A Reflection on The Placiality of Social Formations in Urban Spaces
Based on Georg Simmel’s “Sociology of Space”
A Case Study of Enqelab Street (between Vali-asr Intersection and Enqelab Square) In Tehran

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Abstract

Many thinkers have put forth various theories about urban issues. Among them, German sociologist “George Simmel” considered city more as a societal construct than a physical and substantial reality. He presented five spatial aspects by which he understands the city as a subjective reality shaped in societal interactions. Tehran Enqelab Street as a symbol of break up in Tehran city evolution, has been a setting for political demands. It maintains modernity characteristics and also has a unique geographical location in the city center that makes it absorb many populations. All these, resonate Simmelian societal boundaries and space exclusivity.

Aim: This article attempts to study some Simmelian ideas about the spatiality of social formations in urban space by exploring these formations in Enqelab Street.

Method: Enqelab Street is taken as a case study for its high level of activities and different social formations that is the result of its historical events and geographical location. The This study attempts to explain social actions through Simmel’s ideas, and for this, it collects text and image documents by field and library researches. It also considers related evidence in social media and takes an exploratory-comparative analysis approach.

Conclusion: Applying Simmel’s ideas about general societal concepts like exclusivity, boundary, etc. and his offered method that is analyzing the most delicate social interactions in order to explore the most robust social connections, all the gathered documents prove a societal gap from the point of political-civil thinking in the street. From Simmel’s view, this gap is not only explainable but as he showed, it is spatial.

Keywords: Enqelab Street, George Simmel, Sociology of Space, Spatiality, Social landscape.

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Introduction

Every social interaction needs a space to be shared. Although some thinkers like “Marx” and “Weber” have focused on some features of social spatiality, we can say it was underestimated before Simmel (Zieleniec, 2017: 28). So social correlations affect and are affected by space. Therefore every study on these interactions without considering its spatial form is a defective one; because such a phenomenon is spatial as well as temporal. With this approach, early sociology formed a field named “Sociology of Space” after Simmel, due to this temporality and spatiality of events. This approach has double importance when the city appears to be the shared space for social interactions. From the 18th century, most human interactions are urban, and both sides of affection can be seen in it evidently. Social and economic interactions build cities, and according to Marx, due to these interactions, the urban is distinguished from the rural. Hence with cities’ developments, some new concepts emerge that did not exist before: Like transportation, mobility, pollutions, and bargaining, public spaces, etc. When we come to understand such phenomena, it’s obvious that we must take a complicated, multi-disciplinary approach toward it. Therefore, sociology of space should not only know urban society but also take correlations between urban space and society into its consideration.

There were many differences and deficiencies in definitions and texts related to this field before sociological studies are considered in the city. Many definitions of urban settlements were related to population density and material density of urban areas, and seemed to be necessary and sufficient for city recognition (Fijalkow, 2009: 14). But over time, the scholars realized the contradiction between these material components and social life in the city; under such conditions, sociology started to provide other definitions. Accordingly, material density was a prerequisite for the urbanization of the residential area, but merely considering these factors were not sufficient because material density and the complexity of the transport routes never caused the citizens to fuse and interact, and could never justify the formation of the urban population since it was socially disenfranchised.

Another complexity of the matter is the concept of society itself. The recognition of society as a whole, both in the ontological status and in the epistemological status, has been a source of controversy. As a reference and prior thinker, Simmel formulates society as artwork and believes recognition of the city by considering society, just as a set of human beings, is idle. He has worked on spatiality of modern social metropolis concepts, such as social boundaries and city hangouts, more than any other thinker; in his opinion, we can’t recognize the society by recognizing every man separated, but we should recognize the social forms and structures in its entirety; the theory later found its way into structuralism and the distinction between agency and structure.

Now the main question is, what are these social formations? Alternatively, in other words, how is the subjectivity of the social actors represented in the city? Are there tangible relations in these formations in terms of content? Are the connected formations spatial as well as being equal in meanings?

The aim of this paper is to review the Enqelab Street as a social field that embodies many of these social formations through Simmel’s idea. The purpose of this study is to understand the ideal synthesis that shapes social groups and emerge in two aspects of space, both physical and non-physical.

Hypothesis

Social and civil formations in the Tehran’s Enqelab Street (between the Vali-asr intersection to Enqelab Square), despite the physical connection, expose a social gap; a gap which, despite low length of this street, divides it into two main zone in terms of social actors’ type of political and social beliefs. Arena in front of Tehran University serves as a social boundary between the two social groups.

Literature Review

Although studies about urban are not so old, they have a rich history. In this research, we only consider
those articles that are related to our purpose, which is exploring the aspects of social formations and interactions in the street. In order to clarify the general idea of exploring how street interactions take place within the framework of Simmel, he addresses social interaction issues, community shaping, urban mentality, and in general, “socialized” ways instead of focusing on macroeconomic and political processes (Tonkiss, 2015: 72). It should also be noted that in the Simmel’s thinking system, society has an epistemological significance rather than its ontological significance, and the method of interpreting transformations is prior to the nature of the earlier transformations. In the urban sociology literature, we would deal with two categories of works.

The first category would be the works that provide the basis for the theoretical analysis. They are also divided into two categories themselves: George Simmel’s works such as “Sociology of Space” and the article “Bridges and Doors”, which, apart from clarifying the methodology of dealing with the subject, has an initial value and Chicago School of thought, which has worked properly on developing these concepts in the city. The Chicago School’s project aims to create a distinct sociological approach to study the city, which relies on the “special features of the city, as a specific form of human society.” These works set sociology as another option for understanding the city against geographers, economists, and political thinkers (Ibid: 3).

The second category is scattered and limited papers and books that analyze social interactions in general terms and in various ways on Enqelab Street as a case study. Articles such as “The Role of Place Identity in The Development of Political Action” (Kavianirad & Azizi, 2011) and “The Landscape of the Enqelab Street; The Analysis of the Relationship between Body and Meaning in Enqelab Street” (Atashinbar, 2010) are among the texts that often aimed to explain the place’s political aspect and its social aspect based on historical events. However, the intellectual framework of this research considers everything, from the body to the social context, as part of the semantic system, which is meaning itself.

**Research method**
This study has attempted to:

1. Library studies that include studying Simmel’s principles and ideas about his sociology of space and his methodology for analyzing social formations.
2. Sampling from the societal field in Enqelab Street and observing social media for gathering updated news.
3. Adapting Simmel’s principles with the data found and exploratory-comparative analysis carried out in order to achieve the relationship between citizens’ subjectivity and their behavioral formation.

This research has attempted to progress in three phases. First, library studies that include studying Simmel’s principles and ideas about his sociology of space and his methodology for analyzing social formations, In next step Sampling from the societal field in Enqelab Street and observing social media for gathering updated news and ultimately, adapting Simmel’s principles with data found, analyzing them in an exploratory-comparative way in order to achieve the relationship between citizens’ subjectivity and their behavioral formation.

**Theoretical Framework**

The importance of Simmel’s work on Sociology of Space is that it brings space into one of the most concrete features of social life (Lechner, 1991: 200). Prior to him, space in this particular aspect was considered by sociologists either to be neglected or reduced to the object produced by the dominant institutions, or an inevitable context to analyze these relations. Simmelian Sociology of Space is an important starting point for social theory of space (Zieleniec, 2017: 135).

In his formulation, Simmel spoke of five social aspects of space. These aspects include exclusivity, boundary, fixity of social forms, spatial proximity and distance, and mobility in space (Zieleniec, 2007: 46). Among these five aspects, in this paper, we choose two starting ones as the basis for analysis, because both refer to the rules and practices of various social groups confrontations, which is
precisely the subject that this article addresses. Here is a general review of these aspects:

• **Exclusivity**

Simmel thinks every space is unique and exclusive. It means that two objects, for example, a state, a municipality or a house may never occupy a single space. Simmel writes that:

“This uniqueness of space communicates itself to objects, so long as they can be conceived of merely as occupying space, and this becomes particularly important in practice for those whose spatial significance we tend to emphasize and put to spatial use. This applies especially to land, which is the condition for fulfilling and fructifying the three-dimensional quality of space for our purposes. To the extent to which a social formation is amalgamated with or is, as it were, united with a specific extension of land, then it possesses a character of uniqueness or exclusivity that is not similarly attainable in other ways” (Simmel, 1997: 138).

• **Boundary**

Simmel believes that the second aspect of any space is the boundaries. These boundaries represent a critical view for understanding the spatiality of socializing forms. The boundary in Simmel’s analysis implies that space itself is not merely a physical or material reality, but a social construct that builds relationships between individuals and between groups. This social construction of space also works by delineating it to structure the spatial relatedness of objects, features, and social relationships within it (its contents), as well as the interactions that can be manifested. Boundaries follow a dual purpose by defining the shape and arrangement of the space: through boundaries, objects and actions can be organized and arranged in accordance to a program or functional requirements based on some values, principles or goals, while the boundary also structures their contents together (Zieleniec, 2017: 93-100).

On the other hand, reviewing Simmel’s particular regarding the point of epistemological and sociological interpretations of human constructs and body objects is something that has a vital role for the analytical nature of this research. In the article “Bridges and Doors,” (1994) Simmel analyzes these two human phenomena that have been considered before, and goes deep in the possibilities they create for social interactions. He refers to the human being as “boundary maker” and believes that the human being has to connect and separate forces so that every human existence is a prerequisite for another existence. Human beings initially divide things in order to connect them again. He thinks that the bridge provides a new understanding of distance and proximity. Without the bridges, “isolated” banks do not have a significant meaning, but with a certain path the bridge shows between them, they gain meaning.

“[The boundary making] reaches its zenith in the construction of a bridge. Here the human will to connection seems to be confronted not only by the passive resistance of spatial separation but also the active resistance of a particular configuration. By overcoming this obstacle, the bridge symbolizes the extension of our volitional sphere over space. Only for us are the banks of a river not just apart but ‘separated’: if we did not first connect them in our practical thoughts, in our needs, and in our fantasy, then the concept of separation would have no meaning” (Simmel, 1994: 5-10).

On the other hand, “the door” as opposed to the bridge, is the cause of self-imposed confinement. The door is practically a total boundary point that man does not stand on its one side, but precisely on it. “The door” is a joint and a finite piece through which we associate the limited space that we have stabilized, again with infinite space. Therefore, “door” is the guarantor of human agency.

“The finiteness into which we have put ourselves always borders somewhere at the infinity of the physical or metaphysical being. In this way, the door becomes the symbol for the threshold on which humans always stand or can stand. The door relates the finite unity mas which we have constituted a piece of infinite space designated for us m again to infinite space. The door is the line of demarcation where the limited and the limitless meet” (Simmel, 1994).

This approach to human constructs leads us to the conclusion that the concept of the boundary in social
relations is a concept that affects these relations and also is influenced by them. In other words, the boundary is not a spatial fact with sociological results, but rather a social reality that takes place in the space (Frisby, 2007: 57). In his opinion, the search for social formations leads us to the point where social boundaries can be found. Thus, Simmel defines sociology not in terms of its quest, that is society, but in terms of its method; therefore, sociology seeks to explore the forces, forms and transformations of socialization, correlations, cooperation and coexistence of individuals; for Simmel, “society is a place where People interact “and [sociology] is the only science that really seeks to just recognize society “in the very concept of it”. If sociology studies the forms of social interactions, then sociology in the sense of Simmel can and must examine all forms of socialization.

Distinguishing the form and content of social life
Simmel has consistently insisted on separating the form and content of socialization in most of his works and invites all sociologists and researchers to do the same. In his opinion, the distinction between the form and the content of social life leads the researcher to something beyond the encyclopedic interpretation of sociology (Ibid: 16). In other words, in his opinion, the sociologist is misguided if, instead of focusing on social formations and finding incentives, goes around categorizing sociological contents such as “crime and deviation, poverty and prosperity, race, ethnicity, migration, etc.”. So he writes about the concept of society and the mission of sociology as a method of study:

“If society is merely a constellation of individuals who are the actual realities, then the latter and their behavior also constitutes the real object of science and the concept of society evaporates. What palpably exists is indeed only individual human beings and their circumstances and activities: therefore, the task can only be to understand them, whereas the essence of society that emerges purely through an ideal synthesis and is never to be grasped should not form the object of reflection that is directed towards the investigation of reality” (Simmel, as cited in Frisby, 2007: 36).

Therefore, Simmel considers the abstract concept of “society” meaningless without scrutinizing in its forms; the forms are the result of subtle acts through which the actors (members of society) become members of this society. Now the question is, from a Simmelian point of view, what societal forms need to be investigated?

Society as “Work of Art”: the formal aspect of Simmel ideas
Taking this question on, it can be said that to study social forms in Simmel’s sociology framework, we must consider “the forces, forms, and transformations of socialization, cooperation, correlation of individuals.” According to Simmel, sociology should look at any form of socialization, because the smallest of them also report strong social connections (it can be the interactions while eating, or appointment, type of clothes, etc.). All forms of socialization should carry out historical and comparative studies so that their general characteristics and attributes are discovered, and this study can be devised in a single form with different content. Related to the “Social Form” concept, Simmel does not take the interaction that is the basis for societal formation, as an abstract existence, but he considers it a variety of forms of interaction, and interaction always appears in a particular form. Therefore, society is always a formed society. Otherwise, it does not exist (Frisby, 2007: 127).

It is true that the basic formations and systems (classes, government, religion, etc.) seem to be the constructor of what we call “society”, but from Simmel’s point of view, sociology should also focus on identifying less organized interactions, interactions that “remain in a state of destabilization, but they have an equally important role in associating individuals to society” (Ibid: 18). Indeed, if we focus on the main formulas or community classifications mentioned earlier,
then it is entirely impossible to reconstruct the real life of society like how we encounter it in our direct experience.

Simmel, in an important article entitled “Sociological Aesthetic” introduces society as a “work of art”. In his interpretation, he considers the space as a canvas in which social interactions of individuals are like objects that artistically accompany the creation of artwork; in fact, it is the subjects that require analysis as an approach to elaborate the concept of Society; therefore, it can be generally viewed as an aesthetic concept (Frisby, 1985: 68-80). The significance of the smallest and seemingly worthless actions in sociological studies can be found in a part of his discourse in the article “Sociological Aesthetic”:

“In our point of view, the essence of observing and aesthetic interpretation is in the fact that the routines can be found in what is unique; accordingly organized issue can be explored in randomness and the nature and significance of things in what is apparent and temporary [...]. Through educated-eyes, all the aesthetic, the meaning of the world emerge from every single point” (Ibid).

Enqelab Street in Tehran

• Exploring social forms

The importance of exploring the finest social interactions and their impact on the discovery of civil connections and explaining the mechanism of social structures based on Simmel’s statements has already been mentioned,. It might be questioned why Enqelab Street was chosen to be explored through social forms?

1. Enqelab Street is the Tehran city center and a major platform and setting for social activities.

2. The dynamism and vitality of this axis make it unique to other zones of Tehran.

3. Citizens of the northernmost zone of the city through “Vali-asr Street” and Citizens of the southernmost zone of the city through “Karegar street” visit on this axis.

4. This axis is a setting for demonstrations and political demands regarding its historical events and establishment of the University of Tehran.

Sociological forms are infinite in the city. In this research, it has been attempted to explore the evidence collected by sampling through field research. Simmel’s sociological research is not limited to a “structure with superior order”, but also encompasses the “delicate subtleties” that connects people to one another; randomly parcel of societal reality whose research gives us deeper and more precise comprehension of society, rather than “merely examining abstract superficial structures” (Frisby, 2007: 131-132). Therefore, we tried to analyze the subtleties and delicate interactions of this urban axis. Signs and forms found did not appear to have organized structure at first, but after analysis, they were categorized into four categories: 1. Political-civil protests; 2. Art performances; 3. Namings; and 4. Street Hawkers’ products. Each of them is detailed below.

• Political-civil protests and demonstrations

From the Islamic Revolution onward, Enqelab Street has been the largest platform and tribune for political demands: the annual march of February 11, religious rituals, civil and protest movements, etc. Therefore, the most prominent attribute of this street is its political semantic burden in community minds.

Recent storms of protest include the so-called “Girls of Enqelab Street”; The movement in which protesters objected to hijab obligations by climbing telephone boxes and presenting a raised rod covered with a scarf. First of all, the very word itself makes us ponder: “Girls of Enqelab Street”. The “Enqelab Street”, as an possessive noun in this lexical compound, serves as an adjective. This signifies the political burden of this street. Other girls in other cities of Iran and even in foreign countries such as Britain raised the rod up and were reflected, named as “Girls of Enqelab Street” in all news media. But precisely where, the girls of Enqelab Street, who were trying to protest against obligations symbolically, took for their protest on this axis? As said, the place of social action is very important in Simmel’s idea. If we investigate the position of telephone boxes that these people have taken to protest, it could be seen
that, of the four girls who protested, the first person was in front of the “French pastry”, at “Abu Rihan’s Ave”, the second was in front of the “Institute of Art and Culture” at the corner of “Muafaar Brothers Street”, third in Vali-asr intersection and finally the fourth person was in the vicinity of “Ferdowzi Square”; it means, if we divide Enqelab Street from Vali-asr intersection to Enqelab Square- into half, all of them were in the eastern zone of this axis. After a while, in opposition to this movement and in order to defend the Islamic hijab, some people started to raise “Ya Hussein” flags , in the western zone especially “Enqelab Square” (Fig. 1).

It is likely that these people recognize the target audience and discern where to protest, or unconsciously feel more familiar with a particular zone of the street. Simmel emphasizes that the “appointment” signifies that human memory is more powerful about space than time (Frisby, 2007: 77).

Another recent protest activity was the demonstration on December 30, 2017. The three-day protest took place in three main positions: Eneqelab Square, the arena in front of Tehran University and Vali-asr intersection.

Other social forms that can be mentioned include slogans which their spatiality are also worth checking. on 30th of December, the themes of the protest slogans shouted at these three points differed. In Enqelab Square, the slogans were generally about economic issues. In Vali-asr intersection, slogans with the themes of objection to the ruling power were shouted and in arena in front of the University of Tehran, both groups of slogans were shouted by students. Perhaps the image, taken on December 29, 2017, in front of the University of Tehran reveals more than anything else, the division of intellectual-social currents and the social boundary (Fig. 2).

**- Graffiti**

Graffiti is a type of social action that an artist considers urban walls as his canvas. In fact, the artist intends to target the public and the passers-by as his audiences. Graffiti themes around the world tend to be in protest at the social and controversial issues, and in some cases, are presented as an artistic work. There are a minimal number of places where graffiti carry political content.

Enqelab Street, which has always acted as a canvas of graffiti for political content, is unique in the whole world. It could be noticed by looking at the graffiti of Enghelab Street, the two factions were previously mentioned, have different point of view on the subject and their options of location to take for their protest. In the meantime, the graffiti of the eastern zone mostly focus on political issues that object to ruling system and government, while, of western zone give more attention to religious themes. Graffiti’s content itself can also be taken into account. For instance, in the eastern zone, there are graffiti carrying contents like condemnation of the arrests of political activists, social issues, protests against maladministration, and protesting to suppression of legal protests by the governors, and in the western zone graffiti with global religious-political content such as condemnation of the “bloody Friday of Gaza”. Interestingly, the graffiti of the first batch were daubed on telephone boxes, the very which, girls of Enqelab Street climbed to protest and the graffiti of second batch related to the “bloody Friday of Gaza” were daubed on ablution place (Fig. 3).

**- Street music performance**

The second category of social action is street music, which is performed on this axis. As it is shown in Fig. 4, traditional Persian music is performed on the Western zone (around “16 Azar” street) and on the Eastern zone (in front of Mellat Bank) foreign musical genres are performed by citizens. Musicians’ clothes could also receive attention and it is no expetion (Fig. 4).
• Street Hawkers
In relation to retail items, in this article retail items are considered as things sold by Hawkers. Regarding to the rational proposition that “the hawker sells things that are sold more”, Could it be seen that people have a particular tendency to read certain books depending on the location of the hawkers in a particular position in this street?

- Banned books
The sale of banned books by street hawkers is one of the identity elements of this street. Considering the location of the hawkers on this urban axis, the type and the content of the books, the differences between the way of thinking and social statues in two groups could be perceived.

As it is indicated in Fig. 5, the books that are being
Fig. 3. Placiality of graffiti based on their content. Source: author.

Fig. 4. Placiality of artistic actions: Traditional music against foreign music. Photos by: Mohammadreza Frouzandeh, 2018. Source: authors.
sold in front of the university often have political content and intellectual issues. Meanwhile, even the novels with romance themes contain one character with political concerns. However, it is also north worthy that the books being sold on this urban axis are an eclectic of all intellectual and political tides, precisely like the division of the social boundary, which was previously mentioned about slogans and the picture of the demonstrations in front of Tehran University on December 29, 2017. Furthermore, when we investigate books on the eastern zone, we find books which have completely different perspectives. For instance biography of ‘Fawzia’ (Mohammad Reza Pahlavi’s first wife), ‘Soraya’ (Mohammad Reza Pahlavi’s second wife), ‘Farah’ (Mohammad Reza Pahlavi’s last wife), ‘Cyrus the Great’, etc as examples. As it could be seen, the vast majority of banned books in the eastern zone are about the Imperial system and its leading figures. Moreover, romance novels and books with life skills content (social intelligence power, how to become rich? Power of expression, etc (Fig. 5).

- Posters
Among other hawkers’ items for sale in Enqelab street, you can find posters of artists, politicians, etc. These items, which are often sold right across the Tehran University, vary from portraits of martyrs to politicians like Hitler and Reza Shah Pahlavi. It reflects the confluence of intellectual and social boundaries mentioned earlier (Fig. 5).

- Naming
Another worthwhile action is the names chosen by these social actors for their own shops. It would be helpful to know what sort of names they choose for the shops, as the names indicate their way of thinking. In this section, the names of the cafes on this axis are mentioned. Apart from the fact that the number of Eastern zone cafes are almost twice the number of Western zone, which reveals lifestyle differences, names in the Eastern zone are all foreign names and in the Western are traditional and Persian names (Fig. 6).

Discussion
Simmel argues that in the methodology of socialist analysis of man, “we [...] will understand social formations and laws through combining social phenomena with different contents, and in fact, through an inductive way rummaging that which, in any case, are common in them” (Freisbay, 2007: 129). The data found, though limited in categorization, the proposed method of Simmel is somehow infinite. From Simmel’s point of view, induction is the fundamental element of sociological studies, so the importance of the “plurality” and “diversity” of data, as found by inductivists as the essential pre-requisite for achieving a true proposition in the human sciences, would get more and more importance. Therefore, this paper, has attempted to make sure that both of these elements fit into the requirements of adaptive analysis. The data in four categories all refer to at least one main concept: the placiality of actions. Political protests, typologically and contently (symbolic action or slogan), the content of hawkers’ products for sale, artistic actions and naming, all, in addition to content assimilation, are placial in this street.

Besides, all signs lead us to understand Enghelab street fragmented into two parts, socially and politically, simultaneously all actions contain same contents in a homogeneous structure. They signify existence of a social boundary at the center of this axis (Enqelab Square to Vali Asr); A border that keeps traditional and religious group of people on one side and non-traditional and secular group of people on the other side.

It should be noted that crossed activities have a long history in terms of content on this axis. «Kourosh Shishegaraan», the painter of the second Pahlavi era, in 1976, put a poster on the walls of ShaahReza Street (Enqelab street). He drawed two serpentine colored and entwined lines and attributed arts (cinema, music, painting And ...) as adjectives for this street and intruduced it as a “piece of art” (Najafizadeh, 2017: 66), as Simmel previously described such social fields. The two entwined lines
Fig. 5. Placiality of hawker's retails. Photos by: Mohammadreza Frouzandeh, 2018. Source: authors.

Fig. 6. Naming action differences in terms of content and its placiality. Source: authors.
Conclusion

Among his contemporaries, Simmel is the only sociologist who repeatedly rummaged the social world of everyday life interactions and their cultural expressions; many articles are written about seemingly insignificant actions of individuals and points out the importance of observing and analyzing these actions in establishing strong links. In other words, Simmel’s attempt at founding sociology as an independent science which does not rely on the discovery of a new object for sociological research, Simmel’s “sociology”, is not based on the subject of the new material but rather on the formal aspect, a new method of observation, a perspective, and an abstraction. The most profound issues of modern life are due to the individual’s claim to defend his independency and individuality against social resistantable forces and those issues concentrated in the metropolis. Each urban-affiliated scholar observes these formal issues with uneducated eyes. Applying approach of Simmel’s “sociology of space” make us able to recognize the most rooted social ties. Understanding the society through the lens of Simmel helps shaping a perspective for understanding urban areas: identifying the social types, adding new aspects to the urban social maps, providing the possibility for more emergence of citizens’ subjectivity, and subsequently exploring more clues to identify the society better in order to recognize urban needs and ultimately organizing urban zones.

References list


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