign embassies to prevent attacks and killings, and in general the main locus of gatherings were around main mosques and the grand bazaar.[341] Which means that the rebellions used the spaces that hold religious values and were not attacked, to be safe and keep on with their activities.

The city in general, as the container of all the struggles over power, is manipulated and conquered by an opposition or the ruling authority, and in consequence, the architectural elements are opposed to the actions and reactions of both sides. The bombing of some buildings can be considered as the reaction of the revolutionary forces to the ruling authority. For instance the bombing of Reza Shah Pahlavi mausoleum, which happened in

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[339] Mitchell, Don. "The End of Public Space: People's Park, Definitions of the Public, and Democracy". Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 85(1), pp.108-133, 1995, p.110

[340] Hart, Jo-Anne. "Why were mosques important in protests against the government?" Iran Through the Looking Glass: History, Reform, and Revolution. The Choices Program at Brown University. 09.21.2009, (iTunesU)

[341] Madanipour, Ali. Tehran; The making of a metropolis. John Willey and Sons Ltd. West Sussex, 1998, p.43

1978-79 conflicts lead to the destruction of the central core of the structure (Figure 5.24).[342] The act of bombing Reza Shah's tomb depicted the hatred of a group of opposition from Mohammad Reza Shah and the monarchy.The role of the architecture of that specific building in the act of bombing is questionable. The bombing did not hold a strategic or political importance in terms of causing a physical damage to a specific military setup or killing a political figure; it was clearly a symbolic act.[343]The role that is loaded to architecture in such cases, is symbolizing the power of the monarchy by building it, and symbolizing the erosion and opposition to the ruling power, by its destruction.

Tehran as the metropolitan capital of Iran, hosted several public protests during the months that lead to the 1979 Revolution. The public spaces of the capital have been political, in that they were the scenes of clash over power and liberty. The public arena of Tehran, with its extraordinary structure and diverse citizen profile, created a chaotic ground of civil struggle. Considering the accelerated marginalization process after 1966 as the result of the authorization of the demolition of unlawful constructions within the city limits, as well as in the buffer zones, makes it possible to comprehend the diverse population of the city.[344] Those marginal inhabitants of the city, generally migrated from rural areas, accommodating in the periphery of the city, living in slums, composed a relatively high percent of the overall population of Tehran. The inhabitants of the over-crowded slums and informal settlements, with their rural origin and ethnic backgrounds - they were mostly Azeri and speakers of other Turkic languages - formed an estimated 35 per cent of Tehran's population by the late 1970's, in the eve of the revolution, and they were socially and culturally segregated from the Westernized urban rich, who stigmatized them as *dahati* (rural, backward), *amaleh* or *hammal* (labourer, inferior).[345]

What is remarkable about the role of the spatial layout of Tehran, in providing a noticeable ground for the revolutionary act, lies in the fact that Tehran was drastically polarized and segregated to two distinct areas of the rich *bala-ye shahr* (upper city), and the poor *pain-e shahr* (lower city), with the Shahreza Street forming the line of this segregation; a

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[342] Der-Grigorian, Talin. Construction of History: Mohammad-Reza Shah Revivalism, Nationalism, and Monumental Architecture of Tehran 1951-1979
Thesis Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Nasser O. Rabbat. Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Science of Architecture Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, June 1998, p.209
[343] Ibid, p.210
[344] Bayat, Asef. "Tehran: Paradox City". New Left Review, 66, November – December 2010, pp.99-122, p.104
[345] Ibid, p.104

line that was used as the main route of protests. In addition to economic, social, and cultural segregation in the city of Tehran, the spatial layout of the city with a population of 5 million inhabitants by the eve of the revolution, was also exhibiting a distinctive class hierarchy; to the north, at the upper end of the sloping landscape of Tehran, were the most opulent neighborhoods – Darrous, Tajrish, Zafaraniyeh, Farmaniyeh – including the first gated communities in the Middle East, and the royal palace of Niavaran was located at the very summit of the city, and to the middle areas, middle classes, state employees, professionals, and small business owners were inhabiting, and to the south, to the lowest lands of the city, the poor, new rural migrants, and the lower strata of working people were living (Figure 5.25).[346]Indeed the city was the most favorable environment for the formation of power that was characterized by organization and over organization; the monstrous city has always been in the threat of chaos over power.[347] Different classes of the society started to join the public demonstrations and appear in the streets and squares of the city; the struggle over possessing the public space was a fight over conquering the rule of the country. Indeed as Madanipour states, the fight over public spaces of the city and domination over those spaces, was incarnation of the revolution; indeed it was the revolution it self (Figure 5.26).[348]

In a socio-historical analysis of Tehran of 1970's, alongside observation over the manipulation of public spaces due to struggle over power, it can be observed that Tehran became the spatial embodiment of the struggle over political power between the state and different opposition groups, and its public spaces were used to represent such a tension in different manners. The generic forces of the revolution, with spatial properties in the city, were once established by the state to serve for its vision, such as Tehran University. In general the significance of this period of Tehran's history lies in the fact that Tehran provided descriptive and comparative information on the spatial transformation of the public spaces of a city during an intense struggle over power, and to understand the physical arenas of power struggle in spatial terms, this section of the study focused on the socio-political arenas, to find the relevance between these spheres, as the projections of each other.

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[346] Ibid, p.104

[347] Lefebvre, Henri. The Urban Revolution. Trans. By: Robert Bononno. Foreword by: Neil Smith. University of Minnesota Press, London, 2003, pp.91-92

[348] Madanipour, Ali. Tehran; The making of a metropolis. John Willey and Sons Ltd. West Sussex, 1998, p.44

Figure 5.19: Iranians in revolutionary streets of Tehran, 1979
Iranian's celebrating the departure of Shah in January 16 1979. The woman has started to appear in public spaces in Islamic dressing styles to show their support of the revolution.
Source: http://www.contactpressimages.com/44Days/inside.html (visited: June 18, 2011)



Figure 5.20: Tehran University students are breaking into the streets and security forces confront them, 1978
The protests flow from the university to the street for the first time in 1978
Source: http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/tehranbureau/2009/09/another-cultural-revolution.html
(visited: January 23, 2011)

Figure 5.21: Ruhollah Khomeini giving speech in Azam Mosque in Qom, mid 1960's
Khomeini is giving speech on opposition to Pahlavi regime. The mosques and religious spaces were used as gathering spaces of the opposition since the early years of its formation, while there were no meeting places to gather and talk about politics.
Source: (http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:خمینی_در_سخنرانی.jpg) (visited: January 23, 2011)



Figure 5.22: A mosque in Tehran, right after the Revolution
An insurgent puts another weapon on a pile of guns turned in by rebels to a mosque in Tehran, heading a request by Ayatollah Khomeini to do so.
Source: http://islamizationwatch.blogspot.com/2009/04/historic-pictures-of-irans-islamic.html (visited: June 23, 2011)

Figure 5.23: Tehran, December 1978
Demonstrators in Tehran streets face off against the army. Tanks are brought to the streets to fight against the rebel.
Source: http://www.contactpressimages.com/44Days/inside.html (visited: June 23, 2011)
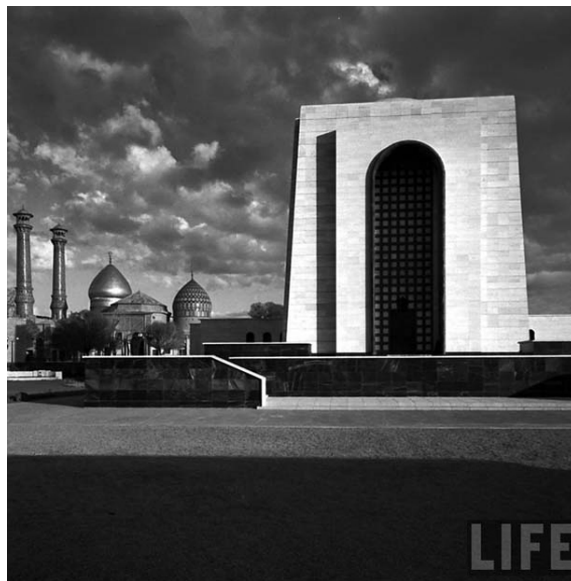


Figure 5.24: Reza Shah Mausoleum, located in Rey, South of Tehran
The burial ground of Reza Shah was fully destroyed after the revolution.
Source: http://www.fouman.com/Y/Picture_Farsi-Aramgah_Reza_Shah_Moseleum_Abdulazim_Shrine.htm (visited: June 23, 2011)
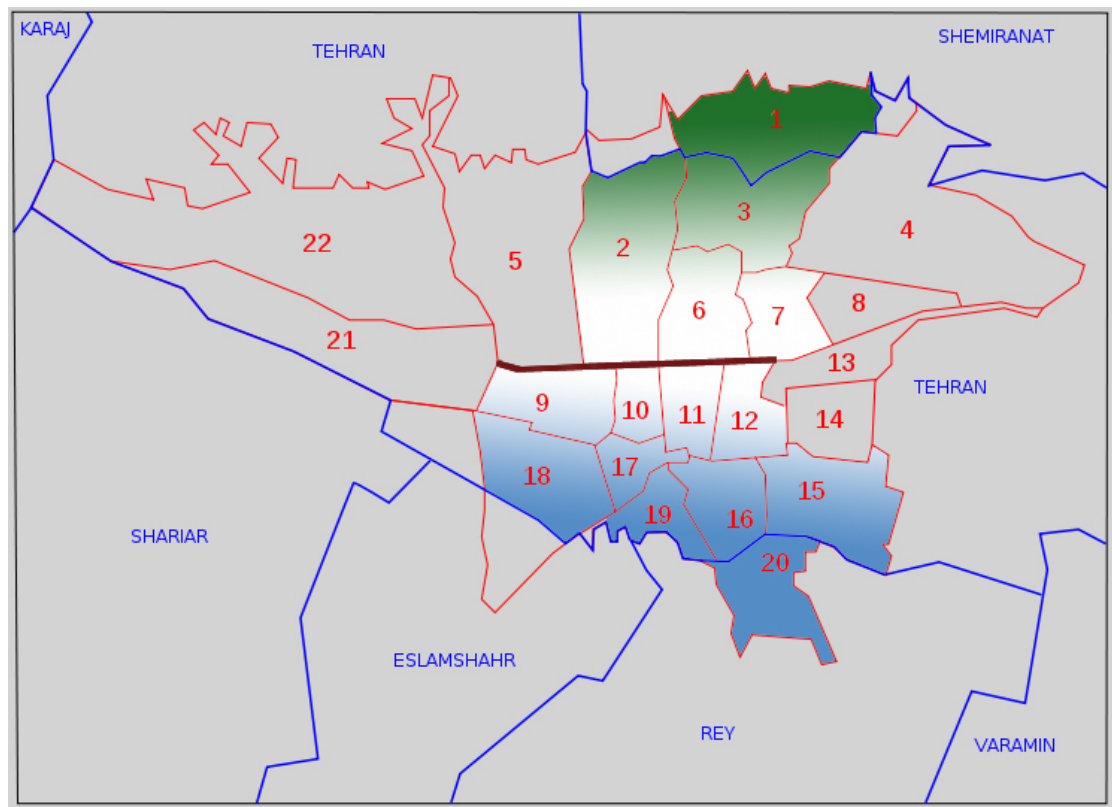
Figure 5.25: Administrative map of Tehran, 2007
The area colored in green is the upper city, accommodated by the rich, and the area in blue is the lower city, accommodated by the poor.
Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Administrative_map_of_Tehran.svg (visited: June 23, 2011)



Figure 5.26: young soldier is seized by demonstrators in 24th of Esfand Square after the army opens fire on the funeral cortege of a 27-year-old professor killed the day before, December 1978
Urban space was the scene of clashes between the state forces and the demonstrators.
Source:
http://photoblog.msnbc.msn.com/_nv/more/section/archive?year=2009&month=11&ct=a&pc=25&sp=25
(visited: January 23, 2011)

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## 5.5. Streets as public property

"Revolutionary events generally take place in the street. Doesn't this show that the disorder of the street engenders another kind of order? The urban space of the street is a place for talk, given over as much to the exchange of words and signs as it is to the exchange of things. A place where speech becomes writing. A place where speech can become "savage" and, by escaping rules and institutions, inscribe itself on walls"[349]

Iran's multiclass populist revolution is considered as an unexpected, paradoxical revolution in an "island of stability"- as Jimmy Carter stated about Iran in 1977 – made with not much bloodshed, while it defeated one of the most powerful armies of the Middle East, with main strategies of general strikes and massive, peaceful demonstrations.[350] In the mass upheavals that lead to the revolution of 1979 of course it was not possible at once to take the demonstrations of the opposition to the streets; while the ruling authority could dominate the public spaces of the city to celebrate its grandeur, the opposition did not have the chance to use the public spaces freely. The festivals and celebrations that were organized by the source of power caricaturize the appropriation and re-appropriation of space and the real appropriation of public space revealed in the use of public spaces, socially, for political demands and the repression, those masses received in reverse.[351] The question to be discussed here, is that, how the streets, which were used as the properties of the ruling authority, to proceed its projects and manifest itself in its body, were transformed to public properties, to represent the opposition of the public to the monarchy.

To flow into the streets, the first strategy was to use traditional ceremonies and gatherings as the pretext for demonstrating the political protest in the case of Iran. Over one million people in Tehran on December 1978, gathered in the street to mark the Ashura, a traditional ceremony on the anniversary of the death of Imam Hossein, seen as a martyred victim of autocracy; in which a resolution was passed asking Khomeini to lead Iran and

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[349] Lefebvre, Henri. The Urban Revolution. Trans. By: Robert Bononno. Foreword by: Neil Smith. University of Minnesota Press, London, 2003, p.19
[350] Foran, John. The Iranian Revolution of 1977-79: A Challenge for Social Theory. Ed by: John Foran. A Century of Revolution; Social Movements in Iran. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1994, pp.161-171
[351] Lefebvre, Henri. The Urban Revolution. Trans. By: Robert Bononno. Foreword by: Neil Smith. University of Minnesota Press, London, 2003, p.21

calling people for struggle until the Shah was overthrown (Figure 5.27).[352] This time the space and even the traditional religious ceremony were appropriated by people to reveal the opposition. The ceremonies in days of Muharram were not the only appearance of the protest, but also at nights, hundreds of thousand of people spent the nights on their rooftops on December 1978, shouting "God is Great", wearing white shrouds to show their willingness to be killed for the sake of 'freedom'; they violated the night curfew and flowed into the streets.[353]

Street as a meeting place (topos), is part of the public sphere that is the realm of society as a whole and of the state; it is controlled by public authorities, concerns people as a whole and should be open to use of all the members of the community.[354] The explicit characteristic of undemocratic societies, appear in their public sphere; while the opposition in Iran did not have the political meeting spaces, nor the media that would let their voices be heard, they used streets to express their stand point and aggression (Figure 5.28, Figure 5.29). The walls of the streets became their media and the means of showing that their movement is alive and a tool for organizing the protests. The municipalities were ordered to erase the wall-writings in every city, but in fact state could not repress this trend fully, because people would re-write them again and again. Wall-writings of the streets can be considered as one of the most reliable sources on the historical calendar of the revolutionary days in Iran. Indeed the history of the city and the society was written on the walls of its streets, and those writing can be used as sources for reading the way revolutionary days proceeded.

The modern axis and streets of the city were places to exhibit the power of the ruling authority and display their power via placing huge monuments and statues, in the case of modern Tehran; consequently this factor became ascertaining in choosing the gathering urban spaces during the revolution. The protestors descended those monuments and proclaimed their ownership over public urban spaces, and used those spaces as the ground of the battle for power and emancipation; whoever could win the charge of the public sphere, would be in charge of the country.[355] The spaces around the monuments, as oppressed spaces, that glorify the powerful, gain importance in conquering the public spaces

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[352] R.Keddie, Nikki. Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution. Yale University Press, New Haven, 2003, p.234

[353] Abrahamian, Ervand. IRAN Between Two Revolutions. Princeton University press, New Jersey, 1982, p.521

[354] Madanipou, Ali. Public and Private Spaces of the City. Routledge Press, New York, 2003, p.134

[355] Madanipour, Ali. Tehran; The making of a metropolis. John Willey and Sons Ltd. West Sussex, 1998, pp.43-44

politically (Figure 5.30, Figure 5.31). As Lefebvre states about the Napoleonic Arc de Triomphe, that although the monument is always laden with symbols, it presents them to social awareness and contemplation just when those symbols, are beginning to lose their meaning, the monuments of Shah in the main squares of the Iranian cities, were pulled down as soon as their legitimacy and meaning was lost and the spaces around them were conquered by people (Figure 5.32, Figure 5.33).[356] An important example of the politically loaded squares of Tehran, is Baharestan Square. This critical urban node of Tehran, located in front of the parliament building that was at the nerve center of the country's politics has witnessed numerous political meetings, demonstrations, and clashes; and therefore the statue at this square has changed several times (Figure 5.34).[357] In describing the historical role of this political square, it has been stated that, Baharestan square means the square of riot, conflict, revolution, and slaughter.[358] Important political events, having decisive role on the modern history of Tehran, has taken action in this square, and as if the square was the direct representation and the show case of the ruling power, the central element and the statue of the center of the square, changed several times, representing the constant changes in the modern history of the city, with its active and ever-changing atmosphere.

The crowds in the streets of Tehran during the course of 1979 Revolution were denser in the main east-west axis of the city, in comparison to other parts of the city. Shahreza Avenue, that was named *Enqelab* (Revolution) after the triumph of the movement, became the main site of contest for millions of demonstrators who moved in this road; and the Shahyad Square, at the western edge of this axis, was the new arena to protest in its wide, open space (Figure 5.35, Figure 5.36, Figure 5.37).[359] The new infrastructure and built environment of the city, with its wide avenues, had the capacity to host great number of people in the protests. Tehran, the modern capital of country, gained a new face and a new character during the revolutionary days; with all its aspects of life, being evolved in its process of change and transformation. Streets were occupied by the masses, as if they were entering a transformative phase, a buffering phase of transmission of the ownership of public urban spaces, from the monarchy to the revolutionary regime. While the perceived quality of a city, is very much depending upon the perception of its streets, therefore the

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[356] Lefebvre, Henri. The Urban Revolution. Trans. By: Robert Bononno. Foreword by: Neil Smith. University of Minnesota Press, London, 2003, p.21

[357] Norouzi Talab, Hamid Reza. Tehran: Past & Present; A Glance at the features of Life, Art and Architecture. Yassavoli Publications, Tehran, 2008, p.88

[358] Shahri, Jafar. Trans. By: Author. *Tehran-e Qadim* "The Old Tehran". Moin Publication, Tehran, 1993, pp.412-413

[359] Madanipour, Ali. Tehran; The making of a metropolis. John Willey and Sons Ltd. West Sussex, 1998, p.44

shifting character of Tehran's revolutionary days, can be considered as creating a new perception of the urban environment of the city. The revolutionary period of this study provided a proper case to observe the way urban transformation takes part in the course of the shift of power and the way masses appropriate the public spaces to show their opposition towards the ruling regime. Urban space as the stage on which the power struggle goes on, and at the same time, as the entity that is in a way the subject of the struggle, on the walls of which the urge of transformation writes itself.



Figure 5.27: The protests of 1978 Ashura, Tehran, Collage Junction
The religious ceremony of Ashura in Muharram was turned into a political event, marking a mile stone in the revolutionary events.
Source: http://ref.kodoom.com/انقلاب_۱۳۵۷ (visited: June 14, 2011)

Figure 5.28: The walls of the streets, Tehran, 1978-79
The walls of the cities were tool of propaganda for the opposition.
Top: above the writing of Viva Khomeini, it is written that "for the help and cure of the militants' call these numbers."
Below: it says that "now, we will reply your bullet with bullet."
Source: *Tasavir-e Divar-neveshteha-ye Enghelab* (The Images of the Wall-writings of the Revolution), Elmi va Farhangi Publications, Tehran, 2005
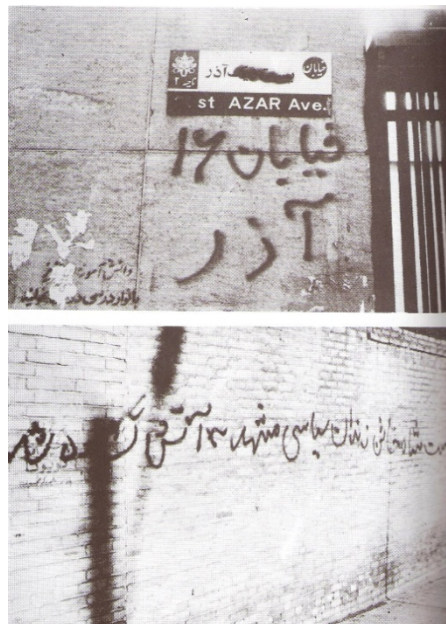


Figure 5.29: The walls of the streets, Tehran, 1978-79
The walls of the cities were the media for the opposition.
Top: The streets were occupied and even their names are changed by the revolutionary masses. The name of the street have been changed from 21st Azar, to 16th Azar, which was the Student Day, named after the murder of three students of Tehran University in 1953 by Pahlavi police.
Below: it says that, "with the order of the traitor Shah, the political prison of Mashhad have been set on fire."
In this case the walls function as the media for the opposition, to send the news out to streets.
Source: *Tasavir-e Divar-neveshteha-ye Enghelab* (The Images of the Wall-writings of the Revolution), Elmi va Farhangi Publications, Tehran, 2005

Figure 5.30: Bagh-e Shah Square in Tehran, 1966
The squares of the city were filled with monuments that were representing the power and the stand point of the ruling power.
Source: Old Tehran, Photography By Mahmoud Pakzad (1941-1975). Did Publications, 2003, p.33



Figure 5.31: 24th Esfand Square (Enqelab Square), 1959
This square, close to Tehran University main campus, is one of the most important squares in central Tehran.
in the image a statue of Reza Shah is visible in the centre of the this large urban square.
Source: Old Tehran, Photography By Mahmoud Pakzad (1941-1975). Did Publications, 2003, p.134

Figure 5.32: A statue of Reza Shah Pahlavi was pulled down after his son, Mohammad Reza Shah, left the country, 1979
The spaces around the monuments, as oppressed spaces, were conquered by the opposition and the symbols of the manifestation of power were diminished.
Source: http://www.corbisimages.com/Enlargement/BE069328.html (visited: January 23, 2011)



Figure 5.33: State of Shah, being pulled down, 1979
As the spaces around the statues were conquered by the opposition, the symbols, representing the ruling power are tried to be diminished.
Source: http://www.rowzane.com/fa/annonce-archiev/67-bayanie/776-200110-kx.html (visited: June 23, 2011)

Figure 5.34: Baharestan Square in Tehran, 1959 The old political Square of Tehran, with two statues that has changed several times in its short history, with the changes in political position of the country
Source: Old Tehran, Photography By Mahmoud Pakzad (1941-1975). Did Publications, 2003, p.126



Figure 5.35: Shahreza Avenue, 1979
Shahreza Avenue, named Enqelab (revolution) after the 1979 Revolution, was an important axis for the demonstrations.
Source: http://www.ghadimha.blogfa.com/ (visited: June 23, 2011)

Figure 5.36: Tehran, 1979
The image a view of the street protests during the course of 1979 Revolution in Tehran.
Source: http://platypus1917.org/2009/11/18/the-decline-of-the-left-in-the-20th-century-2001/ (visited: June 23, 2011)



Figure 5.37: Shahyad Square, 1979
The huge square, provided the best gathering space for the demonstrations on route from Tehran University. It was named Azadi (freedom) Square afterwards.
Source: http://www.channel4.com/news/iran-revolution-revisited (visited: June 23, 2011)

# CHAPTER 6

# THE EMERGENCE OF NEW URBAN CULTURE IN TEHRAN

## 6.1. The Socio-Spatial practices in Tehran's public arena

Shah left the country in mid January 1979, and two weeks later on February 1, Khomeini returned from exile. He took a helicopter from airport to *Behesht-e Zahra* cemetery to pay respect to the martyred for the revolution that were around 3,000 people in the whole course of revolution, from 1963 till 1979.[360] Not surprisingly, most of the victims of the revolution were from the southern working-class districts of Tehran.[361] On February 9-11 cadets and technicians, supported by *Fadayin* and *Mojahedin*, occupied the Imperial Guards in the main air-force base near *Jaleh* Square; as *Le Monde* reported the area around *Jaleh* Square resembled the Paris Commune, when people broke into armories and distributed weapons, and for the first time thousand of people appeared with weapons in the streets of Tehran. The final stage of this drama came on the afternoon of February 11, after two days of street fighting; when Tehran Radio made the historic statement: "This is the voice of Iran, the voice of true Iran, the voice of Islamic Revolution", the statement that declared the destruction of the 53-year-old dynasty and the 2,500 year-old monarchy.[362]*Jaleh* Square, which was named Square of Martyrs right after the revolution was used as the symbol and the image of the transformation in the identity of the urban spaces with the socio-political shift, to convey the nature of the revolution through the graffiti and painting.[363] The wall writings of the course of the revolution, demonstrated the chaos of a space, which was in the transformative period of shift of its ownership, from one powerful source of authority to people, and later to a new authoritarian power (Figure 6.1). The name of the public spaces,

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[360] Abrahamian, Ervand. A History of Modern IRAN. Cambridge University press, New York, 2008, p.161
[361] Ibid, p.161
[362] Ibid, p.162
[363] Chelkowski, Peter & Hamid Dabbashi. Staging A Revolution: The Art of Persuasion in the Islamic Republic of Iran. New York University Press, New York, 1999, p.109

such as streets and urban squares were changed as their identities were opposed to a change, and as new characteristics were loaded to them, alongside the events that took place in those spaces (Figure 6.2). Later, the emerging power, dominating the public space, represented its domination, on the same walls, that were once occupied by another authority, and were once used to show the aggression of the unsatisfied masses (Figure 6.3).

If public space, as Don Mitchell states, is simply those spaces in cities that are publicly owned and used by citizens to gather and communicate political ideas, then the nature of the socio-spatial practices in the public arena is deeply linked and correlated with the political atmosphere of the cities.[364] Public sphere and civil society, being materialized in the body of public spaces, are opposed to fundamental change with the power shift coming up with the revolution; and thus the existence of a totally new regime with new structures could be observed in urban spaces. As Habermas mentions about the vitality of "visibility" as the real purpose of public appearance,[365] then the limitations put upon public appearance by principles of the new Islamic regime, would definitely affect the concept of visibility of citizens in the context of post revolutionary Iranian society. Under the rule of a repressive regime and within the heated struggle of limitations put upon the public appearance and public activities there emerged a rupture in the social path that the society was heading in. With the new regime, when step-by-step, veiling was mandatory, first in workplaces, then in shops, and finally in the entire public sphere, once again the same streets of Tehran were occupied by massive demonstrations of hundreds of thousands of women, chanting against the new laws (Figure 6.4), in the first months after the revolution. To perform the new laws special vice squads, called the Blood of God, were devised to watch over the streets of Tehran and other cities and lookout for citizens guilty of "moral offense"; raiding shopping malls, any public spaces and even private spaces of the homes in search of videos, alcoholic drinks, sexually mixed parties and unveiled women.[366] Indeed the moral police was intensely controlling the public appearance of the citizens, and therefore they were limiting the urban public activities and people's appearance in the streets by intervention into daily affairs of the citizens, and constantly checking them (Figure 6.5).

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[364] Mitchell, Don. "Introduction: Public Space and the City". Urban Geography 17(2), pp. 127-131, 1996, p.127

[365] Habermas, Jurgen. "Public space and political public sphere – the biographical roots of two motifs in my thought". Commemorative Lecture, Kyoto, Nov. 11 2004

[366] Having experienced the time, Azar Nafisi, mentions that the mandatory veil was not a representation form of religion, but it was representing the state, and it was an attempt to force social uniformity.
Nafisi, Azar. The stuff that dreams are made of. Ed By: Lila Azam Zanganeh. My Sister, Guard Your Veil, My Brother, Guard Your Eyes. Beacon Press, Boston, 2006, pp.4-5

In the transformation in the nature of the streets as public properties, used for public activities, before the revolution, into a different zone that was used politically during the revolution, the Islamic regime marked a turning point. With the Islamists on power, the streets of Tehran and other cities gained a totally new nature and transformed into cultural war zones, in which agents of the state were searching and punishing citizens for a strand of hair or a trendy dress, and through such an action the regime politicized not a specific elite, but every Iranian individual.[367] Women were gradually forced to wear scarves and men were discouraged from wearing ties. Leaving the private spaces of the houses, and being present in the public spaces, started to be transformed into a torturous and guilty lie, while people had to be transformed into an alien image that state had carved for them.[368] The confusion in the identity of the individuals, being a double side and often contradictory identity, inside the private boundaries of homes, and in the public arena was indeed an inevitable consequence of such a system. Within the theoretical frame that is used here to look over the transformation of socio-spatial practices in the public arena of Tehran, with the political changes through the revolution, the changes in the everyday public life of the man in the street can be the most practical method; to read Tehran in between the lines of the narration of everyday lives.

As Tafuri states about the relation of architecture and ideology, the dominant ideology of a society has to throw itself entirely into the construction of the future, in order to survive.[369] The three major competing ideologies of the whole course of the Iranian revolution of 1979, which were nationalist, Marxist, and Islamic, were also promising better futures through different mediums such as graffiti, poster, and painting.[370] But the point that is to be highlighted here is that the architectural elements were broadly used in those mediums to promise for the construction of a better future; and in that respect, the most successful ideological appropriation was done by Islamists. They claimed the revolution exclusively for themselves.[371] As it can be observed in the images related to the construction of the future by Islamists, Shi'i martyrology emerged as the significant of all ideologies in the after math of the revolution (Figure 6.6). In the figure provided here we can see that the huge colonnades symbolizing the architectural elements of the national Pahlavi era, along

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[367] Ibid, p.8
[368] Ibid, p.7
[369] Tafuri, Manfredo. Architecture and Utopia; Design and Capitalist Development. Trans. By: Barbara Luigia La Penta. MIT Press, Cambridge and Massachusette, 1988, p.50
[370] Chelkowski, Peter & Hamid Dabbashi. Staging A Revolution: The Art of Persuasion in the Islamic Republic of Iran. New York University Press, New York, 1999, p.25
[371] Ibid, p.25

side an image of the White House in Washington – as the symbol of Western colonialism -, and architectural elements of Red Square in Moscow – as the symbol of Eastern and Marxist ideology – are used as supports to which the hands of the poor are chained and clamped to them. The Shi'i Imam whit his green flag is at the top, destroying all those constructions and setting the poor people free.

It seemed that the change was aimed to be brought first to the appearance of the city and gradually be imposed upon the city dwellers. A quite interesting instance of that was the mannequins in the shops and boutiques of Tehran, being lined up with their elongated skirts, while the pedestrians were still wearing short skirts and thinking that the system is not powerful enough to make them change their style, so they make the mannequins look more Islamic.[372]With the rising number of migration to Europe and America, it seemed that the public scene of the cities were left for a complete ruling by the government and the religious group of the society. The migration was not just only among religious minorities such as Jews, Zoroastrians, Christians, and Baha'is, but also Muslims. Although, even in the new regime, Jews still had their representative in Majles, but they left the country because life under a fundamentalist regime and conditions of war was becoming gradually intolerable.[373] The religious minorities were almost adopted in socio-spatial practices of many cities of the country before the revolution; but with the revolution the migration of minorities to foreign countries, seemed to leave the ground more and more for Islamist.

The power of public space to communicate civic sentiments and social resistance through its design and commodification is visible in public protests.[374] The Iranian regime was changed with the public demonstrations in 1979, but that was not an end point to the public protests in the urban environment of the cities. The public protests, took a new form in the new regime. Friday Prayers seems to be a bold public spatial practice, linked to the principles of the new regime and symbolizing the new order brought to the realm of the socio-spatial practices.  Before the revolution, Friday Prayers were held in mosques as a religious ceremony. In the course of the revolution, and after the revolution, the nature of Friday Prayers changed, and it began to perform a political role more than being a religious

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[372] Kar, Mehrangiz. Death of a Mannequin. Ed By: Lila Azam Zanganeh. My Sister, Guard Your Veil, My Brother, Guard Your Eyes. Beacon Press, Boston, 2006, p.30
[373] "Iran is still home to largest community of Jews outside Israel in all of he Middle East. (…) Still there are synagogues and kosher butcher shops, even several Jewish schools throughout Tehran." Hakakian, Roya. The Last Chapter in the Book of Exodus. Ed By: Lila Azam Zanganeh. My Sister, Guard Your Veil, My Brother, Guard Your Eyes. Beacon Press, Boston, 2006, pp.42-43
[374] Low, Setha M. On the Plaza: the politics of public space and culture. University of Texas Press, Austin, 2000, p.183

ceremony. Friday Prayers, performed in one specific location in each town, started to be used as a scene for political messages and show of power of the Islamic government. A main square, an open plaza, or the court of the great mosque of the city and its surrounding streets would be closed and appropriated for the prayers, since the very first days of the new regime. In Tehran it would be Tehran University, the locus of intelligentsia of the country and the country's most politicized university that was used for this purpose. Every open space, courts, stadium, and pathways are transferred to spaces to hold the Friday Prayers ceremony each week. The football stadium of the university is covered to be used for that purpose. They cover the grounds with carpets and make the necessary temporary structure on each Friday. Often there is a curtain used to separate men and women (Figure 6.7), which is another weird intervention into an open space that does not apply gender segregation in its daily use.

In some Fridays the number of the attending people exceeds the limits of the university and they use the surrounding streets to join the ceremony (Figure 6.8, Figure 6.9). In fact this Islamic ritual occupies a very critical public space and acts as a political manifestation. The Imam who is going to perform the prayer in that week, settles in the huge space provided in the mosque of Tehran University, and people line up in paths which end to the mosque, all around the campus (Figure 6.10, Figure 6.11). In the images provided here, it can be observed that from a road that end to the center of the campus, to the mosque of the campus, people join the prayers and they reach another mosque - Al-Qadir Mosque - that is situated in a square, called Palestine Square (Figure 6.12). As it can be observed Tehran University's critical position in the city is reflected on the surrounding squares and streets, and have converted them into highly political urban nodes in certain occasions such as Friday Prayers. Between the two parts of prayers the *Imam Jomeh* of the city, or in the case of Tehran sometimes the supreme leader or another Ayatollah who has a political status, gives a speech. Indeed the crucial point of the whole Friday Prayer is that speech; through which the political issues are meant to be taken under discussion and sometimes they rally after the ceremony to make propaganda for the support of the regime. For the same reason there is a place foreseen for the press to broad cast the whole ceremony, during which the national and international political messages would be sent out. The spatial meanings are actively and constantly manipulated by the state to represent its political agendas.[375] The educational spatial quality of the university, and the daily space of

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[375] Ibid, p.239

the surrounding streets and squares are loaded with a political and religious identity, to perform a public ceremony that represents the state, and is a stage for its show of power.

1979 Revolution and the subsequent war with Iraq, starting in 1980 and continuing for eight years, were indeed messengers of hard days for Iran. Iran-Iraq war, initiated by Saddam Hossein, forced the new state and the masses of the Iranian people to be more unified; many volunteers joined the Revolutionary Guards, and a new and virtually self-sacrificing paramilitary force, called *Basij* (Mobilization) was launched.[376] Now the teenager boys who had participated the demonstrations during the revolution with plastic rifles in their hands, were voluntarily in the fronts for war (Figure 6.13, Figure 6.14).[377] Although the war had long-lasting consequences on people, having lost their families on war, it expanded state in many ways.[378] The regime launched expansive campaigns in the media and everywhere on the walls of the cities, to praise the clergy and fight against the "cultural imperialism." On the walls of the cities, martyrs ordered: "My Sister, your veil is more powerful than my blood. Signature: the martyr."[379] The walls that were the contest terrain of competing ideologies in the course of the revolution became the monopolistic terrain for the propaganda of the ruling ideology. While the streets and public squares bearing reference to Pahlavis were given new designations; furthermore newspapers, books, movies, and airwaves were censored and the textbooks of the educational system were totally rewritten (Figure 6.15); the secular pattern of the books were reformed according to the principles of the Islamic regime.[380] Indeed the traces of the old regime were to be erased from the public

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[376] "The army showed its loyalty to the revolutionary regime by effective participation in the war. The heroism and the quest for martyrdom of the Basiji boys became a daily event."
Katouzian, Homa. The Persians: ancient, medieval, and modern Iran. Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 2009, p.343
[377] Chelkowski, Peter & Hamid Dabbashi. Staging A Revolution: The Art of Persuasion in the Islamic Republic of Iran. New York University Press, New York, 1999, p.163
[378] At the time, it was thought that Iran suffered more than 1 million dead. But government spokesman later gave the figure of 160,000 killed in battle, 30,000 later died from war related wounds, 16,000 civilians were killed in the bombing of the cities, more than 39,000 suffered permanent injuries – many of them from gas and chemicals attacks – 23,000 post-traumatic stress disorder.
Abrahamian, Ervand. A History of Modern IRAN. Cambridge University press, New York, 2008, pp.171-176
[379] Kar, Mehrangiz. Death of a Mannequin. Ed By: Lila Azam Zanganeh. My Sister, Guard Your Veil, My Brother, Guard Your Eyes. Beacon Press, Boston, 2006, p.33
[380] Abrahamian, Ervand. A History of Modern IRAN. Cambridge University press, New York, 2008, p.177
To better comprehend the social atmosphere of fear in those days Iran, it is useful to add some other figures that were killed by the state for political reasons, to the people who died in war.
From February 1979, till June 1981, revolutionary court executed 497 political opponents. In the next four years revolutionary courts executed more than 8,000 opponents. The victims included Mojahedin, Fedayins, Kurds, as well as Tudeh, National Front, and Ayatollah Shariatmadari supporters – were forced to appear on television and recant their previous views.

sphere; from the urban environment, to the books, to the private spaces of the houses, and other institutions.

Due to the rise of population in the aftermath of the revolution, Tehran's urban land expanded in a rapid and uncontrolled rate. The rise of population with the rising demand for housing was a consequence of some post-revolutionary and post-war phenomena; firstly immediately after the Shah's fall, migrant groups from villages rushed to Tehran to harvest the fruit of their revolution and camped in Tehran's main squares to receive their share of 'free homes', job, and dignity. Secondly there was an influx of 2.5 million Iran-Iraq war refugees, and starting in mid 1980's, 2 million Afghans and thusurban population rise by 72 percent between 1976 and 1986.[381] In fact not all the migrants could receive what they hoped, and thus Tehran's streets vendors occupied the central sidewalks, especially around Tehran University, with stalls, selling books, newspapers, and cassettes of political speeches.[382] Although, as mentioned previously, Tehran was a dual city with rich in the north and poor in the south, the new middle class citizens of Tehran, living in central parts of the city and being neglected, played a pivotal and significant role in 1979 Revolution.[383] In fact an important dimension in understanding Tehran's transformation, is the size of this city, which has been a cause and an effect in rise of its population, and thus rise of its varying social pattern and socio-political conflicts. Since 200 years ago, when the city was first chosen as the capital, its population has grown 400 times, its area 142.5 times, and its density 2.8 times; which shows the urban fabric of this 600 km2 city as the direct

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Final bloodletting came in 1988. Immediately after Khomeini ended the war by accepting UN-mediated ceasefire. In four weeks special courts set up in the main prisons hanged more than 2,800 prisoners mainly from Mojahedin and Leftists. Their bodies were dumped into a desolate area known as *Kafarestan* (Land of Unbelievers) and *Lanatabad* (Land of Damned).

To unify his discipline further against the West, Khomeini issued his famous Fatwa against Salman Rushdie, who was a Muslim-born Indian, living in Britain, and the author of the book "Satanic Versus", and stated that he could lawfully be killed.

Within months, Grand Ayatollah Hossein Montazeri, who since the revolution had been groomed to be the next Supreme Leader, resigned in protest and went into retirement and become a non-person. (Ayatollah Montazeri became a heroic supportive figure for the Green Movement in 2009, an architect of the revolution and a critic of the regime, who died in December 2009)
Ibid, pp.181-182

[381] Bayat, Asef. "Tehran: Paradox City". New Left Review, 66, November – December 2010, pp.99-122, p.106

[382] Ibid, p.107

[383] Habibi, Mohsen & Bernard Hourcade. Atlas of Tehran Metropolis: Land & People. Publishers: Urban Planning & Processing Company, Tehran GIS Centre, Tehran Municipality, Tehran, 2005, p.E37

outcome of the process of political centralization and the economic transformations (Figure 6.16).[384]

Tehran metropolis with more than 6 million inhabitants was in a new phase of development with the revolution; the first consequence of revolution on Tehran's expansion was that the 25-year limit and the master plan were cancelled and thus illegal construction rapidly increased.[385] The migrated people from the rural areas, looking forward to receive their share of the housings, which were promised by Khomeini, and the illegal constructions caused by the cancellation of the master plan, caused a disproportional expansion and an explosion in the spatial body of Tehran, as well as newly developed unorganized suburbs. A comparative observation of the 1968 and 1992 maps of Tehran, reveals the expansion of the city to the west and south (Figure 6.17, Figure 6.18). During 1980's Tehran was under Iraqi air attacks and suffering from terrorist explosions, in which different areas of the city were damaged and many people were killed; thus an image of 1988 Tehran, depicts an increase rate of population, who were unemployed and suffering from economic, political and social crisis.[386] The charismatic leader, Khomeini died in 1989, and his appointed Constitutional Reform Council, named Khamenei as the next Supreme Leader of the country, and Rafsanjani became the president for eight years till 1997. It was the end of the revolutionary and war period in the country and a start of the reconstruction and normalization.

Aforementioned background of Tehran in modern times, alongside the new regulations added to the public sphere with the Islamic regime, have resulted in a complex and paradoxical urban entity. The boundaries drawn upon socio-spatial practices in Tehran's urban arena have affected its spatial layout and created an intricate urban system, which holds a visible side but an invisible and underground process of life cycle. There is an issue of separation of form and content in Iran, which started before the revolution, and reinforced by the revolution; what is seen, is not what it is.[387] Before the revolution, Iranian women dressed in modern style but were profoundly traditionalist, and today, women in Iran may look very traditional, because they wear the veil and have to behave in a certain way, but

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[384] Madanipour, Ali. Tehran; The making of a metropolis. John Willey and Sons Ltd. West Sussex, 1998, pp.109-111

[385] Habibi, Mohsen & Bernard Hourcade. Atlas of Tehran Metropolis: Land & People. Publishers: Urban Planning & Processing Company, Tehran GIS Centre, Tehran Municipality, Tehran, 2005, p.E37

[386] Madanipour, Ali. Tehran; The making of a metropolis. John Willey and Sons Ltd. West Sussex, 1998, pp.23-24

[387] Fakouhi, Nasser. "Paradoxical Teheran". Domus, March 2007, Issue 901, pp.46-59, p.49

in fact they are not at all.[388] This separation and clear split between form and content, due to the imposed cultures of modernism and Islamism, not in harmony with the existing social context of their times, is also visible in the urban socio-spatial practices. Tehran is a coexistence of differences in one body; a body that is not in harmony with its content, but on the other hand, reveals this coexistence through its obvious chaos.



Figure 6.1: a painting of the revolutionary struggle, after the 1979 Revolution
The painting shows the revolutionary slogans written on the wall in the last year of the Shah's regime.
Source: Chelkowski, Peter & Hamid Dabbashi. Staging A Revolution: The Art of Persuasion in the Islamic Republic of Iran. New York University Press, New York, 1999, p.109



Figure 6.2: A graffiti written in blood on the nameplate of Jaleh Square, after 1979 Revolution
With blood it is written "the Square of Martyrs", and obliterating the old name with a bloody handprint, and a photograph of Khomeini is stuck up beside the nameplate.
Source: Chelkowski, Peter & Hamid Dabbashi. Staging A Revolution: The Art of Persuasion in the Islamic Republic of Iran. New York University Press, New York, 1999, p.109

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[388] Ibid, p.49

Figure 6.3: A view of a street in Tehran, after the 1979 Revolution
The image shows the walls all pained in graffiti by the state to propaganda for Islam, martyrology, and the religious state. While during the course of revolution wall writings were a means of demonstrating the new regime, all the walls of Tehran were systematically used as displays of propaganda.
Source: Chelkowski, Peter & Hamid Dabbashi. Staging A Revolution: The Art of Persuasion in the Islamic Republic of Iran. New York University Press, New York, 1999, p.108



Figure 6.4: Tehran, 1979
A group of Iranian Women demonstrating against the enforced hijab that came with the Islamic Revolution.
Source: http://iran.fouman.com/Y/Picture_View-Iranian_Women_Demonstrating_Enforced_Hijab.htm
(visited: June 25, 2011)



Figure 6.5: morality police crack down, Tehran, 2008
In different phases of controlling the public spaces, usually in summers, Iran's morality police start a harsh stage of control as parts of campaigns against western-style clothing and hairstyles. The image shows the enforcement of those laws by police in a coffee shop in Tehran.
Source: http://www.payvand.com/news/08/jul/1055.html (visited: July 03, 2011)

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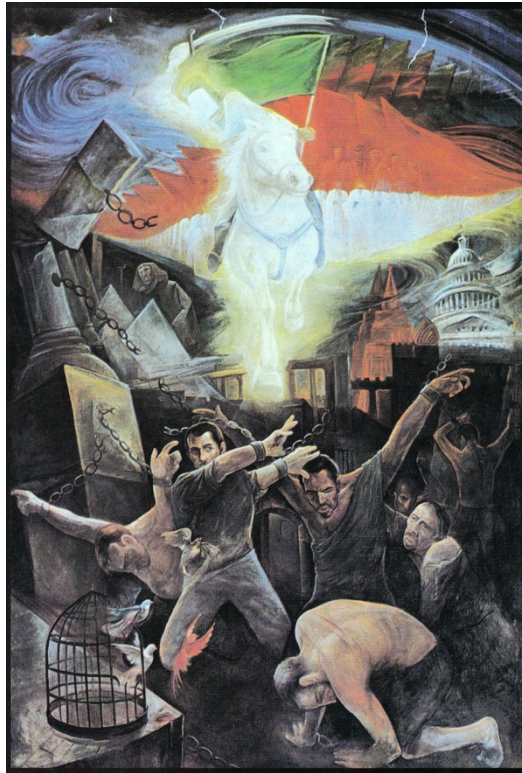
Figure 6.6: a painting showing the ideologies competing for power, during the course of the revolutionary movements.
It shows Shi'i martyrology as the supreme ideology that will save the poor and oppressed.
Source: Chelkowski, Peter & Hamid Dabbashi. Staging A Revolution: The Art of Persuasion in the Islamic Republic of Iran. New York University Press, New York, 1999, p.24



Figure 6.7: Fervor, 2000
A film by Shirin Neshat, which tells the story of a man and a woman who come across in a massive Friday Prayer, in which men and women are separated by curtain.
Source: http://www.vogue.it/en/vogue-starscelebsmodels/focus-on/2010/03/shirin-neshat (visited: March 25, 2011)

Figure 6.8: Tehran, February 04,2010
The image is from the Friday Prayers of February 04, 2010. The aerial view of Tehran University main campus in *Enqelab* Street shows the people filling the paths inside the campus, and exceeding the boundaries of the campus to the streets around it.
Source: http://farsi.khamenei.ir/photo-album?id=10950#124827 (visited: June 26, 2011)



Figure 6.9: Tehran, February 04, 2010
The image shows the view from Palestine Square and Imam Sadeq mosque, to Tehran University campus, which is closed to traffic and filled by people who attend the Friday prayers.
Source: http://farsi.khamenei.ir/photo-album?id=10950#124827 (visited: June 26, 2011)

Figure 6.10: Tehran, February 04,2010
Tehran University mosques, hosting the Friday prayers, lead by supreme leader, Khamenei. In the right the platform for press is visible. The Friday Prayers in Iran is more of a political act, rather than a religious one. After the 2009 presidency conflicts, the supporters of the regime, were invited to show their support in rallies after the Friday Prayers.
Source: http://www.leader-khamenei.com/picture/people-supporting-leader-pictures/1581-namaz-jome-15bahman89.html (visited: June 24, 2011)



Figure 6.11: Tehran, February 04, 2010
A top view from the Palestine Square, and Imam Sadeq mosque, showing the lines of the Friday prayers, temporarily transforming the identity of an urban square.
Source: http://farsi.khamenei.ir/photo-album?id=10950#124827 (visited: June 26, 2011)

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Figure 6.12: Map of the main site of Friday Prayers, 2005
The map shows the area around Tehran University, which is a highly active node of political movements in modern Tehran, and since the 1979 Revolution, this node has been used by the state to perform Friday Prayers. The Palestine Square and the road that connects the University Mosque to Al-Qadir Mosque is highlighted in the map.
Source: National Cartographic Center of Iran, Mehrabad, Tehran, Iran

Figure 6.13: Tehran, 1978-79
Teenager boys participating the demonstrations of 1979 Revolution, with images of Khomeini in their hands.
Source: http://fouman.com/Y/Picture_View-1979_Revolution_Children.htm (visited: June 30, 2011)



Figure 6.14: Children participation in war, 1980-1988 (Iran-Iraq war)
Boys who were only 12 years old, participated in war, while they were called by Khomeini. The image shows a boy in civilian clothes saying farewell to his friend, who is going to the front.
Source: Chelkowski, Peter & Hamid Dabbashi. Staging A Revolution: The Art of Persuasion in the Islamic Republic of Iran. New York University Press, New York, 1999, p.163
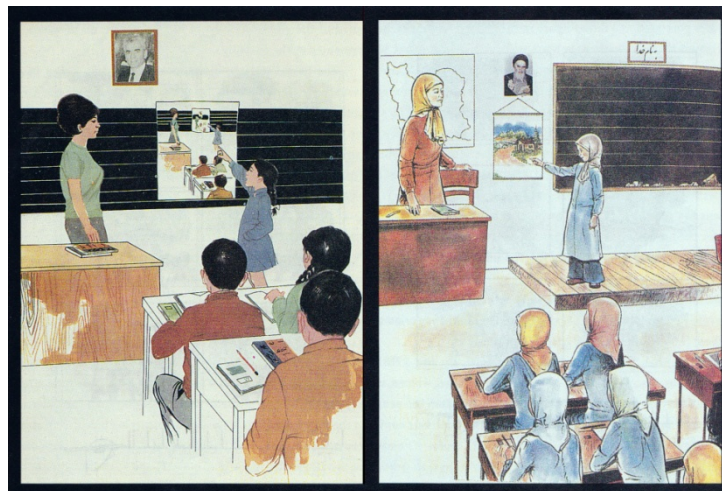


Figure 6.15: At left: Pre-Revolution school textbook, At right: Post-Revolution school textbook
As strategies of the new regime, further the purging of the education system, the school textbooks were changed. At right image of classroom there is a picture of Khomeini, at left there is a picture of Shah. At right above the blackboard it is written "in the name of God", at left there is nothing written. At right girls are drawn with hijab, and there are sexually segregated, but at left they are not.
Source: Chelkowski, Peter & Hamid Dabbashi. Staging A Revolution: The Art of Persuasion in the Islamic Republic of Iran. New York University Press, New York, 1999, p.129

Figure 6.16: Tehran's Urban Fabric, contemporary
The map shows the disproportional expansion of Tehran's urban fabric, which extends over 600 km2 to include all the previously separate settlements and suburban villages, and holds one fifth of country's urban population. It has extended to the foots of Alborz Mountains in the north and to the desert in the south.
Source: Madanipour, Ali. Tehran; The making of a metropolis. John Willey and Sons Ltd. West Sussex, 1998, p.110
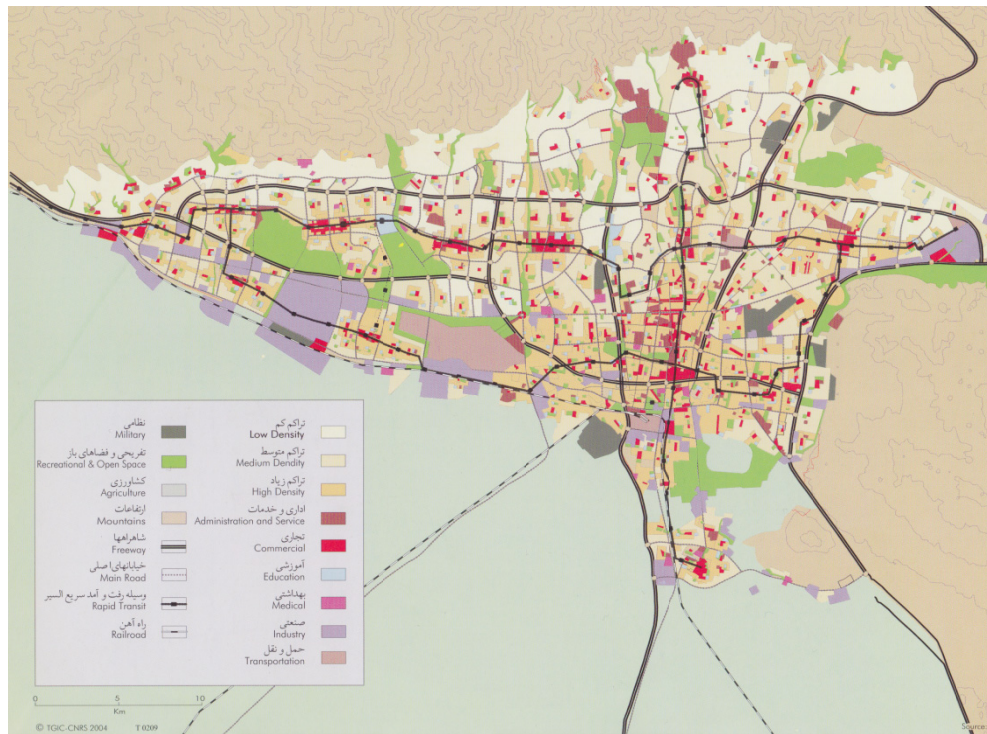
Figure 6.17: Tehran, 1968 map
The 1968 map of Tehran, showing the functional map, and the main roads.
Source: Habibi, Mohsen & Bernard Hourcade. Atlas of Tehran Metropolis: Land & People. Publishers:
Urban Planning & Processing Company, Tehran GIS Centre, Tehran Municipality, Tehran, 2005, p.74



Figure 6.18: The revised master plan of Tehran, 1992
The map of 1992 shows that after the 1979 Revolution with the cancellation of 25-year master plan of 1968,
the city has expanded south and west wards, disproportionally, and the more green areas are visible.
Source: Habibi, Mohsen & Bernard Hourcade. Atlas of Tehran Metropolis: Land & People. Publishers:
Urban Planning & Processing Company, Tehran GIS Centre, Tehran Municipality, Tehran, 2005, p.75

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## 6.2. The death of sociability or the birth of Islamic public sphere

Social function of urban planning brings up the question of the role of urban design within an Islamic socio-political context in modern era. While in the modern era public realm is equated with the realm of the state, then what can be the role of an Islamic state, established as a result of a revolution, in creating a new public space.[389] As an affirmation to Weber's approach to bureaucracy as the universal feature of modern societies and its separation and independence form the religion, it can be observed that the religious state in Iran, has not been able to insert religion into planning.[390] Iranian state, as the world's only official theocracy, has the religion as the core of governance structure, but surprisingly, while scriptural sources do not discuss the matters of administration and planning in detail, Islamic principles have not influenced the culture of planning directly.[391] The point to highlight here is that, the Islamic regime could not totally change the urban planning principles, but in contrary it diminished the previous locus of sociability and instead expanded ways of religious sociability and later with some Islamic reformist approaches, the state opened up natural facilities mainly in Tehran, to provide public spaces. The public urban spaces, as spaces that can be easily patrolled and controlled to set the new social rules, are the most sophisticated realm of reign for the ruling regime.

Clearly, the body of Tehran was not opposed to a re-building, but it was modified into a scene that was appropriated by the state to visualize its principles. While the city, in its very nature, was a modern city, western names and symbols, bars, night-clubs, and red-light districtswere diminished to erase the traces of the western culture from the streets and squares; the walls and centers of streets and squares were replaced by political graffiti, murals, posters and placards.[392] A familiar sight in the urban space of Tehran, the megalopolis of fifteen million inhabitants and the world's third largest city in terms of urban growth, is the public murals on various high-rises, which represent the local ideological struggle of the system, and are manifestations of visions, accounts, and realities of a unique

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[389] Madanipour, Ali. Public and Private Spaces of the City. Routledge Press, London, 2003, p.173
[390] Tajbakhsh, Kian. Planning Culture in Iran: Centralization and Decentralization and Local Governance in the Twentieth Century (The Case for Urban Management and Planning). Ed by: Bishwapriya Sanyal. Comparative Planning Cultures. Routledge Press, New York, 2005, p.78
[391] Ibid, pp.78-79
[392] Bayat, Asef. "Tehran: Paradox City". New Left Review, 66, November – December 2010, pp.99-122, p.108

society in the process of (un)making and (re)defining itself.[393] The walls of Tehran were already filled with enormous amount of graffiti inscribed with the very voice of people, demonstrating people's demand for a just regime(Figure 6.19); while they remained intact till late 1980's, the mayor of Tehran whitewashed public surfaces and adorned them with 'beautiful murals', to bring urban betterment to the capital.[394]

> "Architecturally, the earlier graffiti were at eye-level and accessible. Fluid both in form and meaning, they could mutate overnight. In contrast, these contemporary murals are placed at the uppermost vertical space of the city; they are remote, fixed, and static both in form and meaning."[395]

The revolutionary graffiti,appearing as the result of the voice of masses, were erased from the urban arena, and replaced by designed ones, selected by the ruling authority, while cleaning the traces of the unwanted effective wings of the same revolution. The murals of the post-revolutionary regime are painted on the side facades of the public or private tall buildings, in a position that would be observable from the main streets, from far distances. In addition, the buildings symbolizing a specific power were treated, to serve for the propaganda of the mentality of the ruling power (Figure 6.20). As it can be observed in the image provided here, the walls of the former U.S Embassy in Tehran, has been filled with anti-American graffiti after the hostage crisis in 1979. The mural of the 'Great Satan' shows the liberty statue with a skeleton face, with U.S flag at the background, covering the map of Iran with barbed wire. The Anti-American propaganda was an appealing category of murals of the Islamic regime, stressing the evilness of the other. Z. Pamela Karimi, an expert of post-revolutionary Iran, believes that the proliferation of murals roots in an attempt to Islamicize the city's architecture without razing buildings; therefore unlike other forms of Persian art, architecture remained intact.[396] Through murals, the buildings were mostly rescued from being diminished, while the meanings of the existing buildings were redefined through them.

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[393] Grigor, Talin. "(Re)Claiming Space: the Use/Misuse of Propaganda Murals in Republican Tehran". International Institute of Asian Studies Newsletter, 28, Amsterdam, August 2002, p.37
[394] Ibid, p.37
[395] Ibid, p.37
[396] Voeten, Teun. "Parsing Tehran; Mottos and martyrs flank the streets of Iran's capital". ID (New York, N.Y.), 53, no 6, September/October 2006, pp.38-39

The anti-American sentiment of the regime is visible on the buildings that do not hold symbolic value, and are just providing a full view due to their position and height (Figure 6.21). The mural is painted on the side façade of a hotel, located besides the Armenian St. Sarkis Church, in Karimkhan Street in Tehran. The graffiti represents the American flag, with skeleton heads in the place of starts, and the red strips turning into bombs. Alongside the English slogan, writing "Down with the USA", the Farsi text, reads: "Death to America" and the next sentence from Khamenei, reads: "Even not for a second we will side with America". Perhaps reflecting and recalling the social unity of the revolution, the narrative of these paintings evoked the perpetual dehumanization of the revolutionary 'other'.[397] As it can be observed, the painting is placed in a crowded wide avenue, in a position, that is visible from many locations. Another category in murals used in public spaces in Iran is the one's that legitimize the presence of *Faqih* (jurisprudent); Khomeini and Khamenei. There can be seen several paintings around the city which shows the two jurisprudents (supreme leaders), one overlapping each other; both in black turban and mantle (Figure 6.22).An ideological and a temporal compression from the past to the present, graphically legitimizing the leadership of Ayatollah Khamenei today by the late Ayatollah Khomeini is depicted through this category of murals.[398] The image provided here is from *7'e Tir* Street in Tehran, holding murals of Khomeini and Khamenei, and Beheshti – a religious figure of revolutionary days -, in large-scale, situated at a point that is not only on a crowded street, but at the place of an overpass, and the focal point that people stay a while, waiting for taxi or buses. Urban integration with the religious and political standpoint of the state, started with a strategic use of walls of the streets and facades of the buildings as boards of representing the position of the ruling authority.

The demolition of public spaces was not the only strategy that lead to the death of public life in that era; in addition the erosion of cultural public codes, such as the "street-corner sub-culture", in which young men gather to socialize and pass time was lost by state forces who patrolled the streets with guns to enforce the new moral laws.[399] The functions of the streets were to be patrolled, while on the other hand, they were to be loaded with a different identity, by changing their names and colors. The names of the streets were changed to the names, starting with *Shahid* (Martyr), while the war with Iraq had produced martyrs from almost every street of the city, and the bright colors had suddenly disappeared

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[397] Grigor, Talin. "(Re)Claiming Space: the Use/Misuse of Propaganda Murals in Republican Tehran". International Institute of Asian Studies Newsletter, 28, Amsterdam, August 2002, p.37
[398] Ibid, p.37
[399] Bayat, Asef. "Tehran: Paradox City". New Left Review, 66, November – December 2010, pp.99-122, p.108

from city's visual landscape, and replaced by black and grey, embodied in women's chadors and men's beard.[400] In a general view of Palestine Square in Tehran (Figure 6.23), it can be observed that the central statue of the Square as well as the murals on the huge side facades of the buildings promotes Iran as a liberator of occupied territories and as an unwavering supporter of the Palestinian cause. The center of the square includes a sculpture that represents the fissured map of Palestine, a Palestinian fighter, and a mother holding her deceased son, while the vertical mural commemorates Shaykh 'Abbas Musavi, who was killed by Israelis in 1992.[401] The point is that although these murals are colorful, but they generally represent death and war. While natives are habituated to these illustrations of ayatollahs and revolutionary slogans, but an outsider might find them heartbreaking and depressing.[402] This urban node is loaded with one of the categories of the mottos of the state, in all its aspects, from the statue, to the murals, and it reveals how the graphics and statues are used as instruments to politicize the public spaces and enforce the religious rhetoric of those spaces. In short, even if not much sensible in terms of the physical layout, but the character of the city was opposed to a top bottom forceful shift, through interventions into the existing norms of public spaces.

The traditional religious spaces of the Iranian towns, with the common, ancient aim of providing a space to worship, gather, and socialize, were loaded with a much more strong role in the new state; while they were now to be used as an almost political institution, rather than traditional ones. The mobilization and transformation to reconstruct a public sphere - that was almost abandoned under oppression and war - occur as re-drawing the borders between religious and political and moving it within urban space; and as a consequence, religious sociability emerged as the area of innovation and permanence.[403] Religious sociability costumes mainly derived from Shia Islam, such as *Ashura* ceremonies, pious gatherings of men (*Hey'at*), and women (*Jalaseh*) were expanded as the legal grounds of sociability.[404] *Ashura* ceremonies were among the rare occasions for which people could gather in the streets around mosques and hold the ceremonies. It could be observed that

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[400] Ibid, p.108

[401] Gruber, Christiane. "The message is on the wall: Mural arts in post-revolutionary Iran". Persica, 22, 2008, pp.15-46, p.18
http://aschcenter.smugmug.com/Other/Christiane-Gruber-
Visualizing/16162622_4K9Lv/2/1213624226_Frcnj#1213623478_5TUuj (visited: July 01, 2011)

[402] Voeten, Teun. "Parsing Tehran; Mottos and martyrs flank the streets of Iran's capital". ID (New York, N.Y.), 53, no 6, September/October 2006, pp.38-39

[403] Adelkhah, Fariba. Trans. from the French By: Jonathan Derrick. Being Modern in Iran. Columbia University Press, New York, 2000, p.110

[404] Ibid, p.109

young girls and boys, especially in Tehran, dressed fashionably in mourning style, would gather in those nights and use the occasion to socialize (Figure 6.24, Figure 6.25). *Hey'at* and *Jalaseh* were usually held at private homes and people who were attending those ceremonies have to be invited; women use the gatherings to become acquainted with their neighbors and talk about different issues. The feast of sacrifice is now more and more in the public space, through media and it is converted to an important social event in the country. These examples, along side the Friday Prayers, as another form of Islamic public sphere, depict the fact that while the private spaces of the homes were used by a part of the society, specifically the young, to perform their oppressed social activities, they are at the same time used by the other religious side to socialize within their own circle. Therefore it seems that public and private interplay of ancient Persian homes has displayed a new character in modern era for both traditional and modern class; in other words, it seems that a new public realm has flourished within the private realm.

The other public spaces expanded by the government, in post-revolutionary Iran, were public parks. Public parks and green open spaces, as true public spaces and the scene of different social practices, were expanded as an extension of the Persian tradition of garden making. Alongside the numerous huge parks all around the city of Tehran, the squares laid out between houses, often abandoned during the Revolution, especially at the center of crossroads, were systemically planted, lightened and children's play area, benches and fountains were provided in them (Figure 6.26).[405] The new municipal gardens and public parks, generated various everyday habits for Tehranis; people use parks extensively in Tehran, to rest, to have picnic, to look after children, to chat, to play sports, to follow artistic shows, to read newspapers on display, to watch open air films, to pray, to do shopping, to go after girls, or just to pass by (Figure 6.27).[406] Further more, the parks are used by different groups of people or social organization groups in Tehran to gather for social occasions; feminist groups have held various meetings in parks in recent years (Figure 6.28).[407] Above all, when there are more and more investment on stadiums, sport complexes, and parks, which are provided with different playing grounds for sports, and while such sportive activities are almost the only legal form of socialization - if one is not interested in religious socialization – then it is possible to observe a craze for sports in Tehran's public sphere. Sport is the object of public concern; volleyball, basketball, body-building, cycling, running

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[405] Ibid, pp.18-19
[406] Ibid, p.19
[407] An instance for those gatherings is the author's observation, from the gathering of Mourning Mothers in Laleh Park in Tehran, which lead to their arrest in 2010.

and walking sometimes on Friday mornings on the mountains that surround Tehran.[408] Going to stadium to watch the football match became an act of defeat for woman in their battle to gain their right of appearance in public spaces; the presence of women at the Azadi stadium during international football matches in the last days of the period of Khatami presidency became one of the important issues in the presidential election – which could not be repeated after the election of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, and military forces were ordered to remove women from the stadium by bus (Figure 6.29).[409]
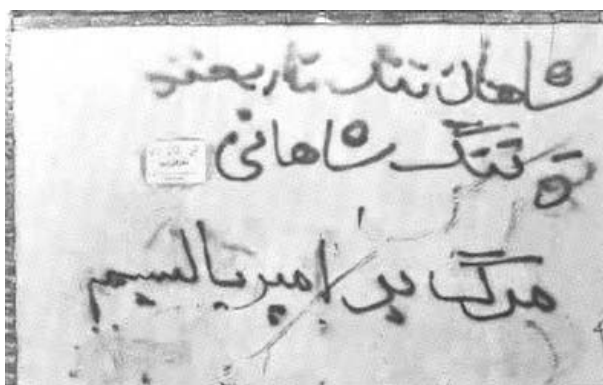


Figure 6.19: A wall in Tehran, 1978
"Kings are the disgrace of history; you are the most disgraceful king. Death to Imperialism." Wall writings of the course of the Revolution were at the eyelevel, expressing the voice of the masses, and remained intact till 1980's, and then were erased and replaced by the designed graffiti.
Source: *Rooz-haaye aatash, rooz-haaye khoon: gozaaresh-e msavvari az piroozi-ye enqelaab-e eslaami-ye iran*   Compiled by Karim Emami, Zamineh Publishers, Tehran, 1979.
http://www.iranian.com/Times/Subs/Revolution/1999/June/slogan.html (visited: June 02, 2011)



Figure 6.20: The walls of the former US Embassy, Tehran, post-revolutionary era
The walls of the former US Embassy, which was closed after the revolution, were covered with anti American graffiti, serving the tendencies of the ruling power. The image provides an example of the cases in which the space of the graffiti is chosen due to the symbolic values of a building.
Source: http://www.astreetjournalist.com/2010/11/21/tehran-murals-reflect-changing-times/ (visited: April 15, 2011)

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[408] Adelkhah, Fariba. Trans. from the French By: Jonathan Derrick. Being Modern in Iran. Columbia University Press, New York, 2000, p.140
[409] Amir-Ebrahimi, Masserat. "Conquering Enclosed Public Spaces". Cities, Vol. 23, No. 6, p. 455–461, 2006, p.461

Figure 6.21: Karimkhan Street, Tehran, post-revolutionary era
The view from Karimkhan Street in central Tehran, to a hotel and St. Sarkis Church, shows the anti-American sentiment of the regime in another space. The image provides an example of the cases in which the space of the murals are chosen due to the large size of the side façade and its height, which makes it visible from far distances.
Source: http://www.flickr.com/photos/nickmard/2599571357/sizes/z/in/pool-61816473@N00/ (visited: April 15, 2011)



Figure 6.22: *7'e Tir* Street, Tehran, post-revolutionary era
The image shows a view of a crowded street in Tehran, holding murals of Khomeini and Khamenei on the right, and Beheshti at the left.
Source: http://babakfakhamzadeh.com/site/index.php?k=26 (visited: July 01, 2011)

Figure 6.23: Palestine Square, Tehran, post-revolutionary era
Another familiar view of Tehran's squares, with murals, and statues, representing the ideology of the state.
Source: http://aschcenter.smugmug.com/Other/Christiane-Gruber-Visualizing/16162622_4K9Lv/2/1213624226_Frcnj#1213623478_5TUuj (visited: July 01, 2011)



Figure 6.24: Zafar Street in northern Tehran, Jan.30 2007
Ashura mourning ceremonies, provide a space of socialization and public event for the young in Tehran. Citizens and especially young people look for socialization and public gathering beyond the limits of the private home parties, in the city squares and streets, even in a religious mourning occasion.
Source: http://payam7424.multiply.com/journal/item/92 (visited: April 15, 2011)



Figure 6.25: Ashura ceremonies, Tehran
People who are religious or non-religious occupy the streets during Ashura ceremonies. There is less surveillance in these days, so young people use at as the excuse to stay in the streets till late at nights without being patrolled.
Source: http://angizeh.blogfa.com/post-670.aspx (visited: April 15, 2011)
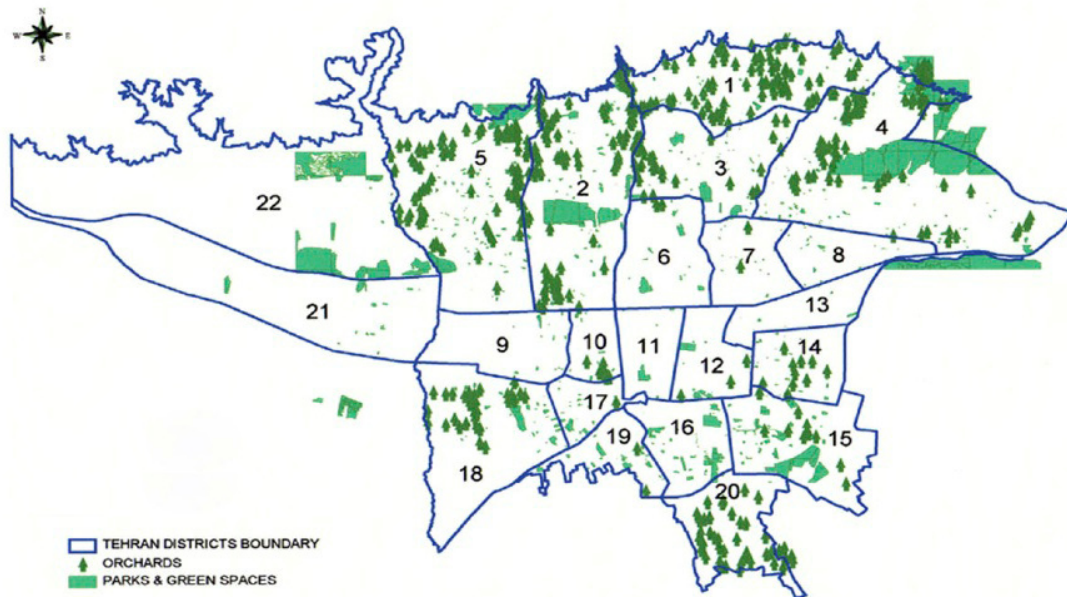
Figure 6.26: Tehran parks- orchards and green spaces location map, 2005
The map indicates the special distribution of parks, orchards and green spaces in Tehran. This location map shows that parks and green spaces occupy a low percentage of Tehran's designated green space, but in comparison to pre-revolution Tehran, today there are more parks.
Source: Asadi, Ali. ROLE OF GREEN SPACE IN SUSTAINABLE URBAN ENVIRONMENT: A CASE OF TEHRAN (IRAN), Tehran University
http://www.ictcsociety.org/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=nGM3v5eAjk4%3D&tabid=129&mid=548 (visited: July 02, 2011)



Figure 6.27: Laleh Park, Tehran, post-revolutionary era
Although, the formal code of conduct prohibits hanging out for non-married couples, parks in Tehran are always the scene of young couples strolling while holding hands, which is a sin according to Sharia. The parks have become spaces of recreation, sports, socialization, and in general relatively open and free spaces.
Source: http://kamangir.net/2007/10/ (visited: April 15, 2011)

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Figure 6.28: Laleh Park, Tehran, 2009
The "Mothers of Laleh Park", gather in this park, each Saturday, and sit together for a while. It is chosen because it is the nearest park to where Neda Agha Soltan was shot in protest. Every Saturday since June 2009 they gather, and today some of the activists who give supports to this movement have been arrested.
Source: http://nesahoseiny.blogspot.com/2009_08_01_archive.html (visited: April 15, 2011)



Figure 6.29: (Top) Azadi (Freedom) Stadium, Tehran, 2005
Iranian women right activists, in opposition, to being avoided from entering the football match, have gathered in the western entrance of the stadium with placards of "half of the freedom is my share", "how many steps to the freedom?" They stress the contradictory identity of this space, being named as Freedom, and banning the presence of women. Stadiums are instances of the spaces in which women are excluded.
Source: http://nasiriphotos.com/gallery/?j=7&q=87 (visited: July 02, 2011)
(Bottom) Isfahan, 2010
In the occasion of the Asian men's handball championship, which was held in Isfahan, the issue of the presence of women in stadiums was once again on the stage. In the first day women could enter the stadium, but in the second day they were avoided from entering and watching the games. Women gathered outside the stadium to show their aggression to being excluded from a specific public space.
Source:http://zanefarda.ir/1389/05/آی-مادران-علت-منع-ورود-دوره-زنان-به-ورزشگاه/ (visited: July 02, 2011)

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## 6.3. Interrelation of public and private life in Iran

To raise question about both the politics in and politics of public space it is vital to examine the way boundaries between private and public, material and metaphorical, are constructed, contested, and continually reconstructed.[410] In the case of a society that has gone through a deep socio-political change and a war in just one decade of its recent past, and has been under oppression of varying bipolar elements of social behavior, such as religion, making the boundaries of private and public life clear, becomes a very complex issue that brings together different realms of discourse. The argument over the boundaries of public and private life in contemporary Iran and their interrelation and existing condition as an outcome of the 1979 Revolution under an Islamic state with its own regulations, class and gender issues, should be based on the roots of the cultural policies of Islamization. The post-revolutionary state in Iran, with its attempt to halt the modernization process of the country and popularize the Islamic culture in every field of the social life, could not indeed transform the society deeply and make the aimed rupture in its cultural traditions, but it oppressed the social life, in a way that what was over ground once, was now underground.

The blurred boundaries of private and public life, alongside the boundary between state and civil society raise as a debate around 1990's by some intellectuals to question the relation of the Iranians with the modernity and question the legitimacy of the ruling clerics (Figure 6.30).[411] Art, with its different forms and aspects, started to search for a space of appearance within the urban environment. Indeed with the death of Khomeini, and with the election of Rafsanjani as the president in 1989, and at the time when the cultural policies were quite restrictive and when the gap between the early promises of the Islamic state over even distribution of wealth and the reality of the society appeared, the reform movements by young politicians started to show up.[412] But it was not till the time of election of Khatami, a reformist candidate, as the president in 1997, that the term "civil society" (*jame-i madani*) moved to the center of the political debate in Iran.[413] Since the days of election campaign of that year, to which for the first time after the revolution, especially women and young people, gave Tehran a carnival atmosphere and alongside the enthusiasm of the citizen-

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[410] Mitchell, Don. "Introduction: Public Space and the City". Urban Geography 17(2), pp. 127-131, 1996, p.128

[411] Khiabany, Gholam. Iranian Media; The Paradox of Modernity. Routledge Press, New York, 2010, pp.122-123

[412] Ibid, p.124

[413] Ibid, p.125

soccer-fans, there started the creation of a real public space, if not a civil society.[414] The mobilization of the young and reformist masses of the society found the chance to occur for the first time in post-revolutionary period in those days. Adelkhah explains the evidences of creation of a new public space that could be found through observation of the society as follows: rationalization and bureaucratization of more and more features of daily life, the craze of sports among all categories of people, modernization of the religious sphere, development of private enterprise, the birth of urban culture, social activism among women, the stress on individual autonomy, respect for legal and other regulations.[415] In short, the election of Khatami, was a change in the direction of the contemporary history of Iran, and thus in the country's history of architecture and urban space. A wave of social changes, which were largely owed to increased well-being, the diffusion and expansion of means of communication, the growth of overseas tourism, the return of millions of Iranian from exile in western countries, and the great young population of the country, lead to a search of a new identity in any field as well as architecture; an identity, no longer linked to a legendary national history but rather derived from a strong sense of belonging to the international community.[416]

Above all the architectural debates in which there is an attempt to praise and fetishize the historic division between private and public space in Iran (traditionally referred to as *andaruni* and *biruni*)[417], contemporary Iranian society lives in a different reading of the public-private division; while the post-revolutionary state accentuated that division and the codes it generated regarding conduct in public space, the visual artists in Iran, played with those rigid codes, to make space for their works while attaining the spirit of their time to

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[414] Fariba Adelkhah, Iranian senior researcher at the Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales in Paris, who have lived in France since 1977, notes that even twenty years after the 1979 Revolution the Islamic Republic of Iran remains a subject of misunderstanding, passion, and polemic. It remains little known because of the difficulties of access for researchers and journalists.
Adelkhah, Fariba. Trans. from the French By: Jonathan Derrick. Being Modern in Iran. Columbia University Press, New York, 2000, pp.1-3

[415] As a young, living in the urban atmosphere of Tehran in those days, I would say that doing sports in sport halls and also joining sport activities in public spaces specifically urban parks, was the very common public activity of the young people in that era. A very common scene during a walk around the city would be watching young girl and boys playing volleyball, badminton, or basketball in the parks.
Ibid, p.1

[416] Afshar Naderi, Kamran. "Paradoxical Teheran". Domus, March 2007, Issue 901, pp.46-59, p.53

[417] In the architecture of traditional Persian houses, *Andaruni* was the private realm, with the walls and inner rooms to protect the family from the spaces of the home that were used for guests or home gatherings. *Biruni*, in contrast to Andaruni, was the public realm of the house.

those spaces.[418] They transformed abandoned homes to studio galleries; they made exhibitions in the mosque of Bazaar – a focal point of the revolution and one of the most symbolically loaded sites of Tehran. Two visual artists used empty spaces of a modernist building in Tehran to place an installation about access to public space and freedom of expression (Figure 6.31).[419] The transformation in the public sphere due to the revolution and the emergence of Islamized social law, banned many social activities, among which art was censored as well, and there was a lack of public space for such activities; nevertheless the artists started to appropriate the previous private spaces, for their public activities. Sometimes the garages of the private houses were used to host exhibitions that could not get the permission of display from the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance.[420] Those spaces of the homes or private garages, or gardens in the suburb are also used for performance of music bands or theatres (Figure 6.32). These stories provide instances of the re-drawing of the public-private boundary of the space in Iran and re-loading functions to those spaces.

Above all, the outcome of limitations put upon the public activities, did not result in a full destruction of the public life; but it over-privatized the urban life. The character of public space as a space of, and for, control, got very intense in the post-revolutionary Iranian case.[421]For that reason the urban public life, pushed the limits of the private life and reshaped itself in the private territories. The activities that are normally supposed to take place in public arena moved into the boundaries of private life. The alternative solutions to the problem of oppression arose naturally in the Iranian cities, and the cities placed the forbidden in their unseen layers. When the public display of pleasure is not only disapproved but also punishable, life behind closed doors becomes the only way out the condition.[422] In other words at the time that the very normal activities are forbidden, being a criminal appears as the only way to feel normal.[423] The popular debate over what is called the "underground" urban life in Tehran is an outcome of the mentioned factors (Figure 6.33).

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[418] Azimi, Negar. Don't Cry for me America. Ed By: Lila Azam Zanganeh. My Sister, Guard Your Veil, My Brother, Guard Your Eyes. Beacon Press, Boston, 2006, p.108

[419] Ibid, pp.108-109

[420] (*Vezarat-e Farhang va Ershad-e Eslami*) is the ministry of culture, form that all the publications, art exhibitions, movies, and any product of art could get permission in order to be publicized.

[421] Mitchell, Don. "Introduction: Public Space and the City". Urban Geography 17(2), pp. 127-131, 1996, p.130

[422] Abdoh, Salar. Tehran Underground. Ed By: Lila Azam Zanganeh. My Sister, Guard Your Veil, My Brother, Guard Your Eyes. Beacon Press, Boston, 2006, p.122

[423] Effendi, Rena. "Young in Tehran (Portfolio)". Megalopolis: The City of the 21st Century. World Policy Journal, Winter 2010-2011, p.75

"We shuffled through narrow corridors and pushed aside portable walls. We kept going down, passing through a dank cellar, skipping over what looked like a domestic toilet but was basically a giant hole in the ground. When I asked the same guide why we were going so far below the street level, he laughed and said that unlike the other cities of this world, in Tehran it was the humans, not the rats, who lived underground. Then he opened a door and I understood."[424]

A Tehran traveler explains a bar in Tehran, with some private rooms as mentioned above. The bar is located underground in a maze like structure of some parts of a house; A mystifying aspect of the urban life of the city, where it is not easy to comprehend whether to identify that space as public or private. What matters is to understand the way the centuries-old Iranian obsession with privacy is now consumed in the lack of appropriate public spaces. Behind the closed doors, inside Tehran, in almost any part of the city, or just in the suburb in the expansive shaded gardens, there is another life going on, different than the tense, oppressed life on the surface of the city. There is another realm of public life in Iran, not just in Tehran but also in ski resorts and the Caspian waterfront, where a sexual revolution is happening, where young Iranian drop ecstasy, host backroom orgies, and spend many nights of the week with vodka, opium, caviar; in the spaces they feel more safe, where they are patrolled less frequently by young policemen who revel in the sense of power breaking up parties grant them.[425] Still it remains a matter of debate whether these semi-public spaces inside the boundaries of private properties, hold the characteristics of public life or not. Under watch of a conservative ruling system, not only the entertainment has to be moved behind the closed doors, but also it can be observed that the young intellectuals (intellectual work is another matter of question in the context of a modern-Islamic society),[426] have to hold their poetry, literature or art critic gatherings and discussions in private; while the

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[424] Abdoh, Salar. Tehran Underground. Ed By: Lila Azam Zanganeh. My Sister, Guard Your Veil, My Brother, Guard Your Eyes. Beacon Press, Boston, 2006, p.123
[425] Moaveni, Azadeh. Sex in the Time of Mullahs. Ed By: Lila Azam Zanganeh. My Sister, Guard Your Veil, My Brother, Guard Your Eyes. Beacon Press, Boston, 2006, pp.55-58
[426] For more debate on Intellectuals space of activity in the context of contemporary Iran, as a modern society with Islamic rule, refer to:
Sreberny, Annabelle & Gholam Khiabany. "Becoming Intellectual: The Blogestan and Public Political Space in The Islamic Republic". British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, December 2007, Vol. 34(3), pp.267-286

restaurants or cafés will not be safe or rather does not have the possibility to serve and hold their gathering as they wish (Figure 6.34).[427]

The socio-spatial practices of Tehran, draw an image of an intertwined and at the same time, harshly separated public and private dichotomy. The vitality of a discussion about public and private spatial boundaries, and the reason behind their existence, is that, it provides a tool to understand the way this urban entity and its architectural characteristics have been formed. Although Tehran Municipality in post-revolutionary state, draw its first plan, covering the period of 1996-2001, with a concern of main problems of the city in terms of economic development, expansion, pollution, transportation, and bureaucracy, and draw a vision of ideal city with mottos of 'a clean city', 'a moving city', 'a green city', 'a cultural city', 'a dynamic city', and 'a traditional and modern city', but nevertheless the plan did not intend to deal with difficult social and political challenges of the city.[428] The cultural, political, and social divide that keeps the city, and thus the country, in the stage of instability, did not face a solution. Although the new plan of the city aimed to deal with some social and cultural aspects of the Tehran urban environment, but it did not aim to bring a new order for 'a democratic city' or 'a just city', while these are seen as the problem of the central government, not the municipality.[429] As a result, while the physical environment of the city has gone through improvements, but it does not respond sufficiently to the underlying conflict of the town, which rises from the contradiction between what the state foresees for the citizens, and what their life style in reality is.

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[427] To be able to observe a part of the atmosphere of public life of Tehran today, in a city that almost 70 percent of its population is under the age of 30, "My Tehran, For Sale", can be watched. An underground movie, narrating the underground life of Tehran, directed by Granaz Moussavi, which shows the life of a young female actress in Tehran who has to have a secret life in underground theatres in order to express her artistic passion; while her social life is also an underground life style.
[428] Madanipour, Ali. Tehran; The Making of a Metropolis. John Wiley & Sons Ltd, West Sussex, 1998, pp.213-215
[429] Ibid, p.215

Figure 6.30: Tehran, post-revolutionary era
Widely considered the founder of Iranian street art, A1one infuses his work in stencils and stickers with a political slant. He directly engages with such issues as the influence of the West (he parodies ads for Western companies) and a burgeoning revolutionary spirit. In a nod to Banksy's tagging figures, the artist above writes, "Painting is not crime."
Source: http://www.bootsnall.com/articles/10-06/the-worlds-best-cities-for-viewing-street-art.html (visited: April 16, 2011)



Figure 6.31: Census project, Chamran Expressway, Tehran, 2003
This environmental art project, created by Neda Razavipour and Shahab Fotouhi, is placed on the facade of the chosen building stands facing Chamran Expressway, one of the most important expressways of Tehran. This expressway was constructed 30 years ago to connect south and north of Tehran. Portraits of citizens were installed within the window frames of an incomplete 28-story building's front facade. In the oppressed and active contradictory urban environment of Tehran, this artwork can be considered as the representation of the city.
Source: http://www.nedarazavipour.com/Home/projects/census.aspx (visited: July 04, 2011)

Figure 6.32: Tehran, recent years
The image shows a stable in Tehran, in which a rock music band is practicing music. They use the abandoned and unsuitable spaces to attract less attention and avoid being arrested.
Source: http://mehrdadclub.com/archives/965 (visited: April 28, 2011)



Figure 6.33: Halloween party, Tehran, 2010
Houses with large spaces, host several parties. They create an underground life in Tehran, which is quite different than the one outside the private boundaries. They create a different kind of public space and space of socialization.
Source: http://zirzameen.com/blog2/blog1.php/2010/10/31/halloween-party-in-tehran (visited: April 25, 2011)



Figure 6.34: Ekbatan, Tehran, 2007
The image shows an underground rock music band, named 127, in Tehran. In the lack of appropriate spaces, they use the basement of an apartment in Ekbatan. As it can be observed they have appropriated the basement to fulfill their need.
Source: http://www.7sang.com/mag/2007/12/14/interview-underground_music_rock_127band.html (visited: April 13, 2011)

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## 6.4. A new public realm flourished within the private realm

"These are strange times, my dear

They slit smiles off of lips

And song from the throat.

Joy must be hid in closets at home."[430]

- Ahmad Shamlou

Through a narrative of everyday life in Iran, it is possible to demonstrate the development of a grassroots and unorganized movement of the citizens in defeating the state's violation of joy and its effort to institutionalize "anti-happiness."[431]In the absence of appropriate spaces for public activities, what emerged in the context of post-revolutionary Iran, was an erosion of the functions, bounded to the specific spatial properties. The politics of the emerging power, in transforming the public sphere, aimed to erase certain activities from public spaces, first by diminishing the spatial nodes of those activities. The conception of the society from the spatiality of urban locations on one hand, and the conceptions of the private spaces on the other hand, started to transform and melt into each other. At a time that the contradiction between what state and the ruling elite foresaw for the society and what the citizens chose as their life styles could not meet at a common point, there emerged the troublesome set of solutions for the very daily affairs of the citizens, or even for their socialization; a way out the limitations put upon public and private activities. The relevant aspect of this conflict between private and public spaces, due to the will of the state to transform a secular public sphere into an Islamized one, to the discussions of this study is that, it reveals the way urban design and architecture of a city is transformed through the reformation of its public activities.

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[430] A part of a poem by Ahmad Shamlou, the famous contemporary Iranian poet, named, "In This Blind Alley". Translated from Persian to English by, Saya Ovaisy. The poem is written in July 1979, five months after the Iranian Revolution.
http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/tehranbureau/2010/07/in-this-blind-alley.html (visited: March 28, 2011)
[431] Yaghmaian, Behzad. Social Change in Iran; An Eyewitness Account of Dissent, Defiance, and New Movements for Rights. State University of New York Press, Albany, 2002, p.3

Shortly after the war with Iraq, the population of the major cities, such as Tehran, increased, and a comparison of the population census in 1986 and 1991, shows that during this 5 years, the population in Tehran Province rose from 8.7, to 10.3 million; but even after the war and rehabilitation of the damaged cities, the population of Tehran was not reduced to the expected level (Figure 6.35).[432] Infrastructure and amenities of Tehran, even under an oppressive environment, encouraged the migrants of war, to stay. 1980's, covering the eight year war between Iran and Iraq – from 1980 to 1988 – is characterized as the period of absence of public space and invisibility of citizens in Iran; While new codes of appearance and behavior of the Islamic law has transferred Tehran to a "metropolitan *andaruni*", in addition to it, the war, caused most socio-cultural spaces to loose their primary function or got closed due to new regulations, and many leisure and cultural activities slipped into private spaces of the homes and took a new form in closed and underground spaces.[433] In other words the dislocation of the *andaruni,* from the private boundaries of homes to the vast urban spaces, has caused an enclosure within the public urban spaces.

To achieve a limited autonomy over public activities, which are limited by the ruling power, the alternative spaces for social actions, ideas, and even moralities emerged; Tehran's shopping malls, basement (playing rock), coffee shops as meeting places for the young people, the mountain retreat north of Tehran, are instances of those spaces.[434] There are nearly a hundred active underground music bands in Tehran, and they perform illegal concerts in basements or garages.[435] Going to shopping malls and coffee shops are the most popular public activities among young people in the evenings of Tehran, where there are not much public places for social activities (Figure 6.36, Figure 6.37). Urban presence alongside the need to escape from the surveillance has caused the emergence of urban or sub-urban environments for the "illegal acts" of the young and women.[436] Coffee shops, restaurants, parks, mountain resorts, and cars have formulated spaces for urban practices, with the hope of less surveillance. But all the search of people for spaces of socialization, do not mean that

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[432] Ferdowsian, Fereshteh. Modern and Traditional Urban Design Concepts and Principles in Iran. A thesis submitted in the Faculty for Architecture and Town Planning of the University of Stuttgart in accordance with the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Science, 2002, p.36
[433] Amir-Ebrahimi, Masserat. "Conquering Enclosed Public Spaces". Cities, Vol. 23, No. 6, p. 455–461, 2006, pp.456-457
[434] Khosravi, Shahram. Young and Defiant in Tehran. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2008, p.2
[435] Ibid, p.149
For a more detailed account of the process of making underground music and performing it in Tehran, refer to "No One Knows About Persian Cats", a movie directed by Bahman Ghobadi in 2009, about young Iranian musicians.
[436] Vahabi, Kianoosh. "Resorting to Privacy". Pages. February 2004, pp.13-17, p.16

there are real public spaces in Tehran; as Katouzian states, in Iran there are not public spaces, as understood in Europe, there are no agoras that citizens can meet there.[437] All the socio-political conflicts of the Iranian society, specifically in Tehran, where it is the central node of these conflicts, flow into the urban space, and where there is no space of action and tolerance for these conflicts, then there are no spaces for public.

Indeed this public realm, flourished with the unique nature of social experiment in Iran, is the common and overlapping ground between the realm of acceptance and realm of resistance in confrontation with a totalitarian regime.[438]At modern times, when public space becomes the space to move through and not to be in, and the idea of space as derivate from motion parallels the relations of space to motion produced by private automobiles,[439] the oppressed Iranian society's experience is different in some aspects. With the will of the government upon controlling people not to stay in the streets, and warning them not to gather or stay in shopping malls or streets, the act of not moving and being stable at a point in the street or other public domains has became an act of socialization and defiance by young people. While in the modern era streets were places for transportation and movement from one destination to another, and there were enough other public spaces, which aimed to create spaces for entertainment and gatherings, this pattern totally changed after the Islamic regime came to power. With the diminishing of entertainment spaces in public domain, and the insecure city life, under the pressure of Islamic rules, people started to feel more secure to be in public domain with cars; so streets are not only used to transport from one destination to another, but they started to be also used to see the city and meet people and socialize. In my opinion all these issues, engender the quality that is attributed to Tehran: vivacity. While it is observed that, even if a crossroad in Tehran does not function like a European square, with all the restaurants, cafes and infrastructure, it does teem with life; Tehran is dynamic, Tehran is moving (Figure 6.38, Figure 6.39, Figure 6.40).[440]

The strict gender segregation that is imposed upon public spaces, such as swimming pools, beaches, schools, and even some buses, and the watch of moral police in all the other spaces such as streets, and shopping malls, in which the segregation is not possible, has transformed some public spaces of the Iranian cities, into *andaruni* (traditional Persian

[437] Katouzian, Shahab. "Paradoxical Teheran". <u>Domus</u>, March 2007, Issue 901, pp.46-59, p.53
[438] Adelkhah, Fariba. Trans. from the French By: Jonathan Derrick. Being Modern in Iran. Columbia University Press, New York, 2000, pp.4-8
[439] Sennett, Richard. The Fall of Public Man. W.W. Norton & Company Press, New York, 1977, pp.14-15
[440] Mehrabani, Kaveh. "Paradoxical Teheran". <u>Domus,</u> March 2007, Issue 901, pp.46-59, p.55

private home space) (Figure 6.41).[441]*Andaruni* was the private realm of traditional Iranian houses, with the walls and inner rooms to protect the family from the spaces of the home that were used for guests or home gatherings. What is meant here is that, the segregation of sexes in some public spaces of the city and managing the streets and malls to watch the "moralities" of the citizens, has not only lead to an identity duality between the life in private and the life in public, but has also created an interplay and sometimes disposition of the public and private activities into each others spatial realms.

The Islamic regulations in post-revolutionary Iranian public spaces might have caused few interventions in the urban design principles of the cities, but they have been more effective in the architecture of some public buildings. The official policies of the gender segregation in public spaces have caused the elimination of some social experiences, which are not even contradictory to Islamic law.[442] Apart from the segregations inserted upon non-architectural elements of the urban life, such as buses, the segregation in buildings, have caused new typologies of design principles to fulfill the demand of the state and its regulations. The spaces of some universities, and some other governmental buildings reveal the aspiration of the designers to provide the physical structure for the emerging principles of the new system. Entrance spaces, and circulation areas have been doubled or divided into two different zones for two sexes; allocating separate stairways, corridors or halls for men and women.[443] Through urban alienation, segregation becomes commonplace in terms of class, neighborhood, profession, age, ethnicity, and sex.[444] Surprisingly in Tehran, as a city that has encountered a revolution in modern times - but from modern to traditional – the gender segregation is more visible than other types of segregations in design process, in contrast with the promise of the Revolution, which was to save the oppressed, and homogenize the society. The architectural design is applied to control and define the interaction of sexes, and minimize it.

The most basic architectural representation of gender segregation in public buildings in post-revolutionary Iran could be observed in the entrances of the buildings. In some of the buildings the entrance areas were doubled and crooked in a way that while the men entrance area is visible from outside, the women entrance area was closed and opposed

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[441] Khosravi, Shahram. Young and Defiant in Tehran. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2008, pp.46-47

[442] Vahabi, Kianoosh. "Resorting to Privacy". Pages. February 2004, pp.13-17, p.17

[443] Ibid, p.17

[444] Lefebvre, Henri. The Urban Revolution. Trans. By: Robert Bononno. Foreword by: Neil Smith. University of Minnesota Press, London, 2003, p.92

to a bend, to avoid being seen. In most of the separated entrances, in the women's entrance area there is one or usually more than one female guard, who will control the appearance of the women and warn them for their "inappropriate" dressing or avoid them entering the building, if they do not fit the dress codes of that particular space. In some cases, such as Airports, beside the women's entry, some sort of cabins are provided; if the dressing of the female traveler who wants to enter the airport is not suitable, they ask them to wear a proper one in those cabins. The entrance is loaded with a different meaning through this process, while entering becomes a troublesome and stressful process for women, and before entering the entrance area, women, check their own appearance to make sure that they will be able to enter that space, without trouble of being warned or being avoided to enter. This seems to be a part of the policy to exclude women from the public sphere in general, but it appears to be unsuccessful; with the great number of Iranian women in many public arenas such as universities, in which female students consist 63% of the total entrance to the universities.[445] Due to the rise in number of educated women, who will to work, and appear in public, women want an increasing share of public space, and at the moment they can not have it; for example a woman can not go to a hotel by herself, and she has to have a permission. Not to destroy the existing buildings, the buildings are manipulated, to serve for the new regulations of the state (Figure 6.42). The image shows the entrances of a university in Iran, which was planned to have one entrance from its central part, but it has been modified in the way that the central entrance door is closed and they have provided two doors, at two sides of the main entrance, for two sexes. This can be considered as an instance of intervention of the source of power into the built spaces, to appropriate them - avoiding a full demolition - according to their ideology.

Further to the segregation of the entrances of the public buildings, universities, airports, and many other spaces, which lead to an architectural intervention in terms of space hierarchy and organization, the recreation areas and the breathing spaces have been opposed to the most polarization and segregation. In universities while the classrooms and corridors are not separated, the recreation areas, libraries, and mess halls are separated. In the buildings of the universities, which are designed after the Revolution, the architect has provided separate reading halls in the library area, while in the design program of the projects, it is always mentioned that separate reading spaces or common-rooms need to be provided

[445] Amir-Ebrahimi, Masserat. "Public Spaces in Enclosure." Pages. February 2004, pp.03-10, p.10

(Figure 6.43).[446] As in can be observed in the image, the open area of a university of a small city, close to Tehran, have been separated through arcades with signs at top of them, displaying the right side and the left side area for the recreation of female and male students. Depending on the political atmosphere of the country, universities and other public buildings are opposed to shifts in the regulations in terms of segregation and the conditions of appearance. For instance, recently, the open area of the faculty of economy of Tehran University is being planned to be separated into two areas with placing a wall alongside its open area, to separate the students through the spatial layout.[447]

With a population of more than 60 percent, under the age of 30, being active to socialize, while Persian is the fourth language on the internet, it can be seen that, people search for space, concrete and metaphorical.[448] Within all the boundaries, inclusions and exclusions set upon public spaces, citizens carve out material and metaphorical spaces to live in, work in, socialize and celebrate in.[449] The "under ground" market for all types of banned products and activities, is the realm of challenge to provide alternative spaces for those activities and to carve out public spaces in the heart of their own private spaces. In addition to the public spaces to live, socialize, and celebrate within the private spaces, mentioned before, there emerged even a private space to work, for a group of people after the Revolution. For instance, while the alcoholic beverages are prohibited within the new rules, a lucrative under ground market for the production of alcoholic drinks emerged, particularly in Armenian minorities. They produce alcoholic beverages in the basement of their homes or in their gardens and sell them to the citizens (Muslims and non-Muslims).[450] In the lack of democratic public spaces, Universities, shopping centers, streets, parks, cinemas, act as real public, or semi-public spaces for people to meet, hang around and spend time. In

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[446] The authors experience of the space, who has been able to enter the building after few attempts due to the regulations of the dressing for entering the library: The National Library of Iran, in Tehran, which has a quite modern building style, on a huge plot, with many facilities, do not have separate reading halls, but have separate tables for male and female users, and interestingly the Café of the library is separated with an opaque partition. There are not images of the library that would serve to clear the point of the text here, but some interior and exterior images are provided to visualize how Islamic regulations are injected to modern buildings, sometimes with no reflections on the spatial hierarchy or style of the building, but change the character of the building totally. (Figure 6.44, Figure 6.45)
[447] This project has not been able to be performed with the students showing resistance and protesting against such a regulation.
(http://khabardaily.blogspot.com/2010/09/blog-post_3263.html#more) (visited: April 10, 2011) (Translated by the author)
[448] Boeri, Stefano. "Paradoxical Teheran". Domus, March 2007, Issue 901, pp.46-59, p.55
[449] Mitchell, Don. "Introduction: Public Space and the City". Urban Geography 17(2), pp.127-131, 1996, p.129
[450] Khosravi, Shahram. Young and Defiant in Tehran. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2008, p.15

contradictory manner, while Tehrani citizens believe that nothing ever happens in Tehran and there are no real public spaces, but there is traffic in the streets of Tehran until one or two in the morning.[451] Space becomes a tool of manifestation and construction of the future in the hands of the power of the ruling ideology. The way oppression and surveillance melted the boundaries of private and public spaces into each other and reformed new conceptions of space, results in drawing a clear image of the close relation of power and space. Through all the interventions of the ruling authority, and the appropriations of the citizens into the space, power relations become tangible.
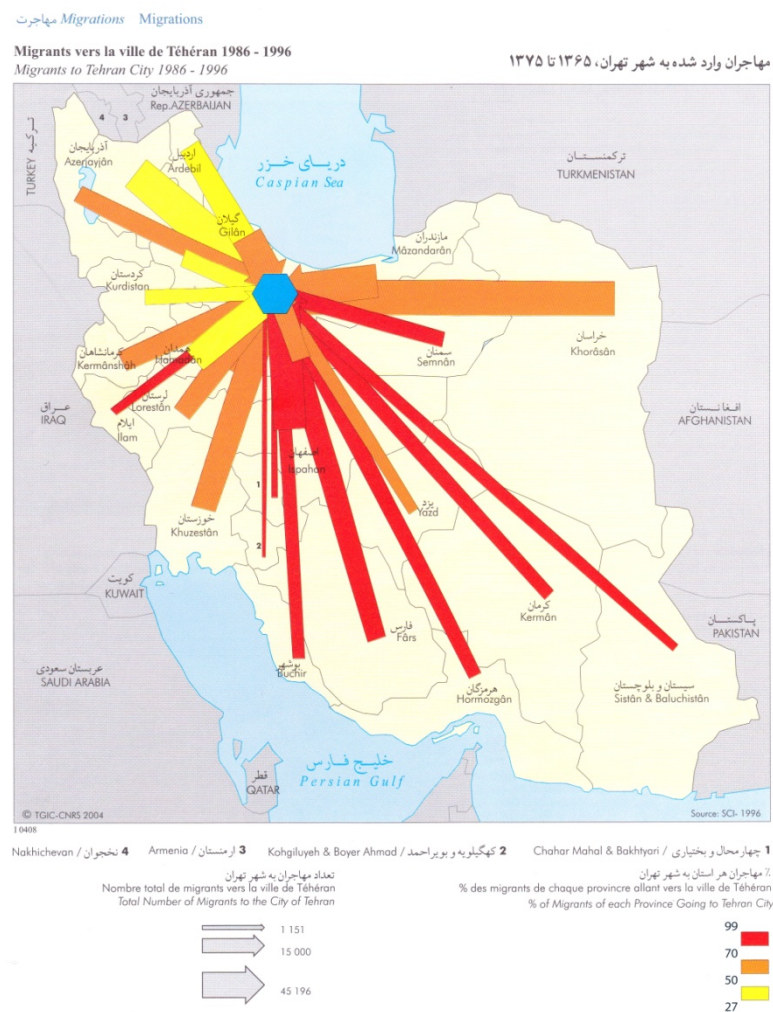


Figure 6.35:Migrants to Tehran city, 1986 – 1996
The map shows the uncontrolled migration to Tehran considering a period of time covering the last years of Iran-Iraq war till 1996. Central and southern cities of the country seem to have the most migration, while they were close to the war zone and bombarded more often.
Source: Habibi, Mohsen & Bernard Hourcade. Atlas of Tehran Metropolis: Land & People. Publishers: Urban Planning & Processing Company, Tehran GIS Centre, Tehran Municipality, Tehran, 2005, p.115

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[451] Mehrabani, Kaveh. "Paradoxical Teheran". Domus, March 2007, Issue 901, pp.46-59, p.55

Figure 6.36: Tehran Shopping Malls, by Saghar Daeeri
The painting depicts women in a grotesque, almost fantastical rendering. Heavily made up faces, lacquered nails and peroxide hair. Because of the compulsory veil, women express their femininity through venues that are allowed in exaggerated ways. The image represents the dualism that Iranian women must grapple with, between veiling and self-expression.
Source: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/marissa-bronfman/emiran-inside-outem-shock_b_258194.html
(visited: April 09, 2011)



Figure 6.37: Cafe, Tehran, 2007
In Tehran as the capital of an intensely literary country, with people with a high interest in poetry and novels, bookstores, especially bookstores of *Enqelab* avenue are very busy and crowded spaces. Some of the bookshops have opened cafes, in which young people read and discuss. They are meeting spots, and the very common activity of the routine life of Tehrani young, despite being patrolled.
Source: http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/booksblog/2007/oct/22/week (visited: July 11, 2011)

Figure 6.38: Cinema Africa, Tehran, 2003
The cinema industry has played a very important role in cultural urban life since 1950's.
Source: http://www.ketabeavval.ir/PictureShow/931.aspx?p=304 (visited: July 15, 2011)



Figure 6.39: Tehran Bazaar, daily sight, 2007
In this city of the coexistence of differences, despite the oppression the liveliness of the urban spaces have been kept.
Source: http://www.flickr.com/photos/friend_faraway/1495241988/ (visited: July 15, 2011)

Figure 6.40: Tajrish, Tehran, 2008
A view of the city from its northern parts shows the city of lights, with its eclectic architecture; while in term of social oppression it is not all that about light.
Source: http://www.flickr.com/photos/arash_rk/2495772874/ (visited: July 15, 2011)



Figure 6.41: Tehran, 2010
The morality police in Tehran, stops women for their improper hijab.
Source: http://www.payvand.com/news/10/jun/1153.html (visited: July 09, 2011)



Figure 6.42: The entrance of Azad University, Tabriz, post-revolutionary era
The central board displays the main entrance of the building, while there have been built two separate entrances, one at right, for girls, and one at left for boys.
Source: http://forum.iranblog.com/showthread.php?15157 -ورود-ی-خواهران-و-برادران-دانشگاه-آزاد-اسلامی-تبریز(بدن-شرح) (visited: July 15, 2011)

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Figure 6.43: Breathing spaces of Azad University, Rey, post-revolutionary era
The Breathing spaces of girls and boys have been separated, without walls but with arches that both are leading to the same open space; but at top of each it is written 'breathing space of "sisters"', 'breathing space of "brothers"', so it is expected that the girls use the left side of the open space, and the boys use the right.
Source:  http://www.parsine.com/fa/pages/?cid=32835 (visited: 08. April, 2011)



Figure 6.44: National Library of Iran, Tehran, post-revolutionary era
The image of the exterior of the library depicts its modernist style.
Source: http://www.tehranedu5.ir/MainNewsImages/294_372185_1imga.jpg (visited: April 18, 2011)
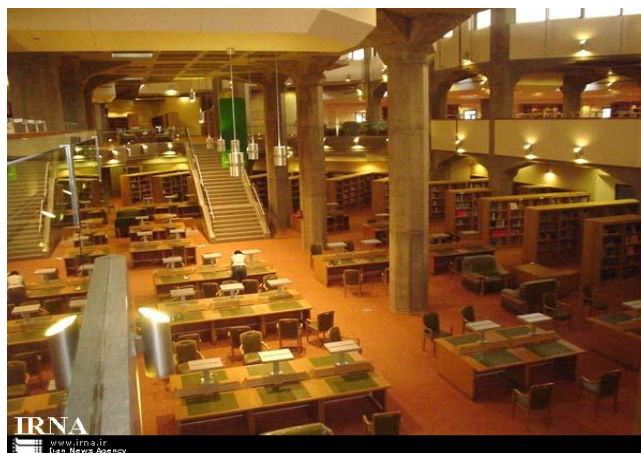


Figure 6.45: National Library of Iran, Tehran, post-revolutionary era
The image shows the interior of the library with single reading hall, but separated tables, which shows that the architecture of the building does not serve for the gender segregation, but this implementation gives an oppressed identity to the space.
Source: http://img.irna.ir/1389/13890321/76787/76787-124808.jpg (visited: April 18, 2011)

## 6.5. Strategies of power, Tactics of resistance

In order to give an account of the contest of power over the domination of the space, Michel de Certeau mentions about two forms of power in the spatial practices of everyday life: "Strategy" and "tactic"; that contest continuously and spontaneously in the public realm to prove their autonomy over the public spaces. He defines strategy as the calculation of power relations that becomes possible when a source of will and power can be isolated; it is a delimitation of one's own place.[452] In contrast, tactic is a calculated action determined by the absence of proper locus, and its space is the space of the other; indeed it is a maneuver within the enemy's field of vision.[453] Strategies of the power take action in their established spaces, while the tactics of the resistance of the weak and the oppressed manipulate the public space to create opportunities for its own action. The urban phenomenon and urban space are not mere projections of social interaction and relations, but they are the realm of clash of different strategies; in other words urban design is not the goal in the struggle of power, but it is the means and the apparatus of action.[454] To study the strategies of power and the tactics of resistance in the urban space, the post-revolutionary Tehran provides a multidimensional case of study. In post-revolutionary Iran the power creates the public sphere that would serve its interest in any field and propaganda for its system, while the resistance demonstrates its opposition through the very trivial acts of everyday lives taking place within the public arena.

Lefebvre's conception of space as a social product and dependant upon power relations, and his definition of the production of space as a political and strategical production, open's up a discussion of production and appropriation of public space by the strategies of power on one hand and tactics of resistance on the other hand.[455] The source of power has the capacity to produce the space based on its strategies of production, but that is not the end point to its intervention into the space; in fact in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, domination and show of power.[456] Alongside the spatial domination of the institutions and establishments over the public sphere, and the

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[452] de Certeau, Michel. The Practice of Everyday Life. Trans by: Steven Rendall. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1984, pp.35-36
[453] Ibid, p.37
[454] Lefebvre, Henri. The Urban Revolution. Trans. By: Robert Bononno. Foreword by: Neil Smith. University of Minnesota Press, London, 2003, p.87
[455] Lefebvre, Henri. The Production of Space. Trans. By: Donald Nicholson-Smith. Blackwell Publishers, Oxford and Cambridge, 1991, pp.26-27
[456] Ibid, p.26

moral control over the public realm, in the case of Tehran, as another part of the strategies of the ruling authority over the domination of the public sphere, public spaces of the city are used for demonstrations of the punishments and maneuvers of the agents of the regime, who constantly scan the cities for transgression and cultural crimes.[457]

Regardless of the spatial qualities, and the modern appearance of the public spaces in the context of Tehran, the spaces might serve for quite contradictory functions. Despite the modern character and appearance of large public and semi-public urban spaces of Tehran such as streets, squares, and parks, they become anonym due to their constantly shifting character. In a narration of the spatial domination of the ruling power in Tehran, through demonstrating the punishments in public, regardless of the spatial properties of that public space, one can refer to the executions, taking place in public, after the Revolution (Figure 6.46). The anonymity of the space appears as the most highlighted character, in the case of executions in public; while executions might take place in any urban arena, a square or any large street, regardless of its character or function. Since the Revolution, the execution in public has been normalized, through being taken into different urban zones. Indeed in the process of legitimization of the state through the formation of urban practices, public punishments bring a different identity to the urban spaces of Tehran. Public execution or in general, punishments in public spaces, are not what the modern urban spaces of Tehran offer, but they are the means and apparatuses in the hands of the ruling state, to represent itself and exercise its power.

Architecture and urban design act as the intermediary phase between the power and the society. The potential of urban space in serving as a mediator is to be discussed here. As Kim Dovey introduces in the "Framing places", architecture and urban design 'frame' space, in the literal sense that everyday life 'takes place' within the clusters of rooms, buildings, streets, and cities that we inhabit, and as a form of discourse, built form constructs and frames meanings.[458] With the idea of framing, the author implies that the spaces, shapes the actions of the inhabitants and border them, while the frame itself is the context of those actions. Through both literal and discursive framings, the built environment, as the outcome of architecture and urban design, mediates, constructs and reproduces power relations.[459]In the case of Tehran, the post-revolutionary state, took action on drawing borders upon the

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[457] Khosravi, Shahram. Young and Defiant in Tehran. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2008, pp.29-30

[458] Dovey, Kim. Framing Places; Mediating Power in Built Form. Routledge Press, London, 1999, p.1

[459] Ibid, p.1

actions of the citizens, through spatial frames. As the frames of public appearance got more and more strict and oppressing, people started to move inside the private boundaries. In 1980's Iranian people learned to be invisible and organize their lives in the closed spaces of their homes; while the public space was converted to a full political space after the Revolution - because it was fully under control of state as part of its strategy of dominance - and it became a stage for commemoration of Revolution, war, and the authority of the religion; so the citizens found their solution in slipping into the private realms of their homes, hiding their differences,and leaving the public space out of their homes as homogeneous realm for *Ummah*.[460]Videotapes and family shows replaced the movie theatre, and concerts, exhibitions and parties under the supervision of parents were organized in private spaces of the homes.[461] The post-revolutionary Tehran presents an example of a fully autocratic control over urban space, in which the access of the citizens to public spaces, are strictly governed and limited by the state.

The force of power authority that has engendered the space and aims to dominate it, seek, but fail to master it completely.[462] It is because the force of resistance and the agencies that occupy the produced spaces, although not fully organized politically, shows attempts to appropriate the space in terms of its genesis and form. In the case of this study, while theocratic rules are imposed upon the society to create a hegemonic Islamic identity, a pre-Islamic Persian renaissance, with the religious visions of romanticized mysticism of Sufism and Zoroastrianism and the rituals of these movements, has emerged among young people (Figure 6.47).[463] As the Persian rituals such as *Nourouz* (Persian new year) and *Chaharshanbeh soori* (the eve of the last Wednesday of the year, which is celebrated by fireworks), are degraded by the government as un-Islamic rituals of fire-worshippers, the young groups of resistance show more interest in those rituals and stress their importance and sometimes use them as opportunities to show their aggression to the ruling regime (Figure 6.48).

The organization of the spaces of the city of Tehran and their loaded functions according to interests of the Islamic regime does not provide a complete image of the city.

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[460] Amir-Ebrahimi, Masserat. "Conquering Enclosed Public Spaces". Cities, Vol. 23, No. 6, pp.455-461, 2006, p.457
(Ummah is the Arabic terminology for Islamic community)
[461] Ibid, p.457
[462] Lefebvre, Henri. The Production of Space. Trans. By: Donald Nicholson-Smith. Blackwell Publishers, Oxford and Cambridge, 1991, p.26
[463] Khosravi, Shahram. Young and Defiant in Tehran. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2008, p.3

However, what lacks in the creation of a realistic image of the contemporary Tehran, is the tactics that young and defiant Tehrani dwellers use to show their persistence social and spatial defiance and resistance, while appropriating space for their modern lives. Tehran, a large city, with 12 million inhabitants in 2004, which is the triple of its population at the time of the 1979 Revolution, suffers from many problems.[464] Being a city that has rejected to be "Islamized", Tehran's main squares and backstreets has always remained a political battlefield since the pre-revolutionary days.[465] The problems associated with the heterogeneous profile of Tehranis, created different zones of action for pro-Islamic and anti-Islamic citizens to practice their daily affairs; but the very problematic issue, was that the pro-Islamic groups could have their practices with the support of the regime, and without the intervention of the opposition, while the so called "anti-Islamic" groups were under the threat of being arrested for their very daily affairs of public or private life.[466]

The role of 'autocratic control' over urban form can be examined with reference to the forces that affect, limit, push, pull, and restrict the freedom of action of people with respect to their activities affecting the city.[467] To comprehend the way urban form and spatial layout served for the implication of the strategies of power and the way tactics of resistance dealt with those strategies is a study of the causes and actions in the spatial body of the context of the study. Among different strategies of control, applied by post-revolutionary state, when the 'imposition' of rules over public activities and appearance, 'demonstrative interventions' such as changes in the spatial layout of public spaces, and 'destructive interventions' such as destroying and erasing the traces of Pahlavi dynasty, were almost done, it was the time for the new state to reveal its control through 'creative interventions'and commissioning and building new developments or major projects that would change the image of the city.[468]New parks, streets, boulevards, and mosques, are instances of those spaces in the case of Tehran.

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[464] Ibid, p.60

[465] Bayat, Asef. "Tehran: Paradox City". New Left Review, 66, November – December 2010, pp.99-122, pp.99-101

[466] What is aimed by "anti-Islamic" groups, are the young generation of Iranian people, who prefer to live a more free life, apart from the limits of the Islamic rule, and their acts are being labeled as "anti-Islamic moral offense".

[467] Mazumdar, Sanjoy. "Autocratic Control and Urban Design: The Case of Tehran, Iran". Journal of Urban Design, Vol. 5, No. 3, 317-338, 2000, p.317

[468] Sanjoy Mazumdar introduces four types of control over space; 1) Control by Imposition: In this kind of control an autocrat uses his or her coercive power to impose ideas, requirements or restrictions on the people, with a consequent effect on city form. 2) Control by Intervention: In this form of control, the autocrat uses his or her power, wealth and status to intervene and effect major

1990's, after the death of Khomeini, and when the war was over, it was the time for the new president and the new mayor of Tehran to drag people out of their hidden shelters.[469] New public spaces, parks, new highways, and infrastructures were proposed to return people, especially women, who were almost erased from the public realm, to the public life.[470] From mid 1990's the social movements that characterized Iran's socio-political atmosphere appeared as the result of a complex social situation: movements of intellectuals, women, and youth.[471] The 1997 election of Mohammad Khatami, a reformist candidate, as the result of a wave of social movements of young university students, intellectuals, and women, created a hope for a decrease in social and political restrictions. Less restriction were imposed on the youth in large urban areas, especially in Tehran; women found opportunities to defend their rights within the legal system, and the political sphere became more open and pluralistic.[472] Actors of the social scene, such as activist journalists, women, and, intellectuals, had the possibility of a relatively open atmosphere to express their point of view and use the public sphere to demand their needs; the public sphere that since the Revolution was used by the ruling elite to apply their strategies, was to feel the presence of the reformists now.

In the deteriorating urban fabric of post-war Tehran, a new wave of urban development and reconstruction arrived; within which the "beautification" of the city was the main concern of the municipality and it initiated the development of new roads, parks, cultural centers, fruit and vegetable markets, and retail and office complexes.[473]During the presidency of Khatami, the urban atmosphere of Tehran was once again characterizing a

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changes in city form. It can take four forms; a) Control by creative intervention, b) Control by demonstrative intervention, c) Control by destructive intervention, d) Control by self-glorifying intervention. 3) Control by Selective Non-intervention: Autocrats use this form of control when they selectively withhold their patronage and leadership and thus allow the city to stagnate or change for the worse. 4) Control by Oversight and Supervision: In this form of control, autocrats use their powers to oversee developments and to check and ensure that they follow a pattern or are of a quality they approve of.
Mazumdar, Sanjoy. "Autocratic Control and Urban Design: The Case of Tehran, Iran". Journal of Urban Design, Vol. 5, No. 3, 317-338, 2000, pp.331-333
[469] Amir-Ebrahimi, Masserat. "Conquering Enclosed Public Spaces". Cities, Vol. 23, No. 6, pp.455-461, 2006, p.457
[470] For various reasons, such as confronting a brain drain, the loss of numerous young men during the war, and also a very high rate of inflation, the power elite was forced to recognize women's new professional skills, due to the shortage of specialists and their entrance to the professional world. Kian-Thie baut, Azadeh. Women's movement in post- revolutionary Iran. Ed. By: Mohammd Hamid Ansari. Iran Today:Twenty-Five Years After The Islamic Revolution, Proceedings of the Conference held at the Observer Research Foundation in New Delhi on March 8–9, 2004, Rupa and Co Press
[471] Khosrokhavar, Farhad. Postrevolutionary Iran and The New Social Movements. Ed. By: Eric Hooglund. Twenty Years of Islamic Revolution; Political and Social Transition in Iran since 1979. Syracuse University Press, New York, 2002, p.3
[472] Ibid, p.18
[473] Madanipour, Ali. "City Profile: Tehran." Cities. Vol. 16, No. 1, pp.57-65, 1999, p.61

scene of conflict and competition between the reformists with their young supporters and conservatives. Two forms of life styles started to struggle to conquer the public spaces; on one hand the daily life, modernity, citizenship, and international image of Islamic society, while on the other hand revolution, tradition, and *ummah*.[474] Thus public space entered what Masserat Amir-Ebrahimi calls a "Schizophrenic Phase" where their function moved from one world to another, depending on time, space, and social agencies.[475] This duality of identity rising from the changes in time, function and political atmosphere, was not just a schizophrenic phase for the space but it was at the same time a schizophrenic phase of the duality in the identity of the citizens as well as their conceptions of space.

The city perhaps was not just a scene of struggle for power, but it was itself used as a metaphor of propaganda for promising a better future. Space as a medium, environment, and means is to be appropriated by the ruling authority to exercise its power associated with its socio-political strategies.[476] The walls of the streets of Tehran were covered with colorful posters with messages of "Green City", peace, security, sports, and a bright future for youth.[477] Holding a right of action, the reformist groups could now intervene into the body of public spaces legally; while before that, people could only demonstrate their resistance within the boundaries of everyday acts of defiance. In fact at this point, the tactics of resistance, convert into strategies of resistance. Never the less, there was not a stable and permanent mode for the identity of public spaces; large modern squares of Tehran as other main public spaces, were to be controlled at some occasions for religious, social or cultural reasons, by revolutionary guards, and thus the large, crowded modern spaces would suddenly transfer into places in which appearance, behavior or presence had to follow certain patterns.[478] The shift in the identity of urban spaces, due to the regulations of the Islamic regime, has created a kind of transient character for the urban spaces of Tehran. The large modern squares and streets, with their modern appearance and function, would transfer into enclosed public spaces, with harsh imposition of the regulations for the appearance and the behavior of the citizens, and thus dramatically change in terms of the very essence and identity of those urban spaces.

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[474] Amir-Ebrahimi, Masserat. "Conquering Enclosed Public Spaces". Cities, Vol. 23, No. 6, p. 455–461, 2006, p.458
[475] Ibid, p.458
[476] Lefebvre, Henri. The Urban Revolution. Trans. By: Robert Bononno. Foreword by: Neil Smith. University of Minnesota Press, London, 2003, pp.73-78
[477] Yaghmaian, Behzad. Social Change in Iran; An Eyewitness Account of Dissent, Defiance, and New Movements for Rights. State University of New York Press, Albany, 2002, pp.36-37
[478] Amir-Ebrahimi, Masserat. "Conquering Enclosed Public Spaces". Cities, Vol. 23, No. 6, pp.455-461, 2006, p.458

The post 2009 presidency election events in Tehran's public spaces provide instances of the strategies of power to deal with the city's recalcitrance. The detaining, oppression, surveillance, suspension of communication, and manipulation of public spaces are short run interventions of the state; while in long term, the state performs deeper solutions. In April 2010, in an extraordinary resolution, the cabinet authorized the president and his deputy to take charge of Tehran, and indeed any city with a population over 5,000; and mayors were to follow the orders of president.[479] Three main strategies were to be applied by the state to control and transform the city: firstly they planned to downsize the capital through repatriating some five million Tehran residents to villages and provinces, and providing loans and assistance in securing land and housing for the volunteers, secondly, as in 1980's, family-planning and population control measures are to stop, to rise the population of the country from 70 million to 150 million - they are now presented as 'conspiracies' to keep the Shi'a population low- and thirdly the 25 universities, existing in Tehran, are to be restructured, 'indigenized', 'Islamized', and then moved out of the capital; in short, to govern they had to undo the city.[480] These are the instances of structural strategies of the state to legitimize itself and keep its power; but it reveals that the city still keeps its Pahlavi layout, and the Islamists add layers of transformation on top of its existing infrastructure, which draws a modern metropolis.

The major difference between urban design in autocratic states and democratic states can be considered as the issue of control of the centralized powers of decision-making from the citizenry or their representatives; while in autocratic states the urban design decisions follow the decree of the dictators and generally leads to demolition of the past, in democratic countries, they can be questioned.[481]When there is a problem in the balance of the right of intervention in the urban body, resulted by the differences in the identities of the power authority and the citizens, then there emerges a dilemma of autocracy. Demolition of the traces of the previous source of power can be categorized under the autocratic control typologies, but the recent type of control in the Iranian case, does not fit in any of those categories. The statue of a Persian Achaemenid commander, "Aryo Barzan" in a squares with the same name in the city of Yasuj, have been ordered to be removed recently (Figure

[479] Bayat, Asef. "Tehran: Paradox City". New Left Review, 66, November – December 2010, pp.99-122, p.119

[480] "The families of newly born children in the rural areas will receive $1,000 in cash, supplemented by payments of $95 per year until the child turns 18"
Ibid, pp.119-120

[481] Lang, Jon. Urban Design: a typology of procedures and products. Elsevier Press, Oxford, 2005, p.25

6.49). Ario Barzan (407 BC – 362) was one of the Iranian historical greatest warriors who resisted against the Alexander invasion to Iran and guarded his country.[482] The state's attempt to erase the Persian identity and replace it with an Islamic one seems to be still in action, and the urban space is opposed to a destructive intervention of not an immediate past, but the history. In reaction to this strategy of the regime, the residents of Yasuj have gathered around the statue to protect it (Figure 6.50). By occupying the city square, they show their presence and resistance.

Just a few months before the decision of the demolition of "Aryo Barzan" statue in Yasuj, in another city of the country, sixteen bronze statues were disappeared from a city square, over night. The statues, depicting Iranian mythological epic hero, Arash Kamangir, on chariots or horses, mysteriously disappeared from a public square in northern city of Sari in Iran (Figure 6.51, Figure 6.52).[483] The Head of Islamic Council reported that the Islamic prosecutor has ordered the removal of large 50-year-old statutes because they insult Ayatollah Khomeini, while the name of the square is Imam Square (Figure 6.53).[484] When the mythical characters of the history of a nation are being treated as threats to the source of power, then the issue of identity appears; the urban space is being transformed to bring a new identity to the society, as well as destroying the traces of its history which is part of its identity. Indeed the lack of democracy is visible in the nature of the act toward public space, while the action takes place over night, being hidden from the gaze of the citizens. It should be mentioned that Tehran remains mostly free of urban violence, instead there is an extra-legal political violence which semi-official power structures, such as *Pasdaran* and *Basij* - who use state oil revenue to employ working-class youths for extra-legal purposes such as breaking peaceful demonstrations, attacking opposition groups and street surveillance direct against the citizens – direct to citizens, instead of the drug lords of Latin American cities.[485]

In the mosaic culture of Iran, with 50 different languages, in which only 50 percent of the country speaks Persian, with many regional traditions in different climates,[486] the issue of public space in a metropolis like Tehran, which is a symbiosis of quite different cultures,

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[482] http://www.payvand.com/news/11/jul/1039.html (visited: July 10, 2011)
[483] Arash Kamangir, is Iran's epic archer that infused his own life into his arrow and threw it as far as possible to expand Iranian borders.
http://features.kodoom.com/en/iran-culture/statutes-of-iranian-hero-arash-kamangir-disappeared-because-they-insulted/v/3076/ (visited: July 10, 2011)
[484] Ibid (visited: July 10, 2011)
[485] Bayat, Asef. "Tehran: Paradox City". New Left Review, 66, November – December 2010, pp.99-122, pp.120-121
[486] Fakouhi, Nasser. "Paradoxical Teheran". Domus, March 2007, Issue 901, pp.46-59, p.53

becomes a matter of the coexistence of contradictions. The strategies of the source of power, as mentioned briefly in this section, were based upon creating a new Islamic identity for the society, through interventions in public environment and regulations of public appearance. Nevertheless in terms of architecture and urban design, there was an overturning of the values established by Shah during 60's and 70's, considered to be too western.[487] To have official consensus it was not so much necessary to hold with tradition, but rather it was necessary to express a clear refusal of the present.[488] People who did not dare to express their opposition to the destruction of their historical identity, started to reveal it, when the political atmosphere was slightly opened after the election of Khatami. In the lack of physical and psychological space in Tehran, there is a kind of third space; a metaphorical space in which people live.[489] This space is the space provided by all the information, Internet, satellite TV, in which Iranian young live, thinking about not being here.[490] The question, which is left here, is that, can the strategies of power change the identity and the belief of the society, with means of architectural interventions into the space?[491]

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[487] Afshar Naderi, Kamran. "Paradoxical Teheran". <u>Domus</u>, March 2007, Issue 901, pp.46-59, p.53
[488] Ibid, p.53
[489] Katouzian, Shahab. "Paradoxical Teheran". <u>Domus</u>, March 2007, Issue 901, pp.46-59, p.59
[490] Ibid, p.59
[491] In the analysis of Tehran by Asef Bayat, he concludes that the Islamic Revolution has failed to re-structure Tehran into an image of an Islamic city and today Tehran looks more like Madrid or even Los Angeles than Qom, Riyadh or Cairo. And religious posters, murals, prayer halls, azan, and hijab, appear more as irritant impositions than as signs of a hegemonic religious order.
He provides statistical information which worth mentioning here:
"A recent survey showed that only 12 per cent of young Iranians ever go to mosques, and 25 per cent of Tehranis have never been to one."
"In June 2010, the government announced that it would dispatch 3,000 female religious 'propagandists' (moballeq) to 3,000 girls' schools in Tehran to bring them into line. As if preaching were not enough, the judiciary soon afterwards decreed penalties of 75 lashes, up to 60 days jail and a $50 fine for laxity with the hijab."
"It is ironic but not surprising that this capital of 'moral virtues' now houses 400,000 drug addicts, 200,000 prostitutes and over 4.5 million victims of depression."
Bayat, Asef. "Tehran: Paradox City". <u>New Left Review</u>, 66, November – December 2010, pp.99-122, pp.121.122

Figure 6.46: Kaj Square, Tehran, May 2011
A murderer is being executed in public, at a square which is not a node for punishment, but has been temporarily transformed into such a space.
Source: http://www.payvand.com/news/11/jan/1044.html (visited: May 22, 2011)



Figure 6.47: *Chaharshanbeh soori,* Tehran, 2011
People gather and celebrate by jumping over fire and singing: *(Sorkhi-e to az man)* Give me your beautiful red color *(Zardi-e man az to)* And take back my sickly pallor!In the last decade, this traditional celebration, degraded by the state, is used to show aggression to the regime.
Source: http://daughtersofthelight-briefs.blogspot.com/2011/03/charshanbe-soori-preperations-underway.html (visited: April 13, 2011)



Figure 6.48: *Chaharshanbeh soori,* Tehran, 2011
Since the 2009 presidency election events, young people use any occasion to show their opposition. People started to chant "death o dictator". In the image they are surrounding a police car to avoid them entering their temporary "realm", which is transformed into the zone of citizens for one night.
Source: http://daughtersofthelight-briefs.blogspot.com/2011/03/charshanbe-soori-preperations-underway.html (visited: April 13, 2011)

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Figure 6.49: Aryo Barzan Square, Yasuj, 2011
The erosion of the historical identity of the country from the urban spaces is exemplified in the act of the state in removing this statue from this urban square.
Source: http://www.ayandenews.com/news/31760/ (visited: July 11, 2011)



Figure 6.50: Human chain in Aryo Barzan Square, Yasuj, 2011
The resistance of the citizen take action in the same urban arena that the state applies its strategies.
Source: http://www.payvand.com/news/11/jul/1039.html (visited: July 11, 2011)

Figure 6.51 Imam Square, Sari, 2011
The statue of Arash Kamangir, the Persian mythological epic hero, is visible in a view of Imam Square in Sari.
Source: http://www.khabaronline.ir/news-156808.aspx (visited: July 11, 2011)



Figure 6.52: Imam Square, Sari, 2011
The image shows a view of the square, after the statue was disappeared overnight.
Source: http://www.khabaronline.ir/news-156808.aspx (visited: July 11, 2011)



Figure 6.53: The removed bronze statues of Sari, 2011
The image shows the statues, being taken to the open area of a slaughterhouse in Sari.
Source: http://www.mashreghnews.ir/fa/news/55121/حذف-مجسمه-آریوبرزن-به-جنگ-رواني-شامي-ارزد+عکس
(visited: July 11, 2011)

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6.6. Provocation lines and choreography of public events in Tehran- scenarios of the public movements


During late 1970's, streets, and urban squares of Tehran turned into highly charged political spaces, which hold demonstrations, and were scene of conflict between the state and the protestors; in contrary after the Revolution the same spaces were highly dominated and surveyed by the new state, so people did not have the right to appear in those spaces, freely. But in last fifteen years there emerged a struggle over the domination of the spaces once again, and a study of the post-revolutionary Iran reveals the fact that certain nodes of this urban form have created a line for the public movements of the city. Understanding the spatialization of power opens up a way to understand how the urban form tends to legitimize the regime which produces it; yet monuments and urban spaces that express ideals of liberty, equality, and democracy, with authentic and popular forms of representation, become potent places of resistance.[492] Despite the fact that urban form tends to legitimize its creator, which is the state, in some nodes it plays for the resistance; it starts to be transformed into the representation of the opposition. In the body of Tehran, in the last fifty years there have been a spatial axis acting as a vein of resistance for the city; a vein that connects the symbolically loaded urban nodes of resistance, and runs dissatisfied masses in its body.


To set the ground for a discussion over the provocation lines in Tehran's urban arena, and to comprehend the reason behind the birth or re-birth of those lines, there emerges a necessity to provide a narrative of post-revolutionary social movements in the context of Tehran. While as mentioned before, it seems that since the Revolution of 1979, social change in Iran has been mainly based on a narrative of everyday life, but the 1999 events, marked a turning point in the post-revolutionary history of public uprisings to resist the oppressions and attempt for social change; when for the first time since the revolutionary days, there was a nation-wide mobilization for a socio-political demand. Thus it is proper to start with the event that marked an appearance of a provocation line within the same urban arena, but in a totally new regime, alongside its complicated public sphere. In other words moving towards the same target, alongside the everyday tactics of the resistance of the citizens in mid 1990's, there started a legal movement of reform within the Islamic regime;

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[492] Dovey, Kim. Framing Places; Mediating Power in Built Form. Routledge Press, London, 1999, p.85

and that reform movement was the starting spark of the first mass mobilizations in the body of Tehran after the Revolution. Tired of being monitored in all fields of public and private everyday lives, the masses, who were not into established reform wing policies, seek a way to a more free life in the support of reformist movement. The 'Children of Islamic Republic' who had no memory of the 1979 Revolution, started to appear in public scene to demonstrate an unorganized grassroots.[493]

To discuss the impact of space on social movements, it is useful to analyze the spatial nodes and centers of the previous movements. To stress the importance of Tehran University in the context of this study as a physical, as well as intellectual locus and landmark of the socio-political movements in the body of Tehran in the support of the 1979 Revolution, it has been mentioned in the previous chapters that the university was under surveillance while, the university students and even professors organized meetings or in some cases protests, to support the public uprising. Regardless, after the Revolution, with the "Cultural Revolution" in the body of universities for around 8 years, during which Iranian academia were purged to erase the western traces over the academic arena, it seemed that Universities lost their centrality, as the locus of socio-political movements.[494] Not surprisingly, this act of purging the academic arena to oppress the voices of the intelligentsia did not last for a long time, while with the rapid growth in young population of the country in post-revolutionary years, and when those Children of the Revolution entered the universities, Iran had the biggest source of potential mobilization in universities, with 1.5 million students nationwide.[495]

After the Revolution, in chaos of illegal constructions, an enormous city center was formed by integration of the old and modern centers from Bazaar to Abbasabad that matched with the limits of traffic-restricted area.[496] The new city center was loaded with new symbolic and political functions mainly because Tehran University was selected as the place

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[493] Yaghmaian, Behzad. Social Change in Iran; An Eyewitness Account of Dissent, Defiance, and New Movements for Rights. State University of New York Press, Albany, 2002, pp.3-10

[494] "The programme of 'cultural revolution' that began in 1980 shut down the universities—hotbed of anti-Shah campaigns—for three years, as the authorities sought to reorganize the education system along Islamized, conformist lines."
Bayat, Asef. "Tehran: Paradox City". New Left Review, 66, November – December 2010, pp.99-122, p.108

[495] Khosravi, Shahram. Young and Defiant in Tehran. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2008, pp.140-141

[496] Habibi, Mohsen & Bernard Hourcade. Atlas of Tehran Metropolis: Land & People. Publishers: Urban Planning & Processing Company, Tehran GIS Centre, Tehran Municipality, Tehran, 2005, p.E37

for Friday Prayers and many decision-making groups of the government were placed within this region around Marmar palace (Figure 6.54, Figure 6.55).[497] These spaces were manipulated over time, but still keeping their vitality in the city. Tehran University that has been a node for Friday Prayers and crying of *Allah-o Akbar* (God is Great) and chanting of "Death to America" since the revolutionary days, was the place for young men and women to assemble and celebrate the first anniversary of Khatami presidency in 1998; it was the assembly of joy and defiance of young and happy faces who dared to clap their hands, scream loud in happiness, whistle, and laugh in public.[498] Challenging the Islamic dress codes and gender segregation rules, young people, especially women, started to use their appearance in public spaces to reveal their resistance. This was the birth of a new movement and the creation of a new space of tolerance, freedom of speech, and thus a critical press. In July 8, 1999 students gathered at a campus of Tehran University to protest the new press law and the closure of a reformist newspaper. The protest was peaceful; but after mid-night, when students were back at their dormitories, the police and *Basijis* and plain-clothes members of *Ansar-e Hezbollah* broke into dormitories, battered the students, and throw some students out windows (Figure 6.56).[499] As a reaction, students in many other cities nationwide were mobilized in protest, and they were joined by non-student young supporters and poured into streets from the campus and started their street action; which turned Tehran University and the streets around it, into a battlefield of youth on one side, and police and *Basijis* and *Ansar-e Hezbollah* supporters on the other side (Figure 6.57, Figure 6.58).[500]

The Children of the Islamic Republic who were in the universities now, transformed universities and student politics; dressed in modern Western outfits, reading Pablo Neruda and Milan Kundera, drinking homemade alcohol, escaping the pressures of the state with music of Pink Floyd, Metallica, and Guns and Roses, beaten by bearded men in slippers, flogged for having been caught with opposite sex, forced to spend nights in temporary confinements of the state; they are the fearless children of Islamic Republic.[501] Soldiers of the social movements in contemporary Iran, are not the *Bazaaris* or *ulama* this time; the opposition and force of resistance are the young generation, and thus their force make the provocation line of the movements in post-revolutionary socio-political era;

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[497] Ibid, p.E37

[498] Yaghmaian, Behzad. Social Change in Iran; An Eyewitness Account of Dissent, Defiance, and New Movements for Rights. State University of New York Press, Albany, 2002, pp.16-17

[499] Khosravi, Shahram. Young and Defiant in Tehran. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2008, pp.140-141

[500] Ibid, pp.140-141

[501] Yaghmaian, Behzad. Social Change in Iran; An Eyewitness Account of Dissent, Defiance, and New Movements for Rights. State University of New York Press, Albany, 2002, p.92

observing the spatial quality of the public movements in contemporary Iran reveals the fact that it is not the traditional forces of the society that lead the movement, but it is the young generation and university students who upraise.

In the battle of the Iranian youth for democracy, against two decades of state violence, Tehran University played a pivotal role as the physical node of the movements. In terms of position, Tehran University is located in a symbolically meaningful center. In the current structure of the city, in which there is an apparent split between the northern and southern parts of the city, the campus is placed at a street that acts as a dividing line between the two; On *Shahreza* Street, which was named *Enqelab* (Revolution) after the 1979 Revolution. The northern part of the city with wide streets, larger houses, less density, expensive plots, more green areas, and a less polluted weather stays at the upper part of the *Enqelab* street.[502] The northern part of the city had less religious buildings and institutions than the southern part since the Pahlavi period; although the Islamic state tried to modify this pattern and create religious spaces in the northern parts and diminish the gap between the northern and southern Tehran in terms of religious body, it could never affect the social and economical gap.[503]

> "A sociological 'green line', the street housed Tehran University campus, dozens of bookstores, and large bus terminals linking Tehran to the provinces. The street thus connected diverse social groups with key institutions and with the flow of knowledge and news. It was here that the first sparks of the 1979 revolution were lit by student demonstrations, before spreading rapidly across the city and then the country in just two years. It was here, too, that the silent march of hundreds of thousands of Tehranis in June 2009 was to mark the birth of the Green Movement that shook the clerical establishment, three decades after the Islamic revolution."[504]

The impact of Islamic Republic on all aspects of urban structure of Tehran is undeniable, with the manifestations of the revolution in the urban field throughalteration of

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[502] Madanipour, Ali. Tehran; The Making of a Metropolis. John Wiley & Sons Ltd, West Sussex, 1998, p.111
[503] Ibid, p.186
[504] Bayat, Asef. "Tehran: Paradox City". <u>New Left Review</u>, 66, November – December 2010, pp.99-122, pp.104-105

"public space" to "a space for the public."[505]*Enqelab*Street as the provocation line of social movements in Tehran is not just the belt and central line between two poles of social segregation of poor and rich, but it is also a very important street in terms of the architectural elements located along the street, manifesting the short history of this paradoxically modern town. It is possible to see works of famous architects such as Jorn Utzon, who have designed the Bank Melli, Tehran University branch, along side the *Shahreza* Street in 1960's – which is still used with the same function (Figure 6.59, Figure 6.60). *Enqelab* Street as the symbolic axis of divide of the city in to two northern and southern halves, is not just the location of Tehran University and many bookstores, but it was the first space of the encounter that later became the space of meeting of different social classes; it is the symbolic space of the new middle class.[506] Although at the time of the Revolution, it seemed that *Enqelab* Street was the place that class and space bans were breached, but now the street is a highly crowded set of shops and educational institutes alongside the Tehran University, which have made a dense and highly active space configuration.

In the history of a hundred year of revolutions and socio-political movements in Tehran, it could be observed that the nodes and axes that were showpieces of the state, embellished by the rulers' statues, and staging symbols of power became sites of contest for millions of demonstrators, who brought down the statues and claimed the public spaces of the city as their own.[507] The main east-west axis of the city, which is *Enqelab* Avenue, was not an accidental choice for the movement of masses in the 1979 Revolution; it lead demonstrators to *Shahyad (Azadi)* Square, which was a brand new showcase square at the westerns entrance of the city, and provided huge gathering space for the revolutionaries. Nevertheless the thought-provoking point about this monument is that, people did not diminish this one; as if the monument of the glory of Pahlavi had already became a part of their victory, when it was occupied by them. The public space, as the space of contest, has been appropriated by the masses, and it has lead to a transformation in the identity of that space; not representing the glory of Pahlavi Dynasty for the new generations, but representing the victory of the masses and the Revolution.

In 2003, with the election of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, as the mayor of Tehran, by a council of conservatives, he had the opportunity to revitalize the memories of *Basijis* and

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[505] Amir-Ebrahimi, Masserat. "Public Spaces in Enclosure." <u>Pages.</u> February 2004, pp.03-10, p.03
[506] Ibid, p.03
[507] Madanipour, Ali. Tehran; The Making of a Metropolis. John Wiley & Sons Ltd, West Sussex, 1998, p.43

*Pasdaran* (Islamic Revolutionary Guards), and martyrs to the public spaces. One of the other celebrated buildings along side the *Enqelab* Street, *Teatr-e Shahr* (City Theatre), was to be subdued by erecting a giant new mosque just across from it (Figure 6.61).[508] Many other celebrated cultural complexes turned into places for religious activities, such as *Tekyes;* in general it can be noted that since the early years of Ahmadinejad's mayoralty the surveillance and oppression in public life was once again at the arena. In fact, in a general observation of the post-revolutionary Iran, it can be seen that gradually the issue of the oppression of public life and limitations put upon the citizens, became a political issue of contest in political arena; to get the support of people for the regime, before every presidency or parliament elections, a new strategy of oppression appears. Mostly through the interventions into public realm, by manipulating the regulations of public appearance, the state makes citizens face a more harsh oppression, so that they will look for a candidate who promises for a more free public sphere, and in that way, they are encouraged to participate in the elections.

Ahmadinejad was elected as the president of Iran in 2005, while many groups of people has boycotted the election. After the four years of the presidency of the conservative wing, and a life under oppression, the presidency election of 2009 and the contest between Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and Mir Hossein Mousavi transferred the socio-political face of Tehran; women and young people turned to grassroots activism organizing street marches with a quasi-carnivalesque atmosphere, especially in northern parts of *Enqelab* Street, in streets, squares, parks, and even schools (Figure 6.62, Figure 6.63).[509] After all, Ahmadinejad was announced as the elected president of the country, while the society in majority expected a different result. The opposition – Green Movement - considered the election as a disputed election and rejected the result; thus hundreds of thousands of unsatisfied citizens took part in a rally of silence that was called by Mousavi in June 15th 2009. The plan was to march from *Enqelab* (Revolution) Square – besides Tehran University -, to *Azadi* (Freedom) Square, where Mousavi was going to give a speech, and while both nodes are placed at *Shahreza* (Enqelab) Street. The physical line of the protest was comprehended as a symbolic decision of Mousavi, as a founder of the Revolution, who believed in reform.[510] The protest against the voting fraud, ending in Azadi Square, was claimed to be the largest mass demonstration since the Revolution of 1979 (Figure 6.64).[511] Azadi Square was the last gathering point, with

[508] Bayat, Asef. "Tehran: Paradox City". New Left Review, 66, November – December 2010, pp.99-122, p.115
[509] Ibid, pp.117-118
[510] http://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/18/world/middleeast/18moussavi.html?_r=2 (visited: April 03, 2011)
[511] http://online.wsj.com/article/SB124508111902415491.html (visited: April 03, 2011)

its huge plaza, which has the capacity of holding great number of people. Mostly the green movement protests occurred in the center and center-north of Tehran, which represented a slight northward move from 1979 pattern, which had included the center and center-south.[512] As in the thirty years of post-revolutionary state, the city had expanded and the middle classes had grown, the political geography had also shifted; the educated middle classes were of central role in Green movement, as their role in 1979 Revolution, while the marginal poor, as in 1979 Revolution, preferred to stay away from the protests.[513]

*Enqelab* Street, Tehran University, and *Azadi* Square are scenes of states propaganda in everyday life, but it is in the extraordinary events, such as June 15 protest of the Green Movement that they become socially constructed counter-sites of resistance. Many of those spaces were once used to protest against Shah's regime and lead to the emergence of the Islamic Republic, but now, they were once again the scene of resistance against the same regime; Space can thus be envisaged as a palimpsest of historical layers of events, when some of those layers disappear while the others remain active in constructing identities alongside the new layers.[514] In picturing the choreography of public movements in Tehran's public spaces, *Shahreza (Enqelab)* Street have been considered as the main bone and axis in the context of this study; and the main nodes of gatherings are *Enqelab* Square, in front of Tehran University's main gate, and *Azadi* Square. Once again, 30 years after the Revolution of 1979, the university students started to gather in their campus to protest; they broke the gates of the University, flow into the city and joined the people in *Enqelab* Square and moved toward *Azadi* Square. The narrative of power struggle in the urban space, which can be well observed in the images provided here, reveals the fact that no matter what the citizen's demand is, people use public spaces to express their frustration and hope for socio-political changes, and the struggle over power takes action in the scene of urban spaces (Figure 6.65, Figure 6.66, Figure 6.67, Figure 6.68). The comparison of the images of 1979 and 2009 uprisings depict the way urban environment of Tehran has hosted the conflict over power. The interesting point is that, while in the revolutions the symbols of the previous power are to be over thrown, in the case of 1979 and 2009 uprisings in Tehran, almost the same paths and spatial symbols have been used.

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[512] Bayat, Asef. "Tehran: Paradox City". New Left Review, 66, November – December 2010, pp.99-122, p.118

[513] "Eyewitness accounts suggest that youth groups from the southern districts also joined in the Green demonstrations."
Ibid, p.118

[514] Irazabal, Clara. Citizenship, Democracy, and Public Space in Latin America. Ed. By: Clara Irazabal. Ordinary Places, Extraordinary Events. Routledge Press, Oxfordshire, 2008, p.25

In 2009, *Azadi* monument, more than any time in the history of Tehran, became the icon of Iranian people's demand for democracy and the focal point of the protests against the government.[515] This gigantic archway, hosted and thus represented the Iranian demonstrations both in the 1979 Revolution and in protests in 2009; the architect – who does not have the chance to come back to Iran since the time of the Revolution – mentions that the *Azadi* is now more at the heart of Iranian nation as their symbol of Freedom than the 1979 revolution.[516] The specificity of the *Azadi* Square in the both protests of 1979 and 2009 is to be emphasized here in terms of its appropriation for being a scene of power struggle. This specific square has been used for different ceremonies, festivals, events, and protests, since it was completed in 1971; but the way it has been used for public protests to show discontent of the masses, is the point that supports a clarification for the use of this node as a focal point in the provocation line of public protests in the city of Tehran. The plaza as a site of civic expression becomes a site of opposition and show of resistance in response to state and the forces on social control.[517]

*Azadi* monument became the symbol of modern Iran since it was built by order of Shah, and Ironically it acts as the venue for the Iranian forces of resistance and their demand for change both in 1979 and 2009. Being the instrument and spatial representation of demonstrations and civil resistance has attributed certain symbolic and historical values to Tehran University, *Enqelab* Street and *Azadi* Square, as focal points of protests. These prominent political urban spaces are deeply linked to everyday lives of the citizens; they show up in the routine life of any Tehrani in a way, in the news, or passing by for many daily activities (Figure 6.69, Figure 6.70, Figure 6.71). The location of *Azadi* Tower, being placed closed to Tehran Mehrabad Airport and the main bus terminal of the city at the western edge of the capital, loads the whole square a specific symbolic meaning as the gateway of the city as well as the country. Furthermore its formal concept of a gate with its Persian ancient architectural elements marked this peace of architecture as the center and link of events, places, people, and times.[518]

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[515] http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/news/2009/07/090706_iran_freedom_arch_dm.shtml (visited: April 03, 2011)
[516] Ibid
[517] Low, Setha M. On the Plaza: The Politics of Public Space and Culture. University of Texas Press, Austin, 2000, p.128
[518] Der-Grigorian, Talin. Construction of History: Mohammad-Reza Shah Revivalism, Nationalism, and Monumental Architecture of Tehran 1951-1979

*Azadi* Square consists of two main elements: the tower, and the plaza. The tower and the plaza both represent the elements of pre-Islamic, Islamic, and modern Persian architecture, and their combination brings up a sense of centrality which highlights the specific characteristic of this square, being a node for public resistance, which is aimed to be stressed here. Although this complex of the tower and the plaza fulfill functions such as museum, gateway, and convention halls, but it is not the reason behind the popularity and fame of *Azadi* in Tehran's urban socio-political life; it is the presence of people gathering in this specific square as the end point of demonstrations and meetings that attains the square a strong sense of place, and kept it alive.[519] The plaza and the public space with the power to communicate civic sentiments and social resistance through their design and commodification are often about public protest, but in different forms.[520] While Tehran University as the generator force of public uprising has acted as a starting point for public movements of the city, *Azadi* Square have been an endpoint to the routes of demonstrations, and thus it is a place of manifest protests, in the memory of the city; while both nodes are placed on an important axis of economic divide of the city (Figure 6.72, Figure 6.73, Figure 6.74). Public spaces hold cultural and political meanings, which are symbolically encoded in their spatial relations and built environment.[521] Thus, not surprisingly, these provocation lines and nodes are not just used by the resistance, but they are also used by the pro-government protests. Which means that the public spaces are the spaces of public discourse, but they place the discontent as well as the support in the case of Tehran. The aim of this part of this study was to understand the way architectural and socio-political history of space uncovers its design origins and highlights a path for public demonstrations.

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Thesis Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Nasser O. Rabbat. Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Science of Architecture Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, June 1998, pp.91-92

[519] Javaherian, Faryar, Trans. By: Azita Izadi, "Double-Edged Icon: Kings' Memorial Tower/ Freedom Square". Memar, Oct. Nov. 2008, pp. 32-40, p.37

[520] Low, Setha M. On the Plaza: The Politics of Public Space and Culture. University of Texas Press, Austin, 2000, p.183

[521] Ibid, p.238
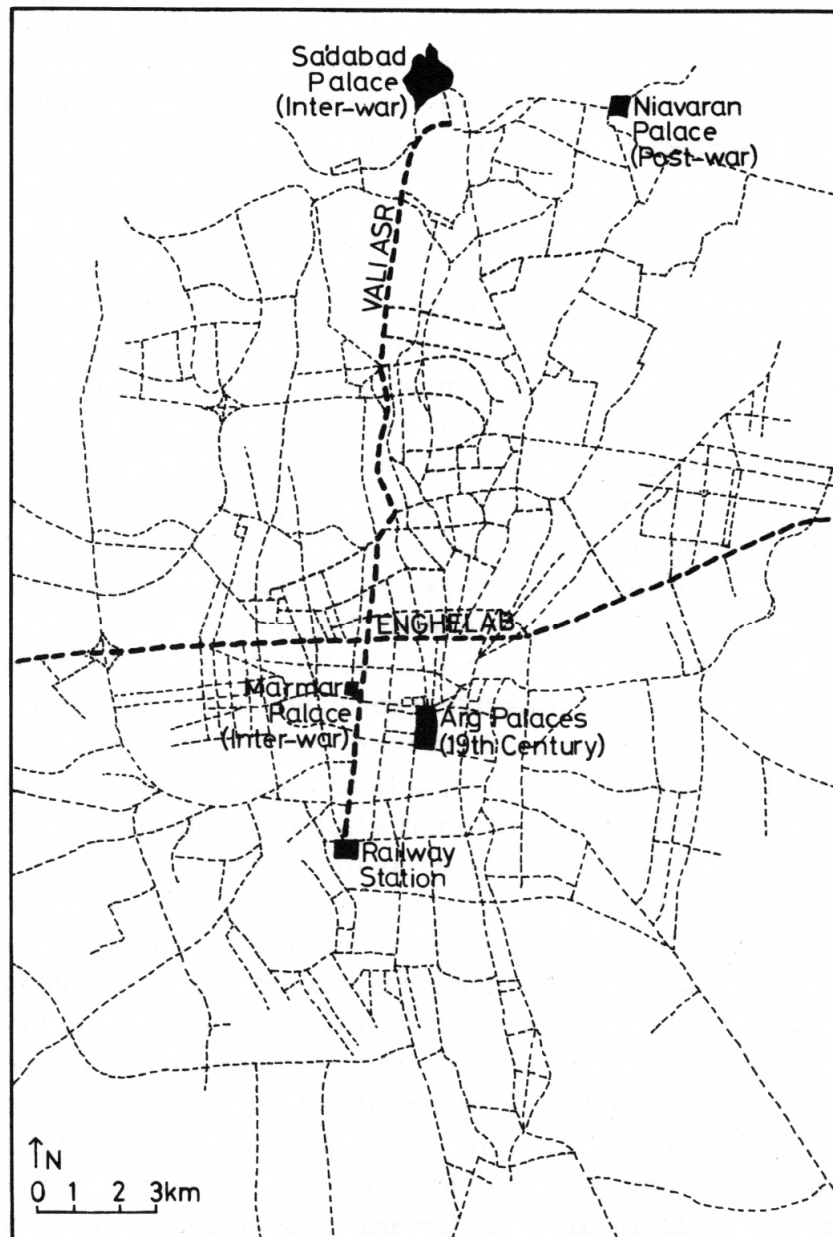
Figure 6.54: Tehran, main axes
Two main axes can be identified in the spatial structure of the city. The area around the intersection of these two axes, which includes the Marmar Palace and Tehran University, is the new city center in post-revolutionary era.
Source: Madanipour, Ali. Tehran; The making of a metropolis. John Willey and Sons Ltd. West Sussex, 1998, p.118
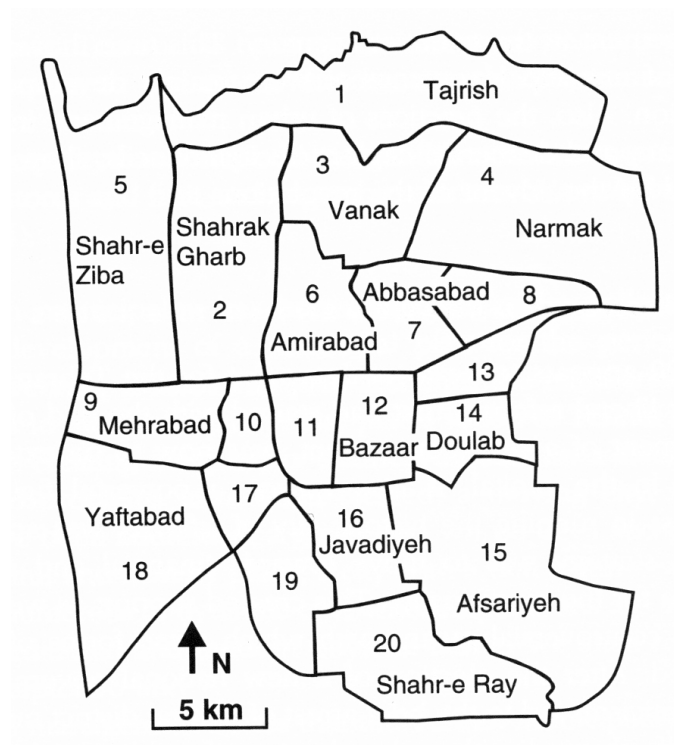
Figure 6.55: Tehran districts map, today
The map shows the 20 districts of the city of Tehran today, each managed by a municipality. It rose from 12 to 20 in post0revolutionary era. The Abbasabad and Bazaar area, in the north and south of Enqelab Avenue are visible here. They compose the new city center, which was the integration of the old and new city centers.
Source: Madanipour, Ali. Tehran; The making of a metropolis. John Willey and Sons Ltd. West Sussex, 1998, p.71



Figure 6.56: Tehran University dormitory, July 1999
The interior of a room in Tehran University dormitory that was attacked nightly, by Ansar Hezbollah is shown in the image.
Source: http://www.sunni-news.net/fa/articles.aspx?selected_article_no=9624 (visited: July 16, 2011)

Figure 6.57: The Entrance of Tehran University, July 1999
Police occupied and closed the entrance gate of the Tehran University, which is very close to Enqelab Square, and there started a clash between the police and the students.
Source: http://rajanews.com/detail.asp?id=95087 (visited: July 16, 2011)



Figure 6.58: Enqelab Square, July 1999
Students face riot police near Tehran University. In the image a view of Enqelab Square is visible, occupied by riot police, who fired tear gas at some 10,000 protesters on the streets of Tehran after they marched for a sixth day in protest of hard-liners who have thwarted efforts to institute reforms.
Source: http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2008/jul/14/irans-blood-drenched-mullahs/ (visited: July 16, 2011)

Figure 6.59: Iranian National Bank (Bank e Melli), Tehran University Branch, Enqelab Street, Tehran, 1960
*Jørn Utzon* (1918 – 2008) the famous Danish architect and the creator of the Opera House of Sydney
Australia, once said that he was inspired by the Isfahan's architecture when designing his soon to be
Australia's landmark.
Source: http://radarch.wordpress.com/tag/tehran/ (visited: July 16, 2011)
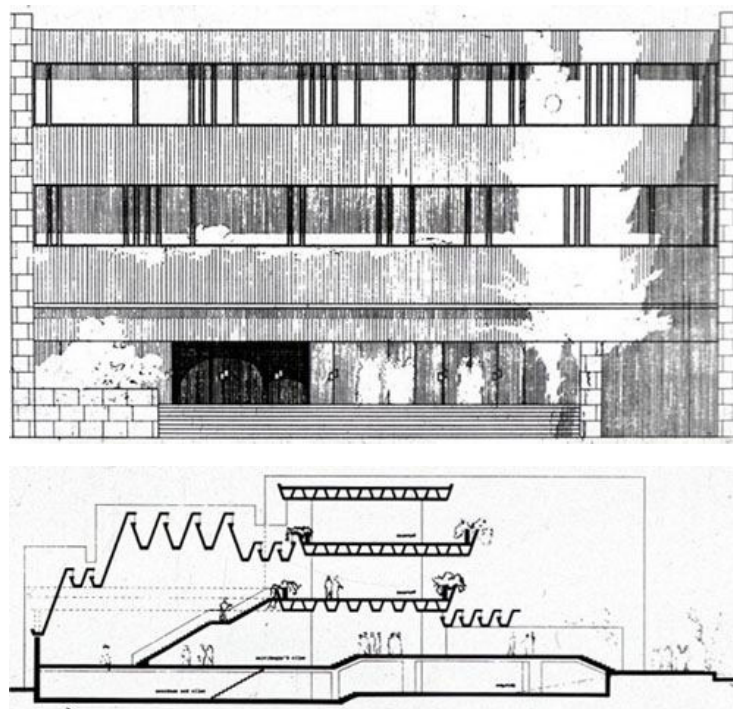


Figure 6.60: Drawings of Utzon for Bank Melli, 1959
Since the establishment of Tehran University in Enqelab Avenue, gradually the street started to gain
importance, and works of high architectural and cultural importance, with modernist styles are visible along
this street.
Source: http://radarch.wordpress.com/tag/tehran/ (visited: July 16, 2011)

Figure 6.61: *Teatr-e Shahr* (City Theatre), Enqelab Avenue, Tehran, recent years
Tehran City Theatre, is another culturally important building long Enqelab Avenue, built in Pahlavi era. This
building was subdued with the decision of erecting the giant Vali-Asr mosque, across it. There were even
discussion over the harm that this construction would bring to the historical building of City Theatre, but the
construction of the mosque was signed.
Source: http://www.architects.ir/documents/document/11722/11825/portal.aspx (visited: July 16, 2011)



Figure 6.62: Tehran, 2009
The enthusiastic crowd of Mousavi supporters hold a big rally from Enqelab to Azadi Square in Tehran few
days before the presidential election of 2009.
Source: http://www.payvand.com/news/09/jun/1112.html (visited: July 16, 2011)

Figure 6.63: Azadi Square, Tehran, 2009
Mousavi supporters wave green flags during a campaign rally in Tehran, near Azadi Square. The route from Enqelab to Azadi, is used here on a campaign, rather than a protest for opposition.
Source: http://www.reuters.com/article/2009/06/10/us-iran-election-idUSTRE5592OM20090610 (visited: July 16, 2011)



Figure 6.64: Enqelab to Azadi, Tehran, June 15, 2009
Defying an official ban, hundreds of thousands of Iranian supporters of Mir Hossein Mousavi demonstrate in Tehran. The green flags represent the Green Movement.
Source: http://www.boston.com/bigpicture/2009/06/irans_disputed_election.html (visited: July 16, 2011)

Figure 6.65: Tehran streets, top: 1979, bottom: 2009
The comparison of the people in the streets of Tehran in 1979 and 2009, shows the way masses try to declare their ownership over city, when under oppression, they want to face the power authority and question its legitimacy.
Source: http://1architect.ir/persian/released/322-we-are-not-the-cartoon-of-our-fathers.html (visited: Jan. 11 2010)

Figure 6.66: College Bridge, Tehran, top: 1979, bottom: 2009
The two images from College Bridge in central Tehran during the protest of 1979 and 2009, depict the transformation of urban space into a space of conflict and manifestation during the socio-political tensions, creating similar images.
Source: http://photos-f.ak.fbcdn.net/hphotos-ak-snc3/hs024.snc3/11132_209734463994_737693994_3196143_4002952_n.jpg (visited: Jan.07 2010)

Figure 6.67: Tehran University main entrance, top: 1979, bottom: 2009
The role of the locus of intelligentsia of the city, has been very central in both 1979 and 2009 uprisings, while in both of them protests started there and was controlled or in the case of 2009 even attacked to suppress to voices. Thus this spatial node becomes loaded with a socio-political meaning as well as function.
Source: http://1architect.ir/persian/released/322-we-are-not-the-cartoon-of-our-fathers.html (visited: Jan. 11 2010)

Figure 6.68: Azadi (Shahyad) Square, Tehran, top: 1979, bottom: 2009
The monument of Shah, was an important node in 1979 Revolution; when it was occupied and even its name was changed to Freedom (Azadi), as it can be observed still its meaning and function did not change. Dissatisfied masses used it again in 2009 to show their aggression.
Source: http://1architect.ir/persian/released/322-we-are-not-the-cartoon-of-our-fathers.html (visited: Jan.12 2010)

Figure 6.69: Enqelab Square, Tehran, 2010
A view of Enqelab Square in the daily life of Tehran, shows the square used as a automobile traffic junction.
Source: http://mw2.google.com/mw-panoramio/photos/medium/35916270.jpg Photo by: Measam
Ahmadzadeh (visited: April 22, 2011)
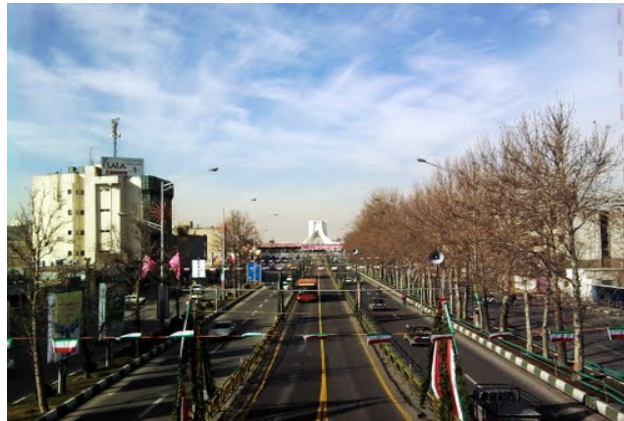


Figure 6.70: view from the route from Enqelab to Azadi, Tehran, 2010
A view from the Enqelab to Azadi, in a normal day in Tehran, shows the way this road acts as a very normal route in the city.
Source: http://mw2.google.com/mw-panoramio/photos/medium/47872358.jpg (visited: April 22, 2011)



Figure 6.71: Azadi Square, February 2009 (22 Bahman 1387)
In the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the 1979 Islamic Revolution, a model of the Safir (Ambassador) rocket, which carried Iran's first satellite into space, was launched into during a ceremony, in Azadi Square. Ahmadinejad used thesame public square that was used for Green Movement protests few months ago for the show of power of the state.
Source: http://mw2.google.com/mw-panoramio/photos/medium/18794552.jpg (visited:April 22, 2011)
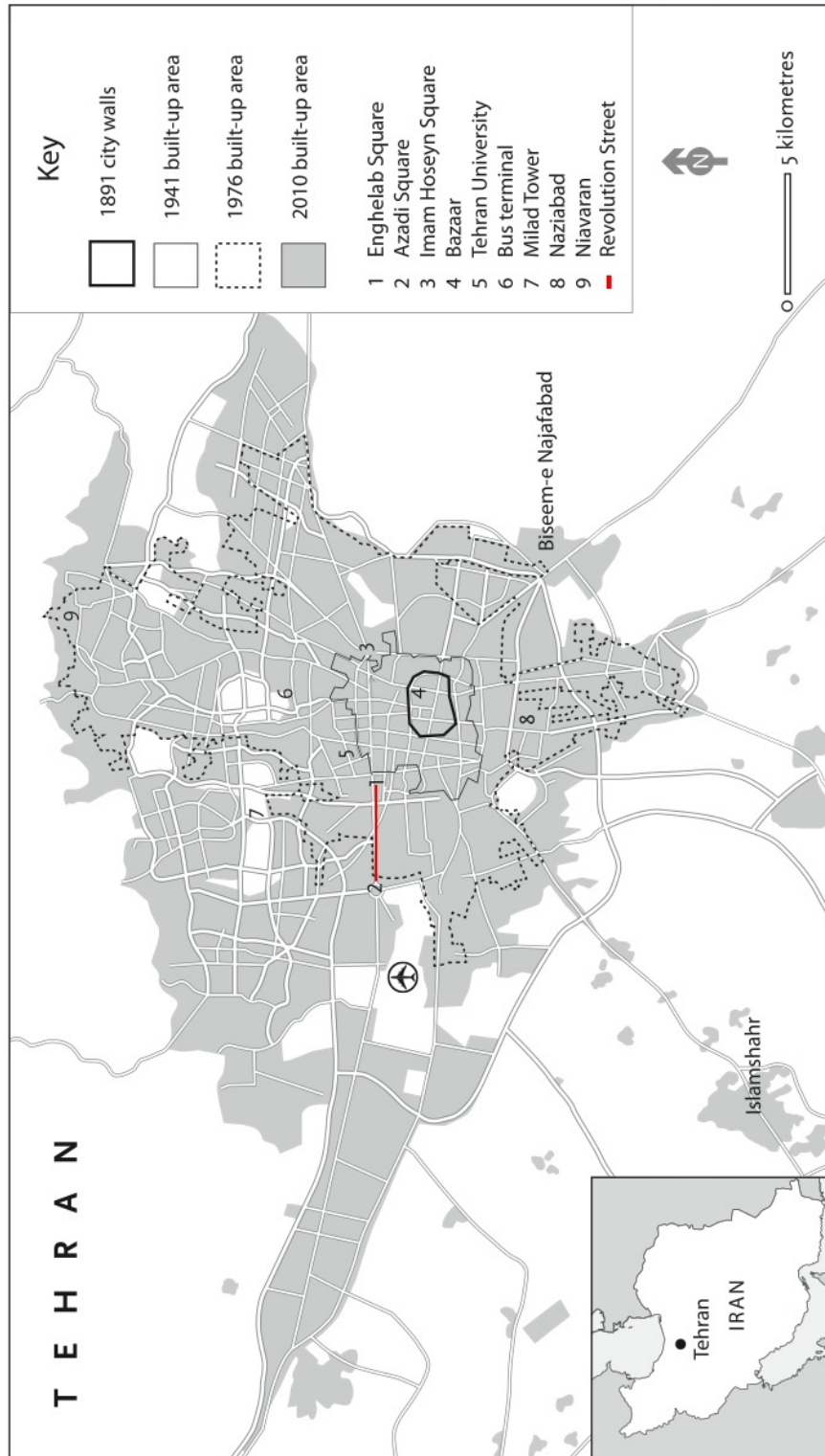
Figure 6.72: map of Tehran, 1891 – 2010
The development map of Tehran, showing its urban form and expansion from 1891 till 2010, depicts that the provocation line
of the movements in the recent history of the city, did not exist till 1940's. The nodes and the path itself are the products of
very recent modern history of the city, as the nature of the protests.
Source: Bayat, Asef. "Tehran: Paradox City". New Left Review, 66, November – December 2010, pp.99-122, p.100
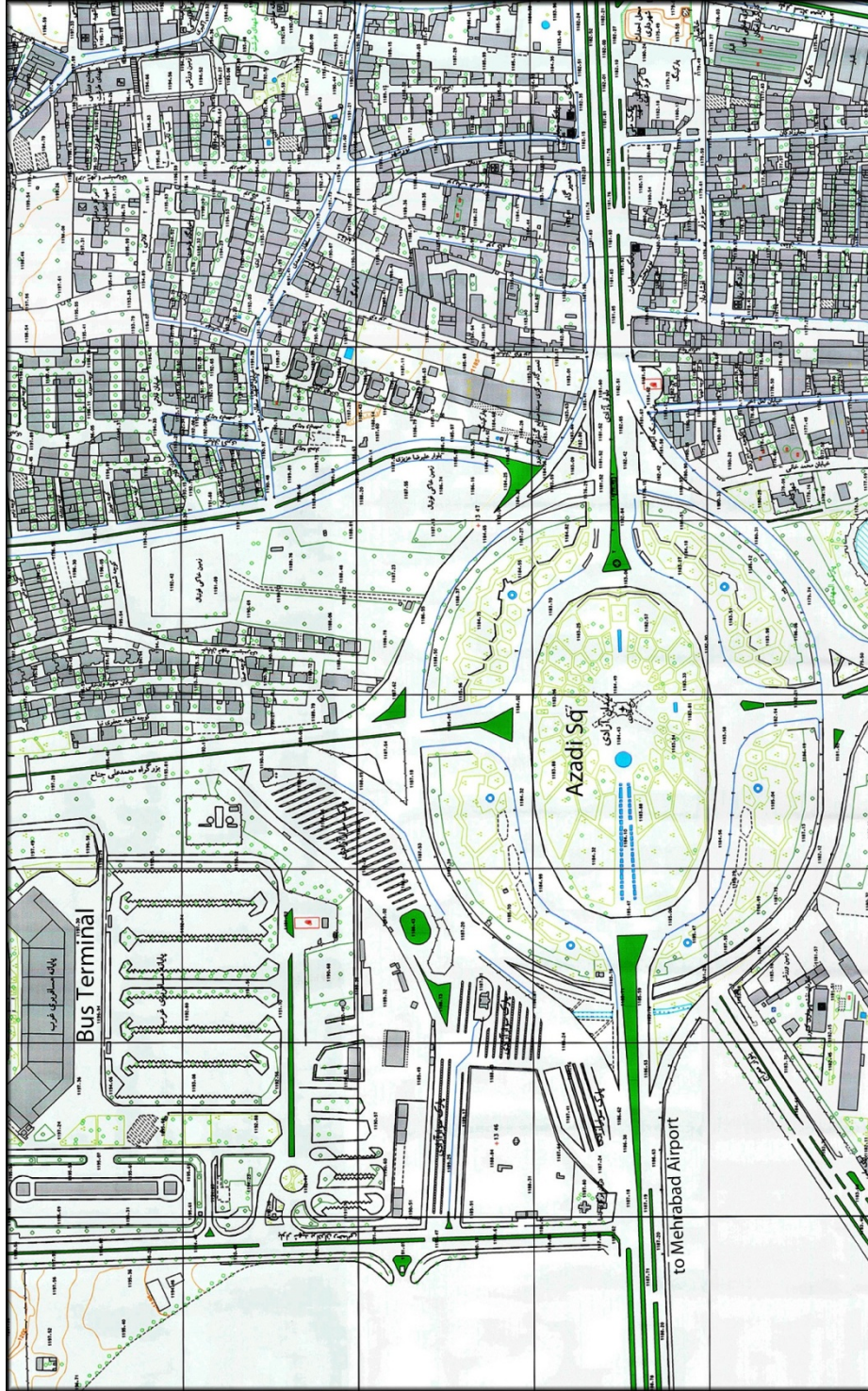
Figure 6.74: Azadi Square, 2005
The map shows the Azadi Square and the area around it in its current position to the main Bus Terminal and the Mehrabad Airport.
Source: National Cartographic Center of Iran, Mehrabad, Tehran, Iran

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## 6.7. Public realm: scene of clashes or democratic consensus

In modern societies, various forces, beyond the control of any authority or social formations, construct the public space, and therefore public space is definitely a product of social negotiation and contest.[522] Consequently public sphere in the Muslim Iranian society, under the rule of Islamic regime, denotes the existence of arenas that are not only autonomous from the political order but are also public in the sense that they are accessible to different sectors of society, although under oppression.[523] The different arenas of power struggle are occupied at different periods of time, by the state or the social agency to legitimize itself in the context of the Iranian society, which has experienced deep political conflicts in the last century. The politics of public space can shape the nature of politics in public space, and that is the over-lapping field of debate over the properties of the locations of the power struggle.[524] Spatial meanings are actively manipulated by the city and the source of power, to represent diverse political agendas; which by time become embedded in the architecture and landscape design of public space, providing spaces for civic contestation and public involvement.[525] The question of this chapter is weather the post-revolutionary state in Iran aims to provide such a public space or avoids it? When the citizens attempt to create that space, through manipulation of the existing infrastructure, does it become a space of clash or a space of democratic consensus?

Tehran is a more complicated case of study in terms of consensus in the public realm, not only from a political point of view, but also in the field of everyday life. In the context of turbulent change in Tehran it is helpful to study the socio-political upheaval and conflict or consensus in the light of an understanding of the mosaic of difference, existing in this gigantic metropolis. The urban society of Tehran, with its constantly increasing population, is a mixture of numerous people, with different ethnic origins, languages and dialects, uprooted from their previous social contexts; this agglomeration of individuals has created a constant turmoil and a rapidly changing environment, and the Iranian revolutions

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[522] Mitchell, Don. "Introduction: Public Space and the City". <u>Urban Geography</u> 17(2), pp. 127-131, 1996, p.131

[523] N.Eisenstadt, Shamuel. <u>Conclusion.</u> Ed. By: Hoesxter, Miriam, Shmuel N.Eisenstadt, Nehemia Levtzion. The Public Sphere in Muslim Societies, State University of New York Press, New York, 2002, p.140

[524] Mitchell, Don & Lynn A. Staeheli. "Permitting Protest: parsing the fine geography of dissent in America." <u>International Journal of Urban and Regional Research.</u> No. 29 (4), pp.796-813, 2005, p.798

[525] Low, Setha M. On the Plaza: The Politics of Public Space and Culture. University of Texas Press, Austin, 2000, p.239

are both caused by and cause fluidity of social norms.[526] In such a colorful mosaic, it becomes difficult to reach a consensus, and the authorities have always felt the threat of this mosaic of differences, which mirrors the diversity of the country; they had attempted to find narratives of integration through religious or national ethos.[527]

The interplay between the political power and the social expressions of resistance in the scene of the public spaces and specifically city squares reveals the reality that although due to the pressures of the government on the lives of everyday person in the public spaces, and the privatization of the public life in Tehran, the presence of people, gathered in the squares to demonstrate their power and opposition have always been given the squares the gift of life. In fact the post-revolutionary government with its claims of reviving traditional forms and practices as a reaction to radical modernization of the past, could not transfer Tehran into a religious city; instead strong modernist tendencies can be observed in the body of the capital.[528] Whereby legal and institutional arrangements for urban planning remained almost intact, despite change of individuals, and despite structural changes at the higher levels of government after 1979, the modernist tendencies of the urban atmosphere of Tehran remained processing, due to the changing nature of Tehran.[529]

The prominent theme of the modern history of Tehran seems to be a fundamental, all-embracing change.[530] The gradual consequence of this change, rising from the conflict and the inner dichotomy of the city, is visible in the urban body of the city; the social tensions and political polarizations are reflected on the urban space of this metropolis. The spatial behavior of the revolutionaries and state, as well as the post-revolutionary state and the citizens, shows the quality of the urban spaces, serving for democracy or clash. In post-revolutionary state in Tehran a recent case of study is the June 2009 presidency elections and its following events. The monumental silent march of June 15, 2009, in which millions of protestors filled the *Enqelab* Street and converged onto *Azadi* Square implied a radical change in Tehran's mode of governance; In an extraordinary security measure, the Revolutionary Guards took full control of the city for two months, together with tens of thousands of security and paramilitary agents, stationed in strategic streets and squares of the

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[526] Madanipour, Ali. "City Profile: Tehran." <u>Cities.</u> Vol. 16, No. 1, pp.57-65, 1999, p.59
[527] Ibid, p.59
[528] Madanipour, Ali. "Urban Planning and Development in Tehran." <u>Cities.</u> Vol. 23, No. 6, pp.433-438, 2006, p.437
[529] Ibid, p.437
[530] Madanipour, Ali. Tehran; The making of a metropolis. John Willey and Sons Ltd. West Sussex, 1998, p.26

city.[531] The public spaces of the city were under harsh surveillance and systematic control to suppress the voices of the opposition.

> "Within a few weeks, 4,000 protestors had been arrested, at least 70 killed, the reformist media shut down, and free communication in the city virtually suspended; by the end of the year, the total number of detainees reached 10,000.A virulent propaganda campaign in state-controlled media and Stalinist-type mass trials of opposition figures were the prelude to a more systematic surveillance of the city spaces. Scores of hidden cameras were placed on public thoroughfares, in colleges and dorms, while *basij* militias were busily monitoring 'suspicious' activities. It was as if the city had gone astray, and the authorities felt an urge to put it in its place, to 'convert' its sights and sounds. Public parks were ordered to set up prayer halls and mosques, and begin broadcasting the azan, the call to prayer. In May 2010, Tehran residents realized with astonishment that several statues of artists, writers and historical figures such as Avicenna had mysteriously disappeared from the city's public parks and squares - blatant thefts clearly carried out with cranes and heavy machinery, pointing to official approval for this attempt to disfigure the secular body of the city."[532]

With this background of the way state dealt with the civilized protests of the citizens, it becomes clear that public spaces of the city might be used democratically and in a civilized manner by the citizens who demand change, but in response the state converts it into a clash, and oppresses the dissatisfied masses through systematic surveillance and monitoring of the space, in order to put the space into the frames that the state has foreseen to keep its authority. Upon the discussions over the socio-spatial practices of public space, strategies of power, tactics of resistance, and scenarios of public movements in Tehran, it is possible to have an understanding of the public spaces of the city, being democratic or oppressed.Through descriptive information of eyewitnesses, images, and maps provided over the post-revolutionary space in Tehran, it is possible to comprehend the way modern public spaces of a city has gone under a transformative period, and the way it has resulted in contradictory outcomes. The point to be highlighted here is the way space is fragmentized and is loaded with a dual character, being positioned as the ground of the struggle of power between state and citizens.

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[531] Bayat, Asef. "Tehran: Paradox City". <u>New Left Review</u>, 66, November – December 2010, pp.99-122, p.118
[532] Ibid, pp.118-119

# CHAPTER 7

# CONCLUSION

## 7.1. Overall assessments

This study aimed to discuss the dialectic between power and space and the struggle over power that takes action in the urban environment and transforms the space. Tehran, as the controversial modern and traditionalist end to the urban development of a 4000-year-old culture, forms the context of this study. The discussions have been developed in a manner to explore the way public space and specifically city squares become political apparatuses not only in the hands of the ruling power of the society but also in the hands of the inhabitants of the cities. The spatial transformation on this specific city, as the cause and the effect of power struggle, was analyzed within a pre-defined period, focusing on the less than a-hundred-year history of the city; the period that starts with the establishment of Tehran University, in 1934, up to the socio-political events of the post-election events in 2009. The role of the intelligentsia in the modern socio-political movements are to be stressed; and thus the establishment of Tehran University, as a vital part of the urban development of the city, as well as the creation of a locus of intelligentsia of the country, is determined as the starting point of this study. The end point of the period of the study is 2009, which is the year that the conflict between the Green Movement on one side and pro-governmental movement on the other side appeared in the public spaces of Tehran. This period of time includes several uprisings and one important revolution.

Within these frames of space and time, a special concern of the study was to reveal the impact of power relations on the space and the manipulation of the public spaces by the citizens. The spatial patterns, confronting or being in accordance with the socio-political tendencies of the society, are to be discussed in relation to the issue of the power struggle. Before introducing the division of the chapters of the study, a brief history of the city of

Tehran has been provided. While in this introductory part a general history of the public space, and public sphere are provided, the 200-year-old capital for the ancient country of Iran, being a revolutionary capital, has been introduced in terms of its development, urban spaces, and the establishment of Tehran University. The aim of the first chapter of the study is to provide an insight about the concerns of the thesis, and to familiarize the reader with its spatial and political context. In short it has been aimed to locate Tehran and its public spaces within the country as well as the region, through providing political, social, and spatial information. Rather than providing a theoretical frame separated from the case of the study, during all the chapters and periods of time, the aim of the text has been to blend the theoretical issues, with the historical and spatial analysis of the space through descriptions, enriched with samples. Mostly in the first sub-chapters of each chapter a more historical, social and political account of the period has been given, which is followed by spatial analysis in the next sub-chapters.

Following the introductory part, there comes a series of time spans starting from 1934, up to 2009, with specific themes, ascribed to each period of time. The first time span, from 1934, to 1963, is from the establishment of Tehran University to the White Revolution. The periods are divided with concentration on the shifts in urban policies, rather than the historical and political events. Thus instead of the shift in monarchy, from Reza Shah to his son, Mohammad Reza Shah, which happened in 1941, the White Revolution and the increase in oil income which accelerated the urban development and brought a new phase of development, is chosen as a node in division of the time. Alongside the historical account of the period, which runs in the text, the establishment of Tehran University and the physical condition of the public spaces in Tehran provided an image of Tehran in those years. Yet discussion on the issue of power in the public squares in Iranian cities, emphasize the role of public squares in the power struggle historically. The White Revolution is a critical point in this study, while it was the time that an urban crisis and the segregation of poor and rich started to cause danger for the ruling regime. Underlying the fact that the period of Reza Shah, was characterized as the period of modernization with reference to ancient Persian imagery in architecture and urban design, and the period of Mohammad Reza Shah was the period of European imagery, still the emphasis of the text is about the transition from a feudal system to a secular system, and its effects on urban environment, and the conception of the citizens from public spaces. The class segregation in Tehran, playing an important role in the following socio-political movements in the city, has been stressed with spatial

concentrations.

In the chapter that followed 1963, White Revolution, and the accelerated modern urban developments in Tehran, the focus was on the modernization of the public squares of Tehran, and the construction of Azadi Square in 1971, as a critical urban node in this study, was chosen as the next point in time divide. The time span from 1963 to 1971, has been analyzed to open up the way to understand the construction of a new European image for the city, with the oil income; an accelerated urban construction that widened the gap between the rural and urban areas more and more and gradually lead to the emergence of dissatisfied masses. The architectural tendencies of the ruling regime, as well as the intellectual atmosphere of the country, are provided to draw an image of the country in general and Tehran specifically as the central node and tan important generator of all these activities; an image that would provide the reader with an understanding of the process of the transformation of the public sphere and public spaces of the city into a revolutionary one, and then into an Islamic one. Shahyad (Azadi), as the most appealing physical appearance of the manifestation of the source of power was built at the last decade of the life of that regime, but with the hope of celebrating the glory of it. This contradictory position of this specific monument in term of its raison d'être, its function, and identity seems to be there since its creation. On the other side with the White Revolution and modern urban developments, Bazaar and Mosque, which were of vital status in the power structure of the country, even after the Reza Shah modernization, started to lose their position as well as spatial location and centrality.

White Revolution had transformed the traditional order of the Iranian society along the spatial layout of that order. Thus 1970's were the time that the powers in loss (bazaaris and clerics) would start to support the dissatisfied masses and the intelligentsia. While the background of the public spaces in Tehran and the Shahyad (Azadi) monument, as the focal point of this study exemplifying the control of power over public space through self-glorifying intervention, that shows the authority of the power to build grand structures and naming it after himself, is provided till 1971; a new phase of the study discussing a revolutionary space appears. The period of time from 1971 to 1979 is discussed with the main theme of urban space, being a political apparatus, in the hands of the ruling power as well as the city dwellers. Tehran became the spatial embodiment of the struggle over political power between the state and different opposition groups, during 1970's. Tehran University, which was established by the state, as part of its modern and secular developments, was now

an important generic force of opposition. The perceived quality of the city was transforming due to the shift in their identity and function, and the increased surveillance. The importance of Shahreza Square and Street, Tehran University, and Shahyad Square - the histories of which were provided during the previous chapters - as the spatial nodes of the power struggle, were revealed at this part of the study. Examined in the spatial and temporal frames of the context of the study, the revolutionary Tehran provided descriptive and comparative information on the spatial transformation of the public spaces of a city during an intense struggle over power. Visual materials such as maps and images of the manipulation of the public spaces to fight for power were provided to picture the spatial transformation of a revolutionary city with reference to the arenas of power struggle, which consist a sphere in that it is possible to have an overall image of the causes and the effects of such a transformative period. Accordingly in the interventions of the power into the modern spaces of the Tehran of 1970's, the Iranian Revolution had to be positioned with reference to the issue of modernity, to comprehend the urban policies of this emerging power. While the first time span discusses the structure of power, the second time span from 1963 to 1971, focuses on public squares, and the chapter over 1971 to 1979 has the issue of streets as public properties in its core; and the post-revolutionary era, tries to analyze the transformation of space in its private and public spheres opposed to the ideologies and the forces of a new power in charge.

The analysis of the relation of power and space, in describing the way modernist state imposed its modernism upon citizens through modern urban developments, and the way revolutionary masses manipulated those spaces to fight for their ideology, in the context of Tehran, leads to the post-revolutionary era; during which, it can be stated that the state, utilized the public space to (re)produce a public sphere. The final time span of this study included the 1979 – 2009; the post-revolutionary Tehran. During this part of the study, space, society, public-private dichotomy, strategies of power, tactics of resistance, and the provocation line of the public movements have been observed and analyzed. Within these frames of discussion, it has been derived that, power struggle is not a mere political issue, but it is narrated through space, and it forms the space and the spatial practices. Space becomes a key in the manifestation of power as well as its perception and construction. The power becomes tangible in the body of space, and to comprehend it, the method of this study is to picture the interventions of the power into space in different periods of time and compare those interventions. While the study on the space in post-revolutionary era emphasized the existing oppression on the public arena, the question of the death of public space aroused;

the way oppression and surveillance moved the conception of the boundaries of private and public space into each other's realms. While formally the interior space of a governmental building or a university is to be considered as a safer space rather than the space of a street, but people feel less safe, and feel the need to cover themselves more when they are entering a building; and that is another schizophrenic phase about the space. Through descriptive information of eyewitnesses and images, this part of the study reveals the most explicit characteristics of the public space in post-revolutionary Tehran to open up discussions over the transformed nature of the modern public spaces of the city and depict the way public spaces, although belonged to the public, and aimed to serve the public, but they are owned by the state; while, expect specific occasions of some recent public uprisings, they are structured and patrolled by the state. The impressive point of this chapter was to find out that while the design progress is affected by the new regulations of the state, and the space hierarchy is transformed within the frames of the ruling ideology, the citizens not only try to carve out material and metaphorical spaces for themselves, but their struggle is visible within the space, over some of the sanctions of the state into space, as in the case of the removal of the sculptures representing Persianity.

7.2. Modernity: un-veiling & re-veiling

Throughout this study the historical account of the social, cultural and political atmosphere of the city as well as the country has been provided, to be able to see the links between them and the transformation of the space. In the intricate urban and spatial history of almost a hundred year of Tehran with two main revolutions and several uprisings, the paradox in the nature of the city is not ignorable; a paradoxical condition in society, culture, politics, and finally urban system. This city, swaying between traditional and modern is from many aspects staying in a transitory phase. During this study it has been observed that this specific character is a common character of different periods of the history of Tehran, and it has been used as an element of force by the state in some period, and as an element of resistance by the citizens in some other periods. One of the general outcomes of this observation can be the fact that this duality and controversy is reflected in the body of Tehran. The forced modernity of Reza Shah, and the forced traditionalism of Islamic regime, both brought a phenomenon that could be named as the separation of form and content to the public sphere of Tehran. A very clear instance of that is the un-veiling and modern

dressing codes brought by Reza Shah, while the mentality of the society was still traditionalist; and in response the re-veiling brought by Islamic regime, while the post-revolutionary generation of the Iranian women are quite modern and they live modern lives.

The encounter of the source of power with modernity in the recent history of Tehran has played a pivotal role in the formation of the city as well as society. In addition, to comprehend the role of the spatial symbol of the intelligentsia, which is Tehran University, in the formation of the paths of the social movements in Tehran, it was necessary to concentrate on the encounter of the Iranian society, its ruling authority, and its intellect forces with modernism. It was not just women who were un-veiled and re-veiled in different encounters of the same context with modernity, but the space was also un-veiled and re-veiled. In its vey complex form of modernity, urban design and architecture also moved back and forth between modern tendencies, with application of modern technologies and traditionalist ideologies with their specific spatial hierarchies, segregations, and codes of appearance. Ironically under the Islamic rule, Tehran has grown more modern, and this 'tortured modernity' is expressed in high literacy rates, growing urban individuality, the decline of the *mahalleh* urban system, the extension of a modern public sphere, trends towards apartment living style, and the increasing autonomy and public visibility of women.[533]

The analysis of the structural elements of modern Tehran, both in the top-bottom imposed modernism and in the Islamic period, leads this study to conclude that even the modernism itself becomes a tool in the hands of social agencies to define their identity, and through modernist interventions into the urban space, Islamist reformist groups aimed to depict that they are not hard core Islamists, and they look for gradual change, and thus they absorbed the support of the modern nation. The Iranian experience of modernity includes enormous conflicts, and all those conflicts appear in the power relations and their spatial representation. Drawing on this observation it can be stated that one of the main generator conflicts of paradoxical Tehran is the issue of modernism in the hands of the ruling power, willing to impose or avoid it.

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[533] Bayat, Asef. "Tehran: Paradox City". <u>New Left Review</u>, 66, November – December 2010, pp.99-122, p.122

## 7.3. Transformation: nation breaking

The main question of this research, which is the question of the engagement of architecture and urban design in politics and power struggle, was posed by providing a blend of the theoretical ground and factual history of space and power in the case of Tehran. The notion of the "transformation" of public space alongside the transformation of public sphere, within the frames of this study, entail a "breaking" with the past. Through the observation of the recent history of Tehran, it can be derived that while every revolution, and every emerging power, aims to break with the immediate past, this trend moves into the field of the conception of space. In other words, every re-making was to come up with an un-making, and that is the point where the construction and the transformation of space were to be characterized by a notion of "breaking". The analysis of the structural elements of the city, active in public movements, shows that even in the cases that a total formal break was not possible – such as post 1979 revolutionary era – through interventions into the space in terms of meaning and function, that would totally shift the identity of the space, this break was to be applied. In fact the demand for reform, which characterized the political tensions of the short history of Tehran, was such that the emerging political structure was forced to undertake a different major program for the transformation of the city, which would break with the previous program.[534]

At the time of Reza Shah, imposing modernism upon the traditional fabric of the city, it was a re-construction of a new image for the city; with the demolition of the old pattern of the city and its spatial hierarchy the city was to gain a modern and nationalist image. New spatial divisions always came with new social divisions and vice versa. Furthermore when in 1960's Tehran became the spatial embodiment of the oil boom, the nationalistic and secular position of Mohammad Reza Shah, had the full chance to be represented on the body of the city; a new spatial hierarchy along side a social order that would weaken the position of *bazaaris* and *ulama*, socially and spatially. In the post-revolutionary era, this break of order was accompanied by a deep shift in the identity of the society, self, and space. The traditional and the modern conceptions of private and public spaces in the contemporary post-revolutionary Iran, and the formats of social interaction, created a different kind of construction of social identity, in comparison to its regional

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[534] Madanipour, Ali. Tehran; The making of a metropolis. John Willey and Sons Ltd. West Sussex, 1998, p.13

counterparts. The change in the nature of the streets and other public spaces, often with few interventions in terms of their form and pattern, the transformation of the domestic house as a private space and the way it began to open up to the public domain, and its evolution from an inward spatial organization to an outward looking entity, are quite important in having an understanding of the transformation of space in contemporary Tehran. In this study it has been mentioned that how some of the traditional functions within the boundaries of private activities have been transferred to the domain of public activities and, conversely, how some public activities have been added to the space of domestic houses. Although throughout this study it can be observed that the transformation in the patterns of public spaces is due to the fundamental changes in Iranian life as a result of the evolution from a traditional to a modern or semi-modern society, and then from a modern society to a religious one, some elements remain the same in nature but different in form, up until the present time. The way the citizens of this paradoxical capital usedcertain public spaces in the conflicting social and political situations to demand their right is among those elements.

The issue of nation breaking, resulting from the transformations in the body of Tehran, in different periods of its short history, has to be considered on studies about the issue of space, in this context. The significance of this issue is more revealing in the post-Islamic Revolution era, with all the complexity and the political questions that it posed. What is tried to be implied here is that the transformations of the private and public sphere and shifts in the character of spaces, which directly affect the experience of the citizens from the spaces of their everyday lives, are all resulted from clear breaks with the history of a nation and thus with their national identity.New socio-spatial practices brought new conceptions of self and nation, and thus remake the national identity of the citizens and their "Iranianness". This issue has been clearly depicted with mentioning about the recent interventions in the public squares, which hold statues, representing Persian mythical heroes. Diminishing the image of the historical background of a nation from the public spaces, can be considered as the further stage of a state in controlling and transforming the space and the modes of sociability.

7.4. Revolutionary Road: Tehran University to Azadi Square

The effects of revolutions and socio-political movements in the urban spaces of Tehran are not ignorable in the context of this study. Politics has always been a determining element in the formal transformations and the spatial qualities of this city of revolutions.[535] Space in general and specifically urban space of Tehran is an outcome of socio-political tensions and the manifestations of the changes. As it has been claimed in different parts of this study, the divide between the affluent north and poor south, as the problem and nature of this urban form, is also an outcome of the socio-political stratifications of the city. The huge gap between the poor and the rich is manifested in the body of Tehran. The physical border between these two poles is loaded with a symbolic and functional value that highlights the considerable and influential role of this axis in the city. At the more detailed study within this thesis, the role of the axis of *Enqelab* Street, and its extension with *Azadi* Street has been stressed; the axis that divides the city into two poles in terms of economic condition, social status, as well as spatial qualities and urban image. The process that lead to this formation has been analyzed through this study, but the point that is to be mentioned here as a conclusive note is that, although in terms of its nature it can be said that this axis of divide between two poles can be characterized as a neutral line, but once again, within all the paradoxes of this city, it has been observed here, that paradoxically this axis is the jugular vein of the city; this border line of the poor and rich, hosting Tehran University as well as many publications, and characterized as a generator area of the production of intellect of the country, forms the most active path of the city in public uprisings and struggles of power since 1970's.

This physical as well as metaphorical road, has been focused in this study, with special emphasize on two nodes on it; *Azadi* Square and Tehran University. This east-south axis of divide as one single entity is observed here, as a manifestation of the change in the power pillars of a society from traditional to modern; while as the zone of representation of middle class, young university students, and intellectuals, this road has become the road that is occupied by dissatisfied masses who demonstrate their demand for change in different occasions since 1970's. It has a metaphorical meaning while in recent protests when the route of the protests is announced as "from *Enqelab* to *Azadi*", the underlying meaning of

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[535] Ali Madanipour, in his book on Tehran, titled "Tehran; The making of a metropolis", describes Tehran as the "city of revolutions".

these nodes, meaning from "Revolution to Freedom" is stressed. Actually this route, placed at the place of the northern walls of the old city, represented a modern intervention into the urban fabric of Tehran, since it was created by Reza Shah as the very first steps of his reconstruction project for the capital; at the same time it hosted Tehran University, which was almost outside the limits of the city at that time. With the rapid growth of the city, this northern border of the city became the central axis of it. This axis is characterized as the space of confrontation of the old and new, poor and rich, revolution and reform, as part of the analytical view of this study.

Through this study, in analyzing the engagement of architecture and urban design in the social and political movements in the body of Tehran, and the role of socio-political atmosphere of the state and the citizens in the formation of space and its conceptions, *Enqelab-Azadi* axis is highlighted. This spatial manifestation of socio-political conflicts, and the tensions between old and new, Islamic and secular, poor and rich, are visible in an indepth analyitical observation of space in the context of this study, but the emphasis on the specific axis of *Enqelab-Azadi* and its two crucial nodes of *Azadi* Square and Tehran University, are due to the symbolic and all embracing identity of these spaces. Nevertheless this axis can be identified as the unity of all the dualities of this city of paradoxes, where all the entities of this duality are juxtaposed and expressed even in its everyday practices.

## 7.5. Further implications

In making the argument of this study, space, as the product of architecture and urban planning, was considered not from an artistic point of view, but from a strategic point of view, questioning the role of power in transformation and manipulation of space, and the role of space in providing arenas of struggle and resistance. This study aimed to open questions particularly on the spatial transformations of an urban context, loaded with political concerns and stuck between socio-political tensions and revolts. Tehran provided a complex case for such a study, because it is a metropolis that has changed dramatically within the last hundred years, and multiple factors, such as modernity and tradition, secularism and Islamism, capitalism and feudalism, democracy and autocracy, have been in close confrontation, which has been reflected in the body of the city and its conception of

space. Through observing Tehran of Reza Shah Pahlavi, Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, and Islamic Republic, from a socio-political point of view, this study derived conclusions on the role of power on the production and manipulation of space, representation of power in space, manipulation of space by the resistance, and the struggle of power over domination of space in the body of Tehran.

> "In the West's imagination, Tehran has principally been seen as a city of lofty minarets, piercing calls to prayer, bearded clerics and women veiled head-to-toe; a city of mud-bricks and narrow alleyways populated by extended families. This is the Tehran of Not without My Daughter."[536]

The urge of writing about Tehran - not a city of the glory of Persian empire - a city of minarets in the western imagination, but a city of modern buildings and highways surprising the western visitors, rose from my own experience of the spatial conflicts of this city, which is modern in the appearance but is going through deep changes; and the struggle over dominating the public spaces is visible not just in cases of political upheavals but also in everyday life. In fact I believe that revolutions and socio-political tensions taking place in the body of Tehran, provide a wide research opportunity, to comprehend the mechanism of power in forming urban environment and framing spaces. The role of architecture in legitimizing the source of power can be extensively studied within the context of modern Tehran; and while all the issues related to this legitimization and domination of space, in the case of Tehran, could not be treated with the detail they deserved, I tried to address them shortly and open discussions for further studies. All the addressed issues over space in the context of this study can be discussed within more extensive theoretical and empirical frames of research. Several major issues related to the discussions of power and space, can be taken into analysis within the context of Tehran, that will set ground for studies on similar cases in the Middle Eastern towns, experiencing socio-political conflicts, with religious and traditional concerns on one side, and modern images and tendencies on the other side. Those issues can be categorized under two main groups: first sanctions of the state into the space, second manipulation of the space by tactics of resistance.

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[536] Bayat, Asef. "Tehran: Paradox City". New Left Review, 66, November – December 2010, pp.99-122, p.99

It is more productive to approach the first category of further studies, proposed by this thesis, which is the sanctions of the state into the space, with concerns on the history of the space that is studied and its socio-political background. Such a study will clear out the pillars of power of the context and spatial properties of those pillars. In the case of Tehran the traditional power pillars were briefly analyzed here to comprehend the transformation that was brought by the new power structure, coming up with modernism; while their spatial coordinates within the city were reflecting the will of the source of power to replace the traditional power pillars and subdue them. The reforms of the state is another issue that can be studied with reference to space, while they came up with spatial manifestations and new interventions into the public spaces. Another issue that can be studied in detail, is the rise of statues of the ruling power in the urban squares, representing their dominance over the public spaces, coming up as a trend alongside the westernization of the cities. The statues were pulled down as soon as the public spaces were occupied by dissatisfied masses.

With the Islamic Revolution new sanctions of state came to the public spaces, that were briefly mentioned here; but the major issues that are aimed to be opened for further discussions in this study can be named as follows. The position of the new state, towards modernism was a crucial point at this research; while this position could make the interventions of the state into the space and spatial practices, more clear. The issue of spatial practices and the limits set upon them is very important in transforming the public spaces and diminishing some of the existing spaces, while their practices were forbidden. The change in the forms of sociability, set by the Islamic state, segregation of sexes, and oppression are other elements of effect on the formation of the conception of public spaces and re-definition of the public-private boundaries. Furthermore murals on the body of Tehran are not ignorable at all; the high number of murals everywhere in the city, side-by-side modern buildings, shocks every newcomer to the town. The existence of murals, as the means of propaganda for the regime, occupying the public landscape of the city, is another issue that can be studied in more detail, with reference to the ideology of the ruling power in the production and re-production of space and loading it with pre-defined identity or shifting its identity by those manipulations.

The second categorization of this thesis for further studies defined as the manipulation of space by the tactics of resistance is also consisted of several observations derived from the transformations in the body of Tehran. The background for understanding the application of the space by the resistance forces of the society lies in understanding the

urban crisis of the society of the context of the study and their class segregations within the city. In this respect Tehran created a very conflicted case, with clear segregation of poor and rich and a complex set of problems causing dissatisfaction and mobilization of masses. The other issue is to understand and analyze the way modern developments and constructions of the state were perceived by the citizens. During this study it has been observed that the perception of the citizens from those modern spaces created by the state and their western image, has been influential in the reaction of the masses towards the state. Wall writings and pulling down the statues representing the power of the regime in the course of the Revolution was another scene of the struggle over power in the urban environment and conquering of public spaces. Nevertheless all the tactics of the citizens in post-revolutionary era, trying to defeat the sanctions of the state, through the creation of an underground life style can be the question of further spatial studies in the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Finally, derived from all the mentioned issues of the relation of space, power, society, and design process, still the most crucial question of this thesis remains that, what is the role and the extent of control, of architect and urban designer in the formation of the spaces that might transform to democratic or autocratic spaces, and in the meanings and values that will be attributed to the space in the course of socio-political tensions?

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