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Defining a Just City with Regard to Informal Settlements (Case Study: The Saadi Informal Settlement in the City of Shiraz).

Mahtab Abbaspour

**A dissertation submitted to The University of Kent for the degree of
Master of Philosophy in The Faculty of Law**

Kent Law School

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Abstract:

The problem of the spread of inequality among community members in cities has long been defined in varied ways according to different ideologies. Some believe the major reasons for the increase of injustice in cities are the processes of industrialization and capitalism. Accordingly, the solution for the provision of justice is the eradication of their resultant regulations. On the other hand, others believe such a phenomenon should be considered as a fact in the procedure of urban development. Hence, they suggest temporary solutions for its catastrophic results. In this research, it is proposed that people must be enabled through the provision of their basic needs and enhancement of their awareness to gradually reform the unjust mechanisms which have been imposed upon them.

One of the chief consequences of injustice in communities and the consequent unbalanced urban developments is the emergence of informal settlements in urban configurations. People who could not comply with the market regulations to possess a house in the formal sector of the cities turn to the informal sector. However, the governments cannot neglect the existence of such settlements and should provide the basic facilities for their improvement. It is argued in this research that people should be enabled subsequently to participate in the process of policy-making in cities. Accordingly, the local organizations, which can provide a competent context for their engagement in urban management, should be strengthened.

However, the bureaucratic mechanism of urban management in Iran has limited the authority of local organizations. Such a mechanism has led to the dissatisfaction of the civil society and ignorance of the demands of local people. It is suggested that people need to support the local forums, which can authorize them to be involved in the process of urban development, from below. Hence, that would lead to the improvement of social justice and the reduction of conflict of interest between different community members.

I specifically refer to the problems of the people living in the Saadi informal settlement in this research to provide solutions for the improvement of this suburb to a better habitat to live and hence improve the general quality of social justice in the city of Shiraz. Accordingly, I suggest strategies for the social and physical improvement of the suburb, which are the prerequisite for the enablement of the people living in this area, to reform the unjust managerial structures that exist not just in Shiraz, but across Iran.

In addition, I explain that neighborhood forums, which exist in the mechanism of the urban management of the country as a link between the local government and the civil society, can provide a good opportunity for the local people to discuss their issues. Although these forums do not play a prominent role in the hierarchical urban management structure of the country, they can gradually be authorized through the support of local people. Accordingly, peoples' knowledge should be enhanced about such a facilitating mechanism, which can pave the way for their engagement in the process of policy-making and implementing urban plans. Consequently, social justice would improve through the provision of an opportunity for all the community members to take part in urban developments.

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**Chapter 1: Definition, Background, Concepts and Theories on the
Conditions of Developing a Just City.**

1-1- Introduction:

Background and objectives

It is evident according to the views of many experts,¹ that the absence of an equal distribution in cities of resources, facilities, opportunities and social justice more generally has been centrally, though not exclusively, due to inefficiency in urban management structures, urban planning and laws/regulations, driving at times an inappropriate spatial distribution of urban functions and capacities. Instead of merely showing the existence of a relationship between these causes, which have been largely done and in varied ways in a multitude of studies;² my research aims to explore how particular historical events, circumstances and relationships in the context of Shiraz city can be studied more thoroughly in order to enhance planning towards the improvement of the quality of social justice in Shiraz city.

This research explores, in particular, one of the key factors of social sustainability in urban societies, that is, the unbalanced distribution of urban facilities, which has been less considered practically in the studies of contemporary urban developments. That is the unbalanced distribution of urban facilities and the effectively segregated urban spaces that not only leads to unjust developments, but also have significant impacts on the behavior of a community, on which I wish to further concentrate. I am particularly interested in recognizing the structural systems (urban administration systems- and legal systems) promulgating inequalities and, in a sense, imposing certain behavioristic patterns on the life of the community members. I wish to examine how this system can be reformed and how it can be gradually transformed within the existing urban administrative structure in Iran.

My specific focus as a case study will be the enablement of the Saadi informal settlement in the context of Shiraz city. Informal settlements are the most vivid example of a bottom-up urban development. These settlements are shaped spontaneously.³ My aim is to study how the government can provide a mechanism through which people can participate in the process of the rehabilitation of their own settlement. Social factors are vital issues in the process of sustainable urban development, which have not been given proper attention in the process of planning, managing and designing cities. Social justice and equality are the base of other social values achieved through planning cities. Accordingly, unless people have equal opportunities for growth and perfection, an urban society cannot be vital, peaceful, satisfied and unified. In addition, a single group of experts cannot decide for the life of the whole community. Until the community has a say in the process of developing the city, the foundations of urban development cannot be steady. Authoritarian planning could lead to rebellion and revolt of social groups,⁴ which is against the

¹ Susan Fainstein, David Harvey, David Delaney, Edward Soja, Henri Lefebvre and ...

² Delaney, D. (2010). *The spatial, the legal, and the pragmatics of the world making*, "NOMOSPHERIC INVESTIGATIONS". Routledge.

Feinstein, S. (2010). *The just city*. Cornell University.

Harvey, D. (1973). *Social justice and the city*. The university of Georgia press.

Soja, E. (2010). *Seeking spatial justice*. University of Minnesota PRESS.

³ In the sense that they are developed by people and are not based upon urban plans.

⁴ For instance, the Islamic revolution happened in Iran because people believed they do not have any role in the political system of the last regime and had to obey all the dictated rules. According to Samuel Vasapollo who has

values of sustainable urban development. Arranging space as a tool to promulgate certain regulations in society has long been a fundamental issue throughout human history. A well-known example is the Greek agora. A central public space in ancient Greek city-states. It is the best representation of city form's response to accommodate the social and political order of the polis. The literal meaning of the word is "gathering place" or "assembly". This historically suggests that participation is the kernel of civic life and as such, it forms the principle of my approach.

1-2- My Key Research Objectives, therefore, are:

- 1) A review of the characteristics of a just city leading to participatory rights and enablement of citizens
- 2) An investigation of how unjust urban developments took shape in the city of Shiraz in four periods (Qajar, the first Pahlavi, the second Pahlavi and after the Islamic Revolution)
- 3) An investigation of how the informal settlements took shape in Shiraz city
- 4) An analysis of the characteristic of the Saadi informal settlement as the case of study
- 5) An investigation of the existing problems in the Saadi informal settlement
- 6) Conditions towards the reform of the top-down system of urban management in Iran and the process of enabling the Saadi informal settlement

These objectives would lead me to the aim of the structural reformation of the top-down mechanism of urban management in Iran, which has historically promulgated unjust developments in society. Besides, it paves the way for finding enablement solutions preparing citizens to take part in the process of decision-making for their own life and living environment in the context of the Saadi informal settlement.

1-3- Key Research Aims:

My aim in this research is the enablement of the residents of the Saadi informal settlement in order to claim their right and subsequently improve social justice in the city. In doing so, people living in the Saadi informal settlement should have the power to take part in the process of decision-making. Therefore, the top-down mechanism of decision-making in Iran is in the need of reform. According to Fainstein:

At the level of neighborhood, there is the greatest opportunity for democracy but least amount of power. As we scale up the amount of decision-making power increases, but the potential of people to affect outcomes diminishes. The city layer is therefore one layer in the hierarchy of governance. But the variation that exist among cities within the same country in relation to values like tolerance, quality of public services, availability of affordable housing, segregation/ integration, points to a degree of autonomy. Justice is not

examined the causes of Iranian revolution through an interdisciplinary approach "the common ground of all Iran's revolutionary movements is the lack of legitimacy from the lowest strata of its population" (Vasapallo, 2020, p.8). That is also true in many other cases throughout the world, and one of the most recent examples is the Arab Spring.

achievable at the urban level without support from other levels, but discussion of urban programs requires a concept of justice relevant to what is within city government's power and in terms of the goals of urban movements (Fainstein, 2010, p.17-18).

Fainstein, here, is referring to the fact that the distribution of power in the mechanism of urban governance plays a prominent role in the achievement of justice in cities as the lower levels of governance have less power in the process of decision-making. Therefore, in order to attain justice in a city this top-down mechanism of power distribution is in the need of reform.

In doing so and considering the concept above, I will investigate the current framework of urban structure and administrative system in Iran. Overall, I aim to find out the possible ways of reforming the current legal structure and gradually defining a new structure. I suggest that the urban facilities should be distributed equally throughout the city. Therefore, the neighborhoods in the city of Shiraz will not be segregated. Mixed-used urban developments have the potential to enhance social vitality among the residents and are beneficial for their mental health. Such a development allows different social classes live harmoniously near each other. Hence, the conflict of interest between the classes reaches to a minimum and social justice improves in the city. This eventually, leads to the empowerment of the civil society which does not tolerate the top-down mechanism of governance. Finally, I will research how the neighborhoods at local level and city at national level are interacting and how social justice can be provided considering both national and local scale.

1-4- Key Research Question:

- 1) How were (UN)just urban planning laws and related administrative systems historically developed in Shiraz city?
 - (a) How have certain systems (administrative and legal) structurally lead to (UN)just urban developments and informal settlement in Shiraz?
- 2) How can Shiraz urban administration and spatial developments be reformed towards a more just city?
 - (a) What are the characteristics of a just city?
 - (b) How can different social groups be enabled to actively participate in the process of developing a just city?
 - (c) How can Saadi informal settlement be enabled and reformed? In particular, for my purposes: how can different social groups be enabled to actively participate into the process of developing a just city?

1-5- Methodology:

My research was mostly library based, and investigated the characteristics of a just city, in legal and urban administrative terms. In addition, it included surveying how the Saadi informal

settlement could be enabled in order to be integrated into the urban life of the city. In doing so, I used municipality archives such as The Detail Plan and The Master Plan of Shiraz city. I explored the history of urban development in Shiraz and its impact on social justice.

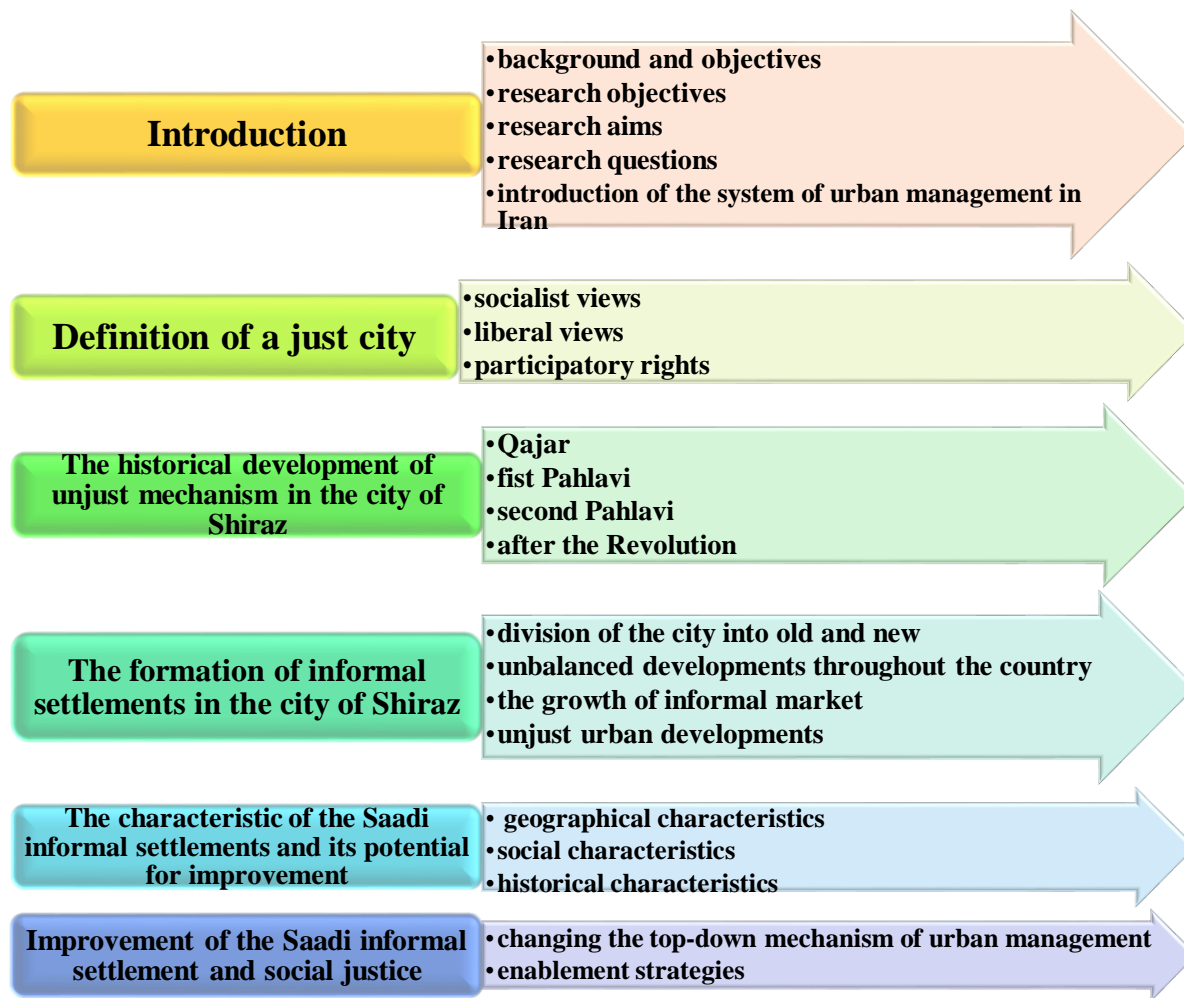
The archival research analyses historical documents stored by organizations. It gave me the opportunity to investigate the past developments. In addition, the contemporary research of the urban development of the city of Shiraz existed in the municipality archives. Hence, I could also briefly discuss the contemporary development of the city through investigating these archives. According to Mohr and Ventresca who have examined archival research in detail:

In its most classic sense, archival methods are those that involve the study of historical documents. That is, documents created at some point in the relatively distant past, providing us access that we might not otherwise have to the organizations, individuals, and events of that earlier time. However, archival methods are also employed by scholars engaged in non-historical investigations of documents and texts produced by and about contemporary organizations, often as tools to supplement other research strategies (Mohr and Ventresca, 2002, p.2).

Using archives were helpful in order to understand the origin of the development of unjust mechanisms which eventually led to the spread of informal settlements in cities. In addition, I could investigate the present quality of urban developments and compare it to the past. Accordingly, I was able to find solutions to improve the conditions of informal settlements through enablement strategies and informing people about their right to the city. I argued the prerequisite for the enablement of people in the Saadi informal settlement is the enhancement of their knowledge. This could be done through providing the chance for communication.

However, the urban management structure in Iran does not allow the establishment of civil constitutes, which provide the chance of communication between the community members. In the political system of the Islamic Republic of Iran, social gatherings are forbidden unless they are approved by the government organization. I suggested this totalitarian system could be reformed through strengthening the existing local constitutes. These constitutes have the potential to provide a competent context for the presence of people in the political system of the country. Hence, the social justice could improve through the reformation of laws and mechanisms which historically promulgated unjust structures in society.

Additionally, I did field surveys to understand the specific needs and depravations of the people living in the Saadi informal settlement. In order to develop my research, I used informal structured interviews to investigate the ideas of local people about the most efficient mechanisms which could improve their living environment. The informal interviews are fully explained in the chapter five. My research, both in the library and field-surveys explored how all social groups could be given more authority to participate in the process of decision-making through the reformation of the current urban law of the country. I suggested that this participation could take place through establishing neighborhood forums, which both educates and enables citizens. Finally, I tried to find strategies for improving the Saadi informal settlement to create a better habitat to live and hence improve social justice in the city. Here is a diagram indicating the completion process of my research.



1-6- Outline of Research Design and Chapters:

Initially I discuss the background of my research, its objectives, aims, questions and methodology. In addition, I talk about the system of urban management in Iran following a top-down trend. I also explain how the structural-strategic plans came into being in order to grant more authority to municipalities and local organizations.

In the second chapter, I discuss the characteristics of a just city, which has been defined in varied ways, according to different philosophies. I explain the positive and negative points of each view and try to suggest strategies for the improvement of social justice in the city of Shiraz considering all the suggested ideologies. I believe both the state and people should be involved in the attainment of justice. While the state should provide the basic facilities for all the members of the community, the civil society should take part in the process of decision-making as the major stakeholder.

In the third chapter, I explain the socio-spatial characteristics of Shiraz city, and the way the unjust urban developments took shape in the city. For instance, the organic structure of the city placing all the urban functions in its coherent structure began changing in Qajar period due to relative modernization. The city was divided into old city and new city since the first Pahlavi period, and the gap between social classes increased in the second Pahlavi period. Even today, the new developments are taking place toward the west and north-west area of the city.

In chapter four, I explain the characteristics of informal settlements. I argue that these settlements are the chief consequences of capitalism and industrialization. I also introduce the Saadi informal settlement as my case of study. Furthermore, I talk about the ways of dealing with informal settlements including the liberal approach toward these settlements, destruction, radical approach and reformist approach.

In the fifth chapter, I focus on the characteristics of the Saadi informal settlement. I talk about the topography, the urban function and social characteristics of this suburb. Furthermore, I explain the potentials of this area for improvement to a better habitat to live while providing the demands of its local community. I suggest solutions for the physical renewal and social improvement of this suburb. Through such strategies, I hope to enable people to reform the unjust structures, which do not allow their voices to be heard, in the process of urban development.

In chapter six, I talk about the function and role of each organization in the system of urban management in Iran. In addition, I investigate the potential of the existing mechanism of urban management to allow people to participate in the process of decision-making. I argue although the general mechanism of the urban management in Iran has provided some opportunities for the engagement of people in the process of decision-making, the national organizations avoid the efficient function of local constitutes. Hence, they impose certain regulations on the local level of urban management and daily life of people. Consequently, through suggesting strategies for the structural reformation of the urban management system, I hope to pave the way for the efficient participation of people in the process of urban development and creating a more just environment to live.

Chapter seven is the conclusion chapter of this thesis. I try to generally analyze the whole thesis in this chapter and provide brief answers for the research questions. In addition, I suggest directions for further research to facilitate the process of attaining a just city. I mention the role of local media in raising the awareness of local communities and decentralization of power system which can be discussed further in a wider research.

1-7- Main Argument:

The main line of argument of my thesis engages with how people living in the Saadi informal settlement can be enabled to claim their 'right to the city'.⁵ In doing so, I discuss, first, the system of urban management in Iran that is characterized by a top-down trend. In order to enable people in the Saadi informal settlement to claim their right, it is necessary that they be enabled to have an efficient role in the process of managing their city. Accordingly, the local organizations, which can be considered as such a facilitating mechanism, allowing the citizens to participate in the process of decision-making should be strengthened.⁶ I also briefly discuss how structural- strategic plans came into being in order to grant more authority to local organizations and municipalities. However, these plans were not successful.⁷ It is the master plan, prepared by The Ministry of Housing and Urbanism, which is currently implemented in the city.

In order to illustrate the context of my line of argument I briefly look at how the unjust urban developments historically took shape in the city. This is to show that the city was gradually fragmented and most welfare facilities were accumulated in the west and north-west area. This led to the rise of land prices in some areas of the city and deprivation in other. Consequently, the informal market of land and housing took shape and informal settlements came into being. It is necessary, then, to have a balanced urban development as a strategy at city scale in order to avoid such unjust impoverished urban developments.

However, the existence of informal settlements in the city as places which escape from government regulations due to the inefficiency of these laws remains a fact today and cannot be ignored as a mere unfortunate consequence of policy that simply needs to be tolerated or micro-managed. In this dissertation, I propose that the best way to find a long-term solution for empowering these settlements, in order to claim their right and be meaningfully integrated into the urban life of the city, is a combination of legal reform and wider empowerment of the residents.

A primary problem towards progress in this regard entails the lack of willingness to enable formal participation. The reformation of urban laws needs to be more comprehensive by actually allowing residents to participate in the process of urban management. The structure and process of participation needs consideration. There is The City and Village Islamic Council, which is an elective organization and can be considered as a local legislative forum. The Municipality can be the executive local organization dependent on the Islamic Council. In addition, Neighborhood Councils can be the empowering and most effective link between residents and the local organizations. However, the current government is not still prepared to delegate such responsibilities to local organizations.

A second problem entails the question of how to develop the area of the settlement, with what means and at what cost. I argue the Saadi informal settlement presents good potential for progressive renewal. It is near the tomb of the great Iranian poet Saadi Shirazi, and there are

⁵ The right to be integrated into the urban life. They should not be excluded from the city due to their economic, social and cultural poverty.

⁶ In the sense that local organizations should have the authority and autonomy to decide for the city independently.

⁷ Because the government was not ready to delegate its responsibilities to local organizations. The structural strategic plans should be prepared at local level by local organizations.

historical monuments and gardens in this settlement, which could become the centers of a new cultural zone. This area can turn into a cultural zone of the city, as such, by developing further cultural institutes such as cinemas, theaters and museums. The local organizations could allow these developments to take place as incentive projects.⁸ However, these organizations are not independent and such plans require the confirmation of government organizations.

A third and major problem in the Saadi informal settlement is the low level of education of the people living in the suburb. This leads to the inability of the labor market to absorb them. Yet, the population living in the Saadi informal settlement is young and a most precious social capital. Through developing technical training institutes this young population, can both become empowered and participate in the process of urban renewal.

Overall, my argument holds that the whole project of enablement of the people in the Saadi informal settlement towards claiming their right to the city should be done by the direct involvement of people and the acknowledgment of their priorities and needs. Hence, it would lead to the improvement of the condition of life in the Saadi informal settlement and subsequently justice in the city of Shiraz.

1-8- Key Issues as to Participation and Facilitation in the Iranian Administrative Governance of Urban Management:

To start with, I will investigate the history of urban management in Iran with regard to how it has impacted Shiraz city. Generally, urban management in Iran has followed a top-down trend. It is worth outlining the followings are the key characteristics of the administrative system in relation to management, as detailed by Hamid Mohammadi who has examined the system of urban management in Iran with regard to enhancing participation.

Central Government is responsible for legislation in Iran. It is the responsibility of Central Government to establish administrative organizations or to dismiss them. The Central Government determines the country's budget. Local organizations are subordinate organizations of Central Government and must follow its commands. The system of urban management of the country consists of three levels: national, regional and local. There are The Supreme Council of Architecture and Urbanism, The Ministry of Interior and The Ministry of Housing and Urbanism at the national level. The organizations at regional level are not independent and they are the county branches of the Central Government. Finally, there are Municipalities and The City and Village Islamic Councils at the local level. These organizations are the subordinate organizations of Central Government and cannot act independently (Mohammadi, 2010).⁹

Thus, the existing political, social and local guild groupings cannot formally exist without being approved by government, and are constantly controlled. Accordingly, it can be argued that urban management in Iran follows an authoritative trend giving very limited autonomy to local

⁸ The major achievement of incentive projects is urban revitalization. It is considered as a comprehensive strategy for the transformation and renewal of decayed areas of the city.

⁹ Dr. Hamid Mohammadi is the Assistant Professor of Urbanism at Yazd University in Iran.

organizations. Besides, the urban management system in Iran is an inflexible, totalitarian, and centralized mechanism, which lacks identity.

There is no clearance in the process of urban planning, as people have no role in the process of decision-making. This in turn could lead to the unsustainability of the system. The lack of social institutes based upon the contribution of citizens in the different levels of planning cities, such as decision-making, designing and implementing, leads to imposed and instable urban developments. In order to improve this structure of urban management and turn it into a democratic system, I would suggest that there is a need to pay attention to the ideas of each citizen in the process of planning. The urban planning experts should consider the views and behavior of all citizens while planning the city. They should also provide a competent context for the participation of citizens in the process of planning. Therefore, in my opinion, local organizations need to be strengthened and act independently of the Central Government. This can be done through developing social life and social gatherings in communities. The space and society are intricately dependent on each other. Designing a space without considering its social context is almost impossible. In fact, urban space provides a competent context for social collaboration and emergence of democracy. Accordingly, urban space must take shape based on citizens' needs and respecting human dignity.

In addition, civil constitutes can have a prominent role in facilitating the process of citizens' participation through educating them and giving them the chance to participate in a social activity. These civil constitutes should be established by the people and should not be a subordinate organization of the Central Government. Hence, they can be helpful in the process of democratization of the country. However, it is difficult to form these constitutes within a centralized system of governance such as the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Dissatisfaction with the current situation of today's urban condition in Iran, and the resultant social injustice that one could say characterizes it at large, is a common experience among citizens. Through a general planning vision, as in the master plan,¹⁰ only one-sided solutions have been proposed for cities (mostly concentrated on the physical aspects of urban design and use). Yet, a city's urban establishment and sustainability depends on multiple factors, beyond the physical parameters. It is vitally important to consider this significant factor in the process of developing Shiraz city and improving the quality of social justice.

Shiraz is one of the largest cities in Iran. This city is seen as the cultural capital of the country and thus has an important role at both national and international level.¹¹ The city has great potential for an urban development perspective that could reconsider the interests and benefits of all stakeholders.¹² There are many decayed areas showing the history of the city with high potential of urban renewal and absorbing both the interior and foreign investment. Regeneration projects with the collaboration of local residents and considering the social impacts can revitalize

¹⁰ The vision of master plan, which mostly considers the physical aspect of the city.

¹¹ Shiraz city is considered as the cultural capital of Iran as two of the greatest Iranian poets Hafiz (14th century) and Saadi Shirazi (13th century) were born and raised in this city. Their tombs, which is considered as two of the most important cultural heritages of the country is placed in the north of the city (Sarmadi, 2012, p.3)

¹² The City of Shiraz entails many beautiful gardens such as Eram Garden and Ghasrodasht Gardens with global reputation. Each year many tourists visit these gardens (Sarmadi, 2012, p.3)

these areas into the life of the city. Hence, it can promote the life of residents in these areas and reduce social gaps in the urban community. However, these projects should be done with the direct involvement of community members and through considering their needs in order to make them sustainable, rather than temporary and imposed. Accordingly, the organization of urban management in Shiraz city following a top-down trend is in need of reform. In doing so I investigate the systematic urban planning of the country and its potential to change into a more democratic system.

1-9- Placing My Study within the Contours of Urban Planning and Urbanization:

Among the various aspects of urban organization, the system of providing, conforming and managing urban plans plays an important role in city development. The structure of power in society, the visions of administrators as to citizen's rights,¹³ the differential experience of urban space through the views of everyday people living in the city and decision-makers, and the roles of the city¹⁴ are among the factors playing a vital part in defining and explaining a system of urban planning. The systematic, formal side of urbanism should be investigated through the content of urban plans, laws, the necessary structures for design, and the implementation plans. Therefore, here I briefly discuss the history of the systematic urbanism in Iran and the efforts which were made to reform its inflexible entity.

Urbanism in Iran, as it is prevalent now,¹⁵ took shape for the first time after the presentation of some guidance plans in 1962 (Majedi, 2009, p.38). The master plan of Tehran is among the first plans, which its contract was approved by Abdolaziz Farmanfarmayan and was confirmed by the Ministry of Housing and Urbanism in 1969 (Majedi, 2009, p.38). However, it did not take long before the first whispers of criticism about these plans were spread in 1977. Less than two years had passed since these early criticisms when Islamic Revolution occurred (Majedi, 2009, p.38). In what follows, I will draw from an interview with Doctor Hamid Majedi who is the Assistant Professor of Architecture and Urbanism at the Islamic Azad University, Science and Research Branch of Tehran and has investigated on the structural-strategic plans in Iran.

According to Majedi, the first plan of the social and economic development of the Islamic Republic of Iran was based upon the previous master plans before the Islamic revolution. The major criticism about these plans was the fact that master and detailed plans only considered the physical aspects of the city, and in spite of economic and social surveys, their achievements were mere suggestions for physical developments. Since the end of the war between Iran and Iraq in 1988, the Ministry of Housing and Urbanism made many efforts to reform these plans.

For instance, in 1990, a committee at the Ministry of Housing and Urbanism was composed to review the plans and it struggled to replace the previous general vision with structural vision.

¹³ Whether the managers believe people should be able to actively claim their right to the city or whether they think urban plans should be imposed on them.

¹⁴ Whether it is an industrial city, the city of arts and culture or a trade city or the city of knowledge.

¹⁵ Urbanism which is based on urban plans after the relative modernization of the country, not spontaneous urbanism

That led to the introduction of structural-strategic plans, which were prepared at local level. In the structural strategic plans, at first the structure of the city in social, economic and physical aspects is investigated. Then the strategies are provided according to these surveys. In other words, at first, the structures are recognized and then the strategies are presented. According to Majedi the structural plans in the UK were one of the major models, which was used in Iran.

Relying on the urban planning system of the United Kingdom, the first level of the plans had to be prepared at county level and with strategic vision. The second level of these plans was accomplished by composing different committees at the Ministry of Housing and Urbanism to discuss the content, related laws and structures of these plans. In these committees the plans were named structural-strategic, taking the word structure from structural plans in the UK, and strategic from strategic plans in the US (Majedi, 2009, p.39).

Regarding these transformations it can be said within 1990 and 2000 fundamental steps were taken at the Ministry of Housing and Urbanism and some contracts for preparing the structural-strategic plans for cities including Shiraz were signed. In fact, it was aimed to give the city council implementation power to act as a local organization. However, it was not possible.

In order to implement the structural-strategic plans three committees were shaped: content committee, law committee, structure implementation committee. The second and third committees were not established, but the content committee was formed. It was mentioned in this committee, the structure should be in a way that the city Islamic councils (the only elective organization in the system of urban management in Iran) have implementation power to control the constructions outside the legal region of the cities (Majedi, 2009, p.39).

However, in the top-down mechanism of urban management in Iran the city councils are the subordinate branches of the central government and cannot decide independently. Hence, it is important to reform the structural deficiencies of urban management in the country first rather than adopting systems which may allow more contribution of citizens in the process of decision-making.

Strategic planning at the local government can only succeed, if it has unequivocal support of the chief executive, legislative body and affected department heads. The political will needs to be strong enough to mobilize and coordinate the use of resources necessary for implementation and operation and maintenance (pennink et al., 2017, p.8).¹⁶

Accordingly, strategic planning cannot be successful if it is not supported by the national system of urban management in a country. This requires preparing the competent context for the implementation of these plans in the country through establishing encouragement policies, which motivate people to participate in the process of decision-making. People can establish neighborhood forums responding to their daily needs. Subsequently, local organizations will be developed and strengthened. Hence, the central government cannot dictate its commands to lower levels of governance as the people support them.

¹⁶ Carley pennink et al., in their article *city development strategies 2.0* mainly discuss the strategic urban development and the way it can be a solution to the challenge of rapid urban growth in African cities.

In fact, one of the strategies of reforming urban development is considering the concept of the quality of living and contributing social factors in the process of planning. The factors, which evaluate the quality of living, include safety, human rights, welfare, democracy, social justice, ecological preservation and economic growth.

A livable city is one where all individuals have equal opportunity for gaining social welfare and prosperity. These aims cannot be attained through rigid and inflexible laws mentioned in the master plan by experts. This can only happen through the active involvement of people in the process of preparing flexible strategies considering the benefits of all social groups.

The structural-strategic plans can provide the opportunity for developing such strategies through strengthening the bottom-up process of decision-making and the municipalities, which form the local organizations. However, these plans are considered as mere surveys in Iran, as the local organizations do not have the power to act independently. The urban developments in Iran are still following the regulations of the master plan. Here, I argue that the prerequisite of the reformation of this mechanism is the empowerment of the civil society.

1-10- Empowerment Strategies:

The improvement of the condition of life in the Saadi informal settlement will not happen unless people can efficiently participate in the process of developing their living environment. However, the bureaucratic mechanism of urban management in Iran does not allow their participation in the process of decision-making. Although there are local organizations such as The City and Village Islamic Councils, which their members are directly chosen by the vote of people, these organizations are the subordinate institutes of the Central Government and should follow its commands (Hashempour and Keshavarz, 2015, p.802).¹⁷ Accordingly, people in the Saadi informal settlement are deprived of the most basic right of participation. They should obey the dictated programs, which have been planned for them by the government organizations.

In fact, the most effective factor, which leads to the active participation of people in the process of decision-making is their empowerment. The responsibility of the government is not to plan for the people but to enable people to plan for themselves. Accordingly, the government is responsible to provide the basic needs of the community members such as food, housing, welfare facilities and job. In addition, the fundamental element of empowerment is the enhancement of the knowledge of people. “In Foucault’s mind power and knowledge are unified in discursive space and the job of discourse is the transference of knowledge” (Mashhadi Moghaddam and Rafieian, 2020, p.2).¹⁸ Power and knowledge are dependent on each other and knowledge is gained through the process of discourse in a community. People in the Saadi informal settlement should be given the chance to communicate. However, this is not enough for the effective participation of people in the process of decision-making. “Unless citizens have a genuine opportunity to affect outcomes, participation is centrally concerned with therapy and manipulation of participants” (Lane, 2005,

¹⁷ Dr. Rahim Hashempour is the Professor of Urbanism at Imam Khomeini International University, Qazvin, Iran.

¹⁸ Dr. Mojtaba Rafieian is the Professor of Urbanism at Tarbiat Modares University, Tehran, Iran.

p.284).¹⁹ Accordingly, participation is not real unless it is manipulated by the government. It is the state position that should change from the omnipotent authority to a facilitator which empowers the community to make effective decisions.

1-11- Conclusion:

In this chapter the background of my research, research aims, objectives, questions and methodology were discussed. The major aim of this research is to investigate how people living in the Saadi informal settlement could be enabled to claim their right to the city. This requires surveying both the enablement strategies and reformation of the managerial mechanism of the country, which has historically promulgated unjust developments. The archival documents would allow me to investigate the historical evolution of the system of urban management in the country and the factors which lead to unjust developments in this system. In addition, these documents indicate the potential of the Saadi informal settlement for renewal and enablement considering both the physical and social aspects.

The managerial mechanism in Iran avoids the promulgation of social justice as it does not allow the people to participate in the process of decision-making. However, this totalitarian mechanism of management still has potentials for reformation. This can be done through strengthening the local organizations of the country and empowerment of civil society. Local organizations are strengthened when people are encouraged to take part into the political life of the city. This is possible through informing people about their right to the city. In addition, the urban design system of the city is able to provide an appropriate context for social gatherings. Subsequently, people can induce social movements toward democracy more efficiently. The empowerment of civil society happens through enhancing the knowledge of people. Therefore, development of neighborhood forums, which provides a chance for the people to communicate and improve their knowledge, should be considered as a major reformation policy. Accordingly, I develop my line of argument on the concept of justice by investigating different philosophies and explaining that the enablement of civil society to engage in the process of policymaking is one of the chief factors of creating a just city.

¹⁹ Marcus B Lane in their article *Public Participation in Planning: an Intellectual History* generally discusses the relationship between the models of participation in the process of decision-making to the planning system. Blue print planning, synoptic planning and pluralism school of planning apply different methods of participation.

Chapter 2: Definition of a Just City.

2-1- Introduction:

Paying attention to the ideas and elements that lead to the creation of a more just city is not something new. All schools of thought, whether politically on the left or right, considered their methods of planning as the most appropriate strategy for the attainment of social justice in their respective communities. According to Fakouhi (2003),²⁰ from a socialist point of view, the city is a battlefield for class struggle and the responsibility of the urban planner is to eliminate the factors which lead to the discrimination between citizens. For instance, “according to Marxism the industrial city is a competent context for the presence of capitalism. It is a battlefield, where the proletariat eventually defeats the capitalism system” (Fakouhi, 2003, p.169; Marx and Engels, 1888, p.12). On the other hand, according to liberal philosophers such as Jurgen Habermas the conflict of interests between the classes can be reduced through empowering the civil society and providing a competent context for communication between different social groups (Habermas, 1998, p.31). Communicative rationality, which uses the lay knowledge of people as its main resource or tool, has the potential to create consensus between different social groups by giving the community the chance to evaluate different aspects to a situation.

In this Chapter, I discuss key theories related to the definition of a just city from the viewpoint of different philosophers so that I can draw the most suitable ones in the context of my case-study Shiraz city. I explain justice through the different viewpoint of some known philosophers whose methods had significant impacts on the specific movements toward social justice. The many theories related to a just city are not in fact fixed and are often presented as adaptable in different contexts. What I mainly search for here is what I propose as the prerequisite for the attainment of justice in the city of Shiraz, that is, the enablement of citizens, to participate directly and to decide about the fundamental issues that affect any aspect of their lives. But genuinely enabling participation is not straightforward as it is affected by many factors and hindrances. One of them is difference between different groups of population, cultural, religious, political, economic etc.

In Shiraz city, the different claims for urban space that are adaptable to the civil rights of particular people are evident. Self-regulating spaces²¹ which escape from government dominance, such as informal settlements, constitute historical constructions of the city as such, and, equally, the needs of homeless people are key examples of these claims.

Hence, I will discuss how informal settlements, which are the consequence of unjust urban developments, came into being. I explain my ideas about the process of upgrading these settlements which results through the collaboration between community members and the state. I will first, however, engage with the key theories related to justice in regard to the administration and legal regulation of a so-called just city such as David Harvey ideas on justice, John Rawls explanations, top-down planning and communicative planning theories' relation to justice and

²⁰ Nasser Fakouhi is an anthropologist, writer and translator. He teaches anthropology at the University of Tehran, Iran.

²¹ Spaces, which do not follow government rules. For instance, informal settlements are the result of the spontaneous movement of people who do not have a home in the formal sector controlled by the government toward constructing their own living environment.

Henri Lefebvre discussions. I will then consider these theories in light of the current administrative and legal system of Shiraz in particular regard to the informal settlements. The core question I pursue in this chapter is what methods have been used by different philosophers to promulgate justice in urban societies and which methods can be considered as to the city of Shiraz (and in particular the informal settlements); in order to improve social justice in this city.

2-2- A Brief History of the Meaning of Justice:

In modern terms, up until the 1980s, most of the intellectuals who considered justice at the core of their thoughts belonged to one form or another of socialist ideology believing that the achievement of justice is not possible in the capitalist system. They thought the capitalist system had to be demolished. For instance, Marx, in his collapse theory, mentions capitalism's inevitable downfall. However, after the dissolution of the Eastern-European block of socialist countries under the leadership of Soviet Union's Mikhail Gorbachev and the efforts of philosophers such as John Rawls and Jurgen Habermas who did not follow communist, the issues of urban justice were placed into the framework of liberal philosophy (Fainstein, 2010, p.28; Taghvaei and Sarvari, 2003, p.159; Rezvani and Noorian, 2014, p.48).²²

The intellectuals of the liberal school of thought mostly emphasized difference and individual freedom, while those of the socialist school focused on principles such as need, and equality in the process of production and distribution. While the liberalists believe the free market system eventually leads to the enjoyment of all social classes based on their competence, socialists believe it intensifies discrimination between different social classes (Diquattro, 1980, p.183).²³ In addition, according to socialist ideology, the discrimination between people in the society originates from the fact that the means of production are in the hands of a certain group. Accordingly, justice takes place in a society where the means of production belong to the community (Marx and Engels, 1888, p.21).

In liberalism school of thought, the interests of people and hence justice are protected through a social contract. John Locke who is considered as the father of liberalism ideology mentions the theory of social contract (Stanton, 2018, p.3).²⁴ The social contract according to Locke in simple terms "asserts that government exists only by the consent of the people in order to protect basic rights and promote the common good of society" (Nation, 2019, p.85).²⁵ Accordingly, Locke established the idea of the legitimacy of a government. He mentioned the fact

²² Dr. Masoud Taghvaei is the Professor of Geography at Isfahan University, Iran. Dr. Saeed Rezvani is the Assistant Professor of Urbanism at Tehran University, Iran.

²³ Arthur Diquattro in his essay *The Market and Liberal Values* discusses the concepts of equity and efficiency in distribution and aggregation principles through liberalism and socialism ideology.

²⁴ Timothy Stanton in his essay *John Lock and the Fable of Liberalism* discusses how the concept of liberalism historically came into being. He further investigates the roots of this ideology in the theories of democracy and individualism.

²⁵ Maegan Nation in her essay *LOCKE'S Social Contract: Is It Legitimate?* Discusses the concept of Social contract by John Locke and examines its legitimacy.

that a legitimate government, which protects the benefits of all, should rule upon consensus among individuals.

On the other hand, Marx who is widely considered as one of the first socialist scientists believed the state as it is defined in liberal ideology is not neutral (Coker and Obo, 2014, p.530).²⁶ He further discussed that the state mainly provides the benefits of the bourgeoisie as this class in fact establishes it. He believed that the benefits of proletariat and bourgeoisie were irreconcilable (Coker and Obo, 2014, p.530). Therefore, the state could not rule upon consensus among individuals. He predicted the downfall of bourgeoisie and the emergence of a classless society. Hence, he defined the dictatorship of proletariat where the state protects the rights of working people (Draper, 1987, p.17).²⁷

However, in my view, in liberalism school of thought people determine the government that protects the benefits of the community. These benefits can be reconcilable through communicative rationality. That is when the community members discuss their interests. Accordingly, the conflict of interest between different parties in a community reach to a minimum. This can be accomplished through providing a competent context for communication among the community members. John Rawls explains and clarifies this claim more vividly.

Rawls as the representative of liberalism school in his theory of social justice (justice as fairness) emphasizes freedom and difference between men (Rawls, 1971). According to Rawls, justice is the omission of illogical advantages and creation of a balance between the contradictory demands of people in a society. Rawls believes people in a society have multiple common and contradictory interests. These interests reach their utmost through social collaboration. Every individual in the society tries to gain the highest amount of benefits. Accordingly, for Rawls, justice happens when the benefits are fairly shared in a society. In answering the question of how this justice can be attained and how people can gain the highest amount of benefit, Rawls mentions the idea of social contract (Rawls, 1971, p.11).

Rawls further explains that people should be placed in a free and equal status in order to determine principles based on natural human rights. This communication and consensus only happens through the social contract. According to Rawls, the major problem of social justice is the contradiction of interests. It is needed to turn this contradiction to consensus and it can be gained through social contract between different stakeholders. The precondition for this social contract is that the communication should take place impartially and in a fair manner. This happens through the freedom of individuals behind a 'veil of ignorance'. That is when people decide without considering their social status, wealth, gender, and their beliefs and ideologies (Rawls, 1971, p.136).

²⁶ Maurice Ayodele Coker and Ugumanin Bassey Obo in their essay *The Marxist Theory of the State: An Introductory Guide* discuss the role of the state from the viewpoint of Marxism and in response to its role in liberalism ideology.

²⁷ Hal Draper in his book *The Dictatorship of Proletariat from Marx to Lenin* discusses the idea of dictatorship throughout the history and the way it changed its application from Marx to Lenin.

In socialist thoughts, on the other hand, the emphasis is generally on society and social ownership (Hoppe, 2010).²⁸ The definitions of justice in this school are related to the concept of need and equality. In this school, justice does not take place through a social contract between the individuals where the people can communicate about their basic rights as it was explained by Rawls. The state generally decides for the good of society as the omnipotent authority. This school mainly focuses on the fair distribution of facilities in the community. According to this view, in order to enhance the quality of social justice in the city of Shiraz, not all the urban facilities should be accumulated in certain districts. The Saadi informal settlement should not be excluded from the urban life of the city. The government is responsible to provide the basic needs for all the community members. However, I argue that the central government should provide a competent context for the enablement of society. Hence, the society should participate in the process of decision-making.

Marx, as the greatest philosopher of this school, does not consider the equality of individuals on the basis of their true merits but considers it as their right to have equal access to the means of production and wealth. In the just system of Marxism, there is only one slogan: “from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs” (Bovens and Lutz, 2019, p. 237).²⁹ David Harvey also belongs to the same school of thought and believes in the just distribution of facilities, in order to attain justice in cities. He mentions three factors of “need, contribution to common good, and merit” for social justice (Harvey, 1973, p.100).

According to Harvey, need is a relative concept. It has different meanings for different people in different contexts. However, he has named some general features of need, which are the same for all the members of the community such as “1-Food 2- Housing 3- Medical Care 4- Education 5- Social and Environmental Service 6- Consumer Goods 7- Recreational Opportunities 8- Neighborhood Amenities 9- Transport Facilities” (Harvey, 1973, p.102).

I believe these are the basic needs of all the community members and the government is responsible to fulfill these needs. All the citizens regardless of their social class and economic status should equally be able to have access to the means, which respond to their daily needs. Although the government should freely provide these basic facilities for all the community members, enablement policies should also be encouraged in my opinion. Accordingly, citizens would be enabled to achieve more facilities based upon their specific needs. This would subsequently empower people to observe the government policies. Consequently, those who have a better relationship with government organizations will not benefit the most.

Contribution to common good, according to Harvey, refers to the fact that all the facilities should be equally distributed in a society and the benefits of all must be considered as a priority in the process of policy-making. For instance, a certain territory should not be provided with

²⁸ Hans-Hermann Hoppe in his book *A Theory of Socialism and Capitalism* discusses the dichotomy between these concepts and mainly explains different styles of socialism such as Russian style, social-democratic style and the socialism of conservatism.

²⁹ Luc Bovens and Adrien Lutz in their essay *From each according to his ability to each according to his need; origin, meaning and development* generally discuss the origins of slogans in socialist party and their development.

facilities, while another suffers from deprivation. The city belongs to all the community members and all should share the benefits of living in the city.

Merit, according to Harvey, refers to the specific circumstances of certain citizens in the society. For instance, some citizens live in the geographical zones which are prone to flood, droughts, storm and other natural disasters. The government is responsible to devote a specific budget for these areas in order to compensate the effects of these natural disasters on the living quality of people. In addition, some citizens may be involved in doing dangerous jobs, such as mining, in order to earn a living. These citizens need specific support from the government. The government should provide safety measures in order to help these citizens. Consequently, social justice would improve in the society.

In what follows, I will discuss the theme of justice from the viewpoint of different philosophers and planning theories in more detail. However, justice is a relative concept and it can be interpreted in varied ways in different contexts. I will try to apply the most suitable theory by comparing different ideologies in order to improve social justice in the city of Shiraz, and hence, improve the quality of life in the Saadi informal settlement.

2-3- David Harvey's Ideas on Justice:

Harvey believes the content of justice depends on social, geographical and historical context. It is defined in different ways according to the specific circumstances. Although he believes justice cannot have an abstract definition, he has presented some general policies in order to create a just society. These general features of justice are helpful in that they indicate a framework for the attainment of social justice in all societies.

1. Lack of the exploitation of work force
2. Eliminating all the shapes of marginalization of social groups
3. Access to political power and self-expression by oppressed groups
4. Elimination of cultural imperialism, human forms of social control, and mitigation of the adverse ecological impacts of social projects
5. Human forms of social control (Harvey, 2002, p. 400-401)

Accordingly, the work force in a community should not be treated as a machine or slave, where its main duty is to obey the commands of an employer. The work force consists of human beings who need to work in a vibrant environment responding their needs. The work force should be respected in a community, as it is the incentive motor of a society moving toward perfection.

Using Harvey's perspective, what I propose here is that certain groups of people should not be marginalized in a community due to their race, ethnicity, economic status, social class and specific beliefs. The urban design system in a city plays a prominent role in segregating the citizens and excluding some of them from accessing the urban facilities. Public spaces should provide a competent context for collaboration and communication among the citizens. Transportation systems should integrate different sections of the city rather than segregating them. In addition, the sociological factors are also important in marginalizing certain groups of people in the city.

Some people are excluded from the urban life of the city due to their educational, cultural and economic status. These groups cannot be integrated into the urban life of the city because they lack the social standards of living in an urban environment. Accordingly, the government and social activists should provide enablement strategies to improve the living quality of these people.

In order to attain justice in a community according to Harvey people must be able to express their needs. The government laws should not be imposed on them. They should have a voice in the society and their social activities should not be oppressed by the centralized government. In addition, social justice happens when all the community members equally enjoy the urban environment. This environment belongs to all the human beings and individual activities should not detriment this common wealth. Both the government and private institutes in my opinion are responsible to preserve the environment and natural resources. Finally, Harvey mentions two norms for the achievement of social justice in the city.

1. The distribution of income should be in a way that the needs of each region be provided and the distribution of additional resources should be used in order to eliminate specific problems of social and physical environment
2. The mechanisms (institutional, political and economic) must be in a way that the most deprived social groups improve their status in these areas as much as possible (Harvey, 1973)

In order to provide a mechanism for the growth of the most deprived groups, the government should intervene in the process of allocating funds. However, that may lead to the limitation of individual freedom. Accordingly, I believe, the government should focus on enablement strategies. It is the responsibility of government to provide the basic needs and empower people to participate in the process of decision-making. However, different governments apply different methods of urban planning. Empowerment of the civil society is one of the chief doctrines of bottom-up urban development. I examine different methods of planning and their relation to theories of justice in what follows.

2-4- Planning Theories in Recent Decades and Their Impact on the Idea of Justice:

It is important to know how planning systems work and what impacts they have on justice in cities. Different mechanisms of urban planning define different meanings for social justice. While top-down planning emphasizes systematic urban developments, which consider the benefits for all, bottom-up urban planning focuses on community rationality in order to attain social justice. Here, I discuss the evolution of urban planning theories from a top-down model to a bottom-up.

Urban planning in the late seventies was characterized by being made by the state, with a rational approach, enforced from a top-down perspective supported by planning guides made by professional planners and public consultation at the end of plan making. Later urban planning has been modifying its methods to a strategic and communicative model, a bottom up perspective. The state had been playing a regulatory function and participation

of stakeholders has become a central issue on urban development, planning and management (Caldelas et al., 2015. p.3).³⁰

As mentioned above, theories of urban planning moved from an authoritative technical rationality toward a democratic communicative rationality. The decisions were no longer taken by technical experts but by the lay knowledge of the society working collaboratively. The role of the state gradually diminished and shared management decided on the most appropriate policies. However, in Iran the system of urban management still follows the technocratic and rational model. There are a few groups of experts at the top of the management system who decide for the rest of the people. This trend should be changed by reforming this top-down mechanism of urban management and strengthening the local elective organizations. Bottom-up urban management seeks people's collaboration and participation. In fact, people are the major stakeholders in the process of urban development and the planner plays the role of a facilitator. This planning is process-based rather than result-based and would lead to sustainable developments due to the high participation of people in the process of decision-making.

2-5- Communicative Planning:

Now I am going to discuss more specifically about communicative planning. Bottom-up planning, which allows the decision-making by the use of lay knowledge and involvement of community members, relies on communication as its medium. Huxley (2000), refers to the fact that communicative planning relies on the contribution of people in the planning process and provides a competent context for giving them the chance to communicate. However, the structuralism presented by Marx dictates planning through the technocratic methods on the people from the top. It relies on rational methods in order to attain justice in the society. The key element of the attainment of social justice in communicative planning, according to Huxley, is providing a context that planners discuss the problems in the city with the people. Hence, the people would play the prominent role in the process of decision-making. Huxley further explains:

Habermas's location of the realm of communicative action in lifeworld and discursive democracy in the public sphere highlights the tensions in assumptions about the ability of the planning system as part of the state and hence the system to create forums for deliberative debate. In so far as communicative planning theory finds part of its inspiration in Habermas's theories of communicative action, the failure to problematize the relationship between planning practice and the state raises questions about the extent to which communicative planning can bring about the sorts of social change that communicative planning theory suggests as possible and desirable (Huxley, 2000, p.370).

Huxley (2000) argues that communicative planning literature refers to the fact that planning is not a technocratic process of decision-making but is a political theme. Hence, the participation of people in the process of decision-making is a fundamental precondition to attain justice and the state should not impose its rules on the everyday life of citizens in the city. In

³⁰ Caldelas et al., in their essay *urban planning from a top-down to a bottom-up model: the case of Mexicali in Mexico* generally discuss the history of urban planning methods and their development in Mexico.

addition, it is argued by Huxley, whether communication is able to create forums for debate in state and she questions the extent, it can bring about the sorts of social change it suggests. Huxley claims that fundamental to the core of Habermas's thought is the ability of speech to create consensus. The prerequisite for consensus, according to Huxley, are legitimacy, integrity, and truth (Huxley, 2000, p.370). However, she also points out that consensus is not created automatically. The sources of systematically distorted communication must be discovered before reaching an agreement. For instance, communicative rationality cannot be effective where people are not aware of their own benefits and where people are not in equal positions. "Within a democratic community each party should have its say, and no privileged hierarchy, whether based on power or technical expertise, should exist" (Fainstein, 2010, p.24-25).

Habermas's theory of communicative action discusses concepts such as "rationality, truth telling and democracy" (Marcuse et al., 2009, p.27).³¹ This theory mentions that through discourse the participants will take the best decision based upon the best reasoning. However, the prerequisite for communication is sincerity. Only through sincerity, is communication able to make the change it suggests. People should not be classified according to privileges, which have been historically assigned to them, such as their race, gender, social class, economic status and education. Only when individuals are communicating, regardless of their social position, would the communication lead to the best reasoning. In addition, Fischer discusses the limitations of positivist rationality compared to communicative rationality:

The communicative model calls for knowledge that is situated contextually and that relies on reasoning, empathy, and a variety kinds of evidence to support policy proposals. Its methodology shuns positivist policy analysis as both biased and based on disingenuous claims of being value free or objective. Positivism is defined as requiring social science investigation to conform to the same procedures as the natural sciences: because only on empirically based causal knowledge can qualify social science endeavor, social scientists are instructed to eschew normative orientations and to limit their research investigations to empirical or factual phenomena (Fischer, 2003, p.122).

Therefore, it can be argued that through positivist rationality all the different qualitative aspects of a phenomenon cannot be comprehended. In order to attain justice in a community, the needs of people should be realized through argument. Participation of people in the process of decision-making is the core idea of social justice. Each individual should have a say in the management of the city. It is not logical that a minority group of experts decide for the life of the whole community through rationality and experimental science. That is how communicative rationality enters the discussion.

Communicative rationality considers the context of a problem when it suggests solutions (Fainstein, 2010). It is not based upon rational reasoning, which is limited to the investigation of costs and benefits of a phenomenon. For instance, in the case of the construction of a highway, positivism only measures the monetary costs and benefits of the project. It does not investigate

³¹ "*Searching for the just city*" is a book which brings together different authors with different ideologies such as Peter Marcuse, Susan Fainstein, David Harvey, Margit Mayer, Frank Fischer, Mustafa Dikec and ... This book examines the concept of a just city from different angles ranging from Marxist thought to communicative theory.

other aspects of the project such as the possibility of establishing a health center or an educational institute (Fainstein, 2010, p.25). The benefits of establishing such institutes cannot be understood only through the monetary value. It is through the communication and considering all the aspects of the problem that the best solution can be provided. Accordingly, the benefits of a communicative approach, that relies on discourse as the medium of knowledge, over a positivist approach, that treats social sciences in the same way as natural sciences, are understood.

On the other hand, neo-pragmatists tend toward empiricism. They believe democratic mechanisms of decision-making can be discovered through investigating experiences. This ideology is based upon investigating the evolution of events. It investigates the negative and positive aspects of each event throughout history to find solutions for planning which lead to democracy. Accordingly, it provides the solution for the problems at a given time. The question in pragmatists' analysis is:

How practitioners construct free spaces in which democratic planning can be institutionalized. The idea, in part, is to uncover examples of planning that are both competent and democratic, and then to explore who the practitioners were who did it, what actions they took to make it happen, and what sorts of institutional conditions helped or hindered their efforts (Hoch, 1996, p.42).³²

In other words, the neo-pragmatists seek democracy in the best experiences. They try to find out mechanisms which eventually lead to democratic planning. Although this approach is process-based and evaluates the context of the problem when it provides planning solutions, it is mainly considered as a guideline for the expert planners. However, communicative rationality does not seek democracy through scientific approach or empiricism. It is based upon lay knowledge, which is attained through the collaboration among the different stakeholders. That would lead to democratic decision-making, as it uses a more comprehensive method. In addition, it can be deduced from the explanations of Ploger (2001) that the major elements of communicative planning include:

- Tending toward critical communication where the ideal condition for communication is prepared (understanding, sincerity, morality and legitimacy) are the preface for achieving any decision.
- The aim of this approach is to make the expert planners aware of the deceptive entity of communication in the process of planning
- Formal acceptance of different benefits.
- Changing position from haggling for benefits to achieving collaborative agreement. (Ploger, 2001, p.221-223)

According to these characteristics mentioned by Ploger, communicative planning provides a competent context for turning the conflicts between different stakeholders into consensus. However, communication can also be deceptive. For instance, planners may use their knowledge

³² Charles Hoch discusses the concept of pragmatic planning in the book explorations in planning theory. He mentions the fact that planners "instead of striving to be the experts on truth may be better off becoming storytellers of practice" (Hoch, 1996, p.43).

to gain privilege, or wealthier stakeholders may have greater weight in the process of decision-making. Therefore, sincerity is a precondition of discussion according to Ploger.

However, common planning the roots of which can be traced to politically left-oriented thinking, believes authoritarian planning considers the benefits of all through the rationality. In this method the technocrats decide for the wellbeing of society. The state possesses the means of production and decides for the wellbeing of the working people. In what follows I discuss common planning in more detail.

2-6- Common Planning:

Common planning is an approach toward just planning, which was propounded by Peter Marcuse (2009). Common planning directly discusses the subject of power. The difference between power and authority is a central theme in Marcuse's theory. Power is the ability to make others follow the commands of the powerful person, even though these commands be in contrast with other people's tendencies and only provide the benefits of the power owner. Authority is also the ability to make others follow the commands of a person, not because of the benefit of power owner, but because of the benefits of all. It is expected from the authority related to planning to increase health, safety, and public welfare. The regulations of such authority are based on reason and democracy. The rules established by powerful people are different from the rules established by authoritative people. The difference is related to the more power of powerful people and their personal benefits (Marcuse et al., 2009, p.94).

The concept of authority, here, entails the chief doctrines of socialist ideology. According to this view, authoritarian planning by the government leads to the equal distribution of facilities among citizens. It is not based upon competition in a free market, where those with better potentials can acquire more wealth. The government controls the market and all will equally enjoy the welfare. However, I argue that this doctrine neglects the concept of relationships and limitation of individual freedom. It is probable that those who have closer relationships with government would benefit more. In addition, the government controls all the aspects of the life of citizens and that limits the individual freedom.

Generally, it can be said common planning is about recognizing and controlling the role of political powers in providing and implementing urban plans. This approach aims to support the less powerful social groups and helps the establishment of justice in the city from above. However, urban planning is not the duty of planners only, but all social, local and guild groups can take part in this process.

The main duty of planners in this procedure is recognizing the way authority impacts on plans and conducting that toward the benefits of deprived social groups, and the major duty of citizens and local constitutes is to present their demands for desirable urban environment (Marcuse

et al., 2009). However, common planners neglect the role of people in deciding for their own life. People should be able to actively make decisions for their living environment.

Common planning can be considered as the continuation of left thoughts in urban theories that finds solutions for planning to achieve social goals. The concentration of common approach like other socialist thoughts is on social and economic structures. In addition, it focuses on the role the political power and free market plays in shaping urban spaces. Accordingly, the planners have not done their duty unless they can recognize these structures and manipulate them toward the benefits of less affluent social groups.

While common planning focuses on manipulating the structure of power towards the benefits of the weaker social classes, communicative planning is based upon the lay knowledge as its medium. In communicative planning, it is the community which makes decisions. However, in common planning it is the state which decides for the good of the whole community members. The communicative planning seems to be a more democratic approach, since people from the bottom decide for their own interests.

However, the existence of multiple social groups leads to the conflict of interests. Usually those who are in wealthier and more educated social classes would have more decisive impact in the process of decision-making. In other words, the democracy is gained at the cost of inequality. Accordingly, in my strategies for the reformation of the system of urban management in Iran, I suggest a balance between common planning and communicative planning. While people should decide for the development of their city, the local organizations should play the role of a mediator and should decide when conflicts of interests arise among the different stakeholders. The local government is responsible for the protection of the rights of the weaker social classes. In what follows I discuss discursive planning which is a revised version of communicative planning.

2-7- Discursive Planning:

Discursive planning is from one side impacted by Habermas' communicative approach (Habermas, 1987) and from the other side by the socio political approaches discussed by Frank Fischer (Fischer, 2003). By mixing the post-structural ideas into communicative rationality and observing it in socio-economic context, Fischer finds solutions for a more just planning and considers it as discursive planning. Generally speaking, for Fischer, discursive planning has these characteristics.

- Provides a democratic context in a way that only discursive reasoning leads to acceptance or rejection of a suggestion, not the political, economic and social power of the one who suggests (Fischer, 2003).
- A discursive planner should recognize the structures of power in the society to manipulate them toward a more just function other than reproducing it without considering whether it is a just structure or an unjust one (Fischer, 2003).

Accordingly, discursive planning is the revised form of communicative action, as the decision-making is only based upon discursive reasoning not the social, political and economic status of stakeholders. In addition, the structure of power in the society is manipulated towards the benefits of the weaker social classes. Hence, a more just mechanism is created in the process of decision-making.

In the Saadi informal settlement the discursive planning can take shape in the form of civil constitutes such as neighborhood councils. These councils can provide a competent context for the people discussing their daily problems and needs. People living in the suburbs can select representatives among themselves to discuss their problems with local authorities. Their representatives should protect the rights of weaker social groups.

However, in the centralized system of urban planning in Iran, local organizations cannot decide independently. Thus, local issues are considered in the centralized mechanism. It is needed to reform this top-down mechanism of urban management through establishing cultural constitutes in the neighborhoods such as local-media. The establishment of local daily newspapers in the neighborhood can enhance the information of people about their right to the city. As people become more informed, they can claim their right to the city more efficiently. Art and media can play a fundamental role in the coherence of social demands and movements. The media facilitates the process of discourse in a community and enables people to claim their right to the city.

2-8- The Right to the City:

How citizens should claim their right and the definition of their rights play an important role in creating a just city. Lefebvre in his book *the Right to the City* has discussed the idea of justice from a political point of view. According to the concepts mentioned by Lefebvre, the creation of space should consider social inclusion, freedom and accessing to urban facilities for all (Lefebvre, 1996, p.73). He further mentions the fact that the urban spaces today, reflect capitalism relations and power mechanism. Urban spaces are considered according to their exchange value and use value has lost its significance (Lefebvre, 1996, p.5). Subsequently, the artistic aspects of the city are neglected as the city has turned into a capital serving the power mechanism. Lefebvre's thought and political ideas criticize the current society in order to create another society beyond capitalism and consumerism. Accordingly, he brings the concept of the right to the city into discussion. According to Mustafa Dikec who has explained the concept of the right to the city by Lefebvre:

The right to the city implies not only the participation of the citizens in urban social life but, more importantly, their active participation in the political life, management and administration of the city. The achievement of these rights, Lefebvre (1986) states, supposes the transformation of the society, of time and space. It is the urban political right to be changed not the city per se. In other words the right to the city entails not at all a right to be distributed from above to individuals, but a way of actively and collectively relating to the political life of the city. The right to the city, therefore, is not simply a participatory

right, but more importantly an enabling right, to be defined and refined through political struggle. It is not only a right to urban space but a political space as well, constituting the city as a space of politics (Dikec, 2009, p.75-76).³³

As it was mentioned above, Lefebvre believes that today's cities are a reflection of capitalism relationships and the urban spaces are mainly concerned for their exchange value. However, the right to the city challenges this view by pointing to the fact that the city is the fundamental means of policymaking. It is contained of concepts such as being public and diverse³⁴.

According to Lefebvre citizen is a word attributed to all the residents of the city. He considers two major rights for citizens: the right of ownership, and the right of participation (Dikec, 2009, p.76). The right of ownership is the right of accessibility, occupation and production of new urban spaces based on citizens need. The right of participation provides the opportunity of citizens' collaboration in the process of decision-making and the right to shape the urban spaces. Accordingly, the citizens change themselves by changing the city.

In other words, Lefebvre mentions the fact that the right to the city is not only restricted to the equal distribution of urban facilities but the right to be involved into the political life of the city. Subsequently, urban spaces must be developed by involving and considering the benefits of all the members of society. Therefore, it is the community right more than an individual right.

I also suggest strategies for the participation of people in the process of rehabilitation of their own suburb while responding their daily needs. In order to allow people to participate in the process of rehabilitation of their suburb, it is needed to authorize local governments and civil constitutes. This can be done through informing people about their right to the city. Local forums can provide a competent context for enhancing peoples' information about their right to the city at the neighborhood level. People living in the Saadi suburb should not be excluded from the political life of the city due to their economic status. Participatory planning, which empowers the local government, can facilitate their involvement in the process of decision-making. The right to the city defined by Lefebvre can be considered as a preface to community-led projects in the process of collaborative urban planning and development.

2-9- Participatory Planning:

Participation means the redistribution of power that enables individuals to collaborate in the process of political and social decision-making. Redistribution of knowledge, action and raising of public consciousness eventually lead to power decentralization (Constantinescu et al., 2020,

³³ Mustafa Dikec in his article "Justice and the spatial imagination" which was published in the book "Searching for the just city" generally discusses the concept of justice in spatial terms. In doing so, he explains the relationship between the concepts of equality and liberty and how egaliberte (equality-freedom) can lead to emancipatory movements in cities. In order to develop his argument he refers to the concept of the right to the city by Henri Lefebvre and interprets his ideas.

³⁴ The city does not only matter for its exchange value, but it has other values such as being public and diverse.

p.1).³⁵ Accordingly, all the stakeholders must be informed about the policies which influence their lives. They should be able to take part in the process of implementing the plans and be aware of the possibilities of such plans. This leads to the empowerment of civil society, which is the precondition for effective participation. However, participation is not always accomplished in its ideal form. Arnstein has explained the degree of citizen participation ranging from manipulation to citizen control in the form of the ladder of participation (Arnstein, 2019, p. 26).³⁶ Manipulation by the government turns to citizen control through the transference of power.

In addition, participation is a type of internal development which aims to prepare local resources for the sustainable function of plans and urban developments. It leads to “efficient mobilization and management of resources and skills” (Bass et al., 1995, p.7).³⁷ Local resources can be used more efficiently in urban development when local people are involved in the process of planning. Therefore, governments must create encouragement policies which motivate people to participate in the process of urban developments.

The World Bank considers participation as a process within which the beneficiary groups are involved in directing the developments influencing their daily life (Paul, 1987, p.2).³⁸ This view emphasizes the fact that native people are the most competent activists for directing the urban developments, as they have the most accurate knowledge about the area and its deprivations. Hence, their participation in the process of planning leads to the effectiveness of projects.

The United Nations also formally accepts the right of indigenous people to participate in the process of decision-making. So, participation of local people in the process of planning can be considered as a fundamental human right. From the view of the United Nations, “sustainable development must realize the rights of indigenous people across all the goals. Indigenous people must not be left behind” (Hongbo, 2015, p.4).³⁹ Therefore, the full and effective participation of the indigenous people in the development projects, which affect their life is one of the major aims of the United Nations. In doing so, the United Nations provide a competent context for the dialogue between the state organizations and indigenous people to foster trust between them. However, empowerment of the civil society, which is gained through passing different stages, is the

³⁵ Constantinescu et al., in their essay *Participation, for Whom? The Potential of Gamified Participatory Artefacts in Uncovering Power Relations within Urban Renewal Projects* in the journal of Geo-Information generally focus on the urban renewal process of Vennestrat commercial street in the city of Genk and participatory planning through the gaming artefacts such as socio-economic network mapping, mental images and scenario games.

³⁶ “Sherry Arnstein is director of community development studies for the commons, a non-profit research institute in Washington, D.C and Chicago. She is a former Chief advisor on citizen participation in HUD’s Model Cities Administration and has served as staff consultant to president’s committee on juvenile delinquency, special assistant secretary of HEW, and Washington editor of current magazine”. (Journal of the American Planning Association, 2019, p.33)

³⁷ Bass et al., in their article *Participation in Strategies for Sustainable development* in the journal of Environmental Planning Issues discuss the role of participation of people in sustainable developments and its benefits.

³⁸ Samuel Paul in the World Bank discussion papers: *Community Participation in Development Projects* mentions the fact that the beneficiary groups should take part in the process of decision-making. That leads to the efficiency and effectiveness of development projects.

³⁹ The United Nations in their report *on the rights of indigenous people* mentions the fact that the needs of local people should be considered as the priority of sustainable development and they should be involved in the process of decision-making.

prerequisite of the efficient participation. Otherwise, participation of people can also be considered as a tool for governments to attain certain goals in a community. I discuss these concepts further in the following section.

2-9-1- Most Important Theories on Participatory Planning as a Precondition for Planning a Just City:

Scott Davidson has designed the wheel of participation for citizen's collaboration in the process of decision-making. He believes in four levels of participation including: "inform, consult, participate and empower" (Davidson, 1998, p.15). There are different methods mentioned in this wheel in order to reach empowerment. The prerequisite of enabling people to participate in the process of decision-making, according to this wheel, is the sharing of information. The process of informing people, which eventually leads to effective participation, ranges from the provision of development brochures and press releases by the local government to the establishment of community councils, which enable people to discuss their daily matters. Real participation, according to Davidson, happens when substantial decision-making power is devolved to the community through managerial organizations.

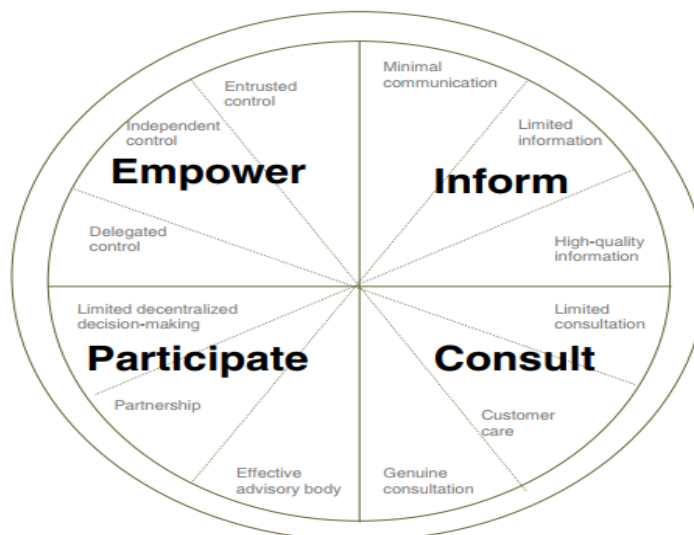


Image 2-1 Wheel of participation (Dooris and Heritage, 2011, p.78).

In addition, James Midgley et al., have organized methods of participation into four groups according to the governance system: "Anti-participatory, Manipulated mode of participation, Incremental mode of participation, and Genuine mode of participation" (Midgley et al., 1986, p.147). Different governments throughout the world apply these methods of participation based upon their specific policies. In order to be able to choose the right format of social participation, it

is important to investigate these methods. Hence, we can distinguish between genuine participation, which is based upon the enablement of the civil society, and deceptive forms of participation.

The anti-participatory method forbids any intervention aiming to threaten the social, political and economic long-term goals of the government (Midgley et al., 1986). Many of the totalitarian regimes throughout the world use this method of governance. However, this strategy operates against the interests of these regimes. Accordingly, they accept certain methods of citizen participation, such as the manipulated mode of participation.

In the manipulated mode of participation, the government supports the participation of local constituents with hidden intentions (Midgley et al., 1986). In this method, participation is used as a tool to control social movements. In addition, such a participation legitimizes government policies. Accordingly, the government presents a democratic image of its policies. However, its major intent is to preserve its longevity.

The incremental participatory method reflects the government's binary reaction. The government supports participation in its formal positioning, but ignores it in the time of implementation. However, the genuine mode of participation includes the government's practical support of citizens' movements. In this method, the government provides a competent context for the presence of society in the process of decision-making (Midgley et al., 1986).

In Iran, the government uses the manipulated mode of participation. Its policies encourage a minority group of people to support the government in the national festivals. This indicates the legitimacy of government to the international community. However, genuine participation happens when people are empowered and informed of their rights. That is when the government cooperates with the citizens and does not dictate its commands. The government is responsible for providing the basic needs for all the citizens such as education, employment, food, housing and health services. Hence, people will be prepared to take part in social activities and collaborate with the government in the process of decision-making.

However, in the top-down mechanism of urban management in Iran, planners determine the direction of urban development and predict people's needs. This trend of authoritative planning needs to be reformed to participatory planning. This reformation should take place gradually through strengthening the local and elective organizations of the country. These organizations are responsible for informing local people about the urban plans and inviting them to share their comments. Gradually, people should collaborate with the planners in the process of implementing the plans. Thus, the planners play the role of a facilitator. For instance, in the case of the Saadi suburb, people should have the authority to select local representatives among themselves and shape neighborhood councils. Their local representatives are responsible for informing them about urban planning. They should also provide a competent context for the active participation of people in the process of decision-making. Accordingly, people in the Saadi informal settlement can actively affect the development process of their suburb.

The concept of participation, which is the prerequisite of planning a just city and its application in the Saadi informal settlement, was mentioned in detail. However, a just city encompasses other ideas that I will discuss in subsequent sections. In what follows, I am going to specifically focus on the idea of a just city and its relation to efficiency, as proposed by Frank Fischer.

2-10- Just City and the Concept of Efficiency:

As it was mentioned earlier, the most important precondition for developing a just city is the fact that all citizens should be able to actively participate in the process of decision-making and the government regulations should not be imposed on them. As Feinstein puts it from a liberal perspective social justice is an invitation to a discourse (Feinstein, 2010). In other words, there should be discussions on the entity of equity and opportunity in a particular society and how its members can change the existing arrangements. This deliberation is done at theoretical and practical level according to Feinstein. At theoretical level it refers to the discussions of John Rawls about social justice. According to Rawls the main issue of social justice is about the decisions, which are taken by individuals behind a 'veil of ignorance' (Rawls, 1971, p.136). This veil of ignorance provides a competent context for taking decisions without considering the social and economic status. Rawls concludes based on this theory individuals would choose a system of equal opportunities, as their discussion is based upon sincerity.

Feinstein further argues, although the theoretical discussion can help us to think about social justice, its achievements are too abstract to have an effect on planning decisions. Accordingly, planning is placed between the theory and practice. On practical level, social justice is based upon "equity, diversity and democracy" (Feinstein, 2010, p.5). Equity refers to the fair distribution of income, considering special benefits for low-income social groups and low transportation costs. Diversity is defined in the need for diverse population, diverse urban spaces, and mixed used urban developments. Democracy is defined as the need to communicate about the city and the right of citizens to participate in the process of decision-making (Feinstein, 2010).

However, Frank Fischer refers to the fact that efficiency is not mentioned by Feinstein as one of the criteria of developing a just city (Fischer, 2009. p.61).⁴⁰ Without considering the concept of efficiency many problems of urbanism would remain unresolved. Accordingly, planning should integrate concepts of social justice and technical efficiency.

The question, here, is how there can be a balance between these two contradictory values. A society can be more just to the cost of inefficiency and more efficient to the cost of injustice (Fischer, 2009). Technical efficiency happens in a society through logical planning by experts. It

⁴⁰ Frank Fischer in his article "Discursive planning" generally discusses the fact that discursive planning, which is based upon communicative rationality, would lead to more just outcomes in an urban society rather than top-down planning which is based upon Marxist principles. This article was published in the book "searching for the just city".

takes place in the shape of zoning urban functions and subsequently segregating people. That may lead to the improvement of some areas and deprivation of others. On the other hand, the prerequisite for social justice is the active involvement of all social groups in the process of decision-making and considering the interests of all the members of society. Who has the authority to mix these different sets of values?

The historical evidences indicate that this cannot be done from above. For instance, Fischer argues, the soviet regime has always tried to attain social justice managed from above. According to the political and economic thoughts of Marxism, the harmonic balance between efficiency and social justice is created through scientific analysis of economic laws and social motions. This strategy introduced by socialist party and implemented by the central government has been successful to some extent. The soviet government turned a peasant society into a world power in less than a half century. However, its achievements were at the cost of losing other social values such as democracy and civil rights. Consequently, it led to the establishment of an authoritarian leadership (Fischer, 2009).

In my suggested plans for the reformation of the system of urban management in Iran, the balance between technical efficiency and social justice should not be established from above. It should be created through the use of communicative rationality from below. When different stakeholders can discuss different aspects of a plan, they choose the most efficient decision. Their collaborative decision is based on considering the benefits of all stakeholders.

In doing so, the bottom-up mechanism of decision-making should be established in the country. This can be done gradually by educating people about their civil rights through the local media and press. Hence, people can establish civil constitutes and guild groups in each neighborhood. Little by little these groups will be strengthened and give more authority to local organizations. Local organizations will be responsible to provide the competent context for the participation of people. Accordingly, people can participate in the process of decision-making through the mechanism provided by the local government.

In addition, the organization of space can be considered as a vital factor in uniting the social groups and distribution of power mechanism. In what follows I discuss how the space can be considered both as a tool in the service of power or a mechanism which empowers the society. In other words, I explain the methods used by the central government to impose its commands on people and the methods people may use to confront the dominant power.

2-11- How does Urban Space Produce Injustice:

According to Lefebvre the urban space of capitalism is segregated. It has been shaped by economic imperatives and interference of the government in the management of space (Lefebvre, 1996, p.10).The government actively interferes in the production of space and considers it as a political tool. In this case, space is a competent context for the production of the considered social

organization. For instance, zoning creates a legal organization on space and organizes space in hierarchy. This creates privilege for some areas and limits for others. The zoning plans are also a context for strengthening the dominant legal norms and accepted commands. Zoning plans impose the government hierarchical organization on space.

In addition, Zoning plans segregate social groups in a community. It leads to the concentration of all urban facilities in one area of the city and deprivation of others. It ruins the artistic aspect of the city, which had been historically created through the collaboration of people. Zoning of space leads to the government dominance and control over the space. It reduces the chance for social gatherings. Accordingly, it not only endangers the community spirit in a society but also limits the freedom of citizens.

This abstract space created by government according to Lefebvre is the driving force of reproduction of capitalism. Lefebvre by pointing to the Haussmann boulevards and comparing it to the production of space in other contexts of the modern society mentions in spite of different social origins, the creation of cities in the new world is practically a space shaped by political power; authority and violence are in the service of economic goals (Lefebvre, 1996, p.10).

Haussmann boulevards according to Lefebvre reduce the chance of social gatherings and the revolt of proletariat against the bourgeois (Lefebvre, 1996, p.11). Accordingly, space can be considered as a tool in the service of the authority. On the other hand, space can be considered as a facilitating mechanism for social democracy, as it can bring people together against the repressive forces. Therefore, the organization of urban space plays a prominent role on the distribution of power and the attainment of social justice in the city.

In the city of Shiraz the policy of zoning urban functions is being implemented. This leads to the concentration of urban facilities in some areas of the city and deprivation of others. Hence, unjust urban developments will take shape. Informal settlements are the consequence of unbalanced urban developments in the city. It is the responsibility of the local governments to reform the urban plans and development directions. However, in the top-down system of urban management in Iran the central government is responsible for the provision of urban plans.

2-12- Informal Settlements:

Here, I am going to discuss informal settlements, as an example of self-regulating spaces, which escape from the government surveillance. I am going to explain the process of upgrading these settlements. In addition, I discuss how people living there can claim their right to the city. However, the precondition for the effective participation of people in the process of decision-making is their enablement.

Today, the challenge of slums is one of the major problems in the third world countries. In addition, the state has always played a major role in solving the challenge of poverty in these

countries. In fact, these countries believe a successful development only happens with the intervention of the state. As it is the state which directs the developments towards the benefits of the whole community.

However, later thinkers believed that the state should have a much less prominent role in upgrading the informal settlements. For instance, John Turner believed that the state should only provide the infrastructures in the informal settlements and allow people to gradually improve their living environment (Turner, 1976). Helping people to help themselves became one of the major strategies of rehabilitating the informal settlements. In fact, empowerment of people living in informal settlements paved the way for the withdrawal of government intervention in urban developments.

Since the first conference of un-habitat in 1976 and the publication of Turner's book (Housing by People) neoliberalism and social anarchism became the prominent policies of informal settlements (Rai, 2020, p.134). This was partly due to the fact that the government did not need to pay subsidies for affordable housing anymore. In addition, this strategy was alongside the neoliberal policies reducing the state-led projects while improving community-led projects, private sectors and neoliberal economy (Rai, 2020).⁴¹

However, the state should also take part in the process of upgrading informal settlements. This means, the urban management should include citizens in the process of decision-making. The citizens should be involved in the process of upgrading informal settlements through the bottom-up mechanism of urban management. There are many stakeholders involved in the process of urban development and upgrading slums. This multiplicity of stakeholders would lead to the conflict of interest among them. Here, the local government should intervene in the process of urban development as a facilitator while being established through election. Accordingly, the process of rehabilitation occurs with the collaboration between the local government and the local residents. Rai here discusses the case of Mumbai in India and explains how the conflict of interest between different stakeholders led to negative impacts on the upgrading project.

For example, in the case of Mumbai slum upgrading programs, when conflicts occurred between the different communities and NGOs regarding their views, conflicts were difficult to solve, impeding positive results. Finally it has been said that, the decentralized actors asked the state government to institute a centralized authority to provide fast-track planning permission and expeditiously resolve conflicts among the different actors. But due to less involvement of state, there is no proper planning and a lack of administrative oversight, making it extremely difficult to solve these (Rai, 2020, p.138).

⁴¹ Jeetesh Rai in his article *questioning the neoliberal state through community led slum upgrading programs in Indian context* generally discusses the defects of liberal policies in the process of upgrading slums.

2-13- Conclusion:

In this chapter theories related to the definition of a just city such as the views of David Harvey, communicative planning, common planning and discursive planning were discussed. In addition, participatory planning was introduced as the precondition for developing a just city through the views of Davidson, Midgeley, Arnstain, World Bank and the United Nations.

Harvey points to the fair distribution of income and reformation of political systems in the establishment of Justice. Communicative planners emphasize on the genuine communication process to attain justice. Common planners focus on the entity of power and the role of power structures in the provision of justice in the communities. Discursive planning concentrates on consultation and manipulation of power in the establishment of justice.

Henri Lefebvre ideas were also discussed in this chapter. It was mentioned the right to the city is not only the right of presence and fair share of urban facilities, but the right to take part in the political life of the city. In order to establish justice in the city it is not only enough to fairly distribute urban services, but the structures that create the distribution system must be reformed.

Hence, the ideas of Susan Fainstein and John Rawls were discussed on the just city. Rawls theoretically explains that the attainment of justice is possible through a veil of ignorance. That is when individuals communicate to make decisions regardless of their social status, beliefs and economic status. On the other hand, Fainstein defines justice at the practical level. She mentions a just city is based upon three principles: equity, diversity and democracy. However, she did not mention the idea of technical efficiency, which is in contrast with social justice values. I argued the bottom-up mechanism of decision-making, which considers a phenomenon through the viewpoint of all the members of a society, would lead to the provision of the most efficient plan.

Eventually, the informal settlements and the process of upgrading them were discussed in this chapter. Now, people living in the Saadi informal settlement do not have any role in the process of decision-making for their living environment. Even though, the neighborhood councils exist in the mechanism of urban planning in Iran they do not have an efficient role in the process of decision-making.

In the centralized mechanism of urban management in the country, local issues cannot be addressed through the local governments. It is the central government, not the people living in the city, which decides the macro strategies for urban development containing the informal settlements. However, this trend can change gradually by informing people about their right to the city and reforming the top-down mechanism of urban management.

In what follows I explain how the unjust developments historically took shape in the city of Shiraz and point to the fact that the lack of citizens' engagement in the process of decision-making was one of the chief factors of the spread of inequality in the city. In addition, I mention balanced urban development is the prerequisite of developing a just city.

Chapter 3: Investigating the Historical Development of the City of Shiraz in Its Schematic Four Periods (Qajar, the First Pahlavi, the Second Pahlavi, and After the Islamic Revolution).

3-1- Introduction:

In this chapter, the socio-spatial characteristics of Shiraz city in their historical context are to be investigated towards achieving a program for social justice in the city. The discussion of social justice promotion in Shiraz should begin by considering the historical background and rich heritage of the urban environment and the factors that shape it. This is particularly of interest today given that a disregard of this rich heritage and its socially emergent values, at a period of time when modernization has transformed the environment without care for these values, would render any discussion of social justice in Shiraz unfruitful. For instance, in the case of Shiraz the organic structure of the city, placing all the urban functions in its coherent structure, began changing in Qajar period (1789-1925) due to relative modernization. The city has been divided into old and new regions since the first Pahlavi period (1925-1941) and the gap between social classes in these areas increased in the second Pahlavi period (1941-1979). Even today, the new developments are taking place toward the west area and northwest areas of the city while the east and southeast remain deprived.

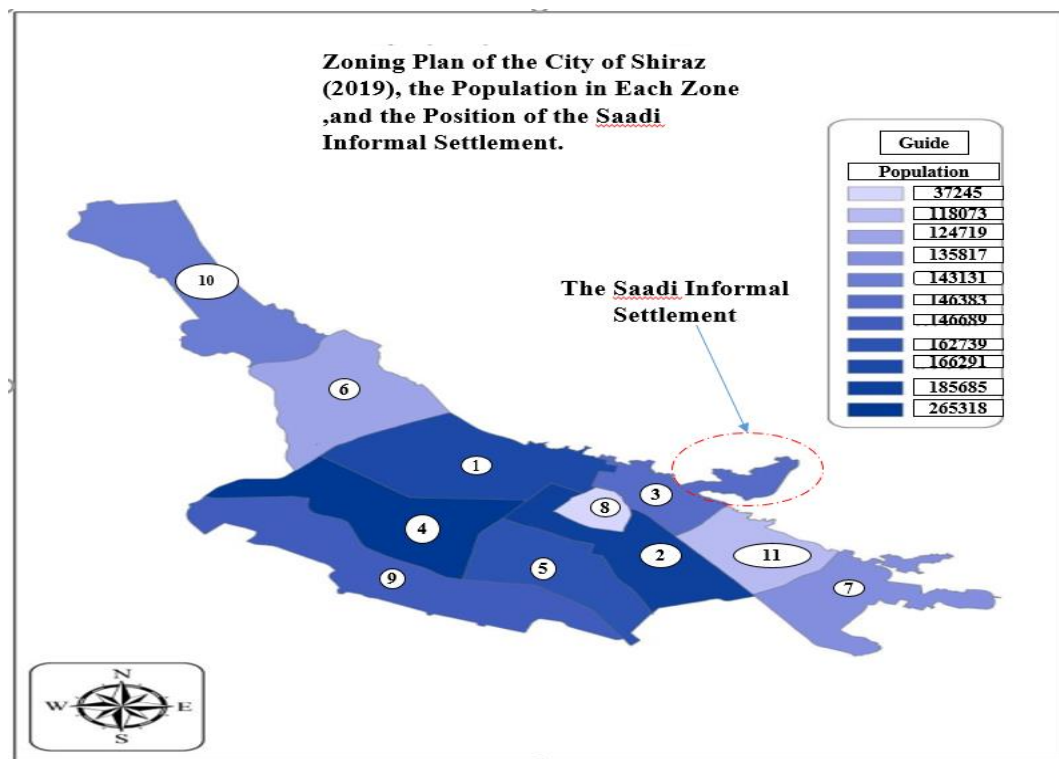
3-2- A Brief Introduction to the Geographical and Population Characteristics of Shiraz City:

The demographic information of Shiraz city provides a general vision about the potential of the city to develop toward a more just city. Here, I have gathered the information through investigating the annual statistical report of Shiraz city provided by the human resource development organization of the municipality. These annual reports are updated each year and is considered as the basic studies for the provision of urban plans.

Shiraz is one of the largest cities in Iran. Shiraz city is placed in the central area of Fars province and is located 1486 meters above the sea level in the mountainous area of Zagrous. The city has a mild weather and is surrounded by Derak Mountain in the west, and Bamo and Sabzpooshan, Chehlmagham and Babakoochi Montains in the north. The population of the city was more than 1,609,615 in the year 2019. After Tehran and Tabriz, Shiraz is the third city in which the municipality was established in 1919. Shiraz city is divided into 11 regions and the whole area is 217 square kilometer (Razi et al., 2019, p.4).



Plan 3-1 Shiraz position in Iran (Google maps).



Plan 3-2 Zoning plan of the city of Shiraz (Razi et al., 2019, p.23)

According to the information, Shiraz city has a good potential for urban development due to its geographical potentials such as being in mountainous area with beautiful natural scenes and mild weather. However, the population is not distributed equally in the city of Shiraz. While the central areas of the city are highly populated according to the provided map, the marginal areas have relatively lower population. Saadi informal settlement which I will discuss its demographic characteristics later, is placed in the third district of the city of Shiraz in a moderately populated area. For now, I discuss the overall urban characteristics of the city of Shiraz in order to find out how the unjust developments took shape in the city. Shiraz city is one of the most important cities

in Iran due to its magnificent history. It would be beneficial to point out some of the historical importance of the city as a strategic area through the investigations provided by Reza Sarmadi who is the editor in chief of Sarmad Journal. He talks about the characteristics of the city of Shiraz in his essay *Shiraz the City of History and Poetry*.

Shiraz city has long been a place for local trades between farmers, citizens, and nomadic tribes due to its central position in the southern area of Zagros Mountains and its relatively fertile land. In addition, the city is placed across the trade lanes toward southern ports such as Bushehr port (Sarmadi, 2012, p.9).

Accordingly, different ethnic groups have migrated to Shiraz and the city has always been the refuge for immigrants. This immigration in some cases causes the formation of informal settlements in the marginal areas when immigrants do not have the financial power to settle in the formal sector of the city. However, it is needed to provide equal opportunities for all the residents of the city to enjoy the urban facilities. The process of modernization had a prominent role on the spread of inequality in the country and the city of Shiraz. I discuss this phenomenon in more detail in the subsequent sections.

3-3- Investigating the Effective Factors on the Transformation and Development of Shiraz City:

In this research, I shall consider the nature and contribution of the key factors of effective transformation and development of the city of Shiraz in their historical context, as particularly evident in more recent times through the introduction of capitalism and modernization of the city. Accordingly, through such analysis I hope to show that these key transformations provide us with adequate evidence as to how unjust urban developments took shape in the city of Shiraz. According to the Surveys of the Master plan of Shiraz city ⁴² provided in the year 2018:

Although some researchers trace back the modernization of Iran to the reign of Abbasmirza that began in military areas and reached its culmination with Amirkabir reformation in the years between 1787- 1833, its impact affectively reached the city of Shiraz at the end of the 19th century. The construction of sloping roofs as the instances of western architecture dates back to the year 1881 (see Image 3-1). However, according to Bernard Orkard, the French researcher in Iran there is a significant difference between transformation in architecture and urbanism (Nabizadeh et al., 2018, p.11). These transformations rapidly changed the architecture of the city but urban structural transformations such as the construction of roads occurred at a different time. Accordingly, the beginning of the modernization process in Shiraz could be traced back to the end of 19th century.

The difference between the architecture and urbanism is in the fact that the former only shapes single buildings while the later considers the relationship among different buildings and their relationship with the natural context. In addition, urbanism focuses on the relationship between the society and the built environment. Modernism is a kind of ideology which is mainly

⁴² The Master Plan in Iran is provided by the Ministry of Housing and Urbanism at national level and clarifies the general direction of urban development in cities.

exported by western countries through art. This art reflects on the architecture of the city at first and gradually transforms the foundations of social relationships through altering the urbanization system. In what follows I discuss how modernism transformed the social configuration of Shiraz city since Qajar period.



Image 3-1 Sloping roof in the city of Shiraz built during the reign of Naser al-din Shah Qajar (1848-1896), Eram Garden (kojaro.com, n.d).

3-3-1- The Process of Modernization and Slow Urbanization of Shiraz City in Qajar Period (1789-1925):

Qajar period entails two important historical events: constitutional revolution (1905-1911) and First World War (1914-1918) (Atabaki, 2006). These events dramatically changed the political order of the country and subsequently the city of Shiraz. The constitutional revolution was a movement in response to the demand for freedom, justice and modernization of the country. However, its achievements were soon sacrificed by an international crisis. The First World War turned Iran into the battlefield of German, English and Russian troops (Atabaki, 2006, p.1-2).⁴³

Overall, Iran in Qajar period faced chaos and turbulence. This was partly due to the interference of world authorities in the internal affairs of countries such as Iran and the unstable global condition. This situation led to the spread of instability in the country because the policies of world authorities constantly changed about Iran. On the other hand, the social movements of the reformist groups in the country against Qajar regime led to the unsustainability of the social order in this period.

During Qajar dynasty's history, there were numerous campaigns for modernizing the socio-political order and institutions of the country, but the despotism of the Shahs was an

⁴³ Touraj Atabaki is the editor of the book *Iran and the First World War*. This book generally talks about the role of Iran in this war and the way the great powers of the time affected the political order of the country.

obstacle for every meaningful achievement. Deterioration of the affairs of state during the reign of Nasir-aldin Shah, sometimes was reaching to points that even the shah himself had to contemplate reforms and yet no solution was found to reconcile modern reform with tyranny of Shah. Constitutional movement was a response to the dilemma between continuation of tyranny and the quest for freedom and modernization (Kashefi Pour Dezfuli, 2016, p.11).⁴⁴

Accordingly, it can be deduced further from Kashefi Pour Dezfuli's discussion that Qajar period was the beginning of a profound contradiction between the social classes in Iran. Three groups of people emerged in this period (Kashefi pour Dezfuli, 2016). The first group were those with modernist vision who believed the Shah should not govern people but merely reign the country and be the symbol of national unity. In addition, this group believed the representatives of people gathered in the national assembly should have the authority to take the political decisions. The efforts of this group of people led to the constitutional revolution in 1905. The second group were the supporters of government who believed the Shah is omnipotent authority and all should follow his commands in the country. The third group were the traditionalists who believed in religious laws (Shariat). They believed the country must be governed according to Islamic laws.

Such a turbulence and ideological contradiction between modernism and tradition in Qajar period demonstrated itself in the architecture and urban structure of cities. According to Diba (2012)⁴⁵ the coherent urban structure of cities that formed alongside the traditional bazar gradually transformed as new modern centers developed. Eventually, these transformations led to the rise of eclectic architecture in Iranian cities such as the city of Shiraz, as seen in Image 3-2. In eclectic architecture, the traditional form of buildings interacts with modernized architectural elements. "This interaction was demonstrated in classical plans, layouts, openings, entrances, roofs, and the symmetrical spaces mingled with some traditional Iranian configurations in windows, elevations, decorations and the use of break" (Diba, 2012, p.72).

⁴⁴ Seyed Milad Kashefi Pour Dezfuli in his essay *Iran's Constitutional Revolution and Religious Reactions to It* in the journal of Asian Social Science generally talks about how constitutional revolution came in to being during Qajar era and what impacts it had on the social order of the time.

⁴⁵ Darab Diba in his article Contemporary Architecture of Iran In the journal of *Iran: past, present and future* discusses the evolution of Iran architecture from Qajar era to the Islamic revolution of Iran and the socio-political factors, which affected it.



Image 3-2 Narenjestan Ghavam, Eclectic architecture in the city of Shiraz in Qajar period (Kojaro.com, n.d).

It is also vitally important to survey the specific condition of the city of Shiraz in Qajar period and investigate the social organization of the city. Shiraz city in this period was the capital of the whole Fars province, containing the cities of Bandarabbas, Bushehr, and Kohgiluyeh (Nabizadeh et al., 2018, p.11). Accordingly, one of the major functions of the city of Shiraz was its political-administrative role, based on the exploitation of the surplus economy of proximate villages and the activities of nomadic tribes (Nabizadeh et al., 2018, p.11). In addition, by the end of the 19th century, due to some political and economic transformations in the world, such as the increasing trade with Mumbai, the establishment of shipping lanes, the increase of the export of cotton and opium, and the import of textile and iron artifacts from England and its subordinate countries, Shiraz acquired the role of a transit trade center between Bushehr port and the central areas of the country. A role that continues until now (Nabizadeh et al., 2018. p.13).

As mentioned above, the social structure of the city changed from an agricultural society to a relatively modern trading one due to the role of a transit-trading center the city had in the country during this period. The development of trade changed the set of social relationships in the city that were previously based on ethnic relationships. Many strangers and immigrants entered the city due to its new role.

In addition, such a transition from a traditional agrarian society to a modernized trading one changed the set of social quests among the community members in the city of Shiraz. The modern society could not tolerate the total surveillance by the Shah. Hence, revolts happened in all the big cities in Iran as mentioned above, which caused the constitutional revolution.

However, the despotism of Mohammad Ali shah Qajar and the interference of Russian commander of the Iranian Cossack brigade Vladimir Liakhov finally led to the bombardment of parliament in 1908 (Saki, 2010, p.49).⁴⁶ Consequently, the constitutional revolution, which was one of the prominent movements toward the democratization of the governance system, could not

⁴⁶ Fatemeh Saki in her article, *explaining the causes of the bombardment of the parliament and the beginning of minor despotism* [sharhe chegoonegiye be toop bastan majles va aghaze estebdade saghir], generally discusses the reasons which led to the bombardment of parliament in 1908 and the defeat of constitution movement in Iran.

end the dictatorship in the country. In spite of the fact that this movement could not lead to a long-term reform, the ability of the masses to limit the authority of the Shah could not be ignored after this revolution.

3-3-2- The First Pahlavi Period (1925-1941):

Following the demolition of Qajar dynasty, the world authorities of the time penetrated more than ever into the internal affairs of the country and transformed the existing economic, social and political relationships. These changes specifically affected the urban society in Iran and imposed a new definition of urbanism in the country (Katouzian, 1981). The modernist Acts of Reza Shah in urbanism led to the destruction of mosques and traditional buildings. These Acts were legitimated in response to the need of expanding streets for the transportation of automobiles. One of the major examples of such Acts is the budget devoted to the beautification of Tehran and other big cities in Iran (Katouzian, 1981, p.110-111).⁴⁷

In fact, such renovations were vitally essential to take place in the country due to the technological transformations. However, they had to adapt to the specific culture and urban structure of cities. In other words, these transformations had to preserve the architectural heritage ,not negate it. In Reza Shah time, the historical monuments and the gates of the city were simply destroyed because they were an obstacle for the construction of straight roads. Although significant urban developments took shape in this period, they were not alongside the historical evolution of the structure of cities. Consequently, these developments were incongruous and eliminated the sense of belonging among citizens. In addition, the social cohesion of the society was destroyed due to these segregated urban spaces.

Reza Shah Acts, which are mostly reflected in the architecture of cities, originate from the superficial concept of modernism. Such a modernization began through forcing people to change their traditional garments and wear clothes in western style. Subsequently, it transformed the traditional urban structure of the cities using the same method (Shirazi, 2018, p.15).⁴⁸

The urban texture of the cities was divided into old and new since this period (Bazregar, 2003). The old texture had a coherent function and clear identity while the new texture was formed alongside the newly established streets. Accordingly, the traditional arrangement of neighborhoods and urban functions was demolished. The valuable elements of the city such as bazar, which was considered as central spine of urban development, lost its significance in the urban configuration of the city. The destruction of mosques and old edifices intensified the isolation of old neighborhoods. In fact, the old circular urban development of cities turned into linear development

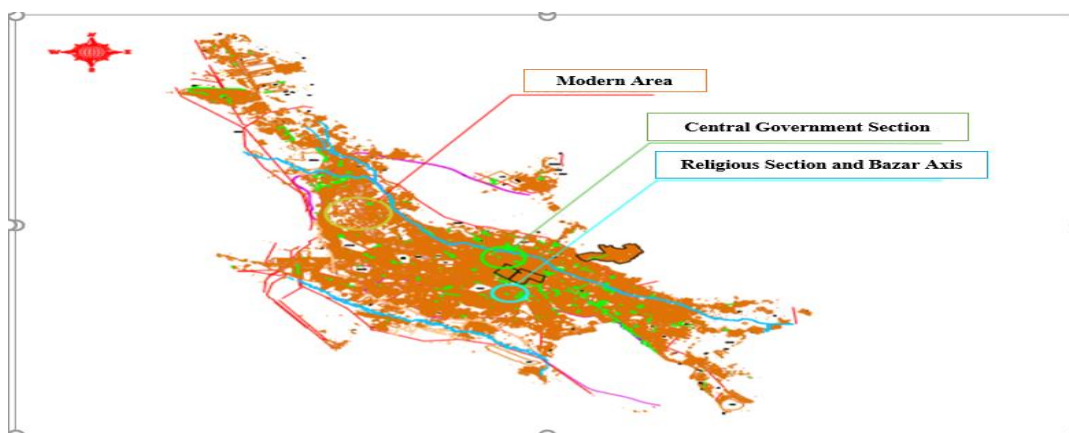
⁴⁷ Homa Katouzian is the author of the book *The Political Economy of Modern Iran 1926-1979* which studies the socio-economic changes in Iran in this period of time and the factors which shaped the political economy of the country.

⁴⁸ M. Reza Shirazi is the Author of the book *Contemporary Architecture and Urbanism in Iran*. He mainly discusses the fact that the contemporary architecture of Iran oscillates between western-modernism and east-nationalism and tradition.

(Bazregar, 2003, p.122).⁴⁹ Hence, the hierarchical organization of the city was demolished. This further segregated the community and intensified the social gap among them. Generally, two contradictory classes appeared in cities. One belonged to the modern areas of the city the other remained in the traditional areas.

Specifically, such a social organization took shape in Shiraz city due to the drastic changes of urban space. These transformations, which were the result of the national policies of modernization of the country, had permanent impacts on the social and physical aspects of the city. In the city of Shiraz, the particular spatial changes made in the urban structure of the city entail three core aspects:

First: the physical texture of the city was transformed by cross sections in a way that it was distributed into a central government section, the open space of the west toward gardens and the important religious area of the city. The modern elements were mostly placed in the northwestern area of the city while the traditional texture of the city was placed alongside religious area in southeast (Nabizadeh et al., 2018, p.14).



Plan 3-3 The urban structure of the city of Shiraz in the First Pahlavi period (The municipality of Shiraz city, 2019) Annotated by the author.

Second: a crucial fact through this new spatial distribution was the revelation of the concept of the new city and its distinction from the old city. The new residential area now belonging to wealthy social classes was located in the northwest area. However, the old city had saved its significance as people living in the wealthy area would use their houses in the old city in critical situations and insecure times (Nabizadeh et al., 2018, p.15).

⁴⁹ Mohammad Reza Bazregar is the Professor of Urbanism at the Art and Architecture School of Shiraz University, Iran. In his book *Urban planning and urban main structure* [shahrsazi va sakhte asliye shahr] He generally discusses theories related to the urban structure of cities and specifically focuses on the development of the urban structure of the city of Shiraz throughout the history.

Third: the vital point in regard to the urban structure of this period was the revelation of a public modern space such as Zand Street alongside Safavi Gardens that, had not its major role before Pahlavi period. However, significantly, there had not been any place dedicated to social and civil functions alongside this 56-meter wide public street (Nabizadeh et al, 2018, p.15).

The creation of the concept of the old city and the new city in the context of Shiraz is the beginning of a significant gap between social classes throughout the urban structure. Before the separation of the urban space to old and new, social classes lived harmoniously. This division, as a consequence, caused the unjust developments and different growth in different parts of the city. Accordingly, it is vitally important to reduce this gap through balanced urban development. In addition, the Zand public street could provide an opportunity for social gatherings. However, the social gatherings were not in favor of the government of the time. At the same time the modernization in process was not only limited to these aspects. The most prominent feature of modernization that have affected the city from outside included and can be observed in the following phenomena:

- a) The transformation of the city's image through its dissociation from the past and its active negation of it.
- b) The organizing of the city according to the model of European industrial cities, which led to the demolition of the old foundations, the organization of neighborhoods and the reduced importance given to bazar as the central spine of the city.
- c) The transformation of the city according to intensive political considerations (Nasr, 2015, p.18).⁵⁰

Dissociation of the new urban developments from the past following the model of European industrial cities led to the creation of urban spaces which lacked identity. This further caused the corruption of the coherent mixed-use urban structure and segregation of urban spaces. There is evidence that this phenomenon was a factor in corrupting the social unity and coherence among citizens. Usually, the public spaces were gated and social gatherings were controlled or prohibited.⁵¹

The construction of unbalanced urban developments, which are irrespective of the past heritage and community demands, continues in the second Pahlavi period. In what follows, I discuss the political order of the country during the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi and its impact on the urban society.

3-3-3- The Second Pahlavi Period (1941-1979):

The second Pahlavi period entails significant historical events since its establishment such as the Second World War (1939-1945), Nationalization of Iranian Oil Industry in 1951, and the Iranian

⁵⁰ Tahereh Nasr is the Assistant Professor of urbanism at the Islamic Azad University, Shiraz Branch, Iran.

⁵¹ Eram Garden, Delgosha Garden, Jahannama Garden, Hafez Tomb, Saadi Tomb.

Coup in 1953 (Katouzian, 1981). These events play a fundamental role in the formation of the political system of the country and hence have significant impact on the society.

When the Nazi Germany attacked the Soviets at the beginning of World War Second, the USA and the UK and the Soviet Union took part on the same side, and were called the allies. In order to convey military aid to the Soviet through Iran, the USA and the UK invaded Iran with Soviets and dethroned Reza Shah who felt sympathy for Germany (Erkan, 2010, P. 109).⁵²

Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi took the throne in such a global turbulence. At the beginning of his reign, he pledged to be the king of constitution and only reign over the country, not govern (Steele, 2021, p.2).⁵³ Accordingly, it was the national assembly, which governed the country. In this period, political parties and newspapers were active and had a prominent impact on the process of the democratization of the country (Katouzian, 1981, p.141).

Such a democratic context led to the nationalization of Iranian oil industry in 1951 which was a movement led by the prime minister of the time Doctor Mohammad Mosaddegh. However, the world authorities of the time such as the UK and US were against this movement and tried to defeat it (Brew, 2019, p.39).⁵⁴ The Shah of Iran whose position had been weakened by this movement did not support it either. Eventually, the opposition of Shah caused the Iranian Coup due to the resignation of Mosaddegh. This event subsequently led to the revolt of the community and the return of Mosaddegh to his position (Katouzian, 1981).

The nationalization of Iranian oil industry in 1951 is a sample of the unity of a society, which claims its demands. Even the world authorities were defeated to the will of people. In fact, the precondition for such a social movement was the democratization of the mechanism of the governance. The freedom of political parties and media had a prominent role on this victory.

In this period, on the other hand, the renovation process of the country, which had begun since Reza Shah Era ceased for a while as the country's budget, was reduced initially. The migration from villages to the cities increased due to the economic depression and reduction of agricultural activities. However, in 1958, the country came out of such turbulence and the renovation process began more rapidly than the first Pahlavi period in big cities (Nabizadeh et al., 2018, p.46).

In addition, Shiraz played the role of a metropolitan city of world-class character. It had educational, military and service functions that strengthened the system of power in the city. One of the most prominent features of these functions was the fact that it held the celebration of the

⁵² Suleyman Erkan in his article *The Invasion of Iran by the Allies During World War Second* generally discusses how Iran was influenced by the political forces of the Allies during the Second World War.

⁵³ Robert Steele in his article *Crowning the "Sun of the Aryans": Mohammad Reza Shah's Coronation and Monarchical Spectacle in Pahlavi Iran* in the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* generally argues the ideology of monarchy in Pahlavi dynasty and Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi's coronation ceremony of 1967.

⁵⁴ Gregory Brew in his article *The Collapse Narrative: The United States, Mohammad Mossadegh, and the Coup Decision Of 1953* in the *Journal of Texas National Security Review* generally discusses the factors which led to the resignation of Doctor Mohammad Mossadegh in 1953.

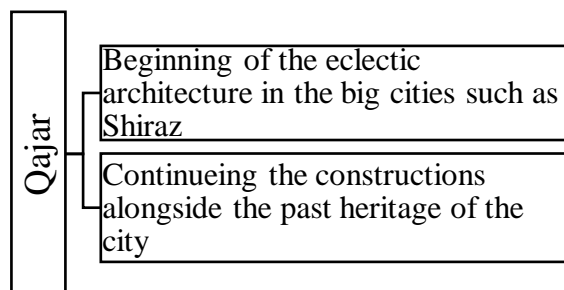
2500 anniversary festival in 1959 showcasing modernization and development of the country to its people and other worldwide audiences (Nabizadeh et al., 2018, p.47).

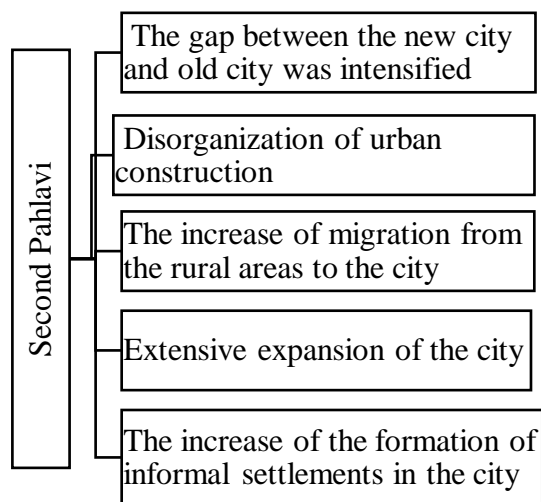
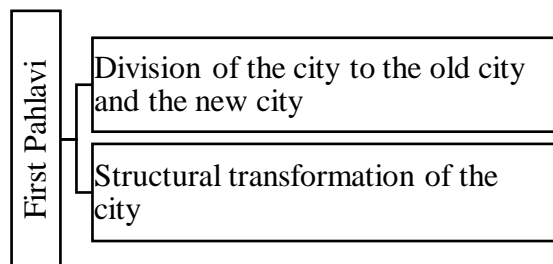
These functions transformed the physical urban configuration of the city. The new city center was placed alongside the major axis of Zand Street with a combination of modern elements. However, the old center, alongside the bazar axis, still had its role for traditional social classes. It seems during this period, fundamental transformations in the urban structure took place that continued even after the revolution in 1979. In other words, development of the western and northwest areas of the city (new city) has continued even after this period and in spite of the sprawl of urban developments after the revolution (Nasr, 2015, p.36-37).

At this time, the urban configuration of the city reflected the socio-economic differences in society. The affluent modern neighborhoods took shape in contrast to the impoverished isolated neighborhoods. The mechanism of the urban network changed dramatically as the coherence of urban spaces was demolished. This was because the planners paid no attention to the historical heritage of the city and merely imitated the modernized constructions in the western countries. However, the argument proposed in this disseratation is that urban development should take place alongside the historical heritage of the city and should not negate it. Architects should not imitate foreign urban design systems without considering the internal configuration of the city. In addition, the engagement of local people in the development process and consideration of their needs should be considered as a priority in urban plans. Consequently, the urban spaces will not lose their identity and the society will not be segregated.

The increase of migration from rural areas to the city, as mentioned above, was because the government neglected developing the agricultural industry. This in turn led to the increase of unemployment and the formation of informal settlements in big cities of the country (Nabizadeh et al., 2018, p.46). Accordingly, the governments should also focus on balanced urban developments throughout the country in order to avoid such impoverished developments in its cities.

3-4- A Brief Outline of the Transformations of the City of Shiraz from Qajar Period to the Second Pahlavi:





3-5- The urban structure of the city of Shiraz after the Islamic revolution in 1979:

After the Islamic revolution in 1979, the new government promised to reform the urban structures of the city in order to provide a more just urban environment (Ghaffari and Shariati, 2019). However, the war between Iran and Iraq (1980), the economic sanctions and the lack of control on the increase of the population led to the intensification of chaos in the process of urban development (Ghaffari and Shariati, 2019, p.22).⁵⁵ These phenomena actually intensified the migration from rural areas to the cities. Subsequently, it led to the chaotic expansion of cities and the destruction of natural resources such as green spaces (Nabizadeh et al., 2018, p.18).

In addition, the lack of historical evolution in cities leads to social depression, chaos and lack of citizen participation in the process of urban development. Consequently, the destruction

⁵⁵ Masoud Ghaffari and Shahrooz Shariati in their article Governance and Social Justice in the Islamic Republic of Iran which was submitted in the International Journal of Humanities generally discuss the reasons for the failure of the Islamic Republic of Iran to attain one of its major goals which was the provision of social justice.

policies of governments should be replaced by renovation policies, which adapt modernization alongside the historical evolution of city. Such a renovation policy should respect the historical heritage of the city, not negate it. However, in the city of Shiraz the impoverished urban developments, which are irrespective of the past design heritage, exist today.

The current urban structure of Shiraz city is the result of the procedure of the residence of the population in the natural context of the city and their mutual relationships. For instance, the linear urban development takes shape alongside the river and the gap between the social classes intensifies this development. As the less affluent social classes tend to live in the southeast and the wealthier social classes live in the northwest (Nabizadeh et al., 2018, p.18).

Shiraz city is spread alongside the north-south axis of the plain surrounded by mountains in the north, south, west areas, and the Maharloo Lake in the east. The dry river, as a natural element, spreading alongside the northwest to the southeast of the city has shaped the urban structure of the city (Nabizadeh et al., 2018, p.18). The dry river is flowing during the months of rain in the winter. It divides the city into two parts. The subway alongside this river connects the southern east area of the city (less affluent) to the northern west area of the city (wealthier).

According to my field surveys, the construction of Shiraz subway, which was done during the reformist government after the Islamic revolution (1997-2005), reduced the social gap in the community to some extent. It facilitated the transportation from the southeast to the northwest and vice versa. However, the urban configuration of the city still manifests intense contradiction between the northwest area and southeast area of the city. The urban facilities are mostly accumulated in the northwestern areas while the southeastern areas suffer from deprivation (see images 3-3 and 3-4).



Plan 3-4 The position of the dry river in the city of Shiraz (The Municipality of Shiraz city, 2019) Annotated by the author



Image 3-3 The northwest area of Shiraz city showing the development of urban facilities (Sohrabi, 2019)



Image 3-4 The southeast area of Shiraz city showing the depravation of urban facilities (Irnanews, 2018)

Today's spatial organization of Shiraz city also originates from economic, physical and social relationships. On the one side, the city is dealing with stakeholders and decision makers on different scales whose actions affect the physical aspect of the city. Their decisions affect people who are seeking shelter, while the investors try to cash in on the potentials of land exploitation. In addition to the impact these stakeholders have on the city, they make decisions based on their own benefits and priorities (Nabizadeh et al., 2018, p.50) These stakeholders constitute the dealers, investors and affluent social classes who have relationships with the government organizations.

They do not follow the regulations of the city plans and decide based on their own benefits. Usually their actions lead to the destruction of natural resources and chaotic urban developments.

On the other side, the city is encountered with master plans, policies and strategies that try to direct the urban development in the way that the city achieves a more just and equitable situation (Nabizadeh et al., 2018, p.50). However, these plans have ignored a determining factor until now. That is investigating to know their benefactor. These plans, maybe unintentionally, see their benefactors the same and have similar expectations from them. For instance, it is a fact that an influential group of people in the city are advocating the development toward the west and northwest area of the city. Although the master plan of the city has forbidden these developments, the constructions in these areas continue. If the master plan is not able to avoid the constructions in the west and northwest areas, it can encourage the development of urban functions with low density. Accordingly, these developments would have less detriment to the natural resources of the city. Overall, the strategies suggested by the master plan are too idealistic and do not consider the existing facts.

It is needed to develop a mechanism in the city that enables different stakeholders to discuss their demands of the urban environment. The city council should have the authority to provide the urban plans at the local level. People in each neighborhood and guild group in the city should have representatives in the city council. Their representatives should be given the chance to discuss the demands of people and provide a plan for the city considering the benefits for all as much as possible. However, in Iran, experts provide the city development plans at the national level without considering the local demands of local people.

The lack of a local plan, which is provided through the participation of people in the process of policy-making and implementation, leads to unjust urban developments in the city. The discrimination in the urban configuration of the city of Shiraz continued after the Islamic revolution in 1979. Although the Islamic revolution promised to reduce the social gap between the less affluent residents of the city and the wealthy ones, the discrimination between the social classes actually intensified. This is partly due to the war and economic sanctions as were mentioned above. However, the totalitarian mechanism of urban management, which does not allow people to participate in the process of decision-making also, plays a prominent role in the unjust urban developments, in my opinion.

In the city of Shiraz, the unbalanced urban developments are clearly manifested in the urban design. There are many open spaces and green areas in the northwest area of the city. The population density is much lower than the central areas and the southeast of the city. Most of the urban facilities are concentrated alongside the relatively new established Zand Street while the old structure of the city alongside the traditional bazar suffers from deprivation. In addition, most of the factories and industrial units are placed in the southern area of the city while the recreational urban functions are accumulated in the northwest (Nabizadeh et al., 2018). The concentration of service spaces and recreational spaces in one area of the city leads to unbalanced urban developments. It increases the demand for buying houses in certain parts of the city and as the house prices rise the informal market of housing enters into the housing trade. In what follows, I discuss the formation of informal settlements in the city of Shiraz.

3-6- Informal Settlements in the Context of Shiraz City:

Another phenomenon that is the prominent characteristic of today's urban development in Shiraz city are the informal settlements. These settlements are created because some families mostly belonging to immigrant groups do not have the ability to own a house through the formal market of housing. As a result, they turn to informal markets and informal settlements take shape. There are different ideas about the definition of informal settlements in the urban literature and sociology of Iran. In the most comprehensive literature, there have been benchmarks that help us to recognize these areas. Here I discuss briefly the characteristics of informal settlements.

Informal settlements are a result of many factors, which include the political economy, uncoordinated planning, invasion of land by land barons, and inappropriate planning ideologies. They form spontaneously in the absence of planning; their rampant development can lead to the disorderly spread of cities and they are usually characterized by inefficient land use, environmental degradation, poor living conditions, unstable employment, and conflict over land use (Zhang et al., 2020, p.2).⁵⁶

Accordingly, in order to avoid the growth of such impoverished urban developments, which are the consequence of uncoordinated planning, regional balance should be considered as a priority of urban development. In doing so, sectoral planning should be alongside the national policy of the country. One area should not be developed while the other suffers from deprivation. Land Exchangers should not be the ones who determine the direction of developments. The local government, throughout the process of participation of people, should have the authority to affect urban developments.

Although there is no information about this phenomenon in the context of Shiraz city to proceed a detailed investigation, the observations and some benchmarks indicate that the city contains informal settlements or has the potential for the growth of informal settlements in some areas. One of the benchmarks, which indicates the informal settlements, is the level of welfare in residential areas. The information provided below which has been extracted from the Detail Plan of Shiraz City⁵⁷ indicate this factor.

- ✓ The type of housing: 4.2% of houses are slums and tent
- ✓ Possessing facilities: 99% have electricity, 34.6% have telephone, 99% have water, 77.6% have gas, 92.7% have bathroom, 34% have the whole facilities
- ✓ Housing material: 2.2% clay and wood
- ✓ Ownership status: 63.2% owner, 21.2% tenant, 3.4% tenant due to service, 10.5% unknown ownership (Maab Consultant engineers, 2015).

⁵⁶ Jiaqi Zhang et al., in their article *Morphological Characteristics of Informal settlements and Strategic Suggestions for Urban Sustainable Development in Tanzania: Dar es Salaam, Mwanza, and Kigoma* in the journal of sustainability generally discusses the challenge of informal settlements and the fact that the traditional planning systems of the developing countries cannot meet the needs of the growing urban population in these areas.

⁵⁷ The Detail Plan is provided by the municipality organizations and should follow the directions of the Master Plan of the city. This plan identifies the urban functions of the city in detail.

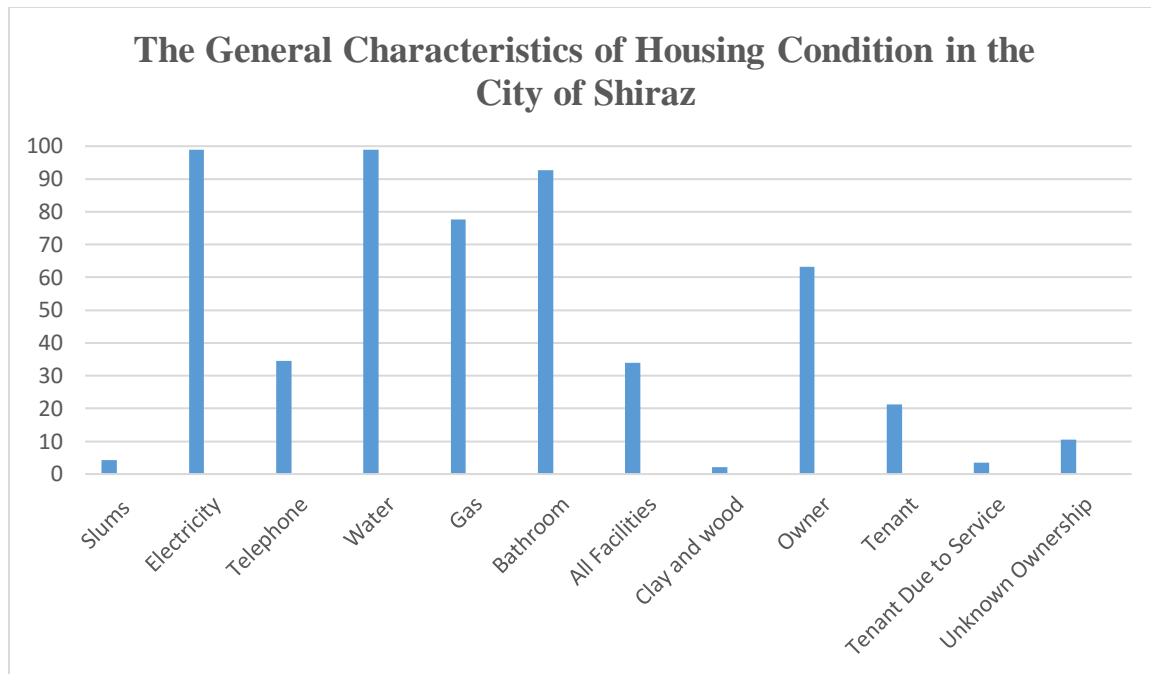
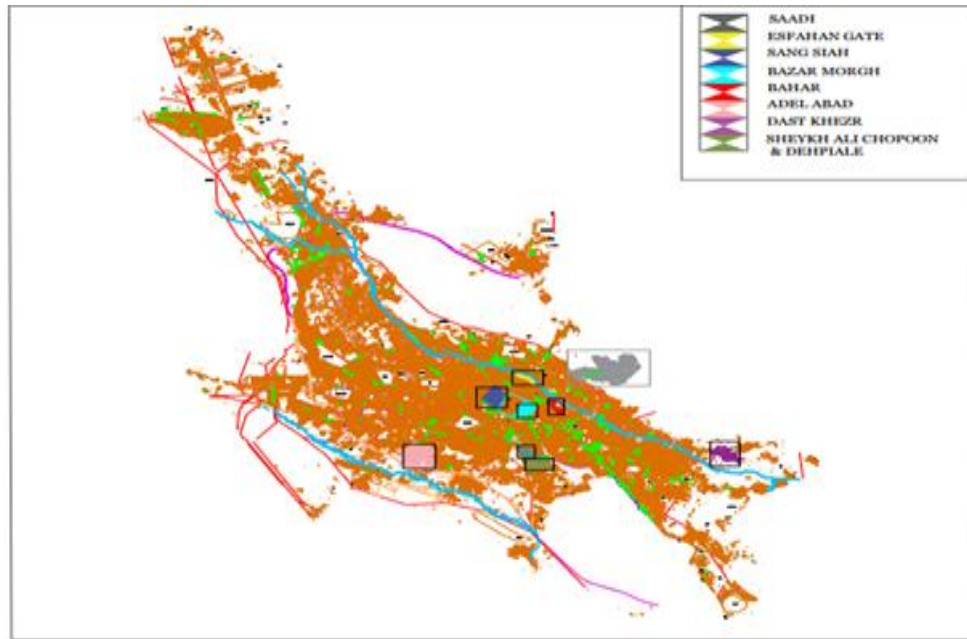


Chart 3-1 The general characteristics of housing condition in the city of Shiraz

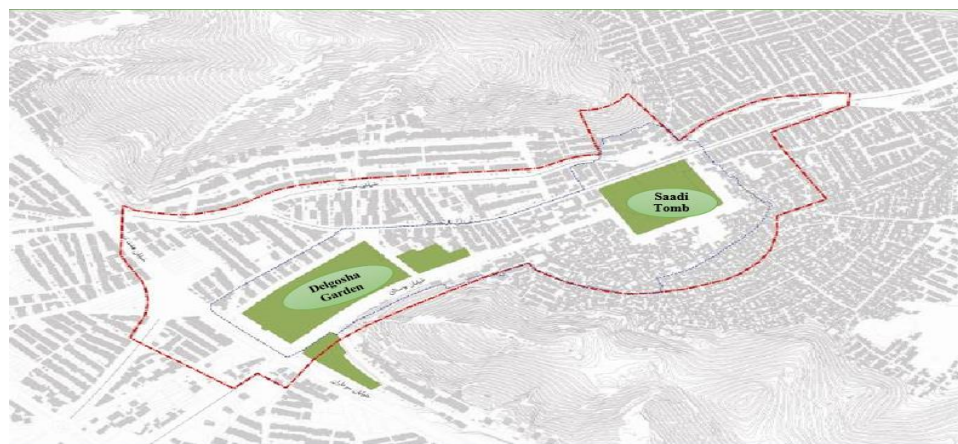
According to these statistics, the benchmarks indicating bad housing in Shiraz, such as the type of house (slum, tent) or the lack of possessing fundamental facilities are very few. These benchmarks give an overall image of the city but do not show all the aspects of what experts call informal settlements. However, at another level of the investigation by relying on observations, some areas in Shiraz can be found which are suffering from bad quality of housing. These areas are not only in the marginal part of the city but they spread like islands to the central regions.

These areas exist in northeast of the city (such as: Saadi, Esfehan Gate, the marginal area located near a beverage factory), to the east (Dastkhezh, Dorkan, Vazir rural areas) south and southeast (Bahar, Sheikhali Choopan, Dehpialeh, neighborhoods), southwest (Adelabad Tower) and old texture of the city (Sang Siah, Astaneh, Bazarmorgh neighborhoods) (Maab Consultant Engineers, 2015).



Plan 3-5 The informal settlements in the city of Shiraz (The municipality of Shiraz city, 2019) Annotated by the author.

In spatial terms, these scattered islands are divided into two parts: marginal sector and central sector. The marginal sector has been created due to urban sprawl and contains the rural areas that have merged into the city. However, the central sector contains mainly decayed urban textures, which have declined due to socio economic factors. In the following chapters, I am going to work specifically on the Saadi informal settlement in the northeast area of Shiraz, near the tomb of Saadi the great Iranian poet.



Plan 3-6 The Saadi suburb (The municipality of Shiraz city, 2019)

3-7- Conclusion:

In this chapter, the geographical characteristics and development of Shiraz city were discussed. The historical development of built structure was explained in respect to four different periods of time in Iran's history (Qajar period, First Pahlavi, Second Pahlavi, and after the Islamic revolution). Qajar period was the time that eclectic architecture appeared in the urban structure of the city. This architecture reflected the social organization of the city, which was distributed to traditional and modernist class. During the First Pahlavi period, the phenomenon of the polar city emerged and the city was divided into old and new. Subsequently, in the Second Pahlavi period the gap between the social classes intensified and it was reflected in the urban configuration of the city. In this period, the government did not plan the development of agriculture and rural areas. Hence, a significant population migrated from the rural areas to big cities. This population could not own a house through the formal market of housing. Accordingly, informal settlements were established in the big cities of the country.

After the Islamic revolution, although the government promised to promulgate justice in the society, the discrimination between the social classes even increased due to the mismanagement of the country. The centralized mechanism of urban management, which does not provide a context for the participation of local people and consideration of their needs, leads to chaotic developments in cities. In addition, informal settlements increased in big cities due to the lack of balanced development throughout the country. Consequently, the major reason for the development of informal settlements is the unbalanced urban development at local and national level, which initiated since the appearance of modernism in the city of Shiraz. The distinction of the city to old and new was the beginning of the social gap throughout the urban society. This social gap even increased with the unfair distribution of urban facilities in the city. This phenomenon led to the increase of land price in some areas of the city and deprivation of others. Hence, it led to the establishment of informal market, and the existence of informal settlements in both marginal and central areas of the city. Eventually, the nature, characteristics and positioning of informal settlements in the urban structure of the city were outlined and discussed. In the following chapter I explain the phenomenon of slums in more detail. I expand my explanation regarding the fundamental reasons for the emergence of informal settlements in urban societies. Subsequently, I try to justify the fact that the enablement of the local community is the most appropriate strategy for the improvement of the social and physical environment in these settlements.

Chapter 4: A Literature Review on Informal Settlements.

4-1- Introduction:

The expansion of the city needs skill and guidance. The policy-making concerning urban growth is a serious social responsibility. It needs to avoid creating irregular growth and unjust developments by fair distribution of resources. If the government policies, private sector and people's tendency are not aligned to work productivity, the aims such as justice, competent function and balanced urban development will be unachievable. The informal settlements are one of the gravest consequences of the lack of compatibility between the stakeholders mentioned above.

The disjunction between the financially weaker social classes and their need of finding a home and the significantly wealthier formal sector of the society is clear. The formal sector of the city is not able to provide the needs of the less affluent social classes due to the mismanagement of the cities and the structural injustice in the current socio-economic functions. Accordingly, in this research, I firstly investigate the reasons of the establishment of these settlements, their general characteristics and the methods of improving them, and secondly, I research the case of Saadi informal settlement specifically. Eventually, through this study I aim to search for the ways of enabling and empowering the residents of this area to participate within social structures and provide for themselves a voice that will lead them towards more suitable environment and a more just urban settlement.

4-2- A Brief Discussion on the Reasons of the Establishment of Informal Settlements:

According to Doctor Parviz Piran who is a sociologist and a faculty member of Allameh Tabatabaie University in Iran, informal settlements are one of the chief consequences of capitalism and industrialization (Piran, 2003, p.8). He further discusses how Capitalism logic, which is generally based upon the accumulation of capital for further investment, has prevailed over all socio-economic relations (Piran, 2003, p.9). This logic caused the demolition of petty commodity production and the emergence of factories in cities. Subsequently, such a transition in the mode of production intensified the process of urbanization in communities (Piran, 2003, p.10).

It can be deduced from Piran's (2003) discussion that the cities rapidly grew because the factories needed the labor force in order to continue their existence. Accordingly, a huge number of immigrants migrated from the rural areas to the cities to find a job in these factories. However, the cities did not have the capacity to provide a competent living environment for all these people. As a consequence, slums or ghettos appeared in the urban structure to provide a shelter to these immigrants. Today, slums are considered as a major phenomenon in developing cities throughout the world. The UN-Habitat describes the significance of slums as such:

In 2001, 924 million people, or 31.6 per cent of the world's urban population, lived in slums. The majority of them were in the developing regions, accounting for 43 per cent of the urban population, in contrast to 6 per cent in more developed regions. It is almost certain that slum dwellers increased substantially during 1990s. It is further projected that in the

next 30 years, the global number of slum dwellers will increase to about 2 billion, if no firm and concrete action is taken (UN-Habitat, 2003, p. XXV).

Doctor Mozafar Sarrafi who is a Professor at the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism, Shahid Beheshti University, Tehran, Iran considers slums as a reflection of poverty in a community (Sarrafi, 2008, p.8). He defines poverty as lack of access to secure housing, healthy environment and lack of infrastructures such as tap water, sewage system, electricity... (Sarrafi, 2008). According, to the statistics provided by the Central Bank of Iran 14,000,000 people in Iran (19% of the population) are living in poverty (Sarrafi, 2008, p.8).

In addition, according to a research made by Rezaei., et al ,which was published in Land Geography Journal in Iran, 279000 people are living in informal settlements in the city of Shiraz (Rezaei et al., 2017, p.65). This means almost 17% of the population in the city of Shiraz are living in informal settlements. These statistics are reflecting the significance of the phenomenon of slums at global, national and local scales.

Saadi suburb is considered as an informal settlement in the city of Shiraz due to the fact that the people who live in this area could not possess a house in the formal sector of housing. The increase of poverty and intensification of the gap between social classes in big cities have led to the marginalization of less affluent social classes such as people living in the Saadi informal settlement. Here I describe the general characteristics of this suburb and I will suggest strategies for its improvement in the following chapters.

Saadi suburb in the northeast of Shiraz city is placed around a street named Saadi which is surrounded by Fahandej Mountain on one side and Chehlmagham Mountain on the other. The suburb spreads across a large part of the third district of Shiraz city. It is surrounded by Kharameh Road in the north, Delgosha Garden in the south, Saadi graveyard in the east and Baraftab Heights in the west. The area of this suburb is 270 hectares and its population is 53,000 people. One of the most prominent characteristics of this area is the existence of the tomb of the great Iranian poet Saadi Shirazi (Maab Consultant Engineers, 2015, p.37).



Plan 4-1 The Saadi suburb (The Municipality of Shiraz city, 2019) Annotated by the Author.

In what follows, I explain how people are united to form these settlements in the cities. I argue that these settlements are not only established spontaneously but governments and private sectors may induce the process of the establishment of such settlements. Accordingly, in my opinion, the state and private sectors should consider the needs of people living in these areas as a priority.

In addition, these settlements are mainly established due to the mismanagement of cities by government and people living in these areas should not be considered as potential criminals. However, the lack of upgrading plans for these settlements may provide a competent context for the development of crime and social revolts. Hence, the provision of a plan, which provides for the needs of people living in these settlements is vitally important.

4-3- The Procedure of Shaping Informal Settlements:

The surveys on the process of shaping informal settlements indicate that this procedure depends on the method of owning land and its legal condition, the socio-economic condition of the residents in this area, the function of these settlements in the surrounding urban region, the function of informal markets, and the way the settlement is controlled by responsible government organizations (Alsayyad, 1993, p.34-35).

In addition, according to a research by Alsayyad who is an architect, an urban planner, and professor at the University of California Berkeley in the College of Environment Design, although the process of occupying land in informal settlements is dependent on the factors mentioned above, this procedure, generally speaking, happens gradually and could be divided into:

- 1) Land invasion
- 2) Social formation
- 3) Physical consolidation
- 4) Urban maturity (Alsayyad, 1993, p.34-35).

However, According to Alsayyad, this procedure of the formation of informal settlements ,which begins by invasion of scattered groups and develops until it becomes part of the urban structure of the city, could be induced in different ways. The process of inducing such movements leading to the emergence of these settlements includes:

- 1) Gradual (separate families gradually inhabit these areas)
- 2) Communal(communities populate these areas when the settlement becomes familiarized)
- 3) Mobilizing (shaped by civil constitutes and political parties)
- 4) Generated (by getting permission from legal organizations)

(Alsayyad, 1993, p.34-35).

The mobilizing and generated forms of the establishment of the informal settlements are referring to the fact that political parties and governments may also intervene in the process of the formation of informal settlements. In doing so, these parties, with the help of governments, should predict where these settlements may grow and provide the competent context for their

establishment. Such a support should be accompanied with enablement strategies. Consequently, this collaboration would lead to the creation of a vibrant urban environment with the involvement of all stakeholders.

However, in Iran the informal settlements are shaped spontaneously and the city plans do not prepare the urban organization of the city by considering such developments as a fact. The political parties also do not have the authority for mobilizing such developments. Accordingly, these settlements take shape in marginalized areas of the city which lack the basic standards of living.

4-4- The General Characteristics of Informal Settlements:

Rapid urbanization and the subsequent rapid growth of population leads to the expansion of informal settlements in urban societies. The prominent cause of this urban phenomenon in my opinion is the lack of an efficient plan for controlling the spread of poverty at both national and local levels. The deprivation of a considerable group of people who could not possess a house in the formal market of housing due to the mismanagement of resources by the government leads to the establishment of impoverished settlements, which are mainly recognized with the following characteristics:

- 1) Most dwellings have been built by their occupiers
- 2) The settlements were originally illegal or lacking planning permission
- 3) Infrastructure and services in the settlements were originally lacking
- 4) The settlement is occupied by the poor, however defined. (Lombard, 2009, p.4).⁵⁸

Accordingly, in order to find a solution for the improvement of these settlements to a better habitat to live, the state and private organizations should formally admit the existence of these settlements. In addition, they should provide a competent context for improving the level of welfare in these areas. The private sectors, with the support of the state, can help the dwellers of these settlements to construct and develop their living environment. Such a collaboration can be manifested in the provision of infrastructures. However, the planners should also consider the fact that the needs of people living in these areas gradually change. Consequently, the strategy of self-help, which I will discuss further, should be considered as the most efficient solution for upgrading the condition of life in these settlements.

⁵⁸ Melanie Brigid Lombard in her dissertation *Making a place in the city: place-making in urban informal settlements in Mexico* generally uses a place-making approach to explore the discursive, spatial, social cultural and political construction of place in a context which informal settlements are treated as outside normal urban considerations.

4-5- Changes in the Tendencies of Residents and the Sequence of Construction of Informal Settlements:

People's demands and tendencies will gradually change as they occupy land and establish informal settlements. They may have certain needs at the beginning of their residence. However, as time goes by, their demands and expectations change. Janice Perlman who is the Professor of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of California-Berkeley mentions in this area:

Direct observation, structured research and housing policy outcomes have all shown conclusively, however, that for individuals and families in different stages of their life cycle, other aspects of shelter can be much more important. John Turner's early work in Peru, for example showed that proximity was most critical in the initial stages, trying to get established. Later other factors such as safety became more important. But in any case, urban services such as running water, electricity and sewerage consistently took priority over the physical completion of shelter in terms of user needs. Follow up research over the past 20 years has confirmed this for a wide variety of cities and situations and shown that shelter is an ongoing process of incremental improvement for this population, rather than a finished product (Perlman, 1988, p.42).

Regarding these changes, John Turner points out that generally the most important goal of residents in informal settlements is accessing a job. For them, any kind of shelter would be enough at the beginning. After having a permanent income their main goal is strengthening their position by legal ownership. Subsequently, they demand accessing to urban facilities. Turner claims that the growing families, whose needs are changing, will eventually change their placement or will remain in the same place which itself is growing (Turner, 1976)

In the city of Shiraz, the settlements should have permission for gradual development. In fact, the government should provide the infrastructures and facilities and allow people to gradually construct their settlements. This policy would create more vibrant living environments rather than providing affordable housing. In this way, the vulnerable social classes can collaborate in the process of developing their own settlements.

4-6- Self-Sufficiency in House Construction:

Perlman considers the concept of self-help in the construction of informal settlements as a vital strategy for gaining freedom of choice at its highest level. This freedom for the settlers would, in time, include flexibility and resources. The settlers do not have the ability to finish the construction of their house in a specific time or use specific materials. Accordingly, by the increase of their income, they gradually improve their construction (Perlman, 1988, p.43).

However, the response of policy-makers to housing shortages in many developing cities has been to launch large-scale 'affordable' public housing programs on underdeveloped land in peripheral areas. These programs have often proved prohibitively expensive, failing to deliver anything near the scale of housing investment needed to meet rapidly expanding urban populations. Where such housing has been delivered by governments, it is often poorly suited to the needs of poorer communities. These units are often unaffordable to

low-income residents and located in inaccessible areas disconnected from the economic and social fabric of the city (Collier et al., 2019, p.6).

Accordingly, provision of affordable housing by governments does not seem to be a competent strategy for resolving the problem of slums, since these houses are not in good condition and do not meet the specific needs of people. Furthermore, these houses limit the freedom of choice and decision-making of the people. However, if the government provides the competent context for the residents of slums to rehabilitate their settlements collaboratively, they can build livable and vibrant environments, which meet their needs with a low cost. Consequently, the best strategy for the rehabilitation of slums according to Collier et al. (2019) is to enable people to help themselves. I develop my discussion about finding a proper solution for the phenomenon of slums in the following section.

4-7- The Ways of Dealing with Informal Settlements:

The methods of dealing with informal settlements originates from socio-political ideologies such as Liberalism, Radicalism and Reformation. These ideologies were applied in defining specific patterns on urban developments. In addition, these policies were closely related to the governance systems of countries. Here, I am going to discuss the application of these approaches toward the informal settlements in more detail. Accordingly, I would be able to evaluate the negative and positive aspect of each approach and apply the most suitable strategy for upgrading the Saadi informal settlement to a better habitat.

4-7-1- Liberal Ideology and Informal Settlements:

This approach generally neglects the phenomenon of slums (Sarraf, 2004). According to Mozaffar Sarraf who has discussed the approaches of dealing with slums in his essay *Revising the Characteristics of Spontaneous Settlements in Iran* the liberal strategy considers informal settlements as a temporary phenomenon which are the consequence of the passage from a traditional society to an industrialized one (Sarraf, 2004, p.270).

In addition, this approach is passive toward the improvement of slums and considers it the result of market regulations (Piran, 1987, p.30). Accordingly, it can be deduced from these discussions that liberal ideology simply considers the existence of informal settlements as a fact which should be accepted in the socio-political structure of the city. Although this ideology does not consider the destruction of slums as a solution, it neglects the unjust mechanisms which led to the formation of such impoverished settlements.

However, according to Banks et al., who have investigated the challenge of slums in their essay *Urban Informality as a Site of Critical Analysis*, “Reconsidering informality as a site of critical analysis rather than a setting, sector, or outcome, requires zooming out to explore patterns and processes at the meso- and macro-level, as well as ‘zooming in’ more narrowly on given sectors, settings, or outcomes, or particular groups within these” (Banks et al., 2020, p.224).

The liberal approach toward the informal settlements does not zoom out to see how the global contracts between nations and the socio-economic relations of capitalism have caused the unbalanced urban developments in cities. It does not seek to find a fundamental solution for the phenomenon of slums, which is generally in the reduction of the gap between social classes and balanced urban development.

Doctor Piran believes John Turner's strategies toward upgrading informal settlements belong to this category (Piran, 1994, p.96-97). Turner generally believes the governments are not able to provide housing for all social classes. However, he argues that they should provide a competent context for people to construct their living environment themselves (Turner, 1976). In other words, the governments are mainly responsible to provide the infrastructure such as tap water, electricity and sewerage system and people should gradually improve their settlements themselves. Accordingly, the liberal approach does not have any solution for the phenomenon of slums and only focuses on micro-level strategies to gradually upgrade these settlements.

4-7-2- Destruction Approach Toward the Informal Settlements:

During the 1970s, it became evident the promised economic development that the liberals believed would eventually solve the problem of informal settlements was not true. On the contrary, such an economic development, which was based upon the market regulations, increased the gap between social classes and subsequently led to the growth of informal settlements (Hadizadeh-Bazaz, 2004, p.36).⁵⁹ Accordingly, a new approach which tries to basically eliminate the problem of slums enters into the discussion. Marwa Khalifa who has reviewed informal settlements upgrading strategies and policies in her essay *Evolution of Informal Settlements in Egypt: from Negligence to Participatory Development* mentions in this regard:

During 1970s, the oppressive bulldozer eviction policy predominated. The official state in this period tended toward eradication of informal settlements and rehousing the people elsewhere, most likely in public housing. Adopted policy emphasized land acquisition, land banking, and conventional housing projects. Many developing countries pursued this approach until research and international experience started to provide evidence of the failure of these eradication policies, their deficiencies and the destructive effects they had on the urban poor (Khalifa, 2015, p.1153).

According to this approach, people who live in informal settlements are treated like criminals. However, these are people, who merely could not afford to buy a house in the formal market of housing due to the mismanagement by the state and the resultant unbalanced development. This strategy, in my opinion, mainly considers the benefits of the affluent social classes who consider the existence of slums as a detriment to their living environment. Consequently, it leads to the increase of social clash and revolt of the people living in these areas.

⁵⁹ Maryam Hadizadeh-Bazaz in her book *Marginalization and the methods of organizing it in the world [Hashiye nesheni va rehkarhaye samandehiye an dar jahan]* generally discusses the history of marginalization in the world while explaining improvement and enablement policies for the reformation of marginalized areas.

4-7-3- Radical Ideology and Informal Settlements:

The advocates of this approach toward the informal settlements focus on the causes, which lead to the spread of such impoverished settlements. They believe unless the unjust socio-political mechanisms change, the condition of slums will not improve. This approach originates from Marxism thoughts, which believe capitalism and rapid urbanization leads to the increase of social inequalities and subsequently causes the formation of informal settlements (Piran, 2004, p.17).

Industrialization of production and the resultant increase of the gap between rural areas and the city, leads to the migration of many people from villages to the cities. However, the urban facilities are not enough to meet the needs of such an increase in population. Accordingly, those who are not able to compete in the formal sector of possessing a house turn to the informal market. Hence, informal settlements are developed.

In addition, according to this approach the more significance of exchange value to use value, has turned the land and housing into commodities, which are exploited by dealers. Hence, the less affluent social groups who cannot compete in such an unfair situation will remain homeless. Accordingly, the advocates of this approach believe the demolition of capitalist system is the main solution to the challenge of slums (Piran, 2004, p.17). Therefore, the state should control the market function and focus on balanced urban development.

However, this approach neglects the role of people in improving their current situation through enablement strategies. People from below should also play a prominent role in the reformation of unjust mechanisms, which have been imposed on them. Therefore, the states' major responsibility is to provide a competent context for the presence of people in the process of decision-making. Although slums are the cause of unjust socio-political mechanisms they should be considered as a fact today. The current phenomenon cannot be neglected to find a solution for the origins of the problem.

4-7-4- The Reformist Ideology and Informal Settlements:

Although this approach believes in the necessity of the establishment of social justice and balanced urban development, it also considers short-term solutions for dealing with the phenomenon of slums (Sarraf, 2004, p.271). According to this ideology, such micro-level upgrading strategies would gradually lead to changes at macro-level. In addition, focusing on long-term strategies, which would lead to the transformation of unjust mechanisms, should not be at the cost of neglecting the current sufferings of people living in informal settlements. Consequently, this approach considers enablement of people as the most appropriate strategy of upgrading informal settlements and reducing inequalities (Sarraf, 2004, p.271).

In my opinion, this approach is the most logical strategy of dealing with informal settlements, as the structural transformations in the socio-economic structures of the cities cannot happen instantly. This is needed to provide a suitable context for such changes through enabling the civil society. The gradual improvement of the living quality of less affluent groups of people who cannot afford to possess a house in the formal sector of the city, empowers them to decide for

their own life. Hence, a democratic mechanism would be established that people from below are enabled to reform the unjust regulations which have been imposed upon them.

People should have the opportunity to discuss their daily problems and reach agreements through collaboration. Accordingly, the responsibility of states, in my opinion, is to provide an appropriate mechanism for social gatherings rather than imposing certain rules on people. In what follows, I will propose this strategy for improving the living conditions of people in the Saadi informal settlement. This means, I focus on micro-level strategies, which enable people to gradually change the unjust mechanisms imposed on them at macro-level.

4-8- Conclusion:

In this chapter, the way informal settlements take shape and their characteristics has been discussed. The Saadi informal settlement was introduced and will be discussed further in other chapters. The chapter has provided a summary of the ways of dealing with informal settlements which were based on the existing literature. In my opinion, the reformist approach provided the most competent solution for dealing with informal settlements based on the existing facts. This strategy aims to promote the current condition of the life of people living in informal settlements to gradually achieve the ideal of structural reformation.

However, the current mechanism of urban management in Iran follows a top-down trend giving limited opportunity to people to make decisions which affect their lives. Such a totalitarian mechanism of urban management is unable to stop the growth of these impoverished settlements. Accordingly, the state is responsible for focusing on balanced urban development while providing enablement strategies which empowers people to improve their quality of life. In the following chapter, I argue for the enablement strategies, which prepare the people living in the Saadi informal settlement to reform the unjust managerial structures that currently exist.

Chapter 5: The Socio-Spatial Characteristics of the Saadi Informal Settlement and the Enablement Strategies.

5-1- Introduction:

In this chapter I will discuss the characteristics of the Saadi informal settlement. By focusing on the socio-economic characteristics of this particular district, I wish to recognize the demands of local people in this area and find solutions for the rehabilitation of this suburb from its long-standing and varied deprivation. People in the Saadi district are suffering from economic poverty, and social and cultural deprivation according to my field-surveys. The major reason for this poverty and deprivation is the low level of the provision of education for the people living in this suburb. In addition, the lack of urban facilities in the suburb, which can promote the quality of social life, has led to the isolation of this area. I will seek, thus, strategies which are firstly based on the enablement of people via education facilitation, and renewal policies which create a more vibrant living environment for the people. Then I will consider wider concerns with the reforming of the political mechanism that does not allow people to take part in the process of decision-making for their cities.

5-2- Topography of the Saadi District:

It is important to be familiarized with the topography of this district, as it can indicate the way the suburb came into being and the reasons for its establishment. In addition, through such analysis, the potential of the urban development in this suburb can be understood. Accordingly, here I briefly describe the topographical characteristics of the Saadi informal settlement provided by the Detail Plan of Shiraz City.

The first center of the district is placed on the southeast of the Saadi tomb. The topography of the region has limited the expansion of this center. However, the pathways connect the district on one side, to Shiraz city and, on the other side, to Kharameh city. The mountains surrounding the district provide beautiful views and more specifically the Fahandej Mountain in the eastern area has beautiful plants (Maab Consultant Engineers, 2015, p.37).

Accordingly, the Saadi suburb can be considered as one of the gates to the city of Shiraz. On the one side of the settlement reside people living in Shiraz city who cannot afford to own or rent a house in the city, due to high land prices. On the other side, reside people living in surrounding rural areas who would like to have access to the urban facilities in the city of Shiraz. Thus, generally, two social classes reside in this suburb. One is a vulnerable urban social class and the other is an immigrant rural social class.



Image 5-1 Topography of the Saadi suburb (Hosseinpour, 2019).

5-3- The Urban Functions of the Saadi District:

The Saadi suburb has multiple urban functions which provide a great opportunity for the rehabilitation and improvement of the district. For instance, it has a good potential for recreational, and touristic development. Below, I am going to discuss some of the more relevant functions of this suburb. Subsequently, I will comment on plans for the improvement of these functions.

5-3-1- A Recreational Function:

The Saadi district, due to its natural characteristics, has long been one of the recreational areas in Shiraz city. The existence of gardens such as Delgosha and Tavousieh (see image 5-2 and 5-3), the beautiful views of mountains surrounding this area and the good weather are among those key characteristics. It is a recreational place on local and national scale. Visits by travelers and Shiraz citizens to this area throughout the year proves this fact (Maab Consultant Engineers, 2015, p.37).

The existence of gardens and green spaces in the suburb provide a good potential for creating a vibrant living environment. However, the gardens should not be gated and should be opened to the public. This green space can provide a fertile context for developing cultural incentive project funded by the private sector.⁶⁰ The cultural incentive project includes the construction of cinemas, music halls, theaters, and the house of poets.⁶¹ Local people of the suburb should also be involved in this project as major stakeholders because they have the most accurate knowledge about the development potentials of the area. In addition, their needs should be considered as the priority of policy-makers. This cultural incentive project will not only create a vibrant living environment but also will enhance the social culture of the suburb.

⁶⁰ This project would lead to the growth of private market in the suburb. That is why the private sector would be eager to invest in this project. However, the gated gardens should be opened to the public and provide the competent context for the development of such a cultural incentive project.

⁶¹ House of poets is a place where poets, philosophers and writers gather, read poems and discuss their work.



Image 5-2 Tavousieh Garden (Author's own image)



Image 5-3 Delgosha Garden (Author's own image)

5-3-2- Pilgrimage Place:

The Saadi tomb is one of the most prominent features of this district and is situated in the center of the suburb (see image 5-4). According to historians this tomb is placed in the house of the great Iranian poet Saadi Shirazi, who spent one third of his life in this area. After his death, his grave became one of the most significant touristic areas in Shiraz city (Maab Consultatnt Engineers, 2015, p.37).

The existence of the tomb of the great Iranian poet Saadi Shirazi in the suburb has provided a very competent context for developing tourism industry. However, in order to develop tourism in the suburb it is needed to improve the overall social and physical condition of the Saadi informal settlement. Accordingly, enablement strategies and renovation policies should be considered as the pre-condition for the development of such an industry in the suburb. The development of the tourism industry can provide many local jobs for the people. For instance, the handicraft industry can improve and people living in the suburb should be educated so that they can take advantage of

the opportunities offered by this market. This can help them to be economically enhanced so that they can gradually improve their living conditions.



Image 5-4 Saadi tomb (Author's own image).

5-3-3- An Entry Point Function as One of the Gates to Shiraz City:

The topographical characteristic of the Saadi district has turned this area into one of the twelve gates to Shiraz city. In a way, it is also the only transportation connection for certain neighboring cities and villages, such as Kharameh, Daryoon, Bordaj, and Dodaj (Maab Consultanat Engineers, 2015, p.37). Accordingly, people with different cultures populate this suburb. Such a cultural variety can be considered as an opportunity to create a vibrant environment. The establishment of places where people can communicate with each other enhances the sense of unity among them and enriches their social culture.

5-4- Investigating the Social Characteristics of the Suburb:

Investigating the social characteristics of the suburb helps the recognition of the needs and demands of the people living there. The service function of the suburb is very weak. There is no place for social activities (see Image 5-5). People are suffering from the inefficiency of infrastructure according to my field surveys. By realizing their deprivations, I can provide plans responding to their needs. Here, I briefly note the social characteristics of people living in the Saadi suburb based on the information which is provided by the Master Plan of Shiraz City.



Image 5-5 The inefficiency of the playground of children (Author's own image).

5-4-1- Gender Ratio:

Gender ratio is an important characteristic of the population composition. The changes in this ratio indicate the immigration ratio in a population. Usually the percentage of men is more than women in an immigrant society due to employment inequality. Accordingly, the higher gender ratio indicates instability in a community. Since usually there are men who migrate to an area for reasons of employment and the presence of women indicates that the family organization is stable.⁶² “In Saadi district, 51% of the population are men and 49% are women. So the gender ratio is 1.04” (Maab Consultant Engineers, 2015, p.119).

Accordingly, there is no considerable difference between the population of men and women. The fact that the population of men and women are nearly the same in the Saadi informal settlement indicates this population has nearly become stable. It means people living in this suburb do not consider it as a temporary settlement but an area where they can raise their family. Consequently, in the strategies for the rehabilitation of the suburb the needs of stable families must be considered.

⁶² Single men usually migrate to an area for employment reasons. However, women in an immigrant society indicate the fact that the society is going to organize a stable life. Hence, the society considers the area as a permanent place to raise family not a temporary one for reasons of employment.

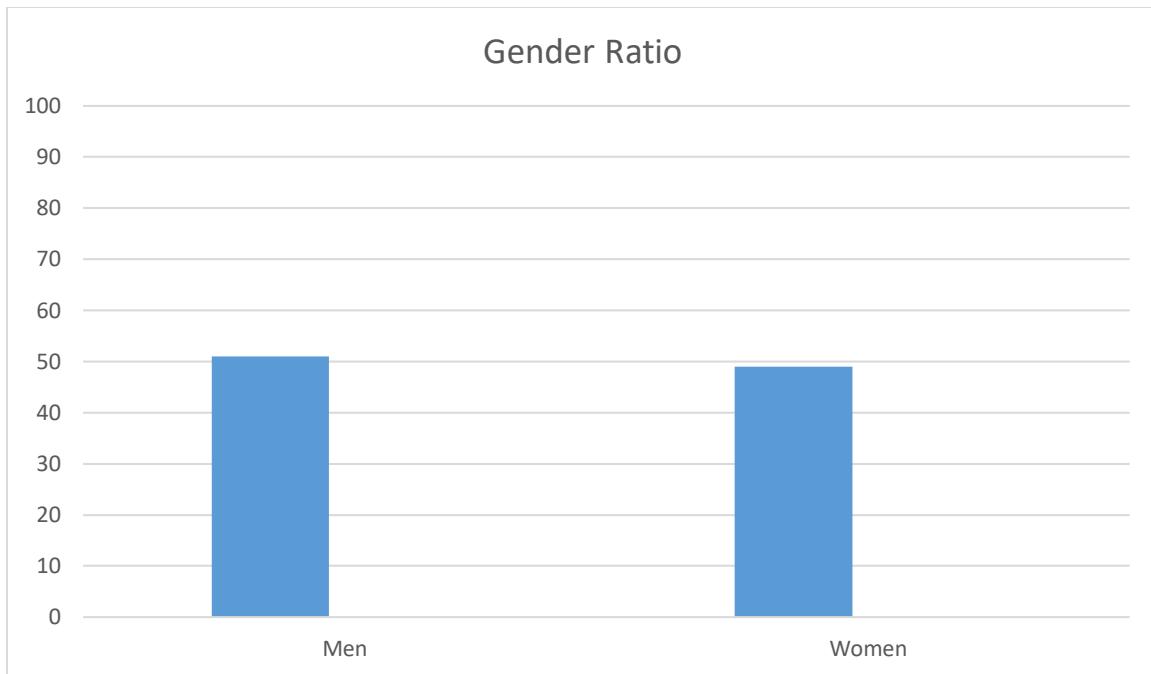


Chart 5-1 Gender Ratio (Maab Consultant Engineers, 2015).

5-4-2- The Age Ratio:

The age ratio indicates the characteristics and demands of a society. “According to reported samplings the population of the Saadi district is young. It is reported that 56% of the population compromises of people younger than 25 years old. This survey also indicates that the age group of 10-14 is 13.9%, that of 15-19 is 15.3% and that of 20-24 is 12.6% of the population. Fortunately, this sampling indicates that the growing rate of population in this area is decreasing in similar fashion to other areas of the country” (Maab Consultant Engineers, 2015, p.117). This creates opportunities for the better organization of the district, as it is easier to organize fewer populations.

Accordingly, educational and recreational places should be arranged in this area providing the needs of these age groups. The young population of the Saadi informal settlement can be considered as a social capital used in the process of rehabilitation of the suburb. This young social capital can be educated through establishing technical training institutes. This education not only leads to the fact that this young capital can be absorbed by the labor market but also it enables them to participate in the process of the rehabilitation of their own suburb.

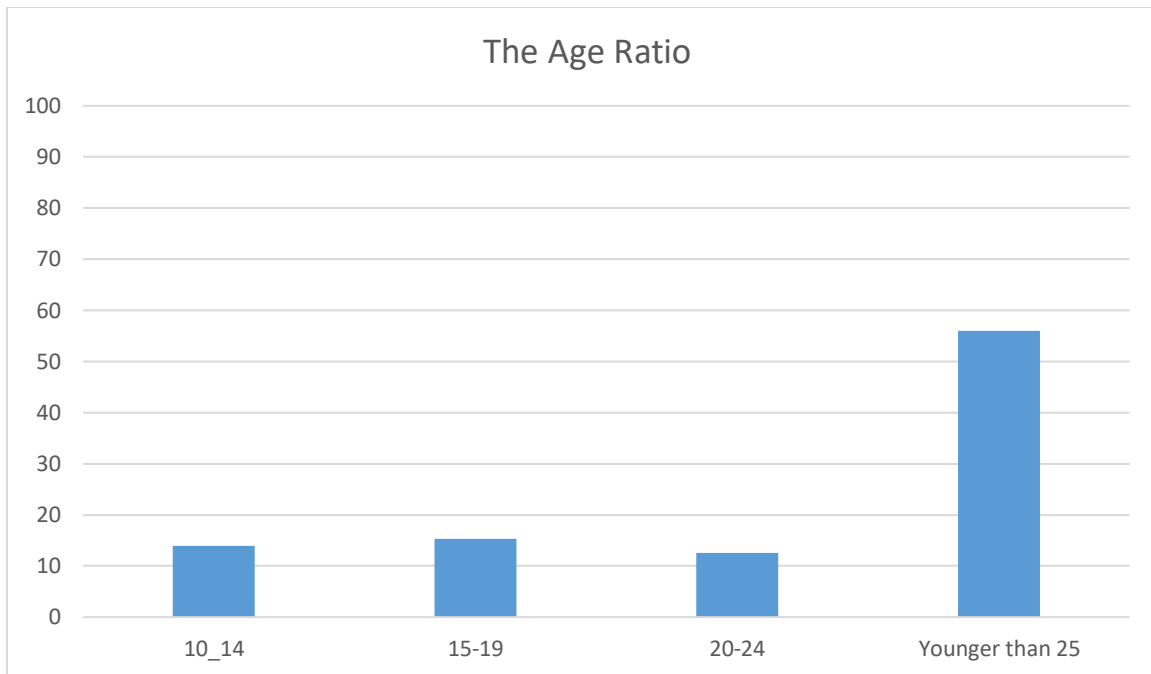


Chart 5-2 The age ratio of the population of the Saadi district (Maab Consultant Engineers, 2015).

5-4-3- The Number of People in a Household:

One of the factors, which indicates the social status of residents, is the number of people in a household. “According to the achieved statistics from the surveys the average number of people in a household in the Saadi district is 4.55, which is a bit more than in Shiraz city. The number of people in most of the households in the Saadi district is 5” (Maab Consultant Engineers, 2015, p.114).

The number of people in a household is high in the Saadi informal settlement according to their economic status. So, the policies of family planning and educating people about how to reduce their family size should be considered in the strategies of the rehabilitation of the suburb. Subsequently, social activists and clinics should educate people about the benefits such policies have for them.

5-4-4- The Status of the Education of the People in the Saadi District:

Most of the people in this district have very low education attainment. “According to the statistics 81% of the population in this area have no education, or have less education than the level of secondary school: 23% have no education, 31% have only elementary school education, 27% have less than secondary school education. Further, 15% have diploma level education; and only 4% have higher education than at diploma level” (Maab Consultant Engineers, 2015, p.115).

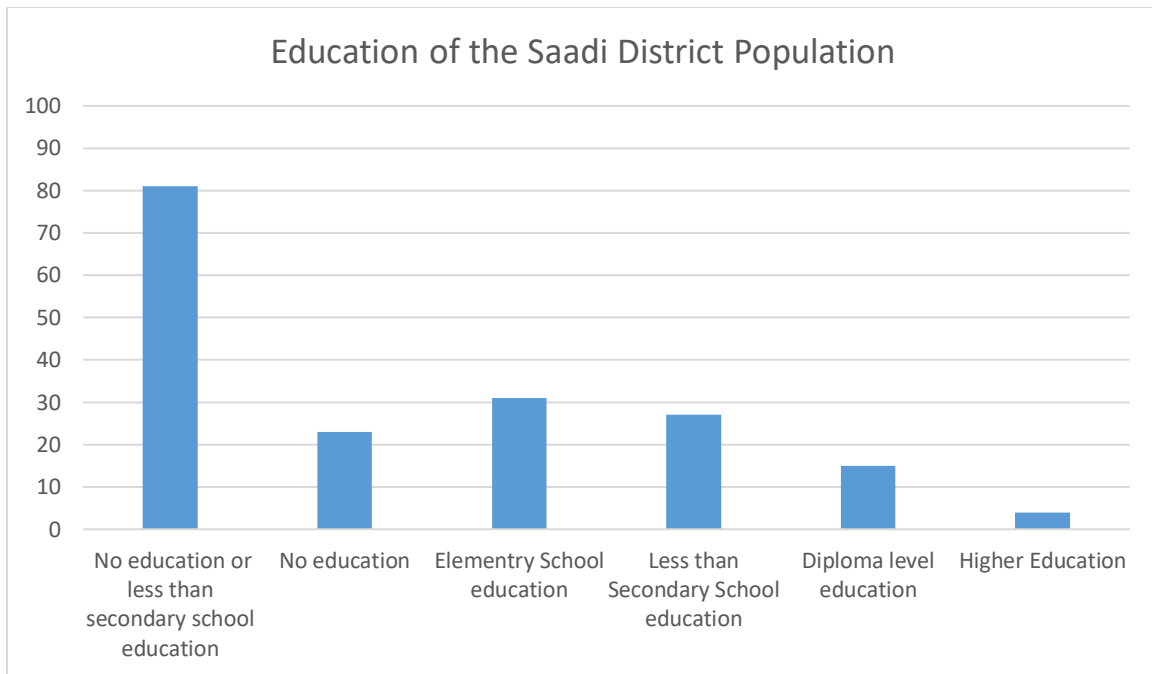


Chart 5-3 Education of the Saadi district population (Maab Consultant Engineers, 2015).

As it is indicated above, the level of education is very low in the Saadi informal settlement. My field surveys indicate that only one elementary school and one school of art exist in the suburb (see Image 5-6 and Image 5-7). Considering the young population and their low level of education, it is needed to develop the construction of educational centers in the suburb.



Image 5-6 Golestan School of Art (Author's own image).



Image 5-7 Ghadir Elementary School (Author's own image)

5-4-5- The Reason for the Immigration of the Household Guardian:

“More than 75% of the household guardians in the Saadi district have considered as the reason of their immigration to be economic factors; and the remaining 25% were particularly attracted by the urban facilities in the district” (Maab Consultant Engineers, 2015, p.131). Accordingly, finding a job is the key reason for the immigration to this area of most of the households.

There are many small industrial units near the Saadi informal settlement creating noise and air pollution. These units have attracted the population to the suburb. However, the workshops should not be placed near the residential environment, as they are harmful to the health of people. Environmentally friendly jobs can be developed in the suburb related to tourism industry. As this area is a cultural zone of the city, it is beneficial that people living in the suburb improve their skills in the industries related to tourism industry. They can also be educated to attain other technical skills which are beneficial for them to find a job. However, the industrial units should not exist near the living quarters of the suburb.



Image 5-8 The small industrial units in the suburb (Author's own image)

The information presented above about the social composition of Saadi informal settlement provided this dissertation with an overall view of the general characteristics of this suburb. In what follows, I am going to investigate the possible ways for the efficient participation of people in the development process of their suburb. In addition, I suggest a general plan for the improvement of suburb in economical, social, cultural and physical aspects, which is the prerequisite for the enablement of the society living there.

5-5- An Informal Interview with People in the Saadi Suburb:

One of the most important factors which affects the improvement of the Saadi informal settlement is the need to determine how people think they can improve their living environment. To investigate people's opinions, I used 100 questionnaires.⁶³ According to the structured interviews with people living in the Saadi informal settlement 48% of participants believed the municipality was the most efficient organization through which they could improve the condition of their suburb. In addition, 30% of people believed the central government could most efficiently help them to improve their living environment. However, only 12% believed in NGOs and 10% believed the neighborhood forums could help them to solve their problems.

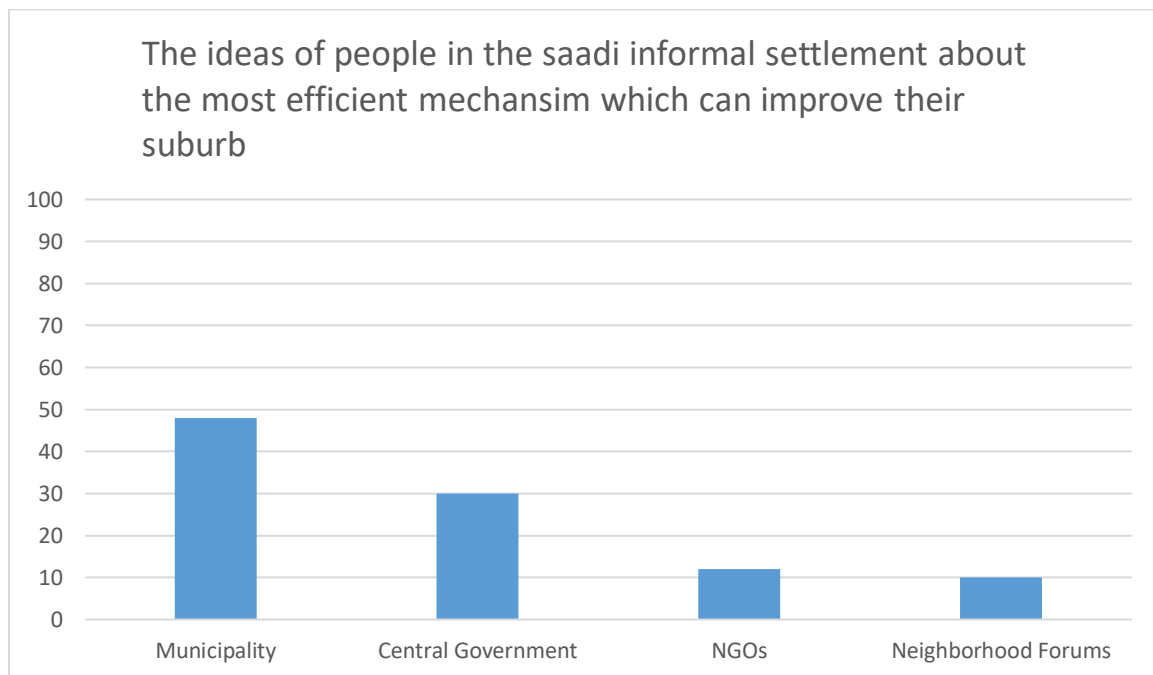


Chart 5-4 An informal interview with people living in the Saadi informal settlement

The statistics here indicate people still believe the government is the omnipotent authority in the country. They also believe the local government is more efficient in addressing their problems. However, in the centralized system of urban management in Iran the authorities of municipality are limited and this organization is not able to make decisions independent of the centralized government.

The fact that only a minority of participants believe in the efficiency of the NGOs and Neighborhood Forums is mainly because they are not aware of how these mechanisms of decision-making work or they think these methods cannot be effective without the support of government

⁶³ Residents of the Saadi informal settlement, who seemed to age above 18 and were consent to fill the questionnaires, participated in this informal interview.

organizations. Accordingly, people's awareness of the efficiency of such democratic mechanisms should be improved by social activists. It is very probable that the centralized mechanism of decision-making cannot find a competent solution at the local level and the government should delegate its responsibilities to local organizations. A competent system, which gives the people the opportunity to directly participate in the process of developing their environment, not only leads to the improvement of their suburb, but also legitimizes the governance system of the country.

5-6- Enablement Strategies for the Improvement of the Condition of Life in the Saadi Informal Settlement:

The pre-condition for the development of the Saadi informal settlement to a better habitat to live and hence improve the overall quality of social justice in the city of Shiraz, is enablement of people to decide for their own lives. Such an enablement according to A.H.J (Bert) Helmsing (2002), who is a Professor of Local and Regional development at the international institute of social studies of Erasmus University of Rotterdam, can be attained through the delivery of basic services (Helmsing, 2002, p.319).

Helmsing (2002) further argues that the governments are not always the most competent option for service delivery. "Public goals may be achieved through non-public means" (Helmsing, 2002, p.319). Accordingly, I also suggest the service delivery to the Saadi informal settlement, which leads to the improvement of economic, social, cultural, and physical aspects of the suburb, can be done through the involvement of non-governmental organizations. However, the government is responsible to surveil the renovation process of the suburb and create consensus between different stakeholders when conflicts of interest arise between them. In addition, the government should avoid the profiteering of certain parties in order to provide benefits of all.

Such a collaboration between the local people, NGOs and state would not only lead to the improvement of the suburb but gradually reforms the totalitarian mechanism of urban management. This is mainly because the government's role has diminished from an omnipotent authority to a facilitator in the process of planning.

In what follows, I discuss the enablement strategies for the improvement of the Saadi informal settlement in economic, social and physical aspects. In addition, I provide the general policies of urban renewal in the suburb, aimed at improving this settlement in its physical aspect. Through such micro-strategies of the improvement of the living-condition of people, I hope to gradually empower the society to change the macro-structures which impose inequality on their living environment.

5-7- Economic Reformation:

The economic condition of people living in the informal settlements is the most important factor for the disorganization of these areas in the city. In these regions, the salary of the households is

significantly lower than other areas of the city. According to the lack of balance between their salary and living costs, most of these households live with debts. This situation leads to abnormal reactions such as crimes in the society, which cannot be improved in a short period.

Generally speaking, the relationship between economic enablement and social organization of the people is the base of an efficient urban system which responds to the fundamental needs of the society. The weak economic condition of the households does not allow them to enter into the urban organization which is defined within the formal market. Accordingly, the income of residents in the Saadi informal settlement should increase. Some of the measures which can be taken to improve the economic condition of people living in the Saadi informal settlement include:

- 1- **Reducing the unemployment rate:** the preconditions for finding a job include education, skill, experience, investment and social placement. Many people living in the Saadi informal settlement lack these characteristics. This condition pushes them towards informal employment or unemployment. Accordingly, it is necessary to educate them and teach them the necessary skills to find a job. The Saadi informal settlement has a young social capital which can be used in the process of the renewal of the suburb. Through enhancing their education in different areas, this young social capital can both improve its economic status and participate in the process of the renewal of the suburb.
- 2- **Reducing the number of people in a household:** large family size and unemployment are some of the reasons of continuity of poverty in the Saadi informal settlement. Accordingly, reducing family size can alleviate the intensity of poverty in the Saadi informal settlement. Social activists can educate people about the benefits of reducing their family size.
- 3- **Accessibility to infrastructural services and economic improvement:** unfortunately, in spontaneous settlements, the lack of infrastructural services makes the living-conditions more difficult. On the other hand, the deprivation of infrastructures in these areas leads to the lack of urban investments and economic prosperity. Accordingly, establishing infrastructures in the process of organizing the suburb would encourage investors to invest in the area and that would improve the economic condition of people. In my opinion, the local government should formally accept the existence of such settlements as the current consequence of economic regulations and provide the necessary infrastructures in these regions.
- 4- **Financial management and financial support of the rehabilitation project in the Saadi informal settlement:** Although I believe the service provision in the Saadi informal settlement should be mainly done by NGOs and the support of the local government, the rehabilitation projects may be confronted with the lack of budget in the municipality. This could lead to the suspension of the project or the longer process of rehabilitation. Accordingly, financial support at the national level also plays a prominent role in the

success of the rehabilitation process. However, this does not mean the state should organize the project because the local needs of people are best understood at the local level of management. The state should only facilitate the process of the rehabilitation of the suburb.

5-8- Social Reformation of the Suburb:

According to Jan Vranken (2011) who is a professor of sociology and social policy at the University of Antwerp, Belgium, many cities today are faced with the challenge of an increase in forms of social exclusion and polarization (Vranken, 2011, p.2). He further discusses the fact that this phenomenon is mainly caused by the exclusion of migrants to their host society and city. Accordingly, the policy makers are faced with the question of how to integrate different sectors of society and how to develop a general culture which leads to the social cohesiveness of cities (Vranken, 2011, p.2).

The Saadi informal settlement mainly consists of an immigrant society who could not possess a house in the formal sector of housing in the city of Shiraz. People living in this suburb are mostly used to the rural culture and cannot adapt themselves to urban life. However, in my opinion, their cultural difference can be considered as an opportunity which not only leads to the creation of a more vibrant society but also enriches the existing culture of the city. In addition, the precondition for integrating the society living in the Saadi informal settlement to the urban life of the city is the improvement of the social structure of the suburb and the establishment of social civil constitutes which pave the way for the constructive interaction between these people and the urban society.

5-8-1- Improvement of the Social Structure of the Suburb:

Any society has a specific social structure which differentiates it from other societies. This specific social structure has characteristics such as: the level of education, urban life experience, customs, rituals, employment conditions and methods of earning income. Accordingly, in an urban society, the social structure is different from an agricultural society and an immigrant society.

segregation happens when the predominant structure of a society cannot include all the members of society. This situation happens when people with different social backgrounds enter into the social system of a city. A wide range of migrants with different economic, social and cultural conditions cannot be absorbed into the formal market of a city due to their differences with the predominant social characteristics of that city. They do not have the economic ability to adapt themselves with the formal standards of living in the city. Accordingly, they choose to live in places where these standards are vague. This leads to unbalanced developments in the city.

As a result, the social structure of the suburb of Saadi also needs to be improved in order to accomplish the rehabilitation project. In the social rehabilitation of the suburb, policies such as increasing the level of awareness of people about the urban life, enhancing their general education, educating people with technical skills, and educating them with techniques of urban renewal should be considered.

5-8-2- Improvement of Social Civil Constitutes:

Creation and development of civil constitutes, such as neighborhood councils with the aim of improving the social relationships of the residents, can also be effective in the social rehabilitation of the suburb. Undoubtedly, that would increase the social coherence among the residents as they collaborate in the process of decision-making for their living environment. Such civil constitutes can be a link between the residents of the Saadi informal settlement and the local government.

5-9- Cultural Reformation:

Cultural reformation is vitally important for the empowerment of people living in the Saadi informal settlement. Most people living in this suburb are isolated due to their economic status or the fact that they belong to a rural culture. However, policy-makers should alleviate the isolation of people living in this area through educating them and constructing urban spaces which provide them the chance to communicate. Lewis Mumford believes “mind takes form in the city and in turn urban forms condition mind” (Mumford, 1938, p.5). Accordingly, the urban spaces in the Saadi informal settlement should increase the possibility of social contact between the residents in this area and subsequently improve their knowledge of social life. Consequently, the people living in this area will not only be prepared to take part in the urban life but they also enrich the culture of the city. As Mumford mentions in this regard “the city records the attitude of a culture and an epoch to the fundamental facts of its existence” (Mumford, 1938, p.5). Here, I discuss strategies for the improvement of the culture of people living in the Saadi informal settlement.

5-9-1- Organizing the Social and Civil Relationships:

In an efficient urban design, the place of all the individual and social activities have been defined. The urban spaces direct the social relationships and improve them. However, this design system has been neglected in spontaneous urban developments. For example, there is no neighborhood center or places for social contact in the Saadi suburb. This has led to the decline of social relationships and the social culture in the suburb.

5-9-2- Establishing Places for Leisure Time Activities:

Unfortunately, due to the economic condition and the lack of an efficient service system in the suburb, the leisure time of the youth is spent in the narrow, dirty alleys (see Image 5-9). Women usually gather in front of the house doors and there is no place for the children to play. Accordingly, places such as parks, libraries and gyms are needed to be established in the suburb. These are the basic facilities, and the municipality should provide a budget for this. However, the private sector can also collaborate in the provision of these facilities.



Image 5-9 Children spending their leisure time in the alley (Author's own image).

5-9-3- Improvement of Education and Employment:

People in the Saadi informal settlement do not pay enough attention to finding a legal job and education. Accordingly, in the cultural enablement policies there should be strategies which change the tendency of youth toward illegal jobs such as buying and selling illegal anesthetic substances. This suburb has the potential to turn into the cultural zone of Shiraz city due to its nearness to the Saadi tomb and historical sites. Consequently, the establishment of cultural institutes which encourage the youth to participate in cultural activities can be considered as a competent strategy for enhancing the education of people living in the Saadi informal settlement.

5-9-4- Provision of Social workers for the Improvement of the Suburb:

Urban poverty in the suburb results the spread of disappointment and mental disorders among the residents. This condition leads many people in the suburb to consume anesthetic substances. Accordingly, the provision of a social worker who can talk to them and find solution for their daily problems can be a great help to reduce disappointment in the area.

5-9-5- Developing the Suburb into the Cultural Zone of the City:

The existence of the Saadi tomb in the suburb provides a very good potential for the implementation of a cultural incentive project. The development of the suburb should aim to turn it into the cultural zone of the city. Establishment of cinemas, the house of poets, music halls and libraries can revitalize the suburb both physically and culturally. Such a project can be accomplished through the collaboration between local residents, private sector, and the municipality. Hence, it not only leads to the rehabilitation of the suburb but also provides a

competent context for the development of tourism industry. Therefore, the residents in the suburb can be educated in order to gain employment in the tourism market.

5-10- Renewal of the Saadi Informal Settlement:

The urban renewal project in the Saadi informal settlement, which in turn leads to enablement of people, should take place in physical and environmental aspects. I believe people should directly take part in this renewal project, as they are most acutely aware of the deprivations in their suburb. According to Laercio Stolfo Maculan and Leila Dal Moro (2020) who have investigated the role of local people in urban renewal in their essay Strategies for Inclusive urban plan:

The market cannot adequately address the demands of renewal solely through its priorities. In this sense, one of the most widespread criticisms concerns its failure to meet a range of social needs, such as providing land for socially desirable uses, but not [for profit], and serving economically vulnerable social groups (Maculan and Moro, 2020, p.1)

Accordingly, the needs of local people should be considered as the priority of urban renewal, not the market interests. The local people should be considered as the main stakeholders in the renovation process of the suburb. Although the investment of private sector can be beneficial for the development of the suburb, the state is responsible to protect the rights of local people in this procedure.

5-10-1- Physical Renewal:

Although investment and labor force are the most significant factors in the process of house-construction, other factors such as geographical location, climate, social, cultural and historical factors also play a prominent role in this process. These factors lead to the specific quality (form of the building and material type) and quantity (land area, infrastructure area) in the house-construction.

Unfortunately, housing in informal settlements is only the product of investment and labor force. It is nothing more than a shelter. People in these areas do not pay attention to the durability and quality of houses due to their weak economic status. People mostly try to have a shelter for a short period. This condition creates more serious problems at the neighborhood level. The lack of control over construction leads to the creation of chaos in neighborhoods. The narrow and twisty access network in spontaneous settlements is the evidence of this fact (see Image 5-10). Here I mention some strategies in order to reform the physical condition of the Saadi informal settlement.



Image 5-10 Bad physical quality of the Saadi informal settlement (Author's own image)

1- Provision of the needed urban services:

Access to urban services is one of the fundamental factors in the renewal process. Unfortunately, as mentioned earlier, the Saadi suburb is suffering from service deprivation. Accordingly, investigating the share of service function in the suburb should be one of the priorities of the renewal plan.

2- Provision of urban spaces for increasing social contact:

Provision of spaces for community gathering is a necessity for shaping the neighborhood. Unfortunately, the Saadi suburb lacks such spaces. However, it has a good potential for developing social spaces as this suburb is placed in a mountainous area with beautiful views. A neighborhood center needs to be established to improve social relationships in the suburb.

3- Improvement of accessibility network:

The access ways are needed to be widened as they are currently very twisty and narrow. The automobile traffic should be separated from the pedestrian ways. The organic structure of neighborhoods needs to be organized and a hierarchical service network should be developed for the neighborhood. Hence, the physical form of the neighborhood would not be chaotic anymore. This would eliminate the present chaotic form of the neighborhood.

4- Preservation of historical buildings:

According to the historical and cultural potential of the suburb (the existence of the tomb of the great Iranian poet and the Ghaleh Bandar historical monument) the preservation and renewal of historical buildings should be one of the priorities in the process of the urban renewal. This suburb has excellent potential for turning into the cultural zone of the city of Shiraz and as a result, the preservation of historical buildings is vitally important to attain this goal.



Image 5-11 Ghaleh Bandar historical monument in the Saadi informal settlement (Ariya, 2019).

5-10-2- Environmental Renewal:

The Saadi informal settlement is placed in a mountainous area with beautiful natural scenery. However, the spontaneous nature of constructions in this suburb and the lack of an urban plan which organizes the design of the suburb has led to chaotic developments in the suburb. Such chaos in the construction has led to the detriment to the natural resources in this area. Accordingly, the provision of an urban plan, which preserves the natural resources and organizes the social life in the suburb, is vitally important. This plan should be provided through the collaboration between local people and the planners. It should consider people's needs as the priority. Consequently, this will lead to the sustainability of the developments in the Saadi informal settlement. Here I suggest some strategies for the environmental renewal of the suburb.

1- Reformation of the population distribution:

There is a mutual relationship between the people and their living environment. The lack of balance between them due to, for example, the high population density leads to the destruction of the environment. Unfortunately, in informal settlements the lack of compatibility between the population density and the quality of infrastructure (water network, sewage, surface water collection system, and rubbish collection) has led to the destruction of the environment. Accordingly, the quality of infrastructures should be promoted and the population distribution should be organized more evenly.

2- Encouraging the residents to preserve their living environment:

The spontaneous urban areas are usually placed near the disturbing functions, such as factories and workshops, and their residents get used to bad environmental conditions from the beginning. In this situation, the lack of the culture of preserving the environment and the lack of attention to the natural resources leads to the decline of environmental quality. Accordingly, educating people about their natural environment and encouraging policies for environmental preservation should be one of the strategies for the urban renewal in the Saadi informal settlement.

3- Improvement of the green space and natural scenery in the suburb:

The lack of green space is the prominent feature of informal settlements. However, saadi informal settlement potentially is provided with beautiful plants as it is placed in a mountainous area. The green spaces in this suburb can reduce the pollution and create a beautiful living environment if they are organized properly. However, many gardens have been destroyed in this suburb due to construction reasons and lack of any supervised process of development. The lack of attention to the green space is evident in each neighborhood of this suburb. The only properly designed green spaces in the Saadi informal settlement are Tavousiyeh Garden and Delgosha which are gated spaces. Accordingly, the organization of green spaces and natural scenes of the suburb should be considered in the process of the rehabilitation.

4- Improvement of the sanitization service:

Problems such as the lack of the rubbish collection system and sewage system has turned the suburb into the place of rubbish and sewage accumulation. According to my field surveys, the lack of the connection to the sewage system of the city is one of the major problems of this suburb (see image 5-11). Consequently, one of the priorities in the process of the rehabilitation of the suburb must be the connection of the sewage system in all the districts of the suburb to the sewage system of the city. This improves the hygiene status and creates a healthier environment for the people to live.



Image 5-12 The sewage flows openly in the alley (Author's own image).

5-11- Conclusion:

In this chapter, the socio-economic, population and environmental characteristics of the Saadi suburb were investigated. Although the suburb has a very good potential for improvement due to its young human capital and environmental characteristics, it has not been considered properly in the development plans by the related officials. The existence of the Saadi tomb as the flag of this region provides a very competent context for developing a cultural-led project. This cultural-led project should be mainly developed by the people living in the suburb. Thus, the people living in the suburb should be informed about the history and culture of their environment by social

activists. This would not only prepare a competent context for the implementation of such a project but also educates people regarding cultural activities. The suburb also has a very good potential for the development of the tourism industry and people living there can be involved in the tourism market. Accordingly, the potentials of urban development were understood in this chapter and the strategies for the improvement of the Saadi informal settlement in both social and physical aspects were provided. These strategies were the prerequisite for the enablement of the people living in the suburb and prepares them to take part in wider socio-political mechanisms. I explain some reformation policies, which improves the totalitarian mechanism of urban management into a more democratic system, in the following chapter.

Chapter 6: Structural Reformation of the System of Urban Management in Iran.

6-1- Introduction:

In this chapter, I discuss the defects of the urban management system in the country which has promulgated injustice in the cities. Through such analysis, I hope to find strategies for the reformation of the inflexible structure of urban management in Iran. The lack of participation of people in the process of decision-making has led to the formation of centralized, totalitarian and authoritative urban plans. Such an unjust planning system is legitimized by government organizations through prioritizing rationality and elitism. However, neglecting citizens' cooperation in planning cities leads to the ignorance of their basic rights and their dissatisfaction. In order to attain justice in the city of Shiraz, people living in the Saadi informal settlement should have a voice in the process of urban management and claim their right to the city. Accordingly, in this research I try to find the current obstacles toward the effective participation of people in the process of decision-making and suggest solutions for the alleviation of such impediments.

6-2- General Feature of Urban Management Structure in Iran:

The urban management system in Iran generally follows a top-down trend giving limited authority to the local organizations. Such a bureaucratic mechanism of urban management in the country consists of organizations at national, regional and local levels (Shieh et al., 2020, p.12).⁶⁴ The major organizations, which function at national level, are The Ministry of Interior, The Supreme Council of Architecture, and The Ministry of Housing and Urbanism. At the regional level, there is The Provincial-Government. Finally, the major organizations, which exist at the local level, are the Municipality, and The City and Village Islamic Councils. These organizations have limited impact in the centralized process of decision-making for cities (Shieh et al., 2020, p.12). The major policy behind such an organization of urban planning in Iran is the rational view and elitism.

The essence of rational approach of planning is well illustrated by Pasty Healy, Glen McDougall and Michael Thomas. According to these scholars, the process of rational action involves the systematic analysis and definition of problems, the identification of goals, the logical production of alternative plans/policies, the evaluation of the latter and the implementation and monitoring of the chosen plan (Pissourios, 2014, p.89).⁶⁵

However, I believe urban planning is not a closed system with fixed objectives. The expert cannot determine the objectives of urban plans by relying on his individual rationality. This would lead to the dissatisfaction of different social groups in the community, which is against democracy. An efficient urban plan should consider the civil society as its main stakeholder and the experts should only play the role of a facilitator, protecting the rights of weaker social groups. In what follows, I discuss the roles of different organizations at national and local levels of urban management in Iran and suggest strategies for their reformation to a more democratic system responding to the citizens' demands.

⁶⁴ Dr. Esmael Shieh is the Professor of Urbanism at The Iran University of Science and Technology.

⁶⁵ Ioannis Pissourios in his essay *Top-Down and Bottom-Up urban regional planning: toward a framework for the use of planning standards* generally evaluates the prominent approaches toward urban planning and suggests how these approaches can be combined to have more efficient function.

6-3- The Ministry of Interior:

This ministry is placed on top of all the organizations which affect urban management system and its existence dates back to the Qajar dynasty (Imani-Jajromi, 2021, p.75).⁶⁶ One of the major responsibilities of this organization in urban management is the approval of the mayor for cities with a population of more than 200,000 people (Nozarpour et al., 2014, p.80).⁶⁷ In addition, this organization is responsible to confirm the Master Plan of cities which determines the general direction of urban development (Imani-Jajromi, 2021, p.75).

Accordingly, The Ministry of Interior has historically played an integral role in the process of urban management in Iran. However, in order to facilitate citizens' participation in the process of decision-making, it is required to reduce the responsibilities of this governmental organization. In my opinion, people should be able to directly elect their mayor and have a more decisive impact in the process of urban management. Consequently, this organization should only facilitate the process of implementing urban plans through devoting specific budget for national projects. In addition, it should provide the national security of the country. However, it should not have a major role in the provision of urban plans.

6-4- The Ministry of Housing and Urbanism:

This ministry has been established through mixing The Ministry of Housing and The Ministry of Road and Transportation. Accordingly, it has responsibilities in both provision of housing and transportation facilities (Nozarpour et al., 2014, p.82). Some of the major roles of this organization in urban management include:

1. Creating balance between the proportion of population and the city expansion.
2. Determining the place of new cities.
3. Provision of the urban development plans and controlling their implementation by the Municipality. If any dispute happens between the Municipality and The Ministry of Housing and Urbanism, it should be solved in the 5th commission and if the dispute is fundamental it should be solved through the involvement of The Supreme Council of Architecture and Urbanism.
4. Providing and implementing Land-Preparation Plans.
5. Determining the major roles of cities such as industrial, historical and touristic (Nozarpour et al., 2014, p.83).

Such important roles should not be merely limited to this organization placed at the national level of urban management. People should be considered as the main stakeholders in the provision of urban plans. Accordingly, the responsibilities, which are directly related to the daily life of people, should be delegated to the local organizations. The roles of this organization should be

⁶⁶ Hossein Imani-Jajromi is the assistant Professor of sociology at Tehran University.

⁶⁷ Ali Nozarpour has been the head of urban planning surveys in The Ministry of Interior.

limited to planning transportation at national level and allocating equal budget to the municipalities to plan housing.

6-5- The Supreme Council of Architecture and Urbanism:

This council is generally established to coordinate different urban plans of the country (Nozarpour et al., 2014, p.77). In addition, this organization aims to promote the architecture of Iran through establishing laws which control the balance between the methods of construction and specific aspects of each region such as its climate and cultural characteristics (Imani-Jajromi, 2021, p.85). Some of the major responsibilities of this council include:

- 1- Investigating the overall policies of urban development and regulations of the Master Plan.
- 2- Controlling and approval of the Master Plan of cities.
- 3- Determining the regulations and standards of urban development.
- 4- Approval of the mega development projects at the national level. (Nozarpour et al., 2014, p.78)

Although this council is appropriately responsible for defining certain standards of construction at the national level, local people should also participate in the process of urban development, as they are best aware of their specific needs. Accordingly, this council should be linked to the city councils and neighborhood forums to consult with the community members rather than imposing certain laws on their living environment.

6-6- The Provincial-Government:

The provincial governor has the highest placement in urban management at the level of region. In cities with a population of less than 200,000 people, the governor should approve the mayor. This organization can be considered as a link between The Ministry of Interior and The Municipality (Imani-Jajromi, 2021, p.87). However, The Provincial-Government should also attain justice at the regional level. According to Azadi et al., (2021) who have investigated the role of Government in the regional management of the country:

In the process of the management of the country, other than the macro level which considers improving the situation and increasing the overall average of the growth of national indices, special attention should be paid to the category of social justice in the distribution of material and spiritual resources and the none-discrimination and development of all areas. Because the most important goals of development are the establishment of justice and increasing the efficiency (Azadi et al., 2021, p.2).

Although this organization can be effective in the provision of regional balance and equal distribution of resources in the regions, it should not intervene in the urban affairs as the major stakeholder. Local people should have the right to directly elect the mayor of their cities.

Accordingly, the responsibilities of this organization at the local level should be delegated to the local governments of cities.

6-7- The Municipality:

Since their establishment in 1908, The Municipalities had multiple responsibilities in the process of urban management in Iran (Nozarpour et al., 2014, p.133). However, due to the reliance of the economy of the country on oil revenues rather than tax revenues from its urban population, this organization has always been mostly dependent on government. Accordingly, it could not provide a competent context for the participation of people in the local management of their cities (Shirazi et al., 2017, p.235).

In addition, according to Shieh et al (2020) the Municipality has always played a dual role in the urban management of the country. “Local governments often have a dual status. On the one hand, they must do local affairs by polling locals in accordance with the laws; on the other hand they must act as the representatives of the central government”(shieh et al., 2020, p.12).

However, such a dual character of The Municipality leads to the empowerment of the central government and subsequently fosters dictatorship. Hence, it causes the inefficiency of the provision of local services, which in turn, increases dissatisfaction among the community members. Accordingly, the municipality should act as an independent organization, which provides the needs of citizens, and enables them to participate in the process of urban management.

A general investigation of the roles of The Municipality in urban management indicates the fact that the major responsibilities of this organization are limited to service provision and construction. For instance, it is responsible for rubbish collection in the city and the establishment of roads. However, The Municipality does not have any significant role in the sociological aspects of the city (Nozarpour et al., 2014, p.133). In addition, it has no role in the provision of urban plans and is constantly supervised by the central government organizations, which were discussed above. This limits its effectiveness in key areas of urban management.

However, The Municipality, as a local organization, is responsible for paving the way for the effective engagement of people in the process of urban development. The process of policy-making and implementation of urban projects should be done through the involvement of local people as the main stakeholders. This, in turn, would lead to the creation of a vibrant environment responding to the citizens’ demands. In addition, when citizens participate in the process of urban development they feel more responsible to protect the urban facilities and natural resources. Hence, a united community will take shape which cares about the destiny of its city.

6-8- The City and Village Islamic Council:

The establishment of The City and Village Islamic Councils was one of the major enactments which provided significant potential for the attainment of democracy in the Islamic Republic of Iran. These councils took shape during the presidency of President Mohammad Khatami.

According to Kian Tajbakhsh who has investigated the process of decentralization of governance in Iran, “In February 1999, Iranians went to polls for the first time in their history in a competitive election for over 200,000 local government posts”(Tajbakhsh, 2000, p.377). He further discussed the fact that these councils were established to facilitate the public welfare in social, economic, health, education and cultural aspects (Tajbakhsh, 2000, p.381). In addition, the councils had a duration of 4 years and included a range of 5 to 11 members depending on the population of each city (Tajbakhsh, 2000, p.381).

The members of The City and Village Councils are directly elected by the vote of people and the major responsibility of these organizations are the election of the mayor for the city. However, the mayor should be approved by The Ministry of Interior (Imani-Jajromi, 2021, p.90). Although the establishment of these councils is a positive step toward the attainment of democracy, the bureaucratic structure of urban management in the country does not allow them to function efficiently. Accordingly, reformation of this situation is required to authorize local organizations through the empowerment of the civil society.

These councils provide a competent context for the citizens’ participation in the management of cities. However, they cannot function independent of the centralized government. They are financially dependent on the state and their functions are constantly surveilled by the government’s organizations. In my opinion, there should be a division between the local roles of cities and the national plans. Local responsibilities should be delegated to local organizations which their members are directly elected by the community and the government should not intervene in the local management of cities. As people find their voice in the management of cities, a more just environment would be created providing benefits to all.

6-9- Neighborhood Forums:

Neighborhood Forums in Iran are a subdivision of The City and Village Islamic Councils which were established in 2002 (Nozarpour et al., 2014, p.449). These forums are non-governmental, decentralized, apolitical and voluntary organizations which are financially independent. The major duties of these forums are collaborating with the Islamic Councils and informing the local people about the development plans (Nozarpour et al., 2014, p.449).

Accordingly, Neighborhood Forums can be considered as a link between the citizens and the local government. However, these forums do not have a significant role in the urban development process in Iran. The urban plans are provided at the national level and local people do not have any role in this procedure. These forums, in their best, discuss the daily problems of people at the neighborhood level with The Municipality and The Islamic Council. Unfortunately, the local government in Iran is not an independent organization and is constantly controlled by the state. In my opinion, local organizations can function more efficiently if people are informed about their hidden potentials to foster change and reform society. According to Marilyn Taylor et al., who have investigated the role of neighborhoods in the contemporary governance of cities: “The neighborhood offers an opportunity to explore the changing boundary between state and civil

society as a key characteristic of governance. In addition, the neighborhood forms the foundation upon which the other levels of governance must depend” (Taylor et al., 2007, p.8).

This means if people become united through such forums they can legitimately empower the local organizations. When people support the local government, it would be authorized to decide independently. However, the procedure of the delegation of power from the state to local organizations cannot happen overnight. People should be gradually informed about their right to the city and even use the limited chances, which are provided for them, to have presence in the decision-making process. Consequently, the society moves toward reformation and establishment of justice.

6-10- How to Increase Citizens’ Participation in the Process of Urban Management in Iran:

Generally speaking, participation of citizens in urbanism leads to the development of services. Such a development should take place *by* people not *for* people. Accordingly, individuals are able and entitled to control their life through rationality. The participation of people in the process of urban management can also prepare the context for sustainable urban development. The urban developments, which do not consider the needs of people, are not successful developments anywhere globally. It is evident that sustainable urban development plans should be based upon the peoples’ needs, since people living in urban environments know the needs of their settlement more than anyone else. Participation in the urban development is the best method of responding to the needs and demands of people at local levels.

The patterns of participation have been generally organized systematically or spontaneously. Today’s urban management in Iran gives a greater weight to the systematic participation of people. It is due to the fact that spontaneous participation takes shape when collaboration culture becomes a norm in a community. Such a culture is created through discourse and education. Accordingly, social media and activists can motivate people to collaborate spontaneously in the process of decision-making through informing them about their civil rights.

There are systematic potentials in the urban management mechanism in Iran which promote citizens’ participation. However, people should be spontaneously motivated to take part in the provided participatory potentials of urban management which may include their voice in the process of decision-making. Subsequently, people legitimize and empower the systematic mechanism of participation. Delegating more authority to the Islamic Councils, shaping NGOs, supporting the civil communities, guild groups and private sectors are among the factors which systematically improve citizens’ participation in a community while the establishment of local media will spontaneously encourage people to collaborate in the process of decision-making.

6-11- Conclusion:

In this chapter, I discussed the general mechanism of urban management in the country to find out its potentials for changing into a more just mechanism allowing people to participate in the process of decision-making. I argued the urban management system in Iran is a bureaucratic mechanism giving limited authority to local organizations. However, such a totalitarian mechanism still has the potential to be reformed. This can be done through empowering the local organizations to act independent of the central government such as the municipality, the Islamic councils and the neighborhood forums which act as a link between the local people and the local government. Such an empowerment takes place through raising the awareness of people about the mechanisms which can facilitate their involvement in policy-making and urban projects.

In addition, it was argued, that the national organizations should not have a decisive role in urban management, but they should support the local governments and facilitate the implementation of urban projects. Consequently, the roles of each organization in the management structure of the country were explained in detail and strategies for their reformation to a more efficient system, responding to citizens' demands, were provided. Through such structural reformation, I hope to pave the way for the involvement of people in urban management and associated improvement of social justice.

Chapter 7: Conclusion.

7-1- Introduction:

In this chapter, I offer a general analysis of the research and provide answers for the research questions. Through such an overall analysis I hope to introduce the directions for a wider research which can facilitate the process of attaining a just city. I argue that the enablement of the civil society and provision of their basic needs are the prerequisite for the fundamental changes in the mechanism of urban planning. The reason for this is that people themselves should be able to change the imposed structures which do not allow them to be involved in the process of decision-making. Accordingly, in this research, I explained the strategies for the improvement of the suburb in its social and physical aspects. In addition, I suggested policies for the reformation of the mechanisms of urban management to provide the competent context for the collaboration of society as the major stakeholders in the process of urban development. However, people should be motivated to claim their right to the city. I argue that the publication of local press and establishment of local media can have a prominent role in generating social movements toward democracy. Consequently, I suggest the role of such media should be investigated in the provision of a competent context for the spontaneous participation of the local community in policy-making and attainment of justice in their cities.

7-2- General Analysis of the Research:

In this research, initially the general characteristics of the system of urban management in Iran, which promulgated inequality in the society, were discussed. The Saadi informal settlement and the problems of people who lived there were introduced as the case of study. In addition, the efforts which had been taken to facilitate the process of people's participation in urban management such as the establishment of the structural-strategic urban plans and a brief discussion over the methods of empowering the local people living in the Saadi informal settlement were mentioned. After a long discussion on how justice was historically defined according to different ideologies, it was concluded that both the state and local people must take part in the attainment of justice. While the state is responsible for providing the basic facilities for all the community members, people should be empowered to participate in the process of decision-making as the major stakeholders and be encouraged to discuss their demands. Subsequently, the history of urban development in the city of Shiraz was explained in order to discover how the unjust urban developments historically took shape in the city. It was mentioned the fact that modernism transformed the coherent urban structure and the city was divided into old and new. Furthermore, the unbalanced developments throughout the country and negligence of the agriculture industry led to the increase of the migration of rural people to the city, which in turn, resulted in the formation of informal settlements in the city of Shiraz. Accordingly, the major reasons for the establishment of such impoverished settlements were the increase of the social gap between the wealthier social classes and less affluent ones, which caused the accumulation of the facilities in certain areas, and the inequality in the developments at regional level. The governance system in Iran was also surveyed from Qajar dynasty (1789-1925) to the Islamic revolution (1979). Although the modernization of the country caused the civil society to demand democracy and social justice, which were manifested in constitutional revolution (1905-1911), the states have historically avoided the involvement of

people in the process of decision-making. As a result, in order to alleviate the unjust developments in the city of Shiraz and improve the life of people living in the Saadi informal settlement, the reformist strategy was suggested. People living in the Saadi informal settlement should be empowered through the provision of basic facilities and education to gradually transform the unjust mechanisms which do not allow their voices to be heard. Finally, the bureaucratic mechanism of urban management in Iran was explained in more detail and some strategies, which could transform this system to a more just one, were suggested. Although, the urban management system in Iran has provided opportunities for people to participate in urban management through local civil structures such as the Islamic councils and the neighborhood forums, these organizations are constantly controlled by the state. Accordingly, local organizations, which provide an opportunity for the community members to be heard, must be authorized through the support of civil society. Consequently, the civil society must be informed about their right to the city through the establishment of local media, which can be discussed further in a wider research. In what follows I aim to provide explanations for the questions which were raised in this research.

7-3- How Were (Un)just Urban Planning Laws and Related Administrative Systems Historically Developed in Shiraz City?

In order to find out the origins of (un)just structures in the urban administration and planning in the city of Shiraz in this research, I investigated the evolution of the overall governance system of the country from the time the early modernism emerged. Because in Iran the governance system generally directs the urban management. It was argued that the constitutional revolution, which took place during the Qajar dynasty, was the first prominent formal movement of masses toward democracy in the country. People in this revolution demanded that the king should not be the omnipotent authority and the civil society should have the right to take part in the process of decision-making through the Iranian national assembly. However, their efforts were defeated by the bombardment of the parliament, the interference of foreign authorities and the ascendance of Reza Shah to the throne. Reza Shah is considered to be a dictator who does not tolerate peoples' collaboration in the process of decision-making. Although he had a significant role in the modernization of urbanism in the country, his actions were against the traditional design of cities. Hence, the cities not only lost their identity but also were segregated and the phenomenon of a polarized city, which distributed the community to different social classes, damaged the coherent social structure of the cities. Such a phenomenon was specifically manifested in the city of Shiraz as the city was divided to old and new and its impacts continue until the present. In the second Pahlavi period, however, relative political freedom took place in the beginning. One of the chief consequences of such a freedom was the nationalization of Iranian oil industry with the leadership of Doctor Mohammad Mosaddegh, the prime minister of the time. This event indicates the fact that the freedom of media and enhancement of the knowledge of local people, would lead to the social movements which are able to defeat even the world authorities to the will of society. Even though the achievements of this event were not permanent, as the Shah of the country did not support it, the ability of the masses to foster change could not be ignored. During the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi the gap between the social classes was intensified, as the urban

management plans of the country did not focus on balanced urban developments. In addition, agricultural industry had been neglected. Accordingly, many people migrated from the rural areas to the cities. However, they were mostly unable to buy a house in the formal sector of housing. Hence, they turned to informal settlements which appeared in the urban configuration of cities. Subsequently, one of the major policies of The Islamic Revolution, which occurred in 1979, was to attain justice in the society and it was how it could unite people to end the despotism of the Shah. However, the governance system of the country, which follows a centralized model, does not allow people to participate in the process of decision-making. Although there are some potentials for the presence of people in the mechanism of urban management, the bureaucratic structure of the governance system avoids the efficiency of the provided opportunities for peoples' collaboration in policy-making. Accordingly, people do not have the chance to claim their rights to the city. Hence, the conflict of interest rises between different social groups and unjust developments take shape in cities, neglecting the citizens' demands. In this research, I investigated such issues in the context of the Saadi informal settlement and provided solutions for the improvement of social justice in the city of Shiraz. I have mainly argued that people must be empowered through the provision of basic facilities and enhancement of their knowledge to reform the unjust managerial mechanisms which have been imposed on them.

7-4- How Can Shiraz Urban Administration and Spatial Developments be Reformed Toward a More Just City?

In this research, I have discussed the characteristics of a just city from the viewpoint of different philosophers to apply the most suitable strategy for the improvement of social justice in the city of Shiraz and promotion of the quality of life of people living in the Saadi informal settlement. I have argued although the equal distribution of urban facilities is the prerequisite for the attainment of social justice, it should not be planned from the top. The major strategy, which was proposed in this research, to attain justice, is that people should be empowered to plan for their own lives. People are able to determine the direction of urban developments through the use of communicative rationality which applies the lay knowledge of people as its major resource to make decisions. I have argued the benefits of communicative rationality over positivism which relies on elitism. While communicative rationality enables people to decide cooperatively, positivism dictates the decision of elites and technocrats on the everyday life of people. In addition, a positivist rationality does not investigate a phenomenon through different views and only considers a single aspect. Hence, it cannot lead to just outcomes. I further argued in order to change the top-down mechanism of decision-making in Iran, which is mainly based on elitism, the local organizations must be empowered. Accordingly, the quality of social justice would improve in cities, as people will have the opportunity to discuss their needs. Although the totalitarian mechanism of urban management of the country does not allow local organizations, guild groups and private sectors to act efficiently, these organizations exist to foster change if they are supported by local people. Local people should unite in neighborhood forums to empower the municipality and the Islamic councils which form the local organizations. However, this cannot happen overnight. Local media can play a prominent role in raising the awareness of people in this regard. According to my

interviews, although people living in the Saadi informal settlement believed the municipality as a local organization could best provide for their needs, they also considered the central government as a mechanism which could support the municipality to operate efficiently. However, they were not aware of the potentials of neighborhood forums and NGOs which could empower local residents to foster change and reform the system from below. That is why their awareness should be raised through the establishment of local media which can be discussed in a wider research.

7-5- Future Research Direction:

In this research, I have argued the fact that in order to attain justice it is necessary that people participate in the process of decision-making and directing the development and management of the city. In fact, the imposed urban structures should be reformed by people. This process begins through informing people about their right to the city. I have discussed the fact that the provision of basic facilities in the Saadi informal settlement enables the local people to effectively participate in the process of decision-making. However, their awareness of the mechanisms, which can help them to reform the unfair management system, should be improved through the establishment of local media. The free flow of information in a community leads to democracy. Local media has the potential to decentralize power systems. Local people can claim their demands through media. The media has the potential to control the responsiveness of governments. Accordingly, the media can be considered as the foundation of a just society observing the rights of all community members. In addition, the media should be the voice of local people, not the elites of a community. It is not the duty of intellectuals to decide for people in a just society. Consequently, it is vitally important that wider research investigates the role of local media in the decentralization of power through raising the awareness of people.

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