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Heritage management and urban development in Iran, case study of Shiraz

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Abstract

Purpose – Large-scale interventions are still the dominant approach in dealing with historic cities in Iran; however, during the last decade there has been a shift towards integrated and decentralised policies and a series of locally based projects were initiated across the country. Political and ideological forces, population growth as well as cultural and heritage consensus are influencing approaches towards urban conservation and heritage management constantly. This paper opens up the urban intervention approaches in the historic core of Shiraz and provides a deeper insight and better understanding of heritage management and regeneration plans in Shiraz as a representative of historic Iranian cities.

Design/methodology/approach – The study explains and analyses major urban transformations in Shiraz. The main approaches towards historical city core are identified and the mechanism that shaped these approaches in national and local scale is discussed. This investigation primarily uses qualitative data sources. The study relies on multiple sources of evidence which result in the reliability and validity of the investigation. Therefore, primary sources include original documents, maps and photographs published in documentation for the projects, published and unpublished materials and archives about case study city and secondary sources such as interviews with consultants and authorities as well as residents have been used.

Findings – This paper provides a more detailed explanation about several interrelated factors that affected the process of decision and policy making, planning and implementation of city centre interventions during the last two decades.

Originality/value – This paper anticipates consequent trends in heritage management in Shiraz and recommends further research areas. The paper can be used to develop a more practical set of recommendations for urban heritage management in Iran.

Keywords Historic core of Shiraz, Transformation, Modernisation, Heritage management, Development, Integrated approach

Paper type Research paper

An overview of urban expansion of Shiraz city

The expansion of Shiraz to city scale happened only after the fall of the Sassanid city of Estakhr and the invasion of Muslim Arabs. The Arabs established their military headquarters in Shiraz which resulted in the development of Shiraz to the seat and centre of the Caliph's agent (Sami, 1958). During tenth and eleventh century (Buwayhid dynasty), the city spread out on a green plain with numerous mosques, palaces, gardens and bazaars to rival Baghdad (Clarke, 1963). In addition, Shiraz became a leading centre of the arts and letters, due to the encouragement of its ruler and the presence of many Persian scholars and artists (Arberry, 1960). The growth of trade routes by Europeans during Safavid period (1502–1722 A.D.) and the competition between English, Dutch and Portuguese trading companies over Persian Gulf ports associated with the growth of Shiraz. The attack of Afghans in 1724, however, devastated Shiraz and resulted in dying more than 100,000 inhabitants during nine months of siege.

The most significant historical change in the structure of Shiraz happened when Shiraz became the capital of Zand dynasty in the eighteenth century. Being ashamed of the condition of his capital, Karim Khan Zand emulated many of the earlier plans of Shah Abbas for Isfahan in order to make his own capital comparable to the Safavid capital (Clarke, 1963). He introduced an ambitious architectural plan in the western area of Shiraz which consisted of a



massive *Arg* (citadel), *Vakil* Mosque (royal mosque), *Vakil* Bazaar and a large garden as well as a square and an avenue to compare with and rival *Shah* square and the *Chahar-Bagh* in Isfahan (Clarke, 1963; Scarce, 1991). These developments can be easily distinguished because of their geometric designs and spatial arrangements (Kheirabadi, 1991). In addition, these changes caused the old socio-economic centre of the city to move and consolidate with the new political centre due to the authoritative power of the king (Habibi, 1996). Although the prosperity of Shiraz was seriously interrupted by the decline of Zand dynasty (1794) and Tehran took the place of Shiraz as the capital, Shiraz remained one of the most important provincial cities.

Transformation of Shiraz during the last century

Like many other Iranian cities, Shiraz has experienced a turbulent past with temporary phases of glory as the capital or seat of important local rules. However, urban modernisation and development in Iran gained a momentum after the fall of the conservative regime of Qajar and rise of the Pahlavi dynasty in the first years of the 1920s (Marefat, 1997).

Industrial developments [1] resulted in employment growth and urban development in Shiraz and with the street widening act of 1933, the municipality was authorised to widen narrow paths in the historic city and construct two new east-west streets (Lutf-Ali-Khan Street and Karim Khan boulevard). These two streets were not only imposed on the historic city, interrupting the main branches of the bazaar but also isolated the traditional districts from the modern city, more seriously after the construction of the ring road on the old city walls (see Figure 1) (Izadi, 2008). Redevelopment schemes with orthogonal grids of streets



Figure 1.
The Street Plan of Shiraz. The difference in morphology of the old city (right) and the new city and its street network (left) can be easily noticed

Source(s): (Clarke 1963)

were introduced and imposed on the irregular patterns of existing urban fabrics (De Planhol and Brown, 1968) and new urban features such as boulevards, banks, Tribunal, police stations and post offices became representative of the new era (Manoukian, 2012, p. 22). Modern architectural projects were mainly built outside the old city due to the availability of land or new social trends as a result of Reza Shah's strong tendency towards nationalism, modernisation and reformation of Iranian society (Izadi, 2008; Grigor, 2004). The former centre was gradually abandoned by the middle classes for the newer districts and became a place of working-class communities resulting in its rapid social depression and a transformation in the social balance of the city (De Planhol, 1970).

On 16 September 1941 and under pressure of the Allies, Reza Shah abdicated and his son Mohammad Reza Shah became the monarch. The social, economic and spatial decline of Shiraz's historic centre became more complicated when the oil-based planning strategy in the 1960s and the 1970s and a series of reforms in several domains of social life such as tourist schemes [2] and regional roads, education [3], health and land tenure policies led to the rapid growth of the modern city (University-of-Tehran, 1972).

In addition, new industrial developments in Shiraz [4] resulted in an immense growth of population mainly due to the migration of rural population to the city as a labour force (Table 1). The developments continued in two class-determined directions. "The rich still built their new houses in the north-west section, while the less prosperous and the poor dominated the south-east sides of the sprawling city. Immigrants from the countryside and other towns also congregated in the city centre, replacing wealthier citizens who had moved out" (Izadi, 2008, p. 126). The historic core gradually became a minor part of the sprawling city and lost its physical, social and economic significance as the emergence of new social patterns acted as a multiplier effect on the impoverishment of the old core.

Modern Master planning practice continued to produce zoning plans for the city and impose redevelopment schemes on the historic districts. The first Master Plan for Shiraz was produced by the University of Tehran during the years 1966 and 1972. The Master Plan emphasised on linear expansion of the city towards east and west increasing the land area of the city from 2,200 ha in 1966 to 8,200 ha by 1980 (University-of-Tehran, 1972). Even though the plan emphasised on the necessity of specific plans for the historic core, the contrast between the "maze" of the old neighbourhoods and the newer square grid was made sharper (Manoukian, 2012) and most of the detailed plan for the historic core remained intact due to the lack of supportive rules and incentives which attracted agencies to concentrate their activities beyond the historic districts (Falamaki, 1978).

In February 1979, the Islamic revolution took place and resulted in the overthrow of the Pahlavi dynasty. Even though the Islamic revolution was a result of conflict between western modernisation and traditional society (Ansari, 2003), the revolution itself introduced strong elements of modernisation in the social and political institutions as well as in the built environment. A few locally based regeneration activities [5] which had been started in the first years after the revolution were neglected and replaced with a series of large-scale, state-led renewal projects.

Population	1956	1966	1976
Iran	18,954,704	25,788,722	33,708,744
Shiraz	170,659	269,845	425,813
City centre	97,400	118,750	127,000
Centre population to the whole city	57%	44%	29.83%
Growth rate	—	4.6	4.7

Source(s): Iran Statistics Centre

Table 1.
Population growth
1956–1976 (Iran-
Shiraz-the city centre)

In 1980s a new Master Plan was prepared to deal with the rapid growth of the city. The historic city in this Master Plan occupied 6.66% of the whole city area and more than 35 surrounding villages were added within the city borders (Afrou, 1990). The main emphasis of the new plan was on the linear expansion of the city towards northwest and south east as well as reducing the activities of the city centre and a new town and a series of land development plans were also implemented to solve problems related to population growth and a housing shortage in Shiraz [6]. A new road-widening plan was introduced in 1985 as an urban regeneration and improvement policy (*Ravanbakhshi*) to make the historic city more accessible to cars and emergency services. In addition, a new planning framework and a legal system to facilitate development activities inside the urban core were laid down (Izadi, 2001) (Tavassoli *et al.*, 1989). However, the government's encouragement of housing development in the newly built areas, as well as difficult construction conditions in the historic neighbourhoods, discouraged investment in the old core and widened the social and economic gap between the modern and the old parts of the city (Daneshpour, 2005). Meanwhile, the migration of refugees from Iraq and Afghanistan and also war-related migrants to Shiraz also influenced population growth. Shiraz faced an unstructured urban expansion due to an inefficient urban management system and sprawl development.

In 1990, another comprehensive plan for the city centre was prepared by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development. This plan focused on revitalising the functional, historical, spatial and economic role of the old city within the existing city (Naghsh-E-Jahan-Pars, 1993). Apart from the general conservation framework for historic quarters and defining the boundary of the old city, two large historic districts (*Moordestan* and *Astaneh*) were designated as special redevelopment zones. The Karim Khan complex was also designed as a flagship project with an emphasis on the revitalisation of the historic buildings and the improvement of public space (Naghsh-E-Jahan-Pars, 1998). These programs by Naghsh-e-Jahan Pars and other consultants were developed in a top-down approach and the role of local authorities and community in decision-making, planning and execution phase has been ignored. Apart from the above plans and programmes, Shiraz municipality and two religious institutions *Astane Ahmadi* (*Shah-e Cheragh*) and *Alaeddin Hossein* Foundation separately followed their renewal projects which were based on their own policies. These redevelopment programmes are initiated by religious institutes and charity foundations due to their financial and legal power after the Islamic revolution in 1979 (Kermani, 2016). These two shrines are the most important pilgrimage destinations in the Fars Province and attract thousands of pilgrims annually. This large number of pilgrims places a huge amount of pressure on the neighbourhood, as facilities and enlarged spaces are required to cater for them. The religious authorities responsible for these shrines wanted a large-scale development plan to provide larger open space around the shrines, as well as provide modern facilities and redevelop the old structure of the shrines (Kermani, 2016). These religious foundations have pursued a modernist approach and their financial benefits, but their ideological standpoint to highlight religious centres in the old city and transform the city centre to a religious centre should not be underestimated. Between 1995 and 1996, the large-scale redevelopment projects by the municipality and these Islamic foundations demolished 4.95 ha of the historic core to create a new axis between those two religious centres despite enormous historical and cultural values of the existing neighbourhoods (Izadi, 2008).

The process of modernisation during the 1980s and most of the 1990s reflects the modernist approach and the strong top-down utilitarian tendency of the authorities in this period (Nasirnasir and Mahjoub, 2002). However, after the victory of reformist in 1997 presidency election and the realisation of their political and administrative reforms, a collaborative network of the local agencies has been established in some cities like Shiraz. Three key factors provided a basis for this transition: (1) introducing a new urban policy [7] to limit the city expansion, (2) establishment of Urban Development and Revitalisation Company (UDRC) which resulted in the revision of the previous plans and programmes and

(3) political, administrative and fiscal decentralisation of UDRC and the establishment of its regional branch in Shiraz.

In the last comprehensive plan of Shiraz which was prepared and approved in 2005, the sustainable development of the city with focus on its existing capacity and reaching a balance between various activities in the city was addressed strongly. Moreover, the historic urban core is considered as a proper space to play a significant administrative, business and superior service role. New means of transport systems to solve mobility problems are also considered as priority in this comprehensive plan. The urban heritage of Shiraz is comprised of both tangible and intangible. The diversity of tangible heritage ranging from moveable objects to ancient tombs and shrine, sites of forts and citadels and monuments does not fail to surprise visitors (Bazrgar, 2003). In addition, socio-cultural and economic activities together activities of poetry and literature in Shiraz form the main intangible component of its heritage. Shiraz also boasts religious structures from different religions such as Jews with the population of 5,000 and 16 active synagogues, Zoroastrian with 400 population and their own fire temple and educational spaces as well as Armenian with 100 population and their Church in the city. There is other main intangible heritage which is proud by Shiraz such as local dialects, local song and music (Andalib and Abdolhazadefard, 2013).

Major interventions in the historic city of Shiraz

Most of the large-scale development projects, whether initiated by the central government, municipality or religious foundations, required building over the historic city without consideration for the heritage value of the context. The tendency towards modernity and the desire to create strong visual effect and the break with the past are clear in their approach, design and execution (Izadi, 2008, p. 143). In this section, three examples of these large-scale development projects are described and the driving forces behind them are explained.

Astaneh and Moordestan programs

The redevelopment programs for the *Astaneh* and *Moordestan* districts (shown in Figure 4) were drafted as a part of the brownfield redevelopment policy of the second five-year national development plan in 1994 [8]. The main objective of these programs was to restructure the spatial arrangement of these areas and increase density by replacing the obsolete buildings with modern and functional housing units. To execute the plan, 7.57 ha of the old fabric of *Moordestan* quarter and 9.2 ha of the *Astaneh* quarter were to be demolished (Izadi, 2008). The land purchasing program was completely compulsory and the role of the residents and local authorities in decision-making, planning and execution was ignored. However, lack of financial resources and legal obstacles relating to land ownership made the process of land acquisition impossible. The projects were abandoned for a period of three years, from 1995 to 1997, creating various problems for the remaining residents, as properties that had been acquired and/or vacated were taken over by the homeless and addicts and transformed into a centre of crime within the neighbourhood. At the same time, the remaining owners were not allowed to sell or construct their own properties. This freezing policy resulted in more social and economic problems for residents, as well as further decay and deterioration of the physical environment (Figure 2).

Bein-al Hareamein program

After the implementation of a self-funding policy for municipalities, the Municipality of Shiraz looked for new resources to cover its costs. In doing so, the municipality decided to allow additional development for a fee. Most of the housing development projects were located outside the historic districts; therefore, the impact of this policy was not very obvious



Figure 2.
Strategy plan for
revitalising the historic
urban core of Shiraz
(Falamaki, 1978)

in the historic city. However, the mayor of Shiraz (copying Tehran's municipality policy in the *Navab* [9] project) introduced a comprehensive development project for the *Shah-e Cheragh* district in 1994 to increase the municipality's income from the added value of the properties. The new project (named *Bein-al Haremein*) was designed to connect two religious shrines in the region (*Alaeddin Hossein* and *Shah-e Cheragh*). The program consisted of a broad straight street, 450 m long and 110 m wide, between these two shrines and resulted in the demolishing of 4.95 ha of the historic city during 1995–1996 (Izadi, 2008). The reorganisation of the area provided an opportunity for the construction of modern commercial complexes, hotels and other lucrative investments, while ignoring the cultural and architectural heritage values of the neighbourhood. This ambitious project has been at a standstill for some years because of disagreement between the municipality, the Cultural Heritage Organisation, religious foundations and residents (Kermani, 2016).

Shah-e Cheragh expansion program

There were also two redevelopment projects which were carried out by the religious institutions in the historic core of Shiraz including *Shah-e Cheragh* and *Alaeddin Hossein* shrines. These two shrines are the most important pilgrimage destinations in Fars Province and attract thousands of pilgrims annually. This large number of pilgrims forces a huge pressure on the neighbourhood as they require facilities and large pilgrimage space. Therefore, religious authorities of these shrines were looking for a large-scale development plan to provide larger open space and modern facilities around the shrines and redevelop old structure of the shrines (Figure 3).

The fact that these two foundations do not have any financial restrictions particularly after revolution enabled them to manage large-scale redevelopment projects.



Figure 3. Shiraz Master Plan, the existing urban fabric and the suggested land-use plan except for the historic city (shown in yellow)

New approach towards the historic urban core

There has been a shift in strategies and role of the development agencies during the last two decades mainly based on a new wave of reforms initiated in 1997 after the political

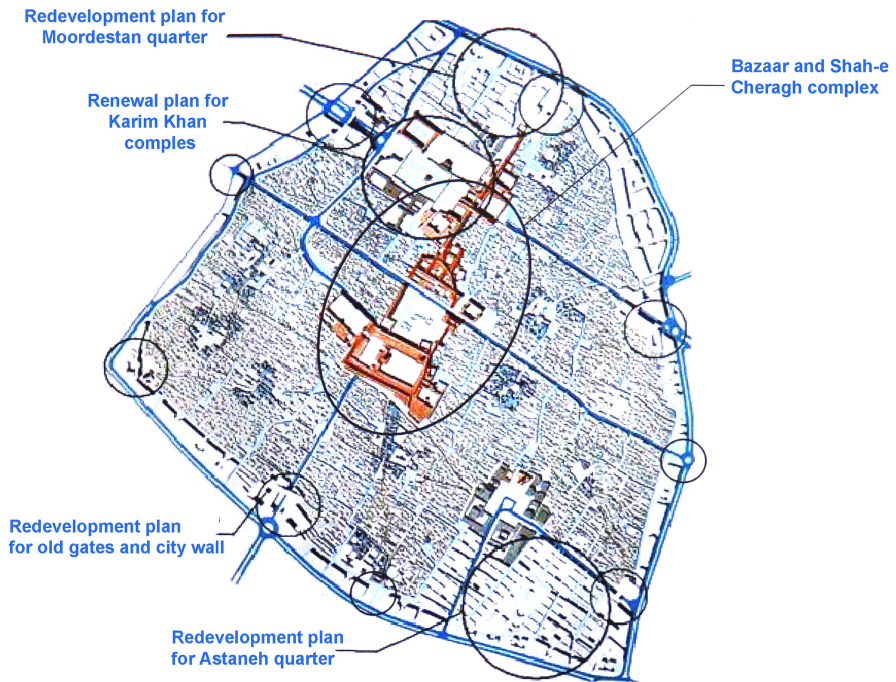


Figure 4.
Illustration of the
Comprehensive Plan
for the historic city of
Shiraz

Source(s): Naghsh-eJahan Consultants (1993)

victory of reformists in presidential elections. These reforms attempted to provide a reasonable relationship between socio-cultural policies, political development and economic reforms (Izadi, 2008). One of the examples of these reforms is the establishment of the Urban Development and Revitalisation Company. Its main responsibility at the time was to coordinate regeneration and conservation plans and stimulate new investment in troubled urban areas. The UDRC also acted as the government's advisor on the regeneration of brownfield sites. Rather than economic development strategies, such as those used by the Cultural Heritage Organisation, this new reformist organisation attempted to find a balance between sociocultural policies and political-economic development (Kermani, 2016). As a result, during the course of institutional and structural transformations (1997–2005), a series of locally based regeneration projects were initiated across the country (such as *Sang-e Siah* in Shiraz, *Jouibareh* in Isfahan and *Fahadan* in Yazd) which marked the beginning of a new period for city centre regeneration in Iran (Figure 5).

In Shiraz the local representatives of UDRC proposed a regeneration program for the eastern part the historic core (Sang-e Siah Quarter) in 1999 to reverse the dramatic deterioration of the area and improve its social and economic situation. The project required a wide range of cooperation between various engaged stakeholders, local authorities and residents to solve the social, economic, physical and administrative issues of the area. Even though there was a strong tendency between most of the stakeholders towards development-oriented schemes in order to financially sustain the rehabilitation of the district, the Cultural Heritage Organisation was strongly against these approaches due to their reputation in destroying historic and architectural values during the past decade. Since this urban block has also suffered from radical preservation oriented policies and

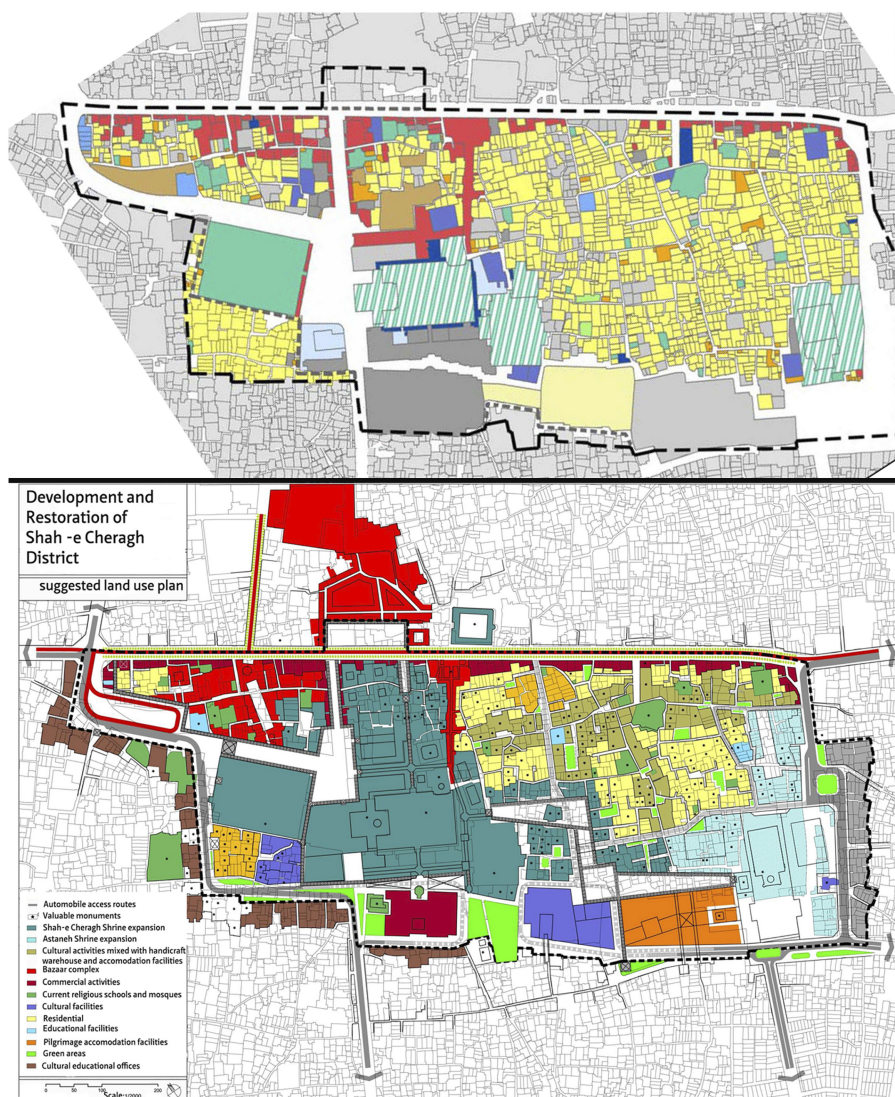


Figure 5. Shah-e Cheragh district has experienced a few number of redevelopment plans. The above picture shows the current land-use plan of the area while the below picture shows the suggested land-use in the most recent redevelopment plan for Shah-e Cheragh district. The yellow colour represents residential areas while different shades of blue show the development areas related to the religious shrines

Source(s): (Bavand 2010)

restricting regulations, the Council for Historic District introduced a sensitive and innovative middle-ground and integrated approach to achieve both conservation and development goals. This strategic policy defined major duties and responsibilities for the involved agencies (Figure 6) (Kermani, 2016).

The program focused on the main pedestrian route in the area, a north-south axis that runs along the heart of this urban block and connects a number of historic buildings and monuments. This quality defines this axis as a heritage corridor which gives a vital

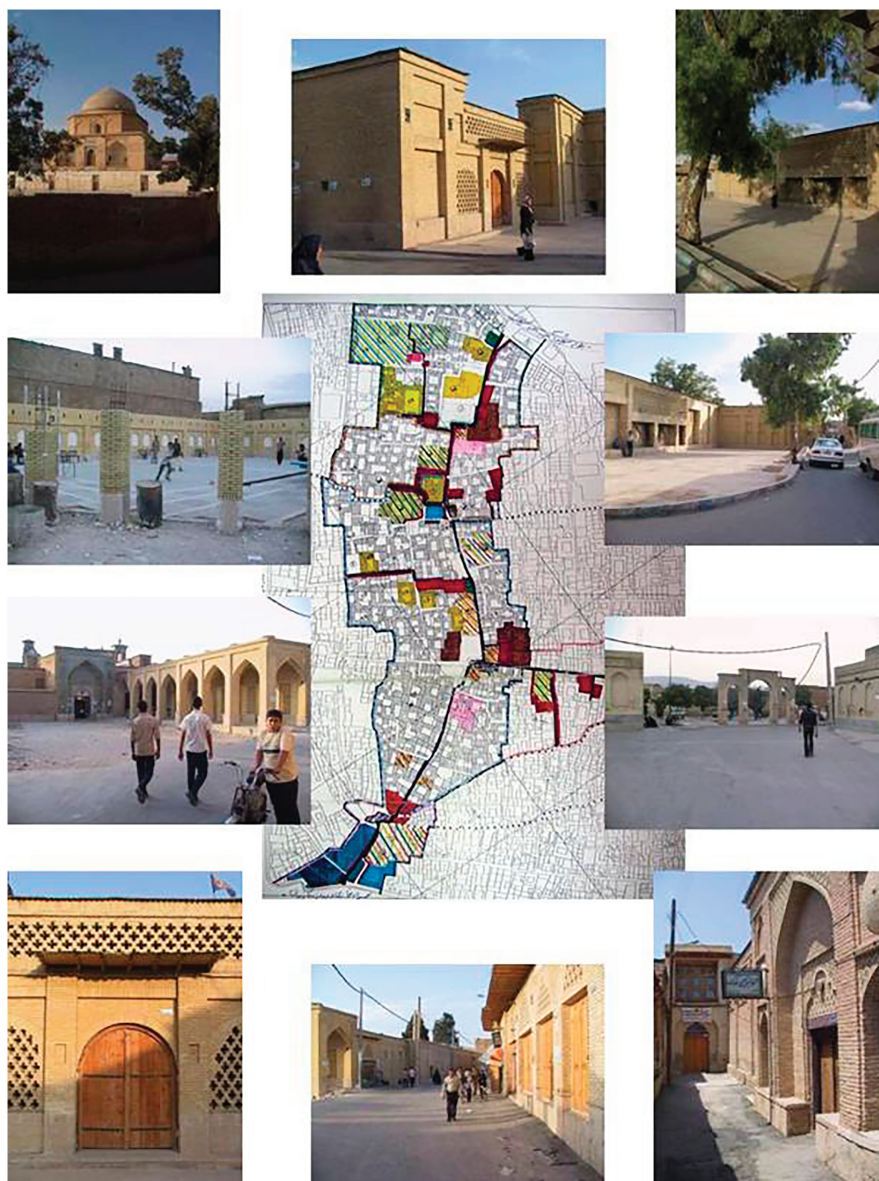


Source(s):(Fahimizadeh 2001)

Figure 6.
Five prioritised
clusters identified by
the strategic plan
within Sang-e Siah
Quarter

and distinctive character to the area and plays an important role in sustaining continuity within the urban block. Next to each of these clusters a small neighbourhood centre was shaped which usually consists of a group of shops providing daily needs, a religious centre and in some cases a small green space. Sang-e Siah axis as the collection of these monuments and neighbourhood centres makes up the main public space within this urban block (Figure 7).

The new policy introduced a gradual process of physical interventions and economic improvement for the area. In the residential units, this gradual rehabilitation was created by improving infrastructures and required functions and services for a better living condition. In the design process of the project, five major zones were prioritised for a range of interventions such as rehabilitation, conservation and upgrading. In addition, 13 participatory conservation projects were proposed throughout the area which required an integrated collaboration between relevant organisations and institutes. It was combined with motivating the inhabitants to continue living and getting involved in the program by considering offering a sharing or owning of the property to generate income for future restoration and maintenance (Udro, 2001). Improving open public spaces also played an important role in connecting monuments, houses and public services and provided a suitable place to express cultural and social activities and strengthen sense of civic identity and pride (Izadi, 2008). It resulted in attracting investors and encouraged sustainable regeneration of the neighbourhood.



Source(s): Kermani, 2016

Figure 7.
A few examples of
open space
improvement and the
new infill development
projects are shown in
this picture

Moreover, the restorations and physical interventions have provided employment and training of craftsmen in a range of traditional construction skills (Leslie, 2001).

From the beginning the main objectives of the project were to improve quality of life for residents, enrich the historic image of the area and attract visitors. It is very important that improving the quality of living of residents is on the top of the objectives list. Equality of

residents' needs and tourism infrastructure is obvious in the design framework. Therefore, the framework plan includes a series of strategic proposals to encourage gradual rehabilitation of the existing residential units, avoiding large-scale redevelopment and focusing on the structure and infrastructure of the area without any strict planning restriction for the inhabitants. This program addressed a combination of conservation strategies as well as redevelopment of vacant lands and ruined properties. In the other words, it introduced a multi-dimensional approach in a dynamic, adaptive and integrated series of actions (Kermani, 2016).

Reflection and conclusion

Reviewing major transformation periods of Shiraz city centre reveals the fact that the historic city of Shiraz has lost its importance due to social, cultural and economic changes in the last century. On one hand the migration of middle and upper class households to modern areas has resulted in physical decay of the buildings and infrastructures and increased the vulnerability of the old districts (Kermani, 2016). On the other hand, large-scale redevelopment projects by central government or local authorities imposed a new force of change on the historic core (Izadi, 2008). Having said that, the city centre still plays an important role in cultural, religious and economic life of the whole city.

Even though the program of Sang-e Siah offered a distinctive approach in dealing with historic city's problems, these new approaches are parallel to the continuous and ongoing demolition of sections of the old city either by religious authorities and foundations or municipality and other developers and investors. Reviewing these projects and the driving forces behind them has made the main problems and challenges in historic city clear.

- (1) *Heritage management*: Updating the national heritage list was considered as an effective legal instrument to safeguard the cultural properties during the last 80 years. Unfortunately in 2010 the Supreme Court has removed several historic buildings from the list after property owners had claimed violation of their ownership rights by the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organisation. This legal challenge has paved the way for additional legal claims and possible destruction of properties by conversion into shops and multi-story apartments. Furthermore, in the future less historic properties, especially valuable houses, will be protected by law. Since the Cultural Heritage Organisation will not add buildings to the national heritage list anymore without permission of the owner. In addition to residential units, a large number of historic bazaars in Iranian cities contain numerous privately owned historic buildings which will also be affected by this legal challenge (Rouhani, 2009). The consequences of this legal vacuum can be seen in Shiraz, where demolition in the historic centre started 30 years ago, but has accelerated recently.
- (2) *Planning and governance*: The overall urban governance and planning system in Iran is largely influenced and even undermined by highly political bureaucracy and blueprint master plan approach. In addition, the institutional fragmentation and lack of coordination between involved agencies reduced the efficiency of their efforts in regeneration and rehabilitation of the historic city. Moreover, regulatory and ownership obstacles as well as social segregation and undesirability of the historic districts have reduced public and private investment especially in the residential areas (Karimi, 1998). Also religious institutes and foundations usually have a more powerful role than the official administrative body and local development agencies. The absence of up-to-date legislation by the Iranian Parliament and other responsible organisations on cultural heritage creates problems for effective heritage protection (Kermani, 2016).

However, it might be important to highlight that contrary to a decade ago, there is a growing consensus and sensibility around heritage, its values and attributes. Deconstructive projects meet more opposition and resistance from local inhabitants and cultural activists as well as in social media and local newspapers. A very good example of this change can be seen in the reaction and opposition of residents and activists (can be found in archive of local and some national newspapers) during the implementation of parts of Shah Cheragh project. Nevertheless, it is necessary have a clear set of guidelines and recommendations in order to conserve the values of the historic context of redevelopment projects. It can increase the public awareness and consensus around heritage values and also encourage various stakeholders to take part and involve in the projects. This set of guidelines can also act as a measure in assessing the impact off the proposals and programs before and after the execution.

Notes

1. The establishment of an electric plant in 1930 and the opening of a spinning and a textile factory in 1936 and 1937 were the first signs of the industrial development in Shiraz (Ashraf, 1999; Izadi, 2008)
2. The construction of a new airport, the extravagant 2500th celebration of the Persian empire at Persepolis in 1971 as well as the annual international art festival in Shiraz, all contributed to the development of the city during this period (Ashraf, 1999). History in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In Encyclopaedia Iranica, ed. Yarshater, E. New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press.
3. The establishment of Pahlavi University in conjunction with the program of economic and social reforms launched by the Shah in the early 1960s are among these actions (Manoukian, 2012).
4. For example the expansion of the petrochemical industry, cement factory, cooking-oil factory (Narges) and assembly industries (Siemens) during 1960 and 1970s.
5. A good example of these locally based programs is the rehabilitation plan of Darb-e Shazdeh (1985–1987), one of the historic quarters of Shiraz which was constrained due to the instable socio-political conditions together with the lack of financial resources for urban development projects.
6. These plans included Sadra new town (1989) in the northwest of Shiraz on 2,300 ha, with a designated population of 230,000, and land development plans for Bazin on 238 ha and Miyanroud on 140 ha. For more information see: Azizi (2000). Tahlil-e Farayand-e Shahri-e Doran-e Moaser-e Iran (Process of Contemporary Urban Development in Iran). Tehran, University of Tehran.
7. The new policy had an emphasis on the spatial integration of land uses, concentration of activities and optimal density pattern which indicated a new approach towards a compact city, sustainable urban development and urban consolidation (Azizi, 2005). The challenges of urban development and density in Tehran. Paper present at the International Conference for Integrating Urban Knowledge & Practice: Life in the Urban Landscape, in Gothenburg, Sweden.]
8. In this period, a Neighbourhood Redevelopment Plan for 273 ha designated as obsolete or derelict within the historic city centres was introduced. This legal framework legitimised direct intervention of public development agencies which were also financed through a public budget.
9. “In 1994, the municipality of Tehran initiated a redevelopment scheme in south-west Tehran in which an existing narrow street (Navab) was to be widened to 45 m and extended through some old dense fabric of the town, linking the street to the network of roads in west Tehran” (Izadi, 2008, p. 139).

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