Original Research Article

An Analysis of Urban Space from the Mindscape of Social Stratums of New Middle Class
(Case Study: Enqelab Square in Tehran during the Second Pahlavi Era)*

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Abstract

Problem statement: Urban space reflects in social actors' minds and it is shaped through their actions. However, spatial actors do not necessarily have similar thoughts. Accordingly, urban spaces' production and transformation need to be further addressed from different social strata and groups' mindscapes. The question is whether we can analyze the social classes' mindscapes with regard to specific urban spaces using the analytical narrative research method.

Research objective: This study attempts to delve into new urban middle classes' narratives of Enqelab Square in Tehran during 1952- 1979, which were included as a case study.

Research method: Narratives of the new urban middle classes of Tehran's Enqelab Square during the years 1330 to 1357 were selected as a case study.

Conclusion: The research findings revealed similar and classifiable narratives from the new middle class, reflecting their mindscapes of a certain urban space. Moreover, their views of the Enqelab Square were classified into two periods. Seemingly, the period of such changes in individuals' perspectives is in line with the material and cultural changes in the historical context. The reason is that when the political, social, and economic affairs find their appropriate position in the city, and the changes in such issues are caused by the variations in the material and spiritual conditions of human life. Places can provide the grounds for such changes since they have the possibilities for all kinds of actions.

Keywords: *Mindscape, Urban Space, Collective Memory, Narrative Research, New Middle Classes, Enqelab Square.*

Introduction

Any urban space's content is created by spatial actors belonging to different social groups and collectivity, who hold different perspectives regarding each situation and space. However, the cognitive perception of urban space is not a direct process. According to some theorists (Lynch, 2010; Rapaport, 2013), though the cognitive perception of urban space occurs through the form, it may not be represented only through it and people's

memories of events and spaces contribute to its representation. Accordingly, the recognition of urban spaces necessarily requires an investigation and an analysis of individuals' memories and narratives. In this regard, each individual's consciousness and memory also represent the collective consciousness and memory (Halbwachs, 1990, 6). The question is whether we can analyze the mindscape of social strata regarding specific urban spaces using the analytical narrative research method.

The present study employs inductive analysis to analyze the mindscape of the new urban middle class from Enqelab Square in Tehran during the second Pahlavi era using the narrative research method. The purpose is to confirm that the inductive analysis of their mindscape using this method is possible.

Theoretical foundations
• Urban space and collective narratives

The narrative analysis of urban studies has been addressed from different perspectives, including the relationship between life narratives and political and economic status (Dahan, 2017; Wu, 2020; Lamour, 2018), understanding local communities through the study of narratives (Clair, 2006), narratives of social groups diversity such as gender, racial, and ethnic groups in the urban space (Raco & Tasan-Kok, 2019; Milner, 2007; Cruz & Silva, 2019; Merino, Becerra & De Fina, 2017; Jensen, 2007), tourist groups' narratives in spatial policy-making (Rickly-Boyd, 2009), the role of narratives as actions in urban regeneration (Rowan, 2013; O'Hara, 2011; Kang, 2019), and semantic research on urban spaces (Guhathakurta, 2002; Vernardi, Zenella, Romice, Dibble & Porta, 2017).

In his book entitled Story of the City: Tehran, Symbol of Modernization, Habibi (2010) states that the city is narrated by narrators, each of whom has his/her "story" of the city. From the narrators' perspective, a city is a place where memories and narrations take place (ibid., 148). The city reconstructs itself in different generations' minds. Therefore, it is in becoming. "Today's place is not yesterday's place, just as tomorrow's place which is not today's place. It is transformed at each moment, which has happened, happens, and will happen there following the events and adventures" (ibid., 148). Habibi followed the same idea and its connection with collective memory in his other works (Habibi, 2015; Rezaei & Habibi, 2016; Rashidpour & Habibi, 2019; Habibi & SeyedBerenji, 2017). Since each citizen has his own story, there are different views of urban spaces, and understanding the mental content of urban space needs detecting the mindscape of the collectivities and social groups involved in a concerned space. In each urban space, we always deal with more than one character and more than one voice: a polyphonic space.

Bakhtin claims that individuals' mindscapes can be revealed via dialogues. According to Bakhtin, an individual's mentality is associated with his environment and social relations because the truth of the world is indispensable from the truth of an individual's personality (Bakhtin, 2018, 192). In his book entitled "The Dialogic Imagination," Bakhtin discusses the same idea, adding that individuals exhibit their own ideology and discourse even when they act (Bakhtin, 2015, 431). An individual's consciousness is contrasted with the "other's" consciousness and sets a dialogue. In each era, the dialogues encompass "the echoes of the past ideas" (Bakhtin, 2018, 211). The idea is completed at the intersection point of a dialogue between two or more cases of consciousness (ibid., 207). The idea is not associated with a single "I", which judges the world and is aware of it, but is interrelated with all "I(s)" that is "others" (ibid., 229). Accordingly, each individual's awareness represents the collectivities and groups to which he/she belongs.

An urban space's mental content contains the stories and voices of different social groups and collectivities, which are represented in the individuals' consciousness. However, the citizens' consciousness cannot be interpreted and analyzed as an object. An investigation of individuals' narratives seems to serve

as an appropriate means to recognize and study the way urban spaces are produced and transformed. Having conversations with individuals and interpreting their narratives would help understand how urban spaces are transformed and result in exploring collective memories.

• **Narratives and collective memory**

Urban spaces are similar to a multicultural text, the recognition of which is just possible by relying on memory or collective memory (Semenenko, 2017, 115). The reason is that collective memory is underpinned by different texts forming our semiotic space. This was well-documented by Halbwachs in his books entitled "The Collective Memory" (Halbwachs, 1950) and "Esquisse d'une Psychologie des Classes Sociales" (Halbwachs, 1990). Interested in collective representation, Halbwachs introduced the term 'collective memory' to discuss collective consciousness. Memory does not remain fixed in mind; however, the social groups' collective memory changes with regard to their needs over different historical periods. Halbwachs also discusses that we should not assume that any kind of memory is saved. Only those events that are meaningful now last in memories (Coser, 1992, 25).

According to Maurice Halbwachs, what is lost by individual limitations is compensated by the intersection of multiple collective memories in individual memory (Gurvitch, 2012, 61). To recall one's past, one should often rely on the others' memories and refer to signs, which exist out of his/her mind and are determined by the collectivity. That is, individual memory relies on collective memory, and we recall a memory using social forms (Stoetzel, 1989, 162-163). To identify individuals from Halbwachs' perspective, one must be studied in groups to which he/she belongs (Halbwachs, 1990, 6).

When it comes to historical memory, the individual does not recall the event directly; Rather, it is through a social institute that he/she memorizes, interprets, and reconstructs the memory (Coser, 1992, 24). They

are indeed individuals who remember, not groups or social institutions. But they act collectively in urban spaces and recall a memory using the same context. As Halbwachs noted, collective memory needs collective support in space and time (ibid., 22).

Wertsch considers narratives as cultural means to study collective memory and described them as "cultural tools to represent the past" (Wertsch, 1998, 78). Instead of remembering an individual's exact wording, people are more likely to remember what somebody meant (Wertsch, 2002, 8). To sum up, the content of our minds and memories is mainly reconstructed (Shafiei, Ghassemzadeh, Ashayeri, Safavimanesh & Pourmohammad, 2020, 98). In other words, the main pillars of events are remembered; however, they are influenced by new mental schemata and are consequently narrated.

Somewhere, in light of the world of one's deep and inner thoughts and feelings, each individual's psyche is social and community-oriented (Vygotsky, 1998, 12). Narrative research explores the mindscape of a single person. There is no other mind to be researched. The study of individual narratives provides an acceptable approximation of collective memories.

However, no cultural entity or social group is so fixed, closed, or coherent to be precisely represented by individuals (Fey, 2014, 126). This explanation should not be exaggerated as individuals or social actors also become agents by socialization and culturalization in a specific community. In other words, they provide the actors' tools of action by entering into pre-existing processes (ibid., 127).

• **The relation between Memory and Place**

Some researchers have been interested in examining collective memory and its relation with a place. For example, some studies have investigated the relationship between street and collective memory (Hebbert, 2005). Sak and Senyapili (2019) introduced collective memory as data, which makes the recognition of social spaces in a city possible. Fowler (2005) reported a relationship between the death of urban space and collective memory, and

Awad (2017) studied the changes in urban spaces considering collective memory and the recall process. In Iran, the same issue has been addressed by researchers (Mirzaei, Teimouri, & Nejhad Sattari, 2012; Kazemi & Mostafapour, 2013; Goodarzi, Behzadfar & Ziari, 2019; Farzbod, Rezaii & Janalizadeh, 2018; Naderi, Akbari Golzar & Fazeli, 2019; Sholeh, 2006; Tajbakhsh, 2005).

Maurice Halbwachs' studies on collective memory have revealed that individuals remember their past by using what constitutes their environment (Fijalkow, 2009, 39). Examining the replacement of the memories' place, Maurice Halbwachs makes a general observation about the significant role of place in determining and consolidating memories. Memories are linked to a natural landmark such as a hill, a cave, a natural pool (Stoetzel, 1989, 166). Therefore, memory is related to environment and place.

• **Spatial action**

Memory and its recall affect individuals' spatial action by intervening in data interpretation. From another perspective, space also influences perception and memory. Spatial organization affects society via the society's perception. There is always a social group's mark on the place, and a place on the social group: "The place a group occupies is not like a blackboard, where one may write and erase figures at will (....) The board could not care less what has been written on it before, and new figures may be freely added. Nevertheless, place and group have each received the imprint of the other. Each aspect, each detail of this place has a meaning intelligible only to members of the group, for each portion of its space corresponds to various and different aspects of the structure and life of their society, at least of what is most stable in it" (Halbwachs, 1950, 130). Accordingly, one must refer to the narratives of individuals belonging to a particular social stratum from a particular urban space to study the mental content of urban space from the perspective of the concerned social stratum.

Research methods

• **Narrative research**

In this study, narrative research was used as the primary data collection tool. Narrative research is also called the science of studying stories (Aqaee Meybodi, 2013, 2). Narratives have some specifications, which provide a format, structure, and a framework to present a systematic report on the representation of reality in mind (Eskandari, 2015, 159; Flick, 2017, 195). This requires skills to hear narratives precisely (Gilham, 2009, 42-44).

In a narrative interview, the narrator is often asked to improvise one's story. However, if there are questions about a particular topic, the questions can be limited and raised to address the concerned topic (Flick, 2017, 194). In this study, because there is a specific issue called Enqelab Square and its surroundings, a semi-structured interview began with a productive question and then pursued questions and answers. This technique is observed in many interviews conducted by Ramin Jahanbegloo (Jahanbegloo, 2006; 1997; 1998; 2003; 2008; 2006; 2010).

• **Interviews and their transcription, coding, and analysis procedures**

Narrators were interviewed about their memories and spatial action. The study of actions facilitates detecting an individual's relationship with his community and cultural environment (Santamaria, Cubero, & de la Mata, 2010, 87). The narrators' mental changes and narratives of important historical periods and turning points were considered. Social differentiation codes were also asked.

There are varieties of views in each social group and collectivities (Flick, 2017, 341). The present study's target population encompassed the new urban middle class, whose narratives of Enqelab Square (Bist-o Chahar-e Esfand Square) during the second Pahlavi era were examined. Due to containing different groups with the slogans of justice or freedom, and calling for a systematic change in the current situation, this social class was included in the study. In this regard, in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted for several hours with

11 individuals from the new middle class, who had similar and different social statuses. The oldest and the youngest participants were 87 and 58 years old, respectively. Except for one interview, in which the interviewee refused to be interviewed in person due to the Covid- 19 pandemic, all the interviews were held in person. The limitations of the present study were restrictions in interviews with the elderly during the outbreak of coronavirus and the scope of this qualitative research.

The recorded interviews were typed and the text was then transcribed and documented. Some symbols were also used to represent the narrators' pauses, ambiguities, and moods in transcripts. Afterward, the texts considered as new represented facts (ibid., 93) were studied several times.

Coding mainly aims to simplify the use of responses, which is performed by collecting similar responses having the same content and summarizing them into smaller categories (Sarookhani, 1993, 404). Using inductive logic, open, axial and then selective codings were performed. The axial coding process was conducted in accordance with the meaning of open codes, through which 31 codes emerged. The selective coding process was also performed based on the researcher's historical background and knowledge, through which 27 codes out of 31 preliminary codes were summarized, resulting in

10 different codes (Table 1). Four recurring codes stated by only one interviewee were eliminated in the coding process.

The frequencies of the selected codes reveal that political, economic, and cultural dissatisfaction and modernity are highlighted in the interviewees' memories about the Enqelab Square.

In the analysis of narrations, it is suggested to be used quotes taken from the dialogue (Flick, 2017, 369). In the narrative analysis, it is also possible to break the text into critical empirical units, interpret each unit, expand the meanings, and reach a higher abstraction level (ibid., 370). The same measures were considered in the present study.

• **Validation of findings**

In narratives, the dominant form of narrations should concern the sequence of events (if possible from beginning to end) and the process of changes (ibid., 195). The problem with evaluating qualitative research has not been solved yet (ibid., 409). Accordingly, data recording and documentation quality can be set as a criterion for data reliability (ibid., 412). Accordingly, it relied on in-depth semi-structured interviews, which lasted for 855 minutes overall.

One of the criteria used in the qualitative research method to assess the validity of the research is to use objectivity, allowing researchers to adopt

Table 1. Coding the interview transcripts. Source: Authors.

.Selected code No	Selected codes	Frequency of selected codes
C1	City entrance	71
C2	Political, economic, and cultural dissatisfaction	252
C3	Modernity	233
C4	Urban tourism space	57
C5	Physical part of space	14
C6	Educational environment	48
C7	Bookstore network	35
C8	Real estate investments	28
C9	Collective relations	93
C10	Optimism about the future	33

a realistic framework in interpretations (ibid., 419). To avoid over-interpretation in studying the interviewees' perceptions, the new urban middle-class historical background were also studied from the perspective of some researchers (Bashiriyeh, 2018; Chaichian, 2011; Foucault, 2013; Adibi, 1979; Lahsaeizadeh, 2008; Tatari & Torkchi, 2009; Tolouei, 2014; Hooglund, 2013; Katouzian, 2014; Abrahamian, 2012; Habibi, 1996; Straw, 2019; Rahmanzadeh Heravi, 2018) to form the researcher's mental framework.

Findings and their analysis
• Narratives of 1941 to the mid-1960s
- Entrance & Ceremonial Space (C1)
In the 1950s, nothing was virtually happening at Bist-o-Chahar-e Esfand Square. Bist-o-Chahar-e Esfand Square resembled a terminal with city arrival and departure. "*Farahzad! Emamzadeh Davoud!*" yelled the drivers. "*Residential density was low; the area was like a desert; nothing was happening; it was where the city ended.*" The square was still a long way away from its spatial evolution. Nothing was existent in the area; some felt no need to go there to do their urban activities. A little further on the square, nothing was going on, except some large piece of land and the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine, University of Tehran.

More than being a political space, Shahreza Street was perhaps a place to have fun, spend leisure time, and was an attractive entry for newcomers to Tehran. Bus lanes would start from Tehran to Karaj or downtown and Fawzia Square. That's where the city would end or begin.

Bist-o-Chahar-e Esfand Square was also a ceremonial square. A platform had been constructed on the square, where the Mayor of Tehran would go and greet any famous foreign guest, such as Charles de Gaulle, who came to visit Iran, and after reading a welcoming text, would symbolically give the golden key of the city, in the Shah's presence, to the modern European visitor who had just arrived in Tehran. That's how

this square, later renamed Enqelab Square, was Implicitly connected to Pahlavi's foreign policy.

- Urban tourism space (C4)
The north and west of Enqelab Square was a suitable space for urban tourism. In the 1950s, the Karaj River, to the north of which there was nothing special and to the south of which edifices were constructed, was converted into a place for recreation.

In the 1960s, Karim-Khan-e Zand Street and Takht-e Jamshid Street were among the most bustling places in Tehran. Elizabeth II Boulevard was a lovely spot to walk around, with some of Tehran's elegant houses. Many people walked and spent time at Elizabeth II Boulevard with their friends or acquaintances. They sometimes walked or had picnics and had ice cream or snacks and went to the movies.

Elizabeth II Boulevard was not the only place that attracted students; other streets were ideal for spending time. "*Anatole France and Bist-o-Yek-e Azar streets and Elizabeth II Boulevard were highly romantic, posh streets for walking. They often served as student hangouts.*" Shahreza Street was a good place to walk for youth: "*I would commute the route almost every day. I can remember we would certainly walk to Pahlavi Crossroad on the way to the university. We would sometimes walk from there to Baharestan Square. Well, walking, talking, and having ice cream was entertaining. The place was not that crowded. It wasn't so busy (congested). The street had a delicacy of its own. It was not as distressing as it is today; there was a population balance. It was quite unlike today, and the weather was clearer.*"

However, recreation was not limited to walking in the exhilarant, and modern areas of Tehran. A modern urban experience was created at Pepsi-Cola factory, which is engraved in memory of many people along with the name of Bist-o-Chahar-e Esfand Square, a place to experience visiting the factory and taste modern flavors of the future world. Pepsi-Cola tasted

like the spirit of the time. Many people who went out with their friends or families would consider visiting the Pepsi-Cola factory through the windows, which resembled showcases, as a kind of recreation. They looked at the "wonderful order" of machinery and labors working to correct the machine's errors. Going to the movies in this district dates back to the latter half of the 1960s with the establishment of the Capri, Universal, Central, and various other cinemas.

- Modernity Experience Space (C3)

Bist-o-Chahar-e Esfand Square was the spot whose attractiveness and lighting features were a harbinger of the outset of the city. It was as though Reza Shah's ideals, including the implementation of the Western education system, modern urban space, lighting, and hope, should be embodied right at the city entry. The night lights in Tehran were astonishing to a young countryman who arrived in Tehran for the first time. "Reflection of light at night" and "lights" promised a bright future. There was light traffic on Shahreza Street, suggesting that Tehran was a modern, dynamic city that would not look like the patterns of the past. Tehran was a modern city that represented a modern administration. All was being renovated in the city. In Tehran, a "new pattern" was taking form. The atmosphere was such that everyone was told about the promise of a better life; there was hope, and the social atmosphere was filled with "joy and happiness".

Even handsome men and beautiful women, who were entering or leaving Tehran University, were part of the attractions of the modernizing city. The house of Hossein Behzad was once located on the west of Si-metri Street, now known as Nowfallah Street. Young artists would commute there now and then. Modernity could be manifested in the emergence of "new tastes and flavors," like sausages, mustard, pickles, soda, baguette, chocolate milk, creampuff, and Olivier salads. New tastes and flavors were discovered in the 1950s and 1960s.

Pepsi-Cola factory on Eisenhower Street was a site that had been turned into a hangout in the

1960s to explore the modern world by the newly discovered taste. "*Pepsi-Cola factory was now a spot for recreation.*" There were stalls in the opposite direction to buy sandwiches and buy a Pepsi if they had enough money. They would get lemonade from the same stalls or peddlers if they had less money. "Those who had cars would stand and eat beside their cars" and would probably have a special feeling; a sense of urbanization, a sense of modernization.

The consumer space of "foreign goods" began to dominate from around the 1960s onwards. Modern department stores were established to encourage people to buy, consume, and distinguish themselves. The names of Ferdowsi Store, Artesh Store, Iran Store, Khourosh Store, and some others were all the talk of the city. These stores promised modernization even with their architecture, whether with their "escalators" or multi-story buildings. When their relatives arrived in Tehran, they would take them to these stores to look around and ride the escalator.

Among the manifestations of the modern world at the Enqelab Square were confectioneries: Jeanne d'Arc Confectionery, France Confectionery, and Shah Confectionery. The square was surrounded by malls that are now not so vivid in memories. Going to the movies was a cheaper recreation than shopping in malls. Double-decker buses were utilized as a part of Tehran's transportation fleet around 1959.

These buses could only travel on Tehran's wide streets, like Shahreza Street. Bus tickets were cheap, so getting on the bus and sitting on the top decker, and watching the city was reminiscent and amusing. If you wanted to sit upstairs and watch wide city streets, you first had to catch the bus at Bist-o-Chahar-e Esfand Square. The modernized Tehran looked better from the second deck of those buses.

- Being hopeful and optimistic about the future (C10)

Bist-o-Chahar-e Esfand Square and Shahreza Street to Ferdowsi Square were among Tehran's first places to be lit by neon lights that Flickered. "*These lights promised a modern world in the future that*

was supposed to spread everywhere." The idea was whoever had a dream; his or her dream came true. Those were the years of hope and optimism about the future. The dynamic social atmosphere in front of the University of Tehran also had been promising the same.

- Educational setting (C6)

Bist-o-Chahar-e Esfand Square and Shahreza Street were inevitably reminiscent of the university entrance exam. The faculties conducted their entrance exams. Anybody who wished to be admitted to Tehran University had to travel to Tehran and had to pass by Bist-o-Chahar-e Esfand Square and walk through Shahreza Street.

- The atmosphere of protest (C2)

In the early 1960s, some important political and economic events occurred, such as the White Revolution and the land reforms, as well as political crisis like the Imam Khomeini's movement. Many recall the premiership of Amini and Shah's White Revolution. This was a turning point in contemporary history that changed Iran's political environment forever and caused qualitative changes. Simultaneously, the atmosphere at the University of Tehran was political and remonstrant. The Tudeh Party of Iran appeared to have become more active and scientifically and culturally influential in the university.

The university's atmosphere had turned political, with students and perhaps their professors holding discussions. In the early 1960s, students' political protests began at the University of Tehran. There had been little news of protests at other universities in Tehran. Even those from the National University of Iran (now known as Shahid Beheshti University) were interested in political struggles and stayed in constant contact with the University of Tehran.

The protests were primarily economic-cultural before the fall of Amini's government. Although the movies were nearly inexpensive, some had no money to go to the movies or walk through the malls. The social class division was also observed

among the students: "*some students didn't have good economic conditions. While others came in luxury cars and had an excellent economic situation. There had been a significant division.*"

The cultural division compounded the protests. The women's clothing and food variety of the party would astound a curious attendee at Rastakhiz Party. He would think to himself if this is a casual party, how would their lifestyle be and how well-to-do and distinguished they are. He related the memory in sympathy with the revolutionaries and added that it had greatly affected him. The cultural division led some to embrace tradition and revivalism and look in the past to answer questions about this modern world; Te secret search for the forbidden is particularly pleasant. "*I would read Shariati and Motahhari's books, though furtively.*"

- Collective relations (C9)

Collective relations appear to have been an important part of people's major attitudes in the new middle class. It seems that collective relations and friendship in high schools had an important role to become a political actor or not. Political groups sometimes recruited their members from the same high schools. Sometimes those high schools had their own atmosphere, such as Alavi High School, that nurtured their own specific culture.

- Physical-spatial elements (C5)

There is a dim memory of physical-spatial Elements. Only a few interviewees, including architects or civil engineers, referred to the physical aspects, though very briefly. Some said that Bist-o-Chahar-e Esfand Square, a polygonal space, was not truly a square, for example. The lighting at Bist-o-Chahar-e Esfand Square was an advantage in those years, making the city beautiful. In the time of Ahmad Nafisi, the mayor, Bist-o-Chahar-e Esfand Square, was said to have been equipped with large "mushroom-shaped lamps", which made this square fully lit at night. There was a green space in the middle of the square, which was not a place for recreation. Nevertheless, when the earthquake hit Buin Zahra, people stayed overnight in the square center until

morning. "Yeganegi house" was a more prominent and symbolic place for some people.

• Narratives of the mid-1960s to the 1979 Revolution

- Growth of real-estate investments (C8)

In the 1960s, a peaceful space with wide streets and sidewalks and lush trees on the streets of Shahreza, Anatole France, Bist-o-Yek-e Azar, and Elizabeth II Boulevard, was ideal for strolling with friends and sometimes having an Akbar Mashti ice cream or experiencing the taste of a fresh Kim ice cream. You could also wander and chat about politics. However, the population and building densities on Shahreza Street and the square and their surroundings steadily increased since the 1970s with the emergence of real-estate investments. Bist-o-Chahar-e Esfand Square had not previous spatial quality anymore. Some people had no will to spend time enjoying the urban space of that area.

- Decreasing the quality of urban space tourism (C3)

Bist-o-Chahar-e Esfand Square was no longer appealing to people who did not have a serious political orientation. There may have been any sort of people. "New, high-quality, posh, and modern stuff had been Transferred to Elizabeth II Boulevard and Laleh Park," or it was thought that they had been transformed. Elizabeth II Boulevard was highly modern and elegant. Nevertheless, it eventually slipped out of vogue too. High-stratum people gradually tended towards the north of Tehran. Vanak Square, together with "Driving Cinema," "Tehran's first bowling center," and "Fanfare Amusement Park," had become the town's new promenades. However, movies still remained a common hobby and drew the people to Bist-o-Chahar-e Esfand Square and Shahreza Street. Some movies were so well received that people occasionally had to "queue until midnight to buy tickets." Eisenhower Street blossomed in the 1970s by constructing elegant and modern malls and shops.

- Political and revolutionary atmosphere (C2)

The government of Hassan Ali Mansur increased oil prices in the last days of 1964. With the approval

of the government cabinet on 23 November 1964, the price of fuel products increased. The petrol price reached 10 Rials per liter. Kerosene and fuel oil prices also increased. Oil and fuel were the fundamental necessities for heating people's homes during those cold fall and winter days. After the fuel prices had increased, Tehran Municipality announced that taxi fares would rise. The people immediately felt much distress.

In consequence, demonstrators chanted economic slogans in the streets. One of the protest centers was Baharestan Square. But Bist-o-Chahar-e Esfand Square and the University of Tehran were simultaneously crowded, and the security forces were everywhere. The government was finally forced to retreat and slash prices. Two months later, while joining the National Consultative Assembly, Hassan Ali Mansur was assassinated. This made the atmosphere of universities once again tumultuous.

The demonstration center was relocated from Baharestan Square to Bist-o-Chahar-e Esfand Square and the University of Tehran. The 21st Assembly was a puppet. There had been a decline in politics in Baharestan Square. The Assembly would no longer listen to the demonstrators' voices. Thus, eventually, the university became the demonstration center, and the site of the opposition's voices and a modern urban environment formed.

The environment at the University of Tehran was politicized by the late 1960s. The College of Engineering was a meeting place for political groups. Some technical students were even members of the Siahkal Movement. Everyone could join the swarm of demonstrators for some cause or belief. One objected to social class division and the other to the dissolution of Islamic society's customs and values. Some were longing for the freedom of expression and freedom of action. The social class division had turned into a major problem. This division was not spotted by many of the higher-class citizens. "*The Technocrats were in good conditions, but not the public at large.*"

"*Financial conditions were not as good as they say*",

somebody said. "*Only a few people would benefit from oil export revenues despite the rise of the oil prices and selling it by the government*", he added. Whether this proposition is valid or not, this was the conviction of certain people, which contributed to public dissatisfaction.

There were some slums around Bist-o-Chahar-e Esfand Square in the early 1970s that were removed and destroyed.

Social class division and cultural diversity between social classes and also within generations of a social group were intensifying factors of The 1970s economic conditions.

Among the concerns of more conservative society groups were the "relationships between girls and boys" and women's clothing. "*Skirts were becoming shorter, and collars were becoming broader, and society could not tolerate all of this.*" While society "warmly welcomed modernization," the changes were happening so quickly that the society could not bear it.

In the 1970s, the atmosphere at Bist-o-Chahar-e Esfand Square gradually changed, and an "enlightenment atmosphere" prevailed. The Polytechnic students of Tehran University (now known as Amir-Kabir University) were involved in political activities. One of the main events was the demonstrations in the late 1960s due to the rise in bus ticket prices. Students of Polytechnic University of Tehran were said to have chanted, "*The Bus Company is a thief, the state is an accomplice of thieves.*" The police stormed the demonstrations. "*Interestingly, the police headquarters was located at College Crossroad.*" In addition, political tension and contradiction were visible in the fight for culture in the years leading up to the 1979 Revolution.

The name of College of Engineering is associated with the PMOI (People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran) and the Marxist groups in remembrance of some, especially before and after the revolution was consolidated in January 1979. For others, an immediate connection was also associated with Maykadeh Street. Islamic groups were also

active. There was a coterie for all attitudes and interests. Those who were more traditionalists and conservatives recall the University of Tehran Campus Mosque: "*At the time, the clergy, led by Ayatollah Mahmoud Taleghani, sit in University of Tehran.*"

The political atmosphere was open, and the urban atmosphere was lively and, at the same time, suspenseful. "*Much discussion was underway at the time. Even ordinary people came in front of the university to argue. They stood beside one another and argued together, precisely in front of the entrance of the University of Tehran.*"

However, it was not just discourse and argument that won the day. Clashes, shootings, and assassinations would take place as well. Every corner of that region was packed in the days leading up to the 1979 Revolution. Clashes and demonstrations erupted, with anti-Shah and tyranny (dictatorship) chants among them. Outside, inside, and all around the university, there was a slew of protesters: "*Bist-o-Yek-e Azar, Anatole France, etc. Everywhere there were debates, tensions, and clashes.*" From above the gendarmerie, they would occasionally start shooting at people. Other communities emerged over time, in addition to students and academic intellectuals.

The opposing Tehran residents rushed to Shahreza Street from every corner; even those whose workplaces were in the city's north rushed from Pahlavi Street (now known as Vali-e Asr) to Enqelab Square to stay informed. Empathy and altruism were also present. People who were not involved in politics did their best. Enqelab Street buzzed with ecstasy.

Enqelab Square had evolved into a symbolic space. On the one hand, the square had turned into the center of gravity for three important student centers: the Polytechnic University and the University of Tehran in the east and the Aryamehr University (now known as the Sharif University of Technology) in the west. On the other hand, it served as the meeting place for people from other parts of Tehran or even counties who came

to protest and help spread justice. Enqelab Square was a place for people's unanimity and resistance against the ruling tyranny.

- Collective relations (C9)

Sometimes, high school friends met in Farah Park (was called later Golesorkhi and now Laleh) and started reading books under pine trees. An individual, who wasn't a student at the University of Tehran but his friends were all students at the Faculty of Literatures and Humanities of the University of Tehran, said that In a dormitory on the corner of Italia Street and Vesal Street, he would sit with his friends at night and read books. They would introduce books to each other and then start talking about the same book they had read. Their hangout was moved into Davazdah-e Farvardin Street after the revolution: "*Baba Zandi's little cafe*".

There were various forms of assemblies. Soviet-Iran Association (also called VOX) was one of the resorts of left intellectuals with communist and socialist tendencies. Some people even bought Russian language tutorial. The Soviet-Iran Association helped people who wanted to watch inexpensive intellectual films. Islamic communities also had their own circles: "*I found Wilāyat al-Faqīh (Guardianship of the Islamic Jurist), the work of Ayatollah Khomeini, one way or another and began to read it. Then we gathered with our friends at our house, sat down, and read the book.*"

Some revolutionaries were also inclined to climb the mountains because they could sit safer on the hill and talk away from the eye of the SAVAK (National Organization for Security and Intelligence), or they would even be planning an insurgency. The individuals would assemble at Bist-o-Chahar-e Esfand Square, at the beginning of Jamshid-Abad Street, and took the bus to the mountain. Leftist groups held hegemony in the mountaineering committee of the University of Tehran.

A person, while still a student, would go with his friends to Enqelab Square for fun. However, he would arrange most of his appointments in the north of the town, sometimes in Homa Hotel, after becoming a university professor and being given a higher salary. His economic conditions had changed, and it was possible to access luxurious places, and of course away from the student's atmosphere and their watchful eyes. His social group had changed.

- Informative networks (C7)

Shahreza Street from Enqelab Square to Pahlavi Crossroad was regarded as a cultural space for some people. Bookstores gave the space a special quality, from second-hand textbook sellers on the second floor of malls and buildings to showcases of shops on the streets and hand sellers of second-hand books. Sometimes valuable manuscripts or Latin books could be found among them. But there was a network of political activities underneath this cultural space that both SAVAK and revolutionaries were sensitive to.

By the end of the 1960s, there were no bookstore chains before the Tehran University. Sites and hangouts such as "the Beethoven Music Center" on Shahreza Street have weighed more than the libraries on Shahreza Street. Intellectual activities occurred mostly not at Bist-o-Chahar-e Esfand Square but around Shah Street, between Baharestan Square and the square or crossroad of Mokhberodowleh.

The trend lasted up to the end of the 1960s. Nonetheless, evidence suggests that bookstores facing the University of Tehran were mainly political since the late 1960s, particularly in the 1970s. However, some prohibited books had to be purchased from "peddlers in front of the University of Tehran," peddlers who were said to be skilled at knowing people, and they would take a 'book down from below' and give it to buyers if they saw someone for the second time. Peddlers in front of the University of Tehran were a key contributor to the promotion of political awareness.

Bookstores in front of the University of Tehran and their frequently affiliated peddlers had a political agenda. One of the most common activities of left revolutionary forces was the acquisition and sale of Marxist-Leninist White Cover books.

"Leftist books were dominant," and "white cover books" were purchased and sold. In this respect, "Bazaarcheh Ketab passage" has been kept in mind. Political groups were purchasing shops and selling political books there, promoting certain political purposes.

The political significance was not confined to bookstores. Some people have remembered that the shoe store at the corner of 30 Meter Street around Bist-o-Chahar-e Esfand Square was also, where they purchased military boots to function more conveniently in clashes. This is how the body turns into a meaning that depends on activity: "*it is political for one and has nothing more than leisure for the other.*"

- Hopefulness due to class mobility (C10)

Greater income inequality and cultural difference in the 1970s led some people to enjoy increased wellbeing, and there prevailed bliss and happiness: for the "well-to-do." It was promising for low-stratum students to receive a scholarship from the university.

A student at the Tehran University – though he had been imprisoned for two months to ensure he had nothing to do with PMOI – said that he received 200 Tomans a month from the university. This scholarship promised that he no longer needed to be reliant on his family for financial purposes, accompanied by hopefulness about the future: "*I was no longer a burden on the shoulders of my parents. We know we'd be hired by Iran Veterinary Organization when we got our degree.*" The future was bright for those who had the chance for upward class mobility. "*Social status created enthusiasm in people. To believe that you have a bright future ahead of you. The graduates definitely would have been employed. The graduates' future was guaranteed at that time.*" This shows how higher education could influence individuals' future, careers and lives, allowing them to join the upper classes. Only a few were given a chance.

Conclusion

Baharestan Square was a political and intellectual space during the Persian Constitutional Revolution. National Consultative Assembly, College of Literature, Humanities, and Social Sciences, some cafés, press and publishing houses were located in that area. However, on 9 May 1961, Mohammad Reza Shah ordered the 20th National Consultative Assembly to be dissolved, marking the beginning of an end to the Assembly. The Assembly lost its role by the two-year closure. In October 1963, the 21st National Consultative Assembly convened, and bourgeois puppet parties took up their seats.

The intellectual atmosphere at Shah Street and the political atmosphere at Baharestan Square gradually declined due to these changes. The storage container in this urban area lacked the capacity to contain past politics. Politics had transferred from the Baharestan Square, but desires and needs remained. Consequently, politics found another adequate urban area, i.e., Bist-o-Chahar-e Esfand Square.

Initially, the district of Enqelab Square was a modern, educational, leisure area, and the entry to the city where economic protests sometimes occurred. In the minds of the new middle-class people, the dominating spirit of the time was hopefulness and optimism about the future. Nevertheless, it turned into a political and revolutionary space after the early 1960s. Optimism about the future faded with the escalated social class and cultural division.

The University of Tehran allowed people to protest and raise awareness and knowledge: an anti-dictatorship type of knowledge. Historically, it was determined that the University of Tehran was founded during a despotic monarchy, paving the way for resisting despotism more thoughtfully.

Political experiences and their manifestations, exalted in a dialectic process, found their urban capacity at the University of Tehran and Shahreza Street (today, known as Enqelab) and gradually conquered the surrounding area. The significance of the educational setting at the University of Tehran

gradually decreased, adding to its political role as a remonstrant and revolutionary space. Shahreza Street and Bist-o-Chahar-e Esfand Square, and the whole area of the Tehran University, were subsequently conquered by new meanings, thereby establishing a new urban space. This revolutionary space was strengthened by the political agenda of the network of booksellers around the square.

The present study showed that understanding the mindscapes of social strata of an urban space is possible through the analysis of narratives. And changes of matters are reflected in the collective memory of the social strata. Studying urban space transformations through the study of its representation on collective memory is possible as well as getting feedback from the historical facts.

The results indicated that individuals' mentality of Enqelab Square has changed in two periods. The period of such mentality changes was consistent with the historical context. This suggests that mentality is a continuation of the outer world and that it is not disconnected from it.

With the 1979 revolution, Bist-o-Chahar-e Esfand Square, or Enqelab, and Shahreza Street or Enqelab, became a symbolic place: the space of Resistance. The Enqelab Square symbolism was manifested in the words of a youth, who works in the Forouzandeh passage, in front of the University of Tehran, but was born after the revolution and had never seen the revolutionary era. "*I don't know why anyone dissatisfied with the situation starts to protest in front of Tehran University and Enqelab Square*" he asked in astonishment.

Finally, changing the name of Bist-o-Chahar-e Esfand Square to Enqelab Square after overthrown of Pahlavi's government was normal. This is also true when it comes to changing the name of Bist-o-Yek-e Azar Street to Shanzdah-e Azar Street, Farah Park to Laleh Park, Eisenhower Street to Azadi Street, Anatole France Street to Quds Street, or Elizabeth II Boulevard to Keshavarz Boulevard. Sepanlou referred to renaming of Tehran's streets

and stressed that the names of different places throughout the town are linked to human memories and carry a special meaning (Sepanlou, 1992, 179). Also meaningful was renaming the "Bist-o-Chahar-e Esfand Square" to "Enqelab Square." All things were changed, but one thing was left unchanged, and it was the common meaning for Enqelab Square, inherited for generations to be symbolic in their minds. Ever since, "Enqelab Square" has been linked to concepts like resistance and the struggle against oppression, "abidance (persistence)," student movements, and so on, in citizens' minds and perhaps to the collective memory of a nation.

Conflict of Interest

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest in conducting this study, and their tangible and intangible interests did not affect the research process and its results.

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