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Original Research Article

A Comparative Study of Citizens' Interpretations of the City (Urban Landscape) and Urban Development Plans A Transition from a Traditional landscape to a Modern one in Shiraz*

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Abstract

Problem statement: Since the time of Reza Shah Pahlavi, development and action in the city have been the result of “interaction between the city and laws” bound by “enforcing centralized laws”. They have been formed based on integrated rules and regulations issued in the form of development plans and comprehensive and detailed plans for urban areas. Accordingly, the development of urban spaces and their interventions have been limited to mathematical numbers and quantitative criteria rather than to be treated as a qualitative issue and be based on citizens' perceptions. Anything related to the quality of urban landscape has been proposed through local and conceptual plans or attached to the master plan and detailed plan.

Research objectives: This study draws upon the conceptual model of the urban landscape to compare development programs with citizens' interpretation of the city. In doing so, this study attempts to identify the shortcomings of development plans and programs and show how the drawbacks have been the major culprit of the quality decline of the city's landscape during the transition from a traditional city to a modern city.

Research method: The qualitative research methods has been used for this study within the phenomenological paradigm. The study has been conducted in four phases.

Conclusion: Despite the influence of the government in the development of the city until the end of Qajar, people's actions and the city developments by the government took place in lived spaces, which were based on the experience-perception of citizens. The transition from the traditional city to a modern city in Shiraz started at the time of Reza Shah when there was a strong desire for maximum order and standardization. This led to the transformation of three-dimensional lived spaces based on citizens' experience-perception into two-dimensional and laboratory abstract spaces. In interpreting the current situation, recognizing objects in the city based on natural sciences and overlooking citizens' interpretations of the city has led to reductionism in recognizing the city and, thus, urban actions. It seems that the cause of the crisis has been the perception of citizens of the city.

Keywords: *Urban Landscape, Urban Development Programs, Space, Governing Perspective, Shiraz.*

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Introduction and background of the study

The city as tantamount to cityscape reflects a living and dynamic aspect of the experience of citizens. A significant part of the citizens' knowledge, emotions, and environmental behavior is formed under its influence. The historical continuity of the landscape of traditional cities secures life in the city and is formed through citizens' "interaction with nature" (Ashouri as cited in Ganji, 1992, 7; Mansouri, 2016; Sheibani & Esmaeeldokht, 2016, 15). However, a series of factors such as scientific and industrial revolutions, technological progress, change in social structures and promotion of development ideas, urbanization based on the growing exploitation of natural resources in the West, and development of manifestations of change and transformation in Iran (modernism), have disrupted the historical continuity of the landscape of traditional cities. The desire for development with a "wrong foundation" (Ashouri as cited in Ganji, 1992) have led to "underdevelopment" (Ghani Nejad, 1998) and caused a crisis in cities and minds. From a sociological point of view, "all pre-modern societies that do not have a technological background and want to enter the age of technology, will undoubtedly face crises in all aspects of life" (Ashouri as cited in Ganji, 1992). Crisis and turmoil in the landscape of contemporary cities is a popular proposition known by professionals, managers, intellectuals, and people. Experts in different disciplines have studied this issue. Sociologists and political scientists have mostly examined the origins of the crisis in contemporary cities from a theoretical perspective. They believe that the political structure is the root of the problem. Specialists in applied sciences such as urban planning, architecture, and landscape architects have offered more strategies in this regard (Table 1).

A careful perusal of the literature shows that in examining the theoretical issues of urban management and development plans, the emphasis has been on qualitative development than quantitative development. However, in qualitative development, scholars have overlooked the past events that paved

the way for the transition from the traditional to the contemporary city. As a result, this has brought some changes to the body of the city and the perception of the residents of the city. In reality, city managers have complained about the lack of cooperation of institutions in the development of the city, its modernization, and reconstruction. Even in the cases that citizens have received attention as contributors to the city development, the main focus has been on the legibility and addressability of the city for residents (e.g. Nazif & Motalebi, 2019). In explaining the causes of confusion, the contemporary interior architects, who had a maximum impact on the development process of the city and decision-making, have mainly focused on the physical structure of architecture and architectural facades.

There is no doubt that architecture (urban-landscape) is a key and important element of the urban landscape, but it is the only factor. The architects' views in the explanation for turmoil in the urban landscape are one-dimensional and present a "view of cities" in government policy-making. In examining Tehran master plan, Mansouri states, "one of the major problems in compiling the Tehran master plan is the presence of prominent architects who are specialized in the field of architecture but are not prominent urban planners" (Mansouri, 2016, 23).

A brief look at the studies on the "Plan of Shiraz Neighborhood Development" (which is conducted in 2017) might give this impression that the urban plan is designed according to the upstream document and is neighborhood-oriented. However, a careful examination of the plans and issues raised in the feasibility in 24 phases shows that the social dimension of the neighborhood has been overlooked, and the city of Shiraz has been divided into 157 neighborhoods based on population per capita, welfare facilities, access, etc. and objective criteria but human perception in developing the plan has been overlooked (Shiraz Municipality, 2018).

Among studies in the Iranian context, Mahmeli Abyaneh in his article titled "Evaluation of the concept of landscape in urban plans; a comparison of

Table 1. Crisis in the urban landscape through the lens of Iranian and foreign experts. Source: Authors.

| Field of expertise | Researcher | Urban problems | Reason for the problem | Strategy |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|--|--|
| Political Science | Katouzian (2001) | - Short-lived society (Run-down), - Quasi-modernism - The conflict between government and nation | - An authoritarian dictatorship - Instability in property - Oil-dependent economy | Reform and long-term society |
| | Ashouri as cited in Ganji (1992) | Crisis in all areas | - Pre-modern society and technology - Lack of modern rationality - Westernization - Tyranny - Oil-dependent economy | Linguistics and literature |
| | Ghani Nejad (1998) | Underdevelopment | - Inverted modernism - The idea of seeking law - Westernization - The oil-dependent economy | |
| Sociologists | Zibakalam (1995) | Government tyranny (centralized government power) | Geographical conditions and water shortages as a result of dependence on the ruler and governor | The establishment of popular organizations |
| | Fakouhi (2004) | Social problems | Attention to physical development | Attention to social structures and qualitative development of the city |
| Anthropologists | Fazeli (2016) | Cultural shortcomings | - Civil discourse and theatrical development - Instrumental rationality | Revitalization of the city according to cultural functions and communication discourse than theatrical discourse |
| Architects | Moazami (2012) | Crisis in the body (architecture) | Cultural rupture and lack of attention to the category of culture in architectural design (problems in translating innovation) | Examination of the structure of architectural design courses and reform of laws in the field of architecture in Iran |
| Urban planners and city management | Golkar (2008) | Crisis in the urban landscape as the level of citizens' contact with the city | Crisis in urban design that arises from the crisis in urban development processes | Understanding urban design as urban landscape management |
| | Athari as cited in Ghamami (2013) | Crisis in Laws | Lack of historical rationality | Revision of urban development plans |
| | Madnipour (2016) | Crisis in the body of the city | Failure of comprehensive plans in Iran and other countries | Preparing the guides and instructions that aim to change the urban space in a process that has social, technical, and aesthetic dimensions |
| | Romano & Zullo (2014) | - Development of urbanization and invasion of cities after World War II - Environmental and social problems, economic, political, etc. in Italy | - Lack of appropriate tools to collect information affect setting plans and consequently incorrect data results in wrong urban planning development - Lack of proper structural relationship between municipalities and regions, incorrect distribution of population in regions, fragmentation of the city and discrete communication between the city and the suburbs | Employing the appropriate collection tools and using the right data in adopting policies and controlling policies and changes over time. |
| | Tietjen & Jørgensen (2016) | Invasion of cities and depopulation of villages | Lack of cultural and social relations of existing strategies | Special planning for each location leads to the realization of planning for sustainable development. |
| Ecologists | Falco (2017) | Investigating the problems of coastal areas and uncontrolled construction | - Differences of intervening institutions and organizations in the adoption and implementation of laws and their non-alignment with each other - Urban development and lack of legal frameworks for construction. | |
| | Calthorp (2015) | Environmental crisis | | A practical look at nature in the city |
| | Forman (2014) | Environmental crisis | Moving all sciences to a cohesive point under the leadership of ecologists in urban planning | - The center of the city and nature are the main elements next to the city. - A practical look at nature in the city |

the development of comprehensive plans of Tehran with global experience”, has examined the position of the urban landscape in urban development programs. He argues that the lack of effective operational solutions to the ideals is associated with the design and development documents. By referring to the complementary document of the London plan called “Management Framework of London Vision”, he shows the operationalization of the urban landscape in landscape documents” (Mahmeli Abyaneh, 2011).

Research questions

Over one hundred years have passed since the modernization movement and intellectualism in the late Qajar dynasty, the Constitutional Revolution, and the establishment of modern infrastructure, and institutions in Iran. Despite the formation of the municipality during the Qajar period and the political-economic institutions of urban development planning in the first Pahlavi period and the framing of its structures in the second Pahlavi period and after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, urbanization issues have not been yet improved and have been getting more complex and critical. People’s dissatisfaction with today’s cities, including the extreme similarity of cities with different climates and ethnicities, is related to urban development programs that are centrally prepared by engineers and imposed on the city. Given the turmoil in citizens’ perceptions of the city and the production of urban spaces under the influence of development programs, this study attempts to answer two following questions: What are the positions of the government and citizens’ views while laws are being imposed on the urban landscape? Why is the turmoil in the landscape of the city on the rise even though the rules and regulations serve as a framework to orient the landscape of cities properly?

The laws and programs of urban development have been the most important factors contributing to the creation of the landscapes of cities since the time of the Constitutional Revolution and establishment

of the legal municipality. The landscapes of contemporary cities have been under the influence of the law, not the culture, society, etc. The landscape of traditional cities has been the result of human interaction with the surrounding nature and the citizens have been the driving force behind its creation. The experience and perception of citizens as a social process have been formed through the interaction within the city context and structures. Ever since the traditional form of urban formation has become the centralized method, the power of governance has been producing and reproducing the landscape through urban development programs. Despite this fact, the most important shaping factor in the landscape of the city is the law of urban development, while citizens’ perceptions of the city in directing legislation have received the least attention.

Research method

To study the relationship between the independent variable of this study or urban development programs and the dependent variable, namely the city landscape, we used qualitative research methods within the phenomenological paradigm. The study included four stages. In the first phase, the space organization in Shiraz was examined and changes in the city during different periods were scrutinized based on the first and second-hand documents using the interpretive-historical method. To understand the historical interval of transition from the perspective of a traditional contemporary city, we studied the plans and program development in historical periods in the second phase and extracted the components of interest in programs and their status in different periods. In the third phase, we carried out a comparative study of citizens’ interpretation of the city based on the conceptual model of the urban landscape¹ and the approach to the cityscape in development plans. In the fourth phase of the study, the contemporary cities and the major problems facing them were examined through the method of causal (post-event) research. The causes and factors

of turmoil in the cityscape were scrutinized in the sources. The situation of the transition period in the landscape of Shiraz and the effect of the prevailing view on its formation were delved into in the last phase.

The evolution of the governance perspective in the development of the city

One of the turning points of the traditional cities of Iran over history refers to the time when they have served as the capital of the country and gone through some changes to meet the special conditions required for the government. Examining these cities in different periods (e.g. Isfahan at the Safavid time, Shiraz at the Karim Khan Zand, or Tehran at Qajar) shows some massive changes in their spatial organization. For instance, Shiraz has experienced fundamental changes based on government views during Karim Khan Zand to achieve political stability. To improve its defense system “The protective wall of the city [was reduced], from 19 neighborhoods to 11 and from 12 gates to 6, and the dam [was built], on the river” (Hosseini Fasaee, 1999) to establish a government and administrative system (Fig. 1). It seems that before the formation of the municipality as a political institution, the perspective of the governing system has strongly influenced the urban spatial organization.

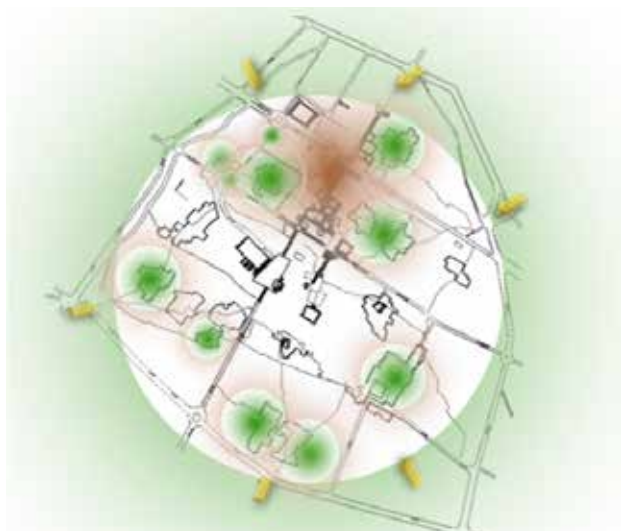


Fig. 1. Neighborhoods and Gates of Shiraz in Karim Khan Zand Era. Source: Authors.

After the Constitutional Revolution and the formation of a new administrative system in the Qajar period, there were still some developments in the city. With the formation of a powerful central government during the reign of Reza Shah, the reproduction of urban spaces from large to small scale was in the authority of governments. This led to the formation of the municipality. According to the first law of the municipality during the reign of Nasser al-Din Shah in 1907, the main reason for the formation of the municipality was to “protect the interests of cities and meet the needs of urban residents”.

In the October 1919, Shiraz Municipality was officially established. According to the Law of the Municipality in 1907, three elected representatives from each neighborhood (i.e. social core of the urban spatial organization) were introduced to the municipality and the number of members of the supervision association was equal to the number of neighborhoods in the city.

At the beginning of the formation of the municipality, this institution was suffering from poor administration for several reasons such as the turmoil in the government situation, lack of budget, lack of familiarity with the urban development institution. The function of the municipality was limited to cleaning the city. Contrary to the monarchy-sectarian rule of previous periods, the powerful central government of Reza Shah, undertook urban development and created powerful visual capacities in the city following the infrastructural changes in economic, political, social, demographic, and the formation of a quasi-modern government. The tendency to form a central government was to exercise authority based on the “powerful army and bureaucracy” (Abrahamian, 2007). The reliance on newly established institutions such as municipalities for urban management led to government-centered actions in cities and empowered the municipality. However, the nation-wide actions were based on an authoritarian approach than a citizen-centered approach. As stated by the press, the need for a

powerful central government was felt by intellectuals in all aspects of life. For example, in Afshar's article on education in Iran in *Iranshahr* magazine, it is written as follows "The Iranian society would not sweep in front of its door. A righteous person, an enlightened and an open mind one is needed to sweep in front of our house every morning, and forcibly turn on the lights of our alleys, and make our clothes uniform, correct our education ... forcibly run the offices ... forcibly regulates our coffee houses, milk shops, and herb shops... even forcibly determines our sleep and waking hours..." (Afshar, 1923, 139-140).

Development plans

Examining the history of urban development shows that it has been both action-oriented and program-oriented. Intervention and action include a type of practical intervention in the development and renovation of a city. In the absence of a long-term plan and vision, urban development targets at renovating and creating new urban spaces. Before the formation of government institutions, the city was associated with such development and intervention. An example of this was the report about the construction of a market by one of the famous merchants of Shiraz in Naseri's book on Fars: "Haji Asadbeig, merchant of Shiraz had full credit at the end of the Safavid government, he built a bazaar in this neighborhood [chicken market neighborhood] around 1720 and so, raised it by high arches, turned it into a paper factory on one side and connected the other side to the large bazaar of the holy shrine of Seyyed Mir Mohammad (AS) and built a high arch in the middle of four squares, and so far this bazaar has remained and has been known as Haji Bazaar" (Hosseini Fasaei, 1999, 951). After the formation of the municipality in urban renewal and development, civil development took place ahead of the enacted program. For example, the Road Development Regulation of 1921 was approved after the formation of streets in Tehran and metropolitan areas. Such out-of-program measures were taken for addressing

a problem in the city or infrastructure changes required for civil development. An example of this is the arrival of cars and the development of urban streets during the Reza Shah period. Traditional measures used to be unplanned and develop based on the context. After the formation of the program organization in 1949 during the second Pahlavi period and executing five development programs in the same period, the measurements of new planning was aligned with the existing conditions of the system. Urban planning with a vision of several years was carried out professionally after the presentation of comprehensive plans. Comprehensive designs of development theories in developing the Third World countries have been based on what is considered appropriate for the West and the developed world. These plans are the output of structuralism approaches.

Examining the physical structure of Shiraz based on the available documents from the municipality indicate that development programs have been contributing factors to the structure of the city since the formation of the municipality. These factors can be classified into macro, intermediary, and micro levels based on their impact scale. For example, in the first Pahlavi era, large and long-term plans whose impact scale includes the whole city (e.g. the polarization of the city as the new or old city) is classified as the factors of the macro level. An example of the factors on the intermediary scale can be the main straight streets and squares at the intersection of streets. The factors falling on the small scale are renovation and leveling alleys and passages and facades. After Reza Shah, most of the urban development programs have been related to comprehensive and detailed plans. Though they have not been fully implemented, they have strongly affected urban development (Table 2).

Important Components in Development Plans

Examining the plans shows that three elements, namely the context, structure, and action guide the

Table 2. Classification of development plans and programs on a macro, intermediary, and micro scale from Qajar period with the formation of the municipality until now. Source: Authors.

| Period | Scale | Type | Case | Explanation |
|---------------------------|---|--|---|---|
| Qajar | Macro | - | - | The general structure of the city was formed based on social neighborhoods as small units, and the border-center pattern in the city was similar to previous periods |
| | Intermediary | Urban complexes | Complexes of Nasir al-Mulk, Qawam al-Mulk, and ... | Politicians carried out governmental and social actions |
| | Micro | Private and public buildings | Moshir Mosque, Nasir Al-Molk Mosque, and... | Presence of modernist minimalists such as decorations and materials |
| First Pahlavi | Macro | New city and old city | The formation of a new city outside the historical context | Well-off people first started migrating to the gardens areas around the city because the defensive wall of the city was destructed and the city looked old. Then a bipolar pattern was formed under the name of the new-old city, and the municipality began to contribute to the political development of the new city. |
| | Intermediary | Squares and straight streets | Regulations on widening and development of roads and streets 1933 Square-passage pattern | The urban development pattern included four or three streets and the square at the intersection of streets with standard and specific sizes based on the map. The map of the city streets was produced based on |
| | Micro | - New urban functions - Materials and facades - Construction of public and private factories | Running the municipality, establishing banks and government institutions, and military barracks | The parts of the city were connected through straight streets, a line formed between private gardens and organic social texture, and the atmosphere of water and trees as elements of street scenery from the same period, a new pattern in the development of streets and passages. |
| Second Pahlavi | Macro | | First development plan (1948-1955) | The streets were developed. Drinking water and electricity were provided and industries and the city association were formed |
| | | | Second Development Plan (1955-1962) | The first urban plans were developed by foreign engineers, such as the networking plan of Shiraz (Gibbs plan) |
| | | | The fourth development plan of the comprehensive plan of 1969 | Increasing population led to circular development by creating two ring roads and streets connecting the city center with two ring roads |
| | | | Fifth development plan | Emco Master Plan |
| | | National macro plans | Land reform | Different factors, the advent of industrial machinery, the fragmentation of large tracts of land owned by landlords and rulers, and the inefficiency of industrial machinery in production, and the lack of capital on the part of the peasants, led to large-scale migration and the weakening of rural life structure and the scattering of urban life. |
| Intermediary | - New urban institutions following the White Revolution - The continuation of urban development, and the expansion of the central fabric of the city | Formation of urban and rural institutions for selling agricultural products | With the formation of such institutions, rural people were introduced to the splendor of urban life and the desire for migration increased, and the subcultures in urban life increased more and more. | |
| Micro | - Urban sculptures - New socio-cultural functions | Cinema, universities, offices, festivals, and events such as the Art Festival | Municipalities were forced to install a statue of the king in the main square of the city and mount the content of the charter of the king and the people on the statue, the clock square in the cities was established and ... | |
| Islamic Revolution | Macro | Development plans and area of influence and detail of cities | The comprehensive plan of 1989-2009 and detailed plan of 1994-2014 | Urban growth was controlled and managed and correct patterns of urban land use were developed according to population growth (physical development) |
| | Intermediary | - Satellite towns - Suburbanization | Sadra | The increase in urban population and the impossibility of formal settlement in the city led to the construction of satellite towns on the outskirts of the city. |
| | Micro | Local and thematic plans | Tourism, residential, cultural and plans | Examples of the development are plans for holy and historical places and ... |

urban development, some of which, such as the context, are influential in the initial phase of studies. In the operational phase, structure affects the city based on the current situation and the actions affect the landscape of the city based on the context and the function of structure in the operation phase (Table 3). Reviewing the executive programs in the Qajar period shows that the context, structure, and action have created each other in natural processes. As a result of such processes, the perception of the city as a whole has been formed. An example of this can be seen in the time of Zandieh. In general, the attitude towards the shaping factors of the city has changed fundamentally since the time of Reza Shah. In this period, the prioritization of the components of development has been different from the previous periods and the importance of maximum order is so important that authoritarian development overrides actions, natural structures, and contexts and is imposed on the fabric of the city. However, in the later periods, a new approach to development plans based on “standardized structures” has shaped the urban landscape on a spectrum of scale ranging from micro to macro. A careful examination of the components studied in the plans and programs of development shows that all the components in the set are supposed to shape the citizens’ experience and perception of the city. In fact, development programs are meant to create a new situation for citizens to interpret and reproduce the landscape.

Conceptual model of the urban landscape and its components

Urban landscaping is a process through which the citizen experiences and perceives the physical structure and body of the city at three levels: macro, intermediary, and micro. As a result, the city is the process of human-space interaction, falling on a continuous sequence of time. The interaction is reflected in spatial experiences and images created by the citizen reflect the extent to which they are exposed to the city in different spaces. In defining the urban landscape, the concern is the authenticity of experience and perception of the inhabitants of the city over time. “Cities are dense material realities which also take their shape in memory and perception” (Tonkiss, 2015, 4). Examining literature of the urban area analytically and comparing theoretical and operational definitions of experience and citizens’ perception of the city, and extracting components; we attempted to examine the generality of the city phenomenon about the experience-perception of space and construction of landscape at the perceptual-spatial levels on the continuum of time. The purpose was to figure out the citizen’s exposure to the city at different levels (Fig. 2). In previous models, the focus of architects has been on the early phase and the smallest scales while sociologists, who believe in the subjectivity of the city, have examined the perception of the citizen from the city on the largest scale or macro level.

Table 3. Components used in urban development plans and programs. Source: Authors.

| | Component | Definition | Criteria | |
|------------------|----------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|--|
| Development plan | Background (situational Context) | Tangible conditions generally dominate in the city and include macro information about the city. Background (situational context) of the development program | Tangible | Natural Economic Political Social relations Cultural relations |
| | Structure | The structure as an external factor interacts with the actors and context and influences their behaviors and thoughts and is influenced by their thoughts. | Natural Man-made | Time-framed Unexpected |
| | Action | Any current events and activities that are produced and reproduced under the influence of stakeholders and influential actors. | Contextual Authoritative | Historical, Social Dictatorial, Political |

The position of citizens in development programs and the transition from a traditional city to a contemporary city

“The process of formation of traditional cities in Iran had an endogenous character that was influenced by the social and cultural structures of the city” (Imani Jajarmi et al., 2013, 9), and urban spaces were reproduced through small units named social neighborhoods. Then there was a certain Kadkhoda (the ruler of the village), who was one of the trustees of the neighborhood and the appointee of the locals, served as a representative of the people, and also was in contact with the city sheriff. The sheriff was a representative of the central government and the governor of the province, and he was the agent connecting the public with the ruler of the city (Fig. 3).

“The dominant tribal system in Shiraz and the selection of the name of Heydari-Nemati for neighborhoods based on religious beliefs led to the restoration of neighborhood identity based on the social system” (Vosoughi & Sattari, 2011). Naming buildings and urban spaces after a tribe, for example, Gozar Bayat, which belonged to Turkish tribes who migrated to Shiraz during Karim Khan Period or the Kurdish Husseiniyya in Sang-Siah neighborhood, indicate the social belonging to a neighborhood. According to Naseri’s book on Fars, the division of the city of Shiraz has been based on social neighborhoods. For introducing the neighborhood, the author has referred to a relatively indefinite border and by “counting the doors of houses and the number of residents, he has attempted to describe trustworthy and socially influential people and

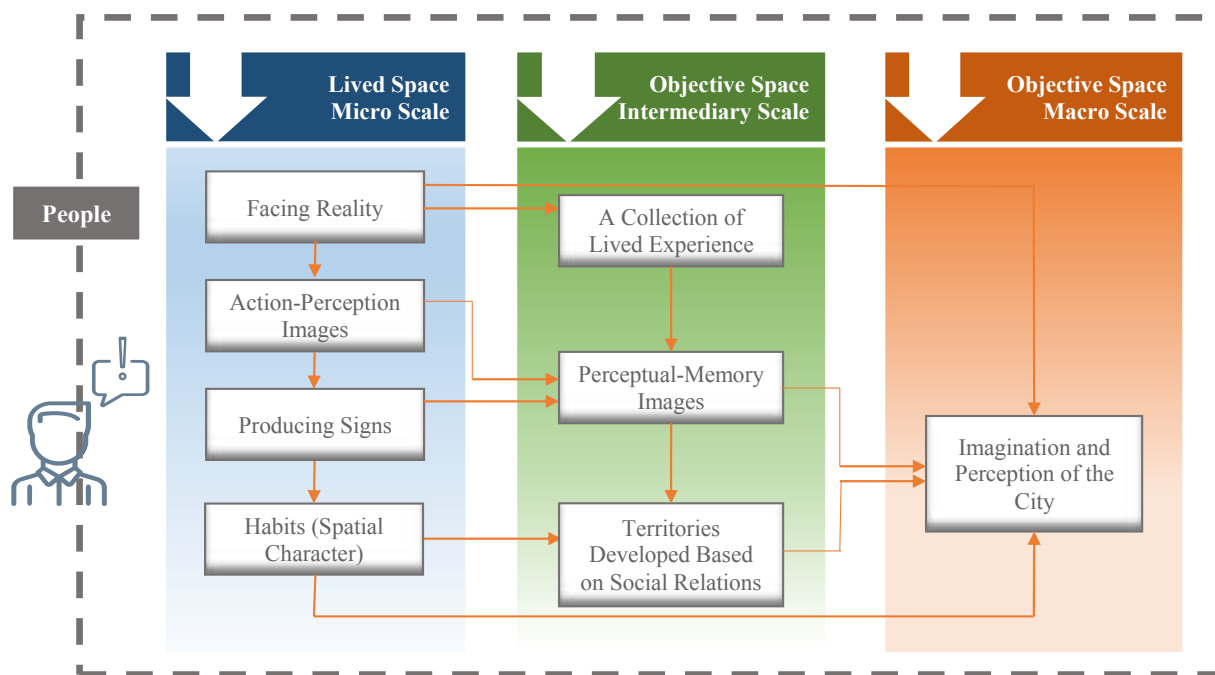


Fig. 2. Conceptual model of the urban landscape reflecting citizens’ experience and perception of the city. Source: Authors.



Fig. 3. Position of Government and citizens in old city management. Source: Authors, based on Imani Jajarmi et al., 2013, 9.

tribes who live in the neighborhood because of their family ties or the same beliefs. In introducing neighborhood members, he maintains that the person married in a neighborhood is known by his ancestral neighborhood and this indicates the importance of social status in relation to the city. He presents the documents such as regular reports prepared by ordinary citizens. According to the reports, the city has been divided into small units called neighborhoods, and the reporter depicts the social relations of the city in relation to the urban space in every moment. The author shows that actions related to space and the structures have given symbolic and functional meaning to space over time. Examples for these are the pavilions of the Lotis, the oven of the Bogheris, the burnt sycamores, etc. Structures are being formed in the real space over time according to the actions. The reporter perceives and imagines himself at every moment in the city at different levels by making functional, symbolic, and physical signs and constructing social realms. In case that urban complexes are added to the city due to the dominant political conditions in the city (e.g. the Mushir al-Molk collection), they can be constructed based on the interpretation of the citizens using the same instruments. The object, the method, and the means of representation are the same in the political and social construction of space, and the structures are added to the city in lived spaces due to the existing conditions. During the reign of Reza Shah, especially from 1926 onwards, the municipality of Shiraz has begun urban space development ranging from a large to a small scale. An example of this has been cited in Sakma (220-018125, 220-018257) as follows: A pattern called "New city (around the city) and the old city has been formed" (Sakma, 220-018125) and in the intermediary scale, the dominant pattern is the square-passage and the name of passages are abstract, such as "North-south street of the river, called Nader, 30 meters wide, Lotfali Khan Zand Street, whose future name is Mohammad-Hosseini-Mirzaei street, and ... -Ferdowsi street stretches up to Mr. Farboud garden and Golestan garden and

Bostan Zafarani and the garden of a Jewish person and gets connected to Nader street. Its map has been prepared and the owners of the garden have been informed" (Sakma, 220-018257). In the old texture, the pattern of straight streets which is perpendicular to each other destroys the social texture and based on the documents, people are eager to see the developments and demand modernity, as in a letter addressed to the municipality, they have requested the construction of streets in the city and described Shiraz as retard compared to other cities in terms of development and street construction (Sakma, 253-38533).

After the construction of the streets and squares, "In 1933 Monsieur Markov [prepared], a map of the city of Shiraz" (Sakma, 220-018257), and then the map of the streets and squares [were] drawn by the engineer of the municipality and the law on road development was approved by the parliament in the same year. On the intermediary scale, when Reza Shah established his government on the army and the bureaucracy, new organs such as the barracks and the municipality were formed in the city of Shiraz. For example, according to the documents (Sakma, 253-38533, 53), "for connecting Shahr Street (Zand Street) to Bagh-e Takht (military barracks from Reza Shah until now) ... there [was] no direct and correct road, the road between the city and the gardens across the river ... [was] at a distance of 1660 meters from the city and ... a direct street from the same place that Baladieh [was] currently considered ... and the landowners [gave] away their land to build the street". Correspondence was made with the municipality and the state administration regarding the connection of the barracks to the city by removing the crooked passages (organic passages between the gardens) and developing a straight street. At the order of the emperor, the owners of the gardens gave a part of their garden to the municipality, in return "all street expenses, such as all sidewalks and water channels[were], managed only respected Baladieh, spend" (ibid., 51&53).

In 1932, the topography study was carried out and

at the end of 1932, gravel road was built. In this way, structures were imposed on the context. In the formation of Zand Street and Pahlavi Square, the street structure was disregarded by previous structures, such as the construction of East-West Zand Street and the demolition of part of the bazaar shops for developing the street through the bazaar, then actions such as bicycle shops, cigarette shops, etc. were put up for auction (*ibid.*). However, in the previous period, a functional activity such as digging a well in the neighborhood shapes structure and action simultaneously over time in relation to space (*Fig. 4*). Until the end of the Qajar, according to the documents of the regular reporters, perception of the space on a micro-scale has been dependent on symbolic, functional, and physical actions that are experienced by the citizen during the day in relation to the spaces due to his daily needs. Perception at this level leads to the production of functional signs such as Mirza Fathollah’s wellhead, etc., symbolic signs such as spindles, burnt sycamore, etc., physical signs such as gates and a set of signs, along with action-perception images reproduces realms, mentally-constructed based on social relations rather than scientific maps. For example: “Sardzak neighborhood, the door of.... Prince Qasim, there were three women

holding bowls in their hands and had gone to fetch water ...” (*Etehadiyeh, Pira, & Rouhi, 2014, 454*). Even understanding the city about process-oriented structures created by the people is directly tied to their perception and experience. For example, in the intermediary scale, Shiraz used to be marked by depressions (topography). Parts of the city are still called by the same names, leading to the perception and construction of territories by the citizen, such as Arab pits, treasury pits, etc. These pits were formed by digging, and construction of houses next to some neighborhoods or near the city moat, and low-income groups used to live in these pits (*Table 4*). In this way, actions and structures led to the production of signs and the construction of social realms in which the citizen imagined himself in the city at all times. But “in the second Pahlavi period, according to development plans, attempts were made for leveling the city and filling the pits” (*Nadim, 2015*). In all historical periods, the political construction of space has been a driving force behind urban change and it has impacted the citizens’ experience-perception of the city. Most of the changes can be seen in the traditional landscape of Shiraz during Zandieh period and Shiraz as the capital of Iran. The city has undergone a fundamental change under the influence of the ruling government. These changes have been in line with the citizens’ interpretations, and the connection of the citizens with the city is still established.

A paradigm shift² in the interpretation and production of urban spaces

The result of the shift in the system of government from traditional to modern and its effect on urban policies has caused a change in the agency from subject-object to represented objects and a change in the method and instrument of representation. Since the time of Qajar, despite the formation of the municipality as the headquarter of the city’s political administration, the governor has had less influence, and the construction of urban space, objects, and the way of representing space in government and social



Fig. 4. The old city and the new city, the outer limits of the city, and the development of the network of streets and squares until 1931 by Baladieh. Source: Authors.

systems are similar. Also, familiarity with new technologies do not cause changes in metropolitan, As a result, citizens' perceptions of the city have not been distorted, and this perception is formed in a spatial-temporal continuous series in lived spaces, leading to the reproduction of the city's landscape and its perception as a whole system whose context, structure and action formulate the process of citizen's perception. Changing the discourse from local power to central one in the administration of the urban system and the legitimacy of the municipality during the reign of Reza Shah led to exercising maximum order and emphasizing authoritarian structures in landscape reproduction and in so doing, order and abstraction became the dominant development paradigm in all aspects and

the citizen, as a passive actor, had to consume the space being formed in the "power/knowledge" (Foucault, 2018) relationship. Producing space in two steps leads to reductionist attitudes that can be seen in the development plans. In the first step, standardization and speed in the construction and development of the city are so fast that the lived spaces³ being experienced and perceived by active actors result in the mental construction of the landscape as a dynamic phenomenon continuously based on images and urban realms. This leads to the transformation of these spaces into abstract ones, which is devoid of its actors' lived experience. Based on the available sources, it is inferred before Reza Shah's modernization measures, people held a different perception of the city. During Reza

Table 4. Citizens' interpretation of the city based on documents, literature, images, and the status before Reza Shah's development. Source: Authors.

| Component | | Definition |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| Space | Lived | Lived spaces are directly perceived by the dwellers in their daily experiences and produced through action-specific perception images based on the dwellers' experience, and they reproduce the landscape on a micro-scale. |
| | Subjective | In both intermediary and large scales, the juxtaposition of lived spaces is reproduced by the construction of action-perception images and signs and the mental space. |
| Agency | Object-subject | Subjects produce socially functional actions according to natural objects such as trees, symbolic actions, and man-made objects. |
| Perception of time | Nature | City dwellers understand space in relation to time through natural processes such as sunrise and sunset. |
| | Micro | Perception depends on natural organs or vegetation and experiential interactions of the dwellers with space e.g. wells, ponds, trees) |
| Perception of space | Intermediary | Territories are formed based on social, economic, and natural needs such as neighborhoods, markets, ditches, etc., which produce actions and the context of structure. |
| | Macro | The border-center pattern, natural factors such as the river, and the audience who imagine themselves in the city space at any moment |
| Images | Action-perception | Bio-based objects lead to the construction of images in the perception of space. |
| | Perceptual-memory | According to the documents, the city is full of lived spaces that the citizen can understand and build social realms such as neighborhoods, squares, etc in them and reproduce the city's structure in her mind. |
| | Image of the city | Due to the process-oriented social and natural structures of the context and the territories create the image of the city for the citizen through socio-cultural actions together, |
| Representation of space | Object | Social relations such as Bayat pass, functional structures such as mosque, bath |
| | Method | Action-perception images are based on signs, perceptual-memory, and construction of realms, perception of the city |
| | Instrument | Examples of natural signs are tree, river, and examples of man-made signs are squares, pits, passages, and social realms |
| Construction | Process-oriented, social | Actions and structures are formed in a dialectical process in line with the context. |
| | Product-oriented, political | The instrument and method of producing space in the view of the government and the people are process-oriented due to the real nature of space. For this reason, society accepts and praises political construction. |

Shah’s time, the government acted differently. Standardization in all levels of life such as clothing, education, urban planning, etc. and the development of cities’ relations with the central government led to the adoption of the same patterns in urban development. In the second step, reductionism is reflected by the quantitative productivism of urban programs. Reductionism draws on mere quantitative data to produce information and then abstract the collected information. In contrast to “others” (citizens) as an agent experiencing and perceiving the city, the main proposition in the construction of the urban landscape is quantitative and civil. Thus, the discourse of power is constantly constructing a structure on the bio-world of citizens and directs their actions and perceptions of the city (Fig. 5). Indirectly, the government influenced the cultural multiplicity of urban life and the reproduction of the

environment through macroeconomic decisions such as the construction of factories, development measures such as the construction of barracks. The influx of villagers into the city affected the cultural multiplicity of urban life and the reproduction of the background. Despite cultural diversity, order as a political element in government administration became the dominant paradigm in all areas. Before this period, the city was a whole system formed organically based on its natural organs through people and the government in real spaces. The legality of the system was organic and dependent on the natural context of the city. Legitimizing the municipality and dominance of the urban rules in interventions related to the structure of the city promoted the abstraction of urban spaces and the specialized-orientation of structure (Table 5). In the long run, citizens’ actions in the formation of urban space and the perception of the city lost its importance.

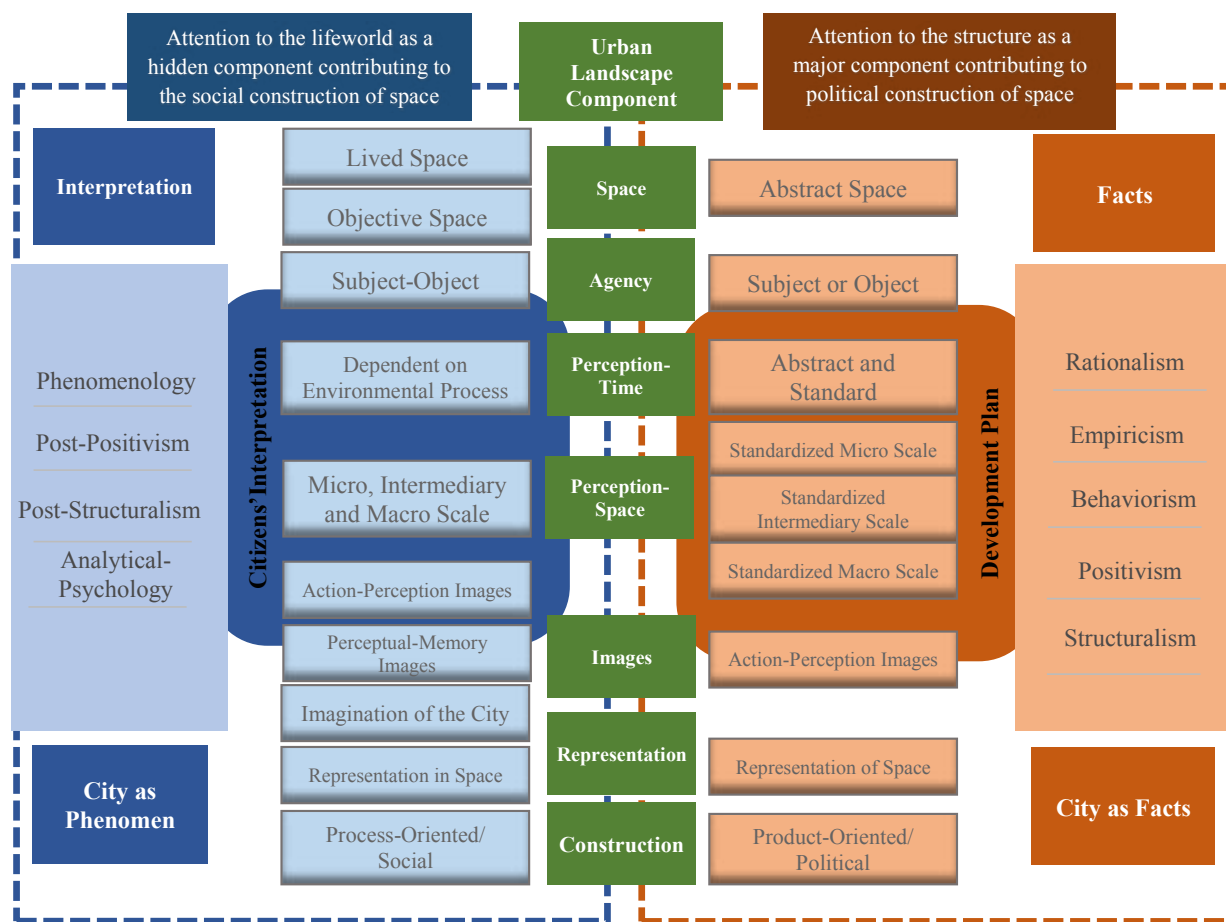


Fig. 5. Comparative between citizens’ interpretation of the city (urban landscape) and urban development plans from the conceptual model of research. Source: Authors.

Conclusion

The urban spatial organization has no longer been based on the experience-perception of citizens since the time of Reza Shah. This has been the result of the abstraction of urban space in the form of maps, and the damage of the existing socio-cultural structures corresponding to nature. For this reason, the citizen, interprets the city as a small place of which they have a superficial understanding. In other words, they have no idea of the city as a coherent system. The name of the city sparkles a part associated with this whole for instance Qasrdasht trees or the name of a dried-out river or the crowded street of Zand. The influence of the prevailing view under the title of laws and programs of urban development with an emphasis on instrumental rationality from the time of Reza Shah has led to the explanation and

regulation of laws and standardization in subcultures. The tendency towards empirical-analytical sciences based on instrumental rationality, which emphasizes the prediction and acceptance of facts and objects excludes urban development programs from the social and human sciences. Scientism based on positivist and empirical approaches leads to a gap in knowledge in the field of urban studies. Such a knowledge gap inhibits urban development. The monopolization of wisdom in the field of empirical sciences in urban development programs has limited citizens' understanding of their sensory perception of objects through the five senses. In other words, in this program, the experience of perceiving space on three scales, large, intermediary, and micro has been neglected. As a result, the output of the program has led to a dichotomy between the status quo as the

Table 5. Shift in space production and urban landscape construction in different political periods in Shiraz. Source: Authors.

| Component | | | Definition |
|----------------------|----------------|----------------------------|--|
| Zandieh | Space | Lived | The citizen as an agent cannot be separated from his experience and perception of the urban spaces |
| | Construction | | Political contextualists, whose object, tool, and way of representing space are aligned with society |
| | Scale | Macro | The capital of Iran and the need for government agencies, ensuring city security and empowering the government |
| | Agency | Object | The city as a whole system has a definite context and adapts its structures to its context, and actions are defined symbolically and socially based on the context and structure of the social process in the spatial continuum. |
| | Representation | In space | Development programs reflect the culture (context-oriented structure) in the context. |
| Qajar | Space | Lived | Micro-intervention scale, traditional architecture with few facilities for modernization |
| | Construction | Contextual | Intermediary intervention scale, construction of urban complex including mosque, Hosseiniyeh, bath, school and water storage by influential local authorities |
| | Scale | Partial | Action at the architectural level with archeological approaches in government buildings |
| | Agency | Object-Subject | Similar to the Zandieh era, the city is an interconnected collection that corresponds to the context in which the structures are socially formed. Nasri's book on Fars and Stone print (in Persian Asar al-Ajam) which are reports to the government, completely reflect social structures based on which the city is divided into separate neighborhoods. |
| First Pahlavi | Space | Lived | The first urban map of Shiraz for the intervention and construction of space with a square-pass pattern |
| | Construction | Product-oriented | Intermediary scale, production of urban spaces such as squares and passages, and lack of attention to the background and previous constructions due to the abstract nature of space |
| | Scale | Macro, intermediary, micro | Defining new actions by prioritizing the structure and disrupting previous structures according to the context, such as producing a passage and creating a shop in the passages |
| | Agency | Object | The importance of the structure and their use to connect the authoritarian actions or define new actions |

interpretation and lived experience of individuals and the decision as a system or structure imposed on the lifeworld. While citizens imagine themselves in their mental experiences in lived spaces over time, development programs overlook this formulation and impose object-oriented and laboratory-made structures to the city and destroy citizens' perceptions. As a result, to interpret the current situation in the development plan, the lived and mentally-constructed spaces have been transformed into geometric and abstract spaces that are devoid of the action and lifeworld of the citizens. It seems that the knowledge of facts based on natural sciences that form the objects of the city phenomenon and the lack of attention to interpretations based on citizens' perceptions of the city, leads to reductionism in knowing the city and urban actions.

Endnote

1. Developing a conceptual model of the urban landscape has been one of the concerns of this dissertation. To this end, specialized texts in the field of citizens' perception of the city were critically examined, and visible and hidden components contributing to the urban landscape phenomenon were extracted through logical reasoning.
2. A philosophical paradigm introduces a new way of looking at the world. The word "paradigm" was first used in English in the 15th century to mean an example or pattern. This word is still used in the same sense. It has been used in the philosophy of natural sciences since the 1960s. "It appeared as a theoretical and intellectual framework. Today, this word in other fields refers to a common view on something (Alipour & Hassani, 2010, 13). In Cohen's theory of the evolution of science, the paradigm stands for "the set of ideas, values, and techniques used by individuals in a scientific community and includes "elements of law, theory, application, and use of scientific tools." Paradigms govern scientific theories within them. Scientific propositions within a paradigm are in line with the common views but whenever the governing paradigm is defective, and suffers from shortcomings, theories consistent with that paradigm will have the same shortcomings" (Gaeeni & Hosseinzadeh, 2012, 103). This means that in terms of normality, there is a paradigm to which thinkers are bound, when a crisis arises in the society and science, a state of anomaly occurs, a revolution in science happens and accordingly, a new paradigm emerges.
3. Lived space means the real space that citizen empirically experience and perceive in time. In contrast, abstract space is a standardized scientific space in the form of a map through which the empirical aspect of three-dimensional space is transformed into a two-dimensional scientific aspect for intervention. The citizen encounters real space in the experience-perception of the city. Experts in development programs turn lived spaces into abstract space.

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