

REREADING URBAN FORM IN TEHRAN SINCE THE 1920S  
IN THE CASE OF VALIASR STREET

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **REREADING URBAN FORM IN TEHRAN SINCE THE 1920S IN THE CASE OF VALIASR STREET**

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As part of an urban analysis of Tehran, the major question is how and to what extent an urban space (Valiasr Street and its surroundings) manifests urban developments in each epoch in its processes of production. Considering Valiasr Street as the urban backbone of the city, according to its extension and qualities of its surroundings, and by looking at the urban forms regarding this extension, this study will explore the nature of urban transformation under political circumstances and understand each period's urbanization and development of its urban form. While reconsidering partial accounts and qualities inherited in the street, Tehran's urban structure and thus its urbanization in constitution of urban identity of its inhabitants will make the scope of this research.

**Keywords:** Urban Structure, Urban Transformation, Ideologies, Representation, Valiasr Street

## ÖZ

### 1920 SONRASI TAHRAN'IN KENTSEL FORMUNU YENİDEN OKUMAK; VALIASR CADDESİ

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Tahran özelinde olmak üzere, araştırmanın temel sorusu kentsel mekanın (Valiasr Caddesi ve yakın çevresi bağlamında) nasıl ve hangi ölçeklerde üretim süreçleri içerisinde kentsel gelişmeleri doğrudan yansıttığı üzerinedir. Çalışmada Valiasr Caddesi, kentin temel omurgalarından bir tanesi olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Caddenin doğal uzantı ve yakın çevresinin nitelikleri irdelenerek, Tahran'ın kentsel formunun tarihsel gelişimi ve dönemsel kentselleşme projeleri politik gelişmelere bağlı olarak tartışılmaya açılmıştır. Valiasr Caddesi'nin içsel nitelikleri ve kısmi gelişmeleri de dikkate alınarak, Tahran'ın kentsel yapısı ve buna bağlı olarak, kent kimliğinin oluşumu sürecindeki kentselleşme modelleri bu araştırmanın içeriğini oluşturmaktadır.

**Anahtar sözcükler:** Kentsel Yapı, Kentsel Dönüşüm, İdeolojiler, Temsiliyet, Valiasr Caddesi

To My Family;  
*Afsaneh, Amir and Arash*

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1.Problem Definition

This thesis is aiming to study the transformation of the urban structure of Tehran in reference to the ideological shift in the dominant power in three major epochs. The Valiasr Street has been chosen as a major thoroughfare and connective artery of the city fabric which carries representational qualities through its extension according to the dominant power ideology.

Relating the analysis of the spatial transformation and its conceptualization in accordance with the dominant power ideology going under transformation itself in three different historical periods requires a social theory of space. Therefore as part of the analysis the framework developed by Lefebvre provides convenient conceptual tool for analyzing the matter.

In this regard Lefebvre points out the role of space in reproduction of capitalist social relations that leads him to re-orientation of historical materialism as a spatial problematic. According to Lefebvre the social space does not emerge through smooth processes stamping social structure onto physical space but it is the embodiment of social relations and structures as well as having an active role in the construction of these relations and structures. According to Lefebvre “the social space is a social product”.<sup>1</sup> Therefore from the outset Lefebvre asserts that in order to identify the modes of space production it is necessary to consider the modes of production of space as a social phenomenon which embodies analyzing specific relations of production in relation to the dominant power.<sup>2</sup> Therefore for this subject matter the ideological operations of each historical period will be considered as major factors of forming the urban structure as well as its transformation. The Lefebvre’s triad in this regard will be utilized to identify means of imposition of ideologies in each era in constitution of space. As he defines “Representation of

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<sup>1</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *the Production of Space*. Trans Donald Nicholson-Smith. (Malden, Mass:Blackwell, 2009), 26.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 33.

space” and “Representational spaces” the space production processes can be conceived through ideological apparatuses and can be read through their appropriation by their inhabitants. Lefebvre’s account on the visual realm and its readability is embodied in the notion of transparency as he asserts that nothing can escape the surveillance of power in this regard.<sup>3</sup> The perceived space as the physical qualities of the built environment relates to its inhabitants through mental processes of conception and therefore the conceived space is realized. In the third place he defines the lived space and its quality in creating the potential to transform this duality. Lefebvre believes that the spatial practices under capitalism operate through urban networks that connect the segregated zones with different functions embodying the daily routine of individuals or urban groups in the built environment.<sup>4</sup>

According to Gottdiener’s assertion the urbanization process in its conventional terms refers to the processes which transform the society from predominantly rural to urban in economical, cultural and well-being aspects. Within simple terms urbanization is defined with the density of the population residing in an area according to its natural forces, however in sociological terms urbanization is not only defined by these parameters but also by the operation of the dominant power in each historical epoch as well as the representational qualities of their ideologies and ideological processes.<sup>5</sup> According to Henri Lefebvre, under capitalist modes of production, modes of space production are similar to any other commodity in sense of fragmentation and homogenization which occurs under the law of being reproducible and repeatability. Further Lefebvre asserts that space is not only fragmented and homogenized by power but also it is hierarchical as the framework of power. Relations between space and state constitute historical role of state regulation through spatial means. Therefore an urban space is a representation of the dominant ideology (the abstract space) operating within its context (Concrete space).<sup>6</sup> In the case of Tehran, the power representation within the framework of space occurs through ideologies of each historical epoch and their ideological strategies. The abstract space operates through its ideology relations. The Valiasr Street formerly called the Pahlavi Street in the Pahlavi era as a major backbone of the city and its significant role in connecting the old urban core to the modernized and newly constructed urban fabric is the matter of study in this

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<sup>3</sup> Henri, Lefebvre, op. cit, 147.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 38.

<sup>5</sup> Mark Gottdiener, *the Social Production of Urban Space* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1985)

<sup>6</sup> Henri, Lefebvre, op. cit, 50-53.

research. This major street through its 25 km length and its south-north extension provides means of decentralization of the old city center. The modernizing role of the Valiasr Street in decentralization of the former city center and its penetration into the newly constructed regions and its role in carrying functions on its margins remain eminent in each era; therefore its construction and transformation in each historical period will be taken into consideration as it gains a modernizing effect on the city fabric.

By utilizing the concept of ideology in this research and in reference to Nicholas Abercrombie it is observed that he examines the main desire to challenge the dominant ideologies in this era is derived from Marx and Engels within the context of the German ideology and influencing fields such as sociology and culture. In this regard the dominant ideology manipulates various sets of beliefs in the dominant social classes that tend to serve the perpetuation of the dominant power and securing its operation. Furthermore this dominant ideology is adopted by certain social classes in order to prevent oppositions.<sup>7</sup> In the case of Iran the ideologies of the dominant power in each historical epoch will be studied according to their approach and their aim in construction of identity for the inhabitants. Abercrombie discusses two sets of theories conducted by Marx in order to identify the function of the dominant ideology for its subordinates. The first set according to Marx is defined as the superstructure that rises from the forms of property as a result of the social conditions that form a peculiar sentiments, illusions and modes of thought and views of life which runs within the body of a social class by means of tradition.<sup>8</sup>

The second theory on the other hand deals with the economic structure of society as the foundation of the superstructure. Therefore, means of production determines the superstructure in the sense that each mode of production has a dominated class which generates a dominant ideology. The effect of the dominant ideology is to facilitate the subordination of the working class. By this definition Marx asserts that the ruling power of each historical epoch is both the power that controls the material force and as a result of this matter is the society's ruling intellectual force.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Nicholas Abercrombie and Bryan S. Turner, "The Dominant Ideology Thesis", *The British Journal of Sociology* (Jun., 1978): 150.

<sup>8</sup> Karl, Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumair of Louise Bonaparte*, Selected Works of K. Marx and F. Engels, (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1968), 117-118.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, 64.

In reference to Abercrombie's discussion of the medium of transmission of ideology in medieval times the means of ideological penetration of the dominant power into the subordinate group was partly available to a select dominant class. In the case of power relations in Tehran by the advent of modernization during the reign of Reza Shah, certain powerful agencies were to transmit the ideology to the subordinate class since the means of legitimation were also far beyond the masses' expectation of morality and legitimacy of the dominant power as it was basically grounded in concepts such as nationalism and secularism that were in contradiction with the traditional and religious social structure of that era. Certain conceptions seemed to be impenetrable to the public according to their level of literacy and they remained accessible to certain groups with certain level of closeness to the body of power. However he believes that ideology of the dominant power remains pertinent to the dominant classes other than the secondary social classes and their involvement in such issues can only be explained through educational developments.<sup>10</sup> The means of transmission of ideology from the dominant power to its subordinate class in the three historical epochs in this study will be discussed in order to realize its effect in the transformation of the urban structure and therefore conveying the ruling class's message to the subordinates.

If people do not actively combat a political regime which oppresses them, it may not be because they have meekly imbibed its governing values. It may be because they are too exhausted after a hard day's work to have much energy left to engage in political activity, or because they are too fatalistic or apathetic to see the point of such activity. They may be frightened of the consequences of opposing the regime; or they may spend too much time worrying about their jobs and mortgages and income tax returns to give it much thought. Ruling classes have at their disposal a great many such techniques of 'negative' social control, which are a good deal more prosaic and material than persuading their subjects that they belong to a master race or exhorting them to identify with the destiny of the nation.<sup>11</sup>

The broad definition of ideology as a body of meanings and values encoding certain interests relevant to social power is plainly in need of some clarification. On the subject of ideology Terry Eagleton describes the certain characteristics for the ideological operations of the

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<sup>10</sup> Nicholas Abercrombie and Bryan S. Turner, op. cit. PP 159-160.

<sup>11</sup> Eagleton, Terry, "Ideological Strategies", *Ideology: an Introduction* (London: Verso, 1991), 34.

dominant power which explain the practical aspects of the matter as they are utilized by the dominant power in order to control the masses. According to Eagleton ideologies should have certain characteristics in order to secure the dominant power ideology and its perpetuation. The characters he assigns to the dominant ideologies are unification, action-orientation, rationalization, legitimation, universalization and naturalization.<sup>12</sup>

Transmitting the ideology to the society happens through various mediums as which architecture and urbanization is one. Therefore, the dominant power who owns the medium of this message and commissions it owns its meaning as well.

According to Habermas and his historical accounts on the notion of “public sphere” the aim of this concept is to form a common ground for public regardless of their stratum in order to promote public debate on matters of the common concern in reference to the dominant ideology.<sup>13</sup> However the political participation reinforces aspects of social and political developments, it is in fact the media and the elite who are controlling the public sphere. In the twentieth century according to the shift in the economic and governmental organizations and their replacement with big business sectors, the citizens have become mere consumers of the culturally mass produced products of the dominant ideology. Therefore a shift is visible in the social structure as well as the political functions and concepts and ideology of public sphere.<sup>14</sup>

In this era the concept of public sphere has merged into spaces of institutions between private interests of everyday life, civil society and the realm of state power. In this regard the public opinion that voices the public debate over common concerns through the medium of public debate, transforms to a part of governmental system managing issues of public control. Furthermore in the capitalist era the public sphere has taken the form of representing particular private interests of certain elites. The public sphere in this era in the medium of advancing interests of certain elites and not the public. The public on the other hand is no longer participating in debates regarding its own interests but rather receives the dominant ideology through the mass media as the ideology is mass produced and is transmitted to its spectators who are no longer the critical-rational debating public but the mere consumers of the mass

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid, 45-61.

<sup>13</sup> Douglas Kellner, “Habermas, the Public Sphere, and Democracy: A Critical Intervention”, [http://http://www.davidtinapple.com/comaff/Habermas\\_Public\\_Sphere\\_Democracy.pdf](http://http://www.davidtinapple.com/comaff/Habermas_Public_Sphere_Democracy.pdf) (accessed May 10, 2011)

<sup>14</sup> Ibid

produced ideological products transmitted to them through the ideological apparatuses namely as the media.<sup>15</sup> Within the scope of this research certain interests of the dominant power and related social classes will be studied in order to grasp the transformation of the urban structure in each period.

## 1.2. Structure Of The Thesis

In this research the theoretical framework is revolving around ideas obtained from concepts of “ideology”, the processes of the “production of social space” conducted by Henri Lefebvre and the notion of “public sphere” introduced by Jürgen Habermas. In this regard the general references will be the works of the mentioned philosophers, Nicholas Abercrombie and Terry Eagleton in order to study ideological strategies of the dominant power of each era.

For the study of the subject matter the sequence of this research is based on pursuit of an ideological framework where the political agency eminent in each studied historical period in this thesis reaches its ground of producing actions in accordance with the construction of the infrastructure of the society and as a result the urban development in reference to the processes of urban development in Tehran. The ideological framework playing a major role in the urban structure transformation is a matter of significance in this study.

The processes of production of urban space as spatial practices and the transformation of ideological representation as representations of space in Tehran’s urban space in reference to each dominant ideology since the 1920s are part of this research structure. The aim of this observation will be to conceive the urban identity within a space of representation assigned to the inhabitants in relation to the social processes and operations of the ruling class.<sup>16</sup>

The modernization period occurs after the extinction of the *Qajar* dynasty and by the beginning of the Pahlavi period under the reign of Reza Shah Pahlavi. For the scope of this thesis is to study the transformation of the urban structure according to modernization and its outcome, Three major eras are to be discussed . The first Pahlavi era will be studied as the advent of modernization in Iran, basically in the city of Tehran, where the most prominent actions towards

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<sup>15</sup> Craig J Calhoun, "Introduction", *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 1992), 23.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, 49.

modernizing a rather medieval city took place. The second major period will be the second Pahlavi era as the processes of modernizing takes a different turn in terms of perpetuation of the government's will. Finally the third period will cover the ideological framework and therefore the urban transformation taking place under the change in the power structure after the 1979 "Islamic Revolution". This chronological review will be obtained through a historical account of each period in reference to the urban transformation and its architecture.

The first historical period studied in this thesis is the first Pahlavi era under the reign of Reza Shah Pahlavi between the years 1925-1941. After the 1921 coup supported by the British a new political figure is introduced to Iran who parallel to the modernization of the western countries embarked on a modernizing agenda in construction of the infrastructure. In this chapter by reviewing Reza Shah's ideologies and the ideological apparatuses utilized during the years of his monarchy in order to constitute a rather "new" national identity, the urban structural development will be studied as an attempt to trace the roots of Iranian modernization. As one of the major efforts in this era is the construction of the transportation network as the modern means of connecting different parts of the city. Within this scope the construction of the "Pahlavi Street", as the longest thoroughfare in the urban structure and an ideological apparatus to demonstrate the state power is significant. Furthermore its role in decentralizing the old city center that had been identified as the traditional center representing backwardness and "old" ideologies of the deceased *Qajar* Dynasty is important to this study. Tehran in this period acquires a modern appearance as the capital of Iran. In the second part of this chapter the processes of the main structural developments of the city will be studied and properties of the city framework that depict the conformation of Tehran into a rather bureaucratic and industrial city will be identified. The condition of the main urban structure consisting of the transportation network and the old city center as the starting point of the urban development and their evolution in the city within the context of modernizing through a review of the skeletal structure of the city and its fabric will be studied. Furthermore the role of the Pahlavi Street in mobilizing the old city center and divergence of its functions into the newly constructed urban fabric will demonstrate the effect of the imposed grid of transportation network on the transformation of the city structure.

The modernizing efforts of the second Pahlavi era will be studied as they continue to follow Reza Shah's modernizing program in the sense of constitution of a national identity. Following



the footsteps of the father, his son Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi tends to reinforce the national identity of the Iranians through a different ideological perspective that was to revitalize the ancient Iranian history by means of glorification of the old *Achaemenian Empire* rather than imposing his self-driven modernization efforts similar to the previous period. Through an agenda named “The White Revolution” in the 1960s Mohammad Reza Shah embarked on a reforming program aiming to undergo major efforts in westernizing the country and bring about better life conditions for people. Alongside its modernizing and westernizing character in constructing the infrastructure this agenda relied on concepts of a glorious distant past such as the “openness” of the ancient culture as it tended to embrace other cultures and the gate-like quality of the country. Therefore in through the development of the urban structure these concepts were utilized to imply mottos basically rooted in the ancient culture. According to the location of the city center as the main core of urban development the concept of openness will be studied in terms of the radial extension of the urban functions alongside the main streets and their penetration of functions into the newly constructed regions. Also, the newly constructed urban fabric and its characters conforming to openness rather than density in the traditional fabric will be the matter of study in this chapter in respect to the population growth and capital accumulation according to economic evolutions of this period.

Religious traditions have a special power to articulate moral intuitions, especially with regard to vulnerable forms of communal life. In the event of the corresponding political debates, this potential makes religious speech a serious candidate to transporting possible truth contents, which can then be translated from the vocabulary of a particular religious community into a generally accessible language.<sup>17</sup>

Keeping the track of modernization this study will examine a major shift in ideology from nationalist-secular to Islamic in the Islamic Republic period. The Islamic ideology and its ideological apparatuses will be discussed as a conceptual tool to measure the urban development of the period. Also the utilization of modern elements such as the main streets of the city as means of transmission of ideology namely the Valiasr Street (formerly known as the Pahlavi Street) will be discussed.

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<sup>17</sup> Jürgen, Habermas, "Religion in the Public Sphere." *European Journal of Philosophy* (April 2006), <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-0378.2006.00241.x/abstract> (accessed June 15, 2011)

Finally the urban functions of the city will be identified through a historical approach. Operations and functions in each period as well as their processes of their transformation will be studied; mainly the political, commercial and bureaucratic functions. The previously discussed historical periods will be utilized in order to classify the chronology of the urban development and its transformation in reference to the role of the main streets in decentralization of the old city core. The Valiasr Street remains one of the significant elements in transmission of ideology in each epoch as it carries the urban functions through its south-north extension.

### **Final Words**

It is expected to obtain an understanding the representational and transforming quality of one of the major streets in the urban structure of Tehran, the Valiasr Street and realize the transformation pattern of Tehran by rereading its urban architecture through the processes of decentralization of the city of its old core and its divergence under the modernizing efforts of first and second Pahlavi periods and after 1979 revolution.

## Chapter 2

### 2. THE ADVENT OF MODERNIZATION (1925-1941)

#### 2.1. The Reign of Reza Shah Pahlavi

##### 2.1.1. The Coup D'état



**Figure 2.1 Portrait of Reza Shah after His Coronation, Tehran, 1926.**

[Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: [http://www.niasnet.org/iran-history/persian-leaders/reza\\_shah\\_pahlavi/](http://www.niasnet.org/iran-history/persian-leaders/reza_shah_pahlavi/)  
[Accessed: 22 March 2011].

Through a deep historical review *Keddie*, an Iranian professor of Eastern, Iranian, and women's history<sup>18</sup>, states that during 1921-26 the country was facing chaos according to numerous internal and external matters. From within, the crises were mainly the military turmoil followed by the First World War, revolts, economic challenges and the British efforts in defending India, and Iran's oil against bolshevism and the weak and unpopular king. The foreign crises present at the time were the Russian and Caucasian revolution, nationalist and pro-shi'i movements

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<sup>18</sup> From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

against the British in Iraq, Turkey's fight against foreign occupation as well as nationalist and pro-Islam movements in India.<sup>19</sup>

During this time, the presence of a strong British army in the country and its anti-Bolshevik policy, led to the dismissal of the Russian White Officer of the Cossack Brigade by the British intervention and his replacement with an Iranian officer, known as Reza Khan with the direct order of General Edmund Ironside. Ironside was a British commander in chief who was in charge of the British Royal Army.<sup>20</sup> Reza Khan, who had been trained in the Cossack brigade, was in charge of the shah's body guards as well as assignment to other duties and services such as guard duties at legations before he took over the brigade as the chief officer.<sup>21</sup>

This was the time when the way of the 1921 coup by Reza Khan and *Seyyed Zia Tabatabaie*, an Iranian politician, had been paved by the intervention of the British. Marching from Qazvin to Tehran (located in 150 km west of Tehran) Reza Khan almost faced no opposition in staging his coup and successfully forced the government to resign. The last member of the Qajar Dynasty at throne, Ahmad Shah Qajar, due to his very young age (14 years old) was officially powerless in ruling the country and preferably left the power.<sup>22</sup>

After the 1921 coup d'état, an autocratic government was created with the strength of performing reform and centralization of the country. Reza Khan's first appearance in the body of power was as the commander of army and *Seyyed Zia Tabatabaie* became the Prime Minister. Later in April 1921 he also took over the Ministry of War and acquired the title "Reza Khan-e-Sardar Sepah" which literally means the commander in chief. The processes of this coup d'état are known to be interfered indirectly by the British government who wished to halt

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<sup>19</sup> Nikkie R, Keddie, *Qajar Iran and the Rise of Reza Khan, 1796-1925* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 1999), 79-88.

<sup>20</sup> "Edmund Ironside; the first Baron Ironside", [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edmund\\_Ironside,\\_1st\\_Baron\\_Ironside#Interwar\\_period](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edmund_Ironside,_1st_Baron_Ironside#Interwar_period) (accessed December 30, 2010)

<sup>21</sup> Joseph M, Upton, *The History of Modern Iran; an Interpretation* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1960), 49.

<sup>22</sup> Ervand , Abrahamian, , *Iran Between Two Revolutions* (NJ: Princeton UP,1982), 116-117.

the Bolsheviks' penetration of Iran particularly because of the threat it posed to the British colonial possession of India.<sup>23</sup>

### **2.1.2. The Construction of Infrastructure**

The new administrative system was in favor of modernization that had emerged since the First World War by means of “Autocratic Control”<sup>24</sup>. In this period the intellectual strata had a fair understanding of modern currents such as Nationalism, Constitutionalism, Democracy and Socialism both radical and moderate.

Reza Khan proclaimed several social reforms alongside preferring the unity of Iranians in the army body despite the British and Russian intention, although creation of a national army always remained central to his power and programs.

His major efforts according to the social reforms could be mentioned as:

- The reform in the political structure; imprisonment of the notables
- The denunciation of the 1919 anglo-persian agreement
- The denunciation of Iranian-soviet agreement
- The agrarian reform
- Measures for public education and health
- Re-establishment of the parliament
- Reinforcement of army against autonomous and rebellious movements
- Giving divisions in the capital and the country
- Building up domestic and foreign allies with Conservative and moderate parties  
Leaving aside British interest in Persian gulf security and oil
- Planning the trans-Iranian railway to the southern port of Khorramshahr (previously Muhammareh) by keeping the Amir of Khuzestan under house arrest in Tehran till his death and renaming Arabestan province to Khuzestan

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid

<sup>24</sup> Sanjoy, Mazumdar, op. cit, 331-338.

- Renunciation of the Soviet Iranian treaties
  - Distribution of state lands to peasants
  - Creating schools
  - Construction of roads and railroads
  - Turning to US for financial advice 1922-27 in tax collection which its purpose was to accumulate more money for social developments such as building the trans-Iranian railroad. Taking advantage of foreign loans occurred with American financial mission under Dr. Millspaugh.
  - arresting and killing many of the tribal leaders
- 
- obliging Iranians to obtain birth certificate
  - organizing a uniform metric system and solar calendar based on Mohammad's Hijari date
  - establishment of Central Council of Federated Trade Unions by Socialist Communist Parties conducting strikes despite the fact that there were few modern industries leading to the establishment of *Tudeh* Party (radical left) in 1941
  - Campaigning for a republic inspired by Atatürk in Turkey although in the end the *Ulema* stated that the republic is prohibited by Islam.
  - The glorification of pre-Islamic Iranian nationalism in order to break from the *Qajar* dynasty which had been known responsible for Iran's decline and decadence by *Reza Khan*. Therefore many of the European measures had been undertaken. And governmental and public structure recalled the architectural antiquity-the ancient past as a shared locus of identity.
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- Establishment of a government that is capable of reforming centralization and independence and modernization. This effort had been supported by the intellectuals, the middle class, elites and common people.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Joseph M, Upton, op. cit, 53-87.

\*The name Pahlavi refers to an ancient Persian language and implies the desire of Raza Shah in promoting pre-Islamic Iranian history. On the other hand his intention was to prove the legitimacy of his monarchy by referring to the ancient successful monarchical regime of the Achaemenian.

Finally in December, 12, 1925 the dynasty change occurred under a constituent assembly as Ahmad Shah fled to Europe. Reza Khan took the name Reza Shah Pahlavi\* and his coronation ceremony in 1926 at the age of 48 officially announced the change in dynasty from Qajar to Pahlavi and launched a new socio-political era.

Departing from the past and by the beginning of a new era, Reza Shah continued his efforts by embarking on the program of Modernization, Persianization, Centralization and Development. As a result the growth of the middle class according to public welfare and education was impressive. Reza Shah's Modernizing campaign attempted to reform all aspects of society and creating a unifying identity for a fragmented territory in terms of linguistic, ethnics and religions, and the urban fabric by linking the present to the pre-Islamic past that is the 19<sup>th</sup> century approach to history. The great Achaemenian Empire (6<sup>th</sup> century B.C) as principal focal point during the Pahlavi era (1925-1979) remained as an apparatus of recreating a glorified national identity alongside with a national narrative. Within the term "Autocratic Control" Mazumdar explains how the power, decision making and ideology is effective in mainly transforming the urban fabric. The power operation towards Nationalism in this era occurred through institutional factors such as political, administrative social and religious structure of the society.<sup>26</sup>

### **2.1.3. The Construction of National Identity**

The purpose was to create homogenous citizens within a homogenous nation-state. Therefore such effort demanded major environmental and infrastructural reforms discussed previously. In order to lend national coherence in a new level, a sense of unity had to be given to the Persian nationhood either by juxtaposing symbols of an already existing tradition mainly imported from Europe which had been radically Modern or by taking advantage of the ancient history to gain immediate eminence and permanent legitimacy to rule over the Iranian nation. In this regard Reza Shah was personally in charge of modernizing Iran's social and urban landscape.

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<sup>26</sup> Sanjoy, Mazumdar, op. cit, P. 329.

The continued efforts towards creating a homogenized nation, after Reza Shah's coronation were based on three main pillars namely as a modern army, governmental bureaucracy and court patronage according to *Mostafa Vaziri* while he discusses national identity.<sup>27</sup> In the fragmented and decentralized Iran of that time Reza Shah's first attempt was to decentralize tribes in order to create single cultured and a mono-linguistic country. Therefore by the help of a modern army the homogenization was applied by organizing provinces obeying the central state in a unified manner. Following the decentralization of the tribes a uniform educational system was imposed on each segment of Iran in order to transform it into a single cultural and linguistic entity. The state-wide secular education system contradicting the cleric educational system paid much attention to the participation of women and praised their educational improvement. Later in 1934 Tehran University was opened as the first higher educational vocation for both genders that had been a revolutionary social and intellectual event undermining the clerics through a secular educational system. A secular, modernized and state-controlled education was to provide the new generation with a new level of understanding and communication outside the religious boundaries of social behavior and interaction between men and women. Moreover the dress reform which outlawed the traditional dress in favor of western dress code and the forbiddance of wearing Islamic costume by women, aimed in orchestrating citizens' appearance towards creating a homogeneous nation.<sup>28</sup> The construction of infrastructure, accessibility and availability of means of communication provided under Reza Shah's monarchy alongside with his nationalist mottos and a national anthem under the same flag gradually brought a sense of belonging to the 'Iranian Nation' to the inhabitants and the 'being Iranian' imagination began to occur although many of the peripheral regions such as Azerbaijan, Kurdistan and Khuzestan, etc. stood on the threshold of an imagined unified nation, the political attempts were so well perceived by the citizens.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Mostafa Vaziri, *Iran as Imagined Nation; the Constitution of National Identity* (New York, NY: Paragon House, 1993), 261.

<sup>28</sup> Talinn Grigor, *Building Iran: Modernism, Architecture, and National Heritage under the Pahlavi Monarchs* (New York: Periscope, 2009), 16.

<sup>29</sup> Benedict, Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. (London: Verso, 1991), 85-86.



#### 2.1.4. Tehran, a Modernized Capital

In order to provide sufficient information about the transformation of the urban structure of Tehran it is necessary to have a brief review on the history of Tehran and its formation as the capital city of Iran.

Tehran, a city on the extension of mount Damavand the highest peak of Iran was a small village outside the borders of the city of Ray, till the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It was situated at the intersection of two major trade highways namely as the east-west on the southern edge of *Alborz* mountain and the north-south route that connected the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf. The city of *Ray* has been inhabited for thousands of ray as the capital of the Seljuk dynasty in the 11<sup>th</sup> century and finally declined at the end of the medieval period as Tehran began to grow.<sup>30</sup>

Until the 16<sup>th</sup> century the town of Tehran was not well-known and its neighbors such as *Varamin*, ray and *Qazvin* were more important according to urban development history.<sup>31</sup> However not much reliable information is available according to the history of Tehran urbanization it is obtained from the historical studies that Tehran started about 300 years ago as a city during the reign of *Shah Tahmasb Safavid* (1514-1576). The first town planning considerable of study was executed in Tehran in 1553 with the construction of the city walls and the *Bazaar*.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> L, Lockhart, op. cit, 38.

<sup>31</sup> Sanjoy, Mazumdar, "Autocratic Control and Urban Design: The Case of Tehran, Iran", *Journal of Urban Design* (2000), 317-318.

<sup>32</sup> Abbas, Moghaddam, "Bazaar the achievement of the Islamic civilization; A short history of the Tehran Bazaar", *The Newsletter of Chamber of Commerce publication of the Chamber of Commerce, Industries & Mines of the Islamic Republic of Iran*, (Feb. 1994), <http://www.ivl.8m.com/iran38.htm> (accessed April 20, 2011)



**Figure 2.2 Outside the Walls of Tehran in the age of Safavids**, source: Milad tower Archive Tehran



**Figure 2.3 Outside the walls of Tehran in the first half of the eighteenth century**, source: archive of Milad tower Tehran

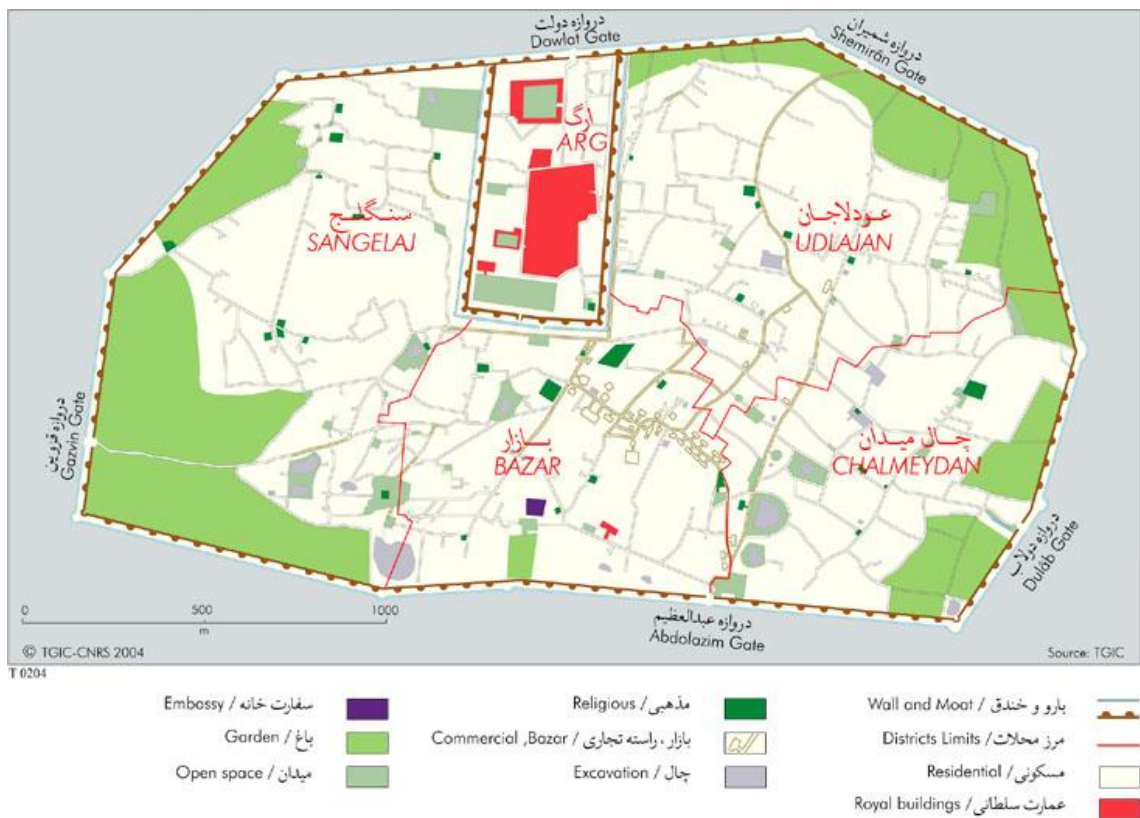


**Figure 2.4** Inside the city wall of Tehran in the second half of the eighteenth century, source picture archive of the Milad Tower

One of the first monuments of Tehran (which remained until 1870) was the enclosed rampart and the city walls which were 2 km long with 114 towers and had gates on four sides, in accordance with the pattern of ancient Persian cities. In 1720, during the reign of *Shah Tahmaseb II*, Tehran became the capital of Iran for a short time, but later *Karim Khan Zand* (1705-1779) chose his hometown Shiraz to be capital of Iran. Tehran's first royal palace was built in Karim Khan Zand's era. There is still a small remnant of this palace standing in Golestan (Qajar's Royal residence), which is known as Karim Khan's Chamber. Because of Tehran's specific geo-political situation (its centric position and distance from the borders) in 1785, Aqa Mohammad Khan Qajar chose the city as the permanent capital of Iran.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Vasilij Vladimirovich Barthold, *An Historical Geography of Iran*, Trans. Svat Soucek, ed. C.E. Bosworth (NJ: Princeton University, 1984)



**Figure 2.5 Berzin's Map.** In *Atlas of Tehran Metropolis*. [Internet, WWW] ADDRESS: [http://www.irancarto.cnrs.fr/contents.php?v=3&c=\\*&l=en](http://www.irancarto.cnrs.fr/contents.php?v=3&c=*&l=en) [Accessed 12 June 2011]

During the *Qajar* period the city wall, gateways and the *Arg* complex were reconstructed and expanded, but they remained along traditional lines of social and spatial urbanization. The network of buildings and streets grew more complex but did not undergo fundamental or planned changes in structure.<sup>34</sup>

One of the first maps of Tehran, which was drawn by *Elias Berezin* in 1847, shows the structure of the city surrounded by its wall. The wall functioned as a protection and had 114 guard towers. The city wall, was limiting the urban expansion.

<sup>34</sup>Mina Marefat, *Building to Power: Architecture of Tehran in 1921-1941*, Thesis (MIT: Dept. of Architecture, 1988), 18.



The city gateways made the control of immigration possible for the governors. In Berezin's map five main entrances of Tehran are shown (city-gateways): Gate *Dawlat* - to the north, Gate *Shemiran* - to the north, Gate *Doulab* - to the east, Gate *Abdol-Azim* - to the south, Gate *Qazvin* - to the west.

A map, drawn only ten years later in 1857 by *Krziz* enables us to trace the expansion of Tehran to the north and south.



**Figure 2.6** Tehran in 1857, Krziz's Map.

[Internet, WWW] ADDRESS: [http://www.irancarto.cnrs.fr/contents.php?v=3&c=\\*&l=en](http://www.irancarto.cnrs.fr/contents.php?v=3&c=*&l=en) [Accessed 12 June 2011]

One notable difference between Krziz's and Berzin's map is a number of roads to *Shemiran* (the north part of the city) and to the west, which are not shown in Berzin's map. The physical pattern of *mahallas* consisted of a hierarchy of streets and alleys. Their rapid development during this period can be seen by comparing Berzin's and Krziz's map.

In 1891, Tehran was renamed Dar-ol-Khelafa Naseri (Naserledein Shah's seat of the caliphate of Islam). Lots of urban changes happened during the last decade of the nineteenth century. To accommodate further expansion of the city, another wall was constructed and the city's gateways were increased to 12 (three on each side).

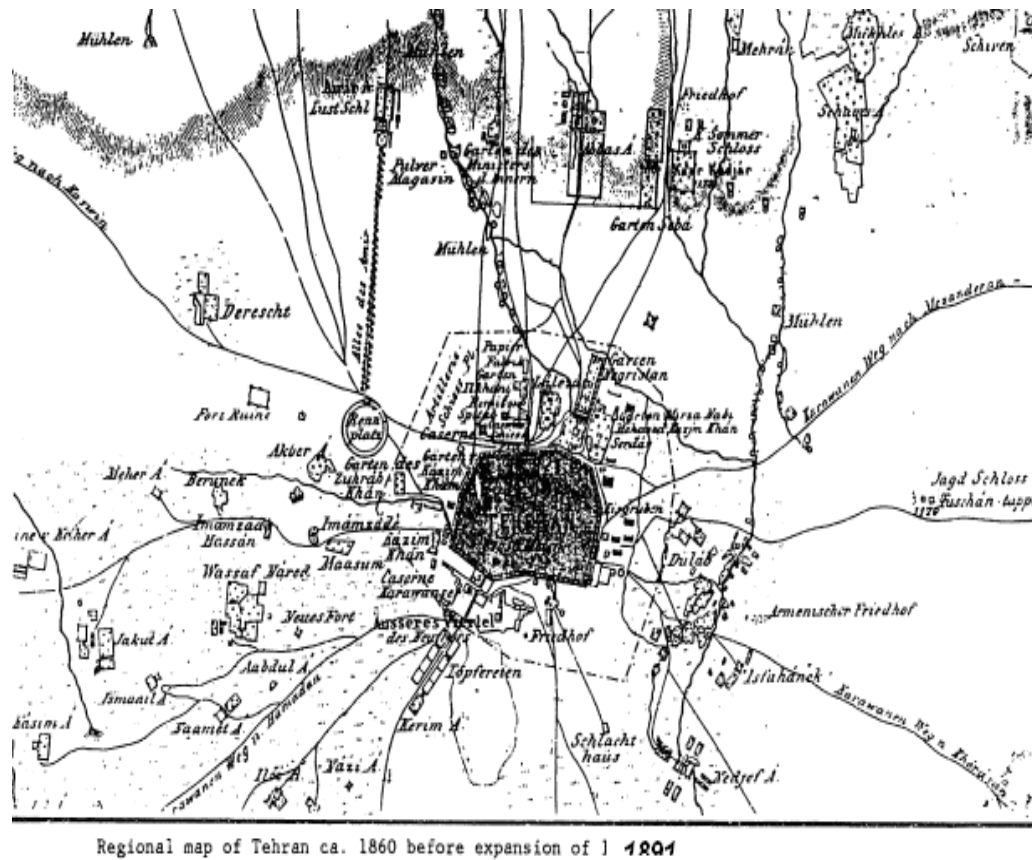
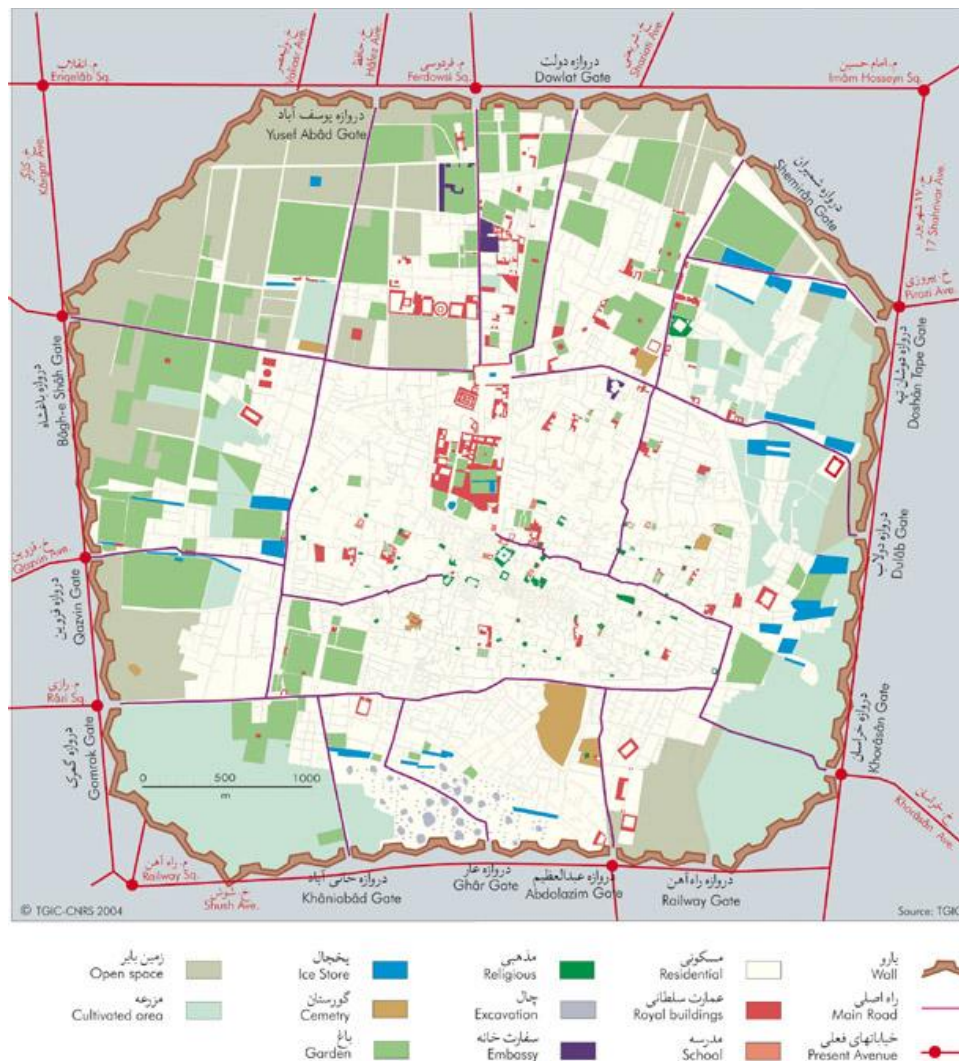


Figure 2.7 Regional Map of Tehran Ca. 1840 before Expansion of 1891, source: Marefat, 1988.

In 1891, an Iranian engineer *Abdolghaffar Najmolk* drew a map of Tehran showing its new boundaries. The map was based on the studies of the students of Tehran's Polytechnic under the supervision of *Najmolk*. The circumference of the city measured around 19,200 meters. There were approximately 9,000 houses. The city was divided into six districts (*Mahallas*) called: *Mahalleh Doulat*, *Sangalaj*, *Bazar*, *Oudlajan*, *Chalmaydan* and *Arge Saltanati*.



**Figure 2.8** Tehran in 1892 Abdolqafar's map, *Atlas of the greater Tehran*. [Internet, WWW] ADDRESS: [http://www.irancarto.cnrs.fr/contents.php?v=3&c=\\*%&l=en](http://www.irancarto.cnrs.fr/contents.php?v=3&c=*%&l=en) [Accessed 12 June 2011]

It can be said that Tehran's urban structure during the *Qajars* (before the *Pahlavis*) was traditional in form and function. During the nineteenth century Tehran had three major urban expansions, but until 1920 its urban character remained unchanged. It can be seen as the continuation of an urban tradition which defines the roots of urban growth. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the construction of new urban functions led to the northward expansion of the city during the modernizing period of the first Pahlavi era till present.

Mina Marefat through a vast historical investigation points out the history of Tehran becoming the capital city. Through her investigation she states that according to the modernization of the urban fabric since the government resided in Tehran, efforts took place in order to Tehran to a modernized capital comparable to Isfahan and Shiraz.

Tehran's significance began to emerge from 18th Century onwards due to economic shift to Tehran. Since then the streets had been widened and buildings rose rapidly regardless of a systematic preservation system. The structures affecting Tehran's development and its urban alteration is basically the holy aspect of Ray city as a religious pole causing Tehran's westward expansion and its socio-political implications in undermining the significance of Islam.

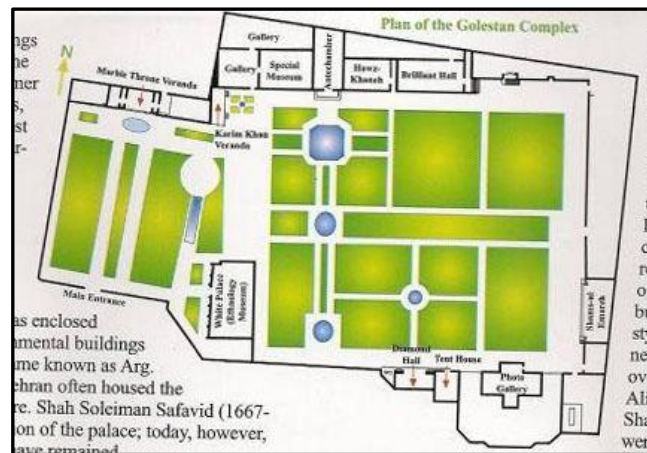
The Urban Modernization in Tehran started with the removal of the city walls, as representatives of the control of the old regime (Qajar) and demolishing the old gates between 1923 and 1927 provided the unlimited expansion of the city. The primary steps towards Modernizing Tehran occurred alongside with turning down the *Arg (Golestan palace complex)* walls so the ministries were visible and accessible by the public and the Replacement of old residential buildings of the *Arg* with large scale modern buildings for ministry of finance and justice, reconstruction of the structure and constructing state administrative buildings. Also the poor neighborhood adjacent to the *Arg* had been destructed and replaced by the largest planned landscape known as *bagh-e-melli* (national Garden, also known as City Park). The inner city was opened for expansion providing the possibility to decentralize the traditional bureaucratic network which consisted of interest groups with great socio-economic power; the *Bazaar*, the



*Ulema* and the old residential quarters providing the government with the control over the urbanism in order to decentralize dense traditional centers.<sup>35</sup>



**Figure 2.9 The Old Arg Complex Before Demolition In The Beginning Of Reign Of Reza Shah Pahlavi.** [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://www.tebyan.net/index.aspx?pid=11952> [Accessed: 22 March 2011].



**Figure 2.10 Tehran Arg Complex after Renewal in the First Pahlavi era.**

In this period the promotion of open public spaces through the modernizing efforts of the ruling power led to construction of public parks and open green spaces in large scale.

[Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://mytourismcourse.blogfa.com/post-153.aspx> [Accessed: 22 March 2011].

<sup>35</sup> Marefat, Mina. *Building to Power: Architecture of Tehran 1921-1941*. Thesis. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Dept. of Architecture, 1988.



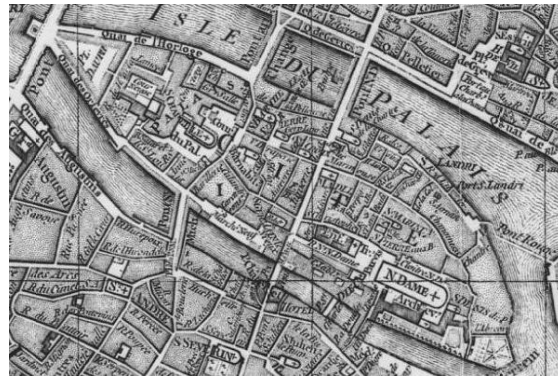
**Figure 2.11** Golestan palace complex after renewal and city part (Bagh-e-Melli), Google Earth. November 14 2010. March 30 2011.

The power and ideology of the ruling class had to be defined in the tectonics of the city's Architecture, explains *Talinn Grigor*. Considering the ancient architecture as successful and glorified, the buildings erected in this era are either copies from the past or implying an abstraction of a building type or simply an abstraction of a function embodying notions of Iranian Nationalism, Formal Modernism translated through revivalism of an Ancient History. As a result the Architecture became an apparatus to empower political condition and embodied a symbolic urban role in creation of a national narrative, fabricated in the city while simultaneously baring the hidden political agenda of urban control within their presence at specific locations in the capital by symbolizing a mighty monarch aspiring to a centralized government at a time when the country was suffering from fragmentation and tribal unrest outside the borders of the capital Tehran.<sup>36</sup>

The city underwent great scale fundamental changes mainly according to the Haussmanian fashion of modernizing. The modern city of Tehran acquired the consideration of building

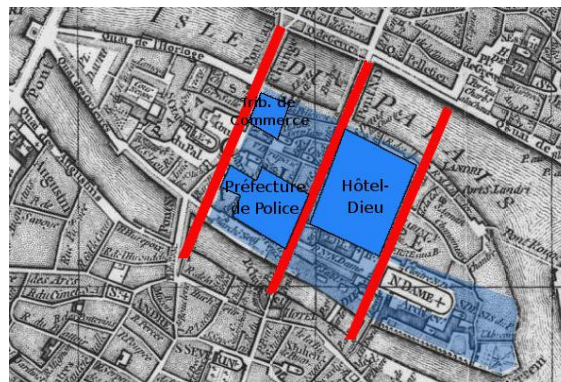
<sup>36</sup> Grigor, Talinn, op. cit, 18.

“Modern Streets” through methods reminiscent of Baron Haussmann. Many of the ministers and key architects were familiar with the Parisian paradigm of reconstruction. Therefore an orthogonal grid of streets was superimposed to the existing dense irregular pattern of the old city. Paved and widened boulevards, separated pedestrian and vehicle traffic lines represented the image of a modernized city.<sup>37</sup>



**Figure 2.12 The Île de la Cité and its medieval surroundings before the Haussmann works (Vaugondy map of 1771. [Internet, WWW] ADDRESS:**

[http://www.search.com/reference/haussmann's\\_renovation\\_of\\_paris](http://www.search.com/reference/haussmann's_renovation_of_paris) [Accessed: 21 May 2011]



**Figure 2.13 The Île de la Cité transformed by Haussmann: new transverse streets (red), public spaces (light blue) and buildings (dark blue). [Internet, WWW] ADDRESS:**

[http://www.search.com/reference/Haussmann's\\_renovation\\_of\\_Paris](http://www.search.com/reference/Haussmann's_renovation_of_Paris). [Accessed: 21 may 2011]

<sup>37</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georges-Eug%C3%A8ne\\_Haussmann](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georges-Eug%C3%A8ne_Haussmann)

According to Mina Marefat's Thesis dissertation in terms of architecture and construction, Reza shah personally initiated and directed a public building program defining a new function for the city as well as creating a modern profession of architecture in Iran. The aim of the new construction program was creating new forms without precedent in Iran as well as creating a new paradigm.<sup>38</sup> Reza shah's determined modernizing vision as well as nationalistic intentions and dislike in religious intervention and breaking from Islamic conventions had empowered his modernizing efforts however, Lenczowski believes that unlike Atatürk in Turkey, Reza shah managed to establish a monarchy and considered a new constitution in glorifying and revitalizing consciousness of the ancient *Achaemenid* architecture in terms of symbolism.<sup>39</sup> The new construction rather incarnated a modernist version of pre-Islamic tectonics appropriated and interpreted from the remains of ancient structures still standing in Iran conforming mainly to Zoroastrian prototypes.<sup>40</sup> Although in this period, buildings became symbolic expression of the state while poorly adopting copies of canonical "International Style" traits as means of westernizing the East.<sup>41</sup>

Baring in mind the importance of the western judgment, Reza shah's efforts were towards a future where Iran is no longer to be seen as a backward country and Tehran as a representative city to itself and to the world must have embodied his beliefs and intentions and principles in its social and urban landscape. In this period a 'New Order' was provided which brought about notions of Industrialism, Anti-Tribal Centralism, Educational Development, State Capitalism and Secularism through the institutionalization and intensification of ideas of Nationalism and Modernism generated in the previous century.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Mina, Marefat, op. cit, 29.

<sup>39</sup> George, Lenczowski, "From Attestation of Independence to the White Revolution", in *Iran under the Pahlavis*, (CA: Hoover institution press, 1978), 104.

<sup>40</sup> Talinn , Grigor, op. cit, 9.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. P. 10

<sup>42</sup> Nikki R Keddie and Yann Richard, *Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2003), 27.  
The national consciousness in creation of Nationalistic sentiment started in 19th century which led to the Constitutional Revolution in 1905-06. Therefore the roots of Nationalist Modernism and Revivalist reforms of the 20th century are found in the social-intellectual movements of 19th century Qajar Iran

Grigor believes that analogous to the expanding and self-promoting centralized Pahlavi government the building of monuments, modern squares and large avenues emerged. They were supposed to inspire openness, honesty and democracy in their appearance and be reflective of the New State by their own physical character. The purpose of these elements was to introduce a new relationship between state and people by undermining traditional institutions and represent the reshuffling of the social structure. Through conducting a new dialogue, the government was aiming to interact with its people on a different level making them face the state by emphasizing on the centrality of it. Therefore, pre-Islamic image had been brought back and intimated a rational future.<sup>43</sup>

Since the state was the setter of style, changes occurring in Tehran were fundamental and the pace was rapid. The message transmitted was Nationalism and secularism and the symbolic language chosen was the pre-Islam imagery that was the power of the ancient Persian Empire. Acquiring a new symbolic language declared the significance of the ancient culture that aimed to undermine the power of religion according to the nationalist secular propaganda.<sup>44</sup>

Since architecture became the state propaganda, archeology became the suitable vocabulary in that era, since the two decades between the world wars became the hay day of Persian architecture, museums in the oriental institute in Chicago, the British museum in London and also Leningrad hosted the Persepolis ruins in the 1930s. Another vocabulary utilized in this era could be named as post-Islamic as it uses the terms “modern”, “functional” and “secular”. Making the demarcation between “modern” and “traditional” in monuments and public buildings<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Talinn Grigor, op. cit, 11.

<sup>44</sup> Joseph M, Upton, *The History of Modern Iran; an Interpretation* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1960) , 42.

<sup>45</sup> Mina Marefat, op. cit.,73.

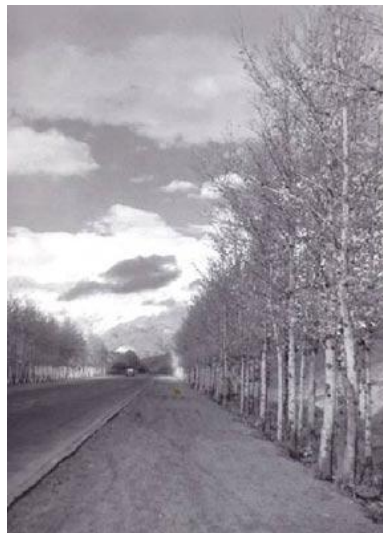


### 2.1.5. The Case of Pahlavi Street

*“The street is no longer track for cattle, but a machine for traffic, an apparatus for its circulation, a new organ, a construction in itself and of the utmost importance, a sort of extended workshop.”<sup>46</sup> Le Corbusier*



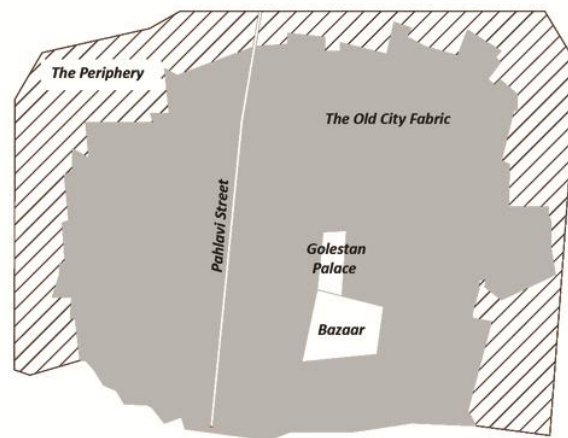
**Figure 2.14 Pahlavi Street (Valiasr Street) in the first Pahlavi era.** [Internet, WWW] ADDRESS: <http://www.khabaronline.ir/news-147300.aspx>. [Access: 21 May 2011]



**Figure 2.15 Pahlavi Street (Valiasr Street) in the first Pahlavi era.** [Internet, WWW] ADDRESS: [http://www.fouman.com/history/img/Tehran\\_Pahlavi\\_Street\\_1955\\_small.jpg](http://www.fouman.com/history/img/Tehran_Pahlavi_Street_1955_small.jpg) [Accessed: 21 May 2011]

<sup>46</sup> Le Corbusier, *The City of Tomorrow* (Cambridge: M.I.T, 1929), 123.

Built by Reza shah and named after the Monarch the Pahlavi Street traversed all the way from *Dolat* district in the north to the railway station in the south. The 25 km long street portrayed the state authority through a figurative representation. The asphalt paved street featured tree-lined pedestrian paths with water from open irrigation ditches along its entire length. In the northern part it became the most fashionable and prestigious residential areas, housing villas and walk-up apartments. At major intersections commercial nodes, luxury shops and cafés appeared. The building regulation along the Pahlavi Street allowed only 2-storey buildings-inspected by shah himself. The planning outlook of shah was more of function, although aesthetics had been taken into account by planting plane trees alongside the route, formerly the *Safavid* favorite tree, later known as *chenar abbasi* (Maple).<sup>47</sup> The street gradually transformed into a commercial hub, attracting population and visitors.



**Figure 2.16 Pahlavi Street (Valiasr Street) in the first Pahlavi era.** (Drawing by the author)  
This image displays the positioning of the Pahlavi Street in reference to the existing central core of the Arg governmental complex and Bazaar.

The street as an object of representation shifted the Islamic understanding of space as the subject of attention to a void residing in it the elements of modernization and the ideas of openness of space and modern spaces were introduced. Therefore in the new modern open space

<sup>47</sup> Mina Marefat, op. cit, 80-86.

the buildings inherently carried representative meanings.<sup>48</sup> Street as a new urban symbol was added to the urban vocabulary of Tehran in this era. While the old symbolizing revolved around buildings such as mosques and religious schools (*Madreseh*) and *Bazaar*, in order to acquire a modernistic vision on urbanism modern terms replaced the traditional. The new civilization symbol was production and capital and modernist visions which the street in its entirety was witnessing their activities.<sup>49</sup>

The Pahlavi Street through its northward extension promoted the urban architecture of Tehran in many senses. The upward expansion of the city led to more construction in north of Tehran and many inhabitants especially the *Bazaar* merchants began residing in this region. Reza Shah completed the building of a new palatial complex known as *Sa'd Abad* and the region became rich in terms of urban facilities and leisure. Firstly by connecting northern part to the south, where the traditional fabric of the *Bazaar* and residents lived, it provided the government with the possibility of defense against raids from the south. Secondly the extensive avenue promoted the use of vehicles and public transportation as means of travelling.

#### **2.1.6. Conclusion**

The imposition of an exoteric grid of streets promoting open space, on the esoteric and closed fabric of the old neighborhoods of Tehran caused the emergence of bipolarity between north and south. As the northern parts began developing economically and socially, the southern regions remained rigid to the urban transformation in this era. Moreover the antagonism of the clerics (*Ulema*) promoted their resistance.

Many of the negative features alongside modernization under the reign of Reza Shah stemmed from brutal autocracy and therefore the antagonism of the clerics as they had always been the mediators between the government and the governed, due to decrease in their payment they

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<sup>48</sup> Talinn Grigor, op. cit, 19-23.

<sup>49</sup> Mostafa Kiani, *Architecture in the First Pahlavi Period*, Trans. Author (Tehran: Institute of Contemporary Iranian Historical Studies, 2004), 179-182.



brought up issues in political and social developments as opposing to Islam due to their representational qualities.<sup>50</sup>

## **2.2. The Process of the Main Structural Development of Tehran through History in the First Pahlavi Era**

### **2.2.1. Properties of the City Framework**

According to the extensive research produced by the Technical Consulting organization in Tehran the beginning of the reign of Reza Shah, Tehran had the same appearance as it had previously in the *Qajar* era. Especially because during the last king of *Qajar*'s reign period not any major construction effort took place and the city did not expand in size.

In the Reza Shah era, according to the accumulation of finance, multi faceted developments took place in the city which resulted in the development and expansion of the city. In this period Tehran acquired new functions in terms of centralization of the bureaucratic organizations and industrial developments. This matter influenced the traditional activities of the city and resulted in the creation of new urban sectors that formed the basis of the development and functional and structural transformation of the city in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In the first Pahlavi era according to the political, social and economical evolutions, the city of Tehran conformed to rather a bureaucratic and industrial society. In this fundamental evolution that took place between early 1920's till late 1940's the government attempts to expand political and social institutions as well as economic institutions as means of securing long term political and economic intentions in order to prepare the ground for the transformation of the social structure.

In terms of the framework of the city in this era, the city complex of Tehran regardless of its expansions was located within the *Nasseri Wall*.<sup>51</sup> Due to the fast pace of the city development

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<sup>50</sup> Nikkie R, Keddie, *Qajar Iran and the Rise of Reza Khan, 1796-1925* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 1999), P 57.

and intending to provide the city with fundamental changes the demolition of the city walls began in 1932 and finally in 1937 the city walls were completely removed from Tehran. The entrenchments around the city were filled and new streets were built around the city instead. Therefore the appearance and the identity of the old city reminiscent of medieval walled cities transformed to a new city capable of change and expansion without restrictions against its physical growth.

The political-economical and the functional change of the city were followed by the transformation of the “urban renewal” in its appearance. Various actions took place in this regard. New sites went under construction and new districts were built. The older districts were either demolished or renewed. The governmental buildings were generally constructed in the older district and in the renewed sectors.

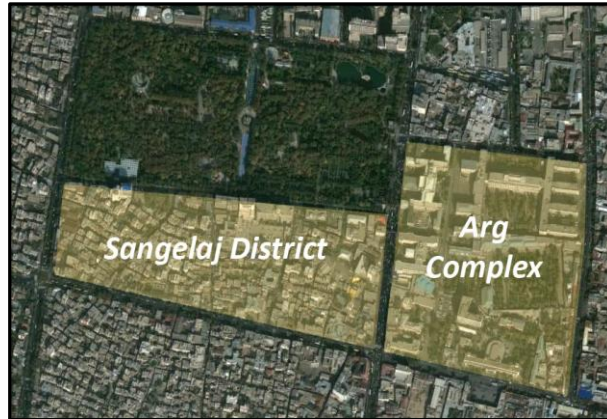
With the construction of the transportation network and new streets, accessibility was provided in a wider range within the city and automobile use was encouraged.

The ongoing urban development in this era constructed the ground for the structural transformation of the city through certain framework of a governmental institution, the municipality that was established in 1919. Of the very first actions of the municipality was the demolition and renewal of the old districts in center and the northwest of the city and replacing them with large scale city parks. In this regard the district of *Sang-e-laj* is a significant example.

Following changes in certain districts of the city the demolition of the Palace walls and a number of the palatial buildings within the royal *Arg* is of significance. In this era only a few palaces were kept and all other buildings were to be destructed and replaced by new ministerial buildings of the new government. The actions above took place as means of demonstrating the collapse of the former regime. Therefore more palaces belonging to the former members of the royal family were demolished and turned into public parks or changed their functions in order to praise the current government’s power. Of the major examples of this type is the *Aga Mohammad khan*’s palace in the northern Tehran which transformed its function to a bureaucratic institution of the army in the Reza Shah era.

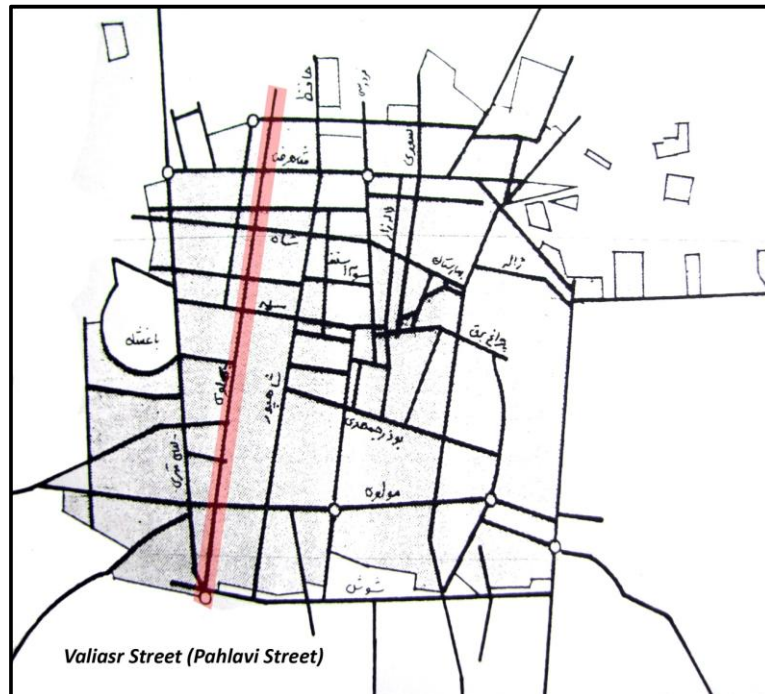
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<sup>51</sup> The Nasser wall was built around Tehran during the reign of Nasser-Al-din Shah Qajar in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and according to the new regime’s observation was one of the elements of medieval cities that had to be demolished.



**Figure 2.17 The Sangelaj District Adjacent To The Arg Complex as an Example of Traditional and Dense Fabric.** Google Earth. November 14 2010. March 30 2011.

Alongside the major transformations and changes in the central city districts and the *Arg* complex which turned them into institutions and ministries, the palatial buildings were moved to the west side of the city.



**Figure 2.18 Pahlavi Street within The Grid Of Transportation Network, First Pahlavi Era.** In Maliheh Hamidi et al, 1997. “The Transformation Of The Urban Structure In The First Pahlavi Era”, *The Urban Structure of Tehran*. Vol. 2. (Tehran: Technical Consulting Organization in Tehran), p 43.

During the reign of Reza Shah the most significant structural transformations occurred in the northern part of Tehran. The northward expansion of the city began in the preceding years, the reign of Nasser-al-din shah Qajar while the Dolat district was born. This district was the residence of the foreign embassies and new social groups. In the reza shah era with the increasing desire towards modernization and formation of the new social groups of urban residents the northern border of the city expanded up to Takhte Jamshees Street. The development of the urban communication and the building of new streets as well as the use of motor vehicles led to the rapid expansion of the city towards North.

Of the major endeavors of the first Pahlavi era was the construction of large scale streets and avenues and attempts to build governmental and cultural centers. These constructions are the foundation of further growth and transformation of the city structure.

Of the most influences of Reza Shah on Tehran is the construction of the streets in large scale and in a network fashion reminiscent of the European patterns. These constructs would cut through the city fabric and link the ends of the city together. The transformation of the old streets to new boulevards in orderly geometrical shapes and forms began from the early 1920s. By filling the old entrenchments around the city, on the four sides of the city four major streets were constructed named after Reza Shah himself. In 1933 within the framework of “Tehran Renewal” program another plan was imposed in order to widen and expand the thoroughfares. The law became the means of transforming Tehran from an old medieval city to a new and modern city matching the western patterns of urban design in order to take a step forward entering the modern world. Between 1930 and 1933 the building of the major streets namely as *Valiasr* street (formerly Pahlavi) forms a network of streets and boulevards upon the surface of the city of Tehran and 1.8 square kilometer of the city (almost 9%) goes under urban accessibility network and square construction.

In the urbanization of the first Pahlavi era the attempt is to define a clear construction scheme for Tehran. The squares are located on the extension of the main streets or on their conjunctions and the surroundings were symmetricized. Also the major buildings were built at the extension of the main urban arteries or on the open public space axis and would emphasize the symmetrical appearance of the transportation grid and architecture. The attempt was to rebuild the city in a way which it was no longer a mono centered city and each and every square would

gain its own significance in terms of an urban symbol. The Railway station square was built at this period according to the notion of poly centric city.

These constructions led to the development of Tehran urbanization and its structure. Within this grid of streets major buildings were built consisting of governmental and public buildings. Also cafés and hotels were built alongside the major streets as well as cinemas and theatres and trade centers and utility centers. The urban communication spots were formed in this period by the formation of the transportation grids. As a result of Reza Shah's program for the renewal of Tehran a region was formed with properties of a city center in the north part of Tehran housing new buildings and greenery.

The structural transformations of Tehran in this period are mostly influenced by the European modern movement. Ordering the space and the structure of the city in terms of European urbanism, led to inspirations from the "Haussmann" plan in urban city design of Tehran, which is the legacy of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe. The organization of Tehran with numerous perpendicular axes with their northward expansion and the construction of squares which divided the major parts of the city, were the most important trends of Tehran's development. These changes are the foundations of the structural transformation of the city.

### **2.2.2. The Condition of the Main Structure and Its Evolution in the City**

The territory of the city of Tehran had expanded after the filling of the entrenchments around the city towards north and west. This expansion increased the size of the city to 46 square kilometers in the 1930s and by the end of the first Pahlavi period the city grew almost 2.5 times bigger in scale than the Qajar period. The main concern of this study is reading the structural evolution of the city as well as its expansion in this historical period.

The grid like pattern of the streets and the orderly fabric of the urban scene and the restriction of activities in certain districts are the bases of the major urban transformations in this period. According to these new urban functions in terms of renewal programs reside within the core of the old city and old buildings such as the *Arg* complex that had been partially demolished and replaced by new governmental institutions. Although a number of buildings valuable of historical and architectural accounts are exceptions in this matter.



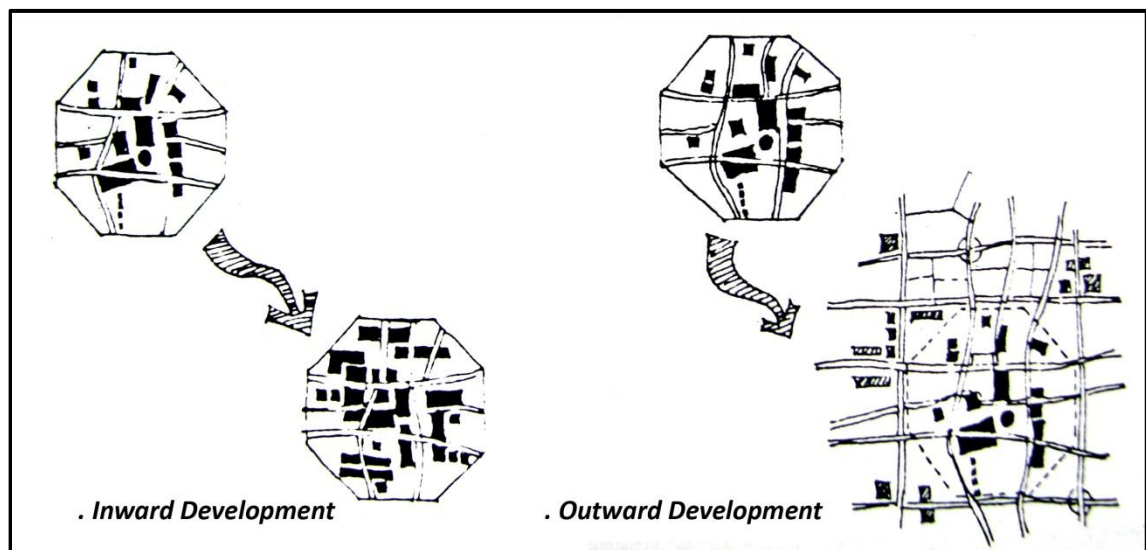
**Figure 2.19 Tehran Urban Developments From The Central Core In The First Pahlavi Era.**

In this figure the pattern of the urban growth regarding the transportation network is displayed  
 In Maliheh Hamidi et al, 1997. “The Transformation Of The Urban Structure In The First Pahlavi Era”,  
*The Urban Structure of Tehran*. Vol. 2. (Tehran: Technical Consulting Organization in Tehran), p 45.

The cross-like structure of the streets extends the city expansion towards all directions especially north. In this regard the role of Pahlavi Street is considered as it emphasizes on the city expansion northwards. New elements and functions are assigned to the northern and southern part of the city. In fact this period should be considered the emergence of the scattering of the main elements of the urban structure or the transformation of the continuous expansion pattern to a rather discrete format. For instance major educational and cultural buildings as well as the Tehran University are located at the west end and the east end of the city while the railway station building is located on the south end. In this regard the role of the street as a linear element in revitalization of the centrality alongside the core concentration results in the expansion of urban structure towards its boundaries.

Two types of evolution patterns are visible in this regard. The first can be named as inward evolution which is a result acquired from the transformation of the previous urban spaces namely as the gardens and the bourgeois buildings with public use or their demolition and renewal (the Arg complex for instance) or new constructions in open urban spaces.

The outward evolution is acquired through the construction of new transportation networks and the formation of new urban centers and functions especially the commercial functions alongside the extension of the streets.



**Figure 2.20 Representation of Inward and Outward Urban Structure Growth.**

The inward growth of the urban structure had been prompted according to increase in the density of the buildings in districts while the outward growth of the urban structure has been acquired through the imposition of the transportation networks and replacement of the old city walls with newly constructed streets and boulevards that promoted the penetration of urban functions and operations into different directions diverging from the central core of the city.

In Maliheh Hamidi et al, 1997. "The Transformation Of The Urban Structure In The First Pahlavi Era", *The Urban Structure of Tehran*. Vol. 2. (Tehran: Technical Consulting Organization in Tehran), p 46.

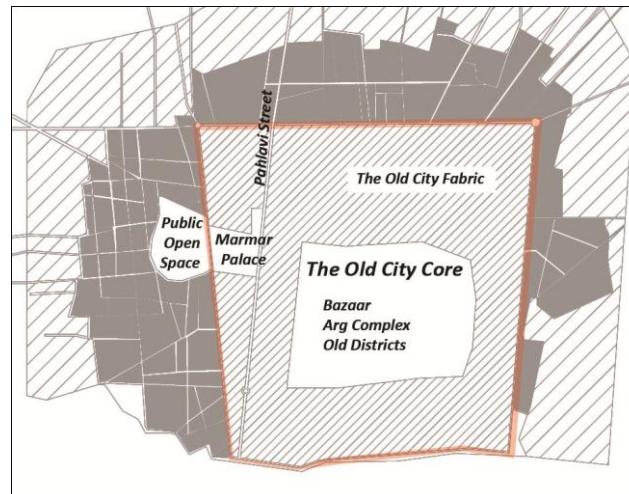
In general the urban growth pattern has moved northwards and in the same extension and matches the urban development pattern. Although the linear growth of the city starts from the railway station in the south, according to the location of *Bazaar* as a main element in the structure of the city and preservation of certain buildings and renewal programs and



construction of governmental buildings in this region the significance of this region remains solid while the urban development project moves northwards.

### 2.2.3. The Main Skeletal Structure of the City

The skeletal structure of the city in this period faced fundamental changes and the city acquires a mixed structure. A main core within the old fabric containing the *Bazaar* and the old Arg complex and the newly constructed governmental buildings create a centrality of elements in this district. From this central core consisting of various groups of buildings new streets diverge in a radial fashion and expand to all directions and form a grid. Apart from the linear centrality of the less important features as well as the commercial and utility centers on the body of these constructions the main elements both individually and in groups reside alongside this grid and create scattered cores to it.

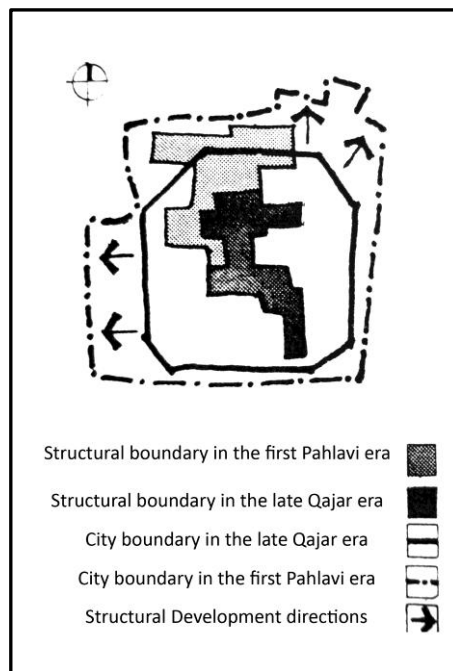


**Figure 2.21 The New Transportation Network; Representing Replacement of the City Walls with New Sets of Streets.** (Drawing by the author)

In the pattern mentioned above what matters the most is the connection between these elements which is created through the linear elements and is of major significance according to the urban scale of this period. Because the connecting streets were the main thoroughfares of the urban



fabric creating transportation networks alongside these constructions. In this regard the Pahlavi Street is a major example. The mentioned connection axes create new grounds in the formation of new function and the development of the urban structure.



**Figure 2.22 Evolutions of Structural Boundaries in the City According to Respective Periods.** In Maliheh Hamidi et al, 1997. “The Transformation Of The Urban Structure In The First Pahlavi Era”, *The Urban Structure of Tehran*. Vol. 2. (Tehran: Technical Consulting Organization in Tehran), p 46.

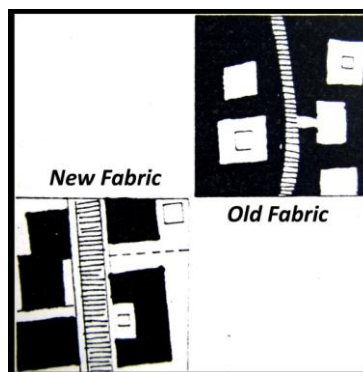
#### 2.2.4. The City Fabric of the Main Structure

In the revision of the urban fabric of the main structure a few matters are to be pointed out. The fabric of the old section of the urban structure, the *Bazaar* district, is left untouched which is dense in its nature continuous and roofed. This section has either been alongside the streets creating a variety of volumes in the body of the street. In this area buildings with courtyards have remained untouched.

The newer parts of the old district are less dense and larger in volume and bigger land divisions. The texture has more variety and buildings under the influence of the western modern

architecture tend to be more emphasized on their outward orientation. In general two types of buildings are visible in this region:

- 1) Adjacency of buildings based on the open space between them, for instance the ministerial buildings in the Arg complex
- 2) A rather more orderly buildings alongside an urban open space Also two types of outward orientation are visible in the buildings of this era:



**Figure 2.23 New Open Urban Fabric Vs. The Old Closed Fabric.**

The quality of openness displayed in the image above is promoted by the construction of wide streets as means of modernization.

In Maliheh Hamidi et al, 1997. “The Transformation Of The Urban Structure In The First Pahlavi Era”, *The Urban Structure of Tehran*. Vol. 2. (Tehran: Technical Consulting Organization in Tehran), p 47.

The first case is the building being surrounded with garden and green space which also delivers two types, a type adjacent to the open space or the thoroughfare and visible to the public users, like Tehran University, the other type is that the open space itself is bounded which is significant in the visual quality in the urban fabric.

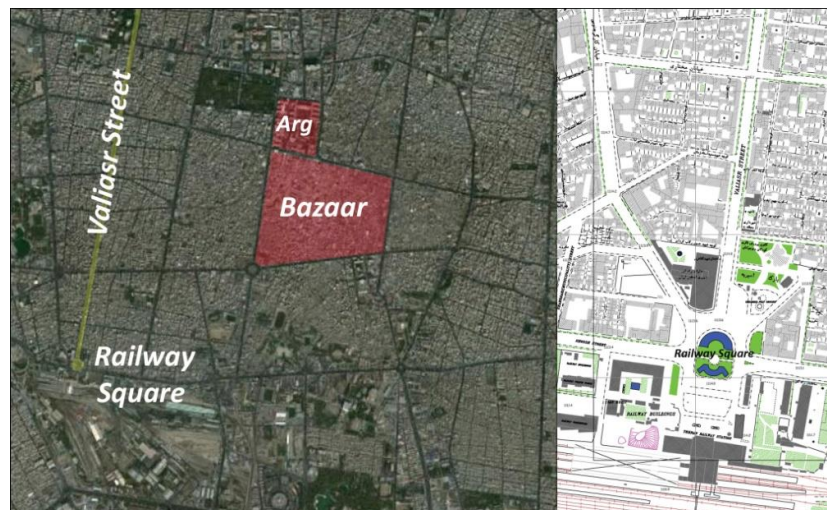
On the other hand the outward orientation emerges in form of positing a single building adjacent to the main streets of the city, the street. In this case the Tehran railway station is a significant example.

This type of urban fabric and construction which is influenced by the western modern architecture has been adopted in creation of the street facades and the main squares. In the newer parts of the urban structure a linear fabric of the commercial, leisure and service

buildings appears which demonstrates the prevalence of the western architecture and lending importance to the exterior of the buildings while creating a continuous body.



**Figure 2.24 Bazaar: Tehran, Iran. Photograph.** Encyclopædia Britannica Online. Web. 22 Jun. 2011. <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/media/74445/Shoppers-throng-the-bazaar-in-Tehran-Iran>>.



**Figure 2.25 the location of the railway square in reference to Bazaar, Arg and Valiasr Street**



**Figure 2.26 Tehran Railway Station, 1927.** [Internet, WWW] ADDRESS: <http://tehran.rai.ir/Site.aspx?ParTree=A090000030> [Accessed: 1 June 2011]



**Figure 2.27 Tehran Railway Station.** Ahmadzadeh, Measam. "Tehran Railway Station." photo. *Googleearth.com*. 26 Jun. 2008. 14 Nov. 2010. < <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/11530771> >

In other examples in the city fabric of the main structure the existence of open spaces around the buildings and their distance with the thoroughfare is visible that accentuates the decompression.

Generally speaking, in this period, the erratic and organic fabric of the preceding periods is replaced with an orderly grid of buildings and transportation networks. The compression of the fabric is decreased and the semi-continuous fabric is dominant. Therefore distinguishing districts belonging to public and governmental functions is prominent and they stand out as they acquire larger scales in height, volume and occupation of the open green space surrounding them.

#### **2.2.5. Functional Characteristics**

In the Reza Shah period with the change in the socio-political and economical system, industrial development was also added to the city purposes and caused changes in the structural properties of the city. The development of the new bureaucratic, judiciary and cultural institutions became inevitable. Following the western European traits the bureaucratic institutions were diverged from the body of power and in pursuit of fading the previous government's actions and establishing modern governmental institutions modernization actions took place. Although in the modernization period, Tehran's *Bazaar* remained untouched, the extension of the new commercial activities towards the northern parts of the city caused a larger distance between *Bazaar* and the commercial and bureaucratic sectors of the northern region. Therefore the core of the city was divided into two major bureaucratic and commercial sections.

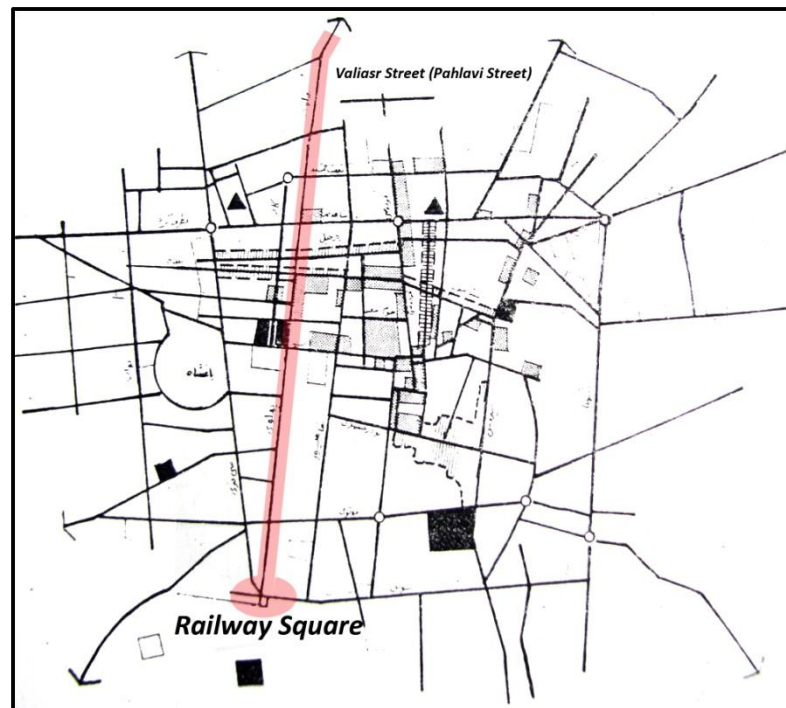
In order to identify the functional characteristics of the urban structure in this period it would be beneficial to consider the constructions according to their functions and their locations.

The northward expansion of the new northward growing city center results in the establishment of new public and governmental functions and distributes these functions namely as banks by means of newly constructed street lines. In this period the streets gain significance as axes for linear establishment of the elements of the urban structure. Most of the bureaucratic, cultural and leisure and commercial centers are formed alongside these new streets which play a major role in the expansion of the urban context. As more public functions reside on the extension of the streets the old and newly constructed residential fabrics are located behind this border.



In general it could be concluded that the new functions which are mainly bureaucratic and commercial are located in a large core on the northern side of the old center. Therefore as a result the city center functions are divided into two groups of bureaucratic and commercial and kept a certain distance from each other.

The northern pole as the new city center of the modern urban fabric however cannot decrease the importance of the old fabric especially *Bazaar* for the middle class, gradually the mercantile role of *Bazaar* transforms to wholesale and production expert.



**Figure 2.28 Location Of Railway Square within the Urban Structure. .** In Maliheh Hamidi et al, 1997. “The Transformation Of The Urban Structure In The First Pahlavi Era”, *The Urban Structure of Tehran*. Vol. 2. (Tehran: Technical Consulting Organization in Tehran), p 52.

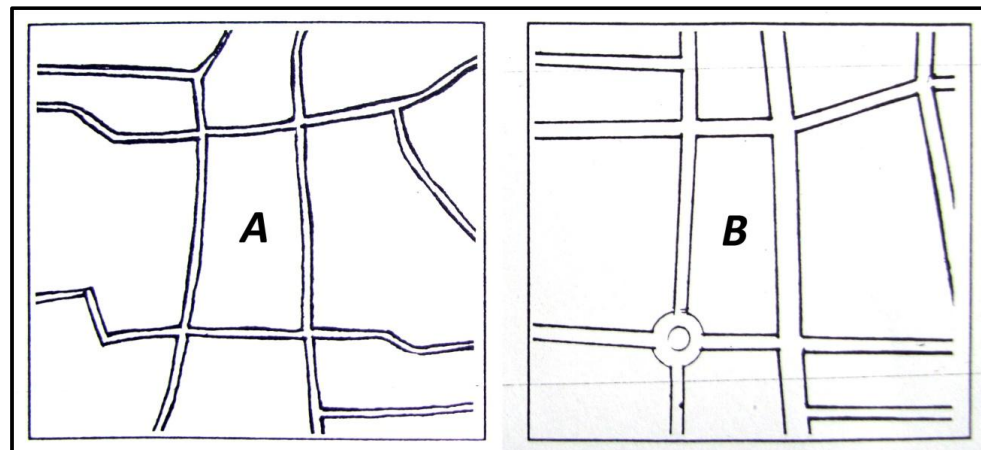
Although urban functions of the main urban structure in this historical period acquire more variety they are mostly derived from government’s political intentions as well as the bureaucratic sector and penetrate through the divergent axes from the main pole. By gaining a more economic role, the city houses active mercantile and commercial functions that not only

sustains the situation of *Bazaar* but also happens to penetrate alongside the streets in form of banks and shopping centers growing in a linear fashion.

The adjacent pattern and the linear functions tend to empower the activities taken place within the urban structure, while the sporadic public functions in different spots of the city act as successful elements in improving the urban structure development.

### 2.2.6. The Accessibility and Traffic Forms within the Main Structure of the City

Of the major measures taking place in the first Pahlavi era which is the distinguishing factor of his modernizing visions is the construction of streets in the city. Although the patterns used are mainly borrowed from the European cities and tears the old urban fabric at some points it has linked the city boundaries and has created accessibility among various sections as well as accessibility to the city from outside.

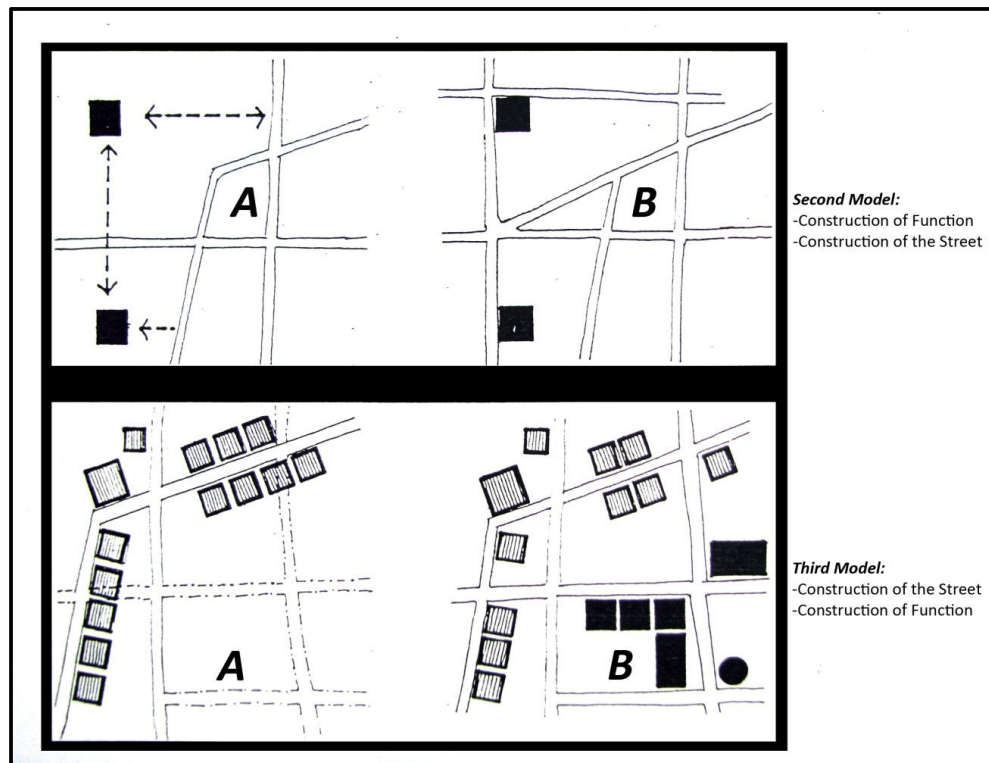


**Figure 2.29 Rectifications and Widening of the Transportation Network.** . In Maliheh Hamidi et al, 1997. “The Transformation Of The Urban Structure In The First Pahlavi Era”, *The Urban Structure of Tehran*. Vol. 2. (Tehran: Technical Consulting Organization in Tehran), p 53.

Establishment of the new transportation system in city occurs with the construction of a network of streets that had started from the Nasser-al-din Shah period and continued to this era. The use of automobile as a new transportation fashion and the necessity of functional relations and

connection between the urban elements residing in the urban fabric led to construction of three types of urban networks:

- 1) Correction , widening and continuation of the old connective arteries in order to provide better accessibility to major urban functions
- 2) prediction of function with construction of the street (Tehran railway station and Valiasr street)
- 3) imposing the grid of roads and streets and gradual construction of the new functions



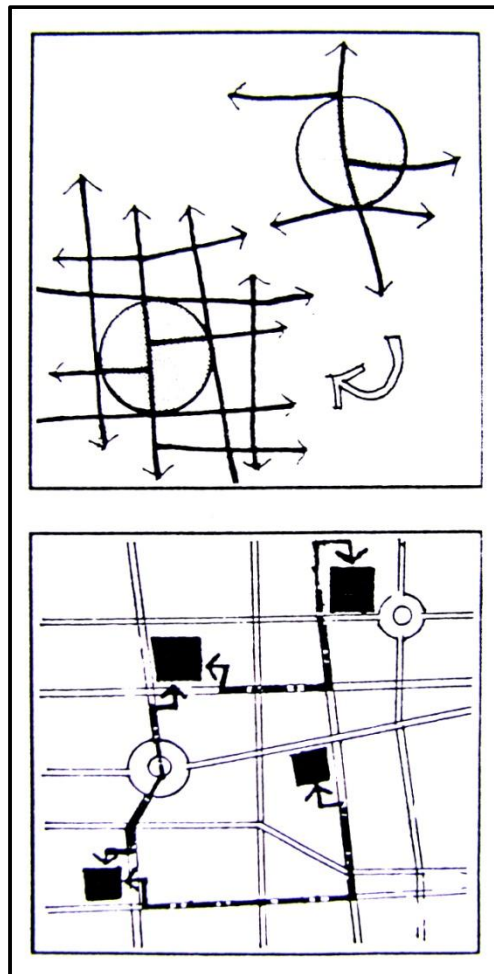
**Figure 2.30 Models Of Transportation Network Organization. .** In Maliheh Hamidi et al, 1997. “The Transformation Of The Urban Structure In The First Pahlavi Era”, *The Urban Structure of Tehran*. Vol. 2. (Tehran: Technical Consulting Organization in Tehran), p 54.

The traffic connection among urban elements and central areas was generally provided by these new streets in this period. Except for the *Bazaar* area which housed a traditional network inside and the connection routes around bazaar only find access to its entrance. Other areas and



elements are connected through adjacency to streets and transportation networks as they are surrounded by main streets according to their location.

In general it can be claimed that in this period the accessibility network has increased and has become a main element itself in the urban development processes.



**Figure 2.31 Penetration Of The New Transportation Network Into The Old Urban Structure. .**  
In Maliheh Hamidi et al, 1997. "The Transformation Of The Urban Structure In The First Pahlavi Era",  
*The Urban Structure of Tehran*. Vol. 2. (Tehran: Technical Consulting Organization in Tehran), p 54.

### 2.2.7. Visual Characteristics of the City Structure

The distinguishing feature of the measures in this period is based on modernization visualization of the dominant power and the predominance of western traits in architecture and urban design which introduces new aspects upon the urban structure. These traits can be reviewed in form of building traits (urban elements) and streets (vistas). With the prevalence of classical European architecture alongside the so called “national architecture” the city’s appearance transforms from the traditional to a new approach.

With the widening and expansion of the streets and construction of new streets, that gradually acquire a major role in formation of the urban structure, a vast purview is created and the urban architecture is demonstrated. A major influence of this matter is the supremacy of the outwards oriented architecture of this era over the inward oriented architecture of the previous periods. In the past the only the main squares like *Naqsh-e-jahan* square in Isfahan were demonstrating architectural traits on their bodies but in this period the concentrated pattern of façade design of a building has extended linearly to the margins of the streets. Design principles such as providing order and rhythm by using repetitive elements and considering symmetry and synchrony are considered. Creation of symmetry around squares and emphasizing on corners are of the positive measures in this period that lead to production of vistas and new visual effects in the urban structure.

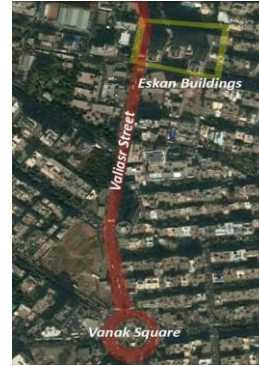
Added to the trends emerging in this period according to the construction of street networks, significant buildings reside on the axial extensions of the streets or on urban open spaces axis. Major and significant urban spaces house public and non-religious buildings. The emphasis on these buildings is acquired through assigning large scales to them in volume and height. Although in comparison to today’s architecture they do not seem very remarkable they were of major significance according to the dense and low rise old urban fabric. Their visual effects have weakened through time according to further developments in urban development.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Maliheh Hamidi and others eds, *The Urban Structure of Tehran*. Trans. Author (Tehran: Technical Consulting Organization in Tehran, 1997), 47-61.



**Figure 2.32** Eskin Buildings as the Landmarks on Valiasr Street Extension

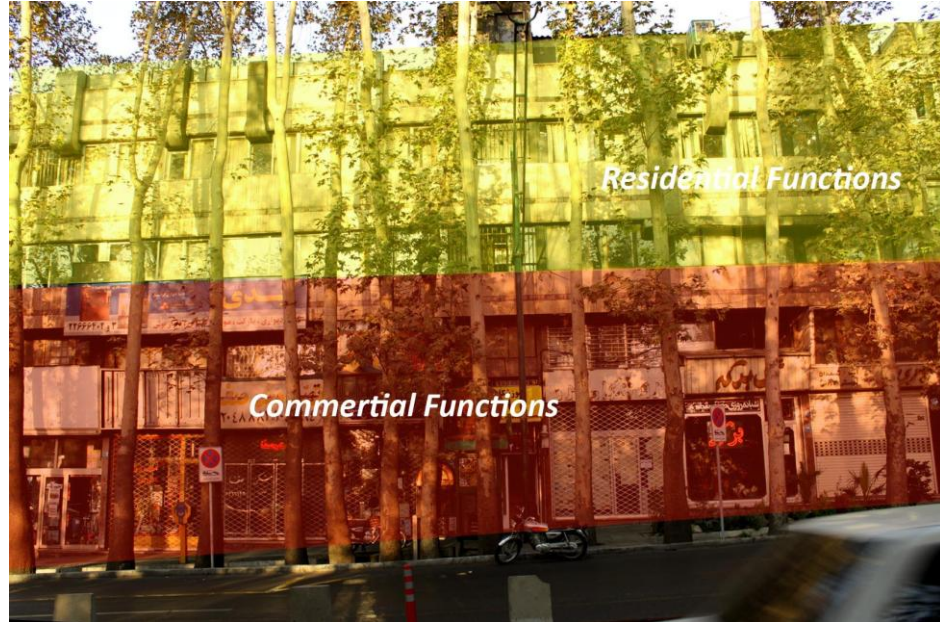


**Figure 2.33** the Positioning of the Eskin Buildings in Reference to Valiasr Street



**Figure 2.34** Eskin Buildings.

These buildings constructed in the late second Pahlavi era can be considered as landmarks on the sides of Valiasr Street.



**Figure 2.35 the Continuous Surfaces of Commercial and Residential Functions on the Body of the Street.** (photo and Drawing by the Author)



**Figure 2.36 The Sidewalks of Valiasr Street Acquiring Commercial Functions.** (Photo Taken by the Author)

## CHAPTER 3

### THE WHITE REVOLUTION

#### 3.1. The Reign of Mohammad Reza Shah



**Figure 3.1** Portrait of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi the Last Shah of Iran at the Age of 22, 1941.  
[Internet, WWW] ADDRESS: <http://ivmp.wordpress.com/category/history/after-islam-contemporary>  
[Accessed: 10 June 2011]

After his ascendance to the throne in 1941 his major efforts were mainly known as launching the white revolution in 1963 and begin a new vision known as the “Great Civilization” in 1970. Mohammad Reza Shah came to power and announced himself as the shah of Iran and embarked on his programs towards Iran’s independence and sovereignty in order to bring up the Iranian



nation to the level of the most progressive societies in the world and reach the maximum potentials of Iran's historic land.<sup>53</sup>

After his coronation Iran entered a new national and royal imagery which led to the definition of a new architecture. Mohammad Reza Shah's efforts had been more effective in building the national identity and state consciousness. In his era a shift in the image of monarchy happened based on his complex personality and character.<sup>54</sup> His vision was to rescue the glory of a remote past, describes *Jahangir Amuzegar*, in order to bring supremacy to 20<sup>th</sup> century Pahlavi Iran. His struggle for gaining legitimacy stemmed from the notion of envisioning himself as the heir to Cyrus and Xerxes and Darius's throne and simultaneously restoring the lost glories through the notion of the "Great Civilization".<sup>55</sup>

### 3.1.1. Vision and Mission

His idea was that the image and the significance of the monarch can lead the nation to future. While losing his distinction between Monarchy, state and nation he blurred them all in one statement as "Iran was he and he was Iran."<sup>56</sup>

His feelings of his own connection to the kingship was partially rooted in the fact that he had a royalist background and finally acquired a divine mission as himself stated he was chosen by God and how his power has saved the country while he had God on his side.<sup>57</sup>

In terms of nationalism his aim was to relate fraternity, power and time together.<sup>58</sup> Moreover his nationalistic ideology was different from Reza Shah, his father, since he had a direct impact on the national narrative, institutions and the general mentality of the country. Instead he relied on the glories of the past Persian Empire and on prospects of an illusionist future that he called "Great Civilization" which was mostly abstractions and therefore caused certain shortcomings. The most important weak points to be mentioned are the ancient references were basically too remote, fragmentary and abstracted therefore unable to conduct a nationalist discourse and

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<sup>53</sup> Fran Shor, "Iran's Shah Crowns himself and his empress", *National Geographic Magazine* (1968): 31.

<sup>54</sup> Robert Graham, *Iran: The Illusion of power* (London: Croom Helm, 1978), 42.

<sup>55</sup> Jahangir Amuzegar, *Dynamics of Revolution* (NY: University of New York Press, 1991), 143.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid

<sup>57</sup> Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, *Answer to History* (New York: Stein and Day Publishers, 1980), 32.

<sup>58</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1991), 36.

failed to communicate with public. Furthermore, the promises of “Great Civilization” were too blurred and uncertain as they could not serve as immediate challenge or motivation for people. This Great Civilization which had often been mentioned by Shah, in conjunction with his White Revolution which had been introduced a decade later made his central role as more significant to the pattern of Iranian life. In the 1960’s and 1970’s it was mainly known as the reason for the social and industrial reforms although the intentions of this Great Civilization remained ambiguous. Shah stated that since 1963 the Iranian people have been placed on the road of common sense and progress towards the Great Civilization which is to provide people with higher living standards. He basically described it as an effort towards understanding and peace in order to create a *Perfect Environment* in which everyone can comfortably work. Therefore he demanded Iranians being faithful to ancestral Universalist tradition. Grigor believes in the case of Iran it was going to make a return to it since it was once such a society during the Achaemenian Empire.<sup>59</sup> Thus there is a certain spatio-temporal ambiguity in this notion which obviously as part of the political agenda helps keeping the monarchy in place but disconnects Shah from people’s everyday lives and their realities as the past had taken a half-mythical and half-true form and the future was conforming to be equally mythical and imaginary.<sup>60</sup>

### **3.1.2. The White Revolution**

The White Revolution also called the Shah-People Revolution started in the 1960’s which was a reforming program aiming to undergo major efforts in westernizing the country and bring about better life conditions for people. The master plan was organized in 1963 with 12 major guidelines.<sup>61</sup>

Of the most important pillars of the white revolution Land Reform can be named. Also nationalization of forests and privatization of government owned enterprise as well as formation of House of Equity in the villages were the elder would have solved the local problems occurred through set points of the White Revolution. Urban and Rural Modernization and Reconstruction

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<sup>59</sup>Talinn Grigor, op. cit, 23-35.

<sup>60</sup> Fereydoun Hoveyda, *The Fall of the Shah* (New York: Wyndham, 1980), 29.

<sup>61</sup> Don Peretz, *The Middle East Today* (New York, NY: Praeger, 1983), 521.

which led to building of public services schools and libraries alongside with the educational reform in order to help improve the quality of life in the modern world held priority through the processes of the White Revolution.<sup>62</sup>



**Figure 3.2 Shah Distributing Land Deeds as Part of The White Revolution Agenda.**

[Internet, WWW] ADDRESS:

[http://www.iranchamber.com/history/white\\_revolution/white\\_revolution.php](http://www.iranchamber.com/history/white_revolution/white_revolution.php) [accessed: 10 June 2011]

Shah's mission was consideration of a simultaneous development of political, economic and social democracy inside Iran. Through these processes the most significant issue was the monarchy remaining pivotal to the operation of the Iranian politics in order to conduct an independent, national and foreign policy while acquiring the maximum regional security and stability so Iran could preserve itself and develop. As a result Iran would reach the frontiers of what he called "the Great Civilization".<sup>63</sup>

Another term entering the vocabulary of change in this era was the "Gates" of the "Great Civilization" "which conducted an image of people standing before an imagined space. This concept began to penetrate various fields as well as art and industry. Even according to Grigor's observation had been quoted in an architectural magazine in an article describing Iranians as

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<sup>62</sup> "The White Revolution", *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia*, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/White\\_Revolution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/White_Revolution), (accessed December 29, 2011)

<sup>63</sup> Amin Saikal, *The Rise and Fall of the Shah* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1980), 137.



reaching the threshold of the Great Civilization.<sup>64</sup> The concept also implied entering 20<sup>th</sup> century within its quality of “Gateness”. Also a safe passage had been mentioned as prerequisites of national unity. The geography of Iran was interpreted as a passage and a gate between east and west which in the post colonial period had a significant position as Iran was a passage to India for the British.<sup>65</sup> Thus Iran bore the concept of a gate which attributed a great responsibility and eminence to it and consequently to its king.

Mohammad Reza Shah’s preoccupation with the notion of transformation has also affected the architecture of his time. The concept of a gate, a passage led to a change in the metamorphosis of the state architecture.<sup>66</sup>

### 3.1.3. Tehran

The significance of the gate concept in Tehran is the matter of interest to this research. Tehran has gone through a major transformation from being a fortified city to finally a city with no walls and capable of expansion in every direction. Tehran became a residence of the Safavid rulers in the 17th century. Tahmasp I built a *Bazaar* and a wall around the city, but it somewhat fell out of favor after Abbas I turned sick when he was passing the city to go to a war with the Uzbeks.<sup>67</sup> The idea of Tehran becoming the capital dates back to 1759 when Karim Khan Zand\* ordered a government seat to be built in Tehran.<sup>68</sup>

In order to build walls around the city Karim Khan\* commissioned Ostad Gholamreza Tabrizi the architect. In 1870 and through the modernist reform of Nasereddin Shah Qajar the original gates of *Agha Mohammad Khan Qajar* the founder of the *Qajar* dynasty which were four major gates placed on the four directions of north, south, east and west were replaced by 12 new

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<sup>64</sup> "Iran: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow." *Art and Architecture* (June-November 18-19, 1973): 140.

<sup>65</sup> Talinn Grigor, op. cit, 86.

<sup>66</sup> Talinn Grigor, op. cit, 85.

<sup>67</sup> <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tehran>

<sup>68</sup> Mina Marefat, op. cit, 33-41.

gates.<sup>69</sup> The number of gates in each era indicated the ruler's contribution to the development of the city as well as socio-political and physical reforms. Finally in the Pahlavi period, Reza Shah demolished the 12 gates in order to promote the city's expansion and liberation from the backwardness of the Qajar regime. The act of pulling down the walls provided the city with free modernization and expansion of the urban fabric although their conceptual importance remained in the spatial and collective memory of inhabitants.

In 1970 Mohammad Reza Shah conceptualized Tehran through his own vision as a gate which at the same time gazed into the future and was looking at the past. This visualization had both an ancient and a modern approach. Tehran is located on an altitude of 1143 meters above the sea and is restricted between the Caspian Sea in the north and the salt desert in the south. Since Tehran is positioned on the northern edge of the great central plateau, it raises though its direction towards north. According to Tehran's restriction between the Caspian Sea and the Salt Desert, its expansion through the north-south axis is impossible after a certain degree of enlargement. But the desire to access fresh air and water in the past was the main stimulant of the northward expansion of the city.

In the 1960's the north-south axis created a binary opposition in the city fabric as the south part of the city resided the industrial area, the *Bazaar* and the needy residential quarters as well as the old fortified Tehran, while the north part of the city was flourishing in terms of new residential complexes and villas as well as the modern local markets and the clean air and fresh water. The Pahlavi street(fig.8) in this era through its north-south axis promoted this bipolarity as it provided a major thoroughfare by which this bipolarity and opposition was visible on the surface of its body. Travelling northwards in the city it was visible that further reaching north the more the image of the city is renovated and modernized as the south had remained poor in terms of urbanization. Therefore an acute social symbolism had been created as the north and the south stood against each other. As a result a spatial segregation was created in the vertical extension of Tehran. This spatial segregation primarily had been influenced and reinforced by

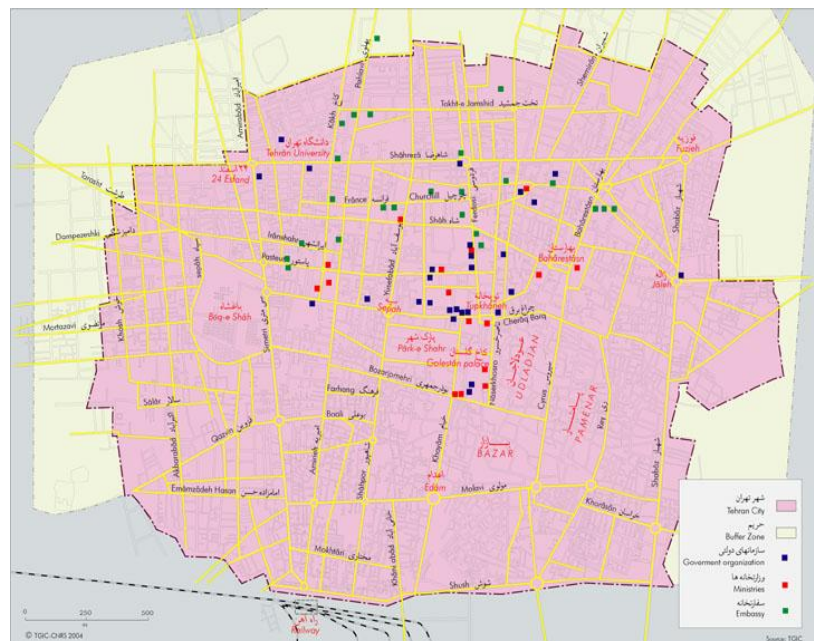
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\* Karim Khan was the chief of the Zand tribe, King of Iran (1747-1779), He never styled himself as "shah" or king, and instead used the title Vakil e-Ra'ayaa (President).  
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karim\\_Khan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karim_Khan) (accessed: December 20, 2010)

<sup>69</sup> Jafar Shahri, *Tehran-e- Qadim (Old Tehran)*, Trans. Author (Tehran: Moeenn, 1371), 17-18. According to the four main directions there was a gate built on the boundaries of Tehran. In the north: *Shemiran Gate*, *Dolat Gate*, and *Yousef Abad Gate*, in the west: *Bagh-e-Shah Gate*, *Qazvin Gate* and *Gomrok Gate*, in the south: *Khani Abad Gate*, *Ghar Gate* and *Shah Abdol Azim Gate*, in the east: *Khorasan Gate*, *Doolab gate* and *Doshan-tappe Gate*.

the royal family. In 1959 as Mohammad Reza Shah decided to move from the Marble Palace in the city centre to the *Niavaran Palace* in the north he marked the reinforcement of the vertical axis of social promotion.<sup>70</sup> Gradually the bourgeois strata namely as the wealthy *Bazaari* and the royal family of both Pahlavi and Qajar dynasty began to migrate northwards and build their new modern homes adjacent to the royalist north part of the city.

The east-west expansion of the city basically happened after more dam construction which provided more convenient water supply for the developing Tehran. In 1960 the construction of Karaj dam as a source of water supply for Tehran became the major water resource of the city. By 1968 the need for further water supply resulted in building Jajrud dam in the north east of the city.<sup>71</sup> The clean water supply worked both as a prerequisite for urban construction as well as the east-west expansion.



**Figure 3.3 Tehran in 1953: Before the Great Extension, Atlas of Greater Tehran.**

The city of Tehran in this period has not yet faced its great extension and the surroundings of the central core in this time are gradually developing in this period.

<sup>70</sup> Talinn Grigor, op. cit, 87-88.

<sup>71</sup> H Bahrambeygui, *Tehran: an Urban Analysis* (Tehran: Sahab, 1977), 133.

[Internet, WWW] ADDRESS: [http://www.irancarto.cnrs.fr/contents.php?v=3&c=\\*&l=en](http://www.irancarto.cnrs.fr/contents.php?v=3&c=*&l=en) [Accessed 12 June 2011]

Although land reforms were extensively mentioned in the White Revolution the Pahlavi regime invested on the urban culture more than rural. Moreover the centralization of political, economic and administrative establishment in Tehran resulted in migration to the capital. Therefore the population of Tehran increased from 200,000 in 1920 to nearly 3 million in 1970. According to this increase in population the census boundary of the city was different from what that had been set by the municipality and additional areas existed on the east side and west side of the city which hadn't been documented.<sup>72</sup> As the central power was forming by means of the notion of the Great Civilization, and concepts of state, monarchy and people were blending into the mind of Shah, the need to decentralize probable oppositions were gradually felt in this era.<sup>73</sup>

Since the more central the Shah's power grew, the more did the state opposition. Many reasons in this regard are mainly known as the rapid population growth due to the centralization of power and facilities in Tehran, the reign forcement of vertical axis of social promotion that has been promoted by the royal family and increasing the centralization of the state power. Therefore finding solutions for immigrants in order to at least break the vertical axis of promotion in appearance led to efforts in order to re-orient city expansion through east-west axis. The first Master Plan of Tehran was executed in 1968 by *Victor Gruen Associates* and *Abdol-Aziz Farmanfarmaian* to solve the major actual and socio-political problems.

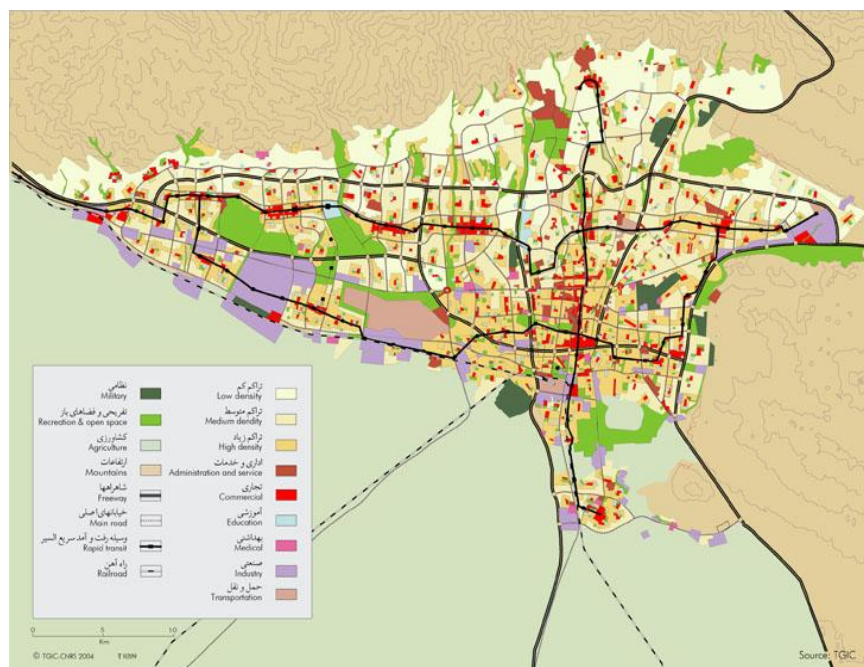
By 1970 the city limits were set at 25 km from *Tajrish* in the north, and *Ray* city in the south and *Mehrabad* air port in the west and *Tehran-Pars* region in the east. New urban polar binaries were created in this period while east and west were gaining sufficient attention according to this new plan. According to this master plan and in favor of the state policy and reinforcement of its power, the south part which was majorly the residence of the old *Bazaaris* and *Ulema* had a remarkable significance within the strategy of state control. Due to this plan, the selected historic areas were preserved and transformed into tourist spots such as *Gulistan Palace* and *Shams-ol- Emareh* building, which were areas, remained from the primitive Tehran and was empty of people. On the other hand the dense poor residential quarters were forced to be demolished and get replaced by public parks and recreational centers. The most significant aim

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<sup>72</sup> Talinn Grigor, op. cit, 90.

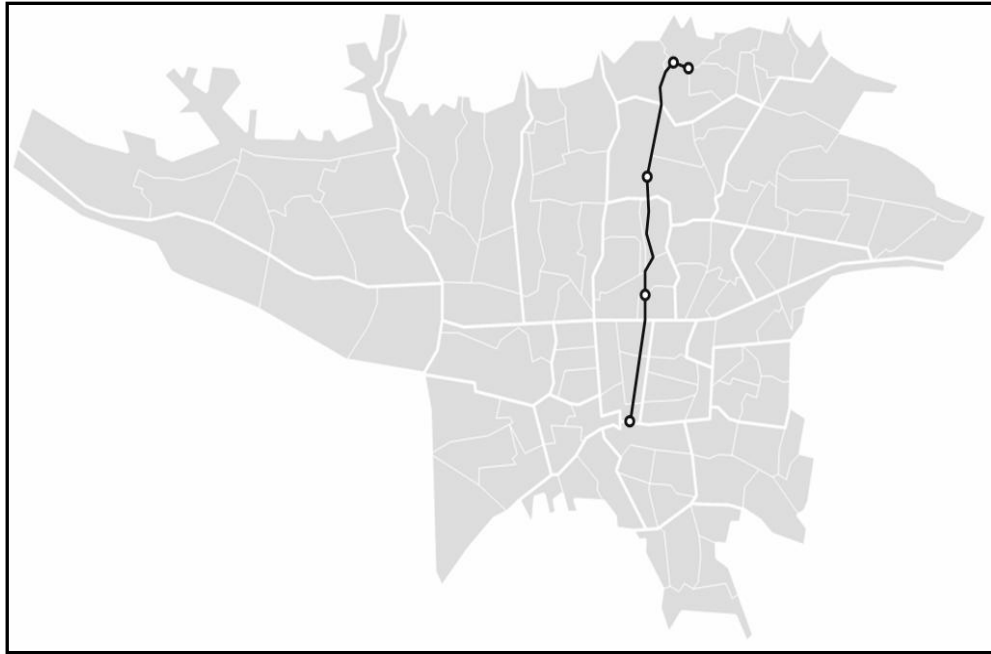
<sup>73</sup> Ibid, 102

of re-planning and the re-orientation of Tehran was based on a control strategy to reduce the power of certain interest groups who interacted and operated within the traditional spaces which of the most significance the Bazaar can be named. At the same time the idea of transforming the residential quarters to recreational zones and public parks were unacceptable by the *Ulema* as it opposed the Islamic ideology with its notions of pleasure and social interaction. According to their point of view western parks had no place in the Islamic traditional society. Therefore the aim of the 1968 urban plan was to undermine organizations and power of Bazaar that had been stemmed in the Islamic ideology of the *Ulema*. Therefore the destruction of the physical construction translated into the reduction of social status and influence by means of architecture. The Pahlavi regime feared Bazaar since the folded and closed structure of Bazaar and their close interaction with *Ulema* provided hidden means of ideology exchange and formation of invisible generations of opposition and the planning of revolutions.<sup>74</sup>



**Figure 3.4 Tehran's Comprehensive Plan of 1968, Atlas of the greater Tehran.** [Internet, WWW] ADDRESS: [http://www.irancarto.cnrs.fr/contents.php?v=3&c=\\*&l=en](http://www.irancarto.cnrs.fr/contents.php?v=3&c=*&l=en) [Accessed 12 June 2011]

<sup>74</sup> Ibid, 92.



**Figure 3.5 Pahlavi Street Starting From Tajrish Square In The North To Tehran Railway Station In The South.** [Internet, WWW] ADDRESS: [http://www.search.com/reference/Valiasr\\_Street](http://www.search.com/reference/Valiasr_Street) [Accessed: 10 January 2010]

## **3.2. The Process of Structural Transformation of the City since the Second Pahlavi Era until Present**

### **3.2.1. Structural Characteristics**

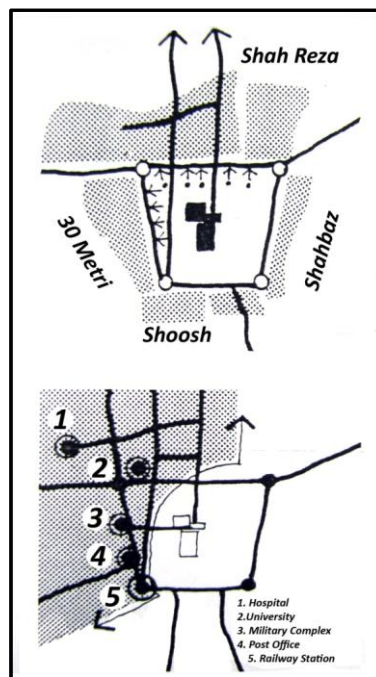
The process of change and transformation of the skeletal, social and economical structure of Tehran which has emerged from the first Pahlavi era continues in this period. The means of evolution of the city in this era is divided into smaller time periods namely as:

- 1) creation of bureaucracy in the country (1921-1941) resulting in Entrepreneurship
- 2) development and evolution of the city according to the second world war (1941-1966)
- 3) expansion of the city according to transformation of the economical structure and land reform policies (1953-1966)
- 4) development of the city as a result of increase in oil price and the prevalence of consumerism amongst people (1966-1979)

5) the development of the city as a result of Iran-Iraq war (1979-present)

The first section traits have previously been studied under the reign of Reza Shah. In the second section the city expansion and development had an average pace similar to the Reza Shah period. In the first phases the development takes place in a continuous manner alongside the main city framework and in further phases result in city expansion to suburbs in north and west part of the city. In the final phase that begins from the 1970s onward the city expansion was accompanied by the development of the suburbs and therefore the city structure was corrupted.

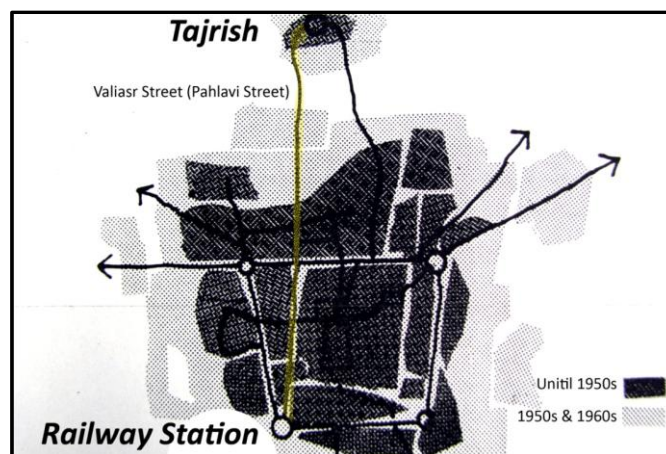
Until 1956 the development boundaries in comparison to its limits in the beginning of the first Pahlavi era, occurred basically in southwest, west and the north direction of Tehran. In southeast and eastern part of the city smaller portions were added to it.



**Figure 3.6 The Northward Expansion Of The Urban Structure In The Second Pahlavi Era.** In Hamidi, Maliheh, et al, 1997. "The Transformation Of The Urban Structure Since The Second Pahlavi Period" *The Urban Structure of Tehran*. Vol. 2. (Tehran: Technical Consulting Organization in Tehran), p 59.

The establishment of Tehran railway station on the southwest with the presence of an extended street (the Pahlavi Street) was a factor of the city expansion in this direction. In the northern part of the city the development mainly took place alongside the two main transportation axes of the Shemiran Road and Pahlavi Street. According to the rugged state of the ground and the inequalities in this region the city had not expanded to this area while construction of major streets created means of travelling northwards and therefore led to the expansion of city in this direction as well as the other mentioned directions.

After the Second World War by creating suitable grounds for activities in various fields in Tehran its bureaucratic, cultural and economical and industrial stabilization continued to develop as it had previously been flourishing in Reza Shah Period in form of establishment of bureaucratic institutions, factories and universities. Therefore immigrant population formed mainly of the middle class society flocked to the margins of the old city fabric as well as the new regions in the city especially in the northern part nevertheless the mercantile class especially the old *Bazari* class tended to remain in the old city center. Also in the city center most of the tall buildings adopted governmental and bureaucratic functions as great economic centers. Divergent streets from the old cores namely as the Pahlavi Street, adopted mercantile activities through their extension as well as residential functions behind their commercial septum which became one of the major actions in shifting the urban core towards north.



**Figure 3.7 the Role Of Main Streets Such As Valiasr Street In Penetration Of Commercial Activities Into The New Districts.** In Hamidi, Maliheh, et al, 1997. “The Transformation Of The Urban Structure Since The Second Pahlavi Period” *The Urban Structure of Tehran*. Vol. 2. (Tehran: Technical Consulting Organization in Tehran), p 60.



From 1960s onward, according to the land reform program and injection of the oil income in the city of Tehran alongside the transformation of the socio-economical system, the urbanism pace grew rapidly. With the foundational reforms in the urban economy system and creation of various urban activities attraction of the immigrant population increased simultaneously. Therefore providing the flocking population with shelter led to formation of new residential districts in different parts of the city.

Small villages merged into the processes of urbanism and eventually the marginal growth of the main city centers led to creation of bridge connecting the northern and southern part of the city. The connection structure forms a continual horizontal development and a fragmented vertical axis.

In the process of urban development and transformation, establishment of the urban transportation routes both inside and outside the city are of major significance. Construction of numerous streets as means of connection between the main roads of the old city is of the primal actions. Growing outside the margins of the old city center these streets became a significant factor of the urban structure.

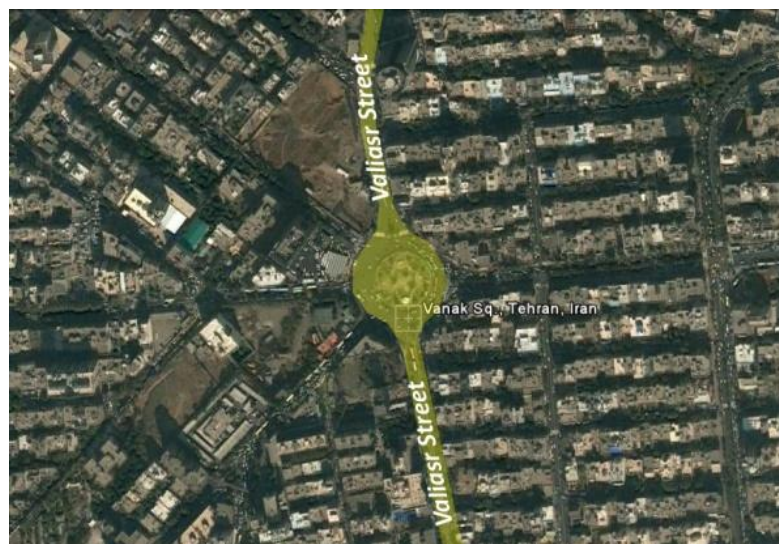
### **3.2.2. The Situation of the Urban Structure in the City**

The main core of all activities in the capital city of Tehran is situated within the *Bazaar* district tending to conserve the centrality of the old center. In the beginning of the Second Pahlavi Era a major part of the urban development including the bureaucratic institutions and the mercantile activities were in relation with the old city center. Further developments in bureaucratic and mercantile activities were extended outside the old core by 1960s.

The development pattern of the main urban structure and its central region is in synchrony with the urban development of the 1940s and early 1960s. In the next phase urban development gained a faced pace through a radial pattern of street development divergent from the main old center, and new urban elements were constructed alongside these streets. Since the 1960s Tehran's development became more comprehensive and resulted in increase of pressure over the old center. Therefore, the inner city transportation network gradually and according to the city growth pace became denser in housing the urban activities as well as their parallel streets.

As a result the mercantile development occurred in a linear fashion alongside the streets which each of them similar to the *Bazaar* had a certain extension housing a certain order.

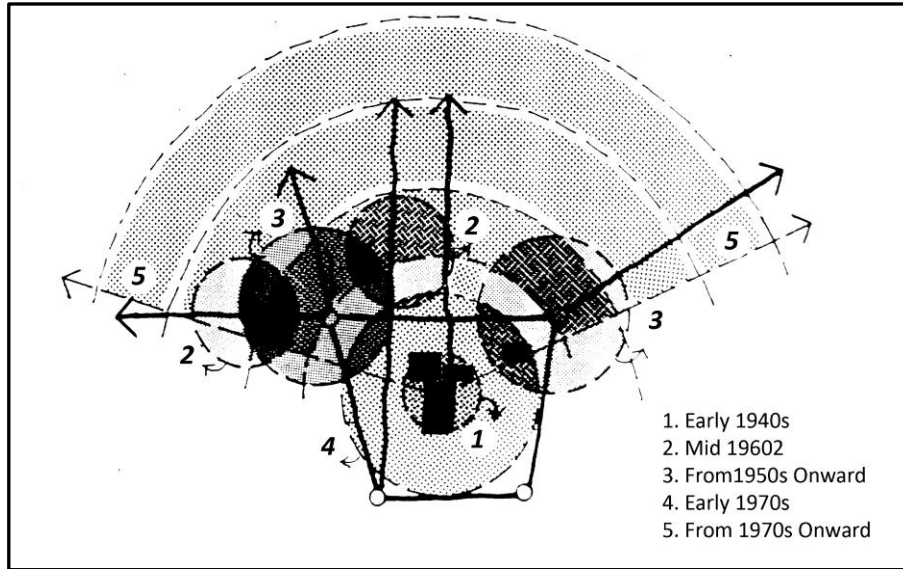
The city center district remained as a central core including the bazaar area and the *Arg* complex as well as commercial centers and informational institutions while smaller industries and production sectors of various orders resided in this area fragmentally. On the other hand new urban centers in limited functional scale were formed on axial extensions of the main streets or on the conjunction of the main axes of the urban structure that are in fact the urban framework. For instance the Railway square and Vanak square housed commercial functions are two main joints on the Pahlavi Street.



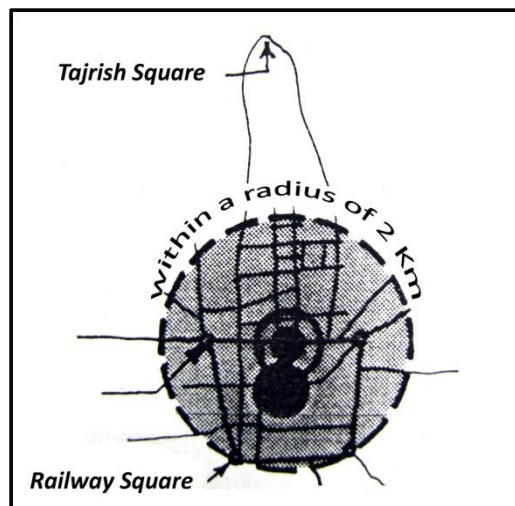
**Figure 3.8 Vanak Square As A New Commercial Hub Emerged On Valiasr Street Extension In The Second Pahlavi Era.**

**Google Earth.** November 14, 2010. May 19, 2011.

The location of the central core of the city that has been formed according to the main urban structure, has shifted by the establishment of urban centers, institutions utilities and equipments all through the city and on the extension of its axes and main streets and has elongated towards north according to its particular attractions. Considering Bazaar as a core, this expansion has formed radial layers with a radius of 4 kilometers.

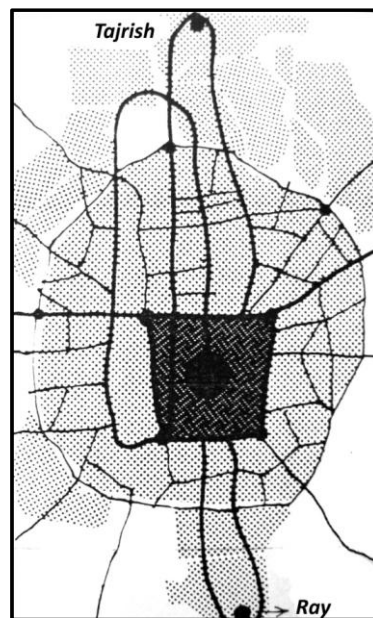


**Figure 3.9 The Displacement Of The Central Core By Means of the Transportation Network.**  
 In Hamidi, Maliheh, et al, 1997. "The Transformation Of The Urban Structure Since The Second Pahlavi Period" *The Urban Structure of Tehran*. Vol. 2. (Tehran: Technical Consulting Organization in Tehran), p 63.



**Figure 3.10 the Extension of the Central Old Core Towards North.**  
 In Hamidi, Maliheh, et al, 1997. "The Transformation Of The Urban Structure Since The Second Pahlavi Period", *Urban Structure of Tehran*. Vol. 2. (Tehran: Technical Consulting Organization in Tehran), p 63.

The significance and domination of the central core in terms of mercantile and employment center remains the same till today as the development of the bureaucratic institutions has continued in this region in the past 40 years. The predicaments of this matter are the evacuation of the adjacent fabric and its occupation by commercial and industrial buildings and therefore a layered growth has occurred from the city center region. In this regard, the main part of the urban structure which is situated in the heart of the city has an area of 20 square kilometers and a population of over 300000 residents.

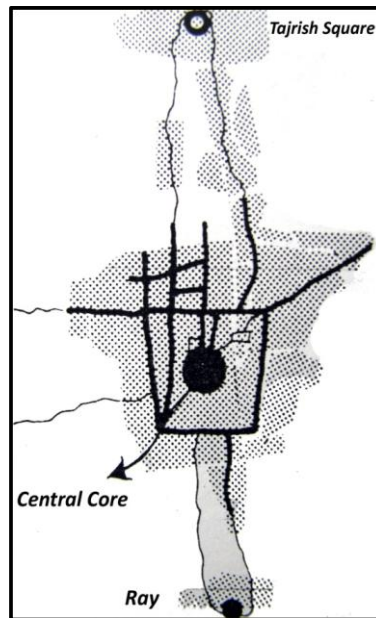


**Figure 3.11 the Linear Growth of The Urban Fabric In Reference To The Central Core.**

In Hamidi, Maliheh, et al, 1997. "The Transformation Of The Urban Structure Since The Second Pahlavi Period" *The Urban Structure of Tehran*. Vol. 2. (Tehran: Technical Consulting Organization in Tehran), p 64.

In general although the city expansion has occurred in all direction the major structural development is the northward extension. This shift in centrality is a result of absence of suitable places in the city center district, increasing traffic and congestion and poor accessibility to the bureaucratic institutions and in search for a more suitable environment as well as the high land price in the central part of the city. Therefore, dispersion has occurred in locating the urban elements. This shift in centrality has created a rather linear concentration on the margins of the

major streets of the city which in this regard *Valiasr Street* can be named as a major example as it connects several major urban elements namely as squares through its extension.



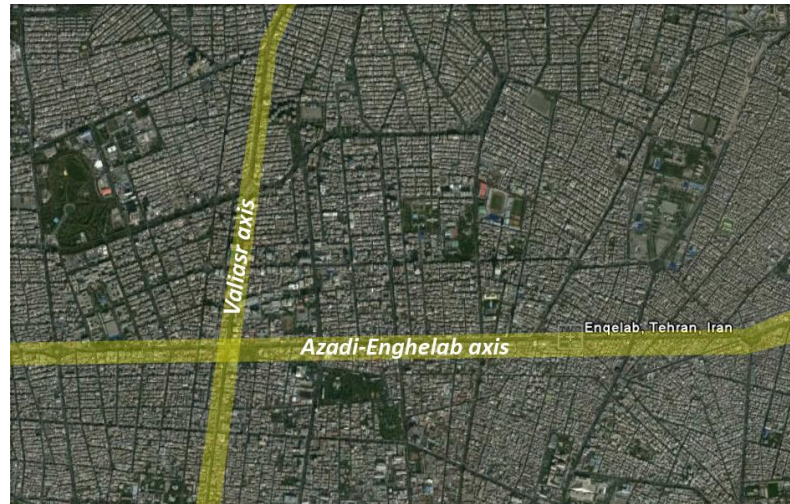
**Figure 3.12 the sporadic Growth of The Urban Fabric In Reference To The Central Core.** In Hamidi, Maliheh, et al, 1997. "The Transformation Of The Urban Structure Since The Second Pahlavi Period" *The Urban Structure of Tehran*. Vol. 2. (Tehran: Technical Consulting Organization in Tehran), p 64.

### 3.2.3. The Skeletal Structure of the City

Within the skeletal structure of the city existence of a powerful core is of its significant properties which are the core of urban activities. This center which is the old core forming the urban activities and its structure has developed through different levels and layers. The inner structure of this central core is in form of a network of linear axes or extensions combined with several centers adjacent to them. The development pattern of this core is on the extension of the main streets which act as radiuses divergent from it and expanding in all directions.

The urban elements are formed on the septum of these axes in a both continuous and fragmented manner. The most important axial extensions from the main core are the north-south

axis which is the *Azadi-Enghelab* axis and the *Valiasr Street* axis and the east-west. In other words the urban structural development in a sectoral manner and on the extension of the main axes occurs especially through the northward axis. This sector consists of two intertwined loops which are the *Chamran* and *Modarres* highways and *Valiasr* and *Shemiran* streets.



**Figure 3.13 Significant Axial Extensions from the Central Core, the Azadi-Enghelab Axis and Valiasr Street.**

**Google Earth.** November 14, 2010. May 19, 2011.

A number of the urban elements are located as fragmented cores on the extensions of main roads housing various functions and are considered to be as abandoned particles of the unified structure of the city. These cores seem to have formed as a result of their required space, land value and conjunction of the main roads in the region and are dispersed in different regions of the city.

The gradual development of some of the functional extensions and accessibility between urban sectors (the radial divergences from the main city core) and also the fragmented cores across the city create a web pattern or a network imposed on the city. It can be derived that the structural development pattern of Tehran is a combination of three urban development theories which are:

- 1) concentric development
- 2) axial development (radial)
- 3) numerous concentrated cores

#### **3.2.4. The Fabric of the Urban Structure**

By the development of the urban fabric in different periods, different patterns of city fabric have emerged.

The most prominent fabric in Tehran can be identified as continuous linear fabric and sporadic fabric. The continuous linear fabric appears in two forms of an inward especially around Bazaar area and outward on the margins of the main city arteries and consists of a variety in land division. Another type of fabric of the city structure is the sporadic fabric with outward growth which consists of single elements and scattered cores and complexes with vast land divisions such as commercial, cultural and educational buildings. This type of fabric appears in different parts of the city also in combination with the continuous linear type.

In the fabric of city structure a dense compression is recognized resulting from smaller land divisions housing higher constructions. Moreover small open spaces restricted among buildings invisible from the streets is resonated by the dense compression of the fabric.

Existence of public open spaces such as parks with sporadic fabric in dense spots of the city has created voids within the urban fabric especially in their adjacency with compressed extensions of buildings with little land occupation and variety in height.

#### **3.2.5. Functional Characters of the City Structure**

The functional characteristics of the urban structure can be summarized as followed.

The functional role of the city as the capital is reflected in its major functions and is divided into a few main groups such as political, bureaucratic, urban facilities, commercial, educational and cultural, leisure, sports and religious operations.

One of the most important operational roles of the urban structure is its political role. In general, the political operational sphere is located within the main core of the city. Sporadic centers in the northern part of the city (namely as the *Saad Abad Palace* in the second Pahlavi period, and later *Jamaran* during Khomeini era) that are connected to the main course through a network of



main and secondary conjunctive arteries also form the other political sections of the urban structure.

The main bureaucratic and urban facilities operational sphere is situated in the old center because of the location of the ministerial buildings in this region, while the most significant linear concentrations of bureaucratic operations of the city are residing on the margins of a network of streets ramifying from the main core. These extensions appear in a continuous manner alongside the conjunctive arteries. Other than that there are sporadic centers located in different parts of the city with a less central character which operate within their regional location.

Cultural elements hold their most significant concentration in the central and northern sphere of the main core as many museums, cultural centers, cinemas and theatre salons are located in this district. These elements are not concentrated within a certain boundary however and are located in separate streets. In the southern part of the city sporadic centers are located while in the northern part some museums have gained cultural character due to transformation in function. For instance the *Saad Abad* Palace Museum, *Niavaran* Palace Museum are the significant examples in this regard in the northern part of the city.

The leisure sphere however does not occupy a certain district and is diffused through the urban fabric in form of parks and sports complexes a few major centers can be mentioned as well as the *Azadi Sport Complex* in the western part of the city namely the largest sport complex in Tehran.

The religious operation of the main urban structure in form of a solid core is only visible in the southern part of the city. This core consists of holy Imams' shrines, Khomeini memorial complex and the city's cemetery, *Behesht-e-Zahra*. Apart from this significant elements are visible in other parts of the city which operate locally such as small shrines and local mosques.

The general pattern of the operational spheres of the urban structure forms a main core consisting of a combination of various functions such as commercial, bureaucratic, welfare, educational, religious and cultural. This concentration of operational functions is penetrated through the city fabric by means of conjunctive networks of passages and thoroughfares. The access pattern and the radial development of the city is a confirmation to this claim. The main



core of the urban structure is the most important operational sphere of the commercial and bureaucratic functions.

### **3.2.6. Accessibility and Traffic Characteristics of the Urban Structure**

Three major accessibility groups are visible within the Urban structure which are namely as:

1. accessibility and traffic within the boundaries of the city structure
2. accessibility from different urban regions to the urban structure district
3. accessibilities from outer city regions to the main city structure

According to the subject of this research only the first group will be considered as a matter to be studied here and the other two groups will be left out of this study.

The inner city accessibilities and its main core are formed by a network of main and subordinate passages. According to the high density of the functions and activities located on the margins of these streets heavy traffic flows and often lacks express accessibilities. The connection between the functions of the urban structure in its main core with other sectors is possible through the main and secondary conjunctive arteries and the sporadic centers are connected to the main core through a sequence of highways, main streets and subordinate means of connection.

The urban structure has to be accessible from all other parts of the city and therefore conjunctive arteries from residential sectors are of major significance.

*Valiasr Street* in this regard is a prominent example of the routes connecting the residential areas to the urban structure through regional and secondary extensions. In other examples where the major urban elements are located on the margins of the main streets, the accessibility is possible directly. In terms of convenience in the northern and western parts of the city according to the network pattern and number of the streets the accessibility is obtained less harder compare to eastern and southern regions of the central core.

### **3.2.7. The Visual Effects of the Urban Structure**

The city of Tehran basically lacks an organized network of signs and landmarks attributed to the city. This matter is more visible through the expansion of the city and its sporadic sectors rather than having a main center.

The absence of a landmark similar to Eiffel tower in Paris or a dense exceptional complex of the urban structure such as San Francisco in the United States has led to indiscrimination of situation in the urban structure of Tehran through the entire city. Single separate elements in the whole body of the structure encompassing various regions and district in different scales are not able to lend coherence to the meaning of visual effects in the urban structure. Only on some major streets prominent constructions such as the Azadi Square and a few more examples are visible.

In Tehran a number of buildings according to their wide vista are left out of this evaluation due to their residential function which prevents them from an urban operational act. These buildings are located in different sections of the city regardless of a spatial organization and have created a rather dysfunction through the visual effects of the urban structure.

Apart from this evolution the urban structure has not only occurred horizontally but also vertically in terms of buildings' heights that has led to restrictedness of the streets and has limited the visual domain of the symbolic elements. Moreover, the location of spaces and landmark buildings according to the traffic pattern of the city, and lack of uneven surfaces and the flat arena where the city is located as well as the air pollution are reasons for visual illegibility of the urban structure confine.

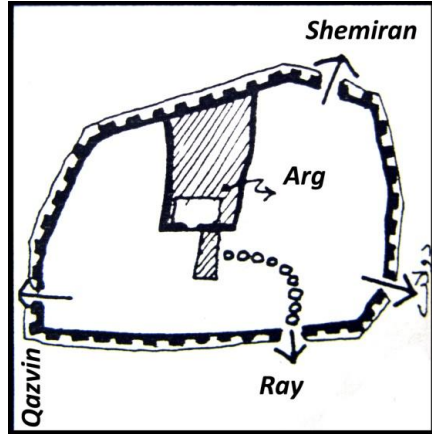


Figure 3.14 Tehran in 1813.

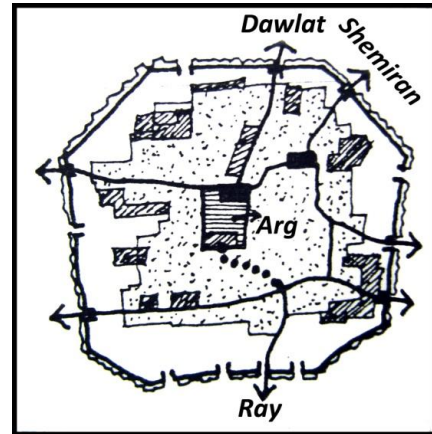


Figure 3.15 Iran Between 1831 And 1926, Tehran As The Capital City.

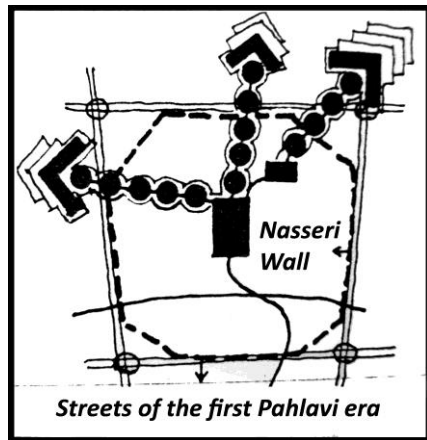


Figure 3.16 Tehran and Its Urban Development Pattern in the First Pahlavi Era.

In Hamidi, Maliheh, et al, 1997. "The Transformation Of The Urban Structure Since The Second Pahlavi Period" *The Urban Structure of Tehran*. Vol. 2. (Tehran: Technical Consulting Organization in Tehran), p 88.

In general, in central and northern and western parts of the city the visual effects of a few urban elements are significant. In the southern parts, towards the very south end, special urban elements according to their diffused manner in construction and the low rise of buildings in the area are visible (especially from the high ways) while in the eastern and northeastern as well as southeastern parts of the city no specific element attributing visual effects to its region is notable.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC ERA

#### 4.1. The Islamic Revolution (1979-Present) and its Ideology

The Iranian Revolution also known as the Islamic Revolution or 1979 Revolution refers to the transition of power in Iran from the Pahlavi dynasty's monarchy to a Republic meeting the promises of Islamic ideology in terms of political operations. The Monarchy of the Second Pahlavi shah, Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, in 1979 was replaced by the Islamic Republic under the leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini.



**Figure 4.1. Demonstration In Tehran Culminated to Establishment of the Islamic Republic, April, 1979.** [Internet, WWW] Middle East News and Media, ADDRESS: <http://www.yaqoot.com/Iran/> [Accessed: June 15, 2011]

Starting in October 1977, demonstrations against the Shah developed into a campaign of civil resistance with religious intentions that continued to 1978. The length of the mass demonstrations basically resulted in paralysis of the country during these years and later the Shah left Iran for exile in mid-January 1979. Two weeks later Ayatollah Khomeini returned to Tehran. Finally the royal regime was overthrown shortly after military attempts in controlling the mass demonstrations failed. The Islamic republic was constituted in April 1979 through a referendum and a new theocratic constitution with the leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini emerged.

According to Amuzegar's analysis on the Islamic Revolution the Iranian revolution was unusual for the surprise it created throughout the world since it lacked many of the customary causes of revolution (defeat at war, a financial crisis, peasant rebellion, or disgruntled military) produced profound change at great speed that led to overthrowing of the Pahlavi regime and replaced a modernizing monarchy with a theocracy based on Guardianship of the Islamic Jurists (or *velayat-e faqih*).<sup>75</sup> As a result an Islamic Republic "under the guidance of an extraordinary religious scholar from Qom" emerged that according to a scholarly vantage point is "clearly an occurrence that had to be explained".<sup>76</sup>

Bernard Lewis in his book *the Islamic Revolution* describes Iranian Islamic revolution as an Islamic language acquiring Islamic rules by the leadership of an Islamic leader who is a religiously formulated critique of the old order with a religious view to plan for the new.<sup>77</sup>

The ultimate ideology of the revolution is formulated by the dominant power and the only figure present as the leader, ayatollah Khomeini. He preached ideas of revolt and martyrdom as principles of the Shiite cult. Furthermore, encouraging clerics to mobilize and lead the masses into action as means of reaching the religious objectives. He began using the words "weak" and "proud and mighty" for the Marxist vocabulary of Oppression and Oppressor and renounced the influence of American and Soviet superpowers through mottos such as "Not Eastern, nor

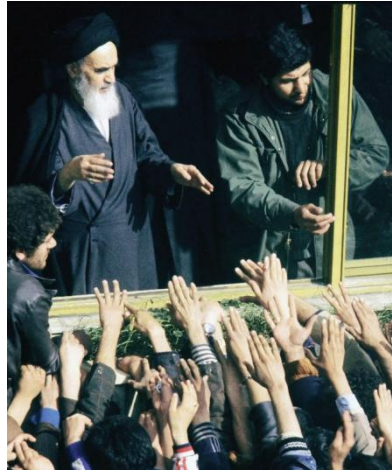
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<sup>75</sup> Jahangir Amuzegar, *The Dynamics of the Iranian Revolution: the Pahlavis' Triumph and Tragedy*. (Albany: State University of New York, 1991) P 10.

<sup>76</sup> Cheryl Benard and Zalmay Khalilzad. *The Government of God: Iran's Islamic Republic* (New York: Columbia UP, 1984), 18.

<sup>77</sup> Ervand Abrahamian, *A History of Modern Iran* ( New York: Cambridge UP, 2008), 155.

Western, Islamic Republican”. Following the victory of the revolution, its ideology was apparent in social, economic and cultural policies.<sup>78</sup>



**Figure 4.2 Khomeini, Ruhollah. Photograph.** Encyclopædia Britannica Online. Web. 22 Jun. 2011. <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/media/75118/Ayatollah-Ruhollah-Khomeini-being-greeted-in-Tehran-in-1979>>.

In terms of dress, western-style neckties for men and uncovered hair, arms, etc. for women were banned. But there were non-religious changes as well, such as an emphasis on proletarian dress, manners, customs as opposed to Western aristocratic or Bourgeoisie elegance and extravagance of the Shah's era, observes Shirin Ebadi.<sup>79</sup> Therefore an effort to create an Islamic identity became a dominant concern in every aspect of people’s everyday lives.

Also Fariba Adelkhah in her book, *Being Modern in Iran*, observes that According to the 1996 census, Iran with the former population of 33.7 million reached the population of 60 million inhabitants whom 61 percent became town dwellers while previously only 47 percent resided in towns with over 100000 inhabitants. As a result of this matter the number of people receiving

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid, 162.

<sup>79</sup> Shirin Ebadi, *Iran Awakening: A Memoir of Revolution and Hope* (New York: Random House, 2006), 180.

schooling rose and gradually Tehran transformed from a city with 4.5 million inhabitants in 1976 to a megalopolis with 10 million residents in 1996. These changes were results of major universal paradigmatic shifts in modernization and specifically in the case of Iran derived from great events such as the Revolution, the war with Iraq<sup>80</sup>, the rapid population growth and uncertainties according to the oil-based economy.<sup>81</sup>

#### **4.2. The Urban Structure Development of the Post-Revolution Period**

After the revolution and war with Iraq, while the country had reached a stable point in its social construction a period of normalization and reconstruction started during the 1990s. In this period a number of urban planning efforts took place in Tehran. The urban development in this era achieved an intensified framework aiming to manage its evolution.<sup>82</sup>

In this period and according to the change in constitution the 25-year lifespan plan of Abdolaziz Farmanfarmaian and Gruer was finally terminated in 1991 and a new group of consultants, the "A-tech architectural and consultancy group"<sup>83</sup> were commissioned to develop a plan between the years 1986 to 1996 although, after much delay, it was only in 1993 that the plan was finally approved by the Urban Planning High Council. This plan also focused on growth management and a linear spatial strategy, using the scales of urban region, sub region, district, area and neighborhood. It promoted conservation, decentralization, polycentric development, development of five satellite new towns, and increasing residential densities in the city. It

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<sup>80</sup> The Iran-Iraq war occurred in 1980 after Iran was facing internal unrest according to shift in power after the 1979 Islamic revolution. The new government, not yet stabilized, began to face border dispute as the Iraq government was taking advantage of the internal condition of Iran according to the major transformation it was going through. The war lasted for eight years and left the country with prominent economic and social crises. Therefore during the eight critical years of Iran-Iraq war the urban development process remained sedentary.

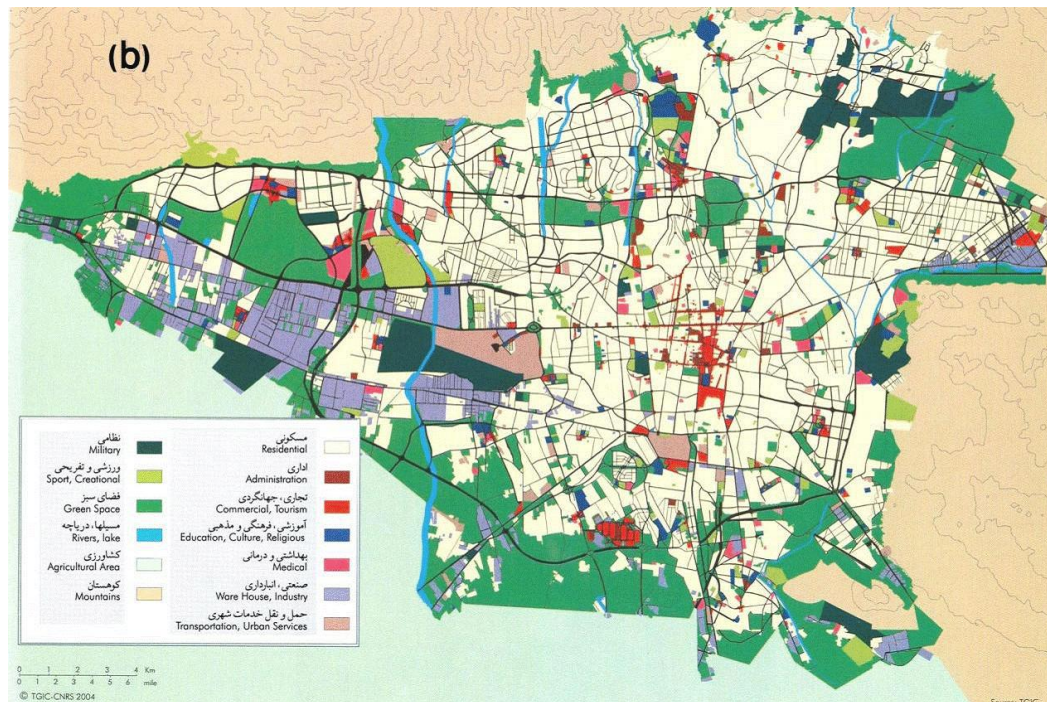
<sup>81</sup> Fariba Adelkhah, *Being Modern in Iran* (New York: Columbia UP in Association with the Centre D'études Et De Recherches Internationales, 2000), 106.

<sup>82</sup> Nasser Mashhadizadeh Dehaghani, *Tahlili Az Vizhegiha-ye Barnamehrizi-e Shahri Dar Iran (An Analysis of Urban Planning Characteristics in Iran)* (Tehran: Elm va San'at University Press, 1995)

<sup>83</sup> ATEC Consultants is an architecture, urban planning and structure organization [firm] in Tehran/Iran which was established in 1981. <http://www.atec-ir.com/Pages/HomePage.aspx>



proposed that the city be divided into 22 districts within five sub-regions, each with its own service centre.<sup>84</sup> Finally, the 1993 plan was not welcomed by the municipality, which disagreed with its assessments and priorities, finding it unrealistic, expensive, and impossible to implement.



**Figure 4.3 the Master Plan of Tehran by A-Tech Consultant Group, 1993.** [Internet, WWW] ADDRESS: [http://www.irancarto.cnrs.fr/contents.php?v=3&c=\\*%&l=en](http://www.irancarto.cnrs.fr/contents.php?v=3&c=*%&l=en) [Accessed 12 June 2011]

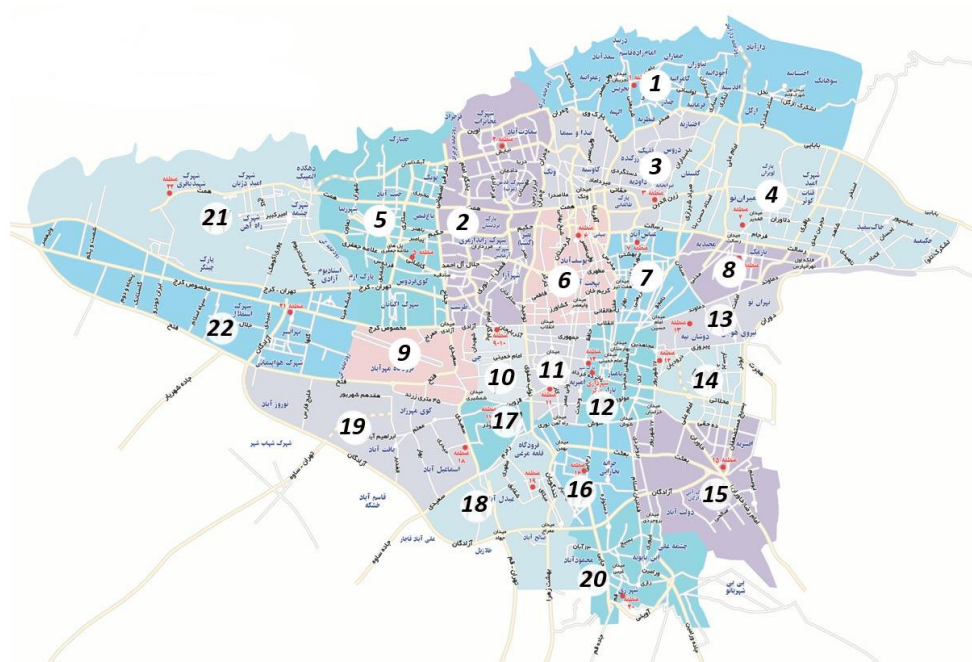
The municipality produced its own strategic plan for the period 1996– 2001, known as Tehran Municipality’s First Plan, or Tehran 80 considering the 22 regions proposed in A-Tech development scheme. Rather than introducing a land-use plan as its goal, this was the first plan for the city that emphasized a set of strategies and proposed policies to achieve them. It identified the city’s main problems as shortage of resources to deliver its services; the pace and pattern of urban growth; environmental pollution; the absence of effective public transport, and inefficient bureaucracy. “The municipality’s vision for the future of the city was then outlined to

<sup>84</sup> Shahr-dari-e Tehran (2004) Motale’at-e Tarh-haye Baladast (Upper level plan studies), Tehran Municipality, Tehran.



have six major characteristics: a clean city, ease of movement in the city, the creation of parks and green spaces, the development of new cultural and sports facilities, reform of the municipal organization, and planning for the improvement of urban space, including preparation of comprehensive and detailed plans for land use and conservation.”<sup>85</sup>

Bernard Hourcade the Iran specialist geographer in his interview with the French magazine *La Revue de Tehran* published online states that detailed plans are being prepared for the city’s 22 districts, and work is under way on a strategic plan to link these detailed plans and to guide the future development of the city as a whole. He believes that the city is more integrated and democratic than before and has a more coherent approach to planning.



**Figure 4.4 the 22 Districts of Tehran.**

This map shows the divisions proposed by the municipality and formed the basis of the urban developments of Tehran from 1993 onwards.

[Internet, WWW] ADDRESS: <http://aindal.vcp.ir/?viewpost=nb450foc513g> [Accessed 21 July 2011]

<sup>85</sup> Shahr-dari-e Tehran (1996) *Barnameh-ye Avval-e Shahr-dari-e Tehran*, ‘Tehran 80’, 1375–1380, *Kitab-e Barnameh, Markaz-e Motale’at va Barnamehrizi, Shahr-dari-e Tehran*, Tehran.

He further asserts in his comparison between Tehran and Paris that since Tehran has not been the focal point in governmental political operations and during the history of urbanization of Iran many cities have been selected to be the capital city and no single city ever remained the capital city according to shift in power structure and emergence of new dynasties, Tehran per se has not ever gained an urban policy until today. Although under the Pahlavi regime according to their power demonstration propaganda architecture and urbanization was utilized as means of demonstrative and unifying elements reflecting the state ideology on the capital city inhabitants, resulting in both an internal effect as well as its international appearance. Thus construction of high rise buildings and wide avenues emerged during the first Pahlavi era and continued to the second. In addition he asserts that the lack of historical continuity in the urbanization of Tehran has caused loss of attraction to it and in a way created problems according to its development process since certain references are not considered.<sup>86</sup>

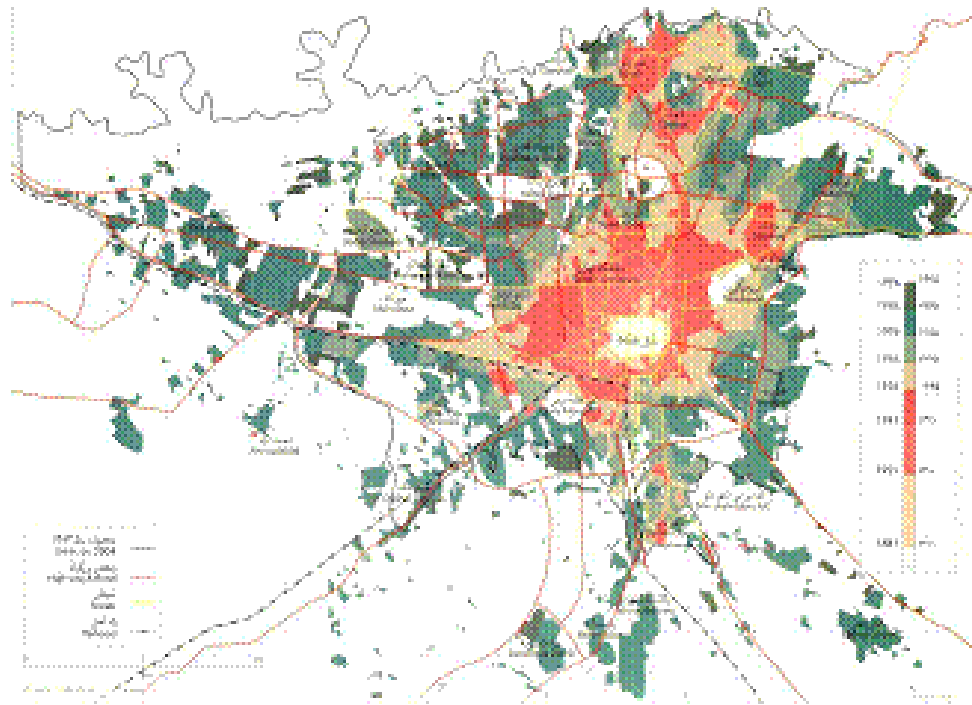
Ali Madanipour on the other hand foresees the current planning strategies in Iran of Tehran as temporary treatments as he observes how the last mayor, who was elected the president of the republic in 2005, being a civil engineer himself, he gave road building a significant attention. Through his efforts constructing new urban arteries and highways and widening the old thoroughfares of the city occurred. He even aimed to widen parts of the Valiasr Street in order to ease traffic flows. Although the city continues to suffer from dominant social polarization, high land and property prices, heavy traffic congestion and some of the worst atmospheric pollution in the world, and remains unprepared for any serious earthquake.<sup>87</sup>

In the post-revolution period according to the political and social conditions of the country, the war time and the mass immigration from the smaller sectors to Tehran, the development of the urban structure extended its borders to the suburbs and satellite cities and scattered settlements emerged and further developed during this period.

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<sup>86</sup> Afsaneh Pourmazaheri and Farzaneh Pourmazaheri, "Interview with Bernard Hourcade, Iran specialist geographer", *La Revue de Tehran; Mensuel Culturel Iranien en Langue Francaise*, November, 24, 2007. <http://www.teheran.ir/spip.php?article110> (accessed 12 December 2010)

<sup>87</sup> Ali Madanipour, "Urban Planning and Development in Tehran." *Online journal of Elsevier Cities* 23, No. 6, (September 2006), <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0264275106000722> (accessed 15 May 2011)



**Figure 4.5 the Map of Tehran Metropolis.**

This map shows the growth of the urban structure outside the borders of the city towards the suburbs in the post-revolution period.

[Internet, WWW] ADDRESS: [http://www.irancarto.cnrs.fr/contents.php?v=3&c=\\*&l=en](http://www.irancarto.cnrs.fr/contents.php?v=3&c=*&l=en) [Accessed 12 June 2011]

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **REVISION OF FUNCTIONAL OPERATION AND ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE URBAN STRUCTURE**

The functional operations discussed in this section will be:

- Political operations
- Bureaucratic functions and urban facilities
- Commercial functions

Reviewing the functional role of the urban structure and its activities reveals the important role of the functional operations in conception and organization of the urban structure that is obtained by studying major urban functions. As well as studying the processes of transformation and development in the urban structure it is vital to review the nature of operations in this section. Therefore, the processes of transformation and development of the functions and the main operations of the city and their respective regions are significant to this research. Through a chronological historical study the processes of formation of functional cores will be studied. As a result, convenient data is obtained in order to estimate the functional transformations and shortcomings will get under consideration according to their possibilities of change and development.

Therefore, the urban operations are categorized according to two major points firstly by considering the critical and influential points on main urban functions and their urban development and secondly by studying the transformation of urban functions as well as development, emergence of new functions and finding a pattern for urban operations.

Moreover, the functions forming the urban structure and able to influence its transformation processes are identified by locating districts with similar functions (land division of urban operations within the urban structure), locating spaces demanding structural organization and transformation in their activities.

## **5.1 Historical Periods in the Urban Operations**

Through this study the significant historical periods reviewed are the first Pahlavi era (1925-1941), the Second Pahlavi era (1941-1979) and the Islamic revolution (1979-present).

### **The first Pahlavi period (1925-1941)**

In this historical period the domination of a modernizing spirit is visible. Therefore the demolition of the old walls of the city as symbolic demonstration of modernization and emergence of a nexus of transportation grid in order to plan for urban development is visible.

### **The second Pahlavi period (1941-1979)**

In the outset the allied forces had entered the country and Reza Shah had been abducted to Mauritius. After his abdication his son Mohammad Reza Shah took over his father's throne and continued to his modernizing project. The ongoing development of the city had continued till the 1960s when the need for a developing program had been sensed.

From 1966 until 1979 the income rate had increased due to increase in oil price in the country. Therefore, Tehran population faced growth in number according to increase in immigration rate. During this period a master plan was designed for Tehran to foresee its developments towards the upcoming 25 years.

### **The Islamic Revolution (1979-present)**

In this period the country was standing right at the threshold of a new era in its historical experience. The unstructured growth of population and city expansion resulted in neglecting the 25-year-old master plan of the city. In this period Tehran changed its name to "Greater Tehran" and satellite cities emerged.

## **5.2. Identifying Functions of the Urban Structure**

### **Political-governmental operations**

The functions residing in this group are the ones that major decisions of governing and political developments are made there. According to a historical revision on these functions a number of

palaces are known to be the political base of the governments in addition to the historical role of the embassies in the governors' decisions and the influence of foreign affairs these functions also fall into this group consisting of the palaces as the main governmental base and the space of decision making, the parliament and embassies.

### **Bureaucratic functions and facilities**

This group consists of the ministries and subordinate sectors as well as commercial offices and bureaucratic facilities.

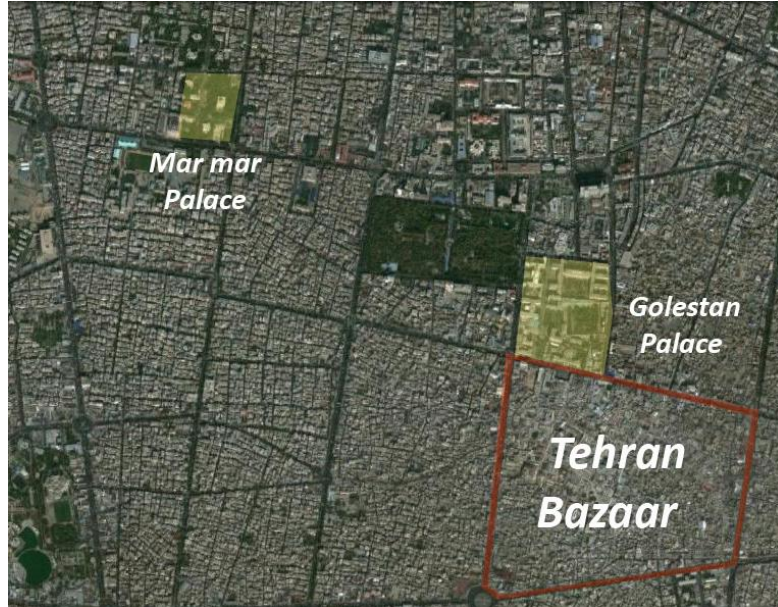
### **Commercial functions**

This function is mainly consisting of main commercial centers and commercial and mercantile extensions which operate within the international, national, urban and regional scale.

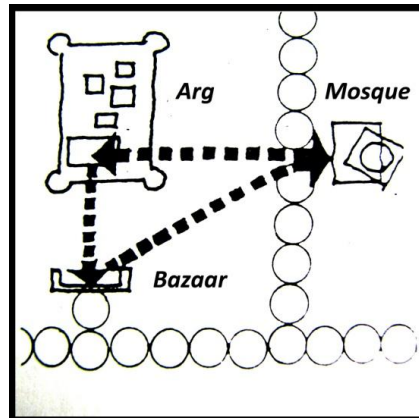
## **5.2.1. The Processes of Transformation of the Political-Governmental Operations**

### **The reign of Reza shah (1925-1941)**

According to the political alteration in a grand scale as a result of the extinction of the Qajar dynasty in this period Reza shah made his efforts towards demolishing the old regime's governmental and political center. This effort can be identified as means of transpiration from the old regime's orders and emergence of a newly built government with modernizing visions against the retrogressive visions of its precedents. This action carried the concept of being irreversible in its nature as the new government tends to manifest its break from the past. Therefore after Reza Shah came to power, he changed the governmental base from the old *Arg* to *Marmar Palace* and the governmental core moved from the city center to its northwest margin. In general according to the fundamental change in the old structure of this function, formation and development of the new elements occur separately and sporadic from the previous core.



**Figure 5.1 Displacement of the Governmental Sector from the Golestan Palace to Marmar Palace on the West Side of the Central Core of Bazaar.**  
 Google Earth. November 14, 2010. June 15, 2011.

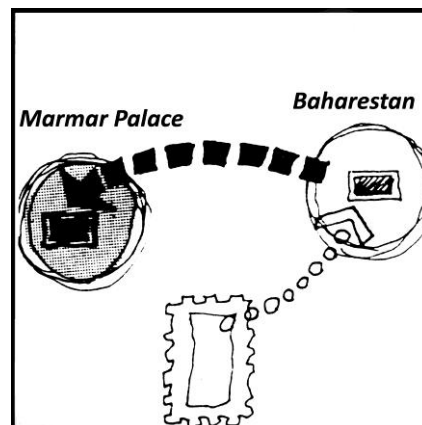


**Figure 5.2 Adjacency of Bazaar and Arg with the Religious Sector As The Central Core of the Urban Structure Before The Rise Of Reza Shah To Power.**

This image shows the relationship of political and commercial operations of the urban structure according to their adjacency. Bazaar as a significant organ of the urban structure in the traditional Islamic city and its critical role in terms of finance and residing the Ulema and the traditional strata has always been considered as a major sector in terms of support or raid against the dominant power. Therefore the adjacency of these two sectors has always been considered as means of observing the activities of Bazaar by the dominant power as well as its financial support for the ruling class.

In Hamidi, Maliheh, et al, 1997. "Organization of the Urban Structure Of Tehran" *The Urban Structure of Tehran*. Vol. 2. (Tehran: Technical Consulting Organization in Tehran), p 93.

Following the urban development in this period and after the unsuccessful terror of Mohammad Reza Shah, the political-governmental center was moved from the Marmar palace to Saad Abad Palace. As a result after the relocation of the Marmar Palace in the city district once again the governmental and decision making base of the government was moves outside the borders of the city center. This happens while the ministerial and the parliament continue to operate in their previous sector that had formed around the Marmar Palace regardless of relocation of the governmental center, the palace.



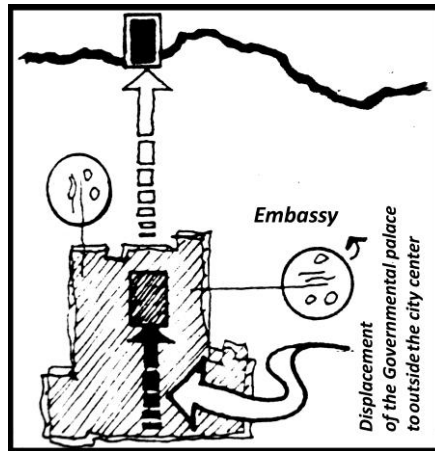
**Figure 5.3 in the First Pahlavi Era the Triangle Shifted To Modern Sectors of The Parliament And The Governmental Palace.**

the new sets of buildings emerging in this period as the new governmental sectors display fragmentation of the governmental core from its previous location that had been near the Bazaar. Yet residing their functions in the same district and with minor shifts to new directions, the dominant power remains in control of the Bazaar sector both in terms of opposition and financial support for the ruling government. In Hamidi, Maliheh, et al, 1997. "Organization of the Urban Structure Of Tehran" *The Urban Structure of Tehran*. Vol. 2. (Tehran: Technical Consulting Organization in Tehran), p 93.

### **The Second Pahlavi era; the reign of Mohammad Reza shah Pahlavi (1941-1979)**

In general, in this period these groups of operational functions expand in two forms. In the first example the previous core of these functions is reinforced by constructing new elements and in the second example develops in a discrete manner towards north namely as *Shemiranat*.





**Figure 5.4 the Second Pahlavi Era, Reinforcing the Previously Formed Political and Bureaucratic Core**

In the second Pahlavi period by displacement of the governmental palace to the northern part of Tehran, once again there is a shift in the power placement within the urban structure. However the central core of the city and its already defined political operations are preserved and reinforced.

In Hamidi, Maliheh, et al, 1997. "Organization of the Urban Structure Of Tehran" *The Urban Structure of Tehran*. Vol. 2. (Tehran: Technical Consulting Organization in Tehran), p 94.

### **The Islamic Republic era (1979-present)**

After the 1979 revolution according to major changes in the socio-political structure the new government tended to establish a new political governmental core.

In this period similar to the previous era expansion in other words the location of this group of operational functions occurred adjacent to the previous ones. At first *Jamaran* was chosen as the new political governmental core residing the leader of the revolution ayatollah Khomeini outside the borders of city center in *Shemiranat*. In the following years of the Islamic republic period the old city center has resided governmental functions such as ministerial buildings and the presidential palace as well as the Leader's house known as *Beyt-e-Rahbari*.

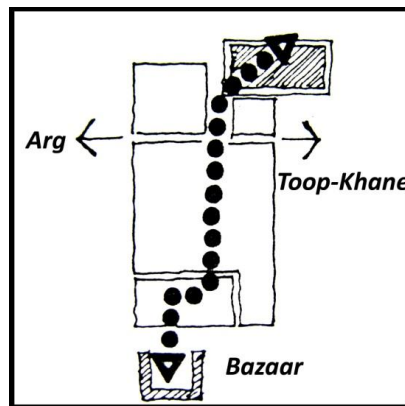
The Islamic parliament known as Islamic Consultative Assembly, as one of the major pillars of the Islamic republic government located near the new governmental core and the previous location of the assembly has lost its significance. Only certain cultural parts have preserved their functions such as the parliament's library.

Therefore, once again the socio-political core has remained within the boundaries of the main urban structure and is reinforced.

### 5.2.2. The Development of Bureaucratic Functions and Urban Facilities' Operations

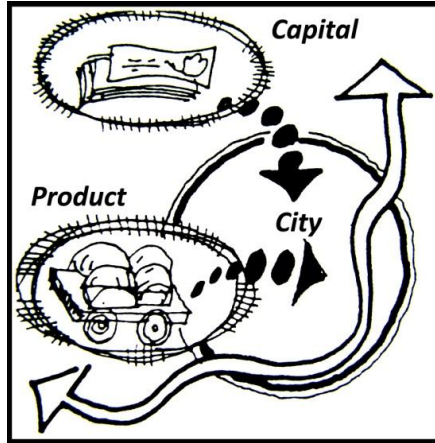
#### The first Pahlavi period (1925-1941)

The *Arg* of Tehran had been demolished during the reign of Reza Shah. Therefore new urban spaces were demanded in order to house the functional structure of the new government that had transformed from traditional administration. In this period the governmental ministries are added to the urban functional operations in form of a major function. Therefore in the city center the governmental buildings have increased in number at this time and many of the existing buildings have transformed into bureaucratic sectors. A dense complex of the power structure operations is formed in the old *Arg* district residing in it the most significant bureaucratic functions.



**Figure 5.5 Location of Bazaar as a Commercial Core near the Governmental Sector**

In Hamidi, Maliheh, et al, 1997. "Organization of the Urban Structure Of Tehran" *The Urban Structure of Tehran*. Vol. 2. (Tehran: Technical Consulting Organization in Tehran), p 95.



**Figure 5.6 the capital reproduction process**

In Hamidi, Maliheh, et al, 1997. "Organization of the Urban Structure Of Tehran" *The Urban Structure of Tehran*. Vol. 2. (Tehran: Technical Consulting Organization in Tehran), p 95.

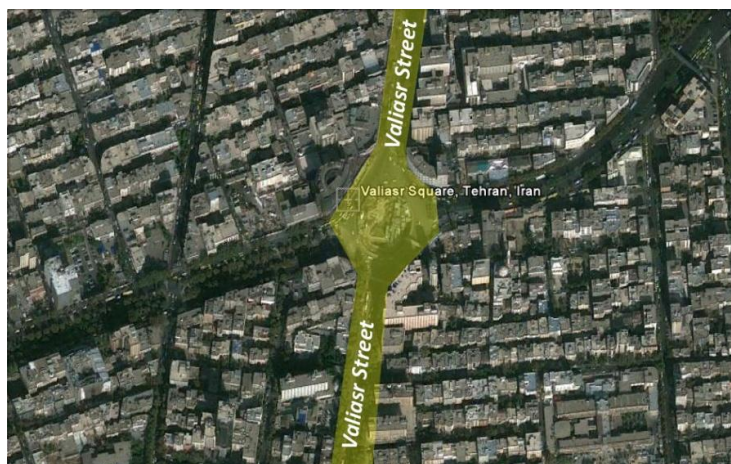
The functional transformation of the *Arg* area from being the political-governmental core to the bureaucratic center and the reinforcement of the *Toop-Khane* and the location of the spaces according to each other and in adjacency to the *Grand Bazaar* area demonstrates that the development of the new functions has occurred in accordance to its precedent functional operations of the urban structure and has elaborated on its former functional structure. Moreover the old functional structure of the area confirms the construction of identity of the urban structure considering the differences in the urban fabric of the old core and its adjacent fabric.

### **The second Pahlavi period (1941-1979)**

In the beginning of the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah until the mid 1960s as a result of economical shortcomings and the government's attempt to establish a rigid framework of power, the development of the functional operations of the bureaucratic sector remains scantling. In this period development of the bureaucratic function occurs gradually as it moves towards north. From the mid 1960s according to the increase in oil price and change in the economical state of the country the city faces the development of its bureaucratic sector in form of construction of new sectors as well as the private sector. The development of the private

sector results in emergence of new bureaucratic extensions that remain significant to the urban structure until today.

One of the most significant examples in this regard is Pahlavi Street (later known as Valiasr Street). In different stages of development whenever this street has played a significant role in the urban structure, the east-west extensions have gained more importance. The gradual development of the Pahlavi Street occurs through its south-north extension.



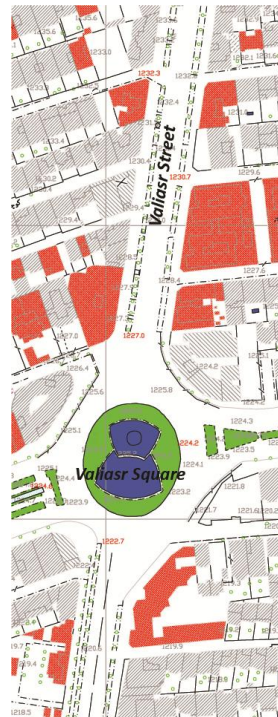
**Figure 5.7 the Valiasr square as a new bureaucratic center emerging on the extension of Valiasr Google Earth.** November 14, 2010. May 19, 2011.

### **The Islamic Republic era (1979-present)**

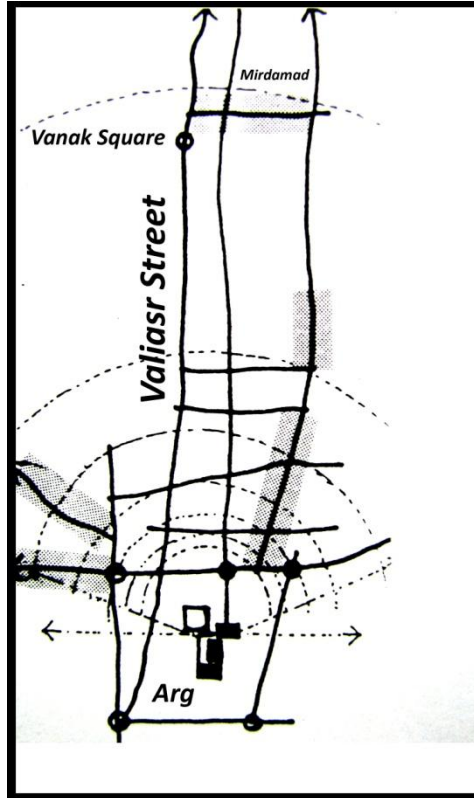
After the 1979 revolution according to the power operation system on social matters such as the war and economic sanctions, previous bureaucratic sectors were preserved and continued to their expansion towards north and west. Subordinate passages of Valiasr Street have gained significance in this era. Moreover, the sporadic expansions of the bureaucratic functions have continued to grow from the central core of the city center and have formed a layered evolution towards north.



**Figure 5.8 View of the Valiasr Street.** Dehrouyeh, Mehdi. “Valiasr Square.” Photo. *Googoleearth.com*. 21 Feb. 2008. 14 Nov. 2010. <[http:// www.panoramio.com/photo/7981691](http://www.panoramio.com/photo/7981691)>



**Figure 5.9 Valiasr Streets and the Distribution of Bureaucratic and Commercial Functions on Its Body.** (Obtained from the Greater Tehran Municipality by the Author)



**Figure 5.10 Sporadic Evolutions of the Bureaucratic Functions after the Rise of Islamic Republic**  
 The highlights in this image represent the extension of the bureaucratic functions from the central core into north and west directions.

In Hamidi, Maliheh, et al, 1997. "Organization of the Urban Structure Of Tehran" *The Urban Structure of Tehran*. Vol. 2. (Tehran: Technical Consulting Organization in Tehran), p 98.

### 5.2.3. The Development of Commercial Functions

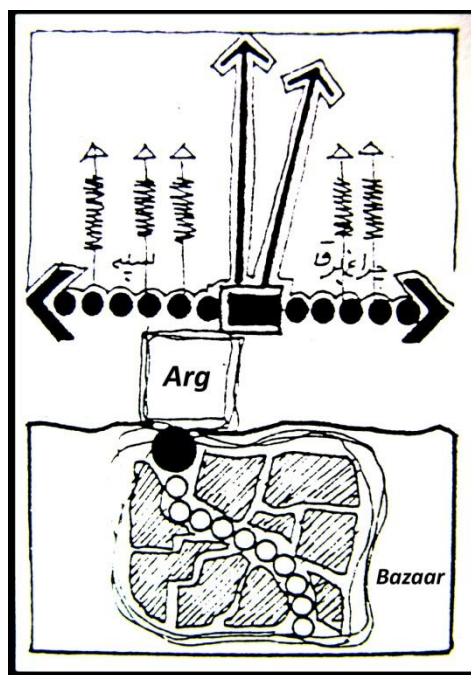
#### **The first Pahlavi period (1925-1941)**

With the demolition of the city walls and construction of wide streets and connective networks and regarding the dominant power's will to introduce a modern lifestyle to its citizens, the commercial extensions develop in a detached manner from the old Bazaar area while the Bazaar continues to develop in its inner structure.

The traditional role of Bazaar as a trade sector is preserved while the urban structure developments provide grounds for detached sectors evolution. Therefore, diffusion of the new commercial extensions emerges in this period. Furthermore, in the upcoming decades these

sectors are also included in the city center according to the urban development scale while they had previously formed outside the boundaries of the main commercial core, the Bazaar.

Considering the new development pattern, the political role of the government is of major significance. Neglecting Bazaar as one of the traditional symbols of the urban fabric and its underdevelopment in its structure and its social role resulted in formation of Bazaar as an abandoned sector that perpetuated its life in the margin and later fell out of control.



**Figure 5.11 the Development Of Commercial Functions In The First Pahlavi Period.**

This image represents the expansion of the commercial functions from the central core into different directions.

In Hamidi, Maliheh, et al, 1997. "Organization of the Urban Structure Of Tehran" *The Urban Structure of Tehran*. Vol. 2. (Tehran: Technical Consulting Organization in Tehran), p 100.

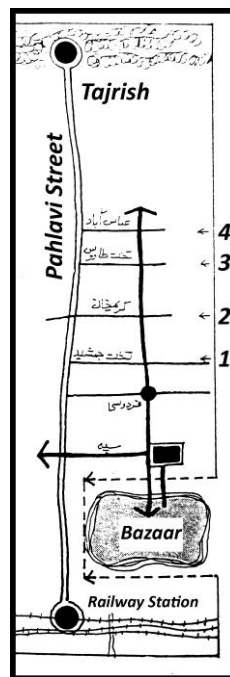
### **The second Pahlavi period (1941-1979)**

In this period the commercial function evolves in three major forms. In the first state the Bazaar starts to transform and the conjunction of the production sectors to the older extensions changes the appearance of Bazaar in some parts. The increase in the density of Bazaar that had emerged



from the previous era especially in the late 1960s speeds up according to economic development accompanied by the negligence to the Bazaar structural development results in dissolution of the adjacent residential fabric with the commercial and results in Bazaar's expansion through the residential axes.

In the second state the Pahlavi Street acts as a pillar and a backbone for commercial and bureaucratic development. This axis houses commercial and bureaucratic functions through its extension as well as its subordinate passages as it provides convenient accessibility. Two major reasons can be mentioned in this regard. One is the existence of two major milestones on its extension namely as the Railway station square in south and *Tajrish Square* in north. The other reason is that the northward extension of the street will provide access to the northern part of the city namely as the *Shemiranat* up-country.

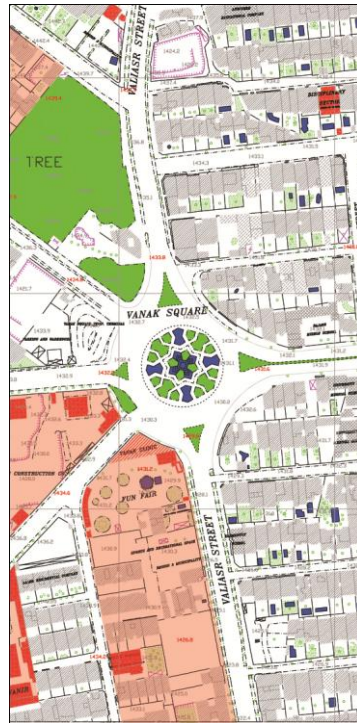


**Figure 5.12 the Development of Commercial Functions In The second Pahlavi Period.** In Hamidi, Maliheh, et al, 1997. "Organization of the Urban Structure Of Tehran" *The Urban Structure of Tehran*. Vol. 2. (Tehran: Technical Consulting Organization in Tehran), p 100.

Thus the commercial functions develop towards north move through Pahlavi Street and continue their upward extension through *Valiahd Square* (Later known as *Valiasr Square*) to *Vanak Square* and finally to *Tajrish Square*.



Thus the commercial functions develop towards north move through Pahlavi Street and continue their upward extension through *Valiahd Square* (Later known as *Valiasr Square*) to *Vanak Square* and finally to *Tajrish Square*.

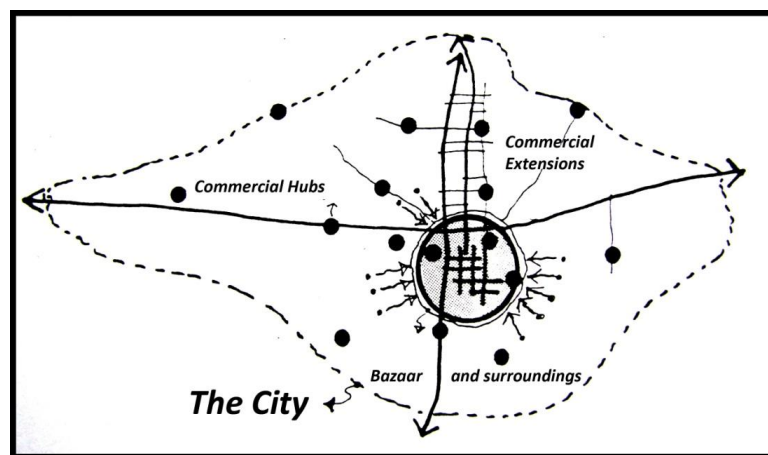


**Figure 5.13 Vanak Square, displaying the commercial zones.** (Obtained from the Greater Tehran Municipality by the Author)

Third example for formation of these extensions or commercial cores could be derived from reasons such as creating convenient accessibility or completion of the existing activities as well as increase in demands for commercial services according to population growth. Also construction of suitable commercial activity grounds according to adjacency to major popular hubs.

### The Islamic Republic era (1979-present)

The commercial function development pattern in this period is similar to the previous era. The Bazaar development in this period occurred with a slow pace according to increase in its density and accessibility problems as a result of heavy traffic on the one hand and the land value increase on the other, as well as malfunctioning old structure of Bazaar.



**Figure 5.14 the Development of Commercial Functions in the Islamic republic Period.**

According to the sudden growth of the urban structure in this period and the urge for creation of new commercial hubs for the newly constructed neighborhoods the growth pattern at the post-revolution era becomes denser and appears larger in scale.

In Hamidi, Maliheh, et al, 1997. "Organization of the Urban Structure Of Tehran" *The Urban Structure of Tehran*. Vol. 2. (Tehran: Technical Consulting Organization in Tehran), p 101.

In this era the emergence of shopping centers adjacent to *Bazaar* is visible while the commercial extensions perpetuate towards Valiasr Street. Of the most important commercial hubs at this time is the Mirdamad Street which branches from the Valiasr Street. According to the capacity and development potential of Valiasr Street, the commercial development continues ceaselessly. The development of the commercial function regarding the main urban structure occurs within the boundaries of its structure according to the means of accessibility and user group population that is pretty much the same as the previous era.



**Figure 5.15 Mirdamad Street as New Commercial Hub Emerging During the Islamic Republic Period.**

Mirdamad Street is a divergent street from the Valiasr Street, displayed in orange forms one of the most significant commercial hubs of Tehran in the post-revolution period through its west-east extension. **Google Earth.** November 14, 2010. May 19, 2011.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

Through this research the attempt was to point out the dominant ideology's influence in transforming the urban structure in each historical epoch respectively. By pointing out the importance of each chosen period the urban structural development and its transformation in Tehran as the capital of Iran, has been studied in reference to the role of the imposed transportation network of the main streets namely the Valiasr street, as an apparatus of ideological transmission of the modernizing state in each specific period.

In the first Pahlavi era(1925-1941) the ideology was grounded in modernizing mottos consisting of nationalist and secularist approaches that take a double faceted turn as it tends to present itself to the inhabitants and before the world. As one of the major attempts was the construction of the urban structure through imposition of certain urban characters such as the transportation network in providing physical mobility of the inhabitants as well as the flow of economy. The widening of major streets can be also understood as means of governmental defensive efforts in order to prevent possible raids from the dense fabric of the old city center that held the population of mostly traditional inhabitants of *Bazari* and *Ulema* as an opposing group to the new modernizing government. Therefore in this era through the construction of a new transportation network and imposition of development schemes on the urban structure an open matrix was created which paved the way for further development of the city. One of its immediate results as observed by Ali Madanipour can be named as the growth of the city population from 310,000 inhabitants in 1932 to 700,000 in 1941.<sup>88</sup> Therefore efforts taking place in this era can be considered as attempts for decentralization of the old urban core of *Bazaar* and the *Arg* governmental complex by construction of diverging passages from this center and mobilizing the political and economical operations to the northern extension of the

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<sup>88</sup> Ali Madanipour, op. cit.

city. This attempt resulted in broadening the city borders and direction of its extension towards the north part of the city which formerly had been left out the city walls of the old central urban core that consisted of the governmental sector as well as *Bazaar* as the main commercial organization. The attempts in this era led to transformation of the urban structure from its medieval outlook to a mere modern capital city.

In the second Pahlavi era however the modernizing processes continued to operate in both the construction of culture and reinforcement of the national Iranian (Persian) identity, urban development took a major turn in administration and management sector as the need for a comprehensive plan for Tehran urban development was felt. Concepts of openness and “gateness” borrowed from the ancient *Achaemenian* architecture of Iran, led to lending significance to the major connective arteries in this era and provided the city with an open matrix of the transportation networks resulting in urban development. Respectively, the northward growth of the city occurred in a rather rapid pace and unplanned manner and the city in this era faced bipolarity in its northern and southern part. This matter is identified also as a result of displacement of the governmental sector from the city center to the palatial complex of *Saad Abad* in north of Tehran followed by an attack to Mohammad Reza Shah. Although imposition of western patterns of urban growth continue to dominate the structure of the city fabric in this period, they tend to fail in terms of residing the immigrant population and therefore result in construction and overnight growth of the unplanned suburbs and vernacular architecture according to their inability to foresee the effects of Tehran turning into a megalopolis.

Finally, by the overthrow of the Pahlavi dynasty and fall of Mohammad Reza Shah, the second Pahlavi monarch, Tehran as the capital city faces two years of demonstration and chaos whilst no significant urban development processes take place. After the unrest period and constitution of the new Islamic government based on the Islamic ideology in 1979, Iran faces 8 years of war with Iraq which once again delays the development processes of the urban structure. The urbanizing and modernization processes take a different turn in a way to fulfill the ideological concerns of their Islamic leaders. In this period, the dominant power’s ideological concern is no longer the matter of national identity but a rather Islamic ideology promoting the religious morality and Islamic ethical rules as the daily life program of the inhabitants by means of commodification of Islamic mottos and slogans transmitted by the mass media. In this regard

the urban environment of Tehran as an apparatus is utilized to promote the dominant ideology by acquiring an Islamic appearance by means of segregation and literal implications such as writing Islamic slogans on the body of the main streets. Grounding in the verses of God and anti-western approaches of the conductors of the Islamic republic in 1979 the ongoing development in Iran and mainly in the capital city Tehran still tends to represent ideologies of the dominant power both to its inhabitants and before the world. According to massive growth of population as a war aftermath and the new approach to governing the urban environment the urge for administrative planning is predominant. The urban development in this period has reached its full potential and suburbs have evolved into towns. The main streets such as the Valiasr Street have remained significant to the urban development as they play the role of power representation in decentralizing the old core and carrying the ideological messages of the dominant power in literal terms as well as acquiring the outlook of demonstrating the transformation of the appearance of the mobile population in terms of the new Islamic dress code. Moreover, after the Islamic revolution and the eminence of the Islamic republic under the leadership of *Ulema*, the old core gained its prominence within the city fabric as the outset of the Islamic republic ideological practices while the main streets constructed as means of decentralizing the old core residing the traditional population and transmit their ideology in every direction.



**Figure 6.1 View of the North End of Valiasr Street** (Taken by the Author)

The commercial functions on the sides of the street have become points of attraction and have formed major hubs in different districts of Valiasr Street.

By reviewing the functional operations and activities of the urban structure in every historical period it has been observed that in the first Pahlavi era the major shift in the political operations of the urban structure has occurred according to the displacement of the governmental sector locus. The attempt of demolishing the rampart urban core of the time as an old fashioned and back warded symbol belonging to past occurred in this period. The displacement of the governmental sector accompanied by the imposition of a modern network of urban transportation, passages and avenues promoted the growth of the city to a northward direction.

The governmental and political functions of the urban structure inevitably tended to penetrate into the areas adjacent to the new governmental sector and passages acquired the role of moving the political functions from the old core into the new regions. Further during the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah in the second Pahlavi period between 1941 and 1979 the royal family once again changed the place of the governmental sector as they moved to the *Niavaran* and later *Saad Abad* palace in the north part of the city. Since the governmental sector in this era moved farther than the old core the new region of the northern part of Tehran gained attention from the developing point of view as the upper middle class and namely the bourgeois class tended to reside close to the new palatial complex. According to this major shift in the location of the ruling class, bipolarity occurred within the urban structure that led to imbalance in the facility distribution within the city fabric as a whole. Therefore, a need for a comprehensive plan in order to provide the urban fabric with balance and moderation was felt in this era and the first comprehensive plan of Tehran was proposed conducting a linear development in east-west extension of the city in order to balance the south-north bipolarity.

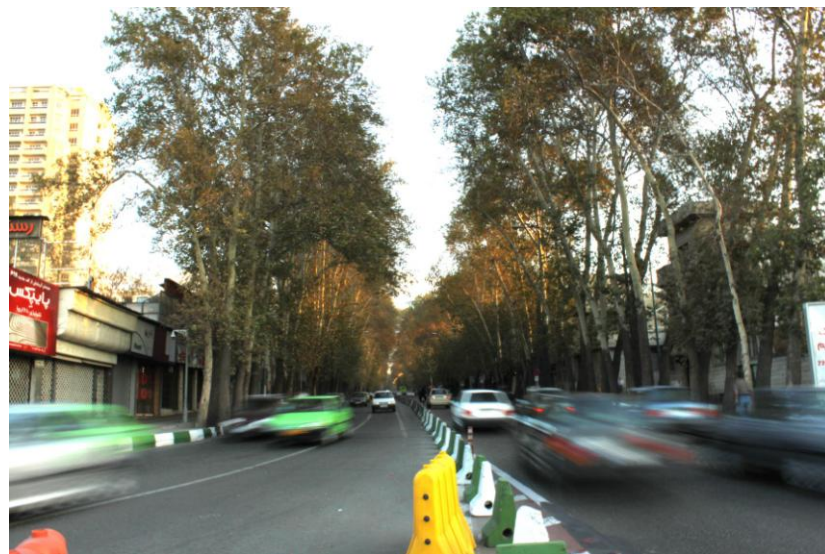
As part of urban development analysis according to the urban functional operations in the city it has been observed that as well as the displacement of the governmental sector that provided shift in the political and bureaucratic sectors, the decentralization efforts resulted in the shift of the commercial functions. The commercial functions that before the modernization era beginning with the first Pahlavi era were located within the old city core, the *Bazaar* and in adjacency to the *Arg* complex had further penetrated into the new urban districts by means of the divergent streets. The Valiasr Street as one of the prominent examples in this regard has obtained numerous commercial functions through its extension and on its margins even creating new commercial hubs due to its south-north connective role and its long extension of 25 kilometers from the *Railway Square* to *Tajrish Square*. In the post revolution era and according



to the growth in population and creation of new urban sectors the need for new commercial hubs led to emergence of sporadic centers as means of providing facilities to their inhabitants. One of the major examples in this regard is the *Valiasr square, Vanak Square and Mirdamad Street* residing on the extension of Valiasr Street.

Tehran planning history shows that since the Second World War as a parallel event ongoing in the world with the coronation of *Reza Shah* and the emergence of the Pahlavi era, the planning has gone through upheavals both socially and politically until today bearing the ideologies of each epoch within its transformation. Although the role of imposed transportation network in changing the city appearance to a modern look remains significant, the problem between underdeveloped situation of the urbanization of city structure and the modern trends acquired by its fabric has led to a malfunction in urban operations such as inappropriate distribution of functions, intense pollution and corrupted urban transportation facilities.

Furthermore, the bipolarity in the south-north extension of the city is still eminent regardless of the planning efforts of the second Pahlavi era and the Islamic republic period. During the second Pahlavi era the aim of proposal of a comprehensive plan was to provide an east-west extension in order to provide balance to urban fabric however by emergence of the suburbs in these directions, new sets of duality occurred within the urban fabric.



**Figure 6.2** View of the Valiasr Street towards North. (Taken by the Author)



The Valiasr Street today still carrying the political, bureaucratic and commercial and partially residential functions on its sides remains one of the major connective arteries of the city and is serving as an element of urban structure providing means of transportation as well as its decentralizing and commercial characteristics in terms of the concept of “representation of space” developed by Lefebvre.

As part of the critical assessment of this research a discussion on modernity and its operations in transforming the urban structure of Tehran is provided. In the case of this research the modernizing shift in the dominant power ideology appeared in a rather “imposed” fashion bearing the western accounts of modernity towards the construction of the urban structure and its development. Therefore a paradoxical result was acquired since the imposed plan was in contradiction with the present traditional context. Inhabitants with their traditional culture that had been rooting in religious beliefs were resistant to the “new” accounts of development. According to means of ideological transmission in the first Pahlavi era only select elite, namely the bourgeoisie were fully adapted to the new visions. Since the participation in the ideological operations of the state was limited to the social status of the inhabitants, a large number of the masses were left out of the circle of new ideological visions of the dominant power. Therefore, a resistance was formed towards it. The modernizing turn of the dominant ideology perpetuates in the second Pahlavi period. Yet in this period it is rather an issue of conflict with the mass’s cultural structure. The traditional culture is not adaptive to the modernizing visions as they refer in their scope to a remote ancient past in order to construct an Iranian national identity.

By 1979 and the occurrence of the Islamic revolution according to the religious dominant ideology, modernization is referred to as “westoxification”. This term is a pejorative Persian translation that implies the loss of the Iranian culture as a result of mass consumption of western cultural products.<sup>89</sup> The new religious ideology of the dominant power in this period sets its beliefs within the constraints of theology and Islamic tradition. In this period, the increase in education level of the public and the transmission of ideology through the mass media is successful in delivering the dominant power’s message to a larger group of subordinates. By reaching a consensus with the public over the moral and ethical principles of the Islamic ideology the dominant power manages to operate in every aspect of people’s lives and constitute a rather religious identity to the masses. In this regard the religious beliefs are

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<sup>89</sup> “westoxification”, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gharbzadegi> (accessed June 22. 2011)

encapsulated in the cultural products that according to mass production operations reach its mass consumers.

In short, analyzing the dominant power ideology and its role in the urban structure development in each period in reference to a certain street within the urban context, it is conceived that this example, the Valiasr street, acts as a representational agency in transmission of ideology through its extension. First by its construction it acquires the role of representing the state power in its modernizing turn. As the state is demonstrating its outlook through building wide streets this street acts as a major element by being the longest thoroughfare not only in the country but also in the Middle East. Also by carrying the name of the dominant dynasty, Pahlavi, it manifests the greater power expanding through a vertical fashion. Besides, it acts as a decentralizing element as it opposes against the dense fabric of the old city core by its wide and open appearance.

In the second Pahlavi period the economical shift according to the oil-based economy of the country results in proliferation of the bureaucratic and commercial functions on the body of this street. Thus major landmarks on its extension namely as four major squares are formed. Later they conformed to major commercial hubs according to the growth in economy and population.



**Figure 6.3 Slogans as Means of Religious Advertisement.**

The commodification of the religious mottos by means of their transcription on the body of the urban space was utilized in order to penetrate the dominant power ideology into the everyday life of the inhabitants

(Taken by the Author)

In the early Islamic republic era this major street remained as one of the main connective routes. In terms of ideological representation Valiasr Street became an arena of demonstration against the previous regime in the years before the Islamic revolution. This street in the Islamic Republic period acted as a demonstrative element itself by acting as stage to manifest the religious ideology imposed on its mobile inhabitants according to the Islamic dress code. Also, the Valiasr Street has become a communicative board by manifesting the dominant power's religious slogans on its body. Furthermore, the name change from Pahlavi to Valiasr (the 12<sup>th</sup> Shiite Imam) is a representation of the dominant power ideology.

In the post revolution era the representational qualities of this street are more conceived as sociological rather than architectural and in reference to space. In order to identify the new sets of urbanization in reference to the dominant power ideology of present it is necessary to observe the urban developments outside the city center of Tehran according to rapid growth of population as a result of eight years of war time and large scale immigrations to the capital city. These predicaments of the post revolution condition further resulted in the extension of the city borders to suburbs and satellite cities. The new urban policies regarding the periphery of the city is a significant matter in studying the current situation of Tehran and its urbanization. Thus the predominance of developing suburbs as mere results of Tehran's decentralization is suggested for further elaboration on the subject matter.

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