The Empty Locus of Power

Production of Political Urbanism in Modern Tehran

Asma MEHAN

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By

Asma MEHAN

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Supervisor(s):
Prof. Sergio Pace, Politecnico di Torino, Supervisor
Dr. Ali Mozaffari, Deakin University, Co-Supervisor

Doctoral Examination Committee:
Prof. Ali Madanipour, Referee, University of Newcastle
Prof. Krysztof Nawratek, Referee, University of Sheffield
Prof. Massimo Bricocoli, Referee, Politecnico di Milano
Prof. Antonella Contin, Referee, Politecnico di Milano
Prof. Matteo Robiglio, Referee, Politecnico di Torino

Politecnico di Torino
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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that, the contents and organization of this dissertation constitute my own original work and does not compromise in any way the rights of third parties, including those relating to the security of personal data.

Asma MEHAN

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SUMMARY

Is there a connection between power struggles and urban context? How the urban space used for symbolic manifestation of power and social control? How urban space becomes the site of conflict and resistance? How urban nodes like squares became political apparatus in social demonstrations and revolutions? How do specific squares become symbols of revolutions?

This thesis investigated these questions by viewing the city as a place formed by politics, which built upon the central concept of *Meydan* (Public Square), as the "political order in the ideogram of the city". Focusing on public squares, it traces their sociopolitical transformations as well as their role in instigating social transformations through examples that span from the pre-modern times to the present. As the embodiment of the square in the image of the city, the historical, social and theological concept of *Meydan*- a term, which has mostly applied, for Iranian public squares has been studied. *The Empty Locus of Power* rereads squares as peculiar urban forms and representations of political ideas, when the squares of the city has become the stage for the process of politicizing, de-politicizing or neutralizing space. This thesis tries to analyze the square beyond an architectural element in the city, but weaves this blank slate, with its contemporary socio political atmosphere as a new paradigm. This interpretation, suggested the idea of *Meydan* as the core of the projects on the city, which historically exposed in formalization of theological ideologies. Regarding this issue, urban space of traditional Iranian cities introduced as the medium through which theological ideologies and political sovereignty took place.

In pursuing such analyses, this research engages with issues ranging from details of political histories of the case studies in public squares to the master plan of the city of

Tehran. During the recent century, various political events and social demonstrations have been staged in Tehran as Middle Eastern Capital, which emphasize the further discussions for analyzing the relationship between socio-political dimensions of city and its urban projects that ultimately led to occupy the city and reclaim the public spaces in Iranian Islamic Revolution of 1979. In this sense, analyzing the major political events in modern Tehran as a city loaded with politics will lead to trace the processes of its spatial transformation. In this regard, the thesis examines the relationship between affordances of public spaces, their histories, and the emergence of social events and movements. Building on this theoretical framework, this thesis stresses on the transformative dynamism of autocratic modernization, which motivate or shape a creative tension in the form of the city. The emergence of representative pseudo political public space for demonstration of power and national identity during the First Pahlavi Era (1925-41), reoccupation of public spaces by social movements and political parties during the nationalization of Iranian oil movement till 1953 Iranian coup d'état will be the second part and socio- political arrangement of capital as 'Metropolis of Tomorrow' and its urban transformation during the second Pahlavi Era (1941-79) till Islamic Revolution have been examined. Analysis suggests that spatial transformations and modernization politics have led to or facilitated (directly or indirectly and, or inadvertently) political changes. Building on the foundation of knowledge established in this research, the final part of research focuses on the centrality of squares in recent social protests. Using Middle East sociologist, *Asef Bayat*'s theory of 'Spatialities of discontent', the final chapter explores the spatial dimension of political spaces of the city and aims to theorize the necessity of urban social movements to approach democratic space in a global context.

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CONTENTS

PART B- SQUARES OF MODERN REASONS

CHAPTER 2
TEHRAN AS MODERNIST "TABULA RASA": Destructive Character and Building a New Urban Identity

CHAPTER 3
HAUSSMANNIZATION OR URBANIZATION: Analyzing the First Street Map of Tehran (1925-1944)

CHAPTER 4
MANIFESTATION OF POWER: Toopkhaneh Square, Baharestan Square

CHAPTER 5
“ARCHITECTURE OR REVOLUTION”: Modernization Politics and Spatial Transformation of Tehran through Utopian Urban Projects

PART C- INSURGENT SQUARES

CHAPTER 6
EMPTY LOCUS OF POWER: Protest Squares, Spatialities of Discontent, Occupy Movement


Planographia Sedis Regiæ

PROLOGUE

'I repeat that there is a politics of space, because space is political'[1]

Today's architectural discourse, through its commitment to the global economy, often highlights the essential role of empty place in creating democratic public spaces.[2] This empty place of power or void is one of the central theses in *Claude Lefort*'s works: the idea that political regimes distinguished from one another by the way in which the place of power represented within them. The essence of power, *Lefort* writes, is 'to present and make visible a model of social organization'.[3] In democracy – as a political regime distinct from absolute monarchy and totalitarianism – the place of power is symbolically empty.[4]

[1] The ideas of Lefebvre about Political Space represented in "The Production of Space" and "Le Droit à la Ville: The Right to the City". For more readings please check the book Henri Lefebvre, *the Production of Space* (Wiley-Blackwell Publishers, 1991).

[2] For more exclusive debates in this area, see the conclusion part of the book by Teresa Hoskyns, *The Empty Place: Democracy and Public Space* (Routledge, 2014), 175 and John Parkinson, *Democracy and Public Space: The Physical Sites of Democratic Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[3] For reading, the original debates see Claude Lefort, *The Political Forms of Modern Society* (Cambridge:MIT Press, 1986).

[4] See Devisch and Parker, Democraziness: Reading Claude Lefort in Baghdad, *Journal of Political Sciences and Public Affairs*, vol. 2, issue 111(2014).

In Lefort's credit, artist *Krzysztof Wodiczko* argues that 'democracy is founded on public space that should be essentially empty'. Here, Wodiczko is referring to Claude Lefort's theory of *the empty place*, suggests that in order to have democracy, the site of power must be empty. *Claude Lefort* insisted that the 'empty place' is 'impossible to occupy so that those who exercise public authority can never claim to appropriate it'.[5] This theoretical common ground extensively discussed by *Slavoj Žižek*, *Chantal Mouffe* and *Joan Copjec*- the idea that, in democracy, *the space of power* is tacitly recognized as an empty space, which by definition cannot be occupied- a symbolic space, not a real one.[6] As *Žižek* writes, in pre-democratic societies "there is always a legitimate pretender to the place of power, somebody who is fully entitled to occupy it, and the one who violently overthrows him has simply the status of a usurper, whereas within the democratic horizon, everyone who occupies the locus of power is by definition a usurper".[7] Referring to public space and democracy, *Teresa Hoskyns* defines that participatory democracy requires a conception of public space as the empty place, allowing different models and practices of democracy to co-exist. She argues that 'Power is not identified with anyone body but is linked to the image of the empty place'.[8] Nevertheless, how Lefort's political theory can be linked to physical public space?

Fig. 0.2

The subject of politics in architecture has gained a new urgency in academic literature. For clarifying the issue of politics here, which goes beyond the political activism, an

[5] See Claude Lefort, *the Political Forms of Modern Society: Bureaucracy, Democracy, Totalitarianism* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1986), 279, For more debates between Hegel, Claude Lefort, Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau see the book by Breckman et al. entitled *The Modernist Imagination: Intellectual History and Critical Theory* (Berghahn Books, 2009).

[6] For more reading on this common ground, see Slavoj Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (Verso Books, 1989), 147, Chantal Mouffe, *The Democratic Paradox* (London: Verso Books, 2000), 11 and also see Joan Copjec, *Imagine there's no Woman: Ethics and sublimation* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2003), 153-154.

[7] See Slavoj Žižek, *for they know not what they Do: Enjoyment as a Political Factor* (Verso Books, 1991), 267.

[8] Hoskyns, *ibid,* 176.

Aristotelian definition of man as political animal can be addressed who's ultimate goal, happiness, can only be secured through the exercise of his political nature. Aristotle cited *Hippodamus* proposals in two brief passages in his Politics, where *Hippodamus* presented as a political philosopher and planner. For *Aristotle* a political philosopher is one who, although not involved in political life, reasons about the best form of political order. [9]

While there has been less well-known traditions on architecture and democratic values, further debates in this area seems critical. In this regard, *Aldo Rossi* proposed to see the city as a place formed by politics.[10] For *Aureli*, architecture is always political, agreeing with *Mouffe* that architecture is an expression of hegemonic orders (that is, authority structures), and so cannot avoid being political in some manner.[11] *Setha Low* and *Neil Smith* introduced public space as conjoined arenas of social and political contest and struggle.[12] Similarly, *Clara Irazabal* argues that public space is a prerequisite for the expression, representation, preservation and enhancement of democracy.[13] *McBride* declares 'When we lose public space, we lose democracy'.[14] In

[9] Aristotle credited architect-philosopher Hippodamus with designing the first such Agora: a rectangular space measuring 400 by 540 feet, surrounded by stoas with a single street entry-in his native city of Miletus (5th century B.C.). Mumford believes that Hioppodamus may introduce this regularity and the grid plan to mainland Greece. See Leo Strauss, *The City and Man* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964) and Michael Webb, *The City Square* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990), 29.

[10] See Aldo Rossi, *L'architettura della citta* (Milano: Quodlibet Abitare, 2011).

[11] For more debates on the agonistic public spaces and democratic politics, see Chantal Mouffe, *The Return to the political* (Verso Books, 1993). For more readings on the relationship between architectural forms, political theory and urban history see Pier Vittorio Aureli, City as Political form, four archetypes of urban transformation, *Architectural Design* Vol. 8, no.1 (2011): 32-37 and Aureli, *The Project of Autonomy* (New York: Buell Center/Forum Project and Princeton Architectural Press, 2008).

[12] See Setha Low and Neil Smith, *the Politics of Public Space* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006).

[13] See Clara Irazabal, *Ordinary Places/Extraordinary Events: Citizenship, Democracy and Public Space in Latin America* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008).

[14] Keally McBride, Book Review of Brave New Neighborhoods: The Privatization of Public Space, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* Vol. 29, issue 4(2005): 997-1009.

approaching such a concept, *Arendt*, referring to the Greek *Polis*, defines the city as the only place that can provide the conditions to be political.[15] Similarly, *Hoskyns* explores the participatory roots of democracy by examining the public spaces of the political center of ancient Greece, where she described a model of three spaces (the assembly, the Agora and the theater) as part of the democratic arrangement of Athens during the fifth century.[16]

Drawing upon Aristotle's ideal the Islamic socio-political Thinker *Abu Nasr Farabi*, in his political treaties states that humans cannot attain the perfection they are destined to outside the framework of political societies. *Farabi* envisioned an ideal or perfect city, under a philosopher-king for humankind to attain happiness through living in a perfectly guided city.[17] *Farabi* stated in his book, this political understanding of the concept of city has always entangled into the theological concepts.[18] Regarding this issue, urban space of traditional Islamic cities was the apparatus through which different mechanism of power struggles; theological sovereignty and social control took place.[19] The existence of two seemingly contradictory poles of lightness and darkness was the key belief in ancient Iran, and reaching the emptiness beyond these two poles was the major aim of existence.[20] This

[15] Hannah Arendt, *the Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 63.

[16] The movement between these spaces (the assembly, the Agora and the theater) allowed the citizenry to move between participation and representation, actor and spectator, practice and theory. According to Setha Low and Neil Smith, rights in the Polis were highly restricted to a very narrow and privileged social class recognized as free citizens, and many others were excluded- women, slaves, and the common people, see Setha Low and Neil Smith, *the Politics of Space* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 4 and also see Hoskyns, *ibid,* 20-27.

[17] Ahmet Toquero Macarimbang, Envisioning a Perfect City: an Introduction to Farabi's Political Philosophy, *Journal for Islamic Identities and Dialogue in Southeast Asia*, Vol. 1(2013): 73-92.

[18] Hamed Khosravi, Geopolitics of tabula rasa: Persian garden and the idea of city. *Journal of Architecture and Urbanism*, Vol. 38 Issue 1 (2014): 73-92.

[19] Hossein Maroufi, Urban Government in traditional Islamic-Iranian Cities: the dialectic nexus between sovereignty, religion and custom. *6th International Conference on Urban Planning and Management with Emphasize on the Elements of Islamic Cities* (2014).

[20] Albert J. Carnoy, *Iranian Mythology* (University Press of the Pacific, 2004).

idea reinterpreted during the Islamic era, in which God believed to be the center of the whole world.[21] According to *Titus Burckhardt*, Iranian architecture attempts to create a space without any mediators between man and God, as emptiness.[22] Fig. 0.1

In *Jürgen Habermas*'s account, the ideal public square is universally deemed and spatially undifferentiated. *Habermas* argues that public space is a discursive space for citizen debate, deliberation, agreement, and negotiation.[23] Following this introduction to the discourse of political in relation to urban form, the structure of the thesis revolves around the central concept of *Meydan* (Persian term for public squares), as location of power struggle, political dynamics and democratic representations.[24] *John Parkinson* argues that democracy depends to a surprising extent on the availability of physical public space. *Parkinson* clarifies that in many aspects the availability of space for democratic performance is under threat of undermining some important conditions of democracy in the modern world.[25] In fact, the very notion of modernization project of city has been to provide more accessibility to the ordinary residents of the city that had been the pre-existing public space.

Marshall Berman, in his splendid critical study, *all that is solid melts in to air*, argues that modern urban sustainability arises from the ubiquitous and uncontrolled encounters of people and groups in urban public space. To a remarkable extent, these spaces were themselves the product of the modernization of city, with *Haussmann*'s Paris being the best-known example. In addition, these spaces, epitomized by the

[21] Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Islamic Art and Spirituality* (State University of New York Press, 1987).

[22] Titus Burckhardt, The Void in Islamic Art, *Studies in Comparative Religion*, Vol. 4, No.2 (1970).

[23] See Setha Low and Neil Smith, *The Politics of Public Space* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006): 17-34, for more debates in this area, see Jürgen Habermas, *L'espace Public* (Paris: Payot, 1993).

[24] For more details about the typology and analysis of Iranian public squares in the historical perspective see Asma Mehan, Manifestation of Power: Toopkhaneh Square, Tehran, *Spaces and Flows: An International Journal of Urban and ExtraUrban Studies,* 8(2), 2017: 77-88.

[25] John Parkinson, *Democracy and Public Space: The Physical Sites of Democratic Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 2.

circular squares and intersected boulevards, constituted 'the most spectacular urban innovation of the nineteenth century, and the decisive breakthrough in the modernization of the traditional city'.[26] The analysis of the spatial transformation of public squares in relation to the power in the case of modern Tehran tied up with the analysis of socio-political atmosphere of the city.[27] This research offers an understanding of the public spaces specifically public squares through which the political change, power struggle and autocratic modernity manifested. In this sense, architecture performs as a political apparatus that determines the socio-political transformation of community. Thus, square studied as a spatial device: a frame that epitomizes the core idea of the production of political space in the city. Here it is important to define clearer that in the context of this work, public space or public place is considered as a place where anyone has a right to come without being excluded because economic or social conditions.

Henri Lefebvre in his book entitled *The Social Production of Space* introduced the conception of space as a political and social outcome; dependent upon power relations and social construction that affects spatial practices and perceptions.[28] *Lefebvre* considered urban design as the apparatus of action and the realm of different strategic projects.[29] For Lefebvre, urban space is not merely a combination of residential units, trade and production facilities, transportation axes and public spaces but the city is a network of social, economic, political, ecological and intellectual relations. In other words, there is a mutual relation between urban space and social production, where norms, values and politics shape and can be shaped by the urban space. What *Lefebvre* states as social production of space will be discussed here -in the

[26] Marshall Berman, *All that is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (Penguin Books, 1982), 150.

[27] Zohreh Soltani, *The Transformation of public space: City Squares as Locations for Power Struggle - The Case of Tehran (1934-2009),* Published Master Thesis, Middle Eastern Technical University (2011).

[28] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Wiley-Blackwell Publishers, 1991), 26.

[29] Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution* (University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 87.

case of Tehran- with a historical analytical approach to reconsider those spaces as a clash ground of power in the city. *Spiro Kostof* focused on 'social implications of urban form' and states that architectural and urban meaning eventually embedded in history and cultural context. Thus, the city is a dynamic and perceivable palimpsest of socio-political inputs. [30]

In *Abbas Milani's* terms: "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."[31] Tehran, as 200 hundred-years, politically loaded Middle Eastern capital, has been hosting several critical spatial transformations. Considering the urban space and social change, *Manuel Castell's* debates over city and power, reveals that there is a direct link between public space, social movements and political revolutions.[32] In the same way, *Don Mitchell* states that manifestation of power in public space is the requirement of public visibility and democracy. [33] Thus the role of socio-political spatial transformation in the context of Tehran, based upon *Mitchell*'s conception of public space, will provide the reader with the socio-political atmosphere of the city, through reading its public squares.[34] As *Lewis Mumford* suggests the city is a dynamic entity that is under constant transformation, formation and deformation.[35] In this sense, the structure of the city is a reflection of political orders, social norms and religion.

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[30] Spiro Kostof, *The City Assembled: Urban Patterns and Meaning throughout History* (Boston, MA: Brown, 1991).

[31] Abbas Milani, *Lost Wisdom; Rethinking Modernity in Iran* (Washington: Mage Publishers, 2004), 83.

[32] Manuel Castells, *City, Class and Power* (New York: St Martin Press, 1978), 1.

[33] Don Mitchell, *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space* (New York: The Guilford Press, 2003), 148.

[34] Don Mitchell, Introduction: Public Space and the city*, Urban Geography,* Vol. 17, no. 2 (1996): 127-131.

[35] Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: It's Origins, Transformations and its Prospects* (New York: Har Court, Brace and World, 1961), 3.

In 1922, German theorist *Carl Schmitt* in his essay titled *Politische Theologie: Vier Kapitel zur Lehre von der Souveränität* (In English: *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the concept of sovereignty*) proposed a thesis on the relation between the concept of sovereignty and political theology. *Schmitt* proposed that every political category is a secularized version of a religious principle. [36] In other words, within Schmitt's view of the political, the theological notion of God transfers to the sovereign (State). Regardless of this, in the broadest sense political theology means all possible relations between politics and religion. Core features of *Schmitt*'s interpretation of political theology as methodological approach seem promising for modern researches as well.

Respectively the historical, social and political concept of *Meydan* - a term that has mostly applied for the Iranian and Islamic public squares- is reintroduced in the first chapter, *Blank Slate: Meydan and the Politico-religious Order in the ideogram of the City*, as the embodiment of square in the image of the city. This chapter tries to analyze the square beyond an architectural element in the city, but weaves this blank slate, with its contemporary socio political atmosphere as a new paradigm. This interpretation, suggested the idea of *Meydan* as the core of the projects on the city, which historically exposed in formalization of theological ideology. [37] Analyzing the spatial transformation of Iranian public squares introduces the framework, which is adaptable to contemporary context. Therefore, here, the concern is issue of continuity; a specific conception of space, which has remained constant despite through the time: reading the city as series of *Blank Slates*. So, through transformation of urban spaces, the relationship between its architecture and political power will expose with enabling an ideological interaction through action and reaction, revolution and resistance. However, which strategies led to a dramatic shift from sacred foundations to new modern urbanism?

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[36] Carl Schmitt, *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the concept of sovereignty* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

[37] Nasser Rabbat, The Arab Revolution Takes Back to the Public Space, *Critical Inquiry*. Vol. 39, no. 1 (2012): 200.

The Second Chapter, *Tehran as Modernism's Tabula Rasa: Destructive Character and Building a New Urban Identity*, revolves around the concept of *Tabula Rasa* as a desire for sweeping renewal and creating a potential site for the construction of utopian dreams is presupposition of modern architecture. This chapter particularly explores the very concept of spatial transformation of Middle Eastern capital through autocratic modernity. According to Aldo Rossi, in his book *L'architettura della citta* (The Architecture of the city) the premise of contemporary theory of the city should be the city as the site of political choices. From Rossi's standpoint, only an analysis of architecture could reveal the city's immanent separateness. Rossi's hypothesis of autonomous architecture involved searching for a rational language to search the legacy of the bourgeois city and realize the idea of the public space.[38] Reading the modern Tehran as a project, manifested major changes in its social, political, and spatial structures that were mostly Western-influenced. By analyzing the dominant strategy of 'Tabula Rasa' planning during the first Pahlavi era (1925-1941), this chapter explores the process of constructing a new image of Tehran throughout the process of autocratic modernism and orientalist historicism that also influenced the discourse of national identity during the first Pahlavi era.

In the middle of nineteenth century, spatial transformation of Paris by Haussmann introduced as an archetype of modernization. Focusing on Tehran during the first Pahlavi Era, the third chapter, *Haussmannization or Urbanization: Analyzing the first Street map of Tehran (1925-1944)* tends to focus specifically on the way in which as the result of dominant 'Tabula Rasa' planning and modernization strategies, new form of public spaces, like European plaza or the square, started appearing in the late nineteenth-`century Tehran. The new squares, came with the notion of "citadinity" embedded in their idealized genealogy (from *Fustel de Coulanges* and *Alexis de Tocqueville* to *Max Weber* and *Richard Sennett*).[39] Designing intersecting

[38] Pier Vittorio Aureli, *The Project of Autonomy* (New York: Buell Center/Forum Project and Princeton Architectural Press, 2008).

[39] Rabbat, *ibid,* 203.

broad boulevards, creating uniform facades and perspective, geometrical grid plan, introducing new spaces like public parks, spatial segregation of poor and rich, planning large, symmetrical and circular squares as grand, monumental and focal point of the city, destruction of old and historical texture of the city, sheer scale of construction and projects, diagonal, tree lined and monumental boulevards and facilitating movements of vehicles and goods are some of the attributes of urbanization processes during the late 1930's in Tehran.

Building upon the theoretical framework and study of dominant modernization strategies during the first Pahlavi era -*Tabula Rasa Planning and Haussmannization of Tehran*- that was developed in two previous chapters, the fourth Chapter, *Manifestation of Power* focuses on two politically loaded historical public squares in Tehran. Schmitt, in 'the concept of the political', argues that the political sphere is dependent to the dichotomy of 'friends' and 'enemies', which is tied to the possibility of violence. [40] The first aim here is to understand how public squares manifest the ruling power's ideology. Delineating the territory of power through Meydan, the first part of this chapter aims to clarify the formation of *Toopkhaneh Square* (The Place of Cannons or Artillery Square) whose military function and ominous name were physical evidence of the use of urban design by the ruling authority to control the society. This spatial analysis of Toopkhaneh Square throughout different periods of its history, shows how the new spatial paradigms presented in the Toopkhaneh Square, changed the trinity of power (mosque, bazaar and palace) in traditional Iranian squares. As the result, this political square has a major role in contributing the national identity since it was the main scene during critical points in political history of Iran such as: Constitutional Revolution (1905-1907), Oil Nationalization Movement (1949-1953), 1953 Coup d'état and Islamic Revolution of 1979.

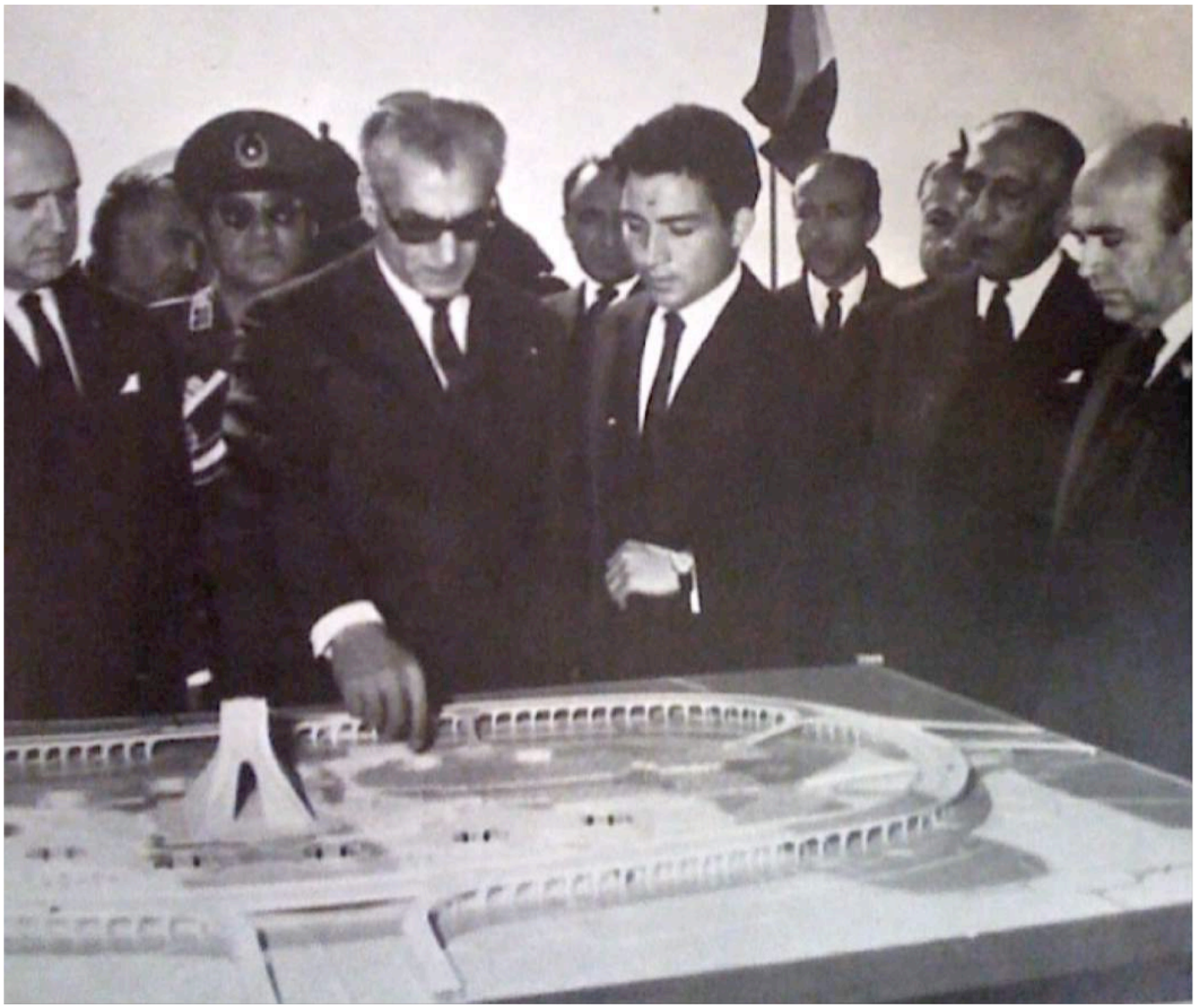
[40] This dichotomy would be specifically associated with the thought of the German political theorist Carl Schmitt. It was in the context of an understanding of conflict and struggle as the core of political activism and his conception of the political based on a determination of who is friend and who is enemy. See Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1927).

The second part concentrates on the urban transformation of *Baharestan Square*, an important historical square in front of Iranian parliament building, which has witnessed numerous political meetings, demonstrations, national celebrations and mass rallies. Analyzing the historical changes of historical Square, based on manuscripts, western travelers' diaries, historical images and maps, shows how the traditional elements of the square as well as its form and function has been totally transformed. Spatial qualities of Baharestan Square, clarifies that its special location near the first Iranian Parliament building (Senate), Sepahsalar Mosque and Negarestan Garden represent its locus as the first modern focal point in Iranian's political and social life.

The fifth Chapter, *Architecture or Revolution*[41]*; Modernization Politics and Spatial Transformation of Tehran through Utopian Urban Projects* explores the spatial transformation of public spaces in Tehran during the second Pahlavi Era (1941-79) till the Islamic Revolution. 'Secularization' of the city during this era, implemented by American planners and Western-educated Iranian Architects, created the new image of city through grand-scale utopian urban projects. This part stresses on the transformative dynamism of modernization that motivate or shape a creative tension in the form of the city. By addressing this critical point in Iranian modern history, this chapter, analyses spatial devices to control, which ultimately resulted in mass rallies and urban uprising of 1979. Focusing on Tehran's public squares, the *Shahyad plaza*, as the greatest square of the city, categorized under a form of top-down control through urban interventions into the urban space. The new structure of the power, decreasing the traditional role of bazaar and mosque, reveals the fact that the

Fig. 0.3

[41] Architecture ou Révolution,' wrote by Le Corbusier in 1922. Up to the twenties, Le Corbusier denied any specific political party affiliation. He further remarked his position in the last chapter of *Vers une architecture* (1923), opposing the neutrality of a coherent rational "Architecture" to the unrestrained violent "Revolutions" produced by a general increasing of social uneasiness. Therefore, Le Corbusier deduced that "Revolution" could be avoided through the scientific application of innovative techniques. This optimistic faith in the rational efficiency of the scientific progress, usually classified as the "typical" feature of the Modern Movement.



0.2

Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi is visiting the model of Shahyad monument and its plaza that was going to be the iconic symbol of his power and glorious nation state.

urban spaces of Tehran in this era served for power while it would later be turned into spaces for power struggles.

According to *Aldo Rossi*, "Locus" defined as the geographic singularity of architecture's constitution within the overall framework of the city, which is constituted the very limit of any intervention or interpretation of the city.[42] The final chapter, *Empty Locus of Power: Protest Squares, Spatialities of Discontent and Occupy Movement*, focuses critically on the contemporary condition by reclaiming the totality of the Tehran's squares, and framing the idea of political life through urban space. This definition opens up a new possibility for architecture to encompass the forms of life and enables them for retaining the idea of the political. *The Empty Locus of Power* offers an idea of protest squares derived from current socio-political relations. As studied in the case of Tehran, through the advent of modernity and global economy, squares of the city has become the stage for the process of politicizing, de-politicizing or neutralizing space. Using Middle East sociologist *Asef Bayat*'s theory of 'spatialities of discontent,'[43] this chapter investigates the relative experiences of protest squares and occupies movements from an urban perspective. This struggle has been in evidence across the Arab Spring in spaces like *Tahrir Square* in Cairo and *Taksim Square* in Istanbul, which transformed into highly politicized platforms to collective actions. Central to this argument is the historical "experience" of *Azadi Square* (English Translation: Freedom Square, previous *Shahyad Square*) as a place in which momentous events happened, a sequence of events and activities that took place in and around the Square, and a set of narratives that arose to assign structure and meaning to that place, time and action. Focusing on political revolutions, this part tries to find a theoretical framework to approach democratic space. Some prominent relevant theories like *Liminality* and *Empty Place of Power* and *Rhizomatic Democracy*

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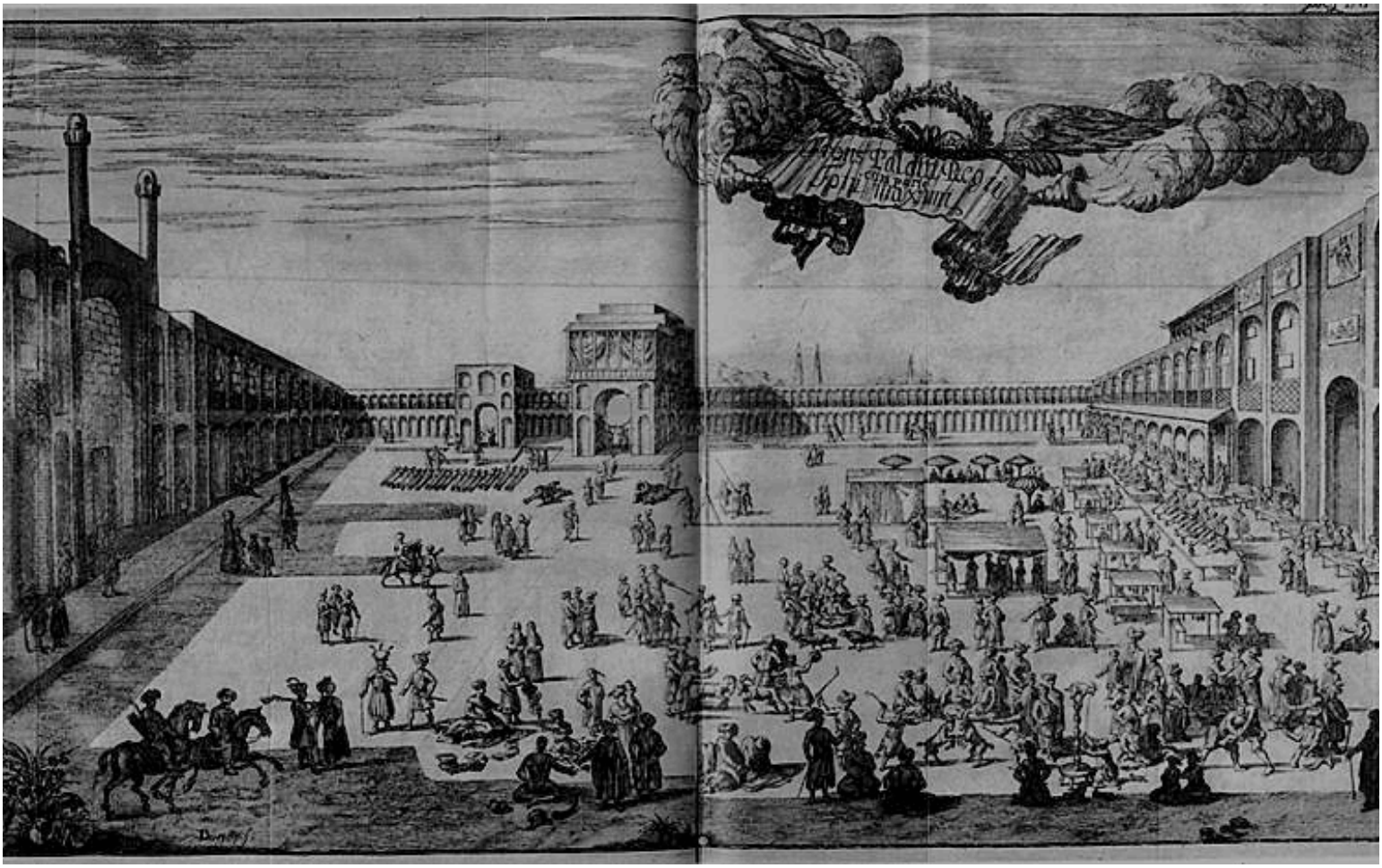
42 See Aldo Rossi, *L'arrchitettura della citta* (Milano: Quodlibet Abitare, 2011).

43 Asef Bayat. "A Street Named "Revolution"." In *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East*, by Asef Bayat (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2009),161-170.

explored to theorize the necessity of urban social movements. Finally, *Take the square* and *The Right to the City* movements represented as the new insurgent global paradigms that seek to approach democratic society.



1.1
Kaempfer's drawing of the maydan of Naghsh-e Jahan (late 17th century). As in the illustration, not only did shops surround the maydan, but also its central space accommodated various entertainment and commercial activities.

1 BLANK SLATE[44]

Meydan as Politico-religious Order in the ideogram of the City

In 1983, the French philosopher *Roland Barthes* in his book *Empire of Signs*, introduced the squares as the political orders in the ideogram of the city. Further, he argues that Tokyo offers this precious paradox: "It does possess a center, but this center is empty. The entire city turns around a site both forbidden and indifferent, inhabited by an emperor who is never seen, which is to say, literally, by no one knows who".[45] Following this introduction to the discourse of political in relation to urban form, the structure of the chapter revolves around the central concept of *Meydan* (square). In 1990, *Michael Webb* in his book *The City Squares*, introduced the square as a symbol of authority, and as the seed which the city would grow. Webb introduced the new world as a *blank slate* on which people had the opportunity and duty to God and King to write.[46] With this introduction, this chapter enables a possibility of recalling cognitive, symbolic and cultural relationship between urban form and archetypes

[44] Author has published before parts of this chapter in 'journal of Architecture and Urbanism'. See Asma Mehan, Blank slate: squares and political order of city, *Journal of Architecture and Urbanism*, 40:4, 311-321(2016), doi: 10.3846/20297955.2016.1246987.

[45] Barthes in *Empire of Signs* offers mediation on the society, art, literature, and language of Japan. In his book, Barthes believes that Orient and Occident cannot taken as 'realities' to be compared and contrasted historically, politically and culturally. See Roland Barthes, *Empire of Signs* (New York: Hill and Wang Press, 1989), 30.

[46] See Michael Webb, *The City Square* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990), 104.

attached to cities that have not mentioned before in the process of modern city project. Thus, the image of square as public space leads us to the inescapable logic of Agora in ancient Greek and Roman Forum to *Tiananmen Square* [47] in *Beijing* in the spring of short-term release (May 1989) and the murder of three thousand insurgents and events in *Tahrir Square* during the "Arab Spring". This line connects the concept of square not only to the Agora and Forum as political space for democratic decision-making in ancient Greek or Roman republic, but to a more general sense, also blinds as "scene" (arena /scène).

Building upon this theoretical framework, respectively the historical, social and political concept of Meydan - a term that has mostly applied for the Iranian and Islamic public squares- is reintroduced in the first part, as the embodiment of the square in the image of the Islamic Iranian city. Since this chapter aims to connect basic thoughts, ideologies, foundations and frameworks in urban history of Iranian square, the most predominant concepts of Persian Squares in shaping the ideogram of the city represented. The politico-religious foundations of Iranian square as Space of "Sovereignty", "earthly Incarnation of celestial paradise" and "city's courtyard" will investigated. This chapter defines the city as a sovereign political community, which modernity transformed its urban form and social function. The next parts, "From Politico-Religious Foundation to Modern Reasons" and "Square of Power Reasons", expand the concept of Meydan and situates it in contemporary historical context. These parts particularly explore the transformative concept of square through autocratic modernization processes.

[47] What makes this square so remarkable is that China had no tradition of public squares. Mao cleverly inserted his vast plaza along the imperial axis, as a symbolic conservation of his legitimacy but the model in form and function, was Moscow's Red Square. Followingly, a million Chinese jammed Tiananmen Square in Beijing in May 1989, demanding democratic rights and defying the government's threats of a crackdown (Webb 1990), Page 177-178.

Meydan

Events from February 2013 to January 2014 in Ukraine, that continues to this day and has become an international crisis , also brought with it a special word : Maidan or in Russian (майдан) with the same pronunciation; since the center point of riots and protests in Kiev's main square was exactly the same place which they called Maidan.[48] In terms of genealogy, this ottoman legacy from the Arabic and Persian roots is spacious open space which was a gathering place of people to come together, play polo, horse riding and especially to see the shows, including public horrible deaths (torture, public executions ...). Respectively, Maidan is a Ukrainian word for 'Square, Open Space', ultimately from Arabic language maydan, via Turku-Persian transmission, Persian meydan meaning "field, park, open space, square". The Arabic word originally meant "horse-racing ground; hippodrome". The etymology of the word equivalent in European languages brings us to Greek and Latin plateau, which was called Agora[49] in political situations and Forum[50] in Roman politics.

The word Meydan has pre-Islamic roots in mai-ta-ni (hippodrome), and in the case of Persian cities, it has observed that each city had at least one central square, used for trade and public gatherings.[51] Michael Webb, in his book *The City Squares*, argues that traditional square has shaped by commerce and defense, political systems

Fig. 1.1

[48] Maidan Nezalezhnosti (literally: Independence Square) is the central square of Kiev, which is often called simply Maidan.

[49] Ancient Agora is an archetypal public space for the European city and its architectural plot has become a subject of many interpretations and influences. Lewis Mumford has described the Agora as a refined version of a gathering place, irregular and unenclosed. For Greeks of the classical era, the Agora was the essential component of a free *polis*, a symbol of democracy and the rule of law. See Michael Webb, *The City Square* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990), 28-29.

[50] Roman tribes established their first forum as a symbol of union, market and meeting place. Fora civilica and Fora venalia were special places for assembly and for sale of fish. For centuries, Roman Forum was the center of the city's political, religious and social life. See Webb, *ibid,* 29-31.

[51] See Asma Mehan. Public Squares and Their Potential for Social Interactions: A Case Study of Historical Public Squares in Tehran. *Proceeding of World Acaemy of Science, Engineering and Technology* Vol. 10, no. 2 (2016): 547.

and cultural traditions, climate and topography.[52] In its most common functional definition, Meydan denoted a public space of social interaction, especially to accommodate the need for temporary or daily markets and as a place to showcase the conduct of justice (grants of privilege and public executions).[53] Historical evidence suggests that in its initial stages, the Iranian square took shape in association with the state authority and governmental headquarters. The main concept of Iranian Public Square was first made in Persian- Hellenic city from 9 B.C to 3 A.C, which was a multi-functional center for cultural, official and commercial purposes.

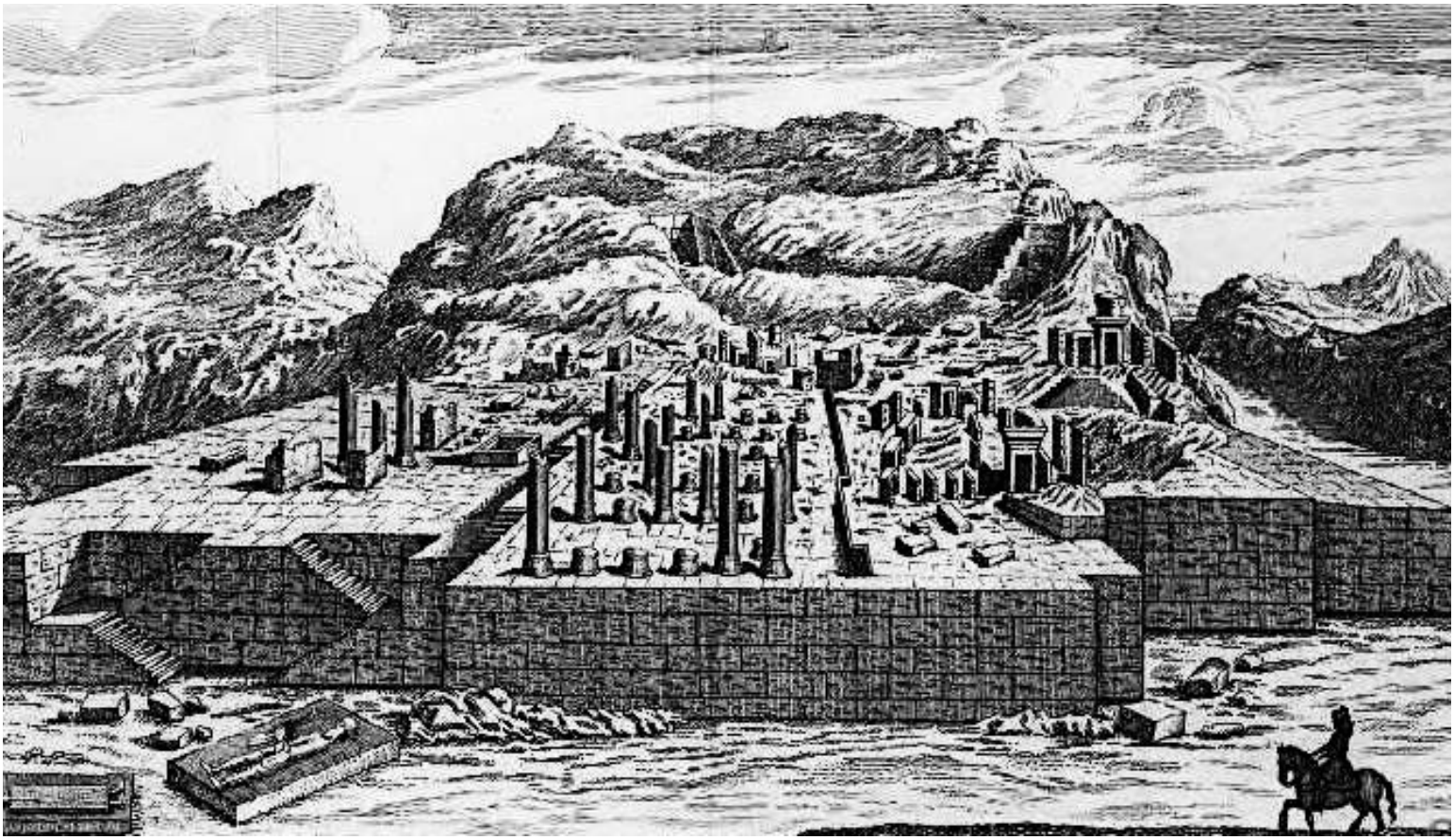
The first appearance of public squares in the cities of ancient Iran was in the junction of the routes that were ending at the gates of the city. The most important remaining of those cities is the city of *Persepolis* or *Parse*, which has been built around 518 B.C., and hold the great attention in terms of architecture and city planning because of its alleys, streets and public spaces, which indicate an advanced stage of planning of the cities. It appears that the square was built near of royal palaces and major political centers and considered as a place for ceremonies and political gatherings. In the pre-Islamic period, particularly at the time of the Sassanid, squares were spaces allocated to religious rituals or official ceremonies. In certain cities they were positioned near royal palaces and gates, and chiefly used for military parades. In this era, square is a place where bazaars open up so it not shaped as a "planned" urban element.[54] During the Sassanid Empire (AD 224-651), the expansion of internal commerce and the development and growth of cities led to the creation of commercial trade centers.

Fig. 1.2

[52] Webb, *ibid,* 20.

[53] Sussan Babaie, Talinn Grigor, *Persian Kingship and Architecture: Strategies of Power in Iran from the Achaemenids to the Pahlavis* (London: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd, 2015).

[54] Mohsen Habibi, *From Shar to Shahr (de la Cite a la Ville)* (Tehran: Tehran University Press, 2013), 34.



1.2
Drawing of Persepolis in 1713 by Gérard Jean-Baptiste (1671-1716)

This transformation regarded as the representation of public squares instead of royal squares in Iranian history of architecture and urbanism. Historical analysis shows that Sassanid city with political, military and central government domain has found a deeper consistency comparing to the past periods. In addition, the urban society and the body of the Sassanid city have been under the influence of religious ideologies, social ideals and worldview of that period.[55] Swiss photographer, *George Gerster* in the book entitled *Ancient Iran* took an aerial photograph of the first known Sassanid city; Gur (also called *Firuzabad*). Fig. 1.3

Its distinctive circular plan divided into 20 parts, radially structured and extends over a plain crossed by pathways, drainage ditches, and irrigation channels. The tower at the center of the city was essential for measuring the radial lines and had a symbolic significance as the focal point of the empire, which later became the model for the plan of Baghdad (City of Peace) in the eighth century.[56] According to the ninth-century Arab geographer and historian *Yaqubi*, author of *The Book of Countries*, Baghdad's trade-friendly position on the Tigris close to the Euphrates gave it the potential to be "the crossroads of the universe". By the time *Yaqubi* was writing, Baghdad has already become the center of the world.[57] The perfect circle was a tribute to the geometric teachings of Euclid. According to 11th-century scholar, *Al Khatib al Baghdadi*, Four equidistant gates pierced the outer walls where straight roads led to the center of the city. The very center was empty except for the two finest buildings in the city: the Great Mosque and the Caliph's Golden Gate Palace, a classically Islamic expression of the union between temporal and spiritual authority.[58] Accordingly, the mosque was the premier public space in the Islamic city, the Fig. 1.4

[55] Allahyar Khalatbari and Abbas Partovi Moghadam, Historical Charecteristics and Elements of Urban Society of Iran in the Late Period of Sassanid, *Iran History,* Vol.65, Issue 5 (2010): 50-70.

[56] George Gester, *Paradise Lost; Persia from Above* (London:Phaidon, 2010).

[57] Ahmad Ibn Abi Yaqob Yaqobi, *Kitab Al-Buldan* (Toronto: Laydin Brill, 1861).

[58] Justin Marozzi, *Baghdad: City of Peace, City of Blood* (Penguin Group: 2015).

1.3
Drawing Aerial photo of the Sassanid circular city of Gur.

equivalent of the Agora in the ancient Greek city and the public square in the medieval Western city.[59]

For Webb, the Meydan created as a unified composition at the command of one ruler, which represented in *Temple Mount* of *Jerusalem* as one of the most sacred and oldest urban spaces, which has evolved over three millennia.[60] Generally, in the lands dominated by various cultural practices of Islam, the architectural concept of the Meydan (Or Arabic Maydan) may have taken myriad shapes, reflecting also the etymological hybridity of the term itself. The idea of an articulated public urban space in the early cities of late Antique Period, where newly arrived or converted Muslim residents integrated into their urban planning the functional and spatial possibilities presented by the survival and memories of the Roman Fora and Byzantine hippodromes.[61]

Rabbat argues that in the case of the numerous Islamic cities, the open space of the main congregational mosque may consciously, replaced the Agora[62] in both its urban and political functions. *Rabbat* states that type of open space, called Maydan, already existed in the Arab cities. It introduced as a hippodrome for equestrian exercises when most of the Arab cities were ruled by military dynasties in the pre modern period.[63] In the case of Iranian cities, when *Shi'ism* spread throughout the country, public religious ceremonies such as rituals of *Moharram* and *Ramadan* –in which people had active roles both as spectators and performers- intensified the need for

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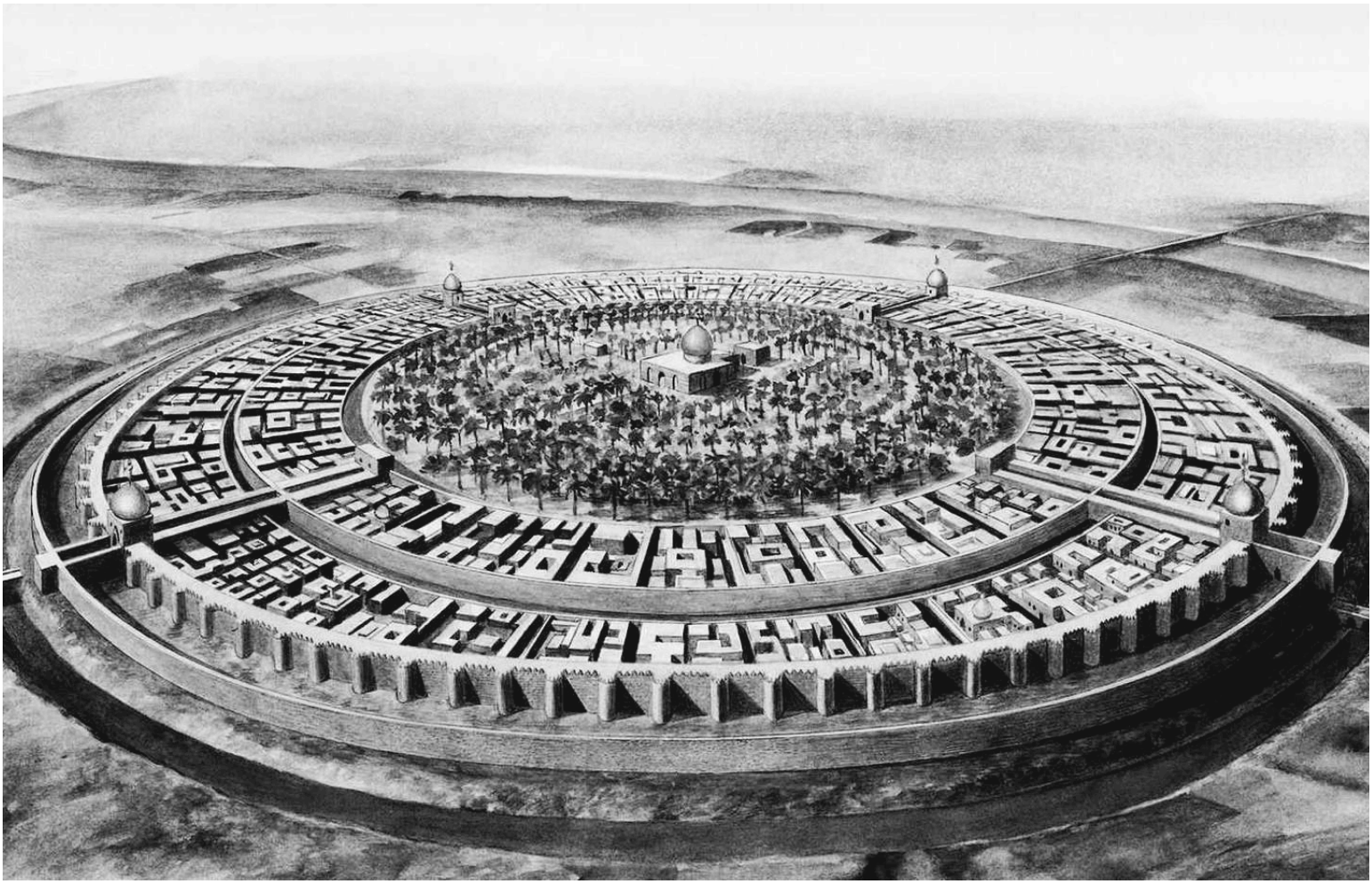
[59] Oleg Grabar, The Architecture of the Middle Eastern city from Past to Present: The Case of Mosque, In Islamic Art and Beyond, volume III, Constructing the Study of Islamic Art (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006), First published in Middle Eastern Cities, ed. I. Lapidus (Berkeley, 1969), pp. 26-46.

[60] Webb, *ibid,* 25-27.

[61] Babaei and Grigor, *ibid.*

[62] The *Agora* was a political and a religious center, a place of complex associations, a place for producing craft, buying and selling, but also a place for law, politics, philosophy and religion.

[63] Nasser Rabbat, The Arab Revolution takes back the public space, *Critical Inquiry*, Vol.39, Issue 1 (2012): 198-208.



1.4
Plan of the round city of Baghdad in the 10th century, the peak of the Abbasid Caliphate.

public spaces. *Tekkiyes* and *Hosseiniyes* (halls used as religious ceremonies) began to build to meet their needs.[64] The conquest of Iran by Islam (637-651 A.D), led to the end of the Sassanid Empire and the eventual decline of Zoroastrian religion in Iran.[65] Therefore, the mosques as the centers of religion started to be added to the previous important elements of Persian cities. After the rise of Islam, the gathering spaces in Persian cities have been the platforms of mosques and bazaars. The meaning of Square in Iran as the center of cultural, economic and official exchanges has mostly derived from the city planning of the Seleucid Empire in 312-63 B.C.[66]

Square as Courtyard of the City

Giedion suggested that the impact of religion on architecture could explain by man's desire for a prolongation of life and for a constitution of existence after death in ancient Middle Eastern architecture.[67] According to *Giedion*, the joy of celebrating under the sky but within the enclosure of courtyard houses evokes a sense of continuity and eternal existence.[68] Based on Sumerian cosmology, the universe consisted of heaven and earth (An-Ki), which united until Enlil (God of air), separated them. *Faozi Ujam* believes that this ideology was recreated in courtyard architecture, which embodied the reunification between earth (the courtyard) and the

[64] Masoud Kheirabadi, *Iranian Cities; Formation and Development* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000).

[65] According to Thomas Walker Arnold, Muslim missionaries did not encounter difficulty in explaining Islamic tenants to Zoroastrians, as there were many similarities between the faiths. For the Persian, *Ahura Mazda* and *Ahriman* meet under the name of *Allah* and *Iblis*. See Thomas Walker Arnolds, *The preaching of Islam: a history of the propagation of the Muslim faith* (Westminster: A. Constable and Company, 1896).

[66] Farrokh Mohammadzadehmehr, *Toopkhaneh Square* (Tehran: Moavenat-e Memari va Shahrsazi, 2003).

[67] Sigfried Giedion, the Beginning of Architecture (Princeton University Press, 1981), 9.

[68] Giedion, *ibid,* 138.

heaven (the sky) that is only possible under the sovereignty of a ruler, whose decision is analogous to God's act. [69] By the vast use of this model in Iranian plateau, paradise developed in to heaven (the sky). [70] Regarding the sacred significance of the courtyards, *Campo* believes that courtyards evoke the paradise. The Greek word παραδεισος [*paradeisos*] adopted from Persian, and refer to the supreme bliss of Eden or the reward of the faithful as promised in the Jewish, Christian and Islamic texts. Since Xenophon's use of the term *Paradeisos* or the Cyrus the Great garden[71], Persian gardens have been associated with their historical Achaemenid precedents, interpreted as earthly symbol of celestial Paradise. Etymologically, the very root of the word can be traced in the old Avestan term *pairi-daêẑā*, which literally means, "surrounded by walls". The original description of paradise in the *Avesta* illustrates an image existence inside paradise. Therefore conceptually, paradise is strongly associated with the idea of emptiness and 'Blank Slate'.[72]

The ideal concept of city for the Persians was firmly bound to the ultimate goal of creation, which according to Mazdaean-Zoroastrian ideology is 'happiness for mankind'.[73] Similarly, Farabi, Islamic Philosopher, in his political treatises premises that the humans can only attain the perfection they are destined to inside the

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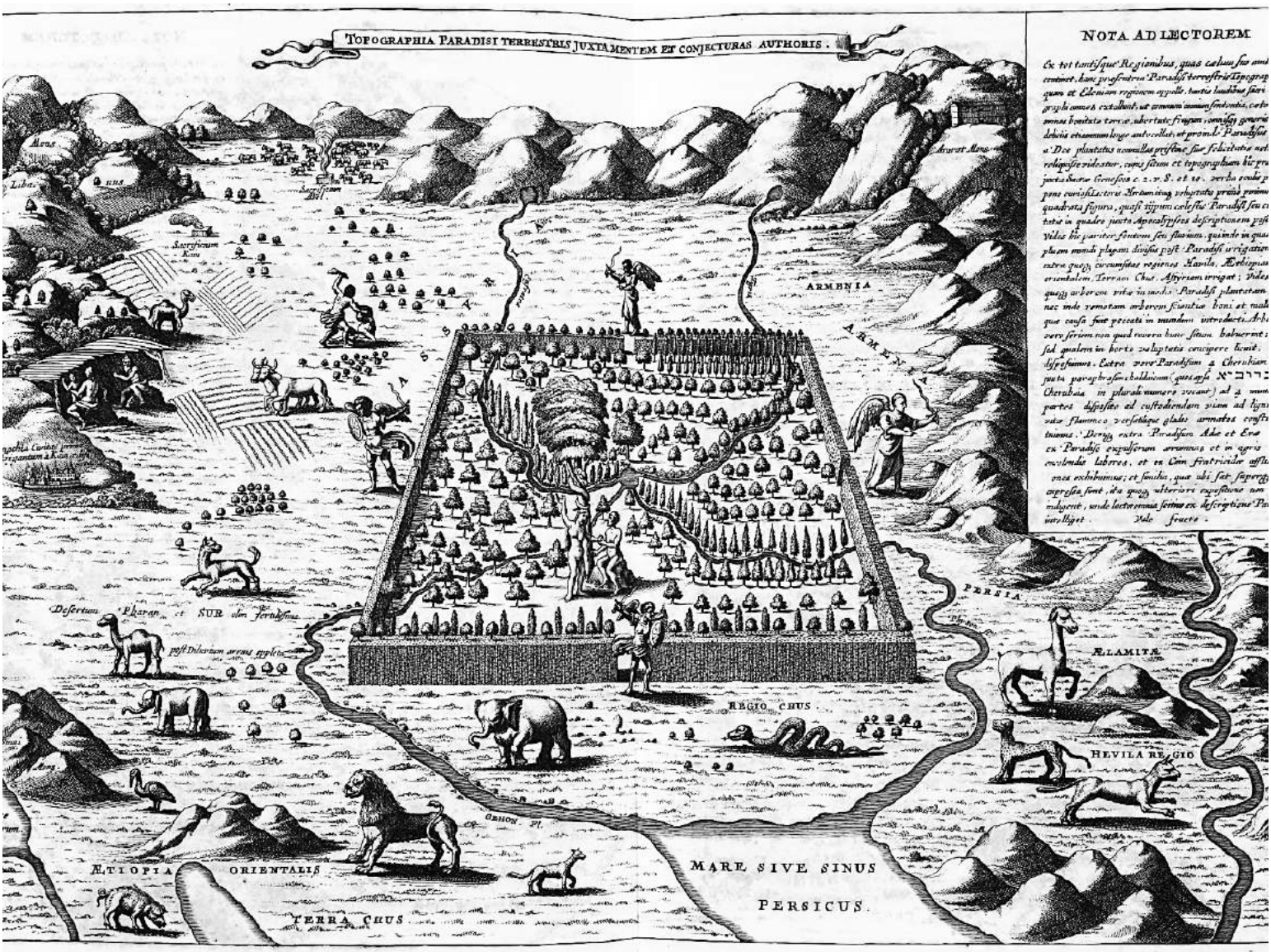
[69] Abu Nasr Al-Farabi, *On the Perfect State of Al-Farabi* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985): 237.

[70] See Faozi Ujam, *The Cosmological Genesis of the Courtyard House* in the book by Edwards et al. *Courtyard Housing: Past, Present and Future* (USA and Canada: Taylor and Francis Group, 2006): 95-107.

[71] See Wolfgang Fauth, Der königliche Gärtner und Jäger im Paradeisos. Beobachtungen zur Rolle des Herrschers in der vorderasiatischen Hortikultur*, Persica,* Vol.8 (1979): 5-6.

[72] The earthly image of Paradise is one of illustrated in the Athanasius Kircher's *Arc Noë*, as a walled domain located between the Tigris and Euphrates in Mesopotamia. It is formed as an enclosed square plan; four gates, which are guarded by four angels, facing the four cardinal points. In the middle of the domain two bodies of water meet and the Tree of life is located. It is where Adam and Eve are illustrated by the ree of nowledge positioned in the bottom left corner of the paradise. See Athanasius Kircher, *Arca Noè* (Amesterdam: J.Janssonium a aesbege, 1675): 230.

[73] According to Achaemenid inscriptions, it is the King's (the emperor's) duty to restore the lost happiness of mankind. It has been written in Darius's tomb (Naqš-i-Rostam): "The great God is Ahura Mazda; who created the earth; who created the sky; who created mankind; who established happiness for mankind; who made Darius the king…"



1.5

The earthly image of Paradise is one of illustrated in the Athanasius Kircher's *Arc Noë*, as a walled domain located between the Tigris and Euphrates in Mesopotamia. It is formed as an enclosed square plan; four gates, which are guarded by four angels, facing the four cardinal points. In the middle of the domain two bodies of water meet and the Tree of life is located. It is where Adam and Eve are illustrated by the Tree of Knowledge positioned in the bottom left corner of the paradise.

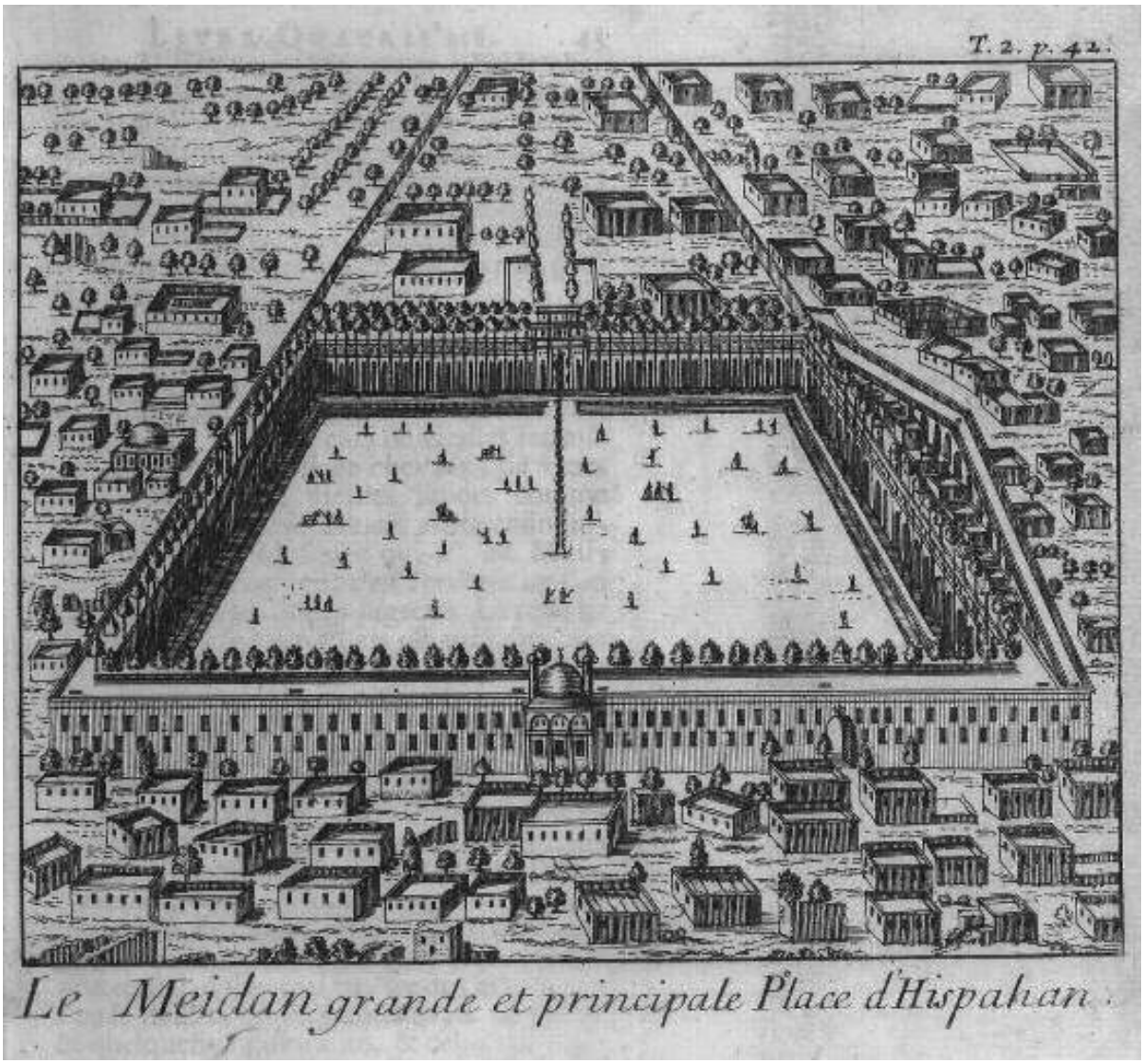
framework of political association or in his terms "societies of people". In this sense, Farabi referred to an excellent or ideal city as a city-state through which its inhabitants co-operate to achieve happiness. Farabi emphasized that this condition is archetypical forms of built environment to expand the empire, peace and happiness. In illustrating an Islamic paradise, the Qur'anic theme picked off and woven into later Muslim literature on terrestrial gardens. Quran speaks of four types of river in celestial paradise, which inspires the four-part design of the Persian garden.[74]

Lehrman argues about threefold attraction of establishing gardens in Iran as follows: First was the idea of paradise as a reward for the faithful, based on many references to the Paradise Garden in the Quran. Second was the secular tradition of the royal pleasure garden in Iran. Third was the particular response to the demands of terrain and climate in Iran, with its predominant dryness and heat.[75] The typical enclosed and central courtyard[76] prevalent in Mesopotamian and Iranian houses used in Iranian square in a grand scale. Central courtyards in between masses of solid volumes reflect the important role of emptiness in Iranian architecture. The only elements that allowed in emptiness are the vital natural elements: green and water. In this sense, the Iranian Courtyard is a terrestrial incarnation of heaven. According to *Nader Ardalan*, an Iranian contemporary architect: "[The] courtyard as the

[74] The word *chahar-bagh* or *Charbagh* literally means 'four gardens' and is based on the verses of the Holy Qur'an, which contain symbolic descriptions of Paradise (*jannat*) – the word *jannat* also meaning 'garden' in Arabic. Additionally, some Qur'anic verses suggest the existence of four paradises that is also represented by the *Chahar-bagh* design. The four parts of the *Chahar-bagh* symbolize and serve to represent the four rivers of Paradise mentioned in the Qur'anic verses.

[75] See Jonas Benzion Lehrman, *Earthly Paradise: Garden and Courtyard in Islam* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980): 32. Courtyards became a generic typology in hot, arid, climatic landscapes, and formed the basis of urban pattern in Medinas of the Islamic world. See Edwards et al, *Courtyard Housing: Past, Present and Future* (Taylor and Francis Group, 2006): 15.

[76] The Courtyard provides a private, protected space, symbolizing the inner life of individual. In practice it supplies light and cool air to the rooms that forms it. Fountain, pool, shade and occasional trees are also symbolic reflections of *Paradise*, see Lehrman, *ibid*, 31. Moreover, the courtyard, having been defined by the house itself and by high walls, is 'open to sky' space and is used primarily as an extension of the living quarters, see Edwards et all, *ibid,* 15.



1.6
Engraving of the maydan Naghsh-e Jahan in Tavernier. The city square is a positive void as the courtyard of the city.

manifestation of the centripetally oriented form of the microcosm, the hidden, may be viewed as mutually complementing and thereby completing aspects of spaces".[77] In Iranian history, this particular reading of paradise resulted in shaping a spatial archetype that promoted specific urban form: the *Meydan*. For *Kamran Afsharnaderi*- contemporary Iranian architect- the Iranian plaza conceived as a city courtyard, which
Fig. 1.6 emphasizes its boundaries while the center is always empty.[78] The idea of a central empty space, as an introverted characteristic, implied explicitly in courtyards or urban squares that regarded as "uncovered rooms of the city".

Square as Political Locus of "Sovereignty"

Safavid dynasty (1501-1736 AC) that is approximately coincides with European Renaissance, often referred to as the first geo-politically stable dynasty after introduction of Islam to Iran.[79] The works in Safavid dynasty known as the symbol of Persian art, architecture, and urbanism, which were affected by three major factors including: Power, Religious Beliefs and Symbolism. Safavid era is known to have strong inclination towards religion and Iran became distinctly different form surrounding countries, which all followed *Sunni*[80] Islam. Consequently, power and religious beliefs during Safavid period created the Iranian identity. Three factors that were influenced by people have been manifested in public squares of Safavid era.[81]

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[77] Nader Ardalan and Laleh Bakhtiar, *the Sense of Unity: The Sufi Tradition in Persian Architecture* (Kazi Publications, 2000), 68.

[78] Kamran Afsharnaderi, *The Gardens of Paradise* (Tehran: Kelk, 2007).

[79] Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam: 1250-1800* (Yale University Press, 1995).

[80] One of Shah Ismail Safavid's most important decisions was to declare that the state religion would be the form of Islam called *Shi'ism* that at the time was completely foreign to Iranian culture.

[81] During the Safavid period, political power and religious belief joined each other to define an Iranian identity. These three aspects of 'identity', 'religious belief', and 'power' have been manifested in architecture of especially public buildings through 'symbols'. See Raffone Mokhtarshahisani, *An*

Political power in Safavid era has used architecture and planning to convey its messages, especially through large public spaces, which have loaded by the power's favorite symbolic messages. The Safavids embodied a royal status infused with spiritual authority to maintain the politico-religious and territorial integrity of the empire.

Regarding the development of power, French Philosopher, *Michel Foucault*, states that one of the key parts of discipline, as a technique in a disciplinary society is control of space. The other way of increasing the power of authorities is by bringing the similar people in a place to absorb others who share the same belief and giving sacred values to the place.[82] During the Safavid period, many Shi'a clergies immigrated from Lebanon and Bahrain to Iran as the only safe and wealthy place for Shi'a Muslims during this period.[83] The very demonstration of the ideological power of the Safavids manifested in the grand scale urban projects in the time of Shah Abbas, who chose the city of Isfahan as the new capital. Although, Lockhart stresses that the city 'was no creation of his, for it has been a great city long before Shah Abbas reign; it had moreover been at times the capital of the country'.[84] Isfahan in the 17th century (1598-1722 AD) projected cosmopolitanism as a Mega city that anchored on the conceptual and functional grandeur of the city.[85] The new master plan of Shah Abbas differentiated the new city from the old historical center

Fig. 1.7

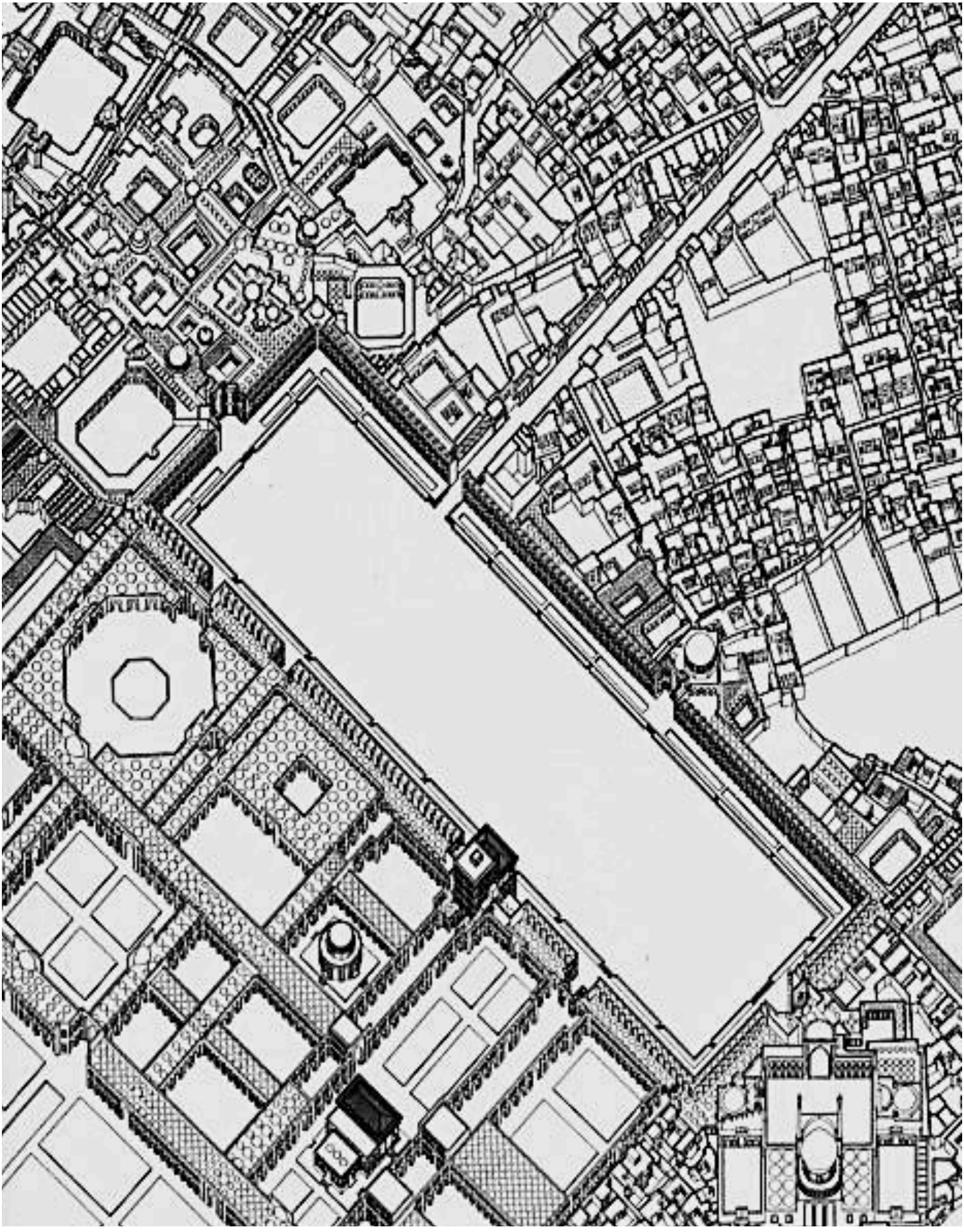
Inquiry into Iranian Architecture: Manifestation of Identity, Symbolism and Power in Safavid's Public Buildings. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Eastern Mediterranean University (2009).

[82] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Vintage Books, 1995).

[83] Mokhtarshahisani, *ibid.*

[84] The strategic location of Isfahan, abundant water supply and fertile land facilitated the development of Isfahan in the 17th century as Safavid new political capital. See Heidi A.Walcher, Between Paradise and Political Capital: The Semiotics of Safavid Isfahan, *Middle Eastern Natural Environment*, Vol.1 (1998): 330, and also Lawrence Lockhart, Shah Abbas's Isfahan in Arnold Toynbee ed. (London: Cities of Destiny, 1967): 210-225.

[85] For more see book chapte by Sussan Babaie entitled *Persia: The Safavid 1501-1722*, in the book by Jim Masselos, *The Great Empires of Persia* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2003): 139-235.



by organizing the street patterns on orthogonal grids not oriented toward Mecca.[86] The very concept of the city as the imperial capital manifested both ideas of Persian paradise[87] and Islamic Medina in their greatest manifestation. Walcher states that a closer examination of the layout of Isfahan shows the combined principles of Turco Iranian forms of city and Perso-Islamic and Timurid patterns of garden. [88] However, its grandiose architectural design happened in the formation of a unique spatial configuration of Meydan, which was a rectangular space surrounded by bazaars and served as the forecourt to the royal palaces, gardens and mosques and contributed to social and political activities.[89]

The new Meydan creates an alignment with the new promenade called *The Chaharbagh* (1596-1602) and the multi-ethnic, multi-faith sacred sites in south part of the Zayanderud River. The 1.9 kilometers boulevard (*the chaharbagh*) was an impressive urban intervention, which built as the north-south axis of the new capital to connect the new center of the city (*the* Meydân) to the royal quarters over the river. This comprehensive project is comparable to similar urban interventions in Rome by *Pope Sixtus V*, which had launched just a few years before.[90]

This new square became the archetype of Iranian spatial apparatus, which the sovereign state communicated to the world. The Meydan measures 83,000 square

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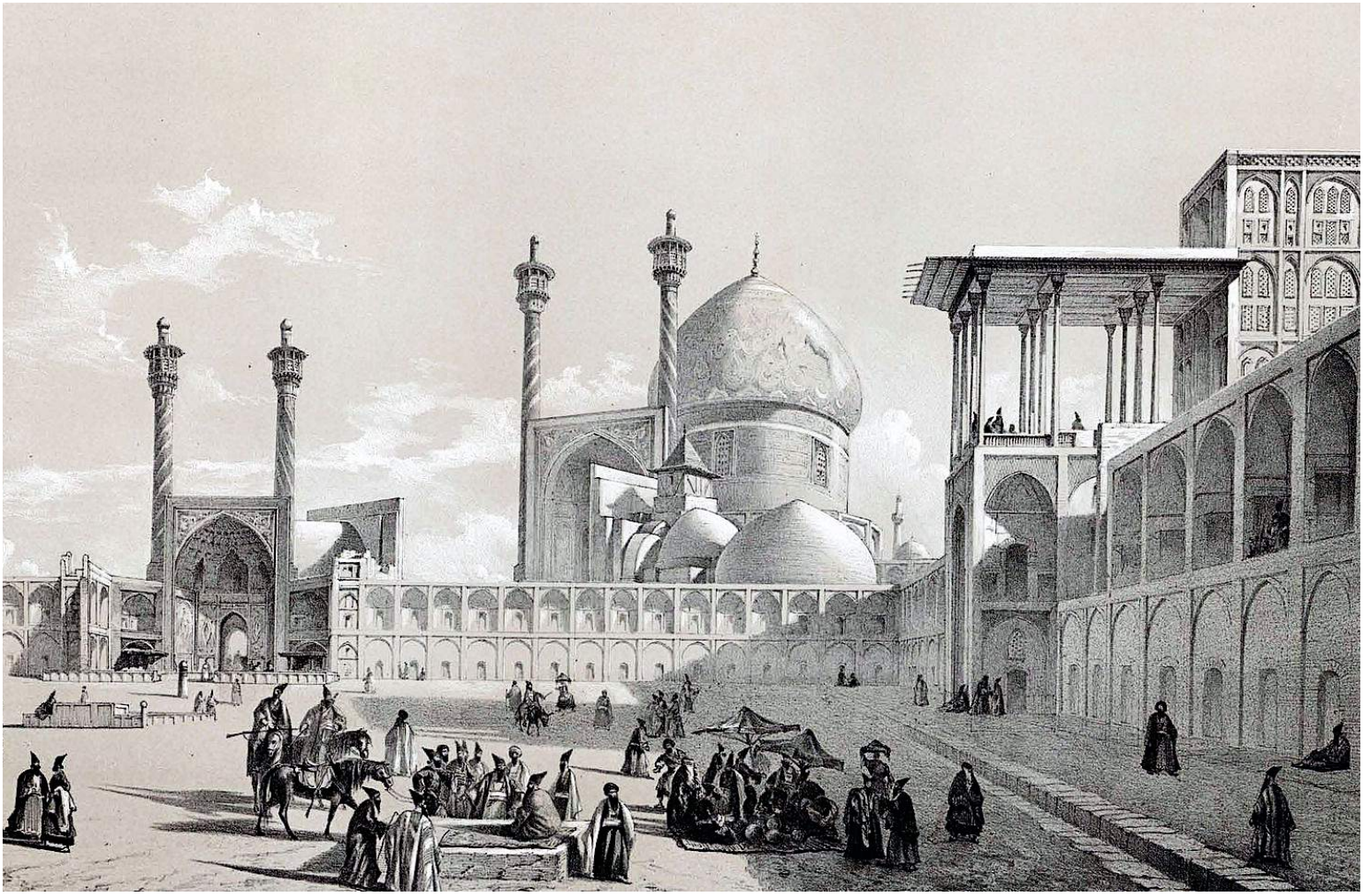
[86] The old city had narrow winding streets and the old Meydan was oriented toward Mecca.

[87] Poets and writers consciously chose the metaphor of paradise to celebrate Isfahan's beauty and extol its pre-eminence as imperial city. As well, Carl Ritter called it "die Paradiesische Stadt" in the early 19th century in *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, vol. VI, G. Reimer, Berlin, 1840, p. 21.

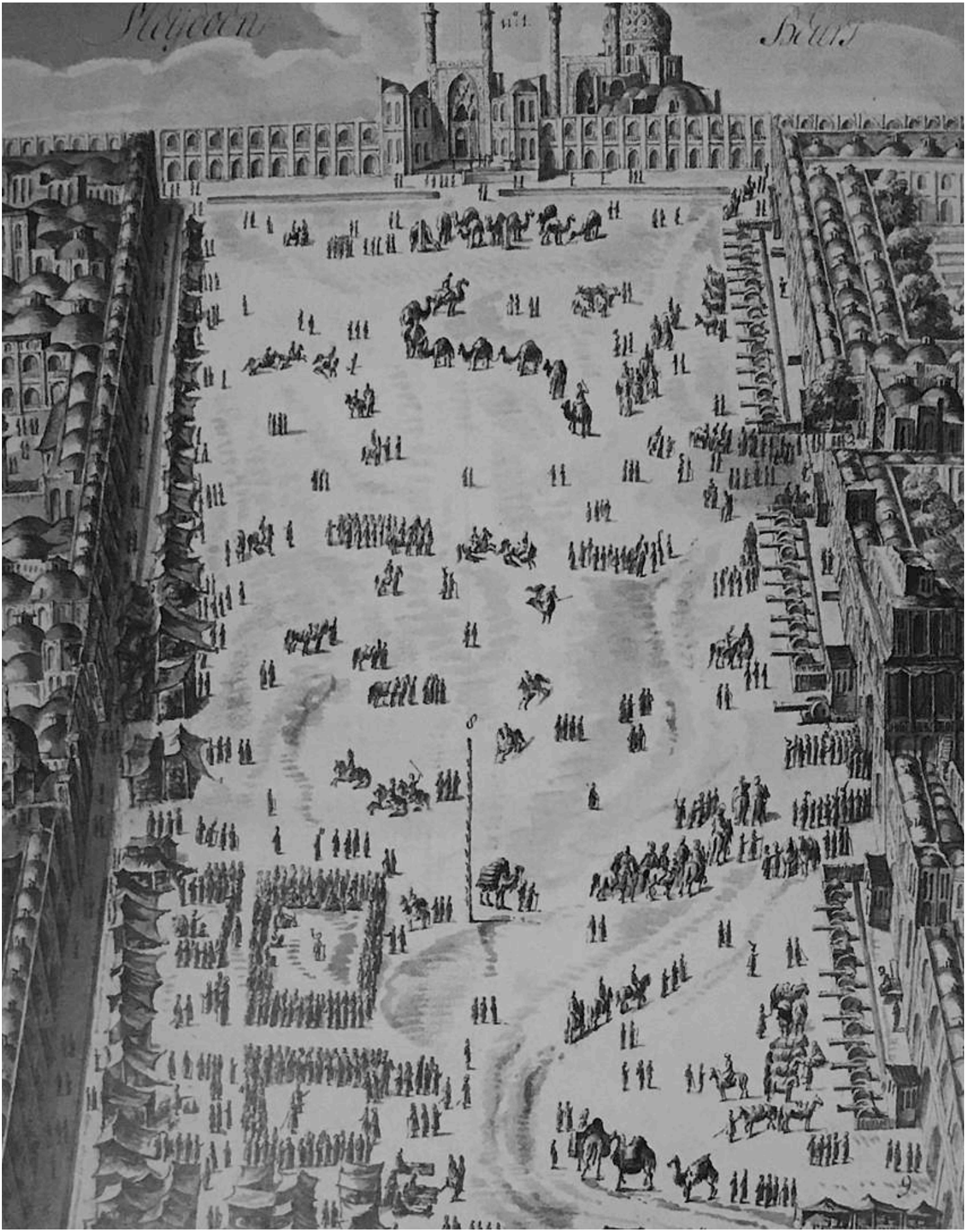
[88] Walcher, *ibid,* 331.

[89] The Existence of some historical, cultural, political and geographical features of Naghsh-e Jahan Square in Saheb-Abad and Saadat squares confirmed their common ideological origins. See Narges Aghabozorg and Heshmatollah Motedayen, Ideological Origins of Naghsh-e Jahan Square, *Bagh-e Nazar*, Vol.12, Issue 33(2015): 91-108. For more Giedion's comments about the entire tradition of spatial modern perspective, and Pope Sixtus V's drawing of Rome, see Panayotis Tournikiotis, *The Historiography of Modern Architecture* (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1955): 41.

[90] Herbert compared Isfahan's rise as the symbol of Safavid hegemony with the grandiose supremacy of ancient royal palace cities like *Babylon* and *Persepolis*. See Thomas Herbert, *Some Years of Travels into diverse parts of Asia and Afrique* (London: Jacob Blane and Richard Bishop, 1638), 153.



1.8
Meydan-e Naghsh-e Jahan in Isfahan by Eugène Flandin, 1851.



meters in area, second only in size to Tiananmen[91] Square in Beijing. Sir Thomas Herbert, a member of the British diplomatic mission of 1628, described the Meydan as "without doubt the most spacious, pleasant and aromatic market in the universe".[92] The four sides of the Maydan were strategically articulated by the placement of the monumental structures: the royal bazaar (Qaysariyye, begun in 1590/91) on the north side linking the new urban center to the old through its vaulted markets; the Ali Qapu Palace (1590/91-1615) on the west, serving also as the ceremonial entrance into the palace; the Sheikh Lotf-Allah Chapel-Mosque on the east; and the spectacular new congregational mosque (the Royal Mosque, 1611-38) on the south.[93]

Fig. 1.9

Isfahan and the Meydan represented a political impulse to establish an imperial capital that would rival contemporary Constantinople or Agora. Therefore, the entire Meydan design can be read as the imprint of a spiritual mapping of Safavid Sovereignty.[94] By the seventeenth century, the square and its attached institutions were not only the ceremonial sites of sovereignty, but also the integrated sites of commercial, civic, religious and, political interactions. In this layout, the royal compound connected to the city through the intermediary space of Meydan; this was sustained as a precedent for Iranian cities over the next three centuries.

Fig. 1.8

[91] Mao also dramatically reconfigured Tiananmen Square, turning what had long been a modest T-shaped palace into a vast masonry expanse intended to be able to assemble one million Party faithful. See Lawrence J. Vale, *Architecture, Power, and National Identity*. Second Edition (London and New York: Routledge, 2008): 31.

[92] Webb, *ibid*, 25.

[93] Babaie and Grigor, *ibid.*

[94] See Asma Mehan. Squares as tools for urban transformation: Foundations for designing the Iranian public squares. *Revista Brasileira de Planejamento e Desenvolvimento* Vol. 5, no. 2 (2016): 246-254.

From Politico-Religious Foundation to Modern Reasons

For most of human history, the social and spatial order of the cities has influenced by spiritual basis, which shaped the city.[95] Giedion suggested that the impact of religion on architecture explained by man's desire for a prolongation of life and for a constitution of existence after death in ancient Middle Eastern architecture.[96] In this sense, the ancient Persian city was also formed on the basis of a marriage of cosmology and temporal power.[97] The German philosopher Hegel asserted that Persians 'retained on the whole the fundamental characteristics of their ancient mode of life.'[98] The very concept of the city as the imperial capital manifested both ideas of Persian Paradise and Islamic Medina in their greatest manifestation.[99] The Persian city was square shaped, with four gates at four sides connected to each other through two intersecting main axes, a significant southern gate, and raised and walled citadels inside the city.[100] In the traditional Iranian squares the same pattern of design of courtyard houses and mosques 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.

The traditional patterns of use for public squares were in charge until the modern ages when the kings started to travel to Europe and import the European

[95] Ali Madanipour, *Designing the City of Reason: Foundations and Frameworks* (London and New York: Routledge: Taylor & Francis Group, 2007), 34.

[96] Sigfried Giedion, *The beginnings of architecture* (Princeton University Press, 1981), 9.

[97] Madanipour, *ibid,* 14.

[98] Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. *The Philosophy of History.* Translated by J. Sibree (Buffalo: Batoche Books, 2001), 207.

[99] The old city had narrow winding streets and the old Meydan was oriented toward Mecca.

[100] Ali Madanipour, *Tehran: The making of a Metropolis* (Willey, 1998), 218.

patterns of city planning and mix them with the traditional layout of the cities.[101] In traditional Iranian squares, streets entered the space at its corners, leaving the center free for commercial or social activities. However the streets of Renaissance style, entered the square at the middle of its sides, which accommodated traffic and put a visual emphasis on the central point, where a statue or monument placed. Therefore, the design of the square was changing according to the principle of central composition, whereby the entire composition revolved around a central point, which now often marked the glory of absolute power. At the city scale, the square was now beginning the role of the central node, connecting a set of geometrically regular streets into a network of transportation and communication.

Squares of Power Reasons

The very notion of square as microcosms of urban life and social relations has transformed dramatically, especially in modern Iran.[102] By reading the city through transformation of public spaces, the relationship between its architecture and political power will be exposed as an example in which the architecture of the city is charged with enabling an ideological interaction through action and reaction, revolution and resistance.[103] Tehran, the capital of Iran, has experienced different styles of modernization during the last five decades. In the 1920s and 1930s, the rise of modern architecture in Iran, under the modernist ruling ambitions of Reza Shah, led to shift dramatically from an aristocratic to bourgeois sovereignty. This was part of seeing the entire city as a single composition rather than a collection of separate parts. The modernization project in Tehran as the result of the global economy, similar to some other cities such as Cairo and Istanbul, was associated with several changes to

[101] Zohreh Soltani. TheTransformation of public space: City Squares as Locations for Power Struggle - The Case of Tehran (1934-2009). PhD Thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2011.

[103] Asma Mehan. *Architecture for Revolution: Democracy and Public space.* Graduate Student Forum, Edinburgh College of Art, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh: Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain (SAHGB) , 2015.

the socio-spatial structure of the city.[104] New Squares, as the new centers of urban activity, were for the first 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. [105] 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 shown in the images of Toopkhaneh Square. In other words the new squares of the city were carefully planned open spaces to demonstrate the power of the state and represent its grandeur. The next chapter will analyze the core concept of constructing a new image of Tehran through the process of autocratic modernism and Orientalist Historicism that also influenced the discourse of national identity during First Pahlavi era. It will discuss the dominant strategy of 'Tabula Rasa Planning' in modernizing the Middle Eastern capital and building a very new urban identity.

Fig. 1.10

[104] Alireza Mirgholami. *Iranian Modernity: Its Expression in the Daily life of public spaces in Tehran.* Melbourne : The University of Melbourne, 2009.

[105] Mina Marefat. *Building to power: Architecture of Tehran 1921-1941.* Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1988: 93.

1.10
Reza Shah Statue in Toopkhaneh Square of Tehran, 1960.

2 TEHRAN AS MODERNISM'S 'TABULA RASA'[106]

Destructive Character and Building a New Urban Identity

In 1931 Walter Benjamin wrote a short piece titled "het destructieve karakter: The Destructive Character". Bejamin's *Denkbild* written in one of the worst periods in German and European history: after the crisis of 1929, when European fascism was on the rise. Benjamin states "The destructive character knows only one watchword: make room and only one activity: clearing away. It clears away the traces of our own age and has few needs, and the least of them is to know what will replace what has destroyed. First, for a moment at least, empty space –the place where the thing stood or the victim lived. Someone is sure to be found who needs this space without occupying it".[107] In this sense, According to Aureli, the theology of *tabula rasa* implies

[106] In Western Philosophy, the concept of Tabula Rasa can be traced back to the writings of Aristotle who writes in his treaties *De Anima* (in English On the Soul) of the 'inscribed tablet'. These sources used the word "Tabula Rasa" regarding to Iranian Planning:

"Shah 's urban planners directed funds and attention to entirely empty stretches of the land where modernist schemes could be etched on to an arid Tabula Rasa". See Arang Keshavarzian, *Bazaar and State in Iran: The Politics of the Tehran Marketplace* (New York: New York University Press, 2009): 132. "The opening of space, a modernist Tabula Rasa, for modernity to be played out was often literal, in the form of radical urban renewals in Tehran. The open space of modernity was Tehran. On this empty space, new stuctures with novel aesthetic traditions represented and shaped the activities and identity of bourgoisie class". See Talinn Grigor, *Contemporary Iranian Art: From the Street to the Studio* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014).

[107] Walter Benjamin, *"The Destructive Character," in Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999).

that we no longer expected to do something; rather, we should make room, we should create the empty space for *something* else to happen.[108]

In a broader sense, the concept of *Tabula Rasa* had been equally a feature of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, both of which presented them as new develops from the root. Giedion and Zevi, link modern architecture with the real beginnings of the architecture.[109] Zevi investigated a modern architecture that bound up with his commitment to a free society and free individual, out of a belief that architectural forms are closely linked to the political structure of the society.[110] The strategy of *Tabula Rasa* appeared in the works of *Rem Koolhaas* and set itself as a strategy of "emptiness". *Koolhaas* points out a number of different cities under ambitious renovation plans starting from a large urban void implemented for various reasons.

The deepest "emptiness" that inhabits in the heart of the *Tabula rasa* is a void that tries to blur all specificity in order to accommodate a mere accumulation of ideologies. In a general sense, the concept of *Tabula Rasa*, as a desire for sweeping renewal has some precedents throughout architectural history. In the middle of nineteenth century (1853-70), the spatial transformation of Paris by Haussmann introduced as an archetype of modernization. New planning of Paris commissioned to prevent any future protests, which was applied through strategic interventions that cut through the old urban fabric. Haussmann and Napoléon III found a *Tabula Rasa* in the newly platted avenues for new vistas. David Harvey in his book Paris, Capital of Modernity states that the *Creative Destruction* necessitated by the demolitions and reconstructions had its precedents in the revolutionary spirit.[111]

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[108] Pier Vittorio Aureli, *The Theology of Tabula Rasa: Walter Benjamin and Architecture in the Age of Precarity*. Retrieved June 23, 2016, from The City as a Project: http://thecityasaproject.org/2015/05/the-theology-of-tabula-rasa-walter-benjamin-and-architecture-in-the-age-of-precarity/(2015, May 9).

[109] Panayotis Tournikiotis, *The Histography of Modern Architecture* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1999).

[110] Tournikiotis, *ibid,* 54.

[111] David Harvey, *Paris: Capital of Modernity* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003).

Walter Benjamin in his book *The Arcades Project* states that Haussmann's transformations had the effect of disorienting the bourgeoisie's trust in their own city. Indeed, through the observations on Paris, Benjamin discovered a connection that binds together technology, urban form, and capitalist power. Benjamin added that the urban form imposed on Paris by the reactionary Baron Haussmann after the revolution of 1848 was the appearance of a new and radical urban experience. According to Benjamin, even if these interventions were advanced to counter the threat of another revolution (which eventually occurred in 1871), these radical transformations in Paris had the effect of disorienting the bourgeoisie's trust in their own city.[112] Haussmann's new wide boulevards provided the military control over strategic streets and opened up areas for new commercial activity symbolized by the invention of department stores, which was linked to a wider restructuring, the emergence of middle class, the increasing segregation of city by the class and representation of urban space as spectacle.[113] Panayatis Tournikiotis, in his book *The Historiography of Modern Architecture*, declares that Modern Architecture presupposes a *Tabula Rasa*, and the systemic elimination of any elements that might denote a continuation of the classical tradition.[114] Thus, Haussmannization was an attempt to put an image "in place of a city which had lost its old means of representation". What had been lost was the idea of the city as a form of *Tabula Rasa*, as a potential site for the construction of utopian dreams.[115]

T.J.Clarck, in *The Painting of Modern Life,* provides another perspective on the de-politicization that followed from Haussmannization. This process brought modernity to Paris and provided a framework in which another order of urban life would be allowed its mere existence. Haussmann's rebuilding of Paris, writes Clark, "was

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[112] Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).

[113] Setha Low and Neil Smith, The *Politics of Public Space* (New York and London: Routledge, 2006), 8.

[114] Tournikiotis, *ibid,* 240.

[115] T.J. Clark, The *Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers* (London: Thames and Hudson. 1984), chapter one.

spectacular in most oppressive sense of the word".[116] In 1925, the first modern lesson of *Tabula Rasa* planning, for which *Le Corbusier* far exceeded *Haussmann's* desire for demolitions, proposing to knock down the entire quarter of the Marais and replace it with an elevated highway, forty-story skyscraper, and vast gardens, which were not finally implemented.[117] In 1950s, Chandigarh reveals the image of the city as 'Tabula Rasa'. By employing the architect *Le Corbusier* and the modern style, India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, envisioned the city as the manifestation of India's break with past and its turn to future of progress and development. Due to these factors, and especially for the period of the 1950s to the 1990s, architectural history has posited Chandigarh as an embodiment of the state-sponsored narrative of a modernist planned urban utopia.[118]

Hitler's grandiose plans for a new monumental Berlin envisioned a reshaping of capital's center almost as dramatic as that caused by the destruction of war, though in exactly the opposite extreme.[119] In 1985, Stephen Hemler in his book *Hitler's Berlin: The Speer plans for reshaping the central city* clarifies that Hitler ordered Speer to surpass Haussmann and construct the great hall square (Grosse Platz) as the manifestation of totalitarian regime and the capital of Nazi-dominated Europe.[120] Indeed, Speer wanted to be the Haussmann to Hitler's Napoleon: "Hitler remembered everything about the Ringstrasse, and wanted the New Berlin to surpass both it and Haussmann's Paris. For years, he had kept sketches he had made of the monumental

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[116] Clark*, ibid*, 36.

[117] Richard Ingersoll, *Sprawltown: Looking for the City on Its Edges* (New York : Princeton Architectural Press, 2006) :83.

[118] Varun Kapur, The City as Tabula Rasa versus the City of Mosaic: Chandigarh and Modern Delhi*, International Dwellings and Settlements Review* (IASTE), Vol.22 Issue 1(2010): 52.

[119] Lawrence J. Vale. *Architecture, Power, and National Identity*. Second Edition (London and New York: Routledge, 2008): 25.

[120] Stephen Hemler *Hitler's Berlin: The Speer plans for reshaping the central city* (Brussels: UMI Research Press, 1985).

2.1
Megalomaniac Fantasy. Albert Speer's proposal for a great hall and square in Berlin; Model of North-South axis and the Capitol Complex.

buildings he planned to erect along a magnificent wide tree-planned avenues running through the center of Berlin. He regarded Haussmann as the greatest city planner in history, but hoped that I surpass him". [121] Albert Speer's Berlin plan, which provided a massive cross-axial ensemble of enormous buildings attempted to out scale every attempt at architecture and urban design that the world had ever known. Speer termed his north-south axis "a Berlin Champ Elysees two and half times the length of the original".[122] In this sense, Speer's plan is a massive political stage set.

Fig.2.1

According to Aldo Rossi, in "L'arrchitettura della citta" the premise of contemporary theory of the city should be the city as the site of political choices. Rossi's hypothesis of autonomous architecture involved searching for a rational language to search the legacy of the bourgeois city and realize the very idea of modernity. [123] In this regard, Reading the modern Tehran as a project, manifested major changes in its social, political, and spatial structures that were Western-influenced. The first chapter, '*Creative Destruction' of Tehran*, investigates the initial stages of Modernization Process. This chapter focuses on the case of Tehran in mid nineteenth century as the main scene for the manifestation of duality between Modern and traditional within the Middle Eastern capital's political projects. The second chapter, *Tehran As Modernism's 'Tabula Rasa'* clarifies the dominant strategy of modernization and expansion of the capital city during First Pahlavi era. The third chapter, *Building A New Urban Identity* sums up the profound interventions that effected Iran's still unborn architectural profession. This chapter highlighted the dominant politics that affected the bourgeoisie and class formation during this era.

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[121] Elizabeth Wilson, *The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women* (University of California Press:1999), 98.

[122] Lawrence J Vale. *Architecture, Power, and National Identity*. Second Edition (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 25.

[123] Aldo Rossi, *L'arrchitettura della citta* (Milano: Quodlibet Abitare, 2011).

'Creative Destruction' of Tehran

The advent of global economy has not only changed ways of life within cities but it has immensely affected how architecture can form and define space. Technological developments, new modes of communication and global networks have made contemporary cities endless fields of urbanization. Since the birth of Enlightenment (from 15th century onwards) Tehranian identified five stages of modernization based on different forms of capitalism beginning with the first stage of "Commercial Capitalism" (1500-1700) associated with "…the rise of mercantile cities such as Venice, Florence, Barcelona, Paris and London". According to Tehranian, the expansion of these cities led to the emergence of the nation state system as the second stage of modernization (1700–1870).

In the 19th century, a new imperialism emerged with the decline of the old empires, proclaiming the third stage of modernization (1870–1945). Tehranian argues that the fourth stage of modernization (1945–present) begun with the rise of globalism at the end of World War II. While the conflict between the First World (the capitalist countries) and the Second World (the socialist countries) and the revolutionary parts of the Third World during the Cold War dislocated the mechanisms needed for such a global economic operation, globalism continued to grow to foster the culture of mass consumption.[124] Tehranian's five stages of modernization cohere with scholars such as Hegel, Habermas and Weber, who consider modernity as a Western product at its core. However, while globalization accelerated the global hegemony of Western ideas and modernization, it also led to the rise of different non-Western maternities.[125]

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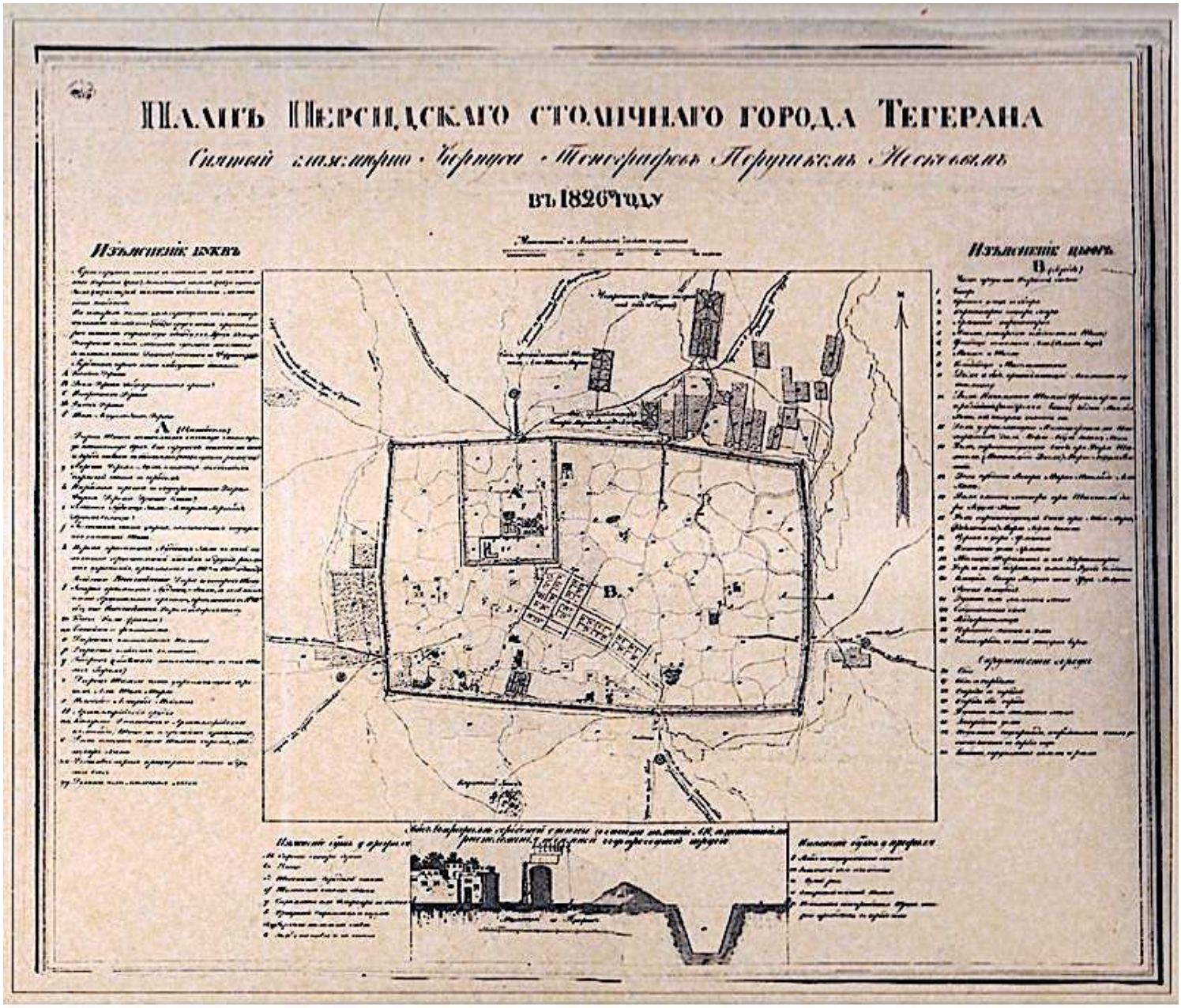
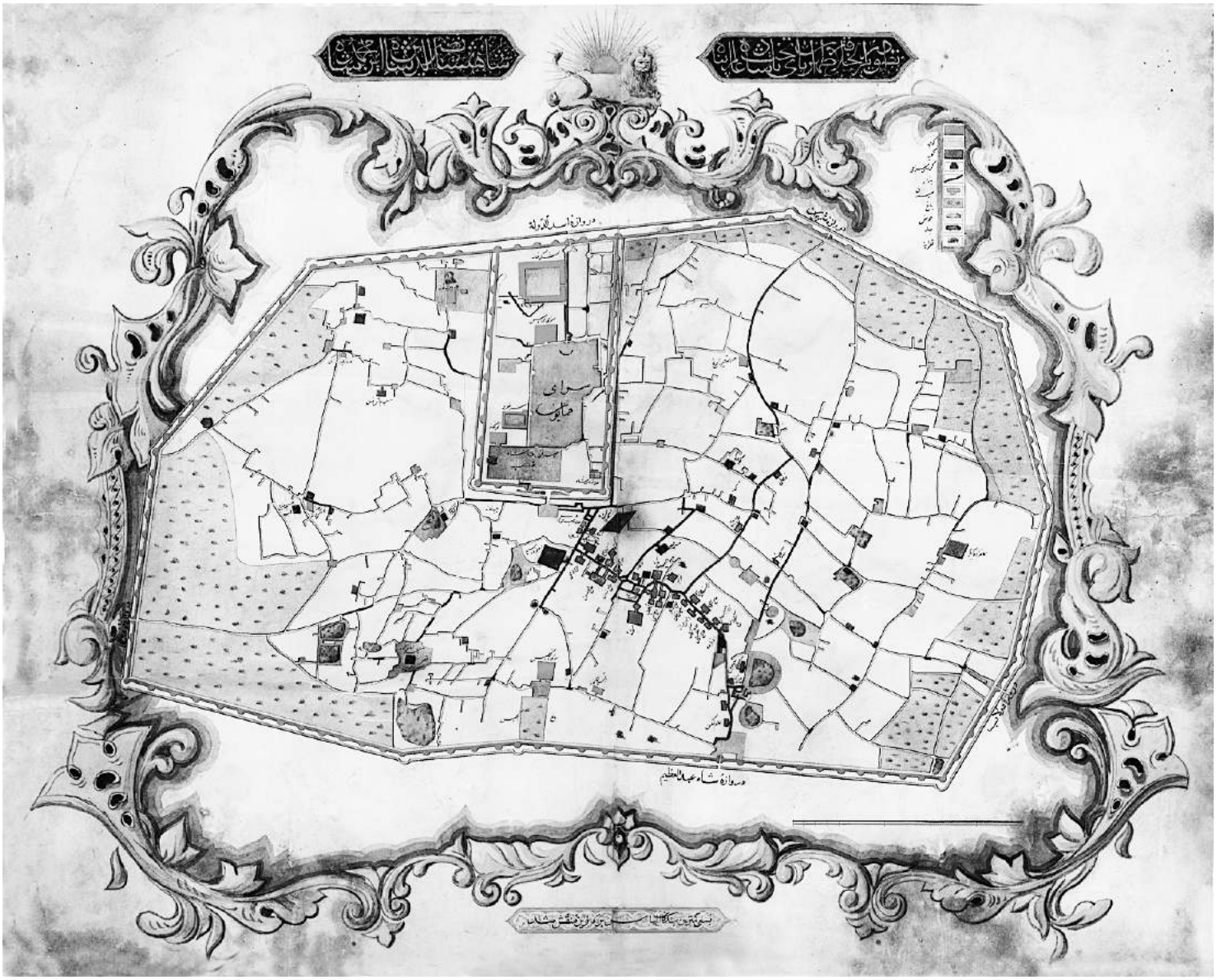
[124] Katharine Kia Tehranian, *Modernity, Space and Power: The American city in discourse and practice* (Cresskill: Hampton Press, 1995), 36-40.

[125] Ata Hoodashtian, *Modernite, Jahani shodan va Iran, Neveshtarhayee piramoone jahani shodan, modernite, bohrane tahavvol va nazariyeyeh adame bazgashte tarikhi dar Iran (Modernity, globalization and Iran)* (Tehran: Pejmen, 2012), 62-66.



2.2
The Earliest Map of Tehran Tehran Map (Russian Version), Created by Naskov, Russian Military Officer, 1826.



2.3
Tehran Map (Persian Version), 1852 by Russian Il'ya Nikolaevich Berezin (1818-1896), Which is depicted during the reign of Nasser al-Din Shah Qajar (r.1848-1896)

Alsayyad states that in studying the relationship between West and the Middle East, three historic phases perceived: the colonial period, the era of independence and nation-state building, and, the most recent phase, globalization. These phases appear to have accompanied by three respective urban forms: the hybrid, the modern or pseudo-modern and the postmodern. [126] Iran similar to non-Western countries and as a country that never colonized underwent a unique modernization process, which arose from its internal pressures. Isenstadt and Rizvi stated that the Modernism in Iran began at the cusp of twentieth century amid the rise of independent nation-states in regions once ruled by the Qajars (r.1779-1924).[127]

Over the last 150 years, Iranian urban and architectural history has integrated with modernization, and European-inspired modernity. [128] At the same time, Nationalist movement in neighboring Turkey and Iran, resulting in the rise of charismatic military leaders, who threw off centuries of imperial rule and modernized to achieve national progress. [129] The advent of Mustafa Kamal in Turkey (1919) and Reza Shah in Iran (1921) brought new modes of European inspired judicial and educational reforms in an effort to forget homogenous, native identities. [130]

During the nineteenth century, the urban and architectural history of Tehran was the field of contradictions and oppositions between various definitions of the concept of modernity. The case of Tehran in mid nineteenth century is the main scene for the manifestation of this duality within the Middle Eastern political capital's projects. The first attempt to transform the old city made during the long reign of

[126] Sandy Isenstadt and Kishwar Rizvi, *Modernism and Middle East: Architecture and Politics in the twentieth century* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2008): 255-266. See the chapter entitled *From Modernism to Globalization (The Middle East in Context)* by Nezar Alsayyad.

[127] Isenstadt and Rizvi, *ibid.*

[128] Ervand Abrahamian, *Iran between Two Reveloutions* (New Jeasey: Princton University Press, 1982).

[129] Isenstadt & Rizvi, *ibid*, 4-5.

[130] Eric Hobsbawn & Terrence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

Nasser al-Din Shah (1848-96). The resulting changes in the city structure were so dramatic that, according to observer, "the visitors in the first half of this nineteenth century would barely recognize it", featuring what was regarded as the second stage of a 'twofold renaissance', the first was when Tehran became a capital city.[131] The process of change, which embraced the whole city, started from the royal compound, by the reformist vizir Amir Kabir, by restoring its walls, improving its streets for the movement of vehicles, and laying out a new, large square, Toopkhaneh. The two old and main squares were also improved and beautified.[132]

Fig. 2.3

Fig. 2.2

The 1858 map of Tehran drawn by August Krziz, illustrated a polygonal walled city which consisted of the urban components observable in many other Islamic Persian cities such as residential quarters, citadel, bazaar and Friday Mosque. The city at that time had two main squares including Meydan-e Arg (Citadel Square) lay inside the citadel, and the Sabzeh Meydan (Herb Market) as the market place. According to Madanipour, the structure of the city was an axial spatial structure with a clear functional organization: a political authority, economic center, a religious focus, and the living places of the people.[133] In 1868, a team headed by General Alexander Buhler, took plan of the new city in the form of a perfect octagonal, enclosed by moats and walls inspired by Vauban's [134] system for the fortification of Paris and other French cities.[135]

Fig. 2.4

Curzon, British traveler and writer (1859-1925), states that the new octagonal ramparts were copied from the fortifications of Paris before the German war and had no military and defensive purpose: "The old walls and towers were for the most part

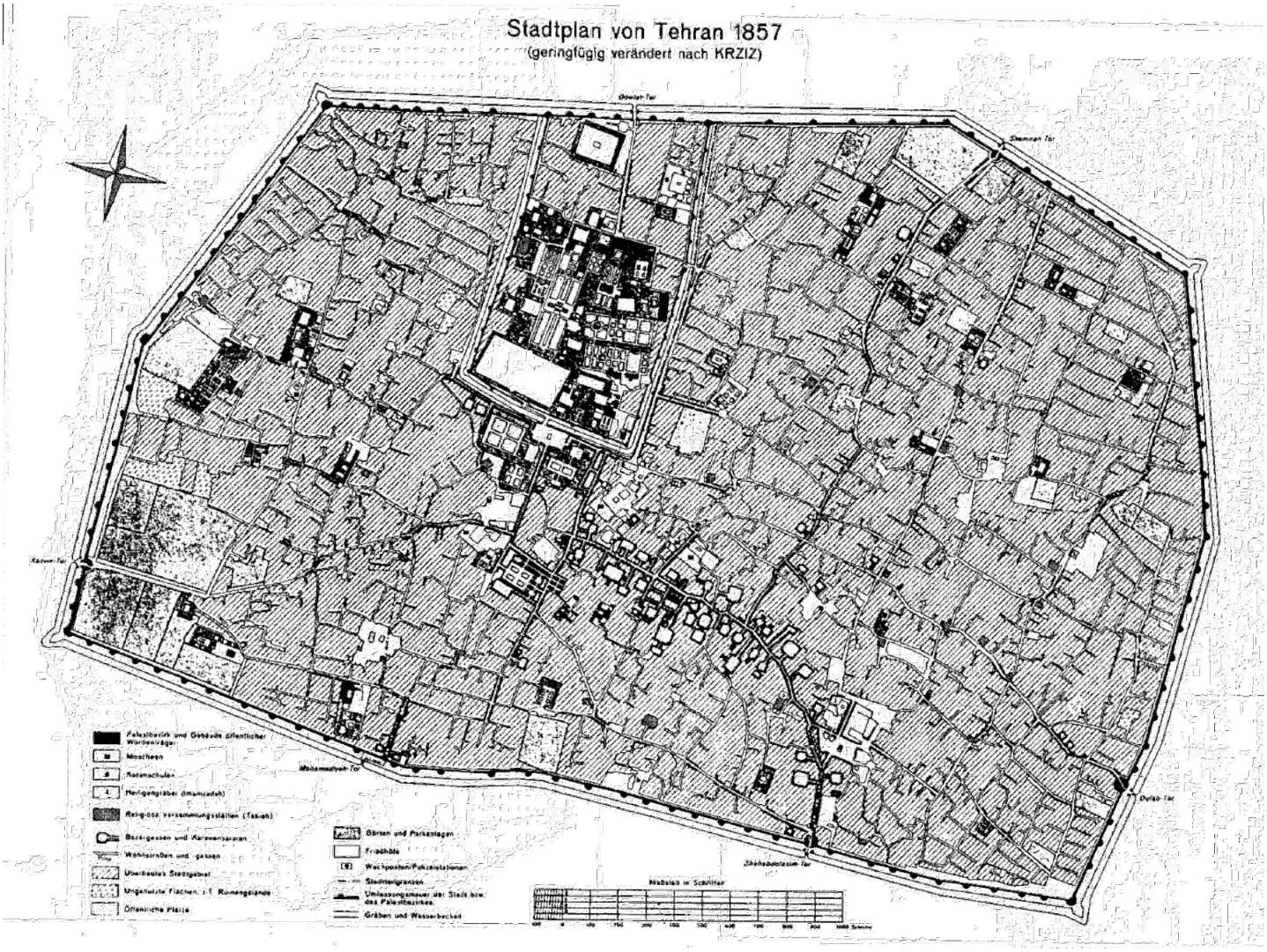
[131] George Curzon, *Persia and Persian Question* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1966).

[132] See Yahya Zaka. *Tarikhche-ye Sakhtemanha-ye Arg-e Saltanati Tehran (*Tehran: The Institute of National Heritage, 1970) and Naser Najmi. *Iran-e Ghadim va Tehran-e Ghadim* (Tehran: Janzadeh, 1984).

[133] Ali Madanipour, *Tehran: The making of a Metropolis* (Willey, 1998), 30.

[134] For more details about the works of Vauban (1633-1707) see Morris 1994: 214-218.

[135] Buhler's plan depicted a clear formal copy of Vauban's-the French military engineer-model without delivering its military functions (see Fisher et al. 1991; see also Gharipour, Ozlu 2015)



2.4
Tehran Map (Russian Version) 1857 by Austrian Augusta Kriziz (Also Kreziz/Krsis).

2.5
Tehran Map 1891 by Abdol-Ghaffar Khan Najmol Molk.

pulled down, the ditch was filled up, a large slice of surrounding plain was taken in, and, at the distance of a full mile from the old enclosure, a new rampart was constructed upon Vauburn's system, copied from the fortifications of Paris before the German war. There is no masonry work upon these new fortifications; a single gun does not defend them; they describe an octagonal figure about eleven miles in circuit; and I imagine from the point of view of the military engineers, are wholly useless for defense. The main practical service consists in facilitating the collection of the town octroi".[136] The 1868 reform of Tehran's physical structure partly aimed to accommodate polarizing social structure by the expansion of the city and creation of new, upper-class quarters. In the new urban structure, the upper and lower classes were housed separately in the northern and southern parts of the city. A process of spatial segregation of social classes started which was to constitute the most important feature of the city ever since. [137]

Although the new wall is interpreted as a purposeless copy of the French original model, a couple of reasons convinced the Naser al-Din Shah to commission new city walls, including population growth, necessity of establishing modern institutes, as well as controlling flooding. [138] Within the city's new walls, a new urban structure emerged which was different from the old structures. The royal compound, which used to be connected to the city by a sequence of two squares, found two more points of contact. Therefore this created a bipolar urban structure with a dual morphology: the old square surrounded by the old, traditional institutions housed in old parts of the city; and new square surrounded by new institutions in newly developed areas. This bipolarity of the city was the first manifestation of what came to be an ever-enduring north-south division.[139]

Fig. 2.5

[136] Curzon, *ibid,* 305.

[137] Ali Madanipour, *Tehran: The making of a Metropolis* (Willey, 1998): 33.

[138] Edmund Bosworth, *Historic Cities of the Islamic World* (Netherland: Brill, 2007).

[139] Madanipour, *ibid,* 34.

Jackson, American Traveler and Researcher (1826-1937) added that the Naserid development of the city, where the old walls were tore down and an entirely new rampart erected, was influenced by the Shah's first visit to Europe.[140] For Bradley-Birt, Tehran was a city, which presented "a perfect medley of things old and new, valuable and worthless without any order and management.[141] He described Tehran as a "typical Eastern city", which has covered itself with "an outward Western veneer". This veneer sits as strangely upon it as a new transport garment, thrown carelessly over an old and shabby 'Orient'.[142] In this regard, Curzon added "We are in a city which was born and nurtured in the East, but it is beginning to cloth itself as a West-end tailor".[143]

Tehran as Modernism's 'Tabula Rasa'

Tehran, the capital of Iran has experienced different styles of modernization during the five last decades. There were two revolutions in the last century that influenced dramatically the conditions of modernity in Tehran; the constitutional revolution (1905-1907) at the beginning of twentieth century opened the doors to modern and particularly western school of thoughts and life styles. On the other hand, Islamic Revolution (1978-1979) that challenged everything associated with the West and its modernity in the respect of the Islamic identity.[144] However, since the Qajar dynasty (1785–1925), it has confronted Western ideological concepts.[145]

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[140] Abraham Valentine Williams Jackson, *Persia Past and Present* (London: Macmillan, 1906), 423.

[141] Francis Bradley-Birt, *Through Persia, From the Gulf to the Caspian* (Boston: J.B. Millet, 1910), 300.

[142] Bradley-Birt, ibid*,* 289.

[143] Curzon, ibid*,* 304-305.

[144] Nazgol Bagheri, *Modernizing the public space: Gender Identities, Multiple Modernities, And Space Politics in Tehran* Published PhD Thesis, University of Missouri-Kansas City, Kansas, Missouri (2013).

[145] Darab Diba, Iran and Contemporary Architecture, *Mimar,* Vol. 38 (1991): 20- 25.

Upon the demise of the Qajar, Both Reza Shah (1925-1941) and his son and successor king, Mohammad Reza Shah (1941-1979), forcefully modernized the society that had been rooted in pre-Islamic past, Islam, and metaphysical ideology. Such radical changes employed in all aspects of everyday life of the society, from ideological to physical transformations.[146] The modernization project in Tehran as the result of the global economy, similar to some other cities such as Cairo or Istanbul, was associated with several changes to the socio-spatial structure of the city.[147] Shortly after Reza Shah had seized power through a British-backed coup d'état in 1921, he pledged to 'rejuvenate Iranian life with the help of the army.'[148] These include deterioration of the city's historical core; emergence of wide streets, squares, parks and buildings in a semi-European style; and fast expansion of the city to accommodate migration from the provinces to the capital and formation of informal settlements, overpopulation and rise of new social classes such as bureaucrats and middle class state employees.[149]

The process of Tehran Modernization started slowly during the Qajar dynasty and was more rapid and autocratic during the Pahlavi dynasty who imposed modern and western ideas and technologies on both the city form and everyday practices, to re-image the capital city and appropriate it for the world market.[150] The years 1921-34 characterized by modernization of the bureaucratic norms. The Pahlavi state had reinforced its order by three systems: the modern army, the government bureaucracy and court patronage. Asphalt roads, the Trans-Iranian railway, new administrative

[146] Ali Madanipour, *Tehran: The making of a Metropolis* (Willey, 1998), 30.

[147] Alireza Mirgholami, *Iranian Modernity: Its Expression in the Daily life of public spaces in Tehran* (Melbourne: The University of Melbourne, 2009).

[148]Abrahamian, *A history of modern Iran* :34-63.

[149] Hooshang Amirahmadi and Ali Kianfar, *The Transformation of Tehran from a Garrison Town to a Primate city: A tale of Rapid Growth and uneven Development* (Center for Urban Policy Research, 1993).

[150] Sanjoy Mazumdar, Autocratic Control and Urban Design: The Case of Tehran, Iran. *Journal of Urban Design* (Routledge: Taylor & Francis Group) Vol. 5, No. 3 (2000): 317-338.

buildings, secular schools and universities, modern cinemas and parks, public landmarks, and statues introduced a new lifestyle for Iranian life.[151] Between 1932 and 1937, the nineteenth-century ramparts and eleven gates were totally demolished. These interventions literally opened up the space for the expansion of the capital city.

Talinn Grigor, used the term 'Tabula Rasa'–a utopian blank slate upon which a new Iran could be conceived "over again"- as the dominant strategy of modernization during Pahlavi era. Scott argues that the builders of the modern nation state do not merely describe, observe and map; they strive to shape a people and landscape that will fit their techniques of observation.[152] Hobsbawn states, "Modern nations rest on exercise in social engineering which are often deliberate and innovative".[153] The first symbol of this conception was the removal of old Tehran's fortifications. The rising bourgeoisie moved northward for better water, air, view, and the old aristocrats including traditionalist merchants in their bazaar, the clerics in their mosques, and the old nobility in their residential quarter remained by and gradually lost their political apparatus. In order to implement this strategy of secular formation, Tehran served as the model for modernization project around the country.[154] At the heart of the city, in order to decentralize the dense urban fabric and to bring Tehran to look like European cities, approximately 10 percent of the city transformed into open space, including wide avenues, Public Squares, and city parks. The urban renewal projects in Tehran provided the utopian *Tabula Rasa* to build a new future for rising bourgeoisie.[155]

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[151] Talinn Grigor, *Building Iran (*New York: Periscope Publishing Ltd, 2009): 17-18.

[152] James C Scott. *Seeing like a state: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed.* Vols. 4-6 (New Haven: Yale University Press , 1998): 82.

[153] Eric Hobsbawn, and Terrence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992): 13-14.

[154] Talinn Grigor, *Contemporary Iranian Art: From the Street to the Studio* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2014):97-98.

[155] Grigor, *ibid*, 100.

The result of these interventions was a structurally bi-polar city with two different street layouts.[156] Charles Calmer Hart, the American diplomat to Iran, reported in 1931:"The municipality, urged on by the Shah, is trying to modernize the capital of Persia so rapidly that property owners find it almost impossible to keep up with the progress which is wiping out liberal areas of their real estate, for most of which they receive limited or no compensation. Property owners, besides having to give up much real state, have been compelled to see the demolition of their houses an to replace them at their own expense by better structures constructed on designs prescribed by municipal planning commission.[157] Regarding the dimension of demolishing projects, it remarked, "Tehran looks as if it has been destroyed by an earthquake."[158] Rosita Forbes, an American traveler to Iran in the early 1930s, described Tehran as "slightly Hollywoodesque, for the new streets looked as if they had not quite settled where they were going, and the rows of new houses, one room deep, were all frontage".[159] In 1932, Herzfeld, a famous Iranologist in his reports stated, "Everything we see is a methodic destruction. It is a system of ruining established authorities of old, without replacing them with anything at all. The result is vacuum. One day consequences will appear."[160]

Banani described 1930s Tehran as "a massive unfinished tableau worked on by several artists, and a mere external Westernization aimed at impressing foreign

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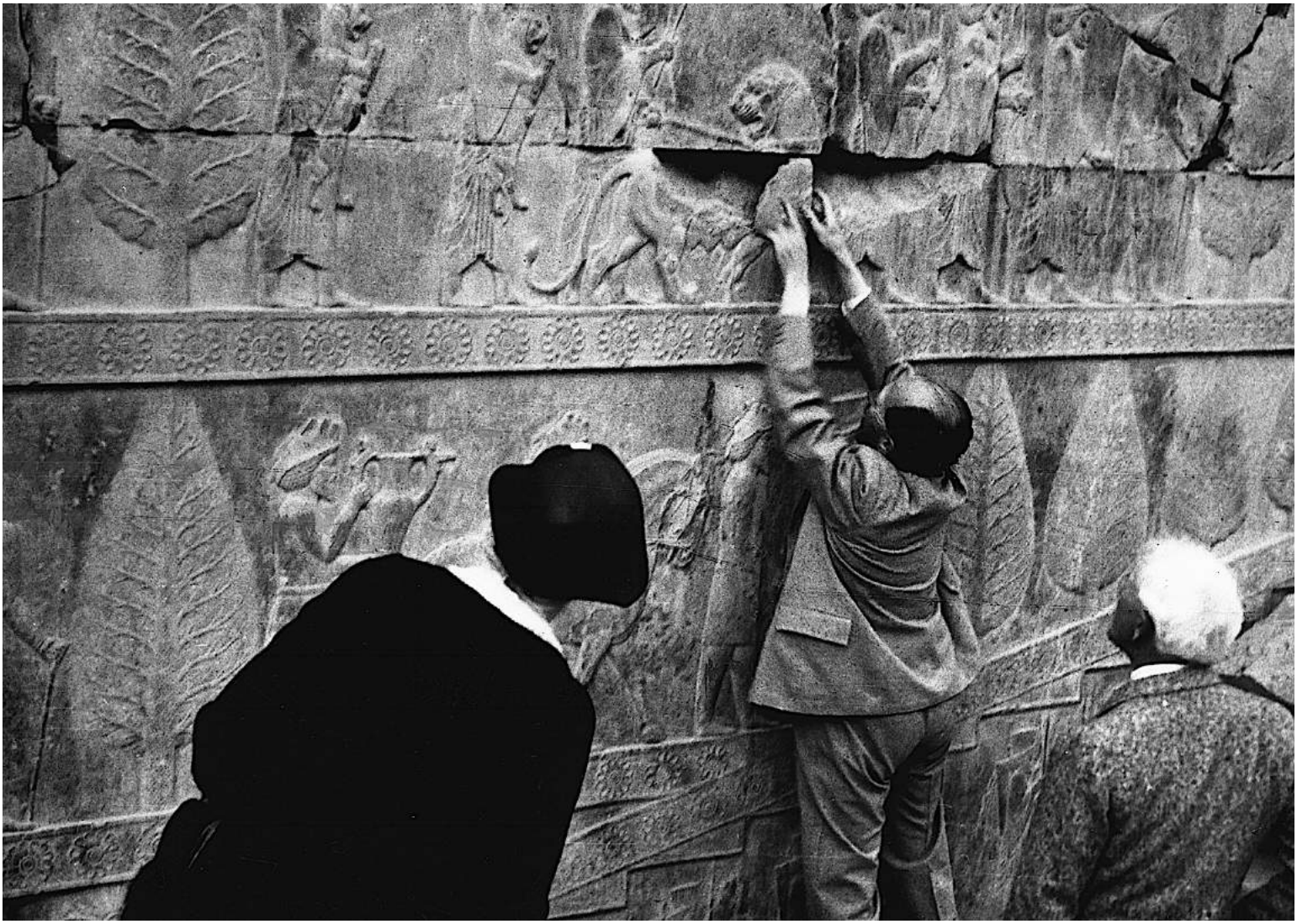
[156] Siegfried Giedion. *Space, Time, Architecture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962): 581.

[157] US State Department Archieves, Hart, dispatch 387, 891.5123/5, 20 Febrauary 1931, Tehran, Iran qouted in M. G. Majd, (2001) *Great Britain and Reza Shah: The plunder of Iran, 1921-1941* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press): 162.

[158] US State Department Archieves, Engert, dispatch 1830, "Change in the City of Tehran" 891.101/3, 10 May 1940, Tehran, Iran; qouted in Majd, *ibid,* 163-164.

[159] Rosita Forbes, *Conflict: Angora to Afghanistan* (London: Cassell, 1931):105.

[160] US State Department Archieves, Engert, dispatch 1830, "Change in the City of Tehran" 891.101/3, 10 May 1940, Tehran, Iran; qouted in Majd, *ibid,* 163-164 US State Department Archieves, Engert, dispatch 1830, "Change in the City of Tehran" 891.101/3, 10 May 1940, Tehran, Iran; qouted in Majd, *ibid,* 155-156.



2.6

Oriental Institute founder James Henry Breasted and archaeologist Ernst Herzfeld at Persepolis.

observers who usually visited only Tehran. "The new city was well planned with wide streets intersecting each other at right angles, some pave with cut granite, others with asphalt or concrete. The master plan intended to project a paradoxical contrast to the labyrinth lanes of old quarters. He added that the Tehran of 1941 had no resemblance to the Tehran of 1921.[161] Katouzian states that the dominant renewal policy was to demolish all buildings-residential, historical, monumental or whatever in order to keep them straight.[162] In 1940s, American diplomats praised the city with new squares and parks in European style: "Streets have been widened and paved; trees have been planted to take the place of the old ones destroyed the alterations; modern government buildings have been erected in various parts of the city, and a number of small parks in local squares are being landscaped".[163]

Building a New Urban Identity

From 1920s to 1930s, Tehran essentially became a blank canvas on which Reza Shah sought to mark out his own unique architectural landscape, one that displayed modern European design blended with distinctly ancient Iranian influence. He had an obvious desire to 'restore the past glories of Persia', which is represented in the architecture of the period".[164] In this period, two profound interventions effected

[161] See Amin Banani. *Modernization of Iran, 1921-1941* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961):144 and Laurence Lockhart, *Famous Cities of Iranian* (Brentford: W.Pearce, 1939): 11-13.

[162] Homa Katouzian, *The Political Economey of Modern Iran: Despotism and Pseudo-modernism 1926*-1979 (New York: New York University Press, 1981):110-111.

[163] US State Department Archieves, Engert, dispatch 1830, "Change in the City of Tehran" 891.101/3, 10 May 1940, Tehran, Iran; qouted in Majd, *ibid,*163-164.

[164] Robert Steele. "British Persian Studies and the Celebrations of the 2500th Anniversary of the Founding of the Persian Empire in 1971 ." Master Thesis, Faculty of Humanities , The University of Manchester , Manchester, 2014: 34.

2.7

Reza Shah and his son Mohammad Reza Shah at Persepolis accompanied by Ernst Herzfeld, October 1932.

2.8

Construction of the Ministry of Finance on the ruins of the Qajar Palace, Tehran.

Iran's still unborn architectural profession: first, the selective and rapid destruction of urban fabric, second, rapid revival of pre-Islamic forms predominantly Achaemenid and Sassanid Architecture. In modern Iran, Archeology positioned high culture at the heart of Politics. Fig. 2.6

It was not until the reign of Reza Shah that systematic excavations were able to take place at sites such as Persepolis. From 1894 until 1931, the French Ministry of Public Education had a monopoly over the archaeological excavations in Iran, making it almost impossible for any non-French expeditions to be granted digging permits.[165] Ernst Herzfeld, the great German Archaeologist, commissioned to begin excavations at Persepolis in 1931, funded by the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute and John D. Rockefeller.[166] According to Herzfeld, a historiographical strategy was developed by dividing Iran's high art into four distinct stylistic periods: "Under the Achaemenids, when Iran was center of the known world… second, the Sassanid period, which, in fact, is considered the period of Iran's progress; third, the Seljuk period when Iran became a progressive force in Islamic societies, during a time when Europe had just come out of savagery; and fourth, the Safavid period during which the Iranian craft was specially brilliant, which coincides with Europe's presentation into Asia…. no other nation has such a long heritage".[167] Fig. 2.7

The dynamic between two invented architectural traditions- modernist and historicist- affected the politics of bourgeoisie and class formation. Therefore, avant-garde modernism and Orientalist historicism constructed the national identity during the Pahlavi era.[168] Ernest Gellner, in *Nations and Nationalism*, defines nationalism as a "theory of political legitimacy" which holds that "the political and the national unit

[165] Bernard Hourcade, 'Iranian Studies in France', Iranian Studies, 20:2/4 (1987) pp. 1-51.

[166] Talinn Grigor, "Preserving the Antique Modern: Persepolis 71." *Future Anterior: Journal of Historical Preservation History Theory Criticism* (Columbia University2/1) 2 (2005), 24.

[167] Talinn Grigor, *Building Iran* (New York: Periscope Publishing Ltd. 2009), 26.

[168] Talinn Grigor. "The King's White Walls." In *Culture and Cultural Politics Under Reza Shah*, by Bianca Devos and Christoph Werner, 95-118 (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 95-96.

should be congruent".[169] According to Hobsbawn: " The democratization of politics, i.e. on the other creation of the modern administrative, citizen-mobilizing and citizen-influencing state, both placed the question of "nation", and the citizen's feeling toward whatever he regarded as his nation, nationality or other center of loyalty, at the top of political agenda".[170] Vale stated if large financial resources are available, the occasion of a new capital might become a mean through which a contemporary regime seeks to recall the monumental presence of some pre-colonial empire.[171] In this sense, architectural works and urban design assume a peculiar place in the assemblage of national symbols.[172]

Reza Shah's tendency to create a modern society based on nationalism and modernism values, led to create a very new image of Tehran, in comparison to its introverted Islamic urban form till early of twentieth century. The policies of Reza Shah were based on the need to create a major change in public life and to revolutionize the socio-political aspects of the Iranian society. In this period, the emergence of modern buildings, squares and boulevards designed by European or European-trained architects resulted in new public buildings that changed the image of Tehran. The new Ministry of Finance erected on the site of the previous royal citadel, as well, the new heading of the Justice Ministry by Gabriel Guevrekian constructed in the place of the Nayeb al-Saltaneh palace in 1936. Similarly, Ministry of Trade constructed in the remains of royal stables. Total demolition of 'Takiyeh

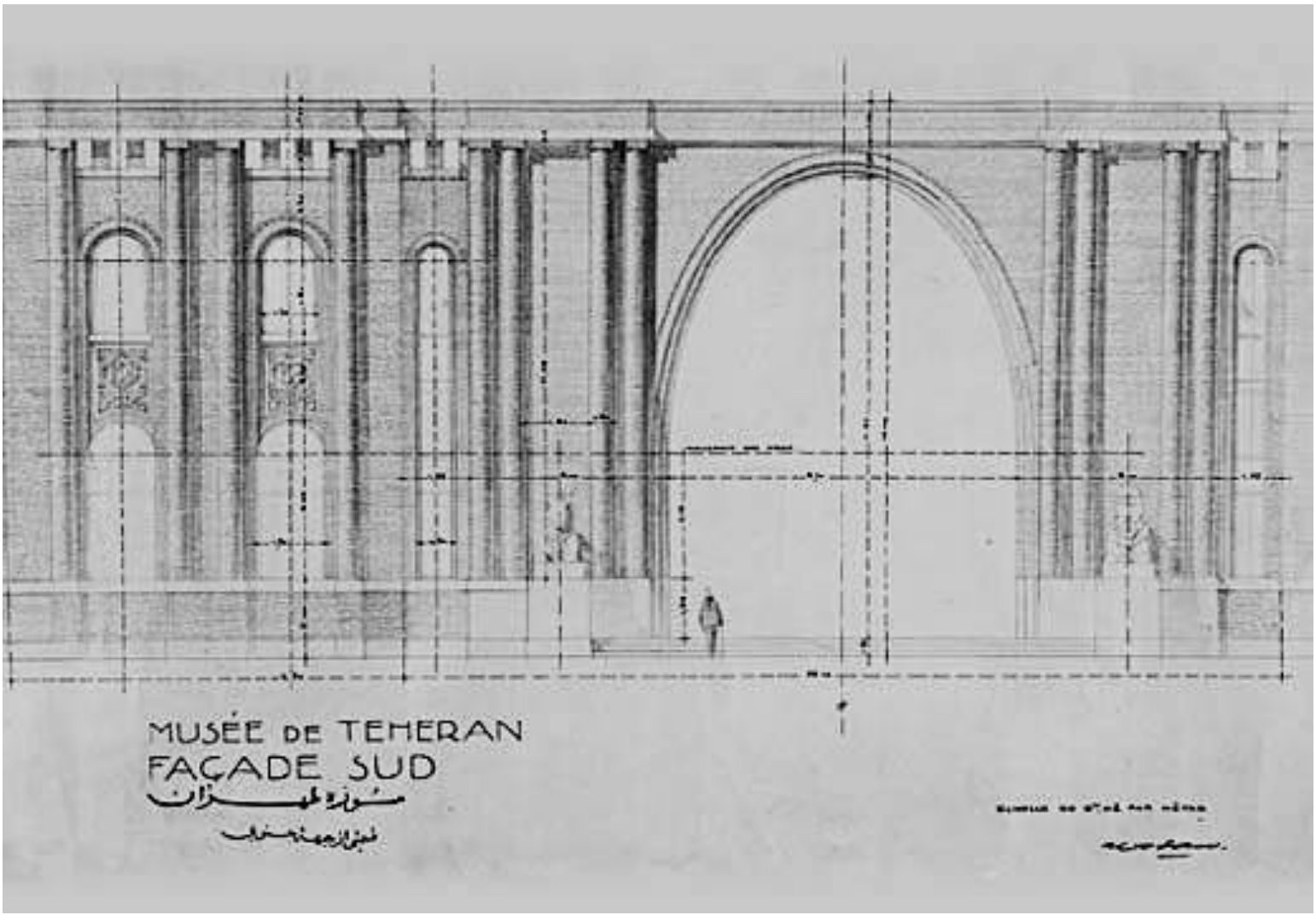
Fig. 2.8

[169]Ernest Gellner. *Nations and Nationalism* (Cornell University Press, 1983), 1.

[170] Eric Hobsbawn, Introduction: Inventing Traditions, In *The invention of Tradition*, by Eric Hobsbawn and Terrence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 44.

[171] Lawrence J Vale. *Architecture, Power, and National Identity*. Second Edition (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 56.

[172] Vale, *ibid,* 52.



2.9
National Museum of Tehran by André Godard.

Dolat' as the royal patronage of Shi'a rituals was highly symbolic since it was imposing structure for Shi'a rituals.[173]

During this era, educated Europeans typically led schools of architecture. Andre Godard (1888-1965), the graduate of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, was appointed to the post director of the first museum of antiquities in Tehran, the Iran Bastan Museum and the first Dean of the Faculty of Fine Arts at Tehran University is a good example.

Fig. 2.9

For the design of the Iran Bastan Museum Project, Godard and Maxim Siroux-French Archeologist- found inspirations for Iran's future in its past. The monumental Arch in Iran Bastan Museum inspired by Sassanid remnants at Ctesiphon. Mohsen Forughi, Iranian architect (1907-1982) studied at the 'Ecole des Beaux-Arts' in Paris and returned to Iran to launch his architectural career. Forughi's rationalist approach to design and his use of more abstract forms adorned with a minimum of ornament, limited use of glazed tiles and wide use of reinforced concrete for his public commissions, which include hospitals, ministries and banks. While the first phase of transformation included the expansion of the city and introduction of new institutions and elements into the urban fabric, the second phase buildings, was different from his other colleagues. [174]His vast use of concrete pointed to the iconic role of modern architecture in the nationalist ideology.[175] As the result of these interventions, Tehran became the field of endless modernization visualization that was going to be a pattern for other cities as well.[176]

These processes involved significant intervention in and change of the physical morphology and configuration. The walls and all 12 gateways destroyed between

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[173] Abbas Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe: Nasir al-Din Shah Qajar and the Iranian Monarchy, 1831*-1896 (London: Tauris, 1997): 435. It is described by historians as "the brainchild of Naser al-Din himself" and "One of the greatest edifices built under Qajar monarchy".

[174] Isenstadt and Rizvi, *ibid,* 14.

[175] Banani, *ibid*, 144.

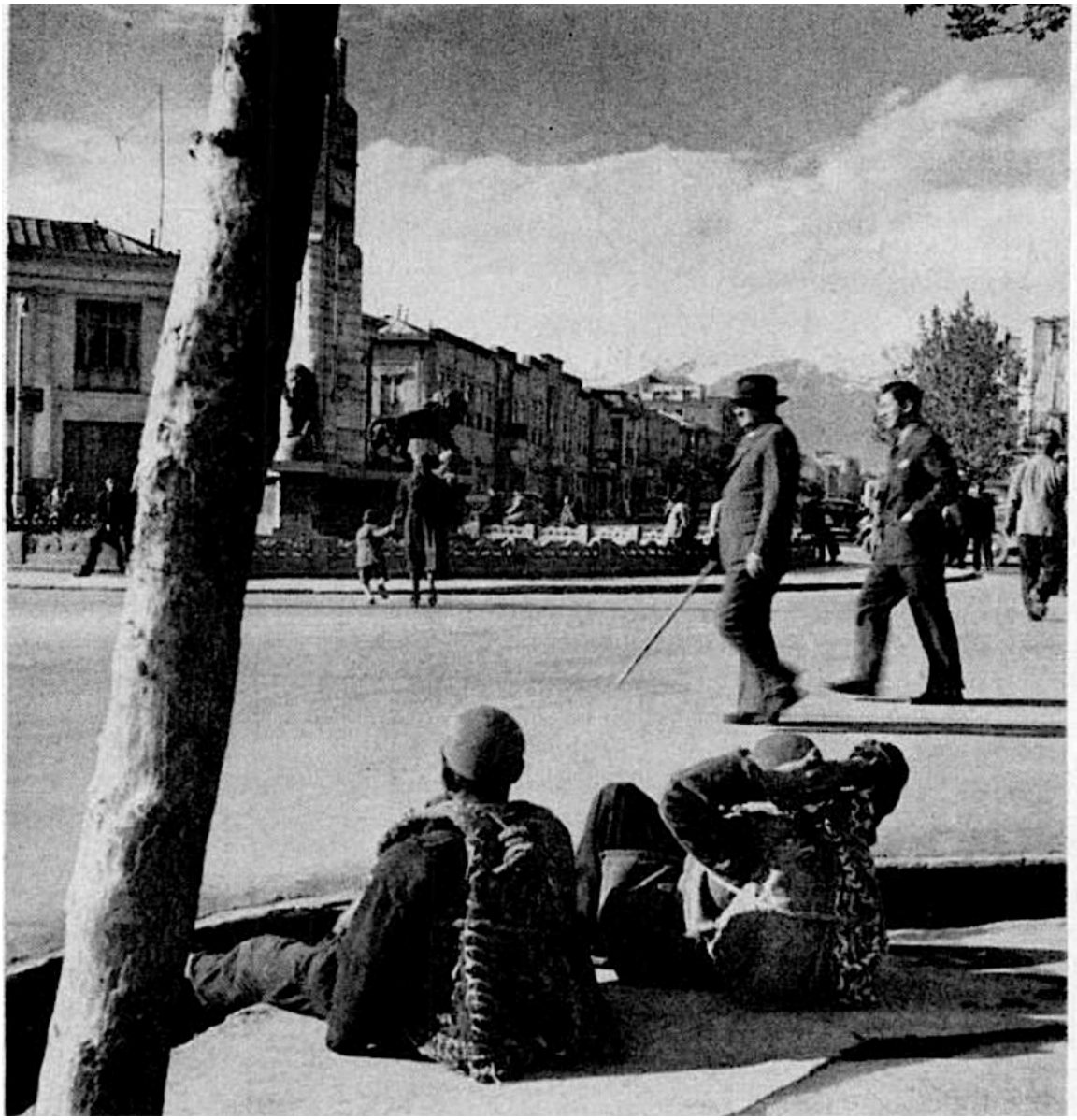
[176] Asma Mehan, Public Squares and Their Potential for Social Interactions: A Case Study of Historical Public Squares in Tehran. *Proceeding of World Acaemy of Science, Engineering and Technology* Vol. 10, no. 2 (2016): 547.

1932 and 1937, to give way to a network of open spaces inspired by Haussmann's project in Paris. This final master plan approved by Reza Shah is manifested his total political authority that is a reminder of Napoleon III supremacy in the changes of Paris Master Plan.[177] The 'Creative Destruction' of Tehran initiated in mid nineteenth century as the result of western-influenced modernity. Of course, this was the consequence of much broader socio-political conditions that led to Constitutional Revolutions in 1906 and as well as the establishment of Pahlavi Monarchy in 1925. Reza Shah (1925-1941) used the strategy of 'Tabula Rasa' in Tehran to create a potential site for the construction of his utopian dreams.

In this era, emergence of new state architecture was the result of nationalism, historicism, secularism, and modernization values. Moreover, the return of many students that educated in western universities, introduced modern ideas, which represented on some of the private and public buildings of this period. Reza Shah's tendency to create a modern society based on nationalism, historicism and modernism values, led to create a totally new image of Tehran.This research argues that it is only through the potentials of a 'Tabula Rasa' planning that led to convey a new national values and identities to the public, but also succeeded to transform the urban and architectural discipline as well.

The next chapter, *Haussmannization or Urbanization* explores the planning politics that transformed Tehran into a style similar to the Haussmannization of Paris and initiated by the destruction of old city walls and the construction of long boulevards.

[177] Giedion, *ibid*, 581.



3.1
On Teheran's Streets, two peasants dangle their feet in the muddy waters of a jube (open sewer) and study two Western-clad Bulvardiares who are passing by.

3 HAUSSMANNIZATION OR URBANIZATION

Analyzing the First Street Map of Tehran (1925-1941)

Throughout the nineteenth century and beyond, industrialization and growing urban populations led to Haussmannian strategies for old cities. Boulevards cut through old urban fabric, historical neighbourhoods were reshaped or demolished, and city walls were torn down to allow for expansion and to ease the flow of traffic.[178] The Haussmannization of Paris, as it known, involved the widening of main streets, and the wholesale construction of new streets to provide the wide famous boulevards, which we identify as Parisian.[179] Haussmann's broad boulevards were to bring light and air into previously dark and claustrophobic working-class neighbourhoods.[180] The archetype of Haussmannization presents itself in many planning discourses of other cityscapes.[181] Studies of some major urban centers such

Fig.3.1

[178] Carl E. Schorske. *Fin-de-Siecle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (University of Chicago Press, 1981).

[179] Clifford D. Deaton. The City Cannot Be Occupied: Urban Movements and Revolutionary Memory in Paris, Prague, and Tehran, PhD Thesis (Chicago: University of Illinois, 2013).

[180] Andrew Herscher. *Violence Taking Place: The Architecture of the Kosovo Conflict* (Stanford University Press, 2010).

[181] Heidi Brevik Zender. Fashioning Spaces: Mode and Modernity in Late Nineteenth Century Paris (University of Toronto Press, 2015); See also Elizabeth Wilson. Adorned in dreams: Fashion and

as: Buenos Aires, Tokyo, Tehran, Budapest, Mexico City, and London repeatedly demonstrate this by naming Haussmann, specifically, in their modern urban analyzes.[182] Focusing on Middle Eastern context, the 1860s were the decade of modernization of great eastern capitals. In 1867, major architectural achievements displayed at the prestigious universal exhibition held in Paris, where the modernizer of Egypt, Ismail Pasha (r.1863-79), was able to visit renovated Paris, guided by Baron Haussmann. This exhibition and the renovation of Paris influenced the urbanization of Cairo, Istanbul and, indirectly, that of Tehran. With the reign of Reza Shah Pahlavi (r.1925-41), the structures of the city transformed radically and Tehran became in truth the capital of the country.[183] Reza Shah approved planning methods inspired by Haussmann's transformation of Paris to make Tehran accessible to modern means of transportation.[184]

John Gurney described the gradual urban transformation of Tehran as follows: "The city's traditional social fabric was defined by the Mahalleh (quarter system), which organized urban space not along class lines but according to ethno-religious divisions, clustering citizens of the same ethno-religious divisions, clustering citizens of the same ethnic or religious affiliation, whether rich or poor, within particular

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Modernity (Rutgers University Press, 2003) and Philippe Perrot, Fashioning the Bourgeoisie: A history of clothing in the Nineteenth Century, Translated by Richard Bienvenu (Princeton University Press, 1994).

[182] Victoria Rosner, *Modernism and the architecture of private life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005).

[183] Edmund Bosworth, *Historic Cities of the Islamic Worlds* (Netherland: Brill, 2007).

[184] Mina Marefat, "Fractured Globalization: A Case Study of Tehran." In *New global history and the city*, by Elliott R. Morss (New Global History Press, 2004): 9-11.

quarters".[185] This pattern remained unchanged until the second half of the century when Naser Al-Din Shah extended the city walls and ditches. Naser Bayat, Middle East Scholar stated: "The main motivations for this were the need to integrate the growing number of outsiders-not only migrant poor but also elite Persians and foreigners and to control riots, which would frequently erupt in protest bread shortages". [186] Bayat added that "the works were also partly inspired by a version of a 'modern city' derived from Baron Haussmann, whose ideas spread as the time from Paris to the Middle East and were adopted by *Khadive Isma'il* (or *Isma'il Pasha*) in Cairo and Ottoman rulers in Istanbul. However, expansion did little to alter the underlying *mahallah* (quarter or neighborhood) system. Social inequality within the various quarters persisted, and was reinforced by a speculative land market in the early twentieth century".[187]

Since the beginning of the 1930, as the result of governmental actions, traditional Tehran with a dense Islamic-Iranian urban form, surrounded by ramparts became an open city, which persuaded by a grid plan based on wide intersecting boulevards and avenues[188]. In this respect, Tehran's urban form transformation was directly and indirectly influenced by industrialization, westernization and national modernization project, which were highly inspired by European model of modernization. Therefore,

[185] John Gurney, "The Transformation of Tehran in the later 19th Century." In *Teheran: Capitale Bientenaire*, edited by Chahryar Adle and Bernard Hourcade (Paris: French Research Institute in Iran, 1992).

[186] Asef Bayat. "Battlefield Tehran." In *Life as Politics : How Ordinary People Change the Middle East*, by Asef Bayat, 153-175 (Stanford : Stanford University press, 2013): 154.

[187] Bayat, *ibid,* 154.

[188] 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), For more see Zohreh Soltani, TheTransformation of public space: City Squares as Locations for Power Struggle - The Case of Tehran (1934-2009), PhD Thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2011: 52.

new chapter began for Tehran's public open spaces, which used previously for basic daily life or royal and religious ceremonies, suddenly became public stages for meetings, demonstrations, gatherings and set the stage for a major political performance.[189]

The next section aims to explain the political means of the term 'Haussmannization' as a framework, followed by describing how to use urban design for control, suppression and authority. Then, the analysis of 'Haussmannization as a model of modernization' seeks to introduce the different international case studies that underwent the modernization process inspired by Haussmann's interventions. Focusing on Middle Eastern capitals like Cairo and Tehran, modernization processes will be discussed to have a better analysis of urban projects inspired by Haussmann's logic. Finally, Tehran modernization processes during the reign of Reza Shah Pahlavi will be discussed. The chapter concluded with an interpretation and assessment of the socio-spatial and political urban changes inspired by Haussmann's model of modernization, which characterize each phases of Tehran's urban transformation.

Haussmannization as Political Apparatus

Much of the Paris today including the wide, diagonal, tree lined, and monumental boulevards bordered by lines of uniform facades and the perspectives they create, can be traced to the work of Haussmann and Emperor Napoleon III during the Second Empire (1853-1870). [190] Accordingly, Haussmann applied strategic surgical interventions that sliced through the urban fabric of Paris, and introduced the new Haussmannian approach of formal parks and large nodes as squares along geometric

[189] Hamed Khosravi. Camp of Faith: On Political theology and urban form, PhD Thesis, Delft University, 2014: 31.

[190] Antoine Paccoud. "Planning law, power, and practice: Haussmann in Paris (1853–1870)." http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02665433.2015.1089414. Planning Perspective, 2015.

plans.[191] The wide boulevards designed to open the city up to light and air, to facilitate the movement of vehicles and goods, and to provide trenches for infrastructure below.[192] As well, clearing up of space around important monumental buildings and introduction of municipal utilities were some of Haussmann's interventions.[193]

Haussmann's urban planning was superior in terms of public health and transport including: providing new services such as aqueducts, sewers, gas streets lighting, public lavatories, instituting forms of zoning for industry, designing new spaces such as public parklands for entertainment and leisure, constructing a rail ring to connect the core to outlying areas, development of banlieue (the land at the edge of the city), and, finally, organizing a professional police force to supervise the new terrain.[194] In Haussmann planning poor and working class populations were moved out of the city center to remodel the city for the bourgeoisie.[195] This process involved both a destruction of the fragmented and socially disorganized neighborhoods of the poor and an urban transformation to secure the city against civil war.[196] The purpose of Haussmannization was to "boulvardise" the city to suppress future protests[197].

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[191] Clifford D. Deaton. *The City Cannot Be Occupied: Urban Movements and Revolutionary Memory in Paris, Prague, and Tehran.* PhD Thesis, Political Science, Chicago, Illinois: University of Illinois at Chicago, 2013. ; Yehya Serag. "The Haussmanization approach From a counter revolution urban fabric to a success factor for the Egyptian revolution in Cairo." *Proceedings of B13-Cairo* , 2013: 1-13.

[192] See Herscher. *Violence Taking Place: The Architecture of the Kosovo Conflilict.* 2010.

[193] Janet L, Abu-Lughod. *Cairo: 1001 years of the city victorious* (New York: Princeton University Press, 1971).

[194] Scott McQuire. *The Media City: Media, Architecture and Urban Space* (Sage , 2008); James C. Scott. *Seeing Like a State* (Yale University Press, 1998); Zucconi, Guido. *La Citta Contesa* (Milan: Jaca Book, 1989).

[195] See Beatrice Hanssen. ed. *Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project* (Continuum, 2006) and also Francois Furet, *Revolutionary France 1770-1880* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing , 1995).

[196] Franck Chignier-Riboulon. A Review of "Fictions of the City: Culture and Mass Housing in London and Paris". *International Journal of Housing Policy* (doi: 10.1080/14616718.2011.548591) 11, no. 1 (2011): 110-112.

The new design made it more difficult to erect barricades and improved the circulation of government troops.[198] On the political aspect of modernization in Haussmann's Paris, McQuire states: "By creating an industrial periphery and planning for violence instead of trying to plan away violence, Haussmann's Paris sought to control and contain the unruly forces of modernization".[199]

Haussmannization as a model of modernization

Haussmannization, as one of the great modernization project, differed from urban renewal plans elsewhere, which was posed by the French state as a necessary transformation for a preventive war against organized labor.[200] Haussmann's boulevards and avenues were the only spaces wide enough to accommodate rails, whether underground or elevated, without removing existing buildings.[201] According to McQuire, Haussmann's reconstruction of Paris had already assumed as a model which pioneered a different concept of urban space by its ambition to treat the city as a unified space.[202] The sheer scale of Haussmann's undertaking ensures that it

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[197] Wide avenues are conducive not just to control, as is frequently said of Haussmann's Paris, but for gathering of the masses as well. Narrow streets might be harder to control, but they less visibly demonstrate the scale of displeasure, and are thus less effective for the making of public claims. See John Parkinson, *Democracy and Public Space: The Phyisical Sites of Democratic Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), and also see Charlotte Lemanski, A new apartheid? The spatial implications of fear of crime in Cape Town, South Africa. *Environment and urbanization* 16, no. 2 (2004): 101-112.

[198] Carl Douglas. Barricades and Boulevards: Material transformation of Paris, 1795-1871. *Interstices 8*, 2007: 31-42.

[199] See Scott McQuire, *The Media City: Media, Architecture and Urban Space* (Sage, 2008).

[200] Andrew Herscher, *Violence Taking Place: The Architecture of the Kosovo Conflict* (Stanford, 2010) See also Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, *Paris as Revolution: Writing the Nineteenth-century City* (University of California Press, 1997).

[201] Peter S. Soppelsa. *The Fragility of Modernity: Infrastructure and Everyday Life in Paris, 1870-1914*. PhD Thesis, Michigan: University of Michigan, 2009, 159.

[202] McQuire, *ibid.*

remains emblematic of the 'creative destruction' that Berman posits as the ambivalent essence of modernization.[203] In the subject of modern urban planning, this stance situates Haussmann's enduring appeal to Le Corbusier, who concluded his La Ville Radiuse of 1935 by declaring: 'My respect and admiration for Haussmann.[204]

Haussmann's work was widely imitated throughout different countries as a model of functional planning driven by concern for hygiene, traffic, and zoning. However, construction of wide monotonous boulevards and destruction of historical fabric and monumental monuments criticized by Haussmann's critics. [205] This struggle epitomized in the work of Robert Moses who proposed several Haussmann style´interventions through Manhattan, but only the Cross Bronx Expressway, was realized at tremendous economic and social cost.[206] In Latin America, Haussmann's main contribution to the biggest Latin capital, Dameros, has traced to Baroque lines of new neighborhoods, huge public parks and tree-lined avenues.[207]

Haussmannization of Middle East

The Haussmannized Paris, while referred to as a model introduced to the world in Paris "Exposition Universelle" of 1867. Among the visitors of this exhibition, who impressed by the construction of Paris, was Ismail Pasha (r.1863-79)

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[203] Marshall Berman, *All that Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (Penguin Books, 1982).

[204] LeCorbusier, *La Ville Radieuse.* Edited by Fréal & Cie Vincent (Paris: Quirky Books, 1964).

[205] Michele Lamprakos. The Idea of the Historic City. *Change Over Time: An international Journal of Conservation and the built environment*, 2014: 8-40.

[206] As a successful American model, Burnham's plan for Chicago in 1909 called for new street construction, widening of existing streets, creation of long, grand and elegant boulevards, and the generous placement of city parks. See S.Paul O'Hara,"The end of Utopia: Imagining the rise and fall of Gary, Indiana." Published PhD Thesis, Department of History, Indiana University, 2007.

[207] Arturo Almandoz. *Modernization, Urbanization and Development in Latin America, 1900s-2000s* (Routledge, 2015).

3.2
Tehran 1947.

who received a personal invitation from Napoleon III himself.[208] Pasha's passion for Haussmanization manifested in wide-scale transformation of spatial structure and social space of Cairo.[209] The sheer scale of project, tree-lined avenues, star pattern squares modeled after the imperial Paris are exemplified the general characteristics of Haussmannization which were meant to impress Pasha's guests, the European monarchs, who had been invited to Egypt for the inauguration of the Suez Canal in 1869. Rabbat (2011) argues that with the creation of wide, straight boulevards as Haussmannian axes that enabled surveillance, military movement, and crowd control, new network of active linkages created. Years later, protesters poured into the Tahrir square from Haussmanian boulevards and reclaimed the huge open space of the square as their own stage.[210]

In comparison to Cairo, Tehran began to thoroughly redesign much later on: the first wide streets were implemented between 1933 and 1940.[211] At this time, Iran and Turkey, In contrast to many neighboring countries in the Middle East, which were protectorates of France or England, underwent a unique modernization process, which was a choice and not imposed by the Western countries.[212] This autonomous period of modernization- in the context of centralized government- originated within

[208] Abu-Lughod, *Cairo: 1001 years of the city victorious* (Princeton University Press, 1971).

[209] Diane Singerman and Paul Amar, *Cairo Cosmopolitan: Politics, Culture, and Urban Space in the new globolized Middle East* (The American University of Cairo Press, 2006).

[210] For Further details about Tahrir Square in Cairo see Nasser Rabbat, "Circling the Square." ArtForum, 2011, 182-191.

[211] By then, the Parisian model had lost much of its lure and British and American planning models were gaining momentum. See Peter Clark, *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History* (OUP Oxford, 2013).

[212] Sandy Isenstadt, and Kishwar Rizvi, *Modernism and the Middle East – Architecture and politics in the twenties century* (University of Washington Press, 2008).

Reza Shah's dynasty in 1921.[213] Republican Turkey provided the closest model for the modern Iranian state formed under Reza Shah during 1920s and `30s. In a more
Fig.3.3 general sense, *Lenin*, *Ataturk*, and *Mussolini* were modern heroes who had accomplished similar goals: national independence, a strengthened military and modernized state, forced and massive capital accumulation, and rapid industrialization.[214] Similarly, Reza Shah was obsessed with how the West perceived Iran and wanted to prove that it was no longer the backward country decried by the Western travelers.[215] Wilber quotes him as saying: "I will make Iran so good that the
Fig.3.2 Westerners will come and visit the country.[216] The modernization project in Tehran as the result of the global economy, similar to some other cities such as Cairo and Istanbul, was associated with several changes to the socio-spatial structure of the city.[217] In next section, the autocratic urban evolution of Tehran during process of Modernization will be explored which is different from western experience.

Tehran Modernization Processes 1925-41

Throughout the twentieth century, Iranian cities have undergone processes of modernization, which coincided, with the constitution of the royal state of Iran

[213] Ervand Abrahamian, *A history of modern* Iran (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). For more detailed debates on Politics of Modernization, see Ali Mirsepasi. *Intellectual discourses and the politics of modernisation – Negotiating modernity in Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[214] Afshin Matin-Asgari. The Pahlavi Era Iranian Modernity in Global Context. In *The Oxford Handbook of Iranian History*, by Touraj Daryaee, 346-364 (Oxford Handbooks Online, 2012).

[215] Mina Marefat. The Protagonists who shaped modern Tehran. In *Teheran, Capital Bicentennaire* , by Bernard Hourcade and Chahryar Adle, 73-94 (Paris, 1991).

[216] Reza Shah was envious of the advanced ways of other nations and refused to visit any country, after his visit to Turkey in 1934. Wilber quotes him as saying to one of his ministers reporting on his trip to Europe, Don't say anything more about Europe, we are going to work here and make it like Europe, See Donald Wilber, *Riza Shah: the Resurrection and Reconstruction of Iran* (New York: Exposition Press, 1975): 233.

[217] Alireza Mirgholami. *Iranian Modernity: Its Expression in the Daily life of public spaces in Tehran.* Melbourne: The University of Melbourne, 2009.

3.3
Kemal Pasha (Ataturk) and Reza Shah Pahlavi at a historical meeting -1934 - at Ankara, the new capital of Turkey. This visit occurred at just about the same time Hitler and Mussolini were meeting at Venice.

opened the doors to modern and particularly western school of thoughts and life styles.[218] As Reza Shah, came to power, only 21 % of the populace living in urban centers. [219] In fact, Reza Shah took over a country that was lacking central bureaucracy, and had a weak economic system dominated by agriculture.[220] Reza Shah proposed several national projects for modernizing of Tehran such as: administrative reform (modernizing the structure of the state and the economy), building new infrastructures (like Trans-Iranian railway project), and substantial bureaucracy (seven ministries of Tehran) to transform Iran into urbanized country.[221] During this period, Tehran obtained more central political and economic power in the national landscape and in the world market.[222]

Reza Shah adopted several models and inspirations to build the city: one was that of a metropolis based on 'modernization', thought to be synonymous with 'Westernization'. [223] In this regard, Ataturk programs in Turkey and Baron Haussmann's planning of Paris inspired him.[224] In addition, He intended to recreate

[218] Nazgol Bagheri. "Modernizing the public space: Gender Identities, Multiple Modernities, and Space Politics in Tehran." PhD Thesis, University of Missouri-Kansas City, Kansas, Missouri, 2013.

[219] Ervand Abrahamian, *A history of modern Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[220] Stephanie Cornin. Modernity, change and dictatorship in Iran: The new order and its opponents, 1927-29. *Middle Eastern Studies* 39, no. 2 (2003): 1-36.

[221] Azadeh Mashayekhi. "Tehran, the Scene of Modernity in the Pahlavi Dynasty: Modernisation and Urbanisation Processes 1925–1979 ." In *Urban Change in Iran*, edited by F.F. Arefian and S.H.I. Moeini. Springer International Publishing , 2016.

[222] Hooshang Amirahmadi, and Ali Kiafar. "The transformation of Tehran from a Garrison Town to a Primate City: A tale of rapid growth and uneven development." Edited by H. Amirahmadi & S. S. El-Shakhs. *Urban development in the Muslim world* (Rutgers University Press), 1993: 109–136.

[223] G.R.G. Hambly*, The Pahlavi autocracy: Riza Shah, 1921-1941.* Vol. 7, in *The Cambridge History of Iran* , edited by G. Hambly & C. Melville P. Avery, 213-243. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

[224] At this time, most countries in the Middle East were protectorates of France or England. Iran and Turkey were the only exceptions, where modernization was a choice and was not imposed by the colonial countries. See Sandy Isenstadt and Kishwar Rizvi, *Modernism and Middle East: Architecture and Politics in the twentieth century* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2008).

greatness and glory of earlier Persian Achaemenid Empire (559-330 BC) especially the extensive empire of Cyrus the Great, and the Sassanid (226-651 AD). The new state attempted to create a strong national identity through constructing monuments and buildings inspired by international style modernism or pre-Islamic architecture elements and by ignoring and decay of old city centre urban features as the symbol of weakness and backwardness in Iranian history.[225] This period is characterized by major transformations including: the obligatory registration of documents and properties (1926); the establishment of a uniform dress code for men (1929); destruction of historical core of the city, incorporation of wide streets and squares, demolition of the city's old fortifications and westward urban expansion (1932); the building of the National Bank and Tehran University (1934); making Persian the official language (1935); centralization of Iran's multi-ethnic society; creating a strong army and also relocation of tribal communities happened during this time.[226] For better analysis of modernity projects in Tehran, following sections will study major urban interventions in three different stages: City of Streets (1925-33), Map of 1933 (1933-37) and Map of 1937(1937-41).

Tehran: *City of Streets (1925-33)*

In the 1930s, some projects were initiated for Tehran because of the trans-national railway project and administration reform plan. The idea of new widening streets and alleys of Tehran began with the purpose of facilitating the movement of goods, troops and vehicles. From 1924, the process of widening and constructing of Tehran

[225] Sanjoy Mazumdar. Autocratic Control and Urban Design: The Case of Tehran, Iran. *Journal of Urban Design* (Taylor & Francis Group) 5, no. 3 (2000): 317-338.

[226] Rana Habibi and Bruno De Meulder, Architects and 'Architecture without Architects': Modernization of Iranian housing and the birth of a new urban form Narmak (Tehran, 1952). *Cities* (Elsevier) 45 (2015): 29-40.

streets started by announcement of municipality.[227] Within the city, street widening was the keyword of urban projects-justified as a necessity for motor vehicles; a report on one of the first street-widening projects, published in the Tehran Municipality's Magazine (Majalleye Baladiyye) in 1927, stated how after the implementation of the project "the bad-looking tiny shops running along the street have been replaced by superb stores.[228]

From 1927 till 1929, Cheragh Bargh[229] (Currently Amir Kabir), Rei, Molavi, Gomrog and Istanbul Streets went through major urban interventions.[230] TakmilHomayon described the process of widening the streets as follows "Every day the red flags are installed and the mayor agents arrive to demolish houses".[231] Appointed Mayor of Tehran, *Buzarjomehri* who was chosen by Reza Shah, introduced a utopian Tehran by automobiles, wide streets, electrical wagons, underground subway, plumbing water and sewage network.[232] In 1933, the law entitled "construction and development of the streets and passages" approved by the Parliament as the first Iranian statue that fulfilled legal basis of modern urbanism.[233]

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[227] In this announcement, it had written: "Buildings that used to be in the streets and alleys of the town were not built on the principles of architecture and engineering. Property owners should notice municipality whenever a new building constructed to be trated according to the appointed engineer at the site", See Mostafa Kiani, *Architecture in First Pahlavi Era* (Tehran: Ketab-o Farhang, 2000).

[228] "Khiyaban-i Cheragh Bargh," in Majalleye Baladie, issue 4, 1927 [1306]: 21-24, Archives of the library of the University of Tehran.

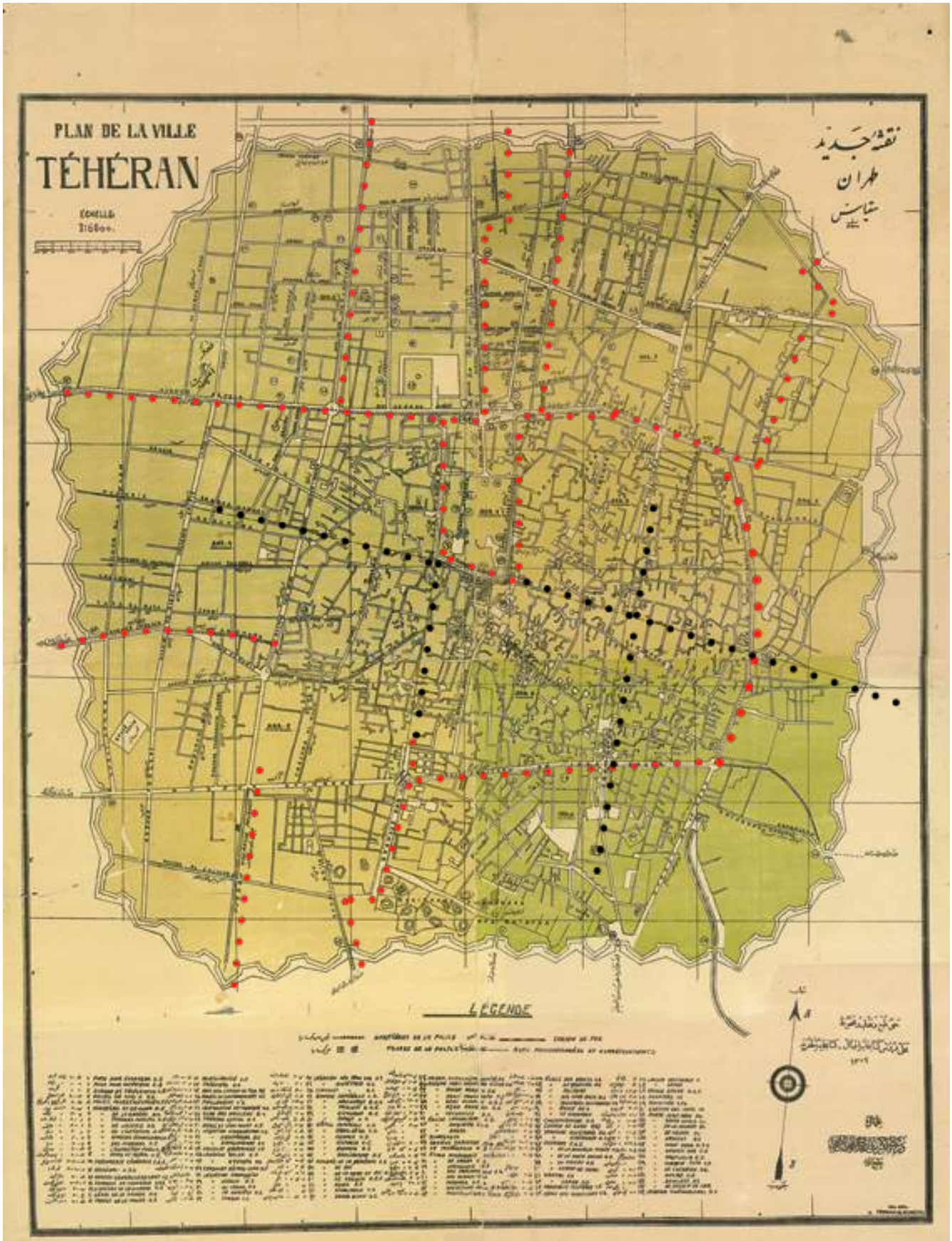
[229] Cheragh Bargh Street is situated in a historic neighborhood in Tehran-Oudlajan- surrounded by Pamenar Street, Cyrus Street (Mostafa Khomeini) and BozarJomehr Street (15 Khordad).

[230] Kiani, *ibid.*

[231] Naser TakmilHomayon. *Cultural and Social History of Tehran (in Farsi).* Vol. 2 (Tehran: Cultural Research Center, 2000): 49.

[232] Kamran Safamanesh, and Behrouz Monadizadeh. Changes in Architecture and Urbansim between 1920-1941. *Second Congress of Iranian Architectural History* (Tehran: Cultural Heritage Organization, 1999): 247-273.

[233] Mohsen Habibi, Zahra Ahari, and Rashid Emami. From Demolishing Fortifications to Thoughts of Highways: History of Urban Design in Tehran 1930-1966. *Soffeh Magazine* 50 (2010): 85-102.



3.4
The New Map of Tehran in 1930, known as the Street Layout Plan drawn by French Engineer Francois De Romeiser. Black dotted lines show new streets within urban fabric. Red dotted lines show widening of existing streets.

According to Shahri (1993), one of the ways in which unemployment solved during the early years of the Pahlavi regime was the demolition of the streets and reconstruction of the wide avenues:

"Almost all the economic wheels were put to motion including those directly involved in construction (amaleh, faaleh, mofti, bana, memar, navkesh, kheshtemal,

koureh- paz, tufal kub, naghash, shishe bor, lulehkesh, kahforush, chub forush, kharakchi, massaleh forush, kharpakub, tufal kub, shirvani saz [detailed list of various construction trades] and the many people involved in the sale of construction material were all kept busy".[234]

Map of 1933: Street Layout Plan (1933-37)

Fig.3.4

In the 1930s, while the city remained surrounded by its octagonal walls, One of the most important projects was a new urban plan for Tehran called the 'Street-Widening Act of 1933'. [235] The plan aimed for a new urban order in the capital, to improve the quality of the built environment and making them accessible to motor vehicles. It called for a French-style modern street plan that imposed a degree of geometric regularity, with monuments as focal points of the street system, which superimposed a grid of Hausmannian boulevards on top of its vernacular urban fabric.[236] The Law of the Municipality by the local government of Tehran, led to the realization of the first urbanization plan with the construction of major avenues,

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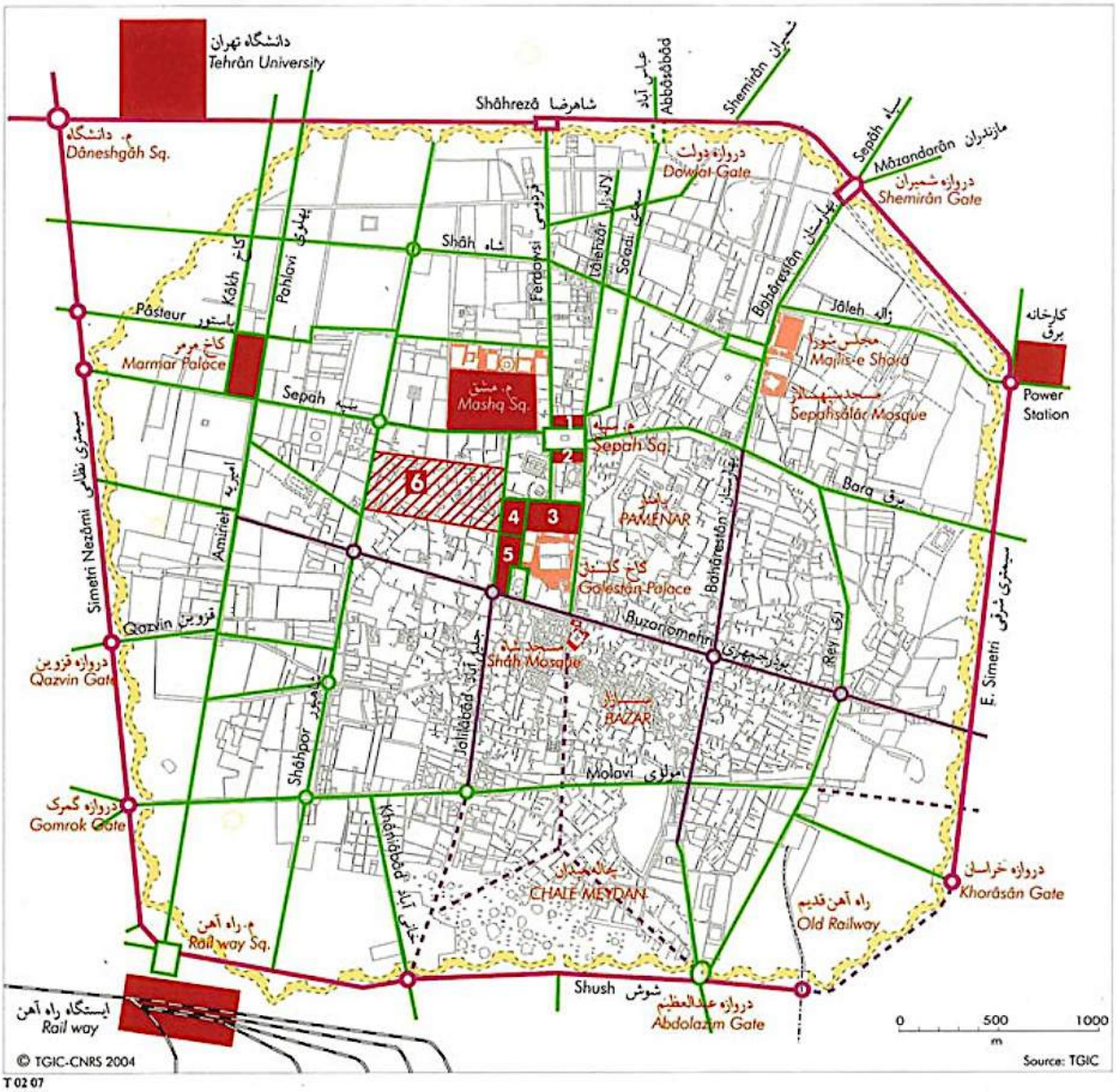
[234] Jafar Shahri. *The Old Tehran.* Vol. 1 (Tehran: Moin Publishers, 1993).

[235] By 1932, the population density had doubled to 105 persons per hectare, and one- third of the population lived outside the walls. In addition to demographic pressure, the arrival of motor vehicles and the regime's desire to control the urban population and to modernize urban infrastructure led to a substantial transformation of the capital, in which it was "radically re-planned and re-built', See Ali Madanipour, "Urban planning and development in Tehran" *Cities* (Elsevier) 23, no. 6 (2006).

[236] Eskandar Mokhtari. *The heritage of modern architecture of Iran* (Tehran: Daftar-e- Pajouhesh-ha-ye-Farhangi Press , 2011).

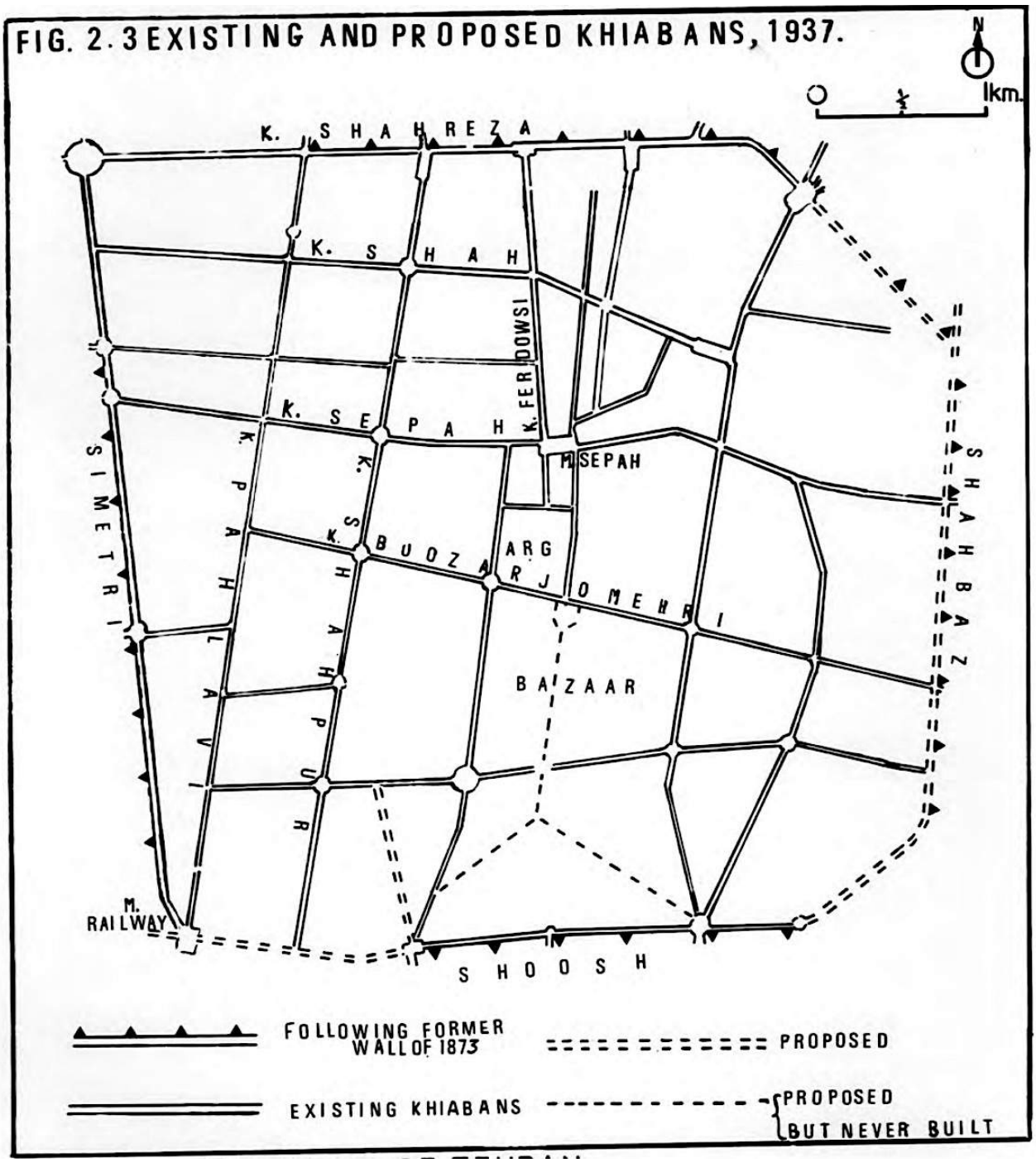
Téhéran en 1937 : Le plan des nouvelles avenues.
Tehran in 1937: The Plan of the New Avenues

نقشه خیابانهای جدید- ۱۳۱۶



3.5

The plan of new avenues of Tehran in 1937, presents plan of the new grid of streets and emergence of new administrative buildings, in the place of old Arg, close to Bazaar.



3.6
The map of existing and proposed streets, 1937.

crossing the ancient urban fabric or the line of the defensive walls which were previously unknown in the Iranian tradition. [237] The new plan designed to tear apart the historic urban fabric and making them accessible to motor vehicles.[238] Grid street patterns, separation of urban functions according to inflexible zoning, wide boulevards, Planted streets, axial spatial urban form and symmetrical squares were the basic concepts of this master plan.

Many areas of the capital of Tehran were transformed into a style similar to the Haussmannization of Paris, which initiated by the destruction of old city walls and the construction of long boulevards. Based on map of 1933, which is also known as 'street layout plan', the spatial structure of Tehran was changed by new paved streets flanked by tree-lined sidewalks, which extended from new squares that gradually replaced old city gates.[239] The new streets not only orchestrated public circulation, but also became the main routes for other infrastructure such as electricity, sewage systems and water. Additionally, they helped to free up congested areas for better accessibility and physically tame the religious and political tensions in the mahallehs (old neighborhoods). For instance, most of Sangelaj– a neighborhood where Reza Shah had lived before taking power –completely destroyed.[240]

[237] For constructing modern Tehran, the path of the old walls and gateways provided routes for the new wide boulevards and streets. As an instance, Enqelab (Revolution) street, which was named Shahreza at that time, was built at the place of the northern walls of the city.

[238] Madanipour, *ibid*, 434.

[239] Mikiya Koyagi. The Vernacular Journey: Railway Travelers in Early Pahlavi Iran, 1925–50, *Int. J. Middle East Stud.* 47 (2015): 745–763.

[240] Habibi, Ahari and Emami, *ibid.*

Map of 1937: Map of Details (1937-41)

While the first phase of transformation included the expansion of the city and introduction of new institutions and elements into the urban fabric, the second phase involved significant interventions and change of the physical morphology and configuration. The walls and all twelve gateways destroyed between 1932 and 1937, to give way to a network of open spaces inspired by Haussmann's project in Paris. This final master plan approved by Reza Shah is manifested his total political authority that is a reminder of Napoleon III supremacy in the changes of Paris Master Plan.[241]

Fig.3.5 In 1937 a new plan is prepared to expand the city based on the map of 1933, which put all proposals for the new boulevards circular traffic squares and widening of old streets into one master plan, and included a series of detailed recommendations for street adjustments, dimensions and corners for easier car circulation. In this plan, streets drawn as open-ended interventions, and gates were replaced by traffic squares to imply physical motifs of connection and expansion.[242]

These transformations lead to a shift of city center northward by the construction of new institutions such as ministries, universities, embassies, hospitals and retail stores.[243] Soon, new public buildings including educational and commercial activities spread out along newly built avenues mainly towards the west and north. North-south streets and the new east-west Shah-Reza Avenue in the north enjoyed the highest standards of infrastructure and services. Two important streets, Shah-Reza

Fig.3.6 (now Enqelab) and Pahlavi (now Vali-e Asr), both named after the ruler, eventually formed the main east-west and north-south axes of the city structure. The Pahlavi

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[241] Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time, Architecture* (Cambridge : Harvard University Press , 1962), 581.

[242] Hamed Khosravi. *Camp of Faith: On Political theology and urban form.* PhD Thesis, Delft University, 2014.

[243] Sidh Sintusingha, and Morteza Mirgholami. Parallel modernization and self-colonization: Urban evolution and practices in Bangkok and Tehran, *Cities* (Elsevier) 30 (2013): 122–132 .

Avenue, lined with trees, finally ended at the foothills of Alborz Mountains, in the northernmost part of the present city, where another palace compound, Sa'dabad, was developed.[244] The other avenue, Shah-Reza that was built on the filled northern moat, was an east-west axis which intersected Pahlavi at right angles and along it were erected new institutions such as the Tehran University.[245]

New administrative, office, and the growing bureaucracy moved to the north and accommodated two different types of urban activities in various parts of the city. The former walled Qajar Royal District and the former military parade ground (Mashgh Square) converted into the center of government. As the results of spatial dichotomy, north was becoming the area where wealth and power concentrated, however, the southern parts of the city turned into an industrial hub with new industries and modern railway station to connect Tehran to other cities. [246]

In this period, the emergence of modern buildings, squares and boulevards designed by European or European-trained architects resulted in new public buildings that changed the image of Tehran. In addition, emergence of new state architecture in this era was the result of nationalism, secularism, and modernization values. [247] Moreover, the return of many students that educated in western universities, introduced modern ideas, which were represented on some of the private

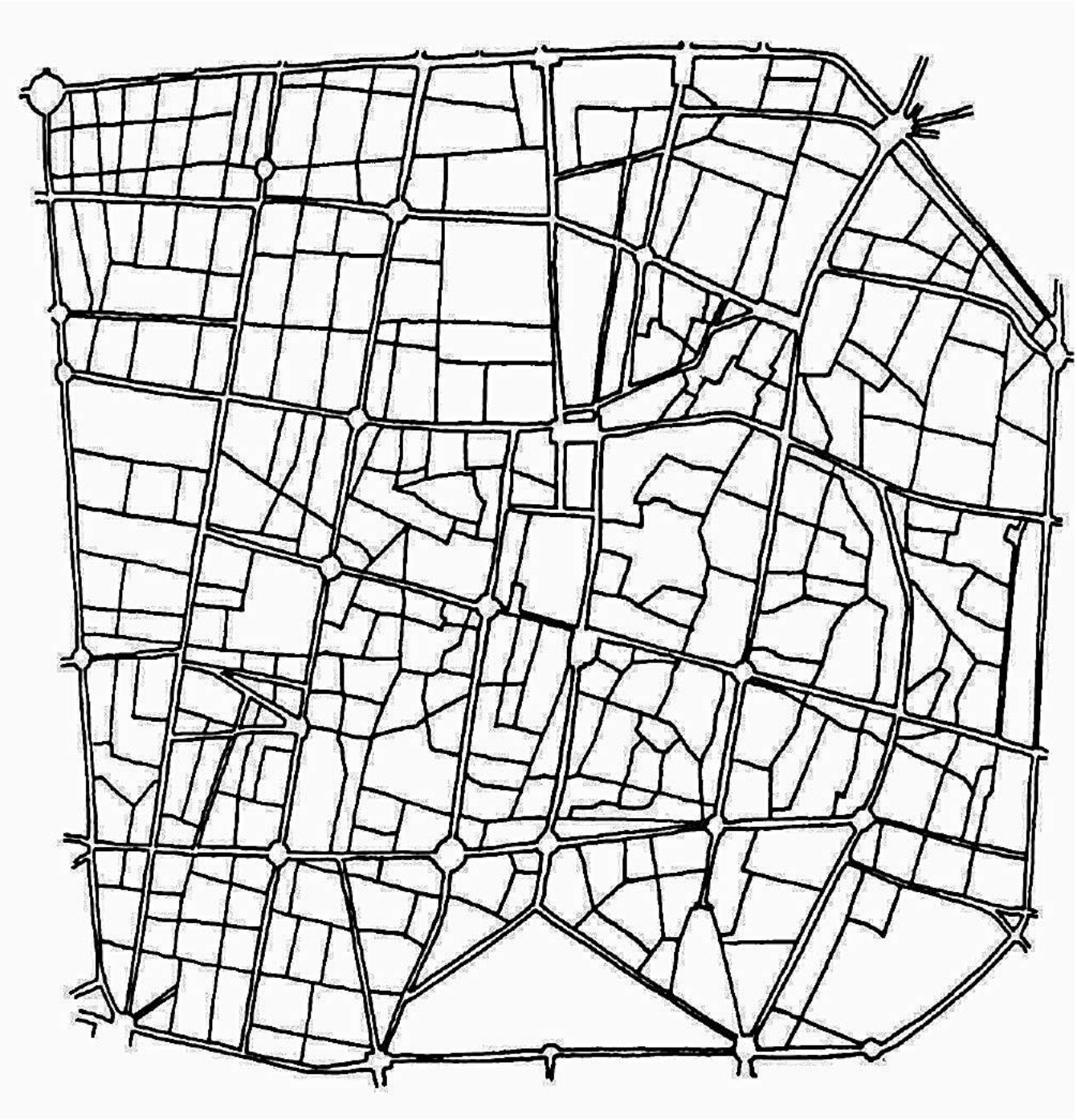
Fig.3.7

[244] See Lockhart, L. *Persian Cities* (London: Luzac, 1960) and Donald Wilber. *Architecture, Vii. Pahlavi, before World War II.* Vol. II, in *Encyclopedia Iranica*, by Ehsan Yarshater (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986).

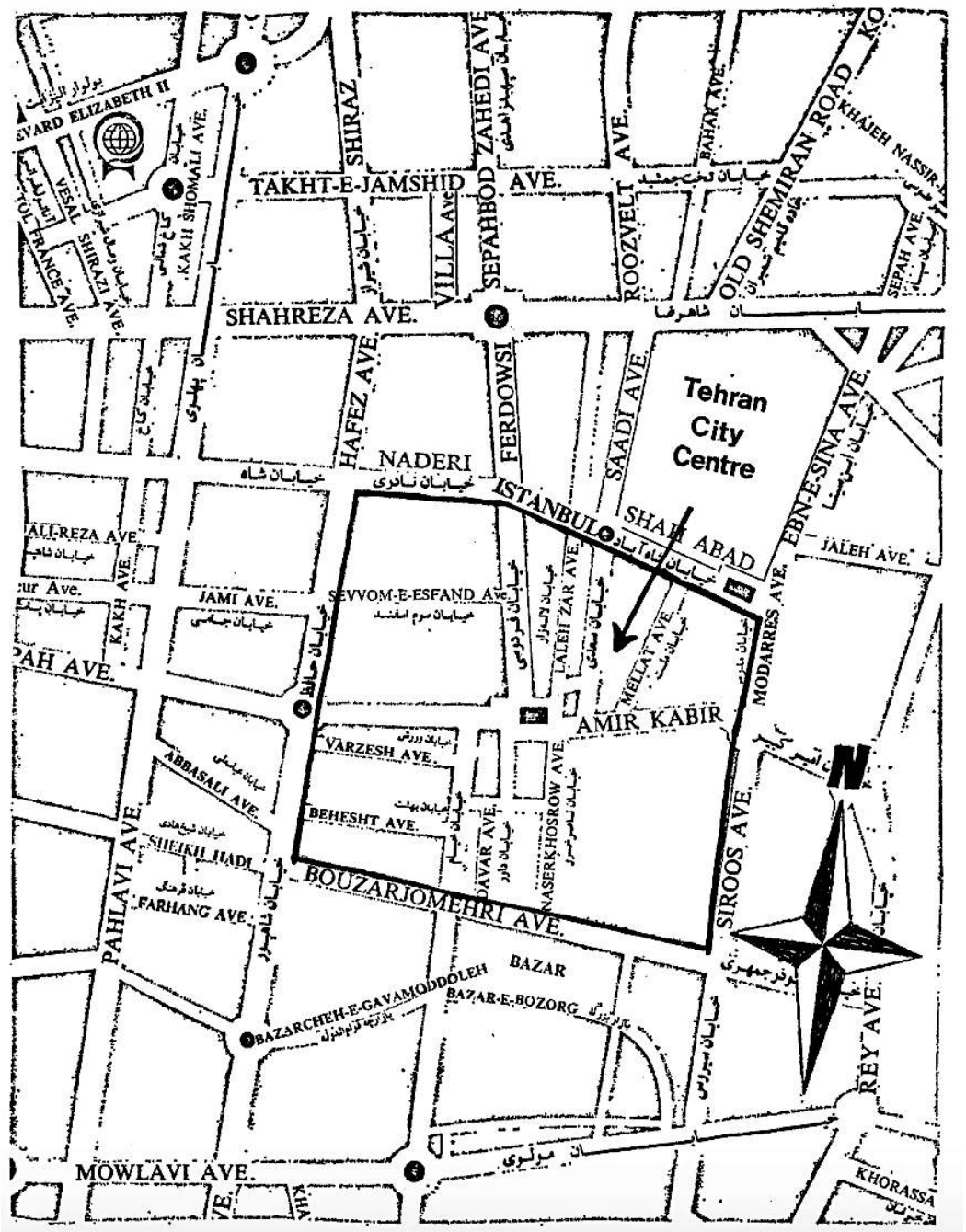
[245] Ali Madanipour, *Tehran: The making of a Metropolis* (London: Willey, 1998), 38.

[246] See Azadeh Mashayekhi. Tehran, the Scene of Modernity in the Pahlavi Dynasty: Modernisation and Urbanisation Processes 1925–1979 . In *Urban Change in Iran*, edited by F.F. Arefian and S.H.I. Moeini. Springer International Publishing , 2016.

[247] Mina Marefat. The Protagonists who shaped modern Tehran. In *Teheran, Capital Bicentennaire* , by Bernard Hourcade and Chahryar Adle, 73-94. Paris, 1991.



3.7
Tehran in 1937, after the second transformation, which turned it into an open matrix.



3.8
Tehran City Center after the second transformation.

and public buildings of this period.[248] In the process of modernization, new public squares were symbols of axial planning in the Western sense, visual nodes and keys to the city's image. Within the urban grid, they formed expansive traffic circles and became Le Corbusier's 'apparatus for circulation'. These large, symmetrical and circular public squares planned for the intersections of streets and were intended as grand, monumental focal points of the city.[249] Consequently, the new model of transportation changed the functions of the public spaces and especially public squares into channels of vehicular movement.[250]

In less than a decade, Tehran's modernization projects totally transformed its urban form, which influenced by western modernization patterns. In moving Tehran from an introverted Islamic urban fabric to an extraverted future metropolis, Reza Shah created large avenues, public squares, and public urban parks, which meant to represent openness, modernity and democracy. The existence of statues in such voids was a representation of the authority, and that was in contradiction with previous Islamic architecture values where the concern was void rather than object. For instance, the pool in the central area of Toopkhane (The place of cannons-Artillery) Square was replaced with a statue of Reza Shah, and a European style landscaping.[251] By the end of the first Pahlavi regime in 1941, Tehran covered an area of around 46 km^2, which was 2.5 times bigger than during the Qajar period.[252] The modernity projects of the First Pahlavi halted by the advent of Second World War and the

Fig.3.8

[248] Hooshang Amirahmadi, and Ali Kiafar. The transformation of Tehran from a Garrison Town to a Primate City: A tale of rapid growth and uneven development. Edited by H. Amirahmadi & S. S. El-Shakhs. *Urban development in the Muslim world* (Rutgers University Press), 1993: 109–136.

[249] Mina Marefat. *Building to power: Architecture of Tehran 1921-1941* (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1988), 90.

[250] Asma Mehan. Manifestation of Modernity in Iranian Public Squares: Baharestan Square, *International Journal of Heritage Architecture* (WIT Press) Vol. 1, issue 3 (2017): 411-420.

[251] Zohreh Soltani. TheTransformation of public space: City Squares as Locations for Power Struggle - The Case of Tehran (1934-2009). PhD Thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2011.

[252] Atlas of Tehran Metropolis, 2005

abdication of Reza Shah. The next chapter *Squares of Power Reasons* focuses on two political squares in modern Tehran that has been the critical focal point in Iranian's contemporary political history. It aims to show how the newly built network of streets and squares of the northern section of Tehran activated as the primary political public spaces of the city.

4 SQUARES OF POWER REASONS

Toopkhaneh and Baharestan Square

Architecture has always manipulated by sources of power and the political system. According to Vale, Architecture used to mediate forms of political power in order to propagate political ideologies to the society.[253] The ruling powers symbolically make use of the urban space as a tool to exercise their authority to declare and enact political intention.[254] By arousing nationalistic emotions of the masses, the ruling authority aims to unify the masses, representing achievements and maintain its status and position in the society.[255] In order to understand the concept of power, Foucault's ideas used to explore power, religious beliefs and national identity through symbolism in architecture and urban design. According to Foucault,

[253] Lawrence Vale, *Architecture, Power and National Identity* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008).

[254] See Kim Dovey, *Framing Places; Mediating Power in Built Form* (London: Routledge Press, 1999) and Deyan Sudjic, *the Edifice Complex: The Architecture of Power* (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 2011).

[255] Wolfgang Sonne, *Representing The State: Capital City Planning In The Early 20th Century* (New York: Prestel, 2003).

the success of power and its acceptance depends on its ability to legitimize its existence by use of different sources like hiding behind the religious beliefs, national values or architecture.[256] In this interpretation, the square as a whole reflects the struggle between sources of power, as each source tries to gain control of the society through showing strong appearance in urban space. Public squares are fundamental features of cities, which constitute the main social areas.[257] The study of ancient Iranian cities indicates that public squares have always had an effective presence in the cities.[258] The analysis of the conception of the square in the city of Tehran cannot be separated from the inherited concept of space that is used in its production and transformation, which are associated with ongoing political and social institutions, symbolic significance, or a combination of old and new.[259] Toopkhaneh Square - literally means "the place of cannon"or "artillery barracks"- is one of the key historic squares in Tehran, which was a vast central opening into which six major thoroughfares converged. This political square has a major role in contributing the national identity since it was the main scene during critical points in modern Iranian political history such as: Constitutional Revolution (1905-1907), Oil Nationalization Movement (1949-1953), 1953 CIA-investigated coup d'état and Islamic Revolution of 1979. The first aim here is to understand how public squares manifest the ruling power's ideology. The other politically loaded public spaces in modern Tehran is Baharestan Square with its special location near the first Iranian Parliament building (Senate) that represents it as the critical focal point in Iranian's contemporary political

[256] Michel Foucault, *Power, Knowledge: Selected Interviews and other Writings, 1972-1977* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980).

[257] Asma Mehan. 2016b. "Urban Regeneration: A Comprehensive Strategy for Achieving Social Sustainability in Historical Squares." *3rd International Multidisciplinary Scientific Conference on Social Sciences and Arts SGEM2016,* Vol. 2, SGEM 2016 Conference Proceedings, Book 4: 862-868.

[258] Asma Mehan, Public Squares and Their Potential for Social Interactions: A Case Study of Historical Public Squares in Tehran. *Proceeding of World Acaemy of Science, Engineering and Technology* Vol. 10, no. 2 (2016): 544-549.

[259] For more see Ali Madanipour, *Tehran: The making of a Metropolis* (Willey, 1998).

history. Alongside the theoretical discussions, the case studies of two selected squares in historical heart of city will provide a multi-dimensional source for analyzing the production of political space in modern Tehran. In this context, the newly built network of streets and squares of the northern section of Tehran activated as the primary political public spaces of the city.

The Manifestation of Power in Iranian Squares

To provide an understanding of the concept of power, it is proper to refer to the root of the word itself, which derived from the Latin 'potere'. It means 'to be able to achieve an end', but it is loaded with a different meaning in human affairs, where it has the meaning of control over others .[260] Those holding political power have always used symbols to control societies ever since early in history.[261] This expression of power has always been one of the functions of architecture.[262] The way the architecture of a period affects the image of a government through the style of governmental buildings is probably the main way to see how architecture is manipulated by those in power.[263] Vale argues "there are business, cultural and governmental elites, which have control over images; these elites need 'official' sorts of architectural monuments to demonstrate their ongoing power and legitimacy".[264] Milani (2004) describes what exists in the main square of Isfahan, an ancient Persian

[260] Kim Dovey, *Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form* (London: Routledge Press, 1999).

[261] Rafooneh Mokhtarshahisani, *An Inquiry into Iranian Architecture Manifestation of Identity, Symbolism, and Power in the Safavid's Public Buildings*. PhD Thesis, Institute of Graduate Studies and Research at Eastern Mediterranean University (2009).

[262] Oleg Grabar, Form: A Vocabulary and Grammar of Symbols: Symbols and Signs in Islamic Architecture. Paper presented at Seminar Four in the series Architectural Transformations in the Islamic World of the Aga Khan Award, Morocco, October 9–12 (1979).

[263] Henryk Skolimowski, *Polis and Politics: Architecture and Politics* (London: Architectural Association Quarterly, 1972).

[264] Lawrence Vale, Mediated Monuments and National Identity, *The Journal of Architecture* 4 (1999): 391.

city that was the capital of the country for a while, as a combination of the main elements of the power in a society. He writes "Naghsh-e Jahan Square at Isfahan, 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".[265] Focusing on Tehran as the capital of Iran, which has always considered in terms of modernization and globalization, the built environment of the city presents the modern pillars of power in the Iranian public spaces.[266]

Tehran was a walled city with twelve gates, which 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. 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, religious structures, and residential quarters. The public spaces of the time were mostly the religious structures of the city; and *Arg* (royal citadel), *Bazaar*, and *Masjed-e Shah* (the Great Mosque) were the three elements of the power and sources of authority.[267]

Tehran is a 200 years capital and most of its primary squares built during the modern period. 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 believed that the oldest square of Tehran has been in a region, called 'Chal Meidan*',* and the square was at the place of the mosque of that district.[268]

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[265] Abbas Milani, *Lost Wisdom; Rethinking Modernity in Iran* (Washington: Mage Publishers, 2004), 84.

[266] Asma Mehan. Squares as tools for urban transformation: Foundations for Designing the Iranian Public Squares. *Revista Brasileira de Planejamento e Desenvolvimento*, 5.2 (2016): 246-254.

[267] Robert Graham, *Iran: The Illusion of Power* (London: Lowe and Brydone Printers, 1978).

[268] Mohsen Motamedi, *Historical Geography of Tehran* (Tehran: Markaz-e Nashr-e Daneshgahi, 2002).

The first modern great square of Tehran, which was named Toopkhaneh, meaning 'the Cannon House', was physical evidence of the use of urban design by the ruling power to control the society since it became an urban element of defense against public uprisings and social demonstrations.[269] The idea of placing cannons before the palace began in the Safavid period, first to indicate supremacy and victory and later to prevent attacks on the citadel. Later, some buildings surrounded this open space to accommodate guards; thus, a new urban space formed. Adjacent to the royal citadel, this space functioned as a military, public, and governmental urban space.[270]

The continuation of the monarchy (palace) and the absolute power of the ruler, the intermediary role of religion (mosque) and economic institutions (bazaar), and the symbolic notions of order and direction have all had direct implications on the urban form of Tehran, even today; the axial form of the city, which caused the segregation of the poor and the rich, derived from the historical segregation of the ruler and the ruled, is the other observable consequence of the power structure on the urban form of Tehran.[271] The discussions of power relations deeply linked with the way one authority legitimizes it and gains power over the others. A basic framework to settle this discussion 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 briefly named as "legal rule," "traditional rule," and "charismatic rule".[272] Charismatic rule is the authority that gained by familial or religious status, while traditional rule is based on social class and money, and legal rule is what occurs under political parties.

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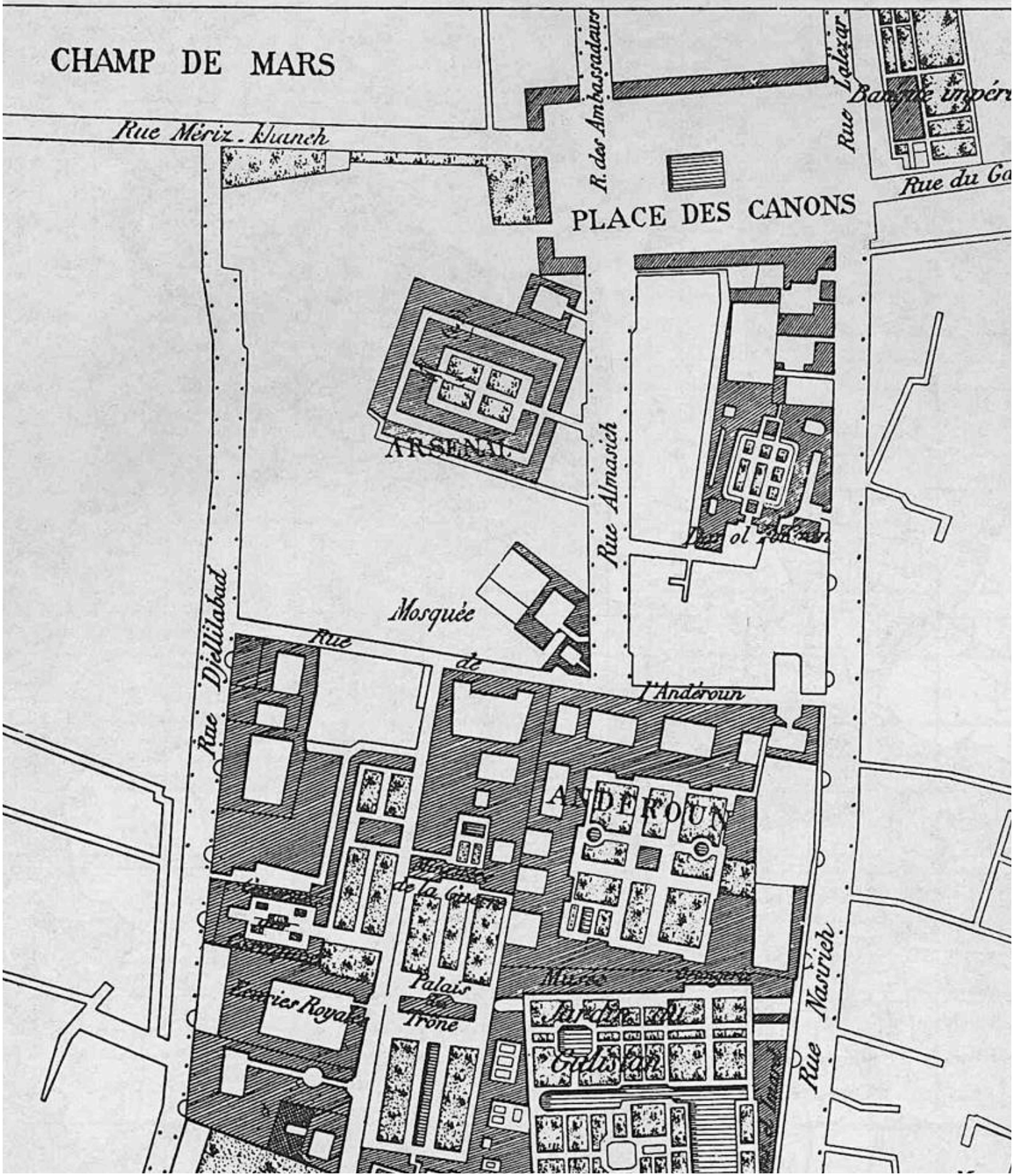
[269] Abbas Milani. *Lost Wisdom; Rethinking Modernity in Iran* (Washington: Mage Publishers, 2004).

[270] Mahnam Najafi, "Analysis of Toopkhaneh Square during Qajar Era (In Farsi)." Master Thesis, Shahid Beheshti University, 2009.

[271] Ali Madanipour, *Tehran: The Making of a Metropolis* (Wiley, 1998).

[272] Wolfgang J. Mommsen, *the Political and Social Theory of Max Weber* (Cambridge: The University of Chicago Press, 1989).

Plan of the Arg. From " Du Khorassan au Pays des Backhtiaris" by Henry Rene d'Allemagne, 1911.



Soltani (2011) applied this framework to Iranian Naqhsh- e Jahan Square, as a square that can be named as a geometrical position for 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.[273] Focusing on Toopkhaneh Square in Tehran, the next chapter will study the spatial transformation of square from its formation until the emergence of political life in square's surrounding.

Toopkhaneh Square

Milani uses a term that Walter Benjamin had used in *The Arcades Project* about Paris; he interprets the essence of a famous square in Tehran, which was built as the first touch of the modernity in 19th-century Tehran, as an essence of the use of urban design to prevent social uprisings, and to fight as follows: "There was Toopkhaneh, a square whose military function and ominous name (Cannon 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".[274] Toopkhaneh Square was a large quadrangle enclosed with two-storey arches, which housed the cannons on the ground floor and the artillery staff on the upper floor. This square was the converging point of six new, wide streets, each with a gate decorated with glazed tiles at its entry to the square.[275] The initial pattern of Toopkhaneh square inspired by traditional Iranian squares in the Safavid era, but its proportions were based on the Western Baroque architecture

Fig. 4.1

[273] Soltani, *ibid.*

[274] Milani, *ibid,* 85.

[275] Mina Marefat, *Building to Power: Architecture of Tehran 1921–1941* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1998).

style. Naghizadeh claims that the focal point of the traditional Iranian square was an empty point, which contributes to natural holy elements. Regarding this fact, the focal element in Toopkhaneh square is a water pond; however, the installation of a statue in middle of the square was a modern and Western element.[276] The most important building flanking Toopkhaneh Square was the Imperial Bank of Persia. This was a new economic institution with international connections, as compared to the traditional economic institution of the bazaar, whose entrance flanked the old market square. To the north of the Toopkhaneh Square were the new quarters, which were the houses of the aristocracy and the embassies, delegations, as well as the residences of Europeans. In and around the new square, especially to the north, new institutions built. Apart from the bank, there were hotels, European shops, an institute of technology, a hospital, and a telegraph house.[277] Mahvash Alemi writes: "The square reflects the principal ambitious of the court and is a sort of exhibition hall for new acquisitions: the military reform is perceived through the cannons, the decorations and the nearby drill grounds; the technological innovations are to be seen in the use of gas for illumination, the telegraph, and the tramway; the new source of finance, the Imperial Bank of Persia, is the most important building facing the square".[278]

According to Abraham Jackson (1862-1937), an American Traveler in Iran, the heart of the city lay in the newly established European-influenced northern part, with the Toopkhaneh Square at its center. He provided the detailed explanation of this complex, with modern components: the Imperial Bank of Persia, an imposing white edifice in 'Perso-European Style' and an arched gateway to a garden where the English members can play tennis; the *Boulvards des Ambassadeurs* as the principal driveway of the city; and the entrance to the 'Avenue of Diamonds', with the royal

[276] Mohammad Naghizadeh, Transformational Process of Squares in Iranian Cities, *Fine Arts Journal* 25 (2007): 15–24.

[277] Ali Madanipour, *Tehran: The Making of a Metropolis* (Wiley, 1998).

[278] Mahvash Alemi. The 1891 map of Tehran: Two cities, Two Cores, Two Cultures, *Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Center,* Rome: Carucci Editions, 1 (1985), 82.

flag on top which announced the presence of the king. Jackson perceived the northern section of this part to be even more Europeanized including the buildings of the American Presbyterian Mission, the English Hotel and the Legation of the United States.[279] In comparison with traditional squares, Toopkhaneh Square is distinct in two different ways. The first one is that traditional Iranian squares formed gradually without any predetermined map or special order; however, Toopkhaneh Square designed based on a predetermined map and function. The second point is that, for the first time, governmental space represented as the manifestation of political ideology in Tehran, the capital of Iran.[280]

Formation of Toopkhaneh Square

Toopkhaneh was a common name for a particular type of urban plaza in the Qajar period, to introduce its unique identity and function. As its name would suggest, the most important feature of this space was the permanent settlement of the cannons and the gunners in its surrounding recesses.[281] The first evidence from the settlement of cannons in Iranian public spaces traced back to Naghsh-e Jahan Square in the Safavid Dynasty. During this period, the symbolic function of the cannons in national celebrations and public events was more emphasized.[282] However, during the Qajar era, Arg Square in Tehran and Artillery squares in other cities of Iran became the permanent homes of the cannons.

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[279] Reza Shirazi, The Orient veneered in the Occident, In Gharipour, & Ozlu, *the City in the Muslim World: Depictions by Western Travel Writers* (London and New York: Routledge, 2015).

[280] Mojtaba Hasanzadeh, Reza Koulivand, and Sedigheh Ghiassy. 2015, "Toopkhaneh as a Govermental Square", Paper presented at AUC 2015 Conference*,* Shiraz: Civilica (2015), 2237–22342.

[281] Mahnam Najafi, Recognition of Toopkhaneh Square, Tehran, *Soffeh* 7 .56 (2012): 121–33.

[282] John Chardin, *Chardin's Travel Diaries (In Farsi),* Translated by Mohammad Abbasi (Tehran: AmirKabir Press, 1957).

4.2
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.

In addition, the permanent presence of military forces highlighted the military function of Toopkhaneh Square in this period. Najafi argued that the permanent residence of cannons in public squares were symbol of power that created a sense of security in people.[283] In the map of Tehran, which drawn in 1896, Toopkhaneh Square was situated in the heart of old Tehran.[284] In this period, the square had a rectangular shape with six streets connecting the central plaza to city and four cannons situated in the four corners of the street. The gates destroyed in order to facilitate the entry of transportation vehicles such as carriages, wagons, railroads, and smoking cars.[285] *Ernest Orsolle*, Belgian Traveller in his book *Le Caucase et la Perse*, describes the daily life of people in Toopkhaneh Square as the unofficial meeting point between king and the people of Tehran. Orsolle describes the special religious festival entitled 'Sharbat-Khori'[286] in this square for the Naser al-Din Shah Qajar's birthday celebration.[287] This political importance of the square continued since the late Qajar era and Iranian Constitutional Revolution (1905-1911). In 1908, after the bombardment of national Iranian Parliament (senate) building, Toopkhaneh Square became the main gathering point of anti-revolutionaries and government dependents.

Fig. 4.2

Fig. 4.3

[283] Mahnam Najafi, Analysis of Toopkhaneh Square during Qajar Era (In Farsi). Master Thesis, Shahid Beheshti University, 2009.

[284] Yasamin Dozdozani, Study of the Influencing Parameters on Squares' Functions to Fulfill Citizen's Satisfaction, *2nd International Congress on Structure, Architecture, and Urban Development.* Tabriz: Civilica (2014).

[285] Farrokh Mohammadzadehmehr, *Toopkhaneh Square* (Tehran: Moavenat-e Shahrsazi va Memari, 2003).

[286] The Farsi Word 'Sharbat' means 'a drink' is often consumed by Muslims to break their fast, during the month of Ramadan. Also, because of the Islamic ban on alcohol, beverages in the Islamic world have mostly consisted of fruit juices and syrups.

[287] See Ernest Orsolle, *La Caucase et la Perse (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et cie*, 1885), and Behrouz Pakdaman, *A review to Tehran's Architectural styles (In Farsi),* Vol. 2 (Tehran : Roshangaran, 1997).

4.3
The western view of Toopkhaneh 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.

4.4
The western view of Toopkhaneh Square, Tehran, 1920–1960 (Reza Shah Pahlavi period), Reza Shah's period of reign lasted until 1941, but the main changes in the square until 1960 were parts of his modernization program. The landscaping has changed, and grass has replaced the tress. A statue of Reza Shah was erected in the center of the Square.

4.5
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.

The Modernization Processes of Toopkhaneh Square

Modernism, which had begun in the Qajar era, intensified during this period, and so this is when the majority of changes happened to the body of the square. With the reign of Reza Shah (1925–1940), a new period of modernization started in Tehran. The former walls demolished again in 1937 to make way for a network of open spaces inspired by Haussmann's project in Paris, including wide streets and circular squares to facilitate the movement of goods, troops, and vehicles.[288] New functions such as administrative, office, and industrial organizations moved to the city center and created a new image of the city, a modern Tehran.[289] With the construction of new governmental institutions, the military application of Toopkhaneh square surrendered its place to official applications and governmental identity.[290] Marefat states, "Around Toopkhaneh Square important buildings had always been clustered; the arsenal, and the Imperial Bank of Persia, and later, the Baladiya (municipality). Reza Shah left the square and convergent streets intact. The gateways were torn down and the square itself renamed Sepah Square in honor of the Sardar Sepah, Reza Shah's title as commander-in-chief of the army," although it was once again renamed "Imam Khomeini" after the Islamic Revolution of 1978.[291] Mozaffari (2010) argues that the "statue of Reza Shah was installed at the center of the Toopkhaneh square (1945–46) which is guarded by four Achaemenid soldiers, and elevated by Persepolis-

Fig. 4.4

[288] Alireza Mirgholami. *Iranian Modernity: It's Expression in the Daily Life of Public Spaces in Tehran.* Melbourne: The University of Melbourne, 2009.

[289] Nazgol Bagheri. "Modernizing the Public Space: Gender Identities, Multiple Modernities and Space Politics in Tehran." PhD Thesis, University of Missouri-Kansas City, Kansas, Missouri, 2013.

[290] Zahra Khodabakhshi. "Structural Elements of Urban Squares from Tradition to Modernity in Iran: A Comparative Study of Isfahan's Naghsh-e Jahan Square and Tehran's Toopkhaneh Square." *Journal of Civil Engineering and Urbanism* 4(5): 522–528, 2014.

[291] Mina Marefat. *Building to Power: Architecture of Tehran 1921–1941* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1998), 87.

styled columns and bas-relief decorations," which represented Reza Shah as the triumphant hero of Iran's future.[292]

Emergence of Political Life in Toopkhaneh Square

With the expansion of modern needs in Toopkhaneh Square's surroundings, new functions and buildings emerged in an international style. During this time, bus terminals replaced the municipality buildings. In addition, telecommunication buildings were destroyed and replaced with post, telegraph, and telephone ministries.[293] Starting from 1949 on, sentiment for nationalization of Iran's oil industry grew and Toopkhaneh square became as one of the most important gathering points for mass rallies and social demonstrations in supporting Iranian Oil Nationalization Movement. During the days leading to 1953 Iranian coup d'état, Toopkhaneh square became the focal point for Anti-Shah political parties meetings and revolutionaries' gatherings and demonstrations like *Tudeh Party*[294] demonstrations. In 1979, a few days after the Islamic Revolution of Iran, Iranian Pulls down statue of Reza Shah Pahlavi in Toopkhaneh Square after his son, Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi leaves the country. This symbolic fell down of statue as well as the change in square's name (From Sepah to Imam Khomeini Square) brought a new chapter in political life of the square.

Fig. 4.6

Fig. 4.7

Fig. 4.8

The trinity of the mosque, the bazaar, and the crown, as three pillars of power and commerce in traditional Iran, dominated the Iranian squares' concepts for several centuries, but new paradigms presented in Tookhaneh Square's spatial definitions,

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[292]Ali Mozaffari. *Inscribing a Homeland: Iranian Identity and the Pre-Islamic and Islamic Collective Imaginations of Place*. PhD Thesis (University of Western Australia, 2010), 97.

[293] Zahra Khodabakhshi. "Structural Elements of Urban Squares from Tradition to Modernity in Iran: A Comparative Study of Isfahan's Naghsh-e Jahan Square and Tehran's Toopkhaneh Square." *Journal of Civil Engineering and Urbanism* 4.5 (2014): 522–528.

[294] In 1942, Tudeh Party (Communist Movement with Marxist ideology) succeeded in gaining recognition and launched its central organ "Siasat" (Politics).

4.6
Different masses of people gathered in Toopkhaneh Square for supporting Nationalization of oil industry, 1950s Demonstrations, Tehran.

4.7
Tudeh Party Demonstrations destabilized the political power of the democratic government of Dr. Mohammad Mosaddegh leading to the coup that brought back the Pahlavi Monarchy (statue seen on the horse), 1953,Toopkhaneh Square, Tehran.

4.8
Iranian Pulls down statue of Reza Shah Pahlavi in Toopkhaneh Square after his son, Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi leaves the country, 1979.

changed the trinity of power in traditional squares. Placing cannons in an open urban space had some precedents in Iranian history of Architecture and urbanism that aims to manifest power and supremacy and prevent any possible attacks to main citadels. However, analyzing the spatial qualities of Toopkhaneh Square clarifies that this square functioned as governmental, political and social urban space. In addition, the structural elements of the traditional square modified, as well as its name, political statues, meanings, and functions, in order to fulfill modern needs and demonstrate the power and supremacy. Telegraph offices (symbols of modern communication), banks (symbols of modern financial relationships), and municipalities (symbols of new government) are the modern institutions that fulfill the modern needs of citizens. Fig. 4.5

This study portrays Toopkhaneh Square as the representation of ruling power and its ideology in Iranian urban form. Although its primitive pattern is based on the Safavid public squares, there are major differences, such as Baroque proportions in the square's dimensions, the installation of a focal statue in the middle of the square, a design based on a predetermined plan and functions, modern institutions in the square's surroundings, and presenting modern military technology like cannons in the square's corners. From previous monarchies to Islamic Revolution, each political regime changed the name of this key historical public square in Tehran as follows: Toopkhaneh Square (Qajar Era: 1888-1925), Sepah Square (Pahlavi Era: 1925-1978) and Imam Khomeini Square (After Islamic Revolution of 1978), which emphasized the political importance of Toopkhaneh Square as a locus of power. The next part aims to study the Baharestan Square as an important political focal point in modern history of Iran.

4.9
An officer demonstrating for the Shah of Iran strikes a typical Mussolini pose as he harangues crowd in front of Parliament Gate in Baharestan Square (In Persian Meydan-e Majlis), Tehran on March 3, 1953. He wears a photo of the Shah on his hat.

Baharestan Square[295]

Baharestan (in English: adobe of spring) Square, located in front of the parliament building has witnessed numerous political meetings, demonstrations, political, national and religious celebrations and clashes.[296] Shahri in his book *The Old Tehran* introduces the Baharestan Square as the square of riot, conflict, revolution, and slaughter.[297] Important political events, having decisive role on the modern history of Tehran, has taken action in Baharestan 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.[298] Prior to 1953, Baharestan Square as the home to Iran's first parliament was the site of various political activities throughout the 1940s. It was also the seat of Mohammad Mossadegh government's rule in 1953 that lead to a shift in geography of protest in Tehran. Analyzing the spatial and physical changes of Baharestan Square reveal how the special location of this square and the series of political events attributed to this square represented it as an important political space in Modern Tehran.

Fig. 4.9

Fig. 4.10

Baharestan Square as Politics

Baharestan garden was initially an open space in front of Negarestan garden, which

[295] Author in the "International Journal of Heritage Architecture" has published the case study of Baharestan Square and its historical transformation. For more see Asma Mehan. "Manifestation of Modernity in Iranian Public Squares: Baharestan Square." *International Journal of Heritage Architecture* (WIT Press) vol. 1, no. 3 (2017): 411-420.

[296] HamidReza NorouziTalab. *Tehran: Paste& Present; A Glance at the features of Life, Art and Architecture* (Tehran: Yassavoli Publications, 2008).

[297] Jafar Shahri, *The Old Tehran* (Tehran: Moin Publication, 1993).

[298]Zohreh Soltani. "TheTransformation of public space: City Squares as Locations for Power Struggle - The Case of Tehran (1934-2009)." PhD Thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2011.

4.10
Baharestan square in Street Layout Map of 1930.

4.11
Baharestan Square in front of Iranian Parliament, 1976.

was located outside of Tehran. Gradually, with the development of Tehran in 1868, forecourt of Negarestan that was surrounded by Sardar, Nezamieh and Negarestan gardens from three sides, placed inside the city fences. With this reposition, Negarestan garden lost its original significance as recreational garden and introduced as court and governmental office.[299] Transformation in surrounding elements of square's surrounding and geopolitical locus of Baharestan edifice, created an appropriate place for establishment of the first Iranian national Parliament. In addition, Sepahsalar Mosque and School as one of the largest mosque in Tehran became a distinctive religious landmark for holding important national events. Baharestan garden in this period is a residence for foreign ambassadors and a gathering place for holding national celebrations.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Iranian constitutional revolution caused by dissatisfaction with economic problems, results of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904 and the Russian revolution of 1905. Around the same time, actors in other revolutionary upheavals around the globe such as in Turkey (1908), Mexico (1910) and China (1911) made similar demands.[300] The Constitutional Revolution had its origins in the bazaar's objection to the Belgian customs regime and the Russian loans.[301] The radical Iranian newspaper *Musavat* (Equality) in the heat of the revolutionary struggles stated, " One cannot read a single page of a newspaper without coming across the word liberty at least ten times and one cannot walk twenty steps in the alleys of Tehran without coming across one or two committee banners,

[299] Naser TakmilHomayon. *Cultural and Social History of Tehran (in Farsi).* Vol. 2 (Tehran: Cultural Research Center, 2000).

[300] Nader Sohrabi, Historicizing Revolutions: Constitutional Revolutions in the Ottoman Empire, Iran, and Russia, 1905-1908. *American Journal of Sociology* (University of Chicago Press) Vol. 100, no. 6 (1995): 1384.

[301] James Buchan, *Days of God: The Revolution in Iran and Its Consequences* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2013).

adorned in bold characters with the three holy phrases of liberty, fraternity and equality".[302]

Clerics and Bazaaris (merchants) took sanctuary in Sepahsalar Mosque and demanding justice from the shah. Radical preaching and violence resulted, as well as the demand for establishment of a new parliament. The first parliament (in Persian Majlis) was created in 1906, granting power to middle class that remained in effect, albeit largely ignored by the monarchs, until the 1979 Islamic revolution.[303] Armed ruffians and anti-constitutionalist clerics set up in the Toopkhaneh Square, the main gathering point of capital. Others marched toward Majlis (parliament), chanting "we want the Quran; we do not want the Constitution". The hired ruffians, the anti-constitutionalist clerics, and the Shah had the upper hand for a few days. However, by December 17 (1906) the revolutionaries assembled their armed men in the Baharestan Square, where the Parliament was located and occupied the Sepahsalar mosque and school.[304] A Belgian customs officer wrote to his brother on December 17 (1906): "The roofs of the parliament building and the mosque next door are teeming with armed men. The gardens turned into entrenchments. The Cossacks, artillery and the army are mobilized and waiting, armed to teeth, in Toopkhaneh Square. The partisans of the Shah, low stable boys and domestics of every sort are assembled in a terrific hubbub around several *Sayyids* (clerics) who preach war against the parliament".[305]

Fig. 4.11

Fig. 4.12

[302] Nader Sohrabi, Historicizing Revolutions: Constitutional Revolutions in the Ottoman Empire, Iran, and Russia, 1905-1908. *American Journal of Sociology* (University of Chicago Press) Vol. 100, no. 6 (1995): 1383-1447.

[303] Esposito, John L, ed. "Constitutional Revolution (Iran)" *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam* (Oxford Islamic Studies Online, http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e450 (accessed 01-Feb-2017).

[304] Mangol Bayat, *Iran's First Revolution: Shi'ism and the Constitutional Revolution of 1905-1909* (Oxford University Press, 1991): 212.

[305] James Buchan, *Days of God: The Revolution in Iran and Its Consequences* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2013).

4.12
Shah's Supporters, screaming "Death or Our Shah!" rush toward Baharestan (or Majlis) Square, site of the national parliament to join battle again, this time with the Red Tudeh mob as well as pro-Mosadegh forces. Later the demonstrations tried unsuccessfully to take over the government-operated radio station.

After the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1905-1907, which led to the establishment of Parliament in Baharestan edifice, this historical square converted to the scene for political gatherings and social demonstrations. 1908 bombardment of the Parliament, political violence and terror of 1907 and social demonstrations of 1924 are some of the major political events that defined another aspect of urban life in Baharestan Square. Reviewing all the political events emphasizes on the changing role of people from passive observers to active participants in political life of modern Tehran. Regarding these facts, emergence of modern political institutions like new parliament brought modern concepts such as political celebrations, terrors and social demonstrations that are the fundamental elements of active political space.

Pulling down the old statues became the first symbol of regime change since Reza shah era. Reza shah's statue in Baharestan square in front of parliament pulled down during the political upheaval of the early 1930s. During the first Pahlavi Era, Baharestan Square situated in the wealthy parts of the city, with the primary cafés in western style, but it was not an active political space like the previous decades. Throughout the 1940s, Baharestan Square is a constant scene of public demonstrations and political gatherings to support the nationalization of oil movement. After Gradual growth of Tehran from 1950s, the upper classes moved to the north of Tehran. Hourcade [306] argued that after selection of Niavaran palace as the location of royal family, town's upper classes left the Baharestan neighborhood to live in northern parts of the city, which eliminated the previous educational and recreational functions of the square.

In July 1952, Tudeh Party called for a demonstration against the Shah. A *Keyhan* newspaper reporter described the events of July 21 as follows: "In addition to the closure of bazaars and shops, drivers of city buses and workers in factories stopped work and joined the demonstrators. Attempts by the police to prevent the closure of government offices failed after 9:00 A.M. Trains stopped due to the workers' strikes

Fig. 4.13

[306] Bernard Hourcade, *Tehran capitale bicentenaire*. Edited by Shahriar Adl. Translated by Aboalhasan Sarvghad Moghaddam (Tehran: Sazman Moshaver fanni va Mohandesi, 1996).

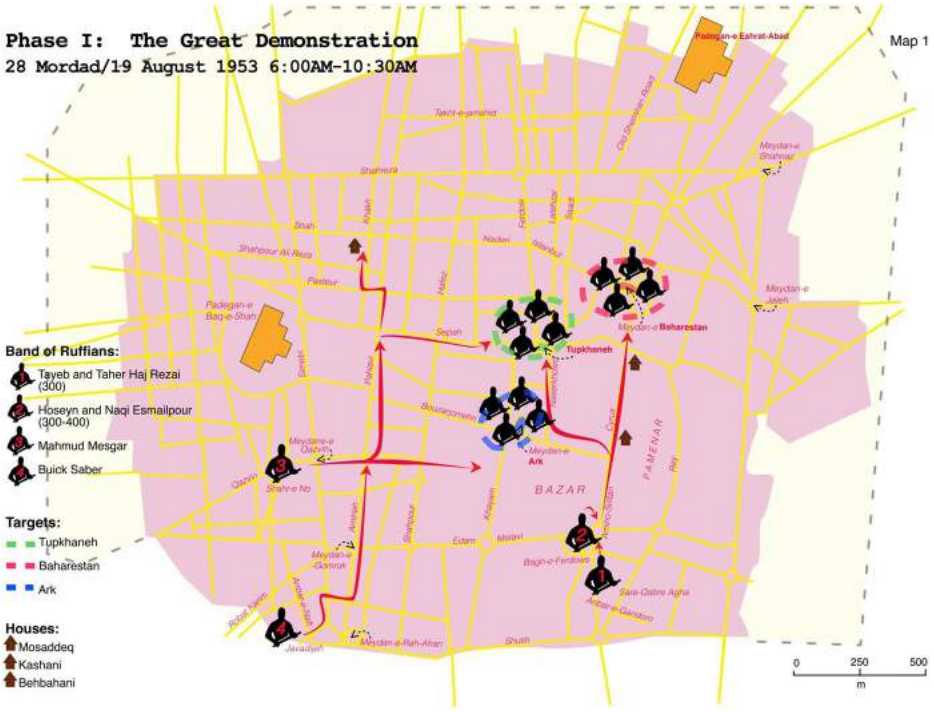
4.13
Tudeh Party Demonstration, in Front of the Parliament (In Persian Majlis or Baharestan) Square, Tehran.

in the railways. Around noon, street fighting intensified in the Baharestan Plaza and the bazaar".[307]

In 2013, the National Security Archive posted declassified CIA documents on the United States' role in the 1953 Coup in Iran. The disposition of ruffians between three-target squares- Toopkhneh, Baharestan and Ark- has depicted in three phases. The first map shows the disposition of bands of ruffians, paid to demonstrate by coup organizers, early on August 19, 1953. The bands gathered in the bazaar and other sections of southern Tehran, then moved north through the capital. In second phase, as depicted in the map, Pro-Shah police, military units and undercover agents became engaged in the coup starting mid-morning August 19. In third phase, tanks played a critical role on August 19, with pro-Shah forces gaining control of some 24 of them from the military during the course of the day. Fig. 4.14 Fig. 4.15

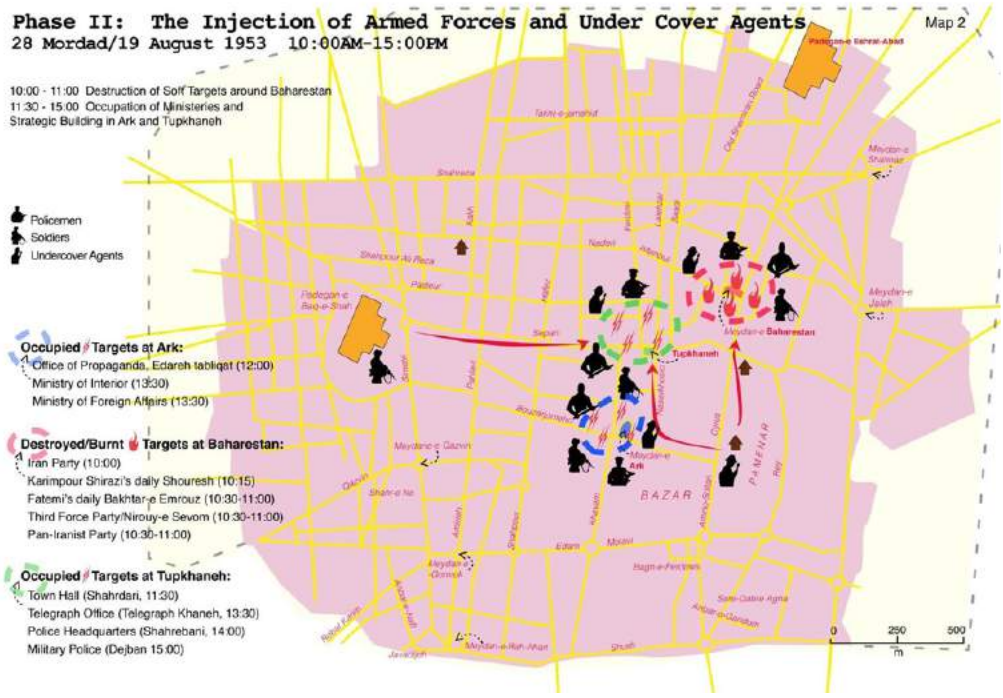
Baharestan Square remained the site of Iran's parliament until it moved from the old parliamentary buildings to the Senate building after the Revolution of 1979. After the suppression of 5th of June 1963 uprising and other similar political events, Baharestan Square loosed its functional role as a gathering place for the events leading up to Islamic Revolution of 1978. In 2004, a new parliamentary building opened in Baharestan Square, shaped like a pyramid. This legislative parliament can draft, debate, and pass legislation, but requires the approval of the Guardian Council for its decisions to turn into law. Candidacies for parliament are also approved or disqualified by the Guardian Council, which overseen by the Supreme Leader, leading to a high concentration of power at the top. With Mohammad Khatami's election to the presidency in 1997, the reformist fraction of the Fifth Parliament became more active in addressing issues of popular concern. As a consequence, Baharestan Square was revived as a political space, particularly when Fig. 4.16

[307] Misagh Parsa, *Social Origins of the Iranian Revolution* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 42.



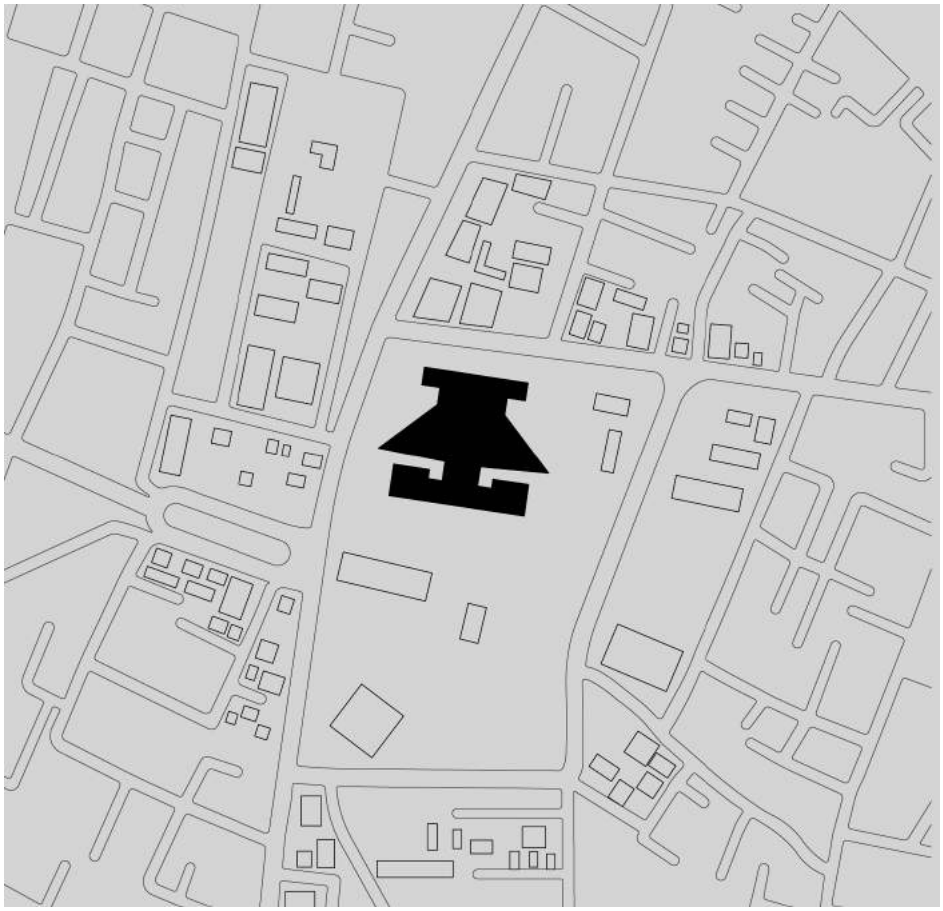
4.14

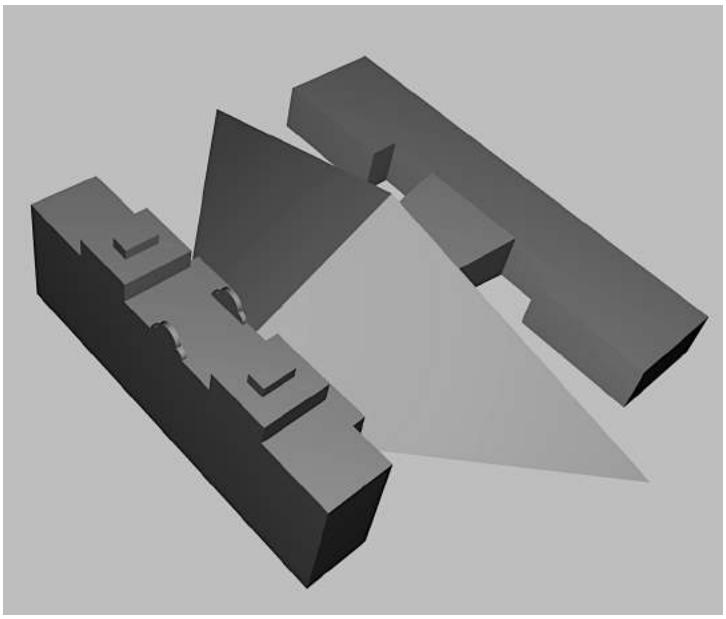
Phase I, The Great Demonstration (6:00-10:30 AM), This map shows the disposition of bands of 'ruffians', paid to demonstrate by coup organizers, early on August 19, 1953. The bands gathered in the bazaar and other sections of southern Tehran, then moved north through the capital. Thus leaders' names appear at left, along with the estimated size of their groups, and their targets.



4.15

Phase II, The Injection of Armed Forces and Under Cover Agents (10:00AM-15:00PM), Pro-Shah Police, military units and undercover agents became engaged in the coup starting mid-morning August 19.





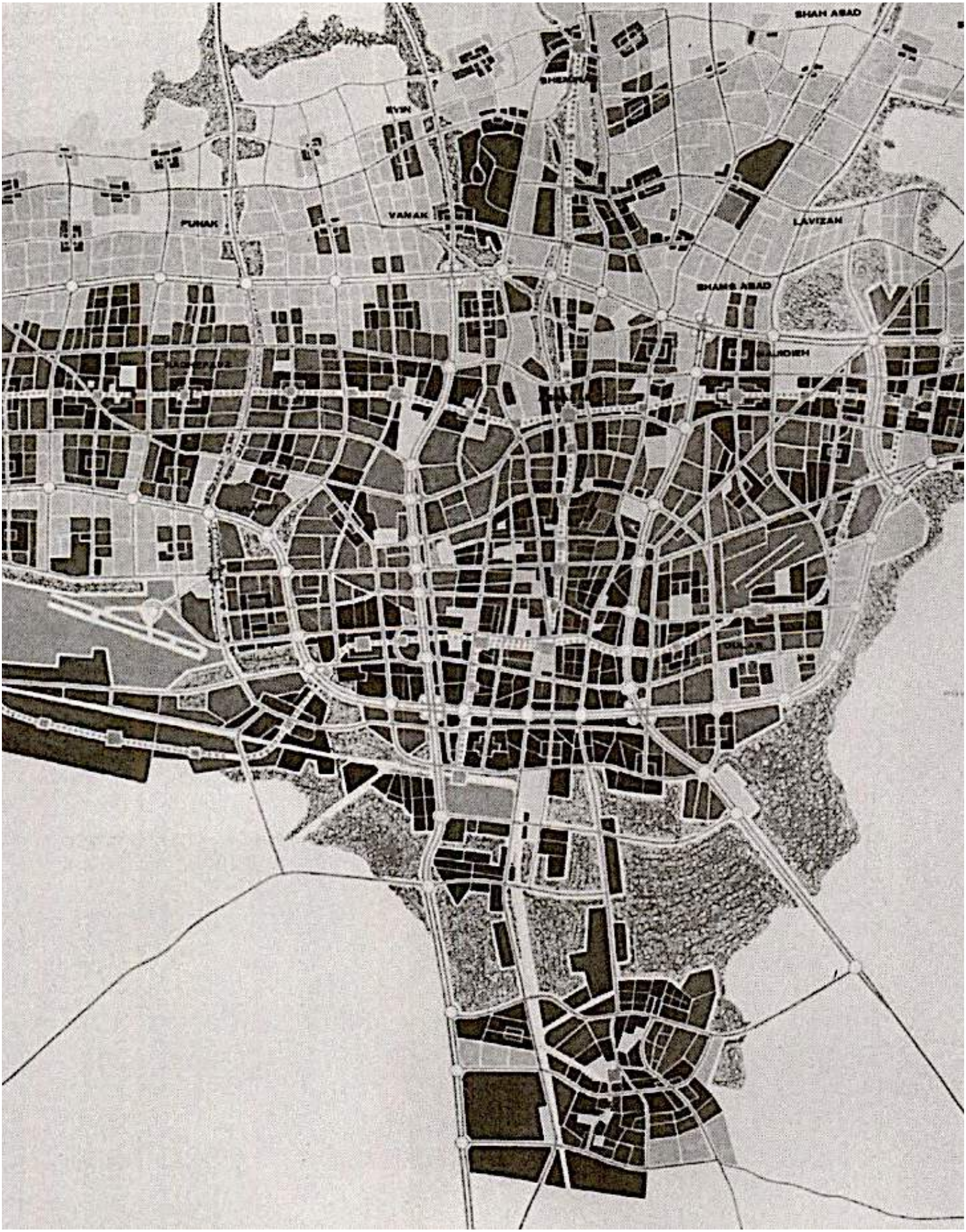
4.16
Site Plan and 3D Model of the Islamic Consultative Assembly of Iran or "Majlis", shaped like a pyramid, which constructed in 2004 by Polmir Consulting Architects Engineers & Planners Company in Baharestan Street, Tehran, Iran.

workers and teachers began using the square to stage demands for wage increases and better work conditions.[308]

The modernization project in Tehran influenced dramatically by political events in the last century. The gradual process of Tehran modernization started slowly during the Qajar Dynasty 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 and became more rapid and autocratic during the Pahlavi Dynasty, which can be categorized into three different historical periods: 1870–1921 (Late Qajar), 1925–1940 (Pahlavi I) and 1941–1978 (Pahlavi II).

As discussed in previous chapters, the dominant *Tabula Rasa* strategy of modernization during the first Pahlavi era resulted in the emergence of representative pseudo political public space for demonstration of power and national identity during the first Pahlavi era (1925-41). However, the cases of Baharestan and Toopkhaneh Squares as the most political public squares of Tehran during the recent century manifested the process of reoccupation of public spaces by social movements and political parties during the nationalization of oil movement till 1953 Iranian coup d'état. The next chapter will analyze the socio-political arrangement of capital as 'Metropolis of Tomorrow' and its urban transformation during the second Pahlavi era (1941-79) until Islamic Revelation. It tries to analyze the process of production of political spaces in Tehran as an emerging Metropolis based on the utopian strategy of modernization during the second Pahlavi era.

[308] Azam Khatam, Tehran Urban Reforms Between Two Revolutions. Published PhD Thesis, Graduate Program in Environmental Studies, York University, Toronto, 2015.


SHAH ASAD
SHERIFA
EVIN
PUNAK
VANAK
LAVIZAN
SHAMS ABAD

5 ARCHITECTURE OR REVOLUTION[309]

Modernization Politics and Spatial Transformation of Tehran through Utopian Urban Projects (1941-79)

In *Architecture ou Révolution*, Le Corbusier deduced that 'Revolution' could be avoided through the scientific application of innovative techniques. This optimistic faith in the rational efficiency of the scientific progress, usually classified as the 'typical' feature of the Modern Movement even in Middle Eastern context. Focusing on modern Tehran, this chapter explores the spatial transformation of public spaces in Tehran during the second Pahlavi Era (1941-79) till the Islamic Revolution. 'Secularization' of the city during this era, implemented by American planners and Western Educated Iranian Architects, created the new image of city. Focusing on Modern Tehran's Public squares, the unbuilt 'Shah and Nation Square' and Shahyad plaza, as the greatest square of the city, can be categorized under a form of autocratic control and 'top-down' approach through urban interventions into the public space. The new structure of the power, decreasing the traditional role of bazaar and mosque,

[309] The title of this chapter has been chosen from Le Corbusier's book *Vers Une Architecture* (English Translation: Towards New Architecture), which is the collection of essays exploring the concept of Modern Architecture.

reveal the fact that the urban spaces of Tehran in this era served for power while it would later turned into spaces for power struggles, mass rallies, social demonstrations and Revolution. By addressing this critical point in Iranian modern history, this chapter, analyses spatial devices to control, which ultimately resulted in mass rallies and urban uprising of 1979.

Bruno Zevi, in his book *the modern language of architecture* argues that the modern language of architecture is a revolutionary weapon, one that is explosive by virtue of architecture.[310] According to Zevi, "If we really speak the modern architectural language, there are two possibilities finding us. We will be allowed to express ourselves freely, or we will have to demolish the obstacles that prevent us from doing so, we will have to fight censorship". In other words, we have to fight against the capitalist or socialist societies that place the obstacles and censorship and real estate speculation. So, we have to cause a revolution and collectivize the use of land. The society that Zevi envisages is collective, free, and democratic. The revolutionary character of modern architecture takes on a purely utopian dimension in the reintegration of building, city, and landscape.[311] In general, the social condition is used to reflect a philosophy of historical progress based on the idea of a golden age in the past (paradise lost) and an ideal state in the future (Utopia).[312]

In 1968, *Manfredo Tafuri* in his book *Teorie e Storia dell'architettura* (Theories and Histories of Architecture) clarified the political character of the critique of architecture: "Just as it is not possible to find a political economy based on a class, so one cannot anticipate a class architecture (an architecture for a liberated society); what is possible is the introduction of class criticism into architecture".[313] The very primitive idea of this article grounded in the formulations of Le Corbusier's final

[310] Bruno Zevi, *The Modern Language of Architecture* (Seattle: University of Chicago Press, 1978).

[311] Panayotis Tournikiotis, *The Histography of Modern Architecture* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1999): 59.

[312] Tournikiotis, *ibid,* 223.

[313] Manfredo Tafuri, *Theories and History of Architecture* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1980).

chapter in his book *Vers une architecture* (Towards a New Architecture). Methodological question 'Architecture or Revolution' borrowed from Le Corbusier's phrase. This angle is not out of place for analyzing Second Pahlavi's autocratic Modernization project in Tehran. Starting from nineteenth century, the historic developments in Iran show a dramatic transition from a feudal social formation to a capitalist one.[314]

Fig.5.2

During the Post World War II period, the immediate need for massive construction in Tehran, not only resulted in developing new planning and design processes, but also paved the way for rapid implementation of political urban projects. As *Pier Vittorio Aureli* well clarified "the city is the most explicit index of power relationship" that represents urban elements as 'governmental apparatus' to test "the political instrumentality of architectural from".[315] In this sense, urban projects within the history of modern Tehran aim to analyze the spatial transformation that embodied power relationships within the city. Since the fundamental issue of the Tehran as it straggles to adapt to the West, has been the issue of the built environment, the semantic readings of Tehran as a political project will clarify the association between political power and urban projects through architecture and modernization process.

Manfredo Tafuri in his book "Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development", related the utopian nature of modern architecture to the capitalist values.[316] Tafuri believes that urban planning is the essential link between architecture and Utopia.[317] During the twentieth century, the utopian urban projects mostly but not inclusively manifested in the visionary works of *Howard*, *Gruen*, *Wright* and *Le*

[314] Fred Halliday, *Iran: Dictatorship and Development* (Penguin, 1979).

[315] Pier Vittorio Aureli, City as Political Form: Four Archetypes of Urban Transformation. *Architectural Design* vol. 8, no.1 (2011): 32-37.

[316] Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia; Design and Capitalist Development* (Massachusetts, The MIT Press, 1976).

[317] Antoine Picon, Learning from Utopia: Contemporary Architecture and the quest for political and social Relevance. *Journal of Architectural Education* vol.67, no.1 (2013): 17-23.

Corbusier. The urban mega projects and radical westernization in Tehran tried to depict a different future for the city. If we consider *Utopia* as an ideal urban form, contemporary Tehran and its urban interventions is the direct result of utopian dreams. These utopian concepts emerged as the result of visionary planners such as Victor Gruen (1903-1980) and his 'Metropolis of Tomorrow'[318] and mainstream of the political agenda like resurgence of nationalization and ambitious desires of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi (r. 1941-1979) to represent the capital as the 'Persepolis of the 20th Century'.[319] However, staging mass protest in 1978 and over throwing the Shah in 1979, the city, which planned, based on western and modern dreams lost its vision in the collapse of Pahlavi Monarchy. Regarding this major revolutionary change, the urban utopian approach would answer questions about nationalism, ideology and social classes of the society.

Fig.5.1

Architecture or Revolution

In 1923, Le Corbusier's books *Vers une architecture*, bears the title *Architecture ou Revolution* as the subject of book's crucial final chapter. The book ends with the following paragraph:

> "Society violently desires one thing that it will obtain or that it will not. Everything lies in that; everything will depend on the effort made and the attention paid to these alarming symptoms.
> Architecture or Revolution.

[318] In *the Heart of our cities: The Urban Crisis; Diagnoses and Cure* (1964), Gruen depicted *the Metropolis of Tomorrow* with the metro center surrounded by ten towns, each town center surrounded by four communities, each community center by five neighborhood. Gruen inspired by Ebenezer Howard's garden city diagram. For more critical debates about utopian planning and practices see Rosemary Wakeman, *Practicing Utopia: An Intellectual History of the New Town Movement* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016): 280.

[319] The Shah believed that Tehran, as the capital of this new Iran, should become the 'Persepolis of the 20th Century' recalling the greatness that Persepolis had formerly inherited as the capital of the Persian Empire in 520 BCE. But to transform the capital into this new modern city, he needed a powerful master plan. For More debates in this area see Vesta Nele Zareh, *An (Almost) all American City- The Vision and Legacy of the Tehran Comprehensive Plan*, in, The Emerging Asian City: It´s Traditions, Tensions & Transformations", Editor Vinakak Bahrne (California Press, 2010): 139-147.

Revolution can be avoided.[320]

The final statement "Architecture can prevent Revolution" seems challenging. In other words, Le Corbusier assumed that Revolution could avoided through the scientific application of innovative techniques and modern architecture like mass housing and urban planning that would drive Architecture to prevent social discontent.[321] As Leach has argued, Le Corbusier spoke of avoiding political 'revolution' since he recognized the possibility of a 'revolution' in architecture that would go beyond political issues.[322] Similarly, Simon clarifies that "the conception of Modernism as an utopian project of social redemption" is the very crucial belief in "Architecture or Revolution".[323] This rather optimistic conception of modernism as utopian project, usually classified as the "typical" feature of the modern movement, emphasizing on the social role of architecture. So, could Architecture prevent revolution?

During the recent century, various political events in Tehran as Middle Eastern Capital, emphasizes the further discussions for analyzing the relationship between revolution and urban projects. The outcome of this struggle reflected in two revolutions and numerous protest movements, often occurring in Tehran and other major cities of Iran. In the year 1979, revolutionaries occupied the streets of Tehran; put an end to monarchy in Iran.

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[320] Le Corbusier, *towards a new Architecture* (London: Butterworth Architecture, 1989), 269.

[321] Mary McLeod, Architecture and Revolution: Le Corbusier, Politics and Architecture 1930–1942. *The City as a Project*, http://thecityasaproject.org/2010/10/mary-mcleod-architecture-and-revolution-le-corbusier-politics-and-architecture-1930%E2%80%931942/(accessed 08 27, 2016).

[322] For better understanding and analysis of the issue see Neil Leach*, Architecture and Revolution: Contemporary perspectives on Central and Eastern Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 112-123.

[323] Simone Brott. Architecture et Révolution: Le Corbusier and the Fascist Revolution. *thresholds* 41 (2013): 146-157.

5.2
The Historical Center of Tehran, 1976.

5.3
Drawing Pulling down the statues of Reza Shah Pahlavi (r. 1925-1941) in Sepah Square (currently Imam Khomeini Square, also called Toopkhaneh Square which is literally means Artillery Square), Tehran's main square, 18 August 1953.

In analyzing this revolution, some scholars argued that the revolution was a traditionalist challenge to a forced and rapid modernization by the Pahlavi regime.[324] Following the evolution of the urban space in Tehran, the next chapter will investigate how it has been in line with societal transformations.

Tehran; the Scene of Spatial Transformation and Social Movements

During the past century, several social demonstrations have staged in the city, of which two are widely known as revolutions. Since the social and spatial dimensions of a city intertwined closely intertwined, analyzing the major political events will lead to trace the process of its spatial transformation. While the constitutional revolution at the beginning of the twentieth century (1905-1907) strongly promoted modernity, the second revolution towards the end of the century cast major doubts on modernization process.[325] The Constitutional Revolution of 1906 aimed to replace this arbitrary rule with the rule of law by setting up a national assembly with the power of controlling the state. The main site of this battle was Tehran, where an urban social movement shaped a new parliament (Senate).

The new nodes of the city were often staged symbol of power and embellished by the rulers' statutes. At the time of Islamic Revolutions of 1979, these urban spaces became sites of contest for demonstrators who brought down these statues. This symbolic fell down of statue as well as the change in the Toopkhaneh (literally, "place of cannons") Square's name (From Sepah to Imam Khomeini Square), is physical evidence of the use of Iranian urban design by revolutionaries to reclaim the public

Fig.5.3

[324] For more comprehensive historical details about Iranian Islamic Revolution of 1978 see Ervand Abrahamian, *A history of modern Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). For more urban and architectural debates about modern Tehran see Ali Madanipour, *Tehran: The making of a Metropolis* (Willey, 1998). Also, See Hooshang Amirahmadi, *Revolution and Economic Transition: The Iranian Experience* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990) and Misagh Parsa, *Social Origins of the Iranian Revolution* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1989).

[325] Ali Madanipour, *Tehran: The making of a Metropolis* (Willey, 1998): 11.

spaces of the city as their own.[326] In major unrests of the last century, Tehran's public spaces have been the scenes on which the battle for power has staged.

In 1975, Michel Foucault, published his book *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of a Prison* investigated the relationship between power and space based on Benthham's conceptualization of the *Panopticon*.[327] With the metaphor of this plan for a prison, Foucault analyzes the critical role of architecture as a political apparatus for sustaining power relations and social control. In order to understand the concept of power, Foucault's ideas used to explore power, religious beliefs and national identity through symbolism in architecture and urban design. According to Foucault, the success of power and its acceptance depends on its ability to legitimize its existence by use of different sources like hiding behind the religious beliefs, national values or architecture.[328] In this interpretation, the urban projects as a whole reflect the struggle between sources of power, as each source tries to gain control of the society through showing strong appearance in city. The history of the revolution shows how the urban space of Tehran was the site of project, conflict and resistance, which ultimately led to occupy the city and reclaim the public spaces by middle classes of society in Iranian Islamic Revolution of 1979.

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[326] Asma Mehan, *Architecture for Revolution: Democracy and Public space,* Graduate Student Forum, Edinburgh College of Art, University of Edinburgh, Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain (SAHGB), 2015.

[327] The core principal of Benthham's Panopticon, is a single person to observe all people in an institution. This circular design consists of a watchtower at its center, from which the watchman is able to observe all individuals who are inhabited within the diametric cells. This idea developed for designing the Panopticon Prison. For more debates see Michel Foucalt, *Discipline and Punish: The birth of prison* (Vintage Books, 1995): 201

[328] Michel Foucault, *Power, Knowledge: Selected Interviews and other Writings, 1972-1977* (New York: Pantheon books, 1980)

Socio-Political Arrangement of 'White Revolution'[329] Capital

The Second World War and its associated political events of a national and global scale brought new circumstances, which was considerably influenced the development processes of Tehran. " The emergence of political parties, a free press, and trade unions characterized political liberation in the early part of Mohammad Reza Shah's reign".[330] Started from 1941 to 1953, power was contested between the royal palace, the parliament, and political parties, organized first by a communist movement and then by a nationalist one.[331] This followed by residential buildings boom and growing density in the Iranian cities between 1945 and 1949.[332]

Consequently, housing costs and availability were major problems for the city in this era and leading to a proliferation of new neighborhoods outside the city, mainly in the north and northwest, where professional salaried groups settled.[333] In 1950s, Iran was characterized by political tensions because of the nationalization of the oil industry by Prime Minister Mohammed Mosaddeq (also Mosaddegh) that prompted his removal in a CIA-instigated coup two years later.[334] It led to an international economic blockade of the country and finally the collapse of the government in 1953

[329] White Revolution was series of reforms started from 1963 by Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi and lasted until 1978. For historical and detailed analysis, see Ali Ansari, The Myth of the White Revolution: Mohammad Reza Shah, 'Modernization' and the Consolidation of Power. *Middle Eastern Studies* (Routledge) 37, no. 3 (2010): 1-24.

[330] Michael Dumper, Bruce Stanley, *Cities of the Middle East and North Africa: A Historical Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLID, 2007): 350.

[331] Ervand Abrahamian, *A history of modern Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008): 99-100.

[332] Julian Bharier, *Economic Development in Iran 1900-1971* (Oxford University Press, 1971).

[333] Azadeh Mashayekhi. "Tehran, the Scene of Modernity in the Pahlavi Dynasty: Modernization and Urbanization Processes 1925–1979." In *Urban Change in Iran*, edited by F.F. Arefian and S.H.I. Moeini. Springer International Publishing, 2016: 111.

[334] Shahab Katouzian. Tehran, Capital City: 1786-1997. The Re-invention of a Metropolis. Edited by edited by Attilo Petruccioli. *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre 1* (Rome: Dell'oca Editore), 1996: 34-45.

by an American-supported *Coup d'etat* in favor of the Mohammad Reza Shah to safeguard the exportation and sale of oil. The Coup introduced a new chapter for Iranian political life. Abrahamian in his book 'A History of Modern Iran' declared: "One can argue that the real roots of the 1979 revolution go back to 1953". [335] After 1953, Mohammad Reza Shah used his newly gained power to continue what his father had forced to leave off in 1941.[336] While his father had destroyed the traditional system and set up a new secular nation-state in the place of the Qajar Empire, Mohammad Reza Shah aimed to improve the existing socioeconomic infrastructure to present a new image of Persian Monarchy.[337]

For presenting the new image, the king introduced himself as a sincere 'democrat' determined to 'modernize' a highly 'traditional society'.[338] In a press conference in 1971 Shah explained his 'Great Civilization' comparable to Mussolini's 'Olympiad of Civilization' as follows: "I think that we can say very firmly and with absolute certainty that Iran will not only become an industrial nation but in my assessment will, in 12 years' time, enter what we say the era of the Great Civilization. The era of the Great Civilization, for those who are interested to know, is a kind of welfare state, where everybody from birth until death will enjoy every kind of social insurances".[339] With the dominant ideology of 'nationalism', Mohammad Reza Shah's utopic view toward Iran as a 'Great Civilization' and his 'megalomaniac delusion of Grandeur'

[335] Abrahamian, *ibid*, 99-122.

[336] Reza Shah (1925-1941) forced to abdicate by Anglo-Soviet invasion of Iran on 16 September 1941.

[337] Talinn Grigor. Tehran: A Revelution in Marketing. In *Political Landscapes of Capital Cities*, edited by Jessica Joyce Christie, Jelena Bogdanovic and Eulogio Guzman (Boulder, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 2016).

[338] Abrahamian, *ibid*, 99-131.

[339] Robert Steele. British Persian Studies and the Celebrations of the 2500th Anniversary of the Founding of the Persian Empire in 1971. Master Thesis, Faculty of Humanities, The University of Manchester, Manchester, 2014: 30.

captured in this national slogan: 'God-King-Homeland'.[340] In this respect, due to the ancientness of 'Great Civilization', Mohammad Reza Shah wrote in his book *Mission for my Country* as follows: "Most of the readers of this book will have studied Roman history, but our empire was flourishing centuries before that of Rome, and it was in fact we who showed that it was possible to govern and administer on such a large scale".[341]

During World War II, Iran hoped that Washington would keep Britain and the Soviet Union from seizing control of the country's oil fields. In 1951 and 1952, Truman worked with Mosadegh, though unsuccessfully, to regain some of those lost oil rights for Iran. By the late 1950s and President Kennedy's presidency, he used aid as leverage for social reform.[342] During the early years of 1960's, the Kennedy Administration was urging its allies in the third world to carry out necessary reforms in order to prevent popular discontent and enhance dominant ideology of 'modernism'. Consequently, beginning in 1961, the king of Iran had initiated a series of land reforms and national modernization project entitled "White Revolution" or the "Revolution of Shah and People", which included social, political and economic reforms. These series of reforms termed "white" for their implementation without bloodshed.[343]

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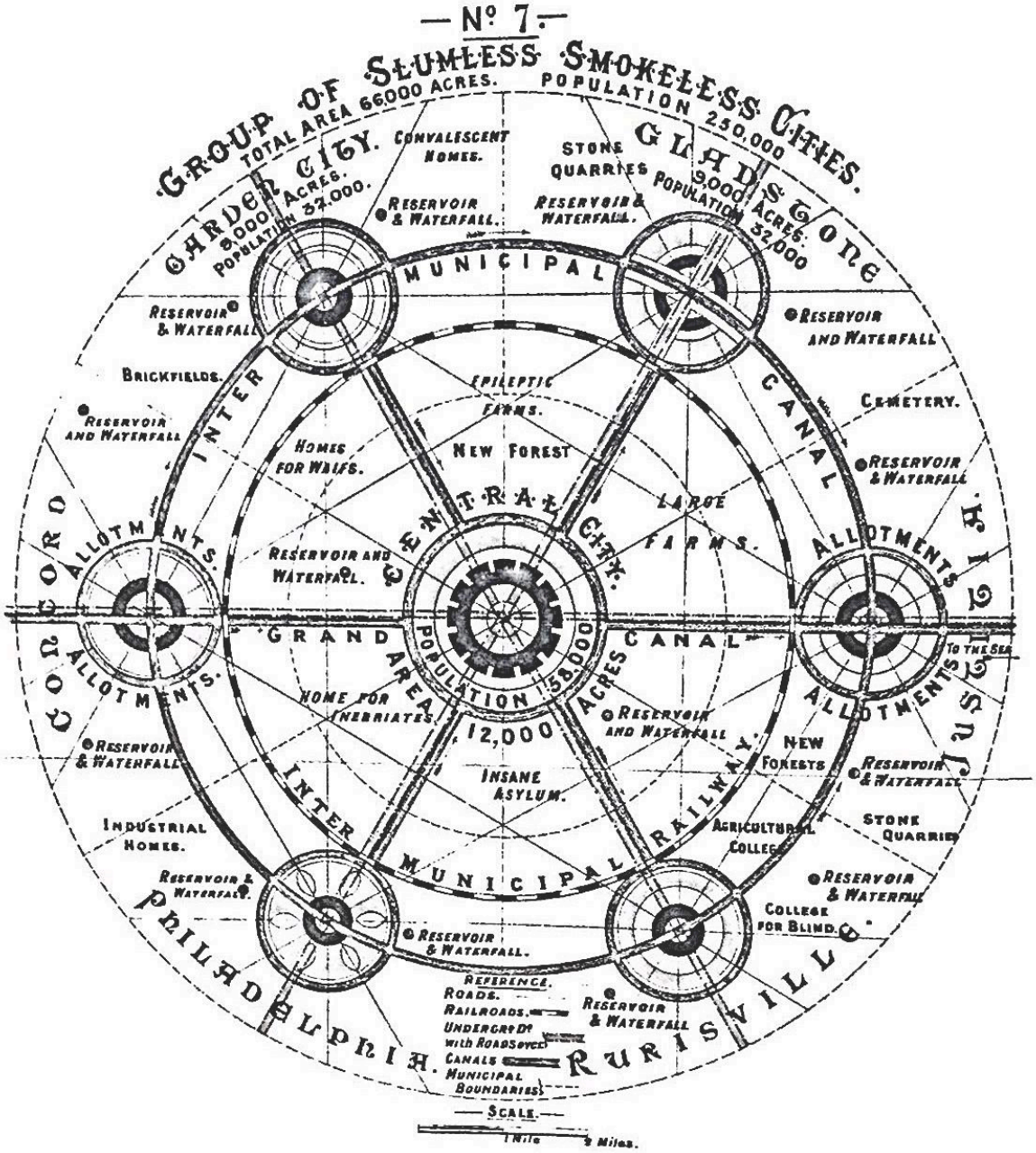
[340] Ali Mozaffari, in his book *Forming National Identity in Iran* introduced the very notion of this slogan as the connection between monarchy, nationalism, and national identity. For More debates in this area see Ali Mozaffari, *Forming National Identity in IRAN: The Idea of Homeland Derived From Ancient Persian and Islamic Imaginations of Place* (New York: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd, 2014), 28-29.
There is another interpretation that perhaps Johnson's Great Society in the United States influences Shah for his visionary 'Great Civilization'. For more debates, see Ali Ansari, The Myth of the White Revolution: Mohammad Reza Shah, 'Modernization' and the Consolidation of Power. *Middle Eastern Studies* (Routledge) 37, no. 3 (2010): 1-24.

[341] Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, *Mission for my Country* (London: Hutchinson , 1961), 19.

[342] Hilton L. Root. Alliance Curse: How America Lost the Third World (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 2008): 125.

[343] Ali Madanipour, Tehran." *Encyclopedia Britanica Online,* 2016. https://www.britannica.com/place/Tehran/Cultural-life#ref989799 (accessed 08 27 2016).



5.4

Ebenzer Howard's Social City.

In the mid-1960s, the return to Iran of the first wave of post-World War II western-trained professional architects and engineers had direct impact on national urban design and planning. At the same time, the dominant cultural force in Iranian schools of architecture shifted from French and especially École des Beaux-Arts influenced domination to American and Italian influence. Starting from 1973, Iran has entered an oil boom period that led to rapid industrialization and capitalist development of the society.

Planning 'Metropolis of To-Morrow'[344]

The connection between utopian thought and the city have been particularly part of dreams of spatial transformation and social process. The utopian urban visions expressed a desire for radical change that engaged directly with current spatial and social relations. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, broad utopian approaches emerged in response to urban problems. In 1898, Ebenezer Howard published a book entitled, *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*. A revised edition appeared four years later under the title *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*. Howard presented the garden city as a new spatial form through which new social arrangements and eventually new social order could develop.[345] Howard emphasized the need for scientific systems of railways, canals and reservoirs that he depicted in the networks and routs of his depicted 'social city'. This circulation and constant movement became the important urban policy during the nineteenth century.[346]

Fig. 5.4

In the early twentieth century, the utopian visions of cities associated with modern movement aimed to confront urban problems. During the 1920s and 1930s, utopian

[344] This title has chosen from Victor Gruen's design of the 'cellular city'. Each town is like a cell, with town center acting like a nucleus. This clustered super organism called 'Metropolis of Tomorrow' based on Gruen's model that is inspired by Ebenezer Howard's 'Garden Cities of To-Morrow'.

[345] For more detailed debates about the visions of Ebenezer Howard See David Ponder, *Visions of the City* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 30-55.

[346] David Ponder, *Visions of the City* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 48.

urbanism envisioned by Le Corbusier and the modern ideal city forms. Like Howard, Le Corbusier shared concerns on 'circulation' sought an alternative in 'vertical garden cities'. Throughout the utopian concepts of Ville Radieuse (Radiant City or Machine City), Le Corbusier aimed to create a social and economic revolution with the employment of utopian urban orders. In this manner Le Corbusier's formulation, 'Architecture or Revolution' emphasized of changing architecture and urban space as a radical act that extends in to the heart of social, cultural and political conditions.[347]

In 1983, Marshall Berman, in his book *All That is Solid Melts into Air* writes: "A vision of a new world is born: a fully integrated world of high-rise towers surrounded by vast expanses of grass and open space-linked by aerial superhighways, serviced by subterranean garages and shopping arcades."[348] During the 1950's and late 1960's, the culmination of vicious factors such as urban sprawl, increased use of automobiles, separation of urban functions and the problems of inner city led the planners to imagine new utopian city image in international scale. Victor Gruen used the term 'Anti-City' to describe the 'rise of the unifunctional center' and the 'downfall of Urbanism'.[349] Gruen believed that 'using the cars in modern cities led to tear the urban tissue apart with streets, expressways, freeways and parking lots'. Gruen sought to solve the problem by separating those functions which dependent on very large quantities of vehicular traffic from others, which depend on a smaller quantity.

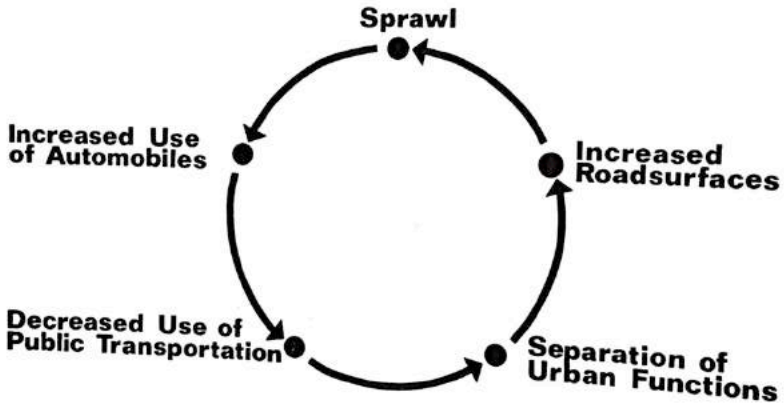
Fig. 5.5

Fig. 5.7

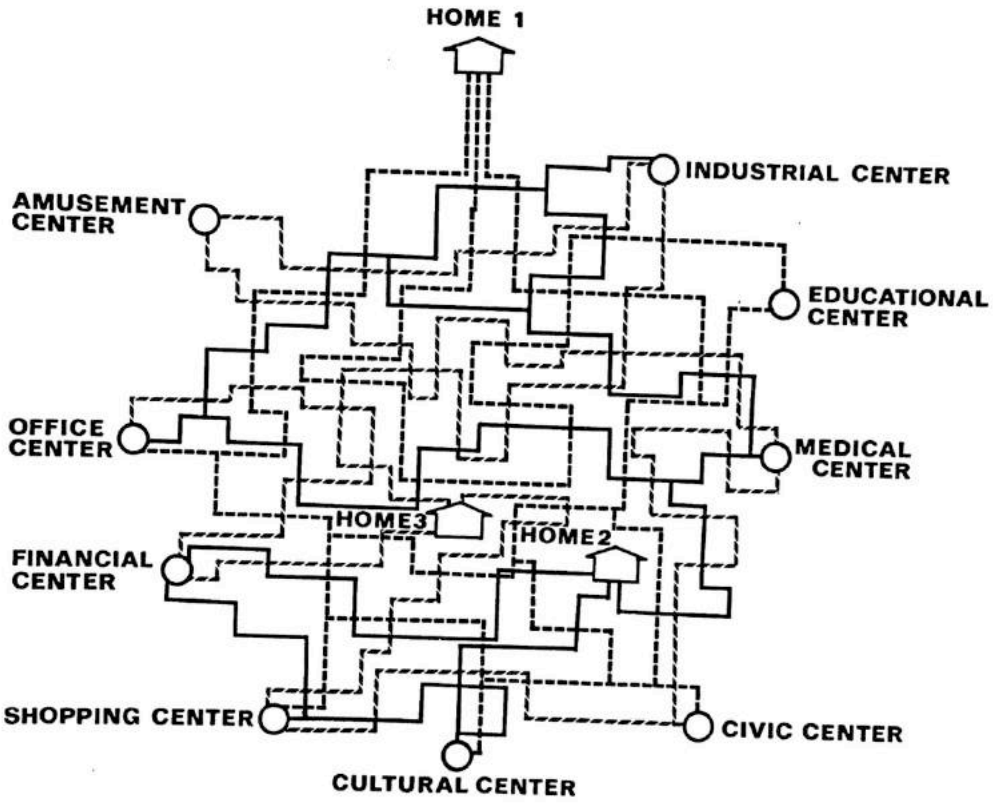
[347] Ponder, *ibid,* 64.

[348] Marshall Berman, *All That is Solid Melts in to Air: The Experience of Modernity* (Penguin Books, 1982), 167.

[349] 'The unifunctional Center-its Rise and Downfall of Urbanism' is the title of fourth chapter of Victor Gruen's book *Centers for the Urban Environment: Survival of the Cities* (Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1973), 86.



5.5
The Vicious Circle



5.6
The Suburban Labyrinth

In the new zoning, certain urban functions like working functions of all type, shopping functions, major places of assembly, etc., have to separate from residential functions.[350] For presenting the suburban labyrinth, Victor Gruen's definition of *Enforced Mobility* tried to illustrate graphically in a simplified schematic way in which this kind of 'Involuntary Mobility' acts in relation to three typical middle class family units (lower middle class family/middle middle class family/ upper middle class family). Gruen concluded that the introduction of one multifunctional center would dissolve the labyrinth effect.[351] Gruen argued that 'a world system of medium sized, dense, urbane, cellular metropolises would improve' urban life and sustainability.[352]

Fig. 5.6

Some persistent proposals for envisioning the ideal city, affected Gruen's utopian planning: Le Corbusier's Ville Radieuse (Radiant City or Machine City) and Ville Contemporarie, and Frank Lloyd Wright's unbuilt suburban utopia: Broadacre City (The Disappearing City or the Living City). For Gruen, Le Corbusier's Radiant City, proposed in 1925, featured a central city composed of skyscrapers, had destroyed any hope of accommodating the car.[353] Frank Lloyd Wright's Broadacre City, also referred to as the *Living City*, featured a central city composed of skyscrapers, and glorified the use of the automobile as a means of transportation. Gruen labels Wright's Broadacre as the *Anti-City* a central city that served as an employment center, surrounded by rings of residential garden cities linked to the central employment center through highways.[354]

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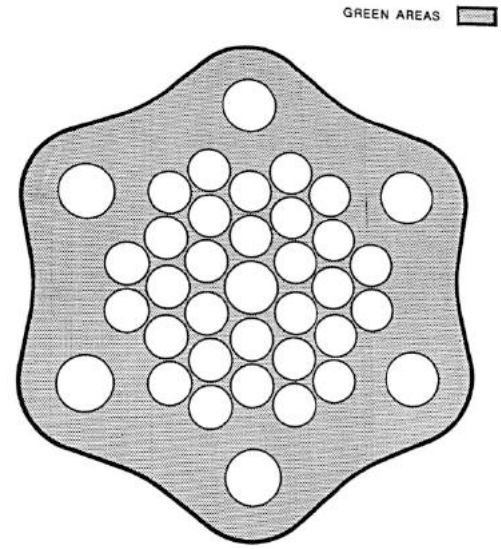
[350] Victor Gruen, *Centers for the Urban Environment: Survival of the Cities* (Los Angeles, Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1973): 85-86.

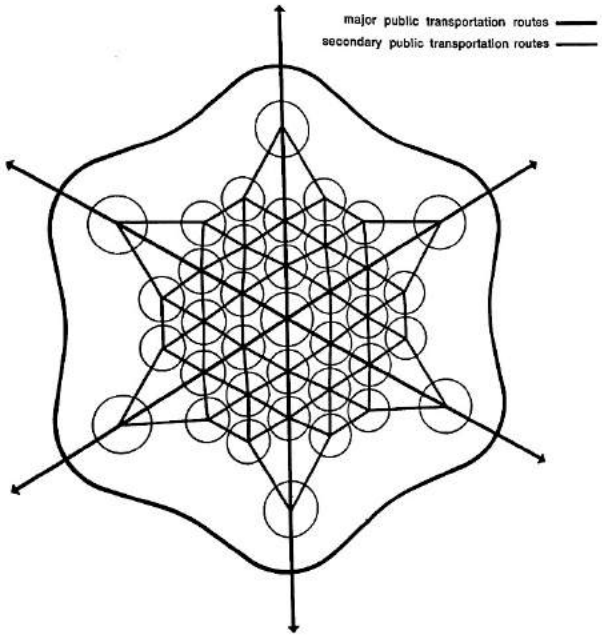
[351] Gruen, *ibid,* 87-88.

[352] David R. Hill, *Sustainability, Victor Gruen, and the Cellular Metropolis*, Journal of the American Planning Association, 1992, 58:3, 312-326, doi: 10.1080/01944369208975810.

[353] Victor Gruen, *The Heart of Our Cities, The Urban Crisis: Diagnosis and Cure* (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1964): 178.

[354] Ron Coan, Let's take a stroll down memory lane: Victor Gruen and the Central business District. *The Journal of Applied Research in Economic Development* 13(2016).

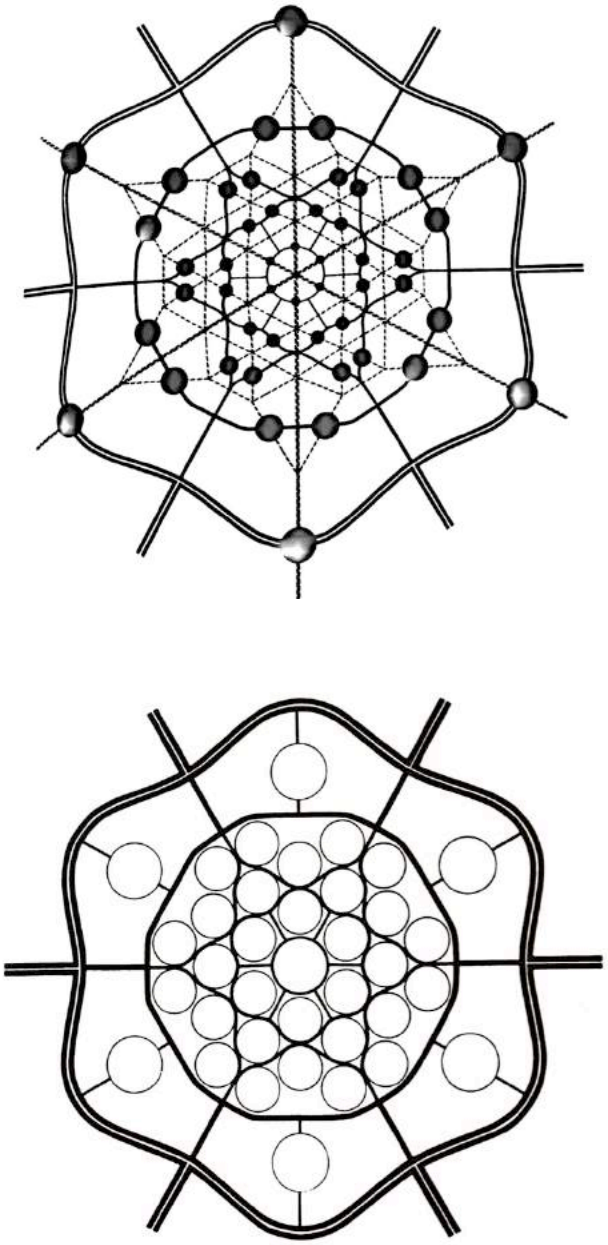




5.7

A - Abstract Model of an Urban Organism: Relationship between green areas and urban subunits.

B - Abstract Model of an Urban Organism: Public Transportation.



5.8

C - Abstract Model of an Urban Organism: Transfer points between individual and public transformational media, for people and goods.

D - Abstract Model of an Urban Organism: Individual Transportation Media.

In the same period, Gruen influenced by various supporters of the organic planning tradition like Ebenezer Howard (1902), Lewis Mumford (1961), and Jane Jacobs (1961).[355] Embracing Wright's garden city motif, Victor Gruen's *Metropolis of Tomorrow* centered on the idea of cluster planning, influenced by linear version of Ebenezer Howard's Social City with satellite garden cities around the metropolis core.[356] Fig. 5.8

Planning Middle Eastern Metropolis based on American Vision

In 1968, a major piece of legislation, the Urban Development and Renewal Act, enabled the municipality to implement Tehran's Comprehensive Plan (TCP). The plan, which approved eventually in 1970 by the city council and the High Council for Town Planning and Architecture, defined two axes for the city: pre-existing north-south axis and the new east-west axis, guided by a new superhighway and subway network. The planning of the Master Plan, which was supposed to take Tehran forward by 25 years, entrusted to Victor Gruen, who worked with the Iranian architect Abdol Aziz Farmanfarmaian under the direction of the Iranian city planner Fereydun Ghaffari and Iranian Mayor Gholam Reza Nikpei. The planning horizon was 1991, the year when the new Tehran would reach its maximum extent. Tehran Comprehensive Plan integrated all the elements of a 1960s' American city such as the separation of functions, highways, suburbs, shopping centers and housing area.[357]

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[355] David R. Hill, Sustainability, Victor Gruen, and the Cellular Metropolis. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 58, no. 3 (1992): 315, doi: 10.1080/01944369208975810

[356] For more debates on this area, see Rosemary Wakeman. *Practicing Utopia: An Intellectual History of the New Town Movement* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 282, Chapter Sixth "Architecture for the Space Age": 254-297. Wakeman believes that Gruen's desire to restore the sense of community influenced by Ebenezer Howard, Lewis Mumford, and Jane Jacobs. Also see Tory Ward, *The Gruen Effect*. In partnership with Portland State University and the International Council of Museums' Committee for the Collections and Activities of Museums of Cities (CAMOC), 2016. http://www.museumofthecity.org/project/the-gruen-effect/ (accessed 08 27, 2016).

[357] Ali Madanipour, *Tehran: The making of a Metropolis* (Willey, 1998).

The master plan of Tehran envisaged a class-segregated and social-segregated society.[358] Wakeman argues that developing of small new town projects in the late 1950s and early 1960s based on strict social segregation. She added: "Kuy-e Narmak northeast of the capital, for middle-income residents, Nazi-Abad for working class families and the northern garden city of Tehran Pars for the upper classes." She added, "critics argued that the plan looked shockingly like Los Angeles, strewn with highways and dominated by development interests. It was put into practice by a combination of American companies and Western-minded elites, many of whom (such as Abdol Aziz Farmanfarmaian) had studies in England or at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris and also worked in the United States (like Fereydun Ghaffari)".[359] For creating the almost American metropolis[360], high-rise and mid-rise residential buildings became one of the main typologies that the Master Plan proposed. In 1968, Rahman Golzar and Jordan Gruzen & partners asked to collaborate with Victor Gruen to design the biggest residential complex in Middle East at the time: Ekbatan Residential Complex located at western edge of Tehran. [361]

Fig. 5.9

Urbanization during the second Pahlavi divided in two stages. The first stage, from 1941–1961, had a slower pace, while the second stage, from the oil boom until the 1979 revolution, had a faster pace inspired by Western-style urbanization.[362] Bayat states, "Tehran became a site of ever-increasing consumption, as new spending

[358] Farshid Emami. Urbanism of Grandiosity: Planning a New Urban Centre for Tehran (1973–76). *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* Issue 3, no. 1 (2014): 69–102.

[359] Rosemary Wakeman. *Practicing Utopia: An Intellectual History of the New Town Movement* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 282.

[360] See Vesta Nele Zareh. An (Almost) all American City - The Vision and Legacy of the Tehran Comprehensive Plan. In *The Emerging Asian City: It's Traditions, Tensions & Transformations*, by Vinakak Bahrne, 139-147 (California Press, 2010).

[361] Seyed Mohamad Ali Sedeghi, Ekbatan. *Dash Journal* (DASH #12-13 – Global Housing Affordable Dwellings for Growing Cities) 12-13 (2016).

[362] Hooshang AmirAhmadi, and Ali Kianfar. *The Transformation of Tehran from a Garrison Town to a Primate City: A Tale of Rapid Growth and Uneven Development* (Tehran: Urban Policy Research Press, 1993).

patterns and western lifestyles were adopted; restaurants, Cafes, and inclusive uptown neighborhood appeared. The Shah's regime sought to reshape Tehran into a de-centered LA-type suburban entity".[363]

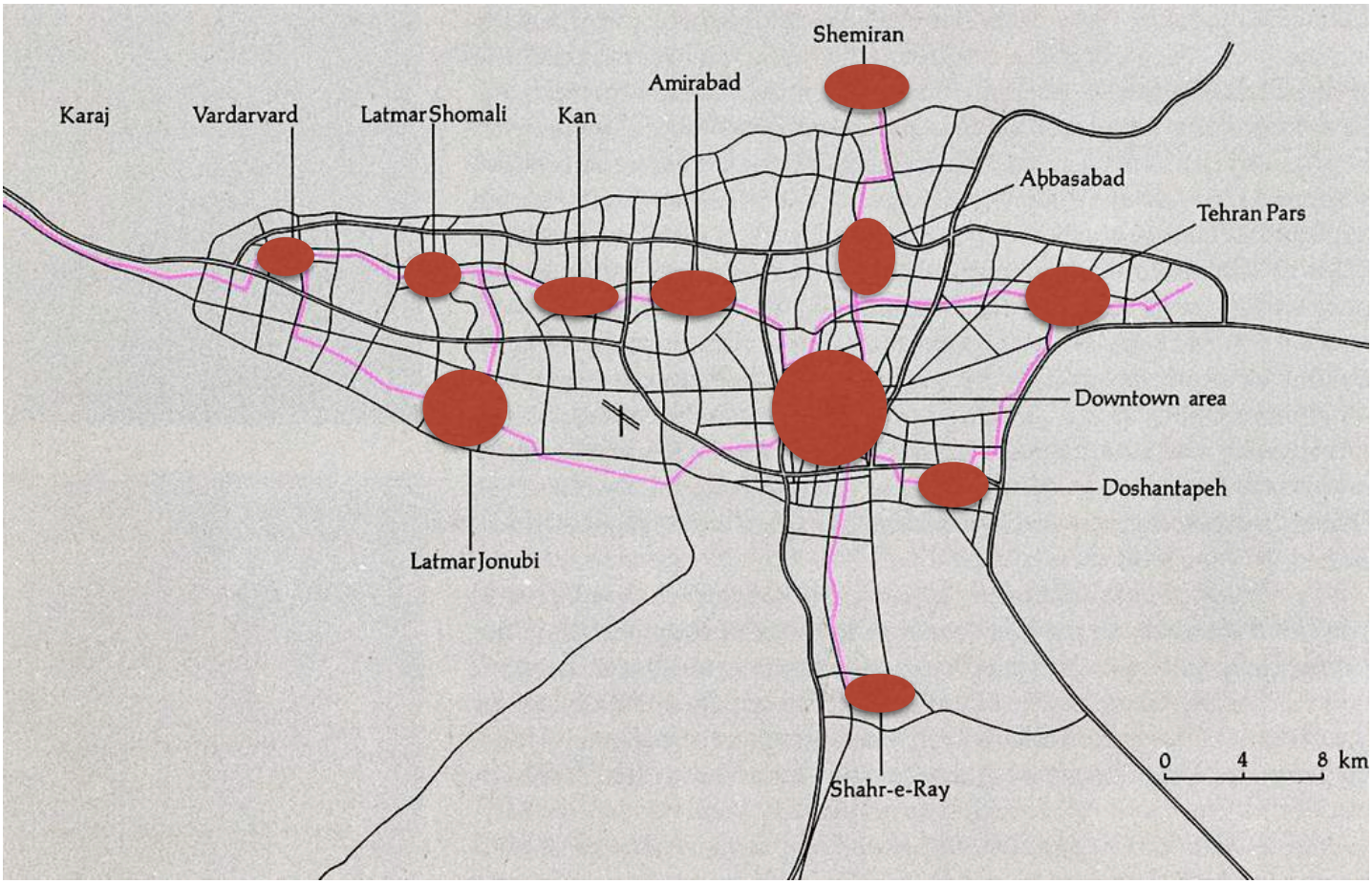
During this period, the new developments supported by the oil boom of 1970s, were built in different forms to constitute an expanding metropolis. In 1974, the second "International Congress of Architecture" with the theme of "Toward a Quality of Life" held at Persepolis and brought together all leading world architects and planners to review Iran's progress in its professional response to the challenges posed by increasing oil revenues. Some of the well-known architects and planners of that time: *Oswald Mathias Ungers*, *Constantinos A. Doxiadis*, *Georges Candilis*, *Balkrishna V. Doshi*, *Moshe Safdi*, *Richard Buckminster Fuller*, *Kenzo Tange*, *Fumiohiko Maki*, *I. M. Pei*, *James Stirling*, *Hans Hollein* and many more invited to *Persepolis*, the old capital, to showcase their new conceptions about Tehran.[364] One of the utopian urban projects in this time was unbuilt utopian plaza in the very core of the city, which will discuss in the following chapter.

Unbuilt Utopian Plaza: Shah and Nation Square

In 1973, the royal government of Iran invited two prominent architects of the day, Louis Kahn and Kenzo Tange, to propose a design for the National Center of Tehran in the Abbas Abad Hills. Special location of Abbas Abad at the intersection

[363] Asef Bayat. Tehran: Paradox City. *New Left Review* 66 (2010): 103.

[364] Zareh, Vesta Nele. "An (Almost) all American City - The Vision and Legacy of the Tehran Comprehensive Plan." In *The Emerging Asian City: It´s Traditions, Tensions & Transformations*, by Vinakak Bahrne, 139-147. California Press, 2010.



5.10
Urban districts proposed by the Tehran Comprehensive Plan.

of the two main axes of the future city: the preexisting north–south axis, and the new
Fig. 5.10 east–west axis based on the Tehran Comprehensive Plan of 1968 made it the best location for building a national center at the very heart of metropolis.[365] On the periphery of the sketch, Kahn referred to the *Palazzo dei Congressi*, his unbuilt concept for a bridge-shaped congress hall in Venice. Kahn also indicated that he saw the Plaza as a meeting place of the East and the West. However, Kahn's death marked the end of this promising collaboration. Shortly after, king commissioned the British office Llewelyn-Davis International to take up the project. In 1975, The New York Times magazine published a short essay entitled 'Teheran Planning One of the World's Largest Plazas', which is planned to be larger than Red Square in Moscow, called *Shah and Nation Square*. This new gigantic urban plaza was part of the grandiose
Fig. 5.11 & 5.13 project, known as 'Shahestan Pahlavi'[366] or Place of Shah (king) in Abbas Abad hills of Tehran by the planners of the English new town Milton Keynes together with the American firm of Jaquelin T. Robertson.[367]

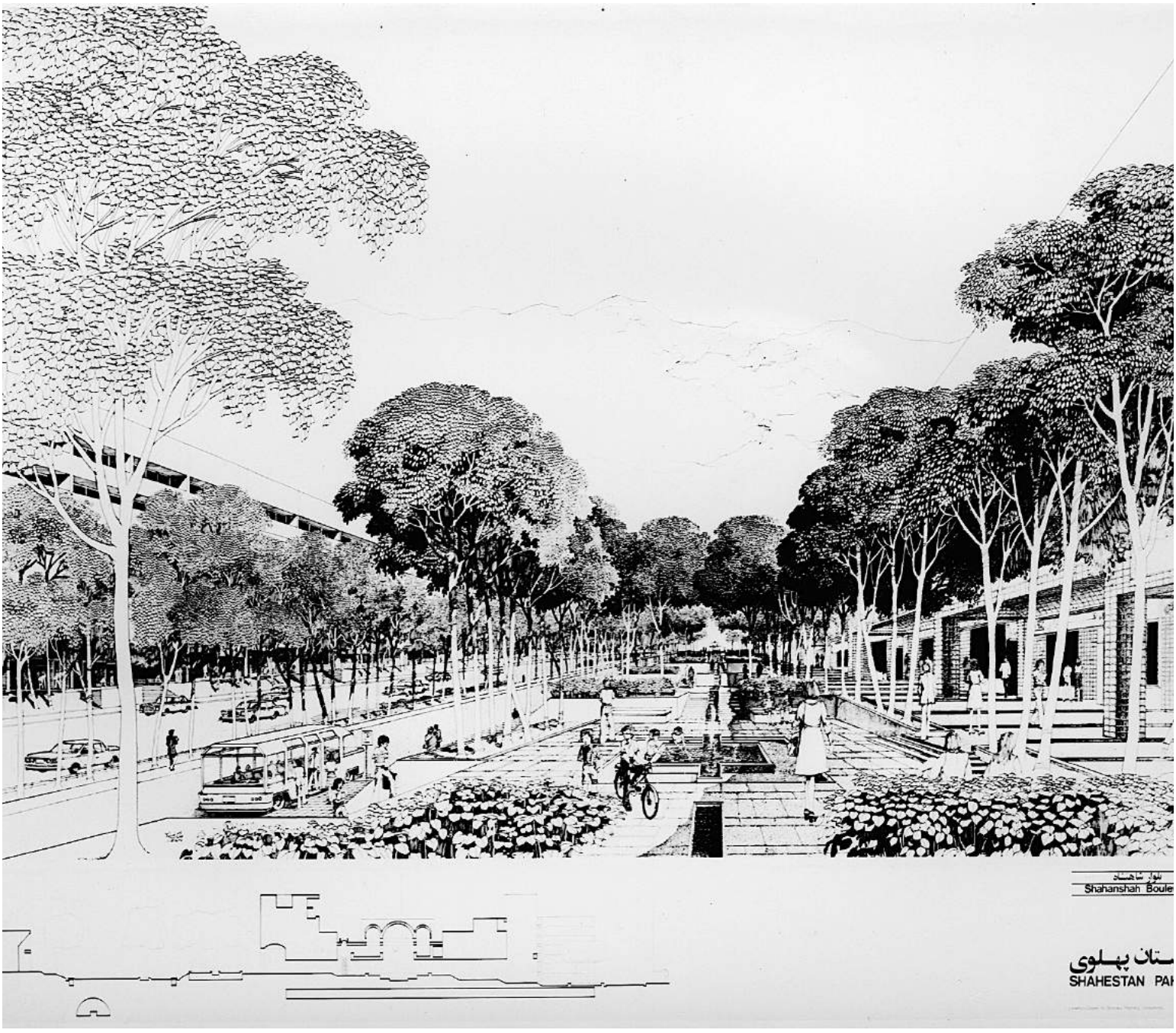
Fig. 5.12 This multi-purpose square was a central spine of new capitol complex containing prestige buildings for ministry buildings, the municipality, financial institutions and commercial offices, shopping areas, housing, entertainment and recreational facilities and a national cultural center. Zareh discussed that the chief planner of idea borrowed from New York's Central Park.[368] However, Jaquelin T.Robertson as the chief planner of the Llewelyn Davies international group, have emphasized traditional

[365] Farshid Emami. Urbanism of Grandiosity: Planning a New Urban Centre for Tehran (1973–76). *International Journal of Islamic Architecture (IJIA)* 3, no. 1 (2014): 69–102.

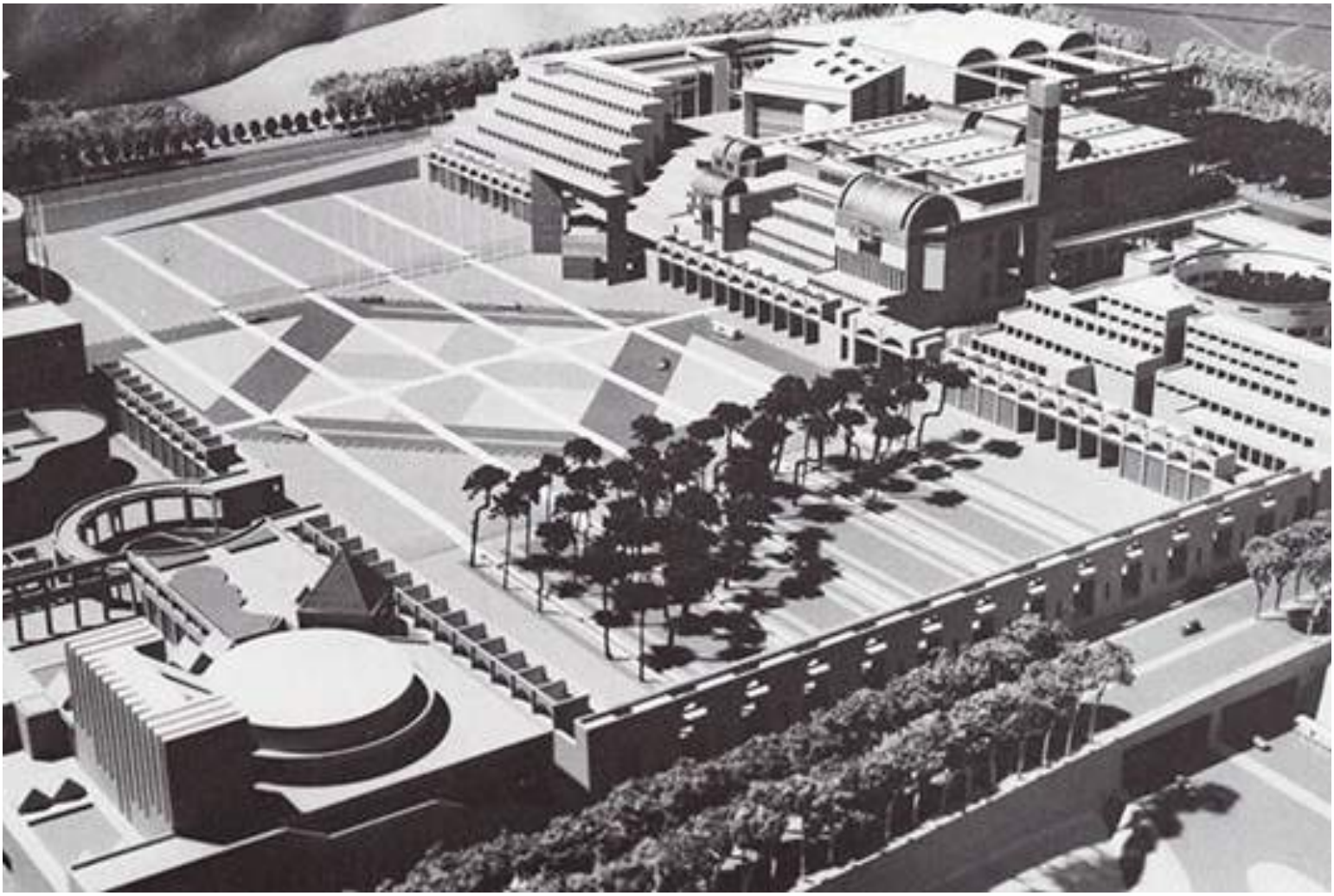
[366] For reading comprehensive details about *Shahestan Pahlavi* see Farshid Emami, Urbanism of Grandiosity: Planning a New Urban Centre for Tehran (1973–76). *International Journal of Islamic Architecture (IJIA)* 3, no. 1 (2014): 69–102.

[367] Eric Pace. Teheran Planning One of the World's Largest Plazas. *The New York Times Online Archive*. 09 1, 1975. http://www.nytimes.com/1975/09/01/archives/teheran-planning-one-of-the-worlds-largest-plazas.html (accessed 08 28, 2016).

[368] Vesta Nele Zareh, *An (Almost) all American City- The Vision and Legacy of the Tehran Comprehensive Plan*, in, The Emerging Asian City: It´s Traditions, Tensions & Transformations", Editor Vinakak Bahrne (California Press, 2010), 139-147.



5.11
Rendering of Shahansah Boulevard, the major street in Shahestan Pahlavi by Llewelyn-Davies Weeks 1984.



5. 12
Shahestan Pahlavi project (a new city center for Tehran), view of the main plaza/model photo, 1973.

Iranian elements in their plans for Shahestan Pahlavi. According to Robertson, the multipurpose Shah and Nation Square (in Farsi Meydan-e Shah) was supposed to be wider than famous Naghsh-e Jahan Square at Isfahan. Although this megalomaniacal utopian urban Plaza in new cultural center of Tehran was never built but it is compared to the great achievements of Shah Abbas in Isfahan, Pope Sixtus V in Rome, and Baron Haussmann in Paris. However, in 1979, the Islamic Revolution began a new character in the ideological character of Abbas Abad Project. Fig. 5.14

Making Heterotopia: Shahyad Square as Palimpsest of Political Memory

In 1967, Michel Foucault introduced the term *heterotopia* (literally means other places), pointed to different places that interrupt the apparent normality of everyday places.[369] According to Foucault, a heterotopia juxtaposes several emplacements in a single real place that are incompatible.[370] Similarly, Lefebvre saw the production of *heterotopia* as a political reaction to the dominant praxis.[371] Leach highlights the crucial role of social ground of architectural form when removed from its contextual situation. He argues that "Monumental Architecture achieves its political status through semantic association depends on an historical memory within the collective imagination. Once this memory fades, the building may be appropriated based on new ideological imperatives".[372]

According to *Huyseen*, "urban imaginary in its temporal reach may well put different things in one place: memories of what there was before, imagined alternatives to what is there. The strong markers of present space merge in the

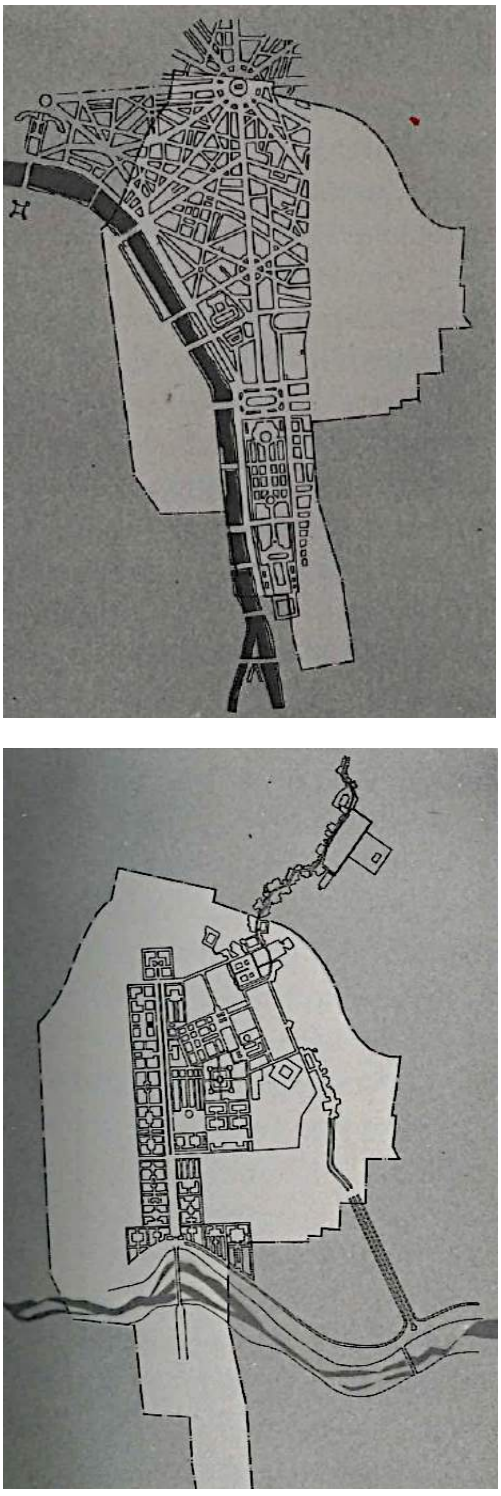
[369] Michiel Dehaene, and Lieven De Cauter. *Heterotopia and the city: Public Space in a Post civil Society* (Routledge, 2008): 3-4.

[370] Kahraman, Meriç Demir. "Making the Heterotopia; Gezi Park Occupy Movement." *From Contested Cities to Global Urban Justice* (Madrid, 2016: 4).

[371] Kahraman, *ibid*, 3.

[372] For better understanding and analysis of the issue see the book chapter entitled "Architecture or Revolution" by Neil Leach: 118-120.

5. 13
Shahestan Pahlavi project (a new city center for Tehran), Site location.



5. 14
The site of Shahestan Pahlavi is large enough to contain the grand axis of Paris or the entire center of Isfahan.

imaginary with traces of the past, erasures, losses, and heterotopias".[373] In 1983, Castells, in his book, '*The City and the Grassroots'* stated: "People always need a material basis on which to organize their autonomy against institutional power".[374] To activate the collective memory embedded within urban context, some special public spaces of Tehran provide the primary place of gathering.

Fig. 5.15

The Shahyad (literally 'In the Memory of King') monument was built in 1971 on the occasion of the 2500-year anniversary of founding the Persian Empire by the reigned from about 559-529 B.C., was one of the most dynamic men in history".[375] Shah's famous quote was "Rest in peace for we are awake and will forever stay awake that what Xenophon wrote of Cyrus the Great in 401 B.C. could equally well have Great Cyrus.[376] According to Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi: "Cyrus the Great, who to guard thy proud heritage".[377] Similarly, a passage from a memoir published on the occasion of the Shah's coronation in 1967 expresses this sentiment: "It has been said been written of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi".[378] The imperial court saw this anniversary as the genuine opportunity to present Iran as 'the center of gravity of the

[373] Andreas Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 7.

[374] Manuel Castells, *The City and the Grassroots* (Berkeley: University of California, 1983), 70.

[375] Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, *Mission for my Country* (London: Hutchinson, 1961), 21.

[376] According to Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi: "Cyrus the Great, who reigned from about 559-529 B.C., was one of the most dynamic men in history", See Pahlavi, i*bid*, 21. Shah's famous qoute is "Rest in peace for we are awake and will forever stay awake to guard thy proud heritage", See Robert Steele. "British Persian Studies and the Celebrations of the 2500th Anniversary of the Founding of the Persian Empire in 1971", Master Thesis, Faculty of Humanities , The University of Manchester , Manchester, 2014: 56. Also inaugurated was the Aryamehr Stadium, a 100,000-seat stadium for the 1974 Asian Games designed by Iranian architect Abdol Aziz Farmanfarmaian.

[377] Steele, *ibid*, 56.

[378] Ardeshir Zahedi. Memoir of His Imperial Majesty Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, Shahanshah of Iran , in *Bibliography of Iran* , by Geoffrey Handley-Taylor, London, 1967: xvii.

5. 15

Iran Air Advertisement in the 1970s. Source: Dan Washburn, AsiaSociety.org (Oct 02, 2013) "As U.S.- Iran Flights Become a Possibility, Revisit Classic Iran Air Ads".

world'.[379] In October 1971, Peter Avery contributed a chapter to the special edition of UNESCO's Courier, entitled Iran 'Cultural Crossroads for 2,500 Years'.[380]

For Machiavelli, through nationalist celebrations the ruling authority seeks to gain admiration and passivity of its citizens.[381] In relation to the event, Fakhreddin Azimi in his book *Quest for Democracy in Iran* referred to the Shah's 'perilous arrogance' in his presentation of a king completely out of touch with the aspirations of his people.[382] *William Shawcross*, in his book *The Shah's Last Ride* stated: "It was supposed to mark the 2500th Anniversary of the original empire founded by *Cyrus the Great* in the sixth century B.C. In retrospect it can be seen to mark the beginning of the end of the Pahlavi dynasty, which the Shah's father had founded just fifty years before".[383]

Fig. 5.11

Zhand Shakibi wrote "A vital element of an ideology is a fashioned historiography that supports the regime by rooting it in the past or presenting it as the final inevitable result of historical forces".[384] By constructing modern and symbolic monument, the monarch sought to establish national legacy in Shahyad Square continued the École des Beaux Arts line of monuments by Iranian architect Hossein Amanat. The monument aims to unify three major periods of the Persian history by combining the Sassanid Parabolic Arch of Ctesiphon with the pointed Islamic vault conceived within the triumphal arch that serves as the symbolic gateway to the capital

Fig. 5.16

[379] William Shawcross. *The Shah's Last Ride* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1989), 39. The whole ethos of the 2500th Anniversary Celebrations, therefore, can be ascribed to this desire on behalf of the Shah's regime to display their country as truly great in the context of world history. For comprehensive debates in this area See Steele, *ibid*, 16.

[380] Peter Avery, *Iran: Cultural Crossroads for 2,500 Years* (The UNESCO Courier, 1971), 4-12.

[381] Elie Podeh, *The Politics of National Celebrations in the Arab Middle East* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 21.

[382] Fakhreddin Azimi. *Quest for Democracy in Iran: A Century of Struggle Against Authoritarian Rule* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 290.

[383] William Shawcross. *The Shah's Last* Ride (London: Chatto and Windus, 1989), 38.

[384] Zhand Shakibi, "Pahlavism: The Ideologization of Monarchy in Iran" *Politics, Religion and Ideology* 14, no. 1 (2013): 118.

city from the international airport. According to *Grigor*, it represents "an excellent synthesis of Roman triumphal arches, Parthian fire temples (Chahar-taq), the Sasanian Ctesiphon Iwan, Seljuk tomb towers, Safavid muqarnas, and the various modernist architectural qualities of austerity, iconoclasm, axiality, and monumentality".[385]

Hannah Arendt argues that "the memory of past political events give inspirations to those revolutionaries seeking to create a new state".[386] In the case of Tehran, this interpretation is apparent in one important political square. On 12 December 1978, Shahyad Square, a brand new showcase square at the western entrance to the city, provided an open space for revolutionaries. More than 2 million people occupied the square in protest against Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi. Shahyad Square became available to everybody, and the crowd was claiming a revolution out of the public space of the square. Its ambivalent nature and the co-existence of otherwise nearly incompatible realities made of Shahyad Square a 'heterotopia'.[387] In this respect, it concluded that the efficacy of Shahyad Square as a prominent example of monumental architecture supported the change in political system.

The square became widely known as Freedom (Azadi) square after the 1978 Iranian Islamic revolution and officially renamed after the 1978 Iranian Islamic revolution. The term in Farsi for freedom, *Azadi* has a mystical interpretation. An early protest slogan against the Shah: *Enqelab, Azadi, Jomhorieyeh Eslami* (Revolution, Freedom, and Islamic Republic) described the revolutionary utopias and Iran's modern quest for freedom.

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[385] Talinn Grigor, Of Metamorphosis Meaning on Iranian Terms. *Third Text* (Kala Press/Black Umbrella) 17, no. 3 (2010): 207-255.

[386] Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (New York: Penguin, 2006).

[387] Kjetil Fosshagen, *Arab Spring: Uprisings, Powers* (*Berghahn Books*, 2014).

Post-Utopia

In 1970, Henri Lefebvre, in his book *La Révolution Urbaine* (The Urban Revolution), represented urbanism as a social practice. Michel Foucault, in his famous articles from Tehran during the 1979 Revolution, fascinated by the political power, which he saw as the original contribution of religion that gave to its people infinite resources to resist state power.[388] Ali Mozaffari, in his book *Forming National Identity in Iran* argues that: "It is possible to realize that the Islamic Revolution brought to the fore socio-cultural fissures existing within the Iranian society since the previous century, appropriating them for an Islamist cause."[389] Mozaffari added that the name of the iconic public spaces within the capital changed. "The Qajar's Toopkhaneh (Artillery) Square, which had been renamed Sepah (in honor of Reza Shah as the Commander in Chief = Sardar Sepah) was once again renamed Imam Khomeini and the Shahyad (King's Monument) Roundabout (and Square) with its iconic monument was renamed Azadi (Freedom Square)".[390] Picon believes that the "excessive desire for reconciliation" is the real flaw in ambitious projects of modern architecture.[391] As Emami well noted about the urban projects of pre-revolutionary Iran, modern planning denoted some ideals of bourgeoisie freedom.[392] In better words, all these utopian planning strategies had major effects on spatial structure of city, which led to create a socio-spatial segregation in Tehran. As the beginning steps, the city divided into north and south by Shahreza and Pahlavi avenues. As the result of Tehran's Mater Plan of 1968, this spatial segregation intensified in the newly defined East-West

Fig. 5.12

[388] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*. Vol. 1 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 143.

[389] Ali Mozaffari. *Forming National Identity in IRAN The Idea of Homeland Derived From Ancient Persian and Islamic Imaginations of Place* (New York: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd, 2014), 50.

[390] Mozaffari, *ibid*, 66.

[391] Antoine Picon. Learning from utopia: contemporary architecture and the quest for political and social relevance. *Journal of Architectural Education* 67, no. 1 (2013): 17-23.

[392] Farshid Emami, Urbanism of Grandiosity: Planning a New Urban Centre for Tehran (1973–76) *International Journal of Islamic Architecture (IJIA)* 3, no. 1 (2014): 69–102.

axis of the city, which was an example of social engineering in the city scale. While western planners aim to carry out plans on a large scale to influence the city's character, the social fraction of Tehran and its spatial segregation increased.

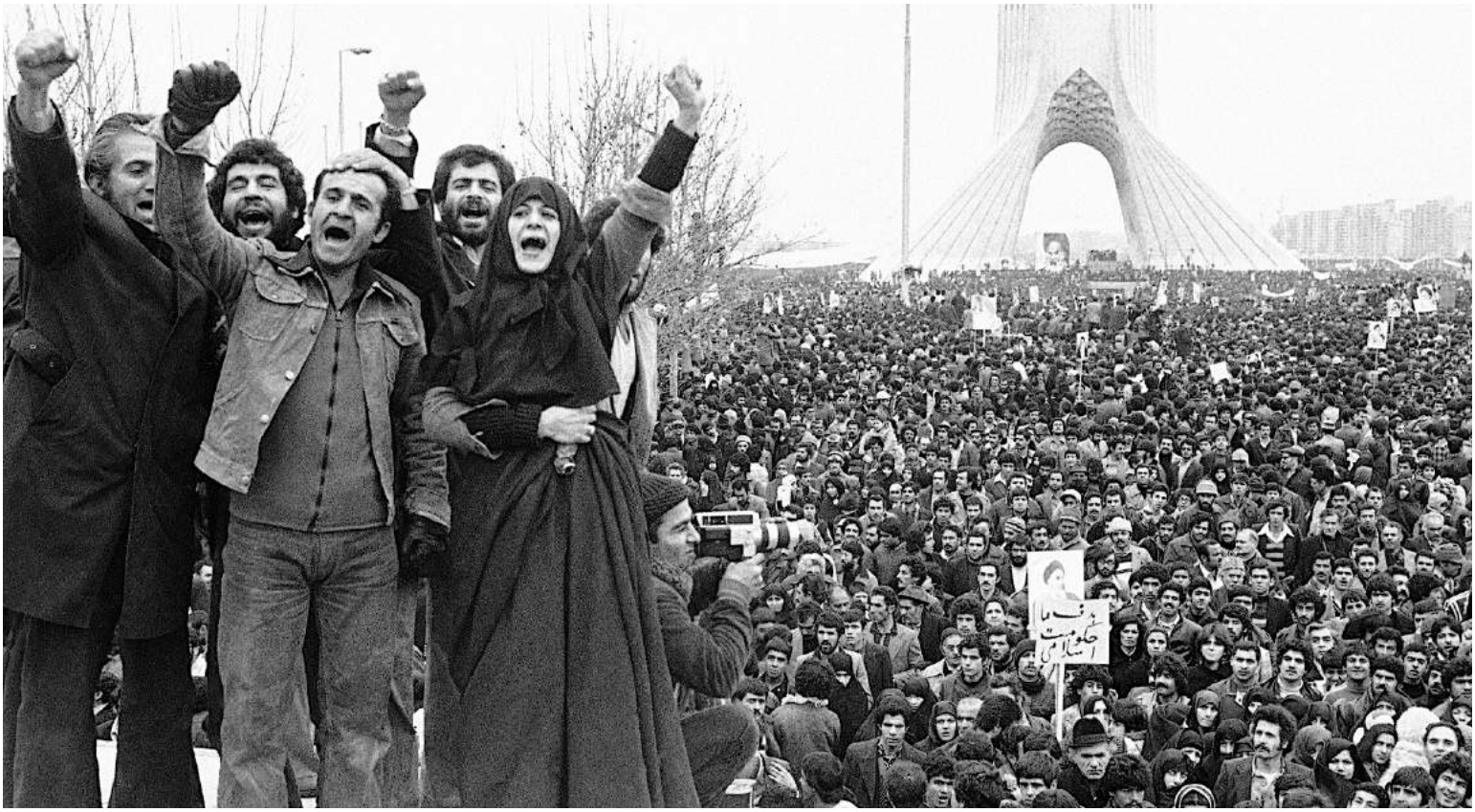
Through utopian urban projects of Second Pahlavi Era, public spaces of Tehran became the political stage for manifestation of nationalism. Moreover, the emergence of political parties, free press and Socialist movement at the early years of Second Pahlavi Monarchy represented the urban spaces as pseudo-political nodes instead of representative public spaces of First Pahlavi Monarchy.[393] In addition, Socio-political movements in Tehran resulted to reappropriation[394] of public spaces by people for political purposes. Meanwhile, as the Result of top-down approach in Modernization Politics (which is the main attribute of any large modernization project) and Spatial Transformation of Tehran through utopian urban projects -for making a new metropolis- and decreasing the traditional system of society- which was traditionally based on Mosque, Bazaar and Palace- public spaces of Tehran turned in to spaces for political demonstration and revolution. Beginning in the 1970s, many urban designers responded to the excesses of modernism by embracing concepts like "planning from below," that expanded the range of participants in urban interventions to include NGOs and social movements.[395] It seems that the traditional system of "Up-Down Development Planning" process, should substitute with the "Bottom-Up" process, which involves local residents capacities in order to develop their participation.

Fig. 5.17

[393] The dominant use of public spaces during the first Pahlavi Era was for royal celebrations and representative Festivals, which people had the passive role.

[394] In sociology and cultural studies, reappropriation or reclamation is the cultural process by which a group reclaims terms or artifacts that used previously in a way disparaging of that group.

[395] Hatuka, T., & D'Hooghe , A. (2007). After Postmodernism: Readdressing the Role of Utopia in Urban Design and Planning. *Places , 19* (2), 20-27.



5.17
Public Demonstration during the Islamic Revolution of Iran, 1979.

6 EMPTY PLACE OF POWER

Protest Squares, Spatialities of Discontent, Occupy Movement

In recent years, public protest continues to influence the political in various geographic regions of the world. *Tahrir Square* (Arabic: Mīdān at-Taḥrīr, literally means Liberation or Freedom Square), *Independent Square* (Maidan Nezalezhnosti), [396] *Syntagma Square* (Greek: Πλατεία Συντάγματος),[397] *Taksim Square* (Turkish: Taksim Meydanı), *Azadi Square* (In Farsi: Meydan e Azadi, literally means Freedom Square) came to stand for a hopeful process of revolutionary change from Middle East to Europe with unique urban character. The emergence of insurgent squares, affirms the ability of citizens to organize a new socio-political order. *Alain Badiou*, French philosopher, in his book *Le Réveil de l'Histoire* (literally: The Reawakening of History) represented the latest revolutions in the world as the return of the universal idea of liberty.[398]

[396] This Maidan (In Ukrainian language) has been the symbolic centre of political activity in Kiev especially following the end of the Soviet era. The Hunger Strikes (also known as Revolution on Granite) in 1990, Orange Revolution in 2004 and the *Euromaidan* protests started from 2013 are some examples of political events that happened in the contemporary political history of Ukraine.

[397] Starting from 2010, Syntagma Square, which is situated in front of Parliament Building in Athens, became the gathering place for protesters as the result of Anti- austerity movement and European sovereign debt crisis.

[398] *Badiou* uses the examples of the Arab revolutions (Tunisia, Egypt), the European revolutions (Spain, Great Britain) and widespread financial crisis as the prominent examples of recent social protests.

According to *Badiou*, the proliferation of these insurgencies is a sign of return to the universal idea of freedom, solidarity and equality.[399] Give contemporary setbacks; is it possible to define the protest squares as the form of emerging political space?

According to Lefebvre, space produced through social relations and political structure.[400] It is through urban spaces that movements have the potential to sustain the political change to the state. In this chapter, the aim is to focus on the centrality of squares in recent social protests. For *Don Mitchell*, "the nature of socio-political practices in the public space is deeply related to the political system of the society".[401] The contemporary case studies of protest squares especially in Middle Eastern context can contribute to better understanding of power relations and ideological symbolism through social formation processes. The French politician, *Érik Orsenna* wrote a dystopian story of an island city where a dictator prohibited his people from climbing the surrounding hills, fearing that once the inhabitants could view the world beyond they would begin to question king's absolute power.[402] Similarly, *Bayat* describes the *epidemic potential* of protesting in a central space that "brings together the

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[399] In the uprisings of the Arab World, Alain Badiou discerns echos of the European reveloutions of 1848. For Badiou, the recent uprisings herald a worldwide resurgence in the liberating forces of the masses. For more readings see Alain Badiou, *Le Réveil de l'Histoire* (Paris: Nouvelles Editions Lignes, 2001).

[400] See Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space,* Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Willey-Blackwell Publishers, 1991). For reading the more comprehensive analysis on the Concept of 'Political Space' in the works of Henri Lefebvre see Grégory Busquet, "L'espace politique chez Henri Lefebvre: l'idéologie et l'utopie", *Justice Spatiale,* no. 5 (2013).

[401] See Don Mitchell. "Introduction: public Space and the City." *Urban Geography* 17, no. 2 (1996): 127-131. Moreover, Don Mitchell in his book *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space* presses his argument beyond the sphere of politics or urban issues. In better words, he uses Lefebvre's 'Right to the City' as a matter of social justice and civic rights. See Don Mitchell, *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space* (Guilford Press, 2003).

[402] Érik Orsenna. *Les Chavaliers du Subjonctif* (Paris: Stock, 2004) Quoted in Bernardo Secchi. Wasted and Reclaimed Landscapes-Rethinking and Redesigning the Urban Landscape. *Places* 19, no. 1 (2007): 6.

'invitees' and also the 'strangers'."[403] Revolutionary situations and urban movements challenge potential alternative uses of the urban spaces. *Asef Bayat,* Middle East Sociologist described the paradox of modern urbanity as "not only can engender cosmopolitan coexistence, but it can also facilitate communal identities".[404] Building upon this theoretical framework, conceptualizing the protest square provides an urban perspective to explain the contemporary social movements around the world.[405] *Manfredo Tafuri* is represented the relationship of *Ideology* and *Architecture* as follows: "In order to survive, ideology had to negate itself as such, break its own crystallized forms, and throws itself entirely into the construction of the future. This revision of ideology was thus a project for establishing the dominion of a realized ideology over the forms of development". In better words, ideologies need architecture and symbolism in order to survive in the society.[406]

The spatial segregated metropolises like Tehran possess unique junctions in the form of parks, streets and squares where different uses of diverse citizens determined the social protests and revolutions. Using *Asef Bayat*'s theory of 'spatialities of discontent'[407], this chapter investigates the experiences of protest squares and Occupy

[403] See Asef Bayat. "A Street Named Revolution" In *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East*, by Asef Bayat, 161-170 (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2009): 161-170. In this chapter, Bayat introduces the 'Street Revolution' as the prevalent phonemenon that happened in Tehran, Cairo and Istanbul where the crowd can easily gather.

[404] Asef Bayat presented the Cosmopolitanism as both a social condition and a social project that opposes communalism endeavor. See Asef Bayat, "Everyday Cosmopolitanism" In *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East*, 185-208 (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2009): 185-208.

[405] Manuel Castells originally applied the term 'urban social movement' narrowly to those urban movements, which contributed to wider revolutionary social change.

[406] See Manfredo Tafuri. *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development.* Translated by Barbara Luigia La Penta (Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1976), 50. In this book, Tafuri formulates the entire cycle of modernism as a development in which Avant-gards' visions of Utopia come to be recognized as an idealization of Capitalism and its ideology.

[407] This theory defines how particular spatial forms shape, galvanize, and accommodate insurgent sentiments and solidarities. Through this theory that will be explained in next part of this chapter, *Bayat* analysis how such spaces emerge over time and sometime-like in the case of *Tahrir* or Azadi-

movements from an urban and spatial perspective. The concept of a 'spatiality of discontent' refers to the loading of public spaces with citizens' collective memories and histories of agencies for change. In this framework, activating political memory happens through urban space by remembrance of past movements, abuses of state power, and stories of martyrdom that put contemporary struggles into context for everyday citizens. This struggle has been in evidence across the Arab Spring in spaces like *Tahrir* Square[408] in Cairo and *Taksim* Square[409] in Istanbul, which transformed into highly politicized platforms to collective actions and represented as spaces of political mobilization and change.

In a general framework, the main idea of *protest squares and insurgent urbanism* in the recent social unrests will explore. The next part *spatialities of discontent* aims to theorize the relationship between space and social movements, subsequently, the following chapter stresses on the political squares in post-revolutionary Tehran. Alongside the theoretical discussions in this chapter, the case of Tehran will provide a multi-dimensional source for exploration of public squares as the critical, symbolic and identical nodes of public gatherings in modern urban history of Tehran. Central to this argument is the historical 'experience' of *Azadi Square* as a place in which momentous events happened, a sequence of events and activities that took place in and around the Square, and a set of narratives that arose to assign meaning to that place.

Tehran expanded its spatiality of revolutions and discontents through recent protests-specifically, Islamic Revolution of 1979 and Green Movement of 2009. The

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became 'spatialities of revolution'. See Asef Bayat. "A Street Named "Revolution"." In *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East*, by Asef Bayat (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2009), 161-170.

408 This Symbolic Square in the heart of Cairo has some specific features like centrality and being large enough to accommodate the movement's masses. Moreover, it is surrounded by some of the most important strategic and governmental buildings.

409 Taksim Meydani (in Turkish language) occupied by protesters in opposition to the land plot of the Gezi Park since May 2003.

recent movement highlighted the sociopolitical importance of Revolution (in Farsi Enqelab) Street and Freedom (in Farsi Azadi) Square in building and representing spaces of protests in modern Tehran.[410] This chapter explores the spatial dimensions of the political spaces of the city, in this way examines the ways in which the spatial experience of Green Movement bonded with the Islamic Revolution of 1979. Building upon this theoretical framework, this study returns to 2009 and explores the insurgent spaces of Green Movement in Tehran, and develops the connections between urban spaces and collective political memory of Iranian 1979 Revolution. Focusing on political revolutions, this part tries to find a theoretical framework to approach the democratic space. Some prominent relevant theories like *Liminality*, *Claude Lefort's Empty Place of Power* and *Rhizomatic Democracy* will be explored to theorize the necessity of urban social movements in modern democracy. Finally, *Take the square* and *The Right to the City* movements will be represented as the new evolving global paradigm in the process of *becoming democratic*.

What happened in Cairo in 2011, just as in Kiev in 2014, Turkey 2013 and Tehran in 2009 was the prolonged and mass occupation of physical public space by citizens. These people voiced their discontent with the current political situation of the city and demand democracy. Insurgent urbanism that produced during the global occupy movement and large number of protests sweeping through Middle East, suggests the public square has become the proverbial 'center stage' upon which is symbolically meaningful for collective memory. As *Setha Low* well stated the power of design and commodification of public spaces for social resistance is visible in social protests.[411]

[410] This venue in the heart of current Tehran provides accessibility in people's everyday life. However, its particular centrality, accessibility and strong national political memory, transformed this place to one of the important politicized venue in Iranian political history.

[411] Low, in her book *On the Plaza* focuses on the contested meanings and uses of public space, through studying of two plazas in San Jose, Costa Rica. Low represented Costa Rican Plaza, as examples of last democratic forums for public dissent in a civil society. Low highlights the important role of Plazas in Latin America that have historically faciliated social interactions and political engagement. See Setha Low .*On the Plaza: The Politics of Public Space and Culture* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 183.

Indeed, physical space for the expression of democratic rights and claims is important in modern democracy.[412] The notion of public connected to the notion of people in the framework of the nation-state political organization. According to *Erik Swyngedouw* "the emergence of political space unfolds through a political act that stages collectively the presumption of equality and affirms the ability of 'the People' to self-manage and organize its affairs".[413] Building on this theoretical framework, can we theorize the emergence of political space through protest squares?

The notion of *Tahrir Square* stood centrally as powerful reminders and symbols of centralized power, and powerful idiom that conveys messages of historicity as well as legitimacy. Therefore, people reoccupy the geography of the authoritarian state and redesign it as its own in order to navigate it as a new topography of mass resistance against state hegemony. *Sadiki* added that the critical dimension of the *Arab Spring* has been the protestors' claim over and creation of public space. [414] However, the main question still remains unfold: 'what unites all these different examples of contemporary insurgent squares?'

Mohammad Gharipour in his book *Contemporary Urban Landscape of Middle East* stresses on the transformative role of public spaces in the late 20th century as symbols of progressive society, democracy, progress and openness.[415] *Gharipour* represented

[412] Asma Mehan. *Architecture for Revolution: Democracy and Public space.* Graduate Student Forum, Edinburgh College of Art, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh: Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain (SAHGB) , 2015.

[413] Erik Swyngedouw uses the term 'Every Revolution has its Square' to represent the emblematic sites of revolutionary geography and political space in recent social movements across the world. See Erik Swyngedouw. Insurgent squares: the spatial practices of the political. *grenzeloos.* April 24, 2014. https://www.grenzeloos.org/node/5315?language=en (accessed November 3, 2016).

[414] Larbi Sadiki. "The Arab Spring and coming fall of Orientalism's Tower." In *The Arab Revolutions in Context: Civil Society and Democracy in a Changing Middle East*, by Benjamin Isakhan, Fethi Mansouri and Shahram Akbarzadeh, 34-42 (Melbourne: MUP Academic Monographs, 2012), 34.

[415] Mohammad Gharipour. Urban Landscape: Public Space and Environment in cities of the contemporary Middle East In *Contemporary Urban Landscapes of the Middle East*, by Mohammad Gharipour (Taylor and Francis, 2016), 6.

the idea of democratic space as the setting of social and political representation and as the locus of political mobilization and democratization.[416] Public participation in the 'Squares Movement' became a central category through which expressed the collective power of the 'Citizenship and Participation'. In the occupied public spaces of the *Protest Squares*, common spaces became vital. These events emphasized on the crucial role of physical urban spaces for citizens' meeting, gathering, protesting and represente urban squares as important arenas for staging independence protests and political actions.[417] In some cases, the continuous symbolic reclaim of an important square in the nation's capital city by demonstrators brought down an authoritarian government.

Similarly, *Edward Soja*, urban geographer, reintroduces the public space as an opportunity for architects to contribute to spatial justice.[418] In this regard, analyzing the spatial aspects of insurgent squares draw our attention to historical events of an uprising as well. The occupation of squares in *Tunisia* and *Egypt* during the *Arab Spring*

Fig. 6.1

highlighted the importance of past historical memory attached to square as potential stages of political demonstrations and mass rallies. However, in some cases, government supports have also occupied the squares to advocate political supremacy. *Ahmad Shokr* Middle East Scholar writes, "*Tahrir* did not deliver a complete revolution but it did awaken an exhilarating sense of possibility."[419] This assembly of diverse people from all levels of society at *Tahrir* carried the movement

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[416] Gharipour, *ibid*, 6

[417] Tureli argues that protest movements appropriates public space temporally and transforms its image, and use, permanently. See Ipek Tureli, Small Architecture, Walking and Camping in Middle Eastern Cities. *International Journal of Islamic Architecture , 2*(1) 2013: 7 ,15

[418] In *Seeking Spatial justice,* Soja clarifies the link between Right to the City claims and achieving spatial justice in the organizing strategies of Los Angeles social movements. Soja reformulate the concept of 'Justice' from spatial theorization. See Edward W Soja. *Seeking spatial justice* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 13-30.

[419] Ahmad Shokr. "The Eighteen Days of Tahrir." In *The Journey to Tahrir*, by Jeannie Sowers and Chris Toensing (Brooklyn, New York: Verso, 2012), 41-52.

6.1

Tahrir Square (Cairo-2011), Azadi Square (Tehran- 2009), Taksim Square (Istanbul-2013-14), Syntagma Square (Athens- 2010/12), Puerta del Sole Square (Madrid- 2011-present), Euromaidan or maidan Nezalezhnosti literally means independent Square (Kiev-2013/14), Palaza de la Catalunya (Barcelona, 2011), Paternoster Square (London, 2011), Martyr's Square or *Maydān ash-Shuhadā*, Previously Saha el khadra Green Square (Tripoli, 2011), Al-Manara Square (Ramallah, 2011), Pearl Roundabout or Lulu Roundabout (Bahrein, 2011) are some protest squares after 2000.

forward and suggesting its overwhelming support from the majority of Egyptians. According to *Bayat*, the politicized urban venue "signifies the collective sensibilities, shared feelings, and public judgment of ordinary people in their day-to-day utterances and practices, which are expressed broadly in the public squares, or more audibly in mass street demonstrations."[420] Analyzing the spatial aspects of Tahrir Square shows that it sits "at the junction of the Metro system's two main lines, thereby linking to other districts and suburbs of Greater Cairo".[421] In this sense, *Tahrir* had the advantage of being a pedestrian zone within a highly trafficked area. Government buildings, hotels, the Egyptian Museum and the American University in Cairo drawing the attention of millions of passersby every day, encircle it yet maintaining a safe space. Moreover, *Tahrir* had some practice as a site of protest in past years, giving it a level of symbolic significance.[422] However, is there any particular theory that can be used to describe the relationship between space and social movements?

'Spatialities of Discontent': Theorizing the relationship between space and social movements

The recent examples of protest squares around the world highlighted the formation of 'a social movement space' through public protests. In theorizing the relationship between space and social movements, some fundamental questions arise: Why did protesters target a specific square? In addition, in what ways did the political history of protest squares shape revolutions, mass rallies and political activities there? The first aim here is to demonstrate how some special squares iconized during the social protests and squares. Therefore, it is necessary to discuss how pre-existing,

[420] In the *Arab Street*, Bayat presented Street Politics as the forum of conflict between state and people over the use of public space. In this chapter, Bayat uses the example of ongoing conflicts between Israeli and Palastine and the street protests in Damascus, Rabat and Cairo. See Asef Bayat. "The "Arab Street"." In *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East*, by Asef Bayat (California: Stanford University Press, 2009): 209-220.

[421] Nathan Cherry "Design for Revolution" *Planning* 77, no. 4 (2011): 22-24.

[422] Cherry , *ibid* , 22-24.

historically specific understandings of protest squares as politicized spaces of protest drew people in and shaped their participation. According to *Martin* and *Miller* "research on social movements and contentious politics has generally downplayed the spatial constitution and context of its central concepts such as identity, grievances, political opportunities, and resources. As such, this body of scholarship remains by and large spatial".[423] So, in studying space in social movements, we ought to think of space not as 'a container of activism, but also constitutive of it'.[424]

In relation to the role of space in social movements and revolutions, *Atef Saeid* suggested, "the history of space in social movements and previous mobilization matters, but also these may shape the new movement and the role of space in protest". Focusing on *Tahrir* Square, *Saeid* argues that the pre-existing, historically specific understanding of *Tahrir* Square as a politicized space of protest drew people there in January 2011 and shaped their participation in the revolution. According to *Saeid*, "earlier mobilizations that took place in *Tahrir* Square contributed to the events of the revolution in three ways: First provided protesters with an idea about *Tahrir* as a target of protests, Second provided protesters with the idea of occupation of *Tahrir*, and third provided protesters with an inspiration in the revolution".[425] *Leitner et al* argued "there are multiple spatialities -scale, place, networks, positionality and mobility – that are implicated in and shape contentious politics.[426] Before the recent

[423] In this article, *Martin and Miller* examine the spatiality of the processess shaping political contention. They call attention to the spatial constitution and social struggles throughout the dynamics of contatious politics. See Deborah G. Martin & Byron Miller (2003), Space and contentious politics, *Mobilization: An International Quarterly , 8* (2),143.

[424] Martin & Miller, *ibid,* 144. For more studying on the interactive dynamics of protest see James M.Jasper and Jan Willem Duyvendak, *Players and Arenas: The Interactive Dynamics of Protest* (Amesterdam University Press, 2014).

[425] Atef Said. "We ought to be here: Historicizing space and mobilization in Tahrir Square" *International Sociology* (SAGE) 30, no. 4 (2015): 348-366. It is important to consider that as scholars in social movements have suggested, it is the out of the ordinary, the specific and different use of space that activates it for social movements.

[426] In this research, Contention has been referred to social movement activity, rebellions, protests, and other non-formal activism in the politics. See Helga Leitner, Eric Sheppard , and Kristin M.

Arab Spring, *Asef Bayat* in his book *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East* outlines the different ways in which Middle Eastern various nations have advocated for social and political change through converging around urban spaces of cities. As an example, *Bayat* introduces the Iranian Revolution of 1979 as "a nationwide, revolutionary protest movement in which different segments of population massively participated".[427] *Bayat* in his book introduces the 'Spatiality of Discontents' that is "how particular spatial forms shape, galvanize, and accommodate insurgent sentiments and solidarities. As an example, he focuses on Iranian Revolution of 1979 and its spatial dimensions.[428] In this regard, the special location of *Enqelab Street* (literally Revolution Street) in Tehran introduced as a site of many protests during the Islamic Revolution. *Bayat* added, "Revolution Street as a unique juncture of the rich and the poor, the elite and the ordinary, the intellectual and the lay-person, the urban and the rural."[429] In better words, diversity of a singular place can be exemplified the revolution as a whole. *Bayat* introduces the four distinctive socio-spatial features that clarifies the success of Revolution Street that possess "a distinct sociality, whereby solidarity is communicated" as follows: The first element is *centrality*, which means "spaces where a mobile crowd can easily and rapidly assemble", the second important feature is *proximity*, which is a place with "historical or symbolic significance," third major factor is *accessibility* as "the locus of mass transportation networks," and the final feature is *flexibility* and it means "a space that is open yet surrounded by narrow alleyways, shops, or homes that can offer

Sziarto . "The spatialities of contentious politics". *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 2008: 157.

[427] In *Life as politics*, the author claims people in the Middle East, especially poor urban citizens and marginalized groups have the potential to change the political system. *Bayat* uses the example of street politics in Middle East where citizens passively resist the state. For more reading see Asef Bayat. "A Street Named "Revolution"." In *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East*, by Asef Bayat (Stanford University Press, 2009), 161-170.

[428] Bayat, *ibid*, 162.
[429] Bayat, *ibid*, 161-170.

respite."[430]

4th September 1978 was "the beginning of massive demonstrations which included women and children and cut across age and class differences".[431] On 11 February of 1979, Radio Tehran made the historic announcement that stated the destruction of the 2,500 years-old monarchies: "This is the voice of Iran, the voice of true Iran, the voice of Islamic Revolution".[432] In theorizing the Iranian Revolution of 1979, *Michel Foucault* correctly identified the transformative effect of modernization on the Iranian population, and the problematic nature of proposing a state with parallel electoral and clerical authorities.[433] *Foucault* explored the relationship between modernity and political Islam as he writes "I then felt that I had understood that recent events did not signify a shrinking back in the face of modernization by extremely retrograde elements, but the rejection, by a whole culture and a whole people, of a modernization that is itself an archaism. The Shah's misfortune is to have espoused this archaism. His crime is to have maintained, through a corrupt and despotic system, that fragment of the past in a present that no longer wants it".[434]As *Foucault* suggested the monarchy was implementing modernization policy at the benefit of outsiders rather than people. In a similar way, *Bayat* argues that secular resilience, ongoing socioeconomic inequalities and political exclusion have turned the city's main squares into political battlefield three decades after the Islamic Revolution of

Fig. 6.2

[430] Bayat, *ibid*, 161-170

[431] Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi, and Ali Mohammadi. *Small Media, Big Revolution: Comunication, Culture and the Iranian Revolution* (Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press, 1994).

[432] Ervand Abrahamian. *A History of Modern Iran* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 162.

[433] Janet Afary, and Kevin B. Anderson. *Foucault and the Iranian Revolution: Gender and the Seductions of Islamism* (The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 39-40.

[434] In 1978, Foucault was working as a special correspondent for *Corriere della Sera* and *le Nouvel Observateur*. During his career as a journalist, Foucault traveled to Iran, met with leaders like Khomeini, and wrote a series of articles on Islamic Revolution. For more see Michel Foucault. "Apendix." In *Foucault and the Iranian Revolution: Gender and the Seductions of Islamism*, by Janet Afary and Kevin B. Anderson (University of Chicago Press, 2005), 194.

1979.[435]

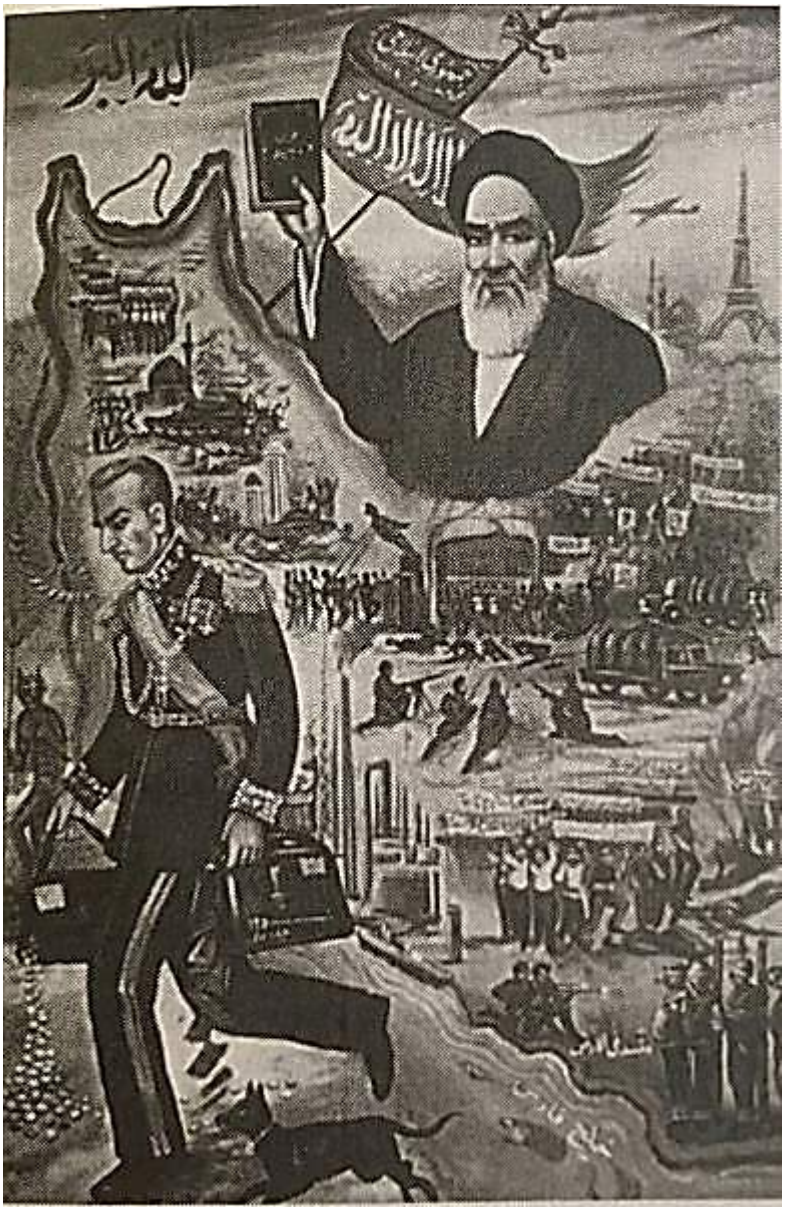
James Gelvin in his book *The Modern Middle East* stresses on the causes of 1979 Islamic Revolution as he writes "Revolutions are rare occurrences in world history. Some social scientists consider the Iranian Revolution to be one of the most significant events in history of Middle East for two reasons: First because establishing a new model for government- one not borrowed from the West. The second reason is that some scholars believe that the Iranian Revolution marks an epochal shift for the new governing structures. Iranian Islamic government utopian model gave pride of place to purity rather than modernity".[436] According to social historian, *Ahmad Ashraf*, "the revolution was primarily aimed by its leadership at seizing the apparatus of the expanding modern state in order to export the revolution and establish an Islamic empire".[437]

Centralization, direct symbolism and engagement of a broad swath of people reflect themselves in Islamic Revolution of 1979. With the socio-political change of the society, the identity of public spaces of Tehran went under a dramatic change as well to convey the message of Islamic Revolution. Peter Chelkowski and Hamid Dabashi in the book *Staging a Revolution: The Art of Persuasion in the Islamic Republic of Iran* presented the example of *Jaleh Square*, which was named Martyrs' Square right after the revolution as the symbol of identical transformation of public

[435] Bayat declares that the "distinction between affluent northern and poor southern Tehran- between bala-ye Shahr (the upper city) and pain-e Shahr (the lower city) -was unequivocally registered in the language and popular imaginary. The dividing line between the two was formed by Shahreza Street (current Revolution Street or in Persian Khiaban-e Enqelab), housed Tehran University Campus with key institutions". For more reading see Asef Bayat. "Battlefield Tehran." In *Life as Politics : How Ordinary People Change the Middle East*, by Asef Bayat, 153-175 (Stanford : Stanford University press, 2013), 154-158.

[436] James L Gelvin. *The Modern Middle East*. Third Edition (Los Angeles: Oxford University Press, 2011), 302.

[437] The revolution redefines the concepts of Islamic tradition and structuring life based on Islamic law (Sharia). See Ahmad Ashraf, " Bazaar-mosque alliance: The social basis of revolts and revolutions", *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society,* Vol. 1, no. 4 (1988): 538-67.



6.2
Khomeini sends the Shah packing, poster from the Iranian Revolution, 1978-1979.

spaces.[438] However, there are many public spaces throughout the Tehran that experienced a re-identification after the Iranian Islamic Revolution. *Kaveh Basmenji* in his book *Tehran Blues: Youth Culture in Iran* documented some of the revolutionary ideas that occurred across the surface of city by giving new names to streets and squares: "Among others, Shah Street was renamed Islamic Republic Streets; Shah Reza Streets changed to Revolution Streets; Eisenhower to Freedom; Elizabeth II to Farmer; 6th Bahman (The date of the Shah's White Revolution) to Worker; Kennedy to Monotheism; Koorosh-e Kabir (Palace) to Palestine. There were other changes that would only last until the clerical rulers swept aside rivals and crushed the opposition: Pahlavi Avenue, Tehran's main North-South thoroughfares, became *Mosadegh*, only to be renamed *Vali-e Asr*, after the title of the twelfth Shi'i Imam, by a clerical establishment that loaded the nationalist leader *Mosadegh*, and the idea of Secularism".[439] The utopian sense of 1979 revolution captured in Graffiti and posters in urban spaces. For Mitchell, "the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran produced posters, graffiti, and banners rich in popular images of piety, anti-imperialism, and martyrdom".[440] As *Talinn Grigor* stated: "A familiar sight in the urban space of Tehran, is the public murals on various high-rises[441], which represent the local ideologies struggle of the system, and are manifestations of visions of the unique

[438] This book examines how the massive orchestration of public myths and collective symbols propelled the Islamic Revolution of 1978-9 and the war with Iraq that followed from 1980 to 1988. See Peter Chelkowski, and Hamid Dabashi. *Staging a revolution: The Art of Persuation in the Islamic Republic of Iran* (New York University Press, 1999), 109.

[439] In this book, Basmenji clarifies how Ayatollah Khomeini's Islamization project succeeded in the in the first decade of the life of the Islamic Revolution based on *Shi's* notion of martyrdom and *Sufi's* notion of 'self-annihilation' with Ali Shariati's 'Return to self'. In Post-revolutionary Iran, *Basmenji* believes that after the election of Mohammad Khatami as the seventh president of Iran in 1997, Iranian youth and women are perceived as two major sources of social changes in Iran. See Kaveh Basmenji. *Tehran Blues: Youth Culture in Iran* (Saqi Books, 2005), chapter Sixth. From spatial perspective, these changes in street names resulted to geographical confusion in Tehran.

[440] Timothy Mitchell. "Introduction to Part Four" in *Political Islam: Essays from the Middle East Report*, by Joel Beinin and Joe Stork (Berkeley: University of California press, 1997), 253.

[441] Nowadays, many of these murals are not longer on high-rise buildings of Tehran. Instead some new abstract paintings have been replaced recently.

6.3
Hundreds of thousands of Iranians rally in Tehran to mark the 31st anniversary of Iran's revolution. This image was taken by GeoEye's IKONOS satellite from 423 miles in space on 11 February 2010, as it moved from north to south over Iran at a speed of four miles per second. The image shows masses of people gathered along Azadi Road; a major boulevard that runs east west through central Tehran. It also shows many white-roofed buses parked along the demonstration route.

6.4

The map below shows proposed routes of the rallies marked in green. The area shaded in blue shows where speeches may be held. The text asks protesters try to be at the square by 9am (6.30am GMT). But the official rally also appears to be taking place in Azadi Square, with Ahmadinejad due to speak there soon.

society in the process of redefining itself".[442]

Before the 1979 Iranian revolution, *Shahyad* Square, or, Remembrance of the Kings Square was the place to manifest the glory of Pahlavi monarchy and national identity. The place "earned" its new name-*Azadi* or Freedom Square- through its role as a significant gathering place for protesters throughout the movement that eventually overthrew the Shah of Iran. *Azadi* Square became the most recognizable icon that people around the world now associate it with the Islamic Revolution of 1979. Indeed, the square became so significant that it described as the real source of the revolution's legitimacy. Like *Tahrir* Square, the mere mention of *Azadai* Square in Tehran evokes images of people in the iconic physical square who have the power to confront an autocratic political system.[443] By late 1978, Tehran University, *Jaleh* Square and *Azadi* Square perceived as location of radical thought and urban mobilization in Tehran. Consequently, the military government ineffectually closed Tehran University as a protest site however, mobilization still occurred there through January of 1979.[444] The urban centers of the uprisings, such as *Azadi* Square and *Enqelab* Square in Tehran became symbolic nodes of struggles between citizens and state power.[445]

Based on *Jürgen Habermas'* definition, public space is the representative of public

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[442] Talinn Grigor,"(Re)claiming Space: the Use/Misuse of Propoganda Murals in Republican Tehran." *International Inistitute of Asian Studies Newsletter* 28 (2002): 37.

[443] As the example of the spatial history and memory, the best recent one is Green Square in Tripoli, which have been changed to Martyr's square after the recent rebels in Libya, See Diane E Davis and Prassanna Raman. "The Physicality of Citizenship: The Built Environment and Insurgent Urbanism." *Thresholds*, 2013: 60.

[444] Misagh Parsa. *Social Origins of the Iranian Revelution* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 155.

[445] For more see Claudia Ghrawi, Fatemeh Masjedi, Nelida Fuccaro, and Ulrike Freitag. "Introduction." In *Urban Violence in the Middle East: Changing Cityscapes in the transition from Empire to Nation State*, by Ulrike Freitag, Nelida Fuccaro, Claudia Ghrawi and Nora Lotfi (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015), 3.

sphere and civil society. In this respect, the existence of a very new regime with new structures could be observed in public spaces of the city.[446] Accordingly, in Post-Revolutionary Tehran, re-identification of public spaces followed two general mainstreams: First, the names of the places with direct link to *Shah* or American and British influence reclaimed by Islamic government, second places that recalled the pre-Islamic past was changed as well. So the country's new political identity shaped by new murals through never-ending struggle to define new identity. This struggle exposed in the summer of 2009, as one of the most turbulent years in the country's modern history. Iran's 'Green Movement'[447], which erupted as the series of protests against the Iranian presidential election results, peaked when hundreds of protestors converged at *Azadi Square* for the public demonstrations of *Green Movement* following the Iranian presidential elections in 2009. For analyzing how political memory works with and relates to space, it can be argued that the historical importance of *Azadi* as a square for mobilization and protest prior to the 2009 Green Movement demonstrations, held a special attraction for protesters, however images and meanings of the square were reappropriated by protesters during the social movement. The new actors occupied the same thoroughfares, providing their actions with the same significance as during the heyday of the Islamic Revolution".[448] The above-mentioned streets and squares hold a spatial significance as sites of protest and urban mobilization that evoke collective political memory of 1979 revolution, since

[446] Jürgen Habermas. "Espace public et sphère publique politique." *Esprit* 8 (2015): 12-25. Hebarmas's explanation of the public sphere has a variety of meanings and canotations. In his theoretical assumptions, he distincts clearly the public and private space. Moreover, Habermas introduces the space as the function of structures, inistitutions and agents. The latter definition has been usesd in this research.

[447] "Green Movement" is not an environmental protest, but prompted by contested presidential election results, youthful desire for expression and reform, and a collective wave of national political optimism.

[448] Farhad Khosrokhavar . "The Green Movement." In *Navigating Contemporary Iran: Challenging Economic, Social, and Political Perceptions* , by Eric Hooglund and Leif Stenberg , 169-184 (New York: Routledge Press, 2012): 169

they were actively contesting the meaning and memory of the previous revolution.[449]

A few days after the 2009 presidential elections, millions of Iranians, shocked by the election results, took to *Azadi Square* in the greatest rally since the 1979 Iranian Islamic revolution.[450] As *Bayat* declares, the Green Movement of 2009 "disclosed the more complex reality of Tehran that is traversed by glaring contradictions and marked by a persistent socio-spatial rebelliousness".[451] *Bayat* added, "most of the Green demonstrations occurred in the center and center north of Tehran- a slightly northward move from the 1979 pattern, which had included the center and center-south. As the city had expended and the middle-class grown, the political geography had also shifted. The educated middle classes played a key role in the Green Movement, as they had done in the 1979 revolution".[452] On 13 June 2009, the day after Iranian presidential election, the people swarmed into and around the large avenues between Revolution Square (Meydan Enqelab) and Freedom Square (Meydan Azadi) in Tehran.[453] Subsequently, on 15 June 2009, the monumental silent

Fig. 6.4

[449] Deaton compared the 2009 Green Movement to the the transformation of Wensceslas Square during the 1989 movement in Prague since the urban spaces became sites of resistance and dialouge, discussion and debate. Clifford D Deaton. *The City Cannot Be Occupied: Urban Movements and Revolutionary Memory in Paris, Prague, and Tehran.* PhD Thesis, Political Science (Chicago: University of Illinois at Chicago, 2013): 168-170.

[450] During the 2009 presidential election and its aftermath, the intensive use of social media for political purpose peaked in Iran. See David M. Faris, and Babak Rahimi. *Social Media in Iran: Politics and Society after 2009* (State University of New York, 2015), 151.

[451] Asef Bayat. "Battlefield Tehran." In *Life as Politics : How Ordinary People Change the Middle East*, by Asef Bayat (Stanford : Stanford University press, 2013): 153-175. In another eassy, *Mahmood Monshipouri* and *Ali Assareh* presented the Green Movement as a regional model in some parts of Muslim World. See Mahmood Monshipouri and Ali Assareh, "The Islamic Republic and the Green Movement: Coming full Circle", *Middle East Policy Council,* Vol. XVI, no. 4 (2009).

[452] Bayat, *ibid,* 170

[453] Khosrokhavar, Franco-Persian sociologist, in his book, *New Arab Revolutions That Shook the World* contextualized the image of 'Arab Spring' beyond the Arab world. He theorizes how these recent movements are leaving imprint on Iranian modern quest for democracy. See Farhad Khosrokhavar. *New Arab Revolutions That Shook the World* (New York: Routledge, 2016), See Chapter One: The Iranian Green Movement.

march filled Revolution Street and converging on the *Azadi* Tower, prompted a radical change in Tehran's mode of governance.[454] Deaton represented the 1979 Revolution as the central political memory motivating the 2009 Green Movement. Deaton added, "themes of social justice, political participation, martyrdom and nationalism that drove the '79 revolution were active in 2009 as well".[455] Deaton introduces *Azadi* Square as the site for revolutionary communication not only because it is well located in the center of Tehran[456], but because it was a very significant site during the 1979 Revolutionary Movement. [457] Similarly, *Abrahamian* presents Azadi Square as one of the important sites of mobilization in 2009 Green Movement as follows: "There were vociferous protests in many parts of the country, and *Mousavi* [458] and *Karoubi* [459] called for a silent rally to be held at Azadi (Freedom) Square in Tehran on Monday, June 15. Around a million people heeded the call...the scene was reminiscent of the rallies held in the same square during the 1979 Revolution".[460]

Fig. 6.3

According to *Khosrokhavar*, special streets and *Azadi* Square of Tehran loaded with political significance and symbolism as the site of the 1979 revolutionary movement: "This was a time of euphoria, with young people striding along the main avenues of

[454] Asef Bayat. "Battlefield Tehran." In *Life as Politics : How Ordinary People Change the Middle East*, by Asef Bayat (Stanford : Stanford University press, 2013), 170-171.

[455] Deaton, *The City Cannot Be Occupied: Urban Movements and Revolutionary Memory in Paris, Prague, and Tehran*. PhD Thesis, Political Science (Chicago: University of Illinois at Chicago, 2013): 194.

[456] In contemporary Tehran, Azadi Square has been located in the western edge of city.

[457] Deaton, *ibid,* 171.

[458] Mir-Hossein Mousavi Khameneh is a former Prime Minister in the newly established Islamic Republic who after 20 years of political silence announced his intention to run in the 2009 Iranian presidential election.

[459] Mehdi Karroubi is previous chair of the Iranian Parliament and a presidential candidate in the 2005 and 2009 presidential elections.

[460] Ervand Abrahamian . "I Am Not a Speck of Dirt, I Am a Retired Teacher." In *The People Reloaded*, by Nader Hashemi and Danny Postel, 60-70 (New York, 2010), 67.

Tehran, some of which had symbolic significance. For example, the long, tree-lined Vali-e Asr Avenue stretched for more than 20km from the northern part of Tehran down to its southern end, from upper and middle-class residential neighborhoods in the north to working-class districts in the south. Another avenue, *Enqelab* (Revolution) extended across Tehran from the east to the west, stretching past Tehran University and ending up in the large *Azadi* (Freedom) Square, which is laden with revolutionary memories. These geographic locations had played a major symbolic role during the Islamic Revolution of 1978-79 and as such endowed with euphoric and historical meanings, as the birthplace of the Islamic Revolution.

On 27 December of 2009, when the large demonstrations on the eve of the *Shia* religious ceremony of *Ashura*[461] were over, the Green Movement activists suggested the protestors to take over the Azadi Square on the anniversary of the 1979 revolution. The state organized annual mass demonstration, starts from the main street in central Tehran and leads to the large Azadi Square. When the day of action arrived, the security forces of Iranian government blocked all routes leading to square. *Michael Fischer* stated "Repetitions emerge, but with a difference, anxiously conjuring up costumes and slogans of the past to act upon a new historic scene. More often the repetition, including farce and failure, clear the way for the next movement".[462]

In Iran, the pulpit has played a considerable political role at key historical

[461] For Shia Muslims, Ashura is a solemn day of mourning the martyrdom of Hussein in 680 AD at Karbala in modern-day Iraq. It is marked with mourning rituals and passion plays re-enacting the martyrdom.

[462] Michael M.J. Fischer, "The Rhythmic Beat of Revolution in Iran." In *The People Reloaded* , by Nader Hashemi and Danny Postel, 356-368 (New York: Melville House , 2010), 356. For more see Mahmood Monshipouri, *Information Politics, Protests, and Human Rights in the Digital Age* (Cambridge University Press, 2016), 189-190 and see also Mehdi Yahyanejad , and Elham Gheytanchi. "Social Media, Dissent and Iran's Green Movement." In *Liberation Technology: Social Media and the Struggle for Democracy*, by Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2012) and also see Hillel Ticktin, *Marxism and the Global Financial Crisis* (Routledge Publication, 2011),159-160.

moments, particularly during the constitutional movement and again in 1979 revolution.[463] In better words, social movements and political mobilization in Tehran disrupt the normal pattern of everyday life, since "numerous observers in Tehran and other cities report that political debates in public spaces, like Vanak or Enqelab *Square* were substantive and civil if impassioned".[464] The spatial nature of protest squares and their transformative power to transcend socio-structural constraints during the political movements raise an important enquiry: Which kind of space is created during the political revolutions that represented the square as the symbolic place of protest? The next part aims to theorize this question through the concept of *Liminality*.[465]

The Liminal Effects of Political Revolutions

In 1978, *Victor Turner* and his wife, *Edith Turner*, published the book entitled *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*. Turner argued that some social processes- including revolutions and political movements- have similar *liminal* stages in which the structures of everyday life of the immediate past have been overturned, but new structures have not yet emerged to replace them, a situation he termed *AntiStructure* in which most of the characteristics that defined the normal configuration of socio-political life ceased to function. [466] This situation is not out of place for describing the dominant atmosphere of insurgent squares during revolutions. Turner used the word *Communitas* as an intense feeling of community, solidarity, and togetherness

[463] Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi, and Ali Mohammadi, Small Media, Big Revolution: Comunication, Culture and the Iranian Revolution (Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 5.

[464] Kaveh Ehsani, Arang Keshavarzian , and Norma Claire Moruzzi . "Slaps in the Face of Reason: Tehran, June 2009." In *The People Reloaded*, by Nader Hashemi and Danny Postel, 29-36 (New York: Melville House , 2010), 31.

[465] Liminality (from the Latin word 'līmen', meaning "a threshold") refers to the psychological effect begins to be produced, and liminal is the adjective used to describe things associated with that point, or threshold, as it is also called.

[466] Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978).

experienced by those who live together in an *Antistructure* in which the normal social statuses and positions have broken down.[467] *Yang* proposes social movements as "liminal phenomena that separate participants from preexisting structural constraints and give them the freedom and power to remold themselves and society", since movements separate theirs participants from existing social structures and relocate them in a liminal situation. He added, "For those involved, the total effect is a threshold effect-the experience becomes a dividing line in personal histories with immediate and long-term consequences".[468]

Victor William Turner's definition on the concept of *limen*, 'threshold' is central to unfold the relationship between *Revolutions* and *Liminality*.[469] During the revolutions, squares become liminal or *inside-out*[470] spaces where the state attempts to maintain some form of control, and where the public attempts to occupy it. Liminality can refer to a society in a state of revolution as one normal ends but a new, stable normal has not yet emerged. Hannah Arendt in her book *On Revolution* argues that modern revolutions with their intense collective violence and destructive capacity faced the challenge to find a government that puts the law above man.[471] Therefore, political revolutions as the quintessential outbreaks of liminal conditions in a large-scale setting entailing genuine collapse of order and loss of stable reference points.[472]

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[467] Victor Turner, "Liminality and Communitas" In *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, 94-113, 125-30 (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1969).

[468] Guobin Yang, "The Liminal Effects of Social Movements: Red Guards and the Transformation of Identity" *Sociological Forum* 15, no. 3 (2000): 380.

[469] For more in this area see Stephen Bigger, "Victor Turner, liminality, and cultural performance" *Journal of Beliefs & Values* (Routledge) 30, no. 2 (2009), 209-212.

[470] Places "In-Between" or "Inside-Out" Spaces are other expressions to describe "liminal" spaces.

[471] Arendt argues that revolutions essentially foster the revolutionary spirit that energizes the masses pursuing a pluralistic system of political deliberation and governance. She argues that the establishment of a revolutionary inspired form of governance is the primary means through which a good society attained. See Hannah Arendt. *On Revolution* (New York: Penguin , 2006), 5.

[472]See Agnes Horvath, Bjørn Thomassen, and Harald Wydra. *Breaking Boundaries: Varieties of Liminality.* (Berghahn Books, 2015), 6. Harald Wylda's chapter in *Breaking Boundaries*, concieves democracy as

According to *Herald Wyda*, the constitution of power in a revolution means not the limitation but the foundation and correct distribution of power.[473] The liminal occurrences of revolution combine the two objective character of a sudden event and the subjective perspective of how this event lived through by the individuals undergoing the changes.[474] *Yang* argues that the transformative power of social movements depends on their degree of liminality.[475] The experience of participants in getting to the insurgent squares reflected "liminal" state.[476] In better words, the liminal protest square and the transformative experience of revolutions are interrelated.

Focusing on *Victor Turner*'s notion of 'processual' ritual analysis, the liminal is the second phase of a three-stage ritual process. The first stage, separation, separates the ritual subject from previous structural condition.[477] The second stage, the liminal, is *antistructural*, where the there are few or none of the attributes of the past have been left.[478] The final stage is settling back into a new social structure. According to Turner, the liminal stage involves one or all of three kinds of separations as follows: spatial, temporal, and social/moral. When ritual subjects separated from the familiar

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being in dialougue with a condition in which the place of power is empty. In this permanent authority vacum, modern democracy has developed bounded spaces that challenged the political realization of freedom.

[473] Harald Wydra. *Approaching the Empty Space of Power: Revolutions and Political Order.* Faculty of Political Science and Sociology (University of Granada: ECPR Joint Sessions, 2005), 4.

[474] Wydra, *ibid*, 8.

[475] Guobin Yang. "The Liminal Effects of Social Movements: Red Guards and the Transformation of Identity", *Sociological Forum* 15, no. 3 (2000), 379-406.

[476] Mark Allen Peterson. "In Search of Antistructure: The Meaning of Tahrir Square in Egypt's Ongoing Social Drama." In *Breaking Boundaries: Varieties of Liminality*, by Agnese Horvath, Harald Wydra and Bjørn Thomassen (Berghahn Books, 2015), 5-6.

[477]Victor Turner. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (New York: Aldine, 1969), 166-167.

[478] Turner, *ibid* , 94.

space, the routine temporal order, or the structures of moral obligations and social ties, they enter a liminal time/space.[479] Conceptualizing political revolutions as liminal phenomena helps to explain the transformative power of protest squares. In its break with existing social structures, a socio-political movement gives its participants the power to transcend social structural constraints. Peterson represented the *liminal* nature of space by reintroducing the example of Tahrir Square as the symbolic place of protest in Egypt so that public demonstrations in other parts all become part of the 'spirit of Tahrir' and 'Freedom'.[480] Occupying the square highlighted on the global demand of participatory democracy.[481] The next part tries to reframe the concept of *Democratic Space* through the theory of *Empty Place of Power.*

Approaching Democratic Space through "Empty Place of Power"

Can we theorize the formation of 'democratic urban space'? What are the aspects that shape the relationship between politics and urban space? The 'empty place of power' or void is one of the central theses in *Lefort's* work: the idea that political regimes distinguished from one another by the way in which the place of power is represented within them. The 'power' in the place of power comes from the knowledge of society as a whole that its occupant gains. It is often based on such claims to possess such knowledge that the occupant of the place of power is granted the authority to make laws. The essence of power, *Lefort* writes, is 'to present and make visible a model of social organization'. In democracy – as a political regime distinct from absolute monarchy and totalitarianism – the place of power is symbolically empty. By holding the empty as the 'symbolic place of power', modern

[479] Victor Turner. *Process, Performance and Pilgrimage: A Study in Comparative Symbology* (New Delhi: Concept, 1979), 41.

[480] Peterson, *ibid.*

[481] Participatory democracy is a process of collective decision-making that people have the power to decide on policy. In this system, the extent to which citizens can affect policy is directly depended on their involvement in the process.

democracy is able to legitimate social conflict.[482] *Lefort* characterizes the political (*le politique)* as "the principles that generate different forms of society. He introduces a frame that informs the political experiences of members within society.[483] Therefore, 'The Place of Power' is "organized as one despite (or because of) its multiple divisions and it is organized as the same in all its multiple dimensions implies a reference to a place from which it can be seen, read and named".[484] In this sense, the existence of such place in the symbolic order is a precondition for the experience of political society as a meaningful whole. According to *Lefort*, the birth of modern democracy seen in the dramatic context of the downfall of absolute monarchy, the revolutionary conflict of antagonistic forces and its associated emptiness of the place of power.[485] The modern conception of representative democracy introduces the symbol people in two meanings, both as legitimizing the government and as participants.[486] In other words, people are source of power in a democracy but it is power of nobody. According to *Flynn*, *Lefort's* work has set for itself the task of interpreting the political life of modern society.[487] Flynn writes Lefort's political theory is born from a reflection on political experience and a consideration of

[482]Hoskyns explores the theory of *Empty Place of Power* through participatory political democratic practice in social forums at global, European and city levels. See Teresa Hoskyns, *The Empty Place: democracy and Public Space* (Routledge, 2014).

[483] Claude Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory.* Translated by David Macey (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988), 217-218

[484] Lefort, *ibid*, 225.

[485] *Lefort* stated that the emergence of the democratic form of society was the result of a series of transformations, which began to take place in medieval and early modern Europe. For *Lefort*, the legitimacy of political power is linked to the image of an empty place (*lieu vide*), impossible to occupy, such that those who exercise public authority can never claim to appropriate it. Therefore, power appears as an empty place and those who exercise it as mere mortals who occupy it only temporarily or who could install themselves in it only by force or cunning. See Claude Lefort, *The political forms of modern society: Bureaucracy, Democracy, Totalitarianism* (Cambridge: MIT Press Edition, 1986), 300-305.

[486] Eric Voegelin, *The New Science of Politics: An Introduction* (University of Chicago Press , 1987), 38-41.

[487] Bernard Flynn, *The Philosophy of Claude Lefort: Interpreting the Political* (University Press, 2005), xviii.

the forms of political life.[488] The conception of totalitarianism and democracy discussed well in *Lefort's* works. As *Flynn* clarified, in the pre modern ancient regimes 'the king incarnated society's identity'. However, modernity represented 'the disincarnating of society', in another words, no figure can embody society's unity. What is important here is that in modern democracy the place which king occupied remains *empty*. This Openness or Nonidentity is prerequisite by modern democracy. However, totalitarianism as a 'counterrevolution against democracy' is a response that tries to fill the 'empty place of power' with a materialization of 'the people-as-one'.[489] Revolutionary experiences create new meanings as they reverse taken-for-granted meanings, thus achieving contradictory meanings of symbols. In this sense, the emergence of democracy followed through a typology of spatial experiences in the empty place of power, where the situational premises reconfigure political symbolism.[490] But is it possible to achieve the real democracy through protest squares? Which definition of democracy can represent the transformative feature of global urban social movements? The next part introduces the concept of *Rhizomatic* Democracy to redefine the features of emerging society through recent social movements.

Urban Social Movements as 'Rhizomatic' Democracy

In 1964, *Henri Lefebvre*, in a short piece entitled *Les Sources de la théorie marxiste-lenininste de l 'etat'* writes: "Democracy is nothing other than the struggle for democracy. The struggle for democracy is the movement itself. Many democrats imagine that democracy is a type of stable condition toward which can tend, toward

[488] Flynn, *ibid* , xviii-xix.

[489] Fred Dallmayr, "The Philosophy of Claude Lefort: Interpreting the Political", *Notre Dame Philosophical Reviews* (University of Notre Dame, 2006).

[490] Harald Wydra, *Approaching the Empty Space of Power: Revolutions and Political Order,* Faculty of Political Science and Sociology (University of Granada: ECPR Joint Sessions, 2005), 26.

which we must tend. No. Democracy is the movement. Moreover, the movement is the forces in action. In addition, democracy is the struggle for democracy, which is to say the very movement of social forces; it is a permanent struggle and it is even a struggle against the state that emerges from democracy. There is no democracy without a struggle against the democratic state itself, which tends to consolidate itself as a block, to affirm itself as a whole, become monolithic and to smother the society out of which it develops".[491] In the book entitled *What is Philosophy?* by *Gilles Deleuze* and *Félix Guttari,* they ask whether philosophy in its present critical form is closely aligned with 'the modern democratic state and human rights'. They point out that there is no universal democratic state since the market is the only thing that is under universal capitalism.[492]

For *Deleuze* and *Guttari*, democracy is a *rhizomatic* politics rather than a politics of demonstration. It is a politics, which is situated in middle of all senses, horizontally, between equals, with equal and unprivileged capacities for opinion and choice, and vertically, by virtue of the absence of transcendent values.[493] In a broader sense, *Deleuzian* political philosophy is the criticism of the present democracy and searching for 'the contour, the configuration, and the constellation of an event to come'.[494] In other words, democracy is a process of becoming instead of a state of being. Therefore, instead of *being democratic*, *becoming democratic* will be the main issue. But which kind of urban society is needed to become democratic?

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[491] Henri Lefebvre. *State, Space, World: Selected essays*. Translated by G Moore, N Brenner and S Elden (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 61.

[492] Gilles Deleuze, and Félix Guttari. *A thousand plateaus*. Translated by B Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 102-104.

[493] See Philippe Mengue. *Deleuze et la question de la démocratie* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2003). *Deleuze* and *Guttari's* adherence to a *Nitzschean* image of thought as creation leads them to advocate an 'utopian' conception of philosophy, which provides a key to their relationship to democracy. For more reading on Deleuzian political philosophy see Paul Patton, "Deleuze and Democracy" *Contemporary Political Theory* (Palgrave Macmilian) 4 (2005): 400-413.

[494] Gilles Deleuze, and Félix Guttari. *What is Philosophy?* Translated by H Tomlinson and G Burchell (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 32-33.

For describing the particular characteristics of democratic urban society, *Lefebvre* in his book *Urban Revolution* clarified that it is a place which, is ruled by inhabitants who appropriate space and claim it as their own to meet their needs.[495] Further definitions on the characteristics of urban society represent it as ongoing urban practice in the process of formation. Based on *Lefebvre*'s writings, "urban society can be defined not as an accomplished reality…but, on the contrary, as a horizon, an illuminating virtuality. Therefore it can be defined as an ongoing social practice, an urban practice in the process of formation…. this practice is currently veiled and disjointed…it possesses only fragments of a reality and a science that are still in the future. It is our job to demonstrate that such an approach has an outcome, that there are solutions to the current problematic".[496] Similarly, *Deleuze* in his book *Le Bergsonisme* presented the 'community' in the process of becoming as: never stable, always open to the future, always resisting the forces that repress and impede 'the whole of freedom'.[497] As well, *Deleuzian* definition of the concept of 'open society', suggests a 'society of creators' who gains access to 'the open creative totality' through acting and creating.[498]

[495] In 1970, Lefebvre in his book *Urban Revolution* distinguished between the two different notions of *industrial city* and *urban society*. According to *Purcell,* by the industrial city Lefebvre means the Capitalist city, as he inhabited it in 1970, a city in which the dominant socio spatial processes separate and segregate people from another. In this sense, urban inhabitants of industrial city are politically passive, and they function primarily as consumers rather than citizens. See Mark Purcell, Possible Worlds: Henri Lefebvre and the Right to the City. *Journal of Urban affairs* 36, no. 1 (2013): 141-154 and Mark Purcell,"The right to the city: the struggle for democracy in the urban public realm." *Policy and Politics* (Policy Press) 43, no. 3 (2013): 311-27.

[496] Henri Lefebvre. *The Urban Revolution.* Translated by Robert Bononno, Foreword by: Neil Smith (University of Minnesota Press , 2003), 16-17.

[497] Gilles Deleuze. *Le Bergsonisme* (Paris: Presses universitaries de France, 1966), 112.

[498] In this book Deleuze refers to Bergson's concept of an 'open society', see Gilles Deleuze. *Le Bergsonisme* (Paris: Presses universitaries de France, 1966), 117-118.

In a broader perspective, if we consider the goal of revolutionary becoming of the people is to *resist the present* [499], is there a link between 'becoming democratic' and 'becoming revolutionary'? As it will discuss later, we can argue that 'becoming revolutionary' is prerequisite of 'becoming democratic'. For *Deleuze* and *Guttari*, revolutionary becoming aims at 'the intensive, untimely, not a moment but a becoming', a becoming which is always underway.[500] In *Deleuze* and *Guttari's* term, democracy can be defined by 'the people to come' who are missing or lacking in the actual world' who 'have a chance to invent themselves' by resisting what is intolerable in the present. [501] So, to achieve a 'new community whose members are capable of a belief in themselves, in the world and in becoming', we need both 'creativity' and 'the people'.[502] This new community defined based on what *Deleuze* and *Guttari* call a 'revolutionary and liberation utopia', which imposes a new blueprint of norms and laws.[503] In experimenting such revolutionary groups whose members engage, each other in horizontal, non-hierarchical relations *Deluze* and *Guttari* use the imagery of rhizomes: center less assemblages in which any point or individual can connect to any other.[504] Such organ-less bodies are all made up of a multitude of individuals that can act quite effectively as a mass without any centralized leadership.

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[499] Gilles Deleuze, and Félix Guttari. *What is Philosophy?* Translated by H Tomlinson and G Burchell (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 107-8.

[500] Deleuze and Guttari, *ibid*, 112.

[501] Deleuze and Guttari, *ibid*, 110.

[502] Gilles Deleuze. *Negotiations*. Translated by Martin Joughin (New York: Colombia University Press, 1995), 176.

[503] Deleuze and Guttari, *ibid*, 100.

[504] The idea of a body (politics) without organs (party) is the central debate in what *Deluze* and *Guttari* are proposing. For more readings see Mark Purcell, "The right to the city: the struggle for democracy in the urban public realm", *Policy and Politics* (Policy Press) 43, no. 3 (2013): 311-27 and see Gilles Deleuze, and Félix Guttari. *A thousand plateaus*. Translated by B Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987).

If we consider the urban society and democracy as elements, which are struggling to emerge, the new radical social movements like *take the square* and *right to the city* defined as the response to a deep economic and political crisis. In 1972, *Italo Calvino* in his book *Invisible Cities* presented the concept of *inferno* as follows: "The inferno of the living is not something that will be; if there is one, it is what is already here, the inferno where we live every day that we form by being together. There are two ways to escape suffering it. The first is easy for many: accept the inferno and become such a part of it that you can no longer see it. The second is risky and demands constant vigilance and apprehension: seek and learn to recognize who and what, in the midst of inferno, are not inferno, then make them endure, give them space".[505] In other words, the emerging elements of urban society in the midst of *inferno* need space to be recognized. So, can the urban social movements help people to reclaim and develop their own power? Focusing on *Italo Calvino*'s phrase 'give it space', occupy movements interpret as physical space for smoothing the path toward fulfilling democratic urban society. So can we refer to protest squares as the struggles to move toward the Lefebvre's concept of urban society? This emerging society is not a socialist Utopia but rather it is a possible society, one that is inchoate and in the process of becoming. In the following parts, two recent examples of urban social movements, *Take the Square* and *Right to the City* movements will introduce as the examples of global struggle to *become democratic*.

Take the Square

If the city planning concerned with furthering democratic participation, the protest squares highlighted the inherently political character of the use of public space in urban settings. Over the last decade, in response to globalization, there have been

[505] This novel (Italian: *Le città invisibili*) depicted imaginary conversations between the Venetian explorer Marco Polo and the aged Mongol ruler Kulabi Khan, which can be instrumental in framing approaches to urban discourse and the form of the city. See Italo Calvino. *Le Citta Invisibili* (Verona: Mondadori, 1972), 164.

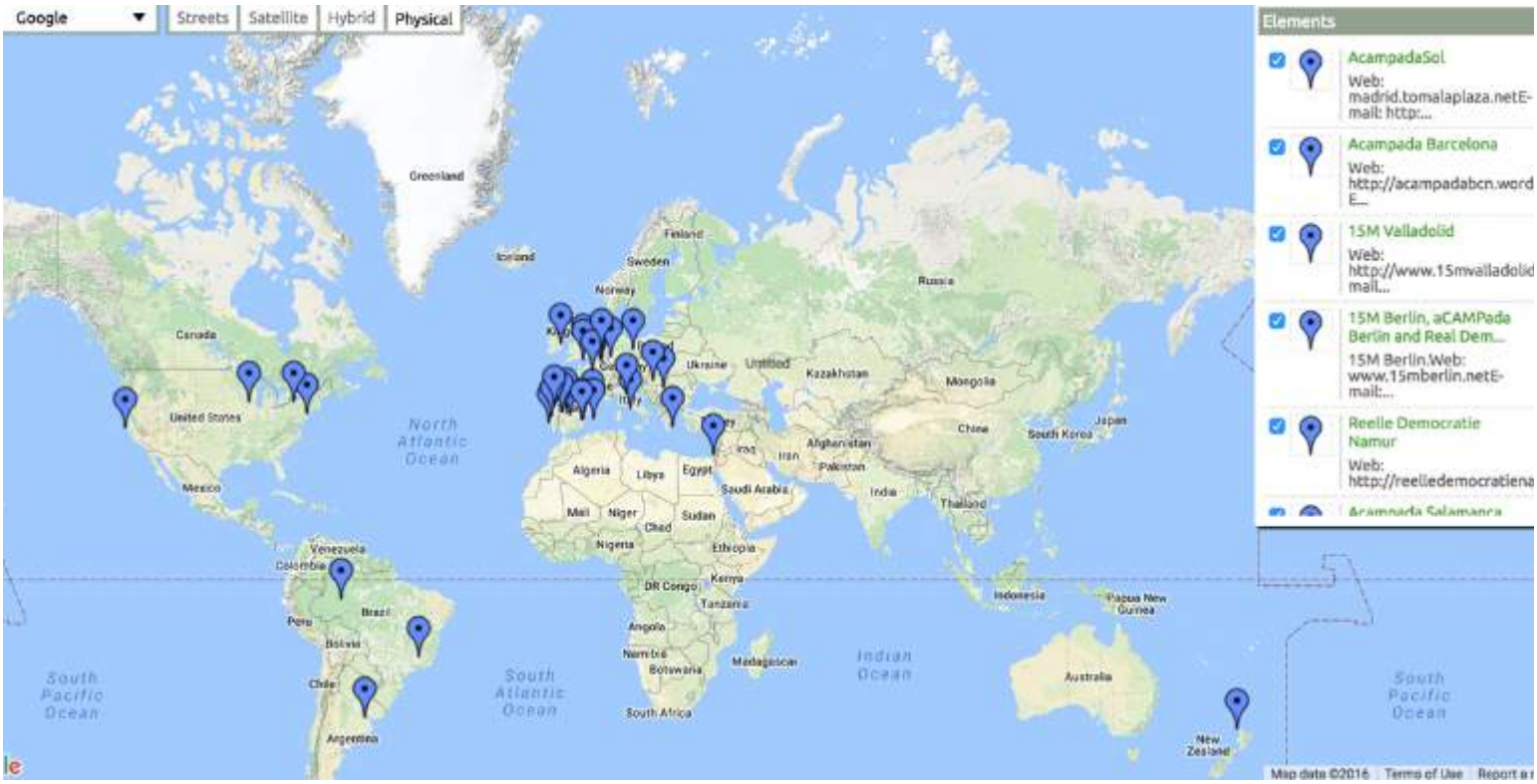
many protests, social movements and some democratic assemblies like *Take the Square* and *Right to the City (RTTC)*, which have risen up throughout the world.[506] But can this growing social movement create democratic space in future cities? *Take the Square* was born from the demonstration on May 15, 2011 in Madrid. The demonstration called from the association *Democracia Real Ya* (Real Democracy Now). The idea of camping in the square as a way of demonstrating against a dominant and oppressive system, led by a political class working and as a way to promote new initiatives of political, social, economic, artistic and cultural organization, generated the concept of 'Take the Square' which was created in the camp of *Madrid (AcampadaSol)* and then exported to the rest of the cities in Spain and the world. Some of the general slogans in this new *Take the Square* movement concentrated on the Occupy Strategies and the ways to achieve a real democracy. In a map below, some of the 'Take the square network' has been shown which has been spread mostly in Europe (Greece, Italy, France, Spain, UK, Belgium, Portugal, and Netherland), Some States of US (New York, San Francisco, Wisconsin), Latin America (Buenos Aires, Brazil) and Auckland. This social movement with the popular slogans likes *how to occupy* and *Yes We Camp* tries to establish a global network of citizen activism based on the protest squares ideals. Thus, the 15M movements in Spain with its slogan *Real Democracia Ya* (Real Democracy Now) drew the bright and inspiring line that all popular protest movements were then going to follow. But is there any influential urban social movement at a global scale?

Fig. 6.5

The Right to the City as a new paradigm

Over the past decade, some policy circles like UN-HABITAT and UNESCO have led an effort to conceptualize the Right to the city as part of broader agenda for

[506] For more debates on the World Social Forum (WSF) see the seventh chapter titled "Social Forums and Spaces of Participatory democracy" by Teresa Hoskyns. *The Empty Place: Democracy and Public Space* (Routledge, 2014).



6.5
Map is provided by *TaketheSquareNetwork* on 20/11/2014. In the description it has mentioned that 'People of the world rise up!!! Join your nearest square or take your own!'

6.6
Matrix of the Right to the City, Provided by the *Global Platform for the Right to the City*.

human rights.[507] The UN Conference on Housing and Sustainable Development (Habitat III) convened in *Quito*, *Ecuador*-2016 after a long interval between Habitat Conferences-, which took place in Vancouver in 1976, and Habitat II convened in *Istanbul* 20 years later. As *Edward Soja* well noted, the social production of spatiality is one of the general and dominant critical spatial thinking.[508] One issue under discussion in New Urban Agenda was the *Right to The City*, an umbrella term that incorporates the concept of the social function of the city, equity and power relationships.[509]

The World Charter for the *Right to the City* defines the term as, "the equitable usufruct of cities within the principles of sustainability, democracy, equity, and social justice". However, some other scholars presented *Right to the City* a slogan that Fig. 6.6 expresses a desire for "radical transformation in urban politics". The *Right to the City* is a concept that represents a "politically useful framing for increased calls for a far more explicit and pragmatic construction of participatory spaces capable of transcending scale and building novel alliances between stakeholder groups".[510] One of the general platforms that advocate for the recognition and adoption of the *Right to the City* in the implementation of public policies is the *global framework for the Right to the City*.[511] In this framework, the right to the city defined as the "right of all inhabitants, present and future, permanent and temporary to use, occupy and produce just, inclusive and sustainable cities, defined as a common good essential to a full and

[507] For reading about the idea of Right to the City in Lefebvre's works see Mark Purcell, "Possible Worlds: Henri Lefebvre and the Right to the City." *Journal of Urban affairs* 36, no. 1 (2013): 141.

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[510] Alexandre Apsen Frediani, and Rafaella Simas Lima. *Habitat III National Reporting Processes: Locating the Right to the City and the Role of Civil Society*. The Bartlett Development Planning Unit, 2015.

[511] See (right2city.org)

decent life".[512] Moreover, the right to the city has been defined based on three major pillars as follows: The first pillar is *spatially just resource distribution* which, envisions "a socially and spatially just distribution and planning of material resources, ensuring good living conditions across the human settlement continuum". The second pillar is *political agency* which is realized "when structures, processes, and policies enable all inhabitants as social and political actors to exercise the full content and meaning of citizenship". The third pillar is *socio-cultural diversity*, which fully "embraces diversity and difference in gender, identity, ethnicity, religion, heritage, collective memory, cultural and economic practice, and sociocultural expression". With its successes, these urban social movements are likely to serve as a model for using the urban space for democratic performance. As such, *the right to the city* is a political project that challenges a neoliberal model of governance and leads to a radically different urban society. Henri Lefebvre in his book *The Urban Revolution* writes: "The passivity of those involved, their silence, and their reticent prudence are an indication of the absence of urban democracy, that is, concrete democracy. Urban revolution and concrete (developed) democracy coincide".[513] In this sense, people are autonomous rather than heteronomous, meaning literally that people 'give themselves the law' rather than having the 'law given to them by another'.[514]

[512] See right2city.org

[513] Henri Lefebvre. *The Urban Revolution.* Translated by Robert Bononno. Foreword by: Neil Smith (University of Minnesota Press , 2003).

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7.0

TEHRAN, Residential Urban Units, 2012.

EPILOGUE

FROM SACRED TO INSURGENT URBANISM

This research defined the city as the site of political choices, which is a dynamic palimpsest of socio-political inputs. Considering the city as a dynamic entity that is under constant transformation, formation and deformation, highlighted the transformative potential of modernization that create, motivate or intensify a creative tension in urban form. Focusing on public squares, this research traces their socio-political transformations as well as their role in instigating social transformations through examples that that span from the pre-modern time to the present. As discussed in previous chapters [515], the structure of old Tehran transformed dramatically by two dominant modernization strategies: The first one is the strategy of *Tabula Rasa* as a desire for sweeping renewal and methodic destruction that ultimately creates empty space for building new urban identity. As the result of *Tabula Rasa Planning* and *Haussmannization* of Tehran, the city transformed into an open matrix which lead to or facilitated the production of active political space. Consequently, the built networks of streets and squares of the northern section of Tehran like *Toopkhaneh* and *Baharestan* squares substituted the previous sacred spaces (like Sepahsalar Mosque) as the primary political public spaces of the city. Moreover, the emergence of representative political public space for mass rallies, social movements and political demonstration during the nationalization of oil movement till 1953 Iranian Coup d'état, introduced the bourgeoisie class in the Iranian Society. Consequently, The new spatial segregated capital with two important streets, Shah-Reza (now Enghelab) and Pahlavi (now Vali-e Asr), both formed the main East-West and North-South axes of city's spatial structure. In addition, along the new East-West axis of the city, important institutions such as Tehran University erected. As the result

[515] See chapters 2, 3 & 5.

of these transformations, Tehran became a spatial segregated capital, which traditionally defined by the Mahalleh (quarter system) according to ethno-religious divisions, not along class lines.

The concept of *Tabula Rasa* Planning provided the potential site for the construction of utopian dreams. The second leading strategy of modernization in Tehran- *Utopian Urbanism*- based on the revolutionary character of modern architecture that takes on a purely utopian dimension in the reintegration of city.[516] The example of Tehran's Comprehensive Plan of 1968 (TCP 1968) defined the new East-West axis guided by a new superhighways network, which integrated all the elements of the 1960s' American City such as separation of functions, highways, suburbs, shopping malls and dense housing areas. This new Master plan of Tehran envisaged a highly class-segregated and social segregated society that spatially designed the loci of low-income and high-income citizens. However, the new residential quarters in the east-west axis of capital became the main location for Middle-income residents of city. Designing the *Ekbatan* Residential Complex in the western edge of Tehran along with new international Airport of the time-Mehrabad Airport-and, the grand-scale project of Shahyad (now Azadi) Square as the new gateway of city manifested the utopian nature of modern architecture as the results of Capitalist Values.

This Utopian urban vision expressed a desire that for radical change that engaged directly with revolutionary relations. For designing the Shah's 'Great Civilization' like Mussolini's 'Olympiad of Civilization', Tehran became the site of ambitious and grandiose projects like those that *Shahestan Pahlavi* located in Abbas Abad hills. In the emerging metropolis, the new utopian projects like *Shahyad Square* became counter projects that provided an open space for revolutionaries. The production of insurgent urbanism in Tehran as the result of utopian urbanism achieves its political status through semantic association depends on an historical memory within the collective imagination. In this way, Azadi Square appropriated based on new ideological interpretative. During the 1978-9 Islamic Revolution of Iran, Enqelab Street and

[516] See Chapter 5.

Azadi Square provided the main geography of protest. Moreover, to connect people with the larger population and to activate the collective memory embedded within urban context, the previous geographies of protest in Tehran provided the primary space to connect people with the larger population. This struggle exposed in the summer of 2009 that peaked when hundreds of protestors converged at Azadi Square following the presidential elections of 2009. In this way, protestors appropriated the meaning of Azadi Square during the social movements. In the context of this work, the public space defined as a machine of disruption that used by democrats against the authoritarian regime and used by the authoritarian regime to disrupt forming of an urban social network not only in an Islamic (contextualized in Iran) discourse but also in a global perspective.

SQUARES AS POLITICS

This research represented the idea of protest square as a new global phenomenon which came to stand as a hopeful process of revolutionary changes from Middle East to Europe with distinctive urban characters such as: centrality, strategic locus of governmental building, epidemic potential of revolutionary spirit, people-oriented participation, pre-existing historical and political memories, production of temporarily just urban spaces, locus of mass transportation networks, spatial flexibility and monumentality. However the liminal feature of political squares during the revolutions as the spaces where the state attempts to maintain some form of control, and where the public attempts to occupy it, opens up a new perspective. In these spatialities of revolution, one normal ends but a new; stable normal has not emerged yet. As a result, insurgent spaces like protest squares shape and define the transformative experience of revolutions as liminal spaces. In this regard, the public space regarded as a machine of disruption that used by democrats against the authoritarian regime or used by the authoritarian regime to disrupt forming of an

urban social network. The case of Azadi Square in Tehran as a prestigious project by shah that became anti-project after the Islamic Revolution is a proof to this claim. As a Shah's icon in the heart of Tehran, rather than being destroyed, it continues to be a rallying point for national celebrations, and political protests, including the massive demonstrations of the so-called Green Movement in the aftermath of the 2009 Presidential elections.

Using Turner's three-stage ritual process (*antistructure*, *liminal* and *communitas*) in the case of protest squares can theorize the transformative processes of insurgent urbanism during the political revolutions and social movements. In the first place, protest squares became *antistructure* (in Turner's Term), in which most of the characteristics that defined the normal configuration of socio-political life ceased to function. In the second step, the *liminal*, is where the there are few or none of the attributes of the past have been left. The final stage, *Comunitas*, is settling back into a new social structure with intense feeling of community and solidarity experienced by those who broke down the social statuses. This epidemic sense of solidarity heralds the protest squares' political message to inspire other movements around the world. For instance, after toppling the former dictator Hosni Mubarak, Egyptian activists have lent their support to the growing Occupy Movement in the United States and Europe.[517]

The experiences of the recent occupy movements and protest squares stresses on the global demanding of participatory democracy to legitimate social conflict. For approaching the space of participatory democracy, which introduces the people as both legitimizing the government and as being represented, we need to create 'an empty place of power'. In other words, in this democratic space, people are sources of power but it is power of nobody, so, no figure can embody society's unity. This openness or non-identical feature of 'empty place of power, is the same feature in

[517] See the guardian's archive, 26th Oct 2011(accessed on 1st Jan 2017) https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/oct/25/egyptian-protesters-occupy-wall-street

protest squares and insurgent urbanism during the social movements and political revolutions. So, democracies should have empty centers.

For better understanding of this ongoing struggles for achieving real democracy[518] around the world, which represented the democracy as the struggle for democracy rather than a utopian stable and universal condition, the concept of 'Rhizomatic Politics' by *Deleuze* and *Guttari* have been studied. The idea of *becoming democrat*, instead of *being democratic* is the criticism of the present democracy and searching for the new 'configuration'. For fulfilling the idea of becoming democrat, the Lefebvre's 'urban society' or Deleuzian 'open society' is never stable, always open to the future, always resisting the forces that repress and impede 'the whole of freedom'. This definition of unstable 'open society' in 'Rhizomatic Politics' connected the processes of 'becoming democratic' and 'becoming revolutionary'; a becoming that is always underway. For resisting what is intolerable in the present and achieve the open society, we need the 'people to come' who 'have the chance to invent themselves'.

Using *Deluze* and *Guttari's* imagery of rhizomes in defining the idea of a body (politics) without organs (party), introduces revolutionary groups whose members engage each other in horizontal and non-hierarchical relations. The examples of *Tahrir Square* in *Cairo*, *Puerta del Sol* in *Madrid*, *Azadi Square* in Tehran or *Taksim Square* in *Istanbul* were collections of individuals with organ-less and center-less leadership. In this new definition, the new global and radical urban social movements like 'Take the Square' or 'Right to the City' movements can be defined as on-going struggle of becoming democratic and becoming revolutionary in the process of approaching the possible open society. The Lefebvrian idea of 'Right to the City', received the full diplomatic treatment at the Habitat III conference convened in *Quito*, *Ecuador*-2016. In the Habitat III policy paper, the *Right to the City* is a new paradigm that encompasses all civil, political, economic, social, cultural, and environmental rights as

[518] ¡Democracia Real YA! (In Spanish: Real Democracy Now) is a gressroots citizen's organization that sparked the political movement of May 15, 2011 in Madrid's main square, Puetra del Sol, which protests gained worldwide attention.

enshrined in existing international human rights treaties and conventions.[519] Defining the right to the city as the rights of all inhabitants, to occupy, use and produce just, inclusive and sustainable cities implies responsibilities on governments and people to claim, defend, and promote this right.

[519] From October 2015 to March 2016, some 200 global experts and practitioners came together in 10 thematic "Policy Unites" vested with offering key recommendations on the drafting and implementation of the New Urban Agenda.
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CURRICULUM VITAE

Asma Mehan

Born: 27 April 1985

Tehran-Iran

Education:

2016: Research Fellow at Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalization, Deakin University, Melbourne, Australia.

2014- present: PhD in 'Architecture, History and Project', Department of Architecture and Design (DAD), Politecnico di Torino, Italy.

2013: M.Sc. in Architectural Studies, School of Art and Architecture, Art University of Isfahan, Isfahan, Iran.

2010: B.Arch. in Architecture, School of Art and Architecture, Technical College of Dr. Shariaty, Tehran, Iran.

Fellowships and Academic awards

2017: Emerging Scholar Award for Space and Flows: Eight International Conference on Urban and Extra Urban Studies, Common Ground Publishing, University of Hull, Hull, UK.

2016: Graduate Scholar Award for Space and Flows: Seventh International Conference on Urban and Extra Urban Studies, Common Ground Publishing (CG Publisher), University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, USA.

2016: Awarded 2016 International Mobility Grant by EDISU (Ente Regionale per il diritto all Studio Universitario del Piemonte/ Regional agency for Study rights of all Universities of Piedmont Region), July 2016, Torino, Piemonte, Italy.

2016: Awarded 2015 Premi di Qualità (Quality Awards) by Scuola di Dottorato (Doctoral School) at Politecnico di Torino, November 2016, Torino, Italy.

2015: Conference Fellowship for 68th annual Conference of "Society of Architectural Historians (SAH)" Funded by "Keeper's Preservation Education Fund, Society of Architectural Historian", April 2015, Chicago, Illinois, USA.

Recent Publications

2017: 'TABULA RASA' Planning: Creative Destruction and Building a new Urban Identity in Tehran, *Journal of Architecture and Urbanism,* 40(4), 2016: 321-331.

2017: 'Unbuilt Utopian Plaza: Planning Shah and Nation Square in Tehran (1973-75)', 47th Annual Conference of the Urban Affairs Association, Minneapolis, Minnesota, USA.

2017: 'Manifestation of Modernity in Iranian Public Squares: Baharestan Square (1826-1978)', *International Journal of Heritage Architecture* 1 (3), 2017: 411-420.

2017: 'Manifestation of power: Toopkhaneh, Tehran', *Spaces and Flows: An international journal of Urban and ExtraUrban Studies,* 8(2), 77-88.

2016: 'Blank Slate: Squares and Political Order of the city', *Journal of Architecture and Urbanism,* 40(4), 321-331.

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2016: 'Squares as tools for urban transformation: Foundations for Designing the Iranian Public Squares', *Revista Brasileria de Planejamento e Desenvolvimento* 5(2), 246- 254.

2016: 'Investigating the role of historical public squares on promotion of citizen's quality of life', *Procedia Engineering* 161(c), 1768–1773.

2016: 'Urban Regeneration: A Comprehensive Strategy for Achieving Social Sustainability in Historical Public Squares', SGEM International Multidisciplinary Scientific Conference on Social Sciences and Arts (ISBN: 978-619-7105-54-4) Volume 2: 862-868.

2015: 'Architecture for Revolution: Democracy and Public space Case Study: Tehran, Capital of Politics', SAHGB (Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain) Graduate Student Research Forum, Edinburgh College of Art, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, UK.

2014: 'Recreation Architectural values of Sarvestan Garden and Pavilion', proceeding of 'Cultural Heritage: Present Challenges and Future Perspectives', Rome, Italy.

The Empty Locus of Power examines the relationship between democracy and the (trans)formations of urban space in Iran. Focusing on public squares, it traces their socio-political transformations as well as their role in instigating social transformations through examples that span from the pre-modern times to the present. In pursuing such analyses, this research engages with issues ranging from details of political histories of the case studies in public squares to the master plan of the city of Tehran. Focusing on Iranian context, the thesis examines the relationship between affordances of public spaces, their histories, and the emergence of critical social events and movements. The breadth of the topic has required the reader to engage with a rich body of architectural theory and history, as well as relevant texts in social theory. Building on the foundation of knowledge established in this research, the thesis engaged with variety of individual players involved in transforming planning and cities in the peripheries to understand the bigger historical, political, and social factors that shape such development processes.