

FROM PRIVATE GARDENS TO PUBLIC PARKS AND BACK AGAIN; THE  
TRANSFORMATION OF GREEN SPACES OF TABRIZ IN THE TWENTIETH  
CENTURY

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TWENTIETH CENTURY**

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## ABSTRACT

### **FROM PRIVATE GARDENS TO PUBLIC PARKS AND BACK AGAIN; THE TRANSFORMATION OF GREEN SPACES OF TABRIZ IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY**

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This study aims to shed light on the transition of the green space concept in Iran and particularly in Tabriz from the urban private courtyard house gardens to the public parks, and back to the private gardens in the countryside during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Two major political revolutions in the contemporary history of Iran constitute the background of these spatial transformations. Rapid modernization orchestrated by Reza Shah Pahlavi transformed all aspects of people's private lives in Iran after 1925 including their preferences for open spaces. Similarly, the Islamic Revolution in 1979 played a major role in the usage of green spaces.

Due to its geopolitical position and fame as the 'Garden City' of Iran, Tabriz is selected as the case study of this research. Parallel to the rapid modernization, westernization, and secularization of the city, adapted from the European socio-spatial policies in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the green spaces in the old urban fabric were significantly affected by these movements. Besides the large scale royal gardens, the traditional green texture of the city with private courtyards inside the traditional houses, as the only outdoor spaces to gather family members, relatives and neighbors, were damaged considerably, and were replaced by the large boulevards and detached apartment blocks due to ideological, social and economic reasons. Parallel to these

transformations, the emergence of new public green spaces called ‘parks’ resulted in the gradual departure of people from their private outdoor spaces into public ones.

The secular autocratic state was replaced by a conservative theocratic state after the Islamic Revolution in 1979, and due to the new dominant ideology and its policies, the dialectical relationship between public and private green spaces entered a new phase. Because of the uneven distribution of public green spaces and restriction of public activities in parks according to the Islamic laws, new usage patterns appeared. Some of the public parks created during the modernism were destroyed, some were neglected, serving only to the men of the underprivileged, and some new parks were established serving exclusively women (Women-only parks). As a counteraction, higher-income groups started to establish their own private green spaces in the countryside near the city to evade the social and political restrictions.

This research aiming to trace the chronological transition process of private green spaces into the public, and back again to private spaces in the contemporary Tabriz context, utilizes archival resources, as well as observation and questionnaires directed to the users of the green spaces as research methods.

Keywords: Private Gardens, Public Parks, Pahlavi dynasty, Islamic Revolution, Tabriz

## ÖZ

### ÖZEL BAHÇELERDEN KAMUSAL KENT PARKLARINA: 20. YÜZYILDA TEBRİZ'DEKİ YEŞİL ALANLARIN DÖNÜŞÜMÜ

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Bu çalışma, 20. yüzyıl boyunca İran ve özellikle Tebriz'de yeşil alan kavramının önce özel avlulu evlerin bahçelerinden kamusal parklara ve daha sonra da kent çeperindeki özel bahçelere dönüşme sürecine ışık tutmayı amaçlamaktadır. İran'ın çağdaş tarihindeki iki büyük siyasi devrim, bu mekansal dönüşümlerin arka planını oluşturur. Rıza Şah Pehlevi tarafından yönetilen hızlı modernizasyon, 1925'ten sonra İran'da insanların özel hayatlarının, açık mekan tercihleri dahil tüm yönlerini değiştirmiştir. Benzer şekilde 1979 İslam Devrimi de yeşil alanların kullanımında önemli bir rol oynamıştır.

Jeopolitik konumu ve İran'ın 'Bahçe Şehri' olma ününden dolayı Tebriz, bu araştırmanın odağında yer almaktadır.. Avrupa'dan uyarlanan sosyo-mekansal politikaların uygulandığı 20. yüzyılın başlarında kentin hızlı modernleşmesi, batılılaşması ve sekülerleşmesine paralel olarak, eski kent dokusundaki yeşil alanlar bu hareketlerden önemli ölçüde etkilenmiştir. Kraliyet ailesinin mülkiyetindeki büyük ölçekli bahçelerin yanısıra sıradan halkın aile bireylerini, akrabaları ve komşuları bir araya getiren yegane yeşil alanı olan özel evlerinin avluları gibi kentin geleneksel yeşil mirası da tahrip olmuş, yerlerini ideolojik, sosyal ve ekonomik nedenlerle geniş bulvarlara ve apartman bloklarına bırakmıştır. Bahsedilen dönüşümlere paralel olarak,

'park' adı verilen yeni kamusal yeşil alanların ortaya çıkması, zamanla insanların kendi özel yeşil alanlarını bırakarak kamusal alanlara yönelmesine neden olmuştur.

1979 İslam Devrimi'nden sonra, egemen güç seküler otokratik bir devletten muhafazakar teokratik İslami bir devlete geçmiş, yeni egemen ideoloji ve politikalar nedeniyle, kamusal ve özel yeşil alanlar arasındaki diyalektik ilişki yeni bir aşamaya girmiştir. İslami yasalara göre parklardaki kamusal faaliyetlerin kısıtlanması ve halka açık parkların kentte eşit olmayan dağılımı nedeniyle, yeşil alanların yeni kullanım biçimleri gelişmiştir. Modernizmle gelen kamusal parkların bir kısmı yok olmuş, bir kısmı yıpranmış ve çoğunlukla halkın görece en yoksul kısmının erkeklerine hitap etmeye başlamış, kadınlar için ise müstakil parklar açılmıştır. Gelir düzeyi yüksek gruplar ise şehrin yakınındaki kırsal bölgelerdeki kendi evlerinin özel bahçelerinde siyasal ve sosyal kısıtlamalardan kaçınmaya çalışmıştır.

Çağdaş Tebriz bağlamında özel yeşil alanların kamusal alana ve tekrar özel alanlara kronolojik geçiş sürecinin izini sürmeyi amaçlayan bu araştırma, araştırma yöntemi olarak yeşil alan kullanıcılarına yönelik gözlem ve anketlerin yanı sıra arşiv kaynaklarını da kullanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Özel Bahçeler, Kent Parkları, Pehlevi Hanedanı, İslami Devrim, Tebriz

To My Ever Green Family,

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## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Subdivision of spaces as public and private is a reflection of the social and structural organization of the societies. Following this line, all the division between public and private spaces results in the variation of individuals' behaviors in the city; thus, urban life continuously is under the influence of these subdivisions.

According to different contexts, there are multilayered relationships between these two dimensions. The existence of borders between public and private spaces helps grasping the significance of spatial hierarchies between them, however, when the role and the structure of these borders became blurred, comprehending their meanings and functions got challenging. German Philosopher Jurgen Habermas suggests, along with the modern developments, a tendency toward the ruination of the relationship between the public and private spaces exhibits itself in all aspects of life (Habermas, 1989).

Shifting from old traditional formal aspects to new modern ones affected all aspects of life, especially the relationships between the private and public spaces. It can be said that, due to political interventions, globalization and mass culture, the cultural values sometimes lose their importance or are superseded by new values. This process (re) creates new relationships between people and urban spaces, which affect the identity of cities and social relations within public and private spaces. Hence, as an equally strong claim, private and public spaces, activities and the perception of people regarding these issues have been highly influenced by cultural, political, and economic dynamics.

In much the same line, urban green spaces, which are among the critical components of the urban life, were not apart from the aforementioned dynamics regarding the private, private spaces. According to their social, physical, and even political

characteristics, urban green spaces are divided into public and private. Green spaces in the urban context are considered not only as the extension of the natural environment in the urban space but also as the significant physical urban elements which have a close relationship with cultural values.

Following that, from ancient times, there has always been a close relationship between Iranian culture and green spaces, and because of that, gardens and physical, social activities within them have been an inseparable part of people's lives. Interior gardens in the courtyard houses have long been the havens for tranquility and satisfaction; therefore, they have gained significance in traditional Iranian culture. Likewise, the notion of privacy was the most considerable concept in the traditional Iranian architecture, in a way that "other elements of designing revolve around the notion of privacy and private space" (Pirnia, 2005). Along with consideration of privacy in the Persian worldview, it can be said that the surrounding walls protected the gardens, in other words, gardens in the Iranian cultural context were the symbol of private spaces. With the arrival of Islam to Persia in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, a firm bond was created between the spatial hierarchies of courtyard houses and their private gardens in Iran more than before. In fact, the Islamic belief system made the distinction of public and private spaces more explicit. Islam praised private spaces of household and protection of family members, especially women from the gaze of strangers. In addition, courtyard gardens have played an important role not only in improving the quality of life, but also in establishing social interactions between family members and neighbors. But alongside the rapid modernization of cities and expansion of public spaces during the first Pahlavi period in the 1920s, public parks became the significant symbol of representation and dissemination of modern city and publicness. In other words, the newly established public green spaces were a kind of cornerstone in bridging the old urban fabric into the new modern society.

## 1.1. Problem Definition

Iran as a country that has experienced two Revolutions in the 20<sup>th</sup> century faced radical ideological changes regarding public and private spaces. Therefore parallel with surveying the role of green spaces in Iranian life, it is necessary to discuss the critical political, social, and cultural factors which have been affecting the use of these areas up to now. However, to understand the current situation, it is crucial to investigate the central motives and dynamics of urbanization strategies that have transformed green spaces and their usages in different periods of Iranian history.

Since long ago, due to its special geopolitical features, Tabriz has been one of the most significant cities in Iran. Located along the Silk Road, it used to be the focal point of transit between Iran and its neighbor countries. These conditions brought about the construction of the largest covered traditional Bazaar in the world, which played a significant role in bringing together all the public spaces, like *mosques*, *madares* (schools), bathhouses, and private spaces like courtyard houses in the core of the city. In other words, the public sphere of life such as Bazaar, as the center of the economy (market), was separated from the private sphere of the households. Besides, according to historical maps and several itineraries, this city was surrounded by gardens, and because of that, it is known as Iran's 'Garden city'<sup>1</sup> (*Bagh Shahr*).

Aside from natural disasters like devastating earthquakes and floods which destroyed the main historical elements and gardens of Tabriz, political interventions especially during the Pahlavi era and after the Islamic Revolution created more crushing impacts not only on the historical urban fabric of the city and its green spaces, but also on the relationships between people and urban spaces. The socio-spatial policies of the governments, during both of these periods, have transformed not only the physical formation of green spaces but also their usages. It can be said that during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, green spaces, which have been the main parts of the daily lives of the Iranians,

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<sup>1</sup> "Garden City" is the lexical translation of "*Bagh Shahr*"

have undergone fundamental changes in accordance with the different ideologies of states (Pahlavi regime and the Islamic Republic).

The initial steps of transforming the green areas were taken during the first period of the Pahlavi dynasty (1921-1941), and the spatial interventions of the autocratic state during modernity, which was along with the destruction of the green heritage of the city shattered the relationships between people and private gardens. The introduction of new public spaces pressed families to depart from private gardens into newly built public spaces in cities, and similar to the European culture, new green areas called 'parks', were emerged. Following this process, the vacant green spaces and even cemeteries changed into public parks, and all these actions propelled people to spend their leisure time in these new amenities. Alongside the new spatial policies, private gardens, and social ties (between extended families) within them lost their significance, and this fact paved the way for other radical socio-cultural changes regarding people's life.

It does not seem particularly controversial to mark the beginning of all developments parallel with the establishment of infrastructures, which allowed several fundamental changes in new public spaces and public activities. In this way, various development policies were conducted in the city contemporaneously. For instance, the construction of boulevards like 'Pahlavi Boulevard', widening the narrow streets, and the new planned public parks facilitated many upcoming radical changes in private and public spaces of the Tabriz.

Development of the city and expansion of public spaces by establishing new public parks caused the rapid transformation of the private sphere of life. Private courtyard gardens as the most prominent aspect of people's lives were not only neglected by the state but also were destroyed according to the new policies of urbanization. In much the same line, the spatial hierarchies and the relationship between private and public spaces got blurred.

In general, modernization in Iran was an attempt to transform introverted cities into extroverted ones. In other words, people started to take part in the social life occurring in the newly established public parks, rather than the private enclosed courtyard gardens. It may well be argued that through modernization during the first Pahlavi era, the identity of the city, which had a strong relation with Iranian Islamic culture, had changed. This process not only altered the traditional public and private relationships, but also, the rapid emergence of newly established public spaces such as parks, cinemas, and opera houses changed the people's behavior and attitudes. For instance, the social activities of the family members in private gardens were superseded by new public activities in parks. From this line, many new words entered the Iranian lexicon, such as the word *picnic*, which was one of the French words to enter Iranian culture. All policies were in the way of constituting a contemporary modern national identity through establishing new modern public parks that reflect the European lifestyle. In other words, Reza Shah's aspiration to construct a modern Iran destroyed not only the traditional physical spatial organization of districts (*mahalleh*) and houses but also, along with the expansion of the public sphere, the private sphere of Iranian people started to vanish as mentioned in reference to Habermas.

The second Pahlavi period (1941-1979) began by crowning Reza Shah's son Mohammad Reza as the new Shah and the continuation of modernization and westernization of the city but in a schizophrenic and paradoxical atmosphere between the autocratic system of the state and its attempt to create a democratic society. It can be said that Mohammad Reza's reign "fulfilled Reza Shah's dream of building massive state structure" (Abrahamian, 2008). Besides the centralization of the state's structure, modernization of the cities was an incessant enterprise between these two rulers. Along with the appearance of new classes, new industries, and technologies in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, sudden changes occurred in the design of the Iranian cities. Spatial policies and shifting the economy from agriculture to the oil industry led to migration from rural areas to large cities like Tabriz, which resulted in the rapid rise of the population in the city. To overcome the upcoming social problems such as housing

shortage for new incomers, a new housing typology (multi-story apartment blocks) were introduced. This process resulted in not only further destruction of courtyard houses and traditional central districts but also the replacement of gardens and farmlands in the suburban areas of the city with new residential quarters.

The third period began with the Islamic Revolution in 1979, with a paradigm shift from secularist approaches to traditional Islamic ideology, which favored the anti-westernization. It can be said that the physical and social transformation of green spaces continued in the post-Revolutionary era. This era began with movements against the western lifestyle and public activities. Thus, since the establishment of the state and its policies were strictly based on Islamic *Shia* laws, public activities in parks and green areas were restricted. Accordingly, the new concept of parks called women-only parks appeared following the gender segregation policies. During this era, due to the uneven distribution of public parks and limited public activities within them, there was a shift in people's preferences, and a collective tendency towards private gardens arose. Thus, by the privatization of the countryside green space near the city, people started to spend their time in the newly established private gardens. Generally, in recent times these private green spaces in countryside areas of Tabriz became more significant than the public parks inside the city.

Besides the political and social upheavals in Tabriz's society after the Islamic Revolution, unorganized development and urban sprawl of the city destroyed the gardens and farmlands in the peripheral areas of Tabriz. In order to clarify, during the late Pahlavi regime and after the Islamic Revolution, due to the rapid immigration from rural areas to the city, potential green spaces of the city, including private fruit gardens and farmlands, were replaced by new residential quarters. This process is one of the subsidiary concerns of this study, which needs to be pondered over.

All these transformations during the Pahlavi dynasty and after the Islamic Revolution have occurred not only in the physical formation of green spaces of the city but in people's lifestyles and attitudes regarding green spaces. Meanwhile, the green spaces

as a significant factor in the society lost their identity and significance in the process of transforming the urban structure and different ideological encounters. At last, gardens faded away and what remained of the Iran's 'Garden City', was just a nostalgic name.

To summarize, the main problem of this research is developed in a threefold schema. This study starts with an inquiry into the history of gardens in the spatial formation of Tabriz and people's life. The study continues with the rapid alteration of green spaces from private gardens to public parks during the Pahlavi regime, and from public parks to private gardens after the Islamic Revolution. Correspondingly, how changing the dynamic relationships between private and public spaces affected the behavior and perception of people, and how these changes in less than a century oscillated between traditional Islamic beliefs and modern lifestyle are among the major concerns of this study.

## **1.2. Aim of the Study**

The main objective of this study is to investigate three critical types of green spaces in Tabriz, which played an essential role in people's lives in two periods of time, i.e., the early and late 20<sup>th</sup> century. The first type of green spaces are private gardens in courtyard houses. Alongside modernity and radical transformations during the reigns of Reza Shah and his son Mohammad Reza, and due to the westernization and the rapid rise of the population, these private gardens were destroyed, and for the first time, new public parks were introduced. Considering that the main attempt of this study is the clarification of traditional private life in the courtyard houses, modification of the typology of houses that started during the second period of the Pahlavi dynasty is a critical point. Alongside the construction of wide streets, destruction of old structural formation of districts, and their hierarchies, which were based on the complete division of the private and public spaces, new types of residential blocks became trendy in the city. Consequently, the yards (Hayat) in these new residential

blocks became much smaller than traditional courtyards, and due to this transformation, the previously active socialization in the private gardens of houses faded away. The courtyard gardens were the mere green space for family members and neighbors to socialize, and the only difference between courtyard houses was their vastness. Even though less affluent families, unlike privileged families, had smaller courtyards, all citizens had access to their own green spaces. However, after the elimination of courtyard gardens and the establishment of new public parks, the polemical issue was the uneven distribution of public green space among several districts. Thus, the subsidiary aim of the study is to investigate the causes of the uneven distribution of public green space in the city.

The third type of green space, a crucial instrument in this research, is the private villa gardens in the countryside of Tabriz that emerged in recent years, and their number is increasing daily. Hence, it is essential to raise discussions on the notion of private spaces and how they used to be in courtyard gardens in Tabriz, and how different state policies expanded the public realm and led people to switch the private ways of life to the public.

Since the main goal of this study is based on the transformation of green spaces from the private spaces of houses to the public parks, it is rather vital to look at the transformation of cultural values, lifestyles, and the role of women in the society. Together with secularized and westernized ideologies of the Pahlavi dynasty, women, whose role was limited to private spaces of household, started to participate in newly built public spaces more than before. In other words, women's participation in public spaces started a new era in establishing a modern lifestyle in public spaces.

Along the line of examining public and private green spaces, it is inevitable to find the relationship between the dominant ideology of the states in different periods and the process of transformation of green spaces inside the city. In addition, in the case of green spaces in the countryside, surveying the process of development of Tabriz (sprawl) paves the way for indicating how several villages around Tabriz were

connected to the city over time and how eventually their green areas turned into private villa gardens. In fact, the main reason for studying green spaces outside of the city (suburbs and countryside) is that besides urban parks, these green spaces play an important role in the present daily life.

### **1.3. Theoretical Framework and Methodology**

Since the main concern of this study is based on the dialectical relationship between public and private spaces, the characteristics of these spaces, and their role in the people's life constitutes the main theoretical framework. This fact becomes more critical in Muslim societies like Iran, where the major quality of the spatial formation of the society is completely based on the distinction between public and private spaces. Thus it is rather significant to focus on the notion of public and private spaces and the way they have been transformed in the course of time. Considering that the main concern of this study is the green spaces, private courtyard gardens, which were the main spaces of the Iranian private way of life and public parks as the symbol of modern public life, need to be scrutinized. Hence, the investigation continues with the ruling ideologies behind the creation of public parks which entered Iranian culture during modernity. In addition, different socio-cultural, socio-spatial, and socio-political dynamics regarding the development of the city and green spaces, whether during the Pahlavi dynasty or after the Islamic Revolution, must be investigated to establish a solid foundation for this chronological process.

Reza Shah's penchant for having a modern country was in the way of radical changes, first in physical levels like urban fabric and then in the social and behavioral levels. He applied his vision of modernity initially to Tehran, the capital of the time, and then to other large cities like Tabriz. For this purpose, new roads and streets were constructed, gigantic governmental buildings were designed, and old alleys and streets (which were the main factors of the spatial hierarchy of districts) were widened. To

shed further light on the structural transformations of the large cities, Grigor brings Tehran as an example and writes:

“Streets have been widened and paved; trees have been planted to take the places of old ones destroyed by the alteration; modern governmental buildings have been erected in various parts of the city, and a number of small parks in local squares are being landscaped. Previous efforts, however, are not to be compared with the present activity under the direction of the Acting Chief of the Tehran Municipality, Mr. Gholam Hossein Ebtehaj” (Grigor, 2014)

The transformation of green spaces in Tabriz is profoundly connected to different political, social, cultural, and economic fields that need to be surveyed. From a political perspective, as previously mentioned, the spatial policies of the Pahlavi state significantly contribute to ignoring and destroying some of the green heritages and, in contrast, establishing new green areas. Besides, it is crucial to scrutinize ideologies and policies of the Pahlavi regime and the Islamic Republic comparatively regarding private and public spaces. Meanwhile, from a sociological point of view, the reactions and perceptions of people regarding these transformations should be pondered over. Alongside surveying the classification of green spaces in Tabriz and their role in daily life, the notion and the reasons for privatization, personalization, and segregation of green spaces must be clarified. In the case of Tabriz, parks were the main elements in creating tension between urban space and the countryside after the Islamic Revolution. Although during the Islamic Republic epoch there were several attempts to construct public parks and green spaces, the uneven distribution of public green spaces in the city from one side and controlling and restricting activities (because of Islamic laws) from another side encouraged people to pursue other types of green spaces. In this respect, particular classes began to establish private green spaces in the farmlands and countryside, and this process resulted either in the destruction or privatization of green spaces of the countryside, which led to the commodification of green spaces in these areas. Therefore, it is necessary to survey the development of Tabriz and its

surrounding countryside and rural regions to have a better understanding of the process in which new types of green spaces have entered people's lives.

In order to study the transition from private green spaces in houses to public parks in Tabriz, both the historical and socio-spatial backgrounds of the city are to be analyzed in its historical continuum. Tabriz used to be known as the 'garden city' of Iran, famous for its ancient gardens, and this fact was frequently mentioned in the itinerary of foreign travelers. Therefore, choosing Tabriz as the case study can shed light not on one particular city but on other cities of Iran as well. Using historical documents such as aerial photos, historical maps of the city, which contain its traditional gardens, contributes to getting a better understanding of the destruction of gardens. For this purpose, the 'Matrakçı' miniature map of Tabriz (1537-1538), Tabriz Dar Al-Saltane maps of 1880 and 1910, as well as historical aerial photos, are the significant historical sources to spot the historical green spaces of the city. In addition, investigation of studies that have been conducted regarding the spatial transformation of Tabriz would be helpful in organizing this research. In this regard, the Ph.D. thesis of Dariush Sattarzadeh<sup>2</sup> and Master's thesis of Ali Rad Yousefnia<sup>3</sup> are among the studies conducted in recent times.

The study is arranged through chronological descriptions and adapting them to theoretical frameworks. It will focus on the subject, from the start of the Pahlavi dynasty in 1921 to the Islamic Revolution in 1979, and will continue to the present time. The conceptual framework of this research will be based on an analytical standpoint regarding the investigated qualitative and quantitative results of the case study (Tabriz) and expanding them to the theoretical framework. By way of illustration, the comparative analysis will be done on the role of traditional gardens,

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<sup>2</sup> Sattarzadeh, Dariush, 2007, *The impact of Modernity on the formation development of the urban space in Iran, Case Study: the urban space of Tabriz during the Pahlavi Period*, Azad University, Science and Research Branch, "Faculty of Urban Design"

<sup>3</sup> Rad Yousefnia, Ali, 2018, *Structural and ideological transformation of public spaces: The case of Tabriz*, Middle East Technical University, "Faculty of Architecture"

their private green spaces, and new modern public parks, also, different state policies regarding green spaces.

#### **1.4. Structure of the Thesis**

The research aims to identify the role of green spaces in the everyday lives of the people over time and the different policies of the state regarding green spaces in each period. For this purpose, the study is conducted in five chapters in which not only the historical and physical transformation of green spaces in the city, but also the process of oscillation of green spaces between private and public usage are displayed.

- The **first chapter** starts with the main concern of this study, which is about the continuous transformation of private, public green spaces in Tabriz with the general objective of clarifying different motives for this phenomenon.
- The **second chapter** will arrange a conceptual framework by the main viewpoints of architects, urban designers, and sociologists such as Ali Madanipour, Amos Rapoport, Jan Gehl, Irwin Altman, and Jeff Weintraub regarding public and private spaces and their dialectic relationships in the society. Investigating the main characteristics of public and private spaces, especially in Muslim communities like Iran, contributes to a better understanding of the division of these spaces. Following this framework, different typologies of public and private green spaces, as well as the state's socio-spatial policies regarding these spaces will be discussed.
- The **third chapter** begins with a flashback to the vital role of private gardens in Persian civilization since ancient times. Following that, historical traces of green spaces in Tabriz will be surveyed. In this regard, surveying the ancient gardens, traditional courtyard houses, and their spatial hierarchies provides several details about the private way of life in Tabriz

- The process of modernization of the city during the first period of the Pahlavi era, the emergence of public parks, and the new role of women in public spaces as the main parts of **chapter four** will be investigated. The second section of this chapter will raise discussions about the second period of the Pahlavi dynasty, revealing two critical clues regarding the long term effects of the transformation of green spaces and their usage. For this aim, new housing typologies that emerged by the continuation of modernization and industrialization of the city will be investigated. Besides, the new concept of environmental parks in peripheral areas of large cities like the capital (Tehran) and Tabriz will be scrutinized.
- **Chapter five** will be about the new public and private life during the Islamic Republic era. Its main concern is clarifying the process in which most people are discouraged from participating in public parks and tend to have their own private villa gardens in the countryside regions. For this aim investigating the development process of the suburbanization of Tabriz (urban sprawl) could be the means for better understanding the appearance of these private villa gardens in the countryside and rural areas.

Besides examining the uneven distribution of public parks in different regions of Tabriz in this chapter, a survey is conducted regarding two historical parks of the city. For this aim, Golestan Park (Bagh-e Golestan) in the city center and El Goli Park in a new popularized quarter are selected because they are used by distinct sections of the society. The central motivation for conducting the survey is to display the current stats of parks in the downscale and upscale neighborhoods of Tabriz. The survey is prepared by the way of providing information regarding the users' profile and different use patterns in each park. For this aim, the main method is based on observation and directing a questionnaire to 80 users of each park.

- Finally, **chapter six** will cover the conclusions of the discussions in the previous chapters and suggests outlines of further studies.

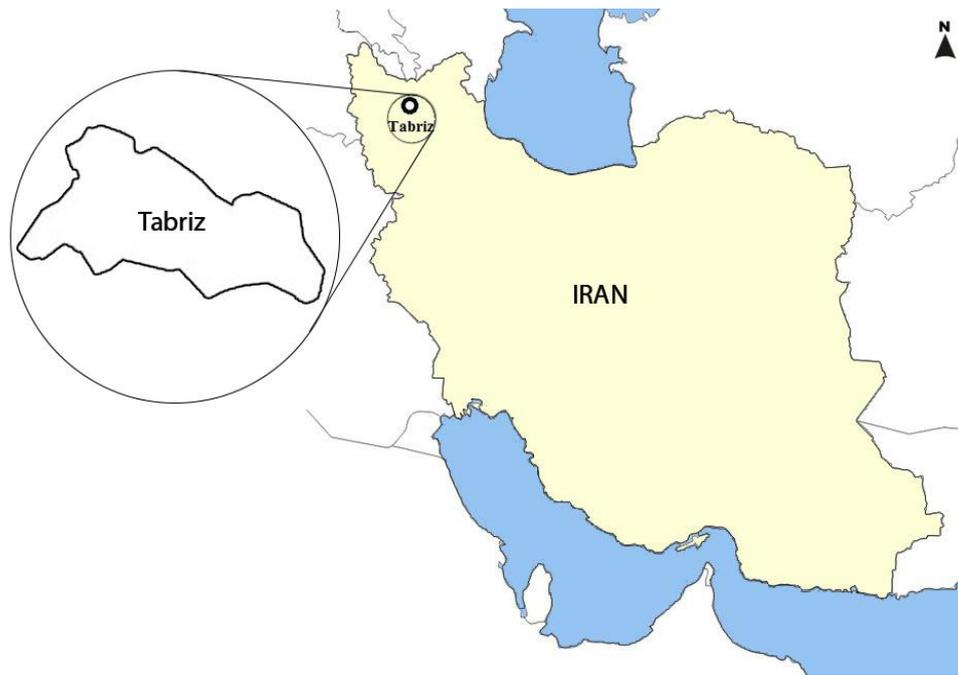


Figure 1.1. The location of Tabriz

## CHAPTER 2

### GENERAL OVERVIEW OF PRIVATE AND PUBLIC GREEN SPACES

#### 2.1. Definition of the Relationship Between Public and Private Spaces

Defining space first comes from the dynamic relationships between self and others on a psychological level and second the different ideologies and decisions over space on a social and cultural level. In order to satisfy the biological, ontological, and social needs, people had to produce different spaces (Tuan, 2001). Thus, the physical characteristics of space, whether public or private, contribute to addressing the social and functional dimensions of space in urban life (Arjmand, 2017). Understanding the nature of space, whether public or private, can be valuable regarding the comprehension of the structural and ideological transformation of the societies. For further illustration, Madanipour argues that:

“The subdivision of our social world and the space we inhabit into public and private spheres is one of the key features of how a society organizes itself. This affects individuals’ mental state and experiences, regulates their behavior, and superimposes a long-lasting structure onto human society.” (Madanipour, 2003)

In addition, investigating the socio-historical spatial organization of cities encompasses the dialectic relationship between the transformations of public, private spaces over time, which helps to link the history of sociability to the political matters (Weintraub, 1977). In order to investigate the relationship between the public/private spaces and their transformation from the political point of view, it is crucial to determine first, who has the power to transform them and second, from a psychological perspective, it is essential to scrutinize the patterns and habits of sociability that these transformations may alter (Miller, 2007).

Besides, there are normative orientations regarding public/private spaces based on every society's cultural values from which these spaces gain their function and significance. An important consideration is that public/private spaces and the boundaries between them regulate the relationship between individuals and society (Madanipour, 2003). In other words, along with different spatial hierarchies and boundaries in urban space, public and private space can be defined.

“Access”, “agency”, and “interest” are the essential dimensions regarding the constitution of public and private spaces in which we can point out the publicness or privateness of one place or specific activity (Benn & Gaus, 1983). These three dimensions create a dynamic process to determine the ideal level of publicness and privateness. The necessity of ‘access’ to physical spaces or activities is the first prerequisite for the distinction between public and private spaces. The notion of ‘access’ to a place or specific activity paves the way for the definition of the concept of privacy, which is emanating from establishing control over access (Madanipour, 2003). The agency refers to the subject of authority, which has the role of control and decision-making and the factor of interest determines who will benefit from the access to a specific space or action. Therefore it can be said that, these three dimensions refer not only to the physical settings in urban space, but also encompasses social and behavioral patterns (Franck & Paxson, 1989).

### **2.1.1. Division of Private and Public Spaces**

According to their functional characteristics, the subdivision of public and private spaces and their relationship is like a mirror reflecting the society and its social relations (Madanipour, 2003). In other words, public spaces do not have power by themselves, but rather it is the social relations and the users who give them the meaning and power (Lloyd & Auld, 2003). It may well be argued that, the division of public and private spaces in urban life has been distinguished by several boundaries and symbols which specify the desired level of interaction, inclusion, or exclusion

(Rapoport, 1977). Accordingly, the process of division of public and private spaces and how these divisions control and shape every aspect of the citizens' lives can help us to understand the meaning of these spaces.

The separation of public and private spaces in the first place is mental rather than physical. In other words, due to the spatial arrangement in urban space, boundaries between these two realms could be visible and invisible (Rapoport, 1977). In order to define the characteristics of public and private spaces, the significant point is that, besides physical dimensions, they can be surveyed as mental and socio-psychological spaces. Hence, it could be said that, the social interactions in public spaces can be interpreted as an extension of private space. In order to clarify this kind of distinction, Madanipour notes:

“Depending on the way the private realm is defined (mind, body, property, home), the public sphere finds a related but opposite meaning. If mind is the private realm, the outside world is the public. If the body is the private realm, the other bodies constitute the public.” (Madanipour, 2003)

The physical distinction between these two realms, as stated by Jeff Weintraub, political sociologist, is not unitary and single confrontation, but rather the discourses regarding public and private spaces “cover a variety of subjects that are analytically distinct and, at the same time, subtly—often confusingly—overlapping and intertwined.” (Weintraub, 1977). Realizing the significance of the demarcated boundaries between public and private spaces would pave the way for the comprehension of the world of intimacy and the world of sociability between the individuality of ‘self’ and interaction with ‘others’ (Weintraub, 1977). Thus, the dichotomy of public and private spaces also derives from the contrasted dichotomies of presence and absence, inclusion and exclusion, individuality and commonness.

From another perspective, the dichotomy of public and private relationships emanated from the concept of ideological and biological separation. Following that, the distinction between these spaces is the distinction of community and individuals, male

and female, the space of home and work (Gal, 2005). In Muslim societies, a central concern regarding the distinction between these two spaces is entirely based on man and woman relationships and their role in Islamic communities. In other words, the division of public, private space derives from the separation of sexes rooted in cultural and religious values. The normative imposition of beliefs and ideologies is part and parcel of the traditional biological separation of genders (Arjmand, 2017). Even though the majority of feminist writers define the distinction between these two realms as the main factor of woman's oppression, it is a well-established fact that the spatial organization of Islamic cities was according to the distinction of the male-dominated public sphere of economy and the private sphere occupied by the women, children, servants, etc. This phenomenon existed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century western societies where an ideal lifestyle included men pursuing all sorts of activities in the public sphere, and women being limited to childcare and household chores in the domestic spaces of houses (Cowan, 1983; Franck & Paxson, 1989).

Weintraub quotes Aristotle about western social and political theories in which the relationship between private, public spaces is the distinction of separate spheres between *oikos* as the households and *polis* as the political community of outside with extended engagement (Weintraub, 1977). Therefore, men were free to participate in both the private realm of home and the public sphere of politics and markets; however, women were entirely associated with the private space of households. From this line, the division of these realms is the division of male/female, covert/overt, and inside/outside.

### **2.1.2. The Concept of Semi-Private and Semi-Public Spaces**

The scales between public and private can be more differentiated according to spatial hierarchies and levels, gradually from more private residential areas to the more public spaces (Gehl, 2011). Through these spatial hierarchies, especially in Islamic cities, semi-private and semi-public spaces have gained a significant role in mediating the

relationship between private and public spaces. In other words, different physical and psychological borders and their functions between two realms constitute the identity of cities and urban environments. In Islamic urban design, the concept of 'Al Fina'<sup>4</sup> is used to refer to in-between spaces between outdoor public spaces and indoor private spaces. In the old fabric of Islamic society, the spatial pattern of streets emanated from the traditional laws called *Urf*. According to these traditional laws, in the spatial organization of streets in Muslim societies, semi-private spaces played a crucial role in the distinction of public and private spaces and protecting houses from potential offenders. In fact, Al Fina' was used to be the transitional spaces between public spaces of main streets and private spaces of houses (Nooraddin, 1998). As an instance, in spatial hierarchies of streets, Al Fina' used to be the connector between thoroughfares in residential districts and dead-end streets (Nooraddin, 1998). In general, the organization system of Al Fina' can be considered as a mediator and territorial boundary between public and private spaces in neighborhoods to protect the privacy of residents, especially women.

Semi-public and semi-private spaces in the urban environment not only play the role of a boundary in the neighborhood, but also play the role of a linkage between private and public spaces to establish communication between these spaces. In other words, these spaces known as the 'Third space' in the spatial organization of urban space, can fill the physical gap between divided public and private spaces; besides, as mediating spaces, the behavior of people becomes more fluid between public and private spaces (Arjmand, 2017). In order to clarify the role of these spaces as mediating spaces, Gehl mentions that:

“Flexible boundaries in the form of transitional zones that are neither completely private nor completely public, on the other hand, will often be able to function as connecting links, making it easier, both physically and psychologically, for residents and activities to move back and forth between private and public spaces, between in and out.” (Gehl, 2011)

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<sup>4</sup> Al Fina' is an Arabic term meaning spaciousness which was used to define two types of spaces, the inner courtyards and the spaces around the buildings in Islamic societies.

Oscar Newman, an architect and urban planner, introduced the concept of “defensible space” in 1972 as a model to hinder crime in residential neighborhoods. He believed that, the physical environment could be designed in a way that affects the behavior of both residents and potential offenders, resulting in the reduction of crimes. The most crucial concept in his theory was ‘territoriality’, which he suggested designing the physical space called ‘semi-private’ space that persuades residents to take more responsibility in their residential neighborhoods. In fact, semi-private spaces are the proposed physical spaces between completely private spaces and public spaces<sup>5</sup>.

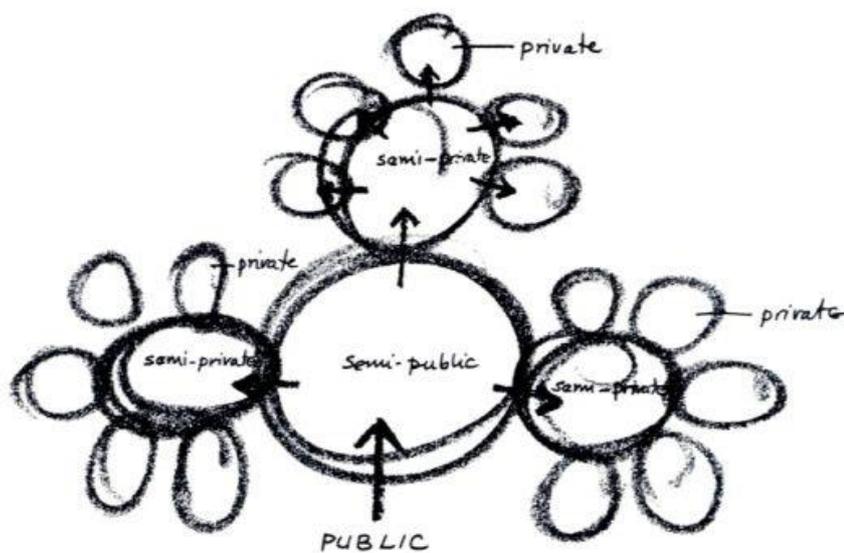


Figure 2.1. The spatial hierarchies between public and private spaces,

Source: Newman, Oscar, 1972, Defensible Space

<sup>5</sup> The concept of semi-private spaces and Oscar Newman’s defensible theory covers one of the important sections of this study in the upcoming chapter. In traditional divisions of districts in Iran, there used to be the third spaces between public and private spaces which will be discussed in the spatial hierarchies of traditional courtyard houses in chapter three. In other words, in order to protect the residents of houses from the external gaze and potential offenders, several spatial elements known as semi-private spaces separated the private spaces of houses and public spaces like streets.

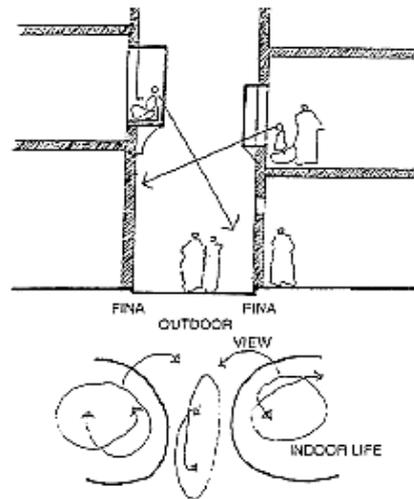


Figure 2.2 Al Fina' in-Between spaces, between outdoor public spaces and private spaces

Source: Nooraddin, Hoshiar, 1998

## 2.2. Spatial behavior regarding the interference of public and private spaces

The transformation of urban space not only occurs gradually in its physical form but also may embody new beliefs and behaviors (Madanipour, 2010). In other words, through the process of transformation of public and private spaces, new non-physical values may be introduced in society.

Rapoport (1982) described non-verbal communications in the built environments by introducing fixed, semi-fixed, and non-fixed features. Fixed-features are the core cultural elements that alter very seldomly, and are basically fixed according to standards of the society. While semi-fixed features are under the control of codes and preferences of users and can be easily changed, non-fixed feature elements relate to the non-verbal behavior of people, which are changing alongside the shifting spatial relations and different activities accordingly (Rapoport, 1982). In other words, the behavior of people and their perceptions are among the features that are continuously changing in the urban environment. Thus, it does not seem particularly controversial

to assert that due to new cultural, political, and social values, the types of communication among people in public, private spaces may change over time.

The formation process of built environments derives from fundamental components like culturally shaped ‘motivations’ and ‘needs’ which can influence people’s perception and their spatial behaviors (Lang, 2005). Adnan Barlas mentions that motivations and needs are “the source of, or guiding force behind behavior” and cultural biases are the inseparable parts of the nature of these needs (Barlas, 2006). These motivations could be the combination of psychological, physiological, and sociological needs, which affect the designing process and perception of people about the built environment (Barlas, 2006). From this line, the interface of public/ private dichotomies in urban space can be defined and re-defined continuously according to people’s needs and society’s demands. For instance, the establishment of territories and spatial hierarchies between public and private spaces from the micro-scale of houses and macro-scale of the urban space are critical examples regarding the psychological and social needs in the societies. In other words, establishing territories between public, private spaces is the linkage between physical settings of urban space and human behaviors.

From another perspective, the division of the public and private spaces and their dichotomies directly relates to the state’s spatial policies. By referring to Rapoport and his definition of fixed, semi-fixed, and non-fixed feature elements, socio-spatial policies of different governments, whether democratic or totalitarian, could transform these elements leading to changes in the relationship between public and private spaces and generate new habits and rules in the society. For further explanation, according to Rapoport, habits, and rules involved in culture create lifestyle (Rapoport, 1977), and any changes in lifestyle could generate new spatial behavior in the built environment. Thus, it makes sense to assert that the process of public and private space production or their transformation is parallel with the emergence of new habits and social contexts to satisfy people’s new demands during the history.

### **2.2.1. Being in the Public Space**

Public spaces are the most critical element in the urban space. As it is said before, public spaces of the city are like a mediator between private spaces and different spatial hierarchies in the cities, which contains symbolic purposes and overlapping different functions (Madanipour, 2003). The word public emanating from the word *populus* ‘people’ in Latin concerns the community, the members, and the nation (Madanipour, 2003). All changes in urban space, which are the outcomes of the different ideologies, socio-spatial policies, socio-economic changes, are first seen in public space. In this regard, Nasar asserted that the word “Urban” implies city concerns regarding public practices and public places of the society (Nasar, 1989).

The term “public space” in political science and philosophy is a kind of mental space and a particular metaphor for discursive practices, however, from a geographical perspective, public space is a physical space of sociability and interaction of people (Brodin, 2006). To be in a public space is to be in the realm of sociability and unintentional encounters where permissible behaviors can be explored (Brill, 1989). Also, establishing encounters and interaction with strangers in public spaces contributes to the comprehension of our position in society and how society expects us to act or react when we are in public spaces (Neal, 2010). In fact, the rate of these encounters differs according to the cultural, political, social, and economic atmosphere of every society. It can be said that these dynamics not only shape the built environment but also give meaning to the nature and usage of public spaces. Public space is for the regulation of interpersonal relationships in which, as Madanipour indicates, “representation of difference can lead to an awareness of self and others” (Madanipour, 2003).

The value of the public space is based on its democratic formation and the possibility of free participation in social activities for everyone in the society. An essential characteristic of public space derives from its openness for both individuals and groups in which they are free to use it as active participants or passive spectators (Neal,

2010). In other words, it is crucial to examine how, to whom, and for what kinds of activity they are accessible. Hence, the accessibility to public space is one of the main features of public space so that there are no physical, mental, social, and geographical boundaries between people and public space (Neal, 2010). In the case of accessibility of public spaces, Miller notes that:

“We tend to think of public space as having certain essential and obvious characteristics. We believe it is publicly owned, the opposite of private space. We believe it is open and accessible to everyone, where no one can be turned away. We imagine it as the setting for important civic events, where large groups of people come to celebrate, protest, and mourn. We see it as somehow part of democratic life—a place for speaking out and being heard” (Miller, 2007).

From this line, it can be said that being in public space is being in the realm of consensus and common interests in which individuals share these common interests altogether rather than separately. Given that, Gehl argues that the physical quality of public spaces could be determined by different social activities among groups who do not have the same background (Gehl, 2011). As previously mentioned, public life not only reflects different patterns of behavior in the society, but also could shape new forms of behaviors that may change according to new cultural values and needs. To have a better understanding of this process, Mark Francis argues that:

“Public spaces reflect ourselves, our larger culture, our private beliefs, and public values. Public space is the common ground where civility and our collective sense of what may be called “publicness” are developed and expressed. Our public environment serves as a reflection or mirror of individual behaviors, social processes, and our often conflicting public values.” (Francis, 1989)

Jurgen Habermas conceives the public sphere as an abstract branch of public space, and this conceptual space is filled with different opinions, ideas, and debates regarding public interest (Habermas, 1989; Neal, 2010). Public space, in contrast, is material in which places, sites, and grounds are constituted, and different ideas and political actions flow (Mitchell, 2010). Besides, the public sphere provided an opportunity for

individuals to participate in the political life of the society in which they can come to a consensus (Neal, 2010). The everyday life of people manifests itself in space, revealing each society's conflicts, struggles, and contradictions through history. From this line, through these daily conflicts and social dynamics, societies form and re-form the public sphere (Alvares & Barbosa, 2018).

### **2.2.2. Being in the Private Space**

Private space is a combination of personal and impersonal dimensions, which has a tight association with the social unit of the household (Madanipour, 2003). Being in the private spaces means being in a place with established control of the individual in a personal capacity that is protected from the external gaze (Madanipour, 2003). In other words, it is crucial to stress that establishing a private space derives from the attempt to create a space for us (ours) rather than for them (theirs). Being in private, according to Mohammad Karim Pirnia (a prominent Iranian writer in Islamic architecture theory) is being in the realm away from the overcrowded atmosphere of public space in which human being can keep himself 'mentally' and 'physically' away from others for a while in his enclosure (Pirnia, 2005).

Hannah Arendt states another definition of being in a private space, which is being in a boundless place regardless of rules that are governing public life. In this respect, she argues that:

“To live an entirely private life means above all to be deprived of things essential to a truly human life: to be deprived of the reality that comes from being seen and heard by others, to be deprived of an 'objective' relationship with them that comes from being related to and separated from them through an intermediary of a common world of things, to be deprived of the possibility of achieving something more permanent than life itself” (Arendt, 1958)

In the urban environment, the terminology of private space comes from its opposition with public space, which is being isolated from the outside world. The word 'private'

derives from the Latin word, *privus* signifying single and individual, and *privatus* meaning “withdrawn from public life, peculiar to oneself, a man in private life” (Madanipour, 2003). In this regard, Arendt mentions:

“. . . The four walls of one’s private property offer the only reliable hiding place from the common public world, not only from everything that goes on in it but also from its publicity, from being seen and being heard.” (Arendt, 1958)

In contrast to the public sphere, “the private sphere is the realm of life where one retreats to isolation or to one’s family” (Solove & Schwartz, 2014). In other words, the private sphere is an individuated part of life, isolated from the public sphere and under the control of the individual (Madanipour, 2003). It is the enclosed realm of personal space besides explicit contracts and rational exchanges, which is engaged with the discourses of domesticity and privacy (Weintraub, 1977).

By referring to Benn and Gaus (1983) and their three dimensions of “access”, “agency” and “interest” regarding the determination of publicness and privateness of spaces, it can be said that private space is a part of the communal life whose access is controlled by different agencies. In this regard, the notion of ‘privacy’ also emanates from being in the private space, which is parallel with the exclusion of others. Privacy is defined “as a right of personhood, intimacy, secrecy, limited access to the self, and control over information” (Solove & Schwartz, 2014). It is the act of establishing territories between the inside and the outside world to defend it from the intrusion and gazes of outsiders. In this regard regulating privacy has been used in physical, spatial, mental, and social separations to reduce social contacts (Altman, 1975).

As an example, home is the cornerstone of private space in every culture, a place where everyone can recognize not only the identity of self and family but also the notion of inside and outside. The first distinction between inside and outside emerged from regulating desired levels of privacy by spatial hierarchies, first inside of the house, and second between the house and the outside.

### **2.3. Private and Public Green Spaces**

The discussion regarding the dialectic relationship between urban public/private spaces can be expanded to green spaces as one of the fundamental physical elements in the spatial structure of the cities and the coupler of the natural and built environment. The utilization of green space by people over time has embodied important physical and non-physical prerequisites that need to be pondered over. In other words, the social circumstances of the time have changed the physical characteristics of green space and have assigned different meanings to them.

According to physical characteristics, their usage, the rate of interaction, and accessibility, urban green spaces are divided into public and private. Through the investigation of urban green spaces in public and private properties, it is necessary to mention that green areas in the urban environment embrace an extensive range of settings (Jennings, Browning, & Rigolon, 2019). Therefore, they could be studied not only in the context of micro-scales of houses, their gardens, and neighborhood parks but also in the macro-scales of the national parks, farmlands, and green spaces in the countryside and suburban areas. Besides, it is crucial to note that the types of urban green spaces are continuously changing according to social, political, and economic matters, as well as the development of urbanization of the city, which influence the physical and social characteristics of green spaces.

One of the main sections of this study is private gardens, which have a tight relationship with the interior space of the dwelling. The general definition of garden refers to the various types of natural settings, but the private green space, which is among the main discussions in this study refers to an open-air space enclosed and protected by walls. Different definitions and characteristics are attributed to the private gardens, however, their most important qualities are “a place for control”, “a place that reflects personality” and “a place to exert creativity and a place of freedom” (Coolen & Meesters, 2012). It can be said that gardens are the places associated with various concepts regarding privacy, sociability and attachment to nature (Coolen &

Meesters, 2012). Courtyard house gardens, historical royal gardens, private fruit gardens, and green areas in balconies are some examples of private green areas inside the city. Farmlands, horticultural areas, allotments, which are small gardens for non-commercial food production, are examples of private green regions in the countryside.

Additionally, in the classification of urban green areas, public parks have a fundamental position. They are the symbols of new public spaces in the modern urban settings that are owned by public authority. From one perspective, they are representatives of nature, so they are like a bridge between people and nature, and from another perspective, they are the symbols of recreation and publicness. While gardens were established according to the cultural values of inhabitants, public parks were designed as multi-purpose spaces for a wide range of social interactions. For many people, especially those living in the crowded areas of the city, public parks are the only available green spaces where they can spend their leisure time, enjoy the nature, and distance themselves from the daily stress of urban life (Breuste, 2020).

Classification of green space typologies (including the ones both inside and outside of the city), their functions, and effects on the lives of people needs to be investigated on different levels. By way of illustration, investigating urban green spaces is not merely the study of places for socialization and recreation inside the city. Moreover, green spaces and their different typologies have had an important role in displaying the historical urbanization process and spatial transformation of urban space, countryside, and rural areas. For instance, agricultural lands or green spaces in the countryside which have been engulfed by the development and expansion of the city could be investigated along with different types of urban green spaces (Breuste, 2020).

### **2.3.1. Impact of Urban Green Spaces on Daily Life**

It is crucial to consider green spaces as potential public spaces open to everyone since they play an essential role in the perception of citizens and their experiences (Ilkay, 2016). Fair distribution of public services like parks for all citizens not only creates

dynamic and active public spaces but also, as an undeniable factor, green spaces could increase socialization and quality of life. In rapidly urbanized societies, green spaces, especially parks, give people the opportunity to not only spend their leisure time with their families and friends but also, to fill the gap between the forgotten nature and people.

Another main impact of green areas on people's daily life from an economic point of view, is the surplus-value to the properties near the green spaces. Land price in every part of the city has a direct relationship with the organization of open green spaces, so it can be inferred that newly built towns, even in remote areas, are developed sooner than dense central areas (Turner, 2005). Districts and neighborhoods adjacent to these green areas retained more property values; thus, the prices and rents of the real properties (houses and building lots) increased continuously and became affordable only for small affluent groups. The long-term consequences of this phenomenon are urban gentrification and privatizing those areas by the upper-classes. Generally, ignoring the fair distribution of these areas among people resulted in further urban commuting and repetitive travels between residential areas and public green spaces.

### **2.3.2. Public Green Spaces and Social Interactions**

Along with defining the role of green spaces in urban life, it is necessary to note that besides the positive effects of these spaces on public health, urban aesthetics, and recreation, urban public green spaces also enable social encounters among people. Due to the developing new social networks in public space, walking on the street, seeing, and being seen by strangers becomes new social activities (Brill, 1989). However, newly built streets could not always support the social encounters of strangers in new modernized societies; Thus, public parks turned to places for socialization and meeting strangers regardless of their classes (Thompson, 2002). Since then, socialization, recreation, communication, and exchanging information among different classes and genders are the socio-cultural perspective of public parks

to converge social encounters in urban life. In other words, public spaces like parks, as key elements in society, are strengthening public spheres by the assemblage of multi-cultural contacts (Orum & Neal, 2010). Due recognition must also be given to the fact that socio-demographic differences can also create a distinctive pattern of interactions in public green areas like parks.

### **2.3.3. Impact of Governments' Socio-Spatial Policies on Green Space**

Owing to different needs and different attitudes, open spaces are the grounds of democracy; thus, it does not seem particularly controversial that the designing, managing and using open spaces like parks are a reflection of political rhetoric in the society (Thompson, 2002). Urban green spaces as one of the most important parts of city life have been continuously changing over time. Many ecological, political, and economic factors affect this changing process. Due to some planning strategies that emanate from different policies and ideologies, green spaces have gained new meanings and functions in society and everyday life.

In other words, the transformation of green spaces has a close relationship with the different ideological clashes embodied in the process of urban development. Sometimes it emerges as an element displaying the political power of the aristocracy, religious excitements, or even as a means of land speculation to make profits for governmental or private sectors. Following that, the meaning and types of green areas have been constantly changed under the influence of the power of ideologies and dominant social classes of each period. In different situations, governments and municipalities' policies and their decisions resulted in the destruction of green areas and changing their usage to residential and commercial usage like shopping malls. In other words, under the authority's power, public green spaces are turning to vital apparatus to compensate for the municipalities' budget deficit, especially in developing countries. This issue will be scrutinized in detail in chapter 5.

Another important point concerning the several policies of the states regarding green spaces is the fair arrangement of green spaces in every region of the city. Over time, green spaces, their distribution, and their use pattern have been controversial in the socio-spatial policies of governments and local organizations like municipalities. Alongside the modernization of the cities, new discourses like social welfare, equity, and even distribution of public services appeared among the critical matters introduced in urban life.

In particular, policies of the states, local governments, and different organizations, regardless of their disparities, should follow the even distribution of green spaces to enable their accessibility for everyone in the society (Jennings, Browning, & Rigolon, 2019). However, due to the segregation of different classes and gentrification, which emanates from local governments' socio-spatial policies in the city, some areas, especially the ones belonging to lower-classes, were excluded from the fair distribution of green spaces. An important consideration that must be kept in mind is the difference between exclusion and inequality. Inequality refers to the economic status of someone to access specific resources, however, "exclusion relates to the degree of integration encouraged in society and one's access to participation in public life" (Lloyd & Auld, 2003). Breuste enumerates the reason for the exclusion of the lower-class, the uneven distribution of green spaces, and the role of the local governments:

"Further reasons for the unequal accessibility of parks can be attributed to the historical development of parks, the willingness of municipalities to provide parks as public assets, the availability and affordability of land, the morphology of the city itself, and lastly the interest-driven policies of certain population groups." (Breuste, 2020, P.26)

#### **2.4. Segregation and Privatization of Public Green Spaces**

Different contextual factors and dimensions regarding public and private spaces have always shaped people's experiences in the process of urbanization. The transformation of a marked relationship between public and private spaces is one of the consequences

of urbanization in societies (Fitzpatrick & LaGory, 2000). In some communities, the new spatial divisions between public and private spaces could create new chances for the self-development of people. But instead, in other cases, with complicated cultural and religious values, the rapid spatial division of public and private spaces causes nothing but chaos in social relationships. For some specific reasons, public spaces that are technically and physically open to the public may be privatized by physical or non-physical attribution. The notion of privatization in urban space started with the arrival of spatial interventions of individuals or private agencies in public spaces. From this line, these interventions form or (re)form the relationship between public and private spaces.

The concept of privatization in this study is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the economic values of space and raises a discussion regarding the privatization of public spaces by upper-classes, and the exclusion of other classes by several physical or non-physical boundaries from using the public space. For instance, the absence of free access, due to the establishment of new ‘sealed residential neighborhoods’ and ‘gated communities’ in recent times, leads to the privatization of specific districts and residential associations.

Along with the study of the transformation of public and private spaces, it is crucial to note that spatial transformation always co-occurs with the remodeling of the society’s economy and modes of production (Lefevbre, 1991). The most significant manipulation of the economy in social spaces in the cities is changing the usage and privatizing the public realm like public green spaces. By creating boundaries, space loses its social value and turns to a personalized space in the service of a certain group (mostly upper-classes). This type of division under economic forces has received considerable critical attention not only in the residential areas and neighborhoods in the cities, but also in the rural countryside and the suburban in the form of speculation of green regions. In other words, capital forms, reforms and controls the urban ecology, especially green spaces, whether in the cities or in the suburbs and countryside (Fitzpatrick & LaGory, 2000).

The second type of privatization of public space, on the contrary, refers to the privatization of public green spaces by the homeless and illegal activities, excluding other users and distorting the identity of public space. By way of illustration, since people involved in illicit activities such as drug dealing and homeless are often the main users of certain public parks, these public spaces have lost their safety, and following that, families avoid participating in public activities in those parks. Roger Trancik, in his book,<sup>6</sup> has mentioned the term ‘lost space’ to define the spaces that have lost their social function and no longer have a positive contribution to their surroundings and their users (Trancik, 1986).

In order to conclude this subchapter, it can be said that public space users, whether upper-classes and affluent people or homeless people, privatize these areas however not by physical boundaries but rather by their social status. In other words, privatization, whether by the power of the capital (imposed by upper-classes) or by the homeless, not only creates private interactions in public spaces, but also excludes the majority of users and reduces their free interactions (Mitchell, 2010).

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<sup>6</sup> “*Finding Lost Space: Theories of Urban Design*”



## CHAPTER 3

### TABRIZ; THE ‘GARDEN CITY’ OF IRAN

#### 3.1. Brief History of Gardens and Green Spaces in Persian's Culture

First gardens and green areas in Iran can be traced back to 8000 years ago in the ancient Persia<sup>7</sup> (Memarian & Brown, 2004). Aryans believed that the world had been divided into four sections with a large abyss in the middle of that. This fact is supported by many traces found from historical sites (Nattaj, 2014); therefore, it can be said that gardens were completely reflecting the Persian worldview (Barati, Alehashemi, & Minatour Sajjadi, 2018). In Persian mythology, the gardens played an archetypical role, serving people’s needs with specific order and geometries; its invisible grace promises order, and ever-renewing life against mortality.

Gardens were like domesticated private spaces closely related to the religious beliefs and cultural values of the Persians. Alongside the utility of these gardens, many historical documents reveal that Persian gardens were not places for strolling of the public, but rather, they belonged to private spaces of families and friends. In this regard, Ghanoonparvar referred to Victoria Sackville-West, one of the prominent scholars who studied the utility of Persian gardens, and stated:

“It is not a place where he wants to stroll; it is a place where he wants to sit and entrain his friends with conversation, music, philosophical discourse and poetry.” (Ghanoonparvar, 2001)

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<sup>7</sup> To illustrate the differences between ‘Iran’ and ‘Persia’ it is necessary to note that until the early century people in the world knew Iranians and Iran as Persians and Persia. During the reign of Reza Shah in 27 December of 1934, government, in its official pronouncement, requested European countries to use ‘Iran’ instead of ‘Persia’ in their correspondences. During the history Iran was known as a specific geographical term which contained the whole Persia, Baluchistan, Kurdistan, Caucasus Turkestan (contemporary Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan and Tajikistan) and the north-west of India (Yarshater, 1989).

The Persian garden was known not only as a human-made private enclosure and urban micro-climate but also as the prototype for gendered spaces in Persian history (Arjmand, 2017). In this regard, the geometry of Persian gardens was based on specific regulations corresponding to religious beliefs not only before Islam but also, after its admittance.

In much the same line, after Islam, a nostalgic dream about the garden where Adam and Eve had their golden age before being exiled to the earth started to dominate the garden design idea. According to Islamic beliefs, God is the first gardener and the creator of nature, but man defies nature and gives it life through new techniques like irrigation, distributing scarce and vital water with his lavish hand (Khansari, Moghtader, & Yavari, 2004).

It can be said that the organization of nature and its components in the form of paradise were reflected in every aspect of Persian civilization throughout history. Paradise is derived from the Old Persian word *pai-ri-daeza*, which means walled space. Greeks have changed the word a bit and use *paradeisos* to designate the Persian gardens (Khansari, Moghtader, & Yavari, 2004). From the 'Achaemenid' Empire to other dynasties, gardens have had a tight connection with people's lives and their system of beliefs. In other words, spatial patterns, the proportions, and the arrangement of repetitive geometries in gardens were considered sacred (Barati, Alehashemi, & Minatour Sajjadi, 2018).

Green spaces in Iran have been the manifestation of different ideologies in urban spaces throughout history. These spaces, whether private or public, were not considered merely green areas for leisure and promenade. They not only reflected the dominant ideologies of the authority, but also contained all traditional culture and social aspects of the society in each era. Privacy was the main concern of Persian gardens during the time. As an equally strong claim the most Persian gardens were defined as surrounded green areas, therefore, walls play a crucial role in defining gardens in Iranian culture so that no one could imagine a garden without its

surrounding walls. René Pechère, the Belgian landscape architect, asserted that the definition of a Persian garden was possible only with its walls (Mansouri, 2016). He believed that security and hiding the residents of the garden from strangers were the two main reasons for the construction of walls. This definition paves the way for a better description of walls and their role in Persian mythology. The term ‘Divār’ which means wall in the Persian language is composed of two words— ‘Div’ meaning ‘beast’ and the suffix ‘ār’, ‘Divār’ or ‘Deevār’ means ‘beastlike’ (Mansouri, 2016). In the traditional Persian culture, the wall (Divār) is the symbol of power, and the term ‘Chāhar Divari’ (a four-walled space) is an expression implying that the private space is secured by four surrounding walls, which could be a house or a garden in Persian culture (Mansouri, 2016). In much the same line, in all poems, paintings, miniatures, as well as other works of art like carpets, walls were defined as holy territorial markers, protecting the sacred spaces of the garden and the interior residents (Figure 3.1 and 3.2). From another point of view, besides the defensive and protective role of walls in cultivated gardens or inhabited ones, walls also protected the gardens from wind and sand, and were the main element in preserving land from the harmful environment of the outside (Khosravi, Djalali, & Marullo, 2017).

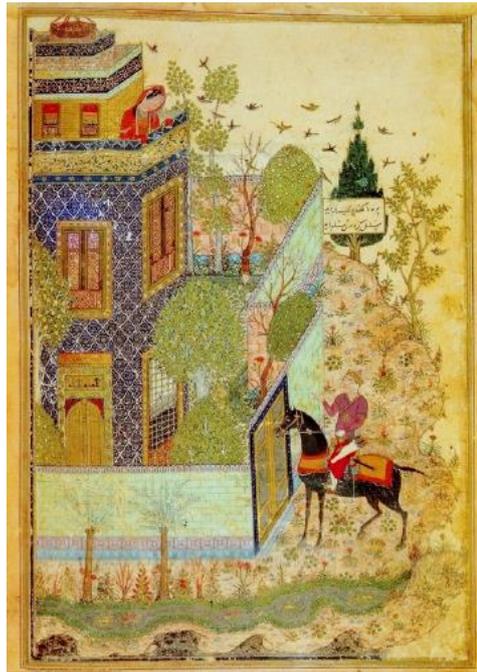


Figure 3.1 A miniature from the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, the garden which is surrounded by walls, poem book of Khajaviye Kermani

Source: Mansouri, Seyyed Amir, 2016, Phenomenology of Surrounding walls in Persian gardens

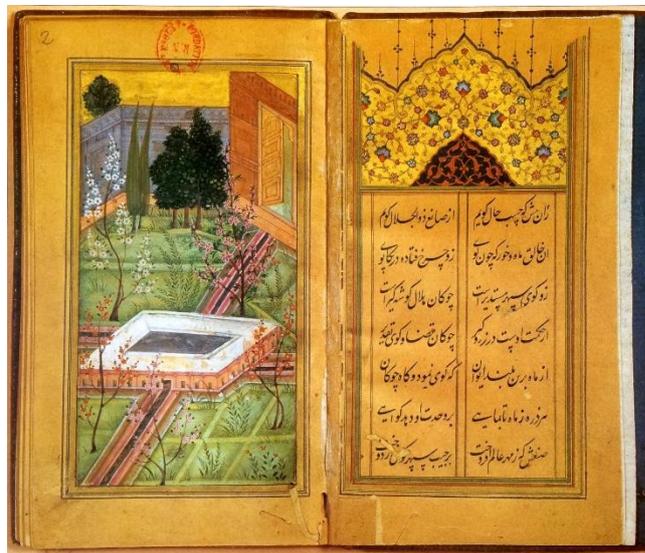


Figure 3.2. Late 16<sup>th</sup> century miniature of *Chahar Bagh* which is protected by surrounding walls

Source: Khansari, Yavari, Moghtader, 1998, The Persian garden: Echoes of Paradise

### 3.2. Typologies and structural formation of gardens

In the history of Iran, there were two types of royal gardens, the extensive gardens and the designed gardens named *Chāhar Bāgh* that belonged to kings or shahs (in Persian). The extensive gardens were the vast, great walled gardens used for the purposes of hunting and games. These gardens were constructed not only for horticultural and leisure purposes but also as the means of legitimizing the kings' power, for they were the symbols authority and fertility (Arjmand, 2017). Although these gardens were known as private gardens, they were considered mostly as small forests that did not follow specific geometry and order. Most of these places were away from the city centers and devoted to specific groups such as kings, princes, courtiers and commanders (Mansouri, 2007).

The second type of gardens (the most common one), were the ones constructed according to specific quadruple division geometries named *Chāhar Bāgh*<sup>8</sup>. This quadruple division was the eternal pattern of the Persian gardens. Predominantly, it was divided into four sections with planted trees and quartered by watercourses to recall four sacred rivers of the world (Khansari, Moghtader, & Yavari, 2004). A palace or pavilion (*kushk*) in the middle of the garden, a large pool, trees and flowers planted with a special arrangement in four separate sections constitute a garden. By way of illustration the horizontal axis played an important role in the construction of gardens. These axes separated entrances and buildings in which gardens and buildings were connected to each other by private courtyards (Wilber, 1962). After Islam, the same geometry was adapted, but with a new perspective, to reflect four holy gardens mentioned in the Quran<sup>9</sup> (Shahcheraghi, 2010) (Figure 3.5). Generally, many gardens were built in this style in different cities in Iran during the 'Timurid' (1370-1507) and 'Safavid' (1501-1736) eras. Throughout time, due to trades, travels, and even wars, the Persian garden patterns and their design spread all over Central Asia, and Europe. It can be said that the great Mughal gardens in Kashmir, Agra, Lahore and the gardens

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<sup>8</sup> *Chāhar* means 'four' in Persian language and '*Bagh*' means garden

<sup>9</sup> Sure 55, Verse 46-50

of Moorish Spain at Cordoba and Granada were established according to Persian style (Khansari, Moghtader, & Yavari, 2004).

European gardens have been subjected to various changes, and they have been designed to be compatible with their surrounding landscapes, Persian gardens, on the contrary, may be located in the middle of deserts or barren mountains (Figure 3.6). In other words, Persian gardens are like oases with no continuity to their settings outside of their great walls, which could be nothing but just desert (Khansari, Moghtader, & Yavari, 2004). Considering the differences between European and Iranian traditional gardens, Ghanoonparvar mentioned that:

“... There [in the West], they must dig into the forest, cut the excessive branches of the trees, plant lawns, design flower beds, and plant flowers and domesticated grass in place of forest trees..... But in Iran, a garden suddenly appears before your eyes in the middle of a dry, barren sand desert, like a painting surrounded by walls that contain it like a picture frame.” (Ghanoonparvar, 2001)

In addition, alongside designing gardens, Persians had several strategies to overcome the problems of harsh climate conditions. For instance, besides dams, they invented several underground irrigation systems known as *Qanats* which is snow-fed subterranean water in the mountains (Khansari, Moghtader, & Yavari, 2004)<sup>10</sup> (Figure 3.7).

The presence of garden (*bagh*) is particularly visible in all aspects of Iranian life and art (painting, music, and literature). Throughout history, ‘*Bagh*’ was defined as the symbol of nature and many famous poets used it as a metaphor for divinity, paradise, freedom, love, etc. The most remarkable example is *Saadi's*, (Persian poet, 13<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Digging shafts of 150 feet depth was the way employed to reach the water. After that craftsmen constructed a tunnel from where the water was needed. The water is propelled by gravity in the tunnel. When the tunnel reached the city or village the water current may flow to gardens and farmlands.

century) two most notable poetry books (Divan) ‘*Boustan*’<sup>11</sup> and ‘*Golestan*’<sup>12</sup> which both mean gardens.

In the way of scrutinizing the role of gardens in Iranian life, it should be noted that through time, people adapted the small scale of the specific geometry of *Chāhar Bāgh* to the interior spaces of their house. From then, the courtyards of houses are divided into four sections of planted trees with a pool in the middle of the yard.



Figure 3.3. Late-eighth-century B.C painted tiles from the baba Jan site (Lorestan Province) depicting the ‘*Chahar bagh*’ cruciform design.

Source: Khansari, Yavari, Moghtader, 1998, *The Persian garden: Echoes of Paradise*

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<sup>11</sup> In Persian culture *Bustan* is an agricultural garden for growing edible plants

<sup>12</sup> *Golestan* is the Persian word for the garden of flowers

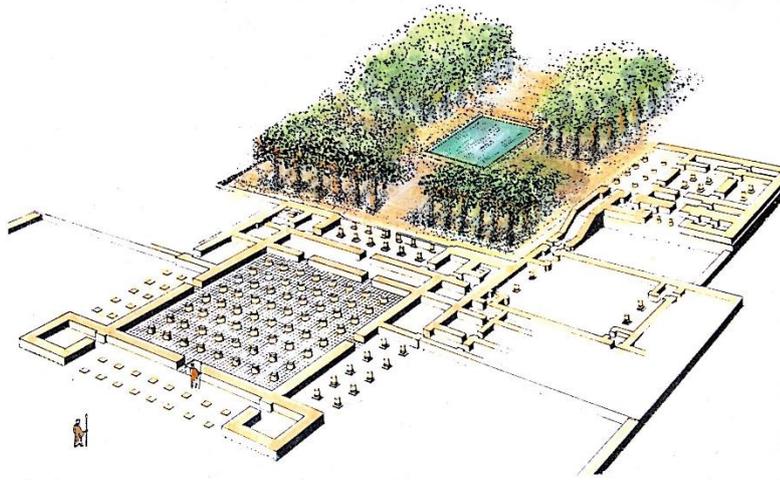


Figure 3.4 (Re) creation of the Achaemenid Empire royal garden (Artaxerxes's royal palace at Susa, ninth century B.C). The palace surrounded by the interior gardens  
 Source: Khansari, Yavari, Moghtader, 1898, the Persian garden: Echoes of Paradise

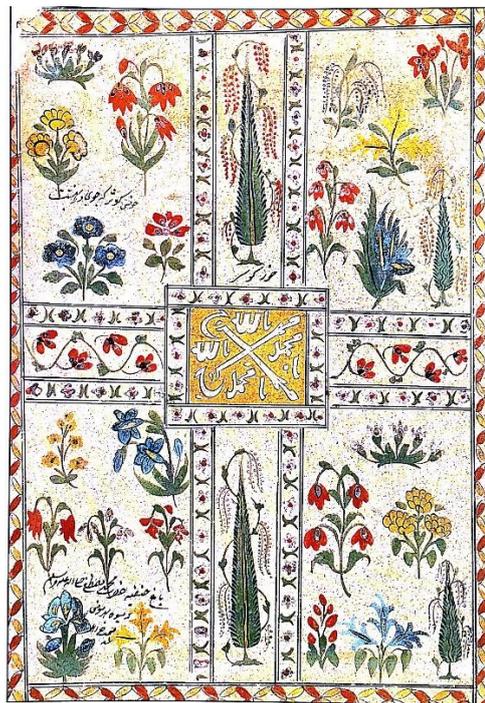


Figure 3.5. Early 17th century manuscript of garden of paradise,  
 Source: Khansari, Yavari, Moghtader, 1998, The Persian garden: Echoes of Paradise



Figure 3.6 ‘Shazde Mahan’ garden, prince’s garden in the middle of desert, Kerman, Iran.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2W8rczV> (visited: September 1, 2020)

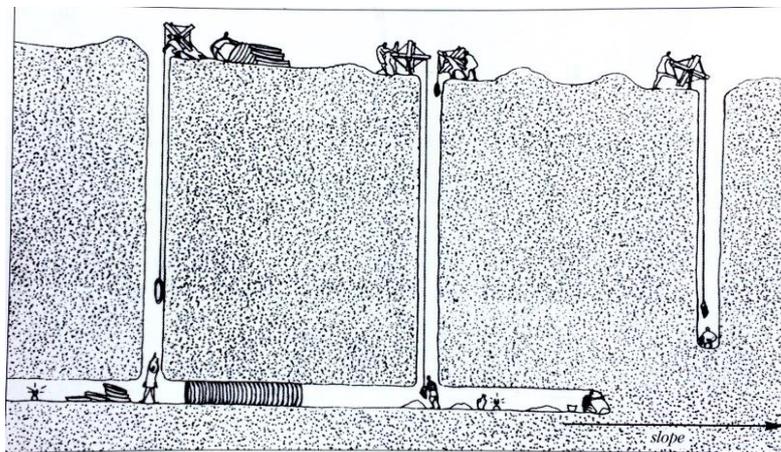


Figure 3.7 Qanats were underground channels constructed by the Iranian to transport water to the surface, especially in regions with a hot and dry climate.

Source: Khansari, Yavari, Moghtader, 1998, *The Persian garden: Echoes of Paradise*

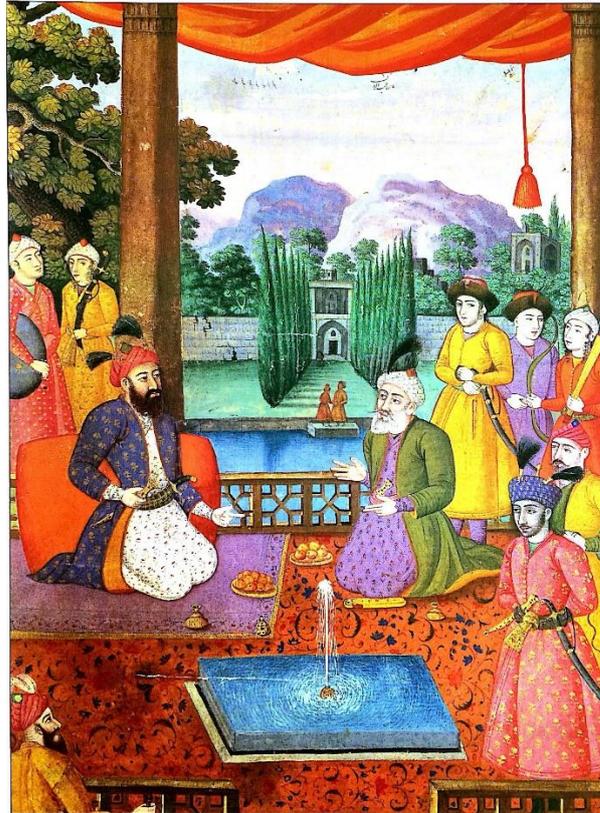


Figure 3.8 Miniature of a *Chahar bagh* garden with its surrounding walls (late 17<sup>th</sup> century)

Source: Khansari, Yavari, Moghtader, 1998, *The Persian garden: Echoes of Paradise*

### 3.3. Tabriz- The Forgotten 'Garden City' Of Iran

Tabriz or *Tav-Rizh* is the oldest and largest city in the northwest province of Iran. The peak of the propensity of Tabriz was during the Ilkhanate dynasty (1256-1335). Due to the strong political economy and international trade networks, the Ilkhanate dynasty chose it as the capital in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and as a result, all elites, princes, Amirs, and administrators stayed in Tabriz (Wing, 2014). Similarly, Tabriz was the capital in the Qara Qoyunlu, Aq Qoyunlu, and early the Safavid periods. Furthermore, it was the city of 'Crown Prince' (Valiahd) during the Qajar Dynasty.

The geopolitical and geo-economic importance of Azerbaijan province, especially Tabriz, which was the coupler of the Far East and West played a crucial role in its

history. Because of its strategic position and vital political importance, Tabriz was the focal point between the Chingissid state and Mongol military, Turkish, and Persian administrators (Wing, 2014). Tabriz was known as an affluent city because of its Bazaar and trade networks, in which it was the center of the carpet, jewelry, gold, and silk industry. In this regard, according to the politics of commercial life in Tabriz, this city was known as “Rich in goods and abounding in wealth” (Wing, 2014). In addition, since ancient times, due to the fertile lands of the northwest of Iran, Tabriz was well-known for its vast gardens, which were the main elements in forming the spatial structure of the city.

Although the invasion of Iran by Mongols in the 13<sup>th</sup> century and the vast demolition of cities resulted in a hiatus in the progress of the Iranian art of gardening, the construction of gardens in Iran, especially in Tabriz continued even after the Mongols invasion. In order to peruse the chronological process of construction of gardens by Mongolian rulers in Tabriz, Khansari indicates that:

“... among the Mongols of Persia (1256-1336), Ghazan-Khan (1256-1304) was a great builder. It was he who created the great park outside of Shanb, west of his capital, Tabriz. According to the accounts of historians, this great garden, called *Bagh-e Edalat* (garden of justice) contained building for cultural purposes, as well as hospices. More than a century later, another famous garden of Tabriz, the *Hasht Behesht*, was laid out by Uzun Hassan (1466-1478). It contained an octagonal pavilion with four entrance in the form of iwans.” (Khansari, Moghtader, & Yavari, 2004)

In addition, many foreign travelers visited the city, and their accounts have many references to Tabriz’s gardens. Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1605 – 1689) visited Tabriz in 1643 and wrote about the geographical features of the city. He mostly focused on the green areas and gardens of Tabriz, its countryside, and rivers (Javadi, 1970). Sir John Chardin, who traveled to Tabriz during the Safavid period, described its bazaar as one of the majestic constructions of the time. He stated that the houses were separated from the bazaar, alleys were very narrow, and even in some of them, and only one person at a time could pass. He continued: Houses were not majestic, but

every house had a large beautiful garden with fruit trees (Javadi, 1970). In addition, Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri (1651-1725), the Italian adventurer in his travel to Persia in 1694, mesmerized by the spatial organization of Tabriz, mentioned that “Tabriz is one of the best cities I visited, there are many gardens which surrounded the city and plays as rampart role for the city” (Careri, 1929).

In the Qajar period during Fath-Ali Shah’s reign (1797-1834), Abbas Mirza (1789-1833) was a Qajar crown prince in Tabriz (the eighth ruler of Tabriz). Because of this issue, many political and economic boards stayed in Tabriz and most members of the Russian and English embassies also stayed in the city. In other words, Tabriz turned to the political center of the Iranian state (Bani Masud, 2009). Also, Tabriz’s gardens were the main physical elements of the city, where many royal ceremonies and rituals were held, and Shahs (kings) hosted ambassadors and military commodores of different countries. For instance, during this era (Qajar era), *Khelaat pushan* garden (prince wearing a royal mantle), hosted the ambassadors and royal family members for an inaugural ceremony for the new prince. As mentioned previously, Tabriz in the past was famous for its gardens, and for that reason, it was known among Iranian as “*Bagh Shahr*” which means the “Garden City”. Along with the increasing population, these gardens disappeared; however, their names remained on the districts, in other words, most of the districts in Tabriz had the suffix of *bagh* (garden) in their name, for instance, *baghmishe*<sup>13</sup>, *baghshomal*<sup>14</sup>, *kuchebagh*<sup>15</sup>, *tapali bagh*<sup>16</sup>. Donald Wilber, in his book <sup>17</sup>emphasized on gardens of Tabriz and wrote:

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<sup>13</sup> The word ‘bagh’ (garden) was used as a suffix to define specific gardens of every district. ‘Baghmishe’ is the name of a historical district in Tabriz means ‘meadow garden’

<sup>14</sup> North Garden

<sup>15</sup> Garden alley

<sup>16</sup> Hill garden

<sup>17</sup> “*The architecture of Islamic Iran: The Ilkhnid Period*”

“Tabriz is the most famous city in Azerbaijan province. In the middle of the city, there is a river playing a crucial role in irrigating gardens on each side of the city. It is hard to find a district in Tabriz with no gardens and trees.” (Wilber, 1983).



Figure 3.9 A view from *Baghmishe* Gardens during the Qajar era

Source: <https://bit.ly/3l91t5R> (visited: September 9, 2020)

### 3.3.1. Important Historical Gardens in the Old Maps of Tabriz

As mentioned in the previous section because of many fertile plains, with three hundred kilometers square, and according to old maps, documents, and sketches, Tabriz since old times was one of the best provinces for agriculture. Unfortunately, Azerbaijan province is prone to different natural disasters, and most of the green glory of Tabriz has vanished after the earthquakes. In addition, inept governors' ideologies in each era transformed the green areas or destroyed them (Bani Massud, 2011).

Along with the surveying old green areas of Tabriz, it is crucial to look at different sources and maps. Matrakçı<sup>18</sup> miniature map was the only visual document of Tabriz from the Safavid era. This old map was one of the principal maps of Matrakçı's picture-book about the Ottoman Empire campaign between (1533-1535) (Bani Massud, 2011). All the maps, pictures, and quick sketches of different occasions are

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<sup>18</sup> ‘Nasuh bin Karagöz bin Abdullah el-Visokavi el-Bosnavî’ known as Matrakçı Nasuh (1480-1564), Historian, geographer, mathematician, writer and miniaturist.

the imageries of Matrakçı, which are essential historical documents about the structural formation of the old cities like Tabriz. The historical map of Tabriz in this book displays iconic centers of the city in a rectangular shape (Balilan, 2018). In much the same line, important green areas, whether royal gardens or private green spaces, are depicted in a distinct manner. By way of illustration in this map, ‘Mehraneroud’ (Mehrane River) divided the city into two separate regions. The right side of the (east side) has more density of buildings, and the left side has less density and more governmental constructions and royal gardens. The most prestigious garden and green area in this map is known as ‘Saheb Abad Complex and Garden’. The early formation of this garden and its surrounding complex goes back to Hulagu Khan (1262-1282), but along with the Aq Qoyunlu dynasty (1378-1502), this complex and its garden were developed by Uzun Hasan and his son Yagub after they came to power (Soltanzadeh, 1997). As previously mentioned, Matrakçı’s miniature map could demonstrate this complex, with its relative dimensions, buildings, its location, and position. By surveying this map, ‘Saheb Abad Complex’, the ‘Hasht Behesht’<sup>19</sup> building, harem, a mosque, and a large pool in the middle of the complex can be recognized (Bani Massud, 2011). After that, this complex hosted many guests and ambassadors from different counties. Although there is an inadequacy of information about this garden, according to Bani Massoud, it was one of the most important governmental-residential royal gardens which have been neglected by the arrival of the Safavid dynasty, resulting in the destruction of some important parts of this complex (Bani Massud, 2011).

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<sup>19</sup> Eight paradise

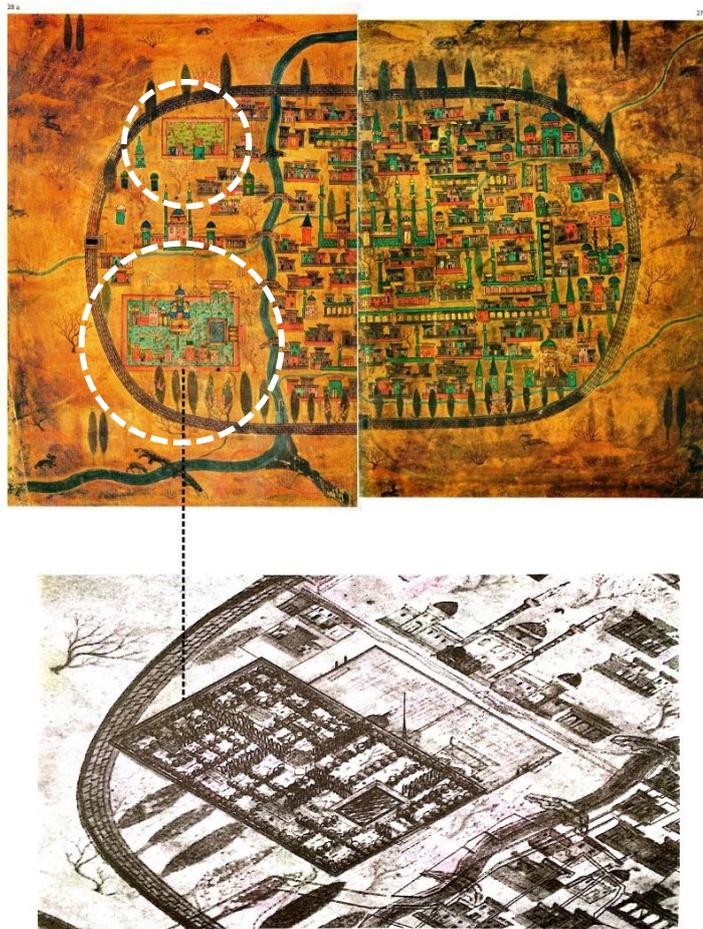


Figure 3.10 Matrakçı miniature map from Tabriz 1537, 'Bigham' and 'Saheb Abad' Royal gardens,

Source: <https://bit.ly/2VyPS5r> (visited: September 9, 2020)

Figure 3.11 The layout of 'Saheb Abad' royal garden and 'Hasht Behesht' building in the Matrakçı miniature map

Source: Bani-Masoud, 2011, Tabriz Historical Gardens

Besides Matrakçı's miniature map, there are other historical maps displaying the green spaces and gardens of Tabriz from the following centuries. For instance, the 'Suburb Map of Tabriz' which was prepared by Russian topographers for military purposes displays the location of the city's ramparts, suburb regions as well as the great gardens of Tabriz in 1827. Another document is Tabriz Dar Al-Saltane map (1880), known as

‘Qaracheh-Daghi Map’ which is the most reliable document regarding Tabriz, its historical districts and gardens. This map, which is among the modern maps of Iran during the Qajar dynasty, was drawn during Mozaffar Al-Din Mirza’s (the crown prince of Iran) governorship in Tabriz. It was the first map of Tabriz, which compiles graphical-written information about all districts and more than 250 private gardens in the city. The last historical map of Tabriz was drafted by ‘Asad-Alah Khan Maraghei’ in 1910. Despite the fact that this map has less detailed information about districts and gardens in comparison with the ‘Qaracheh-Daghi Map’, it displays green regions of Tabriz containing the private gardens and agricultural lands.

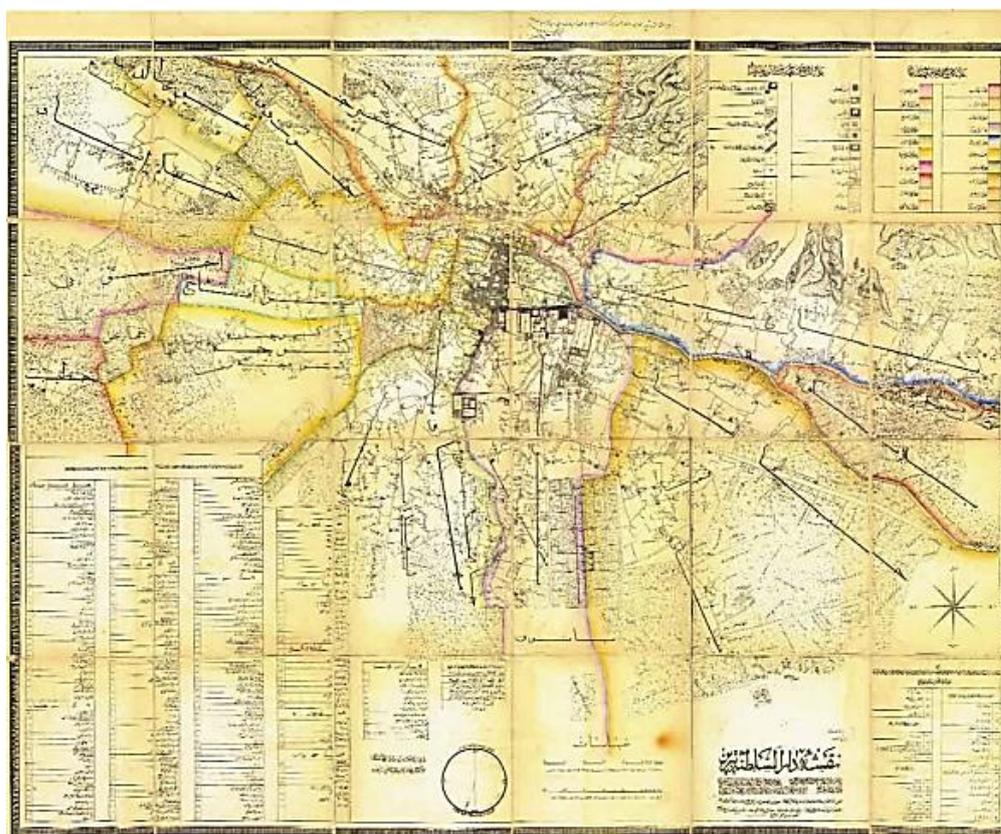


Figure 3.12 Tabriz Dar al-Saltane Map, 1880 known as Qaracheh-Daghi Map

Source: Reading Old Maps of Tabriz, 2006

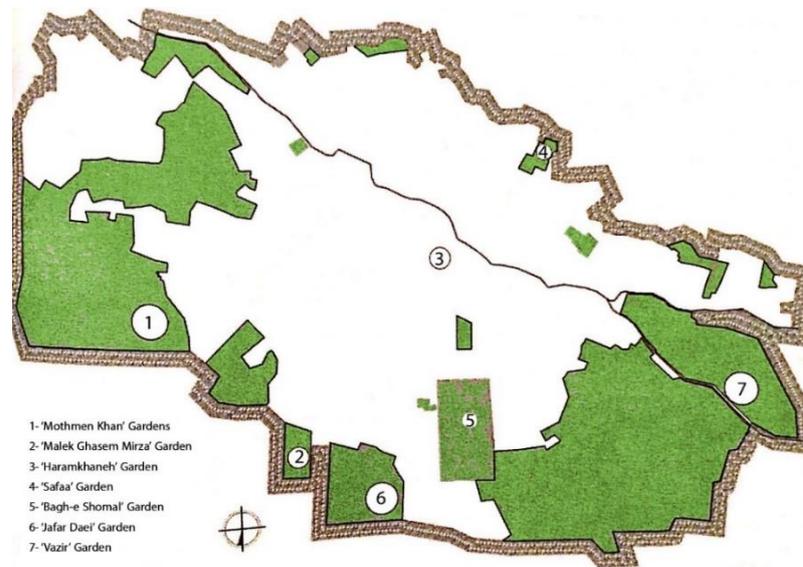


Figure 3.13 The location of important gardens of Tabriz according to Qaracheh-Daghi Map (1880)

Source: Balilan, Lida, 2018, Tabriz Dar Al- Saltane; The Capital of Iran's unknown Tombs (edited by the author)

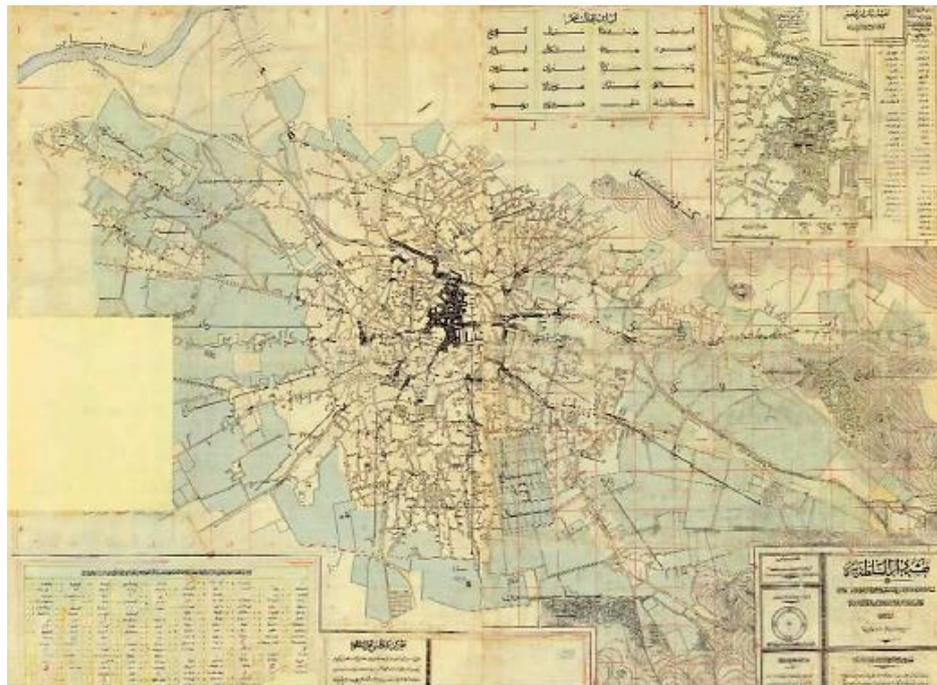


Figure 3.14 Tabriz Dar al- Saltane map, 1910, drafted by Asad-Alah Khan Maraghei, although this map is not as accurate as Qaracheh-Daghi Map (1880) it depicts the green regions of Tabriz, including the private gardens and agricultural lands.

Source: Reading Old Maps of Tabriz, 2006

### 3.3.2. ‘Bagh-Shomal’; the Legendary Garden in the North-West of Iran

One of the gardens which is mentioned in all historical maps and documents is Bagh-Shomal’. Bagh-Shomal (north garden) had been constructed during the reign of ‘Soltan Yagub’(1464-1490), Son of Uzun Hasan, and from then, this garden had been used for celebrations and religious ceremonies during the Safavid and Qajar dynasties (Soltanzadeh, 1997). Donald Wilber in his book “*Persian gardens and garden pavilions*” describes historical urban fabric in Tabriz and mentions that, Tabriz has always been famous for its gardens, especially during the Aq Qoyunlu dynasty.

“Tabriz was noted for its gardens as early as the visit of Marco Polo in 1300, and when the rulers of so-called White sheep dynasty made Tabriz their capital near the end of the fifteenth century, they adorned it with a marvelous garden called the Hasht Bihest (Eight Paradise). Some accounts ascribe the garden to the ruler Uzun Hasan and some to his son Yaqub, but all agree on its magnificence... in later centuries this same site acquired the name of the Bagh-i-Eshratābad and before the end of nineteenth century the name had changed again— this time to Bagh-i-Shomal, or Northern Garden”(Wilber, 1962)

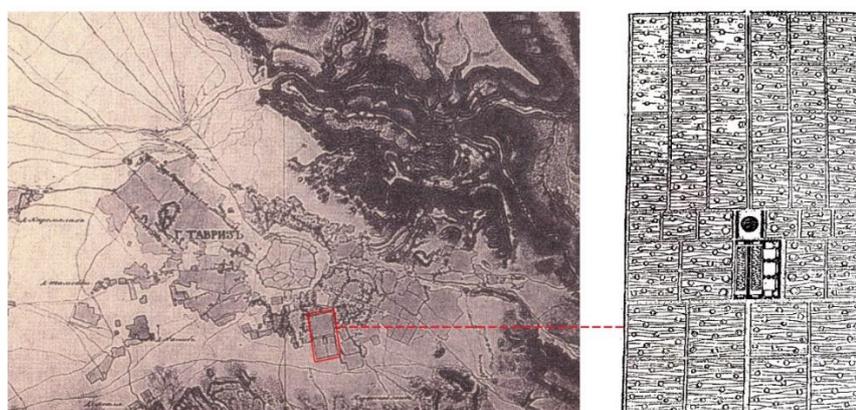


Figure 3.15 Map of Tabriz and suburb areas during the Qajar era and the location of Bagh-Shomal drafted by Pozidbishkov and Petrov, 1827

Source: Reading Old maps of Tabriz, 2006

Figure 3.16 (right) Plan of Bagh-Shomal according to Donald Wilber drawing

Source: Wilber, Donald, 1962, *Persian gardens and garden pavilions*

Evliya Chalabi (1514-1576), a great Ottoman explorer, traveled to Tabriz during Shah Safi's reign in 1671, displayed the importance of this garden in his itinerary and wrote: "there were thousands of gardens in Tabriz and the most famous of them is Soltan Yagub's garden, Bagh-Shomal which is adjacent to his mosque. Garden contains several royal courts that belong to the princes<sup>20</sup>" (Bani Massud, 2011). The magnificent garden, Bagh-Shomal, is formed through the combination of four different gardens adjacent to each other i.e., Golestan Garden (rose garden), Farhad and Shirin Garden (grape garden), The Grand Garden (apple and pear garden) and Almond Garden (Bani Massud, 2011). Its pattern and geometry were similar to the Persian gardens' pattern (*Chahar Bagh*). The existence of a series of courts and pavilions at the intersection of the cross plan demonstrates this fact (Wilber, 1962). Like any other private gardens in Tabriz, this garden has belonged to royal families in every dynasty. During the Safavid Period, Shah Tahmasp held his son's wedding in this garden in 1554 (Soltanzadeh, 1997). Also, during the Qajar dynasty, this garden was the most important place for princes' weddings and other royal ceremonies (Bani Massud, 2011). In other words, this garden was utterly dedicated to the residential area of crown princes who were the governors of the Azerbaijan province, and in this way several princes lived in this large garden, thus in some historical writings, this garden is known as "The Prince's Garden" (*Shazde Baghi*) (Wilber, 1962).

As previously mentioned, the establishment of gardens in Iran's history emanated from special social, political conditions and the dominant ideologies of each period. In the case of Bagh-Shomal, this garden was one of the primary examples of private residential, governmental gardens in Tabriz (Bani Massud, 2011). Along with the establishment of the "Division of Urban Usages" during Naser Al-Din (1831-1896) and Mozafar Al-Din (1853-1907) Shah's reign, Bagh-Shomal belonged to government properties in which Shah hosted many ambassadors and guests from different countries like Great Britain and Russia (Khamachi, 2003).

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<sup>20</sup> Translated by the author



Figure 3.17 A view from ‘Bagh-Shomal’ Garden during the Qajar era  
Source: Pour Hossein, 2011, Historical sites and buildings of Tabriz



Figure 3.18 ‘Bagh-Shomal’ garden during the Qajar era  
Source: Pour Hossein, 2011, Historical sites and buildings of Tabriz

### 3.3.3. 'Shah-Goli' Garden

One of the most renowned private gardens of Tabriz is Shah-Goli garden (latter El-Goli<sup>21</sup>), which used to be seven kilometers away from the center of Tabriz. The exact construction date of this garden and its magnificent pool is unknown, but the construction of the central building was initiated during the Aq Qoyunlu states, and its further progression and the erection of the pavilion took place in the middle of the nineteenth century (Wilber, 1962). Donald Wilber has written about this garden and its characteristics in his book:

“At the present day there are two charming gardens in the vicinity of Tabriz; they are situated some distance to the east of the town and just to the south of the main highway from Tabriz to Tehran. The grander of these is called the Shah Gol, Shah Goli, or Shah Kol—all variations of the same term, a combination of Persian and Turkish words with the meaning of the royal pond.” (Wilber, 1962)

Shah-Goli garden is a kind of water garden in which the pool was built not by excavating but rather by raising an artificial terrace so that its lake appears to float above near landscape (Khansari, Moghtader, & Yavari, 2004). Before the Safavid dynasty, there used to be several villages near the garden, so the pool was used for the irrigation of near agricultural lands. Different levels and topography of the land and the large pool in the middle of this area had a crucial role in the irrigation of its vicinity. In the process of embellishment of the vicinity of Tabriz, some of Qajar princes wished to possess the countryside lands of Tabriz. In this process, Shah- Goli, the foremost famous garden in Tabriz history, turned to the royal promenade. In much the same line Donald Wilber compares the usage of Shah-Goli with Baghe-Takht in Shiraz:

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<sup>21</sup> Shah Goli (grand pool). The word Shah (meaning both king and grand) was changed to El-Goli after the Islamic revolutionary because the use of worlds which pointed out monarchy were banned.

“The similarity to the Baghi-Takht at Shiraz is immediately apparent, although here the scale is much greater. The vast pool was not excavated from a fairly level spot of ground but the northern side was built up by moving great masses of earth into place... As the result, as one looks across from the levels of the terraces, the spreading sheet of water appears to hang suspended far above the valley beyond” (Wilber, 1962)

In addition, in a short distance from El-Goli, there were two important royal gardens that played an essential role in the history of green areas of Tabriz. Fath Abad garden was one of the oldest and vastest orchards of Tabriz, which was erected according to the Persian garden style and was established during the Ilkhanate dynasty. Along with describing the gardens in the northern regions of Iran, Donald Wilber posits that:

“The heart of the garden is almost completely hidden within acres of orchard, but the long water axis ties the whole together in Persian fashion and all is in harmony, except for the modern house which has replaced an earlier pavilion. ... . The plan reached its climax at the huge stone-lined pool very deep and bordered around by massive, ancient trees.” (Wilber, 1962)

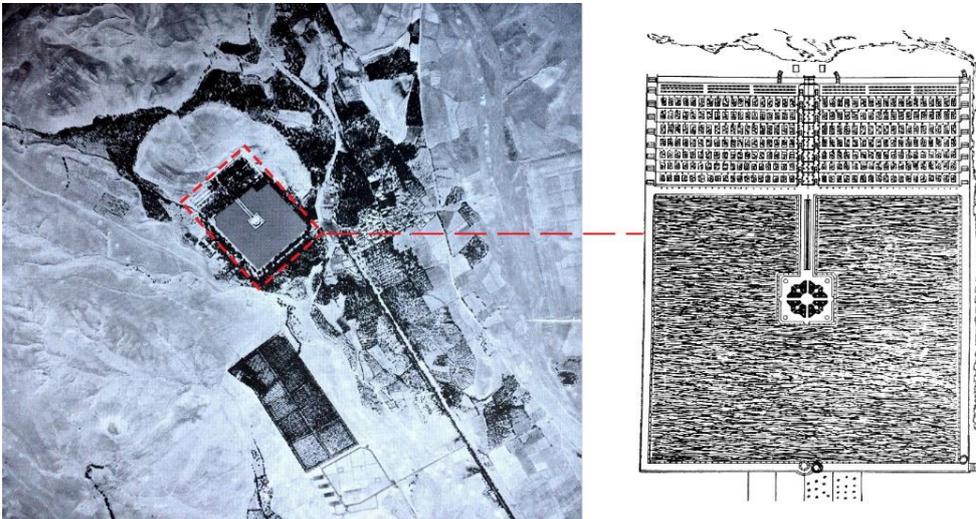


Figure 3.19 Aerial view of Shah Goli pool and its surrounding farmlands

Source: Iran national Cartographic center

Figure 3.20 Plan of Shah Goli pool and its central building. According to Wilber this garden was one of the prominent gardens in the north-west of Iran.

Source: Wilber, Donald, 1962, Persian gardens and garden pavilions



Figure 3.21 A view from Shah Goli Garden during the Qajar Dynasty.  
 Source: <https://bit.ly/2xXIqaY> (visited: September 9, 2020)

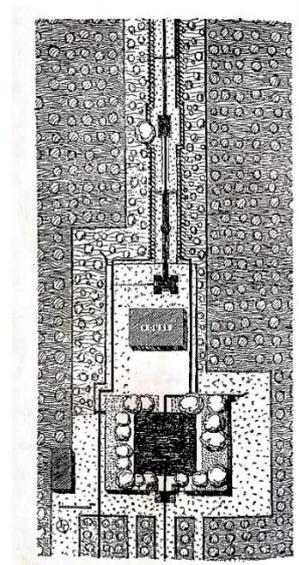


Figure 3.22 A view from Fath Abad Garden

Source: Bani Masoud, 2011, Tabriz Historic Gardens

Figure 3.23 The plan of 'Fath Abad' garden, drawn by Donald Wilber

Source: Wilber, Donald, 1962 Persian gardens and Garden Pavilions

### **3.4. Courtyard Houses; the Private Gardens for Families**

Following the investigation of traditional royal gardens in the old urban fabric of Tabriz, it is significant to study the courtyard houses, which were the focal point in constituting private green spaces for the majority of citizens. In this regard, investigating the old urban fabric of Tabriz not only helps to better understand the spatial organization of private spaces of courtyard gardens but also, clarifies the distinction between public and private spheres in residential quarters.

The urban fabric of the city can be considered as a dynamic spatial structure that is changing throughout history. In Iran, after Islam, according to religious and cultural values, the spatial organization of cities was based on the distinction between public and private spaces (Soltanzadeh, 1988). By considering the spatial organization of the commercial cities like Tabriz, which was one of the important cities located along the Silk Road, the bazaar had a prominent role in organizing the other spatial elements around it (Sattarzade, 2007). In other words, the bazaar as a male-dominated public space was located in the core of the city, and the residential quarters were established in its surroundings. Despite the fact that residential quarters were connected to the bazaar, several spatial hierarchies and soft boundaries like narrow auxiliary streets, separated the private realm of houses from the public sphere of the bazaar. In this respect, courtyard houses were the core of the spatial organization of the old urban fabric of the city, which constituted the ultimate private sphere for residents.

It should be noted that the design of gardens in the courtyards was based on the archetypal geometry of *Chāhar Bāgh* and its main spatial components. In other words, the spatial formation of private courtyard houses was the prototype of the concept of introverted “paradise garden” (Gharipour, 2019). Private courtyard houses are the best examples for representing the relationship between humankind and nature while having strong ties with culture.

The spatial hierarchies, private spaces of courtyard houses, and family relationships provided an exclusive system in which these spaces functioned more than being a

shelter to people. One or two-story courtyard houses were the most common forms of dwellings in Tabriz during the Safavid and Qajar era. During the Qajar era, courtyard houses with their central private gardens (paradise garden) were owned by extended families, and several rooms surrounding the gardens belonged to each nuclear family within these extended family units. It may well be argued that these courtyard houses were pedestrian-accessible only and were nested within residential quarters (Gharipour, 2019).

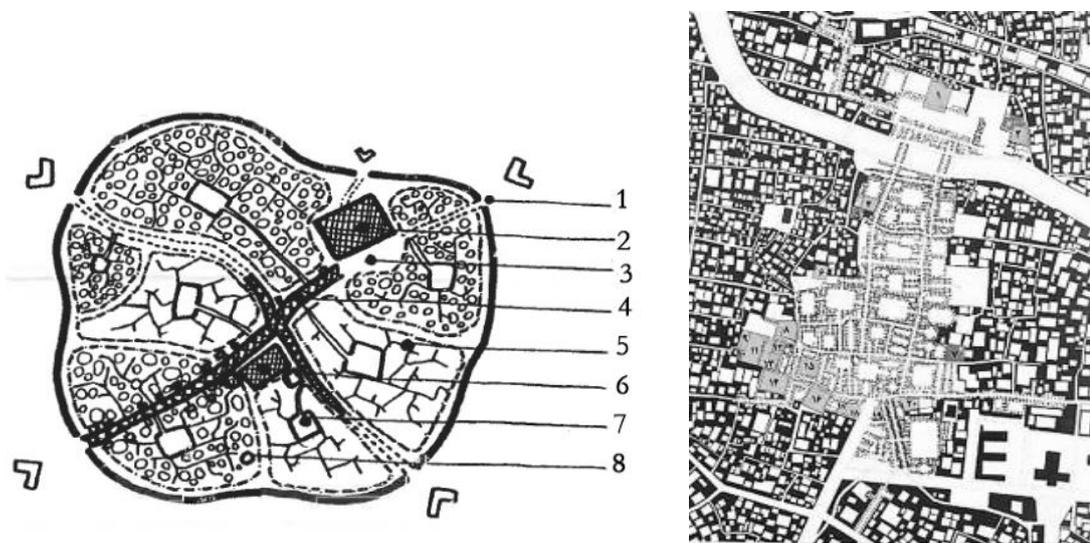


Figure 3.24 the spatial organization of commercial cities in Iran. 1: Ramparts and city gates, 2: Citadel, 3: Maidan, 4: Bazaar, 5: Residential quarters, 6: Mosque, 7: Communal center of quarters, 8: courtyard houses

Source: Soltanzadeh, Hossein, 1988, an Introduction to the History of the City and Urbanization in Iran

Figure 3.25 The location of Tabriz's bazaar surrounded by residential quarters

Source: <https://bit.ly/33JpHMe> (visited: September 20, 2020)



Figure 3.26 Aerial photo of Tabriz showing the courtyard houses and private gardens in the city center in 1956. Depending on the financial status of families the vastness of these private gardens was variable.

Source: Iran National Cartographic Center (Edited by the author)

The spatial organization of Iranian courtyard houses was accomplished by dividing spaces into *andaruni* (the interior) and *biruni* (the exterior), this conceptual division was also evident in the macro-level design of the urban structure. *Andaruni* was known as the private space of the house, including the courtyard garden and its surrounding rooms, which was the focal point in the constitution of the private space of family members known as the space of *mahram*. On the other hand, *Biruni* included all public spaces apart from the private spaces of the homes. (Arjmand, 2017).

A central concern is that gardens were the inseparable parts of the *andaruni*, which played an essential role in the everyday lives of the residents. In order to clarify the division of *andaruni* and *biruni*, Roy Mottahedeh, historian of the Middle East, argues that the whole *andaruni* was constructed around a garden in a way that there were no

openings and windows to the outside except the garden and the high walls separating *andaruni* and *biruni* (Mottahedeh, 2004).

As mentioned previously, the courtyard gardens in houses, known as *hayat*, (yard) were the small scale models of traditional Persian gardens. The same quadruple geometry with a central pool and many trees and flowers in each part of the garden were reflected in these private courtyards. The heart of the debate is that gardens not only were the private center for the family members, but also they were the space of socialization with visitors and neighbors (Marefat, 1988). Although the vastness of the gardens varied according to the different factors like the status of families in various districts, gardens covered most of the spaces of houses. In order to display the areas assigned to green spaces, surveying the spaces of gardens in some typical courtyard houses in Tabriz could be the best examples. An important consideration is that, in some of the houses which belonged to high-status families, gardens were divided into two separate gardens. The entrances of these two gardens were separated from each other, and the large garden (semi-private garden) was used as a space of socialization and gathering with the neighbors, relatives, and housemaids while the private one was confined as space of *mahram* for the owner of the house (Esmaeili Sangari & Omrani, 2014).

Through surveying the spatial characteristics of courtyard houses, it can be said that the establishment of privacy and separation of public and private spaces began with the spatial organization of districts and the creation of semi-public areas like narrow alleys which separated the main streets and residential neighborhoods. By way of illustration, there were several barriers between the main street and houses, which ultimately separated the public realm from the private domain by semi-public and semi-private spaces. For instance, between districts, the most private element in street hierarchies was called *bombast* (deadlock) (Marefat, 1988). In other words, in every district (*mahalleh*) residents should have passed the established spatial hierarchies to enter his/her house. The spatial hierarchies continued even in houses, starting with the entrance door with two different knockers as a spatial marker for women and men.

Besides, semi-private spaces like *hashti* and *dalan* were other essential elements in spatial hierarchies in creating privacy for residents of houses.

The physical proximity of houses and their gardens created social bonds and intimate spaces for families and neighbors. People's attachment to their local neighborhood and participating in different activities established social ties, local friendships, and this fact increased the average time people spent with their neighbors. In other words, despite the ultimate privacy that courtyard houses provided for their residents, they were symbols of places for socialization among extended family members and close neighbors. Semi-Public spaces of the neighborhood like narrow alleys and semi-private spaces like *hashti*, *dalan*, and *hayat* inside of the houses not only created an intimate space for the people of the neighborhood but also reduced the effects of egression from the intimate private space of homes to the public realms of the city.



Figure 3.27 A view from courtyard houses in the early Pahlavi era, Tabriz  
Source: Pour Hossein, 2011, Historical sites and buildings of Tabriz



Figure 3.28 Courtyard garden belonging to Sadaghiani family in the late Qajar era.  
Source: Pour Hossein, 2011, Historical sites and buildings of Tabriz



Figure 3.29 A courtyard garden in Tabriz during the Qajar era.  
Source: Pour Hossein, 2011, Historical sites and buildings of Tabriz

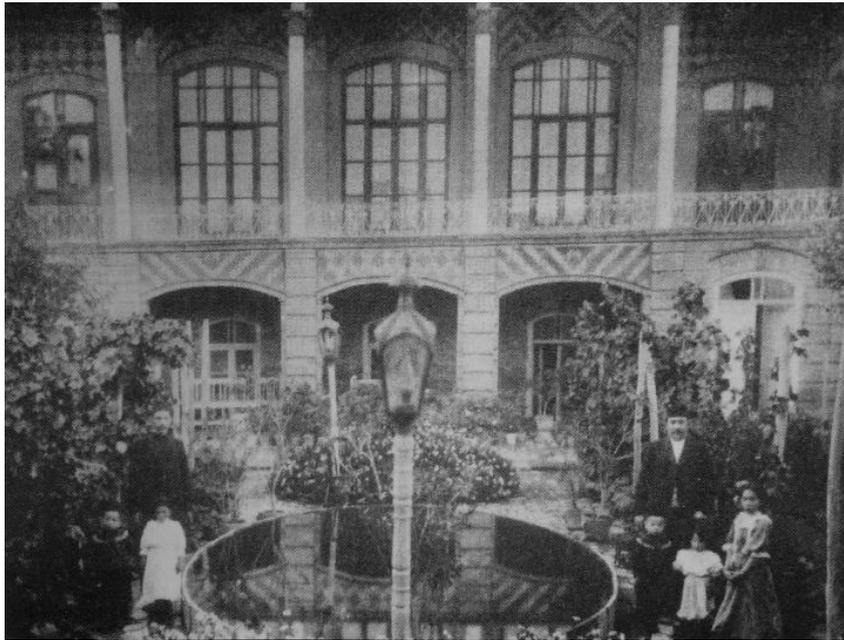


Figure 3.30 Courtyard house during the Qajar era, Tabriz

Source: Pour Hossein, 2011, Historical sites and buildings of Tabriz

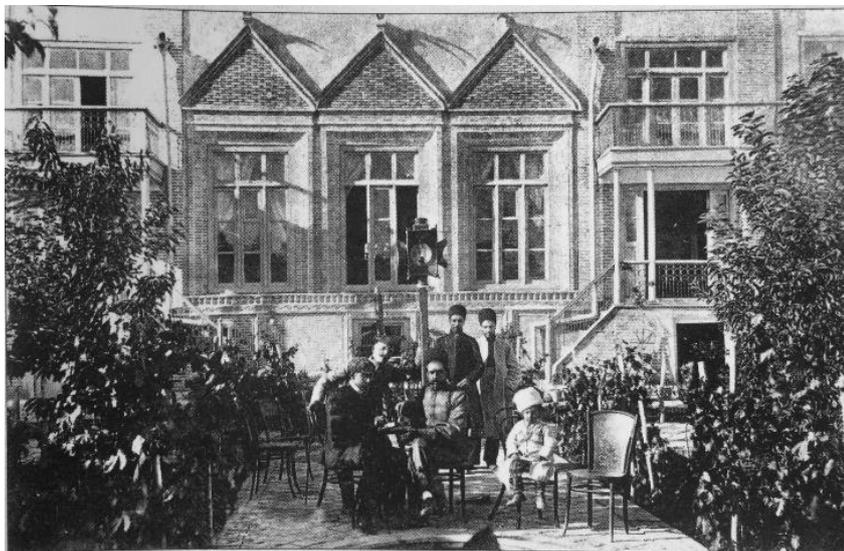


Figure 3.31 Courtyard garden of Sardar Khan (known as National commander), one of the leaders of Constitutional Revolution, Tabriz

Source: Pour Hossein, 2011, Historical sites and buildings of Tabriz



Figure 3.32 A private courtyard garden in the Qajar era. For the majority of women, their private gardens and the neighborhood atmosphere constitute the border of their participation in the urban life.

Source: <https://www.pinterest.ie/pin/835417799604672720/> (visited: September 8, 2020)

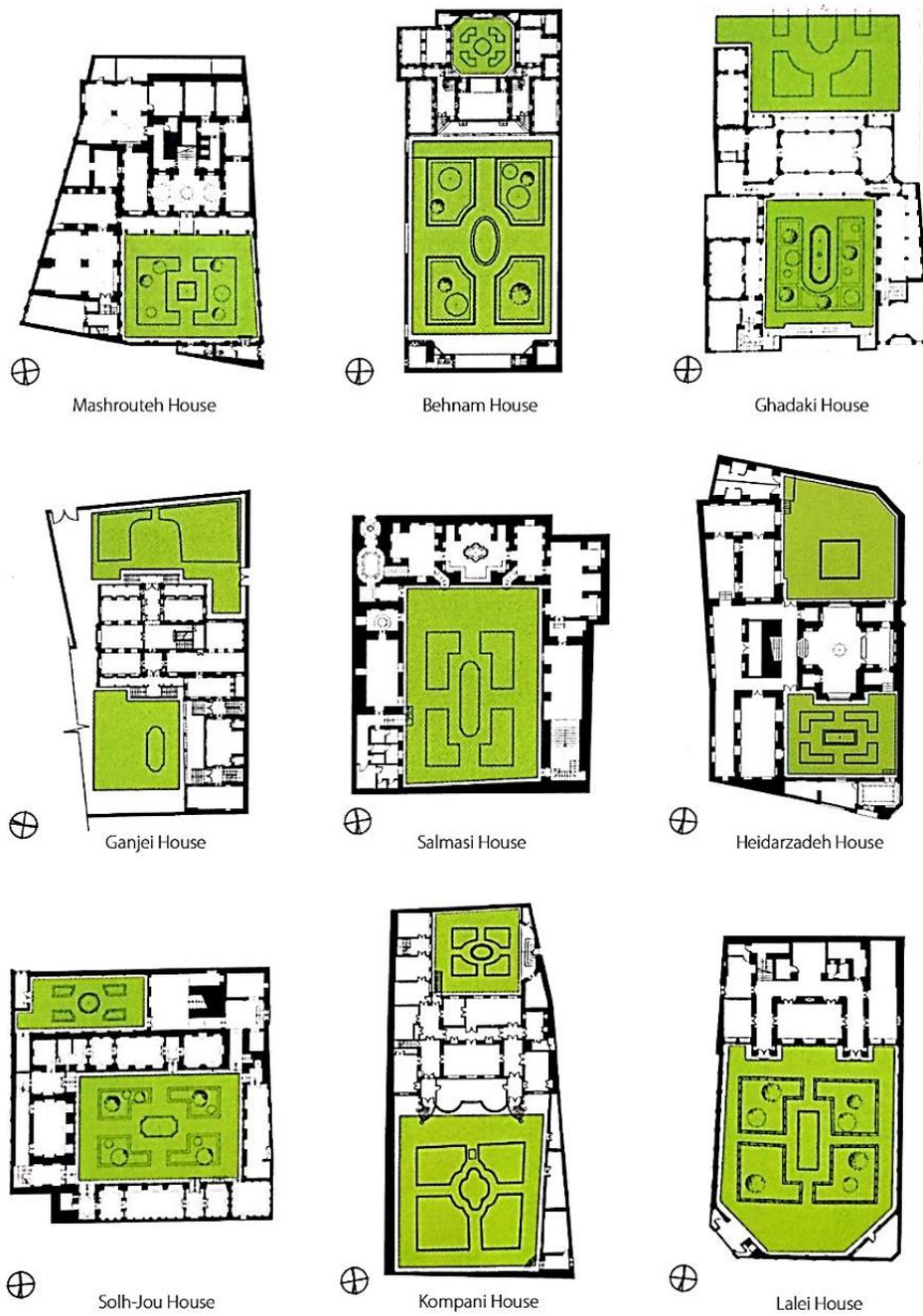


Figure 3.33 Examples of courtyards of houses in Tabriz built in the Qajar and early Pahlavi period whose designs were based on the traditional Persian gardens.

Source: Sangari Esmaili, Hossein, Omaranim Behrouz, 2014, The History and Architecture of Tabriz old Houses (Edited by the author)

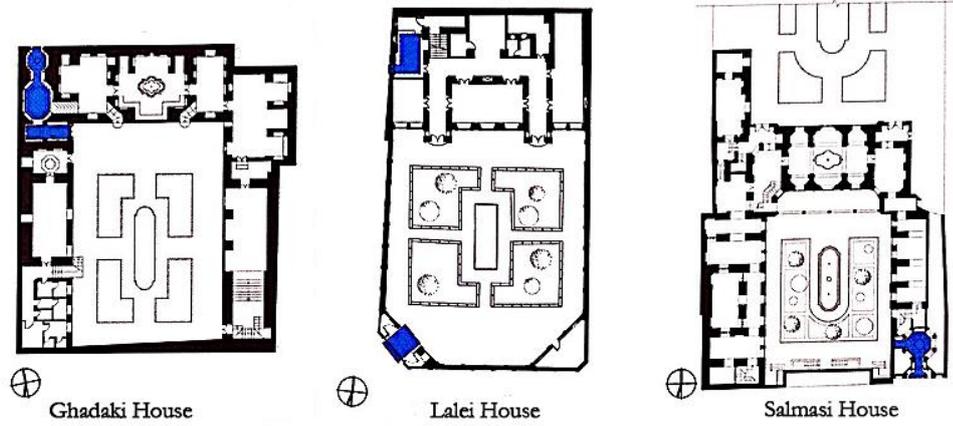


Figure 3.34 Examples of *Hashti* in spatial hierarchies of courtyard houses

Source: Sangari Esmaeili, Hossein, Omaranim Behrouz, 2014, *The History and Architecture of Tabriz old Houses* (Edited by the author)

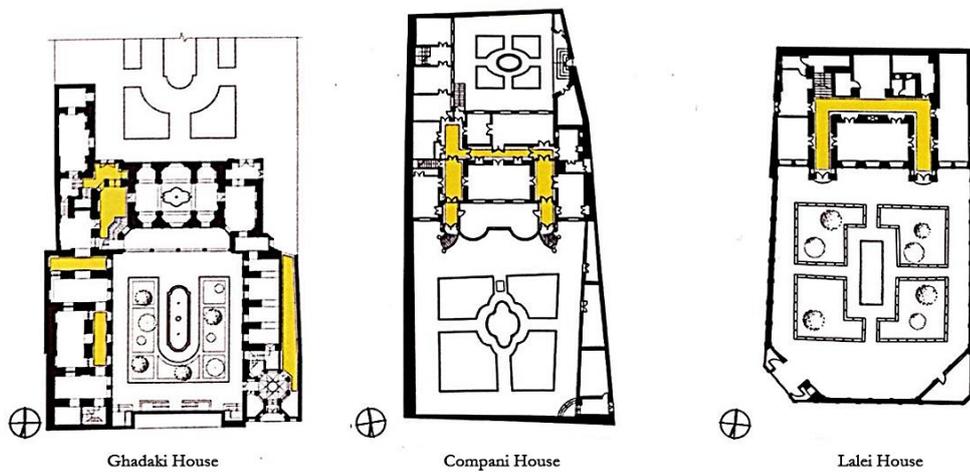


Figure 3.35 Examples of *Dalan* in spatial hierarchies of courtyard houses

Source: Sangari Esmaeili, Hossein, Omaranim Behrouz, 2014, *The History and Architecture of Tabriz old Houses* (Edited by the author)

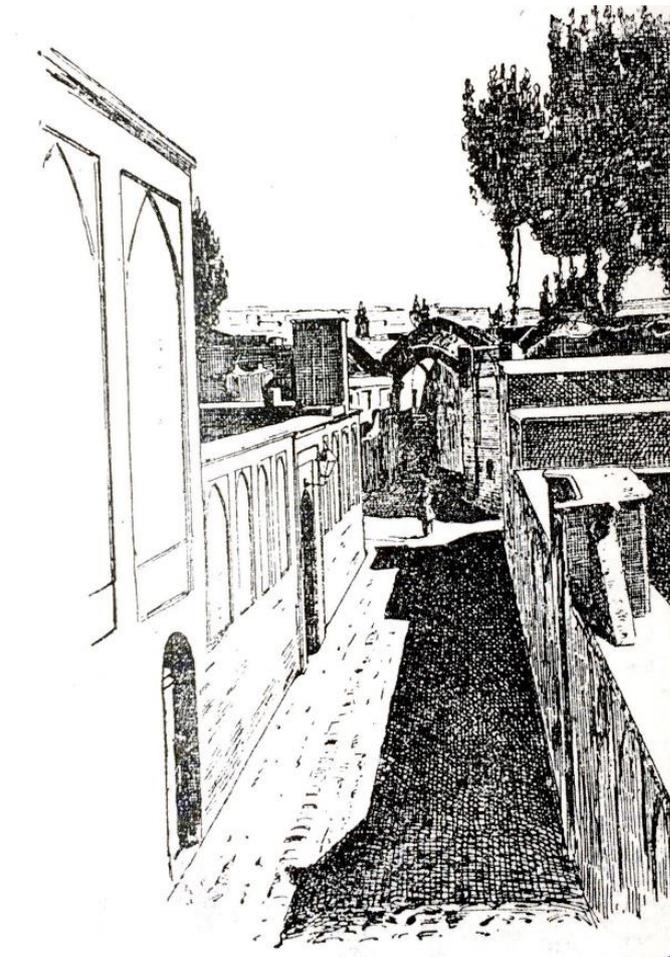


Figure 3.36 A sketch from pedestrian-accessible only, narrow alleys during the Qajar era, Tabriz, Iran

Source: Pour Hossein, 2011, Historical sites and buildings of Tabriz

## CHAPTER 4

### MODERNITY; TRANSFORMATION OF GREEN SPACES IN TABRIZ

#### 4.1. Reza Shah and Initiation of the New Era (1925)

Along with studying the role of traditional private green spaces (courtyard houses) in the spatial formation of Tabriz, an important consideration is the processes in which these spaces have been transformed. It can be said that the clashes between new modern movements and traditions are among the main motives behind these transformations. Tradition is a synonym of border and barrier for many Iranian intellectuals, and some of them define tradition as old thoughts and beliefs (Sattarzade, 2007). Therefore traditions, whether religious or custom, have significant effects on the socio-cultural aspects of society. Modernity in Iran was not just a political movement, but rather, it was the new conditions with new attitudes toward life and existence. In other words, modernity was the evolution of human beings' attitude toward himself and the new definition of its position in life (Ghobadian, 2003). Variability, compatibility, and adaptability were three essential features of culture which are always in interaction regarding tradition and modernity (Sattarzade, 2007). The society of Iran before modernity was based on the relationships amongst the relatives of extended families, thus had limited social bonds. In other words, due to the lack of public spaces and invisibility of women in the male-dominated public sphere, the majority of the gatherings and socialization took place in private spaces of courtyard gardens among family members and relatives. However, new ideologies in the form of new urban public spaces similar to European countries were imported to cities without paying attention to the history and traditions of the society. The first period of the Pahlavi era as a milestone in Iran's history was critical because of this reason. The most important reason for this transformation was the economic and

technological superiority of western countries, which encouraged the rulers in Iran to discard traditional values.

The constitution of modernity discourse in Iran was parallel with the new perspectives regarding the future, identifying new social meanings concerning the society and radical rejection of traditions, whether in an individual scale or a collective scale. Although Middle Eastern countries such as Iran and Turkey were among the few nations to survive the European colonialism, Reza Shah Pahlavi in Iran (1921) and Mustafa Kemal Ataturk in Turkey (1923) pursued the same ideals regarding the socio-economic and socio-spatial policies in order to westernize their countries. The same body of principles, such as secularization, westernization, and nationalization, guided the social policies to reach the leaders' goals, which was rising above the contemporary civilizations. However, while Turkey focused on the democratization of the state, in Iran, Reza Shah engaged in perpetuating despotism and establishing an autocratic militarized state.

Reza Shah wanted Iran to be independent and respected in the community of nations not by virtue of its empire but rather by its natural resources, economy, and new societies ( Elwell-Sutton, 1978). For these reasons, he expanded his views on nationalism and reformation of social life, which was the foundation for reconstruction and modernization of the country. In other words, "the realization of a *tabula rasa*, a utopian blank slate upon which a new Iran could be conceived again, was endemic to the strategies of Pahlavi modernization" (Grigor, 2014). Hence, all social and spatial transformation, as well as urban renewal projects occurring during the first period of the Pahlavi era, provided "the utopian *tabula rasa* to build a new future to match the ambitions of the rising bourgeoisie" (Grigor, 2014). The heart of the debate is that the movements toward a new lifestyle were not merely imposed by the state, but rather they embraced the imagination of intellectual elites and scholars of the time. The aspiration of middle class secular western educated elites, and the intellectuals who had a bureaucratic association with European countries were among the significant elements in replacing the traditional way of life. In other words, the actions of political

elites and intellectuals parallel to Reza Shah's consolidation of power had an outstanding role in introducing new nationalist and secularist ideas and modern lifestyle in Iran. In this regard, Mohammad Ali Foroughi (1877-1942), Ali Akbar Davar (1885-1937), and Abdol Hossein Teymurtash (1883-1933) were among the intellectuals who had an outstanding contribution in establishing modern judiciary systems, new dressing codes, and social modernization of Iran. Thus, it can be said that the process of modernization in Iran was a social movement toward a new lifestyle.

Due to several reasons like the hegemony of foreign powers, significant changes caused by the World War I, the downfall of the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East, and the unlimited power of religion in the society, Reza Shah's reign was one of the most complicated periods in Iran's history (Hodjat, 1995). Despite the fact that all policy-making processes aimed to save the country from underdevelopment, the adaptation of borrowed policies with social mores was a major problem (Hodjat, 1995).

#### **4.1.1. Manipulation of socio-cultural and religious values; a new role for women in the society**

A new era in Iran started with several interactions among tradition and modernity as well as democracy and autocracy, nationalism and Islamic religious beliefs. The public and private spaces of all cities like Tabriz were separated not only by visible spatial boundaries but also by invisible social and cultural boundaries (Amir-Ebrahimi, 2006). It is essential to mention the policies which contribute to the visibility of women in public spaces during the spatial and social modernization of cities.

During the Qajar era (1789-1921), the role of women was limited to the private spaces of households, and they were invisible in the male-dominated public sphere. In this regard, there are two different perspectives concerning the invisibility of women in public spaces before the modernization of the cities. The first view emphasizes the

social concerns and notes that, the religious atmosphere that dominated all aspects of daily life had been constraining the role of women in public spaces, and the presence of women in public spheres was not welcomed by a male-dominated society. The conventional spatial arrangement of society stood on the dominant patriarchal atmosphere, and the authority of the father over his wife and children was undeniable; therefore, this phenomenon had restricted the active physical and social participation of women in the society (Marefat, 1988). It can be said that the role of women in the conservative Islamic atmosphere of Iran was shaped by several boundaries that had been established by the community.

The second perspective emphasizes the spatial aspects and indicates the absence of some particular public spaces before modernity as the reason for the invisibility of women in public spaces (Arjmand, 2017). One of the main changes regarding public spheres during the Pahlavi dynasty was providing opportunities for women to participate in public spheres more than before. In other words, they were allowed to participate in education, Bazaar (economy), and newly built public spaces like parks (Cronin, 2003).

Women's experience of the new public spaces must be surveyed according to their everyday lives and experiences. Modernization of the cities not only changed the image of cities but also created a new atmosphere for new female roles in society. The rapid transition from the traditional atmosphere to the modern one caused anxiety in families in the early years of the first period of the Pahlavi dynasty. In this context, women who belonged to the private spaces of houses had much doubt in entering the public spaces with a male-dominated nature in the past.

The participation of women in the public realm can be surveyed from a social perspective as well. The imposition of western lifestyle over Iranian people occurred not only through political and structural transformations but also, through changing the visual appearance of men and women (Amir-Ebrahimi, 2006). In January 1936, alongside modernity movements and providing new conditions for women to

participate in public spaces, Reza Shah introduced new codes in dressing and prohibited the Islamic veil (*Kashfe hejab*) (Amir-Ebrahimi, 2006). In the traditional society of Iran, as previously mentioned, public and private spaces before modernity were completely separated from each other, and women did not participate in public spheres unless on necessary occasions with black Islamic veil and *chador*. Thus, radical changes of Reza Shah and his policy regarding unveiling at the first step was not acceptable for the dominant conservative atmosphere of Iran. In other words, the radical unveiling policy was an essential discourse during modernity, based on the desires for the establishment of western values in creating “gender-neutral public spaces” (Arjmand, 2017). As the sharp distinction between the public and private spaces got blurred, firstly, women from upper-class families were the first to enter the male-dominated areas in public space. Therefore it can be said that the rapid expansion of the public sphere, which included new streets, new urban green areas, and modern lifestyles in large cities like Tabriz, had a significant role in determining the new role of women in the conservative society of Iran. They started to keep out their traditional roles and participated in organizing a new society.

#### **4.1.2. Reflection of European Public Green Space in Iran**

The main attempt of the state during the modernization of cities like Tabriz was the westernization of not only the physical structures but also the social features of the city. Through the process of transition from private courtyards to public green spaces, the European values of public green spaces were introduced to the Iranian lifestyle. In order to display this process, an overview of European public green spaces should be investigated.

Along with the Renaissance in the 15<sup>th</sup> century in the West, people started to interpret nature as a prominent element in urban life (Ives, 2017). From this perspective, the establishment of a strong visual relationship between buildings as a human-made environment and natural environment resulted in the introduction of public parks and

progress in city landscape designs (Clark, 1973). The concept of the contemporary park was introduced to European societies in the 18<sup>th</sup> century by the arrival of romantic movements in England, which considered nature as a free and wild environment without a specific set of rules. Parallel with the industrial revolution, the rapid rise of population, diseases, and pollution, parks turned to the focal point for the people to escape from the crowded and polluted urban areas to the wild and healthy nature of green spaces (Jordan, 1994). Along the same line, during modern movements in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, parks were considered as representative space of nature, which could ameliorate the quality of life in the bustle of cities by providing recreational activities and excursions. Thus the necessity for the integration of these spaces inside the cities resulted in the proposition of creating parks, especially in the upper-class districts. Hereafter, social justice, and even distribution turned to controversial issues about accessibility to public green spaces in urban life in which not only upper-classes but also middle and lower-classes should have equal rights regarding the use of public green spaces. Parallel with the proliferation of constructions, the concept of greenways inside the cities was introduced by planting various trees in streets and squares. In other words, along with modernization and commencement of landscape designing, municipalities began to solve the aesthetical problems of industrialized cities. It is fair to say that, initially, the construction of public parks in Europe countries was an attempt to provide a hygienic and humanitarian urban amenity to satisfy people, especially the proletariats' "inextinguishable love of nature and fresh air" and also amelioration of social standards in larger scale in industrial cities (Clark, 1973). In the urban environment during the nineteenth-century, trees were installed throughout boulevards, parks, and newly constructed streets to provide better living conditions for the rapidly increasing population. From then, parks turned to a focal point for establishing outdoor activities of the bourgeoisie and working classes. In much the same line Monday through Saturday, parks were used by bourgeoisies, and on Sundays, as the weekend, parks were the recreation places for working classes (Ives, 2017).

The idea of modern western public parks in Iran sparked after the travels of Naser Al-Din Shah and royal families to European countries in 1873, 1878, and 1889. In these journeys, Shah was mesmerized by the public parks in the Western countries; therefore, he wrote about them in his diaries (Arjmand, 2017). He specifically mentioned London's 'Hyde Park', distinguishing its function from the Persian gardens. He noted that these parks were not merely used as green spaces, but they had the tranquilizing role for urban inhabitants (Arjmand, 2017). Like western countries in which urban public parks emerged with the industrialization and development of cities, aiming to ameliorate the quality of life, the appearance of parks in Iran in the 20<sup>th</sup> century was parallel with idealistic efforts to reform urban space and provide better living conditions (Sattarzade, 2007). Inevitably along with industrialization and long working hours, the need for recreation became more crucial. It should be noted that parallel to the industrialization of the cities like Tabriz and migration from rural areas to cities (emergence of new social classes), the concept of public parks became a vital phenomenon in urban life. In much the same way, modernized public green spaces for the recreation of citizens in public spaces started to emerge in the capital (Tehran) and then disseminated to other large cities like Tabriz.

From this point, new public parks became political agents meant to implement several socio-spatial policies of the state to homogenize the society and strengthen the national community (Gharipour, 2016). In this regard, increasing the number of public squares and expansion of urban parks turned to an apparatus to implement rapid secularization of the traditional society of Iran in which families were invited to participate in multi-gender public activities such as picnics, carnivals, shows and etc. provided by the state in parks. However, in the earlier times of the Pahlavi era, new constructed public spaces were despised by the majority of the middle and lower classes and the conservative families. Since they assumed private spaces of houses to be holy and sacred, they did not approve of their wives and daughters appearing in public spaces due to their religious beliefs. In this regard, new urban green spaces like parks gained symbolic meanings not only in the process of transformation of cities during

modernity but also in people's perception of the new lifestyle. In other words, westernization, which was alongside imposed secularization codes, displaced the domination of the male population in the public spaces and provided a situation for maximum engagement of the women in public space.



Figure 4.1 Oil painting, “Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe” Claude Monet, 1895, Forests and public parks turned to favorite places for families to spend their leisure times.  
Source: Ives, 2018, Public parks, Private gardens: Paris to province

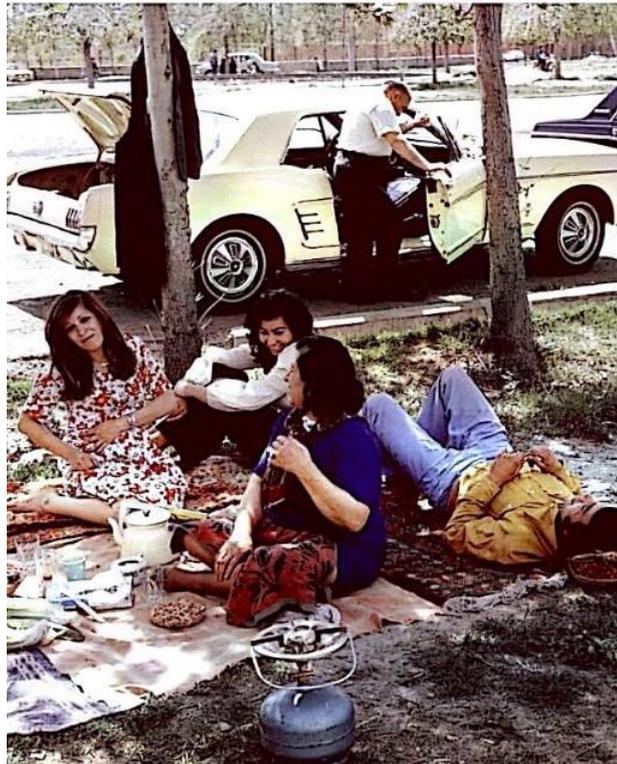


Figure 4.2 A photo from the Pahlavi era during modernity (around 1970s). Along with the expansion of street parks and the new role of women in urban life, green areas whether inside the city or in countryside turned to places to socialize and spending time on weekends  
Source: BBC News <https://bbc.in/31kL7PD> (visited: September 9, 2020)

#### **4.2. New Socio-Spatial Policies and Destruction of Old Gardens of Tabriz**

Radical changes during the first Pahlavi period were attempts to transform introverted Islamic cities to extroverted cities similar to the ones in the western world. In this regard, new boulevards, wider streets, and new public parks, which were the symbols of open spaces and extroverted metropolises, were presented. Reza Shah's first step was to introduce radical changes regarding the urban space (both general and detailed characteristics) of Tehran as the capital. In other words, Tehran was a role model for applying novel urban changes to the other large cities like Tabriz, Isfahan, and Mashhad.

Although removing ramparts of large cities like Tehran had started during Naser Al-Din Shah Qajar's reign in 1867, their elimination to modernize the large cities as Tabriz occurred during the Reza Shah's reign, which allowed the expansion of the cities in every direction. Moreover, alongside the transformation of the city, some of the important historical centers as well as old districts were destroyed. To justify this act, Parviz Rajabi, an Iranian historian, noted that:

“Straight, wide long roads had to replace the narrow, tortuous, short alleys in the large and larger cities, and extroverted governmental buildings were to rise instead of the crooked, unadorned walls of the street. .... and very soon this act transformed the introvert Iranian architecture into an extrovert one.” (Rajabi, 1977; Hodjat, 1995)

Following the Reza Shah's attempts to eliminate the Qajarid urban fabric of Tabriz and supersede it with a new modern city, Tabriz Municipality (Tabriz *Baladiye*), as the first urban institution which was established during the constitutional movement in 1907, gained a new role during modernity. In other words, it was the political leverage of Reza Shah's state in establishing new urban policies alongside the initiation and management of new urban projects as well as the inauguration of new public spaces like parks.

The socio-spatial policies of Tabriz municipality were based on the rapid spatial transformation of the old urban fabric of the city, furthermore, green spaces were the primary basis of the spatial transformation of the city. The investigation of socio-spatial policies of the state and their impact on green spaces are divided into two types of transformation. First, the destruction of large green heritages and royal gardens in the city, and second, in the small scale of neighborhoods, includes the removal of old districts and courtyard gardens along with the establishment of new boulevards and wide streets.

The first example of these spatial manipulations in the old urban fabric of Tabriz was the destruction of Bagh-Shomal garden. Parallel with the modernization of Tabriz, this garden began to lose its importance, and in 1930, 'Mohammad Ali Tarbiat'(1877-

1940), mayor of Tabriz, divided the land of the garden and started to sell them separately. Nonetheless, until 1942 the main pavilion in the middle of the garden had remained intact (Bani Massud, 2011). Parallel to the militarization of the city, Bagh-Shomal garden was transformed into a military camp during the first period of the Pahlavi dynasty. Furthermore, during the 1960s, residential areas as well as several sport complexes were constructed in the ruins of Bagh-Shomal gardens and next to the military camps (Rad Yousefnia, 2018). Despite the continuous destruction of Bagh-Shomal during the first Pahlavi dynasty, the historical geometry of the garden and the main axis were recognizable in aerial photos taken in 1965. Starting the Second Pahlavi dynasty was simultaneous with rapid constructions around this garden, which resulted in the evanescence of this historical garden. Besides Bagh-Shomal, many other private gardens like 'Bagh-e Saheb Divan', 'Bagh-e Peykariyye', and 'Bagh-e Heydarzadeh' were bought by Tabriz municipality and were given new functions such as a boulevard, Tabriz Prison, Tabriz University, and Broadcasting organizations after the World War II.

Besides the destruction of well-known gardens of the city like Bagh-Shomal, the expansion of streets and construction of wide boulevards destroyed the old division of *Mahalleh* (districts) and their private courtyard gardens accordingly. Neutralization of the old socio-structural and socio-political division of districts was the point of convergence during Reza Shah's reign. By eliminating the spatial hierarchies between districts, traditional houses that were accessible through narrow alleys were abruptly exposed to wide newly built boulevards and streets.



Figure 4.3. (Left) 'Bagh-Shomal' Garden during the Qajar era

Source: Bani Masoud, 2011, Tabriz Historic Gardens

Figure 4.4. The destruction of 'Bagh-Shomal' historical garden during the Pahlavi era and its complete adjunction to the urban fabric along with the construction of stadium, sport complexes and military camps.

Source: Aerial photo of Tabriz 1967, Iran National Cartographic Center Archive

Figure 4.5. (Right) The current situation of lost 'Bagh Shomal' Garden

Source: Google Earth Maps



Figure 4.6 Destruction of courtyard houses to construct Pahlavi Boulevard in Tabriz 1921-1926

Source: Pour Hosein, Ebrahim, 2011, Historical sites and building of Tabriz



Figure 4.7 Destruction of courtyard houses to construct new streets, Tabriz, 1923

Source: Pour Hosein, Ebrahim, 2011, Historical sites and buildings of Tabriz



Figure 4.8. Destruction of courtyard houses to construct Tarbiat Street, Tabriz, 1923

Source: Abrishami, Farshad, 2016, Collection of Historical Photos of Iran (Olden Azerbaijan)



Figure 4.9. Destruction of historical district to construct Monajjem Street, Tabriz, 1929

Source: Abrishami, Farshad, 2016, Collection of Historical Photos of Iran (Olden Azerbaijan)

#### **4.2.1. Haussmannization Policies and Emergence of New Public Green Spaces**

The arrival of modernity in Iran affected all elements of public life, including green spaces, in a manner that the new public green space began to connect different socio-spatial policies of the state to the physical structure of the cities. In order to westernize the Iranian cities, European urban planning concepts were employed by the state during Reza Shah's reign, one of which was Haussmannization urban development policies. Haussmannization first appeared in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century during the renovation of the old urban fabric of Paris by civic planner Baron Haussmann. His ideas and strategies regarding the new urban environment were not only applied in Paris during the 19<sup>th</sup> century but also expanded to Middle Eastern countries like Iran, Turkey, and Egypt (Bayat, 2010). It should be noted that the initiation of Haussmann renovation policies was indebted to Luis-Napoleon's (1808-1873) desire for glory and advancement in Paris. He demanded from Baron Haussmann to create a city with

empirical glory as well as improved hygiene and air quality (Rideout, 2016). Haussmann proposed the replacement of dark narrow streets with wide boulevards, roundabouts, and construction of many gardens and new public parks in the city center, aiming for the renovation of the city.

These urban features are named after Haussmann and many cities in the world became stages for Haussmannization policies. The representation of Reza shah's desired image of modern cities was initiated in Tehran as the first step of adapting these policies in Iran. Newly built boulevards and wide streets such as Valiasr Street (former Pahlavi Street) in Tehran were the manifestations of the ongoing transformation of the old urban fabric. In much the same line, alongside the desired modern cities, Haussmannization introduced a new cityscape in the historical core of Tabriz, which resulted in the construction of new spaces such as streets, boulevards, and parks in the city center of Tabriz. Construction of new wide streets for automobiles was one of the actions aiming at changing the traditional appearance of the city and giving it a modern look. Pahlavi Boulevard, which was constructed in 1921-1926, was the most important street in Tabriz. This boulevard was extended from the west to the east of Tabriz, and the majority of public places were constructed adjacent to this wide street, furthermore, it was the main route to Tehran.

Considering the essential elements of Haussmannian urban development policies that have been applied in the renovation of Tabriz, parallel to the construction of the Pahlavi Boulevard, two public parks were established in Tabriz. 'Golestan Park' (Bagh-e Golestan) in 1929, and 'Bagh-e Melli' which was constructed adjacent to 'Alishah Ark' in 1931, and the restaurants, cafes, and bars within them are among the significant urban projects of Tabriz Municipality aiming for a new public life.

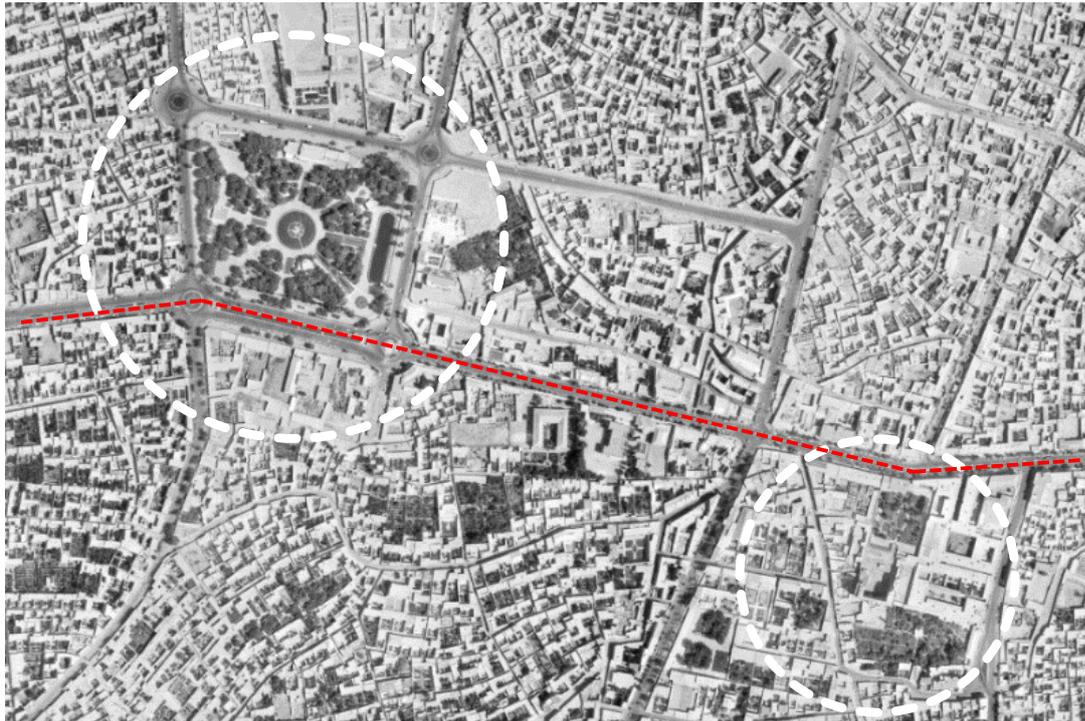


Figure 4.10 Aerial photo of Tabriz in 1956, the newly constructed Pahlavi Boulevard, Bagh-e Golestan and Bagh-e Melli as the first established public parks of Tabriz

Source: Iran National Cartographic Center

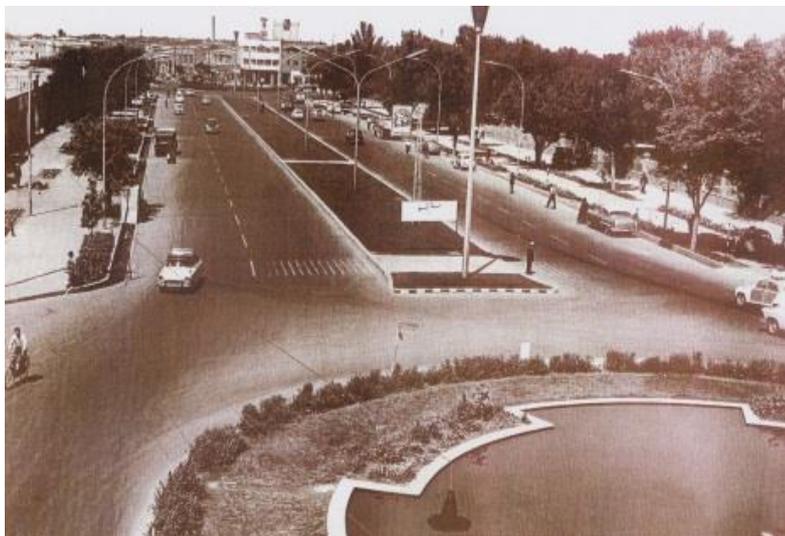


Figure 4.11 'Pahlavi Boulevard', 'Bagh Square', and Golestan Park (on the right side of photo)

Source: <https://bit.ly/34phqiq> (visited: September 9, 2020)

#### 4.2.2. Golestan Park (Bagh-e Golestan); the First Emblem of the “Modern Tabriz”

One of the significant attributions of urban planning that Mohammad Ali Tarbiat (1877-1940), as the mayor of Tabriz during the first Pahlavi dynasty granted, was the conversion of cemeteries into public green spaces (Sattarzade, 2007). Due to the division of districts (*mahalleh*), in the early twentieth century, every district had its own cemetery. These small plot burial grounds were located in the center of each district with poor conditions. Coincident with increasing population, there was a demand for the expansion of public areas, and consequently, there was a shortage of potential public spaces during modernity movements, therefore the transformation of these semi-private small plots started. Due to the lack of recreational areas, the municipality (Tabriz *Baladiyye*), as the newly established organization, employed different strategies to satisfy Reza Shah’s dreams of modernity. Parallel with the garden cemeteries in Europe (particularly Britain) and the United States in the mid-nineteenth century, and early twentieth-century, old cemeteries located in the central areas of Tabriz turned into public green areas. ‘Ghajil’ and ‘Ark’ cemeteries are good examples of the cemeteries whose usage was changed during modernity in Tabriz, and they were turned into public parks (Sattarzade, 2007).

Golestan Park (Bagh-e Golestan) was the first public park in Tabriz constructed along with changes in recreational attitudes and changes in the social structures of the city. This park, whose name was changed to ‘Fajr’<sup>22</sup> after the Islamic Revolution, is located in central Tabriz with the 5.5-hectare area allocated in 1929. Along with the construction of the Pahlavi Boulevard, the old cemetery, ‘Gajil’ (well-known in the region and even in the country because of many famous politicians and poets reposed there) transformed into a public green park during the modernity developments.

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<sup>22</sup> The names of iconic places and streets have changed after the Islamic Revolution. According to the revolutionary atmosphere of the time most of the newly selected names were freedom and independence. In the case of ‘Golestan’ Park, its name was changed to ‘Fajr’ Park, (one of the common words during the Islamic Revolution which means aurora)

After the construction of this park in 1929, the municipality of Tabriz published a report in 'Ettelaat' newspaper in 1932 with this content: "Tabriz Municipality congratulate citizens on the first public park of the city ... Many facilities in Bagh-e Golestan have been provided for dear citizens to spend their leisure time and weekends in this park" (Ettelaat Newspaper, No. 1124, 25 May 1932, Translated by the author)

For many citizens, in the earlier times, the concept of public parks and promenade in public spaces were confusing and against religious and cultural values. Because of this fact, in the early years of the establishment of this park, the major users of the park were the Armenians and Christians who were living in the districts near this park. They were the first users of Golestan Park, especially in the evenings. This park also included an amusement park, and many ceremonies and circuses were held there annually. In other words, not only its centralized location in the city but also its facilities attracted families and children to spend their free time in the park.

During the construction of this park, 'Tabriz Town Hall', the most famous hall in the city, with a distinctive architectural style, was erected on the north side of the park. During the occupation of Tabriz by the Russian military in the course of the Second World War in 1941, this hall turned to 'the Friendship House of Iran and Russia' (V.O.K.S), but after disembarkation of the offender Russian army, it once again became the town hall. Furthermore, after the Islamic Revolution in 1982, this hall turned into Tabriz National Library and in recent years, into the 'Art Forum' of Tabriz.

Parallel with the completion of the park in 1993, four squares were erected in the four corners of the park. Various new streets like '*Melale Mottahed*' (United Nations Street) connected this park to other parts of the city. In other words, through the Pahlavi Boulevard, this park was connected to the other side of Tabriz and the newly built streets adjoining the park provided accessibility for the people who were in neighboring districts. In addition, two large pools were constructed, one at the north corner and the other in the center of the park for different recreational usages. Unfortunately, in recent years due to the degradation of the city center and the

migration of affluent families from central areas to marginal areas of Tabriz, this park lost its historical significance. This process not only changed the user profiles of this historical park but also made this park no longer safe for families and children. This phenomenon about this park will be described in chapter 5 in detail.



Figure 4.12 Commencement of changing Gajil cemetery to Golestan Park, 1929,

Source: <https://bit.ly/2Y7Ddlf> (visited: September 7, 2020)

Figure 4.13 construction of Golestan Park's pool, 1330

Source: <https://bit.ly/2Y7Ddlf> (visited: September 7, 2020)



Figure 4.14 A view from Golestan Park, 1964. Monument of Mohammad Reza Shah in the middle of the park was the apparatus of the state to legitimize its power

Source: Abrishami, Farshad, 2016 Collection of Historical Photos of Iran (Olden Azerbaijan)



Figure 4.15 a view from the west side of the Golestan Park, 1966

Source: <https://bit.ly/2Y7DdIf> (visited: September 9, 2020)



Figure 4.16 Bagh-e Golestan during the first period of the Pahlavi era (around 1945), this park was among the first public spaces during the modernization of Tabriz where all family members, especially women could participate freely.

Source: <https://bit.ly/32dyNzX> (visited: September 9, 2020)



Figure 4.17 Golestan Park in the early years of its construction (1930s)

Source: <https://bit.ly/3aLcWE5> (visited: September 9, 2020)

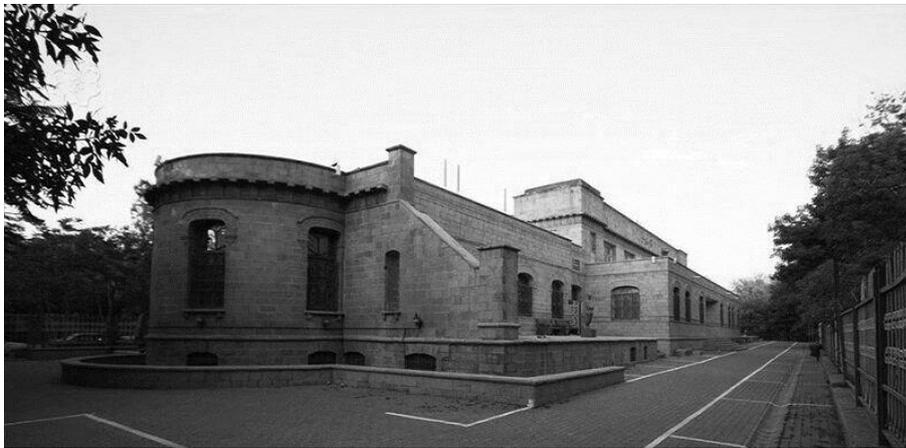


Figure 4.18 Tabriz Town Hall and former National Library, located in the Bagh-e Golestan

Source: Nasr News Agency, <https://bit.ly/2QeHmFl> (visited: September 9, 2020)

### **4.2.3. Bagh-e Melli (National Garden)**

Since the Pahlavi Boulevard was the main street located in the center of Tabriz, the main efforts of the municipality were focused on establishing several public parks in the central area, which was the most crowded axis of the city. One of the important parks established after the construction of Pahlavi Boulevard and along with the emergence of public parks was Bagh-e Melli, constructed in the southern part of 'Alishah Citadel' (Arg-e Alishah) in 1930. An important consideration is that during the several wars between Iran and Russia during the Qajar dynasty, this citadel and its surrounding areas were assigned to military headquarters and artillery depots (Ayorloo & Nemati Babaylou, 2013). However, during the Pahlavi dynasty and modernization of the city, the fortification structures belonging to the Qajar era were eliminated, and the southern part turned into a public park.

This park was located at the intersection of the Pahlavi Boulevard and Ferdowsi Street, and due to its vicinity to Tabriz Bazaar, many people favored this park, its restaurant, and bar. Besides the park with its cafes and restaurant, an opera house was established parallel to the constitution of new modern public spaces. After the Islamic Revolution and in recent times, in order to construct 'Mosalla', this park, together with its restaurant, café, and opera house were destroyed. This process will be surveyed in chapter 5.



Figure 4.19 Bagh-e Melli, and Alishah Citadel, 1935

Source: <https://bit.ly/2FGstta> (visited: September 2, 2020)



Figure 4.20 A view from the north side of the Bagh-e Melli during the first period of the Pahlavi era.

Source: <https://bit.ly/3j8Fnid> (visited: September 2, 2020)

#### 4.2.4. Shah Goli Park

Since the municipality of Tabriz aimed to provide public parks in all different parts of the city, the time between 1929-1931 was the cornerstone of establishing new public parks in the city. For instance, the function of ‘Shah Goli’ garden, which was one of the well-known private gardens of Tabriz mainly used by Qajar Princes, transformed into a Public Park. In the spring of 1931, during the age of modernity in Reza shah’s reign, Shah Goli’s central Hall was restored, and the municipality began to plant trees in different levels of land. This was parallel with the construction of the roads that connected Tabriz to this area, thus consequently, this park as one of the main parks of Tabriz opened to the public. For this aim and in order to facilitate access for families, the old narrow street connecting the city to this park was replaced by a wide Boulevard named “Daneshgah Boulevard” whose name changed to “29 Bahman Boulevard”<sup>23</sup> after the Islamic Revolution.

It can be mentioned that the main characteristic of this park was its modern landscape design with different kinds of trees, flowers, as well as new walkways. Since the park was far from the central parts of the city, in earlier times families went to this park only on weekends. However, due to the expansion of the Tabriz toward the East during the second period of the Pahlavi dynasty and after the Islamic Revolution, a new residential town emerged adjacent to this park, making it the most attractive park in the city.

Due to ill management, the central pavilion of the park was destroyed in 1967, but according to historical maps and images, Tabriz municipality with the cooperation of the well-known Iranian architect, Hooshang Seyhun, restored the building in 1971. During the Islamic Revolution, some of the protesters who were against the Pahlavis burned the central building of this garden to the ground, however, in 1988, the

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<sup>23</sup> 18 February 1978 (29 Bahman, 1356) refers to the day, people uprose against Pahlavi regime in Tabriz. After the Islamic Revolution the name of this boulevard changed to ‘29 Bahman’ to cherish the memory of the people who were killed by the Pahlavi regime in this day.

municipality rebuilt the establishment and enhanced the park's territory (Bani Massud, 2011).

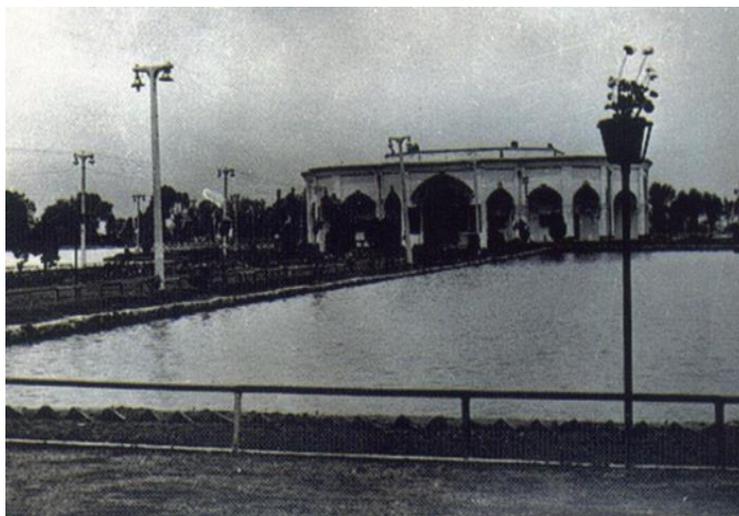


Figure 4.21 A view from Shah Goli Park during first period of the Pahlavi era. Alongside planting trees and flowers by the municipality, new lightings as the main element of public parks were established in the park

Source: Abrishami, 2016, Collection of Historical Photos of Iran (Olden Azerbaijan)

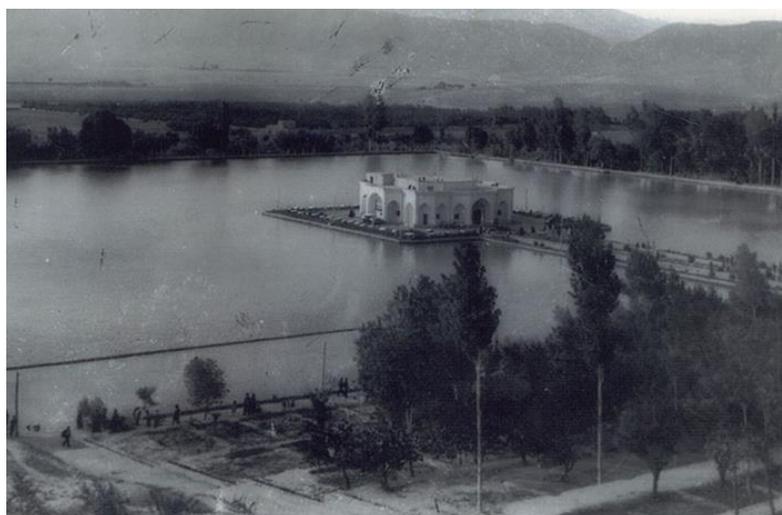


Figure 4.22 The landscape of Shah Goli Park during the Pahlavi dynasty.

Source: Pourhosein, Ebrahim, 2016, Azerbaijan old postcards



Figure 4.23 Aerial photo from Shah Goli Park and ‘Shad Abad’ Village in the early years of transforming this garden to Public Park (around 1970)

Source: <https://bit.ly/3gkKObR> (visited: September 2, 2020)

### **4.3. Second Period of Pahlavi Dynasty (1945-1979) and Pseudo-Modernization Movements in Tabriz**

The Second World War was a milestone in Iran’s history, given that Reza Shah was overthrown due to the political circumstances during the war, his son Mohammad Reza Shah came to power, and the second period of the Pahlavi dynasty started in 1945. The majority of policies established during Mohammad Reza Shah’s reign aimed to fulfill and follow his father’s ideologies. In other words, the transformation of social and cultural aspects, as well as the structural transformation of the cities, continued during this era. The rapid rise of the population in the cities from one side and the state’s new spatial policies from another side, transformed the traditional private green spaces of courtyards completely. Changing housing typologies, replacing courtyard houses with new apartment blocks, and introducing new types of environmental parks in the suburbs were the main spatial policies concerning green spaces during this era.

The commencement of the second period of the Pahlavi dynasty was parallel with the transition of the traditional socio-economic order of the country from agriculture to

petroleum (Amuzegar, 1992). Rapid industrialization and implementation of development plans, which had been approved during the first Pahlavi era, were fulfilled in the early years of the second period. Having access to the world market, the transition of the economy from agriculture to oil, and the growing dominance of the capital over all aspects of daily life during the 1960s resulted in accelerating industrialization, modernization, and urban development during the second period of the Pahlavi dynasty (Bayat, 2010).

The availability of cheap labor provided opportunities for the investment of foreign countries during the industrialization of the country. In Tabriz, the emergence of several modern factories such as machinery manufacturing, vehicle companies<sup>24</sup>, petrochemical factories<sup>25</sup>, Cement factory<sup>26</sup>, and leather manufacturing factories were the prominent examples regarding the industrialization in Tabriz during the second period of the Pahlavi dynasty. This fact even influenced the rural regions near Tabriz, enhancing the capitalistic relations resulted in a mass migration from rural areas to the city, and new working-classes began to settle in Tabriz. Similar to the outcomes of the 19<sup>th</sup> century industrial revolution in Europe, rapid immigration from rural areas to large industrialized cities like Tabriz resulted in heterogeneity in urban areas.

Through the investigation of the transformation of the social structure of the city, it should be noted that alongside the flow of population from rural areas to Tabriz, the conspicuous gap between new working-classes and upper-class bourgeoisie displayed itself in the urban space more than before. One of the effects of the emerged large gap between the immigrant working classes and upper-classes was the uneven distribution of public services like parks in the city. Immigration started alongside the lack of housing for the new working classes and dragging them away to slums and outskirts in the northern part of the city. Due to the limited sources of state to control the considerable dwelling demands, many new policies and actions were employed to

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<sup>24</sup> Tabriz machinery manufacturing factory(1967) and tractor manufacturing company (1968)

<sup>25</sup> Tabriz oil refinery complex( 1977)

<sup>26</sup> Sofian cement factory (1966)

compensate for the lack of residential units. The initiation of different ministries and organizations such as ‘Ministry of Housing and Urban Development’ (Vezerat-e Abadani Va Maskan) in 1964 and ‘National Council of City Planning’ in 1972 dealing with the ‘Housing Corporations’ during the second period of the Pahlavi dynasty played a significant role in employing policies regarding housing and new urban development plans.

Rapid urbanization and the complete industrialization of Iran’s large cities reached its peak in the 1963-1968 period. The new budget was allocated by the state in order to develop cities and create a more advanced and modern built environment alongside establishing new infrastructures and proposing new public services like parks (Soltani, 2011). Despite the many developments in infrastructures and housing projects, there were no remarkable master plans for upgrading public activities. However, in the course of the third development plan (1963-1968), which was coincided with the White Revolution of Shah and reforms (1963)<sup>27</sup>, several master plans were offered for five metropolitan cities, including Tehran, Mashhad, Isfahan, Tabriz, and Shiraz.

In order to prepare the Master Plan of Tabriz<sup>28</sup>, ‘The Planning and Budget Organization’ signed contracts with the consulting engineers ‘Moghtader-Andreef’, and ‘Michel Ecochard’<sup>29</sup> in 1966. In the first step, different phases of analysis concerning the status quo of the city were carried out until 1968. After the second phase of analysis about the expansion of the city and other dependent programs that proceeded for two years, the final approval of the master plan was granted to the ‘Ministry of Interior’ by the ‘National Council of City Planning’ in 1970 (Moghtader-

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<sup>27</sup> The white Revolution was a list of reforms, including land reforms in rural areas, countryside, and nationalization of forests and pasturelands proposed by Mohammad Reza Shah and approved in 1963 to prevent the ‘Red Revolution’. It took place in order to reduce the pressure and solve the problems of peasants in rural areas and people in large cities. Green spaces, whether in the countryside or inside the cities, were significant factors during the white Revolution. In large cities rapid rise of urban renewal projects were the most relevant results of the white Revolution. In this regard, new parks were constructed in Tehran and large cities like Tabriz. The mundane urban areas also started to look greener as the streets were planted with nice trees and small gardens (Ansari, 2003).

<sup>28</sup> Plan Directeur De Tabriz, 1970

<sup>29</sup> French architect and urban planner

Andreef, 1971). Designating new housing areas for the working-classes alongside economic growth and the industrialization of the city, protecting the existing farmlands and green spaces of the city, and the enhancement of public green spaces were the main topics of this master plan. In order to establish new residential towns, the Eastern parts of Tabriz, including Baghmishe and Shah-Goli regions, were proposed as the regions for construction. Since these regions had potential historical green spaces that contained vast fruit gardens, proposing new residential quarters was the first step in destroying the green space heritage in these areas. By way of illustration, although new policies were in the way of protecting and expanding green spaces, the proposed development of Tabriz toward the Eastern regions replaced their private green spaces with new residential quarters.

In addition, one important note mentioned in several chapters of the master plan was the lack of public green spaces. As a consequence, several cultural centers in the historical parts of Tabriz, as well as new public green spaces, were proposed in the master plan. For instance, one of the main proposed projects was improving and developing the public park, Bagh-e Melli, and establishing several cultural centers as well as the library in this park.

Table 4.1 rapid rise of the population of Tabriz during 1940-1976

Time period	Population of first period	Population of last period	The rate of population growth (person)	Percentage of annual growth rate
<b>1940-1956</b>	213542	289996	76454	1.93
<b>1956-1966</b>	289996	403413	113417	3.35
<b>1966-1976</b>	403413	597976	194563	4.00

Source: Statistical Center of Iran (Markaz-e Amare Iran)

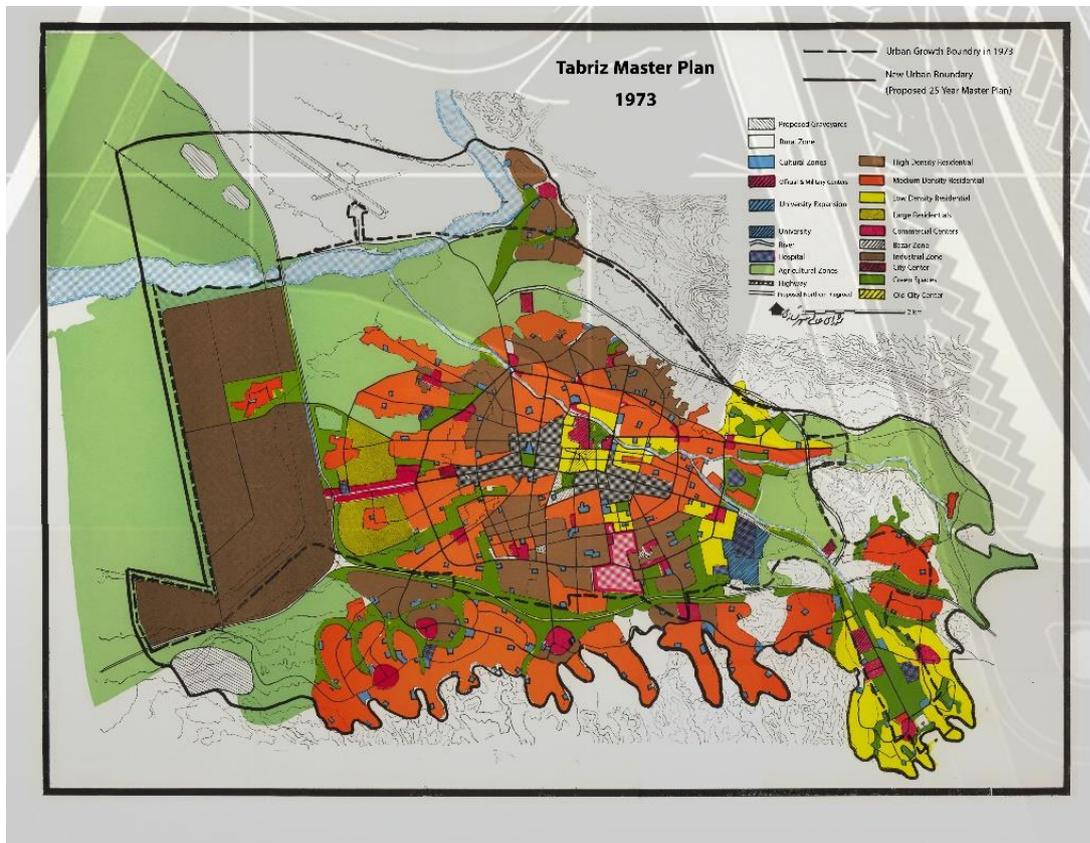


Figure 4.24 The Second phase of Tabriz Master Plan in 1973. Tabriz Master Plan was proposed in 1966 and approved in 1970. According to the proposed items in this Master plan, new residential quarters in the northeast (Baghmishe), southeast (Shah Goli), southwest (Lale and Hokm Abad) were constructed on the green regions of the city

Source: Tabriz Municipality Archive

### **4.3.1. New Housing Typologies as a Substitution for Courtyard Houses**

Along with radical changes during modernity in Iran, old divisions of public and private spaces no longer made any sense in the second period of the Pahlavi dynasty. During the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah and according to the new demands during modernity, new housing typologies came into fashion. One recurrent typology was the row houses (facing north/south) in the newly built grid-iron layout in residential districts which were wide enough for car access (Gharipour, 2019).

The appearance of new urban blocks detached from each other by the wide-gridded streets has eliminated the traditional religious and cultural communal centers of old districts (Khosravi, Djalali, & Marullo, 2017). It can be said that newly built neighborhoods in the grid-iron layout not only changed the relationship between residential buildings and urban environment but also transformed the significance of houses and their spatial hierarchies accordingly. Introverted courtyard houses with no openings to the streets were abruptly replaced by houses exposed to newly built wide streets with large openings like windows and balconies (Khosravi, Djalali, & Marullo, 2017). In order to clarify, being exposed to the streets was the starting point in designing facades of the residential buildings, with the design styles combining modern and traditional Iranian styles. It should be noted that in this new typology of housing, the yards (*Hayat*) were much smaller than traditional courtyards and were mostly used as auto-parks. Hence, yards lost their role as an important part of the traditional private life and socialization of people.

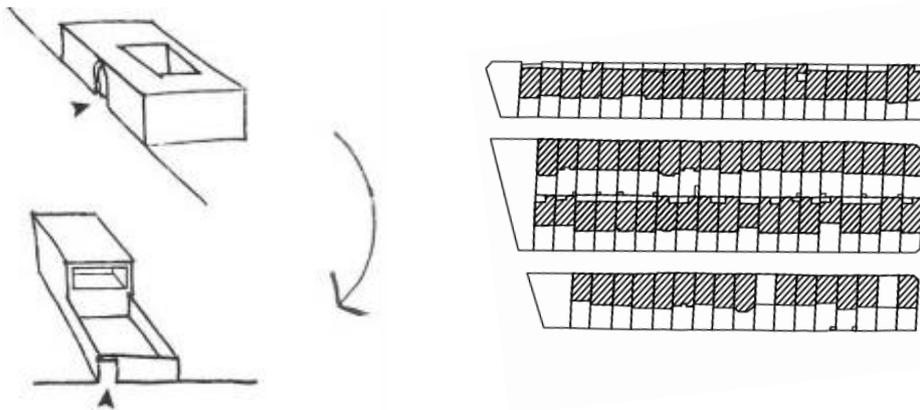


Figure 4.25 A diagram showing the transformation of traditional courtyard houses into the modern houses

Source: Haeri, Mohammad Reza, 2014, the role of Space in Iranian Architecture

Figure 4.26 Position of buildings and their yards in the newly constructed grid-iron layouts quarters (prepared by the author)

As mentioned previously, solving housing problems and establishing new infrastructures were the main concerns of the government during the second period of the Pahlavi era. In much the same line, another strategy of the government to solve the problems of unpredictable population growth was adding extra stories to the houses and allowing the vertical growth of the large cities, including Tabriz. During the third (1936-1968) and fourth (1968-1972) development plans, which mainly focused on the housing problems, and along with the proposing master plans for the cities, apartment ownership laws were approved in the parliament in 1965, and from then, multi-story apartments became the main residential units, especially for middle classes.

Besides, using western modern architectural codes to generate single-family housing units and promoting parklands were the prominent goals during the second period of the Pahlavi regime to extend the health and welfare in all districts of the cities (John-Alder, 2016). For this aim, new types of buildings such as apartment blocks, residential compounds, and council flats were constructed by “Construction Bank”. Construction of new residential quarters in Baghmishe, Valiasr, and Shah-Goli (El-

Goli) were the best examples of these policies proposed in the 1970's Master plan. Several residential compounds were constructed in the Shah-Goli region between 1965-1973 for the government's employees (employees of Ministry of oil and Tractor manufacturing factory) (Saidan, 1989), and later due to good weather conditions and being distant from the bustle of the central areas of Tabriz, these areas turned to favorable residential sites for affluent people. However, all the actions taking place to solve the housing shortage were not enough to establish a balance between individual rights, the need for more green spaces, and the communal living arrangements.



Figure 4.27 Grid-iron layout plan of the Valiasr residential town, 1969

Source: Ministry of Road and Urban Development archive



Figure 4.28 and Figure 4.29 new types of housing with large openings exposed to streets constructed during the second period of the Pahlavi dynasty, Valiasr, Tabriz

Source: <https://bit.ly/3hnMf10> (visited: September 9, 2020)



Figure 4.30 and Figure 4.31 New housing typologies with smaller yards, constructed during the second period of the Pahlavi dynasty

Source: <https://bit.ly/3hnMf10> (visited: September 9, 2020)



Figure 4.32 (Left): an example of high-rise residential apartment blocks for the state's employees in Shah Goli regions in 1971,

Photographed by the author

Figure 4.33 (Right): The location of apartment blocks in the green regions of Shah Goli

The Plan of Tabriz (1976)

Source: Tabriz Municipality Archive



Figure 4.34 A view from Shah Goli Park and newly constructed high-rise residential building in the background of the picture, Second Period of the Pahlavi dynasty

Source: Khansari, Yavari, Moghtader, 1998, *The Persian garden: Echoes of Paradise*



Figure 4.35 A view from Shah Goli Park and the expansion of residential quarters towards this region in recent years which caused the destruction of green spaces, 2019

Source: Photographed by Hadi Derakhshan (Hadi Parlaq)

#### **4.3.2. Modern discourses regarding urban green spaces**

Specific reform movements that started during the second period of the Pahlavi dynasty were the result of westernization thoughts that became an ideology for the government. The distribution of urban green spaces as the main public areas in modern times started to be polemical issues which had a close relationship with welfare economic policies. Therefore, new discourses like environmental justice entered urban life. In this regard, the new urban public green spaces concept as a public service was an indispensable part of the new decisions and planning under public authority. To attract public satisfaction, one of the significant slogans during the second Pahlavi era was the transformation of the role of municipalities from controlling apparatus to a service-oriented organization. In this regard, municipalities gained a new role to broaden the public life and public services like providing new green spaces.

Besides, during the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, cooperation with international agencies such as United Nations and the World Bank provided an opportunity for the state to work with western experts of landscape architecture and urban planning to define a new national identity through new designs for the cities and expanding public services such as public parks (Gharipour, 2016). Due to this fact, during the second period of the Pahlavi era, Iranian architecture and urban planning were directly influenced by the new various movements and schools in Europe like Bauhaus, International style, Haussmannian style, and other different western styles (Habibi, 2006). Following that, all policies of the state regarding green spaces and cultural programs during Mohammad Reza Shah's reign were based on two different strategies: The first strategy aimed to revitalize the traditional pre-Islamic culture and ancient Persian architectural archetypes. The second strategy was the severe penchant in shaping western culture in urban space (Habibi, 2006). Nevertheless, Persian styles, especially in the case of gardens and green areas, lost their popularity, significance, and importance; thus, there was a need to revitalize both Iranian architecture and design of the green spaces. To do so, famous architects of the time, Nader Ardalan, and Kamran Diba designed their projects upon traditional methods alongside modern thoughts (Soltani, 2011). In other words, they were aimed to create a connection between Iranian style and unfamiliar modern styles to fill the gap between tradition and modernity. Niyavaran Cultural Center (1970-1978) is the most critical example of the attempts of revitalizing Iranian style, which was designed by Kamran Diba in Tehran. Despite the libraries, galleries and auditorium, the main element of this complex was its garden, which its layout was based on traditional Persian gardens.

During the second period of the Pahlavi dynasty constructing modern cultural centers and modern public parks in Tabriz was not as remarkable as the ones in Tehran. In contrast with Tehran, there were fewer cultural projects proposed in the master plan of Tabriz in 1970. Nevertheless, one of the cultural centers constructed according to the proposed projects in the master plan was 'Maghbarat Ol-Shoara'<sup>30</sup>. The site of this

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<sup>30</sup> The Tomb of Poets

cultural center and park was selected from the ruins of the historical ‘Sorkhab’ cemetery, where more than four hundred poets and scholars were buried. During 1970-1971, in order to establish a cultural center and mausoleum in this location, an architectural competition was announced by ‘Etela’at’, ‘Keyhan’ Newspapers, and ‘Yaghma’ Magazine. Among many proposed designs, Gholamreza Foruzanmehr’s design was selected for ‘Maghbarat Ol-Shoara’. From then, the historical ‘Sorkhab’ cemetery turned into a public park, and the mausoleum and its architectural form are considered as one of the symbols of Tabriz.

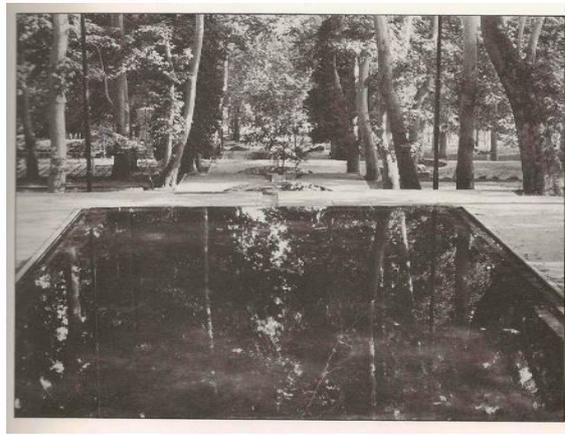


Figure 4.36 The Garden of Niavaran Cultural Center, 1978, its layout was based on the traditional Persian gardens,

Source: <https://bit.ly/2xQhgmU> (visited: September 9, 2020)

Figure 4.37 Niavaran cultural center, Tehran, 1978, designed by Kamran Diba using traditional courtyard scheme to fill the gap between tradition and modernity

Source: <https://bit.ly/2Y3rBpD> (visited: September 9, 2020)

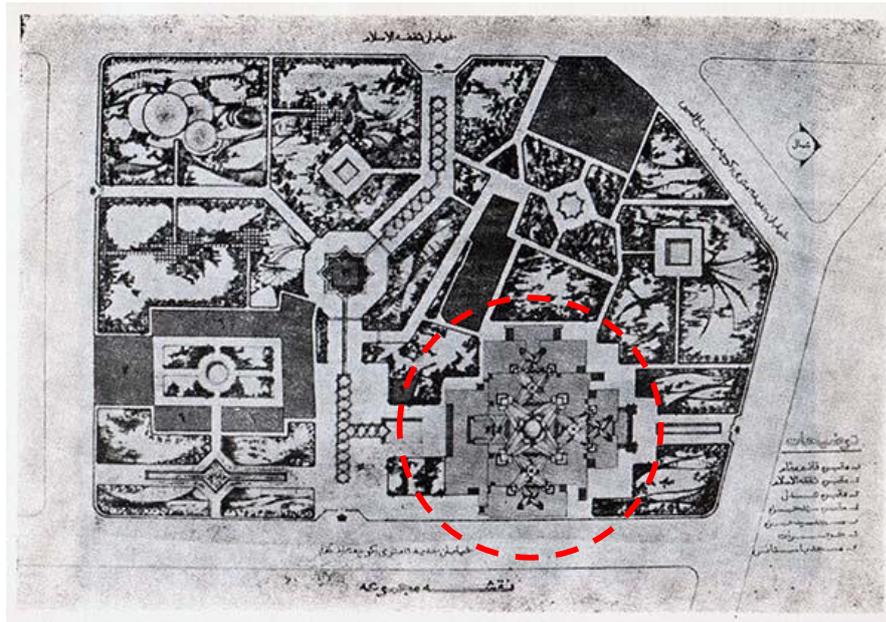


Figure 4.38 The plan of 'Maghbarat Ol-Shoara' and its location in the park  
 Source: Bultan News, <https://bit.ly/2YrPRBo> (visited: September 9, 2020)

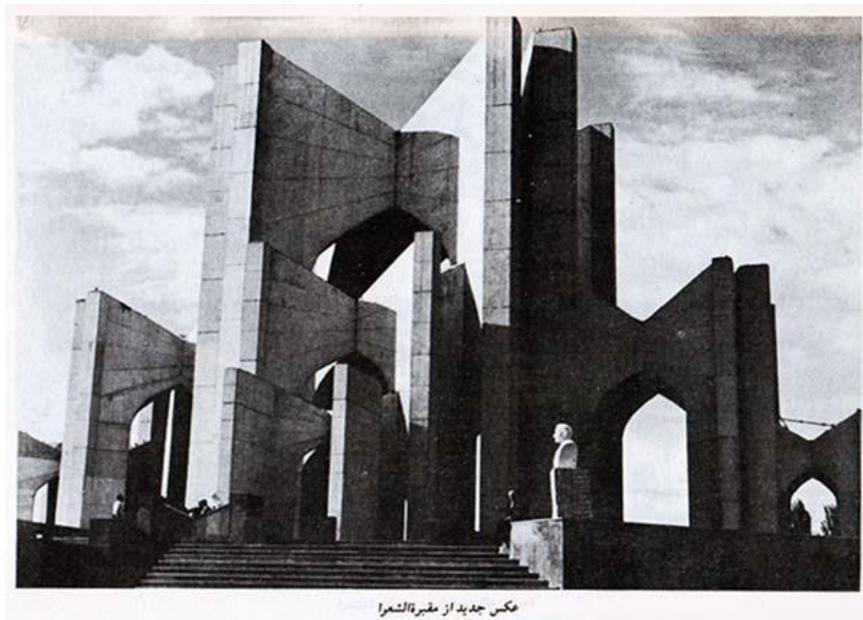


Figure 4.39 A view from 'Maghbarat Ol-Shoara' mausoleum during the Pahlavi era  
 Source: Bultan News, <https://bit.ly/2YrPRBo> (visited: September 9, 2020)



Figure 4.40 A view from 'Maghbarat Ol-Shoara'

Source: <https://bit.ly/2FEV6a6> (visited: September 9, 2020)

#### **4.3.2.1. Tehran's Pardisan Park; the Paradigm of New Suburban Environmental Park**

Increasing public parks, whether inside or outside of the cities, was a vital instrument in the enhancement of public activities, which concurred with Shah's White Revolution and the land reformation in the countryside areas. In the latter half of the Pahlavi dynasty, the idea that all citizens should have access to public green areas became popular, and their designs were mostly inspired by western attitudes (Sattarzade, 2007). In the same spirit, the existing urban centers were upgraded, and several new public parks were planned not only in the central part of the cities but also in the suburbs (Gharipour, 2019)

It can be argued that the construction of Pardisan National Park in the second period of the Pahlavi dynasty was a prominent example of the development of public green spaces in Iran and therefore, it initiated the creation of novel types of parks in Iran. This project was a desire promoted by Queen Farah to provide an oasis-like recreational area for new middle-classes (John-Alder, 2016). The name of this park derives from the word '*Pardis*' which in ancient Persian terminology means paradise. Pardisan environmental park was supposed to be the largest park in Tehran. Additionally, it was one of the critical projects supposed to simulate modern Iran and present universal themes of green spaces. This national park was the state's first attempt to encourage outdoor activities along with land preservation. Because of the rapid urban development and the rapid rise of population in large cities like Tehran, the initial idea behind the establishment of this park was to construct a recreational area outside of central parts of the city that contained a large population.

Alongside this movement, the "Department of Environment" (DOE) was established in 1971 by the efforts of Eskandar Firouz (the founder and director of DOE), who changed the Iranian attitude toward nature and the environment. He had a prominent role in preserving the landscape in a rapidly modernizing country (Gharipour, 2019). According to Firouz, the Shah of Iran (Mohammad Reza Pahlavi), in several meetings with the members of DOE, insisted on the creation of a new type of public green space with new concepts as well as new regional projects promoted by the United Nations Environmental programs (Firouz, 1975).

"Only One Earth" was the motto for the international conference on the human-environment relations held in 1975 in Stockholm (McHarg, 1975). This conference was the first step for the sake of flourishing new concepts regarding public green spaces and land preservation. During the conference, Eskandar Firouz presented a master plan for a new environmental park in suburban plains in the west of Tehran. On a similar note, Pardisan Park was the first institutional response to the Stockholm conference and the importance of the environment (Firouz, 1975). While the conference was held to call environmentally sustainable urbanization, Firouz

envisioned Iran as a leader in sustainable urban development policies among the Middle Eastern countries (John-Alder, 2016). The concept was the establishment of an environmental park inspired by traditional Eastern culture that represent Persian royal gardens with the essence of western modernity. As Firouz mentioned, “Pardisan is conceived as a uniquely Iranian institution, in the image of Persian garden” and it evolves through modern understandings and employing advanced techniques (Firouz, 1975). Therefore, in response to people’s interest in socialization and group activities, many facilities were embedded for picnicking in this park, which was almost 300 hectares (Firouz, 1975).

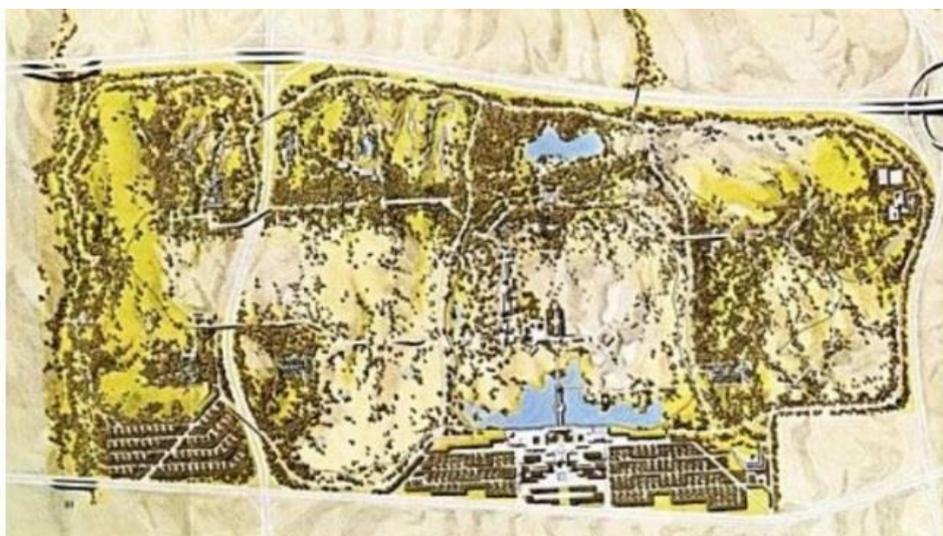


Figure 4.41 Proposed master plan for Pardisan Park by WMRT<sup>31</sup>, 1975.  
Source: Ian L.McHarg, 1975, Pardisan report

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<sup>31</sup> Architectural firm , 1965, Wallace, McHarg, Roberts and Todd



Figure 4.42 Outdoor activities and picnic in Pardisan Park

Source: Ian L.McHarg, 1975, Pardisan report

Furthermore, the main goal was to design a distinctive public green space that reflects the relationship between human and nature. By way of illustration, Gharipour states:

“Equally important, the park would present its narrative of ‘Man and Nature’ as the ultimate synthesis of Eastern cultural tradition and Western technological acumen. To honor this conceptual unification, Firouz named the park Pardisan- an amalgamated concept of paradise derived from the cognate of the Greek *Paradeisos* and Arabic term for many.” (Gharipour, 2019)

Pardisan Park’s envisioned plan had a prominent role in the green space history of modern Iran. Despite providing traditional social values and being divinely ordained for relaxation; simultaneously, it was a technologically sophisticated choice for Iran’s future (John-Alder, 2016). In much the same line, this park was not only a pioneer in creating new integration of ecological matters in modernized Iran but also, at an international level, as a showcase, provided an opportunity to introduce Iran’s rich cultural history, its landscape and progressive vision of the Imperial government (John-Alder, 2016).

The first steps for Pardisan Park started in 1972 when WMRT negotiated with the Iranian government about designing a fundamentally ecological environmental park in the northwest of Tehran, engaging the process of development of the city and its nature (Gharipour, 2019). The commencement of the project was indebted to the scientific studies of Eskandar Firouz about the construction of an environmental park containing zoos and conservation places for endangered species. Furthermore, unique institutions would organize new botanic gardens representing western elements in public green spaces. Along with the establishment of the zoo and botanic gardens, cultural tourism areas, restaurants serving local food, and shops selling crafts were agents of representing traditional bazaar and traditional Iranian lifestyle (Gharipour, 2019). In 1977 WMRT signed a contract with the Department of Environment to start the schematic design of Pardisan Park, but unfortunately, due to the unstable condition of the Pahlavi monarchy, political conflicts, and protests in the capital, the project was suspended. After the Islamic Revolution, the new government did not continue the project according to Firouz's scheme and started the reforestation of the site, a small museum, and the wildlife park are the only remnants of the original plan proposed by WMRT (Gharipour, 2019).



Figure 4.43 WMRT proposed the establishment of several shops representing traditional art and crafts in the Iranian bazaar

Source: Ian L.McHarg, Pardisan report 1975

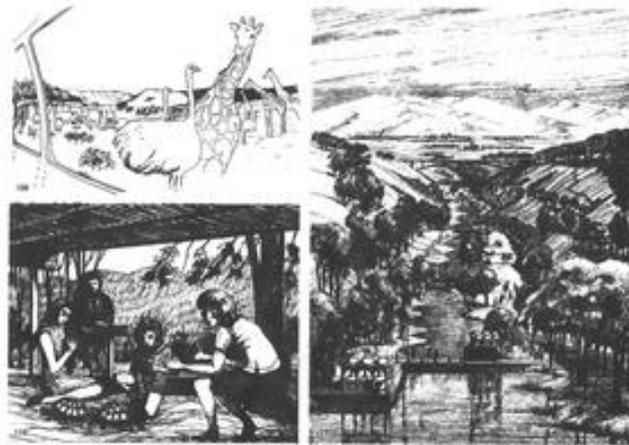


Figure 4.44 Botanic gardens, several exhibitions, zoo for the endangered animals and major recreational areas were significant features of Pardisan Park.

Source: Ian L.McHarg, Pardisan report 1975

#### **4.3.2.2. Tabriz's Eynali Environmental Park; as a Successor of Tehran's Pardisan Park**

Alongside creating new public green spaces and new recreation areas outside the central regions of large cities, after Tehran and Pardisan project, several national parks were proposed for Tabriz. In this regard, some spots were detected for the establishment of the multi-functional national parks and the Onebn-e Ali mountain regions was one of the prominent example of it. Onebn-e Ali (Eynali) is a mountain range (1800m elevation) located in the north of Tabriz and is famous among people because of some specific tombs which are believed to belong to two clergies. Some suggested that these tombs were temples or remnants of an old church that was turned into tombs and a mosque. According to Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, the famous French traveler who visited Tabriz in 1636, the tombs date back to the Ilkhanate dynasty. Before the establishment of the environmental park in this area, Eynali was used for the purpose of pilgrimage realized only by the climbers who wanted to bear the hardships of climbing.

During the second period of the Pahlavi dynasty and according to the proposed master plan for Tabriz, a new highway would connect the Eynali area to other parts of Tabriz. Parallel with other projects regarding new environmental public parks in overpopulated cities, in 1976, the Forestry Organization of Azerbaijan province proposed a national park plan for the Eynali area and sent it to the 'Department of Environment' (DOE) and 'Agriculture Ministry'. As the first environmental park in Tabriz, the project of 'Eynali National Park' was approved in 1977. Unfortunately, after the Islamic Revolution and during the Iran and Iraq War (1980-1988), this project was forgotten, but the afforestation of these areas started in 1994 since when the process of afforestation reached its peak, about 500 hectares by Tabriz municipalities (Tabriz Municipality, 2013). An important point to be kept in mind is that, similar to the Pardisan National Park in Tehran, different functions such as wildlife protecting park for endangered animals and various cultural centers were added to Tabriz Eynali Park. In much the same line, a large pool and sports facilities were added to the park in recent years; moreover, the establishment of chairlift provided better conditions for people who could not mountaineer.

However, there are several reasons which make this environmental park unpopular in earlier years of its establishment in the 2000s. Due to its remoteness and lack of public transportation to the area, families prefer other parks for their daily workouts and social activities; consequently, nowadays, this park is crowded only on the weekends and holidays

To conclude this part, in the last years of the Pahlavi regime besides Eynali environmental park, which was an important proposed project regarding the modern urban environment, there were other proposed projects such as 'Tabriz National Cultural Center', 'Tabriz green belt' and environmental parks like 'Tabriz Grand National Park'. In addition, developing agricultural-tourism in the countryside regions of 'Hokm Abad' and 'Garamalek', which had been proposed during the second period of the Pahlavi dynasty in Tabriz, were suspended because of the Islamic Revolution. Due to the unstable political and social atmosphere of the country in the early years of

the Islamic Revolution, most of the projects regarding green spaces were neglected. In addition, the Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988) destroyed the infrastructures of the country, having an adverse effect on the government's projects. However, the analyses regarding some of the proposed projects like 'Tabriz Grand National Park' were conducted in recent times, but unfortunately, due to the municipality's limited budget, the construction pace of the project is very slow.



Figure 4.45 A view from the historical Tomb in Eynali during the Qajar era  
Source: <https://bit.ly/2FN2YXi> (visited: September 9, 2020)

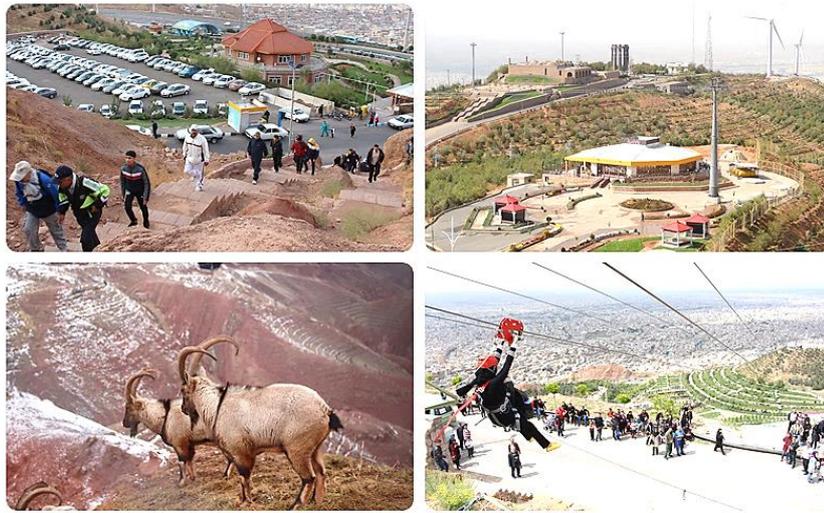


Figure 4.46 Tabriz Eynali Environmental Park, different facilities as well as wildlife protecting regions were established by the municipality after the Islamic Revolution  
 Source: <https://bit.ly/3hmU2Wr> (visited: September 9, 2020)



Figure 4.47 A view of Tabriz Eynali Park on the weekends and national holidays.  
 Source: Photographed by Hadi Derakhshan (Hadi Parlaq)

## CHAPTER 5

### ISLAMIC REVOLUTION AND RE-DEFINING THE USE OF GREEN SPACES

#### 5.1. Anti-westernization Ideology and Its Impact on Public Green Spaces

On February 11<sup>th</sup>, 1979, after years of protesting, the triumph of the Islamic Revolution was announced from the radio, and from then a new era began in Iran's history by shifting power from an autocratic secular regime to an Islamic state by the leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini. Although people from different classes participated in the protests, lower-classes, and working classes who were frustrated by the policies of the Pahlavi regime, constituted the main body of the protesters. As mentioned in the previous chapter, by ignoring the working-classes during the second period of the Pahlavi dynasty and enlarging the gap between poor and rich, especially regarding public amenities and housing, dissatisfaction and frustration grew among the working class. On the other hand, the leaders of the revolution promised to obliterate this gap and eliminate the polarization that emerged in the former regime. In this regard, the most critical slogans during the protests against the Pahlavi regime were about getting rid of class differentiation via Islam's laws, and the emancipating lower-classes from the clutches of upper-classes (Abrahamian, 2008).

After the Islamic Revolution, the politicians intended to liberate Iran from foreign control and the cultural dominance of the west during modernism. It can be said that, both before and after the revolution, there were endless internal and external tensions regarding the modern movement in the urban environment. Political leaders of the revolution and *Shia* thinkers believed that with Islamic laws regarding social justice, mass participation in the economy, and respecting the rights of minorities, which were all the ultimate goals of *Shia* society, they could solve all political, social and economic contradictions in the society (Keddie, 2003).

One of the most famous slogans of the Islamic Revolution was “Neither Eastern nor Western, just Islamic Republic” and in much the same way, the 1979 revolution was an attempt to establish a new governing model based on Islamic identity and the rejection of western values (Hodjat, 1995). Along with opposition to the previous state’s legacy of modernity, there was a severe penchant among Islamic intellectuals to revitalize the Islamic values and lifestyle. Thus, public spaces and activities during the Pahlavi dynasty were not welcomed by the new state. In other words, the policies established in the first years of the revolution were the starting point of rupturing the path of modernization and transformation of the society and the structure of the cities. In that spirit, public spaces, which were the fundamental apparatuses of the Pahlavi regime to establish a modern society underwent critical revisions by the new state.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, public parks were among the main public physical elements for Shahs to increase their popularity and legitimize their power over public spheres. Furthermore, they were the primary symbols of secularization and westernization of the cities. They were among the first places where women (with or without veil) participated freely in different mixed-gender activities like shows and carnivals. Because of this fact, in the earlier years of the Islamic Revolution, there were many doubts among revolutionists regarding the likelihood of this kind of public space in the Islamic atmosphere of the city. Modifying spatial layouts of the public spaces in the Post-Revolutionary era started with the destruction and elimination of the legacies and monuments of the previous regime such as figures and statues of Shah in parks and public spaces. Following that, due to ideas of purgation of society from the *taghuti*<sup>32</sup> and western emblems, the opera house, library, café, bar, and restaurant were closed. Besides, under the pretext of constructing ‘Mosalla’<sup>33</sup> Bagh-e Melli and a part of the historical site of ‘Alishah Ark’ were demolished. This process was one of the examples of the transformation of public life and public spaces after the Islamic Revolution in which the usage of the public park turned to ‘Mosalla’. In the earlier

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<sup>32</sup> The word ‘*taghut*’ is Islamic terminology which in modern time refer to tyrannical and despotic government

<sup>33</sup> Prayer hall, refers to a place for Friday prayers

years of the revolution, religious leaders of Tabriz, especially Ayatollah Malakouti, representative of Ayatollah Khomeini in Tabriz, were looking for a large area in the center of the city to establish a 'Mosalla' for Friday prayers.

According to the religious leaders, this park (Bagh-e Melli) was the center for parvenus and monarchists who were mesmerized by western lifestyle and cultural values, and for this reason, any signs of western activities disapproved by traditional religious values must be wiped out (Kheyri & Sadrai, 2002). This ideology did not end along with the destruction of Bagh-e Melli but rather, in 1979, the major parts of Shah-Goli Park, which was one of the first modern public parks in the history of Tabriz, were burned down, and several parts of its central pavilion were demolished by the people who were against the Pahlavi regime and western values (Bani Massud, 2011).



Figure 5.1. A view from Bagh-e Melli and Alishah citadel during the Pahlavi era  
Source: Kheyri, Sirous, 2002, Ark-e-Ali Shah Tabriz; An Unforgettable Monument.



Figure 5.2 Bagh-e Melli in the Post-Revolutionary era, after its destruction in order to construct Mosalla, this area turned to place for garbage disposal in the early years of the Islamic Revolution.

Source: Kheyri, Sirous, 2002, Ark-e-Ali Shah Tabriz; An Unforgettable Monument.

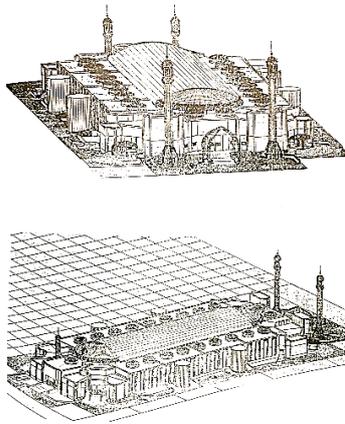


Figure 5.3 (Left) the design layout of Mosalla,

Source: Kheyri, Sirous, 2002, Ark-e-Ali Shah Tabriz; An Unforgettable Monument.

Figure 5.4 (Right) the aerial photo of the new constructed Mosalla near Alishah Citadel

Source: <https://bit.ly/34li68y> (visited: September 9, 2020)

### 5.1.1. Introducing New Public Life

After the Islamic Revolution, the authority to rule over the public spaces like parks passed on to religious ideologists, religious people, and clergies known as the *Ruhaniyyun*, who opposed the so-called boundless freedom of public activities during the Pahlavi era. Along the same line, due to the religious and cultural beliefs of the majority of Iranians of the time, there were no objections against the new religious ideology. However, an important consideration is that this process was not established overnight, but rather, it took years for the new government to set up new rules regarding public spaces. In brief, in the early years of the Islamic Revolution, the urban activities diminished, and public space like parks started to lose their importance, which gradually affected people's lives and their roles in society adversely.

The new government of Iran turned to a completely theocratic state in which religion was in the core of administration and social life (Soltani, 2011). In much the same line, new social laws and obligations made public spaces more chaotic in the first years of the Islamic Revolution. The transformation of ideologies after the Islamic Revolution destroyed the basis of public spheres and altered socialization methods among people, especially the younger generations (Bayat, 2010).

It could be argued that the new state abolished the majority of public activities of the previous regime and started to (re)define and (re)construct the public spheres (Keddie, 2003). Accordingly, shifting power in society paved the way for fundamental changes not only in urban space and urban fabric but also, in different activities in public parks. Ayatollah Khomeini, in his speech on March 29, 1979, announced that wearing the veil (Hijab) is a religious obligation, and from that time, using veil became compulsory for female employees, later it became mandatory for all women in public spaces. Despite the protests against the mandatory dressing codes in large cities, especially in the capital, and the anxiety and disagreement among some of the leaders of the revolution, this act was approved by the 'Islamic parliament of Iran' in 1984. From then, the segregation of genders started in public spaces such as parks, public

transportations, and schools. The policies regarding the separation of men and women continued to the point that any mixed-gender celebrations, ceremonies, and even private parties like weddings were considered illegal, against Islamic laws, and were received as sinful socialization (Arjmand, 2017). Hereafter, public spheres, and public activities were under the control of the different organizations and moral police to protect society from the activities against the laws of Islam. Parks and promenades were the first public spaces to be controlled by the moral police, thus unveiled women were dismissed, and the mixed-gender gatherings in parks were all limited.

Although there were many religious ceremonies during the Pahlavi dynasty, after the Islamic Revolution, religious gatherings like *Hey'at*<sup>34</sup> and *Jalase*<sup>35</sup> (for women) gained a major role in the socialization of the younger generation (Adelkhah, 2000). That being the case, houses turned to public spaces for religious ceremonies in the neighborhoods. In other words, the new public realm was established in the private realm of houses (Soltani, 2011).

Particularly from the 1979 Revolution to 1988, public green spaces were utterly ignored, thus lost their significance and identity. A possible explanation for this matter could be the political struggles after the revolution and the Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988) during which, mosques turned to the main public space to socialize, especially for the younger generation. In other words, unlike past times when mosques were used for the purpose of praying, now they transformed into gathering places, enthusiastic public spaces for youths, and revolutionists (Hodjat, 1995).

### **5.1.2. Post-Revolutionary Codes Regarding Public Space**

Meaning of the visibility of women in the Iran context differs greatly from its meaning in the western countries, where the presence and visibility of women evoke the sense of security in urban spaces, however, in Iran, especially after the Islamic Revolution

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<sup>34</sup> Religious gathering organization with the goal of promoting *Shia* values.

<sup>35</sup> Religious ceremonies for women mostly held in private houses

visibility of the women has been equal to insecurity and their subjection to strangers' judgments (Amir-Ebrahimi, 2006). The Post-Revolutionary thoughts and ideas regarding participation in public spaces were based on the normative laws of *Sharia*, which expected the segregation of genders and the separate socialization of men and women (Arjmand, 2017). Thus, alongside the fulfillment of these ideas, the 'Gender-Segregation Laws'<sup>36</sup> were initiated since 1980 and implanted in public spaces to normalize the separation of genders (Arjmand, 2017).

The model and symbol of government and society after the Islamic Revolution was based on religious figures like Hazrat-e Fatemeh (daughter of Prophet Hazrat-e Mohammad), who was one of the prominent characters of *Shia* culture and the symbol of chastity and *hijab* (veil). In much the same line, this holy woman and her veil turned to a role model for many Iranian youth and women. The government's famous slogan was: "veiling is not limitation, it is protection for women". According to the state leaders, *hijab* provides security in public spheres for women, but from another light, encouraging women to wear the black veil (Chador) was the state's attempt to create an Islamic homogenized public sphere. Wearing the veil became a prerequisite for the participation of women in public space legalized by the state. On the other hand, the impact of *Urf*<sup>37</sup>(or *Orf*) imposed by religious and conservative people was an unwritten law which constrained the role of women in public spaces and drew gender lines in parks (Arjmand, 2017). By examining another outcome of this religious perspective, it can be said that restricting public activities for women was the policy of the state to push women into private spaces of the household, similar to the time before modernity when women's roles in society were limited to housekeeping and child care (Arjmand, 2017). By way of illustration, many religious leaders were continuously warning the community about the negative impacts of mixed-gender activities in public spaces, like parks, on Islamic and cultural values. They believed

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<sup>36</sup> "*Siyasat-haye Tafkik-E Jensiyyati*"

<sup>37</sup> religious tradition, custom

that along with the increasing participation of women in public activities, their traditional role in the private sphere of households was being neglected.

### **5.1.3. Women-Only Parks**

Women in Iran have always faced challenges in society not only due to religious traditions but also because of political/ideological changes affecting society's structure. The process of transition from a traditional society to a modern one during the Pahlavi dynasty and after that Islamic Revolution were the milestones in the position of women in the society. The roles of women in society and their participation in public activities have always been affected by different ideologies of the governments.

An important consideration is that the gender-based division of space comes from the specific social processes, not the biological one (Franck & Paxson, 1989). Following that, the concept of women-only parks in Iran emanated from the transformed social values after the revolution. The idea of these parks was introduced by the 'Deputy of Woman and Family Affairs' in the mid-1990s; although this proposal was neglected for 15 years, the establishment of women-only parks turned to one of the polemical issues in Iran later in 2003. The primary aim of these parks sprang from the state's policy to segregate men and women. Walls and gates and other proponents of these parks provide the security and the safety women need for outdoor activities and socialization in accordance with Islamic values (Arjmand, 2017). In much the same line, the names chosen for these parks sprang from the Islamic codes favoring the segregation of men and women, for instance, 'Behesht-e Madaran' (mothers' heaven).

The women-only parks have been proposed in the fourteenth paragraphs of 'Cultural Affairs Documents' which imparted to municipalities and city councils in every city in Iran. This was like a proposal to support women's rights in society, but this action from another perspective was the first step in imposing new ideologies of the new government to separate the public spaces of men and women. As previously

mentioned, the gender segregation policies in public spaces were the means for the government to diminish the encounter of men and women, and for this aim, the concept of women-only parks, as an institution, was an alternative to segregate genders in public spaces (Arjmand, 2017). According to the rules, the presence of men and boys, unless under five, in these parks is prohibited. Apart from maintaining their initial usage as green areas, these type of parks provided other activities for women; for instance, they made it possible for women to participate in educational classes of psychology, mental health, cooking and etc. The first women-only park in Tabriz, Ana Park (Mother's Park), was established in 2005 and alongside that other four parks (Rezvan, Bahar, Afsaran, Baghmishe) were constructed in different parts of the city.



Figure 5.5 'Bahar' Women-only Park, Complete segregation of the park by walls and gates. The entrance of men is prohibited as written on the blue board on the wall: "Entrance of men is strictly forbidden", Tabriz

Source: Tabriz Fourth Municipal Region <https://bit.ly/31iK8Qf> (visited: September 9, 2020)



Figure 5.6 'Ana' Women-only Park, Tabriz

Source: Tabriz Second Municipal Region <https://bit.ly/3l6yUGf> (visited: September 9, 2020)

## 5.2. Spatial Development of Tabriz and its Effects on Green Spaces

Besides social and political upheavals after the Islamic Revolution, it is also necessary to study the transformation of private and public green spaces in relation to the socio-economic factors effecting the urban development in Tabriz. In other words, it is necessary to survey the ideological and social factors which introduced new concepts such as women-only parks, and spatial expansion of the city outward (sprawl), which had considerable effects on the green spaces.

The geographical and topographical position of Tabriz (situated between the mountains in the north and the south) and its natural barriers, brought about the development of the city towards the northwest and southeast throughout the history. Along the same line, the southeastern side of Tabriz, due to its fresh air and better water resources, provided desirable living conditions; hence these areas rapidly began to be urbanized after the Islamic Revolution. However, the western part of the city, due to different industrial zones and factories, did not develop and urbanize as much as the eastern part. Since the development of the eastern regions, these areas became the favorite areas of the new upper-classes. Thus, it can be said that the urban sprawl

of Tabriz was the main cause of the segregation of poor and rich and the polarization of society. Newly built quarters with grid-iron layouts and high rise buildings in suburbia were occupied by upper-classes while the central and western parts, which were the historical core of Tabriz, turned to cheap places with low quality and high density for migrants and non-natives. Through the surveying urban sprawl which affected the central parts, suburbs, and countryside Madanipour states;

“Urban sprawl has put pressure on both urban centers and their peripheries. While urbanization in much of the developing world is still ongoing, suburbanization in the developed world is a primary feature, both tends leading to rapid and fragmented expansion of the city into the surrounding areas. In the outward growth of cities, city centers and their public spaces have lost much of their significance, even though the urban showcases are still in the center, where the pressure of competition for space is still prevalent.” (Madanipour, 2010)

The process of development in Tabriz was parallel with establishing new transportation networks, and this fact speeded up the urban sprawl in which 60 percent of the expansion of the city was based on scattered unorganized development (sprawl) (Rahimi & Breuste, 2020). It is evident that urban sprawl in Tabriz, which was the result of the rapid rise of population and different development policies, both in the Pahlavi era and in the Islamic Republic period, has had many adverse environmental effects like the destruction of private gardens and farmlands inside the city. After the Islamic Revolution, due to the rapid rise of the population in the city and the Iran-Iraq war, the master plans were ignored, resulting in the unorganized and heterogeneous development of the city, which had considerable effects on the green space and farmlands. In other words, this war destroyed urban infrastructures and diminished economic revenues, on the other hand, the rapid expansion of cities without any master plans in these eras reduced the living standards of citizens (Arjmand, 2017).

Through the investigation of the urban sprawl of Tabriz, it should be noted that the emergence of new complex networks of developers has changed not only the construction policies but also urban form. The legalization of slum areas on the

northern and southern portion of Tabriz encouraged more migration from rural areas to the city. Increasing migration from rural areas to Tabriz even after the fall of the Pahlavi regime not only changed the urban structure during the time but also, resulted in the emergence of the new low-class residential quarters (*hashiye neshin*<sup>38</sup>) in the periphery of Tabriz (north, northwest, and southwest).

As mentioned previously, the destruction of green spaces and farmlands of peripheral regions started from the rapid expansion of the city during the late second period of the Pahlavi dynasty. However, after the Islamic Revolution, due to rapid migration from rural areas to Tabriz and in order to provide housing for lower-classes (*Mostaz'afin*), which was of utmost importance for the revolutionists, the majority of green spaces and farmlands such as 'Lale', 'Hokmabad', and 'Gramalek' in the west and northwest suburban regions of Tabriz were replaced by residential quarters. In other words, the expansion of the city resulted in the deterioration of vast green spaces in peripheries of the city and the creation of fragmented and isolated green spots (Rahimi & Breuste, 2020).

Table 5.1 Expansion of the area of Tabriz along with the rise of population after Islamic Revolution

Year	1985		1990		2000		2010	
	Population	City area (Hectare)	Population	City area (Hectare)	Population	City area (Hectare)	Population	City area (Hectare)
<b>Tabriz</b>	881626	5787.6	1064399	6492.4	1269892	10937.8	1494998	15326.7

Source: Mahmoudzadeh, Hasan, 2014, Ecological assessment and analysis of spatial development of Tabriz metropolis

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<sup>38</sup> (one) who lives in outskirts

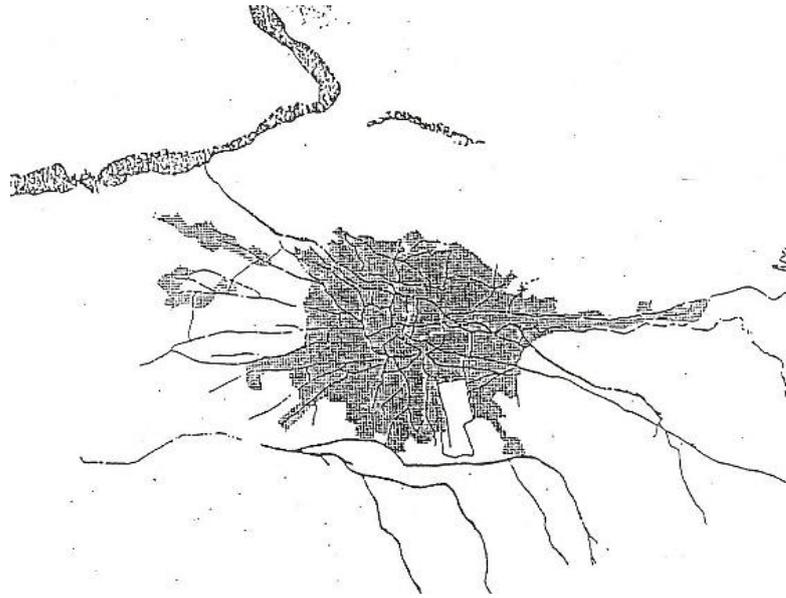


Figure 5.7 Tabriz Dar Al-Saltane during the Qajar era

Source: Tabriz Master plan of 1995, 'Arse' Consulting engineering



Figure 5.8 The historical development of the city until 1971

Source: Tabriz Master plan of 1995, 'Arse' Consulting engineering



Figure 5.9 The recent development of Tabriz toward the west and the east in which most of the green spaces were engulfed in the expansion of the city (urban sprawl)

Source: Tabriz Master plan of 1995, 'Arse' Consulting engineering

The evaluation of urban development plans demonstrates that the built-up area of the city, which was 4541.46 in 1989, increased to 9401.68 in 2005; in other words, the built-up areas in the city increased by 107 percent (Rahimi, 2013). In this period, due to the expansion of the city towards the east and northwest of the city, a large portion of green spaces (about 100 hectares), containing fruit gardens and farmlands, were destroyed. For instance, during the construction and expansion of residential quarters in the northeast such as 'Baghmishe', 'Roshdiyye' and 'El-Goli' in the southeast, the green spaces within them, which were belonged to national lands, were destroyed and replaced by residential sites. It should be noted that these expansions were against the proposed development in the Master plans of the city and were imposed by the city administrations and local governments.

The other major factor of the destroying green spaces is the "Article Five Commission" of the municipality (AFC)<sup>39</sup>, which provided a legal transformation of

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<sup>39</sup> approved in 1980

green space usage. In fact, with this article, people and municipalities are allowed to change the usage of gardens and green areas to other functions. Annually the usage of more than 70 hectares of the green spaces in the city changes to other functions according to this law (Rahimi & Breuste, 2020). In other words, this law provided a legitimate framework for municipalities to destroy the existing green spaces for more profitable usages. The results of analyses revealed that during 30 years –from 1975 until 2007, 67% of green areas of Tabriz have been destroyed in order to have profitable usages (Rahimi & Breuste, 2020). Furthermore, between 2000 and 2010, 165 hectares of urban green spaces and 1100 hectares of farmlands turned into residential, commercial, sportive, and educational usage (Teymouri, 2016).

In recent times this policy and its commissions constituted a large part of the municipality's income. In other words, due to some financial problems, municipalities in different areas of Tabriz are changing the usage of public green spaces, and after segregating the land, they sell some parts of it to compensate their fiscal problems. By way of illustration, the "AFC" is not only profitable for the municipality through the destruction of the majority of existing green spaces of the city, but also, the municipality receives financial profits by changing the proposed green space usage, to further clarify this issue:

"In the proposed land use map, which is conceptualized by the urban planning consulting engineer, new parks and other public green spaces are proposed in areas that lack green spaces. Most of the proposed green spaces in detailed maps are private property and municipalities receive part of the proceeds to change green land use to profitable land use, especially to residential and commercial land use. As a result of this approach, existing green spaces are destroyed and some parts of the proposed green spaces in urban development plans are changed to other land uses." (Rahimi & Breuste, 2020)

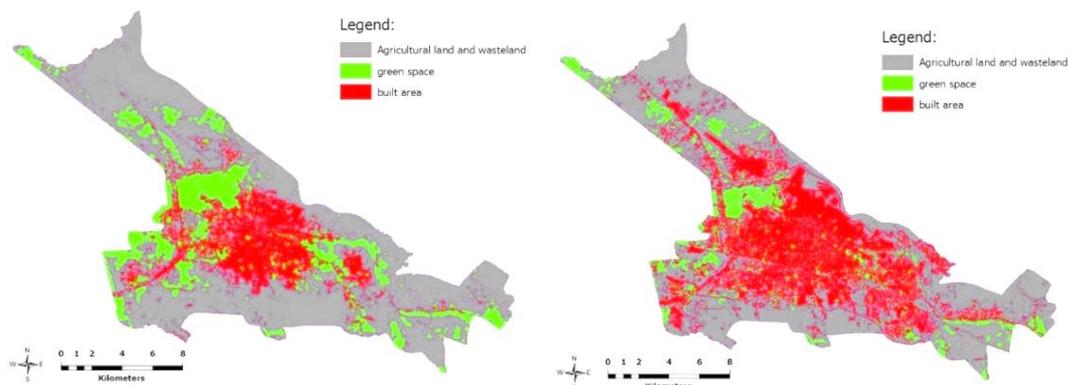


Figure 5.10 and Figure 5.11 Destruction of the green regions and gardens in Tabriz due to the rapid urban sprawl of the city from 1989 (Left) to 2005 (right), Edited by the author

Source: Rahimi, Akbar, 2013, Analysis of the physical development of Tabriz and the destruction of agricultural lands and green space

Table 5.2. Changing of green spaces to other usages by the 'AFC' between 2001 and 2011

Primary Land use	Changed usage to	Area (Square Meter)	Total Percentage
Green spaces and farmlands	Transportation (streets, roads)	28540	1.7
Green spaces and farmlands	Residential	846539	51.2
Green spaces and farmlands	Commercial	46702	2.8
Green spaces and farmlands	Installations	64055	3.9
Green spaces and farmlands	Sport areas	54340	3.3
Green spaces and farmlands	Educational	34780	2.1
Green spaces and farmlands	Healthcare function	540825	32.7
Green spaces and farmlands	Administrative	38765	2.3
Total		1654546	100

Source: Rahimi, Akbar, 2013, Analysis of the physical development of Tabriz and the destruction of agricultural lands and green space



Figure 5.12 An example of destruction of farmlands of Barenj village and Baghmishe gardens and changing their usage into commercial usage like “Lale Park” shopping mall in 2003

Source: Google Earth Maps and <https://bit.ly/2YqtTOX> (visited: September 9, 2020)



Figure 5.13 Aerial photos of the gardens in the ‘Golkar’ district, showing the gradual destruction of gardens and construction of residential and commercial buildings in the course of fifty years (1967-2018)  
Source: Iran National Cartographic Center, Google Earth Maps

### **5.2.1. Segregation of the Poor and the Rich and Uneven Distribution of Green Areas in Tabriz**

As mentioned in the previous part, the spatial development of the city had not only an adverse effect on green spaces but also enlarged the gap between different classes. The traditional urban fabric of Iranian cities, as previously mentioned, was based on the Islamic *mahalleh* system in which there was no segregation of poor and rich (Bayat, 2010). In other words, this kind of organization of urban space allowed people from different classes to live in the same quarters without any class struggles. However, along with the dominance of the capital, the rapid transformation of urban fabric during the Pahlavi dynasty and also the continuation of this pattern after the Islamic Revolution, the gap between classes became more noticeable. The old ethno-religious division of quarters superseded through the adaption of the zoning pattern which was based on class segregation and polarization in the society (Bayat, 2010).

The rapid rise of population and increasing demand for housing from one side, and deficiency in supply and increasing land prices especially in newly built towns from another side, institutionalized the segregation between both poor and rich and their respective urban zones. The segregation of different classes continued not only in economic polarization, but also in cultural and social values. In particular, the distinctive class differences in all parts of the city resulted in the creation of new words like *bala shahr* (upscale neighborhoods) and *payin shahr* (downscale neighborhoods). The high density of population in the lower-class quarters and lack of a clear policy in the establishment of public green spaces in those areas, in the long-term, resulted in the lack of accessibility to public green areas for their residents and challenged the fair development of facilities and social justice. Segregation of people in the society, the emergence of new consumption patterns, and imitation of western lifestyles appeared in newly built uptown quarters, which caused the intensification of polarized society with an uneven distribution of services. All these segregations between different classes and districts brought about problems regarding public services, like accessibility to public parks and green areas. Newly built districts were constructed

according to the national standards of green spaces (7-12 square meters per capita), but families from downtown were obliged to commute from central parts and marginal areas to reach parks in the upscale neighborhoods.

Alongside the rapid rise of the population of the city and the increasing need for more public green spaces 'Organization of Urban Parks and Green Spaces' of Tabriz was established in 1970, which concentrated on the maintenance, distribution, and promotion of quality of public green spaces in the city. All the projects regarding the development of public green spaces of the city had taken place under the supervision of this governmental organization. However, after the Islamic Revolution, due to the policies regarding decentralization and transition of governmental activities to private sectors, duties of this organization were delegated to private contractors. It can be said that this was the first step in land speculations and uneven distribution of public green spaces in which the regions with lower-classes inhabitants were excluded, and in contrast, several parks were established in the high-status neighborhoods.

During the investigation of Tabriz Master Plan in 1995 and due to planning and zoning policies, the city was divided into nine municipal regions under the control of a central municipality and one new region as the 10<sup>th</sup> municipal region was added in recent years. Each municipal region is subdivided into several small-scale areas called *Nahiye*, and each area is divided into districts called *Mahalleh*. Based on the information regarding the population of different districts, each municipality is responsible for the distribution of public amenities like parks for its residents. However, in recent years due to spatial policies and decentralization of the city, the distribution of public services like parks is not compatible with the population density of each region.

In recent years the sprawl of Tabriz, which emanates from several political, social, and economic transformations, resulting in a heterogeneous division of urban fabric into three main zones. The first zone is the historical city center of Tabriz. This zone involves the third and eighth municipal regions containing the old urban fabric of the

city, which includes Bazaar and the historic residential districts. Newly established residential quarters, located in the first and second municipal regions, which include, Valiasr, El-Goli, Baghmishe, and Roshdiyye, with low population density in the eastern side of the city, containing chiefly the upper-classes. The third zone includes marginal areas like slums and outskirts with high population density, located in the fifth, seventh, and tenth municipal regions.

By surveying the parks and green spaces in different municipality zones, it can be inferred that the third, fourth, eighth, and tenth zones, which are located in the central parts of Tabriz, have a high density of population and shortage of green areas per capita. The information that table 2 provides, leads to a better understanding of the uneven distribution of green spaces among different municipal regions. In this regard, the tenth and fourth municipal regions, which belong to the lower-class and slums, despite their high density, have the lowest rate of green space per capita. In contrast, the first and second municipal regions, including new residential towns like Valiasr and El-Goli, known as upper-class residential areas, have the most rate of green spaces per capita.

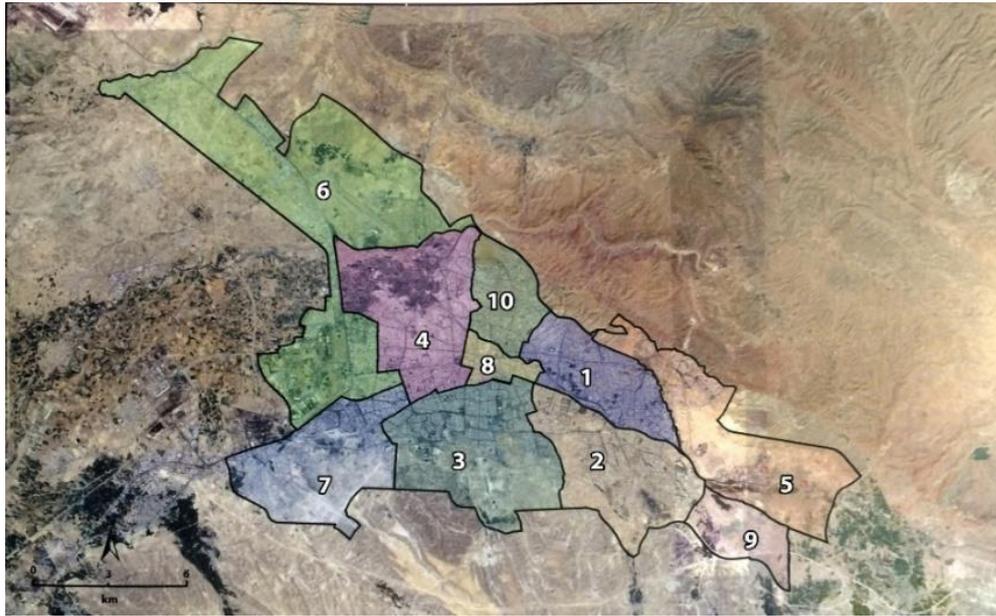


Figure 5.14 Division of different municipal regions of Tabriz  
Prepared by the author

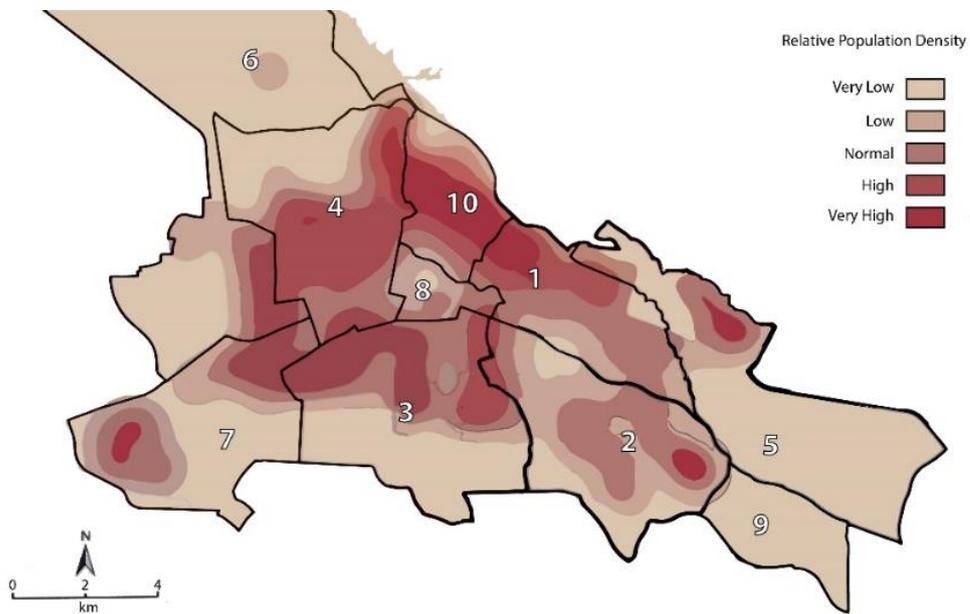


Figure 5.15 The population density in different municipal regions of Tabriz  
Source: Atlas of Tabriz Metropolis, Urbanism and Architecture Deputy, 2018

Table 5.3. *Distribution of green spaces among different municipal regions of Tabriz Metropolis*

Municipal Regions	Population	Available green spaces (square meters)	Available green space per capita	Per capita standard	Demanded green spaces (square meters)
Region 1	2011302	523097	2.48	3.50	739557
Region 2	171524	262346	1.53	3.50	600334
Region 3	274639	86032	0.31	3.50	961237
Region 4	320450	235372	0.73	3.50	1121575
Region 5	92846	15518	0.17	3.50	324961
Region 6	97818	249180	2.55	3.50	342363
Region 7	128547	193912	1.51	3.50	449915
Region 8	34231	50691	1.48	3.50	119809
Region 9	2000	....	...	3.50	7000
Region 10	200143	229340	1.15	3.50	700501
<b>Total</b>	<b>1533500</b>	<b>1845488</b>	<b>1.20</b>	<b>3.50</b>	<b>5367250</b>

Source: 'Naghsh Mohit' consulting engineers, physical studies of Tabriz, 2016



Figure 5.16 A view from the newly built residential quarter with high-status residents, Roshdiyye, Tabriz

Source: <https://bit.ly/3gkGk5c> (visited: September 1, 2020)

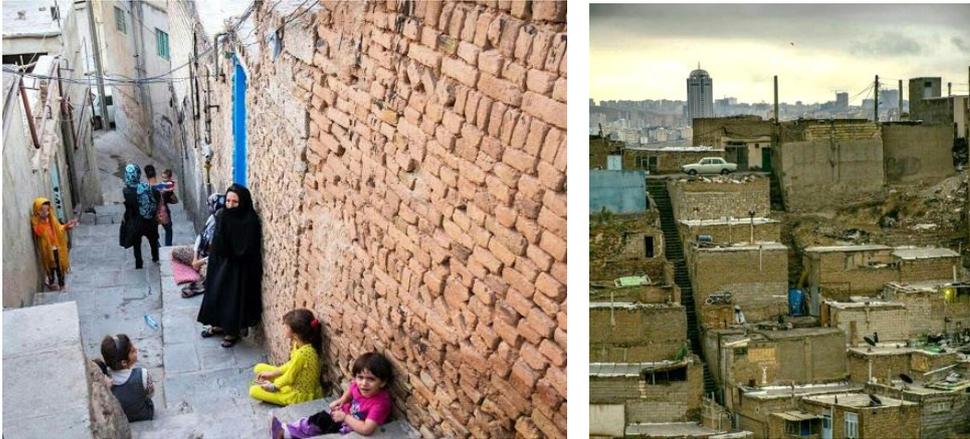


Figure 5.17 (Left) the slums and outskirts in the northern edge of the city with high population density. Due to the lack of parks, children in these regions are deprived of different social activities and the only place for children to play are the narrow alleys of their districts.

Source; ‘Asr-e Tabriz’ News <https://bit.ly/2QgXYwa> (visited: September 1, 2020)

Figure 5.18 (Right) a view of the slums in the northwest of Tabriz

Source: ‘Asr-e Tabriz’ News <https://bit.ly/3l3cRQV> (visited: September 1, 2020)

### 5.2.2. Transformation of the Publicness of Parks in the City Center

Being in the public spaces is being in the spaces of sociability; thus, in the case of public green spaces, the diversity of users can encourage other people to choose a particular park for their weekend and leisure times. For instance, the areas in a park with the most female presence are normatively secure and are the focal points of that park (Franck & Paxson, 1989). However, sometimes all social encounters are not accessible for all classes in society. These days one of the main problems regarding public green spaces in Tabriz is the physical and social deterioration of green spaces, especially in low-class neighborhoods in which green spaces are turned into insecure and unpleasant areas. Although we subconsciously adhere to the notion of parks as the places of freedom and non-threatening nature, these days, parks also could be the focal points of fear and anxiety (Burgess, 1995; Thompson, 2002).

Investigating the emerged social and economic gap between the poor and rich in the city and the distribution of green spaces among different regions opens up new

discussions. Residents of downscale neighborhoods experience both inadequacy and insecurity regarding public green spaces. In other words, they suffer from the lack of green spaces per capita, on the other hand, due to the norm-breaking activities in the parks, citizens avoid going to parks in these regions.

Because of the dense population in the central parts of Tabriz and the lack of public services like parks and recreational areas, these central areas were abandoned by its residents. An important concern of this fact was that the segregation and polarization of the city center in Tabriz not only resulted in the emergence of new suburbanization but also the degeneration of inner sections and historical zones of the city during the time. The abandonment of central areas and gradual transmission of population and houses away from those areas, made those areas derelict without any control. Along with the desolation of the historical city center, Golestan Park, which was the first urban public park in the city, lost its importance, and some specific groups (outlaw, marginal, etc.) appropriated the park. Some illegal activities like drug dealing and the presence of homeless people made this park insecure for families, and consequently, the public use of this park diminished.

### **5.2.3. Quantitative Analyses of the Users' Profile in Golestan and El Goli Parks**

In order to understand the current state of the parks, a more detailed survey is pursued alongside a narrative description of the deterioration of the city center and its public parks. This survey could help to display the critical differences between Golestan Park in the city center and El-Goli Park (former Shah Goli) in the newly popularized district. These two parks, as mentioned in the previous chapter, were built at the same time during the modernization of Tabriz by Reza Shah in 1929 and 1931. In order to scrutinize the characteristics of the parks and the process of transformation, several categorizations like the ratio of genders, their age, distance from parks, and the main goal regarding the use patterns of parks were analyzed among 80 users in each park.

The method is a prepared questionnaire as well as direct observation. In the prepared questionnaire, each participant was asked the above-mentioned questions.

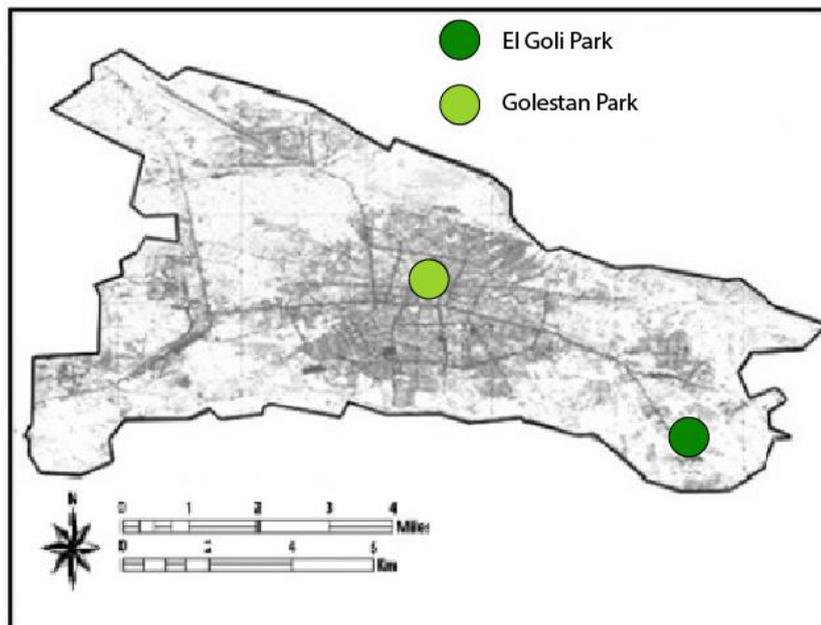


Figure 5.19 The location of each park in the city, prepared by the author



Figure 5.20 and Figure 5.21 Mostly used areas in each park. Left: El Goli Park, Right: Golestan Park (red color is depicted squares)

Prepared by the author

### ● The Ratio of Genders:

According to the results of the survey in two parks, the percentage of male and female users are explored. In this regard, the results show a considerable difference between the percentage of female and male users in Golestan Park, in which only 8.75 percent of users are women. However, there is a little difference between the rate of male and female users in El-Goli Park. The result confirms the claim of the study about the dominance of men in Golestan Park.

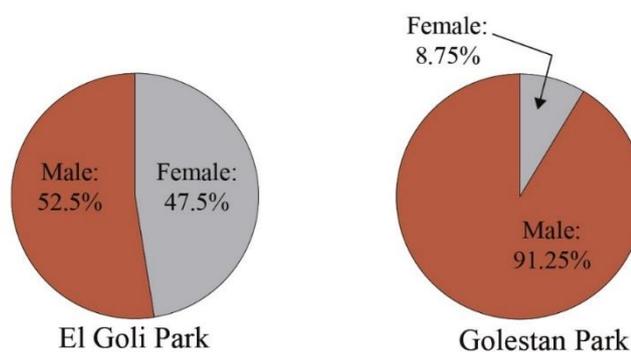


Figure 22 The percentage of male and female users in each park

### ● Distribution of Age

The second inquiry is about the age groups of the active participants in each park. Both photos and the results of the questionnaire display the dominance of old men in Golestan Park. People above 40 years old constitute more than 80 percent of the users of Golestan Park. However, in El-Goli Park, since families were the main users of the park, people from different age groups were the active participants of the park.

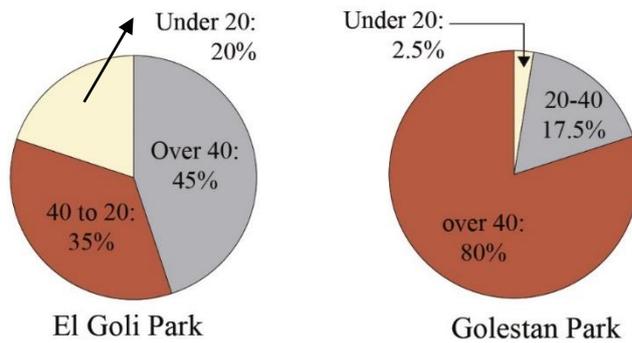


Figure 5.23 The percentage of different age groups

### ● Education Status

A significant differentiation is the education status of users of these parks. Since the users of El-Goli Park are young people, the majority of them have a university degree. However, the homeless and the older people who constitute the major users of Golestan Park, have lower education status. This section was divided into three categories of under-high school, high school diploma, and graduate degrees. This issue was the key factor in describing the chronological process in which, alongside the expansion of the city, the majority of high-status families migrated from the city center to the newly constructed neighborhoods like the El-Goli district. This difference in terms of user groups is evident in the results of the survey, 39 percent of users in El-Goli Park have bachelor and higher degrees, but only 7.5 percent of users in Golestan Park have university degrees.

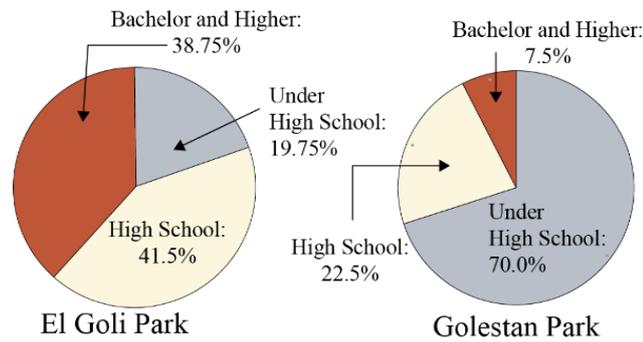


Figure 5.24 The percentage of education status of the users in each park

● **Main Purpose of the Users:**

Public parks are places for different activities, and there are restaurants, cafes, and facilities such as various sports sites, and picnic areas constitute for that purpose. In this section, users were asked about the activities they did and their reasons for coming to parks. The most prevalent activities in El-Goli Park are doing sports, picnics, and circulating the park. About 55 percent of users are doing sports, and 43 percent of users are coming to this park to have a picnic with their family and friends. However, in Golestan Park, due to the dominance of the homeless, the majority of people claimed they use this park merely as a passage and did not want to spend their time in this park. Thus, only 3.75 percent of users utilize sports facilities.

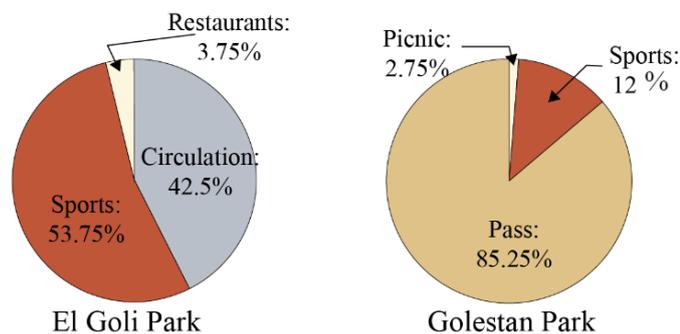


Figure 5.25 The percentage of main purpose of the users in each park

● **Means of Transportation:**

The data in this section displays the means of transportation used by the park goers. More than 60 percent of park users in El-Goli Park use private cars, but no one uses private vehicles in Golestan Park. This issue confirms the previous section about the main purpose of visiting Golestan Park, in which the majority of the people use this area as a passage. From another perspective, due to the uneven distribution of public green spaces in Tabriz, the majority of people drive their private cars or use public transportation like buses and metro to come to El-Goli Park.

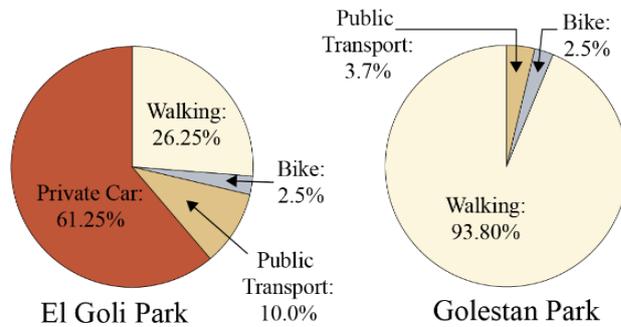


Figure 5.26 The percentage of means of transportation to the parks

An important consideration is that Golestan Park, as depicted in Figure 20, is located at the intersection of eight main streets. This fact was considered as an advantage for this park in earlier times, but these days due to illegal activities and an unsafe environment, people prefer to use this park only as a passage to other streets.

● **The Percentage of Accompany:**

Another important factor regarding the use pattern of parks is the preference of people to use these parks alone or accompanied by family and friends. Near 35 percent of users of El-Goli Park come to the park with friends, and about 38 percent come with

their family. However, this ratio is much different in Golestan Park, in which only 4 percent of the users visit the park with their families and 10 percent with their friends.

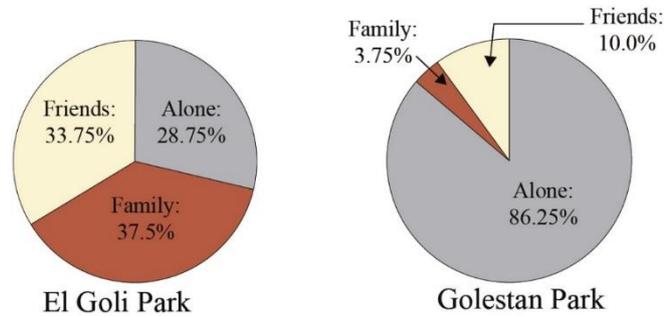


Figure 5.27 The percentage of preference of being accompanied in each park

### ● The Percentage of Feeling Safe

The factor of safety is the last item in the questionnaire. Along with the determination of users' profiles in each park, it can be said that absence of families in Golestan Park, which is a result of the norm-breaking activities, has the main contribution in reducing the feeling of safety. On the other hand, 90 percent of the users in El-Goli Park feel secure, whereas this rate in Golestan Park drops to 6.25 percent.

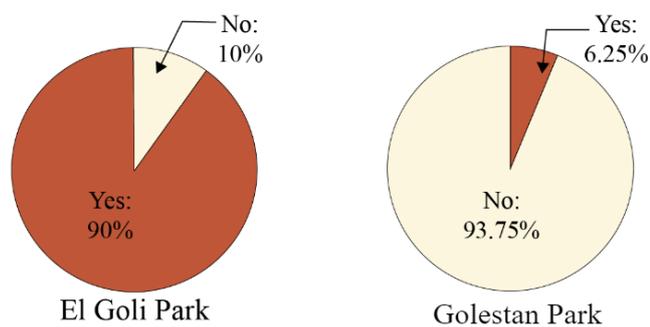


Figure 5.28 The percentage of feeling safe in each Park

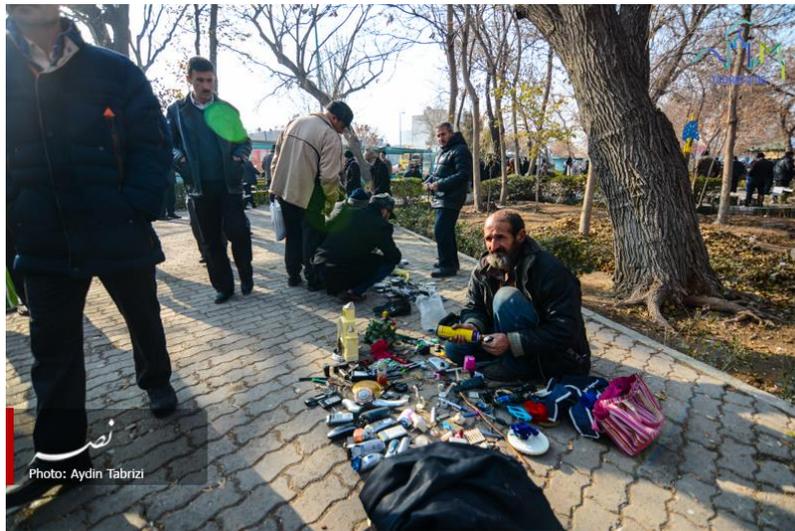


Figure 5.29 A view from Golestan Park, showing the deterioration of the first public park of Tabriz, which turned into a place for norm-breaking activities like the trade of second hand goods

Source: Nasr News Agency, photographed by Aydin Tabrizi



Figure 5.30 A view of Golestan Park with male-dominated atmosphere which creates an unsafe environments for families, especially women

Source: <https://bit.ly/2VXpMrB> (visited: September 9, 2020)



Figure 5.31 Another view from Golestan Park, Market area for the second-hand goods

Source: Nasr News Agency



Figure 5.32 El Goli Park, Participation of people in the morning exercises in the weekends

Source: ISNA <https://bit.ly/3j4KDTU> (visited: September 9, 2020)



Figure 5.33 A view from El Goli Park, Picnic areas

Photographed by the author

### **5.3. Controlled Public Spaces and the Emergence of Private Green Areas**

Parallel to the uneven distribution of green spaces in different regions of the city, another important phenomenon is the relationship between the dominant ideology of the state and the use of green spaces. As previously mentioned in this chapter, the starting point of the Islamic Revolution was alongside the dominance of conservative anti-western ideologies over the society and the elimination of previous means of sociability during the Pahlavi era. Doubtlessly some actions and policies of the government are capable of changing the identity of public spaces and creating many contradictions in society. For instance, alongside Post-Revolutionary ideologies, girls and boys were banned from holding each other's hands in the parks, and public spaces, and also their voices and laughter were strictly controlled by the moral police. The Post-Revolutionary codes regarding traditional Islamic division between public and private spaces from one side, and the adaptation of contemporary society of Iran to modern western lifestyle during the second period of the Pahlavi dynasty from another side, engendered interminable conflicts in daily life, especially in large cities like

Tabriz. Hence, in the following years, people began to look for new spaces like private gardens in rural areas and countryside to realize the public activities such as mixed-gender gatherings, parties, musical performances, and ceremonies which all are seemingly against Islamic laws. In this regard, it seems fair to assert that all restrictions over public activities and public spaces resulted in an over-privatized urban life (Soltani, 2011). In other words, the strict control and dominance of the authority over public spaces like parks opens new uncontrolled areas for people to fete different parties away from the control of the state and conservative atmosphere of the society. Nevertheless, the question of whether all these public activities in private and semi-private spaces can embrace the essence of public life remains unanswered.

As previously mentioned, through the expansion of Tabriz, the eastern and western rural areas and villages were engulfed in the development of the city. Due to the green nature and favorable weather conditions, the majority of people began to buy lands in these regions from their original owners and build villas with large gardens on them. In fact, these regions offered not only a vast private green space but also a safer environment far from the surveillance of the state. In this regard, the usage of green spaces and farmlands of 'Basmenj' and 'Hervi' in the east, and 'Sardroud' in the west of Tabriz were gradually occupied by private villa gardens for the citizens who could afford to buy the lands.



Figure 5.34 An aerial photo of Tabriz, and the countryside in the east and the west of the city, Edited by the author

Source: Google Earth maps



Figure 5.35 Aerial photo of farmlands and the rural areas in the east of Tabriz, Showing the destruction of farmlands along with the construction of new transportation networks and private villa gardens in the course of fifteen years (2005-2020)

Source: Google Earth Maps

### 5.3.1. Returning to Private Gardens or Establishing a Second House?

Restriction of public life reshaped private spheres and private activities; thus, it can be said that the lack of public spaces and public activities propelled people to generate a new significance for privacy in urban life. The restoration of the desired level of

privacy made all these specific groups to neglect the use of public parks and have a great penchant for having private green spaces outside of the city. It can be said that the rapid rise of the population, coupled with the desire for a better life among people, has led not only to the creation of a competitive atmosphere inside the city but also, this competition has transmitted to countryside areas and rural regions. The process of personalization of public green space to have private villas in countryside areas of Tabriz is known as the penchant to have the “second house” is kind of requesting privacy and gaining control over communications with others. In other words, “the individual is continually engaged in a personal adjustment process in which he balances the desire for privacy with the desire for disclosure and communications of himself to others, in light of environmental conditions and social norms set by the society in which he lives” (Westin, 1967). By examining this fact in recent years, one of the main concerns of many families in Tabriz is to have a private garden outside of the city, far from their neighborhoods and surveillance of the police. In other words, the countryside provides an opportunity for people to experience the natural, unconfined type of recreation and mixed-gender gatherings such as weddings, birthday parties, different clubs, and other gatherings that people would not experience in public.

### **5.3.2. Private Villa Gardens as a Conflict Point between Wealth and Justice**

Public spaces are being continuously changed and modified by their users, but sometimes all these activities result in the personalization of one specific area in public space. The particular definition for the act of personalizing is the process of modifying the physical space according to the needs of some specific classes and establishing a new group identity (Saruwono, 2007). Qualitative dimensions of personalization can be about a different phenomenon like safety, fear, restriction, and neglecting in public areas (Francis, 1989). Sometimes specific groups privatize some particular parts of the

city by establishing continuous control over the physical space and creating a territory. These areas could be parks or any other open green spaces appropriated by specific groups in society. The heart of the debate is that the emergence of new cultural identities could restrict the participation of other classes and polarize the distribution of resources among all citizens (Madanipour, 2003).

The main reason for establishing private villa gardens in the countryside and villages near Tabriz was to avoid the restrictions of public activities by the state's laws. However, this process opens up new discussions about private open green spaces of the villas in countryside areas. By referring to the past times, countryside areas of Tabriz, due to their excellent weather conditions and the two important rivers irrigating them not only had fertile lands for agriculture but also were the best spaces for strolling around. Over many years, most families used these regions for picnics, relaxing and outdoor activities on weekends or holidays. Nevertheless, the publicness of these areas was decreasing gradually as the farmlands began to transform into private villas. Doubtlessly, every family in the society could not afford to buy a private villa garden in these regions; thus, this process enlarged the gap between different classes more than before. While the lower-classes, as mentioned in previous sections, struggle with the lack of green space, the upper-classes privatize these regions and exclude other citizens from using them.

The ever-shifting economic conditions of the society allow the capital to shape and control the landscape of the city, rural regions, and urban ecology. In recent times due to the expansion of Tabriz towards the rural regions in the eastern and western parts and along with the socio-spatial policies of local government, the privilege of administrating these lands has been given to municipalities. From another perspective, the multiplication of real estate agencies in the villages like 'Basmenj' speeded up the process of selling and buying of these agricultural lands, resulting in land speculation. In other words, space started to represent a commodity that can be sold, bought, and rented, which contributes to enhancing the economic value of the surrounding lands. Although there are several protocols regarding land occupations meant to protect the

green spaces and farmlands in the rural area, affluent people could replace farmlands with private villa gardens by paying the “Illegal Construction Fines” to the municipalities. Because of this fact, the prices of lands increase rapidly; however, increasing the economic value of agricultural lands does not result in improving the quality of life in rural areas, but rather, it causes an increase of commodification and privatization by real estate agencies and affluent people.

Along the same line, the idea that who has extra money could occupy the public lands and construct the private villa for himself destroyed green areas in the farmlands and the countryside areas of Tabriz. These individualized areas provided many leisure activities and sports for their residents, such as gardening, keeping pets and swimming in private pools of the villas. At the same time, working classes and villagers who sold their farmlands to the upper-classes were excluded from their lands, and inevitably, they started to immigrate to the city especially derelict central parts of Tabriz where they could afford to buy or rent houses.

This process leads to “Green space gentrification” which means displacing farmers and villagers from their homes and lands to make the neighborhoods attractive for the upper-classes and affluent people. The riversides (Mehraneroud) of the villages like ‘Basmenj’ and ‘Hervi’, which belonged to the villagers or were put to public use as picnic areas in the past, were privatized by affluent people and were replaced by luxurious villa gardens. It could be noted that the emergence of these villa gardens not only led to privatization, gentrification, and enlargement of the gap between privileged families and lower-classes but also, from an ecological point of view, destroyed the natural green environment of the countryside and rural areas of Tabriz.



Figure 5.36 Personalization and privatization of green spaces and farmlands of Basmenj village, dividing the lands by establishing high walls

Source: Fars <https://bit.ly/30pVYa9> (visited: September 5, 2020)



Figure 5.37 A view from private gardens in ‘Hervi’ village near Tabriz, which host different mix-gender parties such as birthdays and weddings.

Photographed by the author



Figure 5.38 Wealthy people aim to segregate themselves from others by purchasing villas with gardens containing pools and other sport facilities in farmlands or public green areas in the countryside

Photographed by the author



Figure 5.39 A view of private gardens in 'Basmenj' village, privatization of farmlands and countryside by establishing walls

Photographed by the author



Figure 5.40 A villa garden in Basmenj village with sport facilities. These types of private green spaces, facilitate many functions associated with public realm

Photographed by the author

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

*“When the rose is withered and the garden is gone*

*You will hear no longer the nightingale’s song*

*When the rose is withered and the garden laid bare*

*In attar of roses the scent is still there...”*

*-RUMI-*

*“Masnavi”, first book, the song of reed, translated by Whindield, 1887*

Green spaces are inseparable parts of Iranian life in the past and today. They were named as ‘garden’ in the Iranian tradition, mostly referring to a private space, which is enclosed by walls. From this line, the term privacy and its corollary publicness have gained new significance in the study of green spaces in the modernization period in Iran. Thus, the initial attempt of this study was to shed further light on the notion of the garden and its physical and social characteristics throughout the years.

This study was conducted in a multilayered manner regarding the green spaces, which focused on Tabriz to elaborate the discussions. The main motive for this selection emanated from the fact that during history Tabriz has been known as the *bagh Shahr* (garden city) in Iran. Private gardens in the form of courtyard houses were indispensable parts of everyday life in Tabriz. In this regard, the questions, such as how Tabriz lost its significance as the ‘garden city’ over time, and how different types of green spaces gained significance over the years, guided this study. Thus, the main framework of this study sprang initially from the notion and the position of green

space in Iranian culture, especially in Tabriz as the case study, and second, from signifying the dialectic relationship between the concept of private and public green spaces, in the socio-cultural context of Tabriz which has been altered continuously alongside the spatial and social transformation of the city.

Following that, the transformation or (re)definition of green spaces of the city of Tabriz according to the dominant socio-political and socio-spatial dynamics in the Pahlavi dynasty and after the Islamic Revolution were among the central parts of this research. Thus, this study attempted to display the chronological process of transition from private gardens to new public parks during the Pahlavi dynasty and also the transition from public parks to private gardens once again after Islamic Revolution in Tabriz.

Doubtlessly, experiencing two Revolutions in less than a century has changed not only the structure of the old urban fabric of cities like Tabriz, but also affected every aspect of social life. Based on the surveyed chronological process of spatial transformation of Tabriz, the arrival of the Pahlavi dynasty was the cornerstone of the rapid elimination of the traditional private sphere and the emergence of the modern western public sphere. As mentioned in the second chapter, since the main socio-spatial characteristic of Islamic cities like Tabriz derived from the division of public and private spaces, the spatial transformations (either by destructing or constructing) that had occurred during the Pahlavi era re-defined the dialectic relationship between public and private spaces.

Along with the autocratic militarized government and the new ideas regarding nationalism and secularism, Reza Shah Pahlavi, in 1925, was the initiator of the spatial transformation of public and private spaces in Iran. According to Reza Shah, since the society of Iran was under the clutches of traditions, adaptation to the requirements of the modern world seemed impossible. From this line, the social and cultural transition in Iran had to begin by imitating western societies to obtain their modern culture. Thus, the transformation of spatial elements of the city was in accordance with the socio-

political aspirations of Reza Shah. Prompt spatial transformation of the cities during Reza Shah's reign was alongside the construction of boulevards and wide streets, and the destruction of the old urban fabric of Tabriz, which contained royal gardens belonged to previous dynasties and traditional districts and courtyard gardens. In this process, the rapid construction of three public parks (1929-1932) was the means of implementing the ideology of Shah in the urban environment. It can be said that during the Pahlavi period, ideological themes shaped modern and recreational park designs. These themes, alongside the socio-economic dynamics, changed the concept of private and public green spaces.

The transition from the garden to park, in the history of Tabriz was not just the physical transformation of the structure of the urban fabric, but rather it was chain-like attached political and social changes that affected the boundaries between private and public spaces. Under the autocratic government of Reza Shah, every aspect of private spheres of life was assumed to be part of the traditional religious lifestyle; therefore, it had to be changed. Accordingly, this research has been developed in the manner to scrutinize all ideological, political and social dynamics that have influenced the factors affecting the green spaces and their patterns of use. In other words, despite the dominant conservative atmosphere in Tabriz, the structural and social transformations led the society toward a new lifestyle and motivated all family members to participate in the newly established public parks. For instance, the rapid secularization of society, modern dressing codes, and un-veiling were parallel to the transition from private gardens to new public parks. Although rapid secularization and un-veiling had apparent contradiction with the religious mentality of the conservative society, these policies were in the way of creating a distinct 'National Unity' in public spaces (Abrahamian, 2008). In other words, through these strategies, women gradually gained a new role in the male-dominated public spaces, and it paved the way for the participation of all family members in new public parks.

The Second Period of the Pahlavi era 1941 to 1979 started with shifting the monarchy from Reza Shah to his son Mohammad Reza. In the first step, the growth in oil incomes

resulted in shifting the economy from agriculture to oil and related industries, and consequently, massive immigration from rural areas to industrialized cities like Tabriz started. In order to provide housing for the new immigrants, instant changes were applied to urban policies, and new concepts of urban development and housing typologies were introduced during the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah.

Since the central aim of the study was displaying the process of transition from private gardens to public parks, changing the main typology of houses during the second period of the Pahlavi era was another important factor in this process. Lack of housing for the new immigrants who came to Tabriz parallel to the industrialization of the city resulted in proposing new types of residential blocks. This process was significant in the study because these new types of houses, unlike courtyard houses, had much smaller yards. In other words, the primary space for the socialization of people (courtyards) gradually disappeared.

Furthermore, the society of Tabriz during this period was divided into two separated and polarized parts—the bourgeoisie and the working-class. The inability of the state in providing housing and distributing public services like green spaces for working-classes and traditional middle classes increased discontentment, resulting in the Islamic Revolution in 1979. Abrahamian sheds further light on the events stating that: “the revolution took place neither due to the overdevelopment nor, because of the underdevelopment but because of uneven development” (Abrahamian, 1982).

Unfortunately, this phenomenon continued even after the Islamic Revolution. The unorganized development of the city resulted in the enlargement of the gap between poor and rich, uneven distribution of green spaces, and destroyed the farmlands and green resources of the city, and replaced them with residential quarters. In this regard, visual materials such as maps, aerial photos as well as quantitative analysis tables regarding the distribution of public green spaces in different regions of the city were provided for a better understanding of this phenomenon.

The investigation of green spaces and their patterns of use after the Islamic Revolution focused on the new phase of interaction between public and private green spaces. For this aim, new socio-political and socio-spatial dynamics of the new era regarding the public spaces and public activities were surveyed. By referring to the dominant political atmosphere of this era, the study attempted to scrutinize the anti-westernization movements, which led to the elimination of all aspects of the Pahlavi regime in the city.

It can be said that shifting power from an autocratic secular state to a conservative religious one affected the public spaces considerably by creating immense conflicts in the spatial body of the city. In the first step, due to the ideology of the Post-Revolutionary state regarding the immediate elimination of symbols of the Pahlavi regime and western model of lifestyle, Public parks, and activities within them underwent critical revisions by revolutionists and their leaders. Changing the character of public parks or, in some cases, destruction of parks was among the primary strategies of the Post-Revolutionary state to purge the society from everything related to the Pahlavi regime, which was assumed to be sinful. Following the removal of the Pahlavi symbols, Bagh-e Melli, as one of the most well-known parks during this period was also affected, its opera house and restaurant were destroyed and were replaced by 'Mosalla' in later years. In addition, re-veiling and new specified laws based on the Islamic *Sharia* restricted the previously established public activities, and the new frames of social interactions in the form of religious activities were defined by the Post-Revolutionary state. Parallel to gender segregation policies, new concepts of green spaces such as the women-only parks appeared, displaying the dominance of Islamic ideologies on the public spaces and activities.

The other type of green spaces investigated in this study were private villa gardens in the rural regions and countryside of Tabriz, which were the side effects of the uneven distribution of public green spaces and surveillance over public activities by the state. In other words, resisting against the restriction of activities in public green spaces within the city motivated the construction of these villa gardens. Thus, people began

to seek new green areas and to (re)create private gardens outside the control zone. From this line, a new private realm flourished in the countryside for compensating public activities.

Although the villa gardens in the countryside and rural areas were the means of owning private space for different activities, they created new conflicts between the rich and the poor. In other words, wealthy and high-status families who could afford to buy these gardens began to construct luxurious villas and separated themselves from other parts of the society.

In general, the rapid ideological, political, and social transformations in the 20<sup>th</sup> century altered the definition of public and private green spaces, their use patterns, and people's perception of these subjects. In other words, the oscillation of people between two fundamental Revolutions created a paradoxical and schizophrenic way of life over time. In order to clarify, during the Pahlavi dynasty, specifically the first period, the central ideology of the state was to establish the western lifestyle by expanding the public space and creating public parks. Un-veiling policies and the rapid elimination of the private sphere occurred (during the Pahlavi regime) when people were pursuing the traditional religious way of life. On the other hand, when the mentality of people became modern, different activities such as mixed-gender activities in parks were labeled as sinful through the Islamization of the society in the Post-Revolutionary era.

The modernization attempts during the Pahlavi era in the city were unignorable but the Iranian experience of modernization was in essence an imitation of the socio-spatial reforms from European countries. "Model-Oriented Conciseness" is the best description for the process of neglecting traditional culture and emulating European values in the modernization process of cities in the Middle Eastern countries like Iran (Sharabi, 1988). This model refers to positioning the European modernity as an archetypal pattern for its imitative versions. In order to clarify, the state administration in the Pahlavi dynasty created a paradoxical atmosphere in urban life which, from one

side, was based on strong nationalist ideologies of Reza Shah and his son, and from another side, was dependent on the emulation of western fashion (Ansari, 2003). For this reason, the concept of modernity and modernized cities remained ambiguous during the Pahlavi dynasty. This ambiguity reached its peak after the Islamic Revolution, when all social and spatial elements related to the Pahlavi regime were considered as western cultural values and were assumed to be against Islamic values.

Subsequently, people are also seeking new solutions regarding these repetitive structural, cultural, political, and ideological transitions in the society. The important solution is the establishment of private villa gardens outside the urban boundaries. Destruction of farmlands in the countryside and rural areas near Tabriz and transforming them into divided lands for private villa gardens have long-term adverse ecological effects, which could be discussed further in future studies. Nevertheless, what is evident about the establishment of these private gardens is that, due to the restriction of activities in public spaces, the majority of citizens prefer to have private green spaces far from the surveillance, control, and bustle of the city. Thus, it can be said that the archetypal notion of privacy that was present in traditional courtyard gardens did not change, and it has always been among the main concerns of people.

Writing this thesis was parallel to the global epidemics of COVID 19, and the general quarantine policies in all countries. In Tabriz, during quarantine, the use of public spaces especially public parks were banned or limited for weeks. However, the majority of families who had private villas and gardens in the countryside of the city left their houses and stayed in their gardens for weeks or even for months. The private gardens in the countryside provided a safe space, both physically and mentally, for their users to enjoy activities such as different kinds of sports associated with public green areas privately. This issue turned to one of the polemical phenomena in the news, stating that the upper-classes segregated themselves from others, they enjoyed the routine flow of life and continued their activities as if nothing has happened while other parts of the community were locked up in their houses.



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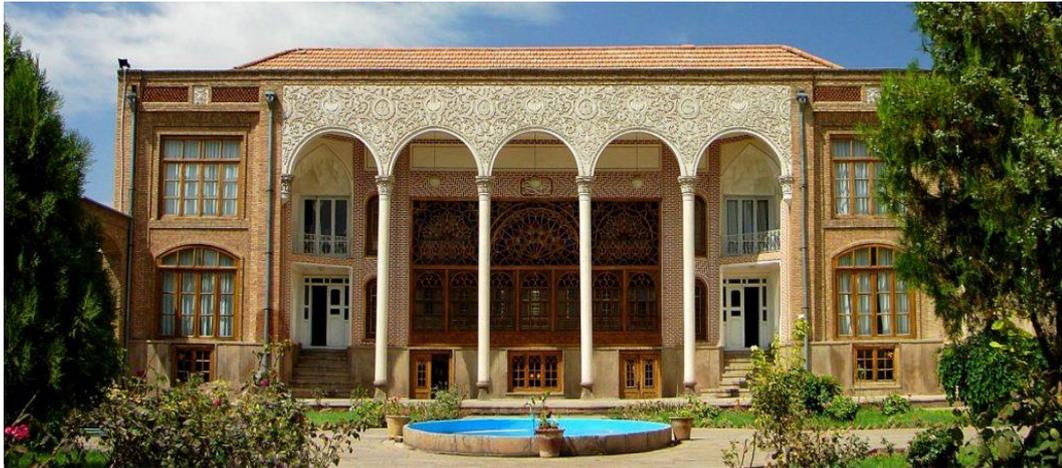
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## APPENDICES

### A. EXAMPLES OF REMAINING COURTYARD HOUSES OF TABRIZ

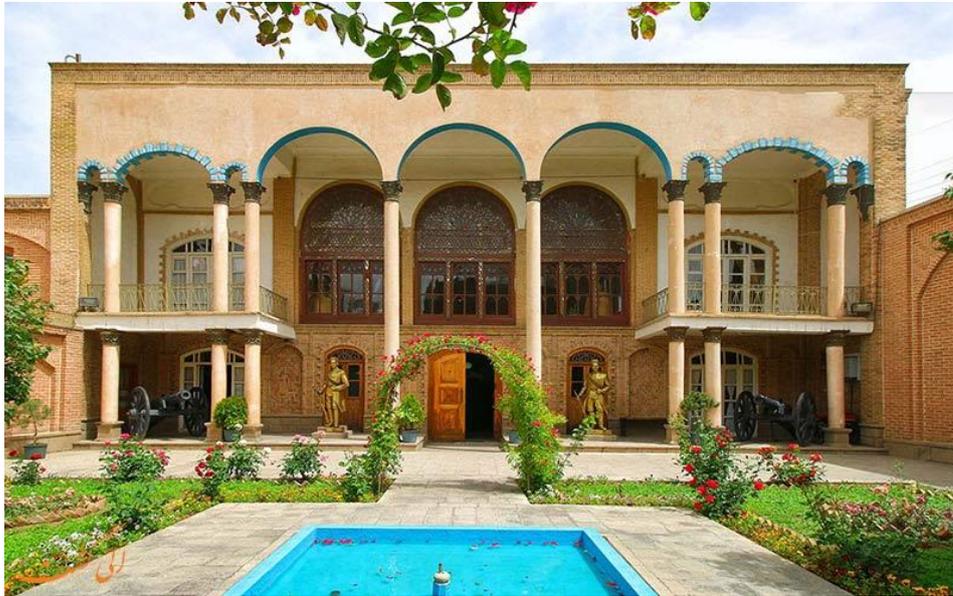


**Figure A.1** Behnam House, Tabriz

Source: <https://bit.ly/2ExEr84> (visited: September 9, 2020)

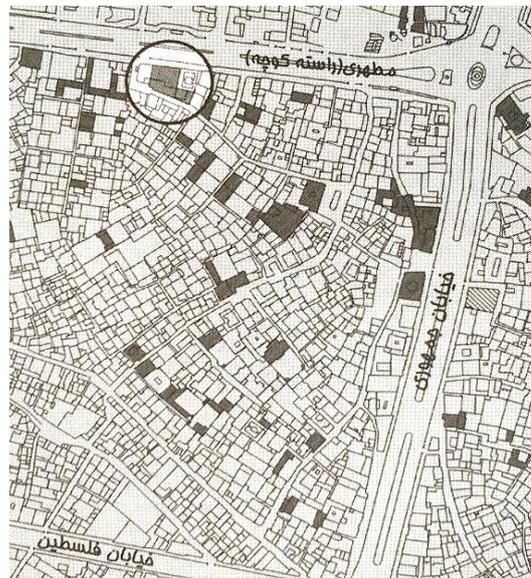


**Figure A.2** The location of Behnam House



**Figure A.3** Mashroute House (constitution House), Tabriz

Source: <https://bit.ly/3jfw3cu> (visited: September 9, 2020)

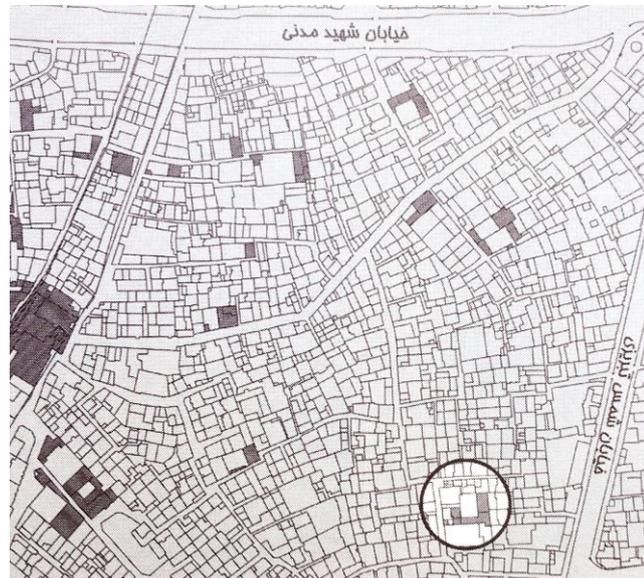


**Figure A.4** The location of Mashroute House



**Figure A.5** Sarafflar House, Tabriz

Source: <https://bit.ly/3hx6KSA> (visited: September 9, 2020)

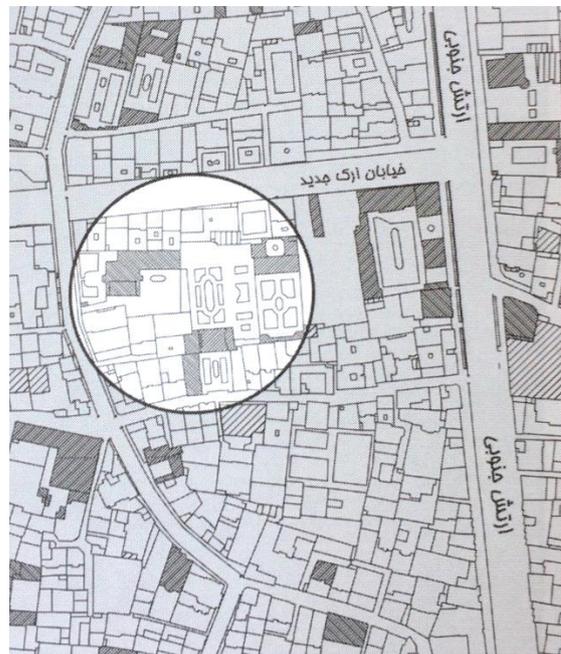


**Figure A.6** The location of Sarafflar House



**Figure A.7** Ghadaki House, Tabriz

Source: <https://bit.ly/2CVxGwb> (visited: September 9, 2020)

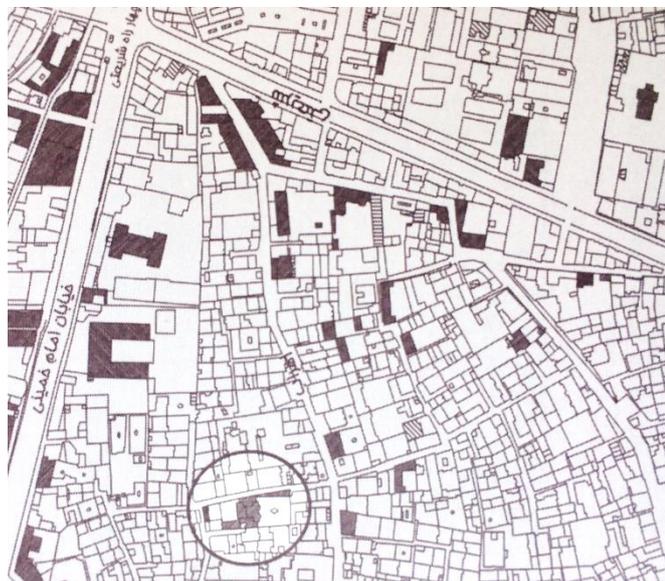


**Figure A.8** The location of Ghadaki House



**Figure A.9** Sharbat Oglu House, Tabriz

Source: <https://bit.ly/3gsrUjl> (visited: September 9, 2020)

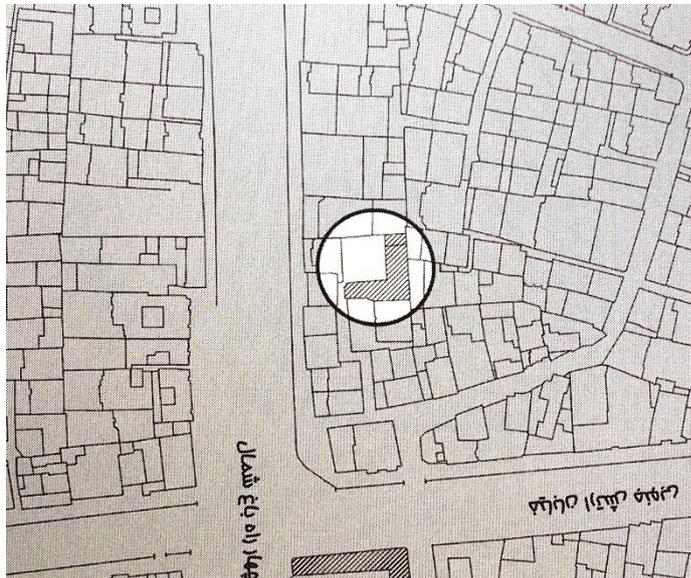


**Figure A.10** The location of Sharbat Oglu House



**Figure A.11** Ganjei Zadeh House, Tabriz

Source: <https://bit.ly/3hxaH9S> (visited: September 9, 2020)



**Figure A.12** The location of Ganjei Zadeh House

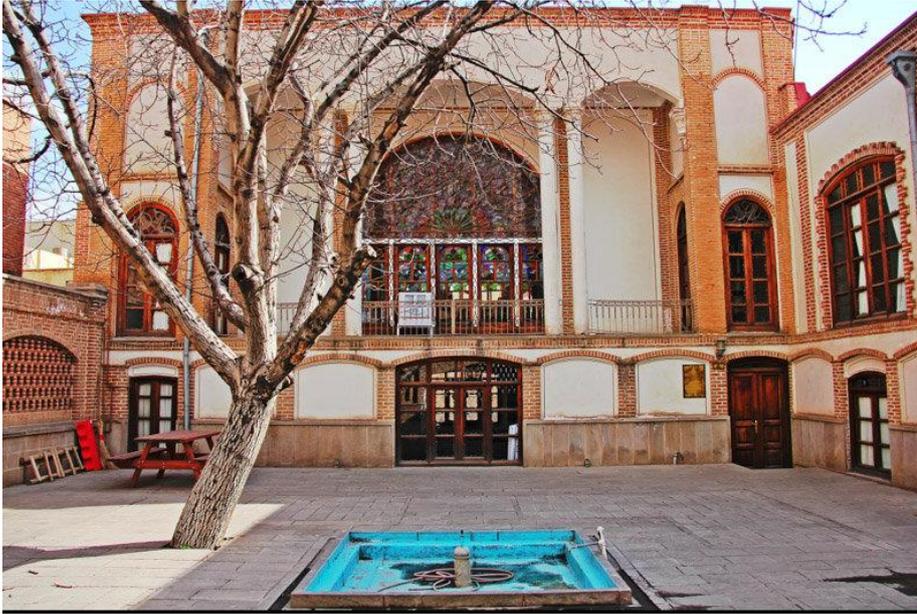


**Figure A.13** Lalei House, Tabriz

Source: <https://bit.ly/3gs8xaf> (visited: September 9, 2020)



**Figure A.14** The location of Lalei House



**Figure A.15** Heydarzadeh House, Tabriz

Source: <https://bit.ly/3gsvJ8r> (visited: September 9, 2020)

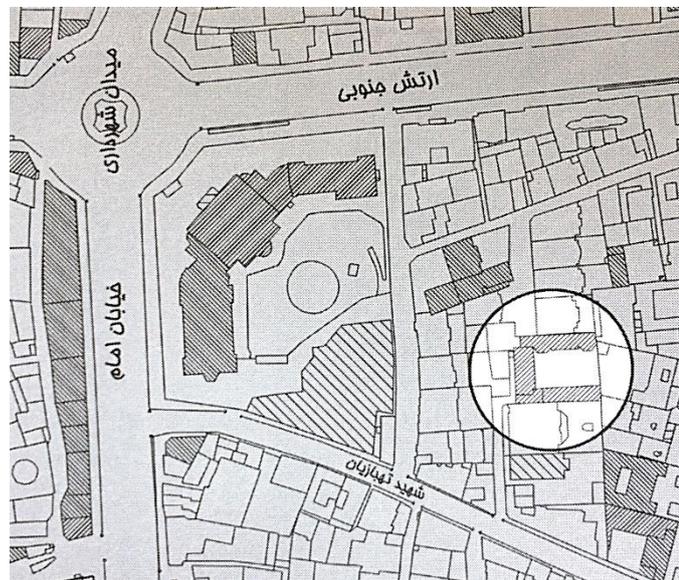


**Figure A.16** The location of Heydarzadeh House



**Figure A.17** Salmasi House, Tabriz

Source: <https://bit.ly/2Efd2YN> (visited: September 9, 2020)

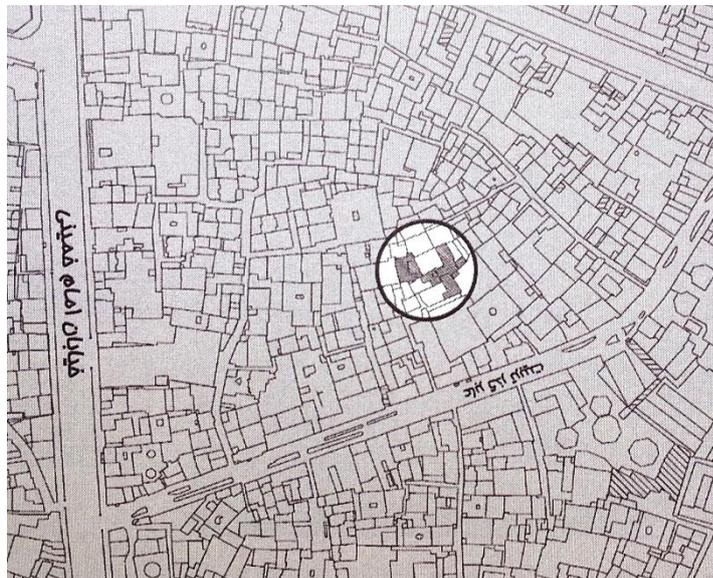


**Figure A.18** The location of Salmasi House



**Figure A.19** Hariri House, Tabriz

Source: <https://bit.ly/3hxaH9S> (visited: September 9, 2020)

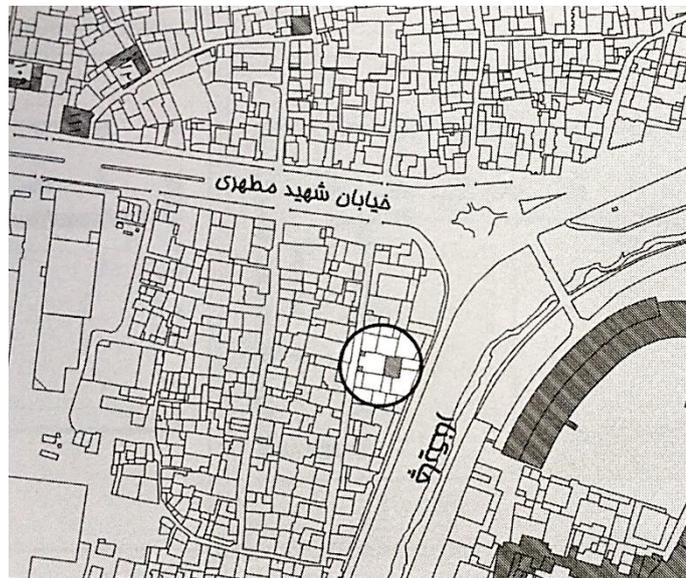


**Figure A.20** The location of Hariri house



**Figure A.21** Sehhati House, Tbariz

Source: <https://bit.ly/2YyQGbr> (visited: September 9, 2020)



**Figure A.22** The location of Sehhati House

## B. FIRST PUBLIC PARKS IN TABRIZ



**Figure B.1** Transformation of Gajil cemetery to public park (Bagh-e Golestan), 1929

Source: <https://bit.ly/34vomul> (visited: September 9, 2020)



**Figure B.2** A view from Golestan Park (Bagh-e Golestan) in the early years of its construction, 1929

Source: Abrishami, Collection of Historical Photos of Iran (Olden Azerbaijan), 2016



**Figure B.3** A view from Golestan park

Source: <https://bit.ly/2Qq76OS> (visited: September 9, 2020)



**Figure B.4** Tabriz National Orchestra, Bagh-e Golestan, 1945

Source: <https://bit.ly/3jbGqxD> (visited: September 9, 2020)



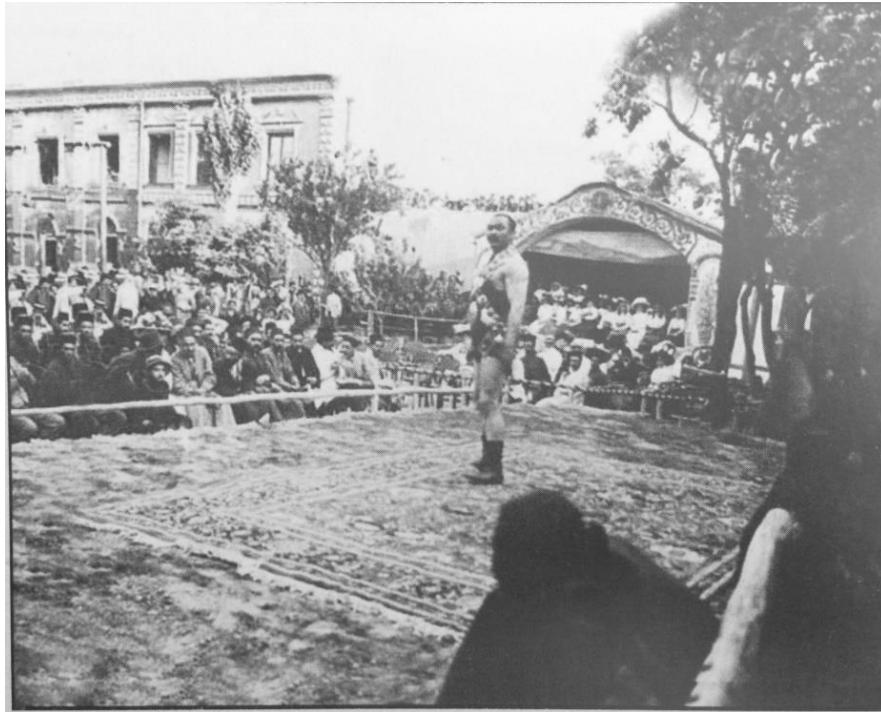
**Figure B.5** Bagh-e Melli in 1929

Source: <https://bit.ly/3jbGqxD> (visited: September 9, 2020)



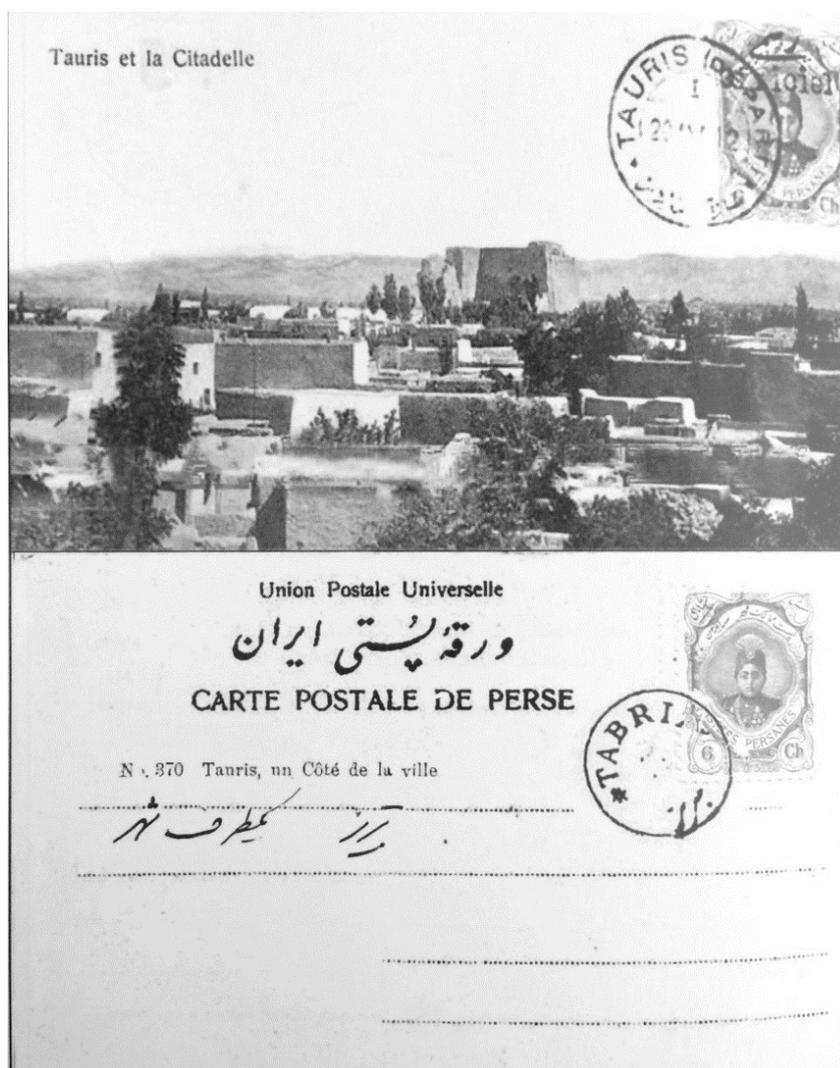
**Figure B.5** Bagh-e Melli and its restaurant and café, 1931

Source: Abrishami, Collection of Historical Photos of Iran (Olden Azerbaijan), 2016



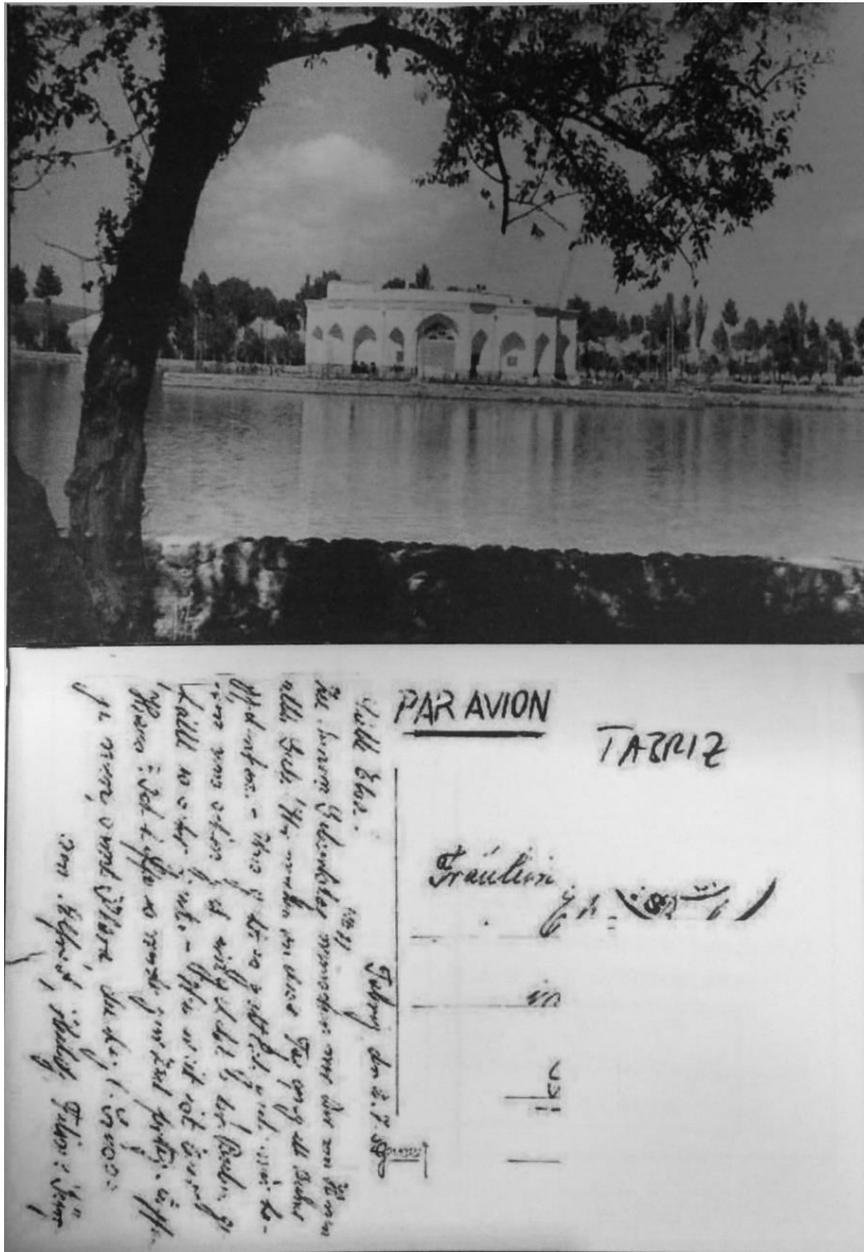
**Figure B.6** A show in the Bagh-e Melli, 1945

Source: Pourhosein, Ebrahim, 2016, Azerbaijan old postcards



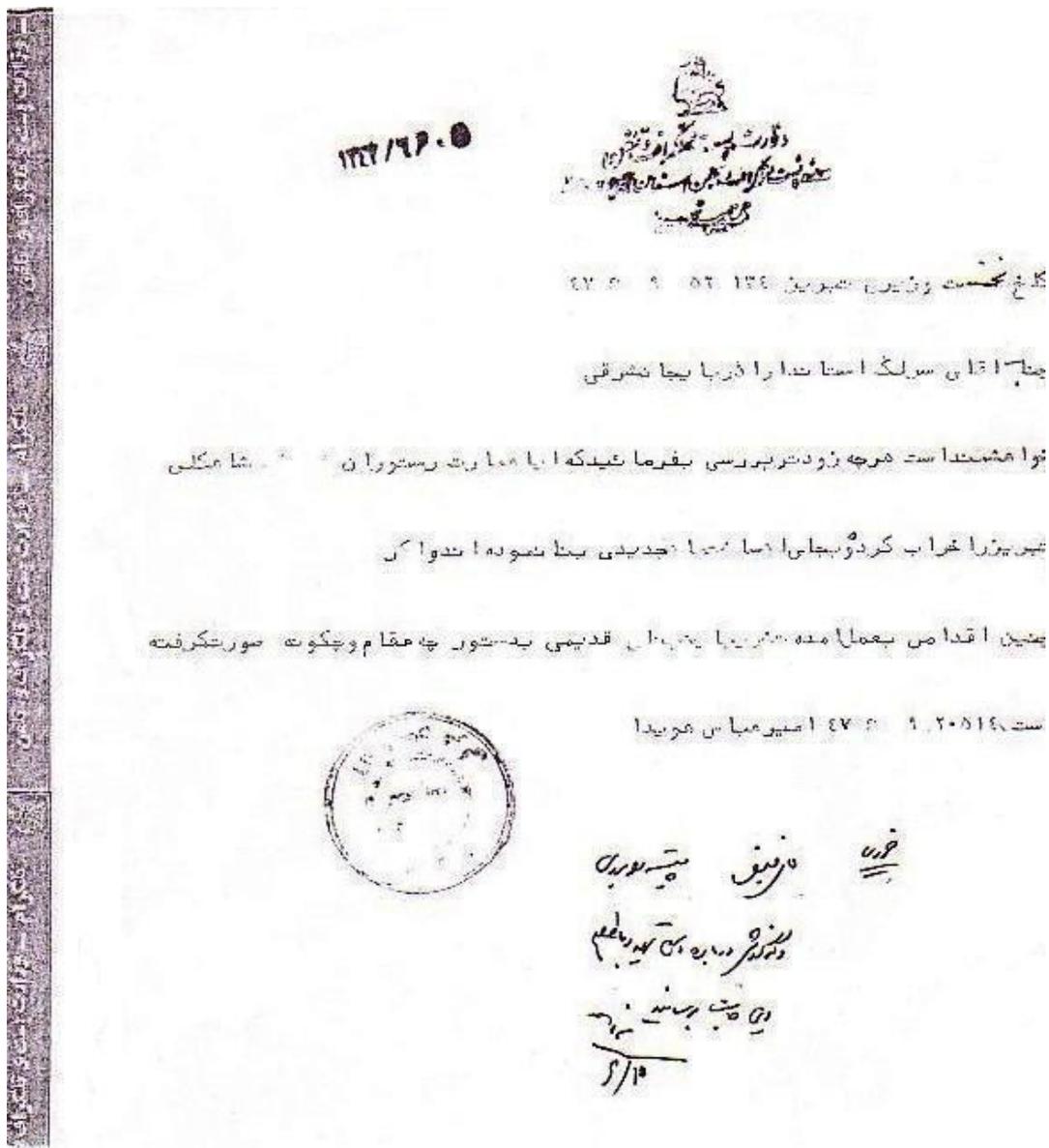
**Figure B.7** A postcard from courtyard houses, and Arg-e Alishah (Alishah Citadel) in the background of the postcard during the Qajar era

Source: Pourhosein, Ebrahim, 2016, Azerbaijan old postcards



**Figure B.8** A Postcard of Shah Goli Park

Source: Pourhosein, Ebrahim, 2016, Azerbaijan old postcards



**Figure B.9** The letter of Amir Abbas Hoveyda, The prime minister of Iran to the Governor of East Azerbaijan province regarding the restoration of Shah Goli central Pavilion, 1967

Source: Organization of Archived Documents of the northwest of Iran

اگهی مزایده

طبق تصویب شماره ۵۱۸۷۳ مقام استانداری آذربایجان شرقی شهرداری تبریز اضیاءتصویب و استناد به وسایل تفریحی استقریشکلن رادروموسم تفریح سال ۴۵ با شرایط زیر بمدت یکسال بطور مزایده - واگذار میشود \*

۱- تاب یکدستگاه طیاره یکدستگاه - پرتخ فلک یکدستگاه - قابلموتور یکدستگاه

۲- تسهیوسایل بالاباد شهورشهرداری - بدمید - برنده مزایده میباشدرتصویب و حل و تصویب آنها با نظر - شهرداری - خواهد بود \*

۳- پیشداد در دکان یا محلی قبلا به ریکلیزر یکدستگاه فونیمرتیب ۵۰٪ مبلغ پیشهادی را بدستوان شهرد به تصدیق و شهرداری پرداخت و قیاس شهرد را خدمه پیشهاد خود نموده و تا ساعت ۱۰ صبح روز چهارشنبه ۲ تیروردین ماه ۴۵ بدیمرنگانه شهرداری تسلیم و رسید دریافت دارند و پیشهادات رسید در ساعت ۱۱ صبح همان روز در کمیسیون مربوطه بازخوانده خواهد شد و ضمنا شهرد متذکره باید لااقل سه فقره پیشهاد در رسید باشد و میزان پیشهادات نباید از ناخذ سال ۴۵ کمتر باشد \*

۴- وجهه آبار و سایل پس از تصویب قائم مقام انحصار شهرد دریافت خواهد شد \*

۵- پیشهادات فاقد قیاس شهرد و وجهیم و مشروط و بدین ذکر مبلغ و آنها یکدیگر دیرتر از موعد بدینه در آگهی برسد ترتیباً ندادند خواهد شد \*

۶- هزینه نشر آگهی و حق ادرج در روزنامه غلظت و البیات و هزینه حضوری وانچه قانونا تعلق - میگرد به شهرد برنده مزایده میباشد \*

۷- شهرداری در رد و قبول یک ویا کلیه پیشهادات با صلحه معذراست \*

۸- برنده مزایده موظف است که وسایل منور را از ۱۰ رخصت حکم بدین شکلگونه نقص تهیه نماید و در سه روزه قبل از شروع کار مورد اعتمادان و معائنات قرار دهد و در صورت نداشتن تقصیر بکار بندازد \*

۹- برنده مزایده موظف است کتبخ شهرداری را کمال رعایت نماید \*

۱۰- هرگونه صدقه تشریف فرمایین دستگاه با اقبال شرعی و به شود مسؤلیت مترجمشخص برنده مزایده بوده و هیچگونه ربطی به شهرداری نخواهد داشت و هرگونه جوابگویی بعد از تشریح برنده مزایده است \*

۱۱- در صورتیکه برنده مزایده از تمام صد اطه منصرف شود شهرد هر یک بحرفتیغ شهرداری ضمیمه خواهد شد \*

۱۲- برنده مزایده تکلیف است در تمامه موسم تفریح وسایل منور را از محوطه استخرشان در خارج نماید و در صورت مسامحه شهرداری - حق خواهد داشت وسایل را از محوطه استخرشان در خارج نماید \*

۱۳- برنده مزایده - حق خواهد داشت در سالنامه ای اندک از نظر حق نقد پیشهاد \*

۱۴- نظافت محوطه و سایل و ادو تفریح سپهکشی تصویب بالا مندرج بنات بدیده برنده مزایده است فقط نیروی برقی به شهرداری میباشد \*

سردست شهرداری تبریز

Figure B.10 The auction of Shah Goli's Amusement park facilities, Tabriz Municipality, 1967

Source: Organization of Archived Documents of the northwest of Iran



**Figure B.11** A view of Shah Goli (El Goli) Park and new residential quarters around this park

Source: <https://bit.ly/2Qmk4xl> (visited: September 9, 2020)



