

Genuine, Protean, *Ad Hoc* Public Spaces: *Patogh*-Space networks of Tehran

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ABSTRACT: This paper is a glance into Tehran's "landscape of modernity" and contemporary discourses of the city's patoghs as informal, *ad hoc*, and temporary, socially constructed, public spaces. This paper, inviting for innovative multidisciplinary approaches to architectural and urban research, first, introduces every city's demand for the "protean space," and then, historically-theoretically, analyzes the contemporary urban landscape of *patogh*-space networks of Tehran to study some of their qualities as "protean spaces." Ultimately, this paper "maps" a creative method for looking at Tehran's "now" of architecture and urban space, not merely based upon the "old-school dialectics" of "tradition" versus "modernity," but also focused on "dynamic, mutating, and transitory" elements of the city's contemporary landscape. This paper follows a larger research that uses the analyses of *ad hoc* public/semipublic-semiprivate spaces of Tehran, those ambiguous, not-clearly-demarcated corners of the city and its urban life, to inquire about the possibility of the role(s) that architects, urban designers, and/or landscape architects might play in the creation of these "protean spaces." It investigates the extent to which *ad hoc*, socially constructed spaces result from the informal interventions of ordinary citizens or design professionals. In contemporary Tehran, patoghs create modern dynamic landscapes for democratic discourse of the "protean self," introduced by Robert Lifton. The inhabitant of the contemporary metropolis of Tehran is the "protean self," essence of individuals' postmodern self, not only mutable, well informed, and enlightened, but also far more sophisticated, perceptive, and urbane than the past.¹ Being modern in Tehran demands resistance, challenges to identity, and constant (re)invention of spaces, places, meanings, and discourses. Universally, beyond architectural factors, public spaces of cities have convoluted political, economic, and social significance; therefore, this paper establishes connections to contemporary debates and issues across world regions to hook up to broader discourses, for example, the nexus of space, body, and control and public-private dynamics.

Key words: *Tehran, landscape of modernity, discourse, patogh, socially constructed public spaces, the "protean space", (post)modern self, power.*

1. Tehran's Landscape of (post)Modernity: Discourses of Public Space

Often, with the intention of providing security and generating order, both authorities and design professionals control and limit the use of public spaces through "nonflexible" planning and "over-deterministic" design strategies. As a result, urban public spaces become merely a "space for public use," unimaginative and drained of dynamic urban life and meanings for community and identity. This might also lead to the creation of profit-oriented pseudo-public realms that are frail for sociability and lack urban delight, down affecting urban life and limiting individuals' favorable use of public space.

Ever since Tehran's transformation from a sixteenth century village to a twenty-first century metropolis today, multiple power dynamics have been (re)shaping the city's fabric and political as well as socio-spatial structures. In particular, in the course of the city's *organic growth, evolution, and mutations*, in times, certain high-handed ruling structures have been manipulating their "power over" urban public spaces. For example, according to Abbas Milani, during the Qajar dynasty period in Iran, 1848-1896, Nasir Al-Din Shah's "final modern intervention" in Tehran included "an inept attempt at turning teahouses into centers for a panoptic system of surveillance."² As Milani asserts, the Shah (King), more than anything else, "liked modernity's system of social control" to a degree that, during his first visit to Europe, he "hired an Austrian count to establish a modern police force for Iran."³ Not just during the reign of Qajar kings, but throughout Tehran's whole history, although not always successful, many attempts have been made in order to control the city's urban spaces, in particular, public spaces.

I argue that one of the leading consequences of, often extreme, controlling strategies over space has been the (re)creation of a uniquely improvised, temporary, and "protean" social space typology called *patogh*. One of the strengths, of the concept and the space type, of *patoghs* is that they are relatively democratic given that they can take multiplicity of interpretations and embrace compound meanings and discourses. For example, Mitra, an Iranian woman living in Diaspora, calls her personal weblog "Patogh-E-Mitra" and defines it as "a place where you feel good."⁴ Discourses of "power over," as Kim Dovey explains,⁵ are important aspects within the urban landscapes. One other significance of the existence of *patogh*-spaces in Tehran is that they give power to or, as Dovey puts it, "empower" the users.⁶ Within Tehran's landscape, although noticeably, and predominantly, increased after the political, social, and cultural changes brought by the 1979 revolution, the application of various means and method of control over the public, semi-public/private, and even private spaces of one's home have not merely been recent phenomena. Therefore, to better understand these

discourses, in this paper, I first introduce the "protean space" metaphor, and then, analyze some of the aspects of the (post)modern urban landscape of the *patogh*-space networks of Tehran, or *fazahaye-patoghi* (Persian), to study some of their qualities as "protean spaces." The "protean space" is the metaphor of creative and genuine network of socially constructed public spaces in cities, which simultaneously allow egalitarian (re)creation, maturity, and protection of democratic discourses, self-representation, individualism, collective identity, and pluralism. This paper *per se* is just a portion of a bigger study, my doctoral dissertation research that, later on, for my studies, I will be conducting on-site, "auto-ethnographical" and "urban anthropological" fieldwork as well as a further extensive "interpretive-historical" studies inside Tehran. The subsistence of the impromptu, socially constructed *patogh*-spaces is a major factor that makes Tehran the well-suited context for my broader studies on the "protean space" of cities. This paper is a discussion on socio-spatial dynamics and certain physical attributes of Tehran's *patoghs*, (Persian). *Patoghs* are distinctively spontaneous, in (re)formation, and "protean," in spatial (re)structuring, the *ad hoc* and impermanent public space type in the Iranian culture.

1.1. Multidisciplinarity of Urban Research

Studying urban space and place, in particular, the public space of cities, demands innovative multidisciplinary approaches; thus, in this paper, I establish various connections to contemporary debates and issues across world regions. For instance, universally, beyond architectural factors, public spaces of cities have many convoluted political, economic, and social significances; therefore, my research connects to broader discourses on the nexus of space, power and control over it as well as some of the aspects related to the public-private dynamics. As Kim Dovey puts it, multiple power phenomena are "mediated" in built forms and design professionals must immerse in the "practices of power,"⁷ as they "frame" spaces and places of everyday life, which are planned and designed according to "certain interests...amenity, profit, status and political power."⁸ Moreover, as Ali Madanipour asserts, citing Benn and Gaus, "dimensions of publicness and privateness," such as "access, agency, and interest," are amongst the factors to be considered.⁹ There might never be any ideal form of public space, as only a perfect, utopian, model of what Jurgen Habermas describes as "the public sphere" may be "made up of private people gathered together as a public and articulating the needs of society with the state."¹⁰ One reason is that, in reality, contemporary public domains and urban landscapes are often plagued with non-design, non-architectural, and/or external forces and factors such as commercialization and privatization of the public realms as well as the various invasions that "the state," with certain ideology, "the economy," and "the media" might reinforce on space.

Due to multiple power relations within urban fabrics, the spaces intended for public use are not ideal “public” arenas. On the one hand, manipulated and/or corrupted power-over strategies, unconstructive management and/or extreme controlling strategies that can mainly be executed by states, authorities, and economical organizations, can influence and pressure the efficient and creative use of the space. On the other hand, these bureaucracies and/or peer pressures are not the *only* factors limiting the users’ liberated and democratic actions in space. Design professionals, architects, urban planners and designers, and landscape architects, might as well decrease and limit the creative use of space, through “inflexible” planning and “over-deterministic” design strategies applied. This way, they can make obstacles, not in favor of users’ improvisation and opportunities to (re)create space and meanings in space, or to be able to adapt, appropriate, and contest the space, to find what is desirable for them. As a result, the design might not allow for *ad hoc*, social (re)constructions of space by ordinary citizens. Therefore, both within the decision-making and design stages of space production and construction, inconsistencies and ineptitudes, whether by design or not, may cause the gradual creation of public spaces that would exclude some groups of people, limit their access, or barricade some individuals’ rightful development of identity and self-representation in space.

In addition, universal attempts to secure cities also obliterate some people’s access to their rightful activities, resources, and information in urban space. Even in the most theoretically democratic societies, these spaces might not allow for all users’ liberated actions and freedom of speech. For instance, the privatization and commercialization of public space are amongst the dynamics the exploitations of which can often carry policing forces over urban space too far. The policing forces, externally imposed on the urban spaces and meshed within the cities’ macro-scale and socio-political and economical geographies, do not apparently fall within the responsibilities of architects and urbanists; yet, as Mike Davis alleges, “the neo-military syntax of contemporary architecture” does not create democratic, but closely policed, “pseudo-public spaces,” usually at aims to exclude the alleged “underclass Other.”¹¹ Further, “inflexible” and “over-deterministic” planning and design strategies are domestic issues to architecture and urbanism that can lead to the creation of obsolete, incompetent, overly ordered, and unimaginative urban public spaces, and ultimately, cause the generation of future non-resilient cities that might limit the desired uses of public space. As Sanjoy Mazumdar defines, in a case study on the dictatorial power in the public spaces of Tehran, the “autocratic control” is not only practiced by various “monarchical forms” of power, but also by the “mini autocrats,” single individual and/or small number of people who are raised from the absorption of power and authority over assets.

According to Mazumdar, urban planners and designers as well as architects can also act as “mini autocrats,” if they consider themselves in a role and superior position of “making and enforcing decisions about people’s lives.”¹²

Therefore, in this paper, I use the analyses of *ad hoc* public/semipublic-semiprivate spaces of Tehran, those ambiguous, not-clearly-demarcated corners of the city and its urban life, to later inquire about the possibility of the role(s) that architects, urban designers, and/or landscape architects might play in the creation of these “protean spaces.” I am investigating the extent to which *ad hoc*, socially constructed spaces result from the informal interventions of ordinary citizens or design professionals. Let us assume that the professionals’ intent was to put forward informal and *ad hoc* “protean spaces,” and assume that they had actually implemented such design concepts. Studying whether users would occupy those spaces, and interact within them as the designers intended or, if they adjust, manipulate, and use the space in other ways, can lead to a better understanding of the role of professionals in this process. This study is invaluable, in both theory and practice, to the design of better and integrative spaces. It explores how the design professionals and ordinary citizens can generate “protean spaces” and “creative cities.” To understand how to design “protean spaces” and “creative cities,” I will look at Tehran’s “dynamic” and “temporary” characteristics. I will also apply a landscape urbanist approach¹³ to my analyses to outline Tehran’s rhizomatic “networks” of socializing spaces, for instance, the city’s web of *patogh*-spaces, their “lived experiences,” socially constructed “meanings and discourses.” Ultimately, I will “map” the city’s multiple “flows,” of peoples, cultures, means of transportation, passageways, money, fashion, leisure, commodities, means of communication, and information.

1.2. Every City Needs “Protean Space”

Every city requires protean spaces, as the kinds of democratic, informal and flexible, and unplanned and temporary public space typologies that can not only embrace and support multiple egalitarian discourses within societies, but also instigate them even in highly urban milieus. Hence, innovative and multidisciplinary studies on urban landscapes are valuable, specifically, I allege, on the means and methods to create, and the discourses to endorse, the needed impulse for the generation of the “protean space.” I assume that there are multiple nodes of power within contemporary urban landscapes, and ordinary citizens are their active and powerful agents, with certain degrees of authority and control over the space they use. Yet, my research premise is that successful “protean spaces” can result as well from design professionals. One aspect is that, urban space and landscape should be defined, designed, created, and controlled in a way to not only tolerate,

but also allow for citizen's adaption and appropriation of on-hand "authorized" spaces. Similar to the creation of patoghs in Tehran, ordinary citizens, nonetheless of the limitations and constraints within the urban environments, attempt to socially (re)construct "unauthorized" public space types, gradually (re)shaping the entire urban landscape and society. Sometimes, such space creations are mere unconscious adaptations and/or appropriations of existing accessible spaces. Yet, other time, they might be structuring improvised spaces from scratch.

To create protean space, creative and multidisciplinary approaches are necessary; although this paper is not rejecting the importance of studies on how space in cities should be shaped "physically," its emphasis is less upon the "static" features and more concerned with the creation of "knowledge, meaning, and discourse" surrounding the public spaces of cities. Urban space should be seen as an "open system," informed by Richard Sennet's discussion of "open city" to generate imaginative urban landscapes.¹⁴ Sennett questions if certain visual forms can promote flexible, forward-looking experience of time, and whether or not design professionals can create the attachment to place or if any design concept or strategy might be able to "abut social relationships that endure, just because they can evolve and mutate."¹⁵ Yet, I believe, effective planning methods and/or design interventions demand far better understanding, than design professionals are normally schooled in, of the postmodern and global condition today, and of the fragmented and de-centralized, dynamic and temporary, and socio-politically and economically sophisticated urban geographies of contemporary cities. Hence, this paper analyzes the urban landscape of contemporary Tehran through a lens aiming to convey an innovative, multidisciplinary, and discourse-oriented approach.

Public spaces are important components of cities, and within traditional Iranian cities, they had been (re)shaped and affected by certain local and national factors; yet, today, there are further sophisticated global forces, beyond local and national realities, that are influencing the Iranian city (re)formations, specifically, within the contemporary landscape of the post-metropolis of Tehran, with close to twelve million inhabitants. Historically, within the traditional fabrics of the Iranian cities, certain principles such as climatic conditions, available materials, and socio-cultural and religious factors had been amongst the common as well as most important parameters according to which the Iranian cities had been (re)shaped, in the course of their history, in terms of both their "physical" attributes as well as their "socio-spatial" conditions. In today's (postmodern) cities, compared to historic city fabrics, factors such as "control" and/or "power over" space is influential that are not completely "hierarchical," but relatively "fragmented" and "de-centralized." On the other hand, not only "control

over public space" is theoretically different from the past, but also the ways the shaping factors might affect the spatial structures and organization of the cities. According to Kaveh Samsami, a "cell-like organization" used to exist in the traditional Iranian city's urban fabric, establishing relationships between the city's major components. The three major elements of the historic Iranian city formation were: a "central maidan" or an open square where governmental, administrative, and religious buildings were located, "bazaar" or a large marketplace closely connected to the open square and the whole city, and "residential mahals" or neighborhoods. "Mahals" and "Bazaar," as well as other elements, used to branch out from the "central maidan" in a cell-like pattern," mostly like the "relationship between the brain and the rest of the human body. (Figure 1)"¹⁶ However, I see certain challenges and/or contradictions if one is to study "Tehran" and its urban space evolution merely through the dialectic of traditional city versus a modern one in that, I argue, Tehran has never been a thoroughly traditional city like other major historic cities such as Isfahan and Yazd. Although analyzing this aspect requires further research, beyond the scope of this paper *per se*, I will partially discuss some of the challenges in the approaching sections of this paper.

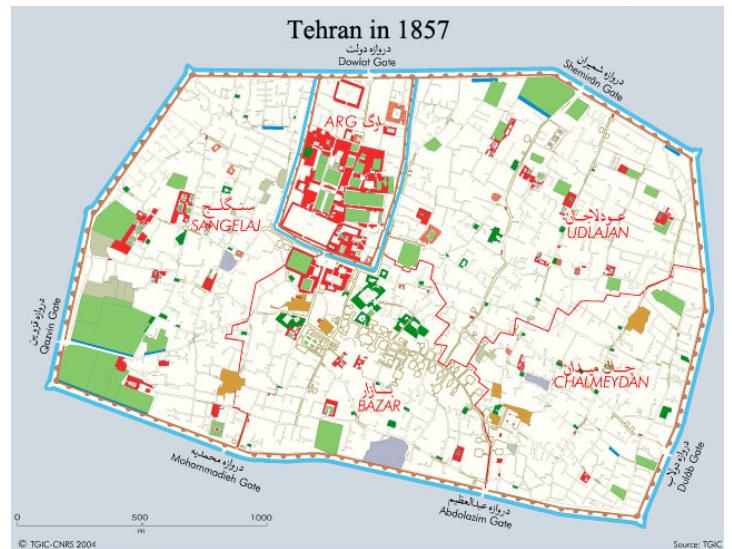


Figure 1

Three main, hierarchically structured, elements of Tehran, on the map of 1857: Governmental Open Square or central maidan of arg, large market place of bazaar, located within bazaar neighborhood, and four mahals or neighborhoods of sangelaj, udlajan, chalehmeydan, and bazaar. (Image Source: Tehran Municipality city map source: <http://en.tehran.ir/Default.aspx?tabid=11599>)

1.3. Mapping Modern Tehran: Dialectic of Tradition-Modernity or Geography of “Flow and Network,” Knowledge, Meaning, and Discourse

In Iran, both within the academia and professional environments, of architecture, and urban planning and design, the foci of the majority of studies are commonly on the various aspects of the dialectic relationships that are at play between the city's "traditional" architecture and its "contemporary" spatial developments. Within these discourses, Tehran's current architecture and urban space are frequently described as "identity-less," which have been abandoning the Persian/Iranians architecture and historic styles. For example, Abbas Milani portrays Tehran as "an oddity" or "a city with a long history and a short memory,"¹⁷ moreover, well-known Iranologist, Richard Nelson Frye argues that Tehran's modern architecture is not prudent in preserving the "Iranian/Persian" heritage, identity, and architectural style. He calls Tehran's contemporary developments a mindless copying of the "bad architecture" of the west "that sweeps the world in globalization," cited by Donna Urschel.¹⁸ Although dialectic analyses, of old and new, can be one possible approach to look at Tehran's "now" of architecture, it is not the only way.

Urban realities are complex phenomena, best studied by in-depth analyses of a city's parts that cut across certain established disciplines. The approach of this study calls for "other-than-physical" reflections, in particular, by analyzing the mutating, extemporized, and impermanent (re)creations of patoghs, as a unique public space type in Tehran. They are spaces that are less likely to be planned and designed merely by architects, as ordinary citizens construct them socially, to embrace and promote dynamic, transient, and spontaneous elements of the city formation. Patoghs are a kind of democratic spaces, putting forward multiple opportunities for the social interaction of a diverse population of users. Mapping this approach to study Tehran in an innovative way, the overall objectives of my studies are to find creative solutions to enhance the "everyday" qualities of urban public spaces, yet, not from the outside, but from within the imaginative potentials of the cities themselves and through the creativity of their own inhabitants.

A multi-disciplinary worldview is critical to my study that can not only embrace the realms of "physical," but also that of the "constructed" and "interconnected," as Ignasi de Sola-Morales asserts.¹⁹ While not rejecting the importance of studies on how urban spaces are shaped "physically," my research emphasis is less upon the "static" features and more concerned with the creation of "knowledge, meaning, and discourse" surrounding the public spaces of the city. Hence, this paper's explores Tehran's landscape of modernity" and some amongst the contemporary discourses going on within the city's public spaces. This study demands going beyond the mere analyses

of the "physical," form-related, stylistic, and typological characteristics of Tehran's architecture and urban space and their descriptions. In this paper, I argue for and apply a dynamic and multidisciplinary approach, based on an interpretive-historical framework. This approach is not merely focused on common-in-Iran dichotomies of "traditional versus modern," "genuine" versus "inauthentic," "national" versus "global," and "Westernized" versus "Islamic." In addition, the perceptions of the self and identity are complex subject-matters within the Tehran's urban landscape that deserve further research. As Bernard Hourcade also describes Tehran today, it "is a postmodern city" where "the dichotomy of East-West does not apply." Moreover, as he puts it, the compositions of its population, territoriality, and geographical boundaries are highly mutating phenomena; the majority of its current population, which he calls the "new elite," are, mostly, "sophisticated middle class with a sense of their own identity," cited by Donna Urschel.²⁰



Figure 2

This picture reveals "two manifestations of Iranian Modernity," as the author of "Demonishing Iran" aimed to capture in the article. The modern style and abstract production of the statue featured in the image, juxtaposed beside the propagandist mural of the cleric, Khomeini, is an example of the kinds of contemporary and complex "discourses" within Tehran's urban landscape aimed to be explored in this paper. These sorts of multi-meaning discourses generate a unique "narrative space" worthy of exploration in Tehran. (Image Source: "Demonishing Iran" published in Sunday Herald and retrieved from <http://qunfuz.com/2009/06/28/demonising-iran/#more-236>)

2. Patoghs of Tehran

One of the world's largest cities, the metropolis of Tehran, although geographically and globally significant, populated with close to twelve million inhabitants, is not amongst the world's well-studied urban areas. Yet, many opportunities exist for the studies on the city's past, present, and future. I believe that, hitherto, research on Tehran has been merely developing fragmented and partial urban knowledge where many gaps subsist, for instance, on the areas such as the city's socio-cultural and political changes as well as its urban and architectural growth, evolution, and sudden mutations. The cracks, of information within the architectural and urban domains, should be filled up not only by creative and multidisciplinary approaches, with holistic and broad understandings of the socio-cultural, political, and economical phenomena, but also through a further "unbiased" and "non-clichéd" lens, realistically looking at the urban social reality "out there." One of the weaknesses of some of the to-date studies on Tehran is that most of them have merely focused on the "maladies" of this mega-city and only a few have addressed its creative potentials and opportunistic capacities. Further, not many studies have put forward powerful theoretical perspectives that can promote and build a relevant urban knowledge that is based upon the city's unique characteristics. For example, as Farhang Rouhani argues, complex ethnographic research is still needed to study "the processes through which Tehranis understand themselves, as urban, local, national, and/or global citizens;"²¹ moreover, as Dona J. Stewart asserts, Tehran deserves further research that can reveal "a city beyond the caricature":

For political reasons, relatively little research on Iran has been published in the last 20 years. A recent contribution by Madanipour, Johnston and Knox (1998) examines Tehran as the center of an urban network within a system characterized by revolution and war.²²

Tehran is a well suited context to study the "protean space" for which one reason is the transient and spontaneous (re)creations of the socially constructed, ad hoc public space of patoghs. Spaces of this kind inspire my research; born of necessity in a highly regulated and controlled public milieu, these "protean spaces" offer opportunities for social interaction. Such spaces are unplanned responses by ordinary citizens seeking alternatives to "sanctioned" but lifeless public spaces. Tehran of today is a highly dynamic (post)modern metropolis that is in a constant transition. As mentioned in the previous section, compared to other major Iranian cities, Tehran has never truly been a "traditional city," in a sense similar to the other major, historically evolved, and organically changed Iranian cities like Shiraz, Isfahan, and Yazd. Tehran had been a small undersized village in the sixteenth century and its becoming as a city was concurrent with its process of modernization.

The city has predominantly started its growth as a "modern city" since the beginning of the twentieth century, and this process of modernization was further accelerated during the 1950s and 1960s, with the reformist vision of the Second Pahlavi period. Although Tehran today suffers from many economic, social, political, and environmental problems, the creativity and imaginativeness of its inhabitants are amongst its distinctive qualities and attributes that intrigue some researchers. Tehran, existing in a society still caught between tradition and modernity, raises interesting questions regarding urban identity and conflict, based upon change and multiplicity in a highly polarized society.



Digital Image © 2007 University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries



Figure 3

The top image, taken in 1961, shows a quiet street corner to portray the stylistic pattern that was common during, 1950s-1970s and the boom of modern architectural constructions in Tehran. (Top Image Source: American Geographical Society Library, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries. Original source: Edna Schaus Sorensen and Clarence W. Sorensen Collection, retrieved from <http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/u?/agsphoto.127>)

The bottom picture, the Mellat Cinema Complex shows the modernist concept for a recently built project in Tehran. Designed by Reza Daneshmir and his firm, Fluid Motion Architects, it reveals Tehran's contemporary grand architectural culture.²³

More than any other historical period, the second Pahlavi's architectural style is a product of hasty modernization during 50s and 60s for a society that was not yet ready for the change. Influenced by its concurrent European modernism, this time-period, of urban development and modern urban design in Tehran, was parallel with the first master planning process accomplished by Austrian architect, Victor Gruen, during 60s. Although a dialectical discourse, generated via the juxtaposition of the modernist building beside that of the traditional style might reveal some aspects related to the city's "modern architecture," this approach cannot exhaust the more dynamic aspects related to the modern urban life and culture. Such an analysis asks for multidisciplinary studies, predominantly, on the everyday life uses of Tehran's urban spaces across time. (Bottom Image Source: Koohsaran Eng. Co. website <http://www.koohsaran.com/resume.html>)

Two different perspectives exist about the architecture and urban landscape of Tehran. On the one hand, scholars like Soheila Shahshahani calls Tehran "a mega-city built without vision,"²⁴ Abbas Milani describes it as "a city with a long history and a short memory,"²⁵ and Ali Madanipour refers to it as "a modern city, with high rise buildings and a network of motorways, with all the associated problems of traffic congestion, environmental pollution, housing shortage."²⁶ In addition, as Mina Marefat argues, analyzing the nature of urban and architectural changes occurred between 1921-1941, Reza Shah Pahlavi is in charge of Tehran's hasty and irreversible alteration, from a traditional city to modern. As she puts it, before this historic period, during the reign of the Qajars, Tehran was "a private city," "inward and protected" with walls and gates. Raza Shah has changed the physical and spatial organization of Tehran's urban fabric by incorporating an urban grid concept with wide boulevards, traffic cycles, designed public spaces, state institutions, and [new] housing typologies that, she alleges, were "superimposed on the traditional city."²⁷

Some people might have a further optimistic outlook on Tehran. On the other hand, according to the social cultural anthropologist Sholeh Shahrokh, "the city itself –in terms of politics and design, therefore, becomes a relevant topic for the study of power and negotiation processes, on the one hand, movement, flows and uses of public space, on the other."²⁸ Moreover, as Solmaz Farajollahpour puts, Tehran, with its many "economic and political contradictions," is "not reducible to geopolitical labels;" a key to interpret this city is that it is of "paradox" and "complexity... relations between appearances and reality, between visible [p]ublic space and the space of private relations."²⁹ According to Farajollahpour, the uncertain situation of women, public space, urban architecture, and the nature of bazaar are amongst the paradoxes based on which "not only are things hardly ever what they appear to be, but every phenomenon also contains manifold explanations that sometimes contradict one another." Public spaces

are "constantly invaded by thousands of cars," representing "bubbles of private freedom moving through a rigid and controlled public space."³⁰ I argue that if Tehran's urban landscape, its distinctively context-based modernity, and urban changes be analyzed merely through such pessimistic and/or traditional versus modern dialect studies and approaches, the city's potentials and creative capacities, brought by/against modern changes, might be left out from discourse. Therefore, this paper applies a dynamic approach, taking into account not only the imaginative and transitory potentials, mutating and informal qualities, of this contemporary metropolis, for instance, the socio-spatial realms of its patoghs, but also some of the discourses that are, constantly, (re)created by a self who is dwelling in this city, and is sophisticated and urbane, with fluid many-sided identity.

2.1. The "Protean Spaces" for the "Protean Self"

Able to (re)shape in various existing places, patoghs are "protean spaces" for the spontaneous sociability of diverse communities with multiple identities and desires. These *ad hoc* spaces generate a distinct "narrative space," according to Stephan Heath's conceptual definition,³¹ generated through the juxtaposition and overlapping of a web of *patogh*-spaces, and not only in Tehran, but also within the Iranian Diaspora worldwide. The "narrative space" of patoghs, with cinematic qualities, turn "space" into "place" that ultimately generate "rhizomatic" connections within Tehran, as Deleuze and Guattari define the "rhizomatic city" theory³² and Ad Graafland expands the theory applying it to the city of Amsterdam as a "rhizome city."³³ I allege that Tehran, due to the existence of its patoghs, can be analyzed as a "rhizomatic city;" yet, this analysis demands further research beyond the scope of this paper *per se*. However, the concepts of "narrative space" and "rhizome city" will be explored further in the following sections of this paper. In contemporary Tehran, patoghs create mutating landscapes and multiple discourses. Being modern there demands tactics everyday resistance and certain challenges to one's identity constantly (re)inventing meanings and discourses in space. Due many socio-spatial limitations, grounded in macro-scale socio-political and ideological, and/or micro-scale socio-cultural aspects of the everyday life, both "individual" and "social" self needs to find or create ways to appropriate the existing "authorized" urban space to socially construct "unauthorized" public realms within it. The constructed space then provides the self with its 'relatively desirable' social space. Mainly in Tehran, these spaces and discourses within them are, often, antidote to the mainstream Iranian society, and some of its ideologies, traditions, and spatially limiting obligations.

In Tehran, many attempts have ever been made to control the urban space, in particular, the public space. For example, not just after the 1979

revolution, but even during the reign of First Pahlavi king Reza Shah, multiple official and unofficial sets of laws were passed for dress and conduct codes. Since the early twentieth century, according to Alexandru Balasescu's informative anthropological research, "dress codes" and "regulations" have always been parts of the everyday dynamics within the urban landscape of Tehran, the aspect to which Balasescu refers as a "continuous dynamic."³⁴ Amongst the urban discourses, individuals' modern or secular versus traditional or conservative "choice of dress" and "body image" have always been highly disputable subject matter, significant issues related to one's need/right to autonomous identity and individuality, as well as that to manifest cultural differences and/or ethnic practices. The self and identity, along with multiple ways of body representation, I believe, are amongst the leading factors behind the formation of *patoghs*, places where people could break up with some of the norms, and find and interact with the types of people, closer in personality and/or socio-cultural status, with whom "they feel good."



Figure 4

This picture, painted by Saghar Daeeri, titled "Tehran Shopping Malls," was exhibited in "Iran Inside Out: Influences of Homeland and Diaspora" exhibition, held from June to September 2009 in Chelsea Art Museum. The kind of dress choice and body representation can render the sophisticated "protean self," which is an important element within the contemporary Tehran's urban landscape and human geography. This is just an example of the kinds of discourses that are discussed in the paper. Modern discourses by the "protean self" generate a "narrative space" that can go beneath the ordinary and beyond the mere obvious of the urban space. For instance, shopping mall becomes a container for the creation of a *patogh* as an "unauthorized" public space where opportunities for the social action of the protean self can subsist. (Image Source: Art Radar Asia,

<http://artradarasia.wordpress.com/2009/09/03/iran-inside-out-review-round-up-56-artist-survey-show-in-new-york-described-as-mesmerising-a-privilege>)

Contemporary cities demand enjoying "protean spaces," of one kind or another, democratic and inclusive, arenas not only perpetuating "individuality and self-representation," but also allowing for "community creation and collective identity." In part informed by Robert Lifton's theory of "protean self,"³⁵ the term "protean space" used in this research is a "metaphor" to help sketch out a "mental concept" for the types of public spaces that might be most wanted within contemporary cities, for the use and delightfulness of their present-day users. According to Pamela Shockley-Zalabak, Lifton uses Greek mythology, the Homer and Euripides, "to describe human resilience in an age of fragmentation."³⁶ Hence, "protean space" is a metaphor of an opportunistic public "place" typology where the "protean self" can find, either by design or accident, spatial opportunities to overcome space limitations.

A *Tehrani* inhabitant has a "protean self," named after Proteus, the Greek sea god of many forms, different from that of the past in that this self is far more sophisticated, perceptive, and urbane, and is the essence of individual's postmodern self, mutable, well informed, and enlightened. Moreover, this "protean self" is the very active agent of this metropolis, who stands in opposition to what Lifton calls "totalism."³⁷ Applied to Tehran, Lifton's metaphor is valuable in that it can describe the phenomenon of a contemporary self dwelling in this metropolis. As Lifton puts it, this metaphor is "sufficiently rich to suggest the blending of radical fluidity, functional wisdom, and a quest for at least minimal form."³⁸ The "protean self" is to be seen as the creative and well-informed agents of this metropolis, with the advantageous maturity or, as Lifton alleges, "fluid and many-sided personality," requiring "continuous exploration and personal experiment," in opposition to any totalistic movement and constricting power.³⁹ According to Lifton, the "protean self" evolves a self-appropriation wisdom in "the restless and flux of our time," and yet, rather than collapsing, it stands out to be "surprisingly resilient," making "use of bits and pieces here and there." As the author puts it, "what may seem to be mere tactical flexibility, or just bungling along, turns out to be much more than that,...evolving a self of many possibilities."⁴⁰

Not just in Tehran but worldwide, urban public space might not be any close to ideal for the "protean self. Complex interplays of power relations within the fabric of today's cities, usually, generate more "gaps" between the expectations of this urbane self and the creative capacities and opportunities of public spaces to offer to the "protean self." Hence, the "protean space", along with Lifton's "protean self," metaphors afford application potentials for "research and design" that aims to consider various "dynamic" intersections of the "self" and the "social," or users' desires in urban public space, also considering the complex ever-changing nature of urban landscapes. The relation of Tehran and modernity is less about "needs" and more

with "desires." Hence, understanding the modern landscape of Tehran not just demands explorations of the physical, spatial, and symbolic, of the "static" architectural and urban elements, but innovative multidisciplinary investigations of people's desires, memories, emotions, passions, senses, motivations, contestations, and devotions. Understanding these concepts has application potentials to various connections between "the socio-spatial freedom of culturally diverse populations with multiple identities" and "power dynamics" in play within urban public space. In short, in Tehran, despite various restrictions put by some obstructive powers that have been a part of the city's reality, not by design but spontaneously, ordinary citizens of Tehran are "place-makers," just as an example, creatively generating the protean space of patogh as a solution to satisfy their "protean self."

2.2. Tehran's Historic Transformation: Organic Growth, Evolution, "Mutations"

Both a social "product," of the state and the economy, and a social "construct," of everyday life practices, contemporary urbanscape of Tehran embraces, on the one hand, multiple complexities and contradictions, and on the other hand, certain creative potentials. Adapting Derek Gregory's "the eye of power,"⁴¹ Tehran is a product of various spatial practices within its "abstract spaces" of "economy" and "state" as well as a construct of many spatial practices within its "concrete spaces" of the everyday life, "the site of resistance and active struggle, the origin of spaces of representation that provide counter discourses and create alternative spatial imaginaries."⁴² Tehran is a unique "product-construct" that has mainly been generated through a long period of not only "organic expansions" and "historical evolution," from a small village to a town to a city to a metropolis today, but also multiple quick "mutations," for instance, two revolutions as well as many revolts and many more acts of everyday resistance.

Tehran's contemporary reality is, to some extends, a product-construct of two major mutations, revolutions: the Constitutional Revolution of 1905-1911 and Islamic Revolution of 1979. Since Tehran's existence as a village, multiple social relations and changes had been in charge of transforming its spatial structures, (re)defining its meanings, and changing the city's attitudes towards and capacities for public space. As Manuel Castells puts it, cities are social realities that "are historical products, not only in their physical materiality but in their cultural meaning, in the role they play in the social organization, and in people's lives."⁴³ Space and power generate interrelated discourses, as Kim Dovey's asserts, in his analyzes of the mediations of the discourse of power in built forms as well as the place of the designers within such dynamic are significant.⁴⁴ Yet, as he alleges, there are "prospects for designers who wish to engage in making places which embody

something of the quest for equity, justice and liberty,"⁴⁵ and there are also "prospects for a liberating architectural practice."⁴⁶ The focus of this paper, social construction of patogh-spaces, as a modern socio-spatial phenomenon, highlights the social-construct aspect of the city, of multiplicity of everyday life practices, of both its ordinary and in-power citizens.



Iranian Historical Photographs Gallery : www.fouman.com

Figure 5

The picture shows the Rey Citadel, standing today, in the city of Rey, yet, absorbed into the Greater Tehran. Historically, when Tehran was an insignificantly tiny village, Rey was a city of the antique Media. In 1220, when Mongols destroyed Rey and massacred its populace for not giving up, some people escaped the city to Tehran, and took refuge in underground homes. Amongst the variety of explanations and definitions of the term "Tehran," one definition is that: Tehran means under-grounder. This meaning tells the story that, in the thirteenth century, Tehran's inhabitants built their residences "under the ground" to be able to hide at the times potential enemies would want to attack them. (Image source: Iranian Historical Photographs Gallery: <http://www.fouman.com/Y/Picture-View-Rhagae-Citadel.htm>)⁴⁷

Tehran, before the eleventh century, was an undersized village in the shadow of its eminent neighbor city of "Rhagae," also known as Rey (Figure 5). Although limited historical documents exist of Tehran before the sixteenth century, as Ali Madanipour presents, "in 1404, it had grown in size but still was not important enough to be walled."⁴⁸ In addition, as Abbas Milani asserts, during the thirteenth century, Tehran was "a large village, in the vicinity of Rey, rich in verdure and orchards."⁴⁹ As Milani puts it, even in the sixteenth century and during the reign of Shah Abbas, of the Safavid dynasty, the city was still a remote place and "a military garrison town" with no more than three thousand people.⁵⁰ Tehran became known as a city in the early sixteenth century, when Shah Tahmasp, of the Safavid dynasty, got fascinated with the city's climate and ordered, in and around it, the erection of new buildings, such as caravansaries, and protecting walls. This became a milestone change that, later on, transformed Tehran from a medieval village to a city.

After, Tehran had changed a lot, yet, predominantly, during and after the reign of Nassir al-Din Shah, of the Qajar dynasty, and the city, ultimately, started to become a "modern city" under Reza Shah, of the Pahlavis. In 1786, Agha Mohammad Khan Qajar crowned in Tehran and nominated the city as Iran's capital. According to Madanipour, the first set of "major transformations" of Tehran occurred between 1848 and 1896 in the reign of Nasir-al-Din Shah Qajar, mainly, by his reformist vizier Amir Kabir (Figure 6).⁵¹ Urban changes in this period have brought (inter)national significance and further socio-economic improvements to Tehran. Since then, until the end of the nineteenth century as well as the early twentieth century, before the reign of Reza Shah, the city had continued to grow more rapidly, yet, still inside the walls that were put by Nasser-al-Din Shah. In addition to erecting new walls, gates, and moats around the city, as Abbas Milani argues, *Tup Khaneh* and *Shams al-Emareh*, along with the-attached-to-it "capital's first modern clock," are the first two modern buildings built in Tehran, commissioned by Nasser-al-Din Shah's avant-gardist, modern attempts (Figure 7).⁵² Ultimately, Nasir al-Din Shah's "final modern intervention in the city," as Milani argues, was his "inept attempt at turning teahouses into centers for a panoptic system of surveillance;"⁵³ the Shah, more than anything, "liked modernity's system of social control" to a degree that, during his first visit to Europe, he "hired an Austrian count to establish a modern police force for Iran."⁵⁴ Nasir al-Din Shah's strategy of spatial control renders the existence of certain power dynamics, of socio-spatial control, in the evolution of the city.

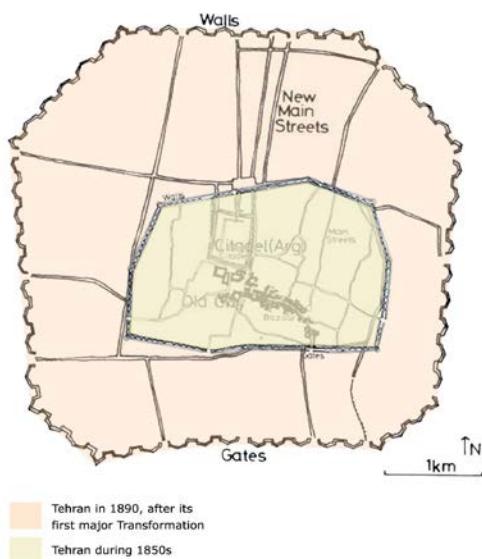


Figure 6

This drawing, an adaption of two separate drawings by Ali Madanipour, one of Tehran in 1858 and other in 1890,⁵⁵ shows the first major transformation of Tehran during the reign of Qajars under the rule of

Nasir al-Din Shah. According to Madanipour, the major changes includes restoration of the city's historic walls, quality improvement of the streets, mainly, for vehicle movement, laying out the new large square of *Tup Khaneh*, and enhancement of the two main urban squares of *Sabzeh Maidan* and *Arg*.⁵⁶ In 1868, the shah ordered the city's expansion, beyond the old walls, and many new gardens and residences were built, primarily, outward of the city's northern region.⁵⁷ Shah ordered, to his grand vizier Mostowfi al-Mamalek and capital minister Mirza Issa, along with a team headed by General Bohler, a French teacher in Dar al-Fonun, to draw the development plans. This new spatial organization, shown in this drawing, was made of a twelve-gated octagon, and each gate was decorated by Qajar style glazing tiles.⁵⁸

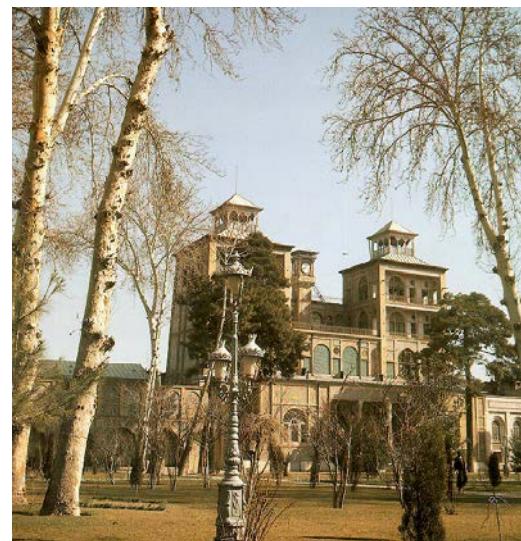


Figure 7

Top image: *Toopkhaneh* in 1954, current Imam Khomeini Square, is one of the first modern interventions in Tehran ordered by Nasir al-Din Shah.

(Image source: Ahmad Anvari, [Anvari.org](http://www.anvari.org/iran/Pictures_of_Iran/Old_Tehran/Toopkhaneh_(now_Imam_Khomeini)_Square_in_Tehran_1954): [http://www.anvari.org/iran/Pictures_of_Iran/Old_Tehran/Toopkhaneh_\(now_Imam_Khomeini\)_Square_in_Tehran_1954](http://www.anvari.org/iran/Pictures_of_Iran/Old_Tehran/Toopkhaneh_(now_Imam_Khomeini)_Square_in_Tehran_1954))

Bottom image: In the picture, *Shams al-Emareh*, is another early modern building built in Tehran and commissioned by Nasser-al-Din Shah. (Image

The Evolution of Built up Areas in Tehran

e.polis Volume

source:
<http://www.persia.org/imagemap/tehran.html>

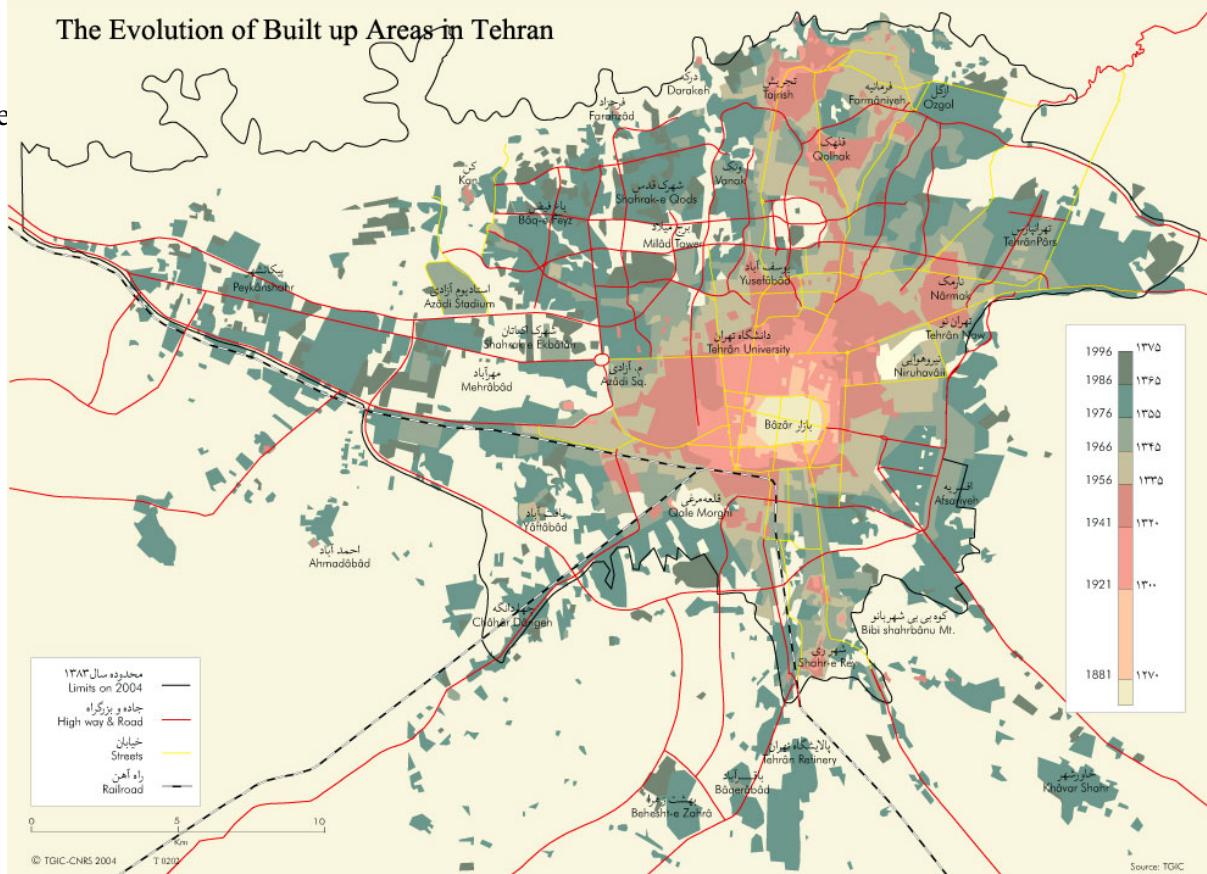
Since the early nineteenth century, many historical narratives and modern discourses have been at play within urban Tehran, its architecture and urban landscape as well as within its, highly polarized, socio-political and, diverse, ethnic and cultural

conditions. Many paradoxes, discourses and contradiction, for instance, between traditionalism, nationalism, and modernism have been amongst the challenges affecting the way the city has been (re)shaped until today. Tehran's most important reforms towards modernity took place, almost, not as a gradual "evolution," but as rapid "mutations," in the first half of the twentieth century and under the reign of Reza Shah Pahlavi. These were rapid shifts, from just a city that was closer in attributes to an overgrown village into a ready-to-become metropolis. In 1920s, the Shah ordered the toppling down of the Qajar walls and gates, aligned with his grand vision for the city to be able to grow organically, or as Madanipour asserts, as an "open matrix."⁵⁹ Instead, he ordered the construction of to-date infrastructures, wide boulevards, and public squares.

Figure 8

This map shows the growth of Tehran after its nomination as Iran's capital. The outer back line is close to the city's contemporary boundaries.

(Image source: Tehran Municipality website: <http://en.tehran.ir/Default.aspx?tabid=12511>)



The early twentieth century's attempts of modernization have created principal morphological changes within the city's urban fabric, and more of the city's "modern condition" today is a result of Reza Shah's nationalist "dream of a nation." As Kaveh Samsamy also discuss, in this period of the city's historical mutation, "streets" found new definitions; before, they were merely used for pedestrian movement, but ever after, they have become arterial passageways for vehicular transportation.⁶⁰ As a result, two major streets were formed in this era, which would embrace, and still do to some degrees, the main East-West and North-South means of connecting the city's urban fabric both geographically and spatially. These two streets, Shah Reza Avenue (*Enghelab*) and Pahlavi (*valiasr*), are still amongst the

most important arteries of Tehran, yet, for multiple reasons, for example, the location of the Iran's oldest and most prominent University of Tehran. Although this very brief discussion on the history of a city located within a country with thousands of years of history is not far-reaching at all, it is a glimpse of knowledge needed to invoke the paper's main discussion on Tehran's modern urban landscape of the social constructs of patoghs.

2.3. Patogh as Public Space: Definition

Patogh-spaces generate modern urban landscapes in Tehran, supporting the spontaneous sociability of the protean and (post)modern self, but, the patogh phenomenon is not just a present-day concept. This dynamic conception has both "historic" and "contemporary" definitions. According to the Dehkhoda Persian Dictionary,⁶¹ patogh is a combination of the Persian word "pay" that means place and location, and the Turkish word of "togh" or "tough" that is a short spear on the top of which horsetail and a golden sphere are attached, carried in front of rulers or army heads. Historically, patogh was the common gathering place for "*lutis*" in neighborhoods, in villages, towns, and cities.⁶² As Dehkhoda defines, *patoghdar* was the person who had a presidency and leadership position over a *patogh*, usually known for his bravery, heroism, and virtue. In addition, Amid Persian Dictionary describes patogh as "pay-e-alam," or the place where a banner or flag would be located, and around it, groups of people would gather in particular times.⁶³ In these both definitions, the emphasis is upon the importance of "togh" or "alam" as a "physical boundary," the elemental building block of the space of patogh, to which its partial "place-ness" and "materiality" related. Cited by Taqi Azad Armaki, according to Muhammad Bagher Asefzadeh's definition, within the structure of traditional Iranian cities, patoghs used to be a "place," either in the bazaar or in the neighborhood center, *markaz-e-mahaleh* (Persian), where, based on the order of a powerful stakeholder and/or a city member, a "tough" would be located. This "tough" would be a cut metallic spike symbolizing, and be attributed to, the martyrs of the battle of Karbala. In this "place," famous poets and/or narrators would recite, for public, praises for the Prophet Muhammad, twelve Shi'ite Imams, and other religious figures.⁶⁴

There are relations between present-day socio-spatial connotations and significance of "patoghs as public spaces" and "Iranian modernity." Modernity is not a universal concept, and for Iran, it is context-specific and unique to contemporary Iranian society and even different for various sub-culture(s) and ethnicities. As Taqi Azad Armaki argues, studying the modern-day definitions of patogh can help the identification of the "Iranian modernity." Moreover, as the author asserts,

since the reign of the Safavids in Iran, the (re)formation of different types of patoghs have continuously been contributing to the progression of modernity and secularism in Iran.⁶⁵ According to Azadarmaki, from the sociological perspective, patogh is a situation where groups of people cluster together of their own free will to engage in activities in which they are interested, those that have less to do with their job responsibilities and those that are contrary to their daily affairs. Often, in a patogh, individuals tend to act at variance with what they have learnt in the formal realm of the society, from which their behavior in official life is derived and influenced by. In addition, to create patogh, the condition(s) around which individuals cluster is a reminiscent of a critical resistance against certain official structures; therefore, people behave differently in patogh than in situations where they are out of it, in their mainstream life in the Iranian society.⁶⁶



Figure 9

Azari Ghahveh Khaneh (coffee house) in Rah Ahan Street, Tehran, is amongst the historic patogh-space contemporarily in use by different people who are coming from all around the city.

(Image Source:

<http://www.flickr.com/photos/kamshots/527798420/>, uploaded by kamshots)

Within Tehran today, patoghs are spontaneous socially constructed public spaces, flexible and "place-autonomous," where multiple discourses proceed, often, relatively liberated from the constraints of the prevailing Iranian culture and its mainstream society. In other words, patoghs are places where one can break away from formal institutions of one's family, school, and workplace, as Azadarmaki asserts.⁶⁷ When patogh, as "a situation," finds the opportunity to take up and appropriate "available" urban space, it turns the space into place. Temporarily, this situation configures a patogh-place, in which multiple democratic and liberated discourses and activities can take place, some even instigating, either consciously or unconsciously, certain questions, challenges, and/or commentaries on various aspects of life in Iranian contemporary society and culture. Therefore, the patogh-situation can, gradually and subtly, lead to social change and

(re)structure how the “self and identity” represent itself in urban space. As Mojtaba Mohammad-Zaheri puts it, in any city or village in Iran, *patogh* has been an important public space typology, and some of the current discourses that are going on in the spaces of *patoghs* are constituents and/or representations of the discourses that are concurrently taking place within the Iranian public sphere as a whole.⁶⁸ In addition, to these prescribed definitions, there are popular interpretations for the term *patogh*; for instance, as Arash Zeinal puts in his personal website, there are modern-day uses and identifications for *patagh*. Zeinal defines *patogh* as the “joint or hangout and young people use it to refer to their place of gathering.”

Patogh or *patoq* is a word that you hear very often in Iran. ... If you search for it on the Internet, you will find a lot of blogs, websites and communities called

I recently found out that the word *patogh* has its roots in the tradition of *lutis* (). Each *luti* used to have a hangout in his neighborhood where he would meet his friends. This hangout was called *patogh*. This is where the modern day usage originates. But the *lutis* borrowed the term from the dervishes, who used to gather people around them and sing or talk to them. These dervish[es] used to put a long stick into the ground and hang a piece of felt on the top of the stick. The stick and the felt together were called *togh* or . The arena of each dervish was determined by the length of the shadow thrown by the *togh*, which served as the radius of the circle. The dervish used to work at the *togh* or

, which in time turned to today's⁶⁹.

Contemporary *patoghs* are further flexible spaces, compared to historic ones, in terms of the kinds of physical settings that they need to (re)shape in. Various open and enclosed spaces can become the grounds for *patogh* constructions that, often, have minimum dependency to certainly defined “physical boundaries” and/or particular “identifying element.” On the one hand, as Azadarmaki sums up, *patogh* can be (1) a place or (2) a situation in which people gather. It can also indicate (3) a community who gather based upon their wisdom and freewill. For the community, (4) there is need for a connecting factor such as a flag, a person, an idea.... Therefore, a *patogh* without a *togh*, or a person, idea and central meaning is pointless.⁷⁰ On the other hand, Mohammad-Zaheri defines five spatial categories with potentials to embrace *patogh*: (1) a *patogh* can form under a simple and minimal shelter. (2) A *patogh* can form in the region of an urban element, a square or *maydan* (Persian), or a plaza. *Patogh* can also be open and shelter-less, and autonomous to any particular place type; however, in order for *patogh* to shape, it needs to have at least some sorts of distinct differentiating boundaries. For instance, the congregation of a group of people around a bonfire during wintertime, or that of a group around a water fountain during summer time, or the get-together of a group around an urban kiosk can create a *patogh* in those places. (3) Very similar to the second typology, *patogh* can shape in a region with a defined

boundary; yet, this third type differs from the second in that, in the later, the region is linear in terms of physical arrangement and configuration. For example, *patoghs* that are shaped alongside the edges of highways, streets, or allies can be considered as having linear *patogh*-space patterns. Oftentimes, the third type can be seen as being partially enclosed, that is at least from one side by a wall or a similar boundary, which makes this type of *patogh* a somewhat closed or semi-open public space. (4) *patogh* can form with the help of enclosing boundaries that can define enclosed type of spaces. Coffee-shops and restaurants are examples of this type that have the highest potential in allowing the taking place of more intellectually-oriented *patoghs* or *patogh-haye-roshanfekri* (Persian) that are used by critics, artists, and educated groups. Enclosed *patoghs* such as *Café Naderi*, established in 1927, and *Café Ghedo* and *Café Shooka*, are places in Tehran that are embracing intellectual *patoghs*. (5) A fluid *patogh* is divided into two different sub-categories; one might shape within fluid spaces such as buses and taxis, and the other one is a region or a street in which individuals, who are members of this *patogh*, spend their leisure time, and socialize with the other members of the *patogh*, yet in a uniquely unprecedented way that is through the action of car cruising. Mohammad-Zaheri calls them “drive-in” *patoghs*, an example of which is *Iran-Zamin* Boulevard, *Shahrak-e-Gharb*, in Tehran.⁷¹

2.4. Patogh and the Interaction of “Materiality” and “Meaning”

Meanings and ideas are driving forces behind the “materiality” of places, and within historic and socio-cultural geography of Iranian *patoghs*, mutating meanings, knowledge, and discourses play significant roles, not only in their (re)constructions, but also in their prolongation as “places.” For instance, “mysticism,” or to cut off from the materiality of the world towards a metaphysical spirituality, is the central “idea” explaining the ways a dervish “shadow-marks” unlimited space in time. *Patoghs* create “places” where there is a mutual relationship between “materiality” and “meaning,” where physicality often supports particular or multiple meaning(s). This “*patogh*-place” is influenced by gradual assimilations and/or ongoing mutations of the upheld meanings. As David Harvey defines, “place” has a double meaning, “locations or positions” within “a map of space-time” as well as “permanences” in the “transformative of the construction of space-time.”⁷² A dervish positions the loose-fitting boundary of his body, together with that of the “felt-topped stick shadow,” to carve out his own loosely protected “place,” or as Christian Norberg-Schulz defines, his “*genius loci*,”⁷³ and as David Harvey describes, a “relative permanence.”⁷⁴

Informed by Norberg-Schulz’s *genius loci*, I believe that “the *genius* of the locality” of a *patogh* has a “great existential importance” because it is where the existence of a dervish takes place.⁷⁵ The simple and

ad hoc intervention of the dispossessed dervish in defining his “place” in the world or, as Pierre Bourdieu describes, his *topos*,⁷⁶ via the basic boundaries of his “body” in the center and “felt-topped stick shadow” circumscribing it, can offer, to architects and urban designers, invaluable insights, on both the significance of “place” and the ordinary citizen’s adaptation of dynamic, innovative approaches to “place-making.” Through the use of mobile bodies and changing “shadow-marker,” daily, monthly, and seasonally varied in length, dervishes construct their patoghs and assign meanings and sense of territoriality to the “generic space” as they mark it up against potential intruders. Adapting Harvey’s theory, dervishes place formation is the process of “carving out “permanences” from the flow of processes creating spatio-temporality.”⁷⁷ Based on Harvey’s space-time relational theory, patoghs are “protean,” spatial entities of knowledge, meaning, and discourse that reach relative stability in their “bounding” and “internal ordering of processes” that create their spaces. These spatial entities, then, become dynamic and temporary, or relative “permanences” occupying a portion of space for a time, as “an exclusive way” to define a “place” from a patogh-space or a materiality from a meaning. In Azadarmaki’s assertion,⁷⁸ although certain socio-political and cultural issues have been deriving the creation of various *patoghs*, a need for “place” is central patogh’s formations. In contemporary Tehran, patoghs usually do not take place in virtual spaces, but in “actual sites,” sometimes, on those available “authorized” public spaces, and other times, in private places, discovered, appropriated, and transgressed. Metaphorically, in the existing public spaces, patoghs generate “de-constructed places” “unauthorized” imaginary layers of social space juxtaposed on the city’s geography of public space networks. Their boundaries are rather informal than defined, less “physical” and more “symbolic,” less “static” or encoded, like “the body, felt, and shadow stick” of the dervish that simultaneously embrace multiple, fluid, and transitory descriptions.

2.5. A Contemporary Patogh: *Kooye Faraz*

One contemporary patogh-space example in Tehran turned into “place” by people is *Faraz*, an ordinary street in a predominantly residential neighborhood. On the distinction and relations of “space” and “place,” as Yi-fu Tuan puts it, “place is security, space is freedom: we are attached to the one and long for the other.”⁷⁹ “Space is more abstract than place.... In experience, the meaning of space often merges with that of place,” and “what begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value.”⁸⁰ If I want to define patogh based on Tuan’s theory, the concepts of “space” and “place” need each other for explanation; “from the security and stability of place we are aware of the openness, freedom, and threat of space, and vice versa.” The “space” of patogh allows for “movement,” then its “place” allows for “pause.”

“Each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place.”⁸¹ Located in North West Tehran, *Kooye Faraz* is a residential district with few local groceries and restaurants. Whittled out from the very tight vestige of buildable space, left between the city’s northern ends and Alborz Mountains, this newly established, moderately prosperous neighborhood is today a “place” and container for a socially exceptional, constructed *patogh*. Ten years ago, this recently developed district was nothing, but bare soiled ground. Its hilly location today makes it less of a living choice for elders and more for young couples and single individuals. The neighborhood’s major street, *Faraz* offers an elevated location, north-south orientation towards the south facing the whole landscape of the city, and an advantageous view.

Faraz is not just a residential location, but a “de-constructed” place where the “space” of a unique patogh takes place, where the interior room of the “car” creates the mobile spatial boundary for the social construction of this patogh: every evening, youths pack this street creating a socializing space of their own inexpensive leisure activity. From everywhere in the city, they drive to this particular street, with a group of friends or with a partner, and turn their cars facing the south direction to the point where the best panoramic perspective of the city would appear. It is worthy to point out that, in this specific area of the city, the lack of useable public space is not the case and the motivation behind people’s constructing patogh. Close by, there are, at least, two relatively spacious, well-designed public parks. Compared to those parks, this single street, without amenities like sitting areas, is not assumed to offer whole lot possibilities. Certain aspects of this phenomenon, for instance, why people might prefer *Faraz* Street as a place for their social interactions, to those well-designed parks nearby, adds to the research significant, for architects and urban designers, on the importance of creating public spaces that allow for the *ad hoc* and un-planned in cities. These studies might lead to a better understanding on the importance of socio-spatial flexibility and meaning fluidity in designing public spaces that are desired places for appropriation and adaptation of citizens.

2.6. A Cinematic Vignette: “Ten”

To do urban research in Tehran, the notion of cars as “bubbles of private freedom,”⁸² that Solmaz Farajollahpour also takes on, have various links to the significance of exploring, analyzing, and interpreting the sphere of Iranian cinema, both in terms of film content and other related discourse. For instance, the insightfully urbane movie of Abbas Kiarostami, *Ten*, is a film that discusses some of the aspects of this phenomenon. In Iran, film has always been one of the few poetic, enlightening, and powerful ways to explore, among other social and cultural phenomena, the issue of power, self, and identity within the urban

landscape. In the zeitgeist movie *Ten* (2002), Abbas Kiarostami pictures a relatively taken-for-granted perspective on the concept of self-representation and identity in public spaces of Tehran. *Ten* is a realist docudrama that includes ten interrelated stories, all taking place inside a car passing through the streets of Tehran. Interestingly, the entire scenario is filmed from just two camera angles, the driver's side and the passenger's side. The auteur features the everyday realities of a woman; yet, the image of this woman is not the stereotypical, role mother, lover, heroine, or an oppressed woman, as Kiarostami also announces.⁸³ The seemingly post-structuralist agenda, as I more or less view the narrative space of this film, allow possibilities for multiple readings and interpretations, for example, this car, moving in the entire film, can also become a metaphor for a society, and a city, that is always in transition, between various binaries/dialectics such as that of the tradition/modernity, ideology/secularism, and traditional family values/modern individualism. In addition, some of the issues discussed in the narrative space of this film, like divorce and sex outside marriage, are not amongst the most common subjects to be discussed in the public realm of the cinema and media. These issues that have long been taboos in the Iranian society, traditional and modern alike, become justifiable topics in the kind of semi-privacy that is provided by the "car," as a mobile, semi-private container, where the self and identity finds choice and various possibilities for self-representation and community building.



Figure 10

In the movie's ten, interrelated, sections, three depict the social landscape of human relations and interactions between the mother and the son. The 7-year-old aggressive son acts up, less respecting his mother's choice, and blaming her for divorcing his father and remarrying with a step father with whom the son refuses to live and build up a good and logical relationship. (Image source: DVD cover, the author unknown)

The narrative space of the film takes place in the interior room of a car driven through Tehran; I see it acting as a semiprivate socially constructed patogh space. In addition, this semiprivate patogh is the only "place" in the movie, taking David Harvey's definition of a "relative permanence."⁸⁴ This unusual location is where the entire public life of the characters and their socialization takes place. To some extents, this semiprivate space becomes the "only" comfortable and legitimate tribune for certain democratic discourses and interactions, whether it is a criticism of the society and/or conflict of identities. In this

complex metropolis, this cinematic location joins, as an important part, the rare possibility and network of places where the "protean self" can discuss some of the existing, often, censored social realities. This self can also monitor self-representations of others, for example, the fluid nature of seemingly culturally grounded ideological positions and the relativity of people's value judgments about others. The social interactions of the mother with son, the younger sister with older one, new friends, the respectable woman with the prostitute, and old religious woman with the main character played within the film's narrative space give valuable insights and glimpses into the modern Tehran. The car, intentionally chosen by the filmmaker, seems the rare, but feasible space, found on the edge of impossibilities, where social relations are deeply described, for example, how gender issues, social status differences, and challenges to one's identities are represented in urban public space.

Symbolically, Kiarostami renders the room of a car as a dynamic place for socialization, an urban space type analogous to "third places," in Ray Oldenburg's term.⁸⁵ Instead of the mere focus on the film's narrative plot, Kiarostami's emphasis on the location's explicit and implicit meanings makes this film an exceptional ground for research on Tehran public spaces. This deliberate action of the filmmaker, portraying no other "third place" than the interior room of the car that is by itself an abnormal place of socialization, is a strong social and existential statement about the ways public spaces are defined and controlled in Tehran. It might be true that, as I allege, by excluding other types of "third places" from the scenes and replacing the car instead, the filmmaker asserts some levels of indifference about and ignorance of the "official" urban public spaces, which he portrays as rather impractical for community and useless for collective interaction, and needs for "unauthorized" ones. In addition to this filmmaker, Sholeh Shahrokhi shows a different aspect of Tehran, and of its physically and architecturally fragmentary elements of urban space formation; the author analyzes "the human and social interactions that breath life into this space." Inspired by Kiarostami's movie *Ten*, Shahrokhi puts that:

The "dashboard camera" eavesdrops on conversations between a young female driver and her passengers. In the first glance, the streets of the city are a mere backdrop to the conversations between the driver and her passengers. As the conversations between these women begin to unfold, however, the city becomes central to the stories, shaping and explaining every turn of the story, every turn of the lives revealed in the story, and every turn taken by the driver. The drive through northern parts of the city, where modernization is most visible on the streets, is not an accidental selection by the director. Like the film, this text attempts to cast a critical gaze upon the contemporary sociopolitical landscape of Tehran, in order to understand the emergence of a category and the modes of self-management by the runaways

in recent years.⁸⁶

In Tehran, in addition to private cars, public taxis that are the most popular mean of transportation shared by 4-5 passengers create “heterotopias,” in Michel Foucault’s definition.⁸⁷ These heterotopic public spheres, for example, as Shahram Khosravi categorizes, are amongst the “public spaces in Tehran where sexuality between unrelated people thrives.” As he asserts, young Tehranis use these taxis “to have a romantic ride through the normally sex-segregated public spaces.” The interior space of a shared-taxi not just become a “public sphere,” close to Habermasian concept, but also, as Khosravi argues, “a site for political debate.”

Small publics composed of anonymous individuals from different social categories are created in the privacy of cabs. Some people get out and others get in, but the conversation continues. In Tehran there is even a joke about it: Two men standing by a news stand are looking through the newspapers. One of them says to the other, “There’s nothing to read about. Let’s take a taxi and get some news.” Many taxi-drivers put a sticker on the dashboard that says “political discussion is forbidden” (*bahs-e siasi mamnou*).⁸⁸

2.7. A Historic Patogh: Café Naderi

Traditionally, coffee and teahouses, and today, modern coffee-shops as well as shopping malls are amongst the semi-public/private spaces that are, often temporarily, appropriated by citizens as the ad hoc places for the taking place of patoghs. These existing places create territories, and boundaries, that can embrace different patogh situations, activities, and discourses, where different individuals and groups with various interests and desires can congregate. The first European Style Café in Tehran since 1927, Café Naderi is a historic example of the kind of places that have historically been used as patoghs. Located in *Jomhouri* Street, this café is not only a popular spot and meeting place for artists, poets, and intellectuals, but also a historically significant and memorable gathering place for various local and urban communities since its establishment. Its interior space creates a powerful “narrative space,” in Stephen Heath’s term, with many ties to multiple layers of social history and public memory, of the city and its historic evolution. This narrative space generates a “cinematic experience” of Tehran, as Heath asserts, referring to the space of the shot where “space becomes place.”⁸⁹ In the course of this café-place’s various periods of being used as patoghs, multiple historical narratives and layers of memory, public historical knowledge that has been evolving since its existence as a patogh, create this cinematic space that unfolds palimpsests of meanings by itself. These layers of meanings are significant information, created through the everyday interactions of not only many important social figures, such as Sadegh Hedayat and many others, but also of the many “ordinary” people using this space. To understand the dynamics of such places,

multidisciplinary literature helps to extract the discourses. For example, as Azadeh Moaveni describes the café in her chronicle narrative:

When I arrived at Café Naderi in downtown Tehran for my appointment that day, for example, I sat by myself in the central room, lit a cigarette, and leafed through an independent newspaper....Now I sipped my coffee and scanned the room. Bookish young men with goatees occupied nearly half the tables, but nowhere did I see the student activist I was there to meet. The Café, situated on a crowded stretch of Revolution Street, still attracted artists, professors, émigrés, and freelance intellectuals, drawn to its rose-colored walls, vaulted ceilings, and leafy garden, as well as its literary legacy: Sadegh Hedayat.⁹⁰



Figure 11

Café Naderi’s Façade, in the top picture, is a look into the building’s eclectic architectural style of the first Pahlavi period. This building is one of the first modern buildings of Tehran. The architecture of this period is influenced by its concurrent European and modern architecture. (Image source: captured in 1947 by Mahmoud Pakzad)⁹¹ The filmic narrative that the interior space of Café Naderi, in the bottom picture, shows is not just related to the buildings’ formal characteristics, but also to multiple layers of meaning and discourse that are piled up within this patogh-space. Today, Café Naderi is a “protean space” for socialization, a dynamic patogh-space embracing multiple discourses that are constantly (re)created by various people, in different generations. Café Naderi, as a place, offers a narrative space revealing the knowledge and

memories embedded within this unique place. According to Mojtaba Mohammad-Zaheri, Café Naderi is an example of those public spaces the architectural and spatial structures of which have the potential to support the creation of patoghs, so this coffee-shop can become the ephemeral "place" the qualities and discourses in which in harmony with those current "flows" of thoughts and, often, intellectual discourses taking place in the society. For example, during 20s and 30s, Café Naderi was the locus of the spaces where intellectuals figures such as Sadegh Hedayat would come to.⁹² (Image source: www.Tehrandardaily.wordpress.com⁹³)

2.8. Not just "Local," but also "Global:" Patogh and the Habermasian "Public sphere"

In Tehran, physically defined, and architecturally designed and enclosed spaces such as cafés, restaurants, art galleries, museums, cinemas, and culture centers can become sites for patogh happenings. In addition, to these economy-driven institutions of predominantly semipublic/private spaces, patoghs have further chances to take place less planned, more ad hoc spaces in the city, for example, the foothills of the Alborz Mountains and the walking trails of Darakeh and Darband. These places are generated where improvised patogh-spaces can find opportunities for creation. For the modern protean self, inhabitant of Tehran whose identity is often fragmented and de-centered, these unplanned informal patogh-spaces and dynamic and temporary kind of "place," created through patogh interactions, provide a democratic stage on which to self-represent and reveal multiple, sometimes conflicting, identities, emotions, and desires. Although the realm of Iranian patogh and the "public sphere" defined by Jürgen Habermas differ to a great degree, similarities exist between the two. According to Habermas, the perfect form of "public sphere" is "made up of private people gathered together as a public and articulating the needs of society with the state."⁹⁴ Unlike the "public sphere," defined by Jürgen Habermas, patoghs are not decision-making forums and they usually do not aim to weight political action, or as Habermas puts it, implicitly articulate "the needs of society with the state."⁹⁵ Yet, the two are similar in that, as Marshall Soules puts it, Habermas defines "public sphere" as "a virtual or imaginary community which does not necessarily exist in any identifiable space."⁹⁶ Yet, as Paul Rutherford discusses, the "public sphere" breeds "opinions and attitudes" via the "acts of assembly and dialogue" that "serve to affirm or challenge--therefore, to guide--the affairs of state." As Paul Rutherford argues, "in ideal terms, the public sphere is the source of public opinion needed to "legitimate authority in any functioning democracy."⁹⁷ In contemporary Tehran, there are times when, by chance and auspiciously, one can find potential, less deterministic urban spaces that can act as the platforms for the (re)creation of patogh-place. Patoghs of Tehran are "protean spaces," opportunely left without restrictive meanings, definitive activities and finalized functions that, along with their flexibly adjustable and opportunistically appropriate-able characteristics, contribute to the coexistence of

multiple meanings and discourses in space, and ultimately, sustain and support the egalitarian concepts such as equity and justice in space.

Patogh is a simultaneously "local" and "global" concept able to (re)shape in various places worldwide, in particular, in those places with larger populations of Iranians in Diaspora. Although an Iranian, socially constructed, space typology, it is not merely geographically limited to the Iranian borders, since Iranians in Diaspora also, imaginatively, (re)make various kinds of patoghs in countries around the world. Patogh-spaces not only (re)create multiple meanings in the urban landscape of Iranian cities, but also globally, where members of the Iranian communities in Diaspora live, diverse in ideological and cultural perspectives, and socio-economical status. For example, the metropolitan Los Angeles, embracing the highest number of Iranians outside Iran, is one of those locations where various types of patoghs exist.⁹⁸ Several spaces (re)gain meaning(s) within the dynamics of the production-construction of various patoghs-spaces in Los Angeles. According to Neil MacFarouhar:

With neon signs in Persian decorating the window of the Woodland Hills Market — "Kabob" glowing in bright red, "Iranian Market" in pea green — this corner grocery store could just as well be in Tehran as in the heart of "Tehrangeles," as Iranians everywhere call their largest exile community. The exile community of at least 500,000 has carved out a distinctive subculture here. At the Encino Town Center, two of six movie screens show Iranian movies, while young adults pack a nearby cafe, called the Spot in English and Buddies in Persian, smoking water pipes long into the night.⁹⁹



Figure 12

The top picture shows a small group of Iranians clustered together and creates a simple socializing space on a sidewalk in the Westwood area of Los Angeles. According to MacFarouhar, "the sidewalk at the Kebab Bookshop in the Westwood section is a hub for lively discussions on sanctions and military action against Tehran." (Image Source: The New York Times Company, photo taken by Monica Almeida)¹⁰⁰ The bottom image shows the use of various 'Persian' places alongside the Westwood Boulevard in Los Angeles, either owned by Iranians in exile or preserving a Persian/Iranian identity. These can temporarily become patogh-spaces, serving multiple meanings for community and identity. As MacFarouhar puts it, Iranians have given the nickname "Tehrangeles" to their exile community in Los Angeles." (Image Source: The New York Times Company, photo taken by Monica Almeida)¹⁰¹

2.9. The "Narrative Space" of Patogh-Network: Rhizomatic Connections of Urban Landscape

Drawing upon Deleuze and Guattari's "rhizome theory," Tehran is a "rhizomatic city" and the transgressive landscape that its patoghs generate creates a unique "narrative space," representing and revealing certain socio-spatial and temporary characteristics within the city's public spaces. In Stephan Heath's term, a "narrative space" is a cinematic experience referring to the space of the shot where "space becomes place."¹⁰² Patoghs are spatial containers creating a web of "places" and "narrative space" incorporating multiple memories, discourses, and meanings. Rhizome is basically a botanical term;¹⁰³ yet, Deleuze and Guattari's 'rhizome theory' is an applicable concept to the unique, juxtaposing and overlapping, network of patoghs in Tehran.¹⁰⁴ Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari introduce "Rhizome" as a philosophical concept and a mode of knowledge, defining it as an "image of thought" able to frame multiplicity, nonlinearity, and contradiction.¹⁰⁵ Arie Graafland draws upon Deleuze and Guattari's "Rhizome Theory," applying it to the city of Amsterdam as a "rhizome city." On the geographical map of Tehran, the patoghs' network relations create interrelated, "rhizomatic" connections where not only a patogh is a constituent of the whole network, but also an entry to the entire experience of the public spaces of the city. In addition, patoghs establish unpredictable rhizomatic connections with the human perception of the city, as Graaflands alleges, "different plateaus in our perceptions, which cannot be compressed into a systematic tour of the city using a guidebook."¹⁰⁶ According to Ronald Bogue, a rhizome is "an uncentred and meandering growth like crab grass, a complex, aleatory network of pathways like a rabbit warren."¹⁰⁷ The rhizomatic network of patoghs is a palimpsest of multiple layers of memory and public historical narratives. On the map of the city, this layer of sociability creates the most genuine, *ad hoc*, and protean public space type for both individual and collective experiences. As Graafland alleges:

The concept of the rhizome can be used to describe a problem of the meaning of space. It has many similarities with Benjamin's conception of a large city as a labyrinth. Moreover, the meaning of rhizome in a philosophical sense is similar to Bataille's labyrinth of language. In effect, his labyrinth breaks open lexical prisons; it prevents words from finding definitive anchorage, a permanent meaning; words become metaphors that change their meaning.¹⁰⁸

The existence of the "protean spaces" of patoghs turns Tehran into a "rhizomatic city." Tehran's contemporary urban landscape is a fragmented web-like place where de-centered "protean self"¹⁰⁹ dwells, also embracing multiple conflicting identities and (sub)cultural diversities. Not only within the societies with totalitarian regimes, but also in those which tend to be, by-law, democratic, what might happen is that bureaucracies can generate a growing divide between individual, societal and state or national identities. This growing divide can then challenge what constitutes the stature and meaning(s) of public space, including how they are *defined, designed, created, and controlled*. These aspects have powerful impacts on the use of the public spaces that have been intended for social life and civic engagement. Therefore, design interventions in the fragmented urban landscape of Tehran demands an understanding of its dynamic, temporary, and complex public space qualities, such as its patoghs, in order to generate the kinds of spaces that can protect "every" individual's right to self-representation, development of identity, and community building. Within these power dynamics, patoghs are "heterotopias," in Michel Foucault definition.¹¹⁰ More specifically, they are "heterotopias of deviation" or counter-spaces of "banal politics," as Shahram Khosravi categorizes the public spaces of Tehran.¹¹¹ Spatial embodiment of patoghs turns them into "places" of everyday interaction. Often, in order to create them, people tend to appropriate on-hand and "authorized" public spaces to prepare them for democratic opportunities and possibilities to congregate outside the official, often-censored, mainstream social life. The social construction of patoghs then becomes an everyday resistance and contestation of the phenomenon of "power over" the urban public space.

"Movement," in general, and "moving bodies," in particular, the "presence, absence, and representations of bodies," along with the "phenomenology" of their experiences in the urban landscape, is an essential part of the "narrative space," the cinematic experience that patoghs, as a network, generate in Tehran. Bodies interacting with the architectural/urban space as well as with one another, altogether with their body movements and gestures, are the loci to reveal valuable aspects of "the self and identity" in the social world. Creative ways through which bodies navigate the city's network of patogh-space as well as the means, path-

spaces and thresholds, through which they interact with one another and the urban space, are significant aspects that require further understanding. This narrative space reveals existing connections between the "body" and the "protean self," and the "rhizomatic urban landscape" of patoghs. According to Heath, mobility is the most effective and tactile part of the narrative space, the visual experience of which is possible through the procession of bodies through space.¹¹² This phenomenon establishes inseparable and intimate connections between the phenomenology of film and architecture in that, as Fatos Adiloglu puts:

Film accommodates several paths at different scales moving the spectator from space to space and from the space to place. The act of movement calls for the interaction of body with the space. Both architecture and film are engaged in the act of movement and body-space relationship giving rise to a stronger union.¹¹³

The narrative space of patogh-networks has comparable effects with the cinematic space, of a movie screen; the experience of patogh changes, according to the ways bodies or characters move and in proportion to the "gaze" of other bodies, characters, or the camera. As Fatos Adiloglu puts it, the "approach and entrance" and "path-space relationship" are important spatial layers that, in the case of Tehran, make the (re)formation of patoghs' narratives possible.¹¹⁴ Sidewalks, streets, and highways are important path-spaces that their practicality can highly affect the ways the patogh-space narrative is organized and functions. In Tehran's narrative space of patoghs, the "discourses" of moving bodies and their body movements, language, use of body language, certain expressions, and gestures are amongst the mutating socio-psychological phenomena that, similar to the narrative space of a movie shot, alter in accordance with certain factors such as the presence of "power over public space" and/or the "gaze" of other people with whom public space is shared.

Urban space in traditional Iranian cities before the twentieth century had tree-like, linear, and hierarchical, both in terms of access and privacy, connections and configurations between the city's spatial components. In traditional city fabric, urban space's degree of "privacy" or "access" would change, as one would move from the city/town center to the neighborhood center, or *markaz-e-mahaleh* (Persian), to one's private home. In contrary, the contemporary network of Tehran's patogh-spaces has rhizomatic, non-hierarchical, and non-linear connections. Since the first half of the twentieth century, for example, a network of de-centralized and fragmented patogh-spaces have been emerging and, gradually, replacing the socio-spatially hierarchical urban space pattern of the traditional convivial place of *markaz-e-mahaleh* or neighborhood center. Today, patogh-spaces are key components of the city's public space structure that, in this metropolis of "strangers," establish dynamic

rhizomatic entries to its public space, opening up thresholds for the protean self's social, otherwise sanctioned by the limitations in public space.

4. Social Construct of Patogh: Boundary Keeping Those "Within" from Those "Without"

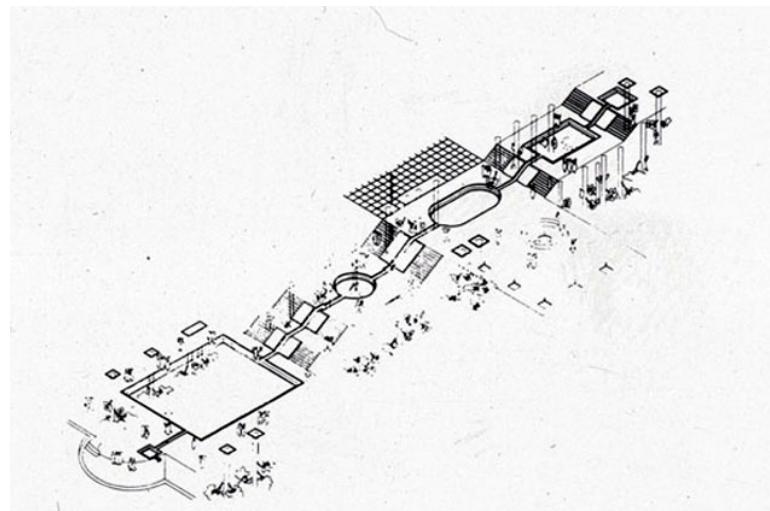
Ordinary citizens are "place-makers," (re)constructing space in city, rare democratic opportunities for social interaction and alternative ad hoc responses to the often sanctioned and lifeless officially designated public space. These socio-spatial constructs get initiated through the shortcomings and limitations in existent public spaces, the realms of which highly regulated and controlled, and nurtured by the ordinary citizens' everyday resistance, appropriations, and contestation. Mutability, informality, spontaneity, and impermanency are their major characteristics, and any trend that questions and tend to cross the established norms and limits, of the "authorized" public space, can constitute their "boundaries." These boundaries are, oftentimes, loose-fitting with ambiguous demarcations to be able to secure these social constructs, to keep *those* "within" safe as well as being exclusive and invisible for *those* "without" to separate them from those "within." Although, in the constitution of these boundaries, people's rendering on disparities of race, ethnicity, nationality, gender, age, class, and ideology might be defining factors, these groupings do not seem to be the major means because individuals with many-sided identities, can simultaneously fall into more than one category. I assert that individual as well as social "body" and its multiple "differences" are the key elements and building blocks of such boundary construction, to which the concept "otherness" and my "place" in the world as opposed to others' "place" are certain motivating forces.

The body's very act of occupying generic space to generate patogh, although sometimes intentionally, yet, often, though unconsciously made decisions, creates the first boundary defining "what" and "who" should remain "within" and stay "without." This act of body is a "territorial action," as NJ Habrakan and Jonathan Teicher argue, an exercise of "spatial control"¹¹⁵ denoting "the ability to defend space against unwanted intrusion."¹¹⁶ In Tehran, this practice of "spatial control" occurs mainly though the social body's creative capacity of applying "tactics," as Michel de Certeau alleges,¹¹⁷ via which the body can cross certain "approved" boundaries of the "authorized" public spaces and appropriate, resist, and contravene them to satisfy the body's various socio-spatial needs and desires. The unplanned everyday tactics applied for patogh-generation in Tehran are creative solutions by ordinary citizens and

the Habitus, defined by Pierre Bourdieu,¹¹⁸ which are primary acquired everyday systems of knowledge, to face the social reality of the public space. They also reveal individuals' differences, in terms of their place or positionality, in the world, and help the self to constitute both spatial and symbolic boundaries to protect the space of "those within" from those "without."

Figure 13

Niavaran Palace Complex or Niavaran Garden in North Tehran is a socially vibrant, protean patogh space. Historically and contemporarily, this site is a palimpsest of multiple meanings, memories, and discourses, a narrative space for multiple changes that has occurred in the course of the garden's lifetime. Patogh (re)creation, ever since this garden became public, instead of just the palatial estate of the Persian kings, is one amongst the kinds of discourses happening in this space. The top image is the *Kushak* of Ahmad Shah, or the *Ahmad-Shahi* pavilion, which is the last building built during the reign of Qajar kings within this currently existed site. (Image Source: photo by Kaveh Fallah-Alipour, <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/10150547>.) The image in the middle is the modernist architecture added to the site, during the reign of Pahlavis, in order to be used as the royal family's residence, (Image Source: photo by Manoochehr Fonooni. <http://www.fonooni.com/shah.html>) Later on, during the 1970s, during the second Pahlavi period, new facilities and landscaping features were added to the site. Kamran Diba designed the new landscaping addition. This drawing shows the architect's concept in creating open public spaces within the site. (drawing source: Kamran Diba, accessed from http://www.archnet.org/library/documents/one-document.jsp?document_id=4469)¹¹⁹



The boundary of “body” has a twofold function. In addition to its unraveling capacity, as a differentiating element between the “socially constructed” and the “authorized” public spaces of the city, it has other psychologically complex purposes. It is a separating edge between *the private*, which is the “personal” space of the “self,” and *the public*, which is the “interpersonal” and “impersonal” space of the city, as Ali Madanipour puts it. The “body” is itself a boundary between the “non-physical, inner, private space of the mind” and the “outer space of the world.”¹²⁰ Like any other boundary, it not only separates the realms of *private* and *public*, but also has the ambiguous character of belonging to both spheres,¹²¹ signifying an act of spatial “delimitation and protection.”¹²² Therefore, the socially constructed space of patogh includes two types of boundaries, the one that collective bodies create to separate the “constructed” space from the “authorized,” and the one that individual bodies possess to separate their *inner self* and *outer space*, or their *private* space from *public*. Understanding body-boundary dynamics gets further sophisticated in this individual scale, in other words, within the socially constructed boundaries, embracing those “within,” every individual’s recognition of its “self” and “identity” can create a sub-layer of boundary to highlight personal differences, and individualistic and symbolic expressions of social agency and spatial control in space. In Tehran, the performative practices of “the body” in space, persistently (re)introducing “constructed” spaces to urban social order, not only affect, but also momentarily “deconstruct” the city’s socio-spatial structure and the web of its “authorized” public spaces.

Figure 14

Niavaran Garden’s open air coffee-shop is a dynamic patogh-space. During its history, this

garden-palace has been used by Qajar and Pahlavi kings. During 80s, the Palace-Museum of Niavaran was opened up to the public. In contemporary Tehran, various everyday discourses, some that are “unauthorized” and generated by the social bodies’ clustering and interacting within this existing public place, (re)create a space for patogh. The qualities that this place has make it a suitable site for further fieldwork studies. (Image Source: <http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=351718>, posted by Antoinette van den Steenhoven)

Although boundaries may be legible to both “within” and “without,” they are, usually, intended to be further clear to those intimate members “within,” who define the boundary to encourage absence of the Others or continuously challenge and/or resist their presence. Placed by “those within,” boundaries are (un)conscious means to eliminate, limit, and/or contest the “power” and/or certain influence of the “Other” over space. Yet, for both groups, the “other” is assumed to be on the other side of the existing and/or crossed boundary. Boundaries often have multiple, fluid meanings for each group, for instance, camaraderie, community, and collectivism for those “insiders” whereas transgression, “otherness,” and exclusion for “outsiders.” For example, in Iran, bodies’ choice of clothing and/or their use of body language, gestures, and particular slangs, while communicating, can be seen as symbolically representative boundary demarcations, making the constructed space more readable for “those within.” On the one hand, the “tactics” of putting boundaries to define the socially constructed space might convey the similarities of those intimate groups, of their worldviews and lifestyles, social status, (sub)cultural identities, and ideological beliefs. On the other hand, they might, automatically, communicate the separation and exclusion of the “other.” In Tehran, sometimes, “those within,” often intentionally, create ambiguous boundaries with multiple meanings to render the space generic and invisible to everyone else, but the insiders. Other times, they create fluid boundaries to compose creative, adventurous spaces that allow the chances for the “discovery” of the *ad hoc* and unplanned, room for exploration, “flow” of meanings and activities as well as diversity and spontaneous sociability.





Figure 15

Research on urban landscape demands inquisitive lenses and further sophisticated questioning minds looking beyond the mere “obvious” and above the “ordinary,” in other words, deeper into various social and psychological phenomena. To study contemporary urban landscape of Tehran, if the Niavaran Garden is a field setting, for example, to learn how various patoghs might take place in this location itself demands an understanding of certain space-body dynamics including body representations, and verbal, symbolic, body language, and gestures exchanged in this public space. Understanding such discourses demands creative approaches and innovative multidisciplinary methodologies that are able to move “beneath” the visible layers of social reality. (Image Source: <http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=351718> posted by Antoinette van den Steenhoven)

Epilogue: Patoghs of Tehran and Linkages to a Modern and Democratic “Place-Making”

As discussed in the previous sections, universally in societies, because “authorized” public spaces have political, economic, and social significance, the extents to which limits are defined and public-private dynamics in space are very much connected to some broader discourses on the “nexus of space, power, and control.” These universal attempts to secure cities, sometimes, can become “boundaries” obliterating egalitarian access to urban public space and the “flows” and “networks” of democratic discourses, activities, resources, and information. These “official” boundaries and socio-spatial limits “defined,” although often with the intention of providing security and order in city, might have negative impacts on the most resourceful use of public space. In contemporary cities, unlike the historically structured, walled and moated, cities of the past, “boundaries” are not necessarily physical, but most of the times further ambiguous, abstract, temporary, and with multiple meanings, for example, a small-in-size, less-visible security camera or a prohibiting sign erected in space. Yet, boundaries might become undemocratic obstacles in societies dominated by the political powers with certain ideological interests and agendas in mind, who aim to assign very specific and deterministic meanings to the public spaces of the city. As a result, the space

might exclude certain user-groups and/or limit their access and maneuvering capacities. In the context of Tehran's metropolis, *Tehranis* "define" and "design" socially constructed patogh-spaces by internalizing and applying various creative "tactics," deconstructing and transgressing the "authorized" public spaces on-hand, and protecting their boundaries as a democratic act of "place-making."

Being modern in Tehran is a challenge, mainly, of the bodies navigating the urban landscape, which are, constantly, in the need for perseverance in order to resist certain existing boundaries in using the urban space, and for the most part, the public space. In other words, the bodies in Tehran require tactics of crossing and/or pushing "officially" predefined, restricted public space limits through an everyday act of resistance. Through creativity and applying tactics, the "empowered" body, with certain levels of agency and authority, can generate exceptionally transgressive human geographies within the city's contemporary landscape, largely, through the spur-of-the-moment practices, such as the patogh creations, and a continuous tensions between what is considered to be a "standard" or accepted behavior in public space whereas what is to be "crossed," contested, and transgressed. As Tim Creswell puts it, landscapes of such kinds are powerful in that they are able "to reveal topographies of power that surrounds us."¹²³ In every society and culture, transgressive landscapes may differ in nature, some more placid than the others; yet, as Creswell asserts, there are always limits to transgression as "it is not enough to constantly deconstruct and destabilize." Transgressive landscapes are more successful if they become relatively "permanent" and be understood as spatial transformations.¹²⁴ Therefore, adapting Creswell's notion of successful transgression, the way, both individual and social, bodies in Tehran, critically yet tactfully and influentially yet subtly, generate the *ad hoc* public spaces of patoghs is a successful social construction in the urban landscape, as it is a relative permanence, in David Harvey's term,¹²⁵ that generate "spatial transformations." Modern discourses within the urban landscape of Tehran are powerful in that they not only question the existing geographies and spatial structures of power, mostly of the state and economy, but also, through such discourses, *Tehranis* call into questions their "self, society, and cultural values" leading to gradual social change.

In conclusion, in urban Tehran today, the social bodies, along with their actions, are an important element of the urban landscape formations in that they generate influentially transgressive landscapes. This mobile boundary is, at once, both individualistic and collectivistic, and both a means of self-representation and community. Their everyday presence, symbolic representations, and continuous questioning of the "self" and "social" through applying creative "tactics" to cross certain established

"boundaries" and de-construct the spatial organizations of "authorized" public space are amongst the discourses that are (re)shaping the urban landscape of modernity in Tehran. The body is a by-nature master in carving these spaces as imaginary enclaves to keep the "Others" out, as the "heterotopias"¹²⁶ and metaphoric strata for a desirable sociability. The bodies' socio-spatial constructs of patoghs are amorphous "protean" sites for democratic socializing, imaginatively collaged upon the geographies of the often-sanctioned and restricted "authorized" public spaces. As Derek Gregory theorizes, they are the "counter-spaces" promoted by "the clandestine or underground side of social life" to create a critical imagination that challenges, citing Henri Lefebvre,¹²⁷ the dominant spatial practices within the "abstract spaces" of the "economy" and "state."¹²⁸ Informed by Ali Madanipour's classification, these "protean spaces" are *microcosms* of "interpersonal spaces of sociability," layered on the *macrocosm* of "impersonal space of the city" or on its "metaspacial public sphere."¹²⁹ In addition, according to Lefebvre, cited by Kim Dovey, these spaces are "lived spaces" that "imagination seeks to change and appropriate;"¹³⁰ moreover, informed by Karen Franck and Quentin Stevens' "loose space" theory, whose relations to "more orderly, and expected uses of various public settings" are of "appropriation, tension, resistance, and discovery,"¹³¹ patoghs are "loose spaces," defined by "loose-fitting" boundaries crossing already-established "authorized" boundaries supported, differently in every society, by prevailing culture(s) of social norms as well as certain political power structures. Ultimately, I assert that any "authorized" public space in Tehran, no matter how controlled it is, has certain periods of not-completely-under-control conditions. Further, the more sanctioned the space becomes, mostly, in its completely-under-control moments, eventually, the more creative the "tactics" become to contest and transgress it. On this edge of spatial-temporal opportunities, and through the twofold, sophisticatedly mobile boundary of the "body," socially constructed spaces of patoghs emerge that are (re)creating mutating and temporary geographies on the imaginary map of the city.

Notes:

¹ Robert Jay Lifton. *The Protean Self: Human Resilience in an Age of Fragmentation*. New York, NY: BasicBooks, 1993.

² Abbas Milani. "Ja'far Shahri's Personal Odyssey." In *Lost Wisdom: Rethinking Modernity in Iran*. Washington, D.C.: Mage Publishers, 2004. Pp. 83-93. Pg. 85:

The author points to a very interesting phenomenon, Nasir al-Din Shah's "attempt at turning teahouses into centers for a panoptic system of surveillance" and "the development of panoptic system in Iran."

³ Abbas Milani. "Nasir al-Din Shah in Farang: Perspectives of an Oriental Despot." In *Lost Wisdom: Rethinking Modernity in Iran*. Washington, D.C.: Mage Publishers, 2004. Pp. 51-63. Pg. 60:

"The blueprint the count prepares, after becoming Tehran's chief of police, reads like pages from Foucault's *Discipline and Punish*. The Count suggests a new regime of surveillance, the permanent registration of the population, standardization of weights, and crowd-control techniques. Every teahouse, the traditional hub of neighborhood life and political gossip, was to have a police detachment. The Shah immediately approved the blueprints and ordered their implementation. They heralded the dawn of a new age that combined the despotism of tyrannical authority with the presence of panoptic surveillance."

⁴ Mitra titles her weblog in French: "Patogh est un endroit où on se sent bien. Cet endroit existe dans le but de construire un avenir digne de ce nom" (English: "Patogh is a place where you feel good. This place exists to build a future worthy of the name.") accessed: <http://patogh-e-mitra.blogspot.com/2006/10/piers-faccini-taste-of-tears.html>. Date accessed: January 12, 2010.

I emailed Mitra, assumed to be an Iranian woman living in a French-speaking country, asking about her reasons for defining the cyberspace of her blog as a place like "patogh." She answered:

...The way I name my blog patogh is very personal. I can resume it to a failure in the trajectory of my life and I needed a virtual space to explain myself without being judged by anyone. Patogh seems to be 'a place that I feel enough freedom to find myself.' I thought that this place would help me to find "treasures" in me. Because I am sure that every human is something like a gold mine: a great potential ... unfortunately never entirely explored by himself. If we know better ourselves, we could be active in our life instead of put up with. We all need a place to be alone and think about the way we can be happy.

Patogh is that place....

⁵ Kim Dovey. "Introduction" and "Chapter 1: Power." In *Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form*. London: Routledge. 1999.

As Kim Dovey puts it, citing Rorty, "power is the ability...to define and control circumstances and events so that one can influence things to go in the direction of one's interests (9)." Dovey differentiates between the concepts of *force*, *coercion*, *manipulation*, *seduction*, and *authority*, as various forms of "power over." (10-12)

As Dovey puts it, in architecture and urban design, these concepts do not exist in isolation; their often-sophisticated combinations are "mediated in built forms." Moreover, "imagination plays a key role in the discourse of power," as imagination provides determining directions for desire. Therefore, architects and urban designers can play decisive roles as "imaginative agents" given that their aptitude to stimulate desire and enlarge people's imagination is crucial to the discourses of power. (13) Architects and urban designers, whether they want or now, "are all immersed" in spatial power practices and "must learn to deal with the instability (16)." Dovey's theorization can be applied to the role of architects and urban design professionals within the equations of power, and whether or not "space design" can stand against and/or manipulate "power over" urban space, in order to empower users and enhance their lived, everyday, and bodily experiences in cities.

⁶ Kim Dovey. "Introduction" and "Chapter 1: Power." In *Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form*. London: Routledge. 1999. Pg. 9.

As Dovey puts it, "empowerment" is linked to "autonomy and freedom," defined as "the capacity to imagine, construct and inhabit a better built environment." In addition, to empower people is to increase "their capacity to act," and that "emancipation is precisely a form of empowerment (9)."

⁷ Kim Dovey. *Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form*. London: Routledge. 1999. Pg. 16.

⁸ Kim Dovey. *Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form*. London: Routledge. 1999. Pg. 1.

⁹ Ali Madanipour. "Why Are the Design and Development of Public Spaces significant for Cities." In *Designing Cities: Critical Readings in Urban Design*. Alexander R. Cuthbert (Ed). Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2003. Pp. 139-151. Pg. 141.

¹⁰ Jürgen Habermas. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a category of Bourgeois Society*. Trans. Thomas Burger with Frederick Lawrence. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991. Pg. 176.

¹¹ Mike Davis. *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles*. London: Verso, 2006. Pg. 226.

¹² Sanjoy Mazumdar. "Autocratic Control and Urban Design: The Case of Tehran, Iran." In *Journal of Urban Design*. Vol. 5. No. 3. 317- 338. 2000. Pg. 335.

¹³ Charles Waldheim, "Landscape as Urbanism." In *The Landscape Urbanism Reader*. Charles Waldheim (Ed). New York: Princeton Architectural Press. 2006.

My dissertation research methodologies include those derived from urban anthropology, critical ethnography, autoethnography, and interpretive history. Besides the qualitative approach and archival methods, the most promising approach that I use, which is within my discipline, is that of "Landscape Urbanism." As Charles Waldheim alleges, it is a disciplinary rearrangement where landscape replaced architecture, both as "the lens through which the contemporary city is represented and the medium through which it is constructed (Pg. 11)." I apply the landscape urbanists' lens to "map" the city, by looking at its multiple flows, of information, people, passageways, and commodities, and exploring the city's "rhizomatic" networks, of socializing places, lived experiences, habitation, and social constructed meanings and spaces.

¹⁴ Richard Sennett, "Housing and Urban Neighborhoods: The Open City," in *Urban Age*, a newspaper essay, Berlin November 2006. Pg. 1.

As Sennett asserts, in modern urbanism, the "over-determination, both of the city's visual forms and its social functions" causes a lack of urban critical imagination and a forward-looking sense of time, where "the technologies, which make experiment possible, have been subordinated to a regime of power that wants order and control."

¹⁵ Richard Sennett, "Housing and Urban Neighborhoods: The Open City," in *Urban Age*, a newspaper essay, Berlin November 2006. Pg. 1-3.

¹⁶ Kaveh Samsamy. 2001. *Youth and community development in the Third World: the case of Tehran, Iran*. Thesis (M.A)--University of California, Los Angeles, 2001. Pp. 28-37.

¹⁷ Abbas Milani. "Ja'far Shahri's Personal Odyssey." In *Lost Wisdom: Rethinking Modernity in Iran*. Washington, D.C.: Mage Publishers, 2004. Pg. 83.

¹⁸ Donna Urschel. "The Style of Tehran: Architectural History Mirrors Life in Iranian Capital." In *Library of Congress, Information Bulletin*, August 2004, Vol. 63, No. 8. Retrieved from: <http://www.loc.gov/loc/lcib/0408/iran.html>. Date accessed: January 19, 2010. Pg. 1.

¹⁹ *Present and Futures: Architecture in Cities*. [Barcelona]: Col·legi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya, 1996. Pg. 10.

²⁰ Donna Urschel. "The Style of Tehran: Architectural History Mirrors Life in Iranian Capital." In *Library of Congress, Information Bulletin*, August 2004, Vol. 63, No. 8. Retrieved from: <http://www.loc.gov/loc/lcib/0408/iran.html>. Date accessed: January 19, 2010. Pg. 3.

²¹ Farhang Rouhani. "Islamic Yuppies"? State Rescaling, Citizenship, and Public Opinion Formation in Tehran, Iran." In *Urban Geography*, 2003, 24, 2. Pp. 169-182. Pg. 180.

²² Dona J. Stewart. "Progress Report: Middle East Urban Studies II: Growth, Environment, And Economic Development." In *Urban Geography*. 2002, 23, 4. Pp. 388–394. Pg. 391.

²³ Author Unknown, "Fluid Motion's stunning new cinema park premieres in Tehran." In *World Architecture News*. October 06, 2009. Retrieved from: http://www.worldarchitecturenews.com/index.php?fuseaction=wan_appln.projectview&upload_id=12480. Date accessed. January 10, 2010.

The focus of the design was upon creative urban open space to be used by public and the generation of "dynamism" and "change," as the design team asserts, the main theories behind the project's design were "1. Finding lost spaces in the city to rehabilitate them to active urban spaces. 2. Accordance with the park environment and the perspective of the mountains in the north of Tehran. 3. Integration, Architecture, Structure and Program. 4. Creating a dialogue with the city through the generation of urban open spaces (covered terrace) and also its unconventional and impressive structure. 5. Posing the issue of movement and time through the creation of a flexible and variable structure along the project by employing general ramps; the dynamism and change has been presented both conceptually and literally."

²⁴ Soheila Shahshahani. "Tehran: a mega-city built without a vision." In *Directors of Urban Change in Asia*. P.Nas (Ed), Routledge advances in Asia-Pacific studies, 9. London: Routledge, 2005. Pg. 227.

²⁵ Abbas Milani. "Ja'far Shahri's Personal Odyssey." In *Lost Wisdom: Rethinking Modernity in Iran*. Washington, D.C.: Mage Publishers, 2004. Pg. 83.

²⁶ Ali Madanipour. "Early modernization and the foundations of urban growth in Tehran." In *Fachzeitschrift des VINI*. Gahname 9. June 2006. Pg. 95.

²⁷ Marefat, Mina. *Building to Power: Architecture of Tehran 1921-1941*. Thesis (Ph. D.)--Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Dept. of Architecture, 1988, 1988. Pg. ii.

As she argues, this modern Tehran was meant to become the symbol of state. "It is clear that Tehran's urban space and architecture changed dramatically between the end of the Qajar dynasty in 1921 and the abdication of Reza Shah twenty years later. It became a visibly different city. The walls came down, the city gates disappeared. The huddled landscape topped by domed mosques opened into a grid dominated by monumental government buildings, neat row housed and modern apartments(Pg. 234)."

²⁸ Sholeh Shahrokh. "PORTRAITS OF A CITY: teen runaways, urban life, and spatial organization of public space in Tehran, Iran." In *ensaneshan vi farhang* (*Translation: Anthropology and Culture*). Website: <http://anthropology.ir/node/941>. Date accessed: October 9, 2009.

²⁹ Solmaz Farajollahpour. "Urban and Paradoxes of Tehran as a metropolis" [Internet]. Version 2. Knol. 2008 Jul 24. Available from: <http://knol.google.com/k/solmaz-farajollahpour/urban-and-paradoxes-of-tehran-as-a/2qrcefsa450mi/2>.

³⁰ Solmaz Farajollahpour. "Urban and Paradoxes of Tehran as a metropolis" [Internet]. Version 2. Knol. 2008 Jul 24. Available from: <http://knol.google.com/k/solmaz-farajollahpour/urban-and-paradoxes-of-tehran-as-a/2qrcefsa450mi/2>.

³¹ Stephen Heath. *Questions of Cinema*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981.

³² . A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987.

³³ Ad Graafland. *The Socius of Architecture: Amsterdam, Tokyo, New York*. Stylos series. Rotterdam: 010 Publishers. 2000. Pg. 30-31.

³⁴ Balasescu, Alexandru. "Chapter 4: Fashion and Aesthetic Authority in the Urban Spaces of Tehran" in *Paris Chic, Tehran Thrills: Aesthetic Bodies, Political Subjects*. Zeta series in

anthropology & sociology, vol. 1. [S.I.]: Zeta Books, 2007, Pp. 125-178

³⁵ Robert Jay Lifton. *The Protean Self: Human Resilience in an Age of Fragmentation*. New York, NY: BasicBooks, 1993.

³⁶ Pamela Shockley-Zalabak. "Protean Places: Teams across Time and Space." In *Journal of Applied Communication Research*. Vol. 30, No. 3, August 2002. Pp. 231-250. Pg. 232.

According to Zalabak, citing Lifton, the "protean self" has three manifestations: "sequentiality" as "changing series of involvements with people, ideas, and activities," "simultaneity" as "multiplicity of varied, even antithetical images and ideas held at any one time by the self," and "sociality" that is "highly varied from of self-representation from conventional to radical to any conceivable expression in-between." Further, "proteanism is about the simultaneous disruption of place and the seeking of a new sense of place,...metaphorical concepts of the fluid yet grounded, the shape shifting and consolidation, and the evolving creation of a sense of place." As Zalabak puts it, quoting Lifton:

"We know from Greek mythology that Proteus was able to change his shape with relative ease—from wild boar to wild dragon to fire to blood. But what he did find difficult and would not do unless seized and chained, was to commit himself to a single form (231)."

³⁷ Robert Jay Lifton. *Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism; a Study of "Brainwashing" in China*. New York: Norton, 1961.

The "protean self" stands in opposition to what Lifton calls "totalism" of any ideological groups, movements, and/or institutions, although their attempts constantly unsuccessful, aspiring a totalistic control over human thoughts and conducts. The major difference between "totalism" and "totalitarianism," as Lifton describes, is that "totalism" can be referred to not just the state's power, but also the philosophies of groups that are not exercising any governmental power.

³⁸ Robert Jay Lifton. *The Protean Self: Human Resilience in an Age of Fragmentation*. New York, NY: BasicBooks, 1993. Pg. 5.

³⁹ Robert Jay Lifton. *The Protean Self: Human Resilience in an Age of Fragmentation*. New York, NY: BasicBooks, 1993. Pg. 1-5.

⁴⁰ Robert Jay Lifton. *The Protean Self: Human Resilience in an Age of Fragmentation*. New York, NY: BasicBooks, 1993.

⁴¹ Derek Gregory. "Modernity and the Production of Space: The Eye of Power." In *Geographical Imaginations*. Cambridge: Blackwell. 1994. Pg. 401.

⁴² Derek Gregory. "Modernity and the Production of Space: The Eye of Power." In *Geographical Imaginations*. Cambridge: Blackwell. 1994. Pg. 405.

⁴³ Manuel Castells. "The Process of Urban Social Change." In *Designing Cities: Critical Readings in Urban Design*. Alexander R. Cuthbert (Ed). Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2003. Pg. 23.

⁴⁴ Kim Dovey. *Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form*. London: Routledge, 1999.

Dovey's book, along with its "unfinished conclusions," are powerful in not offering a set of definitive, written-on-stone design guidelines and/or a "grand theory" of design. Through discourse analyses, case studies, and theoretical explanations, Dovey explores the ways of empowering space users and enhancing their experiences within the city. As Dovey puts it, "the answer must remain forever in play (192)." The book concludes with some questions on "the prospects for designers who wish to engage in making places which embody something of the quest for equity, justice and liberty (183)" as well as "the prospects for a liberating architectural practice (192)." In these concluding thoughts, he offers two open platforms for further exploration: "...There are no forms or styles of liberty; and no zone of neutrality in which to practice. (192)" According to the author, urban space is a form of discourse that not only constructs and frames meanings, but also is framed by other discourses, including the decisions that architects, urban planners, and designers make. As he puts it, "architecture

and urban design ‘frames’ space, both literally and discursively, ...programmed and designed in accord with certain interests...amenity, profit, status and political power (1).” Designers are “immersed in these practices of power” and “must learn to cope with the instability (16).” As Dovey argues, “the built environment reflects the identities, differences, and struggles of gender, class, race, culture, and age. It shows the interests of people in empowerment and freedom, the interests of the state in social order, and the private corporate interest in stimulating consumption (1).”

⁴⁵ Kim Dovey. *Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form*. London: Routledge, 1999. Pg. 183.

⁴⁶ Kim Dovey. *Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form*. London: Routledge, 1999. Pg. 192.

⁴⁷ Author unknown, “The Iranian History 1796 AD: Tehran Becomes Iran’s Capital,” Retrieved from: http://www.fouman.com/history/Iranian_History_1796.html, last update: 2009, date accessed: January 6, 2010.

⁴⁸ Ali Madanipour. *Tehran: The Making of a Metropolis*. World cities series. Chichester, West Sussex, England: Wiley, 1998. Pg. 28.

⁴⁹ Abbas Milani. “Ja’far Shahri’s Personal Odyssey.” In *Lost Wisdom: Rethinking Modernity in Iran*. Washington, D.C.: Mage Publishers, 2004. Pg. 84.

⁵⁰ Abbas Milani. “Ja’far Shahri’s Personal Odyssey.” In *Lost Wisdom: Rethinking Modernity in Iran*. Washington, D.C.: Mage Publishers, 2004. Pg. 84.

⁵¹ Ali Madanipour. *Tehran: The Making of a Metropolis*. World cities series. Chichester, West Sussex, England: Wiley, 1998. Pg. 31-36.

⁵² Abbas Milani. “Ja’far Shahri’s Personal Odyssey.” In *Lost Wisdom: Rethinking Modernity in Iran*. Washington, D.C.: Mage Publishers, 2004. Pg. 85.

⁵³ Abbas Milani. “Ja’far Shahri’s Personal Odyssey.” In *Lost Wisdom: Rethinking Modernity in Iran*. Washington, D.C.: Mage Publishers, 2004. Pg. 83-93. Pg. 85.

⁵⁴ Abbas Milani. “Nasir al-Din Shah in Farang: Perspectives of an Oriental Despot.” In *Lost Wisdom: Rethinking Modernity in Iran*. Washington, D.C.: Mage Publishers, 2004. Pp. 51-63. Pg. 60.

⁵⁵ Ali Madanipour. *Tehran: The Making of a Metropolis*. World cities series. Chichester, West Sussex, England: Wiley, 1998. Pg. 30, Figure 2.1, and Pg 32, Figure 2.2.

⁵⁶ Ali Madanipour. *Tehran: The Making of a Metropolis*. World cities series. Chichester, West Sussex, England: Wiley, 1998. Pg. 30-33.

⁵⁷ Ali Madanipour. *Tehran: The Making of a Metropolis*. World cities series. Chichester, West Sussex, England: Wiley, 1998. Pg. 40.

⁵⁸ Ali Madanipour. 1998. *Tehran: the making of a metropolis*. World cities series. Chichester, West Sussex, England: Wiley. Pp. 31-36

⁵⁹ Ali Madanipour. 1998. *Tehran: the making of a metropolis*. World cities series. Chichester, West Sussex, England: Wiley. Pg. 38.

⁶⁰ Kaveh Samsamy. 2001. *Youth and community development in the Third World: the case of Tehran, Iran*. Thesis (M.A.)-University of California, Los Angeles, 2001. Pp. 35-72

⁶¹ Aliakbar Dehkoda. *Dehkhoda Persian Dictionary*, accessed: <http://www.loghatnaameh.com/dehkhodaworddetail-4bd950e22e584cccad509c3ab13b8e65-fa.html>, date accessed: January 8, 2010.

⁶² *Luti* is a historic distinguished male character in the Iranian culture and literature. This type might both have positive and negative connotations, either considered as the vigilante of the Iranian traditional city or village or the person who would show off his power to intimidate people in a neighborhood. Historically, a *luti* would hang around, either with/without a couple of comrades and/or bodyguards (*noches* in Persian) in “places” such as local

coffeehouses (*ghahveh-khaneh* in Persian), street/sidewalk corners, and/or dead-end back allies or open allies (*koocheh* in Persian), oftentimes, located within his local neighborhood (*mahaleh* in Persian). These places then would become known as that *luti*’s particular gathering place or *patogh* as a place to meet friends. This image of *patogh* and *lutis* is adapted from *Dash Akol*, in *Sé quatré khün, or Three Drops of Blood* (English translation), 1932. *Dash Akol* is a short fictional story written by Sadegh Hedayat. Accessed from: <http://www.sadeghchedayat.com/article.aspx?id=6>. (Date Accessed: Dec. 9, 2007). Although further descriptions and explanations of the way a traditional Iranian city is structured and the ways various spaces and hierarchies are organized might have been beneficial, that might go beyond the scope of this paper and can be discussed within other related research.

⁶³ Hassan Amid. *Farhang-e-Amid*. 1996 (1375 shamsi), Pg. 247.

⁶⁴ -i Fikr, 2005.
Pg. 25: “Muhammad Bagher Asefzadeh 1374 (shamsi): 283.”

⁶⁵ -i Fikr, 2005.
n: La -i Fikr, 2005.
⁶⁶ -i Fikr, 2005.

⁶⁷ Pg. 21. -i Fikr, 2005.
-i Fikr, 2005.

⁶⁸ Mojtaba Mohammad-Zaheri. “*Patogh*.” In ARUNA: *Iran Architecture and Urbanism Agency*. January 6 2009 (Dey 8 1387 according to the Persian Calendar). Website access: <http://report.aruna.ir/archives/2008/Dec/28/1917.php>. Date Accessed: July 21, 2009.

⁶⁹ Arash Zeinal, <http://www.zeini.info/index.php/page/4/>, Patogh, May 2, 2007, (date accessed: Dec. 10, 2007) the definition comes from a primary source in Persian: Mehran Afshari, *Ayin-e Javanmardi [chivalry]*, Iran, Tehran: Cultural Research Bureau, 2005. Pg. 1.

⁷⁰ -i Fikr, 2005.
-i Fikr, 2005.

⁷¹ Mojtaba Mohammad-Zaheri. “*Patogh*.” In ARUNA: *Iran Architecture and Urbanism Agency*. January 6 2009 (Dey 8 1387 according to the Persian Calendar). Website access: <http://report.aruna.ir/archives/2008/Dec/28/1917.php>. Date Accessed: July 21, 2009.

⁷² David Harvey. “Chapter 11: From Space to Place and Back Again.” In *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*. Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 1996. Pg. 294.

The author defines “places as internally heterogeneous, dialectical and dynamic configurations of relative “permanences” within the overall spatio-temporal dynamics of socio-ecological processes.”

⁷³ Christian Norberg-Schulz. “The Phenomenon of Place.” In *Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture: An Anthology of Architectural Theory, 1965-1995*. Kate Nesbitt (Ed). New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996. Pp. 414-428. Pg. 422.

According to the author, “the concept of *genius loci* denotes the essence of place” (Pg. 418), and “is a roman concept; according to ancient Roman belief, every “independent” being has its *genius*, its guardian spirit....The *genius* thus denotes what a thing is....”

⁷⁴ David Harvey. “Chapter 11: From Space to Place and Back Again.” In *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*. Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 1996. Pg. 294.

The author defines “places as internally heterogeneous, dialectical and dynamic configurations of relative “permanences” within the overall spatio-temporal dynamics of socio-ecological processes.”

⁷⁵ Christian Norberg-Schulz. “The Phenomenon of Place.” In *Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture: An Anthology of*

Architectural Theory, 1965-1995. Kate Nesbitt (Ed). New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996. Pp. 414-428. Pg. 422.

⁷⁶ Pierre Bourdieu. *Pascalian Meditations*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2000. Pg. 131.

Bourdieu defines *topos* or place as the location where a “thing” or an “agent” occur. It is a “localization, or relationally, topologically, as a position, a rank in an order.” The body is not placeless; it has *topos* and a positionality in relation to others.

⁷⁷ David Harvey. “Chapter 11: From Space to Place and Back Again.” In *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*. Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 1996. Pg. 261.

⁷⁸ Taqi Azad Armaki. *Patog va mudirnität-i Irani -i Fikr*, 2005.

⁷⁹ Yi-fu Tuan. *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977. Pg. 63.

⁸⁰ ibid. Pg. 66.

⁸¹ ibid. Pg. 66.

⁸² Solmaz Farajollahpour. “Urban and Paradoxes of Tehran as a metropolis” [Internet]. Version 2. Knol. 2008 Jul 24. Available from: <http://knol.google.com/k/solmaz-farajollahpour/urban-and-paradoxes-of-tehran-as-a/2qrcefsa450mi/2>.

⁸³ This note is adapted from Bert Cardullo’s interview with Kiarostami in the Istanbul Film Festival, Turkey, May 2005, where Kiarostami was a guest of honor. The interview is published in “The Accidental Auteur: A Dialogue with Abbas Kiarostami,” In *Bright Lights Film Journal*, February 2007,” Retrieved from <http://www.brightlightsfilm.com/55/kiarostamity.htm>. Date Accessed: December 10, 2008. Cardullo states, “Jean-Luc Godard famously said, “Film begins with D. W. Griffith and ends with Abbas Kiarostami.” What do you think of that?” Kiarostami answers: “Well, Godard doesn’t believe this anymore, especially since I diverted cinema off its course a bit when I made *Ten*.” Cardullo asks: “Does restrictive religion have anything to do with the fact that almost all of the protagonists in your films are male?” Kiarostami replies: “Such restrictions aside for the moment, I simply don’t like the role of women as mothers, or as lovers for that matter. Or the role of women as victims, beaten and long-suffering. That’s not my experience. Or women as exceptional. I don’t like showing exceptions. Especially women as heroes, since it doesn’t correspond to the real situation. And there’s another role, women as decorative objects — not only in Iranian but in world cinema as well. So what am I left with? I did feature a woman in *Ten*, though.”

⁸⁴ David Harvey. “Chapter 11: From Space to Place and Back Again.” In *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*. Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 1996. Pg. 294.

The author defines “places as internally heterogeneous, dialectical and dynamic configurations of relative “permanences” within the overall spatio-temporal dynamics of socio-ecological processes.”

⁸⁵ Ray Oldenburg. *Coffee Shops, Community Centers, Beauty Parlors, General Stores, Bars, Hangouts, and How They Get You Through the Day*. New York: Paragon House. 1989. Pg. 58.

According to Oldenburg, “first place” is where one lives, “second place” is where one works, and “third place” is an important place used for leisure time activities, where one can freely take part in the social life of the community, broaden many creative interactions with other people, and ultimately, establish a “sense of place.”

⁸⁶ Sholeh Shahrokh. “PORTRAITS OF A CITY: teen runaways, urban life, and spatial organization of public space in Tehran, Iran.” In *ensanshenasi va farhang* (Translation: Anthropology and Culture). Website: <http://anthropology.ir/node/941>. Date accessed: October 9, 2009.

Her research reveals how “the city transcends its traditional contextual role and becomes the key factor in understanding why and how the runaways manage their day-to-day life.” She

introduces “snapshots of the city as experienced by the runaways and during [her] observations in the field in conjunction to a historical process that has formed and transformed economic, social, and political relations affecting the life of runaways in Tehran.”

⁸⁷ Michel Foucault. “Of Other Spaces, Utopias and Heterotopias.” In *Rethinking architecture: a reader in cultural theory*. Neil Leach (Ed). New York: Routledge. 1997. Pp. 350-356.

⁸⁸ Shahram Khosravi. *Young and Defiant in Tehran*. Contemporary ethnography. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2008. Pp. 146-147.

⁸⁹ Stephen Heath. *Questions of Cinema*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1981. Pg. 27.

⁹⁰ Azadeh Moaveni. *Honeymoon in Tehran: Two Years of Love and Danger in Iran*. New York: Random House, 2009. Pg. 17.

⁹¹ “Old Tehran,” Did Publishers, 1994. Retrieved from: http://www.anvari.org/iran/Pictures_of_Iran/Old_Tehran/Cafe_Naderi_1947.html. Date accessed: July 18, 2009.

⁹² Mojtaba Mohammad-Zaheri. “*Patogh*.” In *ARUNA: Iran Architecture and Urbanism Agency*. January 6 2009 (Dey 8 1387 according to the Persian Calendar). Website access: <http://report.aruna.ir/archives/2008/Dec/28/1917.php>. Date Accessed: July 21, 2009.

⁹³ The photo is accessed through: <http://homeyra.wordpress.com/2007/11/08/some-tehran-links/>. Date accessed July 18, 2009.

⁹⁴ Jürgen Habermas. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a category of Bourgeois Society*. Trans. Thomas Burger with Frederick Lawrence. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991. Pg. 176.

⁹⁵ Jürgen Habermas. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a category of Bourgeois Society*. Trans. Thomas Burger with Frederick Lawrence. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991. Pg. 176.

⁹⁶ Marshall Soules. “Jürgen Habermas and the Public Sphere.” In <http://records.viu.ca/~soules/media301/habermas.htm>, last update: 2008. Date accessed: July 10 2009.

⁹⁷ Paul Rutherford. *Endless Propaganda: The Advertising of Public Goods*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000. Pg. 18.

⁹⁸ Tehrangeles is an unofficial portmanteau term that, informally, refers to the Westwood neighborhood, in particular, to the area between the Pico Boulevard and the UCLA campus that, along with the Beverly Hills area that is also called the “little Persia,” embraces the largest population of Iranians in the US. It is the grouping of the two city names of Tehran and Los Angeles. The informal naming of these areas as Tehrangeles points to the largest population of the Iranian Diaspora settled outside Iran and that of the individuals of the Iranian origin who live in the United States. How similar and/or different the (re)construction and the communication of multiple meanings are in those *patoghs* of Tehran, compared to those of the Los Angeles area is beyond the scope of this paper and needs further investigation. However, Tehrangeles, taken as a metaphor of a little slice of Tehran on the streets of Los Angeles, can become a research ground for the study of *patogh* meanings and discourses. Comparison between network of *patogh*-spaces, geographically located in Tehran or Tehrangeles, and their (similar and/or different) role(s) in the (re)creation of multiple meanings, and maintaining and/or disregarding community and identity is a relevant and potential topic for future research. Accordingly, this comparative study might show how the creation of *patoghs*, as they become places, might change the (similar and/or different) ways public spaces are used within the two contexts of Tehran and Tehrangeles. Ultimately, this comparative study can reveal invaluable insights regarding the similarities and/or differences within the spatial dynamics and consequences of power and policing relations that operate within the landscape of the two potentially different, although not clear

enough if they are really different, urban environments, in Iran and the United States.

⁹⁹ Neil MacFarouhar. "Exiles in 'Tehrangoles' Are Split on Iran." In *The New York Times* Journal, Published May 9, 2006. Accessed: <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/05/09/us/09exiles.html>. Date accessed July 16, 2009. Pg. 1.

¹⁰⁰ Neil MacFarouhar. "Exiles in 'Tehrangoles' Are Split on Iran." In *The New York Times* Journal, Published May 9, 2006. Accessed: <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/05/09/us/09exiles.html>. Date accessed July 16, 2009.

¹⁰¹ Neil MacFarouhar. "Exiles in 'Tehrangoles' Are Split on Iran." In *The New York Times* Journal, Published May 9, 2006. Accessed: <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/05/09/us/09exiles.html>. Date accessed July 16, 2009.

¹⁰² Stephen Heath. *Questions of Cinema*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981. Pg. 27.

¹⁰³ Britannica Online Encyclopedia. Accessed: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/501483/rhizome>. date accessed: July 31, 2009.

Defined by the Britannica Online Encyclopedia, 'Rhizome' is a plant anatomy that is a "horizontal, underground plant stem," from its nodes, able to produce "shoot and root systems of a new plant." As a result, this ability allows "the parent plant to propagate vegetatively (asexually) and also enables a plant to perennate (survive an annual unfavourable season) underground."

¹⁰⁴ Neil Leach. "Gilles Deleuze." In *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*. Neil Leach (Ed). New York: Routledge, 1997. Pg. 308.

A theorist to whom Neil Leach refers as "a theorist of flux, plurality, and movement," Gilles Deleuze, along with Felix Guattari, introduces the sophisticated concept of 'Rhizome.' Rhizome is a metaphoric concept that can be considered as a post-structuralist lens the looking through which might make possible multiple, non-hierarchical, and non-linear representations, interpretations, and readings of 'discourse in space'. Rhizome is a complex concept and a simple description of it is, according to Neil Leach, "doing an injustice to the sophistication of Deleuze's thought to attempt any shorthand definition(309.)"

¹⁰⁵ Gilles Deleuze . *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987.

¹⁰⁶ Ad Graafland. *The Socius of Architecture: Amsterdam, Tokyo, New York*. Stylos series. Rotterdam: 010 Publishers. 2000. Pg. 30-31.

According to Arie Graafland, "Deleuze and Guattari compare the rhizome to a map with an infinite number of entrances. In this map, power bases, centers of art, science, social struggle, politics, and commerce are linked to each other. The rhizome is, above all, a figure of thought. It extends beyond the pluralism of a decade ago. It renders impossible every line of thought based on a structural and generative model. According to Deleuze and Guattari, one consequence of this is the end of Freudian psychoanalysis with its Oedipal theatre. But it also signifies the end of state Marxism in which the state plants a tree not only in the soul and body, but also in space where it uses grids and axes to create these divisions (30)." Unlike a tree, the rhizome links any given point to any other point. Dissimilar elements can also be linked together in this manner. The rhizome cannot be reduced to a number of discrete components, and it does not consist of units but of dimensions, or, more accurately, of dimensions in motion. There is no beginning and no end, but there is always a specific environment in which the rhizome thrives. Unlike a structure with set coordinates, the rhizome consists solely of temporary characteristics and provisional ideas, ideas that are perpetually in development. These can result in deterritorialization, which, in turn, leads to other developments (31)."

¹⁰⁷ Ronald Bogue. *Deleuze and Guattari*. UK London:Routledge. 1989. Pg. 107.

As the author puts it, "a rhizome, as Deleuze and Guattari explain in *Rhizome: an Introduction* (1976), is an antithesis of a root-tree structure, or 'arborescence', the structural model which has dominated Western thought from Porphyrian trees, to Linnaean taxonomies, to Chomskyan sentence diagrams. Arborescences are hierarchical, stratified totalities which impose limited and regulated connections between their components. Rhizomes, by contrast, are non-hierarchical, horizontal multiplicities which cannot be subsumed within a unified structure, whose components form random, unregulated networks in which any element may be connected with any other element."

¹⁰⁸ Ad Graafland. *The Socius of Architecture: Amsterdam, Tokyo, New York*. Stylos series. Rotterdam: 010 Publishers. 2000. Pg. 30.

¹⁰⁹ Robert Jay Lifton. *The Protean Self: Human Resilience in an Age of Fragmentation*. New York, NY: BasicBooks, 1993. Pg. 1-5.

Introduced by Robert Lifton, "protean self" is the inhabitant of the contemporary city, named after Proteus, the Greek sea god of many forms. This modern inhabitant differs from that of the past in that it is more sophisticated, perceptive, and urbane. This self is to be seen as the creative, well-informed agent of the today city with an advantageous maturity and "fluid and many-sided personality," requiring "continuous exploration and personal experiment" in opposition to any totalistic movement and constricting power. Nonetheless, caused by the interplays of multiple power relations, embedded within the fabric of cities, usually, there are some gaps between the expectations and desires of this urbane "protean self," and the creative capacities and opportunities that contemporary cities have to offer.

¹¹⁰ Michel Foucault. "Of Other Spaces, Utopias and Heterotopias." In *Rethinking architecture: a reader in cultural theory*. Neil Leach (Ed). New York: Routledge. 1997. Pp. 350-356.

¹¹¹ Shahram Khosravi. *Young and Defiant in Tehran*. Contemporary ethnography. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2008. Pg. 145.

¹¹² Stephen Heath. *Questions of Cinema*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981.

¹¹³ Fatos Adiloglu. "Body and Space: In-Between Sight and Site" in Journal of Istanbul Kultur University. 2003/3 pp. 147-152. Pg. 148.

¹¹⁴ Fatos Adiloglu. "Body and Space: In-Between Sight and Site" in Journal of Istanbul Kultur University. 2003/3 pp. 147-152. Pg. 148.

According to Fatos Adiloglu, "the experience of movement in spaces find definitions in architecture as 'approach' and 'entrance' which can be articulated around the concept of path-space. The path-space relationship includes dimensions of the body and built space in its varied executions in relation to the spaces they connect such 'passing by spaces', 'passing through space' and 'termination in space'."

Approaching individual *patogh*-spaces from within the scale of the urban landscape and moving back from these spaces towards the city space and the threshold layers that allow such movements encompass the "dimensions of the body and built space in its varied executions in relation to the spaces they connect such 'passing by spaces', 'passing through space' and 'termination in space'."

¹¹⁵ N. J. Habraken and Jonathan Teicher. *The Structure of the Ordinary: Form and Control in the Built Environment*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1998. Pg. 128.

¹¹⁶ ibid. Pg. 126.

¹¹⁷ Michel De Certeau. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984. Pg. xix:

Michel de Certeau's theory of "strategy" versus "tactics" explains some of the underlying aspects of power-space dynamics. According to de Certeau, "strategies" are created and manipulated by institutions and power structures in order to put distinctively marked "places" under the control of a powerful state, whereas "tactics" are used by individuals always looking for the

opportunities to create their desired types of spaces within the areas confined by the strategies. In other words, in societies and locations under the control of institutions using "strategies," individuals employ "tactics" to (re)create spaces for themselves. Therefore, *resistance and contestation* in space are communicated through de Certeau's "tactics."

¹¹⁸ Pierre Bourdieu. *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge studies in social anthropology, 16. Cambridge [England]: Cambridge University Press, 1977.

¹¹⁹ Kamran Diba. "Garden of Niavaran." In *MIMAR 8: Architecture in Development*. Singapore: Concept Media Ltd. 1983.

¹²⁰ Ali Madanipour. *Public and Private Spaces of the City*. London: Routledge, 2003. Pg. 8.

¹²¹ Ali Madanipour. *Public and Private Spaces of the City*. London: Routledge, 2003. Pg. 11.

The author argues that "the body is where the boundaries of the self start and end and where the boundary is crossed by contacts such as touching of another person" (Pg. 28).

¹²² Ali Madanipour. *Public and Private Spaces of the City*. London: Routledge, 2003. Pg. 59.

¹²³ Tim Cresswell. *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996. Pg. 175.

¹²⁴ Tim Cresswell. *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996. Pg. 176.

¹²⁵ David Harvey. "Chapter 11: From Space to Place and Back Again." In *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*. Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 1996. Pg. 294.

The author defines "places as internally heterogeneous, dialectical and dynamic configurations of relative "permanences" within the overall spatio-temporal dynamics of socio-ecological processes."

¹²⁶ Michel Foucault. "Of other spaces, utopias and heterotopias." In *Rethinking architecture: a reader in cultural theory*. Neil Leach (Ed). New York: Routledge, 1997. Pp. 350-356.

¹²⁷ Derek Gregory. "Modernity and the Production of Space: The Eye of Power." In *Geographical Imaginations*. Cambridge: Blackwell. 1994. Pg. 401-403.

As Henri Lefebvre classifies, socially constructed spaces are amongst the "concrete spaces of the everyday life," as opposed to the "abstract spaces of production." My use of "the concrete spaces of the everyday life" is informed by Gregory's conceptual image, "the eye of power." This theoretical framework summarizes Lefebvre's three-part-theory of "the production of space," and his theory of "time-space colonization." Gregory further explains Lefebvre's three-part concept of "the production of space:"

- 1- "Spatial practices, which refer to the time-space routines and the spatial structures – the sites and circuits – through which social life is produced and reproduced;"
- 2- "Representations of space, which refer to conceptions of space – or, more accurately perhaps, to constellations of power, knowledge, and spatiality – in which the dominant social order is materially inscribed (and, by implication, legitimized);"
- 3- "Spaces of representation, which refer to counterspaces, spatial representations that "arise from the clandestine or underground side of social life" and from the critical arts to imaginatively challenge the dominant spatial practices and spatialities."

In this framework, Gregory shows the spatial practices that connect the "abstract spaces" of "economy" and "state" to the "concrete spaces" of "the everyday life" which are "the site of resistance and active struggle, the origin of spaces of representation that provide counter discourses and create alternative spatial imaginaries." The spaces of production result from those practices of power that limit the use and access to the

spaces that are, often, inequitable, restricted, and/or contested. According to Henri Lefebvre, cited by Derek Gregory, socially constructed spaces are amongst the "spaces of representation," complex bodily and lived experiences, and the "concrete spaces" of "the everyday life."

¹²⁸ Derek Gregory. "Modernity and the Production of Space: The Eye of Power." In *Geographical Imaginations*. Cambridge: Blackwell. 1994. Pp. 348-416. Pg. 403.

¹²⁹ Ali Madanipour. *Public and Private Spaces of the City*. London: Routledge, 2003. Pg. 108:

Moving from the most private to the most public realms, Madanipour categorizes the space of the city into:

- (1) The "personal space," of "the internal world of mind, the personal space of body, the exclusive space of property and the intimate space of home," which he calls "the spaces of concealment"
- (2) The "interpersonal space of sociability" and the "communal space of the neighborhood"
- (3) The "metaspacial public sphere" and the "impersonal space of the city" that is the most public domain. Anything beyond the private domain is put into the category of the "spaces of exposure."

¹³⁰ Kim Dovey. *Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form*. London: Routledge. 1999. Pg. 46.

¹³¹ Karen A. Franck and Quentin Stevens. *Loose Space: Possibility and Diversity in Urban Life*. London: Routledge, 2007. Pg. 28-30:

"Loose space is, by definition, space that has been appropriated by citizens to pursue activities not set by a predetermined program." The activities are "unintended, transient or impractical." **Appropriations** are not "combative or controversial," but "mildly trasgressive if at all." In the second theme, **Tension**, "people find a way to pursue desired activities within or around the existing order and controls....Rules may be relaxed at certain times, or they may be negotiated or even subverted." In the third theme, **Resistance**, the authors render that "through a variety of mechanisms, behaviours and meanings in social space are locked down...by municipal authorities...in concert with wider economic, social, and political forces." Hence, "looseness" occurs as a response. "The city itself - its citizens - resist" and "behaviour becomes tactical." Ultimately, the fourth theme, **Discovery**, "is the first experience of all loose space: one has to find space in order to put it to use." A new purpose for the space will be discovered by the citizens.