ISLAMIC FEMINISM AS AN INQUIRY INTO THE CREATION OF MOTHERS' PARADISE WOMEN-ONLY PARK, TEHRAN

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BY

Helyaneh Aboutalebi Tabrizi

July 2019

To my parents

ISLAMIC FEMINISM AS AN INQUIRY INTO THE CREATION OF MOTHERS' PARADISE WOMEN-ONLY PARK, TEHRAN

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July 2019

As the examining committee, we certify that we have read this thesis, and that in our opinion it is fully satisfactory, in terms of its scope and its quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

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ABSTRACT

ISLAMIC FEMINISM AS AN INQUIRY INTO THE CREATION OF MOTHERS' PARADISE WOMEN-ONLY PARK, TEHRAN

Helyaneh Aboutalebi Tabrizi

M.S in Architecture

Advisor: Chen-Yu Chiu

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Iran has a history full of contradictions because of ideologies behind the governments ruling before and after the happening of Islamic Revolution in 1979. Islam opened new chapter for women's social and political status and it has made the country to experience different approaches towards feminism and contrasting changes in urban context and management. In the first place, this thesis portrays perspectives of feminism in both periods, then it maintains the Islamic feminist ideas which is the production of Islamic government and a new discourse in rethinking gender-related issues. Secondly, it studies descriptive knowledge of socio-political outlooks and changes through administration and direction of the urban form of capital city, Tehran. Then, as one of the findings, it introduces organizations run by women, working under the ruling system of Tehran Municipality, who were the key initiators and organizers in establishing spaces like women-only parks. Thirdly, this research aims to find signs of Islamic feminism in the creation process of Mothers' Paradise, the first women-only park in Tehran which is located on the East edge of Abbas Abad land, by examining the existing physical form of the park. Since there is limited research regarding this connection, this thesis aims to study if there is any relationship between discourse of so-called Islamic feminism after the Islamic Revolution in general and Mothers' Paradise Women-only Park.

Keywords: Islamic Feminism, Feminism and gendered space, urban transformation in Tehran, City management, Tehran Municipality, Mothers' Paradise women-only park

ÖZET

TAHRAN, MOTHERS' PARADISE (ANNELRİN CENNETİ) KADIN PARKININ OLUŞTURULMASINDAKİ BİR SORUN OLARAK, İSLAM FEMİNİZM

Helyaneh Aboutalebi Tabrizi

Mimarlık, Yüksek Lisans

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Temmuz 2019

İran, 1979'da İslam devrimi'nin gerçekleşmesinden önce ve sonra hükümetin arkasında yatan ideolojiler nedeniyle çelişkilerle dolu bir geçmişe sahip. İslam, kadınların sosyal ve politik durumları için yeni bir bölüm açtı ve ülkeyi feminizme yönelik farklı yaklaşımlar deneyimlemeye, kentsel bağlamdaki ve yönetimdeki değişiklikleri zıt hale getirdi. Öncelikle, bu tez her iki dönemde de feminizmin bakış açısını araştırıyor, daha sonra, bir İslami hükümet üretimi olan ve toplumsal cinsiyetle ilgili meseleleri yeniden düşünen yeni bir söylem olan İslami feminist fikirlerini korur. İkincisi, sosyo-politik bakış açılarının tanımlayıcı bilgisini inceler ve Tahran'ın yönetim şekli ve idare değişikliğini gösterir. Daha sonra, bu araştırma Tahran Belediyesinin iktidar sistemi altında çalışan kadınların işlettiği organizasyonları tanıtıyor ve kadın parkları gibi mekanlar yaratmada kilit girişimler ve organizatörlerin kimler olduğnu gösteiyor. Üçüncüsü, bu araştırma, Abbas Abad topraklarının doğu ucunda bulunan Tahran'daki ilk kadın parkı olan Anneler Cenneti'nin yaratma sürecinde İslami feminizm belirtilerini bulmayı amaçlıyor. Bu bağlantı ile ilgili sınırlı araştırma var, bu tez genel olarak İslam Devrimi'nden sonra İslami feminizm söylemi ile Annelerin Cenneti Kadınlar Parkı arasında bir ilişki olup olmadığını incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: İslami Feminizm, Feminizm ve toplumsal cinsiyet alanı, Tahran'da kentsel dönüşüm, Şehir yönetimi, Tahran Belediyesi, bayanlara özel park, kadın parkları

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1. Introduction

1.1 Urban space and gender

With its meanings, Space is the interpretation of the social and political frameworks of one community (Arjmand, 2016). Space shows the power of the social context that can controls and confines and it has the ability to break the power relations (Duncan, 1996). “Space is also an instrument of thought and action, which enacts the struggle over power between genders” (Arjmand, 2016: 2). In Lico (2001) and Arjmand’s (2016) words, space is not powerful in itself, it is the politics of space that define its power. Spatial patterns are not definite; however, are formed with social and economic systems governed by institutions and individuals that are exercising through their political power, Henri Lefebvre (1991) implies.

In the urban studies and social sciences, the scholarly courses of “Sexuality” and “urban space” create a relationship between “body, space, social relations and power dynamics” to show that the space and body are informing and influencing each other in a constant way (Arjmand, 2016: 1). Colomina (1992) points out, the correlations between sexuality and space are concealed in everyday practices. Feminist scholar Judith Butler (1999) who aims to change the dichotomous structure of gender, argues that gender is not merely based on physical body; it is also formed within everyday practices of gender that can problematize divided conceptualizations and include fluency to the variety of gendered identities.

Cities are involved with “gender relations” where it is assented that men should control the space and women should stay in the house (Lico, 2001). When the spatial institutions are under the control of men, it can be said that the space become “gendered space”, which is in favor of men and against women (Doan, 2010). Thus, visible and invisible borders generated by social structures are forming women’s urban lives (Arjmand, 2016). Although, the concept of gendered space with regard to identifying gender differences and recognizing their desires and social interactions has been one of the focal points of urban planning, it has become important for feminist scholars from different disciplines (Arjmand, 2016). Scholars such as Doan (2010) established their interest in examining the spatial ambitions about women and their movements within urban spaces, to involve outside of the home, also to contribute in the social and political scheme created by men. The origins of the gendered spaces can

be followed from the history shaped by "traditional, religious, cultural and normative values in various societies" (Arjmand, 2016).

When women[1] walk into male-dominated public spaces, they may face with verbal physical sexual harassment and sense particularly restricted (Arjmand, 2016). Arjmand continues that, the division in the public spaces is advised by traditional values such as the concerns about safety and protection of women in public space. This division is definitely the result of the socio-cultural processes and it needs to be secured. "Securing space, in whatever form, is a political act, the occupying of space is an assertion of power, and continual displacement is power's spatial effect" (Taylor, 1998:130). Communities are always seeking for security, equality and tracing democratic boundaries as long as injustice embeds into space (Azizi & Fatemi, 2016). Azizi and Fatemi draw a nation with healthy socio-economic background which searches for "spatial justice" focusing on the bases of class and social theme. This narrative epitomizes this taste in terms of gender and specific branch of feminism in the creation of gendered urban space.

Spatial justice in a city has relationship with "the right to the city" [2] in which "different people with different projects must necessarily struggle with one another over the shape of the city", different people with different agendas cause to invent new modes of living (Mitchell, 2003). "The right to the city" for Lefebvre alludes: right to freedom, to individualization in socialization, to participation and appropriation, and to inhabit.

Mitchell's critics over modern city continues like the spaces of it "are being produced for us rather than by us" (2003: 18). In a city like Tehran, it is arduous to fell the sense of autonomy and this makes the society to get a direction towards segregation, pessimism, and disrespect (Azizi & Fatemi, 2016). "Logic of representation" is the right of different groups to represent themselves and ask for their needs which helps in the production of specified forms of public space, "representation both demands space and creates space" Mitchell states (2003: 35). Despite the fact that, state will control these spaces to self-secure itself (Azizi & Fatemi, 2016). Consequently, the present and future programing of these spaces (whether a recreational, religious,

[1] Women or other marginalized categories like race or sexual identities.

[2] As French Marxist Philosopher Henri Lefebvre disserts 'the city is an oeuvre—a work in which all its citizens participate' for more information see: (Lefebvre, 1991), (Mitchell, 2003).

cultural-educational, green space for groups of women) need provision and planning according to the state policies and under the rules of government. This proofs the top-down role of the organizations or institutions (in this study municipal organizations) who have the political power to create or change the space in urban context and built environment. Therefore, as Azizi and Fatemi imply, the state should increase the awareness of political organization of space.

In the origins of the gender-segregation rules, tradition and religious are the most powerful elements. Islam as a religion, is not the only example of the gender segregation practices in public spaces; however, it may be the most challenging one (Arjmand, 2016). Arjmand points out, religion in Muslim Middle East countries, associated with tradition, culture and gender, is introduced as "the biological separation of sexes", thus gendered spaces monitor "the normative imposed by religion and tradition"; however, modernization and Westernization have gradual effects on traditional framework of the urban spaces (2016: 5). He continues around Muslim societies that, gendered reproduction of urban spaces is the basic result of the power and image of the perfect gender roles as determined by the leading ideologies in those societies. In Persian traditional urban design and architecture, the gendered space (which institutionalized after the Islamic Revolution) was not a strange concept. The separation of sexes in public realm of Iran "had been traditionally institutionalized and informally practiced by centuries" [3] (Arjmand, 2016: 27). For instance, in Persian traditional private houses, the interior space (*andaruni*) was designed for women and the exterior space (*biruni*) was for masculine activities occupied by men (Figure 1). *Andaruni* was considered as a private space, where female members of the family were free in their dress code, without *hijab* [4]; on the other hand, *biruni* as a quarter for men was the smaller scope of public space, at home[5]. Arjmand believes that this concept of *andaruni/biruni* is even evident in public realm of today's Iran.

[3] Since women and men are different, tradition brought "proper space" for women as a space for domestic life with the customary actions like child raising, housekeeping and moral education (Arjmand, 2016).

[4] Women's bodies were covered by means of *rupush* (loose tunic), and the *rusari* (the scarf) or the *maqna'eh* (a tight scarf that covers all the hair, the neck, and shoulders) (Sedghi, 2007).

[5] The female members of the family were considered as the *namus* and they lived in *andaruni* without considering *hijab* in front of their *maharim* (like: husband, brother , son)

1.1.1 Urban parks in capital city, Tehran

Baghs (gardens) are Iranian traditional shape of parks. From ancient time gardens were formed not only for "horticultural and sensual pleasure" reasons, but also embodied political, philosophical and religious symbolism (Eliade, 1961), (Stronach, 1976). Parks are public spaces which has been introduced as one of the modernization projects in enhancing urban life[6]. Green spaces and urban parks in the cities are constructed and preserved in order to provide and improve the "quality of life" for inhabitants in urban platform (Arjmand , 2016). In addition, they reduce urban heat, help to decrease air pollution and enhance the mental and physical health of people living in cities.

In Iranian standards, as Arjmand highlights the report by Iranian Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning, there should be at least 7-12 square meters greenery per individual in the cities. Due to the growing population, the urban green spaces must get expanded in a constant way and the maintenance, improvement and supervision of them are under the top responsibilities of Tehran Municipality as the main organization then the Tehran's Parks and Green Space Organization (TPGSO) [7], Arjmand notes. Before the creation of this organization, in the capital city, each regional municipality had the Department of Gardens[8] as a secondary organization, which was responsible for maintenance and administration of the green spaces related to its specific municipal region.

In recent decades, rapid urban development, industrialization, modernization and issues related to air pollution has made the municipalities to pay more attention to greenery in urban scale and create more parks. According to Tehran Municipality's Statistics and Information Bureau in 2015, from 2008 to 2011, around 424 parks in different scales were constructed in Tehran. Ali- Mohammad Mokhtari (the managing director of the TPGSO) announced that: "before the Islamic Revolution, there were 75 parks around Tehran; however, this amount changed to 123 in the first decade of the

[6] There has been arguments among scholars on whether the modern urban parks has been inspired by indigenous Persian Gardens or Western modernization. However, urban scholars believe that parks are not extensions of the Persian Gardens. The primary physical difference between traditional gardens and modern parks is the use of organic and curved lines respectively. An old concept of Persian garden is *Charbagh* (four gardens) which is a quadrilateral garden layout based on Paradise mentioned in Quran (Arjmand , 2016).

[7] Tehran's Parks and Green Space Organization (*Sazman-e Boustanha va Fazaye Sabz-e Shahrdarie Tehran*) was established in 1990.

[8] *Edareye Fazaye Sabz* , the idea established in 1960.

revolution, in 2005 there were 1100 parks and now (2016) 2135 in total (Figure 2) [9]. For instance , Abbas Abad (560 acres cultural core sited in the heart of Tehran) as a green land involves many recreational spaces especially parks and gardens (thematic gardens), as in the newspaper headlines it is called " The Green Island", "Tehran's Paradise" or "Green Memories in Tehran"[10] . The case study of this thesis, Mothers' Paradise women-only park as an urban green space is located on the East edge of green landscape of Abbas Abad.

1.1.2 Women-only parks in Tehran

After the Islamic Revolution in 1979, veiling (hair cover, *hijab*) became an important political symbol for the state to set differentiations with Western world (Göle, 1996). Veiled women in urban public space were demonstrating one of the actual images of Islamic state (Amir-Ebrahimi, 2006). The trial of veiling has been a religious value of the Islamic government. Also, it has been conceived as a "limiting factor" for women to become involved and active in public spaces (Arjmand, 2016). In 1980s, women's presence in public arena was invisible (Amir-Ebrahimi, 2006). One of the Islamization projects of the government after the happening of Iranian Islamic Revolution was gender- segregation law[11] in schools, buses, sports centers and other public spaces (Arjmand , 2016). Arjmand states that, this phenomenon was not an unknown concept, because there were signs of gender division in traditional Persian architecture especially in ancient houses.

When in a space men and women socialize in a separate way, the space becomes gendered space. There are different forms of gender-segregated spaces in Iran, public beaches and sports centers were among those highlighted spaces which became gendered in the first stages of space segregation policies of Islamic state (Arjmand , 2016). In some cases, instead of gendering the space, the system was "to use the space in turn; so, if a space is shared space for both sexes, there may be certain times dedicated only to women (mostly in the mornings and afternoons), Arjmand states.

As mentioned, after the 1979 Islamic Revolution, veiling in public for women was a tool to strengthen the image of Islamic Revolution (Amir-Ebrahimi, 2006). Due to the

[9] Based on *Tasnim* News Agency, March .5. 2016, https://tn.ai/1019711

[10] Based on Abbas Abad Renovation Company archive.

[11] *siyasat-i tafkik-I jinsiyati*

power of *urf* [12] the presence of women in public spaces like parks was not welcomed by religious and traditional people (Arjmand, 2016). Women's daily activities were invisible and undefined in public arena. Although, this fact was mostly evident in the first two decades after the Islamic Revolution (Najmabadi, 2000), (Ahmadi , 2006), (Mir-Hosseini, 2006).

However, after the post-Islamist reform era of President Khatami (presidency 1997-2005), women's presence and activities in public realm turned into a natural practice. In addition, after 2005 when Mohammad-Bagher Qalibaf became the mayor of Tehran, major changes happened in cases related to women in the city platform. One of the most important tasks in Mayor. Qalibaf's era was the creation of women-only parks and cities for women[13].

Currently, Tehran has five women-only parks: Mothers' Paradise (20 acres which 15 acres is for women and 5 acres is for public use except Fridays which the whole park is for public use, opened in 2008, region 3, in hearth of Tehran), *Pardis Banovan* (27 acres, opened in 2009, region 15, South of Tehran), Women's City in *Velayat* Park (around 270 acres, opened in 2011, region 19, South of Tehran), *Narges* Park (24 acres, opened in 2011, region 18, South of Tehran), *Chitgar Reyhaneh* Park (22 acres, opened in 2012, region 22, North-West of Tehran). Among these five women-only parks, three of them are located in the South of Tehran[14] (Figure 3). The case study for this thesis is the first-established women-only park, Mothers' Paradise located in the center of Tehran.

1.1.2.1 Mothers' Paradise: the first women-only park in Tehran

Mothers' Paradise (*Behesht-e Madaran*) is the first women-only park in the capital which began to its activity in May 2008 located in the East edge of Tehran's cultural center, Abbas Abad (Figure 4, 5). Tehran Municipality has established it as an institution to partly solve the attendance of female citizens in public space without observing veil (Figure 6).

[12] *Urf is* an obvious state of thought and "body of legislation" with structure that society cannot escape from it (Arjmand , 2008).

[13] *Shahrbanou*

[14] Base on Tehran Parks and Green Space Organization, http://parks.tehran.ir/

The park before being introduced as the first women-only park was a public neighborhood park named *Neshat* [15]Park, which established in 2005. As Arjmand says, in 2005, Tehran Municipality decided to select this park as a suitable place to become a park to serve female citizens. The first reason to select this site was because of its natural topography, which protect the visual connection with inner space.

This chapter intends to explain the historical background with the support of existing sociology studies on this park. However, Chapter 4 as findings of this thesis, is describing the park in terms of physical form, design and programming.

1.1.2.2 Historical background

There are two studies related to the creation of Mothers' Paradise women-only park. The first one written in 2013 is "Mothers' Paradise, women-only parks and the dynamics of state power in the Islamic Republic of Iran" and the second one is "Public Urban Space, Gender and Segregation: women-only urban parks in Iran" published in 2016 by Reza Arjmand. These studies are about the creation and ideology of the park from the sociologist point of view. However, this thesis is the completion of their research in terms of examining physical form of the park and studying it through feminism and more specifically, Islamic feminism. Both of them have different way of writing in the creation history of the park.

As a summary, in Arjmand's (2016) research the creation of Mothers' Paradise follows:

1. In the mid-1990s: The first idea of building women-only park announced by the Deputy of Women and Family affairs in the Iranian Presidency Office. The idea became difficult in implementation and stayed neglected.
2. In 2003: Tehran City Council signed a bill to facilitate women's needs (recreational and cultural) according to Islamic values. By referencing a report from Tehran Municipality and after the medical report about women's health problems (especially osteoporosis: related to weakness of bones which mostly come from the lack of Vitamin D) by Iranian Ministry of Health, because of the observation of *hijab* (especially women with full black cover) and residing in apartment buildings with small windows and the sedentary lifestyle of

[15] *Nishat* means happiness.

middle aged women. Thus, City Council decided to build five women-only parks in Tehran.

3. In 2005: Tehran City Council and the Technical/ Architectural Commission of Tehran Municipality proposed the locations of the five parks. The plan was authorized and TPGSO accepted in financing (in terms of planting trees and greenery) and building procedure of five parks.

Shahrokni's (2013) study is more detailed than Arjmand's. Her study is based on three modes of state power in case of women's open air exercise and activities: prohibition, coordination and provision.

1. The State as Prohibitor (1980s): women's sports and leisure activities thought "unnecessary and un-Islamic", where women government officials had hard time to get official male governors to endorse women's sports (2013: 93).
2. The state as Coordinator (1990s): the image of the city were reformed after Iran-Iraq war (1989–1996), under the presidency of Hashemi Rafsanjani[16] and Gholamhossein Karbaschi as the mayor[17], along with the promotion of "right to the city" (2013: 94). "Our City, our Home!" [18] became a slogan by the mayor to engender the "sense of belonging" (2013: 94). This era is the time when the first idea of the women-only park became a concern of Tehran Municipality. In 1993, with the efforts of Shahla Habibi the female advisor of the president in women's affair of the presidential cabinet the municipality decided to change the 75 acre of *Taleghani* Park[19] into women-only park (Figure 7); however, women could merely use this space on Saturdays, Mondays and Wednesdays from 6:00 a.m. to 4 p.m. The project failed, because of the "poor advertising and lack of cooperation" (2013: 96).
3. The state as provider (1996-2004): In the reformist and liberal era of president Khatami[20], a report done by the social and cultural experts of The Education

[16] For more information about reform and reconstruction era in Iran see: (Karshenas & Pesaran, 1995)

[17] For more information see: (Adelkhah, 2000)

[18] *"Shahre ma khaney-e ma!"*

[19] *Taleghani* Park is a public park in the center (a little to the West) of Abbas Abad district established in 1982.

[20] For more information about the reformist era of President Khatami see: (Behdad, 2001), (Boroujerdi, 2004)

and Training Organization of Tehran (ETO)[21] stated the inadequate access of the schoolgirls to sports facilities. In 2002, by emphasizing the position of mothers in the society, the municipality and Tehran City Council started discussions about construction gender-exclusive spaces called "Mothers' Parks". In 2003, when Mahmoud Ahmadinejad (a conservative politician) was the mayor of Tehran, before he became the president, he asked TPGSO to select suitable parks among 1357 parks of Tehran to build five women-only parks, but it was failed again because of the reformist female politician, Zahra Shojaee in Presidential Center for Women's Affairs. Since, there was a duality in ideology (reformists and conservatives) between the Parliament and Tehran City Council and Municipality.

4. Finally, after Ahmadinejad became the president in 2005, he selected Qalibaf as the mayor, thus the Mothers' Paradise as the very first women-only park in Tehran, as symbol of being provider and protector of women's rights in Iran began to be constructed.

1.1.2.1.2 Literature review

Reza Arjmand is a sociologist on Middle East studies. The focal point of Arjmand's work is placing the female body in public spaces. He introduces women-only urban parks as institutions that are formed according to clear interpretations of gender roles in Iran, which offer the chance to investigate female body in the context of Tehran's urban parks. He claims that, in the place that Iranian Islamic government has restricted the presence of women on public space, gender-segregated public spaces have been introduced and created as an alternative.

In addition, in his English-written volume, Arjmand's survey is a comparative study about women in gender-mixed and women-only parks through three dimensions of physical (spatial qualities, environmental and aesthetic features, accessibility, legibility, enclosure and visual characteristics), functional (how a place works and how people use it, adaptability, management and surveillance) and social ("a place for all": focuses on the relationship between people and the space, "vitality": the way parks have impact on various social activities, "safety" and "security"). After describing the

[21] Based on *Ettelaat* newspaper, On May 17, 2004.

historical background of the park, part of his study turns into user-based study. His method includes observation and semi-structured interviews with users and administrators of four women-only parks (two in Tehran, one in Isfahan and one in Rasht) and two public parks in Tehran. This engagement between physical, functional and social aspects of the parks, ends up with a conclusion, which he declares, "space becomes a realm of everyday practice of power" (Arjmand, 2016: 11). Architects use physical form to convert the structure and exercise of power and use it as an "instrument of the power" to incorporate the ideological or normative strategies of the state (Ibid: 12)

Arjmand starts his narrative by highlighting a medical report in 2001, which informs that Iranian women suffer from Vitamin D deficiency because of the lack of sun exposure in their daily life. He continues that the whole discourse of women-only park began surrounding these medical reports; although, the creation and the construction of them provided a field for Islamic government to apply its gender-segregation policies.

Additionally, another sociology scholar, Nazanin Shahrokni, analyses Mothers' Paradise as a gender-segregation project of the Islamic state which "overlooks significant shifts in state power from prohibition to production" (2013: 87). She investigates what happened that the Islamic Republic of Iran (in the first two decades) which counted the women's public urban activities (like exercising in urban public spaces and parks) "un-Islamic", now improves the solutions through creating a specific space for their health problems. My narrative is completely matches to Shahrokni's idea, in the way that she is seeing these parks as a positive outcome of Islamic government.

Furthermore, an architecture scholar, Shahrzad Shirvani (2017) in her study, "Public Spaces of 'Freedom': the emergence of gender-exclusive parks in Tehran" is searching for the concept of "freedom" in a sociopolitical context of the Islamic society, and she calls the exclusion in the space like women-only park a "mechanism of limiting freedom" (Shirvani, 2017: 181). By using the terms like "spaces of exclusion" or "women-exclusive parks" she expresses her beliefs towards these spaces. For instance, she calls the whole park a "green cage of freedom" as it is surrounded by green prefabricated steel walls (Ibid: 186).

There are other studies in Farsi language regarding women-only parks; however, their investigation is quantitative research based upon users of the parks, their needs and

opinions towards the park's facilities. Chapter 4 of this thesis is relying on qualitative research method. Studying the park through physical form and see if it matches with the ideology behind Islamic feminism.

This narrative in some parts is proponent to Arjmand, completely matches and agrees with Shahrokni and completely rejects Shirvani's point of view towards women-only parks (in this study "Mothers' Paradise" as the case study). However, the methodology and framework of this study differs from the mentioned scholars. This study intends to reach to Arjmand and Shahrokni's conclusions from different and detailed ways. It attempts to attach new information from urban context and secure knowledge of Islamic feminist discourse in order to describe the creation of Mothers' Paradise. Hence, it is:

1. Focusing and studying on the decision-makers and political organizations or initiators of this project and seeking for feminism, especially Islamic feminist footprints on the process of park's creation.
2. Analyzing the park in the scope of its physical form.
3. Finally, finding specific signs of particular discourse of Islamic feminism on the physical and urban form of the park.

1.1.2.1.2.1 Written ideologies behind Mothers' Paradise

Arjmand believes that the concept of women-only park was not originated for its "ideological significance", it was conducted because of its coherence with post-revolutionary Iran and sex segregation rules in public spaces, "it did not take society by surprise" (2016: 29). He continues that, for many people this park was another form of gender-segregation policy happened immediately after the Iranian Islamic Revolution; however, many believe that this parks have created an alternative, possibility and opportunity for female citizens with religious backgrounds. In my personal interview on August.1.2017 with the manager of the park, Raziyeh Tabaraian said that, "this park from the initial steps has been designed mostly for religious *bahijab* (women with appropriate and Islamic cover *(hijab)*) women. On the other hand, it was broadly stated in media that the government initiated this parks to solve women's health problems rising from lack of "fresh air and exercise" (Shahrokni, 2013: 88).

Soon after the Iranian Islamic Revolution, in 1980s, women's outdoor activities were considered "unnecessary, even un-Islamic, and thus prohibited" (Ibid: 88). Shahrokni's paper seeks the answer of "how the Iranian state came to see women-only parks as a solution to women's health problems" (Ibid: 88). She writes that, in today's Iran, the state is coordinating women's group sports and exercises in public parks; moreover, it offers them "a green space of their own" (Ibid: 88).

The core of my narrative agrees with the notion of Shahrokni. She believes that most of the studies related to the government and state is just emphasizing and focusing on the negative, prohibitive and repressive sides of the power. Studies such as (Kraus, 2010), (Saghafi, 2005), (Moallem, 2001), (Tohidi, 2007), (Miller, 1996), (Osanloo, 2009) are mostly characterizing the Islamic state of Iran as anti-American, anti-Western, restricted in women rights. Hence, the productive side of Islamic state's power has considered and examined unfrequently. Shahrokni asks the question that, with all of these repressions in Iran, "how the state has survived?" (Shahrokni, 2013: 89).

According to Foucault (1980: 59), "power would be a fragile thing if its only function were to repress", and the power in its productive side causes to develop new "subjects, spaces, discourses and practices" as Shahrokni (2013: 89) stresses. Mothers' Paradise in the notion of Shahrokni shows the process of Islamic state moving from "prohibition" to "production". In this productive manner, the state have the control of the women's bodily movements. It is the engagement with the Foucauldian rational of power which emphasizes on "governmentality", rather than considering the state's power divided from the community and lied above the society.

Power, as stated by Foucault, is better not be perceived in a negative forms of exclusion, repression or prohibition; indeed, power become more influential when it builds new ideas and subjects. The primary goal of Foucault is to see the power acting as a positive tool or in Shahrokni's words "productive mechanism"; thus power works in advantage of the citizenry by solving their problems. So, the state is using its power to create a new idea for Iranian Islamic women. The Islamic state of Iran is utilizing the "unhealthy" bodies of women to come up with the solution of space for women (Shahrokni, 2013: 92). Government officials like Mayor. Qalibaf put women-only park in their workbook not to demonstrate and highlight the gender-segregation issues of Islamic Iran; but to show their ability and power working in a positive manner to announce his care towards women in urban life and support it besides his wife in the

national and global scales. Mothers' Paradise is a "sign of the productivity of state power", this park's creation story unveils changes in Iranian state power from "sovereignty to governmentality" (Shahrokni, 2013: 92).Women's activities in public parks not only was not banned by the state, but also planned and organized by it. This led the state to achieve an operative shape of power, or in Shahrokni's (2013: 97) words "enabling of desired practices than with the disabling of undesired ones", "the story of the gradual (re)opening of the space for women, therefore, is the story of the gradual (re)orientation of state power."

In the changing social, political and religious situation of Iran, veiling (*hijab*) has been one of the most essential components in underscoring gender, power, and authority (Moallem, 2005). The first intention to create Mothers' Paradise was to make space for women to carry out their social interactions and activities (socio-cultural occasions, religious celebration, picnic with friends, and involvement in public gatherings or even athletic issues) without noticing to their *hijab* (Arjmand, 2016). The creation of Mother's Paradise women-only parks was proposed as open spaces to address the desires of women in outdoor spaces and "to lay a cornerstone for a free and yet conditioned public space for women" (Ibid: 28). As stated by Moallem, the combination of religion, culture and power creates a secular space. "Women, despite their mixed social, cultural and economic backgrounds, are members of this territory" and women-only parks helps to consider men as "other" as Arjmand (2016: 137) asserts.

In Arjmand's classification, there are two groups of Iranian women as users of the Mothers' Paradis: religious-minded and non-religious. The first group involves Muslim women with religious backgrounds and beliefs and consider the segregation of sexes in public spaces, the second group involves the women who reject the idea of these parks and count these spaces as "highly-segregated". From the point of view of this study, the second group hold the notions of secular feminism. Arjmand categorizes women's notion in two groups calling them "safe heavens or forbidden zones" (Arjmand, 2016: 142):

1. Proponents of the idea of women-only park, "I love to feel the wind blowing in my hair" (Ibid: 143): they find these spaces "constructive" and "positive". Most of them come from religious background and they strongly support Iranian Islamic government.

2. Opponents of the idea and count these spaces harmful than beneficial, “I’d never set my foot there” (Ibid: 149): they find these spaces “harmful than beneficial”, they believe these gender-segregated spaces are in line with policies an laws to limit women’s presence in public realm[22] (Ibid: 142).

1.2 Aims and scope

With respect, for sociologist’s (Arjmand and Shahrokni) perspective who does not mention Mothers’ Paradise’s actual existing form and who does not refer to the socio-political shifts in urban scale of Tehran, this study sheds light to deep understanding of the creation of this park which contributes with social and political conditions connected to urban context and urban management. They are capturing the creation of Mothers’ Paradise from the lens of sociology, power and Islamic state’s politics. They are considering the park as a space that has been initiated by the Islamic government of Iran. Their study is completing each other; however, there is a gap for better understanding of Mothers’ Paradise’s creation. This thesis finds that gap in studying physical configuration, urban transformation and architecture of the site. One of the aims of this study is to reveal the physical form of the park and analyze it. Hence, the aim of this narrative is to complete the mentioned studies from urban and architectural point of view.

Furthermore, as for the physical form, this thesis starts to mention and study the ideas and ideals that Mothers’ Paradise land has witnessed through different design proposals before becoming a women-only park. It arranges design proposals before and after the Islamic revolution by different national and international architects and engineering firms in a chronological order. For instance, Chapter 4 is comparing the existing revolutionary urban form of Mothers’ Paradise with form and typology of its land in *Shahestan Pahlavi* civic center (1976) which was an important accomplishment of shah’s monarchy designed by British international architects Llewelyn-Davies International (LDI). This immense project is the last resembling urban form of Abbas Abad landscape (center of Tehran) in pre-revolutionary era. The design halted because of the happening of Islamic Revolution in 1979 (Emami, 2014) .This also creates a

[22] “To me, those parks are superficial and useless”, “It’s a way to curb women. I always think that women and men are different yet complement each other”, “With all respect to those who practice religion and may favor those parks, I think they will increase the gap between women and men in society”. Based on interviews in (Arjmand, 2016).

platform to collect comparative information regarding urban form in pre and post-revolutionary periods. Thus, it has to perceive Mothers' Paradise in a big-scale land of Abbas Abad. A part of Chapter 4, describes descriptive information gathered by author which demonstrates that, "what was Mothers' Paradise before becoming Mothers' Paradise?" and "what it is now?"

As long as there is a subject related to women, feminism starts to contribute. The formation of women's subject in the history places them in the context of feminism (Scott, 1996). The other important aim or major accomplishment in this study, is to relate Mothers' Paradise with feminist movements happened in Iran. It learns and understands the descriptive knowledge behind a specific ideology of feminism in the Islamic government which is "Islamic feminism", then it tries to apply its concepts in the urban physical form of the land of Mother's Paradise to examine if Islamic feminist concepts have had made the space inside to grow or not. In order to prove that, this study intends to find signals of Islamic feminism in significant and bold institutions associated with urban environment like Tehran Municipality and its women-related organizations to make clear relationship between "Islamic feminist ideas and Mothers' Paradise women-only park".

Arjmand and Shahrokni conclude that, Mothers' Paradise is a space, which is a production of "Islamic government" and this study agrees with them; however, it concludes this setting in a detailed and small-scaled institution of "Tehran Municipality" and its related organizations. Because, Tehran Municipality is following the Islamic government ministries (Madanipour, 2011). Thus, Mothers' Paradise is the production of "Tehran Municipality" which is under the laws of "Islamic government".

Moreover, like scholars such as Mohajeri (2014), Emami (2016), Tabibi (2014) who discuss the pre-revolutionary key female patron and initiator in architecture and women-related issues, this study searches for key female politicians and organizers who have had influential role in creating a space for women in the urban scale and who have initiated an international platform to discuss women's problems in urban life.

All in all, this study aims to fill the gaps and completes the previous mentioned sociology researches regarding Mothers' Paradise.

1. It aims to fill the gap of studying Mothers' Paradise's urban physical form.

2. It aims to fill the gap through introducing female politician and decision-maker working in contemporary Iran and her actions in the scope of women issues in urban life.

1.3 Theoretical framework

This thesis begins its discussion with describing notions of feminism in Iran. As Mothers' Paradise women-only park is a space following gender-segregation policies of Islamic government, the feminism that this study should focus is the discourse of "Islamic feminism".

Chapter 2 by discussing the prospects of feminism for before and after the Islamic Revolution, aims to argue Najmabadi's introduction of two different modes of feminism after the revolution, Islamic and secular feminism. The reason of the creation of these discourses is because of the conservative (fundamentalist) and reformist politicians. The research is analyzing the creation of the Mothers' Paradise by examining the physical form in the first place, then it aims to connect the findings with notions of described feminist discourses (especially Islamic feminism) to observe does this park's form, space, events and facilities coincide with notions of Islamic feminism?

This study is not criticizing the existing of such parks as a gender-segregation project of the state; however, it introduces the park as a successful task initiated by municipality officials and a woman politician. It attempts to highlight the state's efforts into create a space for female citizen under the context of Islam.

1.3.1 Feminism in Iran

Islamic Revolution opened up new sections for public life of Iranian women. Veiling (*hijab*) was one of the most important elements for the Islamic state's socio-political discourse (Arjmand, 2016). Women who had appropriate covering counted as "ideal" in Arjmnad's term and secular women without suitable or Islamic *hijab* was considered as Westoxicated or monarchical (Najmabadi, 2000), (Mir-Hosseini, 1996), (Arjmand , 2016). This situation for women mostly fits to the first two decades after the Islamic Revolution. Afterwards, with the rise of secular and Islamic feminism (as one of the

reasons which is the focus of this study), it changed in a way that women did not feel that hardship existed in the first years of Islamic government's initiation (Najmabadi, 1991).

There are continuing debates regarding meanings of feminism under the wide range of subjects (Kurzman, 2008). This study is looking at feminism through politics seated in Iran not social movements. More specifically, in order to relate "feminism in politics" and urban transformation and architecture (mostly in post-revolutionary era) , this research focuses on the modes and signs of feminism in the politics of Tehran Municipality as a governmental institution and key decision maker in changing urban form of Tehran city. The study captures the modes of feminism, especially concentrating on post-revolutionary and contemporary forms, which scholars such as Afsaneh Najmabadi, Ziba Mir-Hosseini, Haideh Moghissi, Margot Badran have divided it into two distinct feminisms: secular (modern) and Islamic (religious). Najmabadi, Mir-Hosseini and Ahmadi have studied this movement in terms of reinterpreting Islamic texts of Quran since 1990s. Although, this narrative intends to find the signs of feminism in institutions related to Islamic government, ministries like Tehran municipality. It reflects the relationship between these feminisms (particularly Islamic feminism) in the creation of particular spaces built for women citizens and built by women (as initiators and organizers with strong political power).

Despite anti-feminism view points in the Iranian Islamic government, feminist observations demonstrate that, there are young educated Iranian women who are active in the feminist discourse (Kurzman, 2008). Because educated women are better choices to observe feminism than other groups, even better from young and educated men, Karzuman states.

1.3.1.1 Discourses on Islamic feminism

I particularly note from the mentioned scholars that, Islamic feminism is a new brand in the field of feminism in most of the Middle-Eastern countries. However, my narrative and case study emphasizes on the Islamic feminism which lays in the post-Islamic period of Iran as a country sited in the Middle-East. The purpose of this work is to examine and discuss Islamic feminism in small-scaled urban landscape of a park

located in the cultural core of Tehran city. The study also considers the hazard from Moghisi which informs that ; we must prevent our understanding of Islamic feminism as an only solution and "culturally legitimate frame of reference" in order to achieve women's rights (Ahmadi, 2006: 35), (Moghissi, 1999).

After the 1979 Islamic Revolution, feminist discourse in Iran has witnessed the flourishing of a new feminism which have had a different approach to Islamic rules related to gender issues. The actual aim of this movement is "towards a new radical (re)thinking of gender in Islam" (Ahmadi , 2006). Multiple causes such as, Islam as a state power, women's issues' globalization and confusion on "holding original Islam and an authentic indigenous culture among Iranians" has provided a foundation for this radical rethinking in gender (Ahmadi, 2006: 53).

According to Afsaneh Najmabadi, Ziba Mir-Hosseini, Haideh Moghissi, Margot Badran and Fereshteh Ahmadi, Islamic feminism became solution for modern problems that women have had in the country. So, it is possible to talk about Islamic feminism and assign it as an ideology behind solutions to overcome with modern problems. In this thesis, that modern problem is : women's physical, mental health and their comfort in urban space ; the solution is: creating a park or an open-air space with fresh air and natural greenery where women can easily spend time and communicate without observing hair covers or *hijab* (Shahrokni, 2013). Shahrokni is not studying the park through Islamic feminist discourse. She completes her research by describing state's power and its shift through creating a space only for female inhabitants. Chapter 4 of this thesis is proving and examining the mentioned solution as an outcome of figures and initiators' working in governmental institutions (like Tehran Municipality), who have political power and try to enhance the status of women in urban life.

Regarding the use of the term of "Islamic feminism", this study adjusts its point of view with Moghissi and Ahmadi , who notes that, feminism in today's Iran is including several brands, conservative and radical, religious and atheist, heterosexual and non-heterosexual, white and non-white, issue-oriented and holistic, individualistic and community-oriented". Islamic-oriented Muslims (conservatives) with Islamist

backgrounds and secular-oriented [23]Muslim (reformists) women are both helping in the production and surveillance process of Islamic feminism (Badran, 2001).

1.4 Research questions

This thesis consists of 3 main chapters. Chapter 2 is discussing modes of feminism in pre and post-revolutionary Iran which this study is focusing on a specific form of Islamic feminism as production of Islamic government. Chapter 3 is discussing urban transformation of Tehran under the ruling system of institutions and governmental organizations such as Tehran Municipality. Finally, Chapter 4 is discussing the physical form of Mothers' Paradise women-only park. The combination of these chapters endeavors to answer specific research questions.

1.4.1 Questioning socio-political context in the creation of Mothers' Paradise

By studying urban transformation of Tehran in pre-revolutionary periods, "Plan Organization" was a key decision- maker in order to implement the monarchy sate's orders in the city scale. However, none of the women organizations (see Chapter 2) on that time was connected to the Plan Organization as the head organization to decide in the context of urban form of Tehran. Base on the studies of Tabibi, Emami and Mohajeri, a female figure who had high position in politics as well as initiating big-scaled architecture, urban planning, and international cultural and artistic events was Farah Diba, the queen and the first lady of Iran. After the Islamic Revolution, Tehran Municipality became the main actor and initiator in modifying the city under the Islamic rules. Besides, Tehran Municipality established Department of Women's Affairs in order to transfer the issues related to women and urban life to this organization. The question is, who is the key female politician under the Islamic Republic and Tehran Municipality to act like a first lady to be a patron and provide space to discuss women's issues in urban life and in an international scale? If there is,

[23] There is ever-increasing contestant against this word of "secular" in the Islamic world (Badran, 2001).

what kind of events and procedures, she has done to upgrade the status of women in the city scale of Tehran?

1.4.2 Questioning the urban context and physical form of Mothers' Paradise

Mothers' Paradise as a women-only park is one of the challenging productions of Islamic government, under the implementation system of Tehran Municipality and Department of Women's Affairs. However, there is no study to examine the actual existing physical form of the park. As mentioned before, Most of the studies related to Mothers' Paradise are around sociology perspectives. Thus, this thesis tends to study the physical form of the site to answer the questions for whom desire to get informed about, what is happening inside the park in terms of space?

1.4.3 Questioning the relationship between Mothers' Paradise women-only park and discourses on Islamic Feminism

Shahrokni asserts, state officials in Iran, presented Mothers' Paradise and other women-only spaces "not as a site of Islamic governance, but as a solution to globally recognize health problems". She is Studying the Park through analyzing the changes in state power of Islamic government. However, as discussed in introducing the theoretical framework, Islamic feminism is the key feminist ideology and focal point of this study. It attempts to search if there are signs of Islamic feminism inside Tehran Municipality (as the institution and initiator) as well as Mothers' Paradise (as the case study) itself. Thus, a question then arises, is Mothers' Paradise a production of Islamic feminist ideas sitting in the Islamic state, its institutions and organizations? Did Islamic feminist visions involve to contribute in creating a space for women acting as a "solution" (which also Shahrokni points out) for their health problems?

1.5 Methodology

Unlike mentioned scholars who have studied Mothers' Paradise from sociology background and by analyzing the power of the state, this study looks at Mothers' Paradise from the lens of specific feminist approach of "Islamic feminism". Firstly, it questions people who are involved in managing and directing the park, in an indirect way to comprehend if they possess notions of Islamic feminism or not.

Secondly, as discussed in the previous paragraphs, in order to complete the previous studies, this thesis analyses the physical form of the Mothers' Paradise. The park has several components, such as swimming pool, library, mosque, green house, playground, sports center, educational building and plazas. Analyzing the intentions behind placing these components which create the existing physical form of the park, will provide the conclusion. The research questions regarding the intentions of park's components and examine them with the notions of Islamic feminism. This research provides the urban plan of the park to demonstrate the actual physical form. In addition, it indicates the changes and design proposals that the land of Mothers' Paradise has witnessed since it was not a women-only park. Furthermore, it presents a descriptive diagram in order to show the relationship between Islamic feminism as an ideology and Mothers' Paradise as an institution.

1.6 Method

This thesis is an outcome of study form spring 2017 till spring 2019. In order to achieve the results, thesis information was gathered from multiple primary and secondary sources. The research was through collecting digital and paper archival material from Tehran Municipality, Abbas Abad Renovation Co., Mothers' Paradise management, General Deputy of Women's Affair in Tehran Municipality, Empowering Female-headed Household Organization, Tehran Municipality deputy of Social and Cultural Affairs, Llewelyn-Davies International group (LDI) archive, National Library of Iran and National Library and Archives of Iran. The Research has a qualitative scope, depended on books, journal articles, architectural magazines, newspapers, online news websites including reports and official interviews and governmental news websites and agencies.

By putting unpublished plans about Abbas Abad land, this study demonstrates the actual form and function of Mothers' Paradis's land. Consequently, it provides the urban form of the constructed design proposal for the park since it was a public park till it became a park serving for women citizens. It analysis the physical form of the space through unpublished plan of the park and provides images from different views inside. It also collects information about space policies and different events that has happened and conducted inside the park.

1.6.1 Archival research

As for primary sources, most of the material was in Farsi language and has been translated in English by author. Tehran Municipality (region 3) aided in case of collecting data about Tehran master and regional plans. Abbas Abad Renovation Co. helped to gather Farsi documents and unpublished digital images and material regarding the Abbas Abad cultural center. In addition, the manager of Mothers' Paradise helped by her oral history in preparing more detailed information regarding the park's creation. She introduced me to governmental agencies such as Deputy of Women's Affair, Deputy of Social and Cultural Affairs and Empowering Female-Headed Households which all of them are under the supervision and direction of Tehran Municipality officials.

In addition to the primary sources provided from the mentioned organizations, the research analyzed Farsi and English newspaper clippings from official news websites, records and interviews from *Hamshahri* News, *Tasnim* News Agency, *Asr-e Iran* News Agency, *Mehr* News Agency, *Hamian-e Velayat* News, Iranian Yong Journalists News Agency, Iranian Students' News Agency (ISNA), Islamic Republic News Agency (IRNA), related to Tehran Municipality, Deputy of Women's Affairs, Abbas Abad Renovation Co., Abbas Abad land, Mothers' Paradise, Mayor. Qalibaf and his wife. Likewise, the thesis utilized English-written news by Independent News, The Guardian, and Radio Free Europe. Also online Architecture communities and websites such as, Etood Iranian Architects' Website, *Memar-net* (Iranian Architecture and Urban Studies Website), Website of Contemporary Architecture of Iran (CAOI)and Naghsh-e Jahan Pars official website.

1.6.2 Sources

As for the secondary sources, by contacting Llewelyn-Davies International group (LDI) based in London, the managing director of the firm, Steve Featherstone delivered programs, site plans and plans of *Shahestan Pahlavi* archive. Furthermore I ordered *Shahestan Pahlavi*, Book I: Master Plan and Book II: Urban Design through Bilkent University Library. The books were out of print; so, they were sent by Princeton University Library to Bilkent University Library. In addition to the material provided from Abbas Abad Renovation Company, for the post-revolutionary urban form of Abbas Abad, a workbook under the name of "*Abbas Abad*" was found in the National Library and Archive of Iran.

Each section or subtitle in each Chapter has been written by the inspiration, referencing and quoting from different scholars from the fields of architecture, urban studies, sociology, history and theory of women, gender, sexuality and feminism. Although, each section is strongly related to its previous one. For instance, for general understanding of feminist movements in Iran, Sansarian (1982), Afkhami (1984), Afary (1996), Paidar (1997), Najmabadi (2000) and Kia (2005); for pre-Islamic women organizations, Paidar (1997) and Mahdi (2004); for Farah Diba's (queen) administrations, Emami (2014), Tabibi (2014), Mohajeri (2015), Amanat (2017). Emami and Mohajeri's articles helped to understand the configuration of Abbas Abad land and its pre-revolutionary design proposals which also maintain gendered image of it. For post-revolutionary feminist movements with its two significant paradigms of secular and Islamic, Najamabadi (2000), Badran (2001, 2002, 2005), Ahmadi (2006), Tohidi (2007), Sedghi (2007). For pre and post-Islamic urbanism of Tehran, Nader Ardalan (1986), Madanipour (1998, 2006, 2010, 2011), Andalib (2009), Vahdatzad (2013), Emami (2014), Mashayekhi (2016, 2018). Ultimately, as mentioned before, Shahrokni (2013), Arjmand (2016) are the sources used by this thesis to enhance the knowledge and information regarding women-only parks, specifically Mothers' Paradise.

1.7 Contributions

Department of Green Spaces in Tehran Municipality (region 3) and the management of the Mothers' Paradise women-only park helped to find the rare plan of the park. In addition, I interviewed Raziyeh Tabaraian, the manager of the park and she delivered an oral history of the creation of the park along with issues that most of the managers have in directing the space for women. General Deputy of Women's Affair aided to find key people related to Dr.Moshir. They introduced me to Fahimeh Firouzfar the director of the Empowering Female-Headed Household in Tehran Municipality (assistant of Dr. Moshir). Their organization delivered unpublished Farsi materials regarding *Kosar* training centers and National Production of Iranian Women and broachers related to Mothers' Paradise which depicted the workbook of Tehran Municipality proceedings about female Tehranian citizens. By visiting this institution, I realized that, most of the female gardeners and police officers in Mothers' Paradise are introduced by their organization to the park, most of them are vulnerable widowed or divorced women with children. They also provide space for women inside the park to demonstrate their abilities through art, industry and cuisine. Tehran Municipality deputy of Social and Cultural Affairs, also delivered Farsi materials regarding the facilities, programs and events inside the park.

1.8 Limitations

Due to the security facts of Mothers' Paradise or any other women-only spaces in Iran, the site plan material of the park was restricted; however, its municipal version was prepared by author with having permission from the Tehran Municipality general director in region 3. Such difficulties in data accessibility in Iran is customary and common; although, when the goal is related to academic purposes the governmental officials help and support students. Photography inside the park has been banned to have "moral control" over the users' behaviors (Shirvani, 2017: 190). There are signs of "no photography" inside the park. This policy has been initiated by Tehran Municipality to maintain the Islamic beliefs and to secure women who use the park. Moreover, taking photos form women with strong Islamic beliefs and who are vigorously obeying their traditional culture, is not a pleasant action, especially when they do not have hair and body cover or *hijab*. Since, most of the users visiting the

park are Islamic and religious women, who want to take off their *hijab* and appreciate an open space in a comfortable way (Arjmand , 2016), it is offensive to take photos form their appearance and activities. As a note, the photos of this thesis which has been taken by the author are provided by the full permission of the park's management. In the photos, women with no *hijab* are related to the author and they have accepted to use their photos in an academic research. Other photos from the park are aimed to demonstrate the quality of the space inside the park and it does not have another intention.

CHAPTER 2

Feminist Movements in Iran

2.1 Feminist movements in pre-revolutionary Iran since the late 1960s

Women issues and (re)forming them were noted in both first Pahlavi (1925-1945) and second Pahlavi (1945-1979) states' "modernization project" (Tabibi, 2014). This part of the study is focusing merely on the second Pahlavi state's ideology towards feminism and women issues. It looks at feminism and women issues from the political point of view and mentions the system and ideology of organizations and institutions associated for women and by women under the ruling frame of the state.

Second Pahlavi, under the ruling of Mohammad-Reza Shah considered women's rights as "state's modernization policies and bestowed from above as royal grants" (Kia, 2005: 227). "Women's rights as royal grants" was assumed on regulations of the state as the "institutional manifestation of the monarch" through state's rules rising from shah's agency, Kia (2005: 227) remains. In a general sense, second Pahlavi state were concerning about alterations in traditional gender roles and household relations achieving and maintaining women's rights such as equal education, health, employment, women's suffrage, political image, marriage and family laws (EIr, 1999). "Democratic rights and institutions" was a desire for political criticism discourse of Pahlavi government (Kia, 2005: 229). Eliz Sansarian[24] was among the first scholars who wrote about women's activism in Iran since 1900 to 1979 Islamic Revolution[25]. Parvin Paidar, maintains that, Pahlavi state started to integrate women's rights in its modernization project which had a main goal towards "great civilization". Janet Afary is also among scholars who gives an account to institutions related to Iranian women's activism, a captivation by the greater political agendas. The involvement of the state is the fact which gave an advantage to the development of nationalist ideas such as women's suffrage (Afary, 1996). Having the right to vote was amongst primary destination to feminism during early 1960s for the Pahlavi state (Kia, 2005).

In the first stage, the Pahlavi state's modernization submitted restrictions over the discourse of women's rights; afterwards, the ideological domination of the state on the

[24] Her work, "The Women's Rights Movement in Iran Mutiny, Appeasement, and Repression From 1900 to Khomeini", serves to the new studies as a secondary source.

[25] In Sansarian's (1982) words, the first signs of women's activism dates back to Constitutional Revolution in 1905.

discourse developed a relation that eventually allowed negligible changes in the modernization discourse of the state (Kia, 2005). In the Pahlavi state, issues related to women's rights was through basic civil rights such as suffrage and family laws (Afary, 1996), (Kia, 2005). Especially focusing on family laws was among important efforts to change the issues that improves women's rights, Kia continues.

Afkhami (1984) acknowledges that, second Pahlavi state had no exact and clear orientation towards feminism; however, it was determined in developing modernity and change. While the state was deriving itself into considering women's rights in its modernization venture, it would have incorporate with the discourse of feminism (Kia, 2005). Thus, we may assume that, feminism in the Pahlavi state is rooted in its modernization; or for Pahlavi, discourse of modernity was playing the role of feminism. Hence, women's rights combined with Pahlavi's modernization was counted as a discourse of feminism. In general, there is less evidence of "political awareness or participation" as an aim for women in pre-revolutionary Iran and "women's rights are contingent on duties and responsibilities" (Kia, 2005: 239). Kia (Ibid) presents it as a "trade-off", which "women's rights" can be switched with "responsibilities of modern citizenship and the duties of participation in a capitalist economy". The reason is around "Third- World feminism" with its complicated discussions and historical origins which is completely related to the "state apparatuses" (Heng, 1997: 861). From Sansarian's historical point of view, women's rights were inactively engaged with the state, who had the main intention of restricting the democratic requirements of civil institutions and organizations. "Institutional control" introduced by Kia, aimed that activists supposed to work inside the framework of state's ideology or its "nationalist modernization policy" (2005: 239). Women achieved their "subjecthood" in line with the nationalist ideals of the state (Kia, 2005). To describe feminism in the second Pahlavi, Bamdad (1977) explains women's civic rights in voting and running for office as the declaration of equal rights of men and women. Kia expresses that, the theoretical connection of gender equality in the discourse of feminism and the modernization of patriarchy formed an elitist shape of women's rights and activism in Iran.

After the White Revolution[26] in 1963, privileging women was one of the six essentials for shah. However, Scholars like Sanasarian and Afkhami note that shah himself did not champion the ideas of feminism. Even the regency of his queen (his third wife, Farah Pahlavi) was only a "political gesture", instead of a true belief in feminism and women's right (Emami, 2014: 100). Assigning her wife in the big masculine arena of politic was also another form of his state's political gesture. His intention was to demonstrate the Western World that, his state is paying attention to the gender equality and maintains the ideologies of feminist discourse. For instance, as Emami notes, in shah's interview with Oriana Fallaci (famous Italian journalist) he had affirmed that women have second-rated minds[27].

As mentioned before, organizations, institutions and movements in the Pahlavi must have followed the state's ideology (Kia, 2005). Kia continues that, while women's requirements and rights had to engage with state's institutional control, the government was also demanded to maintain and consider activists' needs and demands. Thus, it can be concluded from Kia's point of view that, organizations and institutions built for women did not have independent ideology or autonomy. If an organizations or institution had different or reversed ideology from the Pahlavi state, it was counted as "feminist" or as an organization "constituting a women's movement" (Najmabadi, 2000) (Kia, 2005: 229). It is also significant to note Kia's question that, if there is no autonomy for an organizations, can we call it feminism?

2.1.1 Pre-revolutionary women organizations

The centralization of power in the first Pahlavi period, expanded tensions in the development of organizations related to women (Sedghi, 2007), (Tabibi, 2014). After World War II, Iran faced new era for women's movement[28]. In 1959, fourteen women's organizations were under the Federation of Women's Organizations, which

[26] The White Revolution or the "Revolution of the Shah and People" (*Enghelab-e Sefid*).

[27] See Oriana Fallaci, *Interview with History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1976), 271–72.

[28] Several new women's organizations emerged, of which the following were the most influential: *Tashkilaat-e Zanaan- e Iran* (The Organization of Iranian Women), *Hezb-e Zanaan* (Women's Party), and *Jamiat-e Zanaan* (Women's League). To these should be added women's organizations affiliated with political parties: the *Sazmaane Demokraatike Zanaan* (Women's Democratic Organization), *Nehzate Zanaane Pishro* (Women's Progressive Movement) of Society of Iranian Socialists, and *Komiteh-ye Zanaan* (Women's Committee) of Nation's Party of Iran (*Hezbe Mellat*). For more information see: (Mahdi, 2004).

then transformed to one as The High Council of Iranian Women[29]. In 1966, the organization was again replaced by a new organization called Women's Organization of Iran[30] (WOI)[31], which lasted until the beginning of 1979 Islamic Revolution (Mahdi, 2004). Part of this chapter, is considering to discuss this organization as the last pre-revolutionary women organization.

WOI was acting as a tool for demonstrating the West that the shah had programs for Iranian women's rights (Paidar, 1997). The organization was backed by shah's White Revolution (Tabibi, 2014). Between 1966 and 1977(the expansion of White Revolution), women's organizations were controlled by the masculine state, active in politics, charity, health and education[32] (Sanasarian, 1982). Shah authorized to establish the WOI and he assigned his twin sister Princess Ashraf to be the patron and director of it (Afary, 1996). After 1966, it was evident that all of the organizations related to women was under the WOI which was following the policies and ideologies of Pahlavi state (Kia, 2005). The emergence of this organization, took problem with the vision that "women's rights were something that the king can "give" or "take a way"" (Milani, 2008: 120). WOI was a core institution, which was responsible to coordinate the activities of Iranian women. WOI and equivalent organizations was considered as Anthony Parsons states, "quasi-independent" which were serving the state indirectly. As long as an organization was under the patronage of a person from royal family or administrative ministries related to the Pahlavi government, there was no obstacle for their activities (Parsons, 1984). WOI has been introduced as "non-democratic institution" by Paidar (1997: 150), which experienced fears of collapsing in cases of performing out of state's principals. Paidar's contention towards WOI was about its roles in encouraging positive rules related to women's rights within state's

[29] *Shoray-e Aaliy-e Jamiyat-e Zanan-e Iran*

[30] *Sazman-e Zanan-e Iran*

[31] Ashraf Pahlavi, the founder of this organization, was the President, and Farideh Diba, the queen Farah's mother was the Vice-President (Tabibi, 2014).

[32] Female politician like Mehrangiz Dowlatshahi (1917-2008), was one of the founders of a new women's organization called Society for a New Way (*Jam'eyate Rahe Now*) established in 1954. It was part of High Council, then the WOI. This group was dedicated to teaching women about the rights and responsibilities of full membership in society. She organized the International Women's Fair in Iran in 1960. Also, she was one of the first group of six women to be elected to the parliament (*Majlis*) and the first women to be named an ambassador .She was sent to Denmark, where she served until the Islamic Revolution. For more information see: (Milani, 2008).

ideology. Sansarian states that, 1960s[33] was centralization of the women's movements through organizations related to the state and under the control of the state. She rejects the thought that WOI was acting through women's social movements. The eventual goal of WOI was to improve the cultural, social and economic awareness of Iranian women (Kia, 2005)[34] .

Since queen Farah had an strong impact in the fields of culture, art and architecture, there were multiple organizations supported by her such as the Iran Cultural Foundation, the High Council of Architecture and Urban Development, the Iranian Center for the Study of Civilizations, the Imperial Academy of Philosophy, the Queen Farah Pahlavi Foundation, and the National Iranian Radio and Television. Artistic and cultural Projects running under her administration received the basic support from the previous mentioned institutions and most importantly from the "second court" attributed to her established in the late 1960s (Mohajeri, 2015: 487). As Grigor (2009) states, the court made her role more colorful in politics. For instance, with the sponsorship of the National Iranian Radio and Television, Shiraz Arts Festival[35] (1967–78), as an arts center in Persepolis prepared a setting for the Queen to display Persian history, culture and modernism to Western attendees and performers (Gluck, 2007). These annual festivals were held to draw foreign tourism, as well as to situate Iran at the avant-garde arts scene (Raikhel-Bolot & Darling, 2018).

2.1.2 Contributions of a key female figure

This section of the thesis is mentioning the studies which define the role of influential pre-revolutionary female figure who had an important role in cultural, artistic and architectural domains. The reason to focus on her contributions is her education in architecture and her impact as an initiator in international architectural congresses such as congress of women architects. More importantly, her role in the design of Tehran's

[33] Before 1960, in 1956 centralization of women issues in politics happened after minister of labor asked women to meet different groups of activist women (Sanasarian, 1982).

[34] Furthermore, by that time, there were women's magazines such as *Alam-e Zanan* (Women's Universe), *Banu* (the Lady), *Banu-ye Iran* (Iran's Lady), *Hoghugh-e Zanan* (Women's Rights) etc[34] (Tabibi, 2014).

[35] Eminent international musicians, dancers and filmmakers performed with their Persian peers at the annual international Shiraz Arts Festival (Tabibi, 2014).

cultural core (Abbas Abad) which the case study of Mothers' Paradise is also located there, is another rationale. Her contributions and participations helped this study to find a key female politician in 20th century period who also works in the scope of enhancing women's position, but in urban context and urban life.

Farah Diba (1938-), before marring the king in 1959, was an architectural student in the *Ecole Spéciale d'Architecture* in Paris[36]. She was from an affluent military family with Azerbaijani roots[37] (Amanat, 2017). This was the genuine reason behind her love and favoritism in culture, history, art and architecture. She was entitled as the first queen-regent of modern Iran, active in arranging artistic and architectural festivals and congresses, also in multiple projects such as museums and art centers. In Tabibi's categorization, the first attempt of the queen in modernizing the nation was to establish festivals of art and culture[38], preserving Iran's artistic and architectural heritage by building museums and cultural centers as her second principal[39] and in the third place, she patronized symposiums and congresses on art and architecture.[40]

Altogether, in Emami's words Farah Pahlavi was an important figure in order to cultivate architectural and urban modernism and historic preservation in a liberal manner during 1970s. She was a modern female figure who caused "the operation of high culture in politics as a shaping force of cultural norms in modern Iran"[41] (Tabibi, 2014: 9).Arranging architectural conferences in the last decade of Pahlavi was another

[36] For a critical study of art and architecture under the Queen's patronage see Grigor, *Building Iran*, 182–86, For an interview about the Queen's patronage of art see Donna Stein, 'For the Love of her People: An Interview with Farah Diba about the Pahlavi Programs for the Arts in Iran', in *Performing the Iranian State*, ed. Staci Gem Scheiwiller (London and New York: Anthem Press, 2013), 75–82 and see (Tabibi, 2014).

[37]For more information about Farah Pahlavi's family and personal life see: (Amanat, 2017), (Tabibi, 2014), (Blanch, 1978).

[38] For more information read the third chapter (Culture) of (Tabibi, 2014), which is an overview of Farah Diba's patronage of arts and culture.

[39] For more information read the Forth chapter (Identity) of (Tabibi, 2014), which focuses on the establishment of national museums in Tehran under the patronage of Farah Diba, emphasizing on the Pahlavis' national cultural policy in the 1970s.

[40] For more information read the Fifth chapter (Discipline) of (Tabibi, 2014), which analyses the role Farah Diba in architecture and gender issues through asking "How did gender influence architectural practice and architectural discourse during the period under review?"

[41] The high artistic culture of Iran was disseminated through different museums in Tehran: Tehran Carpet Museum, the Abguineh Museum of Glass and Ceramics, the Reza Abbassi Museum, the Negarestan Museum and the Tehran Museum of Contemporary Arts. For more information see (Tabibi, 2014).

form of “cultural expression of political power” and it witnessed the implementation of improvements in changing “Iranian cultural modernity” under her cultural and artistic reforms (Ibid: 10).

2.1.2.1 Administrating culture and art

The last decade of Pahlavi with the “international cultural politics of 1970s”, witnessed a large social shift in arts and culture by various national and international festivals like Shiraz Arts Festival and Arts Center in Persepolis which for more than a decade they were leaded by the queen and became effective in forming “the history of avant-garde arts and culture” of Pahlavi Iran (Ibid: 65).These Festivals were playing important roles in presenting Iran as a modern country (Figure 8, 9) .

In the 1960s and 1970s Iran endorsed the era of flourishing culture, “a period remarkable for artistic creativity, the rise of new talents and greater international exposure but also greater state sponsorship” (Amanat, 2017: 663). In the mid-1960s, media, music, architecture, literature and visual arts were the tools which the queen and her court designated to sketch the vision of Pahlavi kingdom, Amanat points out.

2.1.2.2 Administrating Architecture and big-scaled urban projects

This section includes a general and summarized contributions of Farah Diba in architecture. The intention of this paragraph is to demonstrate her activities as a women in high positions of patronizing architectural projects. This thesis is using descriptive information and conclusions provided by scholars such as Emami, Mohajeri and Tabibi in order to show examples of a women as an initiator of big-scaled architecture in pre-revolutionary period.

Culturally, 1970s were a golden age for Iran with the money coming from the oil reserves[42] and it made the queen to institute and organize trends in the fields of history, culture, art and architecture (Raikhel-Bolot & Darling, 2018). Farah Diba’s power through architecture was inevitable in her interest in commissioning Western architects

[42] During the “oil shock” in 1973, OPEC doubled the price of oil and witnessed the tremendous transfer of wealth between sovereign states ever recorded and Iran became the second largest oil exporter in the world. (Raikhel-Bolot & Darling, 2018).

in order to design projects in important cities like Tehran, Shiraz and Isfahan[43]. She had an important role in building museums to reframing and importing modernity of Iran (Tabibi, 2014).

In the late 1960s, in order to offer modern art by contemporary artists, she came with the idea of Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art [44](opened in 1976) (Figure 10) and she commissioned his American-trained architect cousin Kamran Diba[45] (1937-) (Figure 11) as a designer of the building. In addition as Tabibi (2014: 105) states, from 1975 till the end of Pahlavi, she was active in collecting a "visual historical account" for Iran and presented them in the museum.

In addition, Shiraz Museum of Art which was an unrealized project designed by Aalvar Aalto In 1969 (Figure 12), inviting and assigning Louis Kahn to design Abbas Abad civic center in 1974, shows her willingness in contributing with international well-known architects and her presence both in large-scaled architecture and male-dominated levels of politics. As a whole, she had the power to participate in masculine extends of politics and influence shah, mostly in cultural and educational issues (Amanat, 2017).

As Tabibi (2014:10) continues, "the sympathy towards national culture resulted in the organization of three international architectural symposia in Iran under the patronage of Farah Diba[46]." The most underlying theme of the series of congresses under her supervision was "The Interaction of Tradition and Technology" in Isfahan city with the contribution of prominent international architects and urban planners[47]. This

[43] For instance, between 1968 and 1976 the Niavaran Palace and the Private Library of Shahbanu by the Iranian architect Abdol-Aziz Farmanfarmaian and the French designer Charles Sévigny; in 1968, an Arts Center in Persepolis by the Greek architect, civil engineer, and music theorist, Iannis Xenakis; in 1975, the Negarestan Museum of Qajar dynasty arts by the Czechoslovakian architect, Jaroslav Fritsch; in 1976, the Abguineh Museum of pre- and post-Islamic glassware and ceramics by the German architect, Hans Hollein; and in 1977, the Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art (TMOCA) by Kamran Diba[43] are the highlighted architectural projects that she was in charge of directing them. For more information see: (Tabibi, 2014).

[44] After revolution, the collection at the museum has remained unseen and forgotten until 2005 (Raikhel-Bolot & Darling, 2018). In the report done by Raikhel-Bolot & Darling in 2018 (co-founders of Vanishing Pictures Productions), Farah Diba says "My idea was to keep our ancient culture in every field but in my own way, especially to support young artists".

[45] In this period new discourses were gradually initiated by architects like Nader Ardalan and Kamran Diba, in which "tradition" was considered in Iranian architectural identity (Diba D. , 2012).

[46] Architectural gatherings like: "The Interaction of Tradition and Technology" in 1970 in Isfahan, "The Role of Architecture and Urban Planning in Industrializing Countries" in 1974 in Shiraz and "The Crisis of Identity in Architecture" in 1976 in Ramsar. For more information see: (Tabibi, 2014).

[47] For more information see Journal of Arts and Architecture Vol. 15-16 (1).

important incident initiated by the queen, working with Nader Ardalan (1939-) (Figure 13), Iranian-American architect and Iran's Ministry of Development & Housing and Ministry of Culture, was the First International Congress of Architects in Isfahan (1970) (Sedighi, 2018) (Figure 14).This congress became a venue for native and international architects to expose their ideas and share them in a cross-cultural manner[48].

Among the participants, Louis Kahn (American architect) supported queen's call for an agreement between "tradition" (as a result of inspiration) and "change"[49]. It was after this congress that Louis Kahn and Kenzo Tange were designated by Farah Diba in 1974 to design a civic center for Abbas Abad in Tehran.

Then in 1974, the second Iranian International Congress of Architecture and Urban Planning with the subject of "The Role of Architecture and Urban Planning in Industrializing Countries" was held in Persepolis, Shiraz again under her management and by the participation of foreign and Iranian practicing architects (Tabibi, 2014: 149). The third international event on architecture in the country was the first international congress dedicated to women architects in Iran in 1976 in Ramsar city (Figure 15, 16). After the inception of the *Shahestan Pahlavi* project, in 1976 by Llewelyn-Davies International group (LDI) to discuss the problems rising through identity in architecture, she opened the this congress, with the cooperation of United International Female Architects (UIFA). Anne Tynga (former partner of Louis Kahn), Alison Smithson and Moira Moser-Khalili[50] were amongst contributors[51]. The discussions and meetings of the Ramsar Congress were around the crisis and the role of women in practicing architecture[52] (Tabibi, 2014).

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[48] As Mohajeri states by interviewing Nader Ardalan "At the congress, the Tehran Comprehensive Plan (one of the last products of the White Revolution) was presented and reviewed by international architects and urban planners."

[49] In the congress, Paul Rudolph (American architect) defined regionalism as an innovative answer to place and climate; however, Georges Candilis (French-Greek architect) who challenged queen's notion of modernity, encouraged Iranian architects to employ tradition in a critical manner (Bakhtiar & Farhad, 1970), (Mohajeri, 2015).

[50] The American architect Moira Moser-Khalili had worked in Iran since 1971 along with her Iranian husband Architect.Nader Khalili.

[51] For more information see: *Hunar va Memari*, 1976 (Art and Architecture Magazine), (Tabibi, 2014).

[52] For more information read (Tabibi, 2014).

2.1.2.2.1 Gendered image of designs for Tehran's cultural core (Abbas Abad)

Shah and his wife had different understanding and acting towards modernization. As mentioned, her definition of modernity was underscoring on instituting cultural organizations and a sentimental return to Iranian history and legacy by inviting prominent artists and architects to the country. For instance, famous Iranian architects like Kamran Diba and Nader Ardalan were working under the shadow of the queen[53].By contrast, shah's vision was chiefly focusing on showing his power by following materiality (Mohajeri, 2015).

In other words, shah "believed that the modernization of his country was possible not through art or culture but rather only through scientific and technological progress" (Alam, 2008). In Tabibi's (2014: 39) words, arts and culture were the areas that shah refused to pay attention as much as he cared about "state bureaucracy".

Before the proposal of *Shahestan Pahlavi* by LDI, Louis Kahn and Kenzo Tange were assigned to design proposals for Abbas Abad land[54]. Kahn considered the queen as his client, so that his ideas behind his design resembled the queen's notion towards architecture[55]. In Mohejeri's words, in Kahn's design, concerning about civic institutions[56] and communal spaces, were the core concepts. Those democratic institutions as "spirit of commonness" and "civic responsibility", following the cultural discourse of modernity, are the production of architecture which are outside of the political ideologies and control of the state (Mohajeri, 2015: 491). By emphasizing on Kahn's texts, Moahjeri (2015: 496) marks that, Kahn designed a "society of rooms" for Tehran's civic project; so that, contributors could practice their

[53] In terms of architectural practice, projects like Museum of Contemporary Art by Kamran Diba and The Iran Centre for Management Studies by Ardalan had consolidated to traditional Persian architecture in a modernist manner (Emami, 2014).

[54] For more information about Louis Kahn and Kenzo Tange's proposals for Abbas Abad land see: Chapter 4 and Appendix A.

[55] A handwritten letter (November 13, 1973), addressed to the queen, specifies that Kahn considered the queen to be his client (Emami, 2014).

[56] By the idea of "institution" and the transformation of Persian local motifs to a modern form, Kahn made his design much more adjacent to his concept of "way of life" suitable for the "Iranian way of life" (Mohajeri, 2015).

"religious art" in different building typologies[57] . When an architect begins his work, the building he is about to design must present itself as belonging to an institution, Kahn asserts. Even before satisfying the client's specific needs, the force of institution in society should be the background of architect's architectural decisions[58]. Kahn and queen's close ideological relation, as Emami points out, is also evident in Kahn's preservation of Abbas Abad's natural topography which was leaning on queen's support. He only designed the southern part of the land in order to protect the natural hills of the Northern parts (Figure 17, 18).

Shah's intention for rapid modernization made him to be a huge supporter of *Shah* and *Shahbanou*[59] terms acting and ruling together. This fact reveals itself in the last urban scale proposal of Abbas Abad land, *Shahestan Pahlavi* project [60] in the way that shah associating the governmental buildings and the queen busy with cultural affairs and parks (Emami, 2014). The gendered configuration discussed by Emami may be the first gendered discussion happened in Tehran's central core, because *Shahestan Pahlavi* was somehow the first building project to represent both royal figures. The main plaza (*Shah and nation*) and the *Shah* (King) boulevard (linear ceremonial road to the plaza) of the design named after shah which represents power of the state in the first place (Figure 19, 20). On the other hand, cultural institutions, green spaces, a boulevard in the North of the central plaza, circular arcaded fountain stands on the axis of *Shahbanou* Boulevard named after the queen (Emami, 2014) (Figure 20, 21). Furthermore, in LDI's proposal[61], the improvisation of parks and green space was attached to the queen; whereas, high-density residential towers, parallel to King Boulevard, in the design were attributed to the shah (Emami, 2014).

[57] Public Buildings as "religious art", like library, museum, opera house, national archive and mosque in Kahn's design were assumed not to be a commodity of representation of the state's politics (Mohajeri, 2015).

[58] Base on Louis I. Kahn, *The Notebooks and Drawings of Louis I. Kahn*, 2nd ed., ed. Richard Saul Wurman and Eugene Feldman (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1973), 74.

[59] *Shahbanou* (*Shah*= king, *banou*= lady) a term supposedly used in Middle Persian appointed to the monarch's wife of the Sassanian dynasty (224–651 CE).

[60] For more information about *Shahestan Pahlavi* civic center proposal for Abbas Abad land see Appendix A.

[61] For more information about the urban implications and socio-political status of this paramount project see: (Emami, 2014).

On the whole, queen mobilized the modernization through projects related to culture "renovating buildings, establishing art centers, institutionalizing museums, and organizing symposiums and conferences on art and architecture" (Tabibi, 2014: 10). In a place where the big-scale and neo-classical symptoms of modernity in LDI's design was a perfection for shah, signs of avant-garde architecture like Kahn, Tange and Alvar Aalto's were the right choices for the queen (Emami, 2014). In Emami's opinion the actions of both king and queen were not in an opposite sides; however, she was more popular than the shah in terms of her artistic and sensitive soul and humanitarian and feminist activities.

2.2 Feminist movements in post-revolutionary Iran

The 1979 Revolution [62] opened new and different era for Iranian women's lives[63]. As mentioned before, after the Islamic Revolution, gender issues have been a vital element of the Iranian Islamic state and culture (Najmabadi, 2000), (Mir-Hosseini, 2006), (Sedghi, 2007). New forms of gender, veiling and discrimination methods initiated by the post-revolutionary government. Public spaces such as swimming pools, sports centers, beaches, offices and schools began to separate men and women. *Hijab* became the image of the Islamic state or in Sedghi's words "symbol of the revolution, standing for Islamism, anti-imperialism and anti-Westernism", which veiled women counted as "powerful revolutionaries" and unveiled women as "Westernized or monarchical" (Sedghi, 2007: 200). In other words by Sedghi, the antithesis of the women who were veiled or Islamic was the monarchy and Westoxication.

The first two decades after the Islamic Revolution witnessed years of hardship and growth and after 25 years, Iran came a cross with (re)reading feminism[64] (Najmabadi, 1998). Afterwards, there are evidences of "women's intellectual and cultural production in Iran" (Ahmadi , 2006). Unlike feminism in pre-revolutionary era,

[62] For more information about the social classes participated in 1979 Islamic Revolution see: (Abrahamian, 1982), (Ashraf & Banuazizi, 1985) and (Bayat, Street politics: poor people's movements in Iran., 1997).

[63] For more information about Iranian women, marriage and family law in *Shi'i* Islam see: (Haeri, 1992), (Fathi, 1985).

[64] Generally, in Afsaneh Najmabadi and Fereshteh Ahmadi's words, (re)reading feminism on those years was mostly related to reinterpreting texts of Quran.

feminism after the Islamic Revolution has been divided into two different paradigms: secular and Islamic. Also, as Mahdi writes, the different cultural, ideological, class, ethnic and religious aspects caused to the division of women between secular (modern) and religious (Islamic or Islamist). After those two decades, the fears of conveying ideas and activities of secular feminists (or feminists) decreased and there are evidences of increasing presence of women in public life especially in the fields of art, professional achievements, education, industry and sports (Najmabadi, 1998).

Secular feminism has emerged in the 1990s and Islamic feminism has been manifested in the late 20th century (Badran, 2005). These two discourses developed in historical framework which modern identities were (re)formed out of modifying mixtures of "religion, class, ethnic and national affiliation", Badran (2005: 6) states.

Badran (Ibid) believes, secular and Islamic feminism have been seen as "two discursive modes" of feminism. Secular feminism is a composition of several discourses such as secular nationalism, Islamic modernity, humanitarian rights and democracy. At the same time, Islamic feminism is defined in more simple way in which religion (Quranic knowledge) formulates it in a general way, as Badran continues.

Women-related institutions and organization on the one hand and published women journals testifies rethinking gender by Islamic feminists. *Zanan* [65] (Women) journal which transfers Islamic feminist notions, is among those feminist-oriented post-revolutionary magazines which had radical interpretations regarding Islamic sources around women rights and issues (Ahmadi , 2006). It has been one of the most important publications to study Islamic feminism, as Ahmadi notes and it has been "stretching the limits" (limits of public living for women) as Mir-Hosseini (2006) declares. Najmabadi believes that journals with Islamic feminist concepts and ideas have unlocked the doors of negotiation between Islamic and secular activists. The most significant similarity between these two discourses is "to build a united front against the oppression of women in Iran" (Ahmadi, 2006: 45). This emerging solidarity can

[65] Shahla Sherkat who established the *Zanan* magazine in the early 1990s, used this journal to express and write about "gender equality and social justice" for Muslim citizens living in Islamic Republic of Iran. For more information see: (Mir-Hosseini, 1996), (Najmabadi, 1998), (Moghadam, 2003), (Badran, 2005).

create “the prospects of new forms of cooperation”, Ahmadi (Ibid) points out. Rethinking and redefining the relations between feminism and Islam, have pushed both secular and Islamic feminists to convey ideas and opinions in order to achieve more women’s rights in the country. Tohidi (2007) believes that, this has initiated new and modern stages in politics of gender and feminist theories in Muslim countries.

Feminism is a global issue which in its pure meaning means the equality between men and women. Global feminism is flourishing in the world in an official way. The globalization of feminism in post-revolutionary Iran is mostly based on struggles that both secular and Islamic feminists are facing and solving in the country together (Ahmadi , 2006).

Women’s situation, activism and feminist movements in contemporary Iran, are “paradoxical and complicated”, which this inconsistent status is the outcome of several causes such as the patriarchal structure in the history and culture of the country, being in secular or religious (Islamic) side, the state ideology, nationalism, anti-imperialism, socialism, liberalism, human rights and recent causes like the rise of globalization, discourse of women’s rights in United Nations, universal movements of feminism and new means of communication such as Internet and social media (Tohidi, 2016).

Feminist scholars in Iran, observe sexuality as an “integral aspect of the state’s ideology” (Sedghi, 2007: 210). This issue is evident in both before and after the Islamic Revolution. From the Pahlavis to the present Iran, the state’s role in transforming “gender relations and women’s sexuality” is manifested in the daily life of both secular and religious women, Sedghi (Ibid: 202) states.

Mahdi (2004: 443), inscribing Iranian women’s movements from the midst of the Constitutional Revolution in 1920s to the after Islamic Revolution epoch, characterizes the post-revolutionary women’s movement as a “new social movement” and a “collective action without actors”. He states that “It is only in post-revolutionary Iran that we begin to see the re-birth of the movement with a “new identity and higher degree of autonomy” (Ibid: 439). In the first decade of after the revolution, with the eight years of war with Iraq, all secular pre-revolutionary women organizations were banned; however, after the election of 1997 social and legal policies regarding women started to change in gradual mode [66] (Mahdi, 2004).

[66] In Seyyed Mohammad Khatami’s presidency (1997 to 2005), Iran eased its international relations with the United States, “calling for equal rights and dignity” of all nations, “civilizational dialogue” and

In 20th century, Both Islamist and secular Iranian women began to be aware of their daily living conditions in Iran (Najmabadi, 1998). Women's higher self-consciousness and self-activity through the government, media, education and modern technology has terminated in positive alterations towards public attitude concerning them. However, liberal Muslim women, who are very realistic and feasible to the Islamic laws to be change in some scopes; elude to call themselves "feminist" because they presume that Islam, in itself has already relieved full rights of women in its principals (Mahdi, 2004). In addition, Mahdi remarks that, the state desires to detect a balance between Western individualism and Islamic collectivism. He argues that, the past dependency of women for gaining their rights and demands, on male-dominated political parties were partially wasteful, so they moved forward by relying on their own organizations, forums, groups, NGOs and civil society organizations which are separate from men to make it easier for both religious female activists and secular women to communicate better. He continues that this movement is "broad but uncoordinated" (Ibid: 445).

2.2.1 Secular feminism

Notions of secular feminism is close to feminism itself. Secular feminists inside and outside of the country have struggled to achieve and secure socio-political rights of Iranian women and attract the attentions towards situation of women in Iran in global scale (Ahmadi , 2006). Among their facing struggles gender-segregation policies in public spaces and city life was one of the significant concerns. Secular feminists living inside the country, often have a sense of silence by "dominant cultural climate" (Najmabadi, 1998: 59).

After the emergence of secular and Islamic feminism the whole discourse of feminism became more "authenticated" and growing of secular feminism (in an Islam-based country) is one of the evidences of it (Ibid: 60). For instance, in *Zanan* magazine which has the notions of Islamic feminism, well-known secular feminists make contributions without worrying about their old boundaries, Najmabadi highlights.

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the establishment of democracy, law and order, and civil society at home" (Sedghi, 2007). Generally, He guaranteed women in social and political involvement and democracy.

However, in the first stages after the emergence of these two specific discourses there was always a "distrust" atmosphere between Islamic (religious) and secular feminists and intellectuals (Tohidi, 2003: 21). After development of the Islamic feminists in global scale, this "distrust" issues became kind of vague and obscure. Nevertheless, Tohidi notes that, "distrust" between secular and Islamic activists has not collapsed in a certain and clear way. There is always a wall between them, but this wall is not a thick wall.

By referring to the phrase "Islam is a solution", many Islamic activists are using religious discourses in order to accomplish their goals that was counted as secular goals (Singerman, 2003: 96). One of the strategies of secular activists is to join the religious forces and fight for women's rights under the framework of Islamic rules and Islamic feminist notions, Singerman points out. Ahmadi highlights that, there was always a fear of delivering ideas against Islamic cleric rules and government for secular feminism. Thus, in order to achieve women's rights, there must have been an "inside force" within dominant Islamic framework in the country. This is why Islamic feminism has been came to the arena after the notions of secular feminism.

2.2.2 Islamic feminism

When Iranian Islamic women's issues became more comprehensive as a part of "modern Islamic discourse" after two decades passed from Islamic Revolution, new generation of feminists came to the era (Ahmadi, 2006: 35). Iranian Islamic (Muslim) feminists sought to rebuild gender in the discourse of Islam. Since the emergence of Islamic feminism discourse, its activists had tried to initiate new reinterpretations of "traditional Islamic theological and legal sources" (Ibid: 34). The Islamic framework advocates "indigenous values, tradition, and authenticity" as its tools to (re)claim women's justice in Islam with the help of religious practices (Singerman, 2003: 102). Female intellectuals used Quran's language and combined it with new feminism ideas, but "in an Islamic voice" (Badran, 2005: 10). "This Islamic feminism did not whitewash the Islamic Republic of Iran, but criticized it and demanded a different reading of Islam", as Badran (Ibid) quotes.

In Badran's (2002) words, Islamic Feminism is a "global phenomenon", it is not the production of Muslim societies; indeed, it transfers ideas between Eastern and Western

countries. Islamic feminists utilize methods of "linguistics, history, literary criticism, sociology, anthropology, etc." (Badran, 2002). Rethinking, questioning and reinterpreting Islamic sources are not an innovative process discovered merely by Iranian Islamic feminists.

However, Najmabadi and Ahmadi suggest that, Iranian Islamic feminist has portrayed rethinking gender in new and more "radical" ways. These Iranian activists' criticism towards laws stated in Quran plays a significant role "for a radical change of Islamic discourse on women's issues" (Ahmadi, 2006: 43). People criticizing Quran were counted as *kafar* [67]; however, now Islamic feminists created an atmosphere to easily question Islamic rules related to women (Ahmadi , 2006). Women who were requiring their rights in social and political context were counted as un-Islamic and westernized. Besides, they were often blamed as importers of Western ideologies when they were asking for "social justice" (Ibid: 44). This is why Islamic feminists sought to prove that their thoughts are rooted in culture and Islamic religion; thus, they differentiated themselves form "Western feminists". Ahmadi (Ibid) suggest that, they call themselves as "third world feminists". Although, *Zanan* translates works of famous Western scholars (Ahmadi , 2006). In some notions, Islamic feminists reject secular ones, because they consider them as "feminists". According to their ideas, "it is not only that feminism is "secular" but feminists are upper or middle class, educated, and often, foreign-educated" (Singerman, 2003: 99) or they possess western ideas of feminism or they are "western feminists".

In the Middle East Muslim countries, both Muslim and secular feminists, especially those who possess political power, are searching "for Islamic solutions for a very modern problem" to make changes in women's status, Ahmadi (2006: 35) declares. American scholar Margot Badran (2002) notes that, Iranian Islamic feminists extract ideas of secular and Western feminists to extend its demands and affirmations. In order to solve modern problems that women (citizens) have, Islamic feminists who have strong political statues or in some ways relate to politics, may use notions of secularism; however, by proving their respect and loyalty to basic Islamic rules and Islamic policies formed by the Islamic government. Ahmadi (2006: 50) emphasizes on

[67] Infidels

Jonas Svensson's (1996) note on Islamic feminism which says that, most of the Muslim feminists believe that "Islam is a religion of equality".

Equality and participation in the world of politics (just like men) is one of the requirements of women living in Muslim societies (Ahmadi , 2006). Women who work in the fields of culture and religion desire to make modifications on women's situation who live in Islamic countries, Ahmadi continues. Still, many reformist men in politics do not possess obvious understanding towards gender equality; thus, this is women intellectual's (weather secular or Islamic) responsibility to make specific moves in order to achieve their desires and demands (Tohidi, 2003). Major sources such as, high degrees of education, women's participation in labor force, political democratization, is helping and supporting women to earn more political positions and power (Moghadam, 2003).

It is important for this study to note that, Ahmadi classifies Islamic feminists in two categories: "Muslim women activists who identify themselves as Islamic feminists and those who do not, and also those women who are in power and those who are not" (Ahmadi, 2006: 35).

There is association between "Islam as a state power and a very high degree of Western-influenced modernization" in this specific discourse of feminism (Ibid: 52). Iranian Women's fighting for their rights and justice has been globalized and this has been substantial for the creation of Islamic feminism (Ahmadi , 2006). This globalization process has roots since 1970s, Ahmadi stresses. Diverse local and global conferences on women and studies related to gender and women are the evidences of, in Ahmadi's (2006: 53) phrase "flourishing of a global feminism". Different "forums for nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)" are demonstrating the development of international collaboration between various women's organizations and to grow "global feminist consciousness" (Ibid). In addition, as for this study's focus, we can see this globalization of Islamic women searching for their rights, in the happing of national and international events, congresses and scientific conferences.

As a finding, this thesis focuses and mentions conferences of this scale organized by Tehran Municipality and Department of Women's Affairs which possess the scope and concept of "women and urban life". In addition, this research is seeking for the key decision-makers and initiators of these conferences who possess the characteristics of Islamic feminist which mentioned above: Iranian, Muslim, women, elite, who have the

power in politics (see Chapter 3). Ahmadi believes, the women who have these specifications may answer the "exigency" that women face in Iran. However, we should also consider that, as mentioned before, these women may not accept (or conscious) that they are Islamic feminists (or they are "feminists" in its general meaning), or they may not know that this discourse is existing in the Islamic world.

2.2.3 National organizations related to women

Parvin Paidar's book firmly states the central role of women in the political statements of 20th century Iran. The women's movement in the early 20th century can be described as urban, elitist and ideological organizations depended on major male-dominated political parties (Mahdi, 2004). 1979 Revolution put an end to the activity of Women's Organization of Iran (in Pahlavi) and established and re-opened new organizations representing women with Islamic beliefs [68] (Mahdi, 2004). The Islamic era along with its transformation of gender issues created new institutions and organizations in national scale. Shahla Habibi, the first conservative- reformist consultant in the Vice Presidency for Women and Family Affairs[69], a cabinet level position related to the government under the supervisor of female politicians notified the state to "put aside narrow-mindedness and appoint women to high office" (Sedghi, 2007: 240).

Furthermore, Mahdi asserts that, activist women were mostly urban educated and "high culture" (upper and upper-middle class), also came from families in which men were active in social, political and cultural affairs. Department of Women's Affair[70] which is under the ruling system of Tehran Municipality is the first institution related to women and urban life by the municipality and it is situated in the focal point of this study because the women-only parks are the outcome of this organization's activities. Analyzing this organization counts as one of the findings of this thesis. Due to the fact

[68] These included the National Union of Women, the Committee for Solidarity of Women, the Organization of Iranian Women, the Women's Populace of Iran, women's branch of National Democratic Front, the Association of Women Lawyers, and the Women's Society of Islamic Revolution, and the Muslim Women's Movement. For more information see: (Mahdi, 2004).

[69] *Moavenat-e Omoor-e Zanan va Khanevadeh*, At first it was named after "Bureau of Women's Affairs" then changed to the 'Centre for Women's Participation Affairs' in Mohammad Khatami's presidency; afterwards in Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's presidency in 2005, the office was renamed to the 'Center for Women and Family Affairs'. http://women.gov.ir/en

[70] *Omoor-e Banovane Shahrdari-e Tehran*

that, Women's Affair is related to "management" of Tehran Municipality and it has strong impact on directing issues related to women in city scale, Chapter 3 which involves management of city growth, is elaborating it and describe it as it is one of the key findings of this thesis.

2.3 Conclusion

2.3.1 Stages of feminism in Iran

In summary, with the help of Tohidi's classification, feminist formations and women's movements in Iran from political point of view consist of eight stages:

1. The era of Constitutional Revolution (1905–1925): women associations usually were semisecret and aimed to help women in literacy, public education, hygiene and vocational training. In addition, women's isolation, polygamy and domestic abuse were criticized.
2. The era of modern nation-state (1920s–1940s): involved with expansion of literacy, women's right in entering universities, progressive expansion of women's organizations and press, obligatory unveiling (anti-*hijab* or in farsi *Kashf-e Hijab*) of women by the state's dictatorship (1935) and obligatory Western dress code for both men and women.
3. The era of nationalization (of the oil industry) (1940s–1950s): caused women to participate in more political activities. However, there were more reform and egalitarian projects with regard to women, there were no legal reforms about women's suffrage and modifications in family law.
4. The era of modernization (1960s–1970s): witnessed working of expert women in rapid urbanization, reforms around women's suffrage and family law, women's independent associations with the state control, top-down progress of authoritarian modernization without democracy, thereby formation of a dual community. (as mentioned in this Chapter, Before Islamic Revolution)
5. The era of Islamic Revolution and Islamization (1979–1997): involved with large socio-political raise of men and women, soon after came with the discrimination of women in state policies, compulsory veiling (*hijab*), sex segregation, war and violence, political restraint, fall of economy.
6. The era of post- Islamist reform and pragmatism under President Khatami (1997-2005): involved with social and political democracy, neoliberalism, civil society

associations, more liberal press (like feminist press), economic growth which did not last long.

7. The era of neo-conservative and populist under President Ahmadinejad (2005-2013): involved with rebirth of Islamist radical groups, international sanctions and gradual fall of economy.
8. The era of moderation under President Rouhani (2013,): has involved with exceptional turn in foreign policy, positive decisions in nuclear crises, and improvements in women's rights.

2.3.2 A gap in administrating women issues in urban scale of post-revolutionary period

As a conclusion, it is significant to mention that, before the Islamic Revolution, there was not a clear definition for the discourse of feminism, and if there was, feminism was circumscribed in its general and global definition. Pahlavi state intended to solve the basic civil rights of women and saw them as its modernization project and an approach to feminism. In addition, putting a female coordinator in the political platform who is from royal family or a relative from the state officials was also counted as feminism for the Pahlavi. After the Islamic Revolution, feminism in Iran became more delicate and detailed, in which it turned into two different types of secular and Islamic. However, this classification of feminism does not mean that the Islamic government is the supporter of the discourse of feminism or these two paradigms.

In order to reach to the creation of Mothers' Paradise women-only park, this study considers Tehran Municipality as the highest intuition which is under the control of the Islamic government and it seeks for women institutions related to it, who have the responsibilities to solve women's issues in urban life and who "may" maintain the notions of Islamic feminism. Chapter 3, is discussing the proceedings and actions that Tehran Municipality has done for issues related to women and of course with the coordination of its smaller institution like Women's Affairs. This section in Chapter 3, will clear the obscure responsibilities and areas of intervention of the municipality in case of women.

CHAPTER 3

Transformation of Urban Form and Management in Tehran

3.1 Pre-revolutionary urbanism of Tehran, since the late 1960s

Beginning with modernity provides a structure for our discussion to study the transformation of urban form and its management in Iran's capital city, Tehran, seated at the foot of *Alborz* Mountains (Figure 22, 23, 24). Considering the urban transformation of Tehran prompts better understanding of the areas of the study in the previous chapters related to feminism, women and gender issues in urban context. Modernity, as Berman (1983: 16) call it a "body of experience" gives the chance and power to men and women to "change the world that is changing them*"*.

In a general sense, Mashayekhi (2016) affirms that notions of modernity have been at the core of socio-political arena in the early nineteenth century in Iran. Before the Islamic Revolution in 1979, there are two phases of modernity: "Modernity I", the First Pahlavi (1925-1945) and "Modernity II", the Second Pahlavi (1945-1979) [71] (Mashayekhi, 2016). According to Vahdatzad and Emami, Tehran's growth towards modernity began in 1930s, in Reza Shah Pahlavi's state (1925- 1941); for instance, in 1937 city walls and gates destroyed and streets got in their place. However, since the 1850s, Iran has been confronted with modernity in divergent aspects of intellectual, cultural, economic and political capabilities (Vahdatzad, 2013). The leading socio-urban changes in Iran happened since 1945, with the chief constitution of urban middle class and modern urban planning (Habibi, De Meulder , & Habibi, 2016). In general terms, consecutive plans in Reza Shah Pahlavi's ruling Period were the major factors to the capital's modernization practice (Mashayekhi, 2016). These plans as Reza shah's modernity in urban scale, was chiefly based on infrastructure and physical planning (Vahdatzad, 2013). This chapter is discussing Tehran's transformation in urban form and management after the 1960s and mostly focuses on post-Islamic period, especially after 1990s.

Tehran's urban change was affected by European (in Reza Shah's era) later American (in Mohammad Reza Shah's era) modernization projects, "such as building a centralized state, westernization, land reform, abolishing traditional feudalism and

[71] As a summary, in the first phase of modernity, plans of "modernizing the structure of the state and the economy" and "industrialization" transformed Iran into an urbanized country. Then, they were halted by the WWII and the resignation of Reza Shah (1878-1944). In the second phase of modernity, under the ruling system of Reza Shah's son, Mohammad Reza Shah (1919, 1980), Iran was under tensions because of the "nationalization of the oil industry" in 1951 by Prime Minister Mohammad Mosaddeq. For more information for pre-Islamic Revolution modernity see: (Mashayekhi, 2016), (Mirsepassi, 2000) (Madanipour, 1998), (Banani , 1961).

industrialization" (Mashayekhi, 2016: 105). On the contrary to Reza Shah, in his son's era with the support of his wife, tradition played an important role to practice modernity (Tabibi, 2014). The architecture before the Islamic Revolution was defined and followed through the French, Anglo- American, German, and Italian postwar modernism; however, Iranian architects assumed their styles return back to national history which Mohajeri calls it "internalized Orientalism"[72] (Mohajeri, 2015: 489). For instance, as discussed in Chapter 2, *Shahestan Pahlavi* (1976) was the synthesis of traditional Persian architecture elements and Western planning methods and theory (Emami, 2014). Among the pre-revolutionary urban projects in Tehran, this study is discussing this civic center, because it is the last ideal form of the city's cultural core[73].

As mentioned before, under the shadow of White Revolution (1963) which increased the rural immigrants, 1960s and 1970s were the immense modernization periods for Iran with socio-economic transformations corresponding land reforms, industrialization, women's suffrage and public education; hence, the state required a urban phenomenon inside the city (such as a new master plan and a new city center) to capture its modern state[74]. Land reforms in 1960s was coinciding with women's achievements in their primary rights such as voting (Madanipour, 2011). In 1975, shah's power reached to its pinnacle, to accomplish his missions for a "great civilization" (Shawcross, 1989). As an example, the case of *Shahestan Pahlavi*, designed by Llewelyn-Davies International group (LDI) on the lands of Abbas Abad was a significant precedent of Iran's "great civilization" and the "state's bureaucratic power", using the architecture as an apparatus for "political legitimization" and "social engineering" (Emami, 2014: 71). State's power in *Shahestan Pahlavi* was reflecting a top-down control over the urban modernization by shah to represent a fictional relation

[72] As an example Iranian architects like Houshang Seyhoun's (1920- 2014) style is a borrowing from "Aalto's vernacular modernism and formalism of the French Beaux-Arts"; Nader Ardalan's (1939-) style has hints of "Kahn's monumental, formal language and his historical sensitivity" (Mohajeri, 2015). For more information see: (Grigor, 2009).

[73] Tehran's cultural core, cultural center or hearth of the city is "Abbas Abad land", where Mothers' Paradise has also been located. This thesis, in some sections is mentioning *Shahestan Pahlavi* as a pre-revolutionary example to demonstrate the changes in urban growth and management.

[74] Critical issues like the rise of nationalist government in Iran after World War II, nationalization of oil industry and the 1953 CIA-led *coup d'état* are the reasons why Pahlavi government was very passionate to implement modern planning, urban development and land reforms (Mohajeri, 2015).

between the top (monarch) and down (people as participants in a state space) (Emami, 2014).

Broadly, from 1925 to 1979 (both Pahlavi eras), the government was insisting on secularism, nationalism, administrative centralization, modernization of the army, expansion of bureaucracy, development of a transport network, integration of regions into a national market, and restructuring towns and cities in a modern way (Abrahamian, 1982), (Madanipour, 2006). Shah's state was willing to expedite the modernization process through planning (Madanipour, 2010). The last decade of Pahlavi (1970s) faced great deal of urban modernization; however, street protests of 1979 revolution caused many urban projects such as the civic center (*Shahestan Pahlavi*, as a symbol of shah's modernity and bureaucratic state and the last proposal for Tehran's cultural core) manifested as an absolute failure (Emami, 2014).

3.1.1 Urban growth management

In the second Pahlavi, genuine planning and basic urban changes began to happen in the 1960s, which Tehran was growing in size and population. The capital city saw the development of new plans in order to adjust and control future changes (Madanipour, 2006). Thus, the city with its complexities in municipal organization and comprehensive plans, needed "additional tools" to manage better, Madanipour (2006: 434) states.

Mashayekhi's study (2018) traces relationship between state development policies and planning in Tehran's urban development from 1945 till 1979 Revolution. She discusses that the Cold War (geopolitical context), Ford foundation and national modernization shaped Tehran's comprehensive master plan (in pre-revolutionary period). She continues regarding Iranian technocratic elite and professional middle-class in establishing planning institution like "Plan Organization", the first modern planning organization in Iran, established in 1949, which had a key role in shaping and supervising Iranian urban planning practices and as it became " technocratic headquarter" in Iran. It was the first organization focused on large public projects and it turned into a "planning ministry" (Madanipour, 2011).

Plan Organization "played a key role in linking Iranian political elite and professionals to international experts and agencies" (Mashayekhi, 2018). This half-independent[75] organization was the basic motivation for the development of the monarchy and capitalist state, supported by oil revenues (Madanipour, 2010). As Mashayekhi (2016) affirms, in order to run tremendous development projects, the Plan Organization put Western international architects and urban advisors such as Louis Kahn, Constantinos Doxiadis, Victor Gruen and Kenzo Tange into the urban planning business of Tehran; for instance, in 1964, it was the Plan Organization that chose Farmanfarmaian firm to join forces with Victor Gruen for preparing Tehran's twenty-five year Comprehensive Plan.

Tehran's social segregation between the North and the South in planning was always a crucial and vital problem. This issue, made the city's greenery destroyed and it left the managers in the municipality powerless (Madanipour, 2006). As mentioned before, Tehran's growth in size in 1960s caused extensions in city management; so, municipal organizations became complex than before. Madanipour (2006) states that, municipality could not be capable of management process from financial point of view. Thus, in order to manage the city in terms of solving class segregation problems, lack of green space and financial support, the municipality was searching for establishing a new help or assistance. Hence, in 1966, municipality of Tehran formed the Urban Planning High Council to develop "land-use planning in the form of comprehensive plans"[76] (Madanipour, 2006: 435).

The most significant step in planning and city development was the authorization of Tehran Comprehensive Plan (TCP) in 1968 (Madanipour, 2006), (Mashayekhi, 2018). Before Tehran Comprehensive Plan, land regulation and socioeconomic planning was introduced as urban management devices (Madanipour, 2006). On the whole, in the preparation process of the TCP, the municipality, Plan Organization and Urban Planning High Council were all involved (Figure 25).

[75] "The Plan Organization was a quasi-independent agency established to handle development expenditure without interference from government ministries" (Madanipour, 2010).

[76] Tehran Municipality was also working in line with Ministry of Housing to have enhance operations "in managing the growth of the cities" (Madanipour, 2006).

3.1.2 Tehran Comprehensive Plan (TCP), 1968

As mentioned before, this study is following the urban history of Iran[77] since second Pahlavi, mainly after the late 1960s. As a summary of Nader Ardalan's (American-Iranian architect) article (1986), the first seven-year National Development Plan was miscarried by the economic and political crises ensuing the nationalization of the oil industry in 1954, the second seven year development plan had impacts on architecture in the country until 1963[78], the third development plan (1963-68) offered more educational and health services in the city. The forth master plan which is generally called Tehran Comprehensive Plan (TCP) (1968-73)[79] was designed by Abdol-Aziz Farmanfarmaian [80] (Figure 11) Association and Victor Gruen [81] Associates of the United States under the supervision of the Iranian city planner Fereydoun Ghaffari. They were commissioned to yield the twenty-five year development plan with large-scale public buildings (Figure 26, 27).

In the first place, this plan aimed to clear up the issue of settlement in suburban areas and to solve the city's physical, social and economic fabric (Madanipour, 2011).The scope of twenty-five-year program of the master plan intended to force Tehran developing along to the west rather than the North (*Shemiran*) (Figure 28). In Vahdatzad's words, the plan analyzed the problems in terms of high density, new suburban expansions, pollution, weak infrastructure, unemployment and rural-urban migration. Mohajeri (2015: 490) writes that, the plan was "a collision of modernist

[77] In this study, history related to feminism, urban growth and management.

[78] During early 1960s, the monarchy state unified its economic and political power (Mashayekhi, 2018).

[79] TCP was designed in 1964 and completely approved in 1968.

[80] Abdol-Aziz Framanfarmaian (1920-2013) was from an aristocratic family and a graduate of the Ecole de Beaux Arts in Paris. He had established the first "consultant architects firm" in the country after his return from Paris in 1950 (Mashayekhi, 2016). As a reputable architect in the mid-1970s, he wanted to "emulate the Beaux-Art style in Iran. By 1975, Aziz Framanfarmaian and Associates was the biggest company, with 400 engineers, architects, draftsmen and service employees in the Tehran and awarded the contract for the Azadi stadium project. In addition, they established another office in Athens. Dominant projects such as Tehran's 1968 master plan, Shah's new palace in Niavaran, the Ministry of Agriculture, Tehran stadium, the headquarters for the National Iranian Radio and Television Organization were under the board of their commission (Milani, 2008).

[81] Victor Gruen (1903-1980) was the Austrian-American architect and planner from Los Angeles, known as the 'Mall Maker' and who gave architectural form to Amrican consumerism. He had switched from designing malls to urban planning by the early 1960s, and suggested an ideal diagram for a metropolitan district, resembling Ebenezer Howard's "Garden City". For Gruen, shah was his client (Hardwick & Gruen, 2004).

total planning, social engineering, postwar American suburbanization and consumerism and segregated communities". In Mashyekhi's (2016: 113) words the plan suggested "decentralization, relocation and displacement of the poor", "accommodation for commercial markets" and "facilitate the movement of automobiles" (Figure 29). In its physical form, it was divided into ten separated urban districts[82] linked with urban transportation network, each of them with high-rise residential buildings and commercial centers (Figure 30) (Madanipour, 2011). TCP had been the most noteworthy post-war planning record for the city (Madanipour, 2010). Generally, the plan depicted an image of "modern life-style" for Tehran (Mashayekhi, 2016: 113) (Figure 31, 32).

Coinciding with the sources of Madainipour and Emami, Tehran a city with 3 million population in 1966; 4.6 million in 1975 [83] was one of the fast growing metropolises of the world. The fast population growth in 1960s (especially labor force) made Tehran a center for flourishing in culture, economic and administration (Madanipour, 1998). This was mostly because of the colonization of the rural citizenry. Thus, the 1968 comprehensive plan, in respect, was impotent of prognosticate the rapid society growth in number; so that, the majority of the green spaces exchanged with residential properties with boosting prices (Vahdatzad, 2013).

Urban planning history of Tehran, indicates that there was always a little attempt to plan based on spatial equality [84] (Vahdatzad, 2013). TCP, also presented a class-segregated society between North and South, which the settlement of affluent families would be in the Northern districts; with the governmental zone, better supply of water and climate, higher defensive values and visual dominance, the central area by middle-income inhabitants and the South would be restrained for low-income families (Figure 2.11) (Emami, 2014), (Madanipour, 2011). As Bayat declares, there were near 400,000 inhabitants in fifty slums and squatter communities by the mid-1970s in the Southern regions, this is why the Northern parts stayed for middle and upper society with more greenery and modern facilities. The urban development was again towards

[82] Abbas Abad district was also among them, located in the hearth of the city.

[83] City size grew to 250 km^2

[84] According to a World Bank research project, by 1976, Iran had become the second country in the world without regional equality (Renaud, 1981).

Shemiran (Figure 30), an area in North of Tehran, close to *Alborz* Mountains with wealthy dwellers where summer palace gardens were located from the *Qajar* era (1794- 1925) [85] (Emami, 2014). Unlike the South, the Northern parts of Tehran was for the center for wealth and power (Mashayekhi, 2016).

According to TCP, Tehran had a problem in its high-density city center, unemployment in the South and constant migration of low-income people (Madanipour, 2010). This fact was also evident in *Shahestan Pahlavi* civic center project. It was designed for the families residing in Northern parts, as Emami (2014: 94) points out "the salaried middle class, under the shadow of the state"[86], to serve them with more superlative educational, health and green space facilities. Gruen-Farmanfarmaian's 1968 comprehensive plan and LDI's proposal both are examples of pre-revolutionary urban planning conducted for middle class society (Emami, 2014).

Generally, the second Pahlavi state's perspective into urban modernization was swinging from its romanticist social ambitions and realties rely on capitalist government, which is evident in the terrain of the TCP (Mohajeri, 2015). By the time TCP was initiated, Iran's development had a capitalist form which was supported by income coming from oil industry (Madanipour, 2010). As mentioned before, Plan Organization as a management office in urban planning was the most significant catalyst in the process of urban modernization, Madanipour states. In addition, after the 1973 oil boom which Tehran was developing and reforming rapidly in urban (with high-rise apartment buildings, green spaces, highways and subway system), economic (integration in world market) and cultural (attitude towards tradition and modernity) manners, shah disciplined the Plan Organization to raise the budget for Fifth Development Plan[87] (Emami, 2014), (Madanipour, 2006). However, TCP in itself, did not solve the problems that the city suffered mostly. The most important factor for monarchic state was to introduce itself as a modernized country with inviting

[85] In 1967, the Shah's family left the Marmar Palace at the old core and they moved to the Niavaran Palace in the west of Shemiran, as Bernard Hourcade states, this symbolically confirmed the social gap of the capital city (Emami, Urbanism of Grandiosity: Planning a New Urban Centre for Tehran (1973–76), 2014, p. 4), (Hourcade, 1992).

[86] Around 50,000 full-time employees hired by the government, because the 1960s and 1970s saw a rapid expansion of bureaucracy (Emami, 2014).

[87] After the forth development plan (1968 TCP).

international architects and urban planners to develop planning quality of the capital city. The mentioned crucial issues, such as the most important one which was social segregation still exists in the urban form of Tehran. Tehran's North-South social division[88] has remained even in the Islamic urban governance (Madanipour, 2011).

3.2 Urbanism of Tehran after 1979 Islamic Revolution

The Islamic Revolution in 1979 is the evidence of shah's government's collapse, due to the fact that, low and middle-income classes of the society were seeking for "democracy and social justice" (Mashayekhi, 2016: 116). Large number of "veiled and unveiled women, organized and unorganized, secular and religious, rich and poor, old and young" were the participants of the Revolution (Sedghi, 2007: 203). Customarily, revolutions happen because of the "interactions between the state, foreign powers and major domestic sociopolitical forces" (Ashraf & Banuazizi, 1985: 35). The post-revolution modernity is different from those two pre-revolutionary ones. Utter differences happened after the fall of monarchy power; so that, cleric rules and traditionalists developed in the country. The state developed *Shi'i* Islam as its foundation (Sedghi, 2007). The Revolution aimed to build a state under the "Islamic doctrine" to control the society by religious directions and traditions (Shirazi, 2018). The new state, proclaimed to form a state that is independent politically and economically from world market (Sedghi, 2007). There is a fact that, the urban growth in Iran was always related to oil revenues. Sedghi mentions, as OPEC's second largest oil producer, Iran possesses 9 percent of the oil reserves in the world, which by the 1979 Islamic Revolution, the annual trade profit changed from 85 to 95 percent.

In addition, the new state after the Islamic Revolution originated specific "retrogressive gender and cultural practices" (Afary, 2009). From the pre-revolutionary time, the power and control of the monarch over people, men over women, rich over poor, the North over the South of Tehran has been an indisputable issue (Amir-Ebrahimi, 2006). Even in post-revolutionary era, this fact is visible; however, religion, tradition and revolutionary interdictions has been the base and foundation, Amir-Ebrahimi continues. Under this new authority (since the revolution) women, their presence and activities in public spaces undergone fundamental changes

[88] The South of Tehran still suffers from serious problems such as: informal settlements, crime, unemployment and homelessness (Tabrizi & Madanipour, 2006).

(Amir-Ebrahimi, 2006). Islamic veil or *hijab*, has become the appearance of women in public spaces.

As Azizi and Fatemi state, modernizing Tehran has been faced with a "lack of continuity", not taking sufficient time to cope with the quick changes of urbanization. In the context of Iran's history, "the desire for modernity" could be classified into "the westernization of Iranian thought or thinking" and "the Iranization of Western thought or thinking" (Bani Masud, 2013). As Madanipour (2006) compiles, revolutionary and post-revolutionary urbanism have three periods: revolution (1979–1988), reconstruction (1989–1996), and reform (1997–2004).

After the revolution, eight years of war with Iraq (1980-1988) interrupted economic development of the country (Madanipour, 2006). In 1980s, because of the war with Iraq, urban fabric was deteriorated. In 1990s, "beautification" became an essential concern for the municipality; thus, new parks, cultural and recreational centers, roads, markets, office and retail complexes was initiated (Madanipour, 1999). Urban transformation of Tehran, mainly started from 19th century and it radically shift the image of the city from traditional, Middle Eastern city into a modern one" , a change which is obvious in building form, land-use plans and street patterns (Madanipour, 1999). Urban planning and development in this period had no effective framework of management (Madanipour, 2006).The development history of Tehran, has generated a "fragmented urban fabric, spreading in all possible directions, resulting in a congested, polluted, socially polarized, and resource-consuming metropolis" (Madanipour, 2011: 89). Today, Tehran is a city which is deep seated in tradition and wild modernity (Bayat , 2010). Here, tradition means Islamic values and modernity means becoming secularized and having clues from Western modernization projects.

3.2.1 Post-Islamic urban growth management

Despite the fact that Tehran Municipality has been established since 1910, in the pre-revolutionary era municipality did not play the most significant role in the city management in comparison to the post-Islamic period. However, as mentioned before, the period between 1906 and 1979 (Islamic Revolution) witnessed number of approaches to provide an acceptable framework for "urban management", Madanipour (2006) points out. In the post-revolutionary era, Tehran municipality has been introduced as a "semi-governmental organization" (Ansari, Youshanlouei, & Mood,

2012). Similar to the pre-Islamic era, the new municipality in the Islamic state also needed additional support from other organizations, while playing as the head organization. In the first stage, the city did not have the city council and the municipal autonomy that the revolutionary parliamentarians had asked for (Madanipour, 1999).

Tehran as the capital city is the location of the "national government" (Madanipour, 2011). Every important ministry, organization, institution, presidential office, parliament are found and established in Tehran, Madanipour (2011) continues. This system was also evident in pre-revolutionary period, which "all the state apparatus were based in Tehran" and all under the rules of central government (Madanipour, 2011: 76). Thus, country's elite and powerful community are all living in the capital city.

1979 Islamic Revolution as an outcome of social mobilization, brought a new demand for "democratic governance" (Madanipour, 1999). This new constitution was regarding the establishment of Islamic city council[89], which became financial supporter of the municipal government, Madanipour continues. Tehran city and urban development has been managed by structure of the municipality, which it has a "central, main municipality" and 22 other municipalities as "district municipalities"[90], each with different mayors, deputies and advisors. The mayor of the central municipality is the actual mayor of the city. Tehran City Council elects the mayor and introduces the candidate to the Iran Ministry of Interior[91]. When there was no city council, the municipality and mayors were designated by the Ministry of Interior. Both municipal organizations (central municipality as the main organizer) and city council are running the city in terms of management, development, programming and planning (Madanipour, 2011).

It is important to note that, in Iran, the key decisions of large projects' (re)development are taken in government meetings by government organizations like municipalities, Ministry of Roads and Urban Development and religious institutions, where only the government can allow private sector to interfere, because the state is the "key financier and developer", backed by oil revenues (Vaziri Zadeh, 2016). Mayor's post in Iran is

[89] City Council has been introduced in 1999 (Madanipour, 2011).

[90] Each district is also divided to smaller neighborhoods.

[91] For more information see: (Madanipour, 1999), (Madanipour, 2011). Also, Tehran Municipality official website: www.tehran.ir

"a very prominent political position"; for instance, in 1990s, mayor was one of the participators in governmental meetings (Madanipour, 2011). This position "is subject to constant controversy and power struggles", which may end to presidential elections [92] (Madanipour, 2011). Thus, the position of mayor is sensitive and completely related to the central Islamic government.

According to Tehran Municipality programming workbook (1996), power and responsibility division among government ministries and the municipality is an origin of tension. According to their potential, local ministries become involved in delivering services, dealing with main national and urban problems. Municipality is a local organization, which perceives it difficult crossing the division line between several public and governmental agencies (Tehran Municipality, 1996). These intersections between the responsibilities of the municipality and other local, public agencies creates disorders in municipality and mayor's role in the city management (Tehran Municipality, 1996). However, whatever happens in terms of development, new urban or architectural projects or even urban shortages in the city are directly related to the municipal responsibilities which the mayor is the key person in charge.

City council with 15 members controls and monitors the actions and responsibilities of the mayor who works as an "executive manager of the city" (Madanipour, 2011: 74). One of the most significant and crucial factors of the "institutional agreements" is based on "the relationship between the city council and the mayor" (Ibid). As Madanipour (Ibid) highlights, "the tensions between the mayor and the council are part of the teething problems of the city council's re-emergence after a long period of inactivity".

Tehran Municipality has always been under the supervision of government ministries and its role was to accomplish and implement the plans provided by private consultant firms rather than preparing and improving them (Madanipour, 2006). The relationship between the municipality (mayor) and the "central government" is very important (Madanipour, 2011) (Figure 33). The municipality of Tehran is not an organization only responsible for citizens' urban life, it is also a branch under the ruling system of the central government, Madanipour (2011) points out.

This has been always a question that, if the municipality is a governmental or a non-governmental organization. "The municipality is a public non-governmental

[92] As it did for Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and Mohammad-Bagher Qalibaf.

organization and does not include governmental budget; however, the Court of Audit has recorded that it cannot monitor all municipal budget except the supporting budgets coming from the government to the municipality" Qalibaf says[93]. Tehran municipality has been very "politically sensitive", so that every substitute has entertained in essential changes of politics (Mirsadeghi, 2016: 141). In the modern history of the municipalities (here, Tehran Municipality), there was always struggles "between democratic aspirations for local autonomy and the central government's assertion of its powers" (Madanipour, 2011: 75). It has been said that, municipality of Tehran is an autonomous non-governmental organization. However, when city council or other ministries such as Ministry of Interior interfere in the municipal actions, it automatically creates "a tense of power relationship" (Ibid).

As a summary, Madanipour (2011) categorizes the activities of Tehran Municipality into three:

1. Administrative services, such as organizational issues, renewal tax and revenue.
2. Urban services, such as city's cleanness, water distribution, social services, urban transportation system, traffic, security, environmental improvement and maintenance.
3. Urban development, such as infrastructure planning, improvement and development planning, city facilities for citizens (cultural, touristic, entertainment, sports etc.)

3.2.2 Post-revolutionary master plans of Tehran

Ultimately, 1968 TCP, the urban production of monarchy state, became pointless after the Islamic Revolution[94] (Emami, 2014). In 1998, Tehran's mayor criticized it for being mainly a physical development plan, following the political structure of shah's regime, and not propounding the problems of the city (Dehaghani, 1995), (Madanipour, 2006).

[93] Newspaper clipping translated by author. Tehran's mayor: "*The government reduced 46 percent of municipal budget*". *Hamian-e Velayat* News station, 17. January. 2017, News code :45779

[94] "On the eve of the revolution, Tehran's population had reached five million, only half a million less than what the Gruen-Farmanfarmaian master plan had envisioned for fifteen years later" (Emami, 2014).

By the end of Pahlavi monarchy, the parts of transportation network and some large-scale housing projects of TCP was merely under construction (Madanipour, 1998), (Karimi, 2009). TCP was failed because of the revolution and Iran-Iraq war, which in the early 1990s its twenty-five year durability and lifespan ended completely (Madanipour, 2011). However, it had strong impacts in road network, public transformation, division of the city regions and it remained as the foundation of the infrastructure development, Madanipour (2011) states. By that time, Tehran's cultural center (Abbas Abad) was mainly a mixed residential and business region of the city, under development for high-income citizens (Amirahmadi & Kiafar, 1987).

In 1991, the twenty-five year lifespan of TCP have reached to the end. In 1985, ATEC Consultant Engineers assigned to design the master plan of Tehran from 1986 till 1996. In 1993 the Urban Planning High Council approved it (Figure 34). The plan was focusing on "growth management and a linear spatial strategy, using the scales of urban region, sub-region, district, area and neighborhood" (Madanipor, 2006: 436). It divided the city into 22 regions each with their own services (Tehran Municipality, 2004). However, the plan was not well received by the municipality in 1993. The authorities found it "unrealistic, expensive and impossible to implement" (Madanipor, 2006: 436). Thus, the municipality prepared its own master plan (1996-2001), it introduced the city's problems as lack of resources in delivering services, environmental pollution and the absence of efficient public transportation system, as Madanipour notes.

After the Iran-Iraq war (1980- 1988) reconstruction era and urban planning conations began and took the whole 1990s and the mid-20th century. Tehran Municipality initiated new modernization projects such as highways and high-rise buildings after the war in 1988 (Shirazi, 2018). In 2001, the Tehran Municipality, city council members, non-governmental organizations and urban specialists diffused a point of view for developing methods in increasing the quality of natural and built environment, transportation, social, cultural, economic aspects of the city and urban management (Madanipour, 2006).

On the whole urban modernity in Tehran occurred since the first Pahlavi (as the first era (1871-1924)) and reached to its peak in the second Pahlavi (as the second era (1924-1979)). Right after the 1979 Islamic Revolution, the state ignored to follow the Tehran 1968 Master Plan; even though; there were no further plan for the city (Shirazi, 2018). The initial 10 years after the revolution, as the third era followed the concept of

anti-modernity and denying the past (monarchy); so that with the rejection of TCP and the increasing number of immigrants to the capital city an unorganized and unreliable development plan to the North, South and East of Tehran occurred. In this period, Tehran municipality as the local government was not active enough in case of urban planning and management and in terms of performance it was operating away from the central government. The forth era with the scheme of the, as Andalib calls it, "reviving the modern city" happened between 1988 to 1999 (after the Iran-Iraq war to the first formation of the Islamic City Council) therefore the management instructions of the city was addressed by "technocratic approach"; thus, Tehran Municipality as an executive manager of the city entered to the scene[95]. The fifth era (1999- 2003) witnessed weaknesses in the technocratic approach due to the conflicts between Tehran Municipality and Islamic Council. In the sixth era (2003- 2005) the comprehensive plan were observed along with social approach and the seventh era which is after 2005 is the epoch of, as Andalib says, "the period of urban institution", which both the Municipality and the Islamic Council start to operate together. In this period the urban management reaches to its maximum power (Andalib , 2009). By this time, the post-revolutionary Tehran followed the modernist approach including the supplying of the new master plan of Tehran in 2006 (Shirazi, 2018) (Figure 35).

As Shirazi (2018: 171) continues this "utopian vision of a traditional Islamic city" was still missing in the last document[96]. As Shirazi states, different architectural groups have made the city with their own style and taste in architecture, from "traditionalism" to "hyper-modernism" and urban planning in the post-revolutionary era is a space between "Islamic urbanism" and "modern urbanism". The Islamic Republic is ruling the country around four decades; however, the actual meaning of "Islamic" in politics, culture and social layers has not been understood in an explicit way (Shirazi, 2018). In 2006, under the supervision of Tehran Municipality, a strategic plan was initiated and prepared by 22 consultant firms[97] for 22 regions of Tehran. This comprehensive plan

[95] Large and considerable projects such as *Navab* Highway and modern high-rise residential complexes in North began to be constructed by the supervision of the Tehran Municipality.

[96] The post-revolutionary conservative government introduced Tehran as the '*Omm-ol-Goray-e Jahane Islam*' (Mother-Town of the Islamic World) (Shirazi, 2018); however the signs of Islamic urbanism was not evident enough.

[97] Consortium of consultant firms, led by Boom Sazegan, was assigned for the task to prepare a "comprehensive strategic plan" (Madanipour, 2011).

analyzed that, Tehran suffers from lack of operative strategic planning and land-use regulation, air pollution, heavy traffic and inadequate public space etc. (Madanipour, 2011). As its physical from, the west of the city is more live than the eastern part, it possess cultivated cultural and educational areas, more highways, parks universities and shopping centers, and the population in this part (mostly in the northwest of the city) consists of well-educated and young social groups (Rabiei-Dastjerdi & Kazemi, 2016). In a general sense, the North and East of the city is mostly dedicated to residential areas, the West and South-West to industrial use and the central areas to office, commercial and touristic centers (Madanipour, 1999). With its growth through municipal policies, city planning system, contributed to increase the amount of facilities in the center. However, in the initial steps, services in the central areas provided decentralization promoted by public and private authorities (Madanipour, 2011).This master plan is the production of the municipality while Mohammad-Bagher Qalibaf was the mayor of Tehran. His post in the municipality was from 2005 till 2017.

3.2.3 Finding: Department of Women's Affairs and its activities in the municipality of Tehran

In order to understand the creation of Mothers' Paradise women-only park, it is important to point out the involved organizations. As mentioned before, presence and activities of women in the urban public spaces of post-Islamic period has become a problematic issue. None of the post-revolutionary women organizations discussed in Chapter 2 are related to women's urban life under the ruling system of a powerful authority like the municipality of Tehran. However, this section of Chapter 3 which is part of this thesis's findings, is introducing Department of Women's Affairs in Tehran Municipality with its highlighted activities in the fields related to women (fields mostly in the scope of this research).

To expand the discussion around Tehrani women in urban life, it is important to bring up Qalibaf's actions during his course as a mayor. One of the focal points of this study is to seek the roots of post-revolutionary actions for women in urban life by municipal organizations, which the argument starts from the time Qlaibaf became the Mayor of Tehran (2005-2017). As reported in his own website [98], Mohammad-Bagher Qalibaf's

[98] See Mohammad-Bagher Qalibaf's official website, http://ghalibaf.ir

most significant projects are: Tehran detailed plan (2006 master plan) , strengthening the city infrastructure, public transportation development, decreasing the destination between the North and the South of the capital city, Tehran's globalization, construction of leading urban tunnels, highway network development, division of Tehran into 380 neighborhoods, considerable growth in Tehran's cultural spaces, substantiation of Electronic City, green space development, mechanized recycling system, major construction projects such as two-level highways, Museum Gardens, Thematic Gardens[99], empowering vulnerable female-headed households, City for Women (*Shahrbanou*)[100] and women-only parks. As can be seen, one of the important projects that his municipality has developed is to create and improve spaces only for female citizens, like a "city", "complex" or "park".

Washington Post[101] records that Many Tehran residents exalt Qalibaf as a rare Iranian official capable of obtaining positive performances for the capital, and he has achieved international praise for urban management who has been shortlisted for several international mayoral awards. According to Independent World Wide News[102] and *Mehr* News Agency[103] Tehran's mayor, Qalibaf has been given 8th place among the top 11 mayors by World Mayor for the year 2008.

According to an interview of Young Journalists Club[104] with Narges Maadanipour[105], the general director of Department of Women's Affairs[106] in Tehran Municipality, "the most significant sign of Qalibif's promotion was the formation of the Department of Women's Affairs". This department has been established in October 2005 by Qalibaf's

[99] Mostly located in Abbas Abad district.

[100] *Shahrbanou* consists of two words: *Shahr* (city), *banou* (woman, lady), together it means a city for women.

[101] "Tehran mayor Qalibaf seen as a strong contender in Iranian presidential race", By Jason Rezaian, The Washington Post, June 5, 2013.

[102] UK Independent News Website, October.30.2008, https://www.independent.co.uk

[103] *Mehr* News Agency, October 14, 2008.

[104] *Bashgah-e Khabarnegaran-e Javan*, August 13, 2014. News code: 4933534

[105] After her post as the general director of the Women's Affairs, in Qalibaf's period, she became the mayor of the Tehran's 13th region, located in the east of the city.

[106] *Omoor-e Banovan-e Shahrdari-e Tehran*

wife under the supervision of Social and Cultural Affairs of Tehran Municipality[107] (Figure 33). In order to convey the part of findings of this study, searching through his wife's career as an influential female figure, Islamic activist in issues related to women in urban life and mayor's close advisor, is necessary and substantial.

Qalibaf's spouse, Zahra Sadat Moshir[108] (Figure 36), a doctor of social science, has been the mayor's assistant and advisor in the Department of Women's Affairs depended on the municipality of Tehran. Also, she became one of the three board directors for Cultural and Art Organization of Tehran Municipality in 2014[109]. She was not in the media before his husband's election as the mayor of Tehran in 2005. Moshir as a conservative with Islamic prospects has worked to improve the status of women in Tehran, merge them into the labor market, and support them to solve the social difficulties that they face. Her place reflects a support in assigning women to chief executive positions in the society, help them to address their challenges in education and employment along with conservative Islamic views without damaging "their feminine values in accordance with Islam", which underlines women's traditional family roles and positive point of view to gender-segregation in public spaces. If the value of women was protected in the framework of the family, Moshir said, they would be conscious and respect their feminine side. Moreover, she clears up other problems related to female citizens like the phenomenon of runway girls, prostitution and female prisoners[110]. In the interview with *Mehr* News Agency, she highlighted her success to enhance the inclusion of women in significant roles in Tehran Municipality by 10 percent[111].

Regarding her attitude on gender segregation[112] in public space, she established women-only parks by the help and support of municipal officials. As stated by Moshir,

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[107] *Mohavenat-e Omoor-e Ejtemayi va Farhangi-e Shahrdari-e Tehran*

[108] Information gathered in this subtitle is based on translation of workbook (Performance Report of the in the Department of Women's Affairs since March 2006, *Gozaresh-e Amalkard-e Ommor-e Banovan Farvardin 1385*) prepared from Empowering Female-Headed Households Organization.

[109] *Sazman-e Farhangi-Honarie Shahrdarie Tehran*. Based on *Asr-e Iran* Website (official news analysis site), July 7, 2017. News Code: 344628. https://www.asriran.com

[110] She established a program to create a special center for female drug users.

[111] *Mehr* News Agency, "*Dr.Zahra Moshir answers to Mehr: 10% growth in women's participation in urban management/ opening 4 women-only parks in the future*", 25.June.2008, News code: 705186 www.mehrnews.com/news/705186

[112] Ibid.

developing parks and educational institutions for female citizens is in harmony with the sensitivity of women who favor to be in a non-mixed space. She highlighted that, there are around 1,750 parks in Tehran without gender segregation approach; thus, setting up separate parks for women (especially traditional-religious women) is aimed to provide them more possibilities to participate in sports and leisure activities[113]. A poll system in 2006 revealed that Tehrani women required more sports and leisure centers, Moshir said. She has also supported efforts to run women taxi cab drivers only with female passengers (Figure 37). Activating such programs, in her point of view, means to increase the "safety" of female citizens.

As for her beliefs on feminism[114], Moshir highlights that "there is no place for feminists in the Tehran municipality". In her talk, she endorses the Islamic ideology of the founder of Islamic Republic. She assumes that a woman should not be under the control of a man; however, she is not in a higher position from him either. She counts feminism as a discourse which aims to disengage women from men's authority. She continues regarding feminism, it indeed attempts to release women from man's control; however, it only makes the repression of women harder.

Furthermore, with the support of her husband and under the supervision of Tehran Municipality, in 2007, she established the Empowering Female-headed Households Organization[115]. The process of empowering female-headed households with economic, social and cultural approaches is following the fields of job creation (*Kosar* training centers with the workshops of producing electronic devises, jewelry, cloths, food and handicrafts, *Kosar* self-employed markets, and other home jobs) (Figure 38), education, welfare affairs, consultation, psychic and social empowerment[116].

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[113] *Asr-e Iran* News Agency, Interview with Dr. Moshir, 16. May. 2009, News code: 72378, https://www.asriran.com/fa/send/72378

[114] Iranian Women's Association, *Kannoon-e Zanan-e Irani*, "*Qalibaf's wife: there is no place for feminists in the Tehran municipality*", 8.September.2007, http://ir-women.com/3708

[115] *Setad-e Tavanmandsazie Zanan-e Sarparast-e Khanevar*. The head of the organization, Fahimeh Firouzfar is also Dr. Moshir's assistant.

[116] Based on Persian booklets of Empowering Female-headed Households Organization provided and translated by author. Title of the document: Excerpts of the Experiences of the Empowering Female-headed Households Organization. The 2017 edition exists in the archival downloads of the foundation website. http://tavanmandsazi.tehran.ir

Another considerable achievement related to Empowering Female-headed Households Organization, is the exhibition of "Women and National production"[117] running from 2012 (at least 2 tours in a year), which is a platform for women to offer their works, crafts and brands in national or even international scale (Figure 39). Generally, with regard to inaugurate faster and easier communication between the vulnerable households and the senior advisers in the municipality, this foundation played an important role[118].

For better understanding of this research through the relationship between mentioned organizations ,politicians and women issues in urban scale, connecting them with the creation of women-only parks, it is necessary referring to the scientific research program of "Women and Urban Life" in 2010, which was also placed under Moshir's patronage (Figure 40). The aim of this scheme was to present scientific and academic achievements along with the plans and activities of executives and administrators of urban affairs in the fields related to women and gender equality in city life[119].

Above all, in 2016, the "Women and Urban Life" expanded in the scope of international congress. The organizers were Tehran's mayor advisory board in the Department of Women's Affairs and Tehran Municipality Studying and Planning center[120] and the main axes of the congress is following in the list below[121]:

1. Women, citizenship rights and urban management
2. Women and urban economics
3. Women and public space
4. Women, safety and urban damage
5. Women and social wealth
6. Women and development of urban suitability
7. Women, urban culture and modern communication technologies
8. Women, health and urban environment

[117] Ibid.

[118] Ibid.

[119] Ibid.

[120] *Markaze Motaleat va Barnamerizi-e Shahrdarie Tehran*

[121] Based on Persian booklets of Empowering Female-headed Households Organization provided and translated by author.

A long with international institutions and specialists, Laura Pérez, President of Metropolis Women and city councilor responsible for Feminist issues in the scope of urban life in Barcelona, attended as panelist at the First International Conference on Women and Urban Life in Tehran[122]. By focusing on Barcelona city and its new plan for gender equality, her speech was regarding "Empowerment and Social Justice" in improvements of the urban politics[123]. Pérez remarked: "We need the empowerment of women, both collectively and individually, and the promotion of policies that facilitate their involvement in public life and that drive relations between City Council and community action by women groups and social movements…" [124] During Pérez's meeting with Dr. Zahra Moshir, the head of the Department of Women's Affairs of Tehran Municipality, they came to an agreement to collaborate more on "gender and urban governance". As Metropolis reports, Pérez had the chance to get informed about Tehran's plans on empowerment of Tehrani women and gender- friendly (gender-responsive) public space (Figure 41) [125].

The British Marxist, anthropologist, geographer and political economist, Prof. David Harvey was also among the keynote speakers of the conference. His talk was presented by virtual video conference during the event (Figure 42). This issue faced with many opponent reactions from conservative sides of the government[126]. In accordance with Harvey's talk, he emphasized that, "we should see cities based on their geographical, cultural and social characteristics, so that with regard to these features we should start programming for various groups including women. The needs of the community can be developed in a divided way. This does not count as a "feminist" act, it is the discourse of paying attention to the demands of different people in the society. When we raise the question of "security" for women, it is not merely about their career, it is

[122] Conference was held on 11-12 December, 2016.

[123] Based on Metropolis website, 22.12.2016. For more information visit: https://www.metropolis.org/news/barcelona-presents-its-new-master-plan-gender-justice-tehran

[124] "It is important to consider that women's and men's needs are sometimes the same, but not always. We aren't in the same position, nor do we dedicate the same time to the care of dependents, or have the same access to the job or housing markets, or to the same economic resources. We do not move around the city in the same way. The strong development of the public transport network in the city, which is mainly used by women, is important" Pérez commented during the Q&A debate.

[125] Based on Metropolis, 22. Dec. 2016. For more information visit: https://www.metropolis.org/news/barcelona-presents-its-new-master-plan-gender-justice-tehran

[126] The speeches of Harvey and Moshir are translated by author form Farsi to English, http://www.magiran.com, *Shargh* Newspaper, no.2749, page.17.

also about their security in the urban life. Security is not limited to Asian and African women. It is also important for women living in New York". He argued that securing women is because of violence against them, so that by securing public spaces every group can use the space.

In the conference Moshir as the manager and main organizer, stated that, "one of the main concerns in Tehran's urban management has always been to combine the two discourses of "thought" and "action". She stated that, the municipality has been continuously struggling with planning in an active way in issues related to women. She also highlighted that, "for the creation, expansion and development of scientific actions towards women's requirements in urban life, we need to explore more theoretical concepts. Therefore, in order to consider the full participation of women regarding their citizenry identity, family priority and Iranian-Islamic lifestyle, we want to experience and share thoughts in the international scale…", "…We believe that women are the creative builders of a justice-centered society … a guide to the growth and excellence of a community."

Another event in the scale of "Women and Urban Life" happened again under the surveillance of Women's Affairs which was "Photography Festival of Women and Urban Life" (Figure 43, 44). The 7th event took place within the "1st International Conference on Women and Urban Life" in 2016 (Figure 45). The general scope of these photography festivals was around[127]:

1. Women and city life
2. Women, religion and ethics
3. Women and social life
4. Women and family
5. Women, culture and education
6. Women and socio-cultural capabilities

An alternative event done by Department of Women's Affairs together with Vice Presidency for Women and Family Affairs is the "1st National Conference on Women, Architecture and City" in Tehran[128] which hosted architects, urban planners, sociologists and experts in the field of "gender and space", as well as the analysis of

[127] Based on archives of the Women's Affair of the Tehran Municipality.

[128] *Nokhostin Conferans-e Zan, Memari va Shahr*, 26-27 February 2014

relationships between male and female architects with the community[129]. The main organizer of the conference was Institute for Strategic studies in Iranian Architecture with the aim of eliminating the "gender blindness" and "respecting varied social groups" in planning and developing cities; in addition, they created a platform in order to empower female architects and urban planners to raise their opportunities in management posts. According to the institute[130], "city and architecture must create space for different social groups in an equal manner…" women with adequate knowledge of their own situation, in parallel with men should try to provide appropriate strategic and practical plans to solve their problems rooted in architecture and urban space (Figure 46, 47). It is important to note in this study that, Reza Arjmand the professor of sociology, discussed in Chapter 1, who has wrote a book about women-only parks was among the participants of this event.

As mentioned before, one of the controversial proceedings that Women's Affair has done is setting up and developing the city infrastructure for women-only parks which Chapter 4 discusses the creation of the first women-only park, Mothers' Paradise. This study is not criticizing the park in terms of gender-segregation or gender-exclusive spaces. However, it considers it as an outcome of management of a municipal women-related organization, patronized by an Iranian, Muslim, women, elite, who have the power in politics. These characteristics has been described in Chapter 2 as for describing Islamic feminist person. In Iran, "products of modernity" and "industrial capitalism" are the resources of women's movements and feminist discourse (Tohidi, 2016). In the history of the county, Iranian women have achieved outstanding accomplishments in culture, socio-political domains, economic, education, literature and poetry, art and architecture.

Qalibaf's municipality may be the first post-revolutionary municipality with highest attention towards women and their situation in urban life. The Department of Women's Affairs has been established by his municipality four months after the beginning of his post as the mayor; although, the members of the Islamic City Council were against the

[129] Also other institutions were involved in organizing this conference: Tehran Azad University Central Branch , Sharestan Magazine, Islamic Azad University of Science and Research, Islamic Azad University of Ghazvin, Iran University of Science and Technology, Islamic Architecture Pole (*Ghotb-e Elmi-e Memari-e Eslami*), Iranian Architectural Association (*Anjoman-e Mafakher-e Memari-e Iran*), Iranian Urban Designer Association (Anjoman-e Trahan-e Shahri-e Iran), *Sharestan* Architectural Magazine, Harborz Co etc.

[130] http://isia.ir/wac/

creation of this organization. His wife says, they found it unnecessary for the municipality to establish such institute attached to women[131]. With a critical title "Does Qalibaf's point about women's participation in urban management means he wants to appoint his own wife in the municipality?" along with the reactions from members of the Tehran's Islamic city council, *Asr-e Iran's* report[132] highlights the lack of participation of women in the municipality. Also, city council members believe that the creation of women's City (*Shahrbanou*) or women-only parks are the results of men's management and applying more gender segregation in public spaces [133].

Despite all the criticism regarding the mayor and his actions towards women-related issues in city scale, Since he became the mayor of Tehran, the city has seen itself greener than ever by the creation of more urban parks (*Boustans*)[134] which are the outcomes of social and spatial consciousness and the realization of space as a content full of politics and privileges (Azizi & Fatemi, 2016). With all this process of making spaces, as Azizi and Fatemi continue, the city will face with different changes in social, political and economic decisions over "time"; even though, each factor may be right in this moment, it is temporary and it may change in the future. Regarding Tehran's center (Abbas Abad), Azizi and Fatemi believe that, with all of the major governmental and significant buildings constructed on Tehran's center, it has become a huge platform for the state's greed. Thus, the function of the space, the name of the space or even users may shift, and this totally depends on political status of the government.

3.3 Conclusion: Importance of municipal organizations in making decisions

This thesis maintains the municipality of Tehran as the central manager of the urban transformation which has been assisted financially and intellectually by other related organizations and institutions. This part of the study is answering the question that has

[131] Iranian Women's Association, *Kannoon-e Zanan-e Irani*, "*Qalibaf's wife: there is no place for feminists in the Tehran municipality*", 8.September.2007, http://ir-women.com/3708

[132] *Asr-e Iran* News Analysis Site, "*Does Qalibaf's point about women's participation in urban management means he wants to appoint his own wife in the municipality?"* 7.May.2017, News code: 537596, https://www.asriran.com/fa/send/537596

[133] Ibid.

[134] A *Boustan* is a large park or an urban platform dedicated to greenery, social activities, public open and closed spaces such as amphitheaters, cafes, general sports, urban art, etc.(Azizi & Fatemi, 2016). Mothers' Pardise is also a *Boustan*.

been asked in the ending paragraph of Chapter 2, which is regarding the gap in administrating women issues in urban scope in the post-revolutionary urbanism.

Before the Islamic Revolution the management and development of the city had problems in terms of social segregation between the North and South of Tehran. Mashayekhi (2016) believes that development plans which has been released in both Pahlavi eras did not improve the "social mobility". Reza Shah's modernization (like street plans, his own statues in city squares) was reflecting power of his modern state, on the other hand, Mohammad Reza Shah's modernization (like 1968 TCP) was mostly for his state's profit (Mashayekhi, 2016). This social segregation in the planning of the city still exists in the city. Tehran continues suffering from heavy traffic, pollution and high price of properties. After the revolution in terms of "segregation" but in a different scope of "gender", the policies of Islamic government towards women's presence in public spaces caused the municipality concerning about women in urban life. Thus gender segregation rules affected the urban spaces and its policies. In order to solve the problems of women in the framework of Islamic government, the municipality established an institution to address the troubles and difficulties of female citizens in urban scale.

Planning stages mentioned in this chapter demonstrate that planning is important "within an overall move towards democratic urban governance, to sophistication of municipal organization and city planning approaches, which are nevertheless far behind the momentous process of urban growth and development" (Madanipour, 2006: 437). Each stage of planning has added a different and new measurement and approach to city management, development and planning. Madanipour (2006) believes, each stage in the planning of the city have one similar intention which is "their preference for redevelopment". Mashayekhi (2016) indicates that, "Tehran's urban transformation process is not only an evolutionary transition from old to new, but it is a juxtaposition of historical layers of modernity and how one modernity project builds on previous projects to redefine the space of the city." This study claims that, city management from old to new, caused to identify new problems in the city, like women's health as one of the problems in the Islamic state; so that, the city managers try to solve the issues related to women. For instance, as for this study's concern, Department of Women's Affair as a municipal organization has been established to add, (re)developed and manage new approaches in the quality of women's urban life in the context of an Islamic country.

It is true that, the governance of Tehran city has been controlled and mastered by the central Islamic government. Despite the fact that, municipality of Tehran, has developed in terms of "size and complexity", yet it is under the decisions and rules of government ministries, even after the initiation of city council and its partial financial autonomy (Madanipour, 2006). However, this study agrees with Madanipour's (2006) view towards the municipality's importance as the main policy-maker in managing this metropolis.

CHAPTER 4

Findings: Ideas, Forms, Spaces and events of Mothers' Paradise Women-only Park

4.1 Mothers' Paradise as a component of Abbas Abad land

As mentioned in the previous chapters, Mothers' Paradise women-only park is located on the East edge of Abbas Abad land, which is known as beating heart of Tehran and a busy spot in Tehran's physical center with the area of 560 hectares. Arjmand calls this district the "functional core" of Tehran. With the rapid urban trend of Tehran in recent decades, Abbas Abad land[135] acted like huge island in the center of Tehran and its planning was seriously discussed in a big scale (Figure 4, 48). The land is important in terms of both physical, contextual and extraordinary historical aspects, with natural hills which divides Tehran into Northern Mountains and Southern field[136]. Abbas land is one of the great opportunities for Tehran which acts like a valuable island among Tehran's high density areas. Also, due to the fact that it is close to *Alborz* Mountains, it has natural values and spectacular views which can grow the sense of identity for Tehran; in other words, it is a land which provides backgrounds for favorable urban investments.

Abbas Abad area, from the North and the East is connected to Northern side of *Haghani* Highway, from the East to *Ghanbarzade* Street and *Jolfa* neighborhood, from the West to *Nelson Mandela* (former *Afrigha*) Boulevard, from the South to *Shahid Beheshti* and *Shahid Motahhari* streets. Three essential axis of Tehran (*Modarres*, *Hemmat*, *Resalat* Highways) are crossing from the land, which are dividing Abbas Abad into six main big blocks. In addition, three metro stations (*Haghani*, *Hemmat*, *Mosalla*) are providing the public access to the land (Figure 49).

Regarding the importance of the land because of its natural complications, topography, vision, landscape and excellent urban situation (Figure 50), there are many master plans prepared by Iranian and international prominent consultants and experts in architecture and urban planning since second Pahlavi. What has been happening in the 30 years period over the past few years indicates the importance of Abbas Abad. The suitability of the land has caused the prominent architects to propose ideas to increase

[135] The information about Abbas Abad is gathered by the translation of document (*Tarikhcheh-e Arazi-e Abbas Abad*) from Farsi to English founded in Abbas Abad Renovation Company (*Sherkat-e Nosazi-e Abbas Abad*).

[136] For Tehran city, which slopes from North to South, Abbas Abad hills are the most outstanding natural landscape that one can view the old city and Mount Damavand, Iran's highest peak, and the desert to the south (Emami, 2014).

the usage of the land. The land has experienced varied design proposals since the second Pahlavi era till now.

4.2 Mothers' Paradise before becoming Mother's Paradise: Ideals and ideas

This section introduces design proposals intended by national and international architects and their firms in a brief way. Afterwards it indicates Mothers' Paradise land's form and function in the proposed, but not constructed designs. Before the approval of Tehran Comprehensive plan (TCP) in 1968, there were no construction on the site of Abbas Abad. In a document prepared by Abbas Abad Renovation Company the master plans and design proposals which influenced Abbas Abad are listed below:

1. Abbas Abad master plan in TCP by Gruen-Farmanfarmaian,1968
2. Abbas Abad master plan, design proposals by Louis Kahn and Kenzo Tange, 1974
3. *Shahestan Pahlavi* design proposal as a master plan for Abbas Abad by Llewelyn-Davies International group (LDI), 1976
4. Abbas Abad master plan by Ijad group, 1990
5. Abbas Abad master Plan by ATEC and Arkolog Consulting Engineers, 1998
6. Abbas Abad master plan by Naqshe Jahan-Pars (NJP) Consulting Engineers, 2005

As can be seen, the first three proposals are related to the pre-revolutionary period and number 4, 5, 6 are the post-revolutionary designs suggested and partially constructed on for Abbas Abad.

The first design proposal is Farmanfarmaian and Gruen's Comprehensive Plan, which privileged Abbas Abad to be the strategic core of Tehran[137]; so, besides TCP, they also designed a separate master plan for this area. By Introducing Abbas Abad as one of the top ten regions[138] or as Emami (2014) calls "urban towns", each with about 500,000 inhabitants and subdivided into smaller areas[139] (Madanipour, 2006). Establishing a

[137] In Gruen-Farmanfarmaian's proposal, important buildings such as municipality buildings and National Oil Company was also designed.

[138] *Mantagheh*

[139] *Nahiyeh* and *Mahalleh*

modern urban center, in this master plan, was supposed to have significant office buildings, one mosque with vast area and tourism centers. In 1967, they determined the whole territory of the Abbas Abad land. The design goals were creating a modern city center for Tehran, creating an urban area with all needs and facilities by preparing a new land-use map. Farmanfarmaian group wanted to design public, governmental and residential buildings with different height and density, because they designed 1/3 of the land as residential purposes (with medium density, 275 person per hectare) which it took approximately 190 hectares of the whole land.

Mothers' Paradise's land in this design proposal was dedicated to residential buildings (Figure 51). The municipality of Tehran did not approve this master plan in 1971, because there was separation between activities and institutions. Also the municipality obliged to establish a stock company for the land which made major changes in decisions regarding Abbas Abad[140]. The major goal of this company was about Modernization and urban development of Abbas Abad land.

The second proposal for Abbas Abad is Louis Kahn's design[141]. Chapter 2 discussed it in terms of an architectural phenomenon administrated by Farah Diba, an influential female figure in inviting prominent architects to propose designs for an important landscape of the capital city. After examining the land, Louis Kahn with the central point of social and economic institutions for the growing population of future Tehran, he merely design the Southern part of the land (Mohajeri, 2015). Kahn seems to be designing a governmental center chiefly with administrative functions. Furthermore, the rest of the land (the center and the North) was mostly allocated to greenery spaces following the natural topography, because his vision was not to design a vast complex along the whole land[142] (Figure 17, 18). Mothers' Paradise's land in Kahn's design has remained empty and it has maintained its natural topography (Figure 52).

[140] In May 1974 the "Abbas Abad Renovation Company" (*Sherkat-e Nosazi-e Abbas Abad*) was officially established by Tehran Municipality to operate planning and construction on the site.

[141] For More information about Louis Kahn's design see: (Mohajeri, 2015).

[142] The information about Abbas Abad is by the translation of document (*Tarikhcheh-e Arazi-e Abbas Abad*) from Farsi to English founded in Abbas Abad Renovation Company.

On the other hand, Kenzo Tange assumed a North- South axis for his idea and it seems that he chose that axis on the metro line[143]. In the center of the axis, he put one immense North-South square and the other functions were distributed around it as megastructures and high-rise cylindrical towers and bridge-type residential buildings. Regarding the West and the East of the site, in the places adjacent to the residential areas near Abbas Abad, he considered greenery and open public spaces; which, Mothers' Paradise's land was also among them (Figure 53). In February 1974, Kahn and Tange presented their master plans to the Mayor of Tehran, and the royal family. Because of Kahn's Sudden death on March 1974, Tange's office processed the last proposal[144] and it also preserved the site's natural topography and the design focus was mostly on the central and Southern parts of the land.

The third proposal is *Shahestan Pahlavi* project by Llewelyn-Davies International (LDI)[145], which is the last design for Abbas Abad before the Islamic Revolution. Before *Shahestan* proposal, the land use around Abbas Abad was mostly residential including high-density, medium-high density and medium density apartments (Figure 54, 55). Among the built uses on the site itself, housing was also predominant (Figure 56). Around 50 hectares of the whole land was devoted to medium-high density housing, which was especially suited for medium-income families; the remainder are allocated to medium-high density (19 hectares), low-density embassy residences (16 hectares) and high density housing (12 hectares). Mothers' Paradise's land was supposed to be medium-density residential building site. It lies between the semi-circular rings of residential building along the eastern ridge consists of more conventional terrace houses build along a gently curving street that passes out of existing local streets (Figure 57). The site's flexibility of layout allowed for a mixture of different types of houses geared to different income groups. Broad pedestrian walkways and a linear park were connecting various sections of this neighborhood with the local primary schools and the community center to the North (Figure 58, 59).

[143] Metro lines of Tehran was designated since 1968, when TCP was conducted by Farmanfarmaian and Gruen.

[144] Completed by Arata Isozaki, whoc was working in Tange's office. For more information about Louis Kahn and Kenzo Tange's designs for Abbas Abad see: (Emami, 2014), (Mohajeri, 2015)

[145] Information is based on *Shahestan Pahlavi*, Book I: The Master Plan, Book II: Urban Design. The books are out of print now.

Individual courtyards, rooftop terraces and views into *Shahestan Pahlavi national park* was incorporated into the design of housing in this area because of its sloping terrain. The maximum permitted density was 100 units per hectares with height limit of 4 floors. A major design aim in this neighborhood was to maintain medium density with a low scale to match the adjacent neighborhoods.

In the first place, as a conclusion, the Mothers' Paradise before becoming a public park and women-only park (respectively) was assumed to be a residential spot in the Pahlavi era. The houses were designed for upper middle class of Tehrani People. Secondly, in case of physical proportions of the site, LDI did not consider the topography and neutrality of the site. As mentioned above, this site has the capability of having a view to the *Alborz* Mountains and creating a natural green environment like a park which makes more sense than a residential complex. In addition, LDI positioned the residential areas in the edge of the Abbas Abad; however, in today's Abbas Abad there is no residential spot inside the land[146], each of the 7 zones proposed by post-revolutionary designs, are specific to one of the functions of: greenery, recreational, commercial, administrative, cultural, religious, and touristic. After the Islamic Revolution in 1979, the *Shahestan Pahlavi* project halted completely.

The forth proposal is the first design idea for Abbas Abad after the Islamic Revolution, which was by Ijad group. The purpose of their design was to create a new city center, provide enough space for governmental offices, provide monumental spaces for the capital city, multifunctioning the land, combining day-night functions and establishing an efficient transportation network (Tehran Urban Research & Planning Center , 2017). This group proposed the creation of an "Administrative Gardens" in order to preserve the greenery and natural hills of the land. The part of Mothers' Paradise land was remained green in their proposed design, which also had recreational spots (Figure 60). However, in May 1992 the design failed by High Council of Architecture and Urbanism of Islamic Republic of Iran, because the group did not pay attention to the existence of Grand Mosque[147] of Tehran in the South of Abbas Abad.

[146] Only a little portion at the ending edge in the South (Zone D) is residential, which can be count as a little extension of the adjacent Southern neighborhood.

[147] *Mosalla*

The fifth design is by ATEC[148] and Arkolog groups. The main design principals for these architectural firms were accepting the topography of Abbas Abad and creating a walkable and active *Bazzar* line, adjacent governmental building near the Bazaar line and activating the nightlife. These consulting engineers divided the land into 8 parts for better inspection of the land and they analyzed the potentials and limits for each part. Mothers' Paradise's land has no design and it does not have any contributions with the central areas. As the color in the map is green, it may be kept as a green spot on the land (Figure 61). This design proposal was also did not get the full approval from Tehran Municipality because they also did not pay attention to the mosque in the South. As can be seen the southern area has remained empty.

The last design proposal is by Naqshe Jahan-Pars (NJP) Consulting Engineers[149]. The most important characteristic of this design is the idea of "conceptual or thematic gardens"; which demonstrates that this design has payed lots of attention in designing the green areas in a detailed way. For each green spot on the master plan, there is name of garden which is specific for a museum or a recreational and cultural center. Behnam Atabaki[150]states this idea, by applying the interpretation of ancient Iranian gardens for Abbas Abad was the main feature which makes this proposal different from other ones[151]. In this design, Mothers' Paradise land was a park named *Neshat* Public Park (*Boustan*), which the municipality of Tehran constructed it in 2004 (Figure 62).

[148] As mentioned in Chapter 3, ATEC group (established in 1981), commissioned in 1985 to prepare Tehran master plan from 1986 to 1996 (Figure 3.17) (Madanipour, 2006). Supposedly this was the reason to invite them to provide a masterplan for Abbas Abad too (Figure 3.18).

[149] In 1988, Naqsh,e, Jahan- Pars, as a private firm specialized in architecture and urban planning, established by world famous Iranian-born architect Seyed Hadi Mirmiran (1945- 2006).

[150] Manager of Abbas Abad Renovation Company between 2005 and 2011.

[151] *Hamshahri* Newspaper, "*Dastani Khandani be nam-e Abbas Abad* (A Story to Read about Abbas Abad)", 23. May.2018, News Code: 17407

4.3 Mothers' Paradise: Constructed forms and space (analytical diagrams)

The previous section described the proposals, ideas and ideals that the property of Mothers' Paradise has witnessed both in pre and post-revolutionary periods. This section is discussing the designs that ended to be constructed. As mentioned previously, Mothers' Paradise before becoming a women-only park was a public neighborhood park. *Neshat* Park's design and from was proposed by Naqshe Jahan-Pars (NJP) firm[152].

Neshat Park's[153] property had a natural hill-like site which was located in higher topography than the surrounding highways. From the East, it is attached to the residential neighborhood (Figure 63, 64). It had visual connectivity with significant landmarks out of the park such as *Alborz* Mountains, Grand Mosque of Tehran (*Mosalla*), and National Library of Iran. The car access to the park was from North-West connected to the *Haghani* Highway, from the South connected to the *Resalat* Highway and from the East connected to neighborhood streets. There were three pedestrian accesses (entrances) to the park, from North (*Kaviyan-e Gharbi* Street), from the East (*Nilgoon* Street) and from the South-East (*Parvaneh* Street). *Neshat* Park was divided into two parts, Northern and Southern properties. The Southern one, which is larger in its area (18.25 hectares) with high density of trees and greenery, is the main park which has three plazas, each connected to its neighboring property by walkable pedestrian overpasses. There was other activity spots, such as, *Arasbaran* cultural center, *Mahboobeh-Danesh* sports complex, bicycle station (for renting bicycle) and bicycle routs around the park. The highest point of the Southern area is around 1375 to 1390 meters and the maximum slope of the area is around 40 percent. The Northern part (4.15 hectares) which has been separated from the Southern park by a street (*Kaviyan-e Gharbi*) was mainly for park's service issues with low-density trees on its West part and no greenery on the Eastern parts. It is on the hill with a height

[152] By that time Mahmoud Ahmadinejad was the mayor of Tehran (before he became the president). The creation of the *Neshat* Park cost 30 Billion Rial. Based on *Mehr* News Agency, 24.April.2005

[153] The information about *Neshat* Park is by the translation of document from Farsi to English founded in Abbas Abad Renovation Company (*Sherkat-e Nosazi-e Abbas Abad*).

around 1390 meters as well, which is 25 meters higher than the enclosing streets (Figure 65, 66, 67).

In 11 May 2008[154], *Neshat* Park officially turned into Mother's Paradise as a women-only park by municipality officials, mayor Qalibaf and Dr. Moshir as the main initiator. Mothers' Paradise in Farsi is called *Boustan-e Behest-e Madaran*. It is counted as *Boustan* not merely a park. *Boustan* in ancient Persian gardening culture is attributed to vegetable garden or farms near village houses. Using the term near the name of a park means that the park is large in size and it has characteristics of organic and jungle-like gardens. On the other hand, the park's name is conveying the importance of women, especially the place of mothers. The name means, it is a park or a holy open air and green space which is like Paradise[155] assorted for mothers (Figure 68). Here, Paradise's meaning is the one which sits in Islam and Quran.

Women-only parks are the spaces which need to be enclosed and they need to be shown as invisible from the outside (Arjmand, 2016). As mentioned earlier in Chapter 1, in the Persian classic and traditional architecture, *biruni* is a masculine public space, *andaruni* is a private feminine space. The "enclosure" that Arjmand insists on, is a "discourse which is not an alien concept in urban design, cultural and normative values in Iran"; thus, for a gendered public space, enclosure is a "unique requirement". Enclosing a space which is necessary for safety and privacy can happen with fencing, wall, gates, arches, paving, vegetation and the like. (Gehl, 2011). The case study of Mothers' Paradise women-only park is enclosed by prefabricated steel walls (4 meters in height) painted in green to have the consistency in color with trees and bushes around it. Even, from the outside there are some paintings of green and yellow trees on these surfaces. In addition, as Arjmand believes these walls are acting as insulation to protect the park area from the noise of the surrounded highways (Figure 69).
The fencing map of Mothers' Paradise is unavailable. Also, the actual plan of this park is a rare plan, because of its security issues; however, for the better understanding of the urban form of the park, I provided it from the park management and the Department of Green Spaces in region.3 Municipality. The Northern area designated for *Neshat*

[154] The opening day of the park was at the same day with the birthday of *Hz. Zeynab* (a holy Islamic female figure).

[155] Paradise or heaven in Persian is *Pardis* or *Behesht*. A famous Persian quote says: "Paradise (heaven) is mothers' place" (*Behesht jaye madaran ast*).

Park is not involved in Mothers' Paradise's space. Only the large property in the South was fenced and dedicated to women-only use. Actually, the Northern area is an aid land and it does not have any vegetation (Figure 70). Now, the whole park is around 20 hectares and 5 hectares from the South is dedicated to public use (Figure 71). For better understanding of this issue, I draw the schematic fencing line by walking around the park and marking the areas around the women-only use part.

Due to the reputation of this district among citizens of the city, many women with different social and cultural grounds prefer this park. Even women who live in the Southern parts of the city are eager to use this park rather than other Sothern women-only parks[156]. It is because, Mothers' Paradise is on a topography and natural hills; however, the other parks are specially designed for being a women-only park, with a flat ground. Women who are living in the southern parts of Tehran prefer Mothers' Paradise because of the safety and security issues, good accessibility to the public transportation ; even though, there are women-only parks in the South of Tehran (Arjmand, 2016). This study also claims that, this reputation is because Abbas Abad district is a famous, busy and metropolitan area of Tehran. There are many new, popular attractions around the park now which are the landmarks of Abbas Abad, such as Book Garden, Nature (*Tabiat*) Pedestrian Bridge, *Abo Atash* Park and Amphitheater, *Nourouz* Park and other recreational spots. In addition, the natural topography of the site provides a spontaneous solution for the visibility issues of the park. For instance, the highest point of the topography provide a view of the whole city which you can see *Alborz* Mountains (Figure 72).

The park is surrounded by residential areas from the East (Figure 73). So, the park may be counted as a neighborhood park. As mentioned in describing *Neshat* Park, Three main highways are surrounding the park, *Shahid Haghani* from the West, *Hemmat* from the North and *Resalat* from the South (Figure 49). The green fencing is evident from outside of the park crossing by the highways (Figure 69).

The park has three entrances. The Northern one is the same with *Neshat*'s entrance; however, because of the building fencing walls the Southern and South-East entrances changed (Figure 71). In each entrance there are two or three men and women security. In the Northern part of the park, in the street connected to the main entrance, there are parking spaces. In order to understand the gender issues in the case study of Mothers'

[156] Based on interviews of (Arjmand, 2016).

Paradise, it is necessary to mention its similarities with the way gender was considered in the architecture of Iran, especially architecture and planning of ancient Persian houses. For instance, *dalan-e voroudi* in Persian architecture is a corridor after the entrance door with a smooth maze which enters the central yard of the house. It provides a privacy for the female members inside the house to put their *hijab*, if some *namahram*[157] is entering (Figure 74). In Mothers' Paradise the entrance are designed in this way as well. For instance, the Northern entrance has two gate entries, the first gate has male and female security police and after 100 steps there is a blue steel gate entering the park itself (Figure 75). This short path is "preventing visual connection with the inside" Arjmand says. On this blue gate, there is a painting of a girl from *Qajar* dynasty with red dress which shows the feminine atmosphere of the space before entering (Figure 76). The Southern entrance's gate acts like a partition between public and women-only part. The South-East entrance is not so popular and it is close to the next residential neighborhood. People may not even know that this entrance exists.
Despite *Neshat* Park which had three plazas, Mothers' Paradise have 2 plazas (Figure 71). The central plaza of the park leads the users to the other routes. Due to the slope and topography, the design of the park is not symmetric. So there are leading boards installed in the central plaza, where the management security offices of the park is also located (Figure 77). This plaza has a linear fountain which has been constructed on April 2017. It has been designed like the traditional linear pools (or laver[158]) with blue tiles[159] (Figure 78).The second plaza is located in the North-East of the site, which is called *Tandis*[160] section (Figure 71). In this plaza, there is a statue of women in Islamic dress code which is resembling "martyred woman[161]" (Figure 6, 79, 80). It is presenting an Iranian Islamic or religious mother in a scope of a massive model. It is

[157] *Namahram* is a person who is not *mahram*, someone other than husband, brother, son and uncle.

[158] In Traditional Persian architecture: *hozcheh*

[159] The construction and design of the fountain is by the Beautification Organization of Tehran Municipality (*Sazaman Zibasazi-e Shahr-e Tehran*). based on *Arya* News Agency, 17.April.2017, News code: 20170417141827610, http://www.aryanews.com/news/20170417141827610/

[160] *Tandis* means Statue.

[161] *Zan-e Shahideh*

the first statue of a martyred women in the country[162] and it was exposed and unveiled in the opening day of the park with the presence and speech of the mayor Qalibaf (Figure 81). Hossein Khosrojerdi, the designer of the statue declares that, the statue expresses "popular beliefs about the spirit of a holy woman". Her hand is showing the sky which shows a heavenly force from the sky is taking her to the God. The height of the statue is 4 meters, the designer points out that, for demonstrating the spirit of a sacred figure, a designer or a painter usually considers it as a tall character. Khosrojerdi adds that, this statue is a representative of purity, honesty, sacrifice and constancy. The maker of the statue, Iraj Mohammadi, has used bronze as the material[163].

Mothers' Paradise has been designed since it was a public park by NJP group. The fencing which is the first and main construction has been done by the municipality. The park needed extensions and new facilities after becoming a women-only park; thus, it has been designed by the use of topography lines and less destruction of natural greenery. The buildings and blocks inside the park are simple, mostly prefabricated buildings. Mothers' Paradise's main facilities[164] are:

1. *Houra* cultural house (250 square meters) which includes classes and courses of Quranic and Islamic studies, visual arts (painting, photography and pottery), handicrafts (carpet weaving and jewelry design etc.), music (traditional instruments such as dulcimer, *daf*, *sitar* etc.), house arts (dressmaking and food) (Figure 71).
2. multi-functional sports center (850 square meters) which is has been built since the establishment of *Neshat* Park, includes fitness salon, volleyball, basketball, aerobics, tennis, ping pong, cycling, skating, yoga courses. In addition, the park provided a chance for users free everyday morning exercises (two times a day) by fitness coaches (Figure 71, 82).
3. Open air swimming pool (opened in July 2018, more than 1000 square meters) which also includes sunbathing area, massage house and fitness courses (such

[162] Information about the statue is based on Appendix and *Fars* News Agency, "The first statue of the martyred women was installed in the country", 12. May. 2008, News code: 379735 https://www.farsnews.com/news

[163] Ibid.

[164] Based on Tehran Parks and Green Space Organization (TPGSO), http://parks.tehran.ir/

as TRX, Pilates and gymnastic) (Figure 71, 83). This part of the park before becoming a swimming pool was an archery field covered with artificial grass.

4. Greenhouse or Flower Clinique (200 square meters) which includes free courses for planting and maintaining apartment plants (Figure 71).
5. Library (150 square meters) which includes more than 2000 books (religious, family, history and novel).
6. *Hz. Khdijeh* Mosque (1110 square meters) which is located in the main Northern entrance of the park, this is the reason that it is a mixed-used mosque (Figure 71, 84). The mosque has been named after the *Hz. Mohammad's* (the prophet of Islam) spouse. It is the first mosque name after *Hz. Khadijeh*[165]. Besides being a mosque it has spaces for amphitheater and conference rooms.

The park has other smaller facilities such as, restaurant and buffet with open space sitting areas, café Cake House which is a *Kosar* training center[166] , changing rooms for gardeners and security (200 square meters) children playground (100 square meters in women's part, 356 square meters in public space), prayer room in the public part (70 square meters), 60 barbeque spaces (together 500 square meters), space for playing chess (13 tables), ping pong (8 tables), foosball (7 tables), large LED urban TV and 200 sounding systems around the park. In addition, flag of Iran has been placed near the swimming pool building, on the highest spot inside the park.

4.3.1 Space policies

In Mothers' Paradise, women can easily take off their *hijab* and wear whatever they want (Figure 85). The controlling system and surveillance of a women-only space like this park, is in the scope of safety, security and exercising power (Arjmand, 2016). The female security polices (who move around the park during working hours) inside the park are controlling the space and behavior of the users in both hard and soft ways, Arjmand continues. The controlling and safety of the park is among important issues concerning the manager of the park. She emphasizes on controlling the usage of drug addiction of young girls especially in the upper parts of the park which consist of more trees and vegetation with less crowd[167].

[165] See Appendix B.

[166] See Chapter 3.

[167] See Appendix B.

One of the important problems inside Mothers' Paradise mentioned by the manager of the park is controlling the space according to the park's rules. The terms and conditions of the park are[168]:

1. The park is open to women from 7:30 to 19:30 and on Fridays and national holidays it becomes a public park which men can also use the space.
2. Any kind of photography with camera or mobile phones are prohibited inside the park. One of the most noteworthy differences of Mothers' Paradise with other women-only parks is that, the security guards standing in the entrance doors do not check the bags or personal stuff of the users and they do not take mobile phones form women. However, the female security who walk around the park are always aware and they usually warn the users not to take photos with their devices[169].
3. Mothers with a boy child under 6 years old can enter the park; however they should show their child's identity card to the security guards.
4. Any kind of pet, smoking and advertising is completely forbidden.
5. Utilizing personal bicycle, skate or scooter or any other vehicles should get the management office of the park informed and updated beforehand.
6. Tenting inside the park is forbidden.
7. Lighting fire is only allowed on the barbeque tables.
8. Any kind of event or congress and school excursion should get the management office of the park informed and updated.

The users, managers of the park are women. There are 120 staff working in this park (60 gardeners and 60 security guards) and these labor women as security police, gardeners, and cooks are introduced as workers by *Kosar* [170]training employment centers (Figure 86). There are also male security staff in the entrance of the park to ensure that no man can enter to the park. In the night time the gardeners of the park

[168] Information based on Appendix and https://region3.tehran.ir/Default.aspx?tabid=1378

[169] Using mobile phones and cameras inside the park is not prohibited; however, in case of photography women should be aware of not taking photos in the way that other groups or stranger women are in their photos. There are also signs of "do not take photo" around the park.

[170] See Chapter 3

are men and in case of emergency (including infrastructure issues) male labor are in charge, even in the day time.

4.3.2 Programs and events

To provide possibilities of extra uses (in macro and micro scales) of women-only parks Arjmand (2016:107) suggests "adaptability" which can be seen in special occasions and events happening inside the park like "seasonal festivals, temporary exhibitions, markets, traditional and religious celebrations", this "allows women to use the place in their own way" and "introduces the park to new groups of women". There are always events and festivals in the scope of marching, parading and walking for different intentions. Different groups of female visitors from a particular religious, cultural, sports, artistic activities from a certain neighborhood, university or school by holding a banner which demonstrate their group identity, in a specific time of the year, month or a week initiate and attend to support the intention behind the walk. There are groups of women who live in a same neighborhood and they gather as group to visit the park for different goals. For instance, due to the important issue of global warming, there was a group [171] of women which intended to use the space inside the park in to improve and reform the water consumption habits of housewives. Another example can be "Blue Sky, Clean Earth"[172] campaign which intended to enhance the quality of citizenship in order to keep the cities clean (Figure 87). Women can use these a space like Mothers' Paradise as their personalize space, to hold group meetings for a special purpose or private group exercising meetings. For instance, in my visit to the park there was an informal group of young girls (18 to 28 ages) who were doing yoga while they were wearing shorts.

This section of the study is collecting information about some important events that has been held in Mothers' Paradise which have bigger scale. Most of the events are held in an special day (like mothers' day or planting day in the national calendar) related to improving the health of female citizens, developing more green spaces and providing a comfortable space for different groups of women to demonstrate and sell their arts and crafts. Some of these events are:

[171] *Abfa* training group (June 2015)

[172] "*Aseman-e Abi, Zamin-e Pak*" by Citizenship Training Center (*Khaney-e Amoozesh-e Shahrvandi*) of a certain neighborhood in Tehran (April, 2017)

1. Tree planting by children with cancer[173] (April, 2019).
2. Women with Disabilities Charity Foundation (April, 2019) which included art, handicraft and food Markets by disabled women and female-headed households. The event was a combination of local competitions and traditional music (Figure 88).
3. Tree planting ceremony on the occasion of mothers' day (March, 2018), with the presence of vice president[174] of Women and Family Affairs, director of the Tehran's Parks and Green Space Organization[175] (TPGSO) and director of region.3 municipality[176] (Figure 89).
4. *Tai Chi*[177] training in the sports center of the park (April, 2018) which was conducted in the central plaza of the park by well-known mentors. The main goal of this event was to reinforce the mental and physical strength of women (Figure 90) .
5. Annual National Girls Day[178] Festival, which is for honoring girls' statue in the society and representing an Iranian-Islamic lifestyle lessons. It also, provided an opportunity for awarding and appreciating successful and elite girls in the fields of art, culture, sports and science. The event was a combination of award ceremony, music, traditional and local performance by girls.
6. "Pink Ribbon" campaign[179] (October, 2015), the purpose of this event was to increase the awareness of women regarding breast cancer. The event was in the scope of symbolic walking around the park. It intended to represent the solidarity of Iranian women, raising the level of knowledge of women about this disease (Figure 91).

[173] *Chaharomin Jashn-e Derakhtkariy-e Koodak*

[174] Dr. Masoomeh Ebtekar

[175] Mohammad-Ali Mokhatri

[176] Mustafa Salimi

[177] *Tai Chi*, is a national Chinese martial art practiced for its defense training, its health benefits and meditation.

[178] National Girls Day in Iran coincides with *Hz. Masoomeh's* (sacred Islamic female figure) birthday.

[179] www.pink.cinere.ir

4.4 Discussion: Mothers' Paradise a conservative or reformist production of Islamic state?

In general, Mothers' Paradise as a real outcome of the described story, is a project that has been institutionalized by mayor of Tehran Qalibaf. As discussed the situation of the country and its politics in each era for better understanding of the women and feminist movements in Chapter 2; in the similar vein, the chronological order of the state politics such as the presidents and their ideology as an Islamic reformist or Islamic conservative helps to understand and write about the history of the creation, ideology, urban and architecture transformation of a space for women in a Middle Eastern country such as Iran. Hence, in order to comprehend and convey the findings related to these gendered spaces, it is necessary to convey the situation in politics and state's power. These actions in a positive manner helps the government to use the municipality to get popular and admired by the society. For example, Qalibaf after he finished his post as the mayor, was a candidate for presidency in 2013 and 2017.

The state wants to prove itself by serving mothers and female citizens in the in scope of Women's park. In 2006, Zahra Moshir head of the Tehran Municipality Women's Affair by relaying on a survey done by the municipality declares that, most of the women citizens in Tehran showed interest in sports and entertainment hubs (Shahrokni, 2013), "women want more of what the state wants them to want" In the name of Islam, the state "rationalizes" and "justifies" the need of women by making use of modern concepts and discourses such as "urban justice, women's rights, and public health", "not through coercion and prohibition but through protection and provision" (Shahrokni, 2013).

A newspaper clipping[180] highlights that "Qalibaf is neither conservative, nor reformist". So that women-only park as one his achievements is a phenomenon between being reformist and conservative. Moreover, when Qalibaf was a candidate for the 2013 presidency election he stated regarding "the fundamental changes in conservative and fundamentalist behaviors of the state" and it was the time that he introduced his long-term desires in the framework of "neo-conservatism"[181].

[180] Based on Iranian Students' News Agency (ISNA), by Mohammad-Mehdi Tondgouyan (a reformist member of the Islamic city council 2013-2017), Febuary.16.2017 News Code: 95112819919.

[181] Based on Iranian Students' News Agency (ISNA), November, 14, 2018, News Code: 97082311130.

CHAPTER 5

Discussions and Conclusion

5.1 Discussions through thesis summary and key findings

Veiling of women which has been one of the pictures of the Islamic government of Iran, has made it hard for female citizens (especially women with full veil or *hijab*) to get involved in public spaces, using the fresh air and sunlight in a comfortable way. Segregation and separation in spaces, having men and women sections is not an unusual action in Iran. This fact has been practiced and institutionalized for centuries and Persian traditional houses is the first bold example of it (Arjmand, 2016). This study, like Shahrokni (2013) and in some ways with Arjmand (2016), maintains its discussion with accepting women-only parks as a necessity and a positive outcome of the Islamic state. So, this volume is not criticizing the existence of such spaces in Iran and it acknowledges that, women's parks are not examples of "gender-segregation" discourses, because they have been introduced as an "alternative" or "choice" among thousands of public parks around a metropolitan city like Tehran. There are many public parks which women can use without feeling segregated in terms of space. Along with agreeing with this fact, the current thesis analyzes spatial patterns, physical form, and creation history of the first-built women-only park, Mothers' Paradise and see it from the lens of Islamic feminist discourses.

Spatial patterns of one particular space become definite and formed by the social, political and economic structure of the institutions and actors who possess political power (Lefebvre, 1991). When an institution is ruled or governed by men, the spatial patterns of it become gendered, because it can perform against women's rights (Doan, 2010). Spatial ambitions of women in urban spaces and even their involvement in social and political arena is what Doan is discussing and this study also is searching for women who has reached to political power in order to get engaged in the levels of decision making which men are still in the highest positions from them. Before analyzing the creation of the park, discussing the creation and ideology of an institution which is the initiator of it, also responsible for women-related issues in the context of urbanism, is necessary.

"Safety" and "security" for women in public urban spaces has been a controversial issue, not only in Islamic countries but also in the Western societies. Because of the existence of religion (Islamic laws), patriarchy and traditionalism in Iran, there are lots of male-dominated public spaces in urban level. Thus, when women pass through these

spaces they may come across with verbal or physical harassment (Arjmand, 2016). So, spaces need to be secured. However, securing the space might not be only for creating "safety" for particular group of the society, it is also a "political act" in Taylor's (1998) words. In this study, securing the space is regarding securing specific green spaces in contemporary urban context of Tehran, in order to create safety for Tehrani women; however, this safety and security has been planned and directed by state policies and under the laws and rules of the Islamic government. This fact demonstrates the state's "top-down role" over organizations and institutions (in this study municipal organizations); although, every one of these organizations have their own political power.

Because of the rapid population growth, industrialization and air pollution, development of green spaces and parks in the urban platform has become one of the most significant factors for municipalities and city managers. In Tehran, Abbas Abad has been one of the specific and valuable green land which involves many parks and thematic museum gardens and it also has Mothers' Paradise women-only park in its East property. This land has been really important because of its contextual and physical characteristics and its significance became bold since international architects such as Louis Kahn had conceptions for it. This land is so important for the state (both Pahlavi and Islamic) and Tehran municipality; which its components are the remarkable landmarks for the capital city. Assigning a green space from the large-scale land of Abbas Abad for women-only use can convey the message that, this park is also important for the municipal organizations and it can become a "landmark" of the city or it may also count as a "thematic park" located on the East edge of Tehran's cultural core. Since it is in Abbas Abad landscape, it means that this property which is dedicate to women have a special place in urban governance and city management. This is why, directing and administrating of this space is not only by Tehran Municipality, but also by an institution under the system of the municipality which is Department of Women's Affairs.

When an institution like Tehran Municipality is constructing a green space, its first intention is to enhance the "quality of life" of the citizens. The very first goal of the creation of women-only parks was to fill out socio-cultural interactions and activities of women in the nature and green space without paying attention to their dress and *hijab*. The maintenance and supervision of these green spaces are also municipal

institutions' responsibilities. The "maintenance" in a women-only park can be divided into "conserving greenery", "safety" and "activating" of the space. Preservation of the greenery of such spaces is the responsibility of both the municipality and Tehran's Parks and Green Space Organization (TPGSO). However, in case of safety and activating, the municipality and its related women organization are involved together. Activating the space here means to keep an exclusive space live and active. Activation needs provision and programming which requires a specific manager or institution. Department of Women's Affairs, since its establishment has been involved in managing, supervising, activating and safety of the women-only parks. The establishment of such institutions related to women issues which are governed and initiated by women, opens new chapters in women's socio-political life. Since this institution is under the ruling system of Tehran Municipality, its main intention is to improve women's daily life in "urban scale". This is why, the creation of women-only parks such as Mothers' Paradise is not only counted as one of the activities done by the municipality, but also it is known as the "production" of the Department of Women's Affairs.

Mothers' Paradise in Shahrokni's notion is the process of Islamic state moving from "prohibition" to "production". This is true that, the state was the major creator and authority in order to make different changes in development of the country, here in city growth and management. However, the existence of "additional tools" and "smaller institutions" in urban management and development such as Department of Women's Affairs has also an important role in the "production" that Shahrokni concludes.

Mothers' Paradise, even other women-only parks in the city, owe their creation to the existence of a department dedicated to women issues inside the municipality. Mothers' Paradise as the case study of this thesis, owes its governance and survival to female politicians and managers who has been supervising the actions and rules of this particular department. We cannot also turn a blind eye to the fact that, the municipality (as a higher decision-maker) and its male officials are also controlling this department and its activities and supporting it financially. However, the availability of an institution under the management of female elite makes spaces such as Mother's Paradise more highlighted. Because discussing women's issues in a female-dominated environment is much more flexible and easier (Figure 92). Women's activities in

public parks not only was not banned by the state, but also "planned and organized" by it (Shahrokni, 2013). Planning and organizing of spaces for women have better outcome when the actors and decision-makers are women with political positions. Shahrokni's conclusion regarding Mothers' Paradise is defined in a general scope of "Islamic government". She puts the word "state" which shows the general view towards the authorities and conductors ruling and leading the country. However, this study maintains the word "state" as the higher decision-maker or financial supporter and finds and introduces small-scaled institutions who were the main operators in the creation process.

The core research question of this thesis was to examine if this park, Mothers' Paradise is the production of Islamic feminism as an ideology or not. In order to reach to that conclusion, the study answered its first two research questions. The first one was to find the influential women-related institution and the main female figure with her efforts towards creating a platform for discussing issues of Iranian (here Tehrani women) women in urban life. The second one was to study the physical form and programming of the park, which is the production of Women's Affairs, to add further information to the studies related to Mothers' Paradise and to see if it can find a way to make connections with Islamic feminism or not.

5.2 Conclusion: Is Mother's Paradise an outcome of Islamic Feminism?

As long as a subject is related to women, feminism starts to contribute (Scott, 1996). This study aims to make relations between a space dedicated only to women and discourses of feminism in the current situation of the Islamic country of Iran. One of the signs of feminism in pre-revolutionary Iran by shah was to assign his wife to the big-scale political levels; so that, she became patron and subject for many purposes such as large architectural projects, culture, art and women-related issues. This act was a "political gesture" as Emami (2014) calls, to demonstrate the Western countries that the shah and his state are implementing "feminist" approaches in the country. Since this study answered its first research question, which is about finding an influential female politician who had impact on discussing issues related to women and their urban life on post-revolutionary period in the form of national and international congresses, it continues its discussion with accepting that, putting female relatives of

governmental officials such as their spouses is a "political gesture" as well. This issue has been continued and evident in the survey of this study, which the mayor who has been shortlisted as the presidential candidate in his future career, did actions such as establishing a department for women and run by female employees which came up with the creation of parks and cities for women-only use, to enhance his position in social arena. Government officials like the mayor of Tehran put women-only parks in their workbook not to demonstrate and highlight the gender-segregation issues of Islamic Iran; but to show their ability and power working in a positive manner to announce their care towards women in urban life and support it besides female decision-makers and organizers in national and global scales. In addition, these comportments and activities has solved many modern problems that female citizens suffered in the previous decades (before 2005). For instance, Tehran Municipality established women-only parks to partly "solve" the attendance of female citizens in public space without observing veil.

A noteworthy issue about Mothers' Paradise is the claims of the initiators and managers of it which assert that, these park has been built for women, "especially for religious women". Religious here means, women who put a full *hijab* (*bahijab* women) and cover with black *Chador* as their dress code. However, as Arjmand's study demonstrates, different groups of women are the users of this spaces, either with full *hijab* or with "un-Islamic" (or "un-appropriate") *hijab*. Creating and constructing spaces such as open-air swimming pool with sunbathing areas which is not a pleasant and desirable action for religious women, and conducting non-religious and modern sportive or cultural parade-like events forces and invites every group of women, secular or modern and religious, Islamic or traditional to use the space. The framework of Islamic feminism advocates to achieve women's justice (here urban justice) in Islam with the help of religious practices (Singerman, 2003). However, creating a sunbathing area and a swimming pool is not a religious and Islamic practice.

Shahrokni believes that, the state is coordinating these spaces and offering them "a green space of their own". This study agrees with her, after analyzing the spatial patterns and the design of the space inside. Mothers' Paradise is actually a "paradise". It is not a paradise only for mothers and it is not a paradise only for religious women. It is a paradise which women (every group of women) can do the activities that they cannot easily do outside and in the public realm. In addition, the state and the

municipality and its related institutions are supporting it to become more demanding and developed. When women's requirements and rights have to get involved with state's institutional control, the government is also required to provide and consider activists' needs and demands. Like supporting to create a platform for international congresses regarding women. However, these kind of activities must be in the skeleton of the state's ideologies.

After comprehending and studying the physical form and constructions inside the park, it can be concluded that, there are not too much facilities in terms of building and construction "inside" the park. Users visit this park because of its natural topography covered with greenery. The park itself as a women's park is a "facility". Tehran Municipality is just "implementing" the public projects in the city. And in terms of creating thoughtful facilities inside the park it does not have a huge role as a designer or inventor. For instance, the fencing system has been "implemented" by the municipality. Mothers' Paradise's physical form is not an "innovation" because it has been designed and considered as a "public park" by an architectural firm (NJP). A remarkable building such as the sports center (in the West edge of the park) has been initiated before the park turned into a women-only park. The only constructions after the park became Mothers' paradise are the swimming pool, North-East plaza with the statue, library and the greenhouse. What makes this park demanding and important is its "nature" which was initiated since it was a public park.

In order to answer the third research question, which is about studying and analyzing the park to see if it follows the notions of Islamic feminism or not, it can be said that, none of the building typologies and activities evident in the physical form of the park are neither Islamic neither feminist. Even the mosque is located and constructed outside of the park and it is not included in the fencing area. However, the statue of the martyred women is a symbol of Islamic, religious woman which represents the dress code and purity of their spirit, but statues of this kind are also located and designed outside of the fencing area (Figure 93). Statues with concepts of "mother" or "Islamic women" are so common in beautification of Tehran. It is important for the municipality and the implementation of these statues are usually by the Tehran Beautification Organization. This shows that, putting a statue in Islamic dress code does not make the whole space following the Islamic rules. Most of the events and programs inside the park discussed in Chapter 4, have partially religious and Islamic

roots and culture; however, they do not have feminist intentions in their instinct. None of the events or religious festivals have been aimed to discuss or teach women about fighting for their socio-political rights in the country. The question is, are these events help or guide to cultivate women become feminists?

This study considers the risk described by Moghisi (1999) which informs that; we must prevent our understanding of Islamic feminism as an "only solution" in order to achieve women's rights in Islamic countries. Thus, it cannot concluded that the space is following feminism in complete and perfect manner. Nevertheless, an event such as the "Pink Ribbon" (see Chapter 4) which has the intention of making women aware of their feminine health, may have feminist footprints. As a result, this study concludes that, Mothers' Paradise cannot be called as a "full production of Islamic feminism". Mothers' Paradise, as discussed in Chapter 4 is a space which has the activities combined with "religion", "culture" and the signs of state "power" which is also evident in terms of safety and security as Shahrokni claims. Furthermore, Moallem (2001) believes that, when religion, culture and power come together and get mixed, the space becomes "secular". So, in some extends, it is possible for cases like Mothers' Paradise to be secular as well. However, it also makes complexities when there are "fences" all around the space. If we consider Mothers' Paradise a production of Islamic feminist ideology, is it possible for that space having a potential to become secular? This is why, there is no definite answer to say if the park has an Islamic or secular feminist ideology. Since, the conductors and initiators are also not accepting the whole "feminism", it makes this complexity stronger. This thesis accept the fact that, women's situation, activism and feminist movements in contemporary Iran, are "paradoxical and complicated" (Tohidi, 2016).

According to Afsaneh Najmabadi, Ziba Mir-Hosseini, Haideh Moghissi, Margot Badran and Fereshteh Ahmadi, Islamic feminism became solution for modern problems that women have had in Islamic countries like Iran. Shahronki described women's health problems as a "modern problem" and the "solution" of the state was to build women-only parks. This study found it possible to discuss Islamic feminism and assign it as an ideology behind solutions to overcome with modern problems. The characteristics of Islamic feminist discourse may have connections in some extend with the responsibilities of the Department of Women's Affairs; however, it does not have clear relationship with the physical form, policies, programs and events of the

park. Thus, the discourse of Islamic feminism cannot be assigned to a space like Mothers' Paradise with a complete and full certainty. In order to, clear up these complications, in the first place, Figure 94 aims to connect Islamic feminist conceptions with the responsibilities and activities of the Department of Women's Affairs. Secondly, it continues to make relationships with the main objectives of creating a space like Mothers' Paradise. As can be seen, this relationship and connections are fading away slightly.

Figures

Figure 1

Andaruni (red) & *Biruni* (green) in classic Persian architecture, *Golshan-e Yazd House*.
Source: http://www.naghsh-negar.ir, illustrated by author.

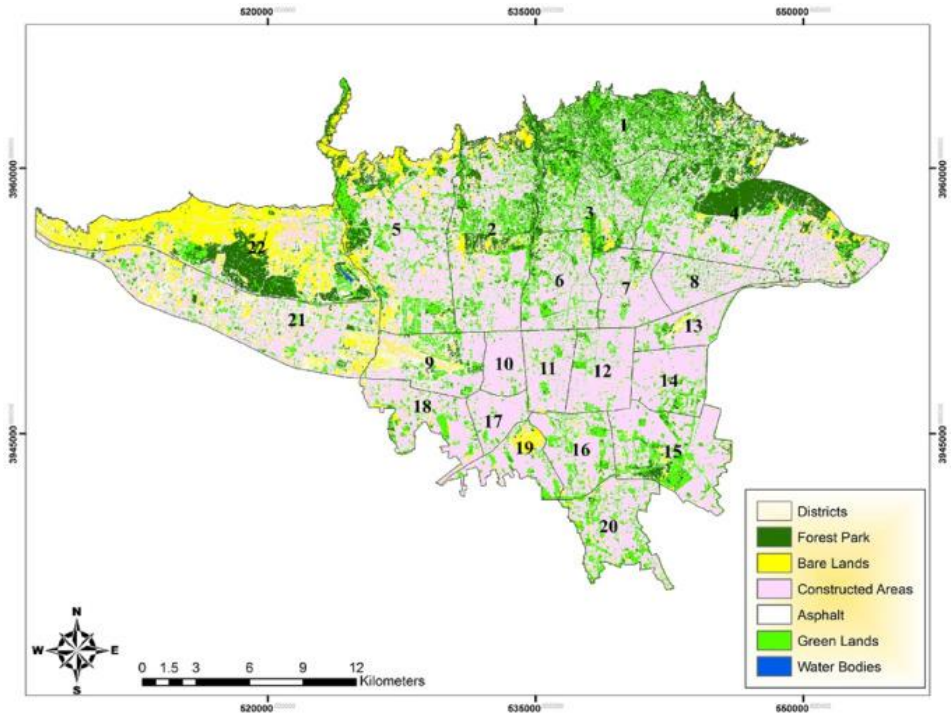


Figure 2

Land use plan for Tehran, 2010.
Source: Tehran Municipality

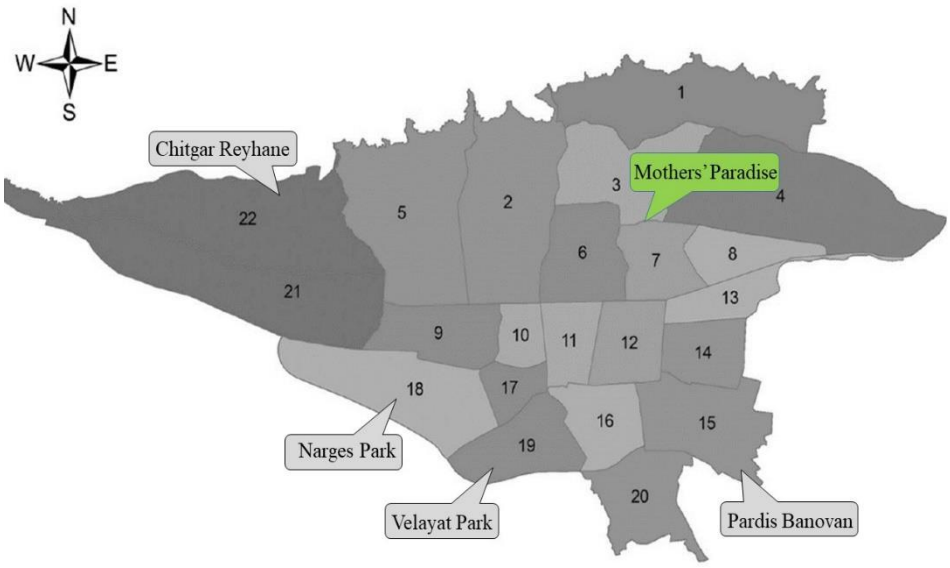


Figure 3

Five women-only parks in Tehran's different regions.
Illustrated by author.

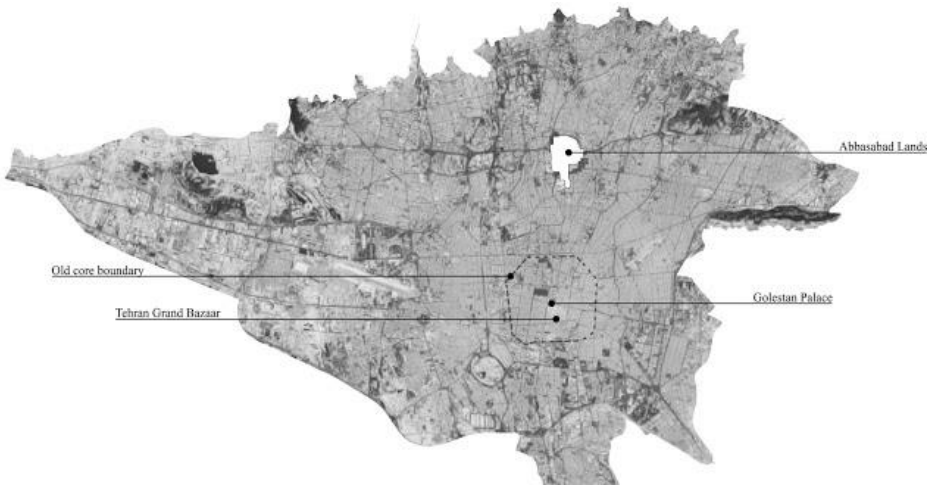


Figure 4

Abbas Abad as a heart of Tehran, a land between North and South. The octagonal highlight depicts the 19th century city walls of *Qajar*.

Source: Ahmadreza Hakiminejad, 2018.

Figure 5

Mothers' Paradise located in the East side of Abbas Abad, 2016 aerial photo. Illustrated by author.

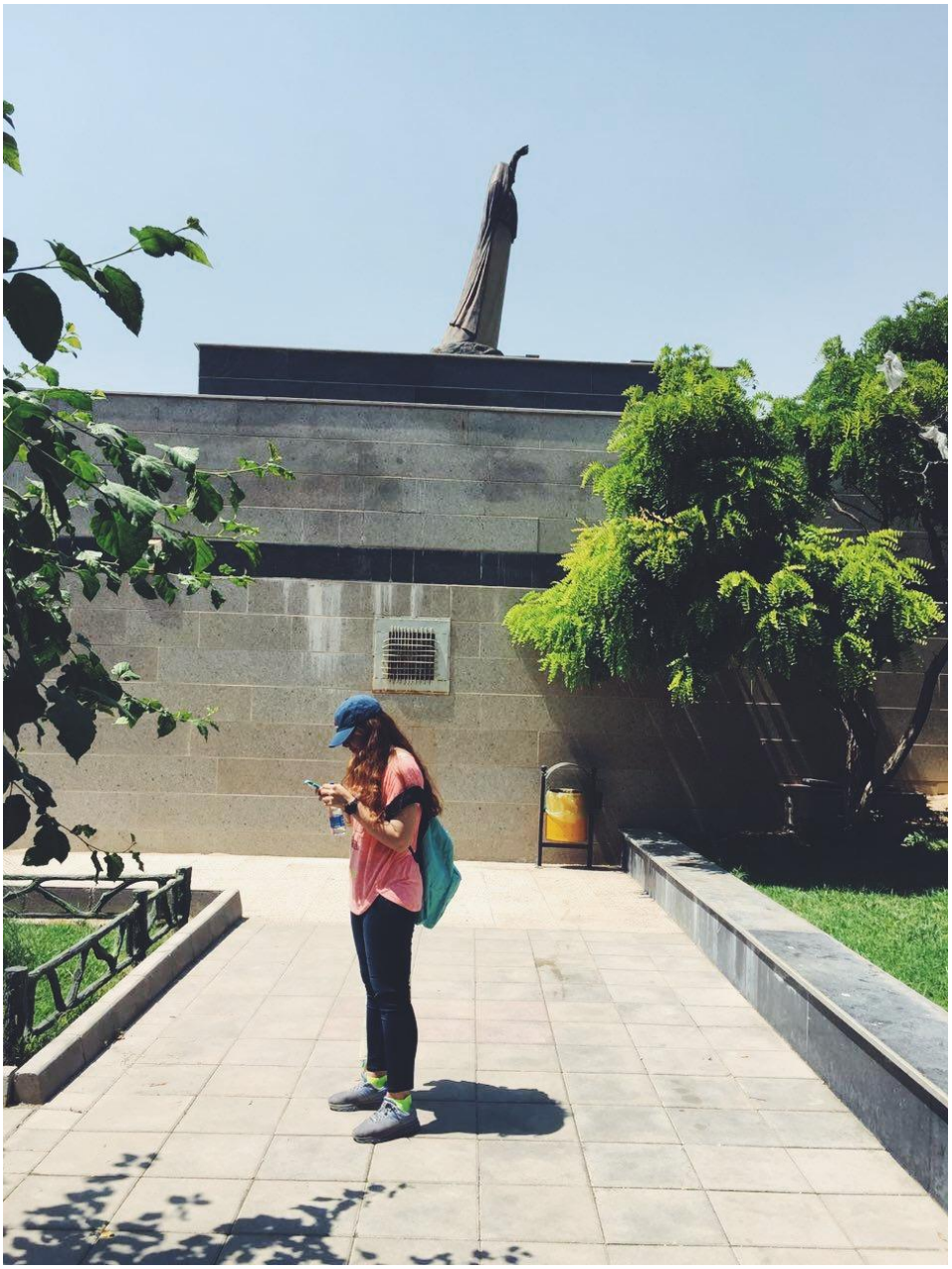


Figure 6

Women can use the space without observing *hejab*. Inside Mothers' Paradise next to the statue of "mother of a martyr", 2017.
Photo by author.

Figure 7

Taleghani Park in the North of Abbas Abad. In 1993, 75 acre of this public park turned into women-only park.
Illustrated by author.

Figure 8

The posters of the 9th International Shiraz Arts Festival, 1970. Shiraz, Persepolis. Source: Arts Festival Book 1967-1973 (Tehran: National Iranian Radio Television Publication). Uploaded by Bharak Tabibi.

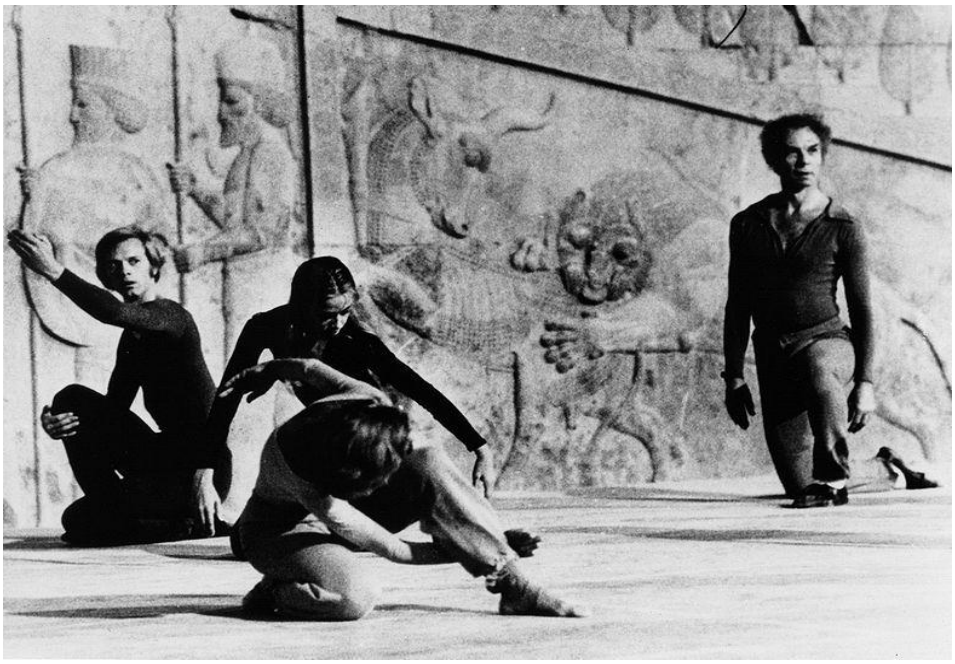


Figure 9

Avant-garde Western artists performing in Persepolis.
Source: Robert Gluke, "The Shiraz Arts Festival: Western Avant-Garde Arts in 1970s Iran" *LEONARDO*, Vol. 40, No. 1, pp. 20–28, 2007. Cunningham Dance Foundation Archive.

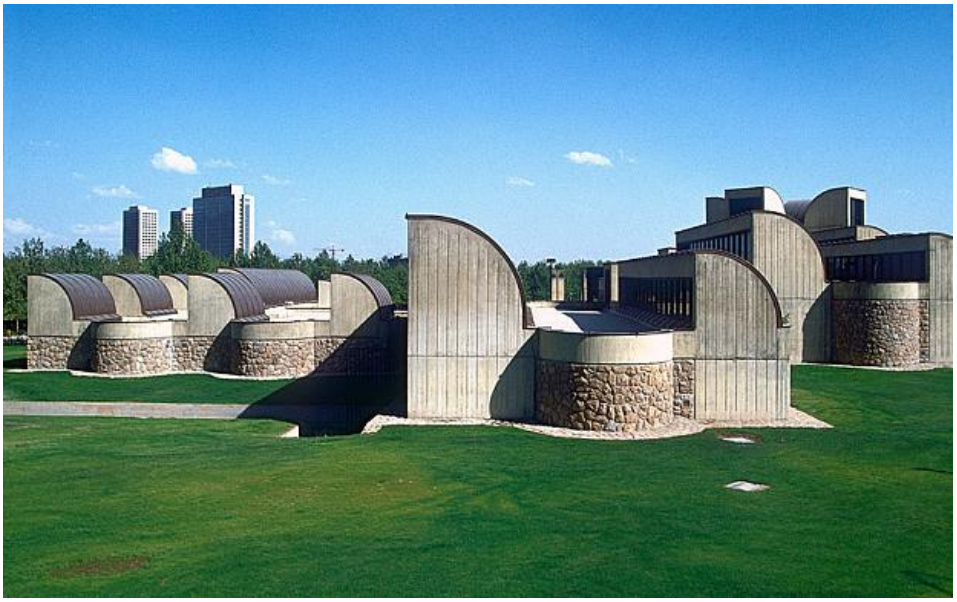


Figure 10

Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art, designed by Farah Diba's architect cousin ,Kamran Diba, established in 1977.
Source: http://www.iranreview.org

Figure 11

Pre-revolutionary famous architects: Left to right: Ali sardar Afkham, Abdol-Aziz Farmanfarmaian, Mohammadreza Moghtader, Reza Majd, Kamran Diba
Source: *Mashregh* News

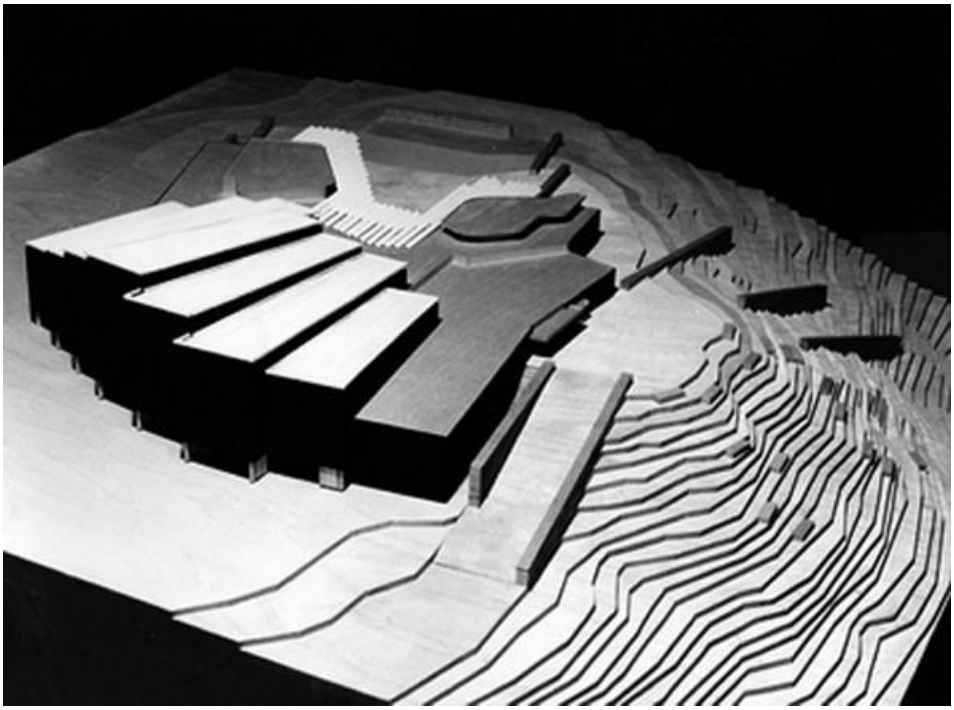


Figure 12

Shiraz Art Museum, Iran, Alvar Aalto, 1969-1970.
Source: Alvar Aalto Museum, VEGAP, Barcelona, 2015, uploaded by official website of Contemporary Architecture of Iran (*Memari-e Moaser-e Iran*), http://caoi.ir

Figure 13

Left to Right: Mr. Sohi, I. M. Kadri, Keyghobad Zafar, Nader Ardalan, Louis Kahn, First International Congress of Architects, Isfahan, Iran, September 1970.
Source: Laleh Bakhtiar and Leila Farhad, eds., The Interaction of Tradition and Technology: Report of the Proceedings of the First International Congress of Architects ,Tehran: 25th Shahrivar Press, 1970.

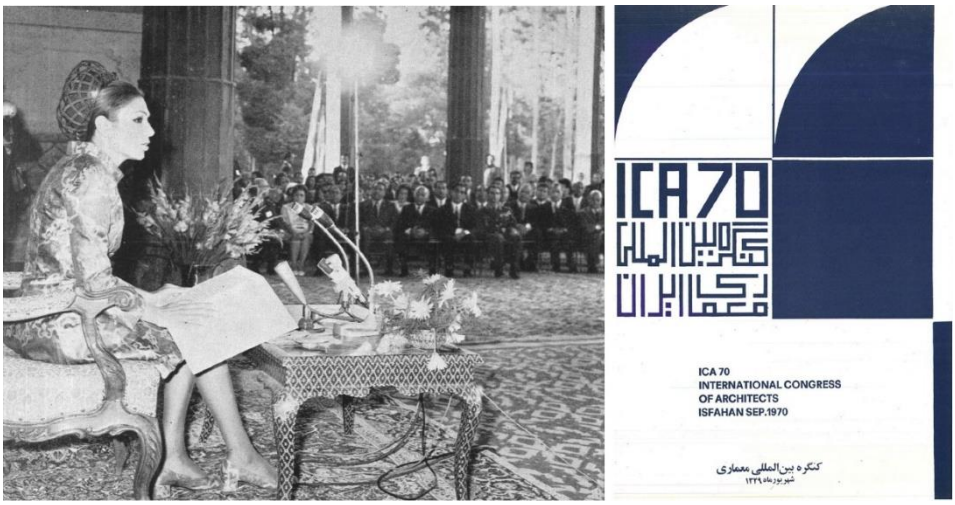


Figure 14

Farah Diba in the International Congress of Architects, Isfahan- September 1970. Source: *Honar va Memari* (Art and Architecture) magazine , Special Issue, nos. 6-7 (June-November 1971).

Figure 15

The International Congress of Women Architects, August-November ,1976.
Source: *Honar va Memari* (Art and Architecture), "Architecture and Architect Women," Vol. (35-36), p. 14.

Figure 16

The International Congress of Women Architects in Ramser, 1976.
Source:Tehran: Ministry of Housing and Urban Development. Uploaded by Baharak Tabibi.

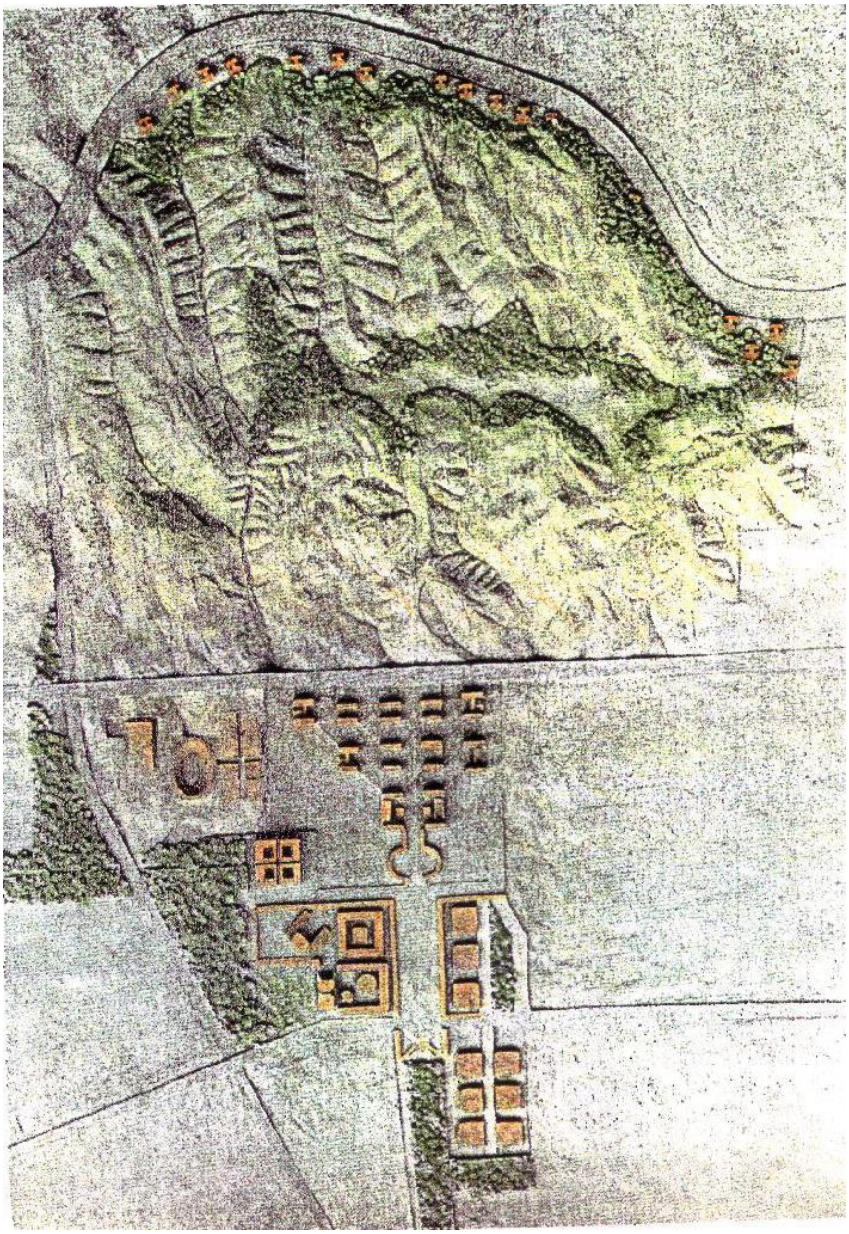


Figure 17

Louis Kahn, model of the Abbas Abad Master Plan, Tehran, 1974.

Source: (photo by George Pohl; Louis I. Kahn Collection, University of Pennsylvania and the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission).

Figure 18

Louis Kahn, final sketch of the Abbas Abad Master Plan in following discussions with Tange, 1974.
Source: Louis I. Kahn Collection, University of Pennsylvania and the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission).

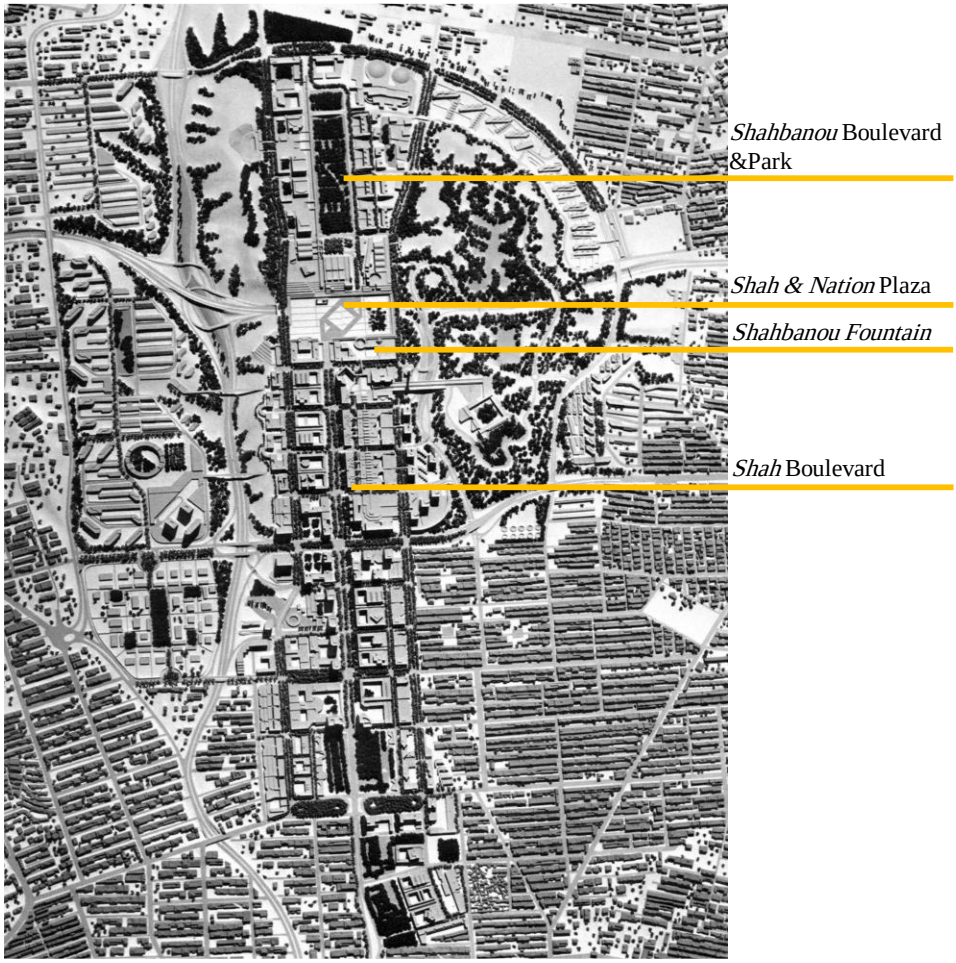
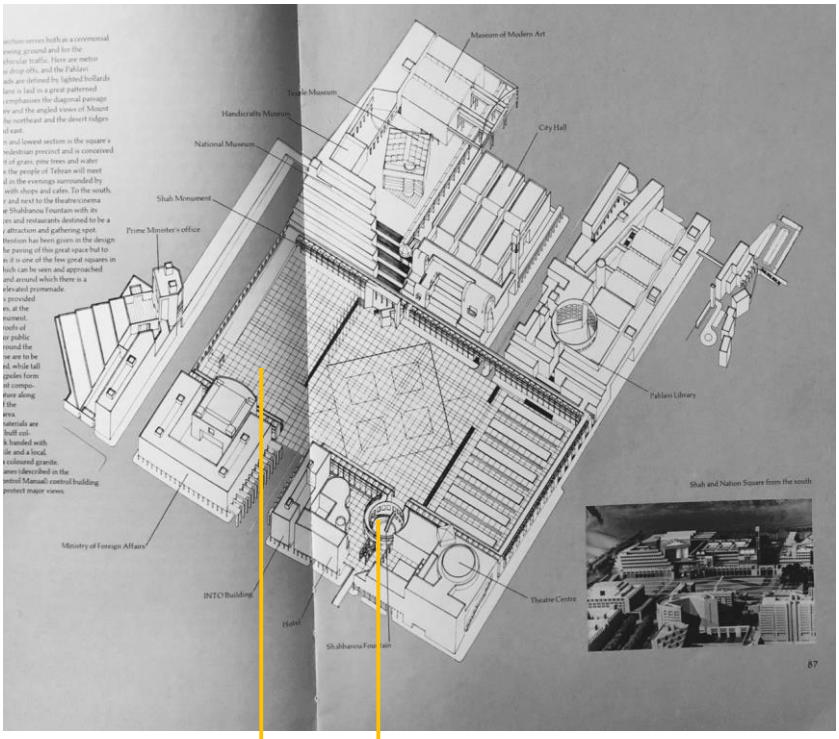


Figure 19

Gendered configuration of *Shahestan Pahlavi.*
Illustration by the author.



Shah & Nation Plaza *Shahbanou Fountain*

Figure 20

Gendered configuration of *Shahestan Pahlavi.*
Source: *Shahestan Pahlavi* Book II, page:87

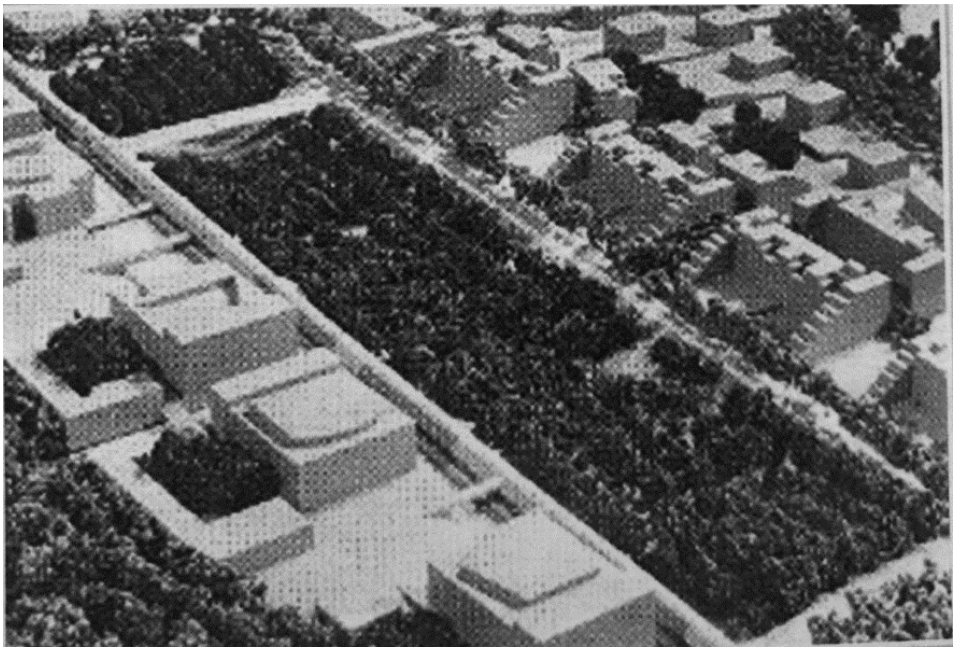


Figure 21

Shahbanou boulevard (second important bloulvard) and Park (the biggest park of the project) near apartment houses in the East. Llewelyn-Davies International design, *Shahestan Pahlavi,* 1976.
Source: "Abbas Abad" : Tehran cultural region" prepared by Abbas Abad Renovation Company and Deputy of Social and Cultural Affairs of Tehran Municipality, National Library of Iran.

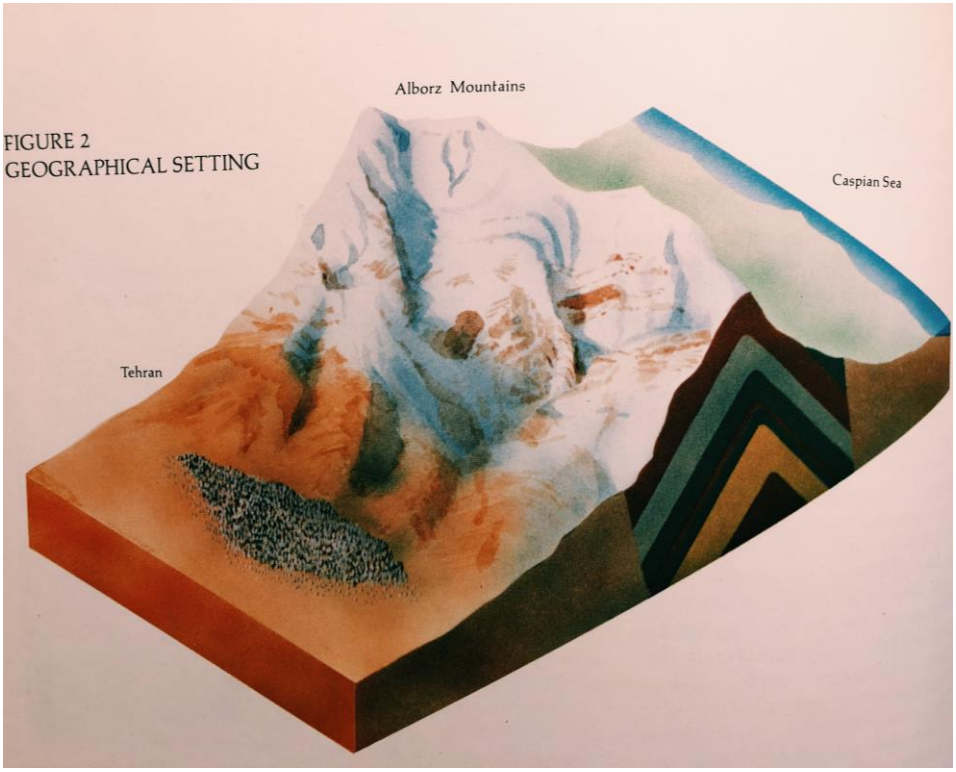


Figure 22

3D Geographical setting of Tehran, seated in the foot of Alborz Mountains.
Source: Llewelyn-Davies International, *Shahestan Pahlavi:* A New City Center for Tehran, Book I: The Master Plan [London: Llewelyn-Davies International, 1976].

Figure 23

Tehran in 1950s, view to *Alborz* Mountains.
Source: http://art-ghadimiha.blogspot.com/2014/06/30.html

Figure 24

Tehran in 2017, view to *Alborz* Mountains.
Source: https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/what-is-the-capital-city-of-iran.html

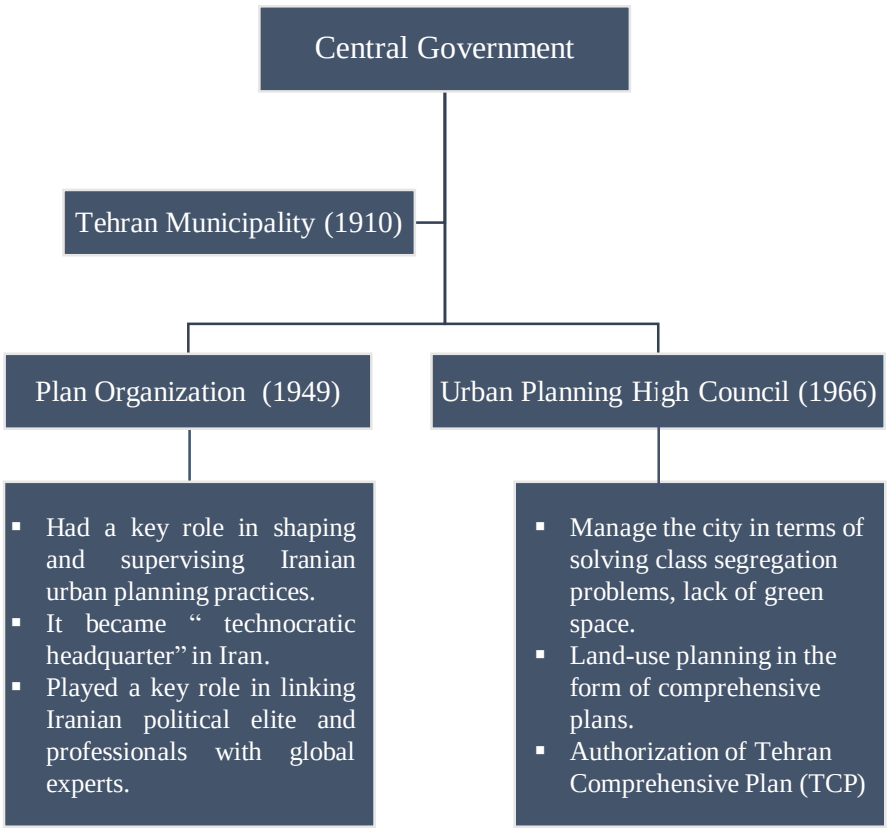


Figure 25

Organizational structure of urban growth management in pre-Islamic government. Illustration by author.

Figure 26

The diagrams and illustration provided by Victor Gruen for TCP.
Source: *Honar va Memari* ,(Art and Architecture) Magazine, no. 5 (1970), 22–77

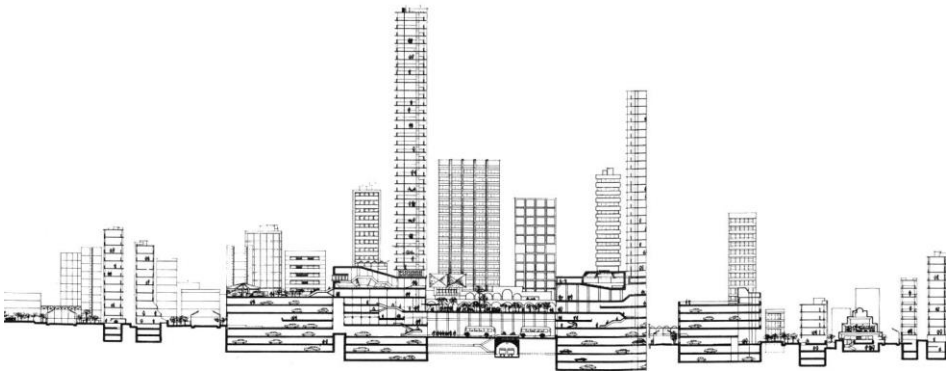


Figure 27

Section of an urban center proposed by Tehran Comprehensive Plan.
Source: "Tehran Comprehensive Plan," *Honar va Memari* Magazine no 5, 67.

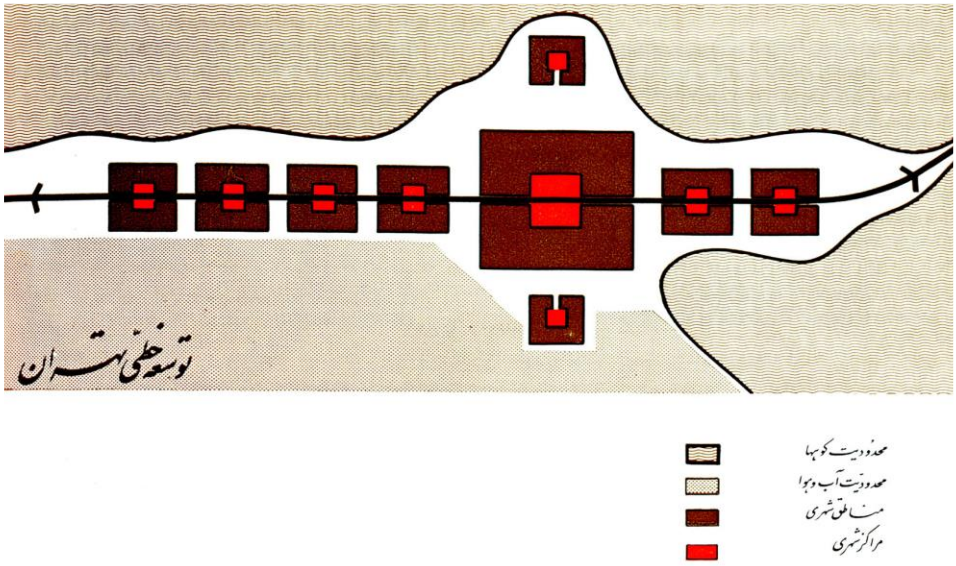


Figure 28

Diagram of the linear expansion of the city towards West. 1968 Tehran Comprehensive Plan (TCP).
Source: *Honar va Memari* (Art and Architecture) Magazine No: 5.

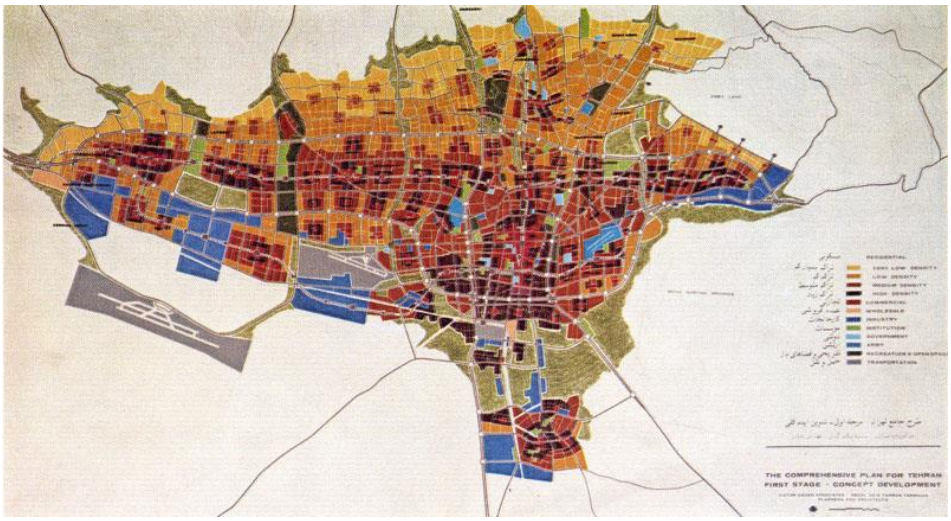


Figure 29

The comprehensive plan for Tehran by Abdol-Aziz Farmanfarmaian and Victor Gruen Associates, first stage, concept development, 1969.

Source: TCP, 1968.

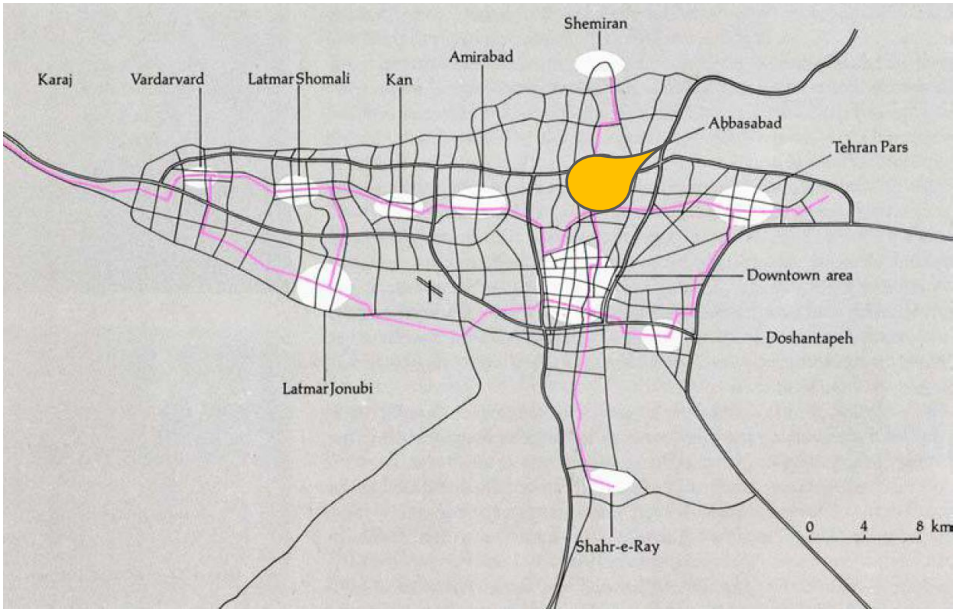


Figure 30

Abbas Abad in the hearth of Tehran, as one of the 10 urban towns in Tehran, Victor Gruen Associates and Aziz Farmanfarmaian, TCP, 1969.

Note: *Shemiran* (Northern Tehran) is located up after Abbas Abad.

Source: Llewelyn-Davies International, *Shahestan Pahlavi:* A New City Center for Tehran, Book I: The Master Plan, 1976

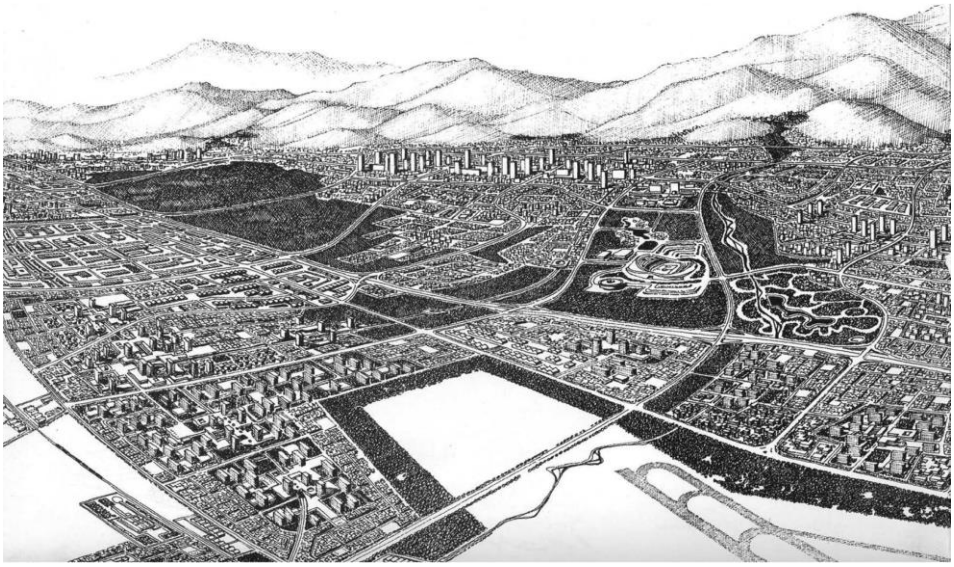


Figure 31

The comprehensive scheme for Tehran by Abdol-Aziz Farmanfarmaian and Victor Gruen Associates. The empty land in the upper part is Abbas Abad land.

Source: TCP report 1966, Tehran Municipality.

Figure 32

Towards post-WWII modern lifestyle, 1968 Tehran Comprehensive Plan (TCP).
Source: *Honar va Memari* (Art and Architecture) Magazine No: 5.

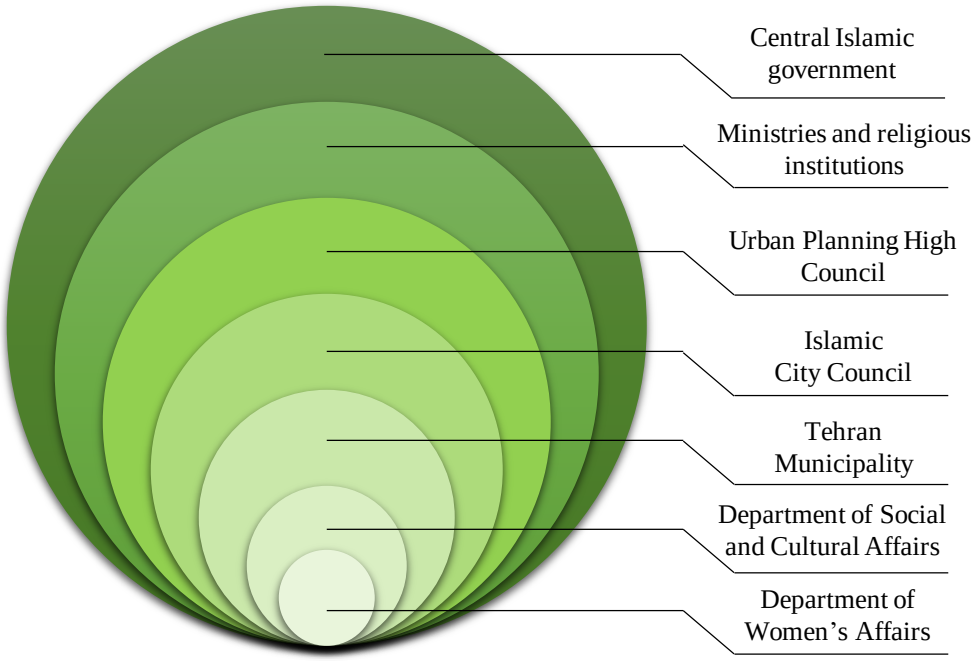


Figure 33

Organizational hierarchy in terms of following the rules and instructions and institutional power relations.
Note: there are many departments and institutions related to the municipality, but here the focus is on involved institutions and organizations in the creation of Mothers' Paradise.
Illustration by author

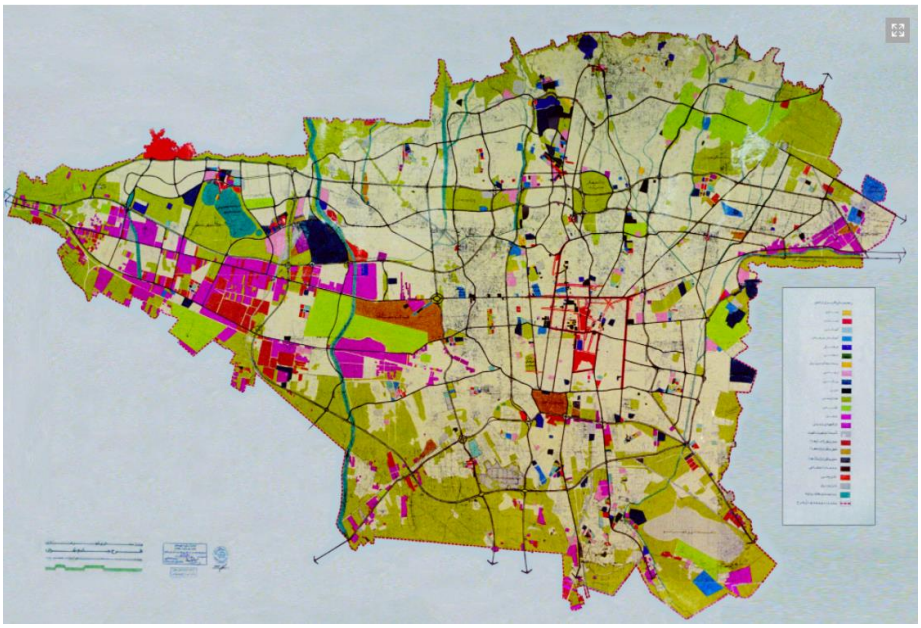


Figure 34

Second master plan of Tehran by ATEC Consulting Engineers, 1992.
Source : ATEC Consultant archive.

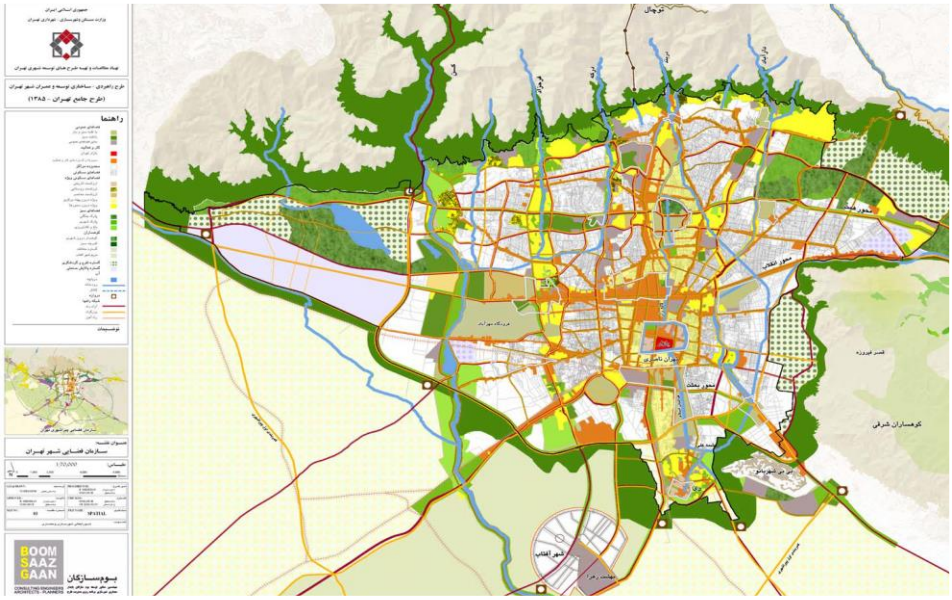


Figure 35

Master Plan of Tehran 2006, by Boomsazan (*Tarh-e Jame-e Tehran*).
Source: Tehran Municipality, 2006 Master Plan.

Figure 36

Opening talk by mayor's spouse Dr. Zahra Moshir at the 1st International conference on "Women and Urban Life" ,Tehran, Milad Tower, 2016.
Source: *Hamshahri* Photo Agency, Photo by : Javad Golzar

Figure 37

Women taxi drivers in Tehran initiated by Dr. Zahra Moshir.
Source: https://www.irna.ir

Figure 38

Arts and crafts done by female artists supported by Empowering Female-headed Households Organization.
Source: ISNA, photo by: Borna Ghasemi

Figure 39

“Women & National Production” exhibition.
Source: https://zananvatolidemelli.com/

Figure 40

1st International conference on "Women and Urban Life", Tehran, *Milad* Tower, 2016.
Source: https://www.civilica.com

Figure 41

Laura Pérez, President of Metropolis Women and city councilor responsible for Feminism and LGBTI in Barcelona City at the 1st International conference on "Women and Urban Life", Tehran, Milad Tower, 2016.
Source: Tehran Picture Agency, Photo by : Shayan Mehrabi

Figure 42

The video conference of David Harvey (British Marxist) and her colleague Seta M.low the speakers on the subject of "Women and Urban Justice" at the 1st International conference on "Women and Urban Life" brochure, Tehran, Milad Tower, 2016.
Source: *Hamshahri* photo Agency, Photo by: Javad Golzar

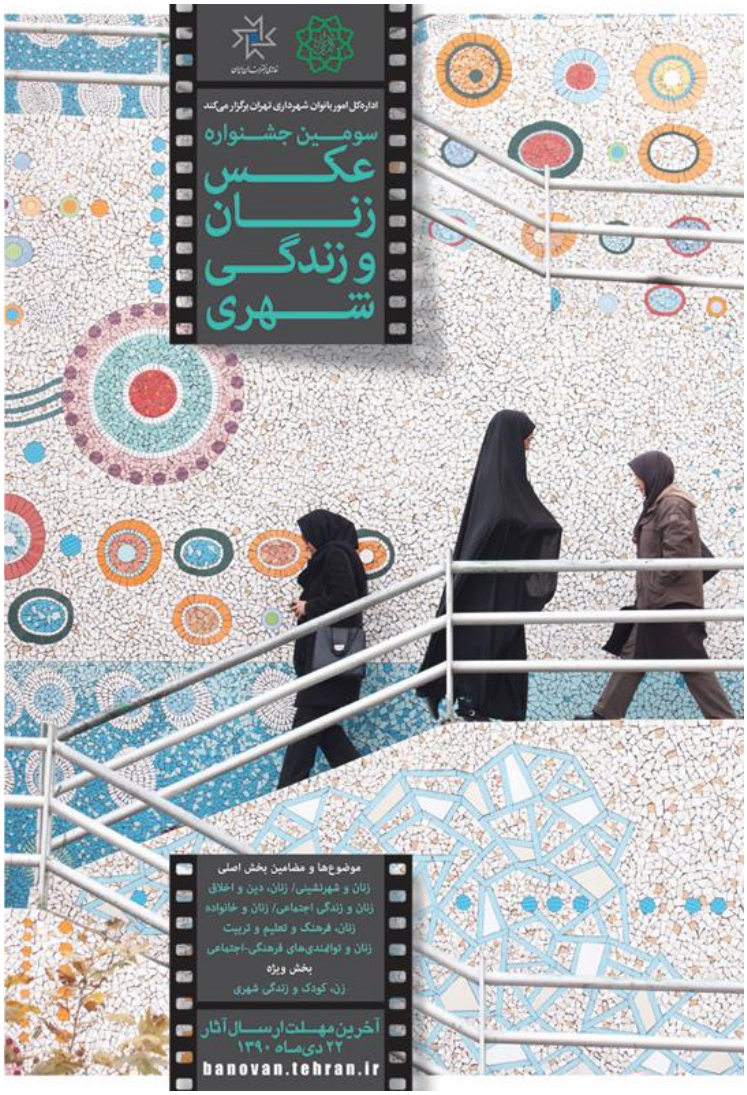


Figure 43

The 3rd "Photography Festival of the Women and Urban Life".
Source: Tehran Municipality Women's Affair

Figure 44

The 5th "Photography Festival of the Women and Urban Life" with the image of statue located in the Mothers' Paradise women-only park (see chapter 4). Tehran, 2013.
Source: Tehran Municipality Women's Affair.

Figure 45

The 7th "Photography Festival of the Women and Urban Life" held with 1st International conference on "Women and Urban Life", Tehran, *Milad* Tower, 2016. Source: Tehran Picture Agency, Photo by: Shayan Mehrabi

Figure 46

"1st National Conference on Women, Architecture and City" which hosted architects, urban planners, sociologists and experts in the field of "gender and space", as well as the analysis of relationships between male and female architects with the community. Tehran, 26-27 February, 2014.
Source: Institute for Strategic Studies in Iranian Architecture.

Figure 47

"1st National Conference on Women, Architecture and City" which hosted architects, urban planners, sociologists and experts in the field of "gender and space", as well as the analysis of relationships between male and female architects with the community. Tehran, 26-27 February, 2014.
Note: from the right bottom line the second person is Reza Arjmand, the sociologist with his volume on women-only parks (see Chapter 1 and 4).
Source: Institute for Strategic Studies in Iranian Architecture.

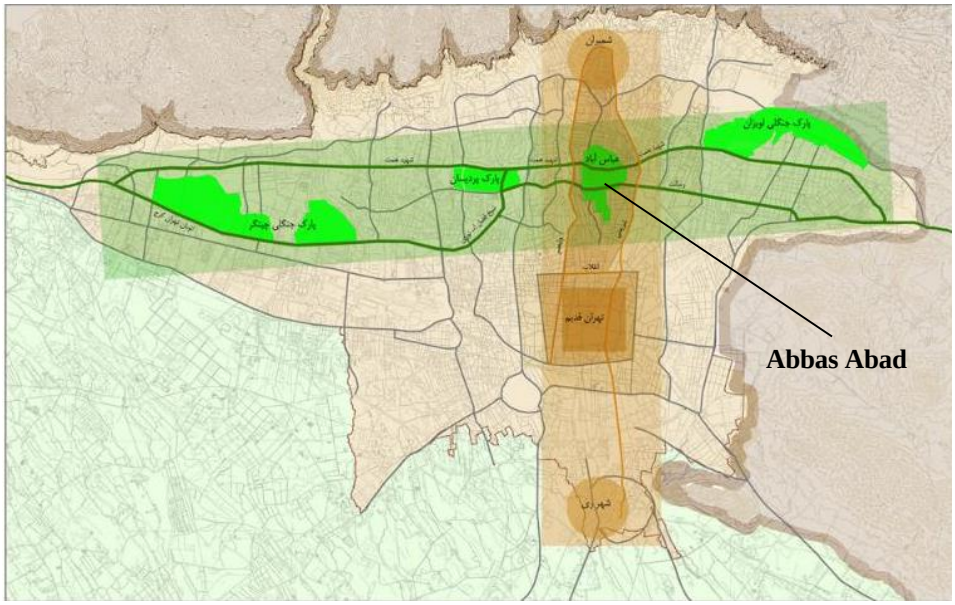


Figure 48

Important natural hills of Tehran, 2005. The green spots from Left to right: *Chitgar* forest-park, *Pardisan* park, Abbas Abad hills*, Lavizan* forest-park.
Source: Naqsh,e, Jahan- Pars counsulting engineers, principal architect:S.Hadi Mirmiran.

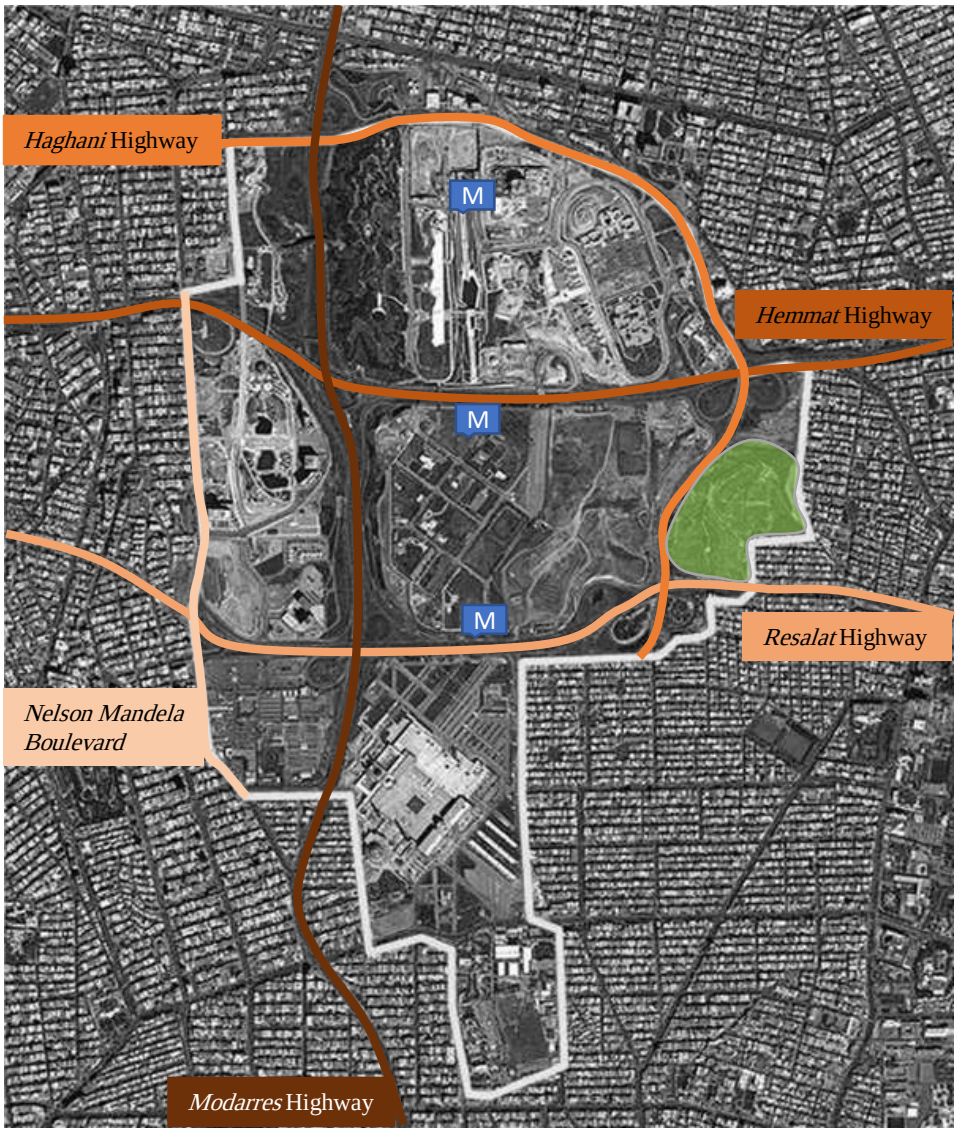


Figure 49

Aerial map of Abbas Abad, 2018. Mothers' Paradise is located on the East edge of the land (green area).

Source: Google Map

Illustrations by author

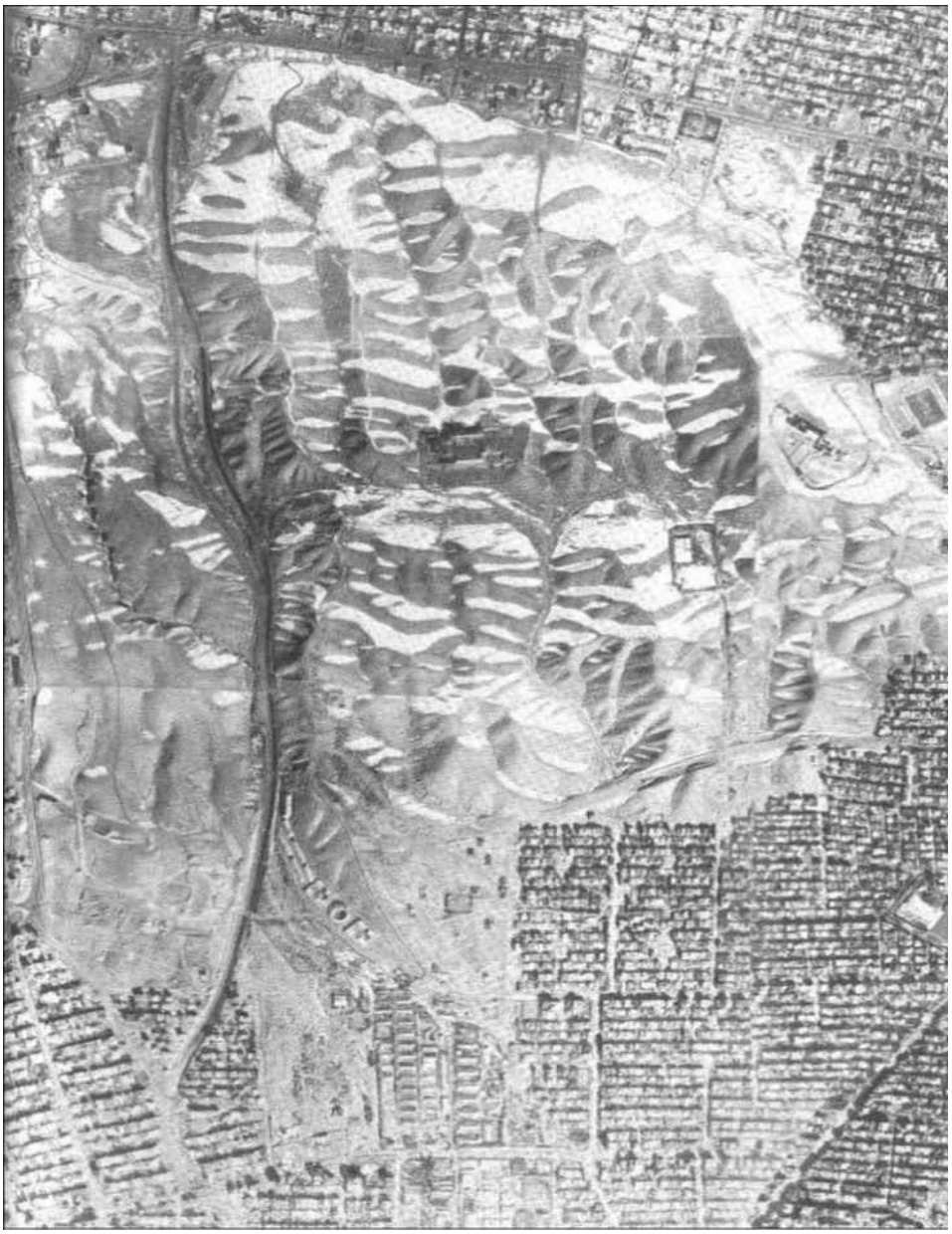


Figure 50

Aerial photo of Abbas Abad in 1975, showing the development of a dense residential fabric around the site.
Source: Llewelyn-Davies International, Shahestan (1976), Book I, page 44.

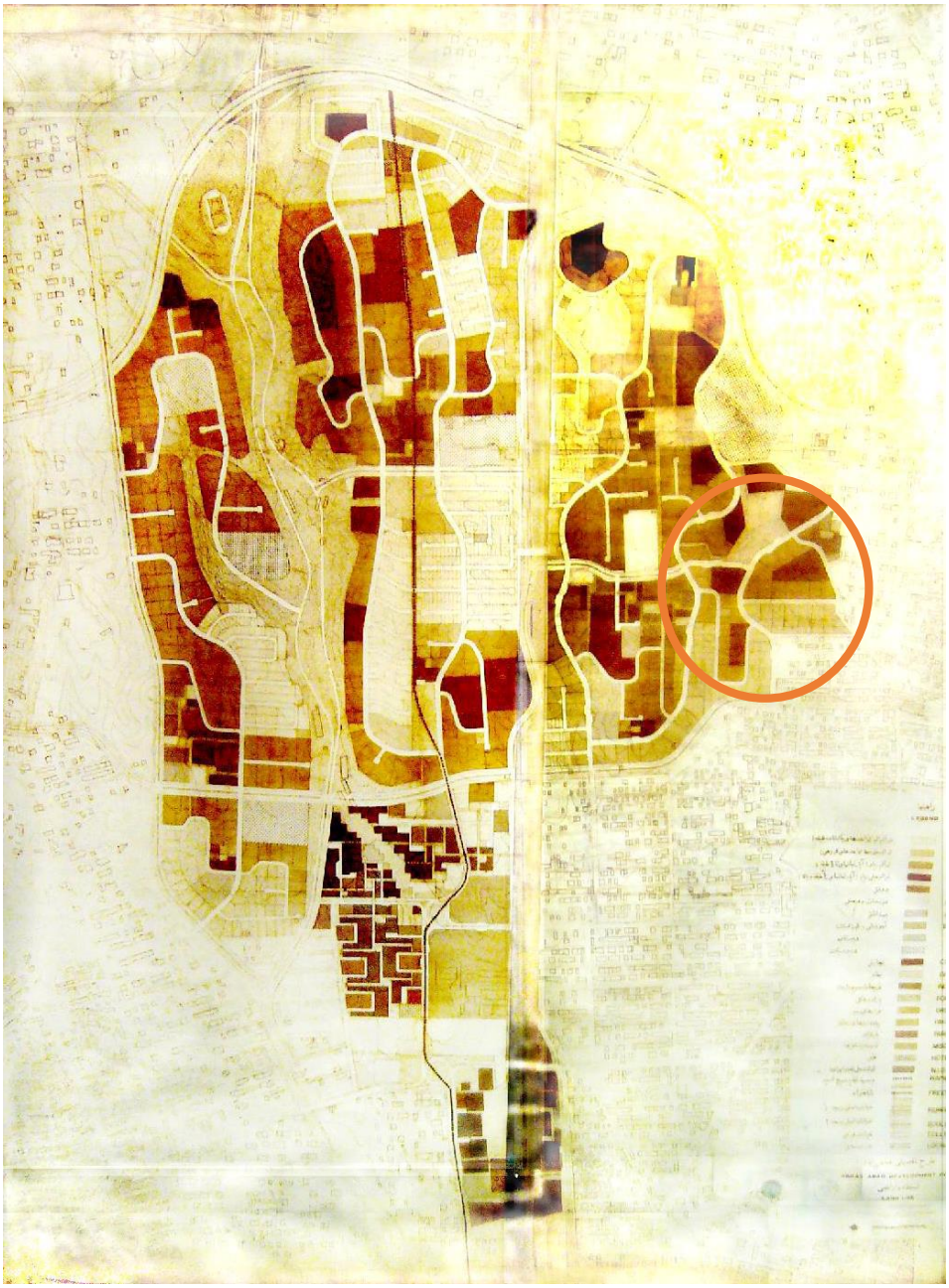


Figure 51

Farmanfarmaian and Victor Gruen master plan for Abbas Abad, 1968.
Source: Tehran Municipality, TCP archive.

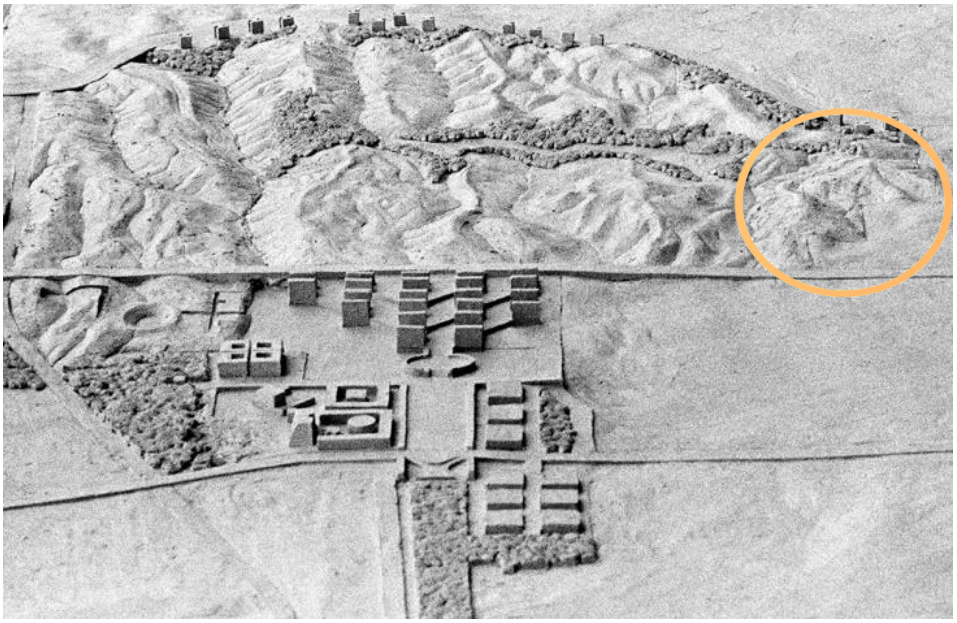


Figure 52

Louis Kahn, model of the Abbas Abad Master Plan, Tehran, 1974.

Source: (photo by George Pohl; Louis I. Kahn Collection, University of Pennsylvania and the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission).

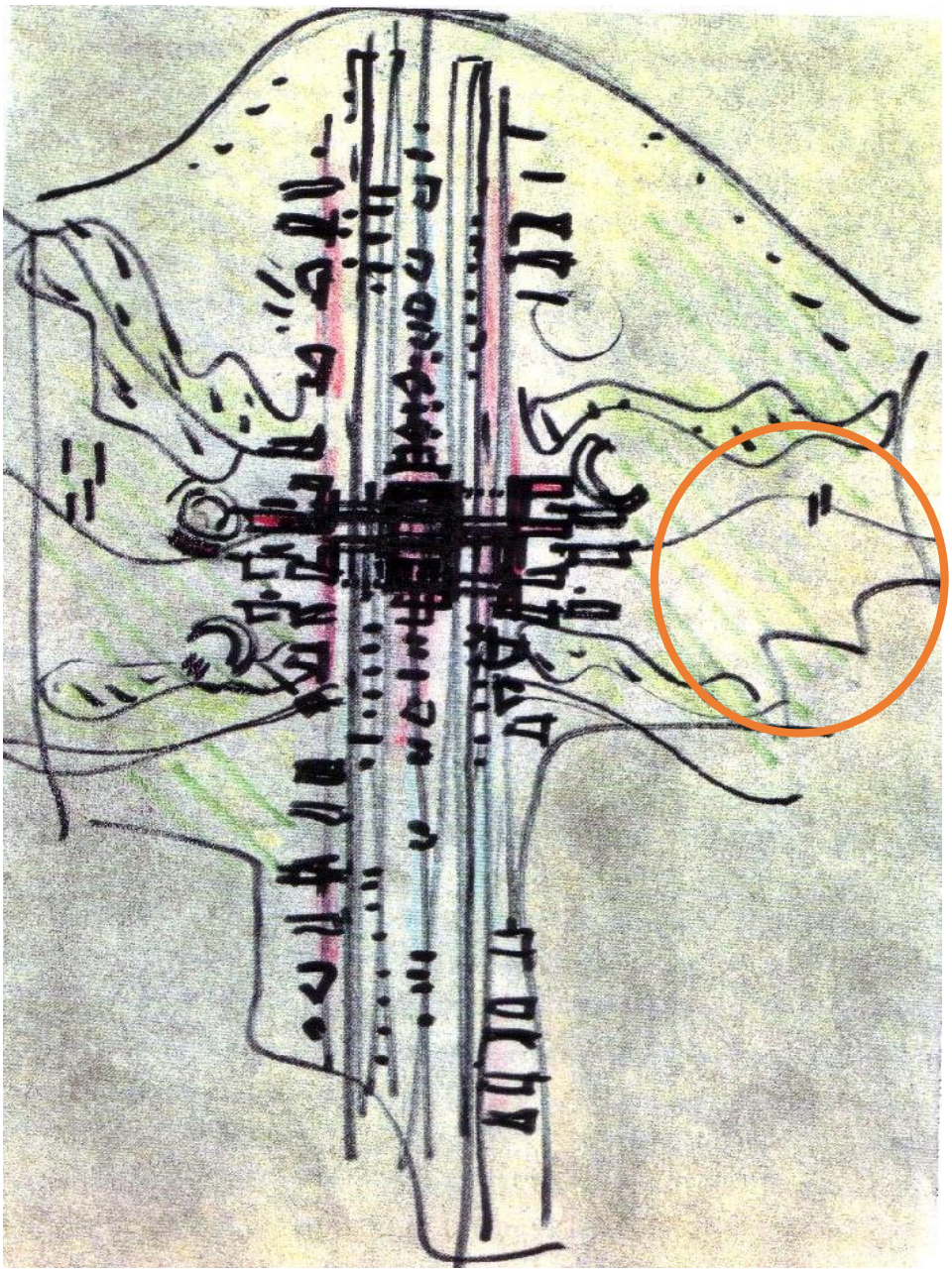


Figure 53

Kenzo Tange's proposal sketch for Abbas Abad land,1974.
Source: Abbas Abad Renovation Company archive.

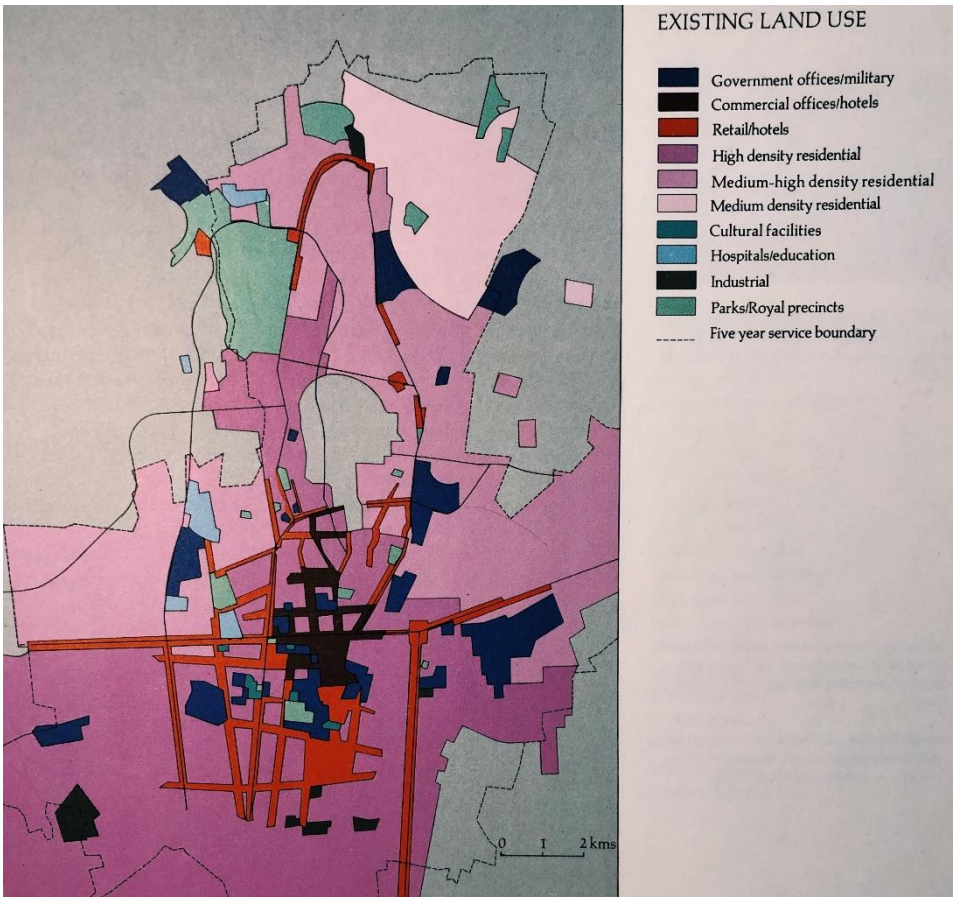


Figure 54

Surrounding land use of *Shahestan Pahlavi* project, 1976. The majority of the area around the land was for residential purposes.

Source: *Shahestan Pahlavi*, prepared by Llewelyn-Davies International (LDI) Book I: Master Plan, page 23.

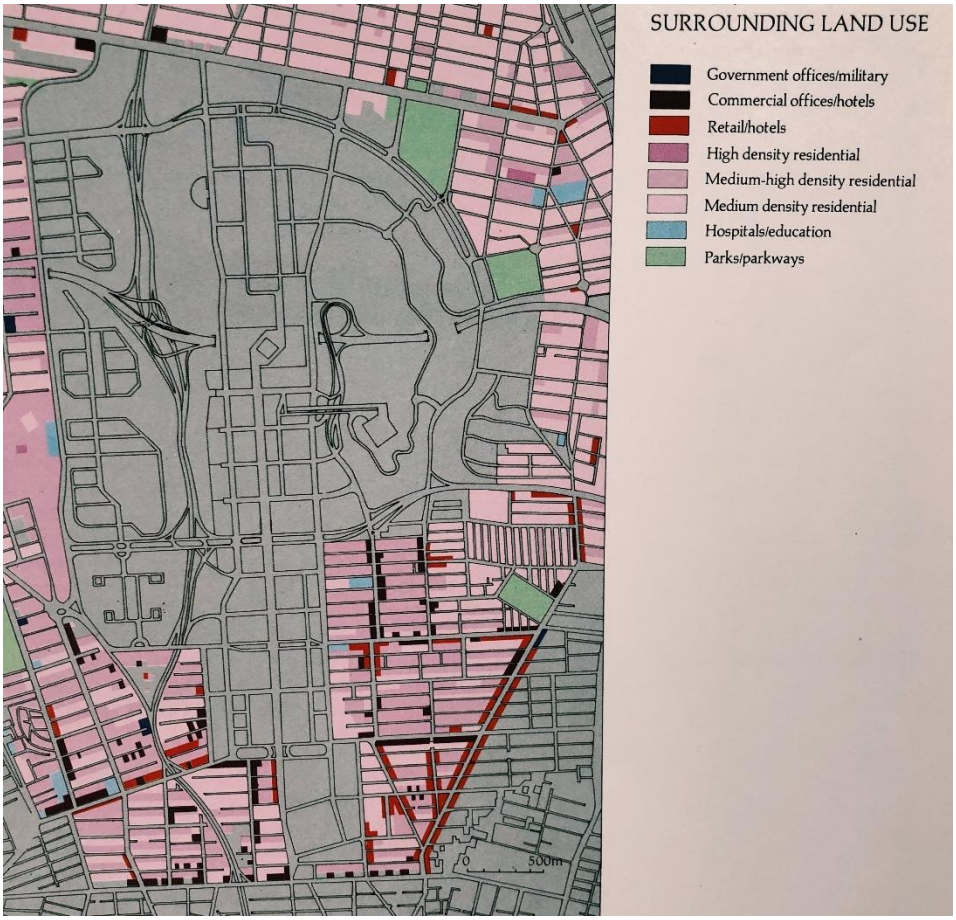


Figure 55

Surrounding land use of *Shahestan Pahlavi* project, 1976. The majority of the area around the land was for residential purposes.

Source: *Shahestan Pahlavi*, prepared by Llewelyn-Davies International (LDI) Book I: Master Plan, page 49.

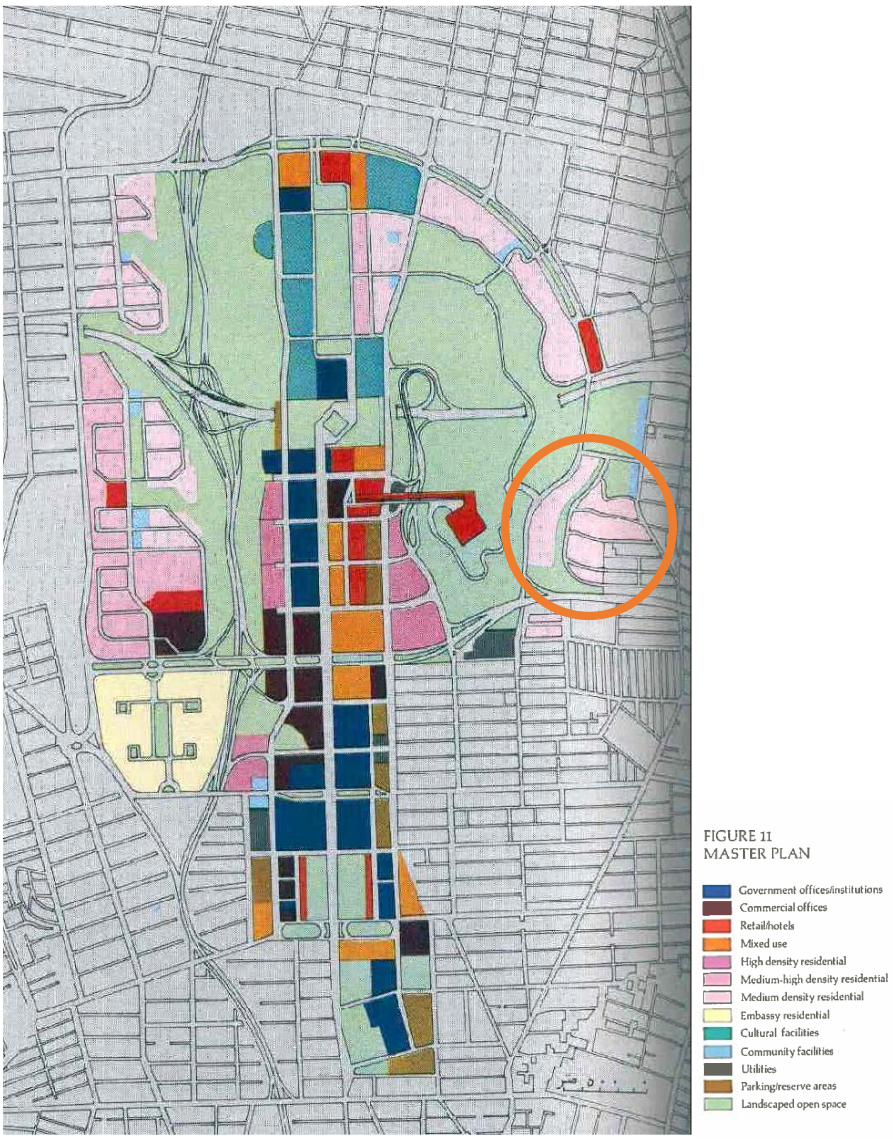
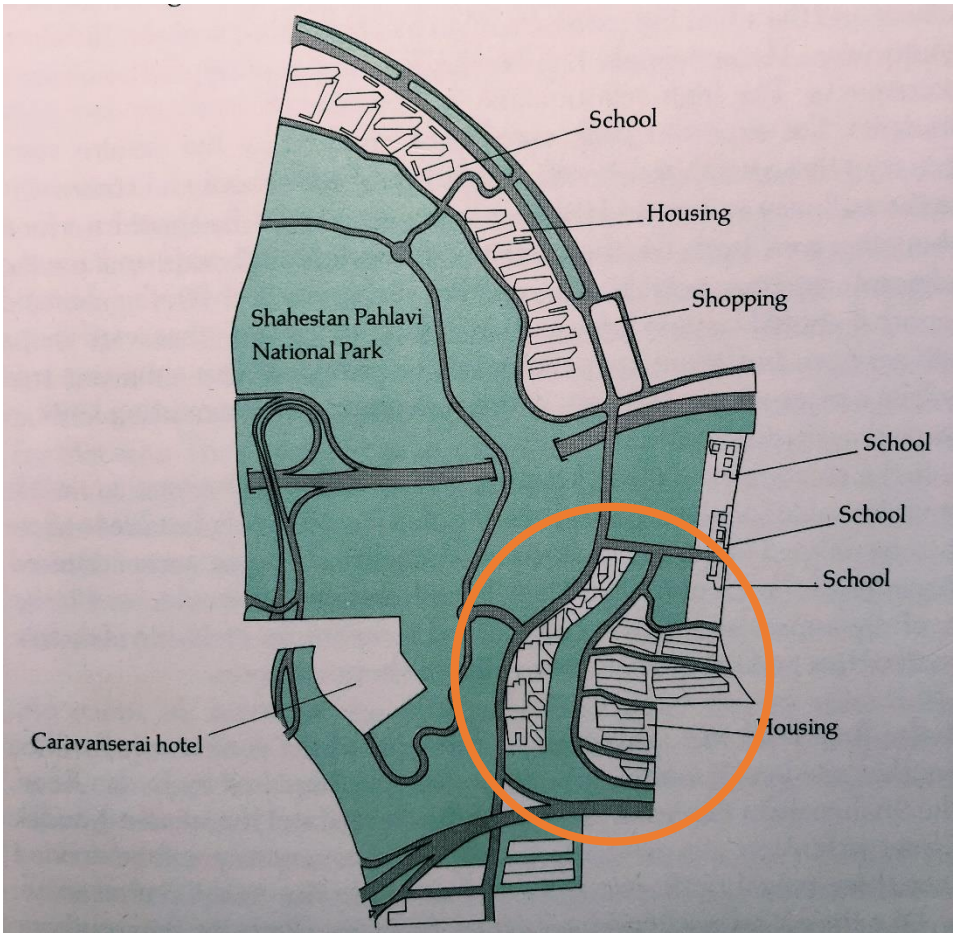


Figure 56

Plan diagram of the Shahestan Pahlavi model.
Source: Llewelyn-Davies International, *Shahestan Pahlavi* (1976). Book I, page 57.



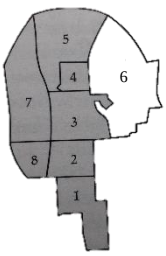


Figure 57

Mothers' Paradise land in *Shahestan Pahlavi*, 1976.

Source: *Shahestan Pahlavi*, prepared by Llewelyn-Davies International (LDI) Book I: Master Plan, page 71.

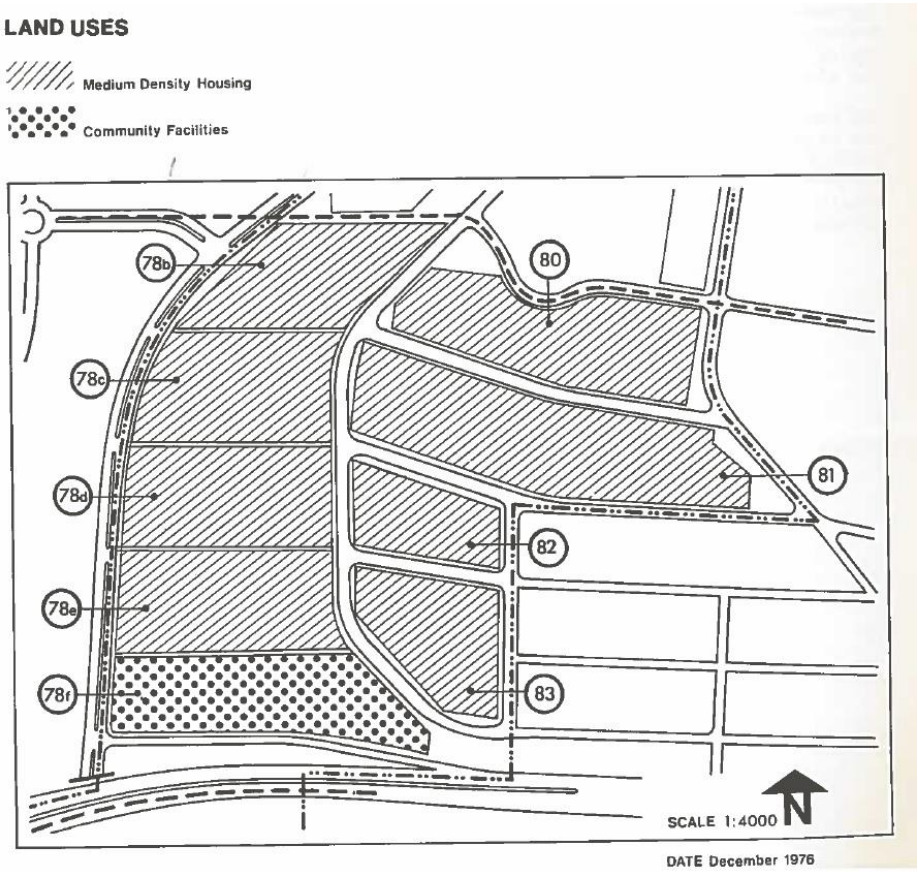


Figure 58

Land uses of Mothers' Paradise land in *Shahestan Pahlavi*, 1976.
Source: Llewelyn-Davies International (LDI) archive.

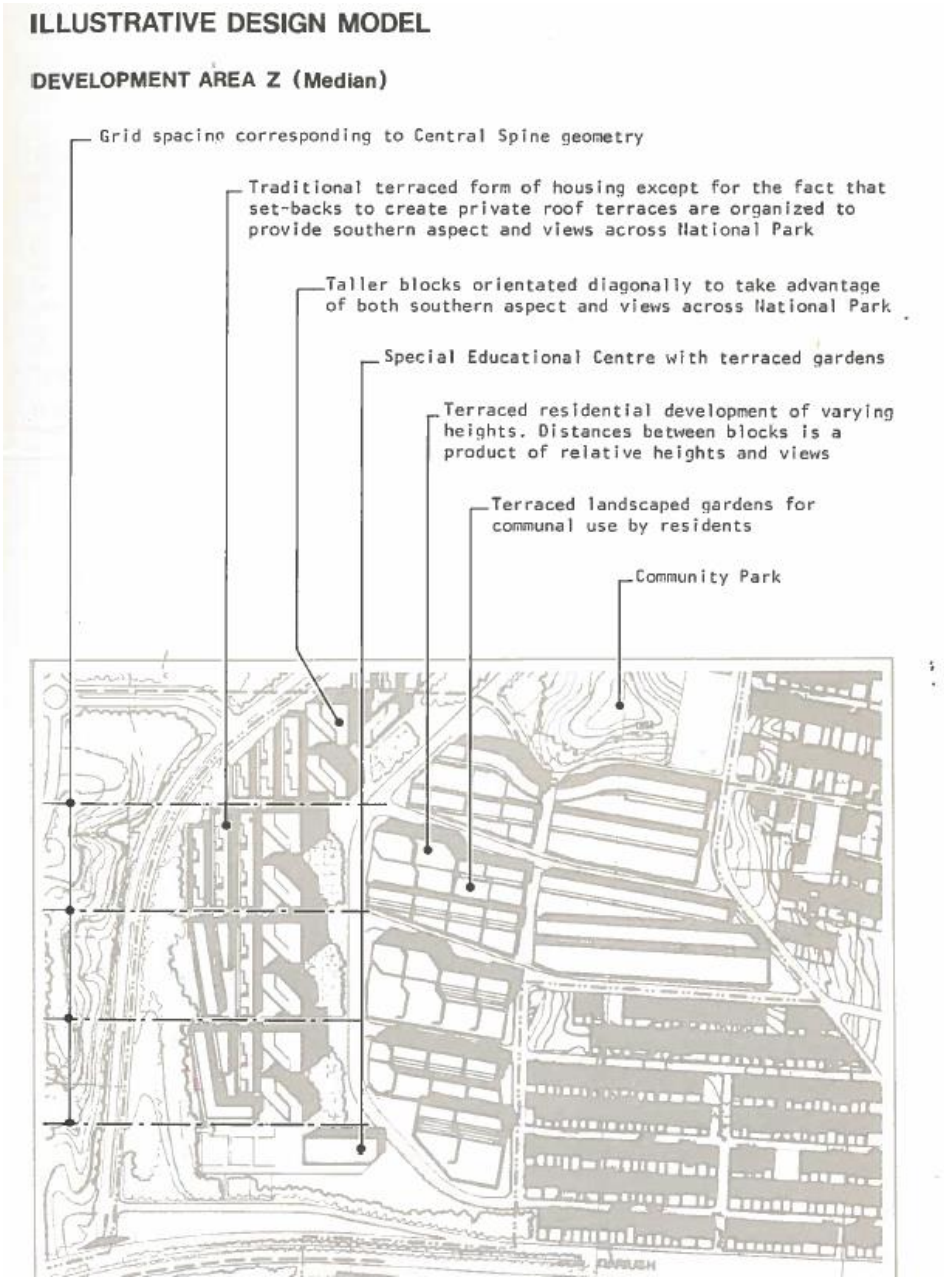


Figure 59

Mothers' Paradise land in *Shahestan Pahlavi*, 1976. Medium –density and terraced housing.

Source: Llewelyn-Davies International (LDI) office in London, archive.

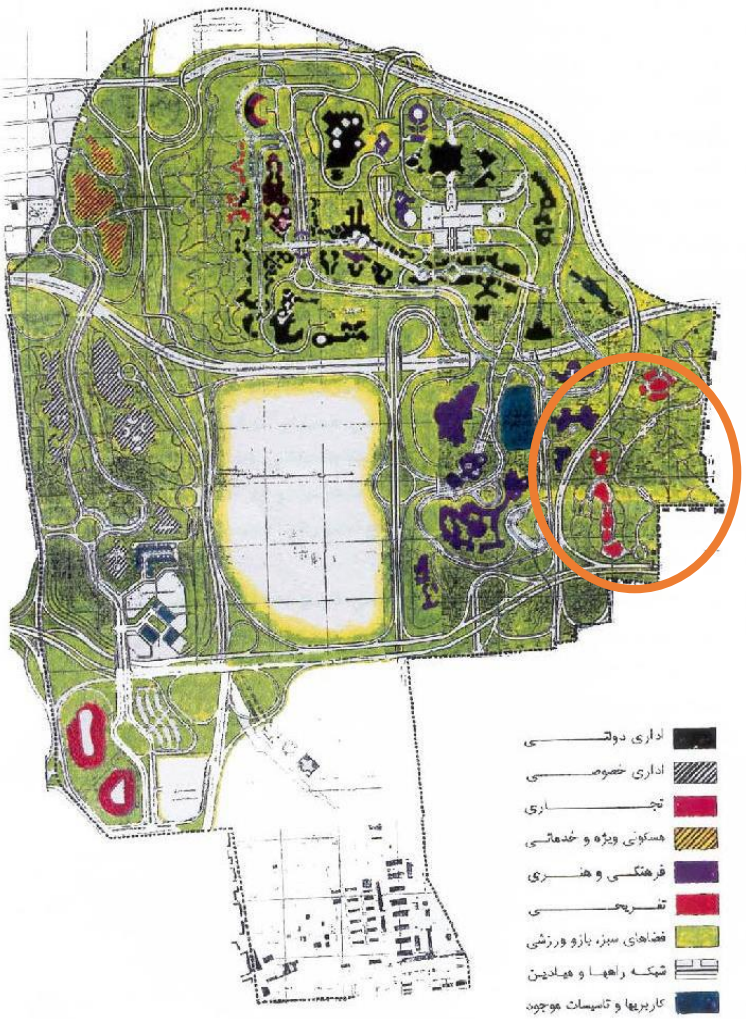


Figure 60

Ijad Group proposal for Abbas Abad, 1990.
Source: Abbas Abad Renovation Company Archive.

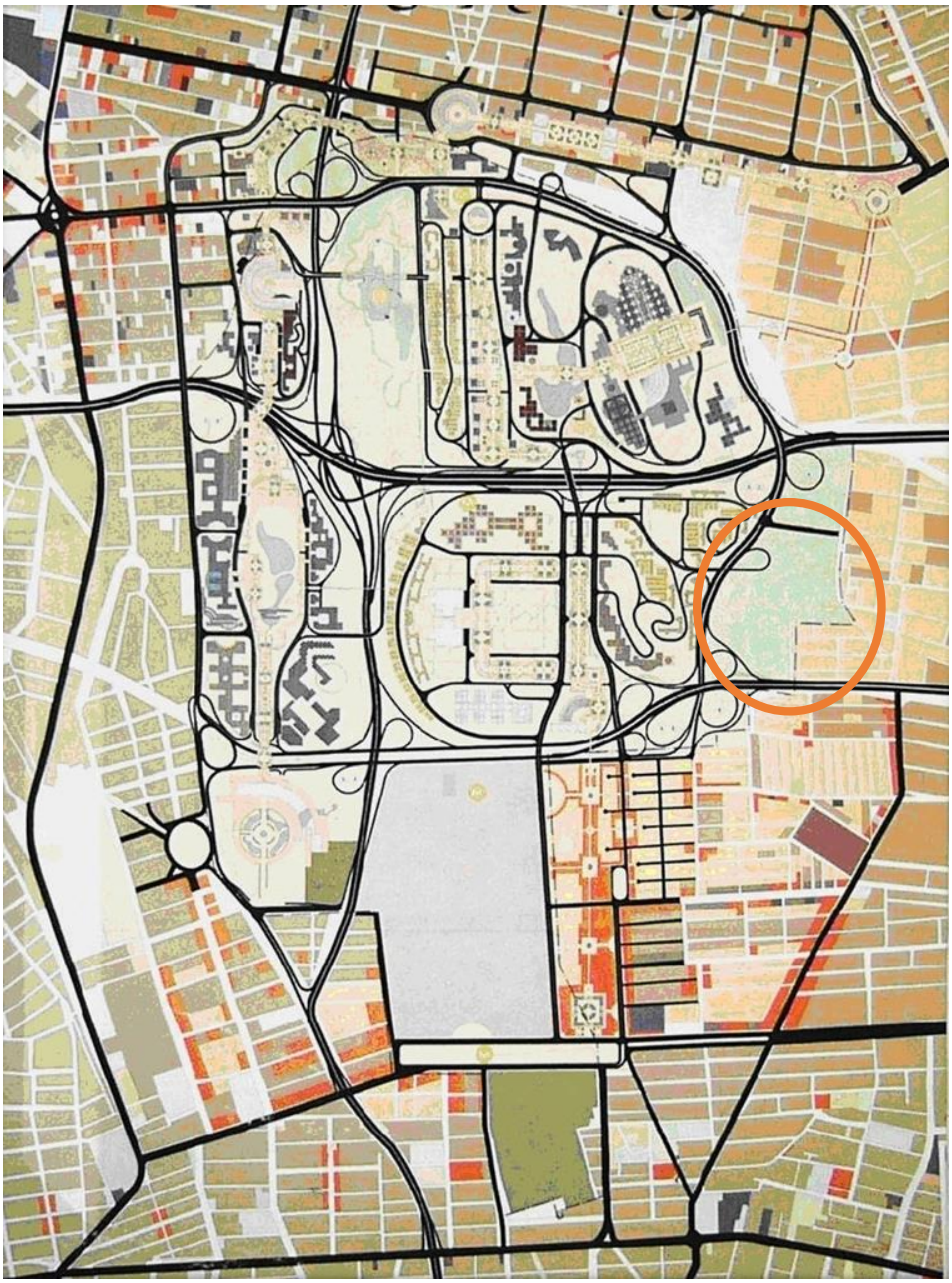


Figure 61

Master Plan for Abbas Abad by ATEC and Arkolog Consulting Engineers, 1998. Source: Abbas Abad Renovation Corporation archive.

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Figure 62

Diagrammatic plan of the last revision of Abbas Abad Land. Urban development plan by High Council of Architecture and Urbanism in Tehran and Naghsh Jahan-Pars Consulting Engineers, 2005.
Source: Abbas Abad Renovation Company archive.

Figure 63

Topography plan of *Neshat* Park divided into two separate lands, 2004.
Source: Abbas Abad Renovation Co. digital archive.

Figure 64

Topography and connectivity with the neighborhood area of *Neshat* Park, 2004.
Source: Abbas Abad Renovation Co. digital archive.

Figure 65

Mothers' Paradise before becoming a women-only park was a public park named "*Neshat* Park". *Neshat* Park plan , 2004
Source: Abbas Abad Renovation Co. digital archive.

Figure 66

"*Neshat* Park" from outside, 2005
Source: Abbas Abad Renovation Co. digital archive.

Figure 67

"*Neshat* Park" from inside, 2005
Source: Mehr News Agency website, photo by : Sajad Safari

Figure 68

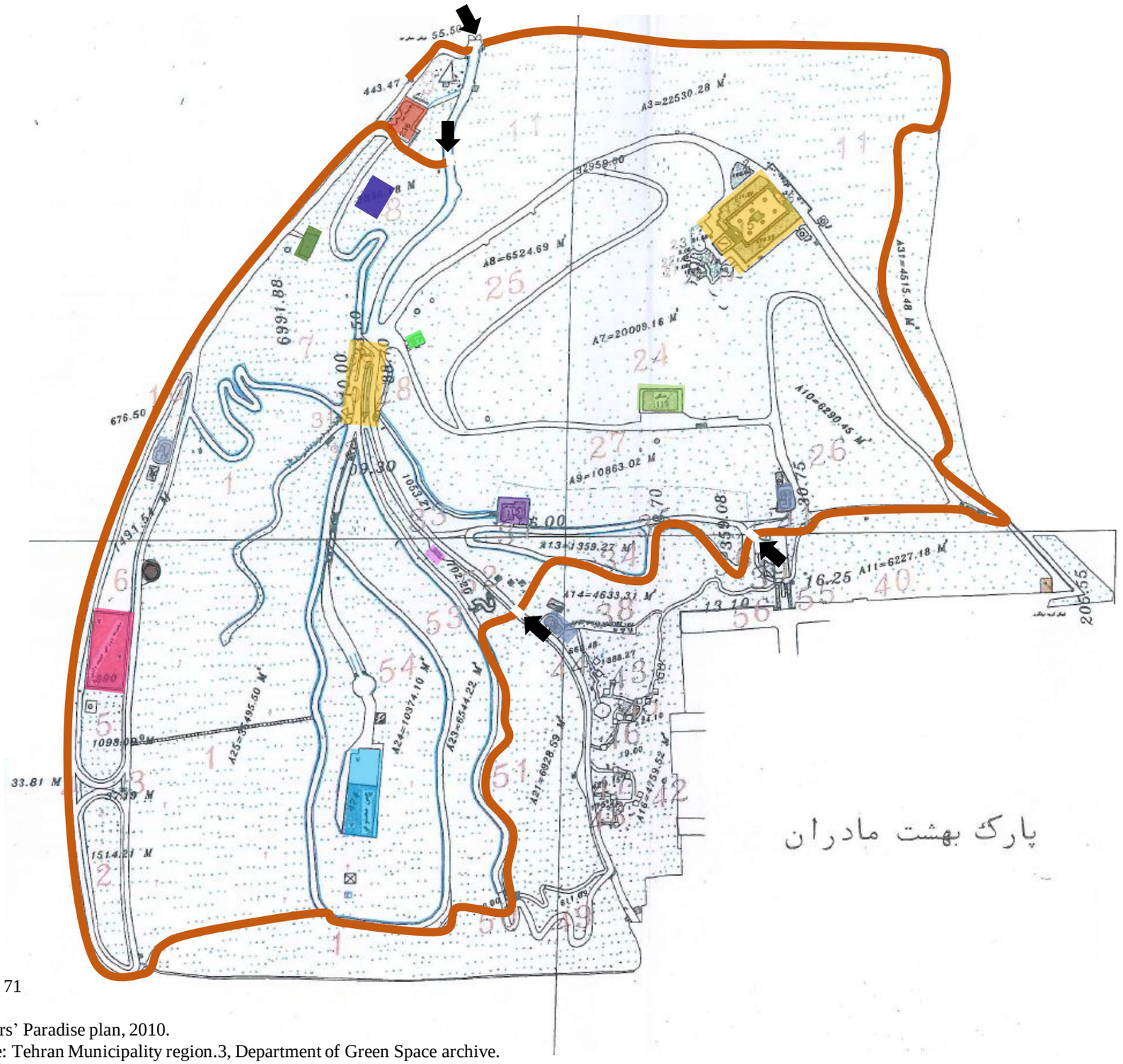
The entrance boards of Mothers' Paradise, 2008
Source: https://www.kojaro.com/attraction/9236

Figure 69

Mothers' Paradise green steel fencing system. Up: Outside the park, bottom: inside the park.
Source: Photos by author, 2017

Figure 70

Mothers' Paradise is the Southern area.
Source: Goggle Map



Mothers' paradise Women-Only Park
Total area= 205362.16 Square meters

Provided by Tehran Municipality
Region.3
Department of Green Space, 2010

Illustrated by author,2018

Guide

- Entrance
- Walkway
- Green space
- Fencing
- Management office
- Plaza and gathering space
- *Houra* Cultural House
- Sports salon
- Swimming pool
- Greenhouse
- *Hz.Khadijeh* Mosque
- Restaurant and buffet
- Bakery and cake House
- Library
- Bicycle renting
- Toilet

Figure 71

Mothers' Paradise plan, 2010.
Source: Tehran Municipality region.3, Department of Green Space archive.
Illustrations by author. Inside the brown line is for women-only use. The area in the South East is for public use

Figure 72

View to Alborz Mountains, inside Mothers' Paradise, Winter 2017.
Photo by author.

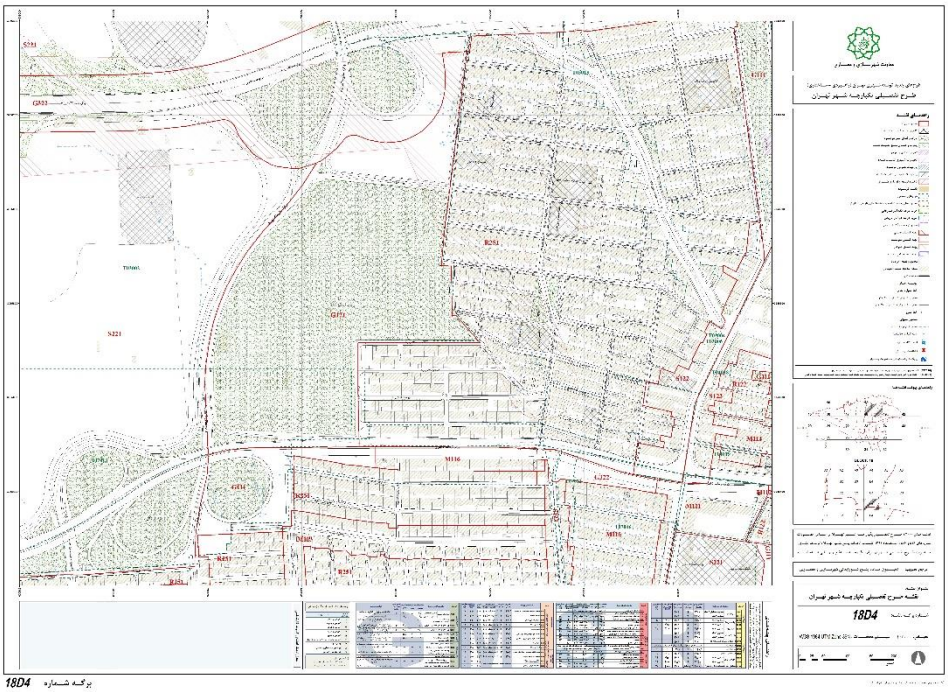


Figure 73

Mothers' Paradise women-only park surrounded by residential neighborhoods form the East.
Source: Tehran Municipality region.3 digital archive.

Figure 74

Dalan-e voroudi in ancient Persian houses: a corridor after the entrance door with a smooth maze which enters the central yard of the house.
Source: https://padnaamood.ir

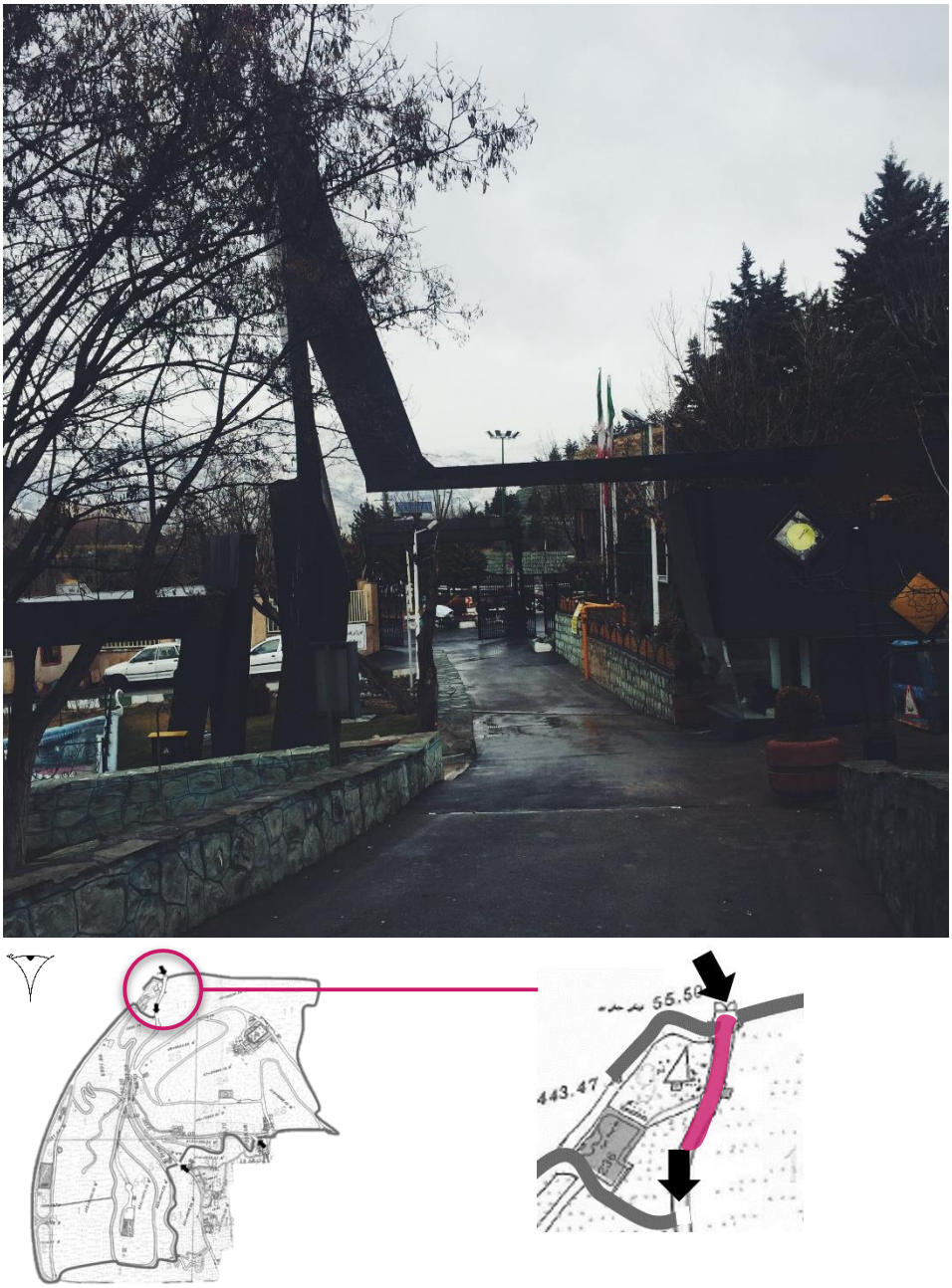


Figure 75

Northern entrance of Mothers' Paradise, acting like *Dalan-e voroudi* in ancient Persian houses before entering the women-only zone.
Photo and illustration by author.

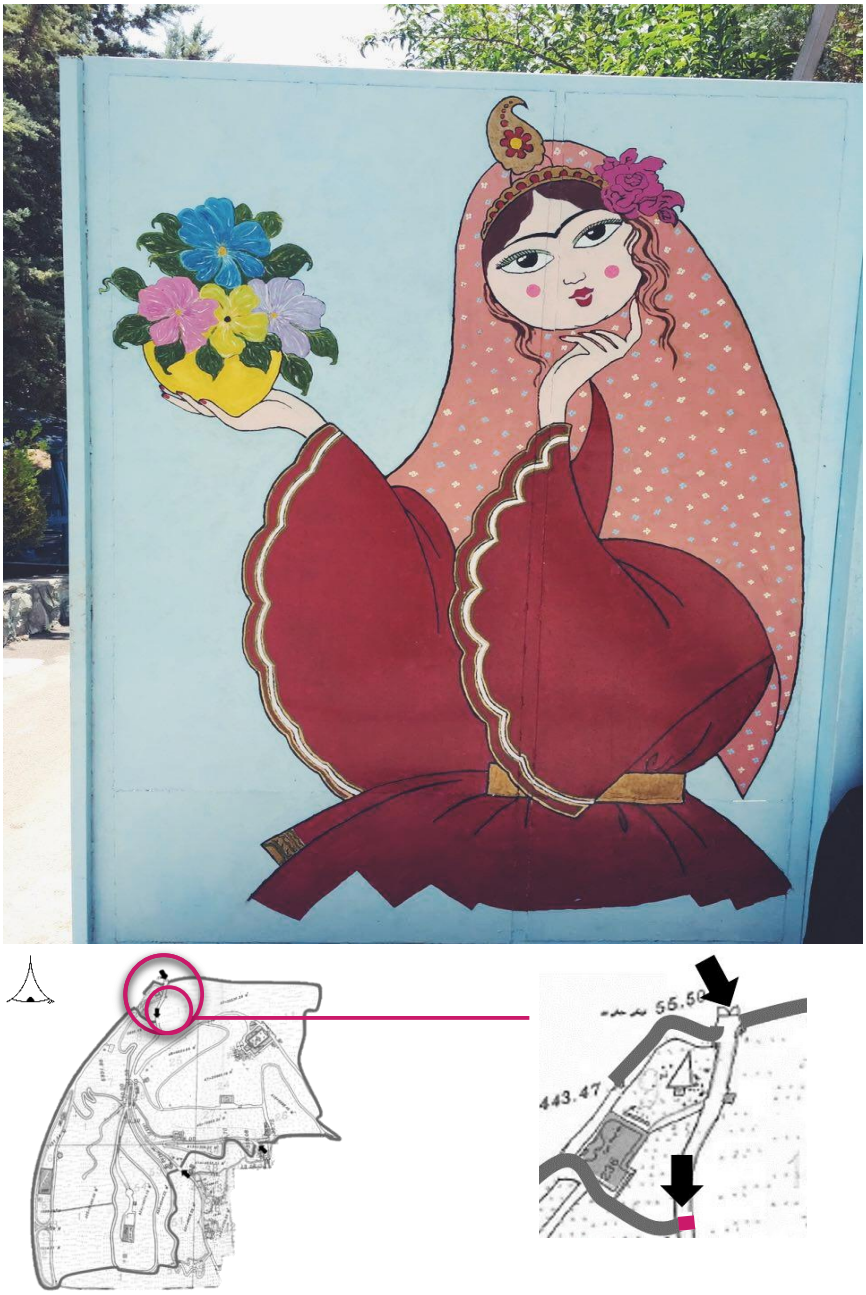


Figure 76

After the Northern entrance of Mothers' Paradise, the blue painted gate is the territory of women-only zone.
Photo and illustration by author.

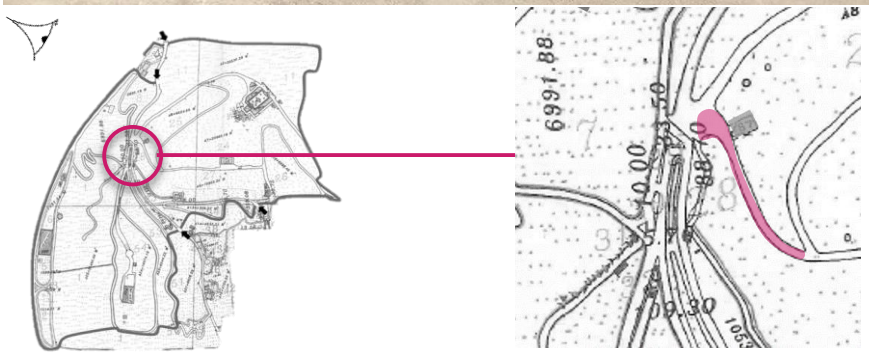


Figure 77

Central plaza of Mothers' Paradise. Management block is located on the left. Photo and illustration by author.

Figure 78

The fountain in the central plaza of Mothers' Paradise.
Photo and illustration by author.

Figure 79

Inside Mothers' Paradise statue of "martyred woman".
Source: Tehran Photo Agancy, photo by: Sanaz Daryaee

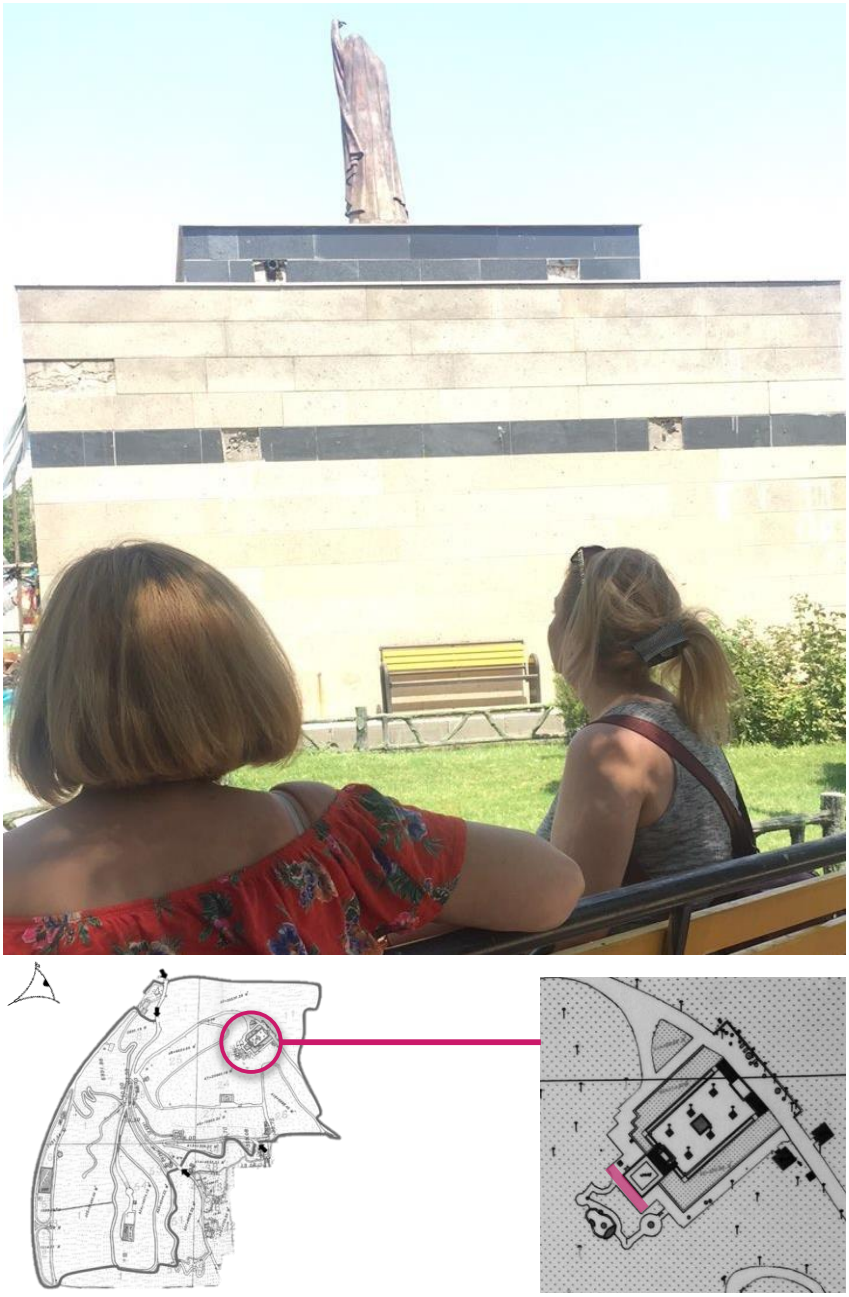


Figure 80

Inside Mothers' Paradise, the North-East plaza, statue of "martyred woman".
Source: Photo by author, detailed map from park's management.

Figure 81

Mayor. Qalibaf in the opening ceremony of the statue of martyred woman in the Mother's Paradise women-only park in Abbas Abad land.
Source: Empowering Female-headed Households Organization archive (*Setad-e Tavanmandsazie Zanan-e Sarparast-e Khanevar*)

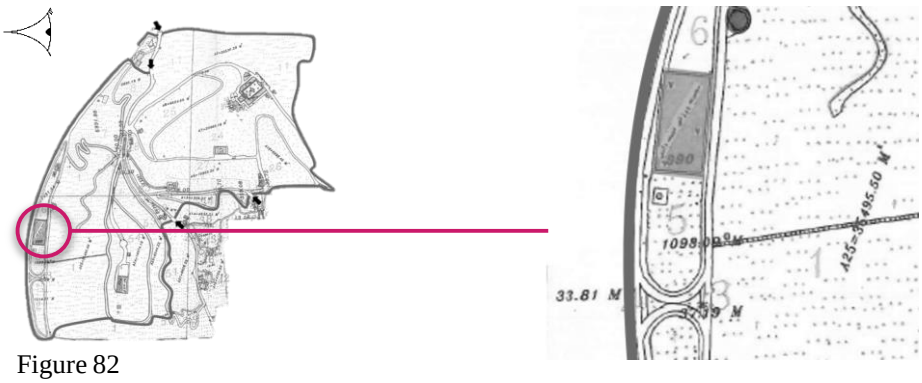


Figure 82

Mahboobeh Danesh sports complex in the West edge of Mothers' Paradise.
Source: photo by Khashayar Hosseini

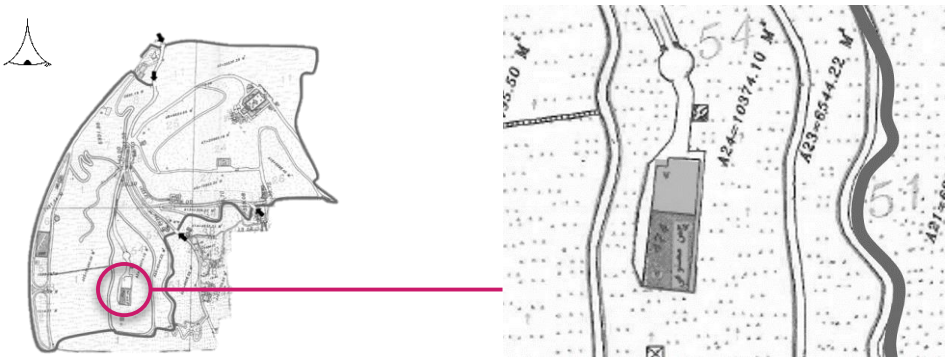


Figure 83

Open air swimming pool Inside Mothers' Paradise, 2017.
Source: https://takhfifan.com

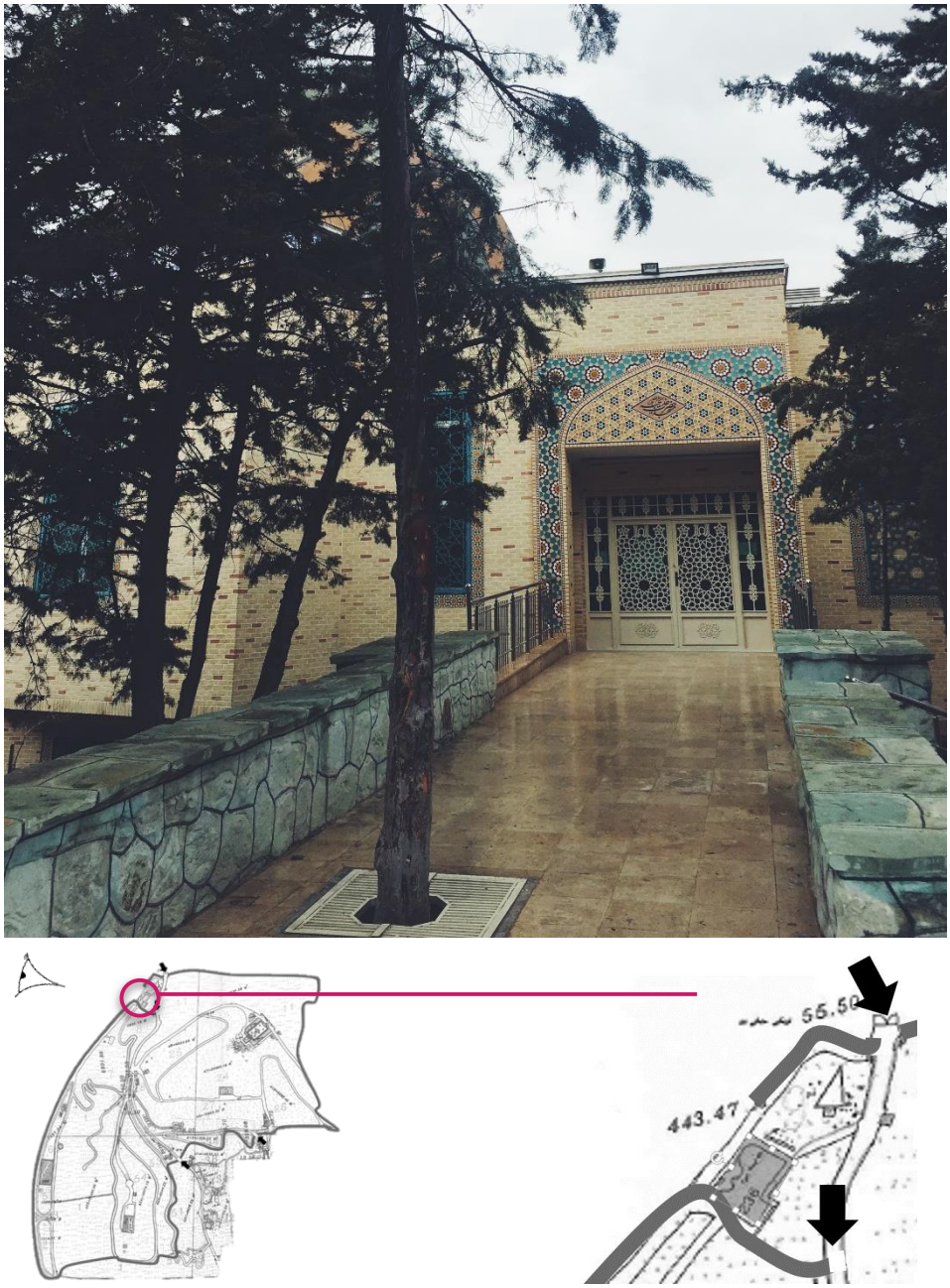


Figure 84

Hz.Khadijeh Mosque, in the Northern entrance of Mothers' Paradise, 2017. Photo by author.

Figure 85

Open air sitting areas next to the buffet, inside Mothers' Paradise, 2017. Photo by author.

Figure 86

Female gardener inside Mothers' Paradise.
Source: www.rferl.org

Figure 87

Group of women holding a banner in order to demonstrate the intention behind their visit to the park. “Blue Sky, Clean Earth”, in front of Northern entrance , April 2017
Source: www.satarkhan.mytehran.ir

Figure 88

Women with Disabilities Charity Foundation , April, 2019
Source: http://bonyademalolin.com/

Figure 89

Tree planting ceremony on the occasion of mothers' day, March, 2018
Source: Tehran Picture Agency, Photos by Shayan Mehrabi

Figure 90

Tai Chi training in the sports center of the park, April 2018
Source: Photos by Sahar Aghaebrahim

Figure 91

"*Pink Ribbon poster prade in the Mothers' Paradise, you are invited to fight with breast cancer*", October 2015
Source: www.pink.cinere.ir

Figure 92

Department of Women's affairs at the meeting with directors of women's affairs in 22 regions of Tehran.
Source: http://banovan.tehran.ir/

Figure 93

The second statue with the concept of “mother and her infant”, located outside of Mothers’ Paradise.
Source: http://zibasazi.ir/

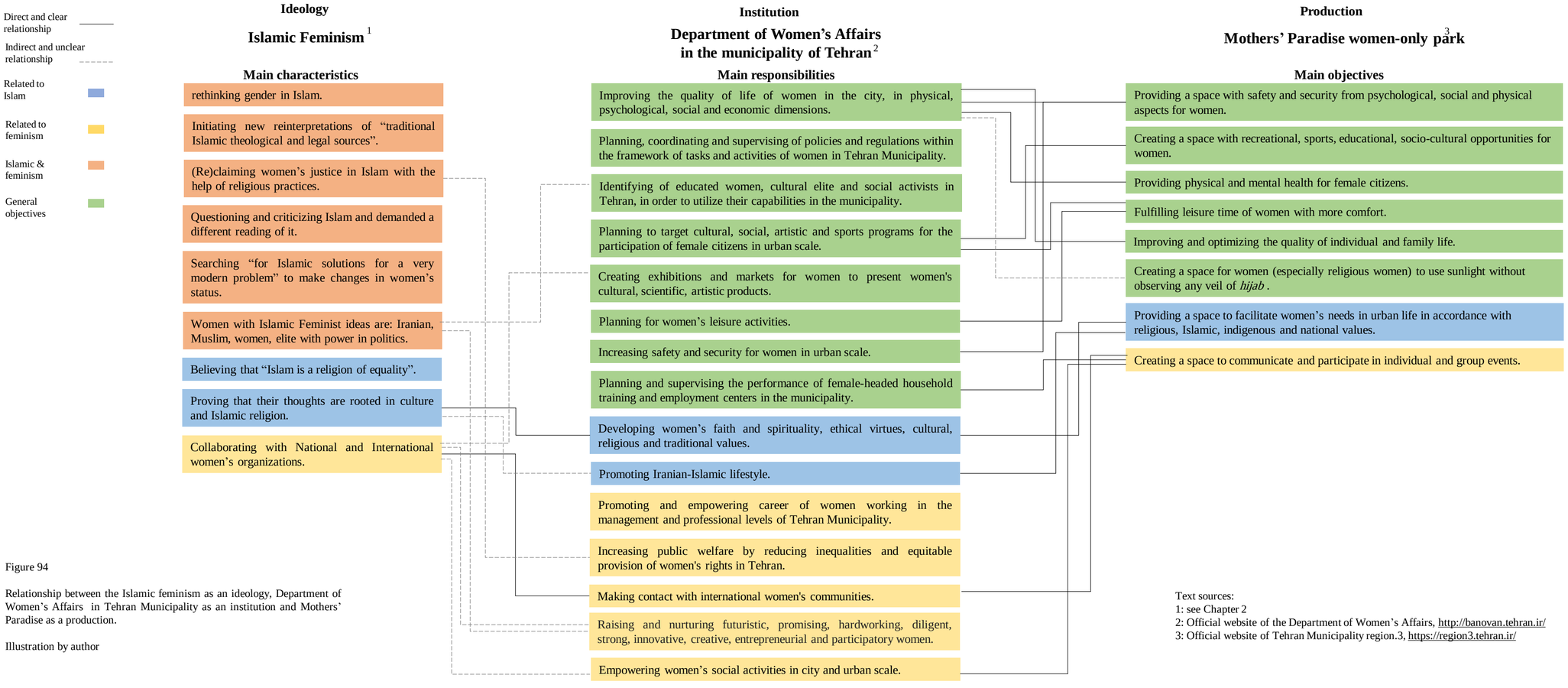


Figure 94

Relationship between the Islamic feminism as an ideology, Department of Women's Affairs in Tehran Municipality as an institution and Mothers' Paradise as a production.

Illustration by author

Text sources:
1: see Chapter 2
2: Official website of the Department of Women's Affairs, http://banovan.tehran.ir/
3: Official website of Tehran Municipality region.3, https://region3.tehran.ir/

Appendix

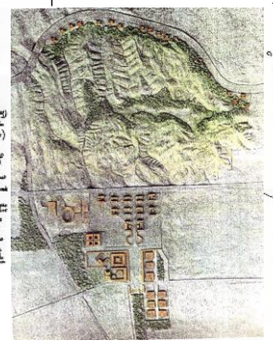
7.1 Appendix A: Summary of Abbas Abad urban transformation (from unbuilt ideas to now)

Aziz Farmanfarmaian, Victor Gruen

1968

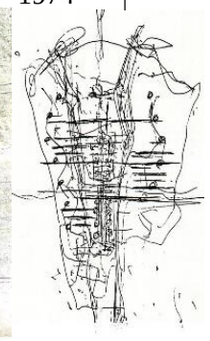
Louis Kahn

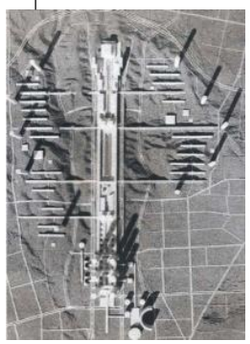
1974



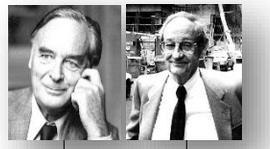
Kenzo Tange

1974





Llewelyn-Davies International



1976

Ijad group

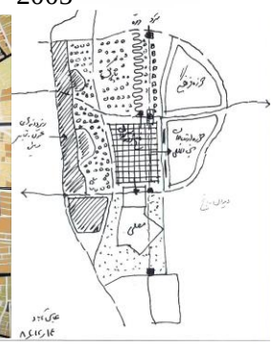
1990

ATEC and Arkolog groups

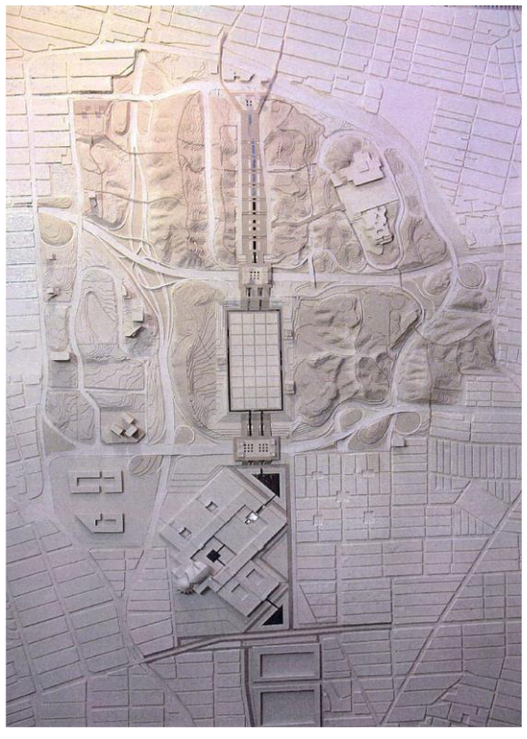
1998

Naqshe Jahan-Pars

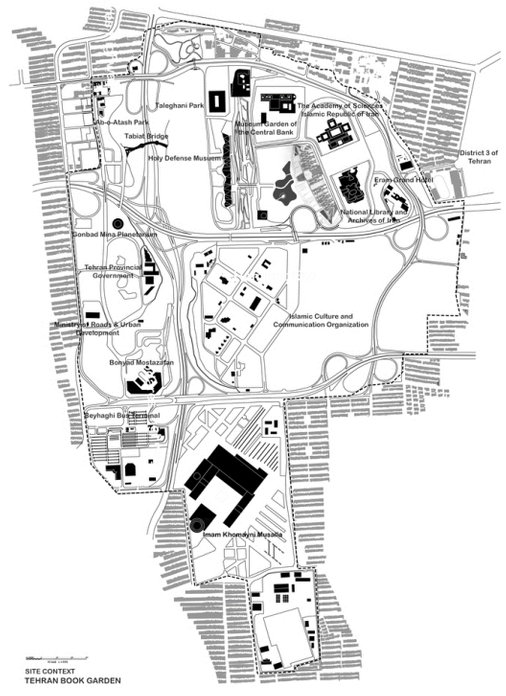
2005



2006



2016



7.2 Appendix B: Interview with manager of Mothers' Paradise

On 1st of August 2017, I visited the Mothers' Paradise women-only park in Tehran and I had an interview with the manager of the park, Raziyeh Tabarayian. She has master's degree in Urban Affairs Management from Tehran University and before her position in the park in 2008, she had posts related to environmental conservation in different regional municipalities of Tehran. Below is the interview content which has been recorded, and then translated from Farsi to English.

1. Would you please give us an oral history of the Mothers' Paradise shortly?

At first this park was a forest park located in Abbas Abad hills. Mayor. Qalibaf intended to create a park only for women; so that, women, especially bahijab (women with appropriate hijab) can easily use the green, open space with natural sunlight by taking off their hijabs in a "secured" and "safe" space without feeling strange men's presence. Thus, Mr. Qalibaf's spouse, Dr. Moshir, established this park and introduced the park to the media as the very first women-only park in the capital.

2. So, the founder or initiator of the park is a female politician?

Yes, also the park's name is Behesht-e Madaran (Mothers' Paradise) which shows the respect of the authorities towards mothers. Not only this park, but also the other women-only parks are under the supervision of Department of Women's Affairs in the municipality of Tehran and the maintenance of the park in terms of space and greenery is the responsibility of Tehran's Parks and Green Space Organization (TPGSO).

3. What was the construction process of the park?

The park's name before becoming a women's park was Neshat Park, and before that, it was a forest park sitting in the edge of the Abbas Abad district then officially in 2008, the municipality selected this landscape and started fencing the space. The municipality chose this land because it is part of Abbas Abad. As you know, Abbas Abad has been one of the controversial and reputable regions in Tehran. Many long-term programs has been released by the public and private authorities and corporations. We have many public neighborhood parks out of this district which mainly are close to this region. Choosing and shifting one of them to a women-only park was a brilliant idea done by the municipality.

This park was at first a public park which had its own typical facilities. The most important feature that has been added after it became a women-only park was the statue of "Martyred Woman" which the budget came from Tehran Municipality. Also, we built greenhouse, mosque and the pool which are the results of users' demands and plans of Women's Affairs and the municipality.

4. What is the main intention of creating such parks?

With respect to the women's role in the society and with considering that, the half of population in the country are female citizens, urban policy-makers and planners thought of the whole idea of an urban open space for women-only use . They intended to divide the city facilities and services in an equal way, but with considering the rules of Islam. Living in small apartment buildings, wearing full hijab in public arena, lack of sun exposure, weakness in bones and muscles, skin disease are reasons of creating such parks. So, by examining women's needs which were following Islamic, religious, traditional and national values this park became a platform to provide urban facilities for women in a "secured open space".

Women come to these parks for two major reasons, firstly, they use this park to have freedom in their dress code, and secondly, they come to this park to spend their leisure time with sports and activities which will improve their mental and physical health and make them busy in their everyday life. We have many sports facilities inside the park. Women come here, if they want, our mentors give them fitness programs; also, they can participate in artistic and cultural events. This space is not just a park, it is an open-air complex with recreational, cultural, art and sports features and facilities. Our sports salon, have most of the fields. The swimming pool is going to be open to all female citizens in the next few months. Houra Cultural House opens cultural courses. A small branch of Kosar Training Center opened a Cake House with the function of training female-headed households in designing and baking homemade cakes for free. There is a greenhouse which also have free training courses in terms of growing and maintaining houseplants. All of these programs and training courses has been advertised by the municipality website, urban commercial banners and SMS application.

5. What kind of facilities in terms of sports do you offer to the users?

In the sports salon, we have fitness programs, yoga, Pilates, aerobics, ping-pong, multi-functional field for basketball, volleyball, badminton, Tai Chi and meditation. The price of these courses are half of the prices outside. Besides, there is a free everyday morning exercise program from 7:30 am to 8:30 am by fitness coaches working in the sports salon.

6. Would you mind explaining about the female workers inside the park?

We have 120 working forces here. 60 of them are responsible for maintaining greenery of the park, 30 women and 30 men. The other 60 forces are security guards inside and outside of the park, 30 women and 30 men. Totally, 90% of the women working here are householders introduced by the municipality and Female-Headed Household Organization. Due to the fact that, women labor are more "vulnerable" and "weaker" than men, the hard infrastructure issues of the park are settled and solved by men who start to work after 8 pm. Department of Women's Affairs offer household women who have the low level of literacy to work here or in such spaces, so that they can spend their working hours in a "feminine space" with "full safety".

7. What are the differences between this park and other women-only parks? Why women from different regions mostly choose Mothers' Paradise among the women-only parks of the capital city?

This park's programming and design has been the role model for other women-only parks, not only in Tehran, but also in other cities. But the most important factor in creating a women-only park is its geographical location. The situation of the land should be appropriate in terms of "visually". The designers or the initiators at the first steps, should pay lots of attention to the surrounding areas. They should make sure that, there is no high-rise building or a pedestrian bridge near the specified space. Then, people in charge should assess the needs and requirements of the users. According to their assessment, the municipalities can provide additional facilities and services.

One of the noteworthy differences of this park with the other ones is that, we do not check the women's bags and their carried personal stuff in the entrance. We also do not take their mobile phones and cameras. This is because the region.3 of Tehran and Abbas Abad district has been counted as Northern area, which people who reside and

visit the park are mostly high-cultured middle class people. We wanted to carry out this "risk". So that, we desired to see the notion of, "people should not enter to the privacy of others and they must respect the rules, terms and conditions of a space". It was hard at first; however, now if a user wants to take a photo inside, she is aware of not to capture the other users. Now, we see that this "culture" has been automatically opened a place in behavior of the users. Our job as the first women-only park is harder than the other parks because of this issue. Most of the users come from the South, West and the East, which are really far from this district. They prefer this park; even though, there are women-only parks in their own region. The other important reason is Abbas Abad's reputation in including diverse public spaces and urban facilities.

8. Do you have further plans for Mothers' Paradise?

We have many projects in our mind; however, the municipality does not have enough budget for facilitating Mothers' Paradise with more new ideas and features. The swimming pool project has been stopped at first because of the low budget, but now we are trying to finish the project as soon as possible. We had an idea about creating a cinema building, paintball field, "Mother and Child" house, a beauty salon, shopping markets and fashion house inside the park; however, there is no adequate budget to construct ideas of this kinds. You can find activities and features like this in other women-only parks; but, as I said people usually choose this park because of its "natural topography and geographical location". Although, the natural topography of the site with its differences in height in each spot is acting as an obstacle to build some of our ideas such as Tennis court and paintball field. Because these kind of activities need a flat ground.

Generally, his park is valuable because of its jungle-like characteristic, it has natural greenery and topography; so, we thought that maybe it is a good idea to leave the park with its natural conditions. Because people choose this women-only park because of its "nature".

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