



**Participatory Urban Redevelopment in Tehran: an Investigation  
through Sense of Place**

Thesis by

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## **Abstract**

Within the last decade, the municipality of Tehran has initiated the involvement of citizens in the reconstruction of their places. This departure from a top-down, expert-driven approach indicates a more participatory move towards urban redevelopment in Tehran. This study examines this change in municipal direction using a framework based on the concept of 'sense of place'. A range of qualitative techniques were applied, including photo-elicitation methods and semi-structured interviews with local participants, to understand the participatory processes and their outcomes. Two inner-city participatory cases were studied. In the Takhti neighbourhood and the Oudlajan bazaar, the municipality invited owners to participate in the physical and economic improvements of their place through land assemblage and/or sharing redevelopment costs. The selection of cases in a range of conditions located in both residential and commercial areas with/without historical value illustrates the participatory approach to urban redevelopment in Tehran.

The research shows that although the approach adopted by the municipality was a step towards more participatory decision-making, few significant gains were made due to some undesirable outcomes and serious limitations as expressed by participants. According to these participants, although the experience of involvement more or less enhanced their sense of place, few of the substantive outcomes were able to do so. This study therefore identifies that most benefits were gained as a result of the participatory process itself. When the main participants had good access to resources the process went more smoothly, resulting in higher quality outcomes and further place satisfaction. When resources were less available and/or intermittent the participants expressed less satisfaction. However, the picture provided by the results shows highly complex narratives. At different stages of the involvement process, and in relation to different outcomes, the participants narrated varying and even contradictory senses of place.

**Keywords:** Participation, Urban Redevelopment, Sense of place, Tehran





## **Dedication**

This thesis is lovingly dedicated to my dear mother, Fozieh Kalhor, who has always encouraged me to be curious about the world and to question things. It is also dedicated to my dear father, Fahmi Erfani, who has supported me throughout my entire life, including during this thesis work.



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## **Chapter 1. Introduction**

## 1.1 Research context

Urban redevelopment in Tehran has been extensive, reflecting the high rates of urbanisation experienced in the country. Over recent decades, the city of Tehran has been transformed from a city of predominantly low-rise housing to a metropolis of medium- and high-rise buildings. The majority of one- and two-storey buildings have been converted to five- and six-storey constructions or higher. Moreover, highways and boulevards mainly from the second Pahlavi period (the 1950s) have significantly transformed the urban landscape. The high value of land, construction profits, population increase, and other socio-economic factors have been influencing urban redevelopment in Tehran. According to The Municipality of Tehran (2007), its population during the last four decades has risen from fewer than four million people to more than eight million.

Historically, urban redevelopment in Tehran has been a direct result of the decisions made at that time by the government and institutions. Decisions on the planning and implementation of urban redevelopment projects are made at the top and imposed on citizens as a way of improving their quality of life. Although these decisions largely influence the socio-spatial fabric of urban life, citizens are not involved in the decision-making processes. Typically, policy makers and experts have provided technical solutions, mainly to address physical and economic issues, with people being counted as consumers not citizens in their cost-benefit analysis. However, it seems that this traditional approach has recently changed.

Over the last decade, the municipality of Tehran has initiated the involvement of citizens in the reconstruction of their places. The municipality has introduced a participatory approach to urban redevelopment in Tehran, in a departure from its traditional urban redevelopment as a top-down, expert-driven process. Within the new approach, locals are invited to participate in redevelopment schemes. It seems that the municipality has adopted community involvement as an integral part of a context-sensitive solutions process. However, as mentioned above, other socio-economic factors may also have been significant in this municipal decision.

Although urban redevelopment in Tehran has become a well-researched topic, the study of this new approach to urban redevelopment is still insufficient and fragmented. It remains unknown how the experiments with the involvement of locals have been implemented and whether these novel forms of urban redevelopment in Tehran and Iran have been successful.

During my postgraduate studies and my professional practice in the municipality of Tehran, I was involved in such participatory projects. This encouraged me to study this new approach adopted by the municipality at a deeper level. Therefore, in this study I aim to investigate the change in municipal direction in the urban redevelopment in Tehran, and how it has been implemented.

Investigating this new approach may improve understanding and the analysis of the process of participation in urban redevelopment in Tehran and its outcomes. The intention is to reveal who was involved and who was not, and who introduced it and how. These factors may help urban policy makers and practitioners to explore the shortcomings and strengths of this adopted approach, which may influence future decision-making processes. The participatory approach to urban redevelopment in Tehran might mean a threat to the city if the participants feel their physical and/or social life has been improperly changed. Hence, they may not support any future participatory projects, even if they know the new intervention could benefit them. In this way, community involvement can influence the participant's perception of place in a way that can alter their motivations for forthcoming participation and urban change.

To examine participatory urban redevelopment in Tehran, this study investigates how the locals who have been involved evaluate the participatory approach. Their evaluations reveal the experience of participation in urban redevelopment in Tehran and its outcomes. Participants can also evaluate the role of the other key contributors such as the municipality in adopting the new approach. To investigate the participants' evaluations, this study employs 'sense of place' as a way of describing cognitive, affective, and conative relationships between person/community and place. This is further discussed in the literature review chapter. An investigation through 'sense of place' enables an understanding of the influence of the urban redevelopment changes that are occurring with the participation of locals. It gives insight into on the locals' attachment to, identification, and satisfaction with their place(s) as the process proceeds. This investigation may also contribute to the gap in knowledge identified by this study which suggests that as yet few links have been made between participation and sense of place (Manzo and Perkins, 2006).

## 1.2 Aims, objectives and research questions

The primary aim of this study is to *examine the participatory approach to urban redevelopment in Tehran*. This aim is achieved through the following two objectives:

- *To understand the nature and dynamic of this participatory urban redevelopment*
- *To identify its outcomes and investigate them through 'sense of place'*

It is essential to understand who is involved for what purpose, and who has introduced the process and with what kind of mechanism. This experience is believed to be participatory and its outcomes have had impacts on the participants. The main research question, therefore, is: How can the participatory approach to urban redevelopment in Tehran be examined and its outcomes be evaluated? To answer this research question, the following sub-questions should first be addressed:

- 1- *What sort of participation is it and what are its outcomes?*
- 2- *How can the outcomes be evaluated?*
- 3- *Can sense of place be the appropriate framework for the investigation? If so, how?*

The evaluator factor is therefore the participants' sense of place. This enables the study to argue how and why the evaluations have been desirable for some, undesirable for others; what are the positive and negative implications at different stages and regarding different outcomes. Once the process and its outcomes have been able to enhance the participants' sense of place, participatory urban redevelopment in Tehran is a desirable approach. When the sense of place has been damaged, it is undesirable.

## 1.3 Research strategy

The research strategy is the qualitative approach using two case studies in Tehran, Iran. To answer the research questions, this study employs the following methodological approach. The study investigates an in-depth understanding of how people perceive their participatory experience and its outcomes in urban redevelopment in Tehran. Indeed, it mainly aims to understand how the locals involved evaluate the process, its outcomes, and the role of institutions. Therefore, this study primarily examines the participatory approach from the



viewpoint of local populations while it also acknowledges the views and comments of institutions and/or experts. To do this, this study adopts ‘sense of place’ as a way of describing the multidimensional relationships –attachment, identity, and satisfaction– between person/community and place, which are non-mathematical in nature. This is one method of investigating what matters to people at different stages of the process and their life regarding their involvement experience, its outcomes, and the role of institution. This is useful as it allows those who are usually forgotten in the evaluation of urban redevelopments to reveal their evaluation. This study develops a theoretical framework to investigate the procedural, substantive, and institutional outcomes of the participatory approach to urban redevelopment in Tehran through investigating ‘sense of place’ and its dimensions.

An in-depth understanding of a participatory urban redevelopment is a complex topic related to other complicated concepts such as community, democracy, and justice. The applied investigation method, ‘sense of place’, is also a complex and multi-dimensional concept. The investigation of the links between two multifaceted concepts adds more complexity to this study. The review of the literature (Stedman et al., 2004; Manzo, 2008; Manzo and Devine-Wright, 2013) shows that qualitative approaches are more sensitive in explaining the complicated interrelationships between humans and places than quantitative measures. Qualitative approaches deepen our understanding of the participants’ experiences regarding how ‘in-depth a process’ is (Creswell, 2009, p. 13). This study applies a qualitative approach from the viewpoint of the individual/collective sense of place. The questions, ‘how’ and ‘why’ the involvement methods adopted by the municipality of Tehran have affected the participants’ sense of place can be investigated through in-depth conversation (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

This study selects two participatory cases with different conditions in the inner city of Tehran. It looks at the residential and commercial places with/without historical value. This selection of cases in a range of conditions provides a way to understand the participatory urban redevelopment in Tehran and even Iran. This also enriches the applications and implications of the findings. To do this, the neighbourhood of Takhti and the bazaar route of Oudlajan in the inner city of Tehran were selected.

In summary, this is case study-based research that applies a range of qualitative techniques to examine participatory urban redevelopment in Tehran from the viewpoint of participants by investigating their sense of place.

#### 1.4 Thesis structure

This section briefly outlines the structure of this thesis before turning to discuss each chapter in detail. Overall, the thesis is organised into nine chapters, as follows:

*Chapter 1* introduces a general idea about the participatory approach to urban redevelopment in Tehran. It highlights the significance and novelty of this study, and the gaps in academia, urban policymaking, and practice. This chapter also articulates the aims, objectives and research questions. The research strategy reveals that this study is a case-study based, qualitative research that applies ‘sense of place’ as an investigation method. Further details of the methodological techniques are discussed later in Chapter 4.

*Chapter 2* questions two key subjects – community and participation – by reviewing the relevant literature. The different forms of community and the concept of place-based community in the different school of thought are argued. The chapter turns to the idea of participation as having a role in a decision-making process and its possible outcomes. It also questions the idea of partnership in the urban redevelopment context and its associations with participation. Discussing the adopted method in participatory urban redevelopment, particularly in developing countries, is another related issue.

*Chapter 3* reviews the literature on ‘sense of place’, its meaning, and construction. The chapter outlines a three-pole framework of multidimensional relationships between the individual, community, and place to discuss other key related terms including place attachment, place identity, and place satisfaction. It also argues how ‘sense of place’ has been investigated in other (different) contexts and for different purposes. It develops a theoretical framework for the investigation of participatory urban redevelopment by the application of ‘sense of place’.

*Chapter 4* develops the methodological approach taken in the research. It outlines the process of data collection and applied methods such as observation and photo elicitation

interview. A key method used in the research has been semi-structured interviews which were used to assess the in-depth impacts on the participants' sense of place. This chapter reflects on the issues during the data collection/analysis including ethics, access to the interviewees, transcription, and the use of photographic data.

*Chapter 5* introduces the case studies and the context of urban redevelopment schemes in Tehran, Iran. It outlines the socio-economic composition of the residential and commercial areas. The process of owners' participation is also explained in both cases. The materials provided in this chapter facilitate the understanding of the findings and discussions in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

*Chapter 6* uses the empirical evidence to outline the procedural, substantive, and institutional outcomes of the owner participation in the case of Takhti neighbourhood. The chapter argues the central dimensions of the process including trust building, land value, the issue of inclusion and exclusion, and inconvenience during the process of redevelopment. It reveals the impacts of the participation of owners on the residents' sense of place, for instance, the perception of new social divisions constructed and/or highlighted by the process.

*Chapter 7* reveals the procedural and substantive outcomes of the owner participation in the bazaar of Oudlajan. The chapter discusses the central dimensions of the process including trust building, shop value and heritage, the issue of inclusion and exclusion, and inconvenience during the process of redevelopment. It reveals the impacts of the process on the participants' sense of place such as a sense of heritage awareness among the shopkeepers.

*Chapter 8* discusses the substantive, procedural, and institutional outcomes of participatory urban redevelopment in Tehran through the sense of place. This chapter presents the assessments of the outcomes, the experience of involvement, and the role and performance of institutions. The empirical evidence from the two case studies (Chapter 6 and 7) is discussed in relation to one another and in relation to the literature (Chapter 2 and 3).

*Chapter 9* responds to the research questions raised in Chapter 1. This chapter is able to state how the adoption of the owners' participation in the reconstruction of low-income residential and commercial areas in the inner city of Tehran has been. It summarises the

outcomes and limitations of the study and contributions to the knowledge, and concludes the study with implications for policy and practice, and potential future research directions.

## **Chapter 2. Community and participation**

## 2.1 Introduction

The literature review aims: firstly, to reconceptualise the key subjects –participation and sense of place, and other related terms such as community and partnership– and secondly, to understand and analyse common ground between participation and sense of place in the context of urban redevelopment changes. Although several studies (Knox, 2005; Knox and Pinch, 2010) have mentioned the relationship between urban social, cultural and managerial changes and sense of place, as “yet few links have been made between [participation and sense of place]” (Manzo and Perkins, 2006, p. 335). The clarification of the associations sheds light on some of the possible pathways and the key elements that determine the potential links between participation and sense of place. To reach the above goals, Chapters 2 and 3 review the current academic debates on the key subjects. This enables the study to categorise the common approaches/theories to basic concepts to structuralise a theoretical framework for analysis presented at the end of Chapter 3.

This chapter begins with a section on the concept of the term ‘community’. The following sections illustrate the different forms of community and the concept of place-based community in the different school of thought. These sections have been included for two reasons: the terms ‘community involvement’ and ‘community participation’ are often used in the context of urban redevelopment, while community is an integral part of a sense of community and sense of place, discussed in the next chapter. Next, this chapter turns to the idea of participation as having a role in a decision-making process and interpretive approaches associated with the political view of community participation. The evaluation and typology of participation are other topics of discussion. This chapter questions the concept of partnership and its differences with participation in the context of urban redevelopment before addressing the adopted methods in urban redevelopment schemes including land assembly and land readjustment.

## 2.2 The question of community

This section reviews the concept of ‘community’, and critically looks at how this term has been imagined. The visual map of the term community (Thinkmap Inc., 2004) shows its direct relation to the concepts of a residential district/area and community of interests (Figure 2.1). On one side, this map indicates that the term community leads to concepts of

possession and togetherness, namely, ownership, gathering, and assemblage. On the other side, it implies different scales for ‘community’ from a biological scale (micro) to global scale (macro). The graphic plan draws the relationships between the terms community, scale, place, and group interests. However, the dimensions of community, the type of relationship among individuals, and the construction of a sense of community, which are essential to understanding and differentiating a community from other related terms such as society, are not mentioned.



Figure 2.1 Visual map of community (Thinkmap Inc., 2004)

In a study by Fraser (2005), the term community has been imagined as an umbrella divided into four forms: geographic and virtual communities, and communities of circumstance and interests (Figure 2.2). A geographic community is where its residents form a community based on place. Once the main form of communication among the members of a community is established through electronic tools, a virtual community is created. A community of circumstance is a temporary community constructed based on conditions and events. For instance, people affected by an earthquake, hurricane, or flood may feel that they belong to the same situation. When a group of people forms a community to achieve goals and interests, they indeed construct a community of interests. Political parties and lobbies are typical examples of this type of community.

A community of interests has also been defined as “a situation in which different people or groups are fighting against the same problem” (Macmillan Dictionary, 2002). This means common interests can even gather different people to form a community, but it does not mean that whenever different people or groups fighting against the same thing necessarily

have shared interests; they are only in the same circumstance. This is what separates us from others. When we know and, more importantly, trust our neighbours or share the same memories, we are constructing several communities. Being at the same time in the same community can empower connections between members, particularly familiarity and trust.

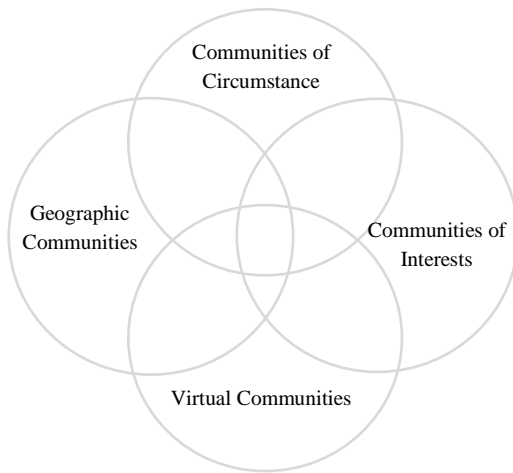


Figure 2.2 Different forms of community (Fraser, 2005)

From a sociological viewpoint, the first definition of community was announced by Galpin (1864-1947). He explained rural communities as a place around a central village in which inhabitants can share their commerce and common local life (Harper and Dunham, 1959). This definition clearly narrates two issues in relation to the concept of community: a geographical area and an area of common life; thus, communities for sociologists were specific social groups on a small scale, e.g. a neighbourhood. A cultural filter to these social groups generates an anthropological approach, such as ethnic minorities. Whenever public identity, involvement in a decision-making process, citizens' rights, or justice is the key focus, the term community is embedded with political meaning. However, all these approaches to a community are concerned from the viewpoint of different professionals; hence, the members of a community might read the situation differently.

If the term community is considered an imaginary concept (Anderson, 2006), it might cause a 'danger' in reading it. Little (2002, p. 370) discusses the danger as a product of exclusive interpretation for the term community. This threat occurs when a contemporary society contains diverse communities, offers "fixed criteria for what a community should look like". Since many citizens and communities do not fit these fixed criteria, they can easily be



excluded. In fact, minorities or powerless communities are ignored because they do not follow the opinions and/or interests of a specific community or the majority.

### **2.3 The concept of place-based community**

This section highlights the term ‘place’ in discussing community since it has been frequently applied to a set of variables related to the notion of community and because of the focus of this study that is embedded in the place-based communities (neighbourhood and bazaar). Several scholars have mentioned a close relationship between the term community and place. Harvey (1993, p. 4) discusses that the notions of landscape, home, nation, and community have “strong connotations of place [such] that it would be hard to talk about one without the other”. Knox and Pinch (2010, p. 317) also consider that the term community is often “geographically concentrated”; and it is universally transformed, or even misplaced.

Global transformations have led to the ‘community lost’ (Knox and Pinch, 2010, p. 188). On one side, cities tend to be more heterogeneous with formal relationships. On the other side, because of socio-economic, political, or ecological upheavals, many people are being lost from their home, landscape, neighbourhood, nation, and place-based community. It seems there is a progressive trend towards non-place-based communities, perhaps because of communities of place turning into communities of interest. Thus, analysis and understanding of these communities and their social construction of place is a vital issue.

For instance, when farmers migrate from their village to a bigger city, they lose their own place and trust network. This movement from rural to urban regions for work would destroy migrants’ family and isolate their life too; hence, the loss of place-based community might lead to the loss of memories, network, and trust. However, this phenomenon leads to the creation of a new community of interests: rural migrants based on their interests or a new circumstance can establish a new community, even without a specific place such as a ‘cyber-community’ (Mitra, 2010).

A place-based community is considered a place where the members of a community share in a common issue that is perceived geographically, or as Smith (2001) labels it, ‘locality’. Knox and Pinch (2010) explained a sense of community as a place-based feeling based on

the research of Young and Willmott (1957) on the kinship relationship among East London citizens. They reinterpreted that a sense of solidarity among locals who live in a common place with close relationships generates a sense of community. Local activity patterns such as work, shopping, and recreation strengthen these kinship relations. In contrast, a non-place form of community (Hoggett, 1997, p. 7) is a community when the members share a common personality, rather than depending on a place. For instance, an Indian community can be established based on ethnic origin rather than being from India (place). These personalities can be a religious belief, cultural values, and/or profession.

In addition, a sense of solidarity among the residents of a neighbourhood cannot be constructed only because they are living in the same place. Conflicts between the residents and organisations due to the failure to change the quality of residents' life after long term contributions to urban regeneration can be a reason for a sense of community. The events and activities can also foster a sense of solidarity. A sense of being forgotten and excluded, particularly for the residents of urban poor areas, would make them distrustful and sceptical about the authorities and people outside their place-based community. For instance, in a participatory project in the west of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, titled New Deal for Communities<sup>1</sup> (Social Exclusion Unit (SEU), 1998), the residents had a common sense of mistrust toward any engagements by authorities, which led into a combative discourse between the residents and authorities (Dargan, 2009).

### ***2.3.1 Place-based community in the Chicago School of sociology***

This section reviews the concept of place-based community in the Chicago School of thought. This school was established in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and is best known for its urban sociology approach. Since they have an environmental view of cities and their communities, they are occasionally named the ecological school. In their approach, the natural social and physical environments which a community inhabits are the fundamental components in the construction of a human community, its behaviour, and the city function and its transformation (Fine, 1995; Dear and Flusty, 2002; Gregory et al., 2009).

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<sup>1</sup> NDC was a participatory programme to regenerate the 39 urban deprived areas in England with community orientation conducted between 1998 and 2010. The programme was funded by the Department of Communities and Local Government (DCLG).

Cities are a scene of natural contests in which individuals compete for worthy places, for instance, due to a distinctive pattern of land rents, citizens economically inhabit and socially are segregated. Place-based communities are connected to their “relative competitive power”. Since the power of different place-based communities and the comparative preference for these places alters over time, these urban areas undergo change. Knox and Pinch (2010, p. 157) described this shifting process as the ecological “ideas of invasion, dominance, and succession” that has been studied in place-based communities. This is a characteristic approach of the Chicago School in the social reading of community issues.

Although the Chicago School is still a highly referenced source with robust influence on urban studies, there are some criticisms around it. The classic criticism of this school is the obscurity of the relationship between economic and cultural factors in cities. For instance, the role of the citizens’ emotions and symbolism in human actions are disregarded. Indeed, due to social values, the socio-spatial organisation of cities as a base for urban transformation often neglect impersonal and financial competitions (Knox and Pinch, 2010). This understanding highlights the significance of social forms in the field of urban design and planning. Later, several Chicago scholars such as Park and Burgess (1984, c 1925) and Firey (1945), clearly stated “sentiment and symbolism as ecological variables”; hence, they furthered the non-biotic factors in the study of community.

According to the Chicago School, the term community is interpreted as a small scale and united residence, wherever in the larger and broader units/cities the concept of a community could be ‘under threat’. This view focuses on place and scale as the elements of a community. Moreover, due to the principles of industrialisation and capitalism, cities have been transforming into more diverse and unsustainable milieu. Thus, the concept of ‘sense of place and attachment’, which is commonly linked to ethnicity, can only be understood in ‘the small localities or neighbourhoods’. It is believed the powerful understanding of localities leads to urban belonging. A sense of belonging in all the neighbourhoods can be founded on “shared experiences, a common language and kinship ties, and above all, sense of inhabiting a common spatial lifeworld” (Delanty, 2010, p. 41). This idea has lately led to the ‘sub-culture theory of urbanism’ in which urban communities are constructed based on their dimension and structure, “self-transformative and generative of a pluralistic mosaic of little worlds” (Bell and Newby, 1971; Redfield, 1989; Delanty, 2010, pp. 40,41).

Building on the above discussion, understanding a sense of belonging to a city is simply possible on urban small scales (place-based communities) inhabited by neighbours. Similarly, Jacobs (1961) believed that the sociability and friendliness attached to a city are perceivable at the neighbourhood level. Common issues among locals also generate this sense of belonging, for instance, a participatory project in a neighbourhood. These communities of neighbourhoods generate a sense of belonging to a city.

In the Chicago School of thought, the term community connotes the notions of neighbourhood and urbanism according to German sociologists such as Ferdinand Tönnies, who introduced a classic distinction between a community and society. Building on his idea, the notion of *Gemeinschaft* is applicable when there is a kinship among members such as a family or a rural village in the pre-industrial era (Tönnies and Harris, 2001); hence, the relations are informal, friendly, cooperative, homogeneous, and culturally constructed. However, Joseph (2002) believes that Tönnies overlooks the political and economic injustices in the rural settings discussed in the section 2.3.3.

In contrast to *Gemeinschaft*, Tönnies expressed the term *Gesellschaft* (society) as a fantasy and planned concept. In a *Gesellschaft* society, there is a formal, goal-orientated and heterogeneous relationship between humans in which individual interests are prior to collective features; for instance, in workplaces, all workers from low to high levels, might have different individual interests with little common views; however, they are all agreed on making money. In a *Gesellschaft* society, members might have contradictory ideas and interest, but in *Gemeinschaft* the common interests of a place or idea gathers members as a community. According to Tönnies, a society occupied communities by industrialisation and urbanisation (Figure 2.3). However, Delanty (2010) believes that though cities have become more *Gesellschaft*-based (society-based), they remain important bases of communities.

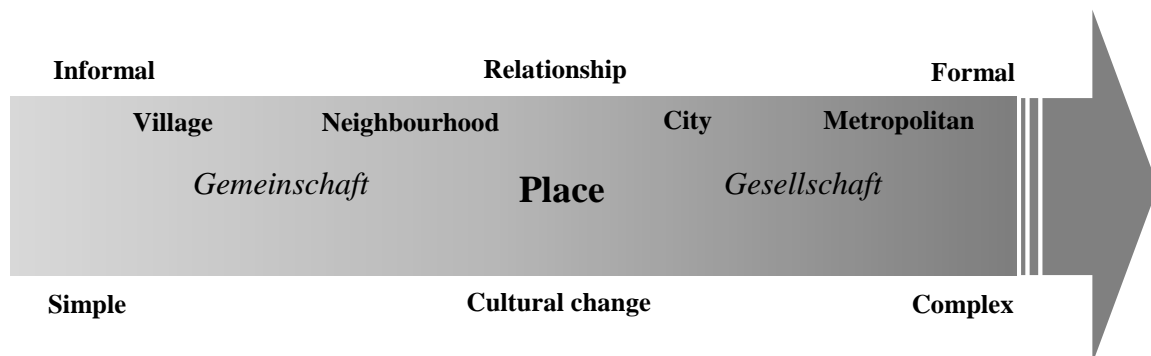


Figure 2.3 Dimensions of place-based community based on Tönnies

### 2.3.2 *Place-based community from the residents' point of view*

When citizens with a similarly wide range of social, economic, and demographic features inhabit a place, a neighbourhood is constructed; however, these features are not fundamentally sufficient for a high level of social engagement. A community, in contrast, is a constructed space where a grade of social interaction is shaped based on affiliation among members that leads to unity, homogeneity, and similarity in their taste, belief, and discourse (Knox and Pinch, 2010). This definition and categorisation of neighbourhood and community connote the description and perception of the scale of a place from the viewpoint of the inhabitants; hence, a neighbourhood is a place that its residents imagine and believe in. In this regard, Knox and Pinch (2010, p. 193) categorise and define the three scales of neighbourhoods. 'Immediate neighbourhoods' are perceived as small territories where the residents distinguish their neighbourhood by individual relationships "rather than interactions through formal groups, institutions or organisations". 'Traditional neighbourhoods' are differentiated through their social engagement embedded with local organisations, institutions, and services. Whenever a neighbourhood is vast, various, and the level of social engagement is low, it has been labelled as an 'emergent neighbourhood'. Although these classifications are observed from the viewpoint of the inhabitants and their social interactions, neighbourhoods and communities can be categorised based on their functions, such as formative, commercial, administrative, structural, political view, and social renewal.

Steve Herbert (2005) through interviews with the inhabitants of different and adjacent neighbourhoods in Seattle, discussed understanding within a community of whether they are near to ideal. He purposely and interchangeably applied the terms 'community' and 'neighbourhood', which is a key question running throughout the term community: whether a community as constituted networks, "is synonymous with neighbourhood or locality, and, if so, in what circumstances"(Knox and Pinch, 2010, p. 187). In Herbert's study, many respondents, who explained their shared kinship outside their neighbourhood, modified these substitutions. None raised political issues to answer these questions; some of them merely mentioned it at the end of the interview. The responses linked security and well-being to a community in their mind rather than political subjects.

As the expectation of citizens from the term community was "a means of reinforcing a basic degree of familiarity and support"(Herbert, 2005, p. 855), they did not imagine a community as a space for a collective political harmony. In other words, the residents of the

neighbourhood wanted to know their neighbours in order to create a basic relationship and collaboration with each other. In an ideal place-based community, familiarity and trust are a fundamental concern for residents, when they know everyone, and they can envisage their behaviours and particularly rely on them in terms of problems. The following is the response of a resident interviewed by Herbert:

“Q. Would you call this neighborhood a community?

A. Um ... In some senses of the word, I would. Though, there's ... like most cosmopolitan cities, there's a sense of people being off on their own, and somewhat disconnected, because people seem to –in cities very much– maintain their own life inside their property. But what does make it a community is the fact that people are satisfied with their neighborhood and stay here almost permanently and have harmony with their neighbors even if there isn't as much exchange as there used to be in the olden days and the fact that they're content enough to stay and have workable if not intense relations with their neighbors.

Q. So you would describe most of the relationships here between neighbors as “ ”?

A. Yeah, maybe workable is the word. Not super connected, but very friendly when there's a need to connect” (Herbert, 2005, p. 855).

This comment reveals that the construction of a place-based community such as a neighbourhood requires a sense of security and wellbeing among its residents. This is the reason that whenever a group of houses, services, and paths are shaped on a neighbourhood scale, the residents will not imagine the area as a neighbourhood if the kinship relationships and trust among members is not constructed. When the scale of familiarity and trust among neighbours is in an optimal range, citizens can easily and deeply know and rely on each other; hence, a place-based community (a neighbourhood) is constructed. Therefore, the scale defines a neighbourhood, and a city will develop through the construction of new neighbourhoods, not in the extension of existing neighbourhoods.

As this study examines a participatory approach to urban redevelopment from the eyes of a neighbourhood/bazaar residents, its focus is on the local place-based community in an urban

context. Thus, the literature review applies the term community as a place-based concept in which the participation of the local place-based community empowers familiarity and trust among local residents. As a result, a sense of belonging to a place-based community is improved, as it can confront the ecology of fear (Figure 2.4).

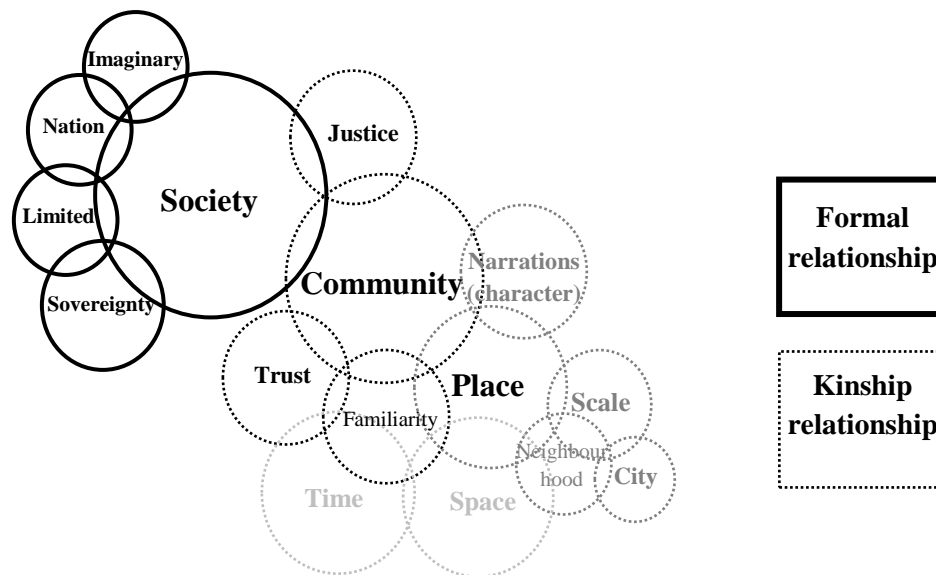


Figure 2.4 Placed-based community diagram

### 2.3.3 *Place-based community in the political-economic school*

The political-economic school of thought is a broad-based and multi-coloured approach to social changes and historical transformation analysis. The political economists criticise the Chicago School for marginalising the impact of class and the production, distribution and consumption of resources on social transformations. This school believes in the relationship of socio-economic structures such as capitalism, socialism, or communism and political process. In this view, a place-based community affects and is affected by socio-economic policies which are influenced by political powers. The concept of place-based community from this angle is discussed in the next three sub-sections.

#### *(1) Community and social transformation*

The traditional concept of community in the current literature of socio-economic science is undergoing change. This alteration is due to social transformations leading to new forms of living, culture, economics, and politics. Our world is rapidly changing; globalisation,

migration, new ways of communication such as Skype, Facebook, Twitter, and other social networks are narrating development in various areas. Knox and Pinch (2010, p. 150) associate social transformation with larger size, diverse, and heterogeneous urban communities. They properly concluded that citizens' social life is allocated among different people, for instance, friends, relatives, and neighbours and diverse places such as home, school, and workplace. These are all the result of social class and economic competition, with citizens' time and concentration being distributed among disjointed populations and places. This fragmentation, particularly within the primary social groups such as family, friends, and neighbours, has enlarged social disorganisation.

Due to these issues in social transformation, Delanty (2010, p. x) clarifies community as "the search for belonging in the insecure conditions of modern society". He believes that global tension in 'solidarity and belonging' is the main goal of enormous application for the term community, particularly in political discourses, and because of the social transformations, specifically cultural changes, the symbolic dimensions of communities are being displaced. As cultural alteration is highly focused, this issue is more challenging in the anthropological approach. Moreover, the loss of the symbolic dimensions of community is leading to the loss of its social dimensions (Amit, 2002). Delanty (2010) critically asks how cultural alteration can help revive a sense of place following displacement. He offers four wide-ranging viewpoints on the term community, namely, social, cultural, political, and technological perspectives.

The social view typically contains problematic urban contexts, for example, deteriorated areas, which require governmental aid and public participation. Projects such as community participation, community regeneration, and community health are sample responses to this viewpoint. This type of community can be differentiated from usual communities because of its problems or further special characteristics. Although this perspective covers a political vision, it is mostly counted as a social viewpoint.

In addition, Delanty (2010, p. xii) accepts social community in the urban context, which connotes place-based communities, but he does not directly link the idea of social community to the notion of place. In his cultural view, a community is interpreted as the search for attachment in which "the cultural construction of identity" is highlighted. This pursuit might be based on a straight connection to places such as birthplaces and hometowns



or the hidden narratives of identity and place (Taylor, 2009). This approach is mostly common among anthropologists and sociologists and is discussed in the following section.

On the other hand, politicians, specifically postmodern and radical democrats, describe a community in relation to “political consciousness and collective action” (Delanty, 2010, p. xiii). In this political view, inclusive justice is a key focus. In the technological approach, a community is constructed based on the new type of communications through the Internet and social networks. In this approach, cybernetic closeness is emphasised rather than the notion of place.

A common idea in all these viewpoints is the notion of belonging to a community. Citizens have diverse feelings or claimed forms of belonging to various communities; however, they might have a sense of belonging to diverse communities at the same time. In addition, a community is neither a static phenomenon nor an inclusive notion for all citizens; rather, a community is a dynamic concept in which some citizens are constantly joining and leaving or at least they are claiming to do so.

## *(2) Community and globalisation*

Recent urban sociology has highlighted the effect of globalisation, rather than the influence of industrialisation, in which the concept of modernisation is altered by post-modernisation. In this new approach, the challenging analysis is whether the link between an urban community and its city has been misplaced in today’s global cities, where the localities have been melted and absorbed by the global society. Even critics such as Harvey and Jameson believe in the death of communities in the postmodern era. This is in contrast with the approach of the Chicago School, which assumed a city as a natural settlement of community.

In some negative approaches, today’s cities are polarised and disjointed, and urban communities are marginalised. As the urban geographer Harvey (1992) argues in his book, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*, that is the reality of American cities during the postmodern era. He translated postmodernism as the continuing of capitalism in a new form in which commercial advertisements and the hidden force of individual consumerism lead to the fragmentation of urban communities.

Scholars such as Joseph (2002, p. 47) also interpreted the term community as the growth of capitalism based on “the mass production and consumption” rather than social identity.

However, researchers like Tönnies and Harris (2001) and Anderson (2006) still believe in social interaction around communal issues built on place or character. They emphasise the community scale in which individuals can simply communicate and interact with each other. A community at the national scale is more of a fantasy and a planned concept constructed by mass media and culture rather than individual interactions; hence, on the national scale, it is reminiscent of a *Gesellschaft* society.

On the other hand, “community doesn’t simply imply trying to recapture lost forms of social solidarity; it refers to practical means of furthering the social and material refurbishment of neighbourhoods, towns and larger local areas” (Giddens, 1999, p. 79). This explanation draws a community as a local and positive notion, and since Giddens accepts the “lost forms of social solidarity”, he is desirably counted as a traditional approach (the Chicago School) in community studies (Fremeaux, 2005, p. 268).

The Giddens’ reading of community has been labelled “a little too ambiguous” (Little, 2002, p. 372), as Giddens discusses what community is not, but is unclear about what community is. Giddens interpreted community as being without a fixed shape or any ‘prescription’, yet offered no replacement specifically of how relationships in a community are constructed as a concept. The problem here is that Giddens concurrently presents no specific “type” and no “set of relations to constitute community”.

Several scholars have linked the place and time of urban communities to the class; for instance, Delanty (2010, pp. 43-45) emphasises the impact of ‘gentrification’ on reforming urban communities. In the past three decades, in many inner cities in North America, western Europe, and Australia, the ‘professional middle-class’ tended to move into isolated urban areas, where the ‘working-class’ or ethnic minorities were formerly living. The gentrification was assumed to be an urban regeneration in which a new form of urban communities with ‘affluent, cultural and ecological’ features was shaped. This phenomenon, as an opposite trend to suburbanisation, created convenient conditions for a new capitalism to eliminate the ‘traditional working-class’ from urban communities. This fact was highlighted by Carmona et al. (2010), who saw gentrification as an unavoidable movement of less affluent citizens in which the social problems are shifted, not solved.

Various researchers have critically explained gentrification as an opportunity for estate agents and urban developers, for instance, Knox and Pinch (2010, pp. 140-3) summarised gentrification as a “back-to-the-city move by capital”. Although they emphasised economic and cultural factors, it is doubtful they have indicated the most important variable. However, they were certain that “the relative importance of economic and cultural factors varies in different cities; for example, the rent gap seems to have been much more important in New York than in Canadian cities”.

Smith (2005) decoded the gentrification process as an urban decay in space and time. Even he announced ‘the revanchist city’ as a response to the gentrification in which surveillance and control are a key focus. The revanchist city narrates a repeated story in which a single shift refers to urban actors’ positions. In the time of gentrification, the middle class came to the inner cities; however, in the post-gentrification era, they are leaving these areas. Since these urban areas have gradually encountered socio-economic problems, the middle class could not afford to reside in them. From the viewpoint of the middle class, this urban decline was a result of new guests: wage labour communities, ethnic minorities, gay communities, and other urban communities who were in some cases known for smuggling and illegal immigration. Although the middle class tried to resist this extensive invasion, they finally surrendered, due to the fact that their former areas were insecure, crowded, polluted and, in some cases like the Manhattan district, unaffordable.

Many urban sociologists have also predicted a negative vision of urban communities. For instance, Davis (2000) is alarmed about the ecological terror for the current socio-spatial fragmentation of class. He describes an urban landscape of community segregation, of gated communities in suburbia where the middle class are trying to reconstruct their lost utopia. In his book, *Ecology of Fear: Los Angeles and the Imagination of Disaster*, he assessed the city of Los Angeles as a vision of cities in the recent century. Los Angeles is pronounced a city where gated communities belong to special and affluent residents. The gated communities are fragmented and constantly controlled to exclude the low-income class known for violence and crime. Since citizens with different income levels are reconstructing their segregated communities, a fragmented city is reshaped.

A suburban area is an area without kinship social relations between residents; rather, it is based on “...the nuclear family’s pursuit of money, status and consumer durables and the privacy to enjoy them’, and it is occasionally labelled a ‘non-community’. At the same time,

solidarity and localism are seen in suburbia more than inner cities, which might lead to the high level of neighbouring in suburbia. Knox and Pinch (2010, p. 190) discussed this perspective based on one or a combination of the following reasons: suburbia might seem a more homogeneous place socially and demographically than other areas; as suburban residents are self-selected inhabitants, the possibilities of having common social interests and leisure among them are higher than inner cities; and since suburban residents are physically distanced from their social acquaintances, they are forced to have contact with local residents. However, he accepts the social isolation of minorities settled in suburbia and those who have a problem in finding friends.

Social exclusion is a continuous trend in urban planning including the segregation of communities based on a class within cities. The Haussmannian and industrial cities attempted to segregate communities entirely based on class. This led to the isolation of communities and the polarisation of cities: inner city vs. suburban zone; deteriorated areas vs. affluent neighbourhoods; and Manhattan vs. Brooklyn. Moreover, administrative areas, shopping centres, and business offices are currently creating additional 'islands' within the city in spatial and socio-economic terms.

### *(3) Community governance*

Neoliberalism defines two roles for a community, firstly as the receiver of devolution and secondly as an appropriate evaluator to assess and legitimate the devolution. However, Herbert (2005) believes this evaluation from the viewpoint of citizens is extensively overlooked. Through interviews with the residents of different and adjacent neighbourhoods in Seattle, he assessed devolution in the neoliberalism pattern and from the citizen's perspective. He demonstrated that the term community in the view of residents does not have a political character; rather, it is a trapdoor in neoliberalism. This is in opposition to the neoliberalism concept in which the devolution of power from a state authority to a community is its primary manifestation.

He considers that a small circle of community governance might lead to marginalised individuals and minorities, as liberals are doubtful about a small-scale political system (community governance). In his research, some respondents were concerned that involvement in a community convey a sense of commitment, and they first thought about

their family rather than community. There were afraid of two issues: a fear of commitment that brings them more responsibility when they should primarily be supportive of their families, and a sense of fear in a community, which made them place all their attention on family protection.

When only a few residents become involved in a community, for both active participants and non-participants it might be a concern, as a few participants cannot represent the entire community. Particularly, when there is no consensus in a neighbourhood, new residents or junior citizens may participate in decision-making which impacts on the whole neighbourhood, leaving the seniors feeling marginalised.

Another controversial element in relation to the concept of community is 'heterogeneity'. However, the term community connotes homogeneity: us versus them or insiders versus outsiders (Joseph, 2002; Herbert, 2005). Herbert found cultural differences to be a barrier in shaping a community, particularly language variation. In addition, renters might be reluctant to label themselves as insiders, and Herbert stated that renters commonly count themselves as temporary residents when they know they are going to be leaving at some point. However, from the homeowners' viewpoints, renters are suspicious residents that do not protect and even clean the properties that they live in, so homeowners cannot expect renters to participate in a community; hence, it is a dismissive attitude. The ecology of fear is another element of the term community, which allows the actuality of community members' actions to be evinced. However, Herbert attempted to link this fear to social crimes such as drug gangs, particularly in poorer areas.

Herbert summarised the different concerns of the neighbourhood residents in relation to the meaning of community: trust and familiarity are forgotten, and individualism is extended; transience, the ecology of fear, and heterogeneity, specifically in disadvantaged areas, are obstacles against a community. In the view of a community member, little political meaning is attached to the term community (specifically in a neighbourhood) and, in contrast to new liberalism, they are afraid of devolution.

From the citizens' viewpoint, devolving authorities in any decision-making practice is not considered a legitimate and productive process; hence, authorities do not participate, and citizens feel inequities continue. The process of participation can also be destructive, particularly when it is slow, bureaucratic, and complicated. In this term, those citizens ready

to participate might lose their willingness and be frustrated, and so, devolution is seen as a doubtful action. This is further discussed in the following sections.

## **2.4 The question of participation**

Much of the current participation orthodoxy has been to focus on involvement in decision-making processes (Arnstein, 1969; Choguill, 1996; Tosun, 1999; International Association for Public Participation, 2005), in relation to democracy and justice. A good city inspires its citizens to participate in community and social life (Jacobs and Appleyard, 1987, pp. 115-16); however, the participation of citizens does not always mean being involved in social activities: it can simply be living in a place. For instance, from a landscape planning perspective, “mental and material exchange between humans and landscape is seen as participation” (Roe, 2012, p. 336). This section reviews the literature on participation and its elements from the theoretical decision-making perspective. It also clarifies other related concepts e.g. partnership.

The literature on participation, as having a role in a decision-making process, can be divided into two main periods: the traditional literature (before 1969) and the contemporary literature (after 1969). The key theory is the Ladder of Citizen Participation by Arnstein (1969), discussed in the following sections. The literature review mainly concentrates on contemporary approaches since the traditional literature presents limited interpretations of participation and uncovers current issues.

### **2.4.1 *Community participation as a decision-making process***

Lahiri-Dutt (2004) calls community participation a vague term, though she labels it a positive concept. In her definition, community participation is an interactional process in which citizens directly make decisions that affect their milieu. She considers that having a role in a decision-making process is a citizenship right given by the government. However, scholars such as Arnstein (1969) believe that this right must not be given; rather, essentially citizens themselves are the controlling power. She addresses a two-way discourse between two speakers: citizens, who might be an individual or group, and governments. She differentiates between community participation goals in developing and developed countries. In more developed countries, community participation is more orientated to

authorised public acceptance while in developing countries it has been interpreted as consultative and based on partnership (see Section 2.5.3).

Fraser (2005) stated critical questions about community and participation. In order to understand community participation particularly in relation to power, questions should be addressed concerning who the community is, how the benefits of a community are highlighted, and who distinguishes these benefits. Moreover, we must also consider how the process of community participation is imagined from the perspective of participants, and who feels included or excluded. Significantly, whether the acceptance of community participation based on the right of property ownership is real participation or a sort of partnership can be considered. These questions cover two areas: community and involvement. In the questions about community, the construction and cognition of community are the focus. In the questions about involvement, the opinion of participants is emphasised, such as how they imagine their involvement, which may not be actual participation, and who does or does not participate.

The interpretation of participation as a decision-making process inevitably leads to relative socio-political concepts, e.g. justice and democracy. It is important to know whether there is a significant relationship between the value of community decisions and the citizens who make them. For example, this concerns decision-making by minority groups, public opinion, and whether a decision receives approval. The interpretive method of conflicts between individual/community interests and the selective procedure of certain tactics are other important issues that should be discussed. The way of distribution of resources and applying communicational patterns are also effective parameters. For instance, Fraser (2005) discusses projects that have not applied current terms e.g. community participation, particularly in the political approach to socio-cultural cities, which have been ignored regarding funding.

The other key concern is about conflicts in a community, such as which ideas and approaches could be used, how opposites are negotiated during the decision-making process, and how it normally happens. In terms of a community being controlled by some members, there is the issue of what kind of message this has for others. As Fraser (2005) believes through investigating these questions, the conditions of discourse in which conflicts occur can be understood. Indeed, conflicts in how different groups deal with other contrasting ideas should be considered.

### 2.4.2 *Community participation in a political approach*

In many countries, a managerial approach, which is a top-down trend in contemporary policy-making, has been shifted towards institutional engagement among citizens, non-government organisations (NGOs) and governmental leaders. Through the perspective of liberal democracy, Head (2007) perceives this shift and considers the importance of making a convenient space in which citizens and all NGOs can participate. For instance, Barack Obama (2009) on his first day as the president of the US wrote,

my administration is committed to creating an unprecedented level of openness in government. We will work together to ensure the public trust and establish a system of transparency, public participation, and collaboration. Openness will strengthen our democracy and promote efficiency and effectiveness in government.

He emphasised the importance of community participation in government decision making and linked trust building with participation. In addition, with increasing the number of NGOs and institutions, which are investigating to design, implement, and institutionalise community participation in government attitude; this subject is generally acknowledged to occupy a place of increasing importance in contemporary policy-making.

Participation of citizens is translated as "...processes to identify and resolve social problems [that] may span many different organisational forms and may cover a wide range of topics or problem areas" (Head, 2007, p. 443). This political thought theorises the participation of citizens as a long-term procedure that is not exclusively about recognition of different types of problems; rather, it includes a recipe for working through citizens' participation. However, in practice this might not be entirely applicable to every participatory process.

To bridge theories and practices, Fraser (2005) offers four political approaches to community participation: (1) anti- or reluctant communitarians and economic conservatism; (2) technical functionalist communitarians and managerialism; (3) progressive communitarians and empowerment; and (4) radical/activist communitarians and transformation (Table 2.1).



Table 2.1 Features comparison of different approaches to community participation based on the viewpoint of Fraser (2005)

No.	Approaches	Elements and Features
1	Economic conservative approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- It is a market-orientated approach</li> <li>- The individual is more prominent than the community</li> </ul>
2	Technical/ managerial approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Experts and technical solutions formed via indigenous and native knowledge are desired</li> <li>- It has realistic ambitions towards democracy and community</li> <li>- It avoids conflicts of interest related to class, gender, ethnicity, race, religion, and sexual orientation (in this case, it seems a pragmatist approach)</li> </ul>
3	Progressive/ empowerment approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- It has a gradual order for developing community participation</li> <li>- It is interested in restructuring resources and overall authorisation of social rights</li> <li>- The aims of social justice and environmental sustainability are pursued</li> <li>- It is adaptable to existing organisations and political situation</li> </ul>
4	Radical- transformative approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The consensus is preferred to individual interests</li> <li>- Spontaneous organisations, redistribution of resources and sharing the decision-making process are advertised</li> <li>- It has an idealistic approach with hierarchical orders from the local to global scale</li> </ul>

*(1) The anti- or reluctant communitarian and economic conservatism approach*

The anti-communitarian approach narrates the community as a buried story, which never exists. They label community participation as not ‘real work’. Their reading of community participation is a top-down process, which is led by a great manager to make hard decisions. However, under pressure from public media or for their own private benefit, they may accept community participation. Pro-economic conservatism also has the same approach to community participation. They attempt to steer community participation process toward their pointed goals, specifically, economic interests. People are counted as consumers not citizens in their cost-benefit analysis. Thus, a community that does not participate in their profit-making process is overlooked (Fraser, 2005).

*(2) Technical functionalist communitarians and the managerialism approach*

This approach has a function-orientated definition of community participation. They do not acknowledge the participation of a community rather than utilities or economic affairs.

Their policy in the decision-making process is a maximum benefit and minimum detriment for public. Therefore, their philosophical approaches are counted as utilitarianism, pragmatism, and rationalism. The ideal government has an organised way to engage with a 'plurality of interests'. According to Fraser (2005), concentration on individuals and families (upper and middle classes) in a specific physical area has similarities with the anti-communitarian approach.

In this approach, community participation "usually revolves around expert-driven consultations with community stakeholders". Functionalist communitarians apply community participation as "a way to get others to ratify the views of experts" (Fraser, 2005, p. 290). Mullaly (2002) in his book, *Challenging Oppression: A Critical Social Work Approach*, believes these experts are useful tools who can decipher political problems through technical solutions.

A standard format and linear authority have been counted as merits of this approach. Since this approach is looking for more efficiency and less conflict, it is preferred by "state authorities (such as local councils and provincial governments), large social welfare organisations (especially those that are church-based) and established charitable trusts" (Fraser, 2005, p. 291). On the other hand, social diversity and power relations have been counted as the demerits of this approach.

### *(3) Progressive communitarians and the empowerment approach*

In this approach, justice is a key issue, particularly in relation to the environment and publics. The ideal government is defined as an administration that attempts to qualify "social and environmental sustainability through a mix of re-distributive and procedural forms of justice" (Fraser, 2005, p. 291). Community work does not just refer to those policies and plans used to sustain public requirements and ecological protection; rather, it also attempts to state social inequity and its effects (Washington, 2000; Hendriks and Carson, 2002; Fraser, 2005). Ethnic minorities such as racial groups in another country, and social and political movements, for instance, the women's movement and local social groups, are counted as examples of this approach. The terms "diversity, cultural differences and the policies of exclusion/inclusion" are commonly used jargon (Fraser, 2005, p. 292).

Progressives who apply the empowerment approach to community participation attempt to establish a personal connection with participants; hence, they accept discourse and conflict. They employ different tools such as “face-to-face interactions as well as electronic debates, forums, consultations and juries, empowerment-oriented community, workers conduct research, create and implement plans, including plans to become involved in large-scale protests and contribute to wider policy and programme discussions” (Fraser, 2005, p. 292).

As this approach does not try to establish the ‘sufficient trust’ with ‘under-resourced’ and ‘under-represented’ citizens, they have to trust the members of community groups. In this case, some citizens may still suffer as an under-represented group, such as ethnic minorities, unemployed citizens, and racial groups from another country. Moreover, since this approach allows other groups with different interests to be involved, it is considered complicated. Fraser (2005) labelled it a weak approach because it might be seized by dominant groups’ interests and agendas.

On the other hand, this approach, alongside justice, attempts to preserve social and environmental sustainability. Since it accepts power relations and conflicts, it is classified as a flexible approach, specifically for those citizens who might be excluded by bureaucratic barriers. Such a grounded approach makes it more attractive to citizens who have lost their trust in participatory systems.

#### *(4) Radical/activist communitarians and the transformation approach*

According to this approach, a community is a place where grassroots can discuss their worries and problems about current issues; for instance, “...discrimination, oppression and environmental degradation”. As radical activists, in contrast to a progressive/empowerment approach, are concerned with the order of priority in community activities, it is labelled as unworkable and too idealistic. Fraser (2005) believes that this approach aims to combine individual attributes on the local, national, and global scales, particularly for citizens who feel excluded from participation. They interpret socioeconomic events across the world in a different way, believing that resources should be redistributed based on need, and not company profit. They object to wars and the World Trade Organisation, and believe that western countries should open their borders to refugees.

From an environmental view, radical activists refuse consumerism and the use of resources which also belong to future generations. Superficial actions such as tree planting days and

environmental redecoration are not truly sustainability practices, and may even be environmentally degrading of communities. They apply different policies in developing countries: “...direct actions such as street protests, strikes, sit-ins, black-bans and boycotts” and indirect action, including “...educational campaigns, learning forums and consciousness-raising groups”(Fraser, 2005, p. 294).

Power relations are a fundamental part of radical activism. They divide community actors into the powerful and powerless, and categorise them as individuals, groups, and communities. Their approach can be seen as a bottom-up process based on consensus. Conflict between interest groups is accepted, and decision making occurs through voting. While young radical activists prefer electronic forms of survey, older activists prefer face-to-face meetings. The level of success is based on the number of strikers and the actions organised by activists.

The merit of this approach can be summarised in their comprehensive view of the subject. This inclusive vision gives the radical activists a strong lens in dealing with barriers in relation to inequality and environmental degradation; hence, it is more attractive for participants who are concerned about social and environmental sustainability. However, it is criticised as an idealistic and impractical approach, which is hard to institutionalise. It is also unattractive for many ordinary communities, particularly for those who do not want to widen their local activities to the global scale. Additionally, in voting systems with bureaucratic attributes, it is not a favourable approach.

#### **2.4.3 Evaluation of participatory processes**

To evaluate a participatory process, Fraser (2005) raises the following questions: how will evaluation ‘be conducted and by whom’?; is there ‘any room to negotiate the terms of reference’?; and does ‘evaluation [...] investigate how regional, state, national, and/or global strategies are ‘articulated’ by the work’? These questions highlight the role of the evaluator(s) by asking who evaluates and how. It is also critical to consider whether the approach of evaluation is appropriately comprehensive.

Another scholar, Nabatchi (2012), emphasises the evaluation of participation as a useful way to improve the process and its impacts. She proposes two aspects of assessment of community participation. One aspect focuses on the *process evaluations* to understand and

evaluate the programme of participation during the planning, design, implementation, and management phases. This reveals how the evaluator(s) assesses the involvement role in the decision-making process, such as whether they enjoyed and/or suffered it, or were sufficiently informed and consulted or not. The other assessment aspect concentrates on the outcomes of participation –*impact evaluations*. The evaluator is seeking whether participation could achieve its goals or not. It also evaluates the different socio-spatial, economic, and ecological impacts that the outcomes may have on the community's life. For instance, what the residents gained and what they lost. This approach considers the institutional dimension of participation as an integral part of both the process and its impact evaluations; however, it can be evaluated separately.

#### **2.4.4 Typology of participation**

Reviewing the literature reveals that the term participation has been applied in enormously different approaches and methods. One approach is when a government decides to interfere in an urban environment through the encouragement and empowerment of residents to participate. In this approach, the government may apply different techniques: convenient information, public communication alongside consulting with key actors, and reallocating power and funds among community members. The initiating actor is the government, and the following actor is the citizen. In contrast, citizens might decide to change this typical discourse. They want to be autonomous and communicate outside the official channels (Head, 2007). In this case, community members attempt to establish their own actions towards redistributing power relations. They might use different techniques of discourse such as protests, strikes, negotiations with government representatives or even offering their own action plans.

Different approaches to participation, whether communicated outside the formal channels or applied in direct discourse, are not black and white with only two types of participation or lack of participation; rather, participation may be problematic or convenient, more exclusive or more inclusive, threatening or strengthening, or a sporadic or continuous process. It is also known as the 'spectrum process', which continues from informing, consulting, involving, and collaborating to empowering citizens (International Association for Public Participation, 2005). This diversity has led to different types of citizens' participation.

Among the scholars who have defined a ‘typology of participation’ (Choguill, 1996; Tosun, 1999), Arnstein (1969) conducted a pioneering typology into citizen participation. According to her ladder, the levels of citizens’ participation are divided into eight rungs: manipulation, therapy, informing, consultation, placation, partnership, delegated power, and citizen control (Figure 2.5). Manipulation and therapy are classified as nonparticipation due to their goals, which are educating and curing the participants. Informing, consultation, and placation are labelled as tokenism when participation only plays a consultant role, without any active role in decision making. The highest levels of the ladder, which are known as the citizen power level, indicate partnership, delegated power, and citizen control. Whenever participants have a more active role in a decision-making process, citizens’ power is positively increased.

Arnstein’s ladder does not clarify the character of participants, or how a participatory process is or its relationship to a citizen’s life. In her approach, participation is built on the involvement in a decision-making process; hence, other interpretations of participation, for instance, participation as an interaction with the environment and landscape, are not considered. In addition, since the ladder emphasises the relationship between participation and citizens’ power, inevitably it indicates that it is designed for developed countries; therefore, it seems impractical in undeveloped countries.

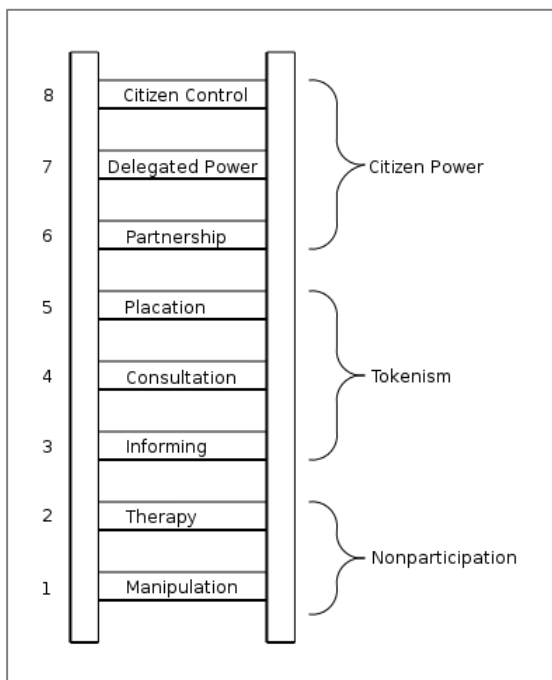


Figure 2.5 Ladder of citizen participation (Arnstein, 1969)

Thirty years after Arnstein, the next typology for participation was proposed by Choguill (1996). The new model similarly consists of eight levels, namely empowerment, partnership, conciliation, dissimulation, diplomacy, informing, conspiracy, and self-management. Despite its similarities with Arnstein's ladder, Choguill (1996) emphasises a key difference, in that the role and support of the government in decision-making is increasing and the advocacy of nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) is decreasing. Later on, Tosun (1999) introduced a typology of participation including three main domains of spontaneous, induced, and coercive participation (Table 2.2). The better domain, spontaneous participation, is active, direct, informal and authentic participation. In this case, real sharing in the decision-making process occurs. The middle domain, labelled induced participation, is passive, indirect, and formal. Participation is officially handled by representatives of both groups (citizen and governors). The poor domain namely coercive participation is compulsory, manipulated, and false participation. Since the sharing in decision making may be threatened, the nomination of participation for this domain is a challenging label.

Table 2.2 Simplified Typology of Community Participation (Tosun, 1999, p. 118)

<b>TYPE OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION</b>	<b>DEFINING CHARACTERISTICS</b>
<b>SPONTANEOUS</b>	Bottom-up; active participation; direct participation; participation in whole process of development including decision making, implementation, showing benefit and evaluating; authentic participation; coproduction; self-planning; wide participation; social participation
<b>INDUCED</b>	Top down; passive; formal; mostly indirect; represents degree of tokenism, manipulation and pseudo-participation; participation in implementation and sharing benefits; choice between proposed alternatives and feedback
<b>COERCIVE</b>	Top-down, passive; mostly indirect, formal; participation in implementation, but not necessarily sharing benefits; choice between proposed limited alternatives or no choice; represent paternalism, non-participation, high degree of tokenism and manipulation


A spectrum trend is indicated by all these typologies. Participation is placed from weak (or even the lack of a role) to a strong share in the decision-making process. Another common issue is drawing three main domains. The poor domain is particularly not real participation; it is mostly limited to manipulation and some superficial changes without a real share in the decision-making process. The middle domain is tokenism, in which participants are faced with different degrees of tokenism and the choices are prefixed and limited; however, participants can choose between them. In contrast, in the upper domain, participants have the power to select, join in, and control the whole process of decision making.

Several scholars have attempted to modify the previous typologies. For instance, Burns and Taylor (2000) introduced a ladder of citizen empowerment by building on Arnstein's idea. In their approach, citizen empowerment is focused on both individual and community scales. They also tried to cover the further dominance of citizen power. However, the result is actually following Arnstein's concept, although they have furthered individual and community scales.

More recent studies have increasingly focused on community participation as an inclusive citizen involvement in the decision-making process. A key perspective that attempted to classify and organise this huge literature set has been adopted by the International Association for Public Participation (2005), known as the IAPP. This worldwide association defines the decision-making process as a spectrum process with five main objectives: informing, consulting, involving, collaborating, and empowering (Table 2.3). The objectives outline a sloping route from low to high. The movement from informing towards empowering increases the level of public impact in decision-making. Since for each certain objective related responsibilities to the public and the sample techniques are introduced, this spectrum process could reduce "ambiguity about the purpose and nature of the participation" (Head, 2007, p. 444). In addition, through successful examples, the IAPP has tried to perform and extend the practicality of this process. According to their seven core values, they have organised an annual programme in which the most eligible projects and organisations across the world are awarded, and which can be used as useful examples for others. Moreover, the lessons from the successful cases are being considered.



Table 2.3 Public participation spectrum proposed by International Association for Public Participation (2005)



<b>Levels of public participation</b>	<b>Inform</b>	<b>Consult</b>	<b>Involve</b>	<b>Collaborate</b>	<b>Empower</b>
Public participation goal	To provide the public with balanced and objective information to assist them in understanding the problem, alternatives, opportunities and/or solutions	To obtain public feedback on analysis, alternatives and/or decisions	To work directly with the public throughout the process to ensure that public concerns and aspirations are consistently understood and considered	To partner with the public in each aspect of the decision, including the development of alternatives and the identification of the preferred solution	To place final decision-making in the hands of the public
Promise to the public	We will keep you informed	We will keep you informed, listen to and acknowledge concerns and aspirations, and provide feedback on how public input influenced the decision	We will work with you to ensure that your concerns and aspirations are directly reflected in the alternatives developed and provide feedback on how public input influenced the decision	We will look to you for direct advice and innovation in formulating solutions and incorporate your advice and recommendations into the decisions to the maximum extent possible	We will implement what you decide
Example techniques to consider	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fact sheets</li> <li>• Web sites</li> <li>• Open houses</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Public comment</li> <li>• Focus groups</li> <li>• Surveys</li> <li>• Public meetings</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Workshops</li> <li>• Deliberative polling</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Citizen advisory committees</li> <li>• Consensus-building</li> <li>• Participatory decision making</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Citizens' juries</li> <li>• Ballots</li> <li>• Delegated decisions</li> </ul>

## 2.5 The question of partnership

This section aims to review the literature on partnership and how it can be differentiated from participation, particularly in the context of urban redevelopments. In his book on partnership, Jupp (2000, p. 13) revealed that the UK parliament stated the term partnership 6,197 times during 1999, while ten years earlier, it was used only 38 times. As the term partnership is increasingly widely used in different fields, it has a vague meaning. Partnership has been defined as a relationship between two or more groups/donors and receivers, government and citizens, public and private, developers and landowners, NGOs and the funders or donors themselves to work together in an activity (Rosenau, 2000; Brinkerhoff, 2003; Custos and Reitz, 2010). The relationship requires an agreement to reach common goals. Moreover, the type of relationship can be constructed on the basis of different interests, including practical support, sharing assets, consultancy, common management or collaboration of actors “to lobby decision-makers” (Harrison, 2002, p. 589). Partners are not necessarily decision-makers, but they may campaign to influence decision making. Moreover, the degree of partnership and type of activity in all of these relationships is diverse.

One typical form of partnership is a public-private partnership in which the public sector (the state/local government) and private sector (companies and contractors) collaborate to provide mostly public services/products. Since the private sector performs better, particularly in the management of large-scale schemes, and provides finance to the partnership, it is chosen by the public sector (Gregory et al., 2009, pp. 600-601; Codecasa and Ponzini, 2011). The claim that the private sector has the higher efficiency than the public sector is a debatable issue, which should be discussed in a specific case, but the private sector in different contexts has diverse partners. For instance, in a public-private partnership in urban renewal schemes, typically the municipality, developers, and individuals are the main partners and the roles, risks, costs, and benefits are defined based on their agreement.

### 2.5.1 *Participation and partnership in urban redevelopment schemes*

Several lines of evidence suggest that participation in urban redevelopment schemes is regularly an inclusive administrative/political process of decision-making regarding a particular project/event that would influence citizens and their local community (Atkinson

and Moon, 1994; Raco, 2000; Tallon, 2013). This explanation, typically offered by researchers from the developed countries such as the UK, US, and European contexts, raises two points. Firstly, all citizens regardless of whether they legally own any property or not, belong to a minority or majority, rich or poor, or any other criteria, and they initially have a right to give their opinion about the process. However, different techniques might be contextually applied to involve the citizens in practice. Another key point is explaining participation as managerial and political involvement in a decision-making route rather than a technical or contractual contribution.

Nevertheless, different participants may have a different understanding of the process, actors, and roles. A study by Dargan (2009) on urban regeneration in Newcastle's West Gate highlighted diverse understandings of the residents for the community, participation, and their role in the procedure. Despite having equal access to the decision-making process, participants were acting more as individuals rather than as a homogenised community, which can cause conflict in urban renewal schemes.

In the British urban redevelopment context, participation and partnership are distinctive concepts. Partnership is an official agreement between the delegators of both the public (policy makers, organisations and municipalities) and private sectors (citizens, developers) (Carley, 2002; Ball and Maginn, 2005; Tallon, 2013). From a standard aspect, a public-private partnership has a legal and contractual state that focuses on the representation of the public. Investment by the private sector through ownership (land) and funds is requested by the public sector to renew urban areas, leading to urban regeneration through a public-private partnership. Therefore, such a partnership is a legitimate involvement with some sort of capital, while participation in a wider sense is administrative/political involvement in the decision-making process.

Studying the UK practices in urban redevelopment also demonstrates a significant change from property redevelopment (outcome), mostly before the 1970s, to the process of partnership (Adams et al., 1988; 1993; Atkinson and Moon, 1994; Blackman, 1995; Hill, 2000; Carley, 2002; Ball and Maginn, 2005). In more recent strategies, tenants, property owners, the local community, and the private sector have all been involved in the decision-making process as a key point in the urban redevelopment partnership. Indeed, community involvement within the process of partnership is more focused and property redevelopment is disregarded. For example, the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (2003) introduced an

action programme titled the Sustainable Communities Plan across the UK. It aimed to regenerate urban areas in the next 20 years and form sustainable communities which are socio-economically and environmentally involved in the process and requirements of future generations.

The argument in the context of developed countries is that the reading of partnership is not sufficiently inclusive, because partnership is more economically driven and legally contractual. To tackle this difficulty, several countries such as the UK (Carley, 2002; Dargan, 2009), Australia (Melville, 2008) and Hong Kong (Li, 2012a) have attempted to embed community participation within the process of partnership. Indeed, while urban regeneration schemes have a partnership board including the representatives of local communities, and public and private sectors, their representation on public boards is community participation, in which the voice of community members has been presented loudly in the process of partnership.

Both the processes of partnership and participation overlap to some extent, but they are also distinctive. However, it is difficult to draw an exact border between them. Harrison (2002, p. 590) considers that the terms partnership, empowerment, and participation are similarly ‘loosely used terms’ (Figure 2.6). As these vague terms can cover everything, they are attractive and also problematic. Moreover, one major overlapping subject between partnership and participation is trust. In a public-private partnership, certain responsibilities and (institutional) trust<sup>2</sup> between the landowners and the municipality must be established while they do not have equal abilities, funds, power, or determination. Similarly, in participation, trust between civil society, the municipality, and developer should be constructed. However, as participation is a long-term and inclusive involvement, establishing trust and commitment is more time consuming (Wilcox, 2004).

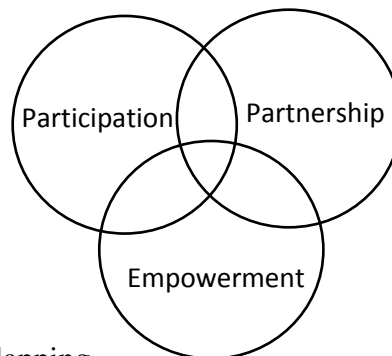


Figure 2.6 Loosely used terms with overlapping

<sup>2</sup> Institutional trust is a thin trust between an individual and community or individual/community and institutions, while individual trust is thick trust between individuals.

The overlap between partnership and participation was also depicted in the ladder of Arnstein (1969) in a polarised form. According to her ladder, partnership is a lower step regarding participation.<sup>3</sup> A review of the earlier literature indicates that good participation is “like eating spinach” (Arnstein, 1969, p. 216) at the top, and partnership, “like apple pie, is undeniably a good thing” (Peck and Tickell, 1994, p. 251). However, in the recent literature, there are widespread critiques that there is no more binary approach to participation and partnership. Several scholars (Foley and Martin, 2000; Shirlow and Murtagh, 2004; Wilson, 2005) have criticised Arnstein’s theory since it is based on an incorrect assumption. Arnstein envisaged her ladder on “one consensual citizen” (Dargan, 2009, p. 311), and it is a utopian reading of community participation. Since communities are diverse and different groups conflict within them, community participants/partners are not homogenised. The key point is to find where and when it is appropriate to involve the local community, for instance, having participation actions within a process of partnership or the reverse.

Although the terms participation and partnership have different connotations (Wilcox, 2004; Melville, 2008; Li, 2012a), they have been interchangeably applied in urban renewal schemes, mostly in developing countries such as Iran. Applying the terms as a brand causes vagueness (Hodge et al., 2010, p. 69) and there is also a gap between the literature review and urban renewal actions. While several urban renewal schemes have carried the title of community participation, they actually mean public-private partnership, which is essentially different from participation. Indeed, the purpose of applying community participation in the title of urban renewal schemes – as a brand – is to encourage more residents to be involved, although they do not necessarily have a participatory structure. By this strategy, a message was sent to the participants that this scheme is more pro-community than pro-developer.

In Iran, the Persian terms *Mosharekat*, *Mosharekat Ejtemai* and *Nosazi Mosharekati* within documents produced by the Tehran City Renovation Organisation (2007) have been respectively translated into the English terms participation, community participation, and participatory renovation. What has been done through applying these terms is different from what the literature defines. Indeed, there is a discrepancy between the theoretical and empirical definitions of the terms and their practical application in the context of Iran. This is the fact that to clarify the concept of participation in the context of urban redevelopment

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<sup>3</sup> Partnership is the fourth level of citizen participation indicating power sharing between power holders and citizens through communication.

projects in Tehran, this study applies the term owners' participation instead of community/citizen participation. This choice in terminology not only avoids the empirical and theoretical baggage of the term participation but also reduces the likelihood of any possible misunderstanding and lexical ambiguity. This issue is further discussed in Section 5.2 urban redevelopment in Tehran.

On the other hand, the adopted method is not entirely a Public-Private Partnership (PPP) either, and is translated into the Persian term *Sherakat Omomi-Khososi*. The interpretation of Public-Private Partnership in Iran is different from developed countries such as the UK. In the field of urban redevelopments in developed countries, the private sector is typically an institutionalised investor, while in the context of Iran both institutionalised and individual investors can be the private sector. Indeed, in Iran, since there is an agreement between different sides that benefits all partners, it is a partnership but not a Public-Private Partnership (PPP) because typically the property owners, as the private-sector partner, are not institutionalised investors.

The most common criticism of PPP interprets urban redevelopment actions as a property-orientated scheme in which community and individual concerns are mostly overlooked (Li, 2012a). The observation of any involvement is a risk in the eyes of individual property owners, who can theoretically participate in PPP. Indeed, these overlooked concerns are leading people not to participate in partnership even though, apparently, it is a beneficial collaboration. Moreover, citizens without ownership, such as tenants or low-income residents who cannot remain in their place after redevelopment since it becomes unaffordable, are systematically excluded.

Determining the rights of any property before creating a new ownership is one of the features of partnership in urban renewals, and, differentiates it from other types of partnership (Li, 2012a). Typically, the owners transfer their property based on its value. Their interpretation of the rights may be different from the recipient of the partnership, and they may attach many other meanings (senses) and values to it that cannot necessarily be calculated in its worth. This stage is one of the problematic points. From the perspective of long-term individuals, familiarity with the place, feeling a kinship relationship with place-based community members (solidarity) or relying on other residents' behaviour (trust) are embedded positive senses linked to the place (sense of place), and these may be omitted in the calculation of land worth.

In terms of any unsuccessful experience in urban redevelopments, partners would mostly avoid any upcoming partnership. In addition, since from the perspective of partners, the partnership is time-consuming, during a long-term process partners may lose commitment and motivation. Occasionally, waiting for inclusive engagement may lead to losing the opportunity, for instance, access to funds. Moreover, in the case of a misuse of the consensus by governmental sector partners, titled the “tyranny of consensus”, the partnership of community members is interpreted as tokenism. Hence, with the lack of adequate consultants and access to information, partners are systematically excluded (Boydell and Rugkåsa, 2007, pp. 224-25).

In conclusion, both the processes of participation and partnership overlap to some extent but they are also distinctive. When all citizens are initially involved in the process based on an administrative/ political stake, this is participation; when the private sector (landowners and developers) and the public sector (municipality and representatives) are involved based on criteria such as ownership, ownership size or income level, it is a partnership, which leads to an exclusive approach (Figure 2.7). White (2006) placed political participation against (inter)institutional/ organisational partnership. However, building on the type of partnership, during the contract, certain partners may have different participatory acts. Moreover, because participation and partnership in Tehran contextually would be different from London or anywhere else in the world, to distinguish the appropriate process, they should be considered in a definite setting. In this study, the context is urban redevelopment through participatory schemes in the developing country of Iran. However, studying other cases in developing countries with a similar context and issues would be beneficial.

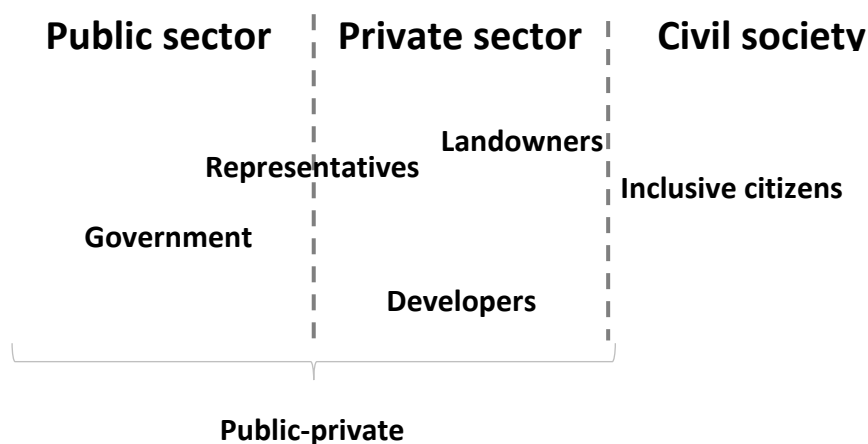


Figure 2.7 Public-private partnership

### 2.5.2 *Land assembly and land readjustment in urban redevelopment schemes*

Assembling smaller pieces of land into larger developable parcels is an urban redevelopment method that has been applied in Tehran. To find about this method more widely, this section reviews this method and other related concepts and the experiences of using these methods in other contexts, which gives us further insight into how this process has happened in Iran. There is a large volume of published studies describing diverse methods applied in urban redevelopment schemes, with land assembly, land readjustment and slum upgrading being the most frequently discussed. Noticeably, in different disciplines and contexts, they have variously been defined and implemented. For instance, in urban economics, land assembly has normally been described from the perspective of the property market as “a sequence of transactions to buy land,” while urban planners define it as interference by authorities in the property market through compulsory/voluntary purchase or land pooling (Louw, 2008, p. 69). Moreover, the investigation of case studies regarding assembling lands has shown that the mechanism of implementation in the Netherlands (De Wolff, 2002; Louw, 2008) is different from Turkey (Turk and Korthals Altes, 2010a; 2010b).

Land assembly is a method of accumulating smaller pieces of land into larger parcels. The obstacles and conflicts within the mechanism of assembling are key concerns. To exemplify, the right of landowners, particularly small lot owners, may conflict with the rights of the public, or the formula for the calculation of the land worth may not meet the owners' satisfaction. These concerns and numerous other legal and proprietary issues in different contexts have led to a different reading of land assembly, as well as of land readjustment and slum upgrading.

Land readjustment has been introduced as one way of assembling lands to overcome the conventional barriers of urban redevelopment schemes (Doebele, 1982; Archer, 1999; Li and Li, 2007; Turk and Korthals Altes, 2010a). According to this, the developer or the public authority does not buy the urban plots located in a redevelopment scheme; rather, the leading partner of the redevelopment scheme and owners cooperate to combine and readjust the lots based on the redevelopment scheme. The owners bring their property while the public authority provides the infrastructures and services. Certain new lots are sold to cover public infrastructure costs, and other lots are rearranged among the original property owners. During the implementation, the owners are temporarily displaced around the



redevelopment area. After the completion of the implementation, the owners move back to the new predicted blocks, which have a higher value because of the new improvements.

With traditional urban redevelopment techniques, land assembly (through a willing or compulsory purchase) alongside self-finance and social empowerment are applied, but currently in order to implement land assembly, land readjustment has been announced (Adams et al., 2001; der Krabben and Needham, 2008). The main differences between land assembly and land readjustment are redevelopment costs and the preservation of social wealth (Home, 2007; Turk and Korthals Altes, 2010b). During the land assembly process, expropriation or buying urban properties based on public interest is a great challenge. As expropriation has increasingly been criticised and resisted by communities (Shoup, 2008), applying expropriation is seen as the final alternative in numerous societies, where the role of the state and public sector in the context of liberal economic strategies has slowly changed (Healey, 1997; Adams et al., 2001; De Wolff, 2002; Korthals Altes, 2002; Louw, 2008). Their character has gradually changed from being a traditional operator of improvement to a facilitator of redevelopment.

Land assembly has diverse forms. When the locals and developers establish a partnership firm for assembling lands managed by local leaders, it is known as an Urban Partnership Zone (Adams *et al.*, 2001), mainly in the British context. To accomplish land assembly, there are two options for landowners: they can take part in partnerships, or their properties are expropriated. In the majority of cases properties are sold, but expropriation is usually implemented for the remaining owners. This theory in the US is known as Land Assembly Districts, as proposed by Heller and Hills (2008). Special Purpose Development Corporations is another form of land assembly (Lehavi and Licht, 2007). In the case of the expropriation of any property, the landowner has two choices. Either, the owner can receive the actual value as compensation for the property, or they can have shares in the development based on their property. The second decision is more applicable when the plots are too small, and the value of property consequently is low. However, single-ownership can be changed into multi-ownership. Obviously, these forms based on their context and circumstances have tried to assemble lands, but there are several shortcomings within them. For instance, expropriation is used as an assumption for land assembly.

Similar to land assembly, different models for land readjustment have been applied. Several studies have attempted to categorise different models of land readjustment in diverse

countries (Home, 2007; Turk and Korthals Altes, 2010b) (Figure 2.8). Although all the models have common principles, they are different in some details and features. For instance, sharing costs and profits is a principle followed by all countries but the public and private shares in an authorised readjustment framework is different. Nevertheless, the assessment of different cases in a single country demonstrates that not just one model has been applied due to the time and situation.

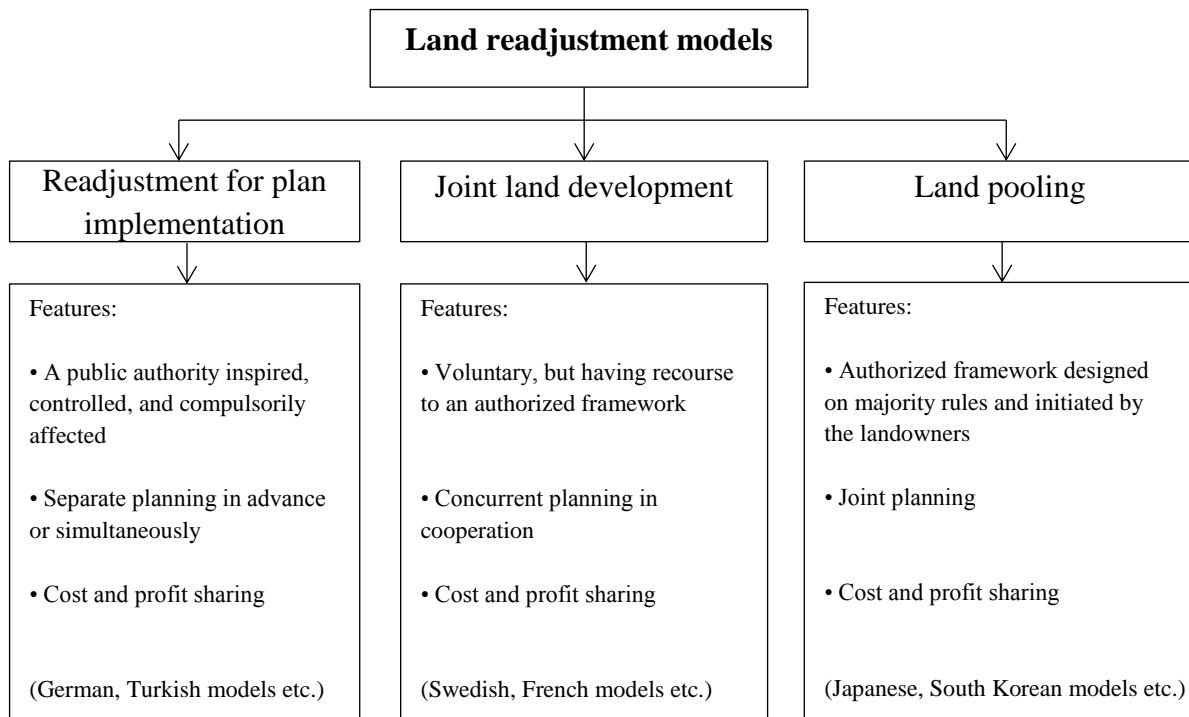


Figure 2.8 Different models of land readjustment (Turk and Korthals Altes, 2010b)

Land readjustment might be misinterpreted as a partnership, but the analytical structure of standard public-private partnership is essentially different from land readjustment. Public-private partnership is benefit-based, but land readjustment means transferring properties without benefit and cost (Hayashi, 2002). While land readjustment is mostly based on public law, a public-private partnership relies on private law (Sagalyn, 2007), which is a provisional agreement between the partners. However, in this viewpoint, land readjustment might be seen as participation rather than a partnership.

The efficiency of land readjustment has been discussed through ownership rights. Landownership in urban transformation regarding property redevelopment is a first right (Louw, 2008). For instance, when the association/municipality legalises the plot owner's right as an individual stake (separate unit) and, in the meantime, prepares further funds to

recover the renewal costs, land readjustment is mostly accomplished. Despite considering this right, the accomplishment is doubtful since the achievement in the eyes of the municipality (outcome) can be differently interpreted from the landowners (process). Secondly, the rights of the owners of tiny plot who cannot have a separate unit can be disregarded (Turk and Korthals Altes, 2010a). To overcome such fragmented ownership, the solution is that owners sell their share to the association/municipality or buy a separate stake. In certain cases, they can also share ownership rights with other owners of tiny plots.

Therefore, as multi-ownership and high charges are conventional barriers to implementing land assembly in urban redevelopment schemes, land readjustment is a desirable method, particularly, in urban areas with tiny plots. In a survey completed by Turk and Korthals Altes (2010a), 86% of municipalities involved in urban renewal projects in Turkey stated land readjustment was a more positive method. Furthermore, in land assembly, the probability for expropriation is greater than in the land readjustment method. Because the economic uncertainty of land readjustment is distributed across all the partners in an urban redevelopment scheme, and profit estimation is built on the assets invested in the partnership, land readjustment is also endorsed more by the owners. Additionally, a key feature of land readjustment which differentiates it from other methods is considering ownership and on-site constructions; however, off-site costs should be funded by the public.

At the same time, land assembly is not the only method used in urban redevelopment. Alliance Cities (2003) argue that when the issue is improving informal settlements through providing physical (infrastructure and sheltering), social (crime and education), economic (jobs) or/and legal (land tenure) services, it is about slum upgrading. What distinguishes this technique from land assembly and land readjustment is its special context and mechanisms. The method is commonly applied in developing countries and informal habitations, but fundamental changes are not ascertained (Cronin, 2011).

The mechanism for, and level of improvement and determination of, slum areas is context-based issues. For instance, in Brazil, the Favela Barrio (Favela Barrio Programme) has been used for shantytowns (Handzic, 2010), but this is different in India. Slum upgrading in Ahmadabad, India (Slum Networking Programme) is a unique programme since it has attempted to involve civil society through organising local women in the informal sector for better-working conditions and social security provisions (Baruah, 2007; Russ and Takahashi, 2013). In India, women are empowered to participate in the process of the

public-private partnership to upgrade slum areas while in the Brazilian programme, slum upgrading occurs through transforming the favelas (slums) into formal neighbourhoods.

Despite the different contexts and mechanisms, slum areas are expanding due to rapid population growth and governance (Alliance Cities, 2003). The rapid population growth naturally or through migration has significantly influenced urban transformation in slum areas, mainly in developing countries. Since these areas are an inexpensive and accessible destination for the new deprived incomers, they are quickly extended. Moreover, when governments fail to provide adequate infrastructure and public services under rapid urbanisation, lack of governance has led to slum growth. Consideration of these reasons can lead researchers to distinguish slum areas from other urban areas.

The slum areas can be recognised through several factors. According to the description of Alliance Cities (2003), the residents of slum areas are mostly squatter dwellers who have built a settlement with low/no attention to construction standards. Moreover, these areas suffer from overcrowded residents, inadequate public services (water and sanitation) and infrastructure. It is important to consider that these factors are not static and global. For instance, the satisfaction with sanitation from India (Russ and Takahashi, 2013) to England or illegal dwellers in Iran and China are differently defined, which means the recognition of slum areas is locally based. However, when the authorities consider major changes, slum upgrading is not a useful technique; rather, land assembly and land readjustment are desired.

### ***2.5.3 Urban renewals in Turkey***

Turkey, as a neighbouring developing country to Iran, has similar experience and practice in participation and urban redevelopment. This section provides a general picture of urban renewal experiences in Turkey. A study by Turk and Korthals Altes (2010a) showed that different methods have been applied in the urban renewal schemes<sup>4</sup> across Turkey. The findings demonstrated that the majority of municipalities were contributing to a central government unit and Mass Housing Administration authority (TOKI<sup>5</sup>), but in only one project had the landowners themselves executed the renewal scheme through the foundation of an association. Moreover, around 42% of municipalities had implemented their renewal

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<sup>4</sup> The criteria for choosing the projects were landowners sharing ownership, larger than a five-hectare area, continuous renewal, and primarily a housing project.

<sup>5</sup> Turkish authority for urban renewal projects.

schemes through a contract between the municipality and property owners. In addition, 13 municipalities put their project into action by themselves. Finally, only four municipalities who had executed the schemes relied on the private sector through investment in real estate (Figure 2.9).

These statistics reveal how the majority of urban renewal projects have reached land assembly through a private-public partnership. From the property owners' perspective, the formula for ascertaining a property's value to obtain a new unit or sell to the municipality/developer is the key issue. In terms of disagreement, based on the public law, the municipality can expropriate the property. The case of the Fatih district, located in the historic inner city of Istanbul, illustrates these points clearly. This area is of medium density. According to JICA reports in 2004 (Turk and Korthals Altes, 2010a, p. 330) earthquakes can generate extensive damage in this urban area. This is similar to the city of Tehran, further discussed in the Section 5.2.

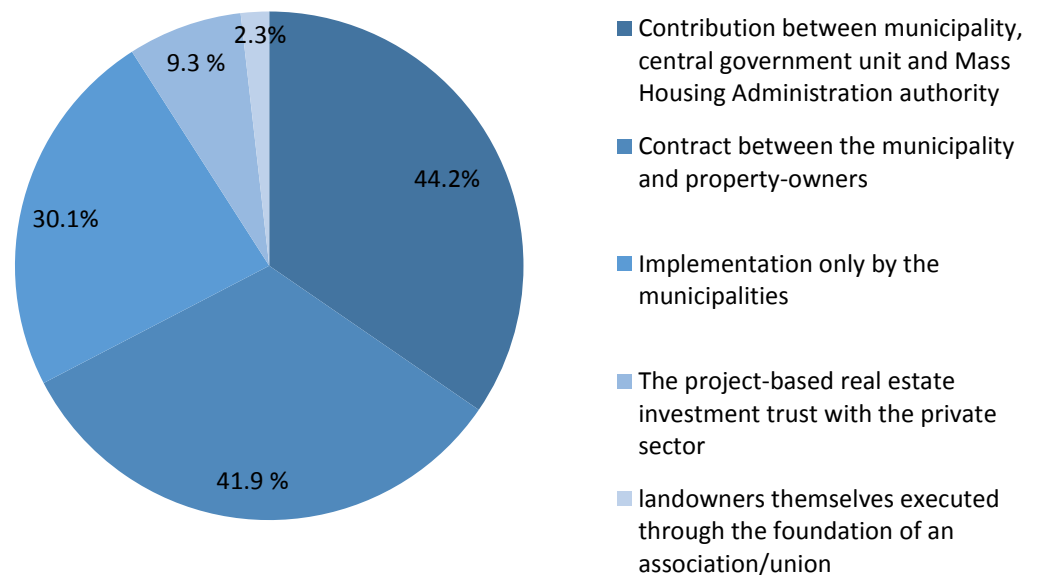


Figure 2.9 Different methods applied in the urban renewal schemes in Turkey (Turk and Korthals Altes, 2010a)

Since in the Fatih Sulukule case the majority of landowners were living outside the area, the municipality could easily make an individual agreement with them; however, the trouble was shifted towards the tenants with low income. Due to selling the residency rights to the new high-income citizens before the completing the project, the municipality requested that the tenants move to the marginal housing areas of Istanbul constructed by TOKI. The

distance of these new houses from the city centre and the relocation charges meant that the tenants refused to move.

In such urban renewal schemes in Turkey, the most significant aims are redeveloping public services and infrastructure and recovering costs by sharing the financial burden between the private and public sector. Typically, the developer assumes on-site redevelopment charges and the municipality adopts off-site costs. In the Fatih Sulukule case, TOKI was charged for the on-site redevelopment and the municipality accepted the public services charges. With urban renewal charges in Turkey, the housing costs are borne by the landowners and so are not considered.

A major issue that may occur after urban renewal projects is gentrification, which occurs when the original landowners and tenants cannot remain in the settlement since it has become unaffordable. A study by Güzey (2009) showed that because of huge socio-economic changes after a renewal project in two streets in Ankara, 90% of the residents were displaced after only three years. The lesson from this case indicates the significance of reconstructing affordable housing, as the intended urban redevelopment can be pushed in an unwanted direction.

## **2.6 Conclusion**

In all the studies reviewed here, the term community is largely not considered a negative concept; rather, it involves positive notions such as being together and building solidarity. Whenever members of a community share a kinship relationship and sense of solidarity based on the place, a place-based community is constructed. The construction of a place-based community depends on trust and familiarity among locals possessing kinship relations. A place-based community from the Chicago School perspective is viewed in terms of the ecological ideas of invasion, dominance, and succession, and from a political-economic school viewpoint, is interrelated with socio-economic policies and political power.

The evidence also suggests that a community is neither a static phenomenon nor an inclusive notion for all citizens; rather, a community is a dynamic concept in which some citizens are constantly joining and leaving, or at least claim to do so. The deep metamorphoses of urban environments through gentrification, decentralisation, suburbanisation, and social

polarisation have led to the fragmentation of community networks. At the same time, 'globalisation' and 'technological innovation' have accelerated the destruction trend of community networks and the inversion of place-based communities to non-place-based communities.

The literature defines participation as an administrative/political involvement role in a decision-making process. In the context of urban redevelopment, participation is a process in which local communities are actively involved in making decisions regarding their places. Their decisions may cover a wide range of socio-spatial and/or economic topics or problem areas from defining and identifying problems, to offering solutions and implementation. These different levels are defined as stages of involvement: informing, consulting, involving, collaborating, and empowering.

This is different from a partnership, which implies an economic contribution. In developed countries, participation in urban redevelopment schemes is a community-orientated involvement, and partnership is typically an agreement between the public and private sector. Community participation actions can be embedded in the partnership process, or reversed. To implement urban redevelopment schemes, diverse methods such as land assembly, land readjustment, and slum upgrading have been applied. Land assembly gathers small pieces of land compulsorily or voluntarily, while land readjustment attempts to assemble lands without expropriation or disregarding social capital. For urban informal settlements, gradual improvement rather than fundamental transformation is the aim, particularly in developing countries, where slum upgrading is employed. Reviewing the case studies on urban redevelopment has highlighted the issues of the exclusion of non-owners, relocation, and gentrification.





### **Chapter 3. Sense of place**

### 3.1 Introduction

As mentioned in chapter one, this study aims at evaluating participatory urban redevelopments from the eyes of people. The study investigates the in-depth understanding of how the locals who were involved in the redevelopment of their places evaluate their experience and its outcomes. Such a people-centred evaluation is a useful research approach which allows those who are usually forgotten in the evaluation of urban redevelopments to reveal their evaluation. This is also what neoliberalism emphasises; a community is an appropriate evaluator who can assess and legitimate delegation of power (Herbert, 2005). Within people-centred approaches, 'sense of place' is the more holistic and inclusive concept that encompasses different dimensions of the interrelationship between people and their environment (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2006; Manzo, 2008; Manzo and Devine-Wright, 2013).

Sense of place captures both the place-based meanings that people individually and collectively (community level) attribute to their environment, but also the functional and physical attributes of their place. Sense of place also adds the aspect of emotional attachment to place. As will be further substantiated in the following review, investigating and discussing these functional, emotional and psychological interrelationships between place, person, and community can help us to understand a significant individual/social role in redevelopment and using of their places. This method is particularly useful in understanding and evaluating the process of urban redevelopments that happen in particular places, which this study aims to do. People through expressing their interrelationship with their places (including others) reveal the socio-economic and spatial outcomes that were added to the place during/after the process or missing. This enables us to understand how the process was conducted in the eyes of people and whether the outcomes were satisfactory and fair.

There are other possibilities to assess urban redevelopments such as Social Impact Assessment (SIA) or Sustainability Appraisal (SA). Since these tools mainly focus on one particular aspect of change, for example, social or environmental, they are not comprehensive enough and fail to evaluate the entire process of engagement which this study aims to do. In addition, these tools measure the impact of an action/project from the viewpoint of institutions and/or experts which is different from the focus of this study: a quality evaluation of participatory redeployment processes from the eyes of locals.

Therefore, this study adopted sense of place as an investigative method to evaluate participatory urban redevelopments.

This chapter focuses on the literature of ‘sense of place,’ its meaning, and construction. It outlines a three-pole framework of multidimensional relationships between the individual, community, and place, through which to discuss other key related terms including place attachment, place identity, and place satisfaction. It also argues how ‘sense of place’ has been investigated in other contexts and for different purposes. This contributes to how ‘sense of place’ should be investigated once the intention is to apply ‘sense of place’ as an investigative method of a participatory approach to urban redevelopment. Ultimately, it develops a theoretical framework for investigating the participatory processes and their outcomes by using the notion of ‘sense of place’.

### 3.2 The question of sense of place

Much of the existing research on ‘sense of place’ has been in environmental psychology and was mainly produced in the 1970s. Scholars Relph, Tuan, and Lefebvre have studied the notion of ‘sense of place’ in relation to other concepts such as the meaning of place, space, placelessness, insideness, and outsideness. Seamon and Sowers (2008, p. 43) considered a key question for understanding a sense of place, building on Relph’s (1976), *Place and Placelessness*: “How could one study place attachment, sense of place, or place identity without a clear understanding of the depth and complexity of place as it is experienced and fashioned by real people in real places?”.

To understand the notion of sense of place, the key questions that should first be addressed are: what exactly the concept of place is, what differences there are between place and space, whether place is a substitute for location or if it covers a combination of nature and culture and, if so, how it is differentiated from landscape. It is also important to realise whether a sense of being is inside a place or outside, and consider the dimensions of sense of place. To investigate these questions, this section shed lights on the meaning, image, and construction of place, and the relationship of people (individually and collectively) with their places. Ultimately, building on these arguments, the notion of ‘sense of place’ and other related terms including attachment, dependence, and place identity are redefined.

### 3.3 The meaning of place

Overall, Gregory et al. (2009, pp. 539-41) define ‘place’ as a geographical location that has no specific size and from one culture to another is differently perceived and presented. According to this definition, a standard dimension zone or feature for ‘place’ is not mentioned, but the way of looking at ‘place’ is the fundamental factor in the appreciation and identification of places (the epistemology of place). Although earlier studies focused on place as a subjective concept, which from an individual to another is different, latterly, place has been defined more as a sense of “power-laden social [and cultural] relations” in which its meaning cannot be determined by creator or user subjectivity (Figure 3.1, Knox’s framework for analysis). Similarly, Cresswell (2004) emphasises the social and cultural criteria that are constantly imposed to place and separate places from each other; hence, being in a place (insideness) or out of a place (outsideness) is a result of personal, social, and cultural processes (Altman and Low, 1992) in which people identify the features belonging to a place. For instance, research by Cresswell (2004, p.13) has revealed that behaviours that are considered to be deviant and abnormal by the majority in a group of people can make the minority feel out of place and excluded. Such minorities are typically identified as Gays, lesbians and bisexuals as well as the homeless and refugees.

Constant transformation is one feature of place, since places are always altering socially and physically. Building on the type of transformation, the meanings of place can be divided into four approaches (Table 3.1). One approach is the transformation of space to place in which place is a specific instant inside the already created space (place-making theory). As Tuan (1979, p. 6) notes “...if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place”; for instance, when someone in a public space pauses, starts talking or reacts to someone else, place is made. Arguments on the difference between ‘space’ and ‘place’ insist that the “abstract and distanced” perception of milieu is ‘space’ while the “embodied and close” experience of an environment is ‘place’ (Dovey, 1993; Hung and Stables, 2011, p. 199). After experiencing a space, people will attach to it a meaningful name and construct a place e.g. my room/flat/neighbourhood. To discuss the difference between space and place, Cresswell (2004, pp. 8-10) convincingly exemplified the sea as the different places linked with certain names and threats from the viewpoint of local canoes, while others only observe an empty space. This approach is in line with the idea of place as “a construct of experience” (Tuan, 1975, p. 165) and the significance of “experiential perspective” in

defining place meaning. This study uses this approach, and the distinction between space and place has been applied in the analysis of two case studies (Chapter 6 and 7).

In another approach, 'place' constantly and currently is the accumulation of geographical components and associations. Indeed, 'place' is not produced from space but is rather already immanence (structuration theory), as discussed in the following sections. From this perspective, places can be differentiated from each other through their outside relationships, rather than internal connections, in which a 'global sense of place' (Massey, 1991) has been constructed through universal interrelations. Indeed, 'routes' are more focused on than 'roots', leading places to represent mixed identities rather than a single character (Cresswell, 2004). For instance, experiencing a Kurdish shop, an Indian restaurant, and a Muslim butchery in the Fenham neighbourhood, located in Newcastle upon Tyne, UK, is a narration of a global place in which differentiations between an insider and outsider are unclear. Nevertheless, this reading of place as the outcome of mobility has led to the erosion of place through globalisation and time-space compression, as described in Massey's paper in contrast to the opinions of Cresswell and Harvey.

At the same time, according to Gregory et al. (2009, p. 540), the most common approach is the physical transformation of 'place' via human activities to create "a hybrid of culture and nature", known as cultural landscape. The question that might arise here is how the terms 'landscape' and 'cultural landscape' can be differentiated from 'place' or if they have the same meaning.

The perception of a landscape is both objective- and subjective-based, or as Tuan (1974, p. 133) puts it, it is "behind the scenes". Landscape is also a dynamic and alterable phenomenon that is a result of the engagement and interaction of an individual with its environment and the community with history (Council of Europe, 2000; Bender, 2006). Building on this definition, the perception of landscape as well as 'place' is dependent on both subjective (users' mind) and objective (physical features) dimensions. As both subjective and objective dimensions are constantly changing, landscape is always fluid and in flux; hence, it is not a static phenomenon. Additionally, a landscape can be considered on two scales: individually and socially. In an individual approach, 'landscape' is the outcome of the interaction between humans and the environment. In a collective approach, it is the interaction of community and history. Thus, consideration of landscape consists of a deep understanding of users' minds as well as the physical meaning of environment in

both individual and collective aspects. The question thus arises of how landscape and place are distinguishable, as these elements of landscape are also applicable to the definition of the concept of place.

Table 3.1 Different approaches to the meaning of place based on Gregory et al. (2009)

<b>Place as</b>	<b>Approaches</b>	<b>Theories</b>
Transformation of space to place	Place is momentarily transformed inside already produced space	Place-making theory
Immanence	Place is previously and continuously constructed through the geographical components and relationships	Structuration theory and non-representational theory
Global interrelations	Place is constructed through outside (global) relationships with rather than inside	Global sense of place
The interaction between humans and nature	Place is constructed through human activities (culture) in the environment (nature)	Cultural landscape

In definitions of place, cultural dependency is highlighted when it is seen as an interaction between humans and the environment (Table 3.1). In addition, acceptance of cultural diversity leads to the acceptance of landscape diversity, in which different places can be distinguished (Olwig, 2002). In this approach, there seem to be more similarities than differences between the terms landscape and place, in which the investigation of attributes of ‘place’ connotes landscape features as well as meaning. However, based on Tuan’s thoughts, Olwig (2002, pp. 219-25) discusses the transformation in meaning of the term landscape from a “historically constructed place” which is a result of economic-political discourses, into “a scenery space” which is aesthetics-based. He concludes that there is a “tensive relationship” between place and landscape. Thus, in terms of the transformation of space to place and its global interrelations, the term ‘place’ is distinguishable from landscape.

Encountering place and landscape has also been discussed by Cresswell (2004, pp. 11-12). He believes that a visual space in front of an observer is landscape while a place is where we live and have experiences. We may live in a place that is a landscape for others, but basically “we do not live in landscapes”. Over time, affiliation with a location can be

changed from one of landscape to place once we spatially start to experience it. Again, this highlights the significance of an “experiential perspective” (Tuan, 1975) in defining the meaning of place. Moreover, a landscape or even place can be altered for us as somewhere others live when there is no more visual aspect, and it does not connote any meaning for us.

Although places allow people to experience geographical location, landscape, individual presence, social relations and transformations, these are represented through their landscape (Relph, 1976; 2004); hence, the user’s mind perceives the image of landscape as the first component of the memory of place (Bender, 2006). Landscape is an essential part of place, but it can represent a cluster of places (Casey, 2001). Since humans, through landscape, discuss their experiences and subjectivities about places, landscapes shape an arena for a dynamic and continuous practice of interrelationships (Bender, 2002; 2006) between humans (individually and collectively) and places.

In addition, landscapes, or in a minor view urban environments, are combined with meanings, signs, and symbols (Table 3.2). The urban built environment is a result of the power relations between cultural, political, and socio-economic layers. As these power relationships are complicated, dynamic, and multi-layered, the analysis and understatement of the socio-emotional meaning of place is not simple and straightforward. More importantly, since the planned message of a place is separated from the perceived meaning, the social understandings of the place are different (Knox and Pinch, 2010). In order to have an appropriate perception of place, the consideration of this distinction is a crucial issue; for instance, Harvey (2003) suggests that the intended message of Sacre-Coeur in Paris is a representation of sovereignty; however, republican Parisians translate this place into a symbol of the provocation for civil war during the Paris commune.

Table 3.2 Different types of signs based on Carmona et al. (2010)

Type of signs	Features	Example
Iconic signs	a direct relationship with the object	a painting
Indexical signs	a mental relationship with the object	smoke signifying fire
Symbolic signs	a social or cultural arbitrary relationship with the object	classical columns representing grandeur

The meaning and signs attached to places are constantly transforming as societies and their cultural values also change (Knox, 1984). For instance, the meaning and cultural values of the Eiffel tower as the symbol of Paris have completely changed over time. When it was built as the landmark of the World Fair in 1889, Parisians rejected it. Writers, painters, sculptors, architects, and other citizens protested due to the fact that to them this industrial architectural icon did not match with their socio-cultural values. Later, the meaning and signs attached to this tower completely changed, such that the Eiffel tower is now not simply the cultural symbol of Paris, it is considered a national symbol. This example reveals the link between changes in socio-cultural values and the meaning of place over time.

The meaning of an object/place is constructed through the accumulation of the two key layers of meaning entitled 'the theory of semiotics' (Eco, 1979). The first layer denotes the main role of an object, and the second layer connotes the symbolic meaning. For instance, a veranda is a semi-open place whose main function is sheltering, but it can also have a social connection for a community. Eco (1979) demonstrates that the connotation of an object can be more important than its denotation; for example, he mentioned that the main function of a simple chair is a place for seating, but when it is a throne it connotes a specific greatness; hence, the connotation of a throne is more important than the primary function as a seat, even it is a rigid and uncomfortable seat. This theory ignores the subjective dimension, however.

The meaning of places/objects depends on two key dimensions: objective and subjective. For the same place/object, people may attach different meanings, indicating the impact of the user's mind in the sense and interpretation of their environment. Through a framework for analysis (Figure 3.1), Paul Knox (1984) differentiates the 'intended messages' of the manager/producer (architects, planners, owner, developers or builders) and the 'received messages' by the user of place/object. He emphasises the gap in communication between planned and received information. On one side, the framework illustrates that designers and planners have a key role in the construction of the social meaning of our built environment. On the other side, sense of a place as an existential imperative also influences consumers and citizens who perceive messages through cognitive processes.



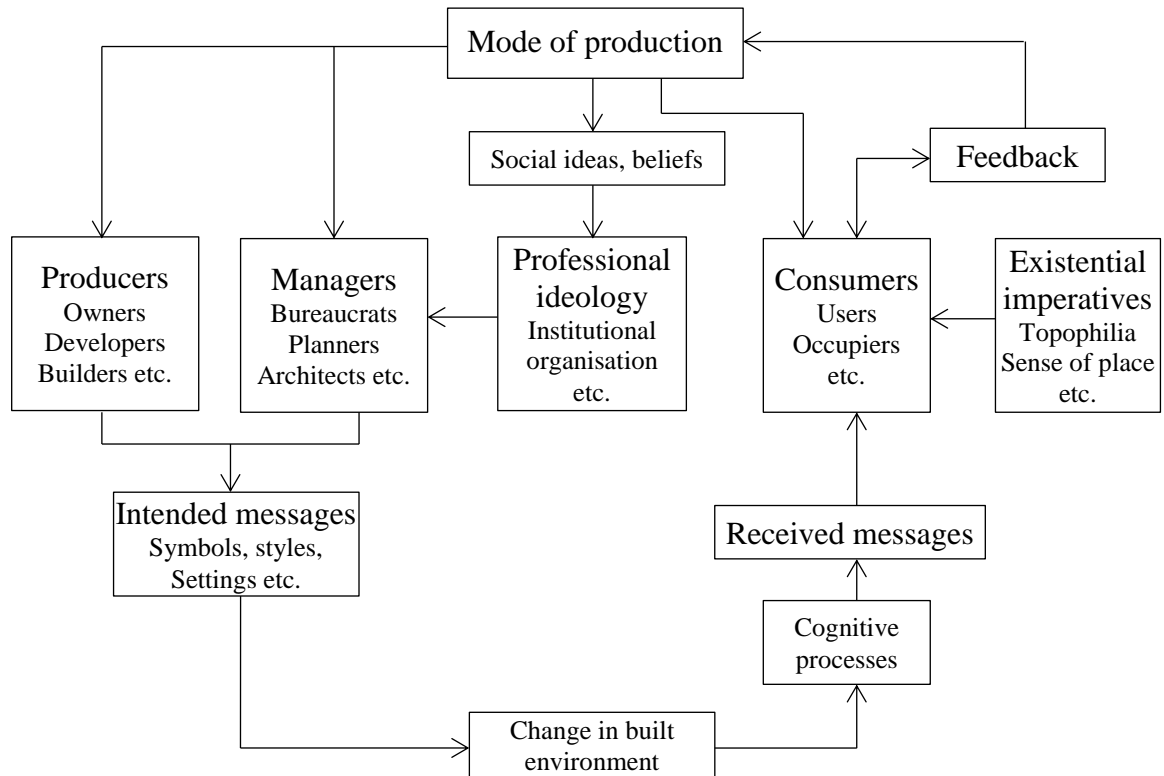


Figure 3.1 A framework for analysis (Knox, 1984)

### 3.4 The construction of place

Places are attached with multiple layers of meanings which narrate the social construction of the places. As different citizens have various subjectivities, they interpret and attach the same places with different meanings; however, their interpretations might include common hints. Thus, “place has to be one of the most multi-layered and multi-purpose words in our language” (Harvey, 1993, p. 4). The major difference in the interpretation of place is between those who are inside and those who are outside a place. Hence, a place can be imagined as a spectrum between insideness and outsideness. Building on the insiders or outsiders’ feelings, citizens can be located on this spectrum.

Citizens position themselves inside a place based on their feeling of attachment to the place. Entrikin (1991) noted that when we typically inhabit and use a specific place, such as our neighbourhood, we construct our home at the centre of the place and ourselves as insiders, and other buildings and people as outsiders; hence, the perspective of insiders is different from outsiders. Humans’ appetite leads them to define their own places excluded from others. This inherent tendency among humankind to seize a particular place has been

labelled “the human strategy of territoriality” (Knox and Pinch, 2010, p. 194). This desire is a reflection to human needs such as safety, security, privacy, and identity.

However, citizens might feel they are alienated, which is neither insideness nor outsideness. In Marxian theory, alienation is translated as a process of social transformation that confronts the prevailing mode of production, but in a wider socio-political approach it is related to the concept of deviant behaviour. Knox and Pinch (2010, p. 215) define alienation as “feelings of powerless, dissatisfaction and distrust, and rejection of the prevailing distribution of wealth and power”. For instance, when citizens sense that the existing structure ignores them or does not let them have an effective role in decision-making processes, or when they are powerless to counter the present structure, they might mark themselves as alienated groups.

Humans desire to express their position and interrelation with the physical environment. Building on this fact, Heidegger (2001) discussed the ‘dwelling’ of humans on Earth as a poetic action in which people through the creation of their physical spaces, attempt to connect themselves to the authenticity of their places. Nevertheless, in the modern world, humans are directed in a way to inhabit spaces and places that are formerly planned and commercialised without association with their spatial identity; consequently, urban spaces are “inauthentic and placeless” (Knox and Pinch, 2010, p. 194). Although Heidegger, in order to explain his idea, applied terms such as home, bridge, roads, and other types of place, he did not attempt to ascertain ideas for architecture or construction; rather, he was interested in the expansion of the connection between ‘building’, ‘dwelling’, and ‘thinking’.

The construction of place includes more than a sense of territoriality and dwelling, however, as it is also based on social structure (Figure 3.2). The representation of our environment is affected by social norms and the ways that we interpret the outside world. Furthermore, the mentioned components in the construction of place, “territoriality and sense of dwelling”, are dependent on the social construction of place. Since every day the insiders of a place, subjectively practise constructing their place through social distance, models of social organisation, and the impression of worth and value, social structures are interrelated with everyday actions. Hence, there is a perpetual relationship between everyday practices of the construction of place and social structures (Knox, 2005, p. 2).

Individual and collective familiarity with social structure constantly and daily occurs. Individual familiarity with others’ norms, vocal language patterns, secret linguistic systems

such as dress codes, body languages, and sense of humour, as well as public places – parks, squares and streets – lead over time to a collective familiarity. The human feeling of familiarity with each other and pretended behaviours and local symbols generates a collective sense of a particular place (Williams, 1975).

Similarly, both individual and collective familiarity are built on “intersubjectivity” (Knox, 2005, p. 2). When neighbours individually and collectively read and decode the meanings attached to their neighbourhood through their everyday practice, intersubjectivity between residents proceeds. Lefebvre (1991, c 1974) defines intersubjectivity as individual and collective everyday life in time and space. Hence, sharing intersubjectivity among citizens, as perceived through everyday activities, is an essential part of a good city.

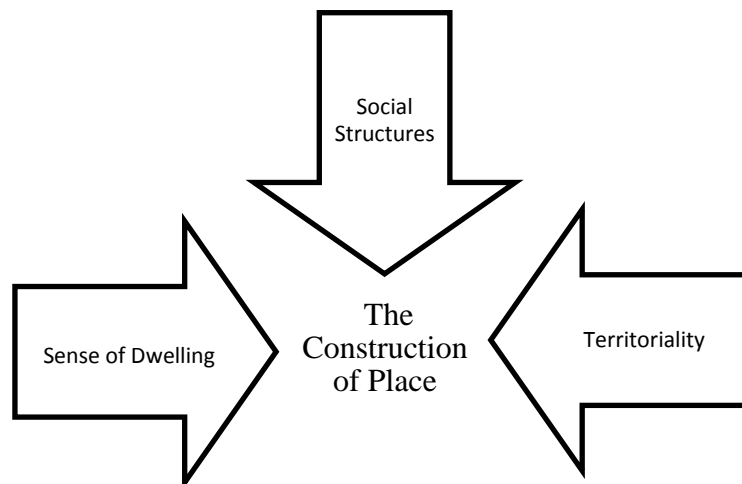


Figure 3.2 The key components in the construction of place based on Knox’s interpretation (2010, p. 194)

To Montgomery (1998), a good city is where urban forms are not just surfaces; rather, they reflect the social life of everyday practice. He believes that the urban milieu should facilitate individual and collective familiarity built on the intersubjectivity of everyday life. In a good city, citizens can construct places based on their own everyday various activities; for instance, they need to meet and chat with each other in a friendly coffee shop or buy and eat in a shopping and food place. In addition, citizens need to wait and move, sit and watch others – or to be watched – and then react (place making), but primarily, they need to feel

a different sense of belonging, affection, hospitality, humour and historical and cultural continuity.

Intersubjectivity, from a participatory approach, is also very beneficial. As a participatory process creates a sense of being linked in the participants who collectively share, it establishes a linkage between them and this linkage generates a sense of togetherness and community as a sense of place. Subjectivity is a personal feeling and sense of place is individually constructed, and intersubjectivity is a shared response to the argument of how collective sense of place is constructed, which appears through the procedure of a collective experience such as community participation in the reconstruction of a place. Therefore, intersubjectivity is the process in which community sense of place is constructed.

Having an individual and community sense of belonging to some urban areas is also counted as one of the goals of a good city. Citizens should have a responsible feeling for other parts of the city, whether these areas belong to them or not (Jacobs and Appleyard, 1987). Although the significant role of (individual and collective) sense of place in the design of a good city has been increasingly highlighted, the depth and location of this belonging are unclear. Knox (2005) highlights the relationship between today's urban design and sense of place as a central issue. He indicated that in the current context of slow cities set against the fast pace of globalisation, a good city is a place where sense of place in making everyday places has positively been improving; hence, to design a good city, sense of place should be constructed in everyday places where the social life of the city can be recognised.

The social construction of everyday places, which Knox (2005, p. 1) labels "ordinary places", is a vital issue in today's cities because firstly "sense of place is always socially constructed" and secondly the significant built landmarks or symbols in everyday places are regularly absent.

Humans, based on their needs and social values, are constantly constructing their places and places are affecting residents; hence, there is an interrelation between place and human. Although in recent decades humans and places have resisted the fast changes in the world, they are globally and rapidly changing in a way that places and humans seem more alike and harder to distinguish; hence, the differentiation of sense of place is less tangible. As Bianchini noted (1990, p. 4), through studying the problems of social renewal in 12 town centres in the UK (Comedia, 1991), this is "the crises of urban public social life".

### 3.5 Individual and social life in relation to time-space

Urban life is an individual and social being in time and space. In their personal life, citizens lead their everyday life individually and unconsciously while in the social setting, they structure their daily feelings and routines collectively and consciously. Therefore, in collective everyday practice, sense of place is a self-conscious combination of interaction with both the elements of the built environment and other citizens' features, such as their clothes, communication patterns and collective behaviours (Knox and Pinch, 2010). Simonsen (1991) classified individual and social life into three levels based on time and space. As seen in Table 3.3, each level of temporality interact with each of the three levels of spatiality, and vice versa. This structure depicts the dialectical relationship of individual and social life in relation to time and space.

Table 3.3 The temporality and spatiality of social life (Simonsen, 1991)

<b>Time</b>	<b>Long term</b> (Longue duree)	<b>Lifespan</b> (Dasein)	<b>Duration of daily life</b>
<b>Space</b>			
Institutional spatial practice	Socio-spatial development (historical geography)	Life strategies in spatial context	Geographical conditioning of daily routines
Place	Local history, culture and tradition	Biography in time and space identity	Spatially based 'natural attitudes'
Individual spatial practice	Historical conditioning of spatial practices	Relation between life strategies and spatial practice	Daily time-space routines (time-geography)

Furthermore, according to Simonsen's emphasise on the communication of time and space, several other scholars such as Giddens (1991) and Moos and Dear (1986) supported and developed 'structuration theory'. They believe that since urban places are dynamically converting, 'place' is a cyclical procedure in time and space in which individual and social life are constantly transforming into each other (Figure 3.3).

Spatial practices lead to the construction of place. Harvey (1992, pp. 220-21) proposed a framework for the experience, perception, and representation of place in relation to distancing, appropriation, domination and production of place (Table 3.4). Harvey's 'grid of spatial practice' was inspired by the opinions of Lefebvre (1991, c 1974), best known for offering the production of social space and critiquing everyday life. Cresswell (2004) interpreted Lefebvre's social space as an experienced and meaningful space, which is very similar to the definition of place. The key point of this grid is that a universal pattern for spatial practices is socially structuralised. Although Harvey uses space instead of using the term place, these terms are specifically different in meaning and application as discussed in the previous sections.

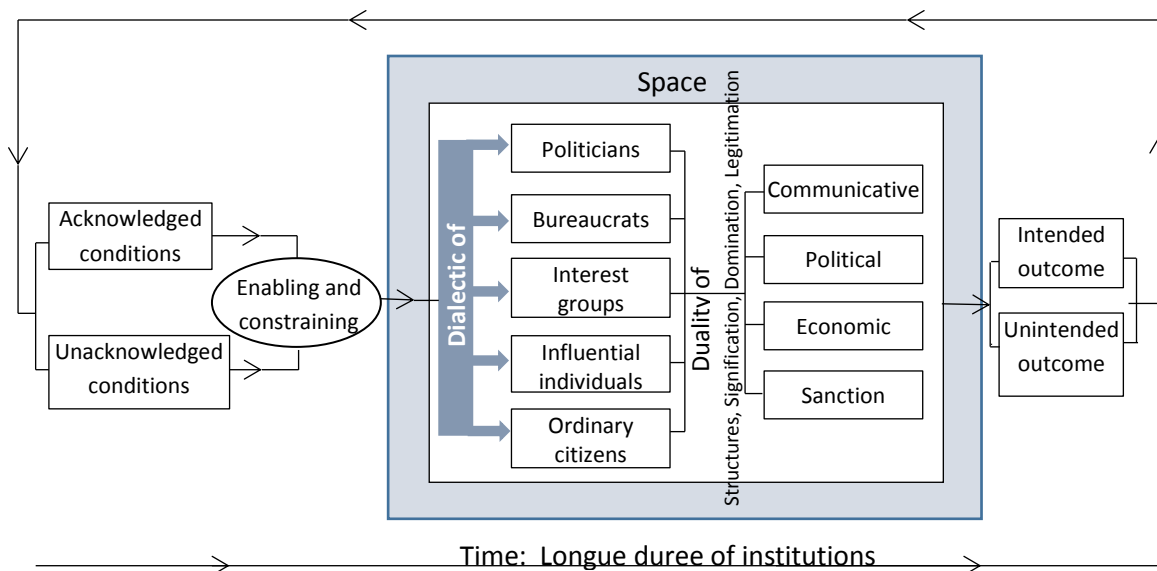


Figure 3.3 A model of the structuration of urban space (Knox and Pinch, 2010, p. 199)

In this structure, the “material spatial practices” are an individual and social experience of space leading to “economic production and social reproduction” (Knox and Pinch, 2010, p. 199). All these material spatial practices are perceived through tokens, codes, symbols, and other socio-psychological and physical representations, which, once conducted by a subjective process, they are understood. Furthermore, as spatial practices such as familiarity, social distance, utopian cities and imaginary landscapes are subjectively imagined and then constructed, they are labelled ‘spaces of representation’.

Building on Harvey's framework, the construction of place is not only a social issue; it contains economic, cultural, political, and spatial aspects, including "class, gender, sexuality, power and culture" (Knox and Pinch, 2010, p. 202). Therefore, social class, cultural aesthetics, political power relations and even gender inequality of place are factors which construct a place altogether.

Furthermore, social interaction in an urban milieu among individuals based on the context can be classified as a primary or secondary relationship. The primary relationship is a kinship relation among family members based on blood and duty or friends built on common interests. The differentiation of the relationship between families can be seen through the type of family: a nuclear unit, which includes a couple with their children or an extended family, in which at least two generations live together. In contrast, the secondary relationship is contrasted based on mutual goals and interests (Knox and Pinch, 2010, p. 160).

Table 3.4 A grid of spatial practice (Harvey, 1992, pp. 220-21)

	<i>Accessibility and distanciation</i>	<i>Appropriation and use of space</i>	<i>Domination and control of space</i>	<i>Production of space</i>
Material spatial practices (experience)	flows of goods, money, people labour power, information, etc.; transport and communications systems; market and urban hierarchies; agglomeration	land uses and built environments; social spaces and other 'turf' designations; social networks of communication and mutual aid	private property in land; state and administrative divisions of space; exclusive communities and neighbourhoods; exclusionary zoning and other forms of social control (policing and surveillance)	production of physical infrastructures (transport and communications; built environments; land clearance, etc.); territorial organization of social infrastructures (formal and informal)
Representations of space (perception)	social, psychological and physical measures of distance; map-making; theories of the 'friction of distance' (principle of least effort, social physics, range of a good, central place and other forms of location theory)	personal space; mental maps of occupied space; spatial hierarchies; symbolic representation of spaces; spatial 'discourses'	forbidden spaces; 'territorial imperatives'; community; regional culture; nationalism; geopolitics; hierarchies	new systems of mapping, visual representation, communication, etc.; new artistic and architectural 'discourses'; semiotics.
Spaces of representation (imagination)	attraction/repulsion; distance/desire; access/denial; transcendence 'medium is the message'.	familiarity; hearth and home; open places; places of popular spectacle (streets, squares, markets); iconography and graffiti; advertising	unfamiliarity; spaces of fear; property and possession; monumentality and constructed spaces of ritual; symbolic barriers and symbolic capital; construction of 'tradition'; spaces of repression	utopian plans; imaginary landscapes; science fiction ontologies and space; artists' sketches; mythologies of space and place; poetics of space spaces of desire

This classification can be divided into two subcategories: expressive and instrumental interaction. When there is an internal tendency among individuals to share common interests, they expressively interact with each other. This type of engagement is almost voluntary and participatory, for instance, sport and social involvement. If reaching a common goal is important, then instrumental interaction is constructed. In contrast, instrumental interaction is more formal and beneficial such as in political and economic communities.

### 3.6 The image of place

People make sense of their place through remembering reduced images attached to the place, and as a result they produce place images. These images are usually simplified (some parts are ignored), partial (they do not shape a holistic view of the place), idiosyncratic (from one person to another they are different and exclusive), and distorted (they are more subjective-orientated rather than objective-orientated) (Pocock and Hudson, 1978). Also, Lynch (1960) discussed three required features of an environmental image:

- *Identity*, which is ‘distinction from other things’, for instance, an architectural element such as a door is recognisable as a distinguishable object.
- *Structure* is translated as a ‘spatial or pattern relation’, for example, the door position and its spatial relation to the other architectural elements and observers.
- *Meaning* is a practical or emotional relation in which objects have practical and emotional meaning for the observer, such as doors as places to enter or exist.

In Lynch’s view, an observer perceives the image of a city through a combination of five physical elements – paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks. Furthermore, the combination of an observer’s images constructs a collective or city image. The comprehensive image is shaped through the aggregation of these elements: “...districts are structured with nodes, defined by edges, penetrated by paths, and sprinkled with landmarks...elements regularly overlap and pierce one another” (Lynch, 1960, pp. 48-9). Later, he indicated that the image of a city is constructed of these basic elements and adapted by culture and familiarity. Despite Lynch proposing the first image of a city, there are



several critiques around his idea. Carmona et al. (2010, p. 113) categorised these critiques into the three areas:

*Observer variation:* The diverse background and experiences of observers leads to different images of the city which were overlooked in Lynch's original study (1960). Observers of a different social class and culture would variously imagine places and the whole city. This shows the significance of considering the observers' culture and background in the perception of a place.

*Legibility and imageability:* There is a significant difference between legible and imaginable places. Legibility is related to way-finding by observers; however, imaginable places are memorable and meaningful. Although in *Good City Form*, Lynch (1984, c1981) declined the weight of legibility, he applied these terms interchangeably. Furthermore, several scholars such as Kaplan and Kaplan (1982, pp. 81-7), in contrast to legibility, indicated a sense of mystery in the environment. Mystery is an attraction that encourages us to explore more, but legibility entails a promise or a prediction, which leads to the construction of a sense of familiarity.

*Meaning and Symbolism:* In Lynch's view, the image of a city/place is defined based on the physical perception of city elements; however, the social and emotional meaning of place is ignored. Lynch only emphasises the legibility of a city/place, and overlooked that a place "could be liked or disliked, meaningful or not" (Carmona et al., 2010, p. 116).

### 3.7 Sense of place

In the previous sections, the image, meaning, and construction of place were discussed. This section presents the concept of sense of place and its individual and community relationship with other concepts, including identity, satisfaction, and attachment. The term sense of place has been increasingly applied in various fields such as urban design/planning, architecture, and interior design, as well as geography and environmental psychology. Although differences of opinion still exist, there appears to be some agreement that the term sense of place refers to a contemporary interpretation of the Latin notion of 'genius loci', which means a feeling of attachment to the spirit of the place after experiencing the place further through the physical or perceptible features of place (Jackson, 1994, p. 157).

Architectural theorist Norberg-Schulz (1980), using the Heideggerian thought of what a place/phenomenon is and what it wants to be, discussed the term ‘genius loci’ with two connotations: meaning and structure (Figure 2.5). Meaning connotes the subjective interpretation of place, including the relationships between one place and others. Structure denotes the objective meaning of place, which represents the physical aspects of place as an organisation of connections. He believes that though the structure of place is always undergoing change, its ‘genius loci’ essentially does not change and remains stable; hence, places conserve their identity during a specific period of time through stability of place. However, the appreciation of the ‘genius loci’ does not mean the duplication of historic places/buildings; rather, it means to preserve the identity of place and reinterpret it in the new ways of recreation and representation of places. Therefore, the stability of place identity can lead to strength in sense of place.

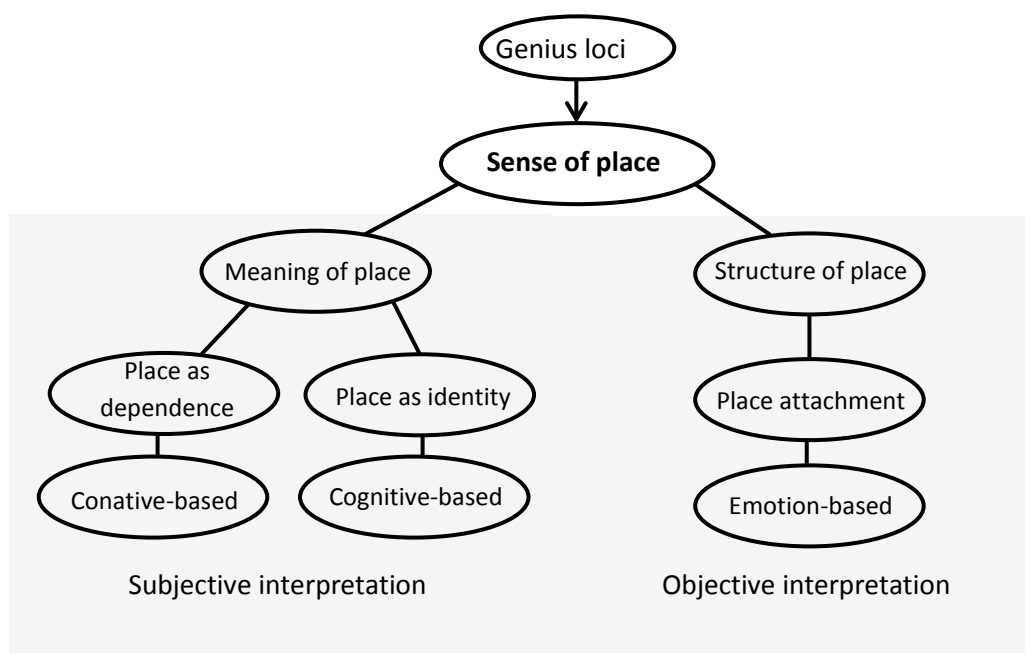


Figure 3.4 Sense of place from the viewpoint of Norberg-Schulz (1980)

People experience and recall memories in their homes, neighbourhoods, and cities, and the events that occurred there with other people. For the majority, the most influential and long-term memories centre around three issues: places, events, and relationships with other individuals and communities; all together, these shape a sense of self-identity (Marcus, 1992). Through the interaction with place, people also represent a particular aspect of their identity (Anderson, 2004), which creates “place identity” as a key “part[s] of self-identity”

(Lalli, 1992, p. 287). As self-identity comprises specific and conscious convictions, interpretations and evaluations of oneself, place identity is an aspect of an individual's identity, not a location of a particular place (Nanzer, 2004). Hence, place identity is understood as personal experiences created by certain conditions and the individual understanding involved in the construction of a sense of place. Although more studies might presume a positive meaning for place identity (Manzo, 2005), Broto et al. (2010) argue that environmental changes in degraded areas can stigmatise place, which can negatively influence other related concepts e.g. sense of place and attachment.

Consequently, scholars consider 'sense of place' as a created concept through the contribution of distinctive elements: identity and attachment as the outcome of shared behaviour and cultural processes, as well as the physical environment (Shamai, 1991; Manzo, 2003; David et al., 2005). Stedman (2003a) defines the functional attachment to a place as place satisfaction. A brief summary of the operative evaluation of the experienced physical environment embedded within sense of place is 'place satisfaction'. Moreover, because place satisfaction is different from place identity and attachment, it should be considered in the investigation of sense of place; for instance, the place attachment of citizens does not always mean satisfaction with the place or the reverse. Therefore, 'sense of place' encompasses place attachment, identity, and satisfaction.

Moreover, despite the various definitions of sense of place, emotional quality, cognition, and behaviour are common features within them (Altman and Low, 1992; Mihaylov and Perkins, 2013). In terms of the investigation of the relationship between sense of place and specific behaviour, Jorgensen and Stedman (2006, p. 317) underlined the "cognitive (e.g. beliefs and perceptions), affective (e.g. emotions and feelings), and conative (e.g. behavioural intentions and commitments) domains". They considered sense of place to be "a multidimensional summary evaluation comprising place-specific beliefs (place identity), emotions (place attachment) and behavioural commitments (place dependence)". Building on this idea, the sub-concepts of 'sense of place' are: place identity as an individual belief in relation to place; place attachment as a positive feeling towards place; and place satisfaction (operative dependence) as a functional expectation of a place.

On the other hand, several researchers (Manzo and Devine-Wright, 2013) have imagined place attachment as a holistic concept covering identity, dependence, and place as its components. The most comprehensive model was offered by Scannell and Gifford (2010),

who viewed place attachment in different dimensions. Place attachment in a social aspect has an individual/community meaning for place, while from a physiological aspect it is a cognitive, affective, and conative attachment to place. The different features of place are also discussed on the spatial level, specificity and the social/physical reputation of place. However, they did not clarify the relationship between these concepts and sense of place.

In addition, researchers, including the above scholars, have explained place attachment as a “positive and powerful” (Mihaylov and Perkins, 2013, p. 61) feeling for a place while satisfaction for the place can be negative. Satisfaction as one component of sense of place can disrupt place attachment. High dissatisfaction with a place, for instance a constant lack of safety or unhealthy conditions, can convert place attachment to a negative sense. Imagining a positive holistic concept, which can contain negative components, seems ambiguous. To avoid this, this study considers the notion of ‘sense of place’ as an inclusive concept covering positive place attachment and other related concepts: identity and satisfaction. Thus, place attachment is a positive and emotional bond between person and place embedded in a broader concept titled sense of place.

Place attachment, place identity, and place satisfaction can be respectively counted as the elements of sense of place, but these components of sense of place have different validity in different social psychology. For instance, building on the views of empirical researchers (Bagozzi, 1978; Bagozzi et al., 1979), sense of place is more emotion-based particularly when it is imagined as an overall approach to a place rather than conative- or cognitive-based. From this viewpoint, sense of place and place attachment can be interchangeably applied. Nevertheless, the literature review has mostly acknowledged that place attachment is a subset of sense of place (Hashemnezhad *et al.*, 2013).

Place satisfaction (operative dependence) is a functional attachment to a place built on the users’ physical attachment to the place. An individual understands and/or interprets how well a place provides opportunities for personal development e.g. recreation or economic dependence (income) (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001; Cross et al., 2011). Dependence on a place is regularly based on individuals’ experiences and favourite actions, compared with alternatives (Williams and Roggenbuck, 1989).

Place satisfaction and place identity influence each other. In terms of (re)development, the impacts of place satisfaction (dependence) and place identity are opposite (Kyle et al., 2004). Since (re)development enhances the function and utility of places (place

stratification), it interrupts the way the places were used (place identity). Moreover, satisfaction with a place is linked to perceiving the place as an extension of self/ownership (identity) (Droseltis and Vignoles, 2010) or investment (opportunity). On the other hand, a study by Broto et al. (2010, p. 952) demonstrated that in environmentally degraded areas in Tuzla, Bosnia and Herzegovina place identity was strengthened “by the performance of adaptive identities” in reaction to a damaging ecological alteration while the residents were not functionally satisfied with the place.

The above mentioned dimensions of sense of place with a composite of multi-layered interrelationships are not entirely substitutable variables, however. For instance, the distinctions of places affecting individual/collective behaviour may not influence emotions, or particular satisfaction with a place might not be the key issues in beliefs about the place (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2006). These variant relationships between place identity, attachment, and satisfaction indicate that sense of place is complex, multi-layered, and subjectively experienced.

The relationship between a community and its place should also be researched because of the strong connection between producing ‘sense of place’ and the concept of community (Crow and Allen, 1994). As ‘sense of place’ is individually understood and through the process of intersubjectivity is collectively imagined, the relationships between an individual (self) and its community and place affect the sense of place. This may outline community more as a place-based concept; however, the study acknowledges the other forms of non-place-based community, as discussed in more depth in the previous chapter. To conceptualise the multidimensional relationships between individual, community, and place, this section applies a three-pole framework to define ‘sense of place’ (Figure 3.5).

This framework can also facilitate the investigation of sense of place. As people discuss their sense of a place through the three main themes – me (self), others (community) and here (place) – the analysis on this basis can be clearly categorised. The respondents can easily express their feelings (attachment), beliefs and perceptions (identity), and, behavioural intentions and commitments (satisfaction) towards a place based on a relationship between the three themes. Their narration, indeed, is not drawn on just one theme, but is instead in between them. This proposed framework will also help the researcher to cover the different but relevant issues within a logical structure.

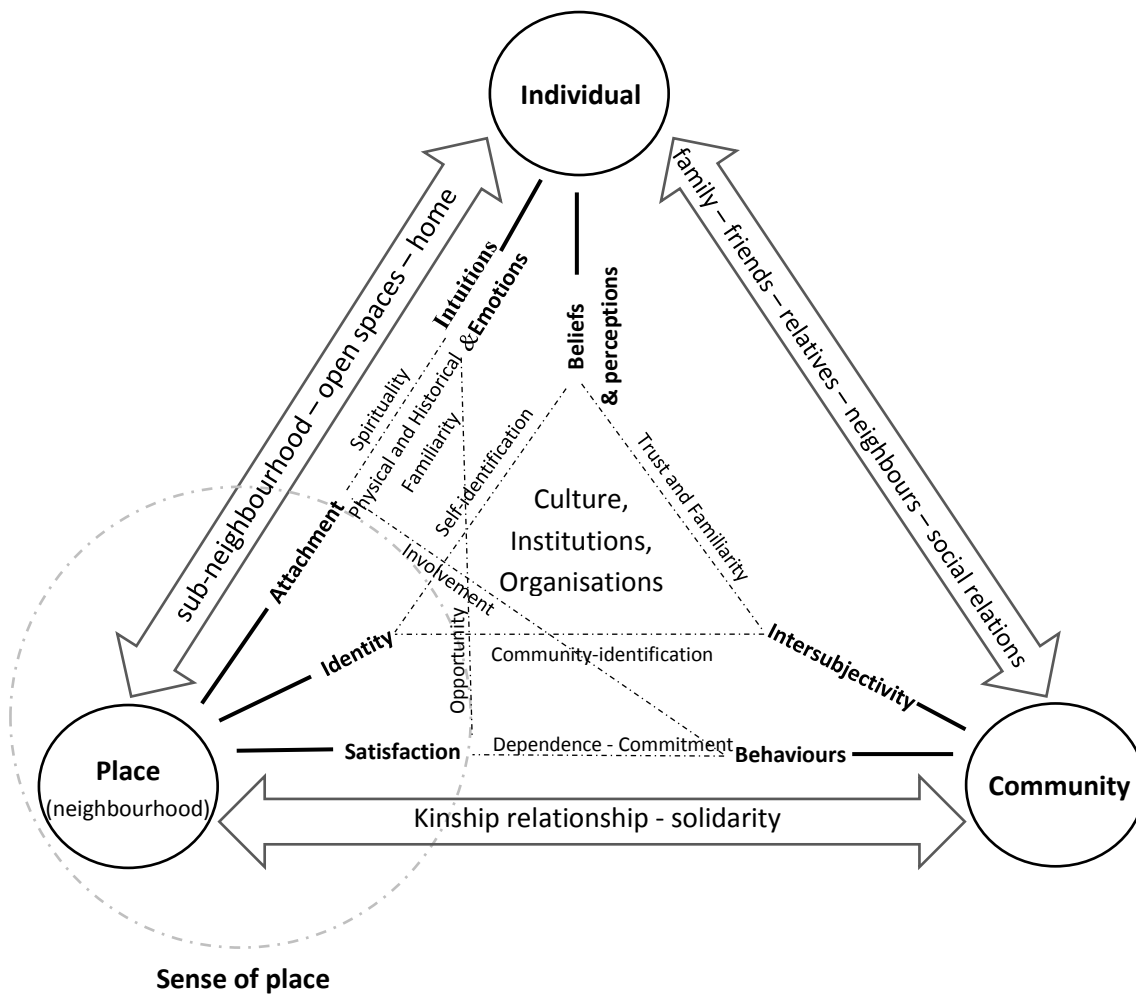


Figure 3.5 Sense of place and its relationship with self and community

*Individual and place:* Indicating place (home, street, neighbourhood or city) is a way for an individual to express his/her self-identification in which the relationship between the individual and place is identified; hence, citizens' beliefs and perceptions can be represented through their place to depict their identity. Moreover, emotions narrate an individual attachment to place. Physical and historical familiarities with place influence citizens' feelings about the place. For instance, individual participation in building or planting can bring a sense of attachment since the person feels familiarity with the place, physically and during the process of transformation; hence, obviously individual participation influences place attachment. In addition, if an individual feels that a place offers him/her an opportunity for personal development, he/she might have a desirable affect – "pride, happiness, and love" (Scannell and Gifford, 2010, p. 2), and/or satisfaction with the place.

*Individual and community:* The relationship between individual and community (family, neighbours and friends) influences his/her sense of place. Since this relationship affects the individual meaning of place, it influences the individual sense of place. For instance, when

a resident knows a neighbour/community/institution and can predict their behaviour, the local perceives a network of familiarity and trust between him/herself with others. While deep interrelationships between community members lead to an individual trust, shallow connections between a person and institution construct institutional trust (Herbert, 2005; Payton et al., 2005). Thus, the construction of trust and familiarity between the individual and (place-based) community or the agency, leads to an individual's sense of belonging to community and place.

*Community and place:* The behavioural intentions and commitments of community are dependent on place. This relationship may influence collective behaviours. For instance, place can provide a friendly setting to facilitate social relations, and community can empower the kinship relationship between the neighbours to construct a neighbourhood-based community; hence, the residents feel a sense of solidarity based on a common place where makes them satisfied and dependent. Indeed, when the members collectively share behavioural dependence on the place rather than a common personality, place-based community is constructed (Section 2.3). Moreover, residents may feel an attachment to a place, through an attachment to a community. Indeed, satisfied involvement as a community member over time can generate a kinship relationship and spirit of solidarity from the viewpoint of an individual to the community, and this can affect place attachment.

*Place:* Frequently, places are narrating many other meanings, which may not be influenced by individuals or a community, but sense of place is affected. For instance, the natural features of place (ecological aspect) including seasons, weather or landscape views can affect place as well as physical features. When unique elements and events are embedded within a place, the place has a symbolic meaning rather than merely a physical setting (see the meaning and image of place section). Places are also institutionalised by political-economic powers (see the concept of place-based community in the political-economic school section).

*Individual:* From a subjective view, a person imagines him/herself through their home/family/workplace identifying the person (themselves) from others. An individual builds their boundary through his/her emotions, beliefs, and perceptions. These boundaries can be imagined at different levels: the person's sense of their own home, in a neighbourhood, city or country. Thus, an individual, through feelings and opinions, connotes his/her ownership, duration of residency (attachment) or root (identity).

*Community*: A sense of solidarity between locals who live in a common place with close relationships generates a sense of community. This sense is constructed through sharing subjectivities. Daily intersubjectivity leads to a continuous revision and reorganisation of community. Intersubjectivity between community members influences the connection between place and members. The effects are reflected in the behaviours of community members (see the section on *the concept of placed-based community* in the previous chapter).

### 3.8 Investigating sense of place

This section argues how sense of place has been investigated in prior studies. The review of the current literature on ‘sense of place’ and related concepts (attachment, identity, and dependence) by Manzo and Devine-Wright (2013) has shown that there is no consensus on theory, methods, and application to capture or investigate these concepts. Several studies about sense of place (or place attachment) have relied on quantitative methods such as survey and multivariate modelling (Shamai, 1991; Lalli, 1992; McAndrew, 1998; Stedman, 2003b; Shamai and Ilatov, 2005; Jorgensen and Stedman, 2006; Cross et al., 2011). These studies surveyed sense of place by asking how much people are attached to, and identify and are satisfied with, a particular place, and then the responses were classified. This study does not intend to reject these quantitative methods. Rather, building on the literature (Hummon, 1992; Kruger, 1996; Stedman et al., 2004), the study enquires how the holistic and qualitative concept of ‘sense of place’ can be fragmented into precise, measurable variables and then reintegrated through multivariate modelling. Significantly, as discussed in the previous sections, ‘sense of place’ is a complex phenomenon, notwithstanding any preferred investigation method.

This study aims to investigate the complicated concept of ‘sense of place’, including place attachment, satisfaction, and identity in a specific context, to examine that urban redevelopment in Tehran which claims to be participatory. The investigation can reveal different short/long, direct/indirect and/or socio-cultural/political-economic impacts on the sense of place. Moreover, as these sub-concepts constantly affect each other, the mathematical measurement of their impact is also more complex (Figure 3.6).

Studies on place have also shown that sense of place may be differently affected by other variables such as age, social position, or length of residence. For instance, younger people



(under 30) consider a place more as an informal community, while older people focus on its geographical basis (Guterbock and Fries, 1997) or the close-to-home milieu rather than the larger setting/community (Rowles and Watkins, 1993). A study by Brown and Perkins (1992) revealed that there is a correlation between length of dwelling time and place attachment. These show that people at different stages of life might have dissimilar opinions about their places (Beazley, 2000; Mowl et al., 2000). Moreover, the physical attributes of place have a direct impact on sense of place and an indirect impact on the meaning of place (Stedman, 2003b).

As the focus of this study is to investigate sense of place in specific placed-based communities rather than comparing different communities, it does not analyse the potential variables on sense of place; however, the study does acknowledge the variables. Secondly, since different members of a community including males and females of different ages and social positions have a diverse understanding of the sense of community and their role in decision-making processes, communities act more as a heterogenised complex (Dargan, 2009). Thirdly, this study does not explore the number of impacts nor their type, but instead investigates how the sense of place has changed regarding the adopted participatory methods for urban redevelopment in Tehran. As such, it is an in-depth investigation with complex groundwork.

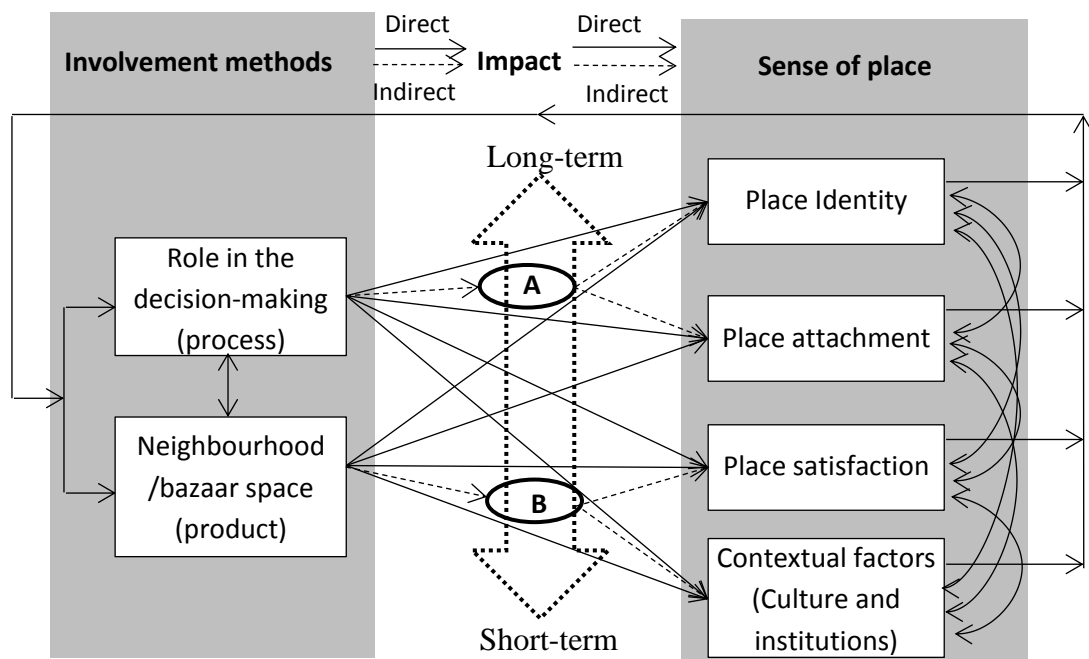


Figure 3.6 Potential impacts of involvement methods on sense of place

A few studies have attempted to shed light on the interrelationship between (community) participation and sense of place; consequently, as “yet few links have been made between them” (Manzo and Perkins, 2006, p. 335). One such study was by Payton et al. (2005), who revealed that there is a significant relationship between place attachment and civic actions and participation. Increasing place attachment directly raises trust and indirectly raises community participation, and increasing trust directly raises community participation. Though in Payton’s research trust links place attachment to participation, the reverse relationship was not discussed. In addition, place attachment was the focus of the study, not sense of place. To capture the relationship between place attachment, trust, and civic actions, a qualitative approach was conducted in which emotional place attachment, functional place attachment, individual trust, and institutional trust were the variables (Figure 3.7).

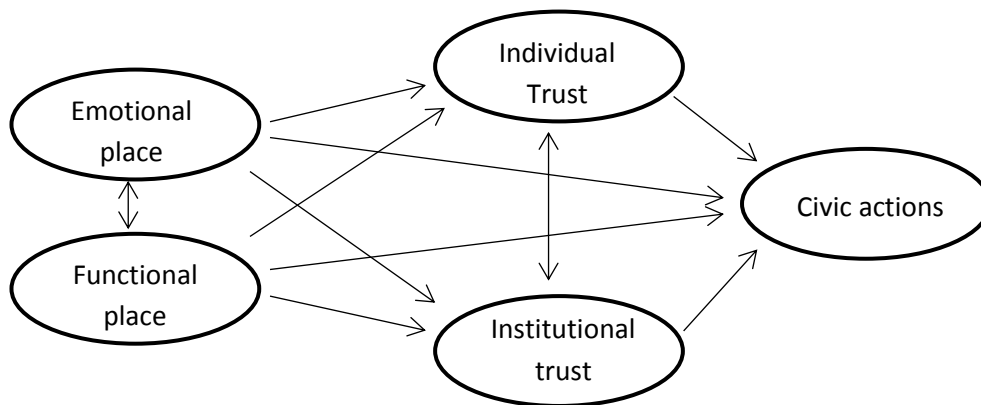


Figure 3.7 The relationship between place attachment, trust, and civic action (Payton et al., 2005, p. 524)

According to Payton’s research, trust can be established between individuals (thick trust) and/or individual and community (thin trust) and/or individual/community and agencies (institutional trust). In terms of kinship and daily relationships, these are labelled as thick trust. The relationship between individuals and community or individual/community and the agency is weaker (thin trust), and trust is constructed through intersubjectivity between community members or the agency. When the agency/community members and individuals perceive similar likes, values, attitudes, and beliefs, thin trust is created (Paxton, 1999; Arai and Pedlar, 2003). Payton does not discuss the influence of familiarity with place and/or involvement in decision making on trust and citizen actions, but other research has shown that familiarity is related to trust. For instance, familiarity with the neighbours or local institutions can lead a resident to trust or intrust in the community (Herbert, 2005).

To investigate sense of place, Stedman et al. (2004, p. 581) split this concept into two different dimensions: evaluative and descriptive. The evaluative dimension has been more researched, and concerns how much a place is important to a person/community. In contrast, the descriptive dimension has been investigated less, and covers how a person/community sees meaning in the place and why this meaning is attached to the place. Place attachment, place dependence, and place identity are distinct notions, but all indicate a degree of attachment, dependence, and identity. Essentially, the investigation of these questions, how much a place is significant to an individual/community (place attachment) or provides opportunities to reach his/her/their goals (place dependence) or reflects himself/herself/community (place identity), points to the evaluative dimension of sense of place.

On the other hand, the investigation of how a person/community attaches the sense/belief/behaviour to a place does not address any success or failure. Rather, this question and the investigation of why an individual or group attach meaning to a place altogether are in-depth enquiries. Indeed, how a person/community forms a meaning/bond with a place is a vital issue, particularly in this study, in which the meaning/bond may have been changed by the involvement methods. For instance, place-based community members may view their neighbourhood as a home, workplace, childhood place, religious place, or meeting place. These symbolic connotations describe the meaning and ways in which the attachment between people and place has been established.

The symbolic connotations reveal that places have multi-layered meanings attached to them. Different people address diverse meanings about their place based on their experiential relationships with that place. An individual may apply “my school”, “our park” and/or a historical element for its neighbourhood, while another might link the place with its home, river and/or sound. Similarly, from a collective viewpoint, communities establish distinct meanings; for example, neighbours’ children may interpret their neighbourhood as a playground place, while women may attach a community meaning to the place in the neighbourhood garden. Their community meaning is not necessarily the most common sense/belief/behaviour between the (place-based) community members, including different residents, male and female, children, elders, teachers, workers, and retirees. Rather, the community meaning of a place is typically different from one resident to another. However, their meanings might overlap.

The literature underlines the role of community engagement in the community meaning of a place. Studies on the relationship between place and people e.g. Relph (1976) Ryden (1993) have discussed that the people who have actually participated in collective activities and devoted more time to their place sense the strongest attachment. Others such as Tuan (2003) emphasise the role of “chosen places” in the attachment meaning of place; for instance, choosing attractive landscapes or deep experiences in a place can rapidly establish place attachment. Similarly, deep experience in a place can be constructed through social engagement. Although all highlighted the effect of community engagement, the impact of participation and its community reasons are not explicit.

Reviewing the literature also shows that studies on ‘sense of place’ and its sub-concepts have typically considered the individual aspect rather than the collective aspect, which indicates more investigation on the community aspect. Community sense of place has been researched from two standpoints: first, the permanent residents’ sense of the community socio-cultural features as social networks and community benefits, and second, a community sense of belonging to the ecological features. One community may be more dependent on the socio-cultural attributes of a place, and another on the biophysical elements. However, socio-cultural factors are further highlighted compared with environmental factors (Stedman et al., 2004; Kopra, 2006). These different features and/or priorities should be considered, particularly in the context of how urban redevelopment changes may produce conflict between individuals, communities, managers, and planners. A deep understanding of sense of place in the eyes of community values can minimise repetitions and the degree of such conflicts. This would also help urban designers as well as planners and managers to improve urban redevelopments.

Scholars have also studied sense of place within diverse types of places. For instance, several have researched homes (Giuliani, 1991), an urban area/neighbourhood/city (Hidalgo and Hernandez, 2001), a country (Shamai and Ilatov, 2005) or even global sense of place (Massey, 1991; Knox, 2005); others have explored a river/forest/lake (Beckley et al., 2004; Stedman et al., 2004; Kopra, 2006), and even a degraded environment (Broto et al., 2010). These places have diverse scales and contexts reveal the extent of this notion.

To sum up, the literature review reveals that both qualitative and quantitative measures have been used in the investigation of the complex, multidimensional concept of sense of place. Sense of place can be studied in the eyes of the individual and/or collective; however, the

individual aspect has been more widely investigated. The review of the literature on sense of place (Stedman et al., 2004; Manzo, 2008; Manzo and Devine-Wright, 2013) also shows that qualitative approaches are more sensitive in explaining the complicated interrelationships between humans and place than quantitative measures. More importantly, since this research investigates in-depth explanations of how and why sense of place is changed by another complex phenomenon (participatory approach in urban redevelopment) makes the subject more complex. Qualitative approaches deepen our understanding of the participants' perceptions and experiences regarding "in depth a process" (Creswell, 2009, p. 13). It is a fact that this study applies a qualitative approach from the viewpoint of the individual/collective sense of place. The questions, 'how' and 'why' the involvement methods adopted by the municipality of Tehran have affected the participants' sense of place can be investigated through in-depth conversations (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

### **3.9 Theoretical framework**

The literature review has led to the development of a theoretical framework for this study. This section describes the framework and its application in the investigation of the participatory approach to urban redevelopment in Tehran through 'sense of place'. Over the last decade, the municipality of Tehran has initiated the involvement of the citizens in the reconstruction of their places. They have introduced a participatory approach to urban redevelopment in Tehran, in a departure from traditional urban redevelopment, which is a top-down, expert-driven process. Within the new approach, locals are invited to participate in the redevelopment schemes. It seems the municipality has adopted community involvement as an integral part of the context-sensitive solutions process; however, additional political-economic factors may have also been involved in this decision taken by the municipality. This study examines this change in municipal direction in the urban redevelopment of Tehran, and how it has been done.

To examine this redevelopment, this study aims to produce an in-depth understanding of how people perceive their participatory experience, its outcomes, and the role of institutions in urban redevelopment in Tehran. Indeed, this study mainly aims to know how the locals who have been involved evaluate the procedural, substantive, and institutional outcomes. It does not evaluate the participatory approach from the viewpoint of institutions and/or experts although it acknowledges their views and comments. This is in line with the main

role that neoliberalism has outlined for a community as an appropriate evaluator who can assess and legitimate devolution (Herbert, 2005). This study thus adopted 'sense of place' as a way of describing the cognitive, affective, and conative relationships between person/community and place, which are non-mathematical in nature, to investigate the participatory approach. The key concepts and how they can be investigated were reviewed in the literature.

A community is neither a static phenomenon nor an inclusive notion for all citizens. Rather, a community is a dynamic concept in which citizens are constantly joining and leaving or at least claiming to do so (Smith, 2001; Amit, 2002). Whenever members of a community share a kinship relationship and sense of solidarity based on the place, a place-based community is constructed. A place-based community is dependent on trust and familiarity among its locals, who possess kinship relations (Herbert, 2005). While a place-based community in the Chicago School perspective concerns the ecological ideas of invasion, dominance and succession (Sampson, 2002; Knox and Pinch, 2010, p. 157), the political economic school view is interrelated with socio-economic policies and political power (Harvey, 1992; Gregory et al., 2009; Delanty, 2010). The deep metamorphoses of urban environments through regeneration, gentrification, decentralisation, suburbanisation and social polarisation have led to the fragmentation of urban community networks (Delanty, 2010). Globalisation (Harvey, 1992; Knox, 2005) and technological innovation (Davis, 2000) have also accelerated the destruction of community networks and the change of place-based communities to non-place-based communities (Knox and Pinch, 2010).

Community participation is defined as having an inclusive involvement role in a decision making process (International Association for Public Participation, 2005). According to this definition, all citizens, regardless of their socio-economic background, should be involved in the process of decision making. The key aspect which has emerged from the literature (Nabatchi, 2012) in the evaluation of a participatory experience is the identification and analysis of participation as a process, and its outcomes. The evaluation of the participants' experience of being involved in the process reveals who was involved and who was excluded, who introduced the process, and how the process proceeded. These highlight the key issues of inclusion and exclusion, and their expectations of the participation. The physical and socio-spatial changes, for instance, can be explored in terms of ownership and/or dwelling, and the outcomes can be demonstrated. These reveal what the participants gained and lost through their involvement and how it changed their place. Investigating the

role of institutions (e.g. municipality and local office and other policy makers) at different stages of the process and the outcomes of their decisions is another dimension of participation. This reveals how the institutions were engaged with the locals, how trust was built between them, and whether the reconstruction methods adopted by the institutions have been capable of improving sense of place rather than damaging it. This is the fact that the adopted redevelopment methods including partnership in reconstruction and land assembling were also discussed in the literature review.

According to the literature, interrelationships between the community, person (self), and place shape the spectrum of ‘sense of place’. The community level of sense of place is formed through the process of “intersubjectivity” between individuals (Lefebvre, 1991, c 1974; Knox and Pinch, 2010). Intersubjectivity as the collective intersection of people’s subjectivities through time-space can lead to trust and familiarity, which identifies one community from another (community-identification). Since the word ‘place’ is one of the most multi-layered and multi-purpose notions in semantics, any discussion about sense of place inevitably seems complex and vague. Consequently, sense of place as a multi-dimensional and abstract term encompasses the socio-cultural and ecological attributes of a place. However, this notion is more than the statistical calculation of these components. People describe their cognitive, affective, and conative relationship with a place and others through a non-mathematical experience of place. Therefore, this qualitative concept is individually and collectively (community level) constructed through a combination of place identity, place attachment, and place satisfaction, which are in turn affected by contextual factors, including culture, institutions, and organisations (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001; Jorgensen and Stedman, 2006; EREN, 2013; Manzo and Devine-Wright, 2013).

Place identity is a brief summary of individual beliefs in relation to a place (the cognitive-based aspect) (Anderson, 2004; Manzo, 2005). For instance, when a neighbourhood echoes the kind of citizen an individual believes they are (and others are), the individual considers that they can be identified through the place. A brief summary of (mostly positive) feelings towards a place structuralises place attachment (the emotion-based aspect) (Altman and Low, 1992; Mihaylov and Perkins, 2013). For example, a person can be attached to a street through their feelings for his/her children/parents/friends living there or childhood memories in the particular place. Place satisfaction is a brief summary of functional expectations for a place (the conative-based aspect) (Stedman, 2003a; Jorgensen and Stedman, 2006). Someone is satisfied with a place when the place functionally offers a

space for the persons' desired activities. The place may offer a proper job/house/payment or expected behaviours from the community members, which make the person dependent on the place (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001; Cross et al., 2011). Although all these components mostly construct a positive sense of place, they can also build a negative one. For instance, when certain features of place are in conflict with self-identity or the place/community does not meet the person's expectations, the person may have a negative sense of place (Kyle et al., 2004; Broto et al., 2010; Droseltis and Vignoles, 2010).

This framework has been applied to investigate the process, its outcomes, and the role of actors in both case studies. Discussing the different procedural, substantive, and institutional outcomes in relation to the sense of place and its subsets (place attachment, satisfaction, and identity) from an individual and/or collective perspective reveals the participants' evaluation (Figure 3.8). Because this study investigates the participants' sense of place to examine the participatory approach to urban redevelopment in Tehran, an overall discussion on the picture of sense of place before the redevelopment facilitates the understanding of the outcomes and their impacts on sense of place during/after the redevelopment.

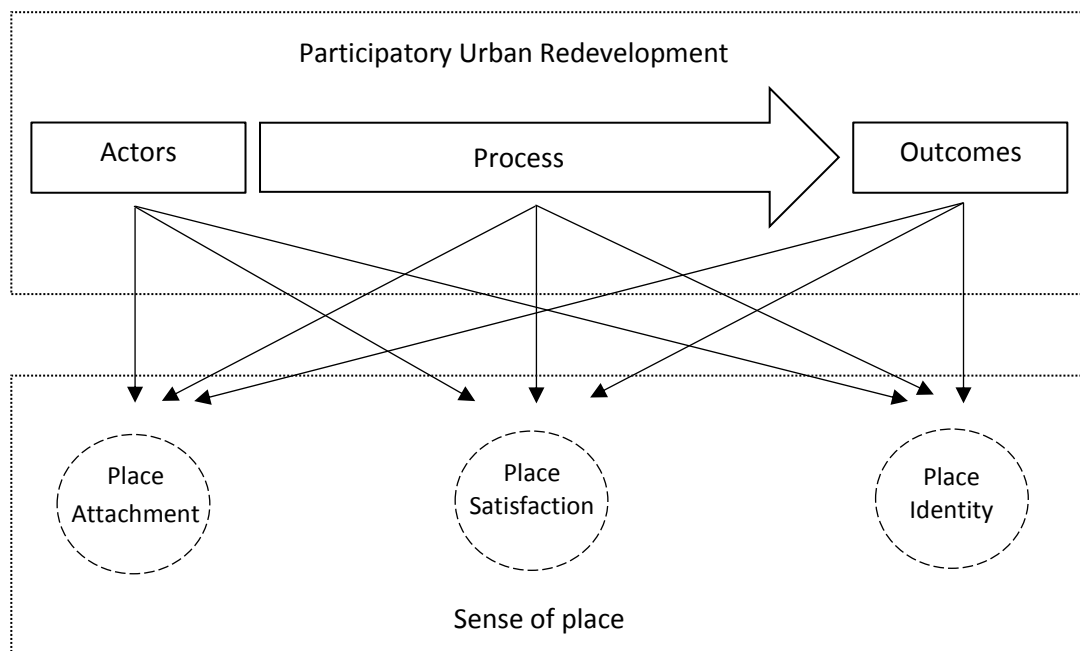


Figure 3.8 The theoretical framework for the investigation of participatory urban redevelopment through 'sense of place'



### 3.10 Conclusion

The term ‘sense of place’ has been used by a wide range of professions including, but not limited to, urban designers and planners, architects, geographers, natural resources managers, and environmental psychologists. In diverse types of places and for different purposes, they have adopted different theories and approaches in the investigation of sense of place. Qualitative approaches deepen our understanding of this complex and multidimensional concept.

Interrelationships between place, person (self), and community shape the spectrum of sense of place. Community sense of place is formed through the process of intersubjectivity between individuals. Intersubjectivity as the collective intersection of people’s subjectivities through time-space can lead to trust and familiarity, which identifies one community from another (community-identification). Sense of place as a multi-dimensional and abstract term encompasses the socio-cultural and ecological attributes of a place; however, this notion is more than the statistical calculation of these components. This qualitative concept is individually and collectively constructed through the combination of place identity, place attachment, and place satisfaction, affected by contextual factors (culture, institutions, and organisations).

Place identity is a brief summary of individual beliefs in relation to a place (the cognitive-based aspect). For instance, when a neighbourhood echoes the kind of citizen they believe they are (and others are), the person considers that he can be identified through the place. A brief summary of (mostly positive) feelings towards a place structuralises place attachment (the emotion-based aspect). For example, a person can be attached to a street through their feelings for their children/parents/friends who live there or their childhood memories in the particular place. Place satisfaction is a brief summary of the functional expectations of a place (the conative aspect). When someone is satisfied with a place, they consider this place functionally offers a space for their desired activities. The place may offer a proper job/house/payment or expected behaviours from the community members, which may make the person dependent on the place. Although all these components mostly construct a positive sense of place, they can also construct a negative one. For instance, when certain features of place are in conflict with self-identity or the place/community does not meet the person’s expectations, the person may have a negative sense of place.



## **Chapter 4. Research Design and Methodology**

## 4.1 Introduction

This chapter develops the methodological approach, building on the aim, objectives, and research questions articulated in Chapter One. It outlines the research strategies and phases applied in this study, including the investigation methods. It also addresses the logic of case selection and how to research these. Revealing the structure of the methodology in three stages – data preparation, data collection, and data analysis – is another focus of this chapter. Finally, the ethical issues, and research limitations and constraints which occurred in the process of conducting the research are revealed.

## 4.2 Research design and methodology strategy

Participatory urban redevelopments is a new approach adopted by the municipality of Tehran, which involves the participation of local residents and local businesses in the redevelopment of their area (Figure 4.1). Within the process, after the identification of the location of urban areas that need redevelopment, local offices were established to identify and engage with local stakeholders. Developers were recruited to redevelop the urban areas. Another element of the participatory urban redevelopment approach was assembling smaller pieces of land into larger developable parcels in residential areas, which drew on the experiences of other countries, as discussed in sections 2.5.2 and 2.5.3. This was a part of the process of participation in which local offices facilitate the process of land assemblage, which would be further discussed in the residential case study.

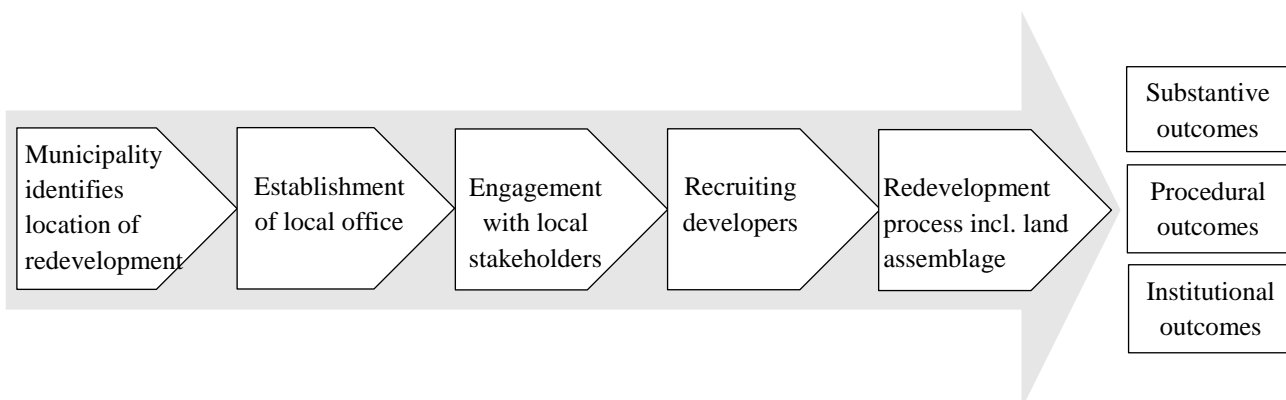


Figure 4.1 The process and outcomes of participatory urban redevelopments adopted by the municipality of Tehran

This study was designed to investigate the adoption of participation in urban redevelopment in Tehran and its outcomes. The primary objectives of the study were: 1) to understand what sort of participation it is, and 2) to identify the outcomes of the participatory urban redevelopment and investigate them through the concept of sense of place. The key research questions which arose concern what the outcomes are, how they can be investigated, and, if they are evaluated through the concept of sense of place, how they should be investigated. To answer these questions, this study reviewed relevant literature to develop the methodological approach.

This study investigates an in-depth understanding of how local people perceive their participatory experience and its outcomes in urban redevelopment in Tehran. Indeed, it mainly aims to know how the locals who were involved evaluate the process, its outcomes, and the role of institutions. Therefore, this study primarily examines the participatory approach from the viewpoint of local populations while it also acknowledges the views and comments of institutions and/or experts. Within people-centred approaches, 'sense of place' is the more holistic and inclusive concept that encompasses the multidimensional relationships –attachment, identity, and satisfaction– between person/community and place, which are non-mathematical in nature. Investigating these various interrelationships between place, person, and community can help us to understand a significant individual/social role in the redevelopment of their places. This is one method of investigating what matters to people at different stages of the process and their life regarding their involvement experience, its outcomes, and the role of institutions. This is useful as it allows those who are usually forgotten in the evaluation of urban redevelopments to reveal their evaluation.

However, this study also acknowledges other possibilities to assess urban redevelopment. For instance, Social Impact Assessment (SIA), Equality Impact Assessment (EqIA), Sustainability Appraisal (SA), and Health Impact Assessment (HIA) are typical assessment tools to evaluate urban (re)developments in the UK. Regardless of their titles and baggage, they all assess the impacts of a particular circumstance/action, not a particular process. Each of these tools also aims to focus on one aspect of change, e.g. environmental or social outcomes rather than the entire process, but they may not be useful to evaluate a process of engagement, which this study aims to do. In addition, these tools quantify the impact (measurement), which is different from this approach taken in this study – of a qualitative evaluation of the process. More importantly, these tools assess the experience of development from the viewpoint of institutions and/or experts, while in this study the main

focus is knowing how the locals involved in the experience evaluate the process, outcomes, and role of the institutions. Therefore, this study uses ‘sense of place’ as an investigative method to evaluate the procedural, substantive, and institutional outcomes of the participatory urban redevelopment in Tehran.

An in-depth understanding of a participatory urban redevelopment is a complex topic related to other complicated concepts such as community, democracy, and justice. The applied investigation method, ‘sense of place’, is also a complex and multi-dimensional concept. The investigation of the links between two multifaceted concepts adds more complexity to this study. The literature review (Manzo, 2008; Manzo and Devine-Wright, 2013) shows that qualitative approaches are more sensitive in explaining the complicated interrelationships between humans and places than quantitative measures. Qualitative approaches deepen our understanding of the participants’ experiences regarding how ‘in-depth a process’ is (Creswell, 2009, p. 13). This study applies a qualitative approach from the viewpoint of the individual/collective sense of place. The questions, ‘how’ and ‘why’ the involvement methods adopted by the municipality have affected the participants’ sense of place can be investigated through in-depth conversation (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

This study also applies a case-study approach to investigate the research questions. Since case study-based research is an in-depth approach to context-dependent knowledge, it is more practical and useful for teaching and developing knowledge compared to the conventional wisdom in which generalisation and theory are central, as is argued in a highly cited paper by Flyvbjerg (2006) on *Five Misunderstandings About Case-study Research*. Section 4.2.1 discusses the selection of cases.

In sum, to qualify the investigation of the enquiries, this research is case study-based and applies a range of qualitative techniques to examine participatory urban redevelopment in Tehran from the viewpoint of participants by investigating their sense of place. Building on this methodological approach, the research was designed in three main stages to build knowledge: data preparation, data collection, and data analysis (Figure 4.2).

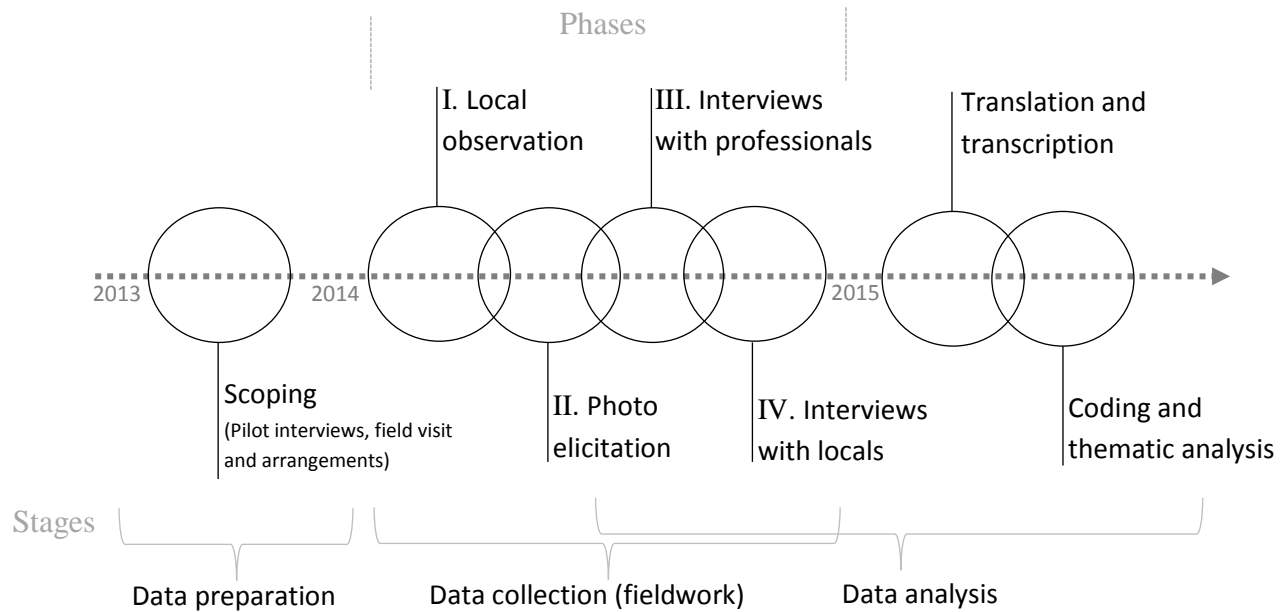


Figure 4.2 Design of the research process

#### 4.2.1 Selection of case studies

As the central question of this study is the nature of the participatory urban redevelopment adopted by the Tehran municipality, and in what ways it has affected the participants' sense of place, it is significant to interrogate "the various circumstances for case process and outcome" (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 230). Thus, the strategy for case selection is an information-orientated selection with key variations in which the selected cases are very different in one dimension such as the form of organisation, size, and other socio-economic features; however, they are similar in other aspects (e.g. they are adopted by the municipality).

The criteria for selecting case studies were: 1) to select cases with contrasting conditions to represent the wide range of the participatory approach in Tehran; and 2) to select cases that have been implanted and are not stagnant. The researcher visited different cases in Tehran to select cases that meet the criteria. As the cases with a participatory approach in Tehran were few in number, the opportunities for case selection were limited. Among the existing cases that meet the criteria, two distinctive cases within district 12, the Takhti neighbourhood and the Oudlajan bazaar route, were selected (Figure 4.3). The Oudlajan bazaar is representative of a commercial environment with heritage value, whereas the Takhti neighbourhood represents a residential setting. Additionally, the case of Oudlajan was about

the involvement of shop owners in the reconstruction and restoration of their public space (bazaar) while Takhti invited the landowners to participate in the redevelopment of their private housing space. The selection of cases in a range of conditions located in both residential and commercial areas with/without historical value illustrates the participatory approach to urban redevelopment in Tehran. It also enriches the applications and implications of the findings.

We could have selected two similar cases, for example, two commercial or two residential; that could have given us perhaps more in-depth about the issues involved in any of these, but it would have prevented us from having a comprehensive evaluation of the participatory approach in Tehran. In addition, because the aim of this study is about the participatory approach in Tehran, not about residential or commercial; therefore, selecting two contrasting cases allows us to have a better idea of where the participatory approach works and where it does not, and whether in different contexts have different outcomes.

As mentioned earlier, another criterion was to select cases that were only implemented, cases in the planning phase or which were stagnant did not meet this condition. The Oudlajan bazaar, which is a demarcated shopping route, was almost completed. Since the Takhti case covers a large-scale housing neighbourhood, it requires a long-term approach, and so it was in the middle of the implementation phase. A number of locals had settled in the new flats, a few were waiting for the completion of their flats, and others were in the involvement phase. Nevertheless, besides these distinctions, the cases had similarities in management and overall participatory process. In both, the role of the municipality had been to facilitate the process of redevelopment through the local offices. In both cases, participatory urban redevelopment had also been implemented through capital (land or fund).

In addition to the selected cases, other projects were visited across the city, including the Minaiee and Khoob-Bakht (Atabak) neighbourhoods within district 15, and the Ahmadi alley within district 10<sup>6</sup> (Figure 4.3). Being labelled as participatory schemes by the municipality was their common feature. Since the selected cases had been implemented by building on the lessons of Khoob-Bakht experience (2006-2012), which was the first and

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<sup>6</sup> During the data collection, the Khoob-Bakht and Minaiee neighbourhoods were found to be at the stagnant stage, and their local offices were inactive. Another visited case, the environmental upgrading of the Ahmadi alley within district 10, had a different aim that could not meet the research criteria. Indeed, the municipality, through the involvement of the residents in upgrading their alley, was trying to establish a trusted platform between the residents and the local office for the next step, which was the owner participation.



incomplete attempt with a participatory approach in the country, this experience was acknowledged but not considered as a case study.

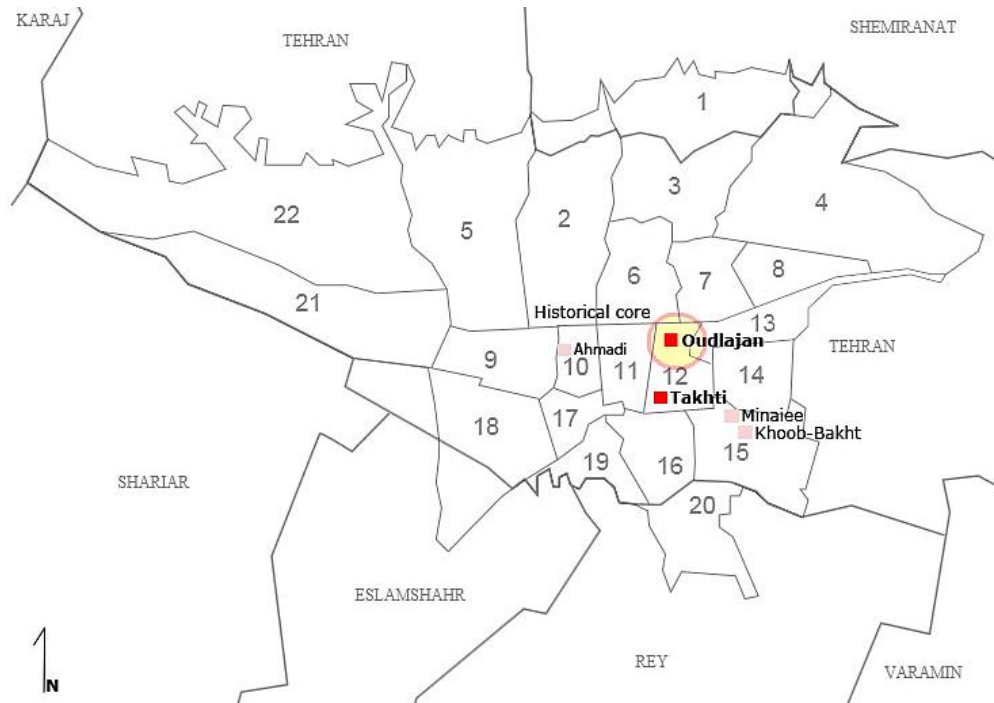


Figure 4.3 Location of selected case studies

### 4.3 Data preparation

At the data preparation stage, the researcher conducted three pilot interviews with local/professional interviewees who were not to be included in the sample. The interviewees were randomly selected after consulting with the authorities. Two local residents and a local office member were interviewed. This gave the researcher the opportunity to review the inclusion of some of the questions for the data collection stage and rephrase others in order to make their meanings clearer. The pilot interviews also helped the researcher gain further experience in conducting interviews and be familiar with issues to consider in data collection and management. In addition, at the preparation stage, access to relevant documents and locals/professionals for the next stage was arranged with the authorities.

#### 4.4 Data collection (fieldwork)

The data collection was completed through a fieldwork of four months in the city of Tehran, from June to September 2014. At this stage, the methods used to collect data were structured in four phases, illustrated in Table 4.1. The first phase of data collection began by observing the local places and usage spaces in both cases. In the second phase, a Photo-Elicitation Interview (PEI) technique was conducted to generate individual visual interpretive data in each case. Local volunteers were asked to capture/collect photos of representative of their place. Five locals in the Takhti neighbourhood and three persons attended in the PEI. In addition to describing their photos, they were in-depth interviewed about their involvement role, expectations, and effects on the sense, beliefs and residents' behaviours. The next phase was an interview with the professional stakeholders involved in the projects such as the urban managers and experts, planners, and developers. As seen in Table 4.1, two separate teams of professionals/officials were interviewed in each case.

Table 4.1 Methods and materials used at the data collection stage

Phase	Method	Materials	Category	Number of interviewees in each case		Expected Data
				Takhti	Oudlajan	
<b>I</b>	Local observation	Maps and tape recorder	Place and usage space	-	-	Spatial analysis
<b>II</b>	Photo Elicitation Interview (PEI)	Maps, photos and tape recorder	Locals at different stage of the process	5	3	Individual visual interpretative data
<b>III</b>	Professional/official interviews	Tape recorder	Managers, experts, planners and developers	5	5	Professional stakeholders' interpretative data
<b>IV</b>	Local interviews	Maps, photos and tape recorder	Locals at the different stage of the process	7*	8*	Collective interpretative data

\* Including two non-participants in the projects.

In the fourth phase, new locals were in-depth interviewed to investigate their reactions and responses to the results of previous phases. This revealed the collective approach as it allowed the researcher to discuss the issues that had been identified at the PEI (individual interpretative data) and realise whether those issues were shared by other locals. Comparison of the narratives of different key beneficiaries also revealed how far the perception of the collective sense of place from an individual perspective at different stages of the project is from each other or the professionals/officials. In this phase, the number of interviewees was not prefixed. The researcher conducted the in-depth interviews until saturation point was reached, in that the interviewees began repeating the same ideas and therefore no new information is being generated (Kvale, 2008). Then, the researcher decided to stop interviewing more locals. Since the study is not comparative, the number of interviewees was dissimilar in each case. According to the scale, context, and applied involvement methods, more residents were interviewed in the residential case. The last phase (IV) was ended with the most interviewees compared to the previous phases. The duration of interviewees ranged from 45 to 120 minutes, with an average of about 60 minutes. The majority were one hour or more.

While in this study, reports, documents, and archives were considered, the primary data collection was constructed upon the qualitative sources including local observation, Photo Elicitation Interview (PEI), and interviews with professional/locals (Table 4.2). In total, 33 individuals for both cases were interviewed (Table 4.3). About 70% of the interviewees (23 out of 33) were locals. Since all the shop owners in the Oudlajan bazaar were men, fewer female stakeholders were interviewed regarding this case. In contrast, in the residential case, gender balance in the interviews was achieved. The age distribution shows that interviewees were between 27 to 68 years old.

Table 4.2 Data sources

	<b>Primary Data</b>	<b>Secondary Data</b>
Quantitative Approach	-	Statistical reports
<b>Qualitative Approach</b>	Local Observation	Reports
	Photo Elicitation Interview (PEI)	Documents
	Interviews with locals and professionals/officials	Archives

Table 4.3 Summary of interviewees

Study area	Locals		Professionals/officials		Age distribution	Total
	Female	Male	Female	Male		
Takhti neighbourhood	8	4	2	3	27-68	17
Oudlajan bazaar	0	11	3	2	31-63	16
Total	8	15	5	5	27-68	33

The place of interviews in the residential case was typically confirmed after consultation with the local office (Table 4.4). All local interviews took place at the local office in a relaxed atmosphere. The local interviewees lived within a short distance of the local office and returned to their residence after the interviews. In the commercial case, the locals were interviewed in their shops (Table 4.5). This decision was made after consultation with the local office and interviewees regarding their choice of place of interview. All professionals and officials were interviewed in their working place.

Interviewees in both cases were diverse. In the commercial case, most interviewees were metal shop owners while in the residential case, most described themselves as housewives or retired pensioners (Table 4.6 and 4.7). In the residential case, the average residency length among the local interviewees was more than 30 years and their qualification level was mostly diploma or below. For the shopping route, the mean for the length of residency was more than 45 years. More figures on the interviews and interviewees are attached in Appendix A.

A wide range of working age interviewees was targeted, but the researcher could only reach those interviewees who were introduced by the local office who acted as gatekeepers for this study. Nevertheless that fact that people of working age interviewees were underrepresented in the interviews has had a limiting impact on the findings of this research. However, according to the local office, some of the interviewees in the residential case who introduced themselves as a housewife or a retired pensioner had a job, but for some reasons, they did not want to be identified as an employee.

Table 4.4 Place of interviews in the case of the Takhti neighbourhood

Sets of interviews	Local office of Takhti	Tehran City Renovation Organisation	Local office of Sangalaj	Local office of district 11	Construction site	Total
PEI (II)	5	-	-	-	-	5
Professional/official interviews (III)	1	1	1	1	1	5
Local interviews (IV)	7	-	-	-	-	7
Total	13	1	1	1	1	17

Table 4.5 Place of interviews in the case of the Oudlajan bazaar

Sets of interviews	Local office of Oudlajan	Tehran City Renovation Organisation	Interviewee's shop in the Oudlajan bazaar	Other places	Total
PEI (II)	-	-	3	-	3
Professional/official interviews (III)	2	1	-	2	5
Local interviews (IV)	-	-	8	-	8
Total	2	1	11	2	16

Table 4.6 The occupations of the interviewees in the case of the Takhti neighbourhood

Sets of interviews	Housewife	Retired	Local office manager	Local office member	Municipality expert	Developer	Total
PEI (II)	1	4	-	-	-	-	5
Professional/official interviews (III)	-	-	2	1	1	1	5
Local interviews (IV)	6	1	-	-	-	-	7
Total	7	5	2	1	1	1	17

Table 4.7 The occupations of the interviewees in the case of the Oudlajan bazaar

Sets of interviews	Metal shop owner	Quilt shop owner	Grocer	Bag making shop	Sandwich shop owner	District consultant	Local office member	Heritage expert	Developer	Total
PEI (II)	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Professional/official interviews (III)	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	1	5
Local interviews (IV)	2	3	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	8
Total	4	3	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	16

#### 4.4.1 Phase I: Local observation

Observing people and their place before chatting with them strengthens the research by providing more in-depth understanding and interpretation. Fundamentally, observation is watching and listening to people, particularly in their place; however, it may also include asking people to clarify points (Gillham, 2000, pp. 45-46). Scholars (Gillham, 2000; 2008) consider observation to be a valid and reliable direct form of data collection since it is not only based on what people have recorded or said about the subject; rather, it is what in reality they have done. Those researchers investigating defined and clear subjects, mostly positivists, adopt structured observation, while those looking at a subject from an interpretive or critical viewpoint employ unstructured observation. As the focus of this study is on understanding the meanings/senses/beliefs that locals observed in their context, as attached to the place, action, or the involvement methods, it adopts an interpretive/critical approach.

To become familiar with the cases, the first unstructured observation of the case studies was conducted in September 2013. The researcher visited both cases and walked around to realise the existing condition of sites. From this, question concerning what should be observed and how it should be done were decided. Identifying what should be observed can drive the observation of the topic. According to the focus of the study, the physical condition and usage of the neighbourhood and bazaar space were observed to perceive how participatory urban redevelopment was occurring. The researcher observed whether the buildings were well maintained or deteriorating, or whether the area was untidy because of the process of reconstruction. The physical places, including public spaces, houses, shops, and mosques,

and space usage by the residents (parking, driving, walking, and gathering) were considered. The location of gathering places and the path of direct observation inside the cases during one week were also recorded. Conducting this local observation at different times of day strengthened the observation data.

The observation of place and its attributes can reveal both tangible and intangible factors. However, the intangible aspects are more hidden in observation, which can be clarified by other data collection tools such as interviews and visual elicitation. The Project for Public Spaces (2011) has proposed a framework with four key qualities for place analysis (Figure 4.4). In this structure, a successful place is an accessible place where people are involved in activities. Moreover, it should be comfortable with a pleasant image in which people are encouraged to socialise with others. The third ring presents the qualitative factors from which to evaluate place. However, the outer ring depicts the quantitative aspects of a place. In order to evaluate each section, several qualitative and quantitative questions are considered. Nevertheless, this model was proposed for the evaluation of public places, which overlooks the relationship between places and their homes and private spaces. Furthermore, this model assesses the diverse attributes of place equally while in reality people prefer or ignore certain features of a place. Moreover, according to the research design and methodology, the local observation was taken as a tool to complement the survey methods rather than being in competition with them or the main database.

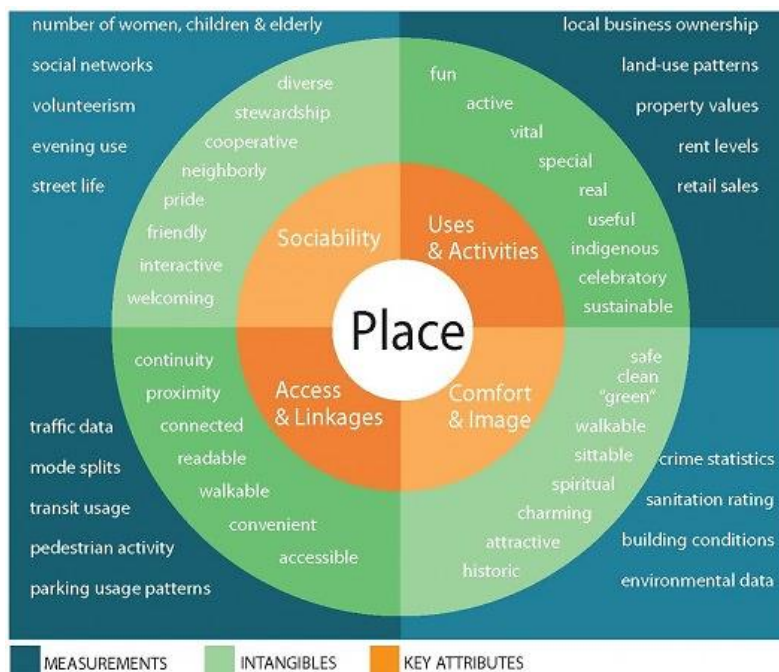


Figure 4.4 Evaluation of place (Project for Public Spaces, 2011)

#### **4.4.2 Phase II: Photo elicitation Interview (PEI)**

This section first highlights the importance of photography as a tool for producing community senses and beliefs. Next, it introduces the Photo Elicitation Interview (PEI) technique and its application. Later, it addresses how the photo-elicitation interviews in this study were conducted, who was involved and what the challenges were. Preliminary analysis of the materials generated at the photo-elicitation interview phase is discussed in the last part.

##### *1) Photography as a tool for producing community senses and beliefs*

Simply inquiring of an interviewee “how does the individual experience the sense of belonging to a place” might not reveal the context of emotional/functional/identifiable attachment to the place (Beckley et al., 2007). For this reason, several researchers have adopted visual methods, such as ‘Resident-Employed Photography’ (Stedman et al., 2004), or visitors are employed to capture photos (Tonge et al., 2011), to describe what constitutes the interrelationships between people and place. Although photography is not the only tool to encourage a community to contribute voluntarily in research and express their ideas about intangible notions qualitatively, it is a practical, fun activity for the both contributors in research and researchers. People can easily express their ideas through this technique rather than other technically-orientated consultation procedures, due to the use of GIS or technical terms. The photography and interviews together allow the researcher to be more empirically precise about the identification and reasons behind the places of value, which may not always be a big building or an area of high visual value. Several researchers (Stedman et al., 2004; Kopra, 2006) have discussed the fact that locals are interested in places with robust socio-cultural links.

In addition, as people can simply represent a landscape through photos, environmental psychologists and landscape planners/managers employ visual representation to link the concept of “the voice to place and voice and place to landscape” (Beilin, 2005, p. 57). Although some attributes of a landscape such as sound, smell, or sensation at the time of photography cannot be discerned, during the interviewing, these aspects can be revealed by the interviewee.

Visual research methods apply convenient techniques to study the interrelation of different features of communities’ lived experiences by letting them express themselves in various



ways (Dennis Jr. et al., 2009). There are different ways to conduct these techniques: from a low level of interference by the researcher once people involved in research capture/collect the photos, to a high level of involvement when the researcher selects the photos. Expressing the complex and multi-layered relationships with a place by community members also requires an appropriate investigation and analysis. Indeed, the community and multiple values for a place such as the urban landscape of the neighbourhood should be highlighted rather than a personal source of employment for one retail shop owner. To reveal the complexity, this study integrated the photography method with interviews to explore and interpret the spatial setting (photos) for both its ecological and socio-cultural attributes. Since the residential case study is an urban neighbourhood, socio-cultural attributes were highlighted. In the commercial case, socio-economic attributes were emphasised. Also, sense of place individually and collectively through the combination of photos was collected.

## *2) What is the Photo-Elicitation Interview (PEI) method?*

Photo elicitation is an operative technique to investigate community values for a place used in different fields: urban planning, landscape, psychology, sociology, community health, and natural resources management (Harper, 2002; Loeffler, 2004; Kopra, 2006). People involved in this method are asked to collect or capture several photos representative of their place and values within them. After the photo collection, they are invited to a semi-structured interview to discuss their photos. This method elicits from place-based community members in-depth data on why these spaces/landscapes/persons are significant for them (Stewart et al., 2004; Steen Jacobsen, 2007; Tonge et al., 2011).

In the eyes of people involved in PEI, photo elicitation is more enjoyable and less annoying than typical techniques (Beckley et al., 2007) applied in the investigation of ‘sense of place,’ such as surveys and questionnaires. Since the researcher mainly listens while the interviewee interprets the photos, this allows the interviewee to feel respected in a non-evaluative and relaxed situation (Loeffler, 2004; Dennis Jr. et al., 2009; Tonge et al., 2011). Moreover, in-depth interviews using the photos clarify intangible feelings/beliefs/behaviours embedded in the photos. The common places of value in the photos narrate the sense of community, and the reasons for their importance can be investigated during the interviews.

In the Resident-Employed photo-elicitation technique, residents are encouraged to express their sense about the place through photography. Residents have a different degree of familiarity with the place compared to visitors; hence, their perceptions and senses are

different, which distinguishes this technique from Visitor-Employed Photography (VEP) (Stedman et al., 2004). The values attached to a place have different meanings for each group. Since this study considers the concept of community as a place-based notion, it investigated the sense of place in the eyes of the residents, not visitors.

### *3) How the photo-elicitation interviews were conducted and who was involved?*

In this study, the only way that the researcher had access to the local population was through the local office, who acted as gatekeepers. Volunteers for the photo-elicitation interviews were recruited by approaching the local office. The local office introduced locals who might be potentially interested in contributing in the Photo Elicitation Interview (PEI). Those who agreed to contribute were chosen and informed about their involvement in the PEI and photos they may capture. Each local was also given a flyer explaining what they need to do (See Appendix F for a copy of the original flyer and a translation into English). About two weeks before the interview, each interviewee was asked to capture/collect six to eight photos representative of the neighbourhood/bazaar and the places within them. Although not telling the interviewees what to capture was considered, they were inspired to be creative with their pictures, for instance, capturing a photograph of a grave to express history. They were free either to collect a picture of a place or activities at different times, or capture the photos themselves. All interviewees in the PEI captured the photos using their own phones and cameras.

While in each case five locals were agreed to participate in the PEI, in the commercial case, only three of them met the two-week deadline to capture the photographs and attended the interviews. Among those who contributed, two of them (OM102-II and OM103-II) were representative and trustworthy in the eyes of the shop owners' community, introduced by the local office and the municipality. In the residential case, no community activists were introduced by the local office and municipality. The researcher were not able to identify any leaders either through speaking with the locals. The profile of the interviewees in the PEI can be found in Appendix B.

After the photo collection, the locals who captured photographs (five locals in Takhti and three shopkeepers in Oudlajan) were separately invited for the semi-structured interviews. Then, the researcher discussed with them what were significant to take the photos. The photos were used as a starting point for the interview e.g. would you please describe this photo or why did you take/collect this photo. The benefit of applying these open-ended

questions after the photo collection means that the researcher can then lead on to in-depth and detailed depictions. In addition, the interviewees were also in-depth interviewed about the sense and role in the participatory projects, e.g. why and how they participated in the redevelopment process. Since the ‘why’ and ‘how’ questions investigate an “in-depth [...] process” (Creswell, 2009, p. 13), they allow the researcher to probe the lost chains regarding the relationship between participation and sense of place in each case. The list of questions used in the PEI can be found in Appendix C. Finally, general information about each interviewee, including the length of residence, home address, and ownership, job (particularly workplace), age and gender was collected.

Efforts were made to make sure that the interviewees in the PEI are from a range of possible age and gender groups. For two reasons, children aged 18 or under were excluded. First, there was not enough support from the local office to involve children and second, and more importantly, because as the study evaluates the methods of involvement and its impact on the sense of place, the adult residents responsible for their involvement were targeted.

There are a range of possible technical and social challenges in conducting the photo elicitation interview technique, for example people may not want to share their own photos with others or they do not know how to use a camera. These challenges were not applied to this study except the issue of understanding what the interviewees need to take photos of. To address this issue, all the interviewees were orally briefed about what to take photos of and were inspired to be creative; for instance, they were given few examples such as a picture of grave can represent history. The briefing was in addition to the flyer (Appendix F) which explained all these required details of what the interviewees need to do, how many photos they should take, the deadline, and other required information.

#### *4) Preliminary analysis of the materials generated at the photo-elicitation interview phase*

The plan was the individual discussion of the preliminary analysis of phase II with the other key beneficiaries. Therefore, before conducting next phases, the collected data in phase II in both cases were analysed, based on the main themes through Directed Content Analysis, such as in common photos/opinions. After the completion of the photo-elicitation interviews, a database of the transcriptions and photos was generated. According to the content of the photos and the location of the subject of the photo, the photos were divided into six categories that emerged from the interviews: private places, public places, social cohesion and community pride, family and friends, history and heritage, and institutions.

Based on the transcriptions, the subsets of the sense of place (attachment, identity, dependence) were also linked to the photos. Each photograph was carefully reviewed, and the related transcript was read, and it was then decided which subset was relevant. Since some narratives had a multi-dimensional approach, it was hard to choose only one subset. For instance, an interviewee attached the functional meaning of his workplace to the background of a certain photo (place satisfaction), while in the foreground, the photo meant community trust (place attachment). To tackle the uncertainty of choosing only one group, some narratives were interpreted as a multi-dimensional nature of the sense of place. As the nature of the research design is qualitative, this pattern of mixed findings was accepted. If the applicants were forced to follow only those categories mentioned, then it would not have been possible to attain significant findings.

Both photographs and transcriptions were used in the data analysis since the photos alone might not have expressed full information about the sense of place and its relationship with the participatory urban redevelopment. However, the interviewees identified and explained more senses/beliefs/behaviours hidden within the photos. For instance, they narrated stories, previous conditions, childhood feelings, and so many other values about the place. Consequently, from the photos taken at the PEI, eight photos in both cases were selected and the new questions were added for discussion in the later interviews. In phase III and IV, without asking the interviewee to provide any photos, they were interviewed about their personal opinions while they were encountered with the preliminary results of phase II (PEI).

#### ***4.4.3 Phase III and IV: Interviews with professionals and locals***

Talking to citizens is a way of collecting data. Every day we talk together and collect information, but we might talk too fast, not listen wisely enough or interfere incorrectly. In phase III and IV, a semi-structured interview was adopted as an open-ended questioning technique which collects qualitative data by arranging a time and scope that enables interviewees to narrate their thoughts about a specific subject (Gill et al., 2008). A semi-structured interview was applied, as this study attempts: firstly, to investigate the relationship between social actions (involving methods) and citizens' feelings/beliefs/behaviours (sense of place) in which the rich and descriptive data were focused; secondly, to ascertain the citizens' perspective and a deep understanding of specific cases (Creswell, 2009). Moreover, a semi-structured interview allowed the interviewees to express their ideas and feelings about the subject deeply; however, it did not entirely shape the picture of cases or any

generalisation/prediction (Bryman, 2012), which are counted among the limitations of qualitative research. A list of questions used in different sets of interviews (PEI, professional interviews, and local interviews) and a photocopy of one of the original question schedules (in Farsi) used in a local interview can be found in Appendix C. The list of themes, topics and issues covered in different sets of interviews is also available on Appendix D.

After the completion of photo elicitation interview phase, this study firstly interviewed professionals and officials involved in the process to investigate the institutional approach. They were selected by approaching the local office and using the researcher links with previous friends/colleagues working at the municipality. Because the participatory approach adopted by the municipality is a new type of approach and as mentioned in the section of selection of case sties, it has been experimented only in few areas in Tehran, it not a city-wide experiment; it is a local-wide experiment which is happening only in particular areas, including two case studies of this research. Therefore, professionals and officials were selected for the sample who had been allocated to the selected case studies. Efforts were made to select a range of different officials and professionals including local office manager, municipality expert, social facilitator, and developer in each case study. As seen in Appendix B, two separate teams of professionals and officials were interviewed in each case study.

In phase IV, different locals from PEI phase were selected to interview regarding their senses, beliefs, and behaviours in relation to their neighbourhood/bazaar redevelopment after and during the involvement. In this phase, new local interviewees were randomly selected by approaching the local office, who acted as gatekeepers for this study. Both non-participants and participants in the redevelopment projects were interviewed. Although to hear different sides, in each case two non-participants who decided not to participate in the process for various reasons were interviewed, since the study evaluates the experience from the eyes of the participants, the participants were the focal target group. This is shown in Table 4.1 but not disaggregated in the following tables. The local office introduced locals who might be potentially interested in attending the interview. Those who agreed to attend were chosen and informed about the interview. Before ending the local interviews (phase IV), to intersect the intersubjectivity, the results of the PEI regarding common photos/opinions of locals were also discussed with the other interviewees in both cases.

As seen in Appendix C, the open-ended questions were “orderly and partially structured” (Longhurst, 2010, p. 103) and managed by the researcher. Generalisation was avoided in

favour of the opinions of respondents in relation to the subject. The following are some of the typical questions applied in interviews:

- You mentioned two minutes ago about your role in the participatory project, would you please tell me more? How did your role affect your current feeling/beliefs/behaviours?
- Some people said (based on the second phase's results) they do not have a feeling for here, what do you think? Why?

Some questions were prepared before the interviews and some were asked whenever the researcher felt one was needed. This is the main difference between a semi-structured and structured interview, in which everything, specifically questions, is precisely planned before the interview. A qualitative semi-structured interview occurs in a “natural setting” (Creswell, 2009, p. 175). Data were collected through face-to-face conversations with the interviewees, and observing their behaviours and reactions, which are the main characteristics of qualitative research.

The researcher started interviews with a specific issue – which does not mean a fixed question – rather than a very general topic of the research, which fairly reflected the focus of this study; hence, it was a semi-structured type not fully unstructured or structured (Neuman, 2007). Building on the critical perspective of Bryman (2012, p. 475), and to conduct a successful semi-structured interview, the researcher considered guidelines before and during interviews (Table 4.8). A line of reasonable sub-themes to follow and ask an interviewee were pre-designed; however, the researcher was prepared to change the order of questions based on the actual interview.

As seen in guidelines, the ethical issues were respected and reflected in a way that the respondents felt that their privacy and confidentiality was strictly protected, which enabled them to express their ideas easily. To reflect the concern of this study, the researcher simplified the purpose of the study for the interviewees in such a way that they could clearly differentiate the goal of the study from their aims. Moreover, to obtain rich data the interviewer was tolerant of any interruption by an interviewee.

The researcher was also aware of some ‘unanticipated probes’ which may occur during an interview and affect the process, and even the results (Morse and Richards, 2002, p. 91).

This characteristic is commonly used in semi-structured interviews. For instance, Axinn and Pearce (2006) noted in a sample interview in Nepal that some interviewees were uneasy with the recorder machine, so they decided to show interviewees how it works and played it back to hear their voice. Sometimes, at first, they showed it and then hid it under a glove or some pages to reduce the interviewee's anxiety.

Table 4.8 Guidelines used before and during interviews

Guidelines	
Before interviews	Observing interviewees and/or their setting to help the researcher to understand them better later during the interview
	Using a good-quality recording machine to facilitate the transcription of interviews
	Arranging quiet and private condition for interviews
	Organising pilot interviews to help the researcher prepare for unexpected possibilities in actual meetings, or as Kvale (1996) terms it, being a 'knowledgeable' interviewer
During interviews	Informing interviewees regarding ethical issues in which their answers would be treated privately and confidentially
	Avoiding too specific questions e.g. applying the exact research questions
	Applying the relevant and comprehensive structure and words
	Avoiding leading questions as they may affect the validity of the study
	Recording general and individual data for each interviewee, including age, gender, the number of persons in a building, and job title
	Giving interviewees enough time to think and finish their points. The researcher attempted to keep a balance between being too talkative/quiet
	Applying an icebreaker question at the beginning of each interview, to encourage interviewees to participate more
	Ending interviews with a summary question e.g. "How do you think your senses towards the neighbourhood/bazaar have been affected by your participation in this project? Why?"

#### **4.5 Recording, transcription and translation**

All interviews were recorded with the interviewees' permission. They were informed that their response would be confidential. In addition, all interviews were coded to preserve the anonymity of the informants. First digit of each code refers to the case study (T for Takhti and O for Oudlajan). Second digit (M/F) shows the gender of interviewee (Male or Female). Next three digit displays the number of interview, which is from 102 to 120. The last part of the code, after dash, reveals the phase of data collection (II, III, and IV). An anonymous list of all interviews can be found in Appendix B.

After, the recorded interviews were simultaneously translated from Farsi into English and transcribed onto computerised text files by the researcher. The text files were reviewed to ensure accuracy of transcriptions, which eventually formed the primary data set for analysis. A summary of interview was also added to each interview. A sample of a translated transcript can be found in Appendix E.

#### **4.6 Key themes and sub-themes in the transcription and data analysis**

After the data collection, the first step was to attain "a general sense of the information and to reflect on its overall meaning" (Creswell, 2009, p. 185). However, the respondents' meaning was often different from the researcher's view or other authors stated in the literature review. Since, in this study, understanding and analysis is based on the participants' understanding and meaning, the transcription and analysis were precisely and exclusively designed. For the analysis of the transcription, two sections were proposed: firstly, the summary of transcriptions based on the main themes (involvement methods and sense of place) were categorised. Secondly, built on the theoretical framework, each theme was divided into several sub-themes (Table 4.9). The sub-themes are discussed in the literature review chapters. Each related part in the transcriptions was placed in the relevant unit. Similar sub-themes were clustered together. As the context and involvement methods adopted in the case studies were different, interviewees might have emphasised sub-themes differently. Photographs from the photo-elicitation phase were also linked to the relevant transcription.



Table 4.9 Sub-categories based on the transcriptions for each case study

Theme	Involvement methods			Sense of place				
Sub-theme	Neighbourhood/Bazaar Space (outcomes)	Participants' involvement role (process)	Institutions' involvement role (process)	Place attachment	Place identity	Place satisfaction	Sense of community	Multi-dimension (sense of place)

#### 4.7 Positionality and reflexivity during fieldwork

The literature on positionality and reflexivity in qualitative research recognises a critical role played by “the complex positionalities of researchers in relation to 'others'” (Crossa, 2012, p. 115). In this study, I was aware of my multiple positionalities as a young adult, Kurdish male, a middle-class citizen, and an academic researcher. In addition, I used to be a resident of Tehran working as a professional practitioner in participatory redevelopment projects in the Municipality of Tehran (from 2007 to 2010). This fact had a significant role in the choice of the research topic and selected case studies. It also affected substantive and practical dimensions of the research from the data collection stage to the data analysis stage; for example, gaining access to the case studies or how the findings were written and received. Considering my positionality enables the reader to contextualise the research issues, observations, and interpretations (Moser, 2008).

It is critical to clarify that I was not involved in the selected cases of this study although as a professional practitioner used to be involved in the planning and design of some other participatory projects, e.g. the Khoob-Bakht neighbourhood, run by the Tehran City Renovation Organisation (TCRO)<sup>9</sup>. In addition, I was not working longer there and had been away from it for a while. More importantly, I am not obliged to follow the institutional line and has tried to be as objective as possible.

During the field work, I used my links with previous friends/colleagues working at the Tehran City Renovation Organisation, to access local offices, residents and professionals/officials in both cases. While I found it easy enough to gain access to the

<sup>9</sup> A renovation organisation for the city of Tehran as part of its municipality/mayoral administration.

research fields, I was consciously aware of my socio-economic position, especially in Takhti where I was more of an 'outsider'. The previous experience as a professional practitioner also helped me in interaction in the field with different locals and professionals. For instance, I was aware of practical limitations during interviews with female locals; hence, I interviewed them all in the local office. I interviewed the interviewees in person in Farsi and only revealed my ethnic identity (Kurdish) and educational background, if I was questioned. In order to address the problem of deception in research (Blaikie, 2009) and for respondents to make free and informed decision regarding the nature of their contribution, I ensured that respondents had received full representation/disclosure of the purpose of the study. This further discussed in the next section as ethical issues.

#### **4.8 Ethical issues**

This research has considered the conditionality and anonymity of the information provided by the respondents. Before starting any interview, all interviewees were informed that the confidentiality of all information they provide was fully protected during and after the interviews. They were also informed that their narratives and photographs would be used anonymously. The empirical chapters (Chapters 6 and 7) show that all the quotations and photographs were coded. In addition, as mentioned earlier, for the purposes of this study and because of insufficient support from the local office, children under 18 years old at the time were excluded from the research. Interviews with all local female adults were arranged by a female member of the local office. They were also interviewed in the local office. Female authorities were also interviewed in their workplace. These tasks were arranged purposely to make sure they all felt safe and that their privacy was protected.

Another important issue is to consider the participatory methods from an ethical position. For instance, how inclusive the participatory urban redevelopment was, how people during the process were treated with respect, the exclusion of non-owners, and whether the institutions and authorities could keep their promises to the end. These are all ethical dimensions of the process, and it is critical to consider how they were ethically conducted. It is also ethical to give the locals feedback regarding the results of this study. At the interview stage, the locals were informed that they would be updated about the findings of the study once it is completed.

## 4.9 Limitations

As discussed in Section 4.2, there were few participatory projects in Tehran that met the research strategy at the time. This was a research limitation regarding the case selection, and may limit the generalisation of the findings to other cases in Tehran. The researcher was also aware of constraints and limitations while conducting the interviews. The responses could have been affected as the interviewees might have linked the interview questions to official decision-making, even though the purpose of the interview had already been explained. For instance, in the bazaar case, the interviewees might have preferred not to mention a high level of satisfaction since they might have thought that it would change future decisions by the authorities.

Time was another limitation of the data collection. The researcher attempted to start the data collection in the Oudlajan bazaar with five applicants at the Photo Elicitation Interview phase. As the applicants did not meet a two-week deadline, the researcher had to work with only three locals, and five locals in the Takhti neighbourhood. In general, the locals in the residential case were more motivated to participate in this research compared to the commercial case.

## 4.10 Conclusion

This chapter developed a case study-based methodology for the investigation of participatory urban redevelopment in Tehran. This was done using the criterion of the sense of place from the viewpoint of the participants. A range of qualitative techniques including observation, and semi-structured Photo Elicitation Interviews (PEI) were applied to understand and analyse the participatory processes and their outcomes from the viewpoint of the participants. The selection of cases in a range of conditions located in both residential and commercial areas with/without historical value illustrated a better picture in the understanding of the participatory urban redevelopment in Tehran. This also enriched the applications and implications of the findings.

Interviewing the locals about their photos elicited the intangible feelings/beliefs/behaviours embedded in the photos. Applying the photo-elicitation interview technique enabled the locals to represent in-depth data about what the neighbourhood/bazaar and the places within

meant to them, and how participatory redevelopments had changed these meanings and senses. The common places of value in the photos narrated the collective sense and beliefs.

As the various professional, educational, and contextual subjectivities of the sample group disallowed the use of an identical interview plan, applying a semi-structured interview was a convenient tool for qualitative data collection, for the following reasons: to ascertain the interviewees' thoughts; to clarify fascinating and relevant concepts to the main study; to motivate deep appreciation and explore specific subjects addressed in each interview; and, to achieve vital independence for the investigation reached through the open-ended questions. Therefore, a single interview was not an easy task because, as mentioned before, many other criteria were also followed to achieve a valid and reliable outcome.

Flexibility, unplanned and unanticipated probes, applying open-ended questions, deep investigation to find unseen factors/elements, and the worldview of the interviewees are the characteristics that distinguish a semi-structured interview from an unstructured or structured interview. Bridging the research questions and those in a semi-structured interview was another potential that could help this study to achieve the research goals. However, open-ended questions and flexibility tightened the analysis and comparison of answers.

## **Chapter 5. Introduction to the case studies**

## 5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the necessary foundation for the empirical work. It introduces the historical, socio-economic, and cultural composition of the case studies. The chapter also explains the process of urban redevelopment in each case. Revealing these features facilitates the understanding of the findings in following Chapters 6 and 7. Presenting the picture of both cases together in this chapter, before providing further in-depth information in the following separate chapters, also allows the reader to think about the cases studies in relation to each other. The materials used in this chapter were provided by official sources from the municipality and fieldwork, and other sources which have provided information about the city, and two cases in particular. Before focusing on the cases, the chapter firstly sheds light on urban redevelopment in the wider context.

## 5.2 Urban redevelopment in Tehran

Urban redevelopment in Tehran has been extensive, reflecting the high rates of urbanisation experienced in the country. Over recent decades, the city of Tehran has been transformed from a city of predominantly low-rise housing to a metropolis of medium- and high-rise buildings. The majority of one- and two-storey buildings have been converted to five- and six-storey constructions or higher (Figure 5.1). Moreover, highways and boulevards mainly from the second Pahlavi period (the 1950s) have converted the urban landscape. The high value of land, as well as construction profits, population increase, and other socio-economic factors have influenced urban redevelopment in Tehran. According to the Municipality of Tehran, 2007, its population during the last four decades has risen from fewer than four million people to more than eight million.

Historically, urban redevelopment in Tehran has been a direct result of the decisions made at that time by the government and institutions (Madanipour, 2006; 2011). Decisions on the planning and implementation of urban redevelopment projects are made at the top and imposed on citizens as a way of improving their quality of life. Although these decisions largely influence the socio-spatial fabric of urban life, citizens are not involved in the decision-making processes. Typically, policy makers and experts have provided technical solutions, mainly to address physical and economic issues, with people being counted as

consumers not citizens in their cost-benefit analysis. However, this traditional approach has recently changed.

Over the last decade, the municipality of Tehran has initiated the involvement of citizens in the reconstruction of their places. The municipality has introduced a participatory approach to urban redevelopment in Tehran, in a departure from its traditional urban redevelopment as a top-down, expert-driven process. Within the new approach, locals are invited to participate in redevelopment schemes. The municipality has adopted community involvement as an integral part of a context-sensitive solutions process. However, as mentioned earlier, the other socio-economic factors may also have been significant in this municipal decision.



Figure 5.1 Tehran has seen a rapid conversion of city buildings to high-rises (September 2016)

The construction of the largest city of Iran upon the seismic faults has also affected its current urban redevelopment. The threat of earthquake damage across the city is another driving force for the urban redevelopment (Figure 5.2). In the last two decades, in order to reduce the devastation, the municipality decided to identify and intervene in hazardous urban areas. As seen in ATLAS of Tehran Metropolis (The Municipality of Tehran, 2007),

they defined ‘urban decay areas’ according to three main criteria:<sup>10</sup> structural instability (buildings without a reinforced concrete or steel structure), inaccessibility (access width of six meters or less), and small parcels (properties of 200m<sup>2</sup> or less).

Such a definition is a controversial issue, however. According to the above criteria, most European city centres are located in areas of urban decay. Although there are many paths which are inaccessible to vehicles beside buildings without a concrete/steel structure in the city centre of Rome and London, citizens use them daily. The possibility of earthquakes in Tehran is noticeable compared to European cities, but this does not necessarily mean it can be labelled with terms that mostly have negative connotations, such as an ‘urban decaying area’, ‘inaccessible area’ and ‘unstable building’. On the other hand, applying these criteria requires a huge amount of funds to redevelop urban decay areas across the city of Tehran.

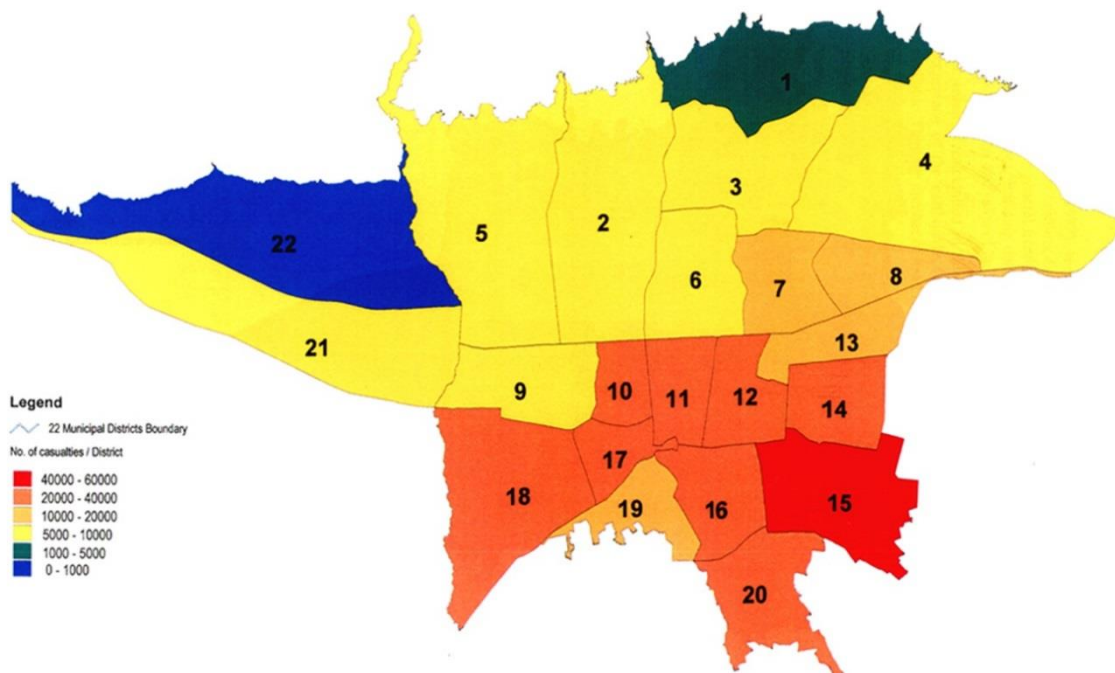


Figure 5.2 Earthquake casualties at night across Tehran (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 2000)

According to the criteria, more than 50% of the residential areas in the city of Tehran are located in urban decay areas (Tehran City Renovation Organisation, 2007), which means a great deal of financial resources are required to redevelop them. Due to the government's

<sup>10</sup> These criteria have been approved by the Supreme Council of Urban Development & Architecture of Iran.



inability to provide enough funds for urban redevelopment of these areas, an even distribution of these low funds to spread the financial shortage was proposed. This is one reason why the municipality decided to involve local owners in the reconstruction of their places; hence, they introduced a participatory approach to urban redevelopment targeting ‘urban decay areas’.

This mathematical approach to recognising urban decay areas has also created several other obstacles. Long-term projects, large-scale interventions, and displacing a large number of people, as well as other socio-economic outcomes, are the result of this definition. For instance, a study by Bahrainy and Aminzadeh (2007) revealed that place identity and satisfaction for the post-occupants of the Navab regeneration project, the first and largest experience of urban regeneration schemes in Tehran, have been negatively affected. The municipality conducted this project in 1996 within an area of 800 hectares and 5.5 kilometres in length, including 20 neighbourhoods with a population of 259,828. After this experience, to regenerate urban areas suffering from socio-economic, physical, and governance difficulties, a different angle from such large-scale plans has been employed.

Later, the municipality adopted the second and third periods. Building on the lessons from the first unsuccessful experience, the Special Renewal Scheme of Khoob-Bakht was announced (Tehran City Renovation Organisation, 2007). The Khoob-Bakht experience is an incomplete intervention with several shortcomings, but since it was the first attempt at a participatory approach across the country, it has played a significant role in the urban redevelopment of Iran. Based on the lessons of Khoob-Bakht, the third period of urban redevelopment in the Takhti and other neighbourhoods was initiated (Figure 5.3). The municipality established a local office in the Takhti neighbourhood to identify and engage with local stakeholders. Owners were invited to assemble their smaller pieces of land into larger developable parcels in residential areas. Later, developers were recruited to redevelop the urban areas. Concurrently, the historic bazaar route in the Oudlajan neighbourhood has been restored through the involvement of local shop owners, the municipality, and the heritage organisation. These two case studies are described in more detail in the following sections.

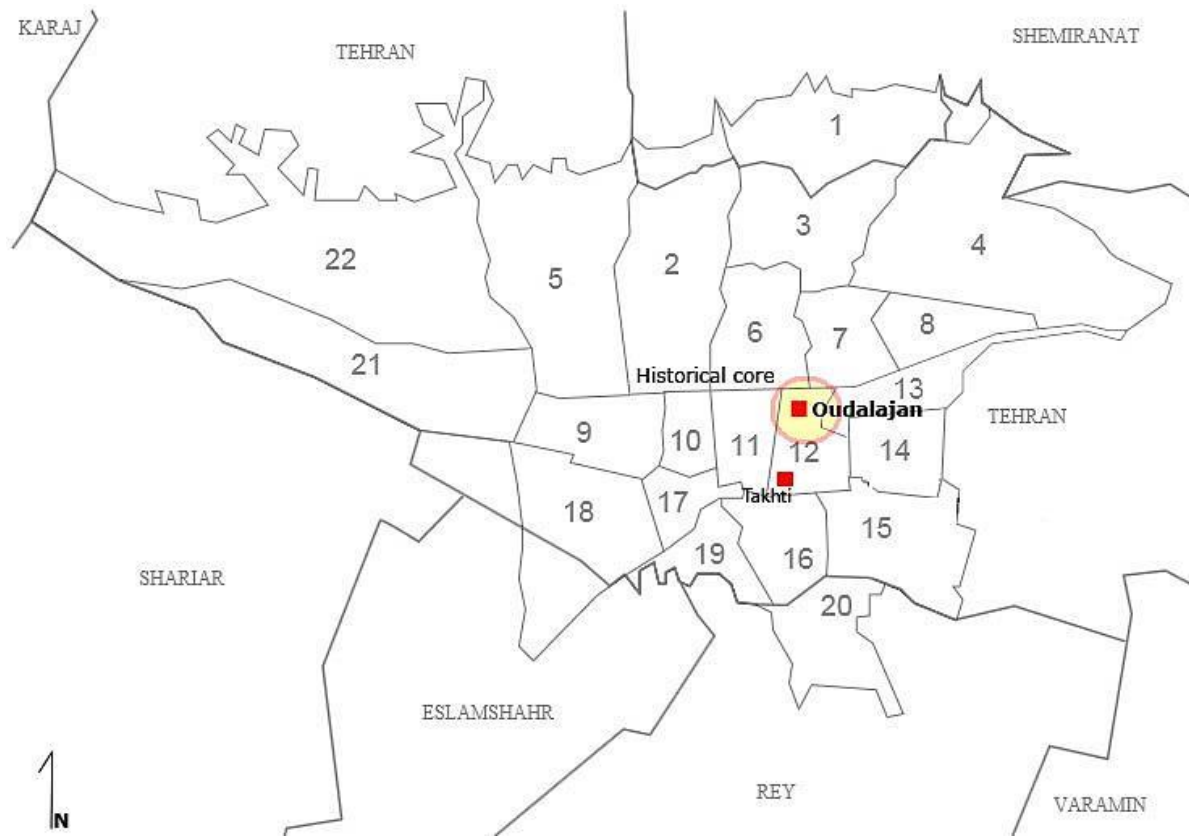


Figure 5.3 Location of case studies in Tehran

### 5.3 Case one: the Takhti Neighbourhood

This section firstly sheds light on the Takhti neighbourhood context and its socio-economic composition. Later, the process of urban redevelopment in the neighbourhood is presented. Key issues aligned to the transformation of the place are identified. Introducing these elements enables an understanding of the neighbourhood community, how the benefits to the community were highlighted, and who distinguished them. This will also help to interpret and understand the findings from the empirical research, revealed in the next chapter.

### ***5.3.1 Socio-economic composition of the Takhti neighbourhood***

Takhti, also known as Khani-Abad, is a low-income residential neighbourhood of approximately 22,000 residents (2011 data), located in the inner city of Tehran. According to the Takhti Neighbourhood Development Document (2011), about 85% of the residents are immigrants from the north western cities of Iran, having moved during the last half century. In the last two decades, the resident population in the neighbourhood has had a declining trend. The negative growth rate in its population (about -1.3 %) reflects a decline in the residential function of this area.

However, this is a typical pattern for the neighbourhoods located in Iranian inner cities. Studying these areas reveals that such neighbourhoods gradually lose their own residents and as a consequence property prices decline. On the other hand, due to the low rate of interest compared to nearby areas, developers are not interested in developing these areas. These issues have gradually led not only to the physical degradation of these areas but also socio-cultural problems. Instead, the availability of low-priced housing in these areas has enabled low-income immigrants to settle in these areas.

Large areas of garages and warehouses (about 27%) alongside residential land use (about 42%) is another problematic feature of the Takhti neighbourhood (Local Office of Takhti, 2014). This mix shows incompatible land use within the neighbourhood, which may have been influential in degrading the areas. In reports by the local office, illegal activities such as illegal warehouses and workshops were mentioned as characteristic of this area. Before the participatory urban redevelopment, the neighbourhood was also suffering from different socio-cultural problems, such as issues with drug dealers/users and burglars.

The data provided by District 12 of the Municipality of Tehran (2011) reveals the demographic features of the neighbourhood before the initiation of the participatory approach. Table 5.1 shows a higher population density within the neighbourhood (260.51) compared to the district (149.7). In terms of family size, the residents of Takhti have a slightly larger family (3.16). More than two families were living in one housing unit, as the settlement pattern within the neighbourhood shows. In terms of religion, the neighbourhood residents were Muslim, mostly Shi'a groups, but from different ethnic backgrounds such as Turks, Kurds, Lurs, and Sabzevaries.

Table 5.1 Comparison of population data between the Takhti neighbourhood and district 12 (District 12 of the Municipality of Tehran, 2011)

Data	District 12	Neighbourhood Takhti
Population (2011)	239,611	22,144
Gender ratio	97.41	96.19
Number of households	76,329	7008
Family size	3.13	3.16
The number of households per housing unit	-	2.02
Gross population density (per hectare)	149.7	260.51
Net population density (per hectare)	-	527.23
Age composition 0-14	-	23.94 %
15-59	-	67.16 %
60 years old and more	-	8.90 %
Literacy percentage	89.5%	87.4%

### 5.3.2 The history of urban development in the Takhti neighbourhood

Takhti is an old neighbourhood in Tehran. Before the Islamic revolution in 1979, it was known as Khani-Abad, which was a village inside the city wall during the reign of Naser Al-Din Shah Qajar, who ruled from 1848 to 1896 (Figure 5.4). It had many gardens and pleasant weather (District 12 of the Municipality of Tehran, 2011). In the early Pahlavi period and within modernisation reforms, squares, roads, and public buildings were added to the city structure, mainly District 12. The long and straight roads reinforced by the strict alignment of buildings gradually changed the traditional urban fabric. After the rapid expansion of the city towards the north of Tehran, mainly in the second Pahlavi period (the 1950s), the redevelopment of this area was overlooked. After the revolution, and since a famous national wrestler, Gholamreza-Takhti, became a resident of this area, the

neighbourhood has been designated as Takhti. Now, few single buildings of cultural heritage value remain, after changes in the traditional urban fabric of the neighbourhood (Figure 5.5). A Qajar period mosque is the only building that has been listed by the Heritage Organisation of Iran within the neighbourhood.

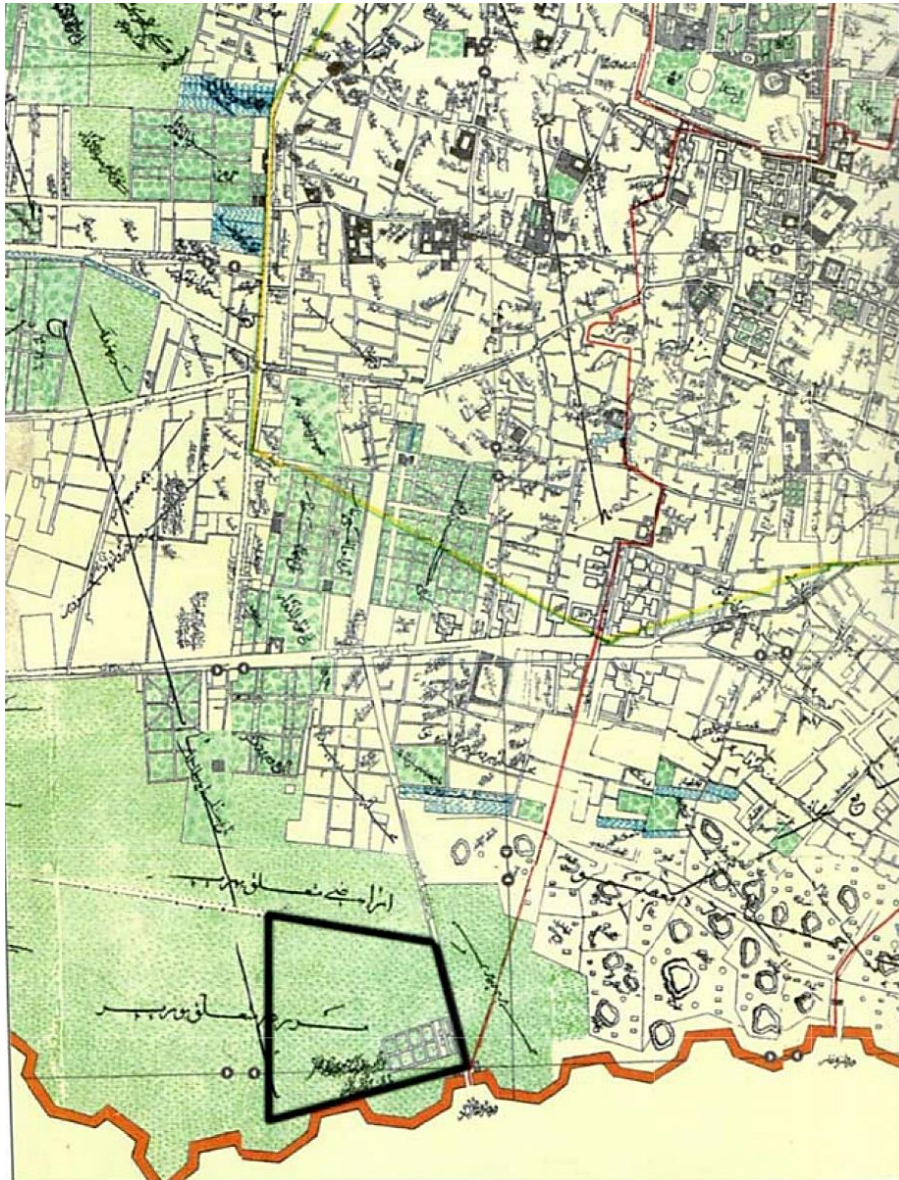


Figure 5.4 Takhti neighbourhood during the reign of Naser Al-Din Shah Qajar was a village (Khani-abad) within the city wall (District 12 of the Municipality of Tehran, 2011)



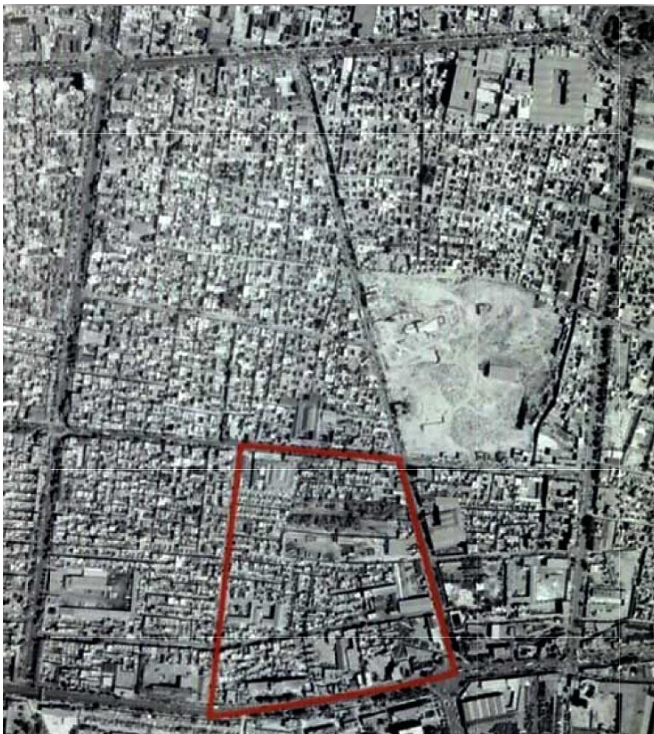


Figure 5.5 Takhti neighbourhood in 1987 (District 12 of the Municipality of Tehran, 2011)

Studying the past urban development of Takhti shows that this area has not been socio-economically as developed as nearby neighbourhoods. Before the recent participatory urban redevelopment, new flats and land value in the property market were considerably less than the city average. This difference in value was more tangible within the inaccessible areas. As reported by the Local Office of Takhti (2014), at the beginning of the participatory urban redevelopment, the gap between the land value in the Edalat alley and new flats in other parts of the neighbourhood was around 700,000 Toman<sup>11</sup> per square metre. This is one reason why developers were not interested in redevelopment of the area.

As reported in the Takhti Neighbourhood Development Document (2011), most plots (51.1%) within the neighbourhood were less than 100m<sup>2</sup>, which was a barrier for redevelopment. In addition, low-width paths alongside physical barriers such as electrical posts in the middle of alleys had made these areas inaccessible. For instance, Edalat alley was considered one of the most inaccessible routes within the entire neighbourhood, where about 75 plots, mostly smaller than 50m<sup>2</sup>, were situated around a path with a width of about

<sup>11</sup> £140

1.5m (Figure 5.6). On the other hand, due to the vast area of the neighbourhood (85 hectares), the reconstruction of the whole area required huge funds. Building on these difficulties, local authorities decided to reconstruct the area, which was labelled an ‘urban decay area’, with the involvement of the landowners. In 2012, land assemblage through the participation of owners was initiated.



Figure 5.6 About 75 tiny plots located within the Edalat Alley (left), narrow paths (right)

### ***5.3.3 The process of participatory urban redevelopment in the Takhti neighbourhood***

In 2009, the Tehran City Renovation Organization, which is under management of the Municipality of Tehran, opened a local office to engage with the local community in the Takhti neighbourhood. Through the initiative, the local office has tended to support the process of redevelopment with some cultural instruments of awareness, education, and engagement to encourage the locals to enter into the process with new skills. As reported by Local Office of Takhti (2014), the neighbourhood redevelopment vision aimed to redevelop a safe and vital place in which its cultural and social identity were regenerated. To achieve this aim, improvements to the quality of individual life through providing information and education were targeted. More considerably, retrofitting residential housing and stimulating the construction market to benefit locals by adding value to their properties were promoted.

The local office promoted that owner participants would benefit by gaining a larger living space, new spaces such as parking areas, appropriate access to infrastructures, and public services. Moreover, the new flats were more stable regarding earthquake damage. On the other side, the municipality and the developers profited by using the minimum amount of financial resources to redevelop a large area. Since this idea was designed based on sharing assets between the public and private sectors, it is a kind of contribution to a partnership project that benefits three sides: citizen owners, developers, and the municipality.

The local office has also been in charge of facilitating land assemblage among the property owner neighbours within the entire neighbourhood (Figure 5.7). Typically, three to five two-storey house owners were invited to assemble their lands, in favour of a new five-storey block of flats being reconstructed (Figure 5.8). Owner participants, indeed, provided lands while recognised developers by the local office funded the construction costs. Concurrently, the municipality is in charge of the infrastructure, and the local office facilitates and monitors the legal and technical process of land assemblage.

Agreement with the land assemblage has been typically reached in two ways. One is that a group of owner neighbours agree to assemble their lands (on the condition that the new plot area is not less than 200m<sup>2</sup>). Another way is that the local office calls for potential land assemblage, for instance, by inviting three to five close neighbours. Registration and monitoring the contract between the landowners and developer is also the responsibility of the local office. Developers are in charge of renting a place for landowner participants during the reconstruction period. Typically, developers provide a deposit so that the participants can rent a place. New flats are given to owner participants according to their contract. Building on the time and location, the formulation for the calculation of new flat area is different, but typically 40% is for the landowners who participate in this process and 60% is for the developer. Developers are refunded by selling the extra new flats. Moreover, they consult the owner participants regarding the architectural issues and construction materials. In the case of any disagreement between owner participants and the developer, the local office is responsible for resolving the issue.



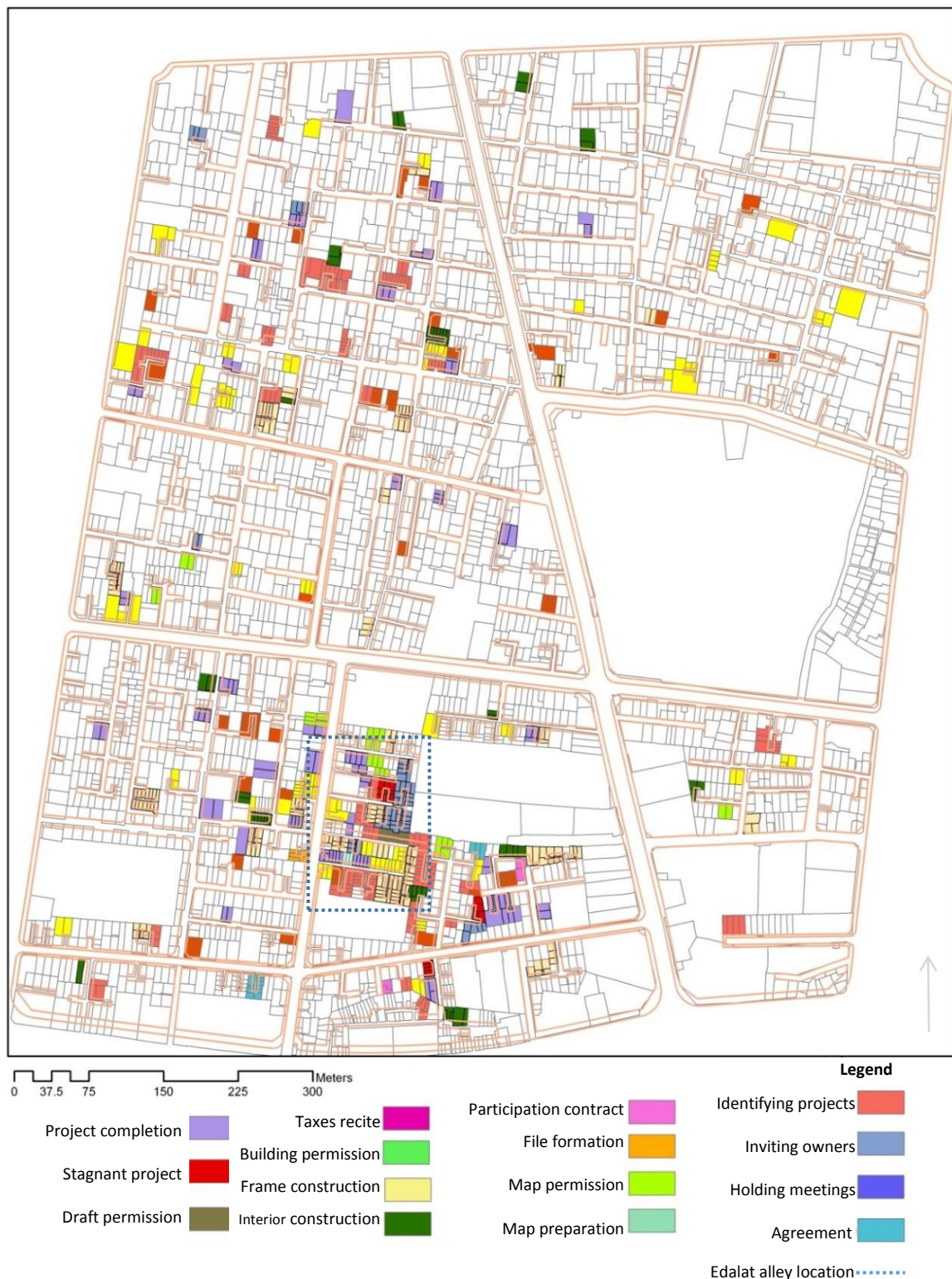


Figure 5.7 The progression of land assembly in the Takhti neighbourhood (Local Office of Takhti, 2014)



Figure 5.8 Assembled blocks in the Edalat alley reported by the local office (left), assembled blocks after the reconstruction (right)

Typically, the owners' participation assembled four/five properties and new flats were constructed instead. Statistically, the number of housing units doubled; however, the population perception changed little. This had different causes. As mentioned in the previous sections, the average number of households per housing unit before the redevelopment was 2.02. Indeed, in some of the previous houses, usually more than one family were living in one property. In some cases, a single house was rented out to ten to 15 individuals, who were typically economic single migrants of Afghan or another ethnic background.

After/during the process of redevelopment, landowners were encouraged to return to the neighbourhood to live in their new flats. In addition, new buyers were mostly young couples. Indeed, the densely populated rented properties comprised of individual migrants had gone and incomers were almost all owners, previous owners or new buyers. Therefore, in the eyes of the locals, the perception of the population within the entire neighbourhood was not changed very significantly; however, inside a block of new flats, it was a different perception. The locals had been used to living with neighbours in a horizontal relationship, but after/during the process, a different relationship with their neighbours came into effect. This change made the previous residents of the houses on assembled land, who were now living in a new flat, feel crowded. This sense of crowdedness was more perceptible inside the new flat blocks, as discussed further in the next chapter.

## 5.4 Case two: the Oudlajan Bazaar

This section introduces the second case study, the Oudlajan bazaar. First, it illustrates the socio-economic and political features of the bazaar area of Tehran and its traditional form of redevelopment and maintenance. Next, it describes the shop valuing system in the bazaar area of Tehran by discussing its old and new characteristics. Before focussing on the socio-economic composition of the Oudlajan bazaar, the context of the Oudlajan neighbourhood is described.

### 5.4.1 *Socio-economic and political features of the bazaar area of Tehran*

A bazaar (market) in Iran functions as a socio-economic organisation. This can be seen in the case of the death of a bazaarian (merchants), or when any financial problem occurs, as the merchants collectively close the bazaar and reopen it. The bazaar area of Tehran has traditionally been a place for evaluating and pricing goods from wholesalers and manufacturers to retailers across the country. This shows its dominant economic power. The traditional alliance between the merchants (bazaar) and religious establishments (mosque) has also played a key role in socio-political movements in Iran's modern history, such as the revolution in 1979 (Ashraf, 1988). The accumulation of these socio-economic and political powers in the bazaar area of Tehran has formed a powerful organisation.

On the other side, all the governments after the first Pahlavi period, including the post-revolution governments, have been against this socio-economic power (Keshavarzian, 2007). They have attempted to dismantle the organisation of the bazaar area through new streets, traffic, and/or reorganisation schemes (Figure 5.9). However, in the case of the Oudlajan bazaar, although the new streets have divided its urban fabric, as in all Iranian inner cities, the bazaar still narrates its own organic configuration (further discussed later). Overall, there has been a constant power conflict between the state's political power and the bazaar's economic one. This classic conflict is pivotal to understanding why the merchants are reluctant to participate in the redevelopment of their working space even though they have a collective socio-economic organisation. There is a general sense among shopkeepers that the state is responsible for the redevelopment of the bazaar area, which is why they do not invest and maintain their working place, although this would benefit them.

The maintenance and restoration of the fabric of bazaars in Iran until the Qajar period was performed by its locals. Later, during the modernisation period, and after the establishment of institutions and organisations, the state played the locals' role. For example, "the state was responsible for the Tabriz Grand Bazaar<sup>12</sup> since it has been registered as a historic place, [and] no one else should restore or maintain; however, the state did not have enough financial and management ability to do this role" (OM107-III), according to the former head of the Heritage Organisation of Eastern Azerbaijan province. The question raised here is how the state can cover a vast range of historic places across the country, while a large number of them belong to citizens. This is why bazaars in Iran are mostly deteriorating and unrestored. However, this is not the entire picture, as:

"[A] bazaar has a collective ownership... Shopkeepers used to know how to restore the bazaar, but because one or two generations stopped [the restoration], it has been forgotten. Through their participation, shopkeepers even could have been able to solve their other socio-cultural issues. Therefore, not only the restoration of their bazaar has been stopped, but also numerous disputes have been created during the previous decades. It is a tough job [now] to reconcile these locals and encourage them to reunite on one special subject" (OM107-III)

This is a statement by Mr. Taghi-zadeh, the former head of the Heritage Organisation of Eastern Azerbaijan province. He believes that, initially, shopkeepers have forgotten that how their fathers and grandfathers restored the bazaar and what techniques they used to use. Before the modernisation, local shopkeepers used to maintain their market place by themselves, but now they have forgotten how to do it. This gap in the continuity of bazaars is a major challenge for today's intervention in the redevelopment and maintenance of these places.

During the modernisation period, there was a shift in the responsibility for intervention from local shopkeepers onto the state. Through this important transition, the bazaar area of Tehran that was a part of everyday life has been redefined as a part of cultural heritage. In the locals' eyes, cultural heritage belongs to the state, and therefore its renovation and maintenance are also the state's responsibility. In addition, the merchants have forgotten how to organise collectively to restore the bazaar in the way they used to. The indigenous

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<sup>12</sup> The Grand bazaar of Tabriz has around 5000 commercial units. It is the largest brick-made structure in the world.

maintenance has not been transmitted to new generations, which has made the fabric of bazaars unsustainable and poor. Without state-led intervention, the bazaar area of Tehran has fallen down. This is a common pattern not only for the bazaar area of Tehran but also for all other traditional bazaars in Iran.

#### ***5.4.2 Old and new characteristics in the bazaar area of Tehran***

The bazaar area of Tehran is still functioning as a socio-commercial centre. It has always been a wholesale centre for other markets across the country. As the shopkeepers sell in large quantities, they do not deal with individual customers, and typically they have a relatively high financial turnover. Shop valuing is traditionally based on location and context. In the historical pattern, for instance, jewellers were closer to the king's palace and the head of the bazaar, and their smaller shops had higher commercial value than the larger shops in the middle and bottom of the bazaar, e.g. saddlers and businesses related to animals. This system was based on the value of function and distance from the source of power, and some of this traditional character remains. Alongside these traditional characteristics, new ones have arrived, such as changing aristocratic houses into warehouses, migrants, metro stations, and in particular the process of urban redevelopment; all of these have made the system of shop valuing more complicated.

As mentioned earlier, the bazaar area is generally a wholesale market, with some retailers. In recent years, the construction of metro stations has enabled many citizens to commute to the bazaar area cheaply and quickly. In addition, the pedestrianisation of streets near the bazaar area, e.g. 15 Khordad Street, has encouraged daily travel (Figure 5.9). These new characteristics have remarkably increased the number of retailers in the bazaar area. Typically, the closer to these new characteristics, the more retailers there are. However, the bazaar area is not like Istanbul's Grand Bazaar, which is a very well maintained souvenir market for tourists with little for the citizens of Istanbul. In contrast, the bazaar area of Tehran functions to service the citizens' needs.

Another characteristic is 15 Khordad Street, which was imposed on the network of the bazaar area during the modernisation era. Before this, the bazaar area was more integrated, but this changed the context. Now, the south of 15 Khordad Street is the wholesale exchange market for clothing and footwear. Rarely, retailers own a shop there. The shop value there is very high, in particular compared to the north of the street where the Oudlajan



bazaar is. This may be due to the role of the street in terms of the perception of being cut off. If your shop is on the north side of the street, you are detached from the bazaar area, as most of it is located in the south of 15 Khordad Street.

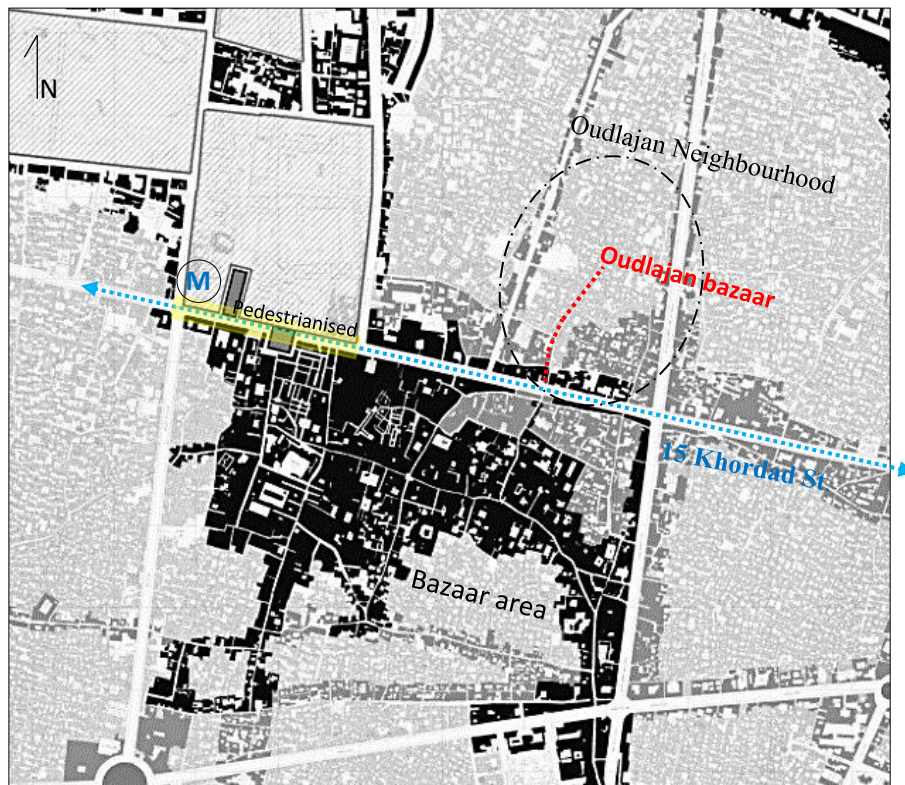


Figure 5.9 Old and new characteristics in the bazaar area of Tehran

#### 5.4.3 The context of the Oudlajan neighbourhood and its bazaar

The Oudlajan bazaar is a market lane located within the historic neighbourhood of Oudlajan on the outline of the bazaar area of Tehran (Figure 5.9). As reported by the Bavand consultancy (2014), the first bank/exchange shop (a traditional institution) and historical caravanserais, holy tombs, and historic houses were all embedded in the Oudlajan neighbourhood. Moreover, citizens with diverse socio-economic status had a long period of coexistence there. Muslims and Jews, poor and rich, lower and upper middle class used to live within this area. These attributes made the area a respectful neighbourhood.

The area was mostly inhabited by Jewish people because of its close distance to Jewish religious places such as synagogues and the bazaar area of Tehran. However, Oudlajan has not been the centre of activities; rather, it has been more on the margins of the bazaar area.

Although, as a general perception, it used to be a respectful neighbourhood and distinct from other neighbourhoods, the argument is what it was like and when it changed.

There has been a general physical decline within the bazaar area of Tehran, and the shopkeepers do not repair the bazaar area. They benefit from it, but for various reasons do not spend anything on maintaining it. For instance, a photograph taken in 1940 (Figure 5.10) shows that the Oudlajan bazaar had a roof, but later the roof collapsed and no one repaired it (Figure 5.11). Furthermore, as the Oudlajan bazaar is slightly out of the way, its speed of decline was faster than other areas inside the bazaar area of Tehran, leading to the perception that the Oudlajan bazaar is a low, more down market area.

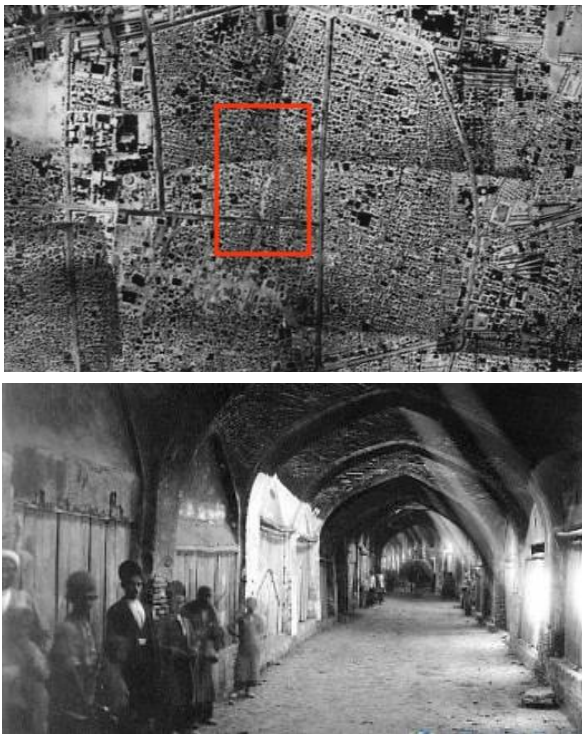


Figure 5.10 Top: An aerial photo of Oudlajan in 1940; Bottom: The Oudlajan bazaar route (Bavand Consultancy)

Before the mid-19th century, the city of Tehran has four neighbourhoods and Oudlajan was one of them. The neighbourhood was not very distinctive from the others culturally and/or functionally. Furthermore, it was not a very mixed-use area as it is today. The commercial activities were formed alongside a small-market lane, Bazaarcheh, while the rest was comprised of residential areas and a few institutions (Figure 5.12).





Figure 5.11 The Oudlajan bazaar in recent years before the redevelopment (Bavand Consultancy)



Figure 5.12 The Oudlajan bazaar in historic maps; Left: The first provided map of Tehran by French Mesu. Kersish (1858-9), Right: Abdolghaffar map (1891-2), (Bavand Consultancy)



As mentioned before, during the modernisation period, new roads re-structured the city centre, including the bazaar area. 15 Khordad Street separated the Oudlajan neighbourhood and its bazaar from the bazaar area (Figure 5.9). Later, the middle and upper middle class residents of Oudlajan gradually migrated to the north of the city, and lower middle class migrants arrived. The shop owners of the Oudlajan bazaar, who used to live within the neighbourhood, gradually migrated to Shemiranat – an affluent area in the north of the city. These socio-cultural changes gradually degraded the area.

In recent years, local authorities consider the Oudlajan neighbourhood as an urban decaying area. During the last four decades, due to rapid socio-economic and political transformations, including the emergence of new social classes and their tendency to migrate to other new parts of the city, as well as unsustainable decisions made by the authorities, its growth trend was interrupted. In addition, the expansion of the bazaar area of Tehran, as a dominant economic power, influenced the entire area. Numerous houses within the Oudlajan neighbourhood had been reused as warehouses for the shops inside the bazaar areas. The residents of the neighbourhood were mostly labourers working daily inside the bazaar area and sleeping there at nights. Moreover, the gradual lack of families, women, and children had converted the neighbourhood into a masculine space, which made the place insecure.

The Oudlajan bazaar is a historic shopping route with around 200 shops up to 300 years old (Bavand consultancy, 2014). This bazaar, and the Imam-Zadeh-Yahya bazaar that was within the eastern side of the neighbourhood, together comprised the economic structure of the neighbourhood. Later, as mentioned earlier, due to the degradation of the area and consequently the recession of the bazaar, most of the shops were closed or become used for incompatible purposes (Figure 5.11).

#### ***5.4.4 The socio-economic composition of the Oudlajan bazaar***

As mentioned before, the accumulation of socio-economic power during the previous decades had made the bazaar area of Tehran dominant in the distribution and pricing of goods, not only in Tehran but also at the national level. Consequently, nearby neighbourhoods such as Oudlajan are service area for this powerful socio-economic organisation. Most historical houses in these neighbourhoods have been purchased by merchants and reused as warehouses. Local residents left the area and new residents arrived,

who typically worked as labourers in the bazaar area in the daytime and slept in the warehouses at night. Due to these demographic changes, these neighbourhoods have lost their socio-cultural characteristics. Similarly, in the Oudlajan neighbourhood, these socio-cultural transformations have caused the Oudlajan bazaar to lose its socio-economic power; however, “the Oudlajan bazaar has never been a very prosperous market...” (OM106-III). Today, although the Oudlajan bazaar is located within the bazaar area of Tehran as one of its associated branches, it is considered downmarket.

As discussed before, from a wider-scale perspective, the general physical decline of the entire bazaar has constantly been the subject of urban decay debates. Shopkeepers do not repair the bazaar, and although they benefit from it, for various reasons they do not spend anything on its maintenance. Since the Oudlajan bazaar is located on the margin, its speed of decline is faster than the other markets within the bazaar area of Tehran. This is another reason to identify the Oudlajan bazaar as a low market.

In a traditional Iranian bazaar, typically, there is the notion that the bazaar has a head and tail. The head contains high-level activities, such as jewellers, and the tail has low-level activities, e.g. metalworkers. The low activities are towards the end and bottom of the bazaar. The continuity of down markets such as metal workshops in the Oudlajan bazaar indicates that the place is an outlying market, different from the other markets within the bazaar area. Indeed, low-income shop owners due to its affordability, have chosen this part.

#### ***5.4.5 The process of participatory urban redevelopment in Oudlajan bazaar***

In 2012, to redevelop the Oudlajan bazaar, a tripartite agreement with a participatory approach was conducted between the Municipality of District 12, the Heritage Organisation, and shop owners (Figure 5.13). According to the documents provided by Bavand consultancy (2014), each side was urged to fund 33% of the total costs of the redevelopment. Sharing costs minimises the costs whilst maximising the benefits. The participatory redevelopment aimed to benefit shop owners not only by improving the spatial quality of the bazaar route but also by enhancing their shop value. On the other hand, redeveloping the area with fewer funds could also have benefited the institutions.

To coordinate between the three sides, the district consultant, Bavand Consultancy, was selected. Providing a redevelopment scheme was also the consultant’s responsibility (Figure 5.14). Their proposed scheme was the reconstruction of the bazaar’s shell, façade, and floor

according to the historic background and documents such as historic maps and photographs (Figures 5.10 and 5.11). To facilitate the process, Bavand Consultancy established a local office within the Oudlajan bazaar from which they engaged with locals. Local shop owners selected three representatives, each of whom represented one main part of the bazaar route: the head, middle, and bottom of the bazaar.

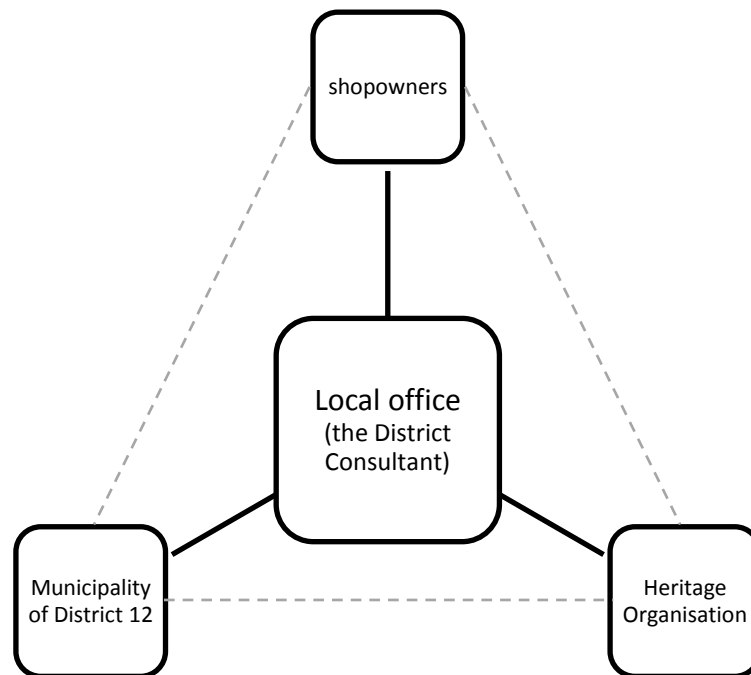


Figure 5.13 The tripartite agreement between the Heritage Organisation, the Municipality of District 12 and the shop owners of Oudlajan bazaar

The duration of the redevelopment project was more than had already been planned. From the viewpoint of Bavand consultancy (2014), the redevelopment at the implementation stage (Figure 5.15) had been stopped several times for different reasons: administrative/management changes, miscommunication between new managers and others, and other economic-political barriers which are further discussed in the following chapters. For instance, the representative of Bavand Consultancy highlighted miscommunication between the consultant and the Heritage Organisation as one of the

issues. She commented “shopkeepers called me Mrs Ashton,<sup>13</sup> showing that they understood our role [the consultant role] as a coordinator while the Heritage [Organisation] did not know this!” (OF104-III). In spite of all this, at the time of data collection, the project was almost completed (Figure 5.16), with only the lighting system and installation of wooden doors in some of the shops outstanding. After the completion of the fieldwork in September 2014, the Oudlajan bazaar was officially opened in a public ceremony on 1 October 2016 (Figures 5.17 and 5.18). Locals were invited by the authorities to celebrate the completion of the project.



Figure 5.14 The visualisation of the bazaar after the redevelopment produced by Bavand Consultancy

<sup>13</sup> Catherine Ashton was the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy during 5+1 talks with Iran over its nuclear programme.



Figure 5.15 The Oudlajan bazaar route at the implementation stage; left: March 2013 (Bavand Consultancy), Right: September 2013



Figure 5.16 The Oudlajan bazaar in September 2014





Figure 5.17 The Oudlajan bazaar after the official opening in October 2016 (Karanaval.ir)



Figure 5.18 The main entrance of the Oudlajan bazaar in October 2016 (Karanaval.ir)

## 5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has studied two cases in the inner city of Tehran, the neighbourhood of Takhti and the bazaar route of Oudlajan, but also acknowledged other experiences. The socio-cultural, economic, and spatial variables revealed that contextually, the residential neighbourhood is very distinctive from the commercial market. The neighbourhood resonates the narratives of lower middle class citizens who had been invited to contribute in the owners' participation with their entire capital – their land. In the case of the bazaar, shop owners were asked to participate in the project simply through paying their share, which was much less than the price of their shop. These variables may influence the process and its outcomes. Despite these differences, both cases illustrate the participatory urban redevelopment in Tehran which has been conducted by the municipality of Tehran. Additionally, in both cases, owners were invited to participate.

Although, according to the literature, community participation does not eliminate any citizens' rights even if they do not own anything, the methods adopted by the municipality have permitted only those residents who can officially demonstrate their ownership rights to join. Renters are excluded even though they are living in the place and are members of the place-based community. In contrast, owners, who may not live in the place, have a right to take part in urban redevelopment schemes. This fact helps to explain the narratives and reinterpretation of the participatory approach to urban redevelopment in Tehran. Applying the term participation in developing countries like Iran may be a cultural/political strategy to motivate citizens to join these schemes more and more.

Reviewing the process of urban redevelopment in the Takhti neighbourhood shows that the municipality has been acting as a facilitator to change the area from small plots to large, single-storey houses to multi-storey blocks, and also from private to fragmented ownership. Moreover, in the Oudlajan Bazaar route, the role of the municipality has facilitated the partnership between the public and private sectors to redevelop the historic bazaar. In the case studies there are some elements of participation, but also there seem to be public-private partnership projects run by the municipality.

In summary, since the residents, who are not investors or citizens with capital or any support, have been involved in the process of the reconstruction of their properties, there are certain elements of participation within the urban redevelopment. It is debatable whether they can be labelled participatory projects due to the fact that the schemes exclude non-

owners and small plot owners from participating, and force them to go elsewhere or fragment their ownership. It also seems there are overlaps between participation and public-private partnerships in terms of mobilising and involving citizens to contribute to the transformation of the area for their benefit. More evidence and details regarding participatory urban redevelopment in the cases studies, presented in the empirical chapters (Chapter 6 and 7), are needed to clarify the above issues.



## **Chapter 6. Takhti neighbourhood case study**

## 6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of an empirical study conducted to investigate the process of owner participation in the urban redevelopment of the Takhti neighbourhood, and its outcomes in relation to the participants' sense of place. The chapter has been divided into three parts. The first part deals with the major dimensions of the process of owner participation. It illustrates engagement and trust building between key actors, land values at different stages of the redevelopment process, inconveniences during the implementation stage, and local expectations from the experience of the participatory urban redevelopment. It also reveals who was included and excluded, and who benefited most and who was least benefited by the process. The participants' sense of place before and after/during the process is the focus of the second part, which reveals the impact of the outcomes on the sense of place. Finally, the findings from the process of owner participation are discussed in relation to the participants' sense of place. This illustrates how the process and its outcomes in the case of Takhti influenced the participants' place satisfaction, identity, attachment, and their sense of community. The materials used in this and the next chapter were gathered during the field trip to Tehran in summer 2014. Figure 6.1 includes all the photographs that were taken by Takhti residents.



Photographs by TM105-II



Photographs by TM106-II



Photographs by TM103-II



Photographs by TM104-II



Photographs by TM107-II

Figure 6.1 The photographs above were taken by Takhti residents. As the photographs were taken by different locals using different cameras (or mobile phones), they have different proportion and orientation.

## 6.2 The process of owner participation

As explained in the previous chapter, the participatory urban redevelopment in the Takhti neighbourhood invited owners to participate in the reconstruction of their houses through land assemblage. Locals who had engaged with the process might have improved or lost their trust, been included or excluded, or disturbed by the process. Moreover, they might have gained and/or lost at the different stages of the participatory approach. To evaluate, this section adopts five central dimensions. First, it addresses the issue of engagement and trust building between the key actors –local office, locals, and developers. Then, the issue of land value at different stages of the redevelopment process is discussed. The empirical evidence revealed how the early takers and later participants benefited differently. Inconvenience during the redevelopment stage and the issue of the locals' expectations from the process are other major dimensions of the evaluation. Lastly, discussion of the issue of inclusion and exclusion addresses who was left behind by, and who benefited most from, the process.

### 6.2.1 *Engagement and trust building*

To engage with the local community, the Tehran City Renovation Organisation established a local office within the Takhti neighbourhood. This organisation, which is under the management of the municipality of Tehran, conducted community support through the local office, such as training and awareness classes. The main reason for these initiatives was to approach locals to build trust between the municipality and community. The initiatives also supported the locals to transit from single individual ownership to shared ownership, further discussed later. These initiatives, indeed, tended to support the process of urban redevelopment in this area with some cultural instruments of awareness, education, and engagement to encourage locals to enter the process with new skills.

The locals revealed how their involvement role and engagement in the process delivered new capabilities, skills and lessons. To some, attending the awareness classes run by the local office was one source of learning. For instance, a female resident mentioned how before she had “...never thought about the barriers [to redevelopment] in relation to the municipality or the difficulties that a developer has” (TF106-II). To others, regular engagement with the local office and its members were ways of learning. For instance,



another female participant living in a new flat highlighted how her engagement with a staff member of the local office had changed her attitude. She commented:

“Madam X [a staff member] told me that we have research in which we need someone to take pictures of the neighbourhood. I never thought about this stuff, but today I like to do this kind of task. Also, I know what a ‘decaying area’ is and so on, so I learned some stuff, because before [the process] I never thought about these issues” (TF104-II).

This statement shows that learning new lessons/skills through the process was one element of engagement between locals and the local office. Informing was also another element of engagement, resulting in (community) trust building. During the process, the locals were informed by the local office, as a high-level expert in the TCRO explained, how the municipality attempted to support the local community through informing and consulting. According to his statement, the municipality “...does not let any developer ignore the owners’ rights. Indeed, we play the role of a lawyer between the landowners and developers. We inform the owners” (TM109-III). Building trust between locals and developers was reachable if the locals already trusted the local office.

As mentioned earlier, there was a situation of education and opening a local office by the municipality within the Takhti neighbourhood, which highlights the institutionalisation of commitment and cultural support for the process of participatory urban redevelopment. The awareness classes and dynamic of the local office were elements that came together. These elements were not purely about building new flats or parks, or the absence of parks; they were also the tools to engage with and build trust in the place-based community. Concurrently, the establishment of the local office was an important innovation for the municipality of Tehran although they had learned this from somewhere else. These elements provided and facilitated many ways of engagement with the local community and brought them along in some sort of participation. However, the participation might have been limited and unjust in some cases, as further discussed in the following sections.

Because trust between the local office and locals was built individually through engagement between staff members of the local office and locals, it was deep personal trust, not institutional trust. For instance, a local resident explained how he only had “trust in the neighbours and local office [individual trust], but not the municipality [institutional trust]”

(TM103-II) because there was a tie between him and the local office staff. To locals, the local office was not only a place for participation in the project, but was also a community house to meet, talk, and socialise. They reflected on how they shared their personal and everyday life stories with staff members in the local office. However, in the case of staff changes or dropping out, trust may have been damaged.

Within the Takhti neighbourhood, the first group of land assemblage and then redevelopment occurred in the Shahid-Sazandeh and later in the Edalat alley. It is important to reveal whether these alleys were purposely selected, and, if so, why the local office focused on the two alleys more than the other areas. It seems this attention is also related to issues of trust building. At the beginning of the project, due to mistrust between the neighbourhood community and municipality, the local office tended to focus on a smaller scale to build trust. To reach this goal, engagement with the community and informing them of events was limited to the alley scale. However, when the local office took this decision, other issues became apparent. An expert representing the municipality commented:

“The lack of trust between the locals and the municipality did not let the local office to establish a good link with them. The local office had to build trust with the locals while the office members were informing them and also had to report to the TCRO. They had to display to the TCRO that they were progressing, which was indeed a difficult task. For instance, if you send excessively information to the locals, it would fail or create mistrust. They had to move forward very neutrally and slowly. To avoid creating mistrust or terrifying the locals, their expression and discourse was very important” (TM109-III).

This statement reveals how the local office was struggling with both sides: locals and the municipality. On one side, they must have demonstrated a good turnout to the municipality even though building trust with the locals was a time-consuming and detailed task. On the other side, the local office members could have explored the fact that if they had focused on a single alley, they might have achieved a better result. This was a major lesson from the previous participatory urban redevelopments across the city, such as the Khoob-Bakht experience. According to Local Office of Takhti (2014), the first land assemblage project within the entire neighbourhood was defined and implemented within the middle of the

Shahid-Sazandeh alley. An expert in the municipality highlighted that this alley was suited to redevelopment compared with other places, because:

“Personally, I think if this opportunity was at the head of the alley, not the middle, the alley would not have been renewed. A chain of events happened that the local office had not considered them before! This alley was very narrow, but what made this alley inaccessible was a simple thing. There were three electrical posts within the alley. The local office came up with the idea that by displacing these electrical posts the alley would be accessible, even without redevelopment of the plots at the head of the alley. They had not planned for this before. They tested this and it worked. During the pilot project, the parcels and blocks that were potentially ready for redevelopment were renovated. Indeed, the high probability of doing the project was the reason for selecting the Shahid-Sazandeh alley” (TM109-III).

As seen through this statement, the selection of this alley as a pilot project was not already planned, but the local office explored the potential to initiate the redevelopment from there. More importantly, by displacing the electrical lamps and making the path accessible, the local office built trust in the alley-based community, which was the focus of engagement. However, building trust between the local office and community was essential though insufficient.

As mentioned earlier, building trust between the locals and developers was another concern. Mistrust between the locals and developers was a reason why some locals decided not to participate. An interviewee echoed this issue. He revealed why “some of them [those who did not participate] were doubtful. I told them [local office] several times; if there is no trust, nothing happens. The issue is trust, specifically trust in the developer” (TM103-II). It was important for the local participants to be assured that their developer would construct new high quality flats in compliance with construction standards.

Trust in a developer was not only built through the local office. The local participants had attained trust in their developer through diverse ways. One way to build trust was through having good knowledge of and experience in construction. Figure 6.2, a photograph captured by a local interviewee shows how a concrete mixer truck was turning into the

Edalat alley. The interviewee interpreted the photograph as a deception by the developer, and explained his related knowledge on concrete constructions. He stated:

“He [the worker] was pouring water [into the concrete], as you know time is very important in concrete construction, but they were late... he stopped only after he saw I am taking a photograph! The developer is cheating; he cheated in his previous buildings as well, for instance, the building on the corner [pointing in the direction]. Its walls are really weak...” (TM103-II).



Figure 6.2 A mixer trucking into the Edalat alley (TM103-II)

By giving further examples, this local resident expressed his concerns about building trust with the developer. He highlighted the issues in the construction process that were not considered or mismanaged by the developer. For instance, the interviewee pointed at the photograph in Figure 6.3, paused for a second and then continued:

“As I was not able to take a picture of the cement [concrete], I selected this view. Look at the new structure. Even the developer told me ‘please do not take a picture’. I said ‘I cannot, you cheated in the construction of the earlier building and now you are doing so again’. I think the developer is angry with me ...” (TM103-II).





Figure 6.3 A new concrete structure at the end of the Edalat Alley (TM103-II)

The local's background knowledge in construction<sup>14</sup> made him aware of the construction process. He attempted to reveal his knowledge through details such as, "...this building has been constructed on unstable soil. In this case, you should go deep enough to reach the stable soil, and also the soil should be reinforced by several props within the earth. The developer just went down less than two metres..." (TM103-II). The local believed that the building did not meet construction standards for resisting an earthquake. In contrast, to him the developer who was constructing his unit complied with construction standards.

To this local with existing knowledge of construction, the process of construction was one main way to build trust in developers. He also accused another developer of having an incorrect relationship with the supervisors who tested the concrete. Although this interviewee trusted in his developer, his mistrust in other developers might have dissatisfied him with the place during the construction. Place dissatisfaction due to the lack or low level of trust between the local community and developers is further discussed in Section 6.4.1.

A common socio-cultural background was another way of trust building. Local residents preferred a developer with a shared common socio-cultural background. As evidence,

<sup>14</sup> The local was a retired plumber.

several local participants mentioned a common language (communication), such as Azari, or coming from the same hometown, as the main reason for building trust in their developer. For them, trust, indeed, had been built on a common identity. Community-identity (e.g. speaking the same language/accent) or place-based identity (coming from the same place) had facilitated the discourse between these locals and their developer. Also, the locals were constantly comparing the developers. To them, there were different types of developers: reliable and unreliable. The comparison was not simply based on their experience in construction; rather, developers were compared based on their socio-cultural background.

Another common way of building trust in developers was through the local office. The developers suggested by the local office had to meet specific criteria. Only the developers with a sufficient level of financial investment and previous experience in construction could have been recommended to locals. A high-level expert in the TCRO commented on how the developers must have gone through several filters. He revealed that the developers'

“...financial turnover and earlier records are checked before any redevelopment. As the locals are aware of our checking system, they can trust in the developers that we propose. In some cases, they prefer a different developer since they have trust in the one. However, this developer should go through our filters as well” (TM109-III).

These findings indicate that different local participants had built trust in a developer in different ways. The building-trust process was typically mediated by the local office while the socio-cultural background of a developer and/or a local's knowledge of construction were also other elements of trust building. Figure 6.4 shows these elements between two groups.

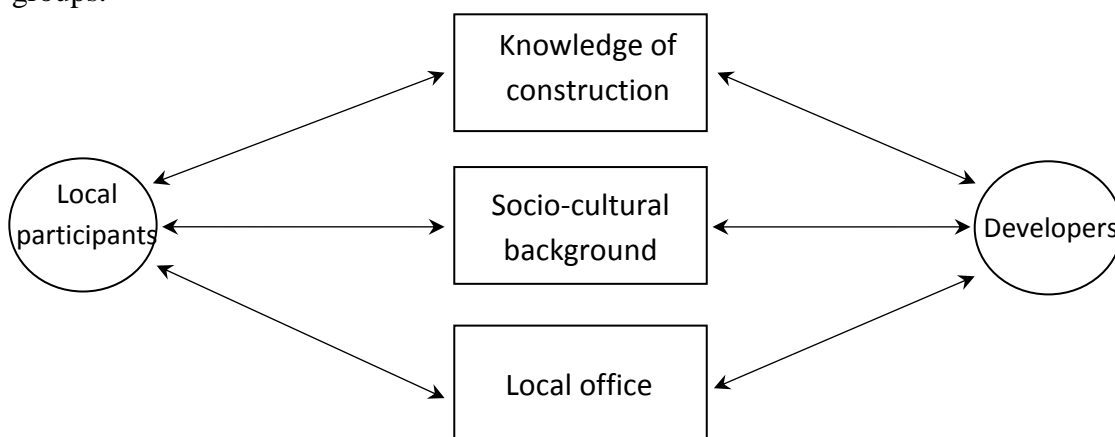


Figure 6.4 Trust between local participants and developers has been built in three ways

### 6.2.2 Redevelopment process and land value

The outcomes of the participatory approach at different stages are different (Figure 6.5). The outcomes of engagement initiation and informing/consulting stages were discussed in the previous section. This section focuses on the outcomes of the redevelopment process. The participants entered the redevelopment process at different stages, and so they benefited differently. It is therefore crucial issue to explore how the redevelopment process in the Takhti neighbourhood benefited the locals differently at different stages. The evidence shows that the earlier participants benefited from further financial support from institutions and a lower cost of constructions, but due to inflation the later participants benefited from higher land value as a result of the redevelopment. Subsequently, the question arises of whether the lower cost of construction and financial support could totally compensate for the added value of land. The later participants might have classified themselves as winners if they had benefited much more than the early takers, who might have come out as losers. These are important elements that show how fair the process was.

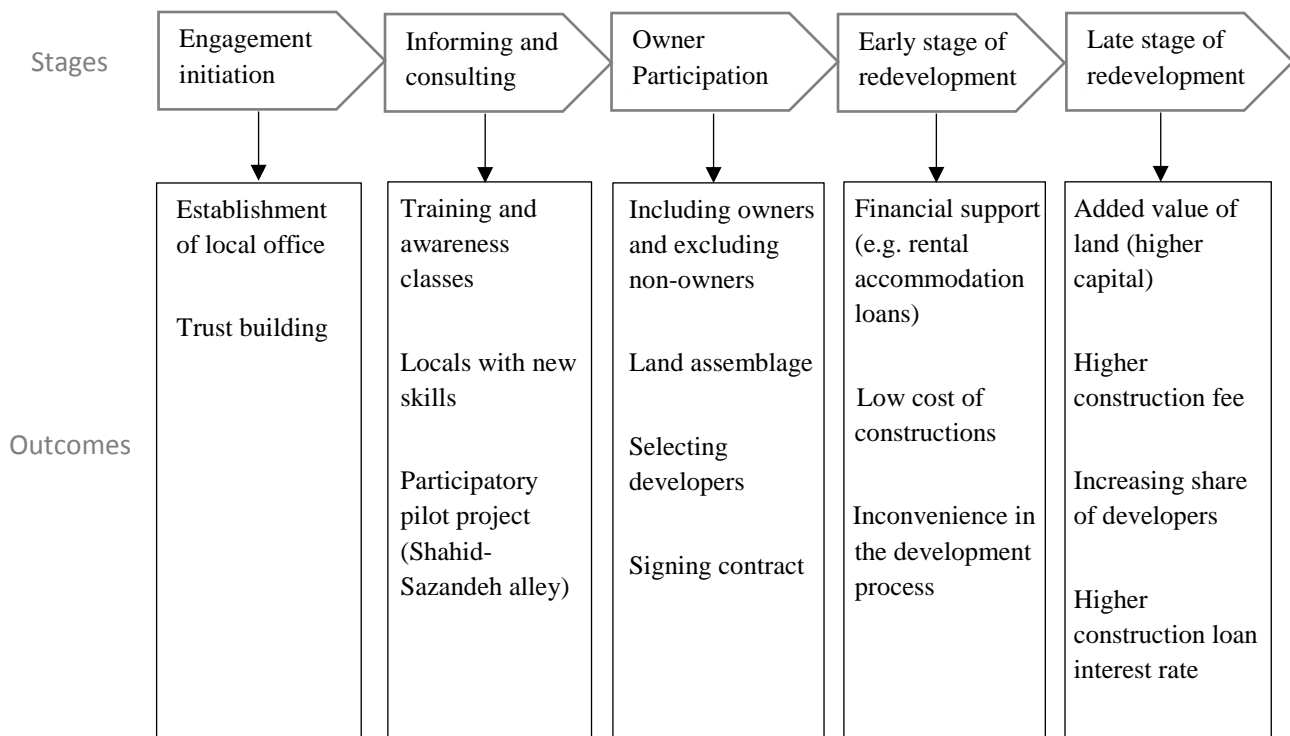


Figure 6.5 Stages and outcomes of the participatory approach

Increasing construction costs influenced the construction market in the neighbourhood and consequently the participants' decisions. On the other hand, for later land assemblage projects, the municipality increased construction fees. Rental accommodation loans made during the implementation stage were also added to the developers' responsibility. This was a reason why developers asked for a higher share in their contract with the late participants. These changes could also have affected the quality of construction in that some developers could have used cheaper but low-quality materials to compensate for the increased costs. At that point, the early participants may have had a sense that they had gained more economic benefit as they reflected on how changes in the construction costs negatively affected the later participants. A local participant living in a new flat explained:

“We were given a 12 million [Toman<sup>15</sup>] loan to rent a house during the construction but now it has stopped. Developers must do it instead. At first, for designing maps they did not charge us while now they ask for it ... consequently, instead of a 40/60 contract, a developer asks for 38% for the owner and 62% for the developer. Our contract was 45% for us and 55% for the developer. Before, the construction permission was free of charge but it is not anymore. A new insurance has also been added to the construction insurance” (TM105-II).

This statement shows that due to the changes in construction costs, the later participants were not benefited by the financial aid as much as the early takers. Construction costs were increased during the procedure of redevelopment but, on the other side, the redevelopment also enhanced the land value. Therefore, the later participants were contributing to the process with a higher capital (land). A facilitator highlighted this point:

“It's true that the early participants got less in land assemblage as land value changed in the neighbourhood. The formula has been changed in favour of the [late] owner participants. Indeed, the demand for [land] market determines the [land] value. When an alley is inaccessible by car, demand and consequently land value is low, once it is widened and redeveloped its value rises up to two times at least” (TM108-III).

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<sup>15</sup> At the time, 12 million Toman (Iranian currency) was equivalent to £2,400.

The land market was also affected by left-over land. Within the neighbourhood, several large pieces of land had been left for a long time, as the owners had waited to redevelop their land once the neighbourhood was utterly redeveloped, either intentionally or unintentionally. However, the locals expected that the municipality, through redeveloping these lands, could cover the shortage of urban services and infrastructure, such as green spaces. One resident who had captured a photograph of a left-over land within the neighbourhood explained, “since I am aware of this case [Figure 6.6], the problem is about the lease [Sar-Ghofli] that belongs to one person, who was my friend ... He used to have a company until one day it got fired. Within half of it, a residential complex including 63 units was constructed, but how they could do this I do not know! [he is suspicious about the way it happened, probably illegally]... it was left over and the municipality could easily convert it to a local park” (TM105-II).

The owners of these left-over lands, indeed, were waiting until the area was utterly redeveloped and consequently their land value had increased further and they could benefit from increased profit. Here, the point is that the late and early takers compared with each other. Their analytical enquiry was who gained and who lost. All participants benefited from the process as they had gained a new larger flat of higher quality in a more accessible area, but it may not have been equitable. This issue was a barrier for the redevelopment once some owners preferred the later involvement and higher profit.

Changes in regulations during the process, as mentioned before, may also have affected evaluation of the process. In response to this concern, a local office manager linked some changes to the wider context which were out of their control. For instance, regarding changes in loan interest, he commented:

“The first loans did not have interest but later it was changed. However, the reason is a financial crisis that has affected the entire of the country. It is not related to the redevelopment. Indeed, the central bank indicates the rate of interest for civil participation including all different types of loan across the country, and due to the crisis the rate has been increased. Unfortunately, in the last three/four years land and property prices unexpectedly went up. Three years ago, the price of a new constructed flat was around 1,200 million for a metre square while now it is around 2,800 million” (TM108-III).



Figure 6.6 A left-over space within the neighbourhood (TM105-II)

According to his statement, unexpected changes in the financial market and property inflation were the factors which limited the authorities' decision making. They had to change loan interest to be able to continue the redevelopment process. However, the authorities had often informed the locals that any regulations and financial support offered by the municipality today might change tomorrow. This was used as a tool to encourage locals to enter the process earlier.

### 6.2.3 *Inconvenience in the redevelopment process*

The redevelopment of large-scale buildings and the tiny existing plots and narrow alleys require a very high consideration of safety and precision. If it is not considered properly, it can cause daily life inconvenience and discomfort. A local in the Takhti neighbourhood, for instance, captured Figure 6.7 to highlight the importance of safety during construction, concerning spillage of materials. During the interview, the local pointed out how the lack of a shield had made the place inconvenient. To another resident, "... [his house] roof had fallen in since they had been constructing nearby; however, they fixed it later" (TM107-II). This evidence shows that the construction process within the area had disturbed the residents' everyday life.





Figure 6.7 Materials spillage during construction (TM103-II)

Several other residents reflected on their privacy during the redevelopment. For example, a resident complained that her neighbour's privacy during the construction was not protected. To demonstrate this, the resident captured a photograph (Figure 6.8) of the top of her neighbour's home façade, and explained how "...the neighbour had to add something like this to the balcony, which has degraded the building facade. These are Iranit<sup>16</sup>. Due to the construction on the other side, they have a problem. Since there is an overlooking view, they have been restricted" (TF106-II). These neighbours might have had a sense of discomfort in their private space as their privacy was not considered by the developer. Air and noise pollution from the construction had also reduced the environmental quality.

However, it is essential to consider that the causes of inconvenience were not only due to the physical and spatial redevelopment. As cited in the previous section, another cause of inconvenience in the redevelopment process concerned informing and consulting locals regarding the changes in the regulations, such as changes in loan interest. An expert from the local office admitted this issue. He commented:

"...the changes were very quick and high. Once, we were telling the locals that the rate of loan interest today is this, tomorrow it might be changed. The

<sup>16</sup> Asbestos cement sheet.

density based on the master plan today is this, tomorrow it might be changed. For instance, [the loan interest] from 19% had risen to 26% just over two weeks. The changes were quick. We couldn't call 2,000 people every day and tell them the new rate. Usually, we told them when they decided to participate to ask about the new rate again due to changes in the master plan and financial system, particularly in the last three years. Even for one year, the loans were stopped; consequently, many developers had become bankrupt as they had defaulted on their loans; also, due to the recession in the property market, they could not sell the earlier investment. Then, to avoid mistrust or disturbance among the locals, we were trying to find a developer to finish the job" (TM108-III).

This statement reveals the significance of informing and consulting during the redevelopment process. Once the locals are not fully informed and consulted regarding the changes and regulations, they may lose their trust in the process/institutions and/or feel uncertain regarding their future decision making. Such experiences during the redevelopment process, indeed, can repel them to participate rather than invite them. As mentioned before, the early takers might have felt disappointed once they considered that the later participants had benefited more due to the changes in regulations.



Figure 6.8 Privacy protection during the construction (TF106-II)



#### 6.2.4 *Expectations from the participatory redevelopment*

In the Takhti neighbourhood, the owners expected to gain much more than the renters from the participatory urban redevelopment. Both groups accepted this expectation not only due to the owner participation but also because of the social construction. Taking ownership for granted, indeed, was socially constructed. In the history of Iran, private ownership has never been questioned. This legacy has created a different social construction. For this reason, there were few complaints about the assumption of private ownership as the main criterion to enter the project.

Nevertheless, the local residents frequently complained about the lack of public ownership, for instance, the lack of enough green spaces within the neighbourhood. To them, the owner participation concentrated simply on new building construction while the spaces between the buildings were forgotten. To them, public spaces such as parks and play grounds were insufficient within the neighbourhood. This concern was more common among the locals who had already participated in the process and were living in their new flats. A local resident living in a new flat in the Shahid-Sazandeh alley commented:

“The neighbourhood has been suffocated by tall buildings [Figure 6.9], we need a park here... if we had a green space it would be good for everyone, for the mosque and the buildings around, the buildings at the front, back, and sides. All have risen and then the mosque has been left within a pot!... The tiny [plots] around the mosque should have been converted to a green space, we need a place for the kids to play there...then the place is better and also the prices are different” (TM105-II).

Besides the shortage of green spaces, the inaccessibility of the existing spaces was mentioned often. The local residents highlighted that they “... have to turn around to get there [the Gol-Mohammadi Park], which is quite difficult... how an old woman, man or a child is able to turn around to get to the park and come back” (TM105-II). This resident assumed that due to the difficulty of accessing the single green space, the locals were not using the green space. However, there were alternative causes.



Figure 6.9 A suffocating space, surrounded by tall buildings (TM105-II)

The perception of deficiencies in green spaces was more than what it was in reality. This occurred due to stigmatisation. For the majority of the locals, the existing green spaces were stigmatised by crime e.g. drug sellers, which prevented the locals' families from visiting there. For instance, to the locals, the Gol-Mohammadi Park did not exist. In case of addressing this park as an existing green space in the neighbourhood, they responded that "...the locals hardly ever go there. Since from the beginning it had a bad name among the locals, people don't want to go there" (TM105-II). A facilitator linked stigmatisation and the image of crime to the indefensibility of green spaces as a common issue within a bigger context – the decaying urban areas.

"Within the decaying urban areas, the locals usually say 'we don't have 'a park, cultural spaces, sports halls, etc. [Apart from the deficiency,] the non-functional scale of the current services does not let the locals use them. For instance, the Razi Park has a lot of equipment including Skate Park, playing ground, and even a paintball site, while the residents of the adjacent neighbourhood, Helal-ahmar, do not use the park, why?! Because some people [criminals] use the park, which means they don't take children inside the park" (TM108-III).

On the other hand, as revealed before, in the neighbourhood, there are several unused land plots. For both groups, the local residents and facilitators, the areas were an appropriate means of covering the deficiencies of the urban services and infrastructures. Indeed, they expected that the participatory process, through the redevelopment of these areas, would cover shortages such as green spaces. This shows that the expectations and needs of residents were overlooked, and should have been considered at the planning stage.

The evidence shows that in the Takhti neighbourhood, private ownership was expected to be the basis of participation. Most mismatches between the locals' expectation and owners' participation related to public ownership; indeed, the social construction of the neighbourhood was compromised of public ownership rather than private ownership. Moreover, in the neighbourhood, as well as the deficiency of infrastructure, the inappropriate distribution and stigmatisation of existing urban facilities made the locals feel less satisfied, which did not meet their expectation.

#### 6.2.5 *The issue of inclusion and exclusion*

A critical issue regarding any participatory process concerns who is left behind by the process, and who benefits most from it. Through considering this issue, we can distinguish whether those excluded did in fact lose and conversely if those who were included gained. This section investigates the issue of inclusion and exclusion in the participatory urban redevelopment of Takhti. It evaluates who the winners and losers were: owners, renters, and/or widows, early takers or late participants. However, such an evaluation can differ in the eyes of different groups of locals, authorities, and professionals.

As revealed earlier, the participatory redevelopment in the Takhti neighbourhood was built on private ownership. The residents who could officially have demonstrated their ownership were able to enter the process and those who did not verify were systematically excluded. According to this assumption, a group of renters was not recognised as being a part of the participation. The evidence shows that during and/or after the redevelopment, they had to leave the neighbourhood unless they could afford the increased rents or buy a flat. Typically, since tenants did not own any capital (land or funds), they could not afford to buy a new flat or pay increased rent due to the impact of redevelopment on inflation; hence, they had

to leave. They routinely selected the nearby neighbourhoods, mostly within the south of the city, as they could not afford upper-class neighbourhoods.

From the owners' viewpoint, renters were vulnerable residents, but this did not mean the owners' participation process was unjust or illegitimate. To owners, indeed, the acknowledgement of ownership rights was a reasonable basis for the participation. An owner revealed how owners were considering renters: "personally I would like to help them [renters] but since they do not own any property, we cannot do anything for them" (TF106-II). This comment reveals the social construction of ownership rights, as discussed in the previous section. In addition to this, some owners tended to divide renters into two groups, good and bad renters, as another cheerful owner in the Edalat alley commented:

"I am hoping that the government does help them [renters] to have their own home. However, I am talking about people who are not bothering their neighbours. Once someone is selling drugs, I cannot accept this person in the neighbourhood. Most of the drug sellers are renters" (TM103-II).

Some renters could buy new flats within the neighbourhood, however. This crowd, interestingly, included those who had received financial assistance from relatives such as a father and/or brother. There were a few examples of owners who had participated and financially assisted their tenant son/daughter or brother/sister to buy a new flat, typically within the same building. A social facilitator revealed that there was:

"... a wide range of renters. A renter with savings and the ability to pay back a loan is different from a renter with no income. If we had a renter with a small amount of savings and the ability to pay back the loan, we tried to give the renter a flat in the same building. We had some cases. For instance, one of the participant's sons in the [Shahid-] Sazandeh alley, who was a tenant, could buy a flat" (TM108-III).

It is important to bear in mind the percentage of renters and owners within the neighbourhood. A high proportion of renters can utterly change the evaluation. One urban planner, a high-level expert in the TCRO, accepted that the process did not benefit a small group of renters, but benefited the majority (owners). He commented:

“More than 70% of the residents within the decaying urban areas are owners. Compared to the neighbourhoods in the middle of Tehran, this percentage here [Takhti] is even higher. In addition, the group of renters are different people. A high percentage of renters are those who can afford living in their place or moving within their neighbourhood after the redevelopment. I do not want to justify this, but it is normal in any programme to cover the majority, not everyone” (TM109-III).

This statement shows the authorities’ approach to the participatory urban redevelopment. They accept that the process was not inclusive; rather, it was limited to owners as they are the majority. According to the Takhti Neighbourhood Development Document (2011), about 90% of residents were owners. Therefore, the exclusion of renters may not have been a major issue. However, the exclusion was not limited to non-owners. Alongside renters, there was a group of landowners whose property was very small (less than 50 square metres) or due to the setbacks they were losing most their property. There were a few examples in which a small-plot owner did not assemble their land with the neighbours’ and consequently the small plot was left over among new buildings.

Having some small houses between high buildings made the place spatially heterogeneous. For instance, there was a single plot at the end of the Shahid-Sazandeh alley. The only way that this plot could have been redeveloped was to assemble with the neighbours behind since the other neighbours had already assembled their land and reconstructed a new building. For this owner, the participatory redevelopment might have been a disaster since he had to live among the surrounding high buildings. This inconvenience could have forced this group of owners to leave the neighbourhood, although there were few of them. Typically, this group did not participate due to the lack of enough capital (land or capital) to afford a new flat. However, to facilitate the participation of small-plot owners, the municipality provided financial subsidies. An expert in the municipality stated:

“For small-plot owners, we have several formulas. First, a replaced house was considered for them if it is impossible to assemble their small plot with other plots. Another option is that the municipality could purchase their small plot at a good price, particularly for plots under 50 [square] metres. We have a specific financial resource for this group at the municipality of Tehran. However, our priority is to help them [small-plot owners] to

assemble their land and get a temporary house provided by their developer. In some cases, they can even benefit by receiving [a new flat] with an area twice as large as the others” (TM109-III).

This statement shows how the municipality tried to enable small-plot owners to enter the process. Financial help and providing a larger reconstructed space to small-plot owner participants were the tools used by the municipality to increase the turnout of the participants. From the municipality perspective, these residents were legal owners, and they had capital (a small plot) by which to participate, though it might not have been enough. Their percentage within the neighbourhood was about 17%, which means less finance was also required to enable them to participate in the process (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 Number and percentage of plots within the Takhti neighbourhood (District 12 of the Municipality of Tehran, 2011)

No.	Classification (areas)	Number of plots within the neighbourhood	Percentage of plots within the neighbourhood	Cumulative percentage
1	Less than 50 square metres	516	17.4 %	17.4 %
2	50 to 75 square metres	507	17.1 %	35.5 %
3	75 to 100 square metres	492	16.6 %	51.1 %
4	100 to 150 square metres	700	23.6 %	74.7 %
5	150 to 200 square metres	312	10.5 %	85.2 %
6	200 to 500 square metres	368	12.4 %	97.6 %
7	500 square metres to 1	65	2.1 %	99.7 %
8	More than 1 hectare	2	0.3 %	100 %
	Total	2962	100	100

Besides renters and small-plot owners in the Takhti neighbourhood, women whose husbands had passed away comprised another vulnerable group. From the authorities' viewpoint, they were a barrier to the participation, as they could not participate in the process either financially or legally. According to the Islamic regulations, men and women benefit unequally from inheritance. After the passing of a husband, the wife inherits simply one eighth of the assets. The worst situation for a widow is when she does not have any offspring from the departed husband, since the rest of assets are given to the husband's brothers and sisters. For a widow without a child, indeed, the participatory redevelopment might have meant losing everything. For instance, a facilitator described the situation of a

widow for whom probate was not complete but the participatory redevelopment legally required probate.

“After several meetings, we found that since the husband had passed away and the woman had no children, in the case of probate only one eighth [of the inheritance] would be given to her. And the rest would be given to her brothers-in-law and then they would certainly kick her out of the home. Indeed, there are some limitations in the regulations that we cannot involve these groups. From an ethical viewpoint, we do not want to make the situation worse; hence, we didn’t try to redevelop that place. She had rented out a room to an old woman and this was her only income. We did not have any solution since the government did not plan any subsidies for these cases. Although, from this year, local offices have had a parcel for the ‘vulnerable groups’ who may be damaged by the redevelopments, it simply includes a limited loan at low interest” (TM108-III).

This widow was more vulnerable compared to renters. At worst, a renter was uprooted while the widow could have lost everything. She not only stood to lose the asset but would also have been uprooted. Typically, a widow’s income was only from renting out one/two rooms of their home, which could have stopped with the redevelopment, but being a renter meant the individual had income from somewhere else. Therefore, the widows with very low-income level might have been excluded “... even worse than the renters” (TM108-III). Before the process, the widow’s situation was more or less stable but during/after it was destabilised because the process revealed the ownership: who legally owned which property, who shared with whom, and who did not. To the widows, indeed, this destabilisation occurred due to the process of owner participation but there was no proper social security scheme to protect them.

### 6.3 Sense of place

This section outlines that how the Takhti residents perceive their place in two periods: before and during/after the participatory urban redevelopment. It reveals how locals narrated their attachment to, and satisfaction with, the identification of their place before and during the process. In both periods, their sense of place is argued without highlighting

its links to the participatory urban redevelopment. Locals perceived that they were living on a large construction site, and this made them feel anxious. For them, there was a sense of transition from a more mixed to a homogeneous place, which might have been accelerated by the participatory process. As the focus of this study is the impact of the participatory urban redevelopment on the locals' sense of place, discussing these findings reveals in which ways and why their sense of place changed. Analysing these changes determines the influences.

### 6.3.1 *Before the participatory urban redevelopment*

For locals, Takhti used to be a more mixed community than today. People with diverse socio-economic status used to live within the same place. This was a common perception among the locals who had lived there for longer, as they had perceived long-term changes within the neighbourhood. According to the interviewees, there was the sense that the community had been more diverse three/four decades before the recent participatory urban redevelopment. By comparing those days with today's community, the locals were able to comment on and link the current issues to the past. For instance, they were proud of their place because reputable people lived in the same neighbourhood. The identification of their place was through these recognised people. Indeed, they were an important part of their place identity. One interviewee, who had been a resident of the Takhti neighbourhood for more than 50 years, proudly explained his perception of the place-based community:

“We had the national heroes who used to live here, wrestling and football heroes. In the Edalat alley, we had Reza and Byuk Vatan-khah and Farydon Moieni<sup>17</sup>. They used to live here. They were players of the national team [of Iran]. Takhti [a famous wrestler] was here as well. I mean, although here was considered the south of the city, acknowledged and educated people were living here. However, we had drug sellers and thieves as well” (TM105-II).

This individual tended to be realistic in his perception. To him, the nostalgia of past days was not an ideal situation. He revealed how these reputable people were living with ordinary

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<sup>17</sup> They are retired famous football players from the 1970s.



people including criminals, and shed light on the socio-cultural diversity of the community. He believed that nowadays it was rare for a well-known individual to want to live in a neighbourhood located in the south of the city. However, the earlier elites of the Takhti neighbourhood might have not rejected their roots in such a southern neighbourhood.

On specific occasions, these well-known individuals were going back to visit the community. This fact demonstrated that having a sense of pride in the place was not simply for the residents with longer residency. The former elite residents in the Takhti neighbourhood were also proud that they used to live there. A local interviewee revealed that the older “residents had left here. We had a person who used to be Deputy Head of Atomic Energy. We had a shipbuilding engineer here... and usually during the Muharram<sup>18</sup> or funeral they come back here” (TM105-II). There was less of a sense of snobbery among the past community members since famous and ordinary residents, thieves and guards, uneducated and engineers, “... the rich and the poor, were living beside each other” (TM109-III). Regardless of socio-economic background, the earlier residents were proud of being a part of the community, but today’s residents (mostly those who had lived there for a shorter period) claimed other socio-economic communities and places.

For instance, a woman with less than nine years’ residence believed that the Takhti neighbourhood was not a proper place for her and family to live in. She stated, “I don’t want my daughter or son to live here, but myself, due to my [economic] condition, I have to live here” (TF104-II). For the locals like her with a short residency, the community did not represent her socio-cultural background; however, typically they could not afford to live in neighbourhoods of a higher socio-economic level. In response to this, typically, those locals who considered themselves socio-culturally different from the Takhti community tended to claim other communities. A main barrier which did not allow them to leave the place was their economic situation. As some of these socio-cultural claimers had left the neighbourhood during the previous years, the Takhti community was further homogenised. Moreover, this homogenisation was accelerated by the participatory urban redevelopment, further discussed in Section 6.4.3. Therefore, since the locals of longer residency had

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<sup>18</sup> Muharram, the first month of the Islamic calendar, is well-known for the historical significance and mourning for the martyrdom of Hussein ibn Ali, the grandson of Muhammad. Shias begin mourning from the first night of Muharram and continue for ten nights, climaxing on the 10th of Muharram, known as the Day of Ashura.

witnessed these changes, they were able to sense how their community used to be socio-culturally and economically more diverse.

In sum, the Takhti neighbourhood was a more diverse neighbourhood in the eyes of the locals with long-term residency. For them, people with very distinctive socio-cultural and economic level used to live there. This diversity brought them a sense of pride of place. Similarly, the previous elite and recognised residents felt proud of the place. Due to the gradual migration of the better off to the northern neighbourhoods of the city and the residence of new individuals, particularly in the last two decades, the neighbourhood was slowly transitioning towards socio-cultural and economic instability. The new residents with short-term residency perceived this trend differently. They almost had a sense of socio-cultural dissimilarity with the place, but due to their economic level, they had to reside there temporarily. They typically claimed neighbourhoods with a higher socio-cultural level, mostly located in the north of the city.

People building on a socio-cultural and/or functional perception of the environment have a preference for a place in which to reside. However, technically the price of land is the most influential factor in their residential preference. Affordability for residential space, indeed, reveals your social class. If there is a mismatch between the affordability and residential preference, either you have high aspirations, or you prefer to stay in a setting with low quality since you have a sense of community. People who consider that a place does not reflect their social level do not feel a sense of belonging to the place; hence, they are detached from it and frequently express that their residence is temporary despite the fact that they might have to stay in the place all their life. Conversely, in the eyes of others, this sense of place would be interpreted as a sense of snobbery when the current place is lower than their expectations or pride of place when it offers what they want from the place.

A place might offer personal development such as a well-paid job or skills, and then the individuals construct a functional relationship with the place in which sense of place for them is almost interpreted as a sense of dependence. In this case, some residents preferred to reside in the place until the place offers personal development. Typically, they expressed dependence on the place, for example because their working place was here and consequently it provided place satisfaction. Interestingly, if place dependence was an undesirable choice, place satisfaction would be damaged. For instance, if a person were

working in a place that making the individual live far from their family, the person would be dependent on the place but also dissatisfied with it.

### 6.3.2 *During/after the participatory urban redevelopment*

During the redevelopment, the residents often narrated that Takhti was like a construction site. One interviewee interpreted his photograph (Figure 6.10) in “... three views. This building [the right] is completed, this one [at the background] is close to being finished, and the other one is under construction. I wanted to show here is under construction ...” (TM105-II). To this local, the built-environment elements were at different stages of redevelopment. He did not sense the place as a stable residential neighbourhood, but rather saw it as a big building construction site, which did not meet his expectations for the place.



Figure 6.10 Different stages of redevelopment (TM105-II)

This mismatch between the residents’ expectations for their place and what they daily perceived in their environment might have dissatisfied them. Daily observations reported a messy milieu and demolished buildings, leading to typically negative connotations, such as ‘decaying urban areas’. The image of living in the Takhti neighbourhood for one local

woman was living among new and destroyed buildings, which obviously did not meet her sense for an urban area. She unhappily stated:

“As we live within a city called Tehran, the environment should be appropriate and clean, but here it is not, it’s a decaying area, neither beautiful nor clean. Look at this photo [Figure 6.11, left], a destroyed building along a new building or this photo [Figure 6.11, right]; it is a home, but it does not look like a home” (TF104-II).



Figure 6.11 A destroyed building along a new building (left), a place that does not look like a home (right) (TF104-II)

The speed and duration of the environmental changes certified the perception of living on a building construction site. Since the sense of the place before being settled had changed, the locals could not construct a stable sense towards the place and they even felt lost within the place. Living in a place that presented a different facade every day disturbed the feeling of being stable. In addition to this, in the locals’ view, the constant changes in the urban landscape “...damaged the [street’s] facade...” (TM105-II). This fact dissatisfied the residents with their place, although some got used to it. A local resident unpleasantly stated: “It is a long time since I have seen this window and building [Figure 6.12, left] that have been left like this!” (TF104-II). Gradually, this constant place dissatisfaction conveyed the locals towards the point of reaction. Once the residents perceived that the changes within the environment were constant and/or faster than they could settle with them, they felt dissatisfied with place. The resident continued:

“My purpose for this photo [Figure 6.12, right] was the alley’s ground; it’s a long time that it has been left over like this... I phoned the municipality several times. I know they are constructing, but the overall atmosphere of

the alley must be better. After that, they asphalted some parts of the alley. They said due to the presence of heavy trucks we can't asphalt the entire path" (TF104-II).



Figure 6.12 A window and the building left in an inappropriate condition for a long time (left), damage to the street's ground (right) (TF104-II)

Although the locals often narrated a sense of living on a construction site, they reflected differently on it. For some, these rapid changes in the way that they used to live bothered them. For this group, this interruption led to place dissatisfaction and even detachment. Those locals who believed that these changes offered a personal development were pleased during/after the redevelopment. However, their satisfaction was under the condition of a secure place.

Several times, the locals mentioned that they would like to stay and live here if the place's security were improved. For instance, "...I like here, but I want to leave here, in the case of security, I might stay..." (TM103-II). This local who had a sense of place attachment warned that constant insecurity dissatisfied him with the place and consequently he would leave. As a result, having a sense of attachment was not enough to guarantee living in a place. The locals were emphasising that their high and constant place dissatisfaction may have damaged their sense of place.

From another perspective, it is important to know why the current redevelopment for the Takhti residents was an unusual phenomenon while they were living in a city that was like a massive construction site. In most streets and alleys within the city of Tehran, it was normal to observe a building under construction or destruction; hence, it was true to label the bigger context, the city of Tehran, as a massive construction site. In contrast to the city, the neighbourhoods in the decaying urban areas such as Takhti had been frozen for a long

time and so the process of redevelopment was a new event in the eyes of its locals. The Takhti residents had lived for a long time in a place without any major changes. Therefore, once redevelopment occurred in their neighbourhood, the Takhti residents needed a longer period to settle their sense of place, compared with the average in the city of Tehran. An urban planner in TCRO highlighted the redevelopment differences between the entire city of Tehran and the Takhti neighbourhood:

“In contrast to the north or downtown of Tehran, these neighbourhoods [decaying urban areas] were unchanged for a long period. Suddenly, a revolution occurred there. For instance, the amount of construction within the Takhti neighbourhood during the last three years was more than the entire history of the neighbourhood” (TM109-III).

Although the locals generally sensed that their neighbourhood was a massive construction site, they interpreted this image differently. Once they assumed that the redevelopment had brought them an individual development, for instance, economic development, they were satisfied. Once they believed the redevelopment could not meet their expectations, mainly the sense of security, they were dissatisfied. In short, the sense of living on a construction site for some locals was satisfactory and for some not.

Another issue touched on by the locals and experts during/after the participatory urban redevelopment was a fear of new spaces. As mentioned, the Takhti neighbourhood was frozen for a long time. After and during the current redevelopment, the new spaces were rapidly created within the neighbourhood. For the locals who used to live in the one- and two-storey houses with a courtyard, the new spaces were unusual. As a TCRO expert commented on the sense of the residents of Edalat and Sazandeh alley, where they had seen the most construction, “the locals are afraid of the new space. They feel they are naked. What is this [tall new buildings] above our heads? They are exciting as well” (TM109-III). The question that arises here is whether there was a sense of anxiety, and if so what the cause(s) was. It was because of either the rapid physical redevelopment or socio-cultural changes. A change from living in a house with a yard into a flat was a great shift for the locals, which considerably influenced their sense of place. For instance, for a local who used to live in a house for more than 60 years, these changes were a key concern:

“We [neighbours] were close from the beginning. We were one family. If something happened, others helped each other. Now, my wife says living in a flat is like being in a jail; you go inside and lock the door. We had a yard and she stayed there. I don’t mean I hate the flat but a flat like this is inappropriate. I am waiting for my property document, and when it is ready, I will probably sell here. I don’t want to go somewhere else, I will try to find a house nearby. However, I am living in the fifth floor and I am really pleased. My neighbours are really friendly. We have a quiet place but in this area living in a flat has not yet been accepted” (TM105-II).

This person was satisfied with the neighbours and neighbourhood, but he and his wife could have not adapted themselves to living in the new space. He even believed that this concern was not only for them, it was for many other residents who assumed “...living in a flat has not yet been accepted” (TM105-II). The new living space was imagined as a jail since they were feeling less socially connected to their neighbours. However, this sense of dissatisfaction was not only due to living in a new space. He felt discomfort in the new spaces because he was living in a context in which living in a new flat was not a socio-culturally accepted norm. This local man continued:

“To be honest with you, I am not satisfied with here. Now, here is crowded. We don’t have the culture of living in flat. It takes time. One key has been changed into twenty. Before, we knew we were four neighbours, we knew each other very well, we accepted each other’s goodness and badness. In difficulties, we helped each other. Now, although I am the manager of the building, I don’t know some of the residents” (TM105-II).

For him, this constant sense of discomfort generated place dissatisfaction. He felt that he had lost his sense of familiarity with the place-based community because of the redevelopment. He used to live in an area in which he knew his neighbours very well but later he was living in a situation with relatively less socio-cultural familiarity. For him, these rapid socio-cultural changes even created a sense of anxiety. He was feeling less secure in his flat, as he explained:

“Once, my friends’ family, who live around the Vali-Asr square, came to our home to visit me. They left their car opposite the alley. My friend’s wife



told me: ‘a woman was following us until we pressed the doorbell’. In fact, she wanted to be sure that strangers were not coming into the neighbourhood. Now, in flats, several burglaries have happened while it should be more secure. Since the woman knew me, she wanted to know who was coming. However, in a block of flats you don’t know who is coming or going” (TM105-II).

Typically living in a flat is expected to be more secure than a house, but this flat’s resident felt more insecure. Through this story, he was trying to express the issue of social supervision. As the earlier neighbours were more in touch with each other, if any newcomers entered the area, they quickly responded. Indeed, they felt a kind of responsibility for each other particularly with conditions of any irregularity or insecurity. Once the eyes upon the street left the neighbourhood, he felt more insecure and consequently anxious. However, this was not the entire picture.

Before the process, the local families used to live in a house with a yard and the neighbours were around. They knew most of their neighbours within their ally. Moreover, the alley (public realm) and home (private realm) were clearly defined (Figure 6.13). After the redevelopment, a new realm as a common space within the block of flats was constructed, which they had not experienced before (Figure 6.14). In addition to the previous causes, this new-shared space could have caused a sense of anxiety. This different unexperienced space created some issues, and this might have affected their sense of place. Literally, the sense of place must have been disturbed since the process of redevelopment interrupted the way that the place used to be used by the locals. One local revealed how the locals responded to these new-shared spaces; he stated, “When you ask a flat’s resident to pay their share, the resident might not accept paying charges or one of the residents was unfamiliar with the lift, he was stuck in the lift for more than two hours” (TM103-II). For these locals, paying charges for shared spaces that they did not know how to use was a new experience. A facilitator/urban planner commented on this transition after the redevelopment:

“They used to have two realms: private and public realm. Usually, they were not involved with the public realm except in the Nime-Shaban and Moharram ceremony. At this time, they collectively decorated and illuminated the alley. However, now they have a semi-private space as a communal space, and must contribute together. In those buildings that come



to this point of contribution together, they have better relationships and visit each other's homes more. Now, [the problem with] the staircase or lift is a common pain. However, we have some minor people who do not contribute in the shares, and this creates problems for the relationships. Regarding the charges issue, one building, even after two years, could not get the title deed" (TM108-III).

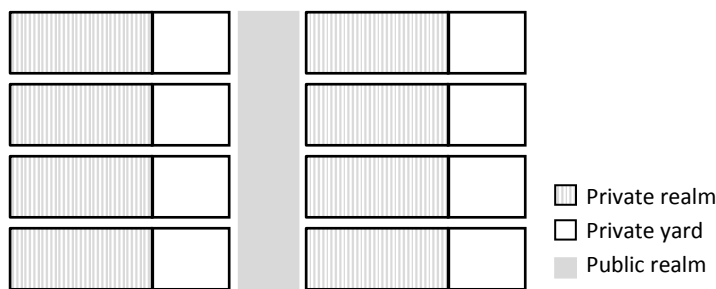


Figure 6.13 Realms in the Edalat alley before the redevelopment

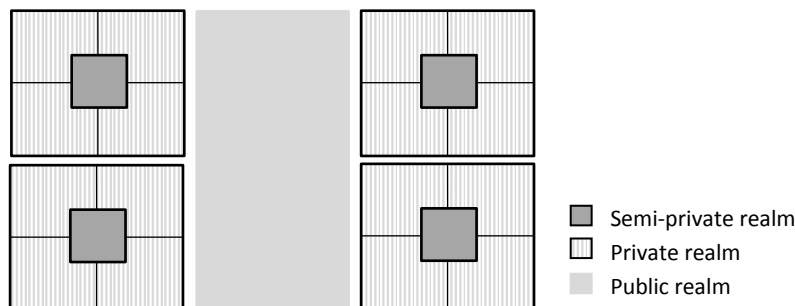


Figure 6.14 Realms in the Edalat alley after the redevelopment

He revealed how the locals had the experience of shared activities before. However, this experience was limited to a specific time and place. Indeed, they did not experience living in a shared space, as it could have interrupted their daily life. Living in a block of flats with shared spaces required shared payment responsibility for every resident, but before everyone was responsible only for his/her private space and there was no shared living space responsibility. The transition and new spaces generated a sense of dissatisfaction among the residents.

## 6.4 Owner participation and sense of place

Within the preceding sections, the process of owner participation and sense of place were separately argued without defining their links and impacts. This section addresses the participants' sense of place in relation to the experience of the participatory redevelopment and its outcomes. It discusses how engagement and building trust during the process affected their sense of community. It also presents the impacts of the inclusion/exclusion and land value on the locals' sense of place, resulting in new constructed social divisions. Discussing this helps to identify whether the sense of place was improved for the locals who had profited from the process, but the process did not benefit some. The perception of environmental awareness and more homogeneity in the neighbourhood compared to before the process is also discussed.

### 6.4.1 *Building trust and sense of place-based community*

As the findings show, different forms of trust were built during the process of the owners' participation. Before the process, typically, there was a sort of trust among the local neighbours, but once a group of owners decided to assemble their lands, their trust must have improved. Also, as the process of the owners' participation for the participants was an involvement "...with the capital that someone has in the entire life" (TM108-III), it required a deeper and longer trust. This issue may have made decision-making more difficult and time consuming.

More importantly, the owners must have built a new form of trust that they had not practised before. For them, building trust with the local office and developer was a new experience. The improvement in previous trust and constructing new trust through the intersubjectivity enabled the owners to enter a collective experience. From this angle, the process of owners' participation facilitated the participants' sense of being a member of the place-based community. Indeed, the process improved the owner participants' sense of a community. Moreover, the identification of the owners by the local authorities as a place-based community created a sense of common identity. Therefore, for them, the place identity was improved.

For instance, a participant revealed how the trust in her neighbours facilitated the owners' participation. She stated "we are seven old neighbours who I can easily visit in their homes, since I trust them. We knew each other so we could come to the agreement [on the land assemblage] very easily" (TF106-II). Interestingly, this local participant often applied the pronoun 'we' for such a collective experience. She was imagining herself as a part of group. This sense of being a part of a collective activity built on trust improved their sense of place-based community.

Furthermore, since the local office tended to establish individual trust between the local residents and office members, rather than an institutional trust, a deeper trust was built. This deep relationship between the owner participants and the local office members led to the individual's sense of belonging to the community and place. This outcome, which distinguished this local office from others, could have been the reason why the Takhti neighbourhood scheme was labelled, to some extent, a successful redevelopment project. The other local offices typically had attempted to establish institutional trust in locals.

The landowners also participated in the project in which they could have built an individual trust in their developers. This new form of trust, which was between a group of owner participants and an individual, improved their community-identification. During the process, their collective engagement with the developer and local office improved their sense of community. Nevertheless, the process of owner participation could not improve the sense of place-based community among all the locals.

In contrast to the owner participants, for those who were excluded by the process such as widows and renters, owner participation disturbed their sense of belonging to the neighbourhood. According to the assumptions of the process, they were excluded from the place-based community. For these groups, the owner participation not only failed to improve their sense of belonging to the community but also disturbed their trust in their owner neighbours and institutions. Indeed, the process damaged both their individual and institutional trust. This segregation constructed new social divisions among the locals, as discussed later.

Besides the excluded groups, it is critical to consider the role of newcomers in the area, which may have disturbed the trust and sense of community within the neighbourhood. The locals emphasised trust in their neighbours even before the process since they knew them.

Hence, the presence of the newcomers in large numbers disturbed the sense of community, as the locals did not know them before and were not able to predict their behaviour. For instance, a local resident commented on this issue: “as the number of flats is going higher, the problems increase as well. You can live very comfortably in a block with ten flats while in a block with twenty or thirty flats you cannot. Everyone has their own interests and preferences. Thus, it has its own difficulties” (TF106-II). For this resident, the scale of the new buildings and consequently the percentage of the new residents was important. As this resident knew all her neighbours before the process and could predict their behaviour, she perceived a network of awareness and trust between herself and the others. However, this sense of unfamiliarity with newcomers had disturbed her sense of community.

#### 6.4.2 *New social divisions*

The participatory urban redevelopment process in the Takhti neighbourhood constructed the new social divisions. Those who were included in the project labelled themselves ‘we’ and other neighbours who did not were ‘they’ or vice versa. Owners, indeed, imagined themselves as ‘we’ and non-owners as ‘they’. These newly constructed social divisions within the neighbourhood were the results of the participatory approach. The process included owners and excluded non-owners; thus, owners became ‘we’, and the others ‘they’. The earlier residents were ‘us’ and the newcomers were ‘them’. A new flat resident, for instance, described the social relationship between earlier owner neighbours compared with the new residents:

“Before this [participatory urban redevelopment], I rarely went out and I was not that much in touch with my neighbours. Now, with these five owners who live in one building, we sometimes visit each other’s homes. Once we need to do something about the building, we have a meeting and consult each other. However, the relationship between us [five owners] is different from the five new residents, because we used to live in a single alley though we only knew each other a little and were not that much connected. Now, we, the five owners, are more in touch than them [the five new residents]” (TF104-II).

This resident and her four earlier owner neighbours who had assembled their lands constructed ‘we’ and the new five neighbours who had simply purchased the new flat in their building were ‘them’. According to her statement, the experience of participation could have improved the social relationships between the participants. These newly constructed social divisions also occurred in the Oudlajan bazaar although it was built on different assumptions, as discussed in the next chapter.

In addition, the local owners who gained further financial profit from the process sensed that the place benefited them more. This group of owners, indeed, had a deeper sense of dependence on the place. They were satisfied with the place as its redevelopment brought them a personal financial development. In contrast, those who were included in the process and had gained less had a different sense. To them, the locals who benefited most were another social group which had been newly constructed by the process, the ‘we’ versus ‘them’. This issue was noticeable between the early takers and later participants.

The early takers imagined themselves as a group who had a sense of loss since the land value was low when they had participated in the project, but it was significantly improved for the later participants. For instance, a local office manager confirmed, “it’s true that the earlier participants got less in land assemblage since land value changed within the neighbourhood, and the formula changed in favour of the owners” (TM108-III). He commented on the land value changes in the Edalat alley and its impact on the participants’ share in the different stages. He commented:

“In the early stages, no developers wanted to invest in the Edalat alley. They did not even accept 30 to 70 [70% for the developer and 30% for the owners], and now it is around 45 to 55 [45% for the owners and 55% for the developers]. Once some new flats were constructed around there and some paths were widened, then the land value inside the area was relatively enhanced. Moreover, we had to start from the opening of the alley where could transport the construction materials” (TM108-III).

For the early takers who had seen this significant change in land value, their participation was to some extent a sense of loss. On the other hand, although the later participants had benefited from the land value changes most, they also had a sense of loss. For later

participants, this sense of loss was due to the changes in the regulations. As an early participant revealed regarding the changes in the regulations:

“We were given a 12 million loan to rent a house during the construction but now it has stopped. The developer should do it instead. At first, for designing maps there was no charge but now they demand one... Before the construction permission was free but it is not anymore. New insurance has been added to the construction insurance” (TM105-II).

On one hand, these changes alongside the inflation rate increased the cost of construction for the developers. On the other hand, since the land value and consequently the price of new flats within the neighbourhood increased, the later takers and the developers benefited. However, there is also the question of whether the land value changes covered the changes in construction. According to the land market, as the land value growth was higher than the construction cost, on average the later participants benefited more. As mentioned before, the contract between a developer and the owners typically changed from 30% to 70% into 45% to 55%, which demonstrates the benefit to the later participants. However, it is important to consider that the later participants were given a loan with a higher interest rate and less financial assistance in other respects.

#### 6.4.3 *Perception of a homogeneous community*

According to locals, the participatory urban redevelopment socio-economically homogenised their community. On one hand, due to rising land value, the place might not have been affordable for previous socio-ethnic groups such as Afghans, and so these groups had to leave the community. One local resident explained how “the rising property prices in the neighbourhood have made the area unaffordable for those on very low-incomes such as Afghans; it seems, here is under change” (TM103-II). On the other hand, the newcomers were people for whom the neighbourhood matched their socio-economic level. One local believed that newcomers had higher incomes and made the place more secure.

“Newcomers in the reconstructed houses have had a positive impact on the neighbourhood security. Most have [administrative] positions, but before [the redevelopment] most were underprivileged, and usually addicts or

criminals. For instance, although I don't want to blame any ethnic group, once I asked someone from Lorestan, 'Why did you come here?', and he said to find a job, but then I saw him selling Shishe [a kind of Drug]" (TM103-II).

For this local, an outcome of the participatory redevelopment was the socio-economic change in the community, which made locals to perceive as more secure. The criminals had to leave or limit their activities either because of the physical changes or new socio-economic circumstance of the community. This local, thus, sensed further satisfaction with the place as the participatory urban redevelopment seemed to have improved the perception of place security: "we had two or three really insecure [places], for instance, Edalat alley, but it is not anymore" (TM103-II). Leaving the neighbourhood was not only limited to criminals, however. The locals who benefited most from the process might have left the area since they could afford higher socio-economic neighbourhoods.

Interestingly, this sense of a homogenous community was not only because of the socio-economic shift. In addition, the physical changes after the redevelopment made the neighbourhood more or less similar. Four or five storey blocks of flats mostly with similar design have been constructed, and this physical homogenization made the locals sense more order in their place. For instance, a local resident stated, "I think our neighbourhood was disordered, but after the participation it seems much better" (TM103-II). For him, the homogenous redevelopment in the built-environment had ordered the place. The process firstly problematised the decaying urban areas and then, to normalise the area, the reconstructed place was standardised. This standardisation made the place more homogenised and tidy. Such an outcome affected the locals with long residency, as they had experienced the place-based community when it was more mixed. When comparing today's community with the past, they sensed a more homogenous place-based community.

In summary, the neighbourhood of Takhti has had two significant changes. One is the long-term natural change which more or less follows the general trend of the city. Four decades ago, the neighbourhood of Takhti used to be more stable socio-culturally and economically, and connected to the bazaar area of Tehran. Once there was less mobility in the city of Tehran, the citizens used to live near the city centre, the bazaar and workplaces. After urban redevelopment in Tehran, and with more mobility in the city, the citizens, including the Takhti residents, started intra-urban migration to the other side of the city, mostly the north

of Tehran. Merchants and the better off who once lived in the neighbourhood moved out towards the north. Indeed, the Takhti community followed this general trend during the previous decades before the recent participatory urban redevelopment.

The second change, which is very important for this study, was after/during the participatory urban redevelopment. The new people came and consequently the diversity must have increased, but the locals had a different perception. They sensed that their community was becoming socio-economically homogeneous. The main cause was that after/during the owner participation, everything was reorganised on the basis of the ownership. Therefore, all the residents had a similar circumstance in a particular socio-economic structure, but before the redevelopment, renters, owners, widows, the elite, and even criminals had lived alongside each other.

The recent changes in the Takhti neighbourhood had remarkable impacts on the locals' sense of community as the process of the participatory urban redevelopment looked at the entire neighbourhood as a whole. Since the changes in much of the rest of the city were unplanned, and they were unit-by-unit and more or less gradual, it did not have this sort of influence. However, as a general trend across the city, including this neighbourhood, there was a movement of the upper/middle classes towards the mountains in several phases, and lower class groups occupied their place.

#### 6.4.4 *Environmental awareness*

Locals often reflected on the quality of their environment. They commented on how most old houses had been constructed without meeting construction standards. They linked the improvement of their environmental awareness to the process of the participatory urban redevelopment. For instance, this awareness enabled them to distinguish stable from unstable blocks. They frequently explained how their "homes were old and made of adobe" (TM105-II); hence, for them, a building without the structure was unstable. Those who were living in these unstable blocks had a sense of living in a low quality environment, typically for their private space. In contrast, the residents of new flats had this sense for public spaces. Both groups, indeed, were problematizing their surroundings based on their priorities. However, as a result of the redevelopment, there was a transition from the sense of living in the low quality private spaces into the public spaces.



In the photo elicitation phase of the research, those participants who were living in a new flat simply captured the photographs that had represented public spaces. On the other side, the participants who were still living in a house with lower minimum standard conditions took more photos of private spaces. One participant, who was waiting for his new flat to be constructed and living in a rented flat, even captured photos of his neighbour's private spaces (Figure 6.15). He highlighted the poor conditions of indoor spaces where the old neighbour was living alone. This fact indicates how locals perceived the surroundings and defined their priorities.



Figure 6.15 An image of a lonely old man sitting in his living space captured by another resident (TM103-II)

This is a statement from another resident who was still living in a house without having the standard conditions. She stated:

“These (Figure 6.16) are the concerns inside the home; however, we don’t have any problem with a home that has a yard. Indeed, in our opinion it is much better because it is under our control. In some of the photos, as you see, the damp has penetrated from the neighbour’s wall. In some other photos, the cracks are because its soil has eroded. Several times we

renovated these cracks, and even changed the cement and stucco, but it didn't work. Eventually, we cannot do anything with them. It seems the soil is dead..." (TF106-II).



Figure 6.16 Cracks and damp within the internal spaces (TF106-II)

As the photographs and elicitation interview show, the conditions of the private space that she and her family were living in was her main issue. She added that she was happy with living in a house with a yard, since once the “kitchen was inside the home, it wasn’t like the old-fashioned buildings where the kitchen is inside the yard” (TF106-II). She continued, “If there were no cracks or I [she] could settle here comfortably, then probably I [she] would never accept the reconstruction of this home”. In the case of the private space improvement, she might have been satisfied with her home. She had a sense of embarrassment because of the physical conditions of her private space. As she explained, in the eyes of her family, whenever “we had guests, they might think differently about us. Once someone is passing by, the individual realises the alley’s condition, but there are some problems inside which cannot be seen from the outside” (TF106-II). This sense of living in a low-quality environment particularly for the internal spaces had pushed her to feel embarrassed and dissatisfied. It may also have socially constrained her relationships.

As the above examples show, individuals living in a house of low minimum standard conditions highlighted their private spaces in their narratives. To them, mainly, gaining



higher quality indoor spaces was a priority. After meeting this need, individuals might have considered public space issues. Indeed, locals expressed a hierarchy of priorities representing their environment. In their eyes, private spaces were foregrounded. Once this was addressed, then public spaces were questioned. Within all the representations, the transition of the sense of living in a low-quality environment from private into public space was a common issue.

The locals also frequently captured photographs of their public space to represent the low quality of these spaces. Representation of public space was a common concern for the residents who were not living in their earlier home anymore. For instance, a local who was waiting for his new flat to be complete captured a photograph (Figure 6.17) of a narrow blind alley at the end of Edalat alley. He underlined the dysfunctionality of the built environment, as he commented “...we could not even bring inside the house an air cooler [model] 3000” (TM103-II). Interestingly, he applied the pronoun ‘we’ to show this issue was a shared experience among all the residents of the alley. The absence of the expected functions had damaged his sense of satisfaction. In his eyes, the others living in this alley had this concern towards place satisfaction. Others also narrated similarly.



Figure 6.17 The imprints on the wall representing the dysfunctionality of place (TM103-II)

The locals also linked the low quality of the public space with the private space. When public spaces did not meet their expectations functionally, they were dissatisfied not only with the public space but also with their private space. To them, since the dysfunctionality in the public spaces affected their private space, their sense of place was disturbed. The dissatisfaction with the functions of public spaces damaged their place satisfaction. However, for some residents, this sense of the low quality of the public space was not only due to the physical issues but also because of the way that the others were using these spaces. For instance, a female resident mentioned that “if the neighbours stand at their front door talking, once someone from outside the area comes here, the person would have a negative idea about the area... the individual may even say the residents of this alley all are the same!” (TF104-II). She was happy with her new flat, but she was not satisfied with the way that some residents were using the public spaces. This constant (public) place dissatisfaction could have been a reason to leave the place.

This sense of environmental quality did not only come from inside the neighbourhood, however. It seems there was an unintentional or intentional institutional stigmatisation of the place. The local office and other institutions tended to improve the locals’ environmental awareness to encourage owners to participate. Through this awareness, labelling the place as a ‘decaying urban area’ was also seen. As one interviewee explained, through the participatory process, she had learned “what is a declining area and so on, so I [she] learnt some stuff, because before I [she] never thought about these issues” (TF104-II). The participants like her had more of a sense of living in a low quality area compared with before the process, as they had been endowed with skills by the process.

The process of the owner participation, indeed, gave the locals better skills by which to look at their environment with a critical eye. Before the process, the environmental quality might not have been such a problem, but during and after it was a big problem. This was the reason why they were dissatisfied either with their private or public space. Moreover, since the new buildings were reconstructed within the neighbourhood, the judgement between the old and new, and the low and high quality, was more tangible for the residents. This comparison was the main reason why these interviewees mentioned a sense of embarrassment about their place.

## 6.5 Conclusion

The findings in this chapter indicate that spatial-economic gain was one outcome of the participatory urban redevelopment in the Takhti neighbourhood. Owner participants were promised a new, larger flat, including new spaces such as parking areas, and thus their flat would have a greater value than their former house. Improvement of accessibility within the area was also a promised outcome. These promised gains by the authorities were a motivation for locals to engage in the process, but not the only factor. Place dissatisfaction was also another factor behind participation, as participants perceived that they could not reside in their timeworn houses anymore. A sense of living in a low quality environment, including both private and public spaces, generated place dissatisfaction. However, this perception came not only from the inside of the neighbourhood but also from the outside.

There was an unintentional or intentional institutional stigmatisation of the place. The local office and other institutions tended to improve locals' environmental awareness to encourage owners to participate. Through this awareness, labelling the place as a 'decaying urban area' was a message which was constantly sent to the locals. The process, indeed, gave the locals skills by which to cast a critical eye on their environment. As a result, they perceived the environmental quality during/after the process as a major concern, but it had not necessarily been a serious problem before the process. This was a reason for the place dissatisfaction either with their private or public space. The reconstruction of new buildings within the neighbourhood also enabled locals to compare old and new, low and high quality buildings. This was a main reason for those interviewees who mentioned a sense of embarrassment with their place, as they may have compared their old house with a new shiny flat.

The new flat residents were satisfied with their new flats but not with the entire neighbourhood. To these skilled residents, although their first priority, private space, had been answered, their public space was still an issue. However, after a while they missed the old lifestyle in their homes with courtyards and neighbours around, and this disturbed their place attachment and identity. This sense of loss for their former socio-spatial configuration was more common among the participants who had a deep place attachment or felt that the process changed the place in the way that they lost their emotional bond with the community. The intra-urban migration into the northward of the city was a common reaction of those who could afford higher socio-economic neighbourhoods.

Improvement or building trust among owner neighbours who had assembled their lands was another outcome. A new form of trust between this group of owners and the developer/local office was also built. As a result, the sense of belonging to the community and place improved among these participants; however, the presence of new flat buyers within the neighbourhood also damaged it. As the participants were socio-culturally different with these newcomers, the sense of community was relatively disrupted. For non-owners, this interruption was worse.

The process of the owner participation excluded renters and widows in such a way that they were not recognised as a member of the place-based community. For these groups, the participation of owners not only failed to improve their sense of belonging to the community but also disturbed their trust in their owner neighbours and institutions. The systematic exclusion/inclusion constructed new social divisions, which influenced the sense of community identification. The local residents, indeed, tended to identify several socially constructed divisions, such as the included or excluded, the owner or the non-owner, the benefited or the disadvantaged by the process, the early takers or the late participants; these divisions were not there before the process. The owners who had participated early and had not benefited very much from land value growth identified themselves as a group of participants who gained economic benefit compared to non-owners. Compared to the later participants, they had a sense of loss. These socio-economic identifications were all built on the basis of ownership.

As another outcome of the owners' participation, typical renters were being uprooted unless they were able to afford increased rents. This was worst for the widows, who lost both their homes and income. Due to an inadequate consideration of the vulnerable groups during the process, they perceived dissatisfaction and disruption in their sense of place. To them, the owner participation not only failed to bring personal growth but also made them forfeit their earlier progress. Therefore, in their eyes, participatory urban redevelopment was not a desirable experience. However, to the renters who could have bought a new flat, the evaluation was different. These non-owner residents, by receiving financial support, typically from a relative owner participant, were able to own a new flat. For them, an outcome of the owner participation was a sense of personal development as they had been shifted from the category of non-owner residents to owners. Therefore, in their eyes, the owner participation was seen as a desirable outcome.

As mentioned, the presence of newcomers within the neighbourhood after/during the process could have increased the socio-cultural diversity of the community. However, the locals might have felt that their area was becoming socio-economically homogeneous as upper and lower-mediate class were leaving the area. This happened because after/during the process everything was reorganised on the basis of ownership. Therefore, all had a similar circumstance in a particular socio-economic structure, but before they were more mixed and diverse. These changes had remarkable impacts on the community sense of place because the participatory urban redevelopment considered the entire neighbourhood as a whole. However, since the changes in the rest of the city may have not been planned, and they were unit-by-unit and gradual, they might not have been perceived similarly. The lower class groups, in several phases, filled the previous places of the upper-middle and middle classes who already moved towards the north of the city.

In summary, locals evaluated their participation and its outcomes in response to their diverse individual/collective necessities, which had not been seen in former (re)development projects. The findings show that the recent redevelopment project, which is believed to be participatory, was not what they expected. This raises the issue of informing and consulting at the planning stage. The focus of the owner participation was more on the technical issues and high turnout in terms of land assemblage, but the locals were disturbed by a shortage of green spaces, security, and/or other issues related to public spaces. These concerns were highlighted more by those living in a new flat. On the other hand, for those still living in old houses, private space and issues related to land assemblage were the priority. Locals, indeed, based on their life stage or stage in the process, narrated a different evaluation and sense of place for the process and its outcomes.





## **Chapter 7. Oudlajan bazaar case study**

## 7.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the findings from an empirical case study of the Oudlajan bazaar. It reveals and evaluates the process and outcomes of shop owners' participation in the redevelopment of the bazaar in relation to the concept of sense of place. The evaluation is presented from the viewpoint of different stakeholders. Similar to the previous chapter, this chapter has also been divided into three parts. In the first part, the main dimensions of the process of owner participation are organised under five headings: (1) engagement and trust building, (2) shop value and heritage, (3) inconvenience in the redevelopment process, (4) the process of planning and management, and (5) the issue of inclusion and exclusion. In the next part, the participants' sense of place is addressed before and after/during the redevelopment process separately, without discussing the links between the redevelopment process/outcomes and sense of place. In the last part, the participants' sense of place is discussed in relation to the process and its outcomes. The materials used in this chapter were gathered during the field trip to Tehran in summer 2014. Figure 7.1 includes all the photographs that were taken by Oudlajan shopkeepers.



Photographs by OM102-II



Photographs by OM103-II



Figure 7.1 The photographs above were taken by Oudlajan shopkeepers. As the photographs were taken by different local shopkeepers using different cameras (or mobile phones), they have different proportion and orientation.

## 7.2 The process of owner participation

The process of owner participation within the Oudlajan bazaar has redeveloped the bazaar through the involvement of local shop owners. Local owners might have improved or lost their trust, gained or lost, and been included, excluded or disturbed by the process. These are all dimensions of the process. To discuss these dimensions, this section focuses on five central areas. Firstly, it addresses how locals were approached and trust was built between the key actors – the Municipality, the Heritage organisation, developers, the local office, and shop owners. Second, the issue of shop value and its link with heritage awareness is debated. The evidence revealed how shopkeepers evaluated the project according to their shops' added value and commercial price for cultural values. Thirdly, the actors also evaluated the process and its outcomes through an angle of planning and management. Another issue is inconvenience due to the process of redevelopment and owners' expectations from the process. Lastly, this section discusses the issue of inclusion and exclusion, revealing who was left behind by, and who benefited most from, the process.

### 7.2.1 *Engagement and trust building*

Since the first Pahlavi period, planning for the historic centre of Tehran has been constantly publicised but in practice not fully implemented. Unimplemented or incomplete schemes have imposed a planning blight on the residents' view of urban

projects in general. As a facilitator revealed, the first impression of locals in Oudlajan about the participatory redevelopment was that it was laughable. She stated “a shopkeeper told me that his grandfather had said that in his great grandfather’s time, Reza Shah [the first Pahlavi King] had once come here and hung a banner with the words: ‘the Oudlajan bazaar regeneration!’” (OF105-III). For locals, any new scheme was repeating earlier unimplemented projects. Therefore, the first step to engaging the locals was cleaning the limbo of the state-led urban projects, which was a big barrier for trust building. For instance, it took six months to obtain permission to demolish one metre from each side of the bazaar. An architect developer associated such time delay to the lack of sufficient trust between locals and decision makers. He stated:

“Shop owners did not trust either the Heritage [Organisation] or the Municipality... for instance, they did not believe that if today we demolish one metre from each side of the bazaar, tomorrow we let them to take it over! They were saying ‘no, this is setback! Later, they will not let us take it over’. This was a result of previous lies by both the state and experts in planning and implementation. This postponed the project very much! The project that was supposed to be done in three months took six months to get permission from the shop owners! ... Some asked for a bonus instead of permission; for instance, if the municipality would let them construct a new floor. This is about failure in trust building” (OM106-III).

This statement highlighted the significance of trust building in the process. It revealed how distrust between locals and authorities could have influenced the project duration, as the bazaar’s reconstruction had started before trust was built. To tackle this barrier, local authorities attempted to establish interpersonal trust in shop owners, not institutional trust. Once locals saw trustworthy individuals within the organisation, for instance, one of themselves, they may have trusted in the entire system. According to this fact, the municipality followed a strategy of establishing individual trust. Indeed, institutional trust was constructed through interpersonal trust. However, when there were any changes in the local office staff, trust may have been greatly affected.

To implement this, after the initiative of the local office within the bazaar, Bavand Consultants Engineering selected three local individuals who were representative and trustworthy in the eyes of the owners’ community (Figure 7.2). Their key role was

building trust between the shop owner community and the local authorities. Through this interpersonal trust building, the relationship between the shop owner community and the local authorities improved. Having workshops and meetings with shop owners was another way of trust building, which gradually empowered them. As a consultant member exemplified, “In the beginning, they [owners] asked me to do this for us while later they learned how to do it themselves... they, indeed, were empowered” (OF104-III). However, as she explained, although the consultant imparted skills onto owners who entered the process, “the learning was almost by doing ...” (OF104-III). This revealed that trust building and not empowerment was the main goal.

To engage further with the shop owner community, female experts were selected for the local office. Individual female experts, designated by the consultant, could have created a space for dialogue between the local office and shop owners community. For instance, a female social facilitator explained that in the male-dominated environment of the bazaar, the designation of three female experts in the local office could have subtilized the milieu. She said, “If, instead of us, three men were asking shop owners to participate, they could have easily said ‘Get out of here!’ However, in front of us, they tried to be polite. They had to listen to us and watch their language” (OF105-III). Via this communication between the local office and shop owners, to some extent, trust was gradually built. However, the question that arises here is whether this engagement through the presence of female facilitators was sufficient to build trust.

One local representative believed that social facilitators do not know exactly what and how they should facilitate. From his viewpoint, the more important problem, indeed, was between facilitators and locals, once a facilitator wanted to communicate with locals. He commented: “Practically, it is really difficult to explain what should be done through the locals’ language and logic” (OM101-III). He exemplified that the difficulty of working as a facilitator “is like a teacher who wants to explain a mathematical integral to the students who do not know simple addition and subtraction” (OM101-III). According to him, to make the process easier, facilitators should not say everything or the locals may feel that they are autocratic.

On the other hand, in the eyes of shop owners, organisations such as the Heritage Organisation damaged trust. Shop owners who had experience of dealing with this organisation often commented on the process of redevelopment and its impact on their

trust. For example, this is the statement of a quilter at the bottom of the bazaar regarding the trust between him and the Heritage organisation:

“Before, I did not know the Heritage [Organisation]. I thought it was an organisation responsible for historical places and it must be good for us as well, but after what they did here, for which they clearly did not have a proper plan, my opinion changed. After two years of being annoyed by the project, it was left. We saw that the Heritage did not supervise its developers. They were often saying ‘Here is more than 400 years old,’ but they did not meet construction standards. The part of the bazaar which was funded by shop owners [the head of bazaar] was better constructed than the part done by the Heritage [the bottom of bazaar] because there had been supervision. There was [also] a proper foundation and reinforced concrete” (OM108-IV).

This shop owner believed that the Heritage organisation did not have a proper plan for the redevelopment. He emphasised the lack of supervision as a main shortcoming in the process of redevelopment, which damaged the quality of the reconstruction. As a result, during the process, trust between him and the Heritage not only failed to improve but was also damaged. A local office member confirmed this: “the worst renovation that I have ever seen from the Heritage Organisation was what they did in the Oudlajan bazaar” (OF104-III). Both locals and local office members frequently questioned the reconstruction quality and monitoring as a destructive factor in trust building between locals and authorities. Supervision and the quality of reconstruction were not the only issues in trust building, however; as the insufficient transparency over the spending of funds was another point of contention. As another local office member stated:

“As an individual, I cannot trust in the Heritage organisation. I think they do a project only because they want to show they have done something! I remember, always when we had a meeting with the Heritage Organisation, I asked them to show us their receipts for spending 700<sup>19</sup> million [Toman]. They said ‘We are not obliged to say how we spend the funds!’ Then, the

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<sup>19</sup> £140,000

shopkeepers said that until the Heritage reveals the bills we will not pay our share!” (OF105-III).

In the eyes of shop owner participants, the Heritage either misused or did not spend the entire allocated funds on the reconstruction of the bottom of the bazaar. Due to insufficient discourse between the Heritage, the shopkeepers, and the local office members, the truth was not revealed. In contrast, the shop owner participants were able to supervise and communicate easily with the developer of the head of bazaar and the consultant. As the Bavanad Consultants member stated:

“The owners opened a bank account in the name of three of the owner representatives, and no payment could be made unless two of them had signed it. We [the consultants] played a supervisory role. Everything was very clear but on the Heritage side, there was a lot of gossip. The head of the Heritage Organisation also changed ... However, regarding the owners’ share, we were very sensitive not to discredit the representatives; thus, several people in Bavanad were controlling the payments” (OF104-III).

She emphasised the transparency and the consultant supervisory role as key points in building trust with owner participants. In addition, owner participants compared their discourse with the Heritage, and the developer was funded and supervised by both the consultant and owners. As the developer of the head of the bazaar revealed, “several times I was asked to show evidence and give details of the costs to them [shop owner participants]” (OM106-III). This could have damaged shop owners’ and the local office’s trust in the Heritage Organisation. In their eyes, the unaccountability of this organisation was that it did not keep its promise to the end, and this was one cause of the lengthy decisions in the process. In contrast, shop owner participants mentioned different opinions on the role of the municipality. For instance, a shop owner stated:

“The municipality helped us relatively. They gave business licences to some of the old shops at a low price. Thanks to them. Then, some could renovate their shops. Indeed, they facilitated the construction of these shops here” (OM108-IV).

Indeed, this comment shows that shop owners evaluated their relationships and trust in local organisations from an economic viewpoint. If an organisation was financially

beneficial for them, they expressed a positive opinion. The Heritage Organisation was not as trustworthy as the municipality because the Heritage was the first organisation to start the redevelopment, and it had left it incomplete. In contrast, the municipality offered them discounted business licences and lower construction permission costs compared to other shop owners near the Oudlajan bazaar. This was a tangible financial benefit for locals.

What the abovementioned shortcomings show is the issue of misunderstandings in the discourse between governmental institutions and participants, resulting in insufficient trust. The process had been initiated when there was insufficient trust between the key actors, as the local office manager revealed: “they did not let us prepare a proper scheme; the Heritage forced us to implement the project quickly” (OF104-III). This hastiness might have been due to the political interest of this project for institutions like the Heritage Organisation. As a local shop owner representative indicated, there was an institutional competition between the Heritage Organisation and the municipality.

“They look like competitors. The municipality considers itself a trustee of the entire city, while the Heritage Organisation considers itself a trustee of the city’s heritage. Once there is a dispute over urban areas between the municipality and Heritage Organisation, the only person who can end the argument is the locals. Both have several approvals against each other” (OM101-III).

Both institutions were interested in the Oudlajan bazaar, as it was a brand for the city. Politically, success could have promoted the institutions involved in the project. This could have created a sort of competition between governmental institutions to claim their control. The institutional competition could have resulted in a great deal of inconsistency in the redevelopment and, as discussed in the following sections, precipitation and consequently damage to institutional trust. Institutional trust was damaged, either the trust between locals and institutions or the inter-institutional trust. As mentioned before, to fill this gap, the authorities, in particular the consultant, proposed interpersonal trust building instead of institutional trust, even though it was more time consuming.

In sum, the discourse and language used by different actors involved in the process might have not been sufficient and informative. Authorities communicated with locals from the viewpoint of power. In cases of disagreement between a local participant and an



institution, locals generalised it to the entire process, which could have affected their trust. Locals perceived the participatory process as one whole including all staff, institutions, local offices, and facilitators representing the state. Any misunderstanding in the discourse could have shaken their trust and consequently discouraged them from participating. On the other hand, the initiative of the local office, individual engagement, and trust were the tools used by the authorities to approach locals to build and/or improve institutional trust.

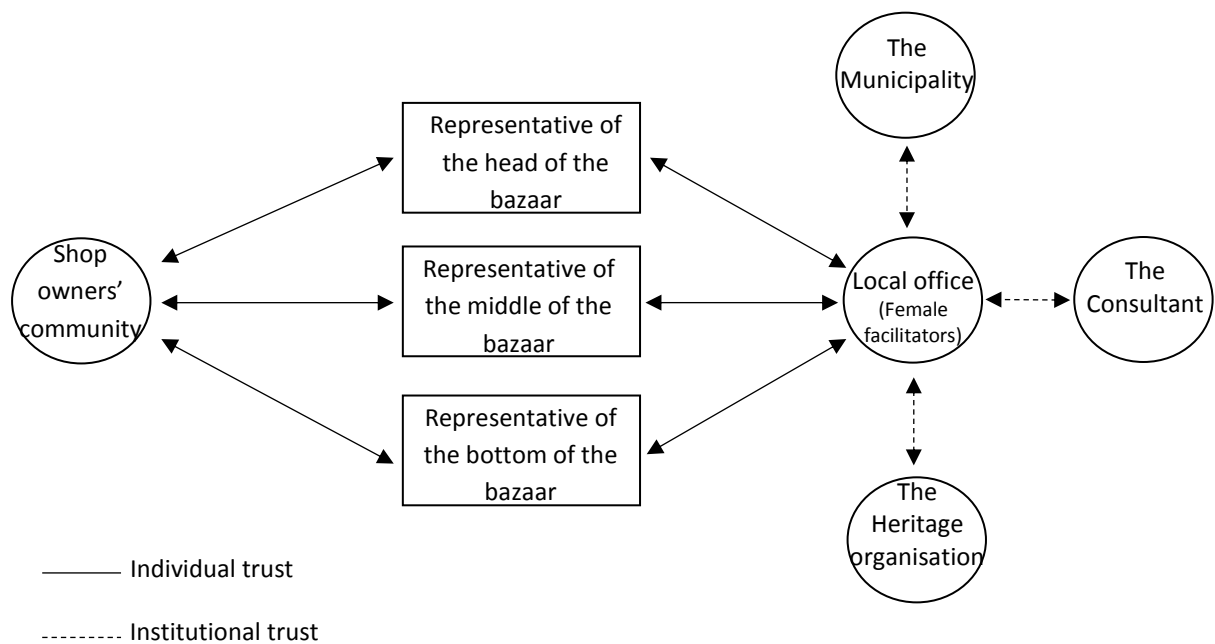


Figure 7.2 Trust network between the key actors

### 7.2.2 Shop value and heritage

Gaining financial benefit was expected by the shop owner participants. In their eyes, if the owner participation could meet this expectation, it was successful; if not, it had failed. This was a common evaluation approach among most shop owners. The major criterion for financial profit was their shop's commercial value: the price of shops per square metre or lease. In their evaluation, they did not compare the value of their shops to before the initiative; rather, they compared it to those on the other side of the main street (15 Khordad St.), where the bazaar area of Tehran is.

Owners acknowledged that the shops at the head of the Oudlajan bazaar, closer to the street/bazaar area of Tehran, had a higher price than the bottom of the bazaar, more inside the neighbourhood fabric. This system of shop valuing was based on measuring distance from the main street and the bazaar area. The closer a shop or property was to the bazaar area, the higher the value expected. However, shop owners within the Oudlajan bazaar criticised this general evaluation when comparing their own to a similar shop inside the bazaar area, in particular, on the other side of the main street.

Tolerance of price within the Oudlajan bazaar building on distance and location was acknowledged, but huge price differences within the bazaar area were not accepted. Although the Oudlajan bazaar has never been a top market, to compensate for this big difference, they expected that an outcome of the owner participation would be a remarkable rise in their shop values and rent, but from the property market viewpoint, this had not yet occurred. Shop value had increased as a result of the bazaar redevelopment, but since this growth was not as much as they expected, it was unsatisfactory. For instance, one grocery shop owner often compared his shop to a similar grocery shop within the bazaar area, and this big difference in the shop value was unacceptable to him. He stated:

“The bazaar [area] is only 50 metres from here [the Oudlajan bazaar]. Shops on the other side of the street are several times more expensive than ours. This might be due to the large number of problems [we have] or being ignored by the municipality, I don’t know exactly. There is a big difference between here and there. The value of a shop like mine in the bazaar [area] would be around 100<sup>20</sup> million and 30<sup>21</sup> million rent” (OM109-II).

For this shop owner, it was difficult to accept this big difference, but the distance from the bazaar area was an accepted criterion for shop valuing within the Oudlajan bazaar. To him, it was fair to value his shop in middle of the bazaar higher than shops at the bottom as his shop was closer to the bazaar area, but the big difference between the shop values in both bazaars was unfair. He believed that since the Oudlajan was older than its surroundings, its shop value should have been even higher. Indeed, he believed that a

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<sup>20</sup> £20,000

<sup>21</sup> £6,000

historical record –heritage value– should be the main criterion for a shop value, not distance from the bazaar area.

“We are [economically] backward, while they [the bazaar area] are doing well! We have to look for customers! There, the price is now 50<sup>22</sup> million per metre [square] and 40<sup>23</sup> million per metre [square] lease, but here even nobody wants to pay 20<sup>24</sup> million. Here used to be the oldest bazaar within Tehran as we studied it in our school books! Now you have to close down your shop and find another place to do business while here there is Caravansary and Timche, and here is a bazaar!” (OM109-II).

Local shop owners expected a higher commercial value for their shops since the Oudlajan bazaar is a historical place. A high rise in shop value was expected as an outcome of the owner participation. If the outcomes could have met this expectation, the process was successful; if not, it was unsuccessful. This revealed a paradox in shop valuing, however. The owners expected heritage value as the main criterion for shop valuing once they compared their shops to other nearby bazaars, but among themselves they had a different criterion –distance from the bazaar area of Tehran.

There was a discrepancy between what they expected for the commercial value of their shops, particularly after the process, and what it was in the real property market. Their expected commercial price, a hope value, was much higher than the value that the market offered. Historical records of the place –heritage value– was the logic that owners used in their value analysis. Indeed, they conflated two values: cultural values and commercial values. As they were assessing the process and its outcomes from a financial perspective, they were converting cultural value into commercial value. They expected the process or government to compensate them with commercial value for the cultural value, as their place had been treated as culturally valuable. This is further discussed in Section 7.4.3 as a sense of heritage awareness.

This argument is about the distinction between cultural and commercial values. Architecturally, older buildings in the bazaar have a higher cultural value than new ones, but they may be located in a location/context that is not commercially highly valued. For

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<sup>22</sup> £10,000

<sup>23</sup> £8,000

<sup>24</sup> £4,000

instance, typically, in an Iranian traditional bazaar smaller jewellers' shops have a higher value than a big caravansary, which architecturally might be very valuable and beautiful. A commercial value is typically determined by location and context while a cultural value is about the historical heritage of a place/object. Local owners conflated these values.

Another issue regarding shop value analysis was the way that shop owners understood the process of owner participation. They compared the process to what was occurring across the city. Within the city of Tehran, there was a typical contract for residential reconstructions, called 60/40 Mosharaket (participation); in this contract, after the redevelopment, a property owner(s) and developer were respectively benefited 60% and 40%. Although it was labelled 'participation in (re)construction', it was a financial partnership between a developer and an owner(s). This also affected the shopkeepers' expectations of the owner participation. As an architect, a developer in the Oudlajan explained how "a representative of the shopkeepers asked me 'why the amount was changed from A to B'! Because they compared this [owners'] participation to the 60/40 participation. In their eyes, participation is only 60/40" (OM106-III). This statement revealed how shop owner participants had misunderstood participation. This could have been due to miscommunication and misunderstanding at the informing and consulting stages of participation.

There was also another judgement. Shop owners were constantly comparing shop values to nearby places that used to be valued lower than the Oudlajan bazaar. As a result of natural development and inflation across all the country, the value of some of these places had remarkably increased. The comment below by a shop-owner participant in the middle of the bazaar illustrated this comparison by pointing to Figure 7.3.

"... the value of shops in the Moradi alley once was less than a third of the Oudlajan shops. As bag manufacturers came there, their value gradually changed. We compared here to there! From a financial viewpoint, not only their shop value but also their rent is becoming higher than here! This is because, now there is a bag exchange, they are almost open and people are working there but here many shops are closed" (OM110-IV).



Figure 7.3 The bag exchange in the Hakim (Moradi) alley (OM103-II)

To local shop-owner participants like the above example, although the redevelopment had occurred within the bazaar, nearby shop values outside the bazaar, e.g. the bag exchange, had increased more than the bazaar. This was not accepted. Increasing shop values in the inner city of Tehran were predictable, as a study of the property market in recent years confirmed. What surprised them was the number of changes. In their eyes, the Oudlajan bazaar shops, which were under redevelopment, should have been valued and rented higher than any other places within the inner city. Indeed, their expected value was lower than inflation.

All the above arguments reveal the process by which owner participants assessed their shop value. Narratives show that shop values had risen either because of the spatial quality improvement of the bazaar and/or inflation; however, it was not as much as participants expected. This might have been due to different ways of shop evaluation. To assess their shop value, they compared their shop value to shops on the other side of the street. Through this comparative assessment, they conflated the cultural value with the commercial value. They also compared the process to other types of involvement in the rest of the city. The hope for a value higher than the market proposed created a standoff situation in the property sales of the bazaar.

### 7.2.3 *Inconvenience and security during the redevelopment*

One inconvenience that occurred during the redevelopment of the bazaar was the issue of overdue completion. Shop owners often mentioned that being behind schedule had led to an increase in undesirable behaviour, such as drug use. As the bazaar was roofed, homeless drug users were interested in sleeping there on winter nights. On the other hand, monitoring the space was challenging because the project was incomplete. In the dark hours, the bazaar was an indefensible space with security issues, as one shop-owner participant commented:

“The only problem was the delay in the project. For instance, on winter nights drug users sleep here and, as they lay fires in some places, the smoke has blackened the roof although later it was washed away. This year, a guard was employed. Last summer it was very smelly here; you could not even have passed through. Thank God, this summer, from this view, here is much better. Now, we have someone who does not let any drug users come inside the bazaar” (OM110-IV).

To this local, the presence of anti-social behaviour was one undesirable outcome of the late completion of the project. There were other inconveniences linked to the redevelopment of the bazaar such as the stagnation of business activities during the redevelopment. As the shop owner said, “last year, here was ditched so you could not come here, either by walking or motor bicycle. There is a picture of it [Figure 7.4]” (OM110-IV). Although businesses in the bazaar were stopped for a long period, this was not considered in tax calculations. The shop owner continued:

“For two to three years, shopkeepers did not work here. It was ruined here! The municipality should consider this in their tax estimation! The tax estimator compared here with a shop on the other side of the street, but he did not know the amount of earnings! Here we have a nylon shop, a blacksmith, and parking, which are different! The municipality employs someone who does not have enough specialist knowledge to estimate tax. That’s why he estimates my shop and shops on the other side of the street with the same tax rate!” (OM110-IV).



Figure 7.4 The bazaar route was impassable during the redevelopment in summer 2013

To shop owners, disregarding overdue completion and the paralysis of businesses during the redevelopment regarding the tax rate estimation was a main cause of dissatisfaction. To shop renters, this issue was more tangible. A social facilitator revealed how renters “were annoyed once the redevelopment started. In the beginning, they were happy, but later no. Because, on one hand, they had to pay their rent. On the other hand, they could not do their business since their customers could not enter the bazaar” (OF105-III). Renters were vulnerable both during and after the redevelopment. Increasing prices such as rents as a result of the place redevelopment might have made the place unaffordable for renters although some were able to change their job into a more profitable career to afford high-priced rents. As a developer confirmed, the process disregarded or underestimated locals’ business during the redevelopment:

“To implement the scheme, we had to destroy one metre from each side of the bazaar path. First, we removed shop doors and reinstalled them in one metre inside shops! Imagine the dust inside the shops during this demolishing process! During this, many shops, either our part or the part done by the Heritage, had to close down. The bazaar was abandoned! We

wanted to regenerate the historic fabric but through such a scheme we destroyed the life of the area! Unfortunately, the first issue is the intervention has only been seen as physical, and secondly, the life of the residents during the implementation has not yet been considered!” (OM106-III).

In the developer’s eyes, the disruption of business was overlooked during the redevelopment. The question that arises here is whether the bazaar was more active before the redevelopment or during/after. Indeed, it is important to consider the project on a larger time scale: before, during, and after the redevelopment. During the reconstruction, the bazaar was in limbo and the overdue completion intensified trade problems compared to before. On the other side, several decisions taken by some shop owners intensified the stagnation and consequently increased the completion time. As an example, the developer revealed how the owner of a tiny shop had stopped the entire project for a long period. He stated:

“The consultant [scheme] placed a column in front of this [tiny] shop! The shopkeeper did not let us reconstruct this part! The consultant was saying this shop was created through digging out an area between two 80cm historic vaults. The entire project was stuck because of this! Ultimately, the consultant had to change the column to a reinforced wall (U-shape). In practice, the project was stuck although the shopkeeper’s claim was not legally true!” (OM106-III).

According to the developer, a short-term benefit of some shop owners was a barrier against the redevelopment. In his eyes and those of some locals, such a shopkeeper was able to disturb the redevelopment hugely and influence businesses in the bazaar. However, the local office manager had a different opinion. She believed business stagnation was temporary and inevitable during the reconstruction, but compared to before the redevelopment businesses in the Oudlajan improved remarkably. She revealed that at the beginning of the project, around 50% of shops within the bazaar were inactive, “184 out of 396 shops were closed. The others were also semi-closed” (OF104-III).

From another angle, these narratives reveal the involvement of shopkeepers in decision-making regarding their physical environment at the implementation stage. Therefore, the participatory development in the bazaar was not a top-down process, as shopkeepers were



able to stop and/or modify the reconstruction; however, some of the outcomes might have created dissatisfaction during the redevelopment.

Resistance against changes was another cause of inconvenience during the redevelopment. For a long time, the area had not seen any physical changes. As a local shop owner at the bottom of the bazaar commented, the recent physical redevelopment “was the biggest changes here. Before, in the last 40 years, nothing had changed! Hardly ever had a shop owner changed his career. The fewest changes that I have ever seen in my life were here in Oudlajan. It was always the same until two years ago when the reconstruction started!” (OM109-IV). Shopkeepers got used to their static physical space in which socio-economic changes were unable to change the area either. For locals, their place was physically and to some extent socio-economically frozen, so the participatory redevelopment must have been a big change.

These narratives reveal that some inconveniences such as resistance against new changes could have been expected and predicted by decision makers. Closing a shop down for a while meant losing the customers. This could also have been avoided if the redevelopment scheme had already considered it. That was why a developer architect believed that the scheme should have been designed based on the first Pahlavi period, not the Qajar period, and then there would have been no need to destroy one metre from each side of the public path or close down the shops during the redevelopment. Fewer physical interventions could have generated less sense of business stagnation and dissatisfaction. To shop owners, this was an undesirable outcome; however, as they were able to change some decisions during the process, the experience might not have been undesirable.

#### ***7.2.4 Process of planning and management***

The process of the participatory urban redevelopment in the Oudlajan bazaar was planned and managed by the municipality of Tehran in coordination with the Heritage Organisation and Bavand consultancy (the district consultant). The role of the consultant was coordination between three parties: the municipality, the Heritage organisation, and local shop owners. The consultant established the local office to engage with shop owners. They were routinely informed about the fabric of the bazaar and hazards of working there. The local office also facilitated the process through inviting local owners to participate in the process through paying their share to redevelop the bazaar area. Shop owners selected

three local representatives, who each one represented one part of the bazaar, to link them to the other parties. Then, a tripartite agreement was reached between the municipality, the Heritage Organisation, and shop owners. Each party was responsible for funding one-third of the cost required for the redevelopment. Then, developers were recruited to redevelop the bazaar. However, shortcomings such as the long overdue completion indicate that the process of owner participation was not fully planned.

The head of the local office and representative of the consultant revealed that local authorities “did not know the process was going to be like this...” (OF104-III). According to her, constant changes in the management team of local organisations e.g. the Heritage Organisation had negatively influenced the project management and institutional coordination. However, the issue of management changes within the context of Tehran and Iran was not a new phenomenon, and could have been considered before the initiatives.

The issues of feasibility and priority of projects were also mentioned by both locals and local authorities. They, for instance, criticised the sport centre project within the Oudlajan neighbourhood (Figure 7.5). As an expert who used to work for the consultant stated:

“The worst thing done by the municipality was constructing this sport centre. They just wanted to say we have done something! There was no justification for a neighbourhood that does not have enough families and the others are shopkeepers who come here only for work and limited hours! There was no feasibility study” (OF105-III).

According to locals, the sports centre was almost closed or empty because there was no proper planning. A grocery shop owner commented that the municipality “... should have asked us [shop keepers] what we want here. For instance, the municipality opened paintball, football, and basketball centres here! Nobody goes there! I saw only once on the opening day the municipality personnel were playing there!” (OM109-II). To him, it was failed planning as the local authorities had not consulted him and other shopkeepers about their decisions.

The municipality was also criticised for its monitoring system. To monitor tasks, the local office had to provide a monthly report. In the eyes of facilitators, this was a time-consuming issue. As a local office facilitator revealed “one of the critics that I want to mention regarding the TCRO was the report writing system. It took a lot of time. For a

one-month job, we were writing the report for two weeks! The bureaucracy was a big barrier!” (OF105-III). In response to this, the TCRO experts clarified this was a mechanism to evaluate their local offices across the city. However, criticism was not only about the decisions made by the municipality.



Figure 7.5 The Oudlajan sports centre (OM109-II)

The approach of the Heritage Organisation in the redevelopment of the bazaar was also criticised by both local shopkeepers and the developer. As a local shop owner stated, “the main disadvantage was from the Heritage. They saw only one vault on the three-way and they made it a template for the reconstruction! Presumably, a stupid person constructed this vault; why should we make all the bazaar like that?! ... I wish the roof was open, and we could see the sky” (OM109-IV). To locals like him, such decisions made by the Heritage Organisation were questionable.

Numerous changes at the planning and management stages were another issue in the process. A developer architect linked the changes in the process to the wider context of the public sector in Iran: “consultants do not provide a comprehensive scheme to cover all issues. Usually, estimations are not accurate and/or engineering documents do not have enough precision. Then, at the implementation stage, we have huge changes. In contrast, in the private sector, there is usually no such thing” (OM106-III). To him, the issues in planning and management were associated with the bigger setting. Decision makers

should have considered outside factors that might have influenced their estimations, for instance, the influence of economic instabilities within the country on decision making processes.

Another main concern from the planning and management perspective was whether this project was participation or partnership. Locals, local authorities, and experts directly or indirectly touched on this issue, although they had different opinions. The consultant believed it was a partnership task, while documents produced by the municipality presented the redevelopment in the Oudlajan bazaar as a participatory (Mosharekati<sup>25</sup>) project. As an expert from the local office stated:

“The Oudlajan bazaar project is more partnership than participation! It is better to say it was started as a participatory approach and ended up a partnership. It was not participation in the sense that everybody comes and says their opinion. It was like a financial involvement in which each one must have paid a portion” (OF105-III).

Studying the process reveals that this experience was different from that identified in the literature as a Public-Private Partnership (PPP). The head of the local office (managed by the consultant) believed that “because the Heritage and Municipality –the state– must spend their own funds by themselves, they are not allowed to transfer it into a common account or let someone else [private sector] use it... this is a difference from partnership” (OF104-III). As mentioned before, due to this fact, owner participants (third side of the agreement) were unable to monitor finances allocated by the Heritage. Indeed, the project was not entirely planned and/or managed as a partnership. Although there were some elements of participation within the process, it was also not an inclusive participation, as further discussed in the next section.

### 7.2.5 *The issue of inclusion and exclusion*

This section argues gentrification outcomes through asking who was left behind by, and who benefited most from, the process. In addition to non-shop owners, some owners might have been excluded by the process. For various reasons, some owners did not

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<sup>25</sup> A Persian term for participatory.

participate either. It is important to reveal why some owners participated and some did not, to discern who won and who lost: owner participants, owner non-participants, or non-owners.

Some shop owners did not participate because inclusion in the project was either unappealing or they could benefit by free riding. Owner non-participants might have been certain that the Heritage or any other organisation would have finally completed the project. Being free riders could have been a main reason for them to self-exclude, rather than the financial limitations, and indeed this is what the participants and local authorities thought. One comment by a social facilitator stated:

“Once I was inside a shop with the owner, and inevitably I heard his phone call! He was selling iron. In only five minutes on his phone, he sold 40 tonnes. It was a multi-million [Toman] business deal in five minutes! On the other hand, when we asked him for his share, he said he did not have enough money to pay! ... I think they [owner non-participants] were thinking that if they did not pay their share, the heritage finally has to come and finish the job anyway!... They never say they do not participate, but they do not pay their share” (OF105-III).

This comment reveals two facts. At the time, the bazaar’s roof and floor had already been reconstructed, with just some wooden doors (Figure 7.6) and lighting system remaining to be completed. Since the project was almost done, non-participants predicted that these parts would have been completed even if they did not pay their share. To owner participants, owner non-participants were free riders who mostly had shops at the head of the bazaar route and were closer to the main street/bazaar area. Their shops had higher value than the shops at the bottom. Another fact was that the participatory redevelopment was financially dependent on the share payment.

Studying traditional ways of involvement in the renovation of bazaar areas in Iran reveals that participation has not been limited to a financial contribution. From a socio-cultural aspect, for instance, the sense of collecting was much stronger in the past, commonly before the modernisation era in Iran. A shopkeeper would be shamed if he did not contribute. For those who were not able to participate financially in the project, there were other arrangements for participation such as involvement in construction actions. In the

Oudlajan case, this was overlooked. Participation, indeed, was simply interpreted as a financial involvement with no role in the decision making process.



Figure 7.6 A wooden door installed at a front surface of the shop (OM102-II)

For some participants, free riding was due to the lack of sufficient implementation power. They believed that the project should have obliged owner non-participants to pay their share. As a quilting shop owner declared, “the main problem is the shop owners themselves. Because this project does not have the power to implement, it is not finished. They [local authorities] should force shop owners either to pay their share or write a cheque” (OM108-IV). This comment reveals that this participant had understood the owners’ participation as a top-down and compulsory approach. This was frequently echoed by other shop owner participations.

On the other hand, considering the wider economic context is also important. At the time, the entire economy was in economic stagnation. As a developer stated, “due to the recession, certainly none of these shop keepers does very good business” (OM106-III). In a stable economic condition, they might have been more active in passing their cheques. However, to shopkeepers in the middle/bottom of the bazaar, closed shops at the head of the bazaar had caused a recession within the bazaar, which had also influenced the shop value market. As a shop owner at the bottom stated:

“The first 20 metres at the head of the bazaar belongs to rich tradesmen. They do not need any property, shop, or income! They closed down their shops as their income comes from somewhere else! They do not care that if they close down the shops, the entire bazaar will be in recession! Because, once you see the first 20 shops are closed, you do not enter the bazaar” (OM110-IV).

For locals like those in the above example, the prosperity of the bazaar was linked to the head of the bazaar. If it was dynamic, the entire bazaar would be active; if not, it would stagnate. In addition, the non-participation of the shops at the head of the bazaar could have disturbed the redevelopment process. Indeed, to shop owners at the middle/bottom of the bazaar, shops at the head negatively affected their business and shop values. This intensified new social divisions constructed by the process, ‘we’ versus ‘they’, further discussed in Section 7.4.2.

As another outcome, some activities had to leave the area either because of the poor image of their career or increasing rents. Businesses such as smithies and metal works had to leave the place. From this approach, there was a gentrification outcome as shopkeepers with direct skills or artisans, who actually were making things rather than just selling, had to leave the place. Smithies could not work in shiny new conditions either. They were never at the top of the market, but they used to have a roofed space.

As mentioned in the previous sections, renters were another excluded group. In cases where the shopkeepers were non-owners, the agreement between the owner and local office was passed to either the lessor or renter. The local office manager stated “we told renters that it’s their duty to get permission from the owner or lessor, and we said it is not our business!”(OF104-III). In these cases, typically, the local office avoided engaging with the owners; rather, they tended to encourage renters to reach an agreement. This might have been done for two reasons: it could have justified to renters that the process had considered them, and simplified the job for the local office.

### 7.3 Sense of place

This section addresses the sense of place of the shop owners before and during/after the owners' participation, without discussing the relationships between the process and sense of place. To capture their sense of place before the process, the section relies on narratives about the perception of place before the process and those that compared the place before and during/after the process. The evidence shows that there was a sense of pride in the place for the distant past, mostly among residents with long-residency. They emphasised the place as a commercial space. For the period during/after the process, occupational dependence on the place was a common narrative. Since other strongly emerged themes e.g. the sense of heritage awareness or sense of anxiety, revealed a relationship between the process and sense of place, these are discussed in Section 7.4, on owners' participation and sense of place.

#### *7.3.1 Before the participatory urban redevelopment*

To locals, forty years ago, before the revolution in 1979, was the golden age of the Oudlajan bazaar. By that time, the socio-cultural life of the neighbourhood was more mixed with the commercial life of the bazaar. Such a nostalgic sense for the distant past (30-40 years ago) was more common among shop owners with long residency. That experience made them to be proud of a place that there was social ties among its community. However, the gradual socio-cultural changes among shopkeepers changed the relationships. For an example, a quilter with more than 50 years residency commented:

“Before, usually all of us [shop owners] were coming here with our fathers. We grew up with our neighbours' children as well; so, we knew each other very well. Relationships were more friendly, but now is changed. Now, you may only know your neighbours' name or say hi. That's it” (OM108-IV)

This shop owner identified deeper inter-relationships with his and previous generations. To him, “...around 30 to 35 years ago it was not like this [today]. We were happier. Now friendships and kindnesses are less” (OM108-IV). As the socio-cultural composition of the bazaar was changed, their relationships were altered. Relationships between different



generations were also changed as “the new generation of shop owners are not that much connected with the earlier generation” (OM108-IV). Such a socio-cultural experience made him to have a nostalgic sense for the distant past – three to four decades ago. He was proud to be identified being a member of the socio-cultural of Oudlajan though the relationships were changed. This sense of place for before had created a sense of accountability towards the place among locals like him with long residency. As another shop owner with 40-years residency echoed this through a memory. He mentioned:

“One day, I saw a woman talking on her mobile phone. She supposed to tell the address of where she was standing! She asked from my neighbours down ‘where is here?’ My neighbour answered ‘Oudlajan’. She said ‘Dam, Oudlajan is the name?!’ I was with my friend who was an old resident. He told her ‘be careful about your language, do you know what is Oudlajan?’ she said ‘no’. He said ‘my daughter, first you need to ask where is Oudlajan and then you can say dam Oudlajan’” (OM110-IV)

For this local, it was unacceptable to speak about Oudlajan like that because for him it was a meaningful place. The comment also shows that being proud of the place was not only for the distant past. Other locals mentioned a sense of pride of place in the recent two/three years, which might have been an outcome of the recent redevelopment. For instance, a local shop owner, with a more than 50 years residency in Oudlajan, revealed how his disgraceful sense toward the place was recently changed. He stated, “ten years ago, in school registration time, instead of Oudlajan, I wrote Pamenar as my workplace address. Why? Because, I was embarrassed! The first thing, the head of the school would say is ‘the neighbourhood of drug users’... This year proudly I wrote it down ‘Oudlajan, the historic neighbourhood of Tehran’” (OM113-IV). To him, there was a shift from being embarrassed to be pride of the place. The crucial question arises is what the reason(s) of this transition was. Whether the recent development and security improvement played a key role in changing this position or not. This is further discussed in the heritage awareness section.

Another theme often touched by interviewees was a sense of commercial place. For shop owners, it was very important that their place to be considered as a market place not as a residential neighbourhood. As a shop owner with more than 40-year residence revealed that once “... the municipality changed the bazaar’s sign into ‘the Oudlajan alley’. Then,

people protested it. After that, the municipality had to change it again and wrote it down ‘the Oudlajan bazaar’. Because, here is not a neighbourhood, it is a bazaar” (OM110-IV). To shop owners, the bazaar was a business place; in case of any threat to their business, they all were against it. Their reaction reveals their collective attitude towards the place. The shop owner also shed light on business-based relationships among shopkeepers and explained that how they were perceiving the place. He stated:

“Here, most have working relationships together. Some closed down their shops. Those who are open, only are coming here to do their business. At the moment, everybody only thinks how to engage daily with their customers, and then leave here and go back home at night!” (OM110-IV)

This statement reveals two facts. Firstly, there was no nightlife in the bazaar. Secondly, this shop owner attached only a working dependence with the place. This was a reason that most shop owners believed that they “... can work everywhere” (OM108-IV) as the financial profit was their priority. They expected more financial benefit from their working place. Since the reconstructed bazaar did not meet this expectation, they were dissatisfied, mainly due to the comparison of the Oudlajan bazaar with the Bazaar area of Tehran. As three brothers, who had a quilting shop at the bottom of the bazaar, all were agreed that:

“From a commercial viewpoint, here is dead... we can see here as a deprived area. Here has not improved so far. For instance, the [land] prices here are very different from the Bazaar area while it should not be. We always say here is 400 years old and apparently, it was the first bazaar, but now here is dead. However, since the project has started prices relatively have been changed. Everyone is waiting for the market booming here to sell or rent it out. I with my brothers, we are waiting for this. We may change our jobs and stay here or sell our shop” (OM108-IV)

For these shop owners, Oudlajan had lost its commercial character although in overall “the Oudlajan bazaar has never been very prosperous market...” (OM106-III). On the other side, they were hopeful the recent redevelopment may economically benefit them, despite of already discussed shortcomings within the process. They would be satisfied if what the initiatives had offered met their expectation for a commercial space. However, this would be a relative satisfaction in time/space and changing from an

individual/community to one another. Also, as a result of the redevelopment, “type of business [within the bazaar] would be changed, anyway” (OF104-III); although the business change might have benefited them, in their eyes it was a concern, further discussed in Section 7.4.1. On the other hand, on a wider scale, the gradual transformation of the neighbourhood simply as a commercial space could have influenced locals’ behaviours. As a shop owner with a minimum 40-year residency emphasised on connections between the earlier mix-used space and local customs. He mentioned:

“In the [distant] past, some of local shop owners were living within the neighbourhood. As a result, that combination of working and living in the place could have created some customs! For instance, it used to be some religious ceremonies or collective games. However, now, because it is only a working place, there is no custom!” (OM109-IV)

Another shop owner with long residency elicited the following statement by capturing a photograph (Figure 7.7) of the Banu alley, which is linking to the bazaar pathway:

“Here used to be a residential place as well as commercial place. This is the Banu alley. Women and kids used to live in these houses. There were social and economic life. The elders remember this. ... Now they have been used as warehouses” (OM102-II).



Figure 7.7 Houses converted to warehouses in the Banu alley (OM102-II)

The customs were gradually disappeared within the bazaar as there was no residential life within the area anymore. Indeed, the customs typically were after the working hours while there was no socio-cultural life; hence, it has been perceived as a dead space, "... here is a dead place. If you come here after 6 o'clock in the evening, no one is here. There is no [social] life!" (OM102-II), stated by an educated shop owner who has been in the bazaar for more than 40 years. This shows a damaging outcome once a place is simply meant a commercial space. In addition, the shift from a liveable residential/commercial neighbourhood into simply a commercial space had disturbed customs and place identity, when locals were unable to identify their earlier place socio-culturally. On the other hand, for new shop owners who had not perceived the earlier socio-economic life of the bazaar, the Oudlajan bazaar had only a commercial value. In their eyes, defining a bond with the place only through a commercial value might not have been a negative meaning while for owners with longer residency the bazaar was more than simply a commercial place. It was about the place identity and attachment.

### *7.3.2 After/during the participatory urban redevelopment*

A perception strongly emerged from narratives was place dependence. Local shop owners associated their economic conditions with the place because either they did not have any other option or the Oudlajan bazaar was the best place to do their career; hence, occupational dependence was a bond between them and the place. For instance, an old shop owner in the middle of the bazaar, whose shop was his only source of income, revealed a strong reliance on his shop. He stated:

"I am dependent on here! I am 63 years old, if I want to leave here, where else should I go?! I have rented the downstairs out for 550 hundred Toman<sup>26</sup>. It is not that much that I would be able to go somewhere else. In the Khavaran Street, for the similar shop you need to pay 2 Million Toman rent<sup>27</sup>. Some people like me are dependent on here because they don't have any other options. And for some, like nylon shops, the centre of their

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<sup>26</sup> £120

<sup>27</sup> £400

market is here. For instance, Mr . . . . ., who is selling nylon, he started with one shop, later bought two more shops” (OM110-IV).

For this local, the sense of dependence on the place was strong as the daily income was coming from his shop. For some others, such as nylon shops, as they could have financially gained through the place, they might have also had a strong sense of place dependence. They had a sense of personal development through the place although it might have been less than they expected. This sense of place dependence varied for different local owners. The youngest brother of three-brother quilt shop owners explained that how they were “dependent on here... We could have been benefited more. Anyone who left here was financially benefited more than us who stayed here. Five years ago, if I sold here and bought a shop somewhere else, I could have been benefited more. However, now [after the project] is different, we are waiting to see” (OM108-IV). For them, it was more financially beneficial if they had sold their shop out. After/during the owners’ participation, they were thinking since they have been waited for a long time and had paid their share, they should have tolerated the current situation to gain more benefit. The financial involvements alongside a long waiting time, indeed, were the reasons to feel dependant on the place.

Nevertheless, this sense of place dependence from the younger to older generation was slightly different. The younger generation believed that if their fathers already left the place and invested somewhere else they could have benefited more. This was a continued debate between them. As an older owner stated, “7-8 years ago, my young brother said with ten million [Toman] and finding a co-partner, we can buy a shop in the Laleh-zar street” (OM108-IV). The younger brother continued “that time you could buy a shop in the Laleh-zar with 150 million and sell here 70-80 million while now that shop is around 6 billion[Toman]. Imagine the difference” (OM108-IV). For the younger who had spent less time in the bazaar, it was easy to leave the bazaar while for the older that was an uneasy decision. For older generation, their relationship with the bazaar was not only financial dependence but also it was an emotional attachment. This place detachment did not allow them to make a straightforward decision. Shop owners with long residency were “dependent on here [the bazaar] but not only economically. I like here, even once here was full of thieves and drug users... imagine now which is booming [I like more] ...” (OM113-IV). For younger generation and/or owners with less duration of residency economy was the reason of the place dependence while for older generation it was both

economy and emotional roots. Both groups approved that if they had left the bazaar, it could have been more profitable.

This approval reveals that both groups believed that other marketplaces in Tehran have been redeveloped more than the Oudlajan bazaar has been. This assumption encouraged a sense of loss. Concurrently, the owners' participation was a reason for the younger generation to keep their shop and not selling out as they were waiting to benefit from the outcome of the redevelopment. If they did not benefit, they would have been the first group to sell their shops.

Shopkeepers in the middle/bottom of the bazaar accused shop owners at the head of the bazaar to be not dependent on the place. Their evidence was their closed shops at the head of the bazaar. As a shop owner at the bottom of the bazaar said, "First twenty shops are closed down because they have their income from somewhere else. They do not sell it nor rent it out as they do not need it" (OM109-IV). They believed this issue could have damaged the bazaar's attraction and consequently their business in the middle and bottom of the bazaar. This could have been an influential factor in the formation of new social boundaries, further discussed in Section 7.4.2.

#### **7.4 Owner participation and sense of place**

This section addresses the process and outcomes of owner participation in the Oudlajan bazaar in relation to sense of place. In earlier sections, both subjects were presented without discussing their connections. In particular, this section reveals their association in the eyes of shop owner participants. The narrative was a perception of place dissatisfaction due to different outcomes, e.g. the overdue completion of the redevelopment and new spaces. New social divisions were also constructed by the process, which influenced the locals' sense of community. Other outcomes were the heritage awareness and perception of authenticity. Locals questioned the authenticity of new constructions since they had been skilled at identifying heritage values. Finally, this section reveals how the sense of belonging to the bazaar route changed, as an outcome of the process.

### 7.4.1 *Satisfaction*

Before the participatory redevelopment, the bazaar used to be an insecure place in the eyes of both outsiders and insiders. Vulnerable groups such as women hardly ever passed by. A female facilitator explained how it was a difficult job once she started working within the bazaar. She described her first day, when she “entered there, it was a terrible bazaar. Shopkeepers even told me please, please, do not come here again! I said this is my job and I am careful... It was a very insecure place, full of drug users and thieves” (OF105-III). This perception of insecurity in the place verified that the presence of any female within the masculine space was highly unusual. She revealed the issue of place security and its influence on locals’ satisfaction. She mentioned:

“Once a shopkeeper told me that this house in the Hakim alley was the worst place. I asked ‘what do you mean by the worst?’ You mean because there is prostitution or drug sellers? ... He said ‘No! These are nothing! They are doing illegal abortion!’ ... Imagine you are working in an environment where you see these issues daily, how do you feel then?” (OF105-III).

The perception of a high level of insecurity within the place, before and at the beginning of the initiatives, had made locals anxious. A shopkeeper stated that “until two years ago [before the project], no women could pass here” (OM109-II), but during/after the project, the presence of women in the bazaar was considerably improved; consequently, locals had a more secure perception of the place. This improvement could have relatively reduced locals’ anxiety, although in the eyes of outsiders, it might have required a longer time. However, the place insecurity was not the only source of dissatisfaction.

Locals with longer residency narrated a sense of losing earlier inhabitants. For instance, a shop owner with more than 70 years residency within the bazaar felt like a stranger in a new city. To him, being a shop owner in the Oudlajan bazaar lately was like “you enter a city lonely like a stranger; do you know anybody there? Can you establish a relationship with anyone? Now, I have the same sense” (OM108-IV). For this local, being a stranger in your work place after a long period was a cause of discomfort since his familiarity with local shop owners was lost. The previous original residents had been exchanged for newcomers, mostly migrants. These newcomers were either new owners or renters. New owners were mostly from the outside of Tehran, who purchased a shop within the bazaar.

New renters were also mostly daily workers in the bazaar and nearby, and living in houses within the Oudlajan neighbourhood. One typical residence pattern was the settlement of a group of mostly single workers in a single old house. A grocery shop owner, who was born within the neighbourhood, stated:

“It has changed into a place for immigrants! Tradesmen from outside mostly from the north [of Iran], Kashanis,<sup>28</sup> Yazdis<sup>29</sup>, and Turks have come here. Also, if you look at the workers, you will find people from all cities. No one noble is left here!” (OM109-II).

He had a sense of losing his community due to the replacement of original residents with newcomers and workers, and consequently his sense of belonging to the place-based community was disrupted. He had taken the shop from his father but almost previous neighbours and friends had left the place. Indeed, he felt discomfort as he had lost his socio-cultural link with the place-based community. In response to the question that some locals had said they did not have any sense about there, he uneasily said “those who do not have any sense about here must be newcomers! Their residency is maximum 5 to 10 years!” (OM109-II). This, linking an emotional attachment with the residency duration, was a common response among some other shop owners. Nevertheless, this sense of dissatisfaction was not only due to the socio-cultural changes.

The physical redevelopment of the bazaar to some extent could also have generated a sense of place dissatisfaction among shop owners. As an example, a shop owner at the bottom of the bazaar perceived a sense of “cold feeling, specifically, because it is roofed! In the early mornings and late evenings or a holiday, you would see only an empty space, and it was not like this before! There is no one here! ... I agreed with the redevelopment, but not with this roof and those thick vaults! It has made it very heart-rending here! ... I wish we could have both: shadow and sunlight” (OM109-IV). During his narration, he pointed to the photographs below as evidence taken by another shop owner (Figures 7.8 and 7.9). This local was dissatisfied with the new enclosed space because it had intensified a sense of emptiness. Furthermore, he predicted more darkness and a sense of dissatisfaction with the bazaar path after the completion of one left vault in the middle of the bazaar, the bright spot in the background of Figure 7.8. A shop owner who captured

<sup>28</sup> People from Kashan, a small city in the centre of Iran, known for its tradesmen.

<sup>29</sup> People from Yazd, a city in the centre of Iran.



these photographs also favoured the space of the Hakim alley as shop owners “roofed their path with canvas by themselves” (OM103-II). The comparison of these two spaces reveals differences between the reconstructed space and a space that shop owners wanted.



Figure 7.8 A cold and empty space of the bazaar path in an early morning (OM103-II)



Figure 7.9 A warm and crowded space in the bag exchange in the Hakim alley (OM103-II)

More importantly, the key difference was not only about shadow and light in these two places (Figures 7.8 and 7.9), but also about the presence of people. The Hakim alley is an exchange market, in which you can see more women and children, particularly during the school term. Also, houses behind shops in the alley, which had converted to warehouses, were used as dormitories for labourers, which means that after working hours it was not a completely dead space. Therefore, the presence of people, light, and the shade elements made the shop owners perceive the new reconnected bazaar path as cold and empty, and the Hakim alley as warm and crowded.

This also indicates the loss of habits in the environment. The evidence shows that the traditional bazaar during the Qajar period used to be a dark and cool space with little roof light (Figure 7.10 left), when there was no electrical air conditioning. In the first Pahlavi period, the bazaar had a timber frame gable roof through which natural light and air could reach the bazaar path (Figure 7.10 right). Such a bright space was a common collective memory for shop keepers, but the dark and cool space with arched vaults had changed it.

For some other shop owners, the height of the reconstructed roof was lower than expected, resulting in place dissatisfaction. For example, a shop owner in the middle of the bazaar commented, “since they vaulted here, my neighbour’s shop window is now open to the roof, which has made it easier for a thief to go inside the shop, and he also cannot look down from his shop” (OM109-II). The new space did not provide functions that the shop owner required, which damaged his sense of security.

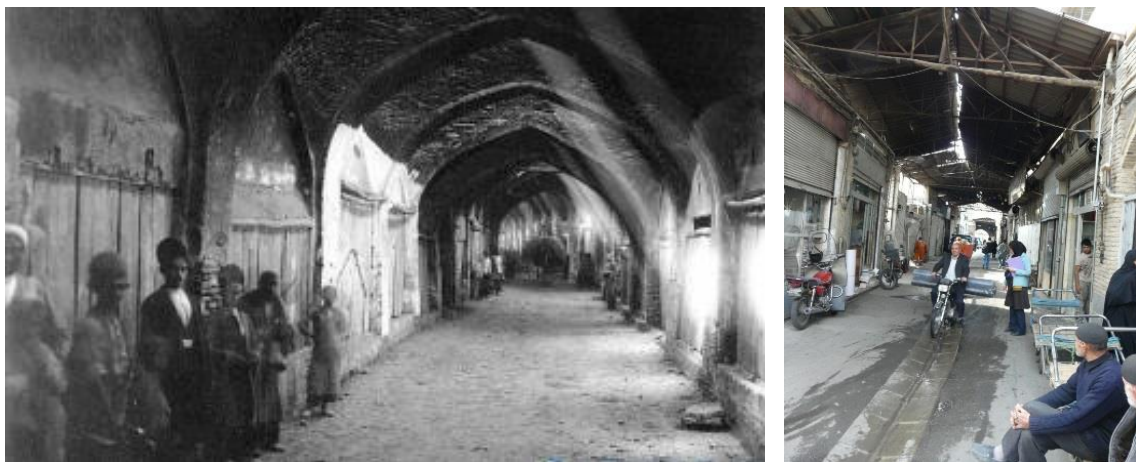


Figure 7.10 left: The bazaar path in the Qajar period; right: The bazaar space before the redevelopment (the Bavand Consultants)

An architect developer also commented on the bazaar's height perception. He revealed why, in the eyes of shop keepers, the new ceiling height was low. They should have compared their space with a two-level roof bazaar reconstructed by the municipality on the other side of the street. That comparison was a reason to complain about their ceiling height. However, he accepted that there was no robust reason for the reconstruction of the bazaar roof at this height. He linked the place dissatisfaction with the question of authenticity of the new space, as further discussed in the following sections. He stated:

“We are certain that the bazaar's roof was not two-level, but we don't know exactly how it was. Therefore, we were telling the shopkeepers this is original; however, it is not true! During the reconstruction, the shopkeepers were saying ‘It [the reconstructed bazaar path] is a dark suffocating space!’ How do you want to explain it to them? Do you want to explain the historic originality of it? We as local authorities and elites are telling them: you don't know anything; this is what it should be and this is correct! However, I know, none of the international charters [for restoration] confirm our job. There was no absolute requirement to reconstruct like this” (OM106-III).

Overlooking today's requirements in the reconstructed bazaar was another issue. Local shopkeepers often complained about wide columns or blocked facades, particularly in the bottom of the bazaar reconstructed by the Heritage Organisation. However, in the middle and at the head of the bazaar this had been relatively altered; for instance, the width of the columns was amended. When a local shop owner pointed to a column “in front of the shop .... You see a one-metre by one-metre column, but they amended it further down” (OM113-IV). A key demand was the visibility of shops.

As mentioned in previous sections, the overdue completion of the redevelopment also caused dissatisfaction. For instance, a local shop owner mentioned, “For over two years the people here have experienced difficult conditions” (OM108-IV). As the redevelopment process was a long period, more than what it was supposed to be, it exhausted locals. The tardiness also affected shop owners' business since the bazaar was stuck for several months; consequently, shopkeepers might have lost some of their previous customers. Besides these undesirable outcomes for their business, the bazaar

route was inaccessible for the period due to physical barriers such as ditches, canals, and construction materials or environmental pollution.

Noise pollution within the environment was also increased as motorcycles continued to ride through the bazaar route. The number of motorcycles might have not increased, but the perception of noise profusion in the bazaar was more tangible because the redevelopment had generated a more semi-closed space although it had improved the visual perception of the place. As a shop owner at the bottom of the bazaar said, “The noise is getting worse because now it is a closed environment. The motor cycles pass by here. You would get a headache here. You can also smell fumes inside the bazaar” (OM108-IV). Shop owners were sensing more noise and vehicle fumes, although from a visual view, they might have perceived an improvement in the environment quality. For shopkeepers, the contradictory perceptions gained by the different senses were unsettling.

Motorcycles were not the only producer of noise pollution. A quilter said “this year our neighbour has stopped cutting [the metal planes]; in recent years, when he was cutting, my shop was vibrating. Here, we ourselves do not produce any more; we buy [quilting] and sell more. If here is changed, we may sell our traditional quilting” (OM108-IV). Incompatible careers also disturbed shopkeepers. On the other hand, they had sensed that the recent change in their space would have changed their careers. Some shop owners were even enquiring about a profession change. However, the change from a career that they used to do for a long time into a new business was difficult.

The transition from the previous career to the new one was also a concern for the shopkeepers. Their business had lasted over time in the space in the market. After/during the process, they believed that the newly reconstructed market space required a new business, but they did not know what sort of career would be appropriate for them. Although changes in the business might have increased their profit, they were uneasy about it. For instance, some mentioned an antique shop as a new business but a lack of experience and/or skill was a major obstacle.

As an example, a quilting shop owner mentioned, “once it is complete here, no car or motorcycle can pass by, and then a metalworker cannot work here. Little by little, you will see quieter careers such as antique shops” (OM108-IV). For this local, a change from quilting into an antique shop was difficult, but he was aware that new spaces requested

new careers, which could make the place more tranquil. At that moment, he was not satisfied with the place, but he was hopeful to be satisfied in the near future.

Another issue was reducing the legibility of the built environment as a result of the redevelopment. This also caused discomfort, mostly for outsiders. A shop owner at the bottom of the bazaar revealed that “it’s around two years since this was reconstructed, and people who come here are lost and cannot find shops easily since everywhere looks the same!” (OM109-IV). In the outsiders’ eyes, recognising a shop in the reconstructed bazaar was hard due to the physical similarity of the reconstructed shops. Before, the shops were more distinctive, and gave a sense of place distinction.

#### *7.4.2 New social divisions*

The narratives resonated with a sense of social splits between shop owners. During the process of owner participation, shop owner participants who had paid their share for the redevelopment of the bazaar gradually considered themselves distinct from non-participants. Owner participants constructed their own social boundary, labelled ‘we’. In contrast, ‘they’ were shop owners who did not pay their share. Indeed, there was an ongoing argument between both groups on the basis of financial involvement.

The free rider problem was one major argument in the creation of these social divisions. In participants’ eyes, non-involved shop owners were spectators who were inevitably benefited by others’ efforts. To owner non-participants, the participatory redevelopment might have been completed even without their involvement as they were almost absent or their shops were closed down. That was why participants believed these absentee owners had a high income somewhere else. As a grocery shop owner in the bottom of the bazaar revealed:

“Here, there are a group of shop owners who think they are very clever! They can pay [their share], but since they think their financial mind is working very well, they are waiting for us to pay their share! This is one of the problems!” (OM109-II).

Those owners who purposely did not pay their share typically possessed a shop at the beginning of the bazaar, where property value had the highest rate. In contrast, the less affluent with fewer advantages who resided at the bottom of the bazaar were able to and

interested in participating. The shop-owner participants believed that the upmarket owners might have thought about why they needed to participate. They were self-excluded owners rather than being excluded. Indeed, they were considering free riding, but from a position of power. However, all the owner non-participants were not free riders.

In the participants' eyes, non-participants were also divided into two groups. A shop owner with more than 40 years' residency in the middle of the bazaar revealed that "there are different shop owners here, some really do not have that much money [to pay their share], some have, but they do not want to pay it! Frankly, their benefit is in the ruins of Oudlajan...through this project, I can recognise my neighbours" (OM110-IV). For shop-owner participants like him, the process had created new types of social division: owner participants, owner non-participants who did not want to participate, and owner non-participants who wanted to be involved, but they did not due to financial struggles. An outcome of this was a range of different shop owners who were not socially recognised before the process.

Through the process, each local attempted to identify themselves as a shop owner or non-owner, included or (self-) excluded, most benefited or less benefited, winner or loser. These social identifications shaped new divisions among locals which were not there before the process. Each local shop-owner had a sort of sense of fitting these new constructed boundaries. Although shop-owner participants had a sense of inclusion, they did not consider themselves as benefited as the self-excluded owners. In their eyes, the winners were free riders who did not pay their share even though they had benefited most from the process. The winners typically owned shops at the head of the bazaar where the highest value added was.

Also, shop owners with longer residency compared their added value to that of the new shop owners. In their eyes, the outcome was unfair since both were equally benefited. The added value for a shop owner who had been within the bazaar was as much as a new shop owner who might have acquired a shop only a few years before. Owner participants with longer residency gained an added value as an outcome of redevelopment, but in their eyes, the winners were new shop owners not themselves. As a shop owner at the bottom of the bazaar revealed, the view of the owners with longer residency was that:

“One who has purchased a shop in last 3-4 years would be benefited as much as me who has been here for more than 30 years. Obviously a new owner is the winner. If I had bought a shop somewhere else 30-40 years ago, now I could have benefited much more than today” (OM103-II).

In summary, the process had injected a new driver into the bazaar: the financial involvement (participant or non-participant). This not only generated a new social division on the basis of involvement but could also have intensified earlier social divisions built on residency duration (new owners versus older owners) and location (owners at the head of bazaar versus owners at the bottom of the bazaar). Taken together, new and earlier drivers constructed two major social divisions: most benefited owners and least benefited owners (Figure 7.11). An owner participant at the bottom of the bazaar with long residency may have counted being the least benefited (loser) while an owner non-participant at the head of bazaar may have considered themselves as the most benefited (winner). This social split could have disturbed the sense of place-based community. It could also have damaged responsibility and the sense of belonging towards the public space among the most-benefited group. This assessment might have negatively affected locals’ decisions regarding any future participatory project.

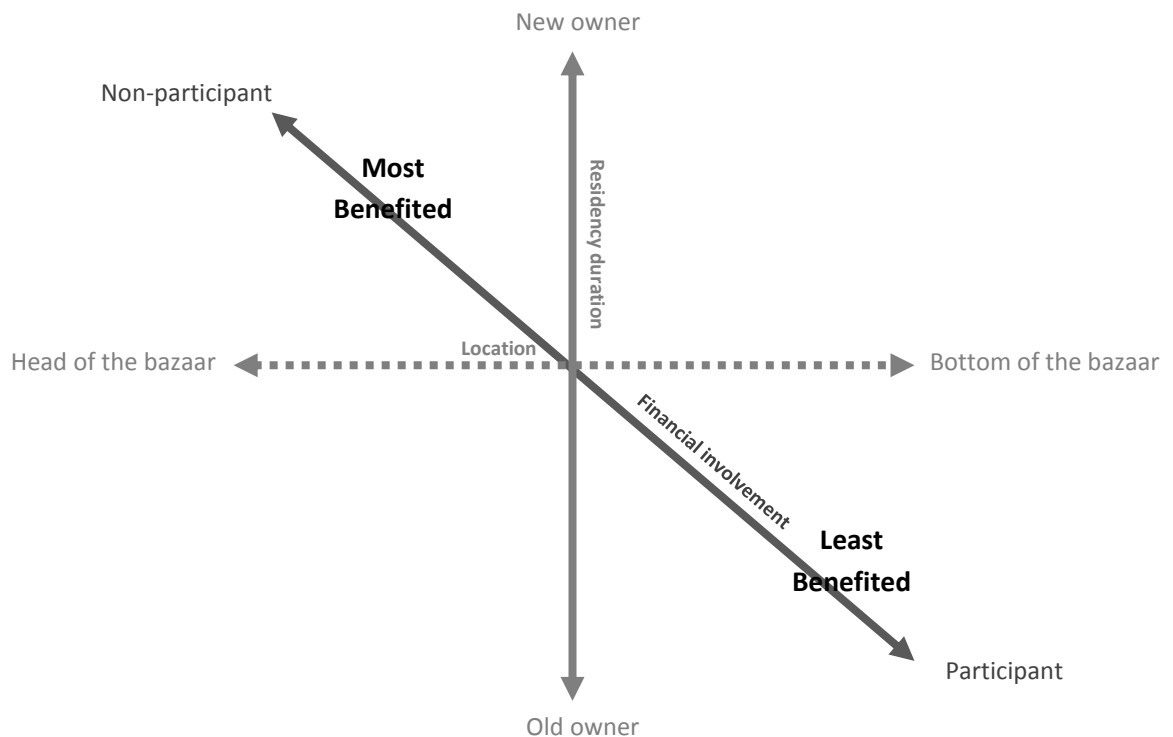


Figure 7.11 Main drivers of social divisions



### 7.4.3 *Heritage awareness*

Locals often narrated cultural values attached to their places/objects. This is evidence of some sensitivity to heritage. The question is whether such heritage awareness was an outcome of the process of participatory redevelopment or not, and whether (re)discovering these values could have improved the place identity. This is a statement by a young grocer in the middle of the bazaar:

“... everyday several people came here [grocery shop]; they took a picture of the bazaar route and discussed here, and even a number of students took a picture of my scale [Figure 7.12] ... I was supposed to swap my old scale with a new digital one, but later I thought there might be something within it! So, I asked my father and then I decided to keep it ... [after that] I started to find some more attention-grabbing things in my [old] shop ...” (OM109-II).



Figure 7.12 An old scale in a grocery shop (OM109-II)

Before the process, he could have recognised only the functional and financial values of objects and place; hence, cultural heritage were not evaluated as a value. Indeed, he used to evaluate everything simply through the angle of efficiency and business. If there was no benefit, it was not valuable. This evaluation is more typical in financial contexts and



markets than residential settings, but the process of participatory redevelopment to some extent was able to change this approach, although shop owners might have expected commercial value for cultural value, as discussed earlier. After/during the process, locals were more aware of the socio-cultural values of heritage. This was confirmed by the local consultants.

From the consultants' engineering viewpoint, the Oudlajan bazaar was a valuable diamond which had been covered in dust over the last decades. An outcome of the process was heritage awareness that could have significantly uncovered the socio-cultural values of Oudlajan in the locals' eyes. As a consultant coordinator explained, "my interpretation is that it was like a gemstone covered in dust. We suddenly took it out and now we are polishing it... it used to be full of drug users and decaying dust" (OF104-III). She believed that the socio-cultural activities had removed the drug users and the physical redevelopment had stopped the fabric decay, and both were influential in the improvement of heritage awareness. This was also confirmed by a shop owner, "Three/four years ago, I didn't see anything here... But now I think there is a treasure here that can be used...here is the old Tehran" (OM102-II). These statements revealed that the Oudlajan bazaar had been changed into an identifiable place through its heritage, at least in the eyes of insiders.

This sense of heritage awareness could also have improved the sense of place identity and being proud of the place among locals, although a longer period is required for it to be fully perceived. To understand this, the Oudlajan bazaar should be considered on a larger scale – a bazaar located at a historical neighbourhood close to the bazaar area of Tehran. The former interventions, particularly state-led actions, had negatively affected the sense of pride of place and place identity. A social facilitator who used to engage with locals in the entire Oudlajan neighbourhood commented on this issue. She explained how the earlier actions disturbed the locals' identity and sense of pride in the place. She commented:

"Before, the identity [of Oudlajan] was under deconstruction. Once I entered one of the old houses, I was amazed by the beautiful old building [Figure 7.13]! The residents asked me, 'Is it really beautiful?' I said yes, it is amazing. They told me that you should have come here during the earlier presidency, as they bulldozed here and ruined the most

beautiful houses. Everybody was crying in front of those bulldozers”  
(OF105-III).



Figure 7.13 A Qajar house in the Oudlajan neighbourhood (Bavand Consultancy)

Many historic houses were demolished overnight for financial gain in all previous decades, not only during the time of the previous president. Moreover, the dominant power of the bazaar area of Tehran could have converted many of heritage houses from a residential house into a warehouse. These built-environment transformations damaged the place identity. In contrast, the participatory redevelopment process might have revealed the relative socio-cultural and economic values of the place. For locals, this tension between earlier interventions and recent environmental awareness took longer to settle their sense of place identity and being proud of the place. “There is not so much a sense of pride in the place yet, but I am sure, very soon, locals will have this sense” (OF105-III), commented a social facilitator. Concurrently, temporary events and activities could have improved the place identity and pride of place. For instance, an architect developer shed light on how locals felt passionately about the use of their place as a cinematic location. He stated:

“Two months ago, the bazaar was a location for a movie. Imagine, before, in the bazaar, once we wanted to upright our scaffoldings, they [shop owners] did not welcome us! They were complaining about mobility in the bazaar and how they could not cart their loads! However, later, they were proudly watching how a director and cameraman from one corner of the bazaar waited for one actor to cross! I was surprised how the shopkeepers let them stop their business on Saturday, which is a working day! Nobody was complaining!” (OM106-III).

According to the developer, shopkeepers’ reactions had changed, since they were thinking “events like this were telling them that their place is not a very common area and somehow it is important!” (OM106-III). Locals gradually became aware of their place heritage as it was important for outsiders. This shows the significance of the recognition of sense of place and value from outside. Indeed, these socio-cultural changes facilitated by the physical redevelopment influenced heritage awareness. As the local office member revealed, their activities represented the cultural heritage of Oudlajan. She stated:

“At the beginning, we as girls couldn’t go there, but now the Akbarian Timche is full of diverse tourists eating Dizi!<sup>30</sup>... Many students in architecture have been here... The image of the place has been changed. For two years we were working on tourism. For instance, we had a photography competition and neighbourhood tours for foreigners, local kids, and students... a movie [about the neighbourhood] was produced...books were written” (OF104-III).

Shop keepers might have linked Oudlajan and its heritage to business profit and brands. After their environmental awareness, Oudlajan was “Like a brand, do you know Zara? Oudlajan is the brand of the city” (OM113-IV). However, this might have been a result of outside attention. As the heritage of the bazaar was promoted by institutions, media, and outsiders, local shopkeepers were more aware of and interested in the place heritage. On the other hand, there was inconsistency between a heritage character defined by the consultants and the everyday life of the bazaar. Because of the heritage consideration, the bazaar was reconstructed with traditional forms and materials e.g. vault and brick. According to the observations, brick edges of chamfer walls, typically below the waist,

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<sup>30</sup>A traditional meal.

were scratched. This occurred due to the movement of trolleys, regularly used by the labourers in the bazaar lane. The bazaar was redesigned and reconstructed to be a traditional market for tourists to visit shops. In contrast, the presence of workshops during/after the redevelopment process alongside the daily movement of trolleys damaged the environmental quality of the space. This demonstrated the significance of ongoing maintenance and management of the fabric of the space, which had not been considered in earlier stages.

#### 7.4.4 *Perception of authenticity*

For shopkeepers, Oudlajan was a recognised historic neighbourhood. A shop owner at the bottom of the bazaar believed that Oudlajan as a neighbourhood was different from nearby neighbourhoods because it was “...more rooted and older neighbourhood. For instance, years ago there was nothing called Pamenar, but Oudlajan was created simultaneously with Tehran” (OM109-IV). For him, Oudlajan was an authentic place since the formation of Tehran was rooted there. However, the authenticity of the recent redevelopment was in question. The first impression of outsiders in facing the new space was positive, he revealed. “For them, it is like a cinematic city! They are interested in its appearance, but after a while little by little they know there is nothing behind it!” (OM109-IV). For insiders, there was a mismatch between the historic context and the redevelopment. This was either due to interventions that were merely physical and superficial, and/or an improvement of locals’ heritage awareness. He concluded that after a short time an outsider would see beyond the first impression. From the insiders’ perspective, the redeveloped bazaar was not an old historic bazaar anymore; rather, it was a new bazaar. As a shop-owner participant commented:

“In front of my eyes, they brought new bricks and cement, and reconstructed this place. For me, it is not a historic bazaar. I know it is completely new. It is a historic place for a tourist who does not come from here... To me, 200 hundred years later these reconstructions would be a historic place!” (OM113-IV).

A representative who owned a shop at the bottom of the bazaar revealed a similar opinion, he said: “Now, for me, this [reconstructed bazaar] does not have identity. After a period

it would have” (OM103-II). For locals, the authenticity of their place was linked to non-constructible history. An architect who was a developer for the head of the bazaar also emphasised authenticity as a value that indicates the historic significance of a building/site. He believed:

“Once a historic building/site is ruined and nothing has remained, according to all international charters, there is no permission to reconstruct it. It is a forged building [if you reconstruct it]. Nobody knows what the bazaar was like, including all the parts reconstructed by the Heritage and us. We only know about one of the parts, not more. We know the rest of the bazaar was similar to what we constructed. Therefore, this [the reconstruction] does not have authenticity” (OM106-III).

To him, authenticity was in the compliance of reconstruction with heritage. The reconstruction of the bazaar based on the Qajar fabric was a failure since there was not enough evidence to be certain of what it was like. He believed that the redevelopment could have followed the first Pahlavi fabric instead of the Qajar. During the process of redevelopment, several Pahlavi facades were ruined as experts wanted to go back to the Qajar fabric. According to heritage charters, such interventions were untenable because they were neither entirely traditional nor fully distinctive. Indeed, the redevelopment of the bazaar was something between the authorities/experts’ subjective views and the traditional approach. Therefore, the authenticity of the place was ignored to maximize the physical beautification of the heritage, as valued by locals.

As a local shop owner stated, “in spite of all the disadvantages, as it [reconstructed bazaar] is uniform, it is beautiful. For this reason, I am happy that at least I am giving a nice place to my child, regardless of whether it is profitable or not” (OM113-IV). For folks like him, since the bazaar was uniformly reconstructed, it was perceived as an attractive place. Indeed, unification was seen as beautification, and beautification in a traditional form was authentication. That is why this shop owner was proud of the new place, as he would give it to the next generation, although theoretically it might have not been an authentic intervention.

#### 7.4.5 *Belonging to the bazaar*

Before the initiatives, a sense of belonging to the bazaar as a collective space was either absent or low. Every shop owner simply considered it as a private not a shared space. By improvement of heritage awareness among shop keepers during the process, as discussed before, their sense of belonging to the built environment, including the public path, was upgraded. Their financial involvement in the redevelopment also carried a sense of responsibility for shared spaces. They were more sensitive in keeping public spaces clean and safe as they had a sense of belonging to them. As Newman (1972) defined, earlier indefensible spaces had been converted into defensible public spaces. This was a result of having a sense of shared collective ownership for public spaces.

The bazaar was an insecure place as “until two years ago [before the initiatives], no women could pass by here” (OM109-II). Improving a sense of belonging to public spaces in the bazaar among shop owners could have also improved the security of place. Shop owners often echoed this change in the perception of place security, possibly for two reasons. First, there was a transition from a male-dominated environment to a more mixed space. Daily visits by female local office facilitators had broken the taboo of a female presence in the environment, which might have been a planned policy or happened by chance. Later, at the end of the bazaar path, a bag manufacturing market was formed, and also Timche-Akbarian was renovated and reused as a traditional restaurant (Figure 7.14). These new interests at the end of the bazaar further invited women, tourists, and other social groups to walk through the bazaar route.

Another outcome was further accountability for public spaces. Shop-owner participants explained how “... now, we have someone [guard] who does not let any drug users come inside the bazaar” (OM110-IV). This sense of responsibility towards public spaces was improved during/after the process, which was absent before. Fire making, blackening, and the dirtying of public spaces by drug users was no longer accepted by locals. As a shop owner commented:

“On winter nights drug users slept here and, as they lit fires in some places, the smoke blackened the roof though later it was washed away. This year, it is accepted to have a guard. Last summer here was very smelly, and you could not even have passed through. Thank God, this summer, from this view, here is much better” (OM110-IV).



Figure 7.14 Timche-Akbarian after renovation was reused as a traditional restaurant, September 2013

Shop owners felt more accountability for shared spaces in that they had spent money, time, and energy to redevelop them. However, it is important to consider that this sense was not only due to the physical redevelopment of the place. As revealed before, the process enabled participants to be more aware of their environment, while before they had only considered economic dimensions and overlooked socio-cultural values.

It is also important to consider that this sense of belonging to different parts of the reconstructed bazaar was different. For example, in the eyes of owner participants, the reconstructed bazaar had two parts. One at the bottom of the bazaar reconstructed by the Heritage Organisation was an undesirable part. In contrast, the part that was completed by a private developer at the head of bazaar was desirable. To them, during/after the project, the head of the bazaar was very different to the bottom. They had a sense of higher quality towards the head e.g. earthquake-resistance, since they had funded and supervised.

However, technically there was no a great difference between the two parts, as the developer revealed. He gave two reasons why this was so. One was that transverse foundations at the head of bazaar were not implanted, as there had been clashes with

urban utilities such as electricity and the issue of a sewage code. From a technical aspect, "... the [reconstructed] structure that we built cannot work properly in an earthquake as it is not integrated" (OM106-III). Although the developer tended to consider earthquake hazards and standards in reconstructions, the outcome was more or less the same as the part done by the Heritage Organisation. However, for shop owner participants, the head of the bazaar had a higher quality.

This was a result of two involvements: financial involvement and being involved in technical discourse with the developer regarding the supervision and process of reconstruction. They checked the developer daily. "Every day, they asked why did you start late today or where are your labourers? ... it was like their own reconstruction" (OM106-III), the developer cited. This demonstrates how being involved in finance and discourse improved their sense of belonging towards the head of the bazaar.

The second reason given by the developer also revealed how the infrastructure authorities such as the Regional Electrical Power and the Municipality did not coordinate to tackle technical barriers. Consequently, this led to issues with the earthquake-resistant aspect, showing a miscommunication between organisations involved in the redevelopment process, which was one cause of the overdue completion.

In addition, the developer conditioned this sense of belonging to the upcoming actions and completion of the project. For owners, once the process was complete, their shop would be valued very higher than before the process; then, they either sold or rented out their shop and benefited from a high monthly rental income. This was the owners' vision for the Oudlajan bazaar. Although they, more or less, had an optimistic vision for their place, later decisions taken by urban management authorities could have changed their vision. As the developer predicted, "if they stop supporting this project, we might lose all previous outcomes" (OM106-III). In particular, he linked this sense of belonging and place satisfaction to the economic future of the bazaar. He explained:

"This satisfaction and sense of belonging to the place can be temporary. If this bazaar fails from an economic viewpoint, shopkeepers may have a different sense. They might say after two years nothing happened! Many of them think there could be a handicraft market. Then, they might be able to sell/rent out their shop for three times as much as now!



This is a vision that was given them by the Bavand Consultants” (OM106-III).

Later decisions not only could disturb this sense of belonging but also damage the owner participants’ sense in a way that they would never bond with such a historic place. Then, they may interpret involvement in the redevelopment of heritage as a financial loss. This reveals the importance of the long-term vision for such urban projects. This vision for locals was not clear as a representative revealed:

“It is not clear what kind of place it is going to be. We even asked the Municipality to build up some local banners telling locals what is going to happen here. The vision is not clear for locals. The reason for this may be a problem between governmental institutions here. For instance, the Heritage Organisation was closed for eight months. For more than five months, no representative of the Heritage Organisation participated in meetings” (OM101-III).

For locals like him, this lack of clarity in the vision was linked to the uncertainty in the planning and management of the project. Locals might have perceived that local authorities and institutions were uncertain about the future of their place. This might have intensified participants’ concerns about the assessment of their involvement in the reconstruction of heritage. This uncertainty might have also negatively affected their sense of belonging to the bazaar and in particular public spaces.

## 7.5 Conclusion

The process of participatory redevelopment in the Oudlajan bazaar in spite of all the mentioned shortcomings, has had desirable outcomes. A substantive outcome was increasing shop values in the bazaar, although personal gain might not have been what participants expected. Also, overall, participants knowledgeably assessed the entire process as a new experience. They became skilled at playing a mostly financial role in the process, and were sometimes able to influence decisions. However, diverse stakeholders evaluated outcomes differently.

From an institutional viewpoint, the participatory redevelopment was a successful project as the bazaar was physically beautified and redeveloped. For them and presumably tourists, the physical beatification and redevelopment were the major reasons why the reconstructed bazaar was a successful project. Once wooden doors and lighting systems were all installed, it would be perceived as even more beautiful in the eyes of outsiders – tourists, local authorities, and non-residents. Physical redevelopment was another evaluative criterion. Although the process was ongoing and incomplete, the physical redevelopment was a desired outcome as the Oudlajan bazaar was roofed and the floor had been reconstructed. The redevelopment, indeed, had occurred practically. This demonstrates the way that local authorities evaluated outcomes. To them, the participatory redevelopment was also able to create a common space for communication and engagement between key actors, which before was uneasy due to planning blight and mistrust. The engagement was initiated through employing local female facilitators to build trust in the masculine community of Oudlajan.

From the participants' viewpoint, outcomes were evaluated differently. They consciously or unconsciously interpreted their sense of place as the financial benefit of the place. They evaluated place identity or place meaning as desirable if outcomes of their involvement could have resulted in a financial benefit. However, the process slightly changed such an evaluation. Before the process, historic links or any sort of place identity had been seen as secondary unless there was a financial benefit, but during/after the process, a sense of heritage awareness had been formed. Participants perceived the cultural values of the bazaar.

Participants expected a commercial value for the cultural value, as the process trained them to recognise it. Indeed, they conflated two values: commercial and cultural. Since outcomes could have not met this expectation at the time, they expected the government to compensate them. This was why they asked for shop prices that did not meet property market prices. However, this assumption made them optimistic that in future their asking price would not be labelled hopeful.

For some non-participants, the Oudlajan bazaar was no longer the previous everyday life space; rather, it was a heritage site that its redevelopment and maintenance of the fabric of its buildings was the state's responsibility. Alongside this, the legacy of modernisation in Iran, begun during the Qajar period (Laghaei, 2011), was a major shift from bazaar-

driven repairs in the past to state-driven repairs. The owner participation in the Oudlajan bazaar had to confront this legacy, which revealed the issue of the attitude towards heritage and the changing aesthetics of the shopkeepers and technologies of construction.

For participants, some outcomes were not desirable as the socio-economic improvements could not have met their expectations. They revealed how their sense of place was disturbed and unsettled through the process of participation. For instance, as discussed before, social fragmentation of shopkeepers disrupted their sense of community. Overdue completion and inconvenience during the redevelopment also created place dissatisfaction. Taken together, these outcomes produced a sense of dissatisfaction among shopkeepers. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the sense of place was entirely damaged; indeed, according to time-space, it was relatively improved. As an overall evaluation by a shop-owner representative revealed, “the shop owners **know and understand** [he raised his voice and emphasised these words] that something good happened here. They know about the role of the Municipality, the Heritage Organisation and me in this project. Their property values have improved. They know if they did not pay their financial share, this project would probably not have been done. They know it and they are grateful” (OM101-III).

In summary, different groups had different criteria for the evaluation of the process and its outcomes. For shop owners, the main criterion was shop value. The process improved shop values although it was not equal for everyone. In the eyes of owner participants, the winners were the free riders who benefited but did not participate. This was a common opinion in the middle and bottom of the bazaar directed towards the head of the bazaar, where shop values had the most growth. In the eyes of the authorities, it was successful since it was the first experience in terms of involvement between three sides: local citizens, and two organisations. In addition, as an urban decay area became a securer place, being roofed and redeveloped, it was a positive experience although cooperation and engagement between the key actors might not have been precisely planned and implemented, and some promises were broken.



## **Chapter 8. Discussion: participatory urban redevelopment in Tehran**

## **8.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the findings from the two case studies (Chapters 6 and 7) in relation to one another and the literature (Chapters 2 and 3). This chapter is divided into three main sections, each of which discusses one dimension of participatory urban redevelopment in Tehran in relation to sense of place, which are drawn from the theoretical frame. The first section questions whether the participatory urban redevelopment led to better substantive outcomes and if these outcomes strengthened the sense of place. The second section discusses whether the participatory urban redevelopment was successful in improving the experience of involvement. Discussing this enquiry reveals the implications of the involvement process. The last section questions whether the institutions were able to handle the participatory urban redevelopment efficiently, and what the strengths and shortcomings were. The institutional dimension focuses on the role and performance of policy makers e.g. the Municipality and the Heritage Organisation in the management of the process. The interviewees' responses and feedbacks were also classified according to this framework: substantive, procedural and institutional outcomes.

## **8.2 Substantive outcomes and sense of place**

Participatory redevelopment in Tehran has transformed the urban areas that had been declining in recent decades. As findings from the empirical chapters revealed, this transformation has had substantive outcomes. Private and public spaces have been redeveloped. New spaces have been created and some former spaces have been destroyed. Moreover, participants may have gained and/or lost through the transformation. These outcomes and their impact on sense of place were revealed separately in each case, but what has not yet been discussed is whether the participatory urban redevelopment was able to deliver improved substantives, and if these outcomes strengthened the sense of place. This section evaluates these substantives by investigating the sense of place. The evaluators are the participants themselves, and their evaluation varied at each stage of the process – before, during (planning and redevelopment) and after.

### 8.2.1 *Sense of gain*

As revealed in Chapter 6, this study found that at the early stage of the redevelopment of the residential case, the participants who had recently moved into newly reconstructed flats expressed satisfaction with their private space. They evaluated their living space before and after the redevelopment. A reconstructed flat offered a larger living space<sup>31</sup> with improved physical conditions and new spaces for other activities, e.g. parking spaces. To a participant, the increase in the living area and receipt of new spaces were positive substantive outcomes – and a personal gain. This improved the individual operative evaluation regarding private space redevelopment.

The findings from Chapter 7 also revealed that the redevelopment of public spaces had improved working spaces. Shop owners observed improvement in the path, facade, and roof of the bazaar. They compared the redeveloped space with the former space when it was a half-ruined structure above their heads. Their operative evaluation revealed an improvement in their daily activities e.g. accessibility and stability. This is another positive substantive outcome that not only benefited individual participants but also the public. Although this collective gain did not prevent free riders from gaining, which is discussed later from a policy angle in Section 8.4, it does enhance what the literature (Stedman, 2003; Jorgensen and Stedman, 2006; Manzo and Devine-Wright, 2013) defines place satisfaction as an operative evaluation of the experienced built environment.

An improvement in the perception of in-place security was another substantive outcome. As Section 7.4.1 revealed, before the process, in the locals' eyes, the bazaar route was a stigmatised masculine space. They used to perceive an insecure space, particularly for women, but during/after the process, the locals perceived a considerable enhancement in the number of females and the duration of their presence within the bazaar. Drug users and dealers also used to live within the residential case. Later, not only did the area become unaffordable for drug users, the accessibility of the neighbourhood e.g. by police cars was also improved. Thus, drug dealers could no longer run their business, as described in Section 6.4.3. In locals' eyes, the transition from a stigmatised area to one with lower crime was another positive outcome – and a collective gain. This perception reduced the fear of crime and consequently the sense of anxiety. From this angle, the socio-spatial changes were

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<sup>31</sup> For each one square metre area of land, an owner participant gains about 1.2m<sup>2</sup> reconstructed flat.

satisfactory as they had revised how they perceived their place – improving urban health (Macintyre and Ellaway, 2003).

All these positive evaluations of redeveloped spaces, either private or public, confirm the association between the socio-spatial and physical improvements, as well as place satisfaction (Li and Song, 2009). Participants understood and/or interpreted how well redeveloped spaces provided opportunities for their personal and/or collective growth. Once a redeveloped private space offered the improved living space for daily life, the participants interpreted the redevelopment as the capability for their personal growth, and when it was about public space redevelopment, the capability for their collective growth was a bonus. As mentioned in the literature review chapter (Stedman, 2003), once a place does not provide the space for desired activities, individuals reveal dissatisfaction, but if the place redevelops in such a way as to improve the functions of living and/or working spaces, then the place redevelopment is interpreted as self-development; this enhances the place satisfaction and may make the person dependent on the place (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001; Cross *et al.*, 2011). Nevertheless, enhanced place satisfaction is insufficient to claim that the participatory urban redevelopment in Tehran has improved the sense of place.

### 8.2.2 *Sense of loss*

The evidence from the empirical chapters revealed that after a while of experiencing the redeveloped living and working spaces, participants encountered the other substantive outcomes. They perceived losses in their reconstructed private and public spaces by comparing it to the conditions before the redevelopment. As discussed in Section 6.3.2, living in a one- or two-storey house with the yard alongside the neighbours was a missing value while living in a flat was not yet accepted as a norm – “living in a flat is like being in jail; you go inside and lock the door. We had a yard and she [his wife] stayed there. I don’t mean I hate flats, but a flat like this is inappropriate ... I will probably sell here...I will try to find a house [with the yard] nearby.” (TM105-II). Former neighbours were pushed for the spatial reorganisation of their lifestyle, and newcomers had arrived. They may have been functionally satisfied with their flats, but emotionally they had a sense of loss for their previous socio-spatial settlement pattern (personal loss). This issue was more tangible



among people with long residency, but was not only exclusive to the redevelopment of private space either.

As revealed in Section 7.4.1, for decades shop owners had experienced the bazaar with a timber frame gable roof<sup>32</sup> through which natural light and air could reach the bazaar path. After the redevelopment, they perceived a dark space with cool arched vaults, since the bazaar had been redeveloped based on the Qajar period. For some locals, the redeveloped space had a “cold feeling, specifically, because it is roofed! In the early mornings and late evening, or on a holiday, you would see only an empty space, but it was not like this before! There are no humans here [now]! ... I agreed with the redevelopment, but not with this roof and those thick vaults! That made here very heart-rending! ... I wish we could have both: shadow and sunlight” (OM109-IV). Comments like this reveal how far the spatial outcome is from the participants’ expectations. A question that arises here is why the participants perceived dissatisfaction and detachment only after experiencing the redeveloped spaces?

These results further support the idea of place as “a construct of experience” (Tuan, 1975, p. 165). For the participants, home was a paradigm of a yard with the neighbours around, and the bazaar was sustained by its timbers, and their “experiential perspective”. Regardless of this fact, the redevelopment established the private/public setting as an “abstract and distanced” space not as an “embodied and close” experienced place (Dovey, 1993; Hung and Stables, 2011, p. 199). This overlooked the fact that spatial practices lead to the construction of place (Lefebvre, 1991, c 1974; Harvey, 1993; Cresswell, 2004) and damage the emotional bond between the participants and place (place detachment).

The results may be explained by Heideggerian theory, which discusses that ‘dwelling’ is not only related to building a new space or redevelopment of a place, but is also concerned with an individual's or community's way of being-in-the-world. Heidegger (2001) highlights the importance of considering a special (and spiritual) relationship between us and things (others, yard, light, heritage, etc.) embedded in the place that we love and want to preserve in any building and/or redevelopment process. In this study, locals were directed to inhabit in spaces and places that were formerly built and commercialised without considering

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<sup>32</sup> Mainly built in the first Pahlavi era.

association with the socio-cultural and spatial identity of its residents; consequently, the outcome for them is “inauthentic and placeless” (Knox and Pinch, 2010, p. 194).

These results can also be explained by the fact that the participants were not being informed and consulted sufficiently about the outcomes. As the findings revealed, they were fully informed and consulted about the amount of the reconstructed space they would gain, but they were not fully aware of the socio-spatial conditions of their new living and working spaces. They identified a mismatch between their expectations and the substantives only after experiencing them (see Section 6.2.4). This indicates limited informing and consulting, as further discussed in Section 8.3.1.

These results also reveal the significance of the “length of dwelling” (Brown and Perkins, 1992) in the construction of an emotional bond between the place and the person. For the participants with longer residency who were functionally satisfied with their place, the detachment was a strong enough reason to leave their flat and find a house with a yard to live in, although their former socio-cultural relations may not have been promising (see Section 6.3.2). They perceived “disruption in place attachment” (Brown and Perkins, 1992) due to the rapid “spatial transformation of the existing milieu and lifestyle” (Breux and Bédard, 2013, p. 75). The redevelopment enhances the function and utility of places –place satisfaction, but also rapidly interrupts the spatial patterns (and spatial control) practised for decades.

Disruption is not simply in the place attachment either. The redevelopment has also disrupted the spatial recognition of place due to the changes in the spatial character of place. Yards and narrow alleys (see Section 6.3.2), and shadow and light (see Section 7.4.1) comprise the spatial character which has not been transmitted via the reconstructions. The loss of this character damages the identification of the place “as being part of the extended self-concept” (Droseltis and Vignoles, 2010, p. 24). Participants may not be able to re-identify themselves as a part of the redeveloped place since the spatial character has disappeared or been damaged. This may even lead to the perception of being out of place and may have damaged the place identity.

These results can also be explained by the fact that people need places outside their houses to build social interaction and relationships, which Oldenburg (1997) defines as “third places” – informal gathering places that are not home (first place) or workplaces (second

place). In his paper, 'Our vanishing third places', he discusses the outcomes of urban development in losing these places – socio-spatial exclusion and negative impacts on urban health (Buck, 2001). The redevelopment in the Takhti neighbourhood destroyed yards, narrow alleys, and front doors spaces where participants used to gather and meet each other daily – socio-spatial character. The traditionally reconstructed wide columns in the Oudlajan bazaar also reduce visibility into the shops, which disturbs the daily engagement between shop keepers, their customers, and neighbours. These places are important to establish or maintain the social ties and community networks (Baum and Palmer, 2002). As the findings show, the destruction is not only limited to 'third places' but also includes public spaces, which intensifies the sense of socio-spatial exclusion. Besides the loss of 'third' and/or public places, the redevelopment also creates shared ownership and spaces associated with social tension.

Another perception of loss is associated with the transition from single ownership to shared ownership. Before the redevelopment, every single owner was responsible for their own maintenance and management of the living space; however, after the redevelopment, it is a different socio-spatial circumstance. Several reconstructed flat dwellers complained about this transition using this quotation: "one key has been changed into twenty" (TM105-II). They noticed that distant neighbours were now involved in decision making regarding the private realm. More importantly, the new settlement limited their lifestyle. Before, single private ownership had allowed any owner to use their living realm freely according to their daily needs, e.g. using their yard as a cooking area and/or sitting at the front door. However, this may no longer have been attractive in a shared-ownership circumstance. Continuing the practised lifestyle in the new settlement may create conflict with the other flat dwellers. On the other hand, new owners had arrived with different socio-cultural and spatial practices. The daily encounter between old neighbours and newcomers, who may not accept the former lifestyle in the new settlement, could create tension. These are the elements that limit the spatial control, which may reduce the place satisfaction.

This transition also delivered a new common realm within the blocks of four- or five-storey flats, where before the redevelopment there was the dichotomy of the public and private realm. That the new shared spaces had the potential to be used as 'third places' was almost a source of tension, since the residents did not have enough experience of how to manage them. For instance, the residents frequently mentioned their disputes over payment for

charges relating to the shared spaces, or complained about being stuck in a lift for hours because the individual did not know how to use it. Skill management is the key issue in the usage of these shared spaces. As the residents interpreted it as the lack of ‘culture of living in flats’, they need to be trained in how to manage and maintain their shared spaces –shared ownership practice. Solving this issue can change these spaces from a place of tension into a gathering place – a ‘third place’. In the flats with fewer disputes over the shared spaces management, the residents revealed using the shared spaces as a place for their daily meetings and gatherings. However, in other flats these new shared spaces, had not only been unable to serve as ‘third places’ but had also been a source of dissatisfaction. To them, new shared spaces are associated with negative health outcomes e.g. social tension. Taken together, this is a period of transition from living in a house and adjustment to living in a flat. For people who went through the participatory process in Takhti, this is the first experience of living in flat, which was a rapid change, and they have difficulty adjusting to new conditions. Their viewpoint suggests that the participants interpreted some substantive outcomes as losing their socio-spatial connections with the community, which has damaged their network and sense of community.

From a wider perspective, the issue of flats versus houses is general pattern across the city of Tehran, however. The citizens are constantly losing their houses to flats. On one side, the lifestyle is changing. Citizens do not use their outdoor spaces such as yards and front doors as they used to. On the other side, the spatial-economic gain is another driver of this trend. In the highly-populated and high density city of Tehran, the demand for living space is high, and consequently land has high value. The citizens are tempted to sell their house to buy a flat as they can gain a larger flat with fewer maintenance costs. During this transition, they lose their spatial control to gain spatial-economic value. They share their ownership as they need to adapt their lifestyle to the new conditions. Currently, the majority of the citizens in Tehran are flat dwellers. However, not every citizen is necessarily satisfied with this general trend; rather, as mentioned earlier, they may be interested in living in a house with a courtyard, but in such a high-priced and highly dense city it is not affordable anymore. Hence, this issue of place detachment and/or losing community networks may not merely be applicable to the participants of this study, but is a general complaint about losing socio-spatial spaces across the city, rather than being merely a substantive outcome of the participatory urban redevelopment.

Nevertheless, because houses in the study are typically tiny plots, outdoor spaces –yards and front doors– play an important role in the residents’ everyday life. As mentioned before, local residents used them as ‘third places’, for example as kitchens, and for other functions. This is a reason why participants emphasised these socio-spatial changes and losses, while in the wider context it is a general complaint. Also, because the transition in this study occurred in a short period of time for a large number of owners who did not have any practice of shared ownership, it is more problematic. Adapting the previous lifestyle to the new shared circumstance may require longer and further practice.

However, the socio-spatial changes are not entirely an undesirable substantive outcome. The private space reconstruction redefines the edge of a flat from a house, new from old, stable from unstable structure. The traditionally reconstructed public space serves the physical and spatial identification of the bazaar across the city. It spatially redefines the edge of heritage from non-heritage, which strengthens the idea of identity as “distinction from other things” (Lynch, 1960). However, Carmona *et al.* (2010, p. 116) criticises this idea, in that the physical/spatial reconstruction of city elements does not necessarily mean they “could be liked or disliked, meaningful or not”. Indeed, the redevelopment may lead to an improvement in place identity in terms of the legibility of the place, but not necessarily as socio-cultural meaning of the place.

In addition, as mentioned earlier, participants may lose their outdoor assets, but they gain a brand new larger living and working space. In monetary terms, participants are also better off –social class improvement as a result of gaining reconstructed private and public space. From this angle, participants perceive “material spatial practice” –an individual and social experience of space leading to “economic production and social reproduction” (Knox and Pinch, 2010, p. 199). This socio-economic dynamic during the process is further discussed in the procedural outcomes section.

Leftover spaces are another substantive outcomes. Reconstructing four- and five-storey flats besides one- and two-storey houses creates disproportionate spaces between the buildings. This issue has two sides. On one side there are the residents of non-participating houses who feel suffocated among reconstructed tall buildings. On the other side there is the public, who feel anxious in their public spaces due to the disproportion between the mass and space. They used to use the narrow alleys, but no longer do so with tall structures above their heads. It is a fact that residents have a sense of being ‘suffocated by tall buildings’ (see Section

6.2.4), and feel ‘anxious’ and have a ‘sense of living on a massive construction site’ (see Section 6.3.2). In the participants’ eyes, the reconstruction has enhanced their satisfaction with their private space, but also it has enhanced their dissatisfaction with the spaces in between reconstructed buildings. On the other hand, the reconstruction of public space has enhanced the shop owners’ satisfaction towards the public space, but has also damaged their (semi-) private space. As mentioned in Section 7.4.1, shop keepers complain how the thick columns have reduced the visibility of their shops. The overdue completion of the redevelopment also intensified these perceptions. These results contribute to the fact that, once the public space had been reconstructed, the spatial rights of private spaces may have been ignored and when the private space was reconstructed, the neighbours’ and public right was the victim. However, this is not exclusive to the participatory urban redevelopment.

Overlooking neighbours’ spatial rights in the transition from houses to high-rise buildings is another general movement in Tehran. The planning regime does not consider the spatial rights; indeed, the planning regulations only consider the view to the neighbours. The buildings should block their openings to their neighbours, while height, light, or any other issues like this are overlooked. Therefore, this may not solely be the fault of this project; rather, this is a general issue across the city. However, the participants of this study may be more sensitive to these inconveniences because the change in their milieu from a built environment of one- and two-storey houses with yards (open spaces around) to four- and five-storey blocks occurred quickly. Once the three sides of a non-participating house is occupied by tall buildings in a short time, the residents perceive a sense of living in a deep well and feel suffocated. The smaller the house, the more the residents felt it. Different phases of redevelopment also intensified these perceptions.

### **8.3 Procedural outcomes and sense of place**

Another key dimension of participatory urban redevelopment in Tehran is the social dynamic of the process: how individuals experienced their own involvement in the process. Participants might have enjoyed and/or suffered, been included and/or excluded, and been informed and consulted sufficiently or not. These experiences influence the meaning and perception of their place, their community networks, and social ties. This section discusses these findings to explore whether the participatory urban redevelopment was successful in

improving the procedural outcomes, through evaluating the sense of place. Discussing this enquiry reveals the implications of the involvement process in both cases.

### ***8.3.1 The experience of informing and consulting***

This study found that, at the planning stage, to motivate owners to enter the process they were trained to be critical of their built environment. They were routinely *informed* and *consulted*, mainly about the quantities and to some extent the qualities of their physical environment, e.g. by labelling their place with terms that mostly have negative connotations, as discussed in Section 5.2. Local participants were trained to evaluate their environment, mainly by problematizing the fabric. Before the process, the fabric of their environment was not a major concern for them. Shop keepers were used to working in a half-ruined structure above their heads for decades. Residents of Takhti used to live in houses with minimum living standards, and generally they had become used to their place; however, this perception changed considerably once the initiative was launched. This issue is further discussed later in Section 8.4 from the institutional viewpoint.

As discussed in Section 6.4.4, the problematisation results in improving environmental awareness among participants. Gradually, they became sensitive to their built environment, but may not have been before the process. They had a perception of living and working in a low-quality space, unstable building, inaccessible area, and several other operative concerns. Later, the redevelopment also intensified this perception. New reconstructions enabled them to compare old and new, and low and high quality. This generated place dissatisfaction, which is a motivational driver for the locals to participate. Because this place dissatisfaction may not have been a persuasive enough reason for every owner to enter the process, authorities also informed and consulted participants by highlighting financial benefits, as further discussed in the institutional dimension section. This may support the idea of using place dissatisfaction as encouragement bribery and/or coercion since there is a fine line between pushing people to enter a participatory process, which is coercion, and encouraging people to open their eyes.

These findings are inconsistent with the scholars (Arnstein, 1969; Choguill, 1996; Tosun, 1999), who designated ‘informing’ and ‘consulting’ as low levels of community participation; however, their aims may not be the same. The International Association for

Public Participation (2005) defines the goal of the informing level in public participation as providing “the public with balanced and objective information to assist them in understanding the problem, alternatives, opportunities, and/or solutions”. In contrast, participants in this study experience informing as simply focusing on the problematisation of their built environment. They are mainly informed to evaluate the operative attributes of their place –place satisfaction– but, as discussed in the substantive section, less is about the socio-spatial outcomes and opportunities that their place can offer. In addition, they experience the alternatives and solutions offered merely to answer the operative evaluation e.g. accessible areas and/or economic profit. Thus, informing is limited to the problematisation of the built environment and the economic opportunities that the redevelopment offers to participants. This indicates that the informing process was inadequate and limited.

These findings also reveal that participants experienced a selective and orientated consulting at the planning stage. The initiatives were intended to keep them “informed [and], listened to, and [to] acknowledge concerns and aspirations, and provide feedback” (International Association for Public Participation, 2005) simply on the basis of the problematisation of the built environment. Indeed, they were mainly consulted about what they had already been trained for. They perceived a feeling of being disregarded, particularly once their demands were about the non-built environment, such as green spaces, as discussed further in Section 6.2.4. However, at the implementation stage, participants experienced to some extent that their concerns about the reconstruction of the place were being listened to and acknowledged. For instance, the evidence revealed that the thickness of later reconstructed columns in the bazaar case was reduced after the complaint of a group of shopkeepers. As Tosun (1999, p. 118) stated, participants experience “participation in implementation and sharing benefits” –induced participation– rather than participation in decision making. However, these results may not only be exclusive to the two cases in this study.

From a wider angle, other urban redevelopment schemes across the city of Tehran, more or less, have had a similar approach. They are planned to problematise mainly the built environment, though they may collect, and/or claim to consider, socio-cultural and ecological data. In the Khoob-Bakht experience, the first project in Tehran claims to be participatory, the locals are informed and consulted to problematise unstable buildings, tiny plots, and vehicle inaccessibility within the neighbourhood. The highlighted place



dissatisfaction was also used to mobilise participation, but the options offered were limited to the physical solutions. Next to this case, in the Minaiee neighbourhood, participants were consulted about the physical improvements and financial benefits they could gain through their involvement. These examples reveal a bigger picture in which citizens entered processes that claimed to be participatory, but their experience was almost exclusive to the problematisation of the built environment. This leads to induced and/or coercive involvement rather than spontaneous participation (Tosun, 1999, p. 118). When informing and consulting pushes people to enter a participatory process, participation is coercion, which indicates a fine line between awareness raising and encouraging people to open their eyes.

### 8.3.2 *Social practice*

As the findings revealed, participants narrated a sense of pride of place after the redevelopment (see Section 7.4.3). It is important to determine whether participants are proud of their place simply because its physical and spatial status has been improved –these are substantive outcomes, and/or the experience of being involved in the process of improvement and/or the recognition of their reconstructed place by outsiders. Discussing this reveals the social practice aspect of the process, which also helps to differentiate between the substantive and procedural outcomes.

This study found that participants experienced a gradual transformation in the place meaning. To shop-owner participants, the bazaar of Oudlajan before the process was simply a commercial place, but during/after the process it also became a heritage place (cultural character). Reviewing their everyday communications confirmed this change in the place meaning. One remarkable example was a shop-owner participant who after several years decided to use his working place as the main address in registering his child for primary school. He commented how “... this year, I proudly wrote down ‘Oudlajan, the historic neighbourhood of Tehran’ ” (OM113-IV). The participant was proud to be re-identified through the heritage value of his working place (place identification). This is a reason why shop owners requested a higher value for their shops than the land market offered. Indeed, they expected a financial value for the cultural heritage value of their reconstructed place. Nevertheless, since some locals (insiders) were uncertain about pronouncing the

reconstructed bazaar as a heritage market, the originality of the project is under question, which is further discussed as the sense of authenticity in Section 7.4.4.

These results further support the idea of the social understandings of the built environment (Knox and Pinch, 2010). Those who request a higher value for their reconstructed place interpreted cultural value as economic value, while those who questioned the originality of the reconstructed place did not perceive any cultural values within the built environment. The hope value can be explained by the Knox (1984) framework for analysis, which shows that the ‘intended messages’ of the manager/producer (architects, planners, or developers) change in built environment, and therefore they are different from the messages ‘received’ by users of the place (insiders). This gap in communication is a reason why participants expect economic value for cultural value. This issue also further supports the previous argument that the informing and consulting were inadequate and/or coercive.

On the other hand, this study found that the participants believed that the redevelopment would have not occurred if they had not participated; hence, it was their achievement. They often mentioned that ‘we did this’ emphasising their collective involvement role. In their collective everyday practice, they perceived the sense of place as a self-conscious combination of interaction with elements of the built-environment and other citizens’ features, such as their clothes, communication patterns, and collective behaviours (Knox and Pinch, 2010). This contributes to what Simonsen (1991) defined as social practice in time and space. The participants’ perception of improvement in their social life within the living/working spaces during/after the process (time) improved their collective sense of place from an individual perspective. This is because the participants perceived a collective responsibility and belonging to their reconstructed place, discussed in Section 7.4.5. Moreover, in the public agenda, the reconstructed place, either private or public, was promoted as a positive participatory practice across the city. This valued recognition of the reconstructed place by outsiders also made participants (insiders) value their collective involvement role in the process.

In addition, the bazaar was acknowledged as a heritage site in formal discourse of the Municipality, the Heritage Organisation, and other institutions. Within this discourse, from the planning to in-use stage, the reconstructed public space, was often represented as ‘a historic bazaar’, ‘the oldest bazaar in Tehran’, and/or several other cultural brands, which identified the bazaar from nearby markets – a cultural and commercial place. Moreover, the

bazaar was reconstructed based on the Qajar period plan. These official recognitions of the bazaar as a heritage place contributed to changes in the meaning of place, and so the participants perceived their individual/collective involvement role was not only in place reconstruction but also heritage reconstruction.

These results can be interpreted through structuration theory (Moos and Dear, 1986; Giddens, 1991; Knox and Pinch, 2010, p. 198), which explains the meaning of place as everyday social practices in time and space. During the process, participants experienced their involvement as socio-cultural practice in the spatial reconstruction of the place. Promoting this social practice, indeed, means valuing the meaning of a place that participants are proud of. The recognition of this meaning by outsiders is an acknowledgement of the place identity as the socio-cultural meaning of the place (Carmona et al., 2010, p. 116).

Taken together, participants become proud of their place as a result of all these outcomes. On one side, they perceived improvements in the evaluation of reconstructed living and working spaces –desirable substantives. To them, their improved place, in particular quantitatively, is a source of pride. One participant simply wanted to be re-identified by its larger and securer living and/or working place. On the other side, participants experienced how the improvements were result of their individual/collective involvement, represented as an encouraging experience of participatory urban redevelopment to outsiders. More importantly, through their experience, participants were able to construct further deep links with their place: meaning of place. They understood and interpreted their “material spatial practice” as an individual and social experience of space leading to “economic production and social reproduction” (Knox and Pinch, 2010, p. 199). All these experiences of involvement in the socio-economic and spatial upgrading contributed to being proud of the place and the place meaning. The entire experiences, however, may not be as encouraging.

Shop keepers suffered from the heritage reconstruction since the process did not consider their business conditions during the redevelopment stage. A large-scale intervention in the fabric of the bazaar and consequently longer business stagnation were the outcomes of the reconstruction scheme based on the Qajar period plan. Closing a shop for a while meant losing customers, and this is why a developer architect in the Oudlajan bazaar believed the scheme should have been designed based on the first Pahlavi period, not the Qajar, and that there was no need to remove one metre from each side of the path and close down the shops during the redevelopment. Indeed, less physical intervention could have generated less sense

of business stagnation and dissatisfaction. In the eyes of shop owners, this was a failure in the process of the bazaar redevelopment. However, in the low-income residential area, the life of the participant residents during the redevelopment was considered, and the developers provided sufficient funds for owner participants to rent a place during the redevelopment.

The participants' experience of a different social dynamic model during their involvement was another major finding. The process included owners and excluded renters. Owner participants benefited from the process, while renters had to leave the place and newcomers had arrived. As discussed in Sections 6.4.2 and 7.4.2, every local constantly perceived themselves and others either as an owner or non-owner, benefited or harmed by the process, and other socially constructed divisions. This not only produced social conflicts, but also shows the differentiation in the perception of community from each of these social groups' perspectives. They perceived the fragmentation of the community networks. Their former perception of living/working in a place-based community was weakened and the other types of community were promoted.

These results reveal that there are conflicts within a community, and some ideas and approaches could overcome, how opposites are being negotiated during the decision-making process and how it normally happens. As Herbert (2005) indicates, participants experience 'heterogeneity' and the 'ecology of fear' as controversial elements in relation to the concept of community. There was a daily practice of us versus them, owners versus non-owners, least benefited versus most benefited, and head of bazaar versus bottom of the bazaar. Cultural differences between newcomers and old residents was also a barrier in shaping the community. In addition, renters may have been reluctant to label themselves as insiders. As Herbert believes, renters commonly counted themselves as temporary residents when they knew they would leave. However, from the owners' viewpoint, renters were suspicious residents that did not protect or even clean the properties that they lived in, so how could they expect renters to participate in a community; hence, it was a dismissive attitude. This issue is further discussed later from the institutional perspective.

These results are in agreement with the general idea that the deep metamorphoses of urban environments through regeneration, gentrification, decentralisation, suburbanisation and social polarisation have led to the fragmentation of urban community networks (Delanty, 2010). Socio-spatial reorganisation building on ownership, involvement, and financial benefit leads to the fragmentation of communities. These results also support that a

community is neither a static phenomenon nor an inclusive notion for all citizens. Rather, a community is a dynamic concept in which some citizens are constantly joining and leaving or at least claim to do so (Smith, 2001; Amit, 2002). A local is constantly re-defining being an owner or non-owner, participant or non-participant, old owner or new owner (place-based community). A local participant may also join or leave the group of less or most benefited (community of interests).

Fragmentation of communities and reducing social ties should not simply be explained by the procedural outcomes, however. From a wider viewpoint, globalisation (Harvey, 1992; Knox, 2005) and technological innovation (Davis, 2000) have accelerated the destruction of community networks and the change of place-based communities to non-place-based communities (Knox and Pinch, 2010). This is a general and natural process of change happening in almost every community, including the communities examined in this study.

Owner participation has not entirely led to the fragmentation of community members. As revealed in Sections 6.4.1 and 7.4.5, this study found that the residential owners who assembled their lands and shop owners who had financially contributed all perceived a social tie with each other, because they had experienced rebuilding trust and further social engagements during the process. This constructed a collective sense of community of interests and circumstances – community value. From this angle, the initiatives improved the sense of community and community networks rather than splitting the community.

### **8.3.3 *Ambivalent perceptions***

Another crucial argument that has not yet been discussed is whether there is a paradox in terms of outcomes and sense of place. As may have been noticed in the previous sections, this concerns how the outcomes can lead to improving place identity, but also engender dissatisfaction and detachment in participants from their place or reverse – the question of ambivalence. The inter-relationships between these sub-concepts of sense place may also change the perceptions. As discussed earlier, this study found an improvement in place identity but detachment and dissatisfaction, particularly at the in-use stage.

The results contribute to the fact that place satisfaction and place identity may influence each other. In terms of redevelopment, the impact of place satisfaction and place identity can be

opposite (Kyle et al., 2004). Since a redevelopment can enhance the function and utility of places (place stratification), it interrupts the way the places were used (place identity). A recent study by Broto *et al.* (2010, p. 952) reveals that place identity can be improved as a reaction to place dissatisfaction. In environmentally degraded areas in Tuzla, Bosnia and Herzegovina, place identity was strengthened “by the performance of adaptive identities” in reaction to the damaging ecological alteration while residents were not functionally satisfied with the place. However, the contradiction in this study may have different reasons. The improvement in the place identity of shopkeepers in the Oudlajan bazaar is not in reaction to their place dissatisfaction; rather, it is because they consider their reconstructed place an extension of themselves (identity) (Droseltis and Vignoles, 2010) and investment (dependence) – heritage and commercial value, which are linked to place satisfaction. In their eyes, the process is successful in delivering self-development, which resulting in place identity, but it is not successful in recompensing them regarding the heritage value of the place, which generates place dissatisfaction. This reveals that place dissatisfaction and identity are interwoven notions rather than separate entities. On the other hand, the redevelopment also enhanced some functions and utilities of place, e.g. new reconstructed private and public spaces, but it also interrupted the way that locals used to live, work, and/or perceive the place. This also conveys opposite senses about the place.

These results are in line with what the literature (Kruger, 1996; Stedman *et al.*, 2004; Manzo and Devine-Wright, 2013) highlights in investigating sense of place as a holistic, complex, and multi-dimensional concept that cannot be fragmented into precise measurable variables and then reintegrated through multivariate modelling. The results also endorse the idea that people may have dissimilar opinions about their places at different stages of their life (Beazley, 2000; Mowl *et al.*, 2000) and/or at different stages of any process that requests the spatial and socio-economic reorganisation of their life. In the first stage, they are suspicious locals about participatory redevelopments due to mistrust and planning blight. In the informing and consulting stage, they become critical of their place as they have been trained (place dissatisfaction) and are excited about the process, as they may gain from it and also perceive raised awareness of their social and heritage value. During the redevelopment, inconveniences, such as overdue completion and/or unjustness in the process, make them feel dissatisfied and excluded. After the experience, they are proud of being re-identified through their collective socio-spatial practice. These elements show the complexity and diversity of perceptions at different stages of the process.

#### **8.4 Institutional dimension: the role of policy makers in the organisation of the process**

The previous sections discussed the substantive and procedural outcomes. What has not been discussed yet is evaluating the institutions' role and performance from the participants' perspective. This section aims to consider whether institutions have been able to handle the participatory urban redevelopment efficiently or not, and what the strengths and shortcomings are. It questions the decisions and actions taken by institutions, such as the separation of owners from non-owners, establishment of the local office, and trust building. These are the policy elements within the initiatives that should be discussed. The section also evaluates the coordination between different institutions such as the Municipality and the Heritage Organisation.

##### ***8.4.1 Selection of participants***

Significantly, the acceptance of participation on the right of property ownership is a key decision taken by authorities. This decision systematically includes local owners and excludes non-owners. The crucial questions arising here are whether the separation of owners from non-owners is an efficient policy or not, and whether participation on this basis is real or if it might be a partnership.

The findings revealed that any local who could demonstrate legal ownership is included and anyone who fails is excluded. This policy enabled owners to benefit from the amenities (private/public space improvement) and economic development while renters were unable to keep their current and future socio-economic facilities as they could not afford the place anymore. This was an anxious outcome for non-owners who felt alienated – they had “feelings of powerless, dissatisfaction and distrust, and rejection of the prevailing distribution of wealth and power” (Knox and Pinch, 2010, p. 215). According to Marxian theory, as discussed in Section 3.4, powerlessness, estrangement and social isolations are the elements of alienation that confront with the dominant mode of production. From this angle, alienation is the consequence of capitalism and is attributed to socio-economic factors.

In contrast to alienated groups, owners explored the ownership as “access to resources, institutions, spaces, social arrangements, and opportunity” (Chaskin et al., 2012, p. 846) produced by the participatory process. The process recognises owners and let them have an

effective role in decision-making, or they have power to counter the existing process. These are all the elements that enhance the socio-economic inclusion of owners in the participatory process. As mentioned in the procedural section, these socially constructed divisions arising from the process may create conflict: owners versus non-owners, or participants versus non-participants, which may damage the community networks and social ties.

This study also found that to evaluate the process, owner participants typically assessed their economic development: evaluation of added value of their properties. As revealed in Section 6.2.2, before the initiatives in the Takhti neighbourhood, the land value was very low while participation on the basis of ownership alongside other socio-economic variables significantly increased the land value during/after the process. This enabled later participants to enter the process with larger capital. The later an owner entered the process, the larger capital they had for the participation and consequently the larger reconstructed private space the individual gained (higher added value). Building on this analysis, early takers sensed that their involvement did not give them what it did for later participants. This may make early participants perceive inequalities in the process. In their eyes, the individual involvement of later participants not only improved the status of their private space, but also benefited them the most. Due to this, early takers had a sense of loss compared to the later participants. This socio-economic exclusion was not exclusive to the participants of the residential case.

Shop owner participants also experienced socio-economic exclusion (see Section 7.4.2). To enter the process, they had paid the same certain amount but their added value was considerably dissimilar because added value in the bazaar is mostly controlled by the location, as revealed in Section 7.2.2. That is, the closer to the main road, the higher the added value which could be expected. The factor of time did not affect the evaluation of the participants' economic development in the case of the bazaar; rather, it was location which did this. The owners at the bottom and middle of the bazaar perceived less personal gain compared with the head of the bazaar.

These findings reveal that participants' sense was uneasy as the process had not been able to keep the "equalities [between the contributors] in access to resources" (Breux and Bédard, 2013, p. 75). Participation on the basis of ownership not only kept inequalities between the community members such as non-owners and owners, but was also unable to distribute the reorganisation of resources equally between owners' participants –between



the less benefited and most benefited. This inequality became deeper once free riders decided not to enter the process.

As discussed in Section 7.4.2, the outcomes of the public space redevelopment benefited every owner whether they participated or not. They perceived that the process enhanced access to resources such as economic development and improved amenities, regardless of who participated. This fact created space for freeriding: there were those who did not pay their share while benefiting most from added-value properties. This was more common among the shop owners at the head of the bazaar (importance of location), where their shops had the highest value within the bazaar. These free-rider owners, indeed, did not enter the process but benefited the most from it. Their non-involvement was from the viewpoint of power, not exclusion. In addition, since these free riders were almost absent owners (the non-experiential perspective), the low quality of place and/or insecurity were not tangible concerns for them. Being an absent owner was a reason why the authorities were unsuccessful in mobilising them to problematise their place as others do.

On the other side, the authorities tended to recognise the importance of equal access to the resources. As discussed in 6.2.2, they did not compensate early takers directly, but their changes in the regulations, cutting financial support, and increasing construction permission tax enhanced the cost of involvement for later participants. The reconstruction of the head of the bazaar also started after the middle and bottom of the bazaar, though this influenced the commercial activities of the entire bazaar. From a land market perspective, these decisions, either the enhanced cost of participation or late redevelopment, could not beat the high value-added properties, however. Despite these decisions, early takers considered themselves less-benefited and later participants and free riders as more or most benefited from the process. In their eyes, since the process had been unsuccessful in economically addressing equal access to temporal/spatial resources, it had been incapable of handling the equalities between participants, and consequently social exclusion escalated. The abovementioned changes in the regulations during the process also made participants feel less informed and that the consulting was unbalanced.

On one hand, these results reveal that property redevelopment (outcome) is more focused and community involvement in decision making is disregarded –the policy of institutions. From this angle, the investment of private owners through their ownership (land) and/or funds requested by the public sector to redevelop private and public spaces is urban

regeneration by a public-private partnership. More economically driven and legally excluding non-owners are the elements that further support the idea of partnership rather than participation. However, this may not be entirely in agreement with what the literature defines as partnership. Reviewing the strategies (Adams et al., 1988; 1993; Atkinson and Moon, 1994; Carley, 2002; Ball and Maginn, 2005) reveals that tenants, property owners, a local community, and the private sector have all been involved in a decision-making process as a key point in an urban regeneration partnership. Indeed, in contrast to the findings of this study, community involvement within the process of partnership is highlighted more and property redevelopment disregarded. For instance, the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (2003) introduced an action programme titled the Sustainable Communities Plan across the UK. It aimed to regenerate urban areas in the next 20 years in which sustainable communities are socially, economically, and environmentally involved in the process and requirements of future generations. The partnership of local authorities and key stakeholders, including the private sector, is highlighted “to ensure problems are tackled permanently and not just displaced or deferred”.

These results also support what Fraser (2005) suggests is a ‘technical-functionalist communitarians and managerialism approach’ (Fraser, 2005, pp. 289-291) for community participation. In this approach, participation is interpreted as a function and/or technical-orientated solution in which managers are looking for maximum benefit and fewer conflicts. As the local office commented, typically more than 70% of residents in the case studies were owners (the majority). Participation on the basis of ownership assumes the majority (owners) as the public, not the community that includes everyone. This policy is in line with this approach. The majority, owners, more or less benefit from the process and the socio-contextual acknowledgement of ownership as a basis for participation leads to fewer conflicts. This approach is preferred by “state authorities (such as local councils and provincial governments), large social welfare organizations (especially those that are church-based) and established charitable trusts” who pursue greater efficiency and less conflict (Fraser, 2005, p. 291). Furthermore, it has a standard format which does not acknowledge the participation of community members, rather than improving utilities and/or economic affairs, which in this study is unable to keep equalities in economic development.

On the other hand, in the history of Iran, the right of private ownership has never been questioned. Legally, any individual, organisation, and/or urban scheme cannot challenge

this right. Typically, an owner expects to be informed and consulted about the changes that may influence its ownership. An owner also expects personal gain out of urban redevelopment more than a non-owner. This legacy has created a different social construction, which may not be the same in other societies. In this study, both groups (owners and non-owners) have accepted ownership-orientated participation because of the social construction. Taking ownership for granted, indeed, has been socially constructed. For this reason, there were few complaints about the assumption of private ownership as the main criterion of participation. However, as mentioned in the substantives section, there are more complaints regarding the experience of transition from single ownership to shared ownership; for instance, the new settlement limits the lifestyle.

These results reveal that participants experienced an exclusive partnership. Once landowners (the private sector) are involved based on the criterion of ownership or ownership size with institutions, developers, and representatives (the public sector), this is a partnership between the selected private and public sector (White, 2006; Li, 2012). The right of single ownership before creating the new ownership is determined, as Li (2012) specifies, and this is also one of the features of (exclusive) partnership in urban redevelopment. Typically, owners transfer their property based on the value. However, as mentioned in the previous sections, participants may attribute many other meanings (senses) and values that cannot necessarily be calculated in worth. This stage is one of the problematic points. From the participants' perspective, living and working in the place for a long time (length of dwelling), feeling a kinship relationship with the neighbours (community), and/or relying on other residents' behaviours (trust) are embedded positive senses in the place, which are omitted in the calculation of land worth. Transition does not deliver these values, and this may create a sense of loss, dissatisfaction, and detachment.

#### ***8.4.2 Trust building and engagement***

The establishment of local offices and building trust was another key decision taken by authorities. The evidence revealed that, to engage with local owners and transfer key messages, the municipality initially has to establish and/or improve the institutional trust. As discussed in Section 7.2.1, mistrust as a result of planning blight is a major barrier to establish this discourse between institutions and locals. To tackle this, authorities initiate the local office, owner representatives, and several other ways to build trust in local owners.

They employ local experts who are capable of building trust in the residential community. In the male-dominated area of the bazaar, they designate female social facilitators to create a space for dialogue between locals and the local office. These strategies build and/or improve the institutional trust through trust building between the local office staff and locals: interpersonal trust.

Once trust is built, key messages are transmitted through the formed discourse. The local office is able to deliver the institutional problematisation. During the informing and consulting stages, local authorities underline the quantities/qualities of the physical environment, e.g. by labelling the place with terms that almost have negative connotations such as ‘urban decaying areas’, ‘inaccessible areas’ and ‘unstable houses’ (see Section 5.2 Urban redevelopment in Tehran). They also send the message that the physical improvement of place would benefit owners by providing a better living/working space. Although some owners participate, the participation of every owner may not be promising. Therefore, alongside the problematisation, other motivations, mainly financial benefit, are also promoted to encourage further owners to enter the process.

These findings reveal the intuitional approach: how the problems and benefits to the community are highlighted, and who distinguishes these. Institutional problematisation is a way to deliver power to local authorities to define problems, mainly function-orientated issues, and consequently address them by technical solutions. Experts highlight instability, inaccessibility, and tiny plots as main problems. Land assemblage and/or sharing funds to redevelop urban areas are their offered solutions. Later, they invite owners to participate. From the political approach, this “revolves around expert-driven consultations with community stakeholders”. As Fraser (2005, p. 290) believes that this approach is “a way to get others to ratify the views of experts”. In his book, *Challenging Oppression: A Critical Social Work Approach*, Robert Mullaly (2002) debates that these experts are useful tools who can decipher political problems through technical solutions.

From a wider perspective, this political approach may seem in line with the planning regime in Tehran. Typically, authorities outline and legitimate problems and offer (technical) solutions to a community. This is a general pattern across the city. However, because the cases in this study claim to be participatory, an approach is expected in which the community is included in the process of defining problems and offering solutions, but as

these results show, the initiatives politically endorse the general pattern. Participants are simply used to verify the expert driven approach.

On the other hand, this approach shows a contradiction with what neoliberalism (Joseph, 2002; Herbert, 2005) draws for a community: firstly community as the receiver of devolution (participation) and secondly as an appropriate evaluator who can assess and legitimate the devolution. As Herbert (2005) demonstrates, the term community in the view of residents does not have a political character; rather, it is a trapdoor in neoliberalism. From this angle, institutions may claim community participation, but their approach is in opposition to the neoliberalism concept in which devolution of power from a state authority to a community is its primary manifestation.

In addition, as mentioned in the previous sections, the problematisation of place has resulted in improving environmental awareness among owners. Gradually, owners are becoming sensitive to their environmental quantities/qualities, which may have not been the case before the process. They have a perception of living/working in low-quality spaces, unstable buildings, inaccessible areas, and several other physical concerns – place dissatisfaction. Later, the redevelopment also intensifies this perception. New reconstructions enable participants to compare between old and new, and low and high quality. However, from the local authorities' viewpoint, this place dissatisfaction is a constructive outcome.

Place dissatisfaction is a main driver for owners to participate, which is the authorities' approach. Once a local owner reaches the point that the place, either a private and/or public space, does not functionally meet its requirements anymore, the individual senses place dissatisfaction (Stedman, 2003); thus, the redevelopment has a higher chance of public approval. Based on this assumption, authorities approve highlighting and/or stimulation of (short-term) dissatisfaction within the environment. This hypothesis is logical for them to define the initiatives as a 'functional utilitarian improvement' of the place (Fraser, 2005). They do not acknowledge the participation of communities rather than utilities and/or economic affairs.

These findings reveal that despite having a standard format and linear authority as merits of this approach, it has a corrosive domain mostly limited to manipulation and some superficial changes, without a real share in the decision-making process in which there is a "high degree of tokenism and manipulation" of potential participants to enter the process rather than "spontaneous participation" (Tosun, 1999, p. 118). This is more tangible once there is no

consensus within a community or a few owners are ready to participate. In addition, as discussed in the previous sections, in the eyes of participants the socio-spatial tensions produced by the process are substantial. Thus, the notions of social diversity and power relations are demerits of this approach.

### ***8.4.3 Institutional coordination***

This study also found that coordination between the main actors is another source of tension. As revealed in Section 7.2.1, the Municipality, the Heritage Organisation, and shop owners in the Oudlajan bazaar did not maintain their partnership to the end. As a local office member commented: "... they [the Heritage organisation] do a project only because they want to show we have done something! ... Always when we had a meeting with the Heritage Organisation, I asked them to show us their receipts of spending 700<sup>33</sup> million [Toman]. They said 'we are not obliged to say how we spend the funds!' Then, shopkeepers said that while the Heritage does not reveal the bills, we do not pay our share!" (OF105-III). The Heritage Organisation paused its financial involvement during the process, mostly for political reasons. In reaction to this, shop owners also paused their individual share. Following the Heritage, some shop owners, free riders, did not pay their share either, and because the process is planned on the basis of an agreement between the three sides, no legal punishment was considered. There is only a soft pressure on those who do not pay their share, in that if they did not contribute financially, the project would not be completed; however, shop keepers believed that in any condition, the municipality would have completed the project. This is why the coordination was not effective or unable to mobilise all participants, and it caused inconvenience, overdue completion, and dissatisfaction among participants.

These results show the vulnerability of the process once one main actor does not keep their role to the end and/or some do not play the game such as free riders. This highlights the importance of considering coordination between the main actors from the planning to in-use stage, in particular once different institutions are involved in the process. This issue is more problematic when the resources are limited and/or intermittent. An agreed mechanism is required in which the role of the main actors and their share are clearly cited, and covers

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<sup>33</sup> £ 120,000

all different scenarios from the planning to in-use stage. As the findings show, the intuitional coordination was smoother when fewer intuitional actors were involved in decision making. In the Takhti neighbourhood, there were fewer complaints about overdue completion in the projects due to institutional coordination.

## 8.5 Conclusion

A general conclusion that emerges from this chapter is that, at different stages and in relation to different outcomes, participants had different evaluations; hence, it is a multifaceted evaluation. Both substantive and procedural outcomes are influential in the enhancement of the sense of place. Participants were satisfied with their reconstructed private and public places once they had gained larger, safer, and improved spaces (substantive outcomes). They were also proud to be identified by their place not only because of the improvement of their built environment, but also because they had been individually involved in a process that improved their place (procedural outcomes). The recognition of their redeveloped place as a result of their socio-spatial practice by outsiders, in particular institutions, contributed to the enhancement of their collective sense of place.

On the other hand, the substantive, procedural, and institutional outcomes were all involved in damaging the sense of place. Participants perceived detachment or less attachment to the place once they were unable to keep and/or re-establish their affective and conative relationships with their place as a result of rapid transformations. Overlooking the fact that place is a construct of experience, alongside limited informing/consulting, the socio-spatial substantives were the key drivers for these perceptions. Challenges in the re-identification of the socio-spatial character of the place also damaged their place identity.

Another major conclusion is that once resources are limited and/or intermittent or some do not play the game such as free riders or some participants who joined in later, participants criticised the quality of the process. They felt excluded and narrated dissatisfaction; however, the process still may be able to progress as it did in the commercial case even though when one main contributor, the Heritage Organisation, did not play to the end. The inclusion of socio-spatial factors in the process also does matter. Once key players overlook and/or minimise equality in access to resources, community members also perceive a sense of exclusion and detachment (negative sense of place); this may damage social

sustainability. Nevertheless, as mentioned, all of these undesirable outcomes may not be exclusive to this study; rather, some are the results of larger socio-economic and political status e.g. the planning regime in the city.



## **Chapter 9. Conclusion**

## 9.1 Introduction

The aim of this study has been to examine the participatory approach to urban redevelopment in Tehran. The objectives were, firstly, to understand the nature and dynamic of this participatory urban redevelopment and, secondly, to identify the procedural and substantive outcomes and investigate them through ‘sense of place’. Returning to the research questions posed at the beginning of this study, it is now possible to state how the adoption of participation in urban redevelopment in Tehran has been. The study is able to reveal how and why the evolution has been desirable for some, undesirable for others, and has had positive and negative implications at different stages and regarding different outcomes. This chapter aims to respond to these research questions, in which sense of place is not the aim; rather, it is a test to evaluate the process and its outcomes. The analysis is classified based on substantive, procedural, and institutional outcomes in relation to the sense of place, which are drawn from the theoretical frame work as well as the interviewees’ responses and feedbacks.

## 9.2 Participation and sense of place

This study has shown that the participants’ overall evaluation of the experience of being involved in the redevelopment of their place was positive, although there are serious limitations. As discussed in Section 8.3.2, participants perceived that the process was able to mobilise them to practise both individual and collective involvement. Strengthening their psychological bond with the place is represented in their individual experience of a constructive involvement role in the improvement of their private and public spaces during the process. The place identity is reflected in the sense of pride that some participants felt in being individually involved in a process that led to the heritage reconstruction of their place. The collective sense of place is revealed in the recognition and promotion of their involvement role as a collective social practice by outsiders, including institutions, which values the meaning of the place of which they are proud. The sense of community is reflected in the social ties between the locals who practised together to (re)build trust, assemble their lands, share funds, and accept or resist when the institutions’ decisions did not meet their expectations. The social and institutional trust, to some extent, is developed as a result of the practice (see Section 8.4.2). These are all positive elements in ‘sense of place’ to evaluate the process of participatory redevelopment (procedural outcomes) as a

positive individual and social practice in time and space, leading to economic production and social reproduction. However, there are serious limitations that need to be addressed as follows:

The participatory urban redevelopment adopted by the institutions is owner participation, which is a limited approach. As discussed in 8.4.1, owners were selected to participate in the redevelopment of their places through sharing land and/or funds. Although this approach is a step towards more participatory decision-making for community (re)development, it is different from what the literature defines as an inclusive decision-making process, further discussed as a contribution to knowledge in Section 9.3.

The availability of resources in the process does matter. When resources are limited and/or intermittent, or some persons, such as free riders, do not enter the process, or some participants enter later, participants criticise the quality of the process. This issue causes inconveniences, such as delays in the redevelopment timetable and consequently short-term place dissatisfaction. In contrast, once locals with stronger economic conditions enter the process, the process goes more smoothly and therefore this affects the quality of outcomes and further satisfaction. Even when one of the main participants, e.g. the Heritage Organisation, does not keep its promise to the end, the process may still be able to progress as it did in the commercial case. The shopkeeper participants were financially strong enough to cover the withdrawal.

The provision of objective information and balanced consultation at all stages of the process also matters. As discussed in 8.3.1, when the process provides limited information and orientated consultation, the participants perceive less involvement (low level of participation), as happened at the planning stage. The process largely informed the participants to evaluate the operative attributes of their place (place satisfaction), e.g. accessible areas, and it trained them to problematise mainly their built environment (institutional problematisation). It also consulted them about the alternatives and offered solutions that the participants had already been trained for and/or economically benefited them. It was less about their desire, the socio-spatial outcomes, and opportunities that the place can offer. However, at the implementation stage, the participants perceive a higher level of involvement and consequently the quality of the process. They experience that to some extent their concerns about the reconstructed place are being listened to and acknowledged, for instance, the thickness of the later columns was reduced during the public space reconstruction after the complaint of a group of shopkeepers. Another example

is attempting to meet the participants' concerns about the quality of the constructions built by the developers.

The study has also identified less desirable substantive outcomes. As discussed in Section 8.2, the substantives are desirable once participants gain a larger, improved, safer and added-value built environment, although there are some shortcomings. They perceive that their place redevelopment could bring personal and/or collective growth. The growth is interpreted as providing larger, improved and safer spaces for desired living/working activities (place satisfaction) and/or economic benefit e.g. added-value property (place dependence). The participants often narrate functional and/or monetary satisfaction mostly towards the reconstructed spaces. As seen in the discussion chapter, Section 8.4.1, acknowledgment of owners as the public leads to maximum benefit and less conflict. The authorities often use the term 'community participation' while only inviting potential participants – in this case owners – to certify their technical, expert-driven views. These are in line with technical-functionalist and managerialist approaches with some elements of community involvement (Fraser, 2005, pp. 289-291).

The participatory urban redevelopment is successful in mobilising short-term dissatisfaction and substantive gains to motivate local owners to enter the process, but is not entirely successful at handling the outcomes during/after the process. Participants perceive place detachment once they are unable to keep and/or re-establish their affective and conative relationships with their place, as a result of the rapid transformation of their spaces and lifestyle. Overlooking the fact that place is "a construct of experience" (Tuan, 1975, p. 165), alongside limited informing/consulting on the socio-spatial substantives, these are the key drivers for these unfeasible perceptions. Challenges in the re-identification of the socio-spatial character of the place also damage their place identity. In particular, in the eyes of non-owners, it is a failure because the participation is not inclusive. From this angle, the practice is not participation; rather, it is a partnership between the property owners and developers to assemble and reconstruct new buildings. The role of institutions and local offices is facilitating the partnership; however, as discussed in the previous chapters, there are also other elements of participation within the process, such as trust building, informing, and consulting.

Another significant finding to emerge from this study is the explicit inclusion of socio-economic and spatial factors in the process of participatory urban redevelopment. If the key actors, in particular the institutions, neglect or reduce equality of access to the resources,

the community members perceive a sense of exclusion and rejection – damaging their sense of place; this impedes social sustainability. This link between equality in access to the resources and social sustainability is highlighted later as one contribution of this study. Participation on the basis of ownership mobilises the community members to re-identify their social divisions based on their ownership right and size, location, duration of residency and economic benefit, while before the initiatives they may not have such a case. The process highlights some existing social divisions e.g. owners and non-owners, new owners and old owners, and the shop owners at the bottom, middle and head of the bazaar. It also constructs new social boundaries such as less benefited and most benefited, owner participants and owner non-participants. From the owner participants' perspective, free riders (owner non-participants) are the winners since they have benefited from the process most while they have not paid their share. Early takers have a sense of loss – the losers – compared to later participants, for whom the process not only improves the status of their private space, but also benefits them more (as the formula of land assemblage was changed in favour of the later participants). Another group of losers is the shopkeepers who had to stop and/or move their business to the outside of the bazaar, since they were unable to continue their job anymore e.g. metal worker shops. They were typically located at the bottom of the bazaar where the added value was the lowest. Taken together, these provoked and/or newly constructed social divisions have intensified the fragmentation of the place-based community and these have presumably been transferred to the community of interests and/or circumstances.

In addition, the substantive outcomes revealed that although the participatory urban redevelopment aims to redevelop private spaces, it does overlook the spaces between the buildings and public rights. Insufficient green space, inaccessibility, and/or leftover spaces within the urban areas were often mentioned by participants as evidence that the initiatives neglect their public spaces. Consequently, the public space users perceive detachment, suffocation, and anxiety. Once the participatory urban redevelopment aims to redevelop public spaces, it overlooks the spatial qualities. As discussed as the sense of losses in Section 8.2.2, it did not consider today's requirements of the public market in the Oudlajan bazaar, e.g. the combination of light and shade or visibility, and the origin/authenticity of the heritage construction in question (see Section 7.4.4). These results reveal that when the process responded to private spaces, it generally ignored public spaces; even when these responses to public spaces were present, they disregarded the spatial quality of the public

spaces. This means the owner participation certifies private ownership but not public ownership.

Nevertheless, as discussed in the previous chapter, all of these undesirable outcomes may not be exclusive to this study; rather, some are the result of the larger socio-economic and political drivers. For instance, ‘globalisation’ (Harvey, 1992; Knox, 2005) and ‘technological innovation’ (Davis, 2000) have accelerated the destruction of community networks, lifestyle change, and transition from place-based communities to non-place-based communities (Knox and Pinch, 2010). It is also a general pattern in the planning regime of Tehran, in which, typically, the authorities outline and legitimate the problems and offer (technical) solutions to a community.

Therefore, the participatory urban redevelopment adopted by the municipality of Tehran was a step towards more participatory decision-making, but it did not lead too much due to some undesirable outcomes and serious limitations. The process, more or less, has been able to enhance the sense of place even though not all the substantives were unable to do so. This is because the study identified more desirable procedural outcomes. When the main contributors are stronger in terms of having access to resources both procedural and substantives outcomes are more desirable. Once it occurs in a context where resources are less available and/or intermittent, the substantives are less desired. The assessment is dynamic and moving because the owner participation is an ongoing process of redevelopment that engages with people.

### **9.3 Contributions to knowledge**

Several studies (Knox, 2005; Knox and Pinch, 2010) have mentioned the relationship between urban socio-cultural and managerial changes and sense of place, but as “yet few links have been made between” participation and sense of place in both urban planning and environmental psychology discipline (Manzo and Perkins, 2006, p. 335). This study addresses the relationship and makes a distinctive contribution to knowledge by representing the evaluation of participatory urban redevelopment through the sense of place, and analysing the possible implications of the assessments for theories of both disciplines. The five key claims to originality in this thesis are:

Firstly, the present study confirms the previous findings and contributes additional evidence that suggests sense of place is not a settled, permanent, and one-way perception; rather, it

is a complex and multi-dimensional concept that is constantly changing (Kruger, 1996; Stedman et al., 2004; Manzo and Devine-Wright, 2013). At different stages of the involvement process and/or life (Beazley, 2000; Mowl et al., 2000) and in relation to different outcomes, participants may have different and even contradictory senses of place; hence, it is a multifaceted assessment. This reveals the complexity and challenges in capturing this concept. ‘Sense of place’ is not a narrow, simple entity; its subsets can be positive and/or negative, one day inspiring and the next day undesirable. Therefore, it is challenging once ‘sense of place’ is narrowed down to a single measure of effects (subsets of ‘sense of place’).

Secondly, the contribution of this study has been to confirm a significant link between the individual/collective practice of having an involvement role in the redevelopment of a place and improving the sense of community, social ties, security, and place identity: quality of a place-based community. Participants perceive the sense of place as a self-conscious combination of interaction with both the elements of built-environment and other citizens’ features, such as communication patterns and collective behaviours (Knox and Pinch, 2010). This contributes to what Simonsen (1991) defines as social practice in time and space. The participants’ perception of improvement in their social life within the living/working spaces during/after the process (time) improves their collective sense of place from the individual perspective. In addition, the study has highlighted the inclusion of equality in access to the resources in the process. Quality of community and equity of access are the two main dimensions of social sustainability, proposed by Bramley et al. (2006) in the research on the relationship between urban form and social sustainability for five UK cities. It has been revealed that social sustainability depends on “social networks, community participation, a sense of place, and community stability and security” (Glasson and Wood, 2009, p. 248).

Thirdly, the results of this study reveal potential considerations for public health gain (Macintyre and Ellaway, 2003) and reduction of health inequalities, as outcomes of the process, by considering the sense of place during and after the process. Institutions, by inviting owners to participate in the reconstruction of their place, either private or public, have been able to improve place satisfaction, place identity, and sense of community: sense of place. This shows a beneficial role of sense of place and social ties in the maintenance of the psychological well-being of the individuals who enter socio-economic and spatial transformations. On the other side, there is also potential for negative impacts on health

(Buck, 2001), discussed as a sense of loss, inequalities in access to the resources and/or losing 'third places' (Oldenburg, 1997). The participatory urban redevelopment has tended to handle the uneasiness; however, it may not be enough. The stressful and uneasy process may produce (short-term) negative psychological health outcomes.

Fourthly, this study raises a critical clarification of what the institutions are claiming. While the method adopted by the municipality of Tehran has been introduced as community participation and participation in general, this study makes it explicit that the process is not inclusive. As discussed in the previous chapter, the individual/collective experience of involvement in this study is different from what the literature defines as an inclusive decision-making process (Choguill, 1996; Tosun, 1999), which is related to other concepts such as democracy and justice (Fung, 2003; Fraser, 2005). Exclusion of non-owners and inequalities between participants in access to resources are the reasons why the individual involvement is limited, rather than community participation, although there are some elements e.g. informing and consulting within the process. Thus, this study clarifies the adopted method as "owner participation" which is not "community participation" (Fraser, 2005), nor "citizen participation" (Arnstein, 1969) nor "public participation" (International Association for Public Participation, 2005). Consequently, any evaluation of the experience of being involved, either desirable or undeniable, is only acknowledged once it is considered as owner participation.

Fifthly, this is the first study in which the participants' evaluation has been used to assess a new experiment adopted by the Municipality of Tehran. The study has been conducted in a context where institutions have recently started to experiment with a participatory approach and the devolution of decision making to locals in their projects. Because no previous research has attempted to assess this experiment to this extent, it is a novel study. By using the participants' evaluation, this study has attempted to reflect on the idea of neoliberalism, in terms of the role of a community as an appropriate evaluator who can assess and legitimate the devolution (Herbert, 2005). This study is also different from other studies that have assessed participatory methods in other contexts. For instance, comparing the results of this study to a study by Dargan (2009) on 'participation and local regeneration' in the north of England reveals that the adopting participatory approach in urban redevelopment is different in different cultures and places. It seems that the initiatives in this study are part of a general process in Iran of trying to open up decision making. Moreover, there are democratic pressures to open up the process of decision making, and this participatory urban



redevelopment may be a partial response to those pressures, partly driven by technocratic intellectuals who want to embrace these ideas, and partly by the pressure to open up from the bottom sector of society.

#### **9.4 Recommendations for policy and practice**

The results of this study have a number of recommendations for future policy practice. A key policy priority should, therefore, be to plan for the reduction of undesirable outcomes and limitations. A reasonable strategy to tackle this issue could be to adopt the socio-cultural and spatial assets in all stages of participatory urban redevelopment. Considering the economic dimension without the socio-spatial equalities cannot deliver the quality of outcomes. Another important strategy is planning for the long-term care of participatory urban redevelopment. There is a definite need for ongoing assessment of the process and its outcomes not only at the planning stage but also during the implementation and in-use stage. Once a participatory urban redevelopment is planned on land assemblage, it is essential to assess all the socio-economic, spatial, and environmental impacts that this adopted method may have on the community's everyday life during and after the process. Overlooking this fact can create place dissatisfaction, detachment, and a sense of exclusion. Such a long-term plan should consider the availability and equality in access to the socio-economic and spatial resources. Unless the process adopts these strategies, better outcomes and sense of place will not be attained.

Ensuring appropriate systems, services, and support for informing and consulting the community – not only owners – should be another priority for the institutions and local offices. Once every local feels that he/she has been sufficiently informed about the outcomes, is listened to, and has their concerns and aspirations acknowledged, with feedback given, the community perceives further involvement in the planning and decision-making process. This reduces the limitations of the process and consequently improves the quality of the procedural outcomes and sense of place. Another practical recommendation is considering the everyday life of all the community members – not only participants – during the transition period. The institutions should inform, consult and have a plan that considers the life and business of all the different socio-economic groups, such as renters, widows, and older persons during the transition period.

Another recommendation is considering a legal penalty and/or social disapproval once some key contributors and/or stakeholders do not keep their promise to the end. In this study, there was only a soft pressure on those who did not pay their share, in that if they did not pay their share, the project would not be completed. However, participants believed that under any conditions the municipality would have completed the project. This is why, following the Heritage Organisation, some shop owners, free riders, did not keep their promise to the end.

The last recommendation is to consider these participatory experiences as a prototype that can facilitate future participatory projects. Procedural outcomes and their implications can be used to form a prototype(s); for instance, individual/intuitional experiences in terms of trust building and collective practice would be very beneficial. As Taghi-zadeh, the former head of the Heritage Organisation of Eastern Azerbaijan province, who was involved in the rehabilitation project of the Tabriz Bazaar that won the Aga Khan Award for Architecture in 2013, stated, “One important task in our [today] socio-cultural conditions is prototyping. First, we need to create a sample. Once a sample works, then bazaarians can collect money and work together. Raising money in bazaars is difficult due to the recent negative experiences” (OM107-III).

## **9.5 Study limitations and opportunities for future research**

The results of this study address the sense of place in the two cases in the inner city of Tehran, during the process of participatory urban redevelopment. It is important to consider limitations on the generalisation of the findings to other cases. More cases are required to study whether the findings of this study are applicable to other cases and whether the methods adopted by the municipality have been improved or not. It would be interesting to assess the impacts of the political change on decision-making processes in Iran, in particular, after the establishment of the new government in 2013, which is more open to participatory approaches. On the other side, the role of civil society organisations is not stronger, and they are more conciliatory rather than oppositional. All of these would influence participatory approaches in Iran and the citizens’ sense of place.

It is also a limitation of this study that this research has been conducted in the middle of an on-going process in which the results are not final and ultimate. As ‘sense of place’ is a dynamic and subjective concept, the assessment of the process building on this criterion in

time-space might be changed. Additional work is required to assess the entire process once it is complete. As such, further research that studies ‘sense of place’ after the completion of the process would provide further valuable insights into their link e.g. the impacts of the participatory redevelopment on the environmental perception and displaying ‘pro-environmental behaviours’ (Kollmuss and Agyeman, 2002; Ramkissoo et al., 2013) within the communities. However, from another angle, this study has provided an opportunity to assess the participatory urban redevelopment in the middle of the process leading to deeper understanding of it and revealing hidden outcomes, which might not have been possible once the process is complete.

Another area for future research is studying the reflections of locals on the results of this study, and it is ethical to feed back to the participants regarding the findings. At the interview stages, locals were informed that they would be updated about the findings of this study once it is completed. It would be valuable to see how they reflect on the procedural, substantive, and intuitional outcomes, and whether they agree or not, and potentially they may have different narratives and senses of place.



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**Appendix A: Figures on interviews and interviewees**

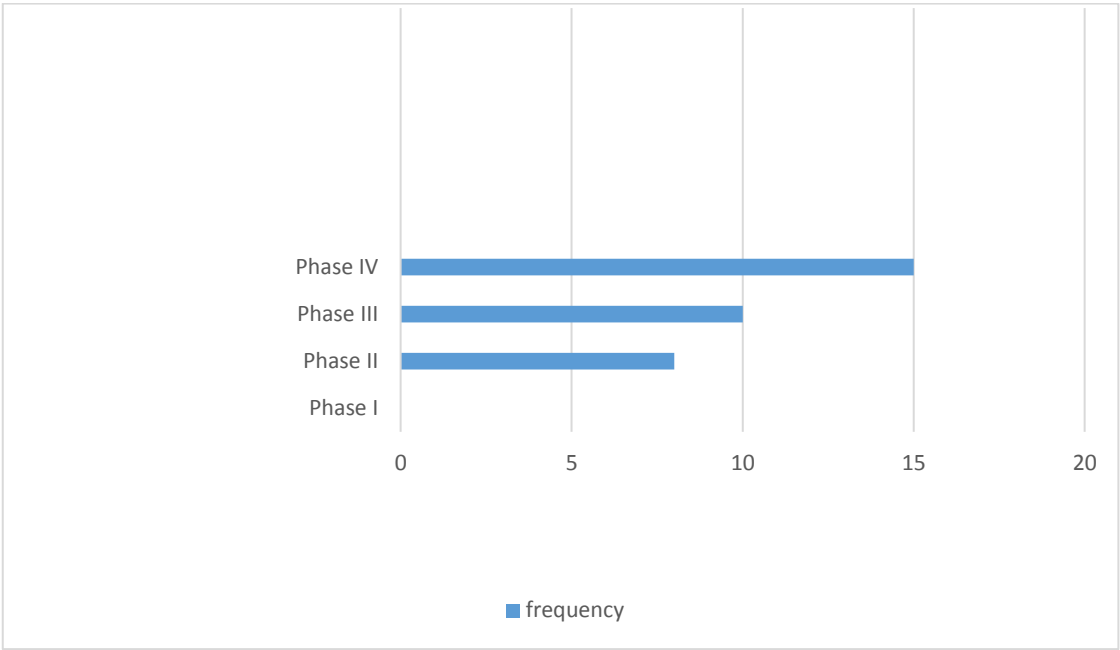


Figure 4.5 Number of interview respondents in each phase

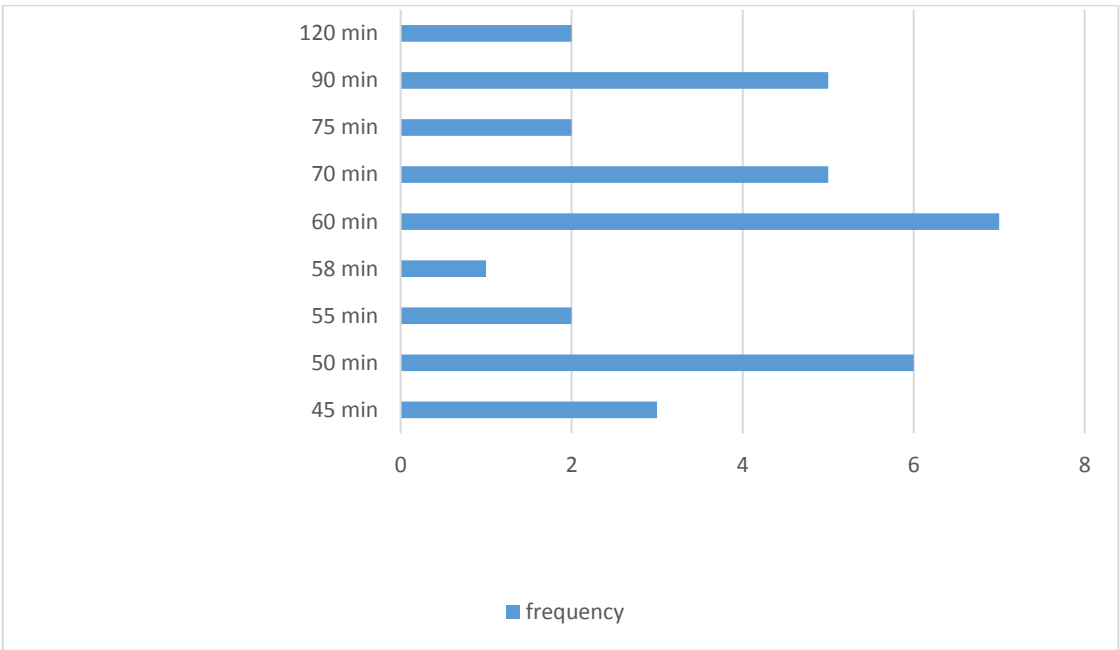


Figure 4.6 Duration of the interviews

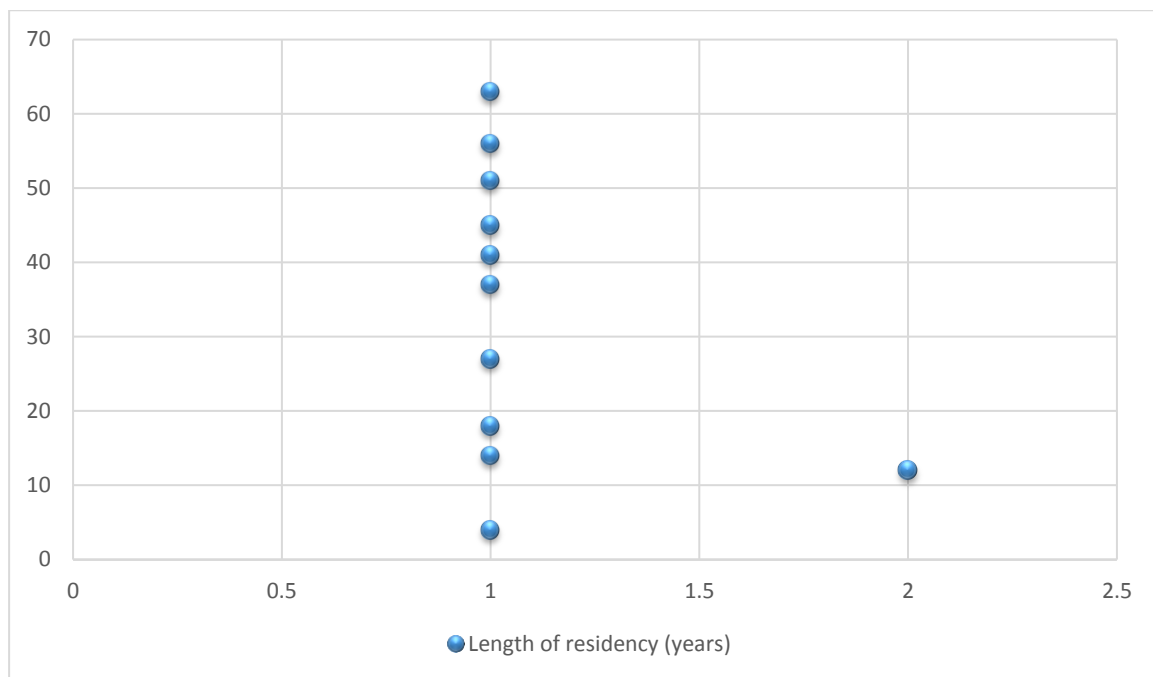


Figure 4.7 Length of residency of local interviewees in Takhti

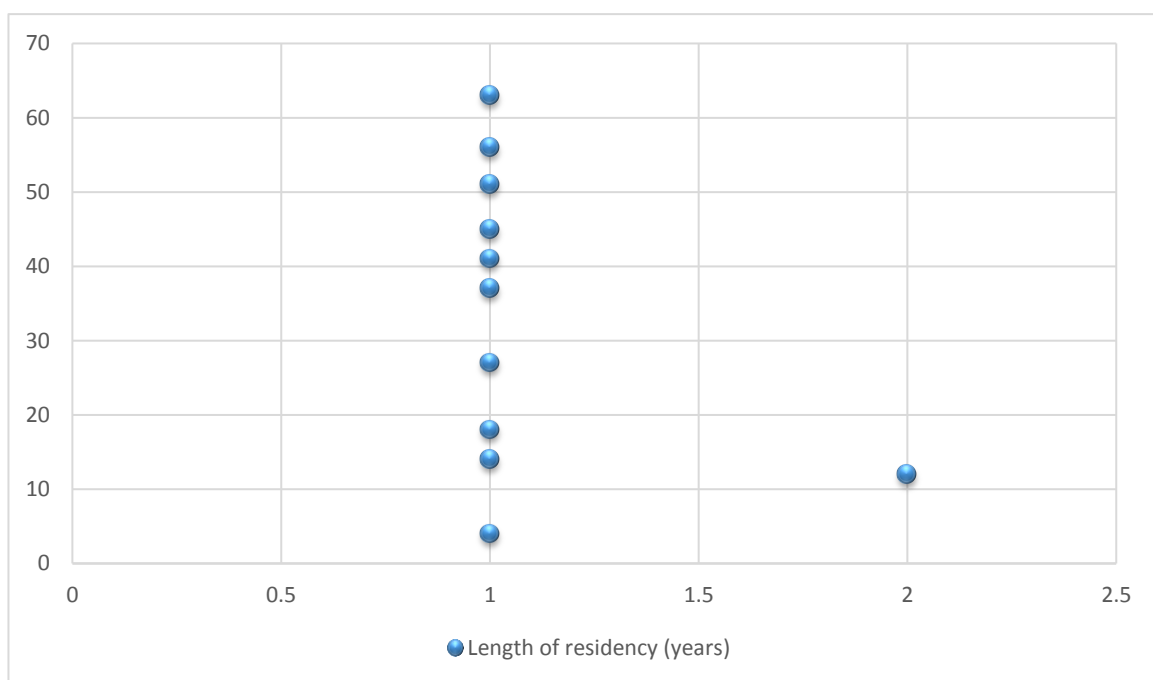


Figure 4.8 Length of residency of local interviewees in Oudlajan

## Appendix B: Profile of all interviewees

### Profile of local interviewees in the Takhti neighbourhood

No	Interview Code	Key characteristics of local interviewees					
		Gender	Age	Occupation	Level of education	Length of residence (years)	Set of interviews
1	TM103-II	Male	51	Retired plumber	Diploma	51	PEI
2	TF104-II	Female	52	Retired employee	High school	9	PEI
3	TM105-II	Male	65	Retired driver	Primary school	63	PEI
4	TF106-II	Female	37	Housewife	Diploma	37	PEI
5	TM107-II	Male	56	Retired car painter	High school	45	PEI
6	TF112-IV	Female	51	Housewife	Primary school	27	local interviews
7	TF113-IV	Female	65	Housewife	Illiterate	45	local interviews
8	TF114-IV	Female	55	Housewife	High school	12	local interviews
9	TF115-IV	Female	36	Housewife	High school	14	local interviews
10	TM116-IV	Male	68	Retired employee	Diploma	41	local interviews
11	TF118-IV	Female	42	Housewife	Primary school	18	local interviews
12	TF119-IV	Female	39	Housewife	Diploma	4	local interviews

### Profile of professional/official interviewees in the Takhti neighbourhood

No	Interview Code	Key characteristics of professional/official interviewees				
		Gender	Age	Occupation	Level of education	Set of interviews
1	TM102-III	Male	38	Local office manager	Bachelor	professional interviews
2	TF108-III	Female	27	Social facilitator	Bachelor	professional interviews
3	TM109-III	Male	29	Expert of the municipality	Master	professional interviews
4	TM111-III	Male	33	Expert of the municipality	Master	professional interviews
5	TM120-III	Male	29	Developer	Bachelor	professional interviews

### Profile of local interviewees in the Oudlajan bazaar

No	Interview Code	Key characteristics of local interviewees					
		Gender	Age	Occupation	Level of education	Length of residence (years)	Set of interviews
1	OM102-II	Male	58	Metal shop owner	Bachelor	31	PEI
2	OM103-II	Male	47	Metal shop owner	Diploma	19	PEI
3	OM109-II	Male	35	Grocer	Diploma	35	PEI
4	OM108-IV	Male	63	Quilting shop owner	Diploma	63	local interviews
5	OM109-IV	Male	51	Metal shop owner	Diploma	40	local interviews
6	OM110-IV	Male	63	Bag manufacturing shop owner	Primary school	40	local interviews
7	OM111-IV	Male	58	Quilting shop owner	Diploma	58	local interviews
8	OM112-IV	Male	36	Quilting shop owner	Diploma	36	local interviews
9	OM113-IV	Male	50	Food shop owner	Diploma	50	local interviews
10	OM114-IV	Male	40	Food shop owner	Diploma	40	local interviews
11	OM115-IV	Male	47	Metal shop owner	Diploma	18	local interviews

### Profile of professional/official interviewees in the Oudlajan bazaar

No	Interview Code	Key characteristics of professional/official interviewees				
		Gender	Age	Occupation	Level of education	Set of interviews
1	OF104-III	Female	54	Local office manager	PhD	professional interviews
2	OF105-III	Female	31	Social facilitator	Master	professional interviews
3	OM106-III	Male	37	Developer architect	Master	professional interviews
4	OM107-III	Male	60	Heritage Organisation manager	Master	professional interviews
5	OF108-III	Female	32	Social facilitator	Master	professional interviews

**Coding system:** First digit refers to the case study (T for Takhti and O for Oudlajan). Second digit (M/F) shows the gender of interviewee (Male or Female). Next three digit displays the number of interview, which is from 102 to 120. The last part of the code, after dash, reveals the phase of data collection (II, III, and IV).

## **Appendix C: Questions used in the PEI, local and professional interviews**

As the interviewees might not be ready for direct questions and could potentially feel blindsided by the themes, terms, and contexts applied by the interviewer, the questions used in different sets of interviews were designed from the general to more specific. This strategy gradually let them warm to the direct themes and answer with more concentration; this improved the reliability of the research findings. This issue was particularly applicable to the respondents who were asked about the impact of their involvement in the process. As indicated, each question addressed a certain direction for the researcher. At the end of PEI and local interviews, the following specific information was also collected: home/shop address in the neighbourhood/bazaar; home/shop ownership (rent, own, shared or other type); length of residence; gender; age; level of education; and occupation (see Appendix B: profile of all interviewees). The following information was collected in professional interviews: gender; age; level of education; and occupation. The followings are the questions used in different sets of interviews.

### **Questions used in the Photo Elicitation Interview (PEI), in both cases**

- Questions addressing individual visual interpretive data:
  1. Would you please tell me more about these photographs (you have taken)?
  2. Why did you take this photograph? What does it mean to you?
  3. Would you please tell me more about this photograph? Where did you take it? Why? (Specify the location of photographs on the neighbourhood/bazaar map)
- Questions addressing sense of place:
  4. How do you describe this neighbourhood/bazaar? (to address overall sense of place)
  5. What does this place mean to you? (to address place meaning)
  6. What are the issues that make you feel you belong here? Why? (to address place attachment)
  7. Are you satisfied with here? Why? (to address place satisfaction)
  8. Describe the differences between here and other places. (to address place identity)

- Questions addressing the process of involvement:

9. Describe the activities you were involved in.
10. Why did you decide to get involved? Why did/didn't you continue to be involved?
11. Why was the involved project/activity important to you? Is it still important? Why?
12. What is the importance to your neighbourhood/bazaar community?
13. What new skills did you learn?
14. Did involvement lead to any changes in your life? How?
15. Tell me about the people you have met through participating in the project.
16. What do you know of other involved groups?
17. Did you trust your neighbours/governmental institutions? Why?

- Questions addressing the neighbourhood/bazaar space:

18. Are you involved in any participatory activities now? If so, where and what is your role? Why do you continue to be involved?
19. How is your life going here? Are you satisfied here?
20. Describe your feelings for this place now and before any intervention.
21. How much do you think you have in common with this place now? How was it before the intervention?
22. Could you live/work somewhere else? Like where? Why?
23. Do you trust in your neighbourhood/governmental institutions now? Why?

- Questions addressing the impact:

24. Tell me about your sense here, the involved/or not involved project, the community, trust, familiarity, physical space, and the cultural landscape such as customs, food, dialect, events, characters, and religious ceremonies.
25. What changes have you seen in the above? Are there any threats?
26. Did the participatory project contribute to your senses of belonging?

27. Did the participatory project contribute to feelings of rootedness? Why? How?
28. Describe how your involvement has affected the way you feel about the place?
29. Describe how your involvement has affected here compared to other neighbourhoods/bazaars? Why? How?
30. Are you satisfied with your neighbourhood/bazaar space now after/during the participatory project? Why?
31. What did you gain? What did you lose? Describe it please.

### **Questions used in professional interviews (phase III) in the Takhti neighbourhood**

1. Would you please introduce yourself?
2. Which participatory projects have you been involved in? For how long?
3. Would you please tell me about your role in the project(s)? What is your evaluation?
4. Do you think you have learned from that project(s)? Give me some examples.
5. What did happen to non-owners like renters, small plot owners, etc. in the project?
6. How do you evaluate the locals' sense of place during/after the project?
7. Do you think local residents are satisfied with the participatory project? Why?
8. What did happen to the neighbourhood identity during/after the project?
9. What kind of social changes you have noticed in the neighbourhood?
10. Would you tell me about the trust between the local office and locals? What about the trust between the municipality and locals?
11. What kind of physical changes you have seen here?
12. Some locals told me about their concerns about the quality of constructions or their gain/loss through the process. What do you think?
13. Some other locals told me about.... What do you think?
14. Describe how the involvement of locals has affected their sense of community.
15. If we could have done anything differently regarding the participatory process, what would it have been? Why?

### **Questions used in professional interviews (phase III) in the Oudlajan bazaar**

1. Would you please introduce yourself?
2. Which participatory projects have you been involved in? For how long?
3. Would you please tell me about your role in the project(s)? What is your evaluation?
4. Do you think you have learned from that project(s)? Give me some examples.
5. What did happen to non-owners like renters in the project?
6. How do you evaluate the shopkeepers' sense of place during/after the project?
7. Do you think shopkeepers are satisfied with the participatory project? Why?
8. What did happen to the bazaar identity during/after the project?
9. What kind of social changes have you noticed in the bazaar?
10. Would you tell me about the trust between the local office and shopkeepers? What about the trust between the municipality and shopkeepers? How about the Heritage Organisation and shopkeepers?
11. What kind of physical changes have you seen here?
12. Some shopkeepers told me about their concerns about their heritage reconstitutions of the bazaar. What do you think?
13. A shopkeeper told me about his heritage awareness through the process. What do you think?
14. Describe how the involvement of shopkeepers has affected their sense of community.
15. If we could have done anything differently regarding the participatory process, what would it have been? Why?
16. How do you define this project, 'participation' and/or 'partnership'? Why?

### **Questions used in local interviews (phase IV) in the Takhti neighbourhood**

- General questions (warmup stage):
  1. Have you always lived here?
  2. Have you seen any changes to the locality?



3. Would you be sorry to leave here?

- Questions addressing sense of place:

4. How do you describe this neighbourhood? (to address overall sense of place)

5. What does here mean to you? (to address place meaning)

6. What are the issues that make you feel you belong here? Why? (to address place attachment)

7. Are you satisfied with here? Why? (to address place satisfaction)

8. Describe the differences between this neighbourhood and other neighbourhoods. (to address place identity)

- Questions addressing the process of involvement:

9. Describe the activities you were involved in.

10. Why did you decide to get involved? Why did/didn't you continue to be involved?

11. Why was the involved project/activity important to you? Is it still important? Why?

12. What is the importance to you personally?

13. What is the importance to your neighbourhood community?

14. What new skills did you learn?

15. Did involvement lead to any changes in your life? How?

16. Tell me about the people you have met through participating in the project.

17. What do you know of other involved groups?

18. Did you trust your neighbours/governmental institutions? Why?

- Questions addressing the neighbourhood space:

19. Are you involved in any participatory activities now? If so, where and what is your role? Why do you continue to be involved?

20. How is your life going here? Are you satisfied here?

21. Describe your feelings for this neighbourhood now and before any intervention? Why?
22. How much do you think you have in common with this place now? How was it before the intervention?
23. Could you live somewhere else? Like where? Why?
24. Do you trust in your neighbourhood/governmental institutions now? Why?

- Questions addressing the impact:

25. Tell me about your sense here, the community, trust, familiarity, physical space, and the cultural landscape such as customs, food, dialect, events, characters, and religious ceremonies.
26. What changes have you seen in the above? Are there any threats?
27. Did the participatory project contribute to your senses of belonging? Like what?
28. Did the participatory project contribute to feelings of rootedness? Why? How?
29. Describe how your involvement has affected the way you feel about the place?
30. Describe how your involvement has affected here compared to other neighbourhoods? Why? How?
31. Describe how your involvement has affected your and other behaviour? Why? How?
32. Are you satisfied with your neighbourhood space now after/during the participatory project? Why?
33. If you could have done anything differently regarding your involvement role, what would it have been?
34. What did you gain? What did you lose? Describe it please.

- Questions addressing the community approach:

35. Would you call this neighbourhood a community? Would you describe the relationships between the neighbours here? Is it more workable, rather than intense?
36. What do you think a new residents' sense of belonging for here might be?
37. Are you interested in interacting with new residents? Why?

38. Who led your project? Who guides it now? (the municipality, other organisations)
39. What are your hopes for the future?
40. Some people said (based on the second phase's results) they do not have a feeling for here, what do you think? Why?
41. Some people here told me (based on the second phase's results) they have to live here since they are dependent on this place (e.g. job), what do you think? Why?
42. Some residents said they liked here and are satisfied with it (based on the second phase's results), but they think that here is not the place in which they should live, they should go somewhere else like Saadat-Abad? How about you?
43. Some residents said they lost their trust/familiarity about here (based on the first phase's results including photos), what do you think? Do you have the same opinion?

#### **Questions used in local interviews (phase IV) in the Oudlajan bazaar**

- General questions (warmup stage):
  1. Have you always had shop here?
  2. Have you seen any changes to the locality?
  3. Would you be sorry to leave here and work somewhere else?
- Questions addressing sense of place:
  4. How do you describe this bazaar? (to address overall sense of place)
  5. What does here mean to you? (to address place meaning)
  6. What are the issues that make you feel you belong here? Why? (to address place attachment)
  7. Are you satisfied with here? Why? (to address place satisfaction)
  8. Describe the differences between this bazaar and other bazaars. (to address place identity)
- Questions addressing the process of involvement:
  9. Describe the activities you were involved in.

10. Why did you decide to get involved? Why did/didn't you continue to be involved?
11. Why was the involved project/activity important to you? Is it still important? Why?
12. What is the importance to you personally?
13. What is the importance to your bazaar community?
14. What new skills did you learn?
15. Did involvement lead to any changes in your life? How?
16. Tell me about the people you have met through participating in the project.
17. What do you know of other involved groups?
18. Did you trust other shopkeepers/governmental institutions? Why?

- Questions addressing the neighbourhood space:

19. Are you involved in any participatory activities now? If so, where and what is your role? Why do you continue to be involved?
20. How is your life going here? Are you satisfied here?
21. Describe your feelings for this neighbourhood now and before any intervention? Why?
22. How much do you think you have in common with this place now? How was it before the intervention?
23. Could you live somewhere else? Like where? Why?
24. Do you trust in your neighbourhood/governmental institutions now? Why?

- Questions addressing the impact:

25. Tell me about your sense here, the bazaar community, trust, familiarity, physical space, and the cultural landscape such as customs, food, dialect, events, characters, and religious ceremonies.
26. What changes have you seen in the above? Are there any threats?
27. Did the participatory project contribute to your senses of belonging? Like what?
28. Did the participatory project contribute to feelings of rootedness? Why? How?

29. Describe how your involvement has affected the way you feel about the place?
30. Describe how your involvement has affected here compared to other neighbourhoods? Why? How?
31. Describe how your involvement has affected your and other behaviour? Why? How?
32. Are you satisfied with your bazaar space now after/during the participatory project? Why?
33. If you could have done anything differently regarding your involvement role, what would it have been?
34. What did you gain? What did you lose? Describe it please.

- Questions addressing the community approach:

35. Would you call this bazaar a community? Would you describe the relationships between the shop keepers here? Is it more workable, rather than intense?
36. What do you think a new shopkeepers' sense of belonging for here might be?
37. Who led your project? Who guides it now? (the municipality, the Heritage Organisation, other organisations)
38. What are your hopes for the future?
39. Some people said (based on the second phase's results) they do not have a feeling for here, what do you think? Why?
40. Some people here told me (based on the second phase's results) they have to work here since they are dependent on this place (e.g. job), what do you think? Why?
41. Some shopkeepers said they liked here (based on the second phase's results), but after the completion of this project they would sell their shop and find somewhere else to buy a new shop, what do you think about them? How about you?
42. Some shopkeepers said they lost their trust in Heritage Organisation/ Municipality (based on the first phase's results including photos), what do you think? Do you have the same opinion? Why?

خانم

- راهنمای سوالات مربوط به مرحله چهارم - محله تختی

Questions for the residents in the semi-structured interview (phase IV)

- معرفی پرسشگر و پژوهش
- سوالات عمومی
- ۱۲- همیشه اینجا زندگی کردین؟ ✓
- نظرتونو در مورد این تصاویر به من می گین؟ این تصاویر برای شما چه معنایی داره؟ میدونین مال کجاست؟ ✓
- سوالات در رابطه با حس مکان ✓
- اینجا (محله) را چطورجایی می بینی؟ فرض کن بخوای از اینجا را برای کسی صحبت کنی، چی می گیدی؟ ✓
- اینجا برای شما چه معنایی داره؟ ✓
- آیا احساس می کنی به اینجا تعلق داری ؟ ✓
- آیا از بودن در اینجا راضی هستی؟ ✓
- بنظر شما، به محله چه جور جایی باید باشه تا بهش گفت محله؟ محله شما با بقیه محلات اطراف متفاوته؟ چطوری؟ ✓
- سوالات در مورد فرآیند مشارکت
- آیا در در طرح های مشارکتی محله شرکت داشتید؟ به چه نحوی؟ ✓
- چرا شرکت کردین (و یا شرکت نکردین)؟ چرا ادامه دادین و یا ادامه ندادین؟ ✓
- اهمیت این مشارکت را برای خودتون و خانواده تون در چی می بینید؟ برای محله تون چطور؟ ✓
- آیا از این مشارکت چیزی یاد گرفتین؟ می تونید مثال بزنید؟ ✓
- آیا این مشارکت چیزی را در زندگی شما عوض کرد؟ چطوری؟ ✓
- آیا از مشارکت بقیه آگاهی دارین؟ مثال بزنید؟ ✓
- آیا قبل از مشارکت به همسایه ها اعتماد داشتین؟ به دفتر نوسازی محله چی؟ شهرداری؟ در حال حاضر چی؟ ✓
- سوالات در مورد فضای محله
- آیا هنوز در فعالیتی در اینجا مشارکت دارید؟ کجا و چطوری؟ نقش شما؟ ✓
- میشه در مورد احساستون نسبت به این محله قبل و بعد از طرح مشارکتی بگید؟ چه تغییری نموده؟ ✓
- اثر مشارکت روی حس مکان
- نظر تون در مورد افراد دیگه ای که در این پروژه مشارکت کرده اند چیه؟ اونهایی که مشارکت نکرده اند چی؟ (مثه اجاره نشین ها و یا مالک هایی که ابعاد زمین نشون کوچک بوده) ✓

This is a photocopy of one of the original question schedules (in Farsi) used in a local interview (phase IV) in the case of the Takhti neighbourhood.

## Appendix D: The list of themes, topics and issues covered in different sets of interviews

Themes, topics and issues covered in the case of the <b>Takhti neighbourhood</b>		PEI (II)	Professional/official interviews (III)	Local interviews (IV)
Themes	Involvement methods	✓	✓	✓
	Sense of place	✓	-	✓
Topics	Individual visual interpretative perception	✓	-	✓
	Shared interpretative perception	-	-	✓
	Locals' sense of place before the initiatives	✓	-	✓
	Locals' sense of place during/after the initiatives	✓	-	✓
	Process of involvement	✓	✓	✓
	Neighbourhood space (outcomes)	✓	✓	✓
	impact of the process/outcomes on sense of place	✓	✓	✓
Issues	Trust building	✓	✓	✓
	Local office performance	✓	✓	✓
	Quality of reconstruction	✓	✓	✓
	Land value	✓	✓	✓
	Left over spaces	✓	✓	✓
	Inconveniences during the redevelopment	✓	-	✓
	Inclusion of owners and exclusion of non-owners	✓	✓	✓
	Small-plot owners	✓	✓	✓
	Transition from single to shared ownership	✓	✓	✓
	Environmental awareness	✓	-	✓
	Institutional coordination	✓	✓	✓

Themes, topics and issues covered in the case of the <b>Oudlajan bazaar</b>		PEI (II)	Professional/official interviews (III)	Local interviews (IV)
Themes	Involvement methods	✓	✓	✓
	Sense of place	✓	-	✓
Topics	Individual visual interpretative perception	✓	-	✓
	Shared interpretative perception	-	-	✓
	Locals' sense of place before the initiatives	✓	-	✓
	Locals' sense of place during/after the initiatives	✓	-	✓
	Process of involvement	✓	✓	✓
	Bazaar space (outcomes)	✓	✓	✓
	impact of the process/outcomes on sense of place	✓	✓	✓
Issues	Trust building	✓	✓	✓
	Local office performance	✓	✓	✓
	Shop value	✓	✓	✓
	Inconveniences during the redevelopment	✓	-	✓
	Inclusion of owners and exclusion of non-owners	✓	✓	✓
	Free wheelers	✓	✓	✓
	Heritage awareness	✓	-	✓
	Authenticity of reconstructions	✓	✓	✓
	Heritage Organisation performance	✓	✓	✓
	Institutional coordination	✓	✓	✓



## Appendix E: A sample of a translated transcript

### Interview TM102-III

#### Specific Information

- Gender: male
- Home address: .....
- Age : 38
- Occupation: Local office manager (Sanglaj)
- Position: Social Facilitator
- Duration of interview: Around one hour
- Date of interview: 30 June 2014
- Place of interview : the Local office of the Sangalaj neighbourhood

#### Summary of interview:

The interviewee is a middle-aged facilitator and local office manager. It seems he is interested in learning and working in social contexts. He believes that himself as a facilitator and his team despite several problems and barriers were successful in the involvement renovation. In his approach, the main barrier was the authorities. They didn't do their duties as they should do. He shed lights on different types of trust between the locals and the local office and the local office and the institutions. Nevertheless, their job has had a good reflection for all actors including the locals, authorities and also his local office. In his view, another positive point is considering the bottom level (locals) in this task in decision making while always they had been ignored. They have interfered during the process of decision making, construction and operation; however, their influence might be limited. They already had another pilot intervention (Fazel Sazandeh Alley) in different scale and place. According to the lessons from the previous experience they designed Edalat alley where around 25 properties owners were invited to assemble their lands.

He links the place attachment to the physical and functional problems of environment. For instance, he exemplifies that due to the inaccessibility of alley, the residents were hardly ever could use their motorcycles while now they can easily access to their homes by car. [Vehicle access has been seen as a great positive point for the residential areas in Tehran, which strongly affects the economic and social value of place]. Before the project, living in the Edalat alley was shameful for the residents while now they are proud of there. [شان سکونت]

#### Why Edalalt Alley?

To launch the neighbourhood renovation, we designated the most inaccessible parts of the neighbourhoods. Then, the residents were asked whether they are interested in renovation or not. Among the five alleys of the neighbourhood, the residents of the Edalat alley were more interested; hence, the involvement renovation was started from here.

Among the residents, the neighbours, who had kinship relationships to each other, were chosen to assemble their lands. To utilise the municipality's encouragements, the assembled lands should meet the legal criteria such as minimum areas for a new plot. The first property owners were founded in the middle of the alley, where the

## Appendix F: A copy of the original flyer and a translation into English

**عنوان پژوهش :** مشارکت در طرح های توسعه شهری و حس مکان - محله تختی  
پژوهشگر: آقای گوران عرفانی

این صفحه اطلاعات لازم در مورد این پژوهش را در اختیار شما قرار می دهد. مشارکت شما در این پژوهش کاملاً دواطلبانه است و در هر زمانی که مایل باشید می توانید از ادامه آن صرف نظر کنید.

### هدف پژوهش

شهرداری تهران (سازمان نوسازی شهر تهران) در سالیان اخیر، به انجام طرح های توسعه شهری با مشارکت ساکنین محلی مبادرت ورزیده است. هدف این پژوهش ارزیابی این طرح های مشارکتی توسعه شهری است. در این زمینه، پژوهش حاضر به بررسی روشهای مشارکتی و تاثیر آن بر معنا و حس مکان ساکنین می پردازد.

### مراحل پژوهش

از شما درخواست می شود که بین 6 الی 8 تصویر که بنظر شما می توانند بیانگر محله شما و آماکن داخل آن می باشند را عکاسی و یا جمع آوری نماید. پس از تهیه تصاویر، از شما دعوت می شود تا در یک جلسه گفتگو شرکت کنید. لطفاً فایل و یا پرینت تصاویر را به همراه اسم و شماره تماس خود در اختیار دفتر نوسازی محله تختی، خانم ..... قرار دهید.

### شرکت در گفتگو

در صورت تمایل به شرکت در گفتگو در زمان مناسب با شما تماس گرفته می شود. زمان گفتگو حدود یک ساعت خواهد بود. محل گفتگو نیز دفتر نوسازی محله تختی خواهد بود.

### نکات مهم

- همه اسامی اشخاص، مکان ها، تصاویر و اطلاعات شخصی ناشناس خواهد ماند.
- اجباری به پاسخ به همه سوالات در جلسه گفتگو وجود ندارد.
- تمامی نتایج حاصله تنها جهت پژوهش مورد استفاده قرار خواهند گرفت.
- الزامی در استفاده از گوشی موبایل و یا دوربین عکاسی وجود ندارد.
- تاریخ ارائه تصاویر حداکثر دو هفته از زمان دریافت این آگهی می باشد.
- در صورت وجود هر گونه سوال می توانید لطفاً با دفتر محلی تماس بگیرید.

با تشکر از شرکت شما در این پژوهش علمی.

**Research title: Participation in urban redevelopments and sense of place - Takhti neighbourhood**

Researcher: Goran Erfani

This page provides the information you may require about this research. The involvement in this research is voluntary, and you can withdraw at any time.

**Aim of the research**

Within recent years, the municipality of Tehran (the Tehran City Renovation Organisation) has conducted urban redevelopment schemes through the participation of local residents. The aim of this research is to examine these participatory urban redevelopment schemes. The research studies the participatory methods and its impact on the residents' meaning and sense of place.

**Research procedure**

You are required to capture or collect **six to eight photos** representative of the neighbourhood and the places within them. After taking the photos, you will be invited to participate in an interview. Please leave the digital files or printed photos as well as your name and phone number with the local office of Takhti, Mrs.....

**Interview**

You would be contacted to arrange an interview. The duration of the interview would about one hour. The place of the interview you be in the local office of Takhti.

**Important points**

- All the names, places, photographs and personal information would be anonymous.
- You do not have to answer all the questions asked in the interview.
- All the results would be used only for the scientific purpose.
- You can use either a mobile phone or camera to take photos.
- The deadline to provide photos is maximum **two weeks** from receiving this flyer.
- Please contact the local office if you have any questions.

Thank you for your contribution to this scientific research.