

From Imam Hussein to Azadi Square: Politicized Venues

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Abstract

During the recent half century, Iran has witnessed two major uprisings: the first in 1979 to change the political system from a Monarchy to an Islamic Republic, and the second in 2009 after the presidential election. During these two revolutions, parts of the city of Tehran - specific streets and public squares were crucial points for people congregating to express their complaints. In other words, parts of the city have an ability to be politicized, in a way, and welcome people to gather for democratic practices. In this paper I am trying to answer these questions:

- What makes a specific area a place for a social movement and/or political activities?
- What is the social role of ordinary people in changing the atmosphere of the place?
- What factors may influence politicizing a space?

A brief comparative analysis will also be carried out between Tehran and Beijing in order to clarify the spatial similarities and differences.

Introduction

Enghelab (Revolution) and Azadi (Liberation) Squares are two major roundabouts which are located near the west side of Tehran, and are a part of an area that has a significant role in the

political history of Iran. The distance between Imam Hussein and Azadi Square includes - Azadi, Enghelab, Ferdowsi and Imam Hussein squares and the streets of Azadi and Enghelab; which have been the venue of two major movements in the contemporary history of Iran. Azadi and Enghelab Square are two focal points which have had an important role during the times of many social movements or revolutions. This area has been a venue of two main political events - a revolution in 1979 ending the Pahlavi Dynasty, and the social movement after the ninth course of the presidential elections; it began in 2009 right and still is ongoing.



This map shows the distance between Imam Hussein to Azadi Square and the urban nodes in this chain. The scale of the squares also can be seen here.

The Islamic Revolution occurred between 1977 and 1979 in order to end the Pahlavi dictatorship and achieve political freedom. The victory of the Iranian Revolution was announced and celebrated by Tehran radio on February 11, 1979 and accompanied by people's joy and cheers.¹ This victory was a result of eighteen months of demonstrations, strikes and political actions. The origin of this revolution is referred to as the time that Iran started to adopt modernization. This process of modernization and economic change were initiated by the state. Accordingly, this governmental initiation was considered a new form of social force, which marginalized traditional groups. Various social classes of the Iranian nation - the modern middle class, youth, women, and the industrial working class were beneficiaries of the new economic plan. However the Shah's autocracy prevented them from any political participation. This

authoritative system of government accelerated after the coup of 1953 by toppling the nationalist Prime Minister, Mohammad Mosaddegh. This lack of social space for expressing people’s grievances and discontent caused the nation to be separated from the state.² Consequently, certain spaces in the city, such as urban streets and public squares, were used as a venue for expressing people’s complaints. The area between Imam Hussein Square and Azadi Square, including Enghelab Street/Square and Azadi Street/Square were the most significant places for those rallies and revolutions. This area still plays an important role in social movements today.



Azadi Square and its vicinity



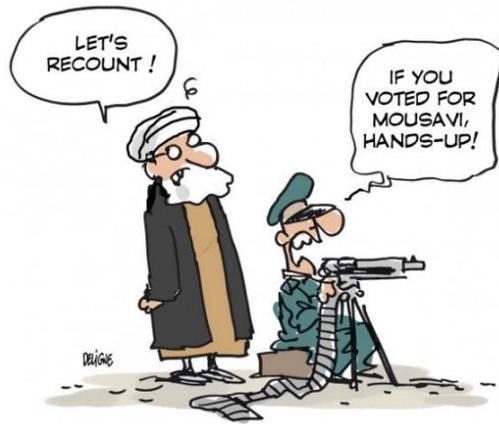
Enghelab Square and the two major streets around



People’s revolution in 1979 in Azadi Square, Tehran

On the June 13th 2009, Tehran became the site of another social uprising following the presidential election on June 12th 2009. Since the 1979 Revolution, this was the first time that

people actively participated in political action to protest against the results of an election. The significance of this movement was the unprecedented presence of people in a political realm and the manifestation of their common voice, regarded by Dabashi as a “collective democratic will”³. On June 15, 2009 hundreds of thousands of people – according to BBC NEWS – occupied the distance between Enghelab Square and Azadi Square and peacefully demonstrated. The demonstration was led by Mohammad Khatami and Mir Hussein Mousavi; the masses listened to their speeches as well as the speeches of Zahra Rahnavard.⁴ On June 18, 2009 the English sites of the BBC and CNN were blocked and the Revolutionary Guards warned all bloggers and Internet users, commanding them not to disseminate any news about the elections. The day after, on June 19th, the head of Mousavi’s Committee for the Protection of Votes requested a Fact-Finding Committee to ascertain the results of the election. There were some calls from Khatami’s side to recount the votes or even rerun the election. Those days of late June were associated with a disrespectful label from Ahmadinejad to an Anti-Ahmadinejad rally, calling them “Khas o Khashak” or “thorn and thistle”. That disrespect to the entire group of people caused a tremendous reaction from the antagonist, including Ali Akbar Mohtashamin, the head of Mousavi’s Committee, and Qodratollah Alikhani, the Deputy from Qazvin in Parliament. People moreover responded to that action by gathering in streets and public places and chanting slogans. After all, Ahmadinejad’s office stated that he did not call all the demonstrators “thorn and thistle”, but rather only the trouble makers. The votes of the election were not recounted and the election was not rerun since Ali Khamenei, the Supreme Leader, resisted these actions and asked both sides – loser and winner – to tolerate and accept the results of the election. All those events were mirrored in the outside media as a form of report, photo and caricature.



This caricature was published in the Front Line website on June 25, 2009.

The real witnesses were those who attended the demonstrations; they can most accurately depict the space and the atmosphere of the movement. One of the students among the rally, Hamid Dabashi, explains the condition in this way:

*... I can't even begin to describe what it was like seeing people on rooftops, in trees, on cars, on motorbikes or standing around me, holding V signs and wearing some form of green. ... [I wish you were here] to feel the power and might of this nonviolent movement. What an experience I'll never ever forget. All topped off by Ferdowsi with a green scarf tied around his neck. In Ferdowsi Square, someone went to the very top of his monument and adorned him with a green cloth. If you could only have witnessed the cheers and happiness surrounding this one simple, beautiful, powerful act!*⁵



A new sense of solidarity was given to the space by the use of green cloth in different ways (The picture on the right is Azadi Square and on the left is a photo of the Ferdowsi monument in Ferdowsi Square)

Not all actions were always non-violent! There are also other eye-witnesses who reported directly from the day of rally while they were observing the state force and police react severely to the people. Some of those conflicts happened in *Amirabad*, one of the residential and dorm areas in Enghelab Street⁶.

As it is evident from the pictures as well as the testimony of an eye-witness, a sense of solidarity was dominant throughout the space. This sense of solidarity was created not only by the presence of protesters, but also by a few symbolic materials that enhanced this concept. The most significant visual concept among the Green Movement protesters was the green color. Green is the highest color of the flag of Iran; in addition, this color has roots in the ancient history of Iran – before and after the advent of Islam. Using this color in different ways - women's scarves, headbands, wristbands, nail polish, balloons, and even the carrying of green flags incredibly reinforced the sense of solidarity of this movement. Using various forms with the green color theme became a daily practice to emphasize the green movement's voice in different public spheres - coffee shops, taxis, buses and even parties. The influence of this color

became so prominent that it faced government's severe counter reaction. The hostility to the color green enters the world of caricature and even the area of publicity. Ahmadinejad, in an official ceremony in February 2010, stood before the flag of Iran while the color green of the flag was changed into blue. Robert Mackey in the New York Times web site published a piece with the title "Puzzling Over a Red, White and Blue Iran" in which he analyzed the change of color and the probable meaning behind it⁷.

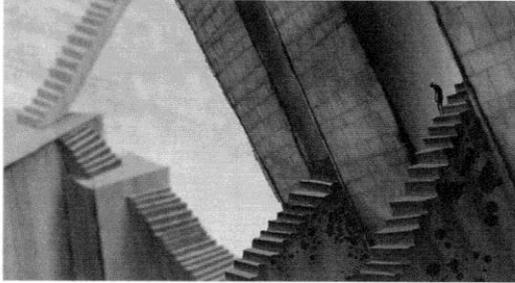


Supreme Leader of Iran while tearing the green part of flag



Ahmadinejad and the weird flag behind him

The efficacy of the Green Movement went beyond the material public sphere. Many virtual spaces became a venue of political interaction. Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and many other web sites transferred the news about this movement which consequently ended up with the government blocking the Internet or hindering access to it. Following the uprising of the presidential election, a few contemporary Iranian art exhibitions were held in New York City and London; they concentrated on aspects of contemporary Iranian art regarding the presence of Iranians in the streets.



Shoja Azari's piece in "Iran Inside Out" (Chelsea Art Museum, New York, June 2009).



Bitia Fayyazi's piece in "Iran Inside Out" (Chelsea Art Museum, New York, June 2009).

Zizek, a European philosopher, considers the Green Movement as a quasi-backward uprising because protesters used the same symbolic materials and slogans as the revolution of 1979, for example - the cries of "Allah Akbar!" William Beeman also had the similar view about this movement. He believes that since the vocabulary of the people and the government is similar, protesters will not be able to make a fundamental change in the governmental system. In his idea, the language of the Iranian revolutionary history is based on the martyrdom of Hussein, the grandson of the Prophet Mohammad, and this language is the common language of the nation and the state. On the other hand "people can only imagine what they can imagine". The people and the government have the same model, thus they cannot go beyond the Islamic revolution of 1979. Although Dabbashi agrees with the fact that "people can only imagine what they can imagine", he believes that new generation has been rebuilt and re-invented through its language. I want to examine this common language in a different way. The new Iranian generation could use this common vocabulary as they used it in the 1979 revolution to remind the despot currently ruling Iran of the unity of people and warn them about their ability to change as they did 30 years ago. The common language can empower people to manifest their unity within a familiar space, since both people and government once had the experience of change. This unity also can enhance the sense of nationalism and its influence on an uprising in a scale of the nation.

The crucial questions which I will try to answer in this paper are: what has made this area a place for a social movement and political activities? What is the social role of ordinary people in changing the atmosphere of the place? Do the collective memories and language have an influence on politicizing the space?

Green Movement: A new experience in a familiar place

In addition to geographical and urban investigations of Azadi Square, it can be examined historically and monumentally. In this sense, the monument itself may comprise a political message which can fashion collective memories of a nation. Nelson K. Lee analyses three scholars' theories about the monument's effects on political actions. Wu focuses on the symbolic meaning of Tiananmen Square in Beijing. He has worked on the transformation of an architectural site from an imperial emblem to a socialist regime monument. He has also studied the ways in which political activities challenged the representation of the monument. Hung concentrates on the meanings behind the monuments of people's hero, and believes that a political message is subtly embedded within the architecture to create a collective memory, possibly making it a dangerous space. Watson points out the semiotics of the Square which represents the legitimization of the socialist state in Chinese history.⁸ As a result, it is thought that monuments may have tremendous influence on people's memories and actions in a public sphere. In this section, I want to examine Azadi Square and the monarchic history behind it, which both affected a people's mentality in 1970s and provided a basis for public dissatisfaction, and consequently led to a social uprising and the Islamic revolution in 1979.

Azadi Monument was designed by Hussein Amanat, an Iranian architect, and was built in 1971. The first name of the monument and the Square was *Shahyad* (= *borj e Shahyad*) which means

the “Prince Reminiscence” (=Shahyad). After the Islamic Revolution it was changed into *Azadi* Square (= *Meydan e Azadi*) which means “Freedom” or “Liberty” Square. This monument is a museum complex - a combination of ancient architectural elements from the Sasanid Dynasty and Islamic concepts have been applied in its design. This square along with its modern monument was the site of 2500-year monarchy celebration in 1976 to demonstrate Persian ancient history during its glorious time.

Talinn Grigor investigates the politics of a nationalist monarchic government of the Pahlavi dynasty in preserving the royal complex of Persepolis in 1976 and its aftermath. By 1971, the buried fragments of a royal city - royal palaces, residential zones, and their exquisite decorative embellishments and motifs belonging to the Achaemenian dynasty (the first Persian dynasty), were discovered by some national and international specialists near Shiraz. “That complex and Cyrus the Great’s tomb were unanimously selected to be the place of a national festival in 1976”⁹ since it would represent the beginning of Iranian authenticated history. Magnificent military parades in ancient attire, modern mechanical and electrical technologies which contributed to the theatrical performance, splendid furniture and decor, and the making of fireworks as an ancient custom that Iranians inherited from the pre-Achaemenian era were all efforts to “prove that Iran had transcended its ‘Orientalist traditions’ while remaining true to its heritage.”¹⁰ The second half of the celebration was held in Tehran; in fact the place changed from Shiraz, an ancient Oriental capital to Tehran, a modern western capital. It was held by the Shahyad Monument and Museum, and thereafter, in modern Aryamehr Stadium. This changing of locations and traveling from a far past (Shiraz and Persepolis as a symbol of Ancient Past of Persia) to the present (Tehran and Shahyad Square as a symbol of a modern city and modernity), indirectly indicated a continuity in monarchy from the past to present and into the future.¹¹

The 1970s were associated with people's dissatisfaction with the state and the monarchic government faced many critiques and scattered uprising all over Iran, particularly Tehran. The government underwent considerable cost for the 2500-year monarchy celebration, which left the nation dissatisfied to a large degree. On the other hand, changing the site of the celebration from Shiraz to Tehran and to *Shahyad* Complex carried a message for discontented people. People considered this action as continuity of the totalitarian regime as well as a governmental effort to legitimize the monarchic state by linking it to ancient history. Therefore, the *Shahyad* Monument spontaneously embodied the concept of tyranny and illegitimacy of the state and transformed it to a symbol of a despotic system. This mentality more or less was carved in most people's minds during 1976 to 1979 and was directed toward the Islamic Revolution in 1979. What happened during the Revolution as a process of challenge and struggle against the monarchic system, regardless of the result of the revolution, became a memory in the people's minds and transmitted it to the next generation. Photos, videos, media and governmental promotion of the Islamic Revolution during the annual anniversary of the revolution contributed to the process of shaping a collective memory in the new generation's mind, and made Azadi Square a venue of change. The area between Azadi and Imam Hussein Square, and Azadi Square itself, has been a symbolic area for political actions by embodying a set of collective memories. Consequently, those national historical memories became an influential factor to select this area as the site of new rallies and social movements in 2009.

The recent protest called "Green Movement" or "Green Wave" started June 2009 against the victory of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in the presidential election.



Azadi Square: the Green Movement after the presidential election

This non-violent protest happened in many places all over Tehran and large cities in Iran, however, the distance from Imam Hussein Square to Azadi Square has been always a permanent site of movements and social political gatherings over time. Thousands of young people and women were in the crowd for this protest, which with the intervention of the police, led to violence and left many killed and wounded. This movement started as a general dissatisfaction with the election process, and escalated to a more profound disgruntlement as it critiqued the entire political system and asked for a revitalization of civil rights and women's rights. Shirin Sadeghi asserts in the Huffington Post website that "...for most Iranians, the Green Movement is what the international media is calling the massive mobilization to dismantle the Islamic Republic of Iran." Another movement happened in February 2011 in support of the Green Movement. The BBC News quotes from Bozorgmehr Sharafedin, since there is no defined opposition to the governmental system of Iran, this mobilization in the view of some observers inside or outside of Iran, is an opposition to start a revolution. He asserts that "Many of the slogans being chanted by protesters on Monday were aimed against the very top figure in the Iranian establishment – Supreme Leader, Ali Khamenei ... which would have been unthinkable before the 2009 elections." According to Sharafedin, the regime was well-prepared for this

movement and security forces had already massed in the streets by the time the rally started. They had blocked almost all social networking sites such as Facebook, Twitter and even Gmail and Yahoo email.

Thirty years after the Revolution in 1979 people experienced unity and solidarity for the first time through a social movement. Once the ancestors of these people came to the same streets and changed the system from monarchy to theocracy, or the Islamic Republic. During the time of the rallies in 1979 and 30 years after in 2009, these streets and squares (roundabouts) took on another social role beside their usual use for traffic. They became places for change through repetitive social and political movements. All these movements were embedded in the unconscious mind of a nation and were changed into a set of collective memories.



Enghelab (Revolution) Square before and during the protest of the Green Movement

Streets of discontent

Asef Bayat, an Iranian sociologist, evaluates these streets as “the focal point of world photojournalism, the theme of some of the most arresting snapshots of the revolution in Iran, ones that convey the common images of great political turning points around the globe ... They all represent the “Street politics” of exceptional junctures, common features of many

monumental insurrections that come to fruition in distinct spatial locations, in the “Streets of discontent.”¹² Once these streets and roundabouts were built for the purpose of traffic and urban facilities, however, the strategic locale of the site made it a venue of active social presence and a manifestation of solidarity. Does this gradual change in the strategic situation of the area incidentally happen? What factors influenced the transformation of the atmosphere of these political streets? What makes these streets and squares different from other places in the city? What is the spatiality of these movements, rallies and social dissatisfaction? Do the physical forms and materiality of urban streets influence the formation of a revolution or social movement? These are questions that come to my mind after analyzing these movements and their location in a city.

Streets generally are interactive places for common people who are not necessarily social or political actors. Streets and public squares are informal meeting points for dissemination of collective grievances. These social spaces provide an arena to enhance visibility of those who are experiencing a common social political burden. This area is a “meeting-point”¹³ for people from different social and economic classes but who share a common voice. Enghelab Street is the site of Tehran University - one of the active hubs of social and political discourse and activities. Thus, a huge number of students are included in the crowds among the social and political activities. This area is also a site of book stores, publishers, and food stores which bring students and ordinary people to the area. In addition, Azadi Square is the site of one of the most important bus terminals in Tehran (West Terminal); a place of daily transport for many thousands of diverse people. So, this area is an interactive space between people in different classes and even lifestyles. However, a “sense of common experience”¹⁴ draws them all together in this place to act as a voice for common demands.

As Bayat asserts “The street is the chief locus of politics for ordinary people, those who are structurally absent from the centers of institutional power.”¹⁵ He considers a particular type of streets as “streets of discontent” which possess a blend of specific socio-spatial features.¹⁶ Examples of these are public spaces such as Tahrir Square in Cairo, Taghsim Square and Istiqlal Street in Istanbul, and Revolution (Enghelab) Square and its main street (Revolution Street) in Terhran.

All these streets of discontent have similar characteristics that differentiate them from other streets. First, these streets must be formed in a way crowds can easily congregate. Thus, the areas surrounding these streets are important. For instance, Tehran University and the bookstores on Enghelab (Revolution) Street and the vicinity of a large mosque, café and bookstores around Tahrir Square enable people to easily gather together.

Second, these streets have a particular history, which are embedded in people’s minds as a collective memory. As Bayat explains it “the streets of discontent would usually have a historical or symbolic significance, either in some inscribed memories of insurrection and triumph, or, just like Cairo’s Tahrir Square in terms of the sites and symbols of state power – palaces, parliament, courts, ministries of justice or the interior, and the like.”¹⁷

The third important point is accessibility. Transportation and networks such as the bus, taxi or metro terminals enhance the people’s mobilization and accessibility. Bayat recounts this quality as “centrality, proximity, and accessibility, both in space and in time”¹⁸ as crucial features of any street of discontent. These three qualities can be easily seen in Tiananmen Square in Beijing, when Lee explains the importance of Tianan Gate and its surroundings. According to his analyses during the republican era, opening the roads and changing the spatial order provide

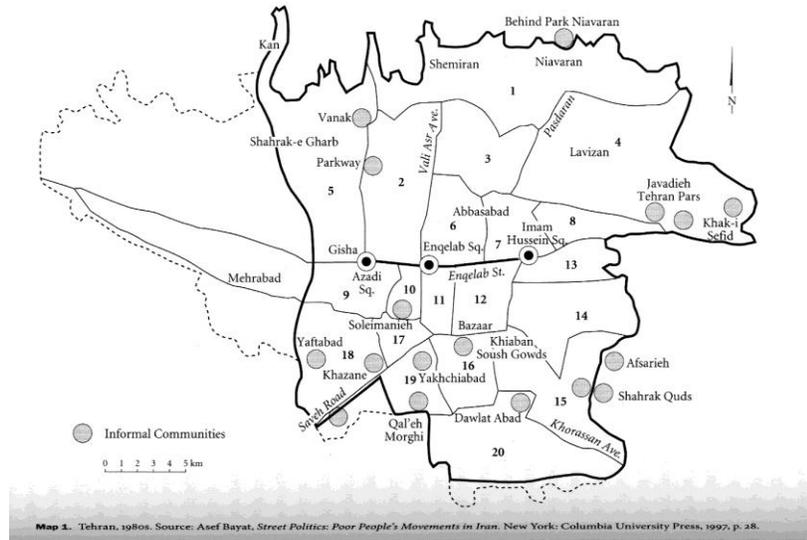
better access around Tianan Gate and made the private palace beyond Tianan Gate open to the public.¹⁹ By this urban modification, Tianan Gate transformed into an important intersection from north-south and east-west. The opening of roads was one of the important factors that ended the former imperial nested spatial order, enabling people to use the public space creatively to fulfill their common goals.²⁰

The forth main trait is flexibility which means the ability to disperse people when it is necessary. Bayat uses the term “maneuverable space” to describe the street of discontent. Maneuverable spaces are open spaces which are still surrounded by alleys, homes and shops and enable political escapees to disappear. Enghelab (Revolution) Street and Enghelab Square as well as its counterpart Tahrir Square in Cairo have a series of woven side streets in their surroundings.

And finally, what is important beyond physical attributes is the quality of “sociality” of the place. In such a place “solidarity is communicated, discontent extended, and the news disseminated beyond the immediate surroundings.”²¹ Transportation systems such as taxis, buses, metros and terminals not only transfer people but also contribute by disseminating news and general knowledge among nations within and across national borders.

Enghelab Street and its proximate streets and squares have many of the attributes of the streets of discontent. Tehran University campus with almost 20,000 students, hundreds of bookshops and publishing houses on the opposite side of the street have made the area an intellectual hub for the nation. This unique book bazaar along with its publishing houses “offered not only academic materials but also underground revolutionary literature.”²² Enghelab Square

and Street are the meeting point for rich and poor, as well as an interactive center for the urban and rural communities.



A drawing which shows the location of the three major squares and two important streets of discontent in Tehran

Enghelab (Revolution) Street represents an exclusive juncture of different economic and social classes. It is also a significant “political grid, intersecting the social, the spatial, and the intellectual, bringing together not only diverse social groups, but also institutions of mobilization (the university) and the dissemination of knowledge and news (the chain of bookstores).”²³

Streets of discontent: Given or Making political public space

The main question that was asked in this essay was what and how the public space – here in this case the streets of discontent – become politicized? Is a public place a site given to society and people to use for political discourse? Or should there be a process to politicize a place and make it a place for democratic practices? A comparison between Habermas’ and Arendt’s theory of public places may clarify the answer.

In Habermas' theory, a public place is defined in a framework of a bourgeois society in where people merely come together as a group. The public sphere in the framework of Habermas' theory is susceptible to the state restraint and intrusion. According to this theory, the state is to some degree separated from the public sphere. Habermas uses the phrase "structural transformation of the public sphere"²⁴ to imply the public sphere is shaped in a society that is free from a state's coercion. In other words, the state's intrusions cause the public sphere to be affected and reduce its original function. Since the major purpose of the public space is for recreation and entertainment, with any form of intervention from the state a public space loses its function and is transformed from a real public space to a "pseudo public space"²⁵ Habermasian discourse considers this process as the "end of public space". According to Habermas' theory, people play weak roles in a public space, since they are passive actors. In this discourse, public space is a given; every activity has been already defined in this realm and any new kind of behavior against the definition will lose the efficacy of that given public space. Nancy Fraser also states the public arena in Habermasian view conceptually differs from the state as well as the official-economy.²⁶ This view of the public sphere certainly is different from what Bayat empirically and theoretically explained. These streets of discontent as public spaces are defined by people from different social levels and perhaps different lifestyles. Their daily presence, mobilizations and contribution in the circulation of news and knowledge, as well as interaction between academic and lay people because of Tehran University provide a basis for presenting state forces and police surveillance. This formation of public space is different from what Habermas' theory comprises.

On the other hand, Arendt's theory of public space is strongly based on "collective political action". According to Arendt, action is a symbol of human beings' exercise of their freedom; a

combination of “will” and “ability”.²⁷ In fact, in this framework, action is a necessity for the creation of a public space. However in Habermas idealistic theory public space is already given and exists while in Arendt view point public space is created only by people’s action. Another state that Arendt talks about in this discourse is the people’s “courage” and “willingness” to “appear” in public. Those who step into the political realm should get ready for risk, requiring courage. Those who leave their homes and show up in the public and political realm have the willingness to appear and be socially active in plain sight. Actions are considered more important than the public space itself; public space is defined by people’s actions. In her view point public space may still be affected by despotic states, however, people’s actions can reconstruct and support it again. According to her, public space is always in an ongoing process of reproduction, because it is constantly produced by people’s actions. This view of public space is very different from Habermas’, the latter being susceptible to state interventions and forces. The Green Movement can be better defined by Arendt’s theory rather than that of Habermas. These streets of discontent and traffic roundabouts have not been designed and built for political purposes; rather, their major function is to provide accessibility and mobility for people in their daily life. Habermas’ theory can define the public sphere up to this level. Until everything functions within the states normative system, the idealistic theory of Habermas will be responsive. However, in the case of the Green Movement, a well-developed public space is needed, and cannot fit into his theory. Elements such as courage, willingness, ability, visibility (appear), and people’s general actions are seen in the Green Movement - the cornerstone of Arendt’s theory. Another basic point in the comparison between these two theories is people’s level diversity and participation in the public space. The bourgeois class has a strong role in Habermasian views; the lower-class does not play a tremendous role in this paradigm. However, the Arendtian public space considers

people as “human beings” in a class-free way. This diversity of people is also seen in the Green Movement. As I mentioned before, and based on what Bayat has also explained, these discontented streets are a space which includes different places with different users. Tehran University, book bazaars, food markets, the west bus terminal, residential blocks and commercial zones are all examples which indicate the variety of mixed-class in the area of study.

In conclusion, in order to politicize a public space, a combination of two major realms is needed - the geography of the space and the political history of the nation. In the case of the Green Movement, the spatiality of place from Imam Hussein to Azadi, with its side streets and diverse use of places within the area, contributed to protesters making the best use of the area in order to appear in the public life and experience democratic practices. On the other hand, what history had left in the nation’s mind over time, transformed into a strong historical memory potentially not be as tangible as material geography; however, it influenced people’s actions and encouraged them to repeat what they acted on before to achieve their common goals.

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¹ Bayat Asef, *Poor People Movements in Iran: Street Politics, The Disfranchised and the Islamic Revolution: Our Revolution and Theirs*, p 35

² Ibid, p 36

³ Dabashi, Hamid, *The Green Movement In Iran*, Highlights of the Events, p24

⁴ Ibid, p25

⁵ Ibid, pp 32-9

⁶ See <http://www.canadafreepress.com/index.php/article/12154>

⁷ See <http://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2010/02/02/puzzling-over-a-red-white-and-blue-iran/>

⁸ Lee, Nelson K. "How is a political public space made? - The birth of Tiananmen Square and the May Fourth Movement." *Political Geography*, (2009) 32

⁹ Grigor, Talinn. "Preserving the antique modern: Persepolis '71." *Conservation Information Network (BCIN)* 2, no. 1 (2005) 25

¹⁰ Ibid 26

¹¹ Ibid 27

¹² Bayat, Asef. *Life As Politics*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010, 164

¹³ D'Arcus, Bruce. "The Urban Geography of Red Power: The American Indian Movement in Minneapolis - Saint Paul (1968 70)." *Urban studies*, (2010) 1247

¹⁴ Ibid 1247

¹⁵ Ibid 167

¹⁶ Ibid 167

¹⁷ Ibid 168

¹⁸ Ibid 168

¹⁹ Lee, Nelson K. "How is a political public space made? - The birth of Tiananmen Square and the May Fourth Movement." *Political Geography*, (2009) 35

²⁰ Ibid 53

²¹ Bayat, Asef. *Life As Politics*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010, 169

²² Ibid 169

²³ Ibid 170

²⁴ Lee, Nelson K. "How is a political public space made? - The birth of Tiananmen Square and the May Fourth Movement." *Political Geography*, (2009) 40

²⁵ Ibid 40

²⁶ Ibid 57

²⁷ Ibid 41