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Night, Space and Urban design:
Case study of Mashhad, Iran

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Declaration

I declare that all the material contained in this thesis is my own work. No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this university or any other institutions.

Some parts of this thesis were presented in the following conferences and published in the conference book:

- Urbanism and Urbanization VI International PhD Seminar, Venice 27/29 October 2011
- Urban Change in Iran Conference, UCL, London 8/9 November 2012
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Abstract

In contemporary societies time distinctions are being reconfigured. Although in modern-life technology enables new forms of social activities and entertainments and the possibility to experience them day and night, night has been known and experienced differently in various cultures and in different time periods. Discussions of the city at night are dominated by the framework and experience of Western Europe, the USA and Australia. However, night-life in other places could be different and in order to achieve an in-depth understanding of the concepts of a night-time economy and a 24-hour society it is important to study night-life in various parts of the world.

In this thesis Mashhad is investigated as a 24-hour city in Iran. Night-life in Iran, as a Middle-Eastern country, is different from the available literature as a result of various social and cultural factors. In Iran, because of religious discipline, there are no pubs, bars, casinos or clubs. However, cities work at night with a continuity of their day-time activities. Mashhad, as one of the holiest cities in Shiite Islam with the shrine of Imam Reza located at its centre, is visited annually by over 25 million pilgrims. The large number of visitors and the shrine are characteristics of the city and its 24-hour activity. Boundaries between day and night in Mashhad are less clear cut and night-life includes all kinds of activities including religious, business, recreational, social or commercial. However, the Regeneration and Reconstruction Plan of Imam Reza's Shrine Area, started in 2001, is threatening the 24-hour features of the shrine area by attempting to modernise it in order to attract and accommodate more pilgrims. This study aims to investigate how to improve nightlife by considering the impact of urban design. It studies the night-life of the shrine area in Mashhad through a multi-method approach and investigates the impact of recent urban design interventions. In addition, a series of guidelines are proposed for revitalisation of the shrine area whilst keeping and supporting its local active night-life.

This study fills a part of the gap in the literature of a 24-hour society and night-time economy through investigating a less-studied type of 24-hour society in a context that has not been considered previously and is helpful in redefining the ideas which have been formed because of this gap. By investigating the interconnections between the temporal structure of cities, their spatial form and mass pilgrimage this study argues that social, cultural, economic, political and climatic factors are all important in the formation of night-life in a city and highlights the possible threats to the night-life of cities that might result from urban design approaches that ignore a local context. It also shows that the social and temporal habits of the people who shape a city's night-life are a product of the discussed factors which may change through time. By emphasising the importance of the local night-time economy in the formation of 24-hour societies, the findings of this study highlight the necessity of considering the night-life of urban areas in regeneration plans. These findings have direct policy relevance in the regeneration plan of the shrine area in Mashhad and are helpful for regeneration plans of similar cases with local active night-life.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Chapter Five

Chapter Six

Chapter Seven

Chapter Ten

List of Tables

Chapter One - Introduction

Chapter One - Introduction

With the advent of new technology, modern life provides new forms of social activities and entertainments and the possibility to experience them through the day or at night (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009 ; Schivelbusch, 1988 ; Clarke, 2004 ; Kreitzman, 1999 ; Moore-Ede, 1993 ; Melbin, 1978 ; Evans, 2001). In contemporary societies time distinctions are being reconfigured (Kreitzman, 1999) enabling differing forms of everyday activities to take place at night. Hospitals, police stations, service stations, TV and radio broadcast stations as well as many shops work 24-hours or on extended opening hours. It is argued that illumination has been an important factor in the extension of the day into night-time (Schivelbusch, 1986). However, various factors, including economic, social, political (Jayne, 2006) climactic factors and urban facilities influence the way that people use the nocturnal city. Also age, social class and gender affect people's experience of the night-time city and people in various societies experience the night differently and perform different routines and habitual actions after dark.

The differences between day-time and night-time activities first appeared to me on a family trip to Yerevan in Armenia in 2008. As was our usual habit, we went for a walk to do some window shopping at night. We went to the city centre but were shocked when we found it quite empty with all the shops closed apart from a few supermarkets and just a few people walking on the streets. This reminded me of Iranian cities at midnight, but this was not midnight, it was only around 8pm. At this time of night, a bustling city centre with open shops and varying groups of people on the street, regardless of their gender or age, was the ordinary picture of the night-time city for us; this was not the case in a society just a few hundred miles away from Iran. We could not believe this change of norms and started asking each other '*Why is everywhere closed? Is there something wrong tonight? Maybe it's a public holiday and everybody has gone home early?*'. We ended up concluding that whatever the reason was it must be something temporary and tomorrow night everything would be 'open as usual'. However, we were not aware that, as Scott (2009) argues, what was usual and ordinary to us might be unusual and extraordinary for others and vice versa. We were surprised by the social differences because we were experiencing a new society with our own structured realities, called 'lifeworlds' by Schutz (1972), which were shaped by our own experiences. During the following nights, when we again perceived the quiet and deserted night-time city, we acknowledged that night-time activities in Yerevan were not the same as in our home town of Mashhad.

At that time I did not generalise this experience and, keeping my society's night-life as the base and referring to similar styles of night-life in Dubai, Mecca and Medina, I

acknowledged Yerevan was an exception that had limited night-time activities. However, in 2008 when I had my first trip to London I again experienced a form of night-life which was different from my own experience. I came to London as a tourist for a week and had a limited time to visit several museums and go shopping. As was my usual habit in Iran, I planned to visit the museums during the day-time and go shopping at night when the museums were closed. On the first night I found that the majority of shops closed at 6 p.m. in the suburbs of London and at 8 p.m. in central London. Therefore, I could not go shopping at night and needed to finish all my museum visits and my shopping before 8 p.m. Although there were several kinds of entertainments open at night, including pubs and night clubs, they were not the type of activities I was looking for and I experienced spare time after 8 p.m.

This was the time that I started to think about the boundaries between day-time and night-time activities in various societies. Before experiencing night-time in other countries, I was not aware of the differences between day-time and night-time activities. I had grown up and was living in Iran, in the city of Mashhad, where, apart from offices and schools which are closed at night, night-time activities are a continuation of day-time activities. I grew up knowing that the area near the shrine of Imam Reza[1] in Mashhad is always busy and the shops are open 24-hours. I knew that the people walking in this area were men, women and children of different ages and were from differing sections of society performing various activities. I saw them coming and going to the shrine, eating food or drinking juice, shopping, taking photos or looking for accommodation, even at 2 a.m. In common with many other residents of Mashhad, I worked from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m., and went out after 8 p.m. to do shopping, including for food, clothes or home accessories, or to visit grandparents or relatives, having a late dinner after 11 p.m. in a restaurant or at home and going to sleep around 1 a.m. Sometimes I had business meetings at 8 p.m. which did not finish earlier than 10 p.m. As a resident of Mashhad, I learned that if I wanted to avoid the congestion and overcrowding of the area near the shrine of Imam Reza, I should visit it after 11 p.m. Sometimes, on the way back home from the shrine around 2 a.m., I would stand in a queue to buy smoothies from a juice bar which was always open and crowded. I remembered nights when I was searching shops at 12 a.m. to buy a new set of furniture, or one night, when I was coming from the airport, the bookshop was open and had customers

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[1]. Imam Reza امام رضا ع 765-818 was the seventh descendant of the Islamic Prophet Muhammad and the eighth of the twelve Imams in Shiite Islam

at 2a.m. I still own the mobile handset that I bought at 11 p.m. and the coat that I bought after midnight. This night-life was not my personal style but was that of the majority of people. In Mashhad, the ones who use the facilities and the ones who provide the facilities, perform all of these activities every day without thinking about it. I only became aware that this was not the norm everywhere when I visited societies where this was not the case. This personal experience of mine is in accordance with what Garfinkel (1967) perceived in his experiments and was later discussed by Giddens (1984) which is that people perform a series of habitual actions unconsciously and only become aware of these actions when they are prevented from performing them. In June 2012, when the government set out a new regulation to limit business opening hours in all the major Iranian cities, the residents of Mashhad, pilgrims and the authorities became aware of the routines and habitual actions that they performed 24-hours a day. The shrine area was excluded from this regulation and was allowed to be active 24-hours a day. However, because of people opposing this regulation and the inconvenience caused for the city, in May 2013 the execution of this policy was terminated, but only in Mashhad. Also the authorities admitted that it was a mistake to try to apply this regulation to Mashhad.

When I started living outside Iran I experienced the boundaries between day-time and night-time activities more closely and strove to adapt to the local style of night-life. In London I learned that I could not go shopping for clothes and various accessories after 8 p.m. when I was coming back from the university and that I need to go shopping at the weekends or finish my work earlier to have time to shop. I learned that not all supermarkets are open 24-hours and that if I did not do my grocery shopping before 9 p.m. my local supermarket might be closed and I would need to look for a convenience store that was open and which may not be in my neighbourhood. However, in London there are now several 24-hour supermarkets. Night buses provide public transport for the whole city 24-hours a day and many shops in central London have extended their opening hours to 10 p.m. Later, when moving out of London to a small town, I learnt that London has a unique night-life and in small towns people need to complete all their activities before 6 p.m. and rush to catch the last bus at 6:30 p.m. I learnt that, in small towns, the buses that come every hour after 6:30 are called 'night buses' even though the sun is still shining in the sky and the last 'night bus' leaves at 9:30 p.m.

Coming from Mashhad, which is active 24-hours and where people perform various activities at night without thinking about it, it is surprising to discover ideas such as Melbin's (1978) understanding of the '*night as a frontier*' being developed in the USA.

Chapter One - Introduction

This study will show that because night-life in many developing countries is not known about does not mean that it does not exist.

As an architect and planner, I am interested in investigating the impact of urban design interventions on the night-life of cities. Specifically, I am interested in societies with less visible boundaries between day-time and night-time activities and where there is a growing interest in modernisation.

Amongst the less-studied societies, many Middle Eastern countries have an active night-life as a result of religious practices or as a response to the climate. This night-life is not limited to entertainment and people perform various routine everyday activities at night. However, it is important to note that, as Scott (2009) argues, it is difficult to define the meaning of everyday activities since what is ordinary to people in one society might be extraordinary for people in another. Also, since in many Middle Eastern societies alcohol is banned, night-time entertainments are different from experiences in the UK, USA and Australia.

The initial aim of this study was to compare night-life in Mashhad and London. However, in the early stages of the study it was found that, due to the fundamental social and cultural differences between Mashhad and London, it was not possible to compare them within one framework. As is discussed in Chapter Four and in more detail in Chapter Seven, Mashhad is an Islamic pilgrimage destination where drinking alcohol, gambling and going to night-clubs are banned and the city is active at night with various forms of routine daily activities being performed by people. However, London is a tourist destination where the dominant forms of night-time activities are various cultural entertainments, alcohol-related activities, casinos and night-clubs, and the activities that are performed in Mashhad after midnight stop on or before 10 p.m. in London. Therefore, the two cities are basically different. There are many studies on the night-life of cities in the UK (see for example Roberts and Eldridge, 2009 ; Evans et al., 2009 ; Evans, 2012 ; Talbot, 2011 ; ATCM, 2010), USA (see for example NYNA, 2011 ; Hamilton, 2012) and Australia (see for example Rowe and Lynch, 2012 ; Bevan et al., 2011 ; Beer, 2011) but fewer studies on developing countries. This study focuses on the shrine area in Mashhad as a 24-hour society in the Middle-East. However, this study can fill only a part of the gap in the night-life literature and more studies in various parts of the world are required to provide a holistic night-life literature.

Mashhad is a suitable case study since it has not been studied before and its dominant types of night-time activities are fundamentally different from the studied cases in the UK, USA

and Australia. Also, Mashhad and the shrine area are subject to modernisation in common with many other cities in developing countries; studying Mashhad makes it possible to investigate the impact of urban design interventions on the night-life of an active 24-hour society.

Mashhad is special as a case study because of the large numbers of pilgrims who visit the city all year round. However, it is not unique like Mecca as a pilgrimage destination and there are similar cases to Mashhad in both Iran and Iraq. However, this study does not aim to create a template of night-life to be used in other cases, but to learn lessons from the investigation. These lessons include the relationship between the night-life of each area, its social life and the impact of urban design interventions. At a local level this study will prepare recommendations to improve the night-life of the shrine area.

Other important factors in choosing Mashhad as the case study are language issues. As discussed before, Mashhad and some other societies around the world have active night-life where people routinely perform various activities at night. Also, this is the first study of night-life there. Therefore, in studying night-life the important point is to be able to communicate with the people and read the historical and social literature. To achieve this it is necessary to understand the local language, hence Mashhad was chosen as the case study in this thesis. This chapter continues by discussing the main aims and objectives of the thesis and its structure.

Figure 1: Imam Reza Shrine (Astan-Quds-Razavi, 2007).

Figure 2: A night club (Freshtrax and Giles, 2006).

Chapter One - Introduction

Aims and objectives

The main aim of this study is to evaluate the potential impacts of urban design interventions on the nightlife of cities through an investigation of a case study, the shrine area in Mashhad, Iran. To achieve this aim the main objectives are:

- To study night-life in the shrine area
- To study the relationship between night-life and urban design in the shrine area by considering its night-life as a part of its social life
- To evaluate the impacts of modernisation on the night-life of the shrine area

Structure of the thesis

The thesis structure shown in Figure 4 is discussed below. This study is divided into ten chapters. In Chapter One, Introduction, the main aims and objectives of the study and thesis structure are discussed as a brief overview of the process used in this study. This study is conducted in a new context and has fundamental differences to available studies. Because of the main aims and objectives of this study and the character of the case study, Mashhad, the relevant literature on three main subjects of night-life, urban design and pilgrimage are studied, as shown in Figure 3. These three main subjects have mutual impacts on each other in the case study. To review the literature, night-life is studied in Chapter Two, urban design in Chapter Three and pilgrimage in Chapter Four. These chapters form the theoretical framework of this thesis.
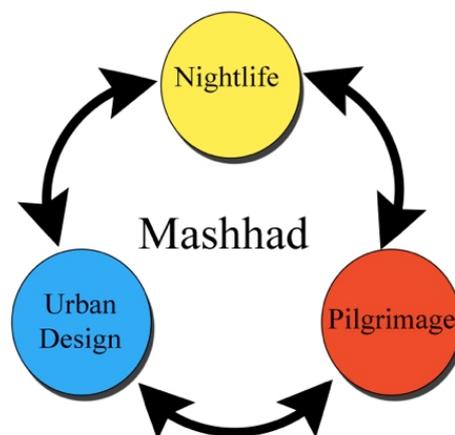
Figure 3: Literature review structure (Author).

Chapter One - Introduction

Chapter Two, focuses on the boundaries between day-time and night-time activities, the concepts of 24-hour city and night-time economy and management and planning efforts available for the nocturnal city. Modernisation, which is the dominant discourse in the redevelopment of the shrine area of Mashhad, similar to many other developing countries, might influence the social life of this area. Therefore, amongst various forms of urban design interventions, Chapter Three focuses on the impact of modernisation on the social life of urban contexts.

The main aims and objectives of the thesis shape its approach towards pilgrimage and religious tourism studies. Therefore, Chapter Four focuses on the mutual impacts of pilgrimage, night-life and urban development in some pilgrimage destinations around the world and across various religions.

In Chapter Five, the methodology for addressing the research question in accordance with the aims and objectives of the study is discussed. In this chapter the mixed methods, including qualitative and quantitative methods, used to answer the research questions are described.

Since the main aim of the thesis is to evaluate the potential impacts of urban design interventions on the nightlife of cities through an investigation of a case study, the shrine area in Mashhad, Iran, it is necessary to gain an in-depth understanding of these concepts in the case study. To obtain this understanding, the boundaries between day-time and night-time activities, traditional urbanism and the approach to modernisation as the most recent urban design intervention are investigated in their contextual background. Therefore night-life and urban design in Iran, Mashhad and the shrine area are considered in Chapters Six and Seven.

Mixed methods, including conducting a survey and observations and studying secondary data, are taken to investigate the boundaries between day-time and night-time activities in the case study, explore the factors that keep the area active at night and evaluate the quality of life in the region as a 24-hour area. Chapter Eight highlights the results of secondary data, a questionnaire survey, semi-structured interviews and observations and the final analysis of these methods.

In Chapter Nine, a literature review and the outcome of analysis of different surveys and observations discussed in Chapter Eight are used to evaluate the impacts of urban design on the night-life of the shrine-area.

Chapter One - Introduction

 In Chapter Ten, Conclusion, the research aims, objectives and questions are reviewed, the contribution of this study to the literature is highlighted, a summary of key findings is discussed, a series of recommendations for the case study are proposed and areas for further research are outlined.

Chapter One - Introduction

Title	Chapters	Contents	
Night, Space and Urban Design, Case study of Mashhad, Iran	Introduction	Preface; Aims and Objectives; Structure of the thesis	
	Night-life	History of darkness and illumination; 24-hour city; Night-time economy; International scope; Planning and managing the night-time city; Discussion	Literature Review
	City	Modernism versus traditional urbanism; Betterment; Public life; Successful public space; Discussion	
	Pilgrimage	Pilgrimage history; Development; Pilgrimage destinations categorised based on their development and night-time activities; Discussion	
	Methods	Aims, objectives and research questions; Boundaries between day-time and night-time activities; Multi-method approach; Urban design methods; Methods used for investigating the case study; Reliability; Limitations and ethical consideration; Discussion	Methods
	Case-study Analysis: Iran	History of urban planning; Urbanism in Iran; Discussion	Case Study
	Case-study Analysis: Mashhad	Night-life in Mashhad; History of urbanism and urban design in Mashhad; Analysis of current situation; Discussion	
	Case-study Analysis: Shrine area	Observations; Analysis of pilgrims study; Analysis of survey; Semi structured interviews; Analysis of secondary data; Discussion	
	Case-study Analysis: Impacts of urban design on the night-life of the case study	Criticism of RPIS; Impacts of RPIS on the night-life of the case study; Discussion	
	Conclusion	Contribution to knowledge; Methods used and response to the aims and objectives; Key findings; Recommendations; Further studies	

Figure 4: Thesis structure (Author).

Chapter Two – Night-life

The theoretical framework of this thesis is shaped by the three concepts of night-life, urban design and pilgrimage and these concepts are discussed in three separate chapters in the literature review. This chapter is the first part of the thesis' theoretical framework investigating night-life and the boundaries between day-time and night-time activities. Mashhad is a city which is routinely active 24-hours. However, the Iranian authorities and local people were not aware of this until June 2012, when the authorities aimed to regulate working hours. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter Eight. There were no studies investigating night-time activities in Mashhad. This was simply because being active 24-hours is the main characteristic of Mashhad and nobody can imagine Mashhad not working all day and night. In order to investigate night-life in Mashhad and categorise it as a 24-hour city, it is necessary to investigate the concept of a 24-hour city and night-time economy around the world. To do this it is first necessary to study the boundaries between day-time and night-time activities in different cultures and time periods. However, the majority of studies on the night-life of cities and night-time activities are focused on Western European countries, USA and Australia and there are few studies on night-life in other parts of the world.

This chapter begins by studying the history of night, the boundaries between day-time and night-time activities before and after the industrial revolution and the factors that led to the extension of activities into the night. After this the concept of a 24-hour society and night-time economy with its advantages and disadvantages are studied. Based on the available literature which focuses on Western societies,[1] night-time activities mostly centre on the entertainment industry and are alcohol-related and mostly youth-oriented. These activities are basically different from day-time activities and exclude certain groups of society from the night-time city. This can result in problems by generating the idea that the city at night is a dangerous and chaotic place. However, this is not the only vision of the nocturnal city and some parts of the world have an inclusive night-life attracting various groups of users to do different activities. In the next section some forms of inclusive night-life in the less-studied societies around the world and through history are studied. As a result, it is argued that, although Mashhad and other cities that contain a relatively inclusive night-life with fewer boundaries between day-time and night-time activities are 24-hour cities, they cannot be assessed or categorised by the available criteria. Therefore it is necessary to

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[1] The word 'West' used in this study generally refers to literature in the UK, Australia and the Unites States, though there are different night-time activities in these countries and even within each city.

reconsider the current framework to prepare a more inclusive definition for night-time economy and the concept of 24-hour society. This chapter concludes by studying various forms of policies and regulations used for planning and managing the night-time city in the UK, USA and Australia. However, it is argued that these regulations and policies are mostly management tools to provide safer and more enjoyable cities at night rather than planning decisions where the cities' night-life has not been included in the development and master plans.

History of darkness

'Night was man's first necessary evil, our oldest and most haunting terror' (Ekirch, 2005:3). In many cultures it is associated with the appearance of ghosts, demons and fairies *(Schivelbusch, 1988). 'Man slept through the dark hours, because it was too inefficient and too dangerous to do anything else' (Coren, 1996:2).*

Night's principal danger lies in its darkness (Palmer, 2000 ; Williams, 2008), which as Ekirch argues '*brutally robs human vision*' (Ekirch, 2005:8). Historically, in the darkness of night, incidents which occurred because of the unsafe condition of roads were misunderstood and attributed to superstitious causes. Although fear of night exists in many cultures, each has their own beliefs and customs which impact differently on night-time activities. For instance, Ekirch reports the members of a local tribe in North Carolina '*never feel fearful at night, nor do the thoughts of spirits ever trouble them*' (ibid: 5). Also some cultures and religions have night-time rituals and events. For example, all-night religious festivals, called 'Pannchides', in ancient Greece, vigil rituals in Christianity and Islam, the celebration of midnight mass on Christmas Eve in Christianity, Qadr-nights in Islam and winter solstice festivities, called Yalda, in the Persian culture form some of these night-time ceremonies. Also various forms of social gatherings including knitting gatherings for women, work and after-work parties, family and friends' parties, political meetings (Palmer, 2000) and poetry-reading meetings take place at night in different communities.

Although places at night look basically different from spaces in the day-time because of the darkness (Williams, 2008), the city at night was historically used by various groups of people. Melbin (1978) divides the consumers of the night-time city into three main groups: wanderers, workers and consumers. Historically the first group, as Palmer (2000) argues,

contains anyone who chooses to live dangerously, outside the defining cultural norms of society. The second group are night-time workers including emergency, health, safety, transport and other night-time services. The last group are the consumers of the night-time city. In this study it is argued that these groups differ in various societies since they are greatly affected by the cultural and social interactions of different societies. The impact of society and culture on the night-life of cities is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Illumination

Before the industrial revolution, lighting was provided by oil lamps and candles, which limited night-time activities to some extent. Night curfews were used in some countries as a kind of regulatory device for controlling cities at night. In medieval Europe, during the curfew time, streets were cleared of pedestrians at night and anyone who was outside without an acceptable reason was fined (Schivelbusch, 1988).

With the introduction of electric lighting at the end of the 19th century (Schivelbusch, 1988) and gas heating (Parkes and Thrift, 1980), night-life developed and security improved (Schlör, 1998). Since then '*night became night-time*' (Lovatt and O'Connor, 1995:130), new economies, employment and entertainment forms emerged (Melbin, 1978 ; Hobbs et al., 2000) which pushed the criminals and prostitutes as the traditional night-time consumers into the shadows (Palmer, 2000). As a result, new opening and closing times emerged and working times extended into the night with people working in factories, hospitals, utilities, printing presses, market halls, warehouses and police stations. New thinking set out to regulate the rhythm of night (Amin and Thrift, 2002). The provision of street lighting spread rapidly leading to further development of industry, commerce and entertainment in the cities (Schlör, 1998 ; Williams, 2008). In industrialised societies electricity, professional police forces and scientific rationalism led to a reduction in fear of the night and more night-time activities. However, even when curfews were abandoned many people did not go out after dark since they held to the traditional belief that '*The night is the time to remain at home*' (Ekirch, 2005:118).

The emergence of railways in the early 19th century was another factor that influenced the conception of time and space. With the railroads connecting different spatial and temporal regions, local time became useless and eventually world time zones were introduced. As

soon as a city was connected to the rail network, streets located near the station became active 24-hours a day to provide services. Soon, in large cities, these streets became the subject of fundamental improvements (Schivelbusch, 1986 ; Williams, 2008).

Emergence of a 24-hour society

The 24-hour society emerged as a result of various social and technological changes which are discussed in this section. These brought flexibility and the opportunity to do many things freed from time restrictions and thus reduced the boundaries between day and night.

The 24-hour society in its most radical form, is described as a society where every service, including schools, shops, offices and factories, work non-stop and time-zones become irrelevant (Toffler, 1971). However, a 24-hour society is not just one in which the shops stay open until later, but it is about removing the temporal constraints and time-structure framing our lives (Carmona et al., 2010). *'We will break away from the thinking that there are a fixed number of hours per day for selected activities and move into a more flexible and free-wheeling approach, co-ordinating activities on the fly'* (Kreitzman, 1999:156).

Developments in societies after the industrial revolution led to the reorganisation of the traditional concept of time and time constraints (Kreitzman, 1999) which were mainly conventional (Sorkin, 1970). This resulted in the detachment of human modern lives from the '*organic and functional periodicity*' dictated by nature and replaced it with '*mechanical time*' dictated by '*the schedule, the calendar and the clock*' (Zerubavel, 1985:11) or conditions of life and work (Schlör, 1998). However, we cannot create time so night became a commodity to save (Scott, 2009) and we start expanding our lives into the night as a frontier (Melbin, 1978) or providing '*the means to use the available time more efficiently*' (Kreitzman, 1999:2). '*When time is a scarce resource... then the night is a source of supply*' (ibid:5).

In modern life, night is not only reserved for sleep (Steger and Brunt, 2003) since 24-hour society and globalisation are acting as '*sleep thieves*' (Coren, 1996). In modern societies working hours are not decreased, nor are life styles more relaxed, but people want to spend more time enjoying leisure and working which has led to a decrease of sleeping time. Different studies show that the number of hours people sleep is reduced in Japan (Mitsuya and Nakano, 2001), China, India, Korea, Germany, France, Spain and the United States (Garhammer, 1999 cited in Steger, 2003).

The concept of 24-hour society emerged as a response to the need for more efficient production to meet the requirements of a growing population in a world with a lack of resources (Moore-Ede, 1993). In contemporary societies the demand for late-night, high quality and safe facilities and services was increased. Although some of the activities taking place at night in contemporary cities, such as goods distribution, existed before illumination (Amin and Thrift, 2002), many other activities formed (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009), or the demand for them was increased, in modern times. People now expect various 24-hour services including medical care, electric power, police and security (Moore-Ede, 1993 ; Melbin, 1978). A study by the Department of Health in England (2009) revealed that 78.9% of London NHS practices offer extended hours during the night, weekends and holidays. Many transport services, pubs, bars and restaurants continue to operate until late at night while different service stations, TV and radio broadcast stations and hospitals work 24-hours (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009). As Kreitzman (1999) argues, late-night shopping has become a popular habit amongst different groups of people, especially the young. However, this may vary in different societies because of social and cultural differences.

The impact of economy and capital exchange are also important in the formation of the 24-hour city (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009:23). Although the 9 to 5 job style with weekends off is still prominent in the majority of Western societies, various flexible working hours are also available. A survey report by CIPD (2012) shows that 96% of employers offer some form of flexible working hours. However, this style of working is not favoured for many types of work in many societies (Glorieux et al., 2008). Historically, there were always some night workers in agriculture, mining, baking, night watch services, navigation and personal services. Later shift working in factories, transport and as store packers became common (Schlör, 1998). In recent years night-time work, in addition to the heavy and service industries, has extended into other services, including knowledge and information services (Kreitzman, 1999).

Globalisation also plays an important role in the development of the nocturnal city. Due to global economy and the formation of a '*single world market*' (Harvey, 1991:161), international companies need to work 24-hours to respond to the stock market movement quickly, stay in contact with their international branches in different time zones (Glorieux et al., 2008) and to compete in the global market (Kreitzman, 1999).

Changes in life style are other important factors in the growth of the 24-hour society. Many single and young people keep the night-time city and its leisure opportunities active

(Kreitzman, 1999) since they are more flexible and might have fewer constraints in family life and work. This factor led to development of night-time activities in university towns (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003). Growth in the number of single households makes it necessary for some people to do part of their everyday activities at night or weekends and increases the number of people using '*out-of-house activities*' for socialising (Rowan, 1998:13) leading to the creation of new spaces for entertainment, retail and service provision (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009). Changes in social life and the boundaries of morality for women compared with the past (Ekirch, 2005 ; Schlör, 1998) played an important role in the growth of the night-time city, although there are still fears and dangers for a women out at night (Sheard, 2011), they are not night-exclusive threats and may happen at any time and anywhere for both men and women (Pain, 2001). In many contemporary societies women work and consume in the nocturnal city in the same way as men and even work in night-time services as Hobbs et.al (2007) discuss. Also, dining out becomes a common form of urban lifestyle because of a lack of time for cooking and the availability of inexpensive dining options. Quick Bite Survey (Horizons, 2012) suggests that in 2010 the frequency of eating out was the highest for two years. However, spending across the sector has declined compared to 2011. Amongst dining venues, family venues where children are admitted and alcoholic and non-alcoholic drinks and food are served, attract different groups of society at night. Shopping at night is another important part of contemporary urban lifestyle with many supermarkets open until midnight. Geiger (2007) states that shopping at night is popular amongst many people in the UK, with 17 million doing it and many others would do it if facilities were provided (Geiger, 2007:25). Reporters argue that extending shopping hours beyond 5 p.m. in Newcastle was successful (BBC, 2010) and was supported by users.

Another important factor in contemporary societies which encourages the 24-hour city is the impact of tourism and the increasing economic importance of the tourist industry. Since tourists spend a limited time on their holiday, time is divided to '*a series of wants to be served*' for them without any relationship to the local time. If facilities are provided for tourists they do not differentiate between day and night, weekday and weekends and operate on a 24-hour, seven day basis (Kreitzman, 1999). This explains why tourist destinations are more active at night than other cities and their local people's lifestyles are different from non-tourist cities. A good example of this phenomenon are the night sightseeing tours in London (LGTSL, 2013 ; SLBNL, 2013). These tours started working

in 1998 *'in response to the tourists' demand'* who do not appreciate being told that something is closed (Kreitzman, 1999:42).

Because of all of these factors, the 24-hour society has become a part of 21st century culture. However, this is not entirely applicable to all sectors of society in all parts of the world and, as discussed later in this chapter, it is not necessarily improved by technological development. In many contemporary cities, excluding vital, fundamental services, a lot of other services do not work after 6:00 p.m., or on weekends and on public holidays. As Roberts and Eldridge argue, the late-night city is still more inhabited by *'cleaners, lorry drivers and call-centre workers'* (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009:26).

Whilst it is considered that 'everyday' is moving into the night (Melbin, 1978), the city after dark continues to represent other attributes contrasting with the city in the day time (Williams, 2008), partly due to the character of the night. It is also important to note that night is a temporal concept as well as an experiential one. These two concepts are changing in contemporary societies; however, they are not always aligned (Gallan and Gibson, 2011). Some commentators argue that cities at night are different from cities in the day in respect of their space, value, customs, expectations and opportunities (Schlör, 1998 ; Worpole and Greenhalgh, 1999) and divide the space into *'day-time and night-time spaces'*(Lefebvre, 1991:320). They argue that night-time spaces may contain activities which are released from day-time prohibition and surveillance (Palmer, 2000), and people who may be traditionally excluded during the day-time (Melbin, 1978). This results in the formation of exclusive night-time demographics in cities that do not exist in the day-time city (Williams, 2008). Due to these factors, the night-time city has been historically represented as places of danger or pleasure (Amin and Thrift, 2002 ; Lovatt and O'Connor, 1995 ; Melbin, 1978) attracting some groups of people while deterring others (Palmer, 2000 ; Schlör, 1998). However, the boundaries between day-time and night-time activities are challenged in different studies (see for example Gallan and Gibson, 2011). These boundaries are different in various regions due to cultural and social interactions and become blurred in some areas (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009). These differences are discussed through some case studies later in this chapter.

In many countries the nocturnal city attracts people to theatres, cinemas, clubs, pubs and bars. Alvarez (1995) describes night as the beginning of real life for many people. The current night-time entertainments in theatres, private parties and clubs dates back to 18th century Europe (Burke, 1943 ; Schivelbusch, 1988). Also taverns, pubs, coffee houses and

gin palaces were being used in the UK as public places where different groups of people could socialise at night (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009). Pubs were an all-purpose place of pleasure for the male working-classes to eat, take refugee from family, rain and cold weather, use the toilet, play cards or dominoes or read books: not everybody visiting them aimed to become intoxicated. However, they have been associated with disorder for centuries (Kneale, 1999:334).

The nocturnal city is also known as a place of danger. Various groups of people, regardless of their gender, age or race, might fear public urban spaces at different times (Pain, 2001). This fear is due to the lack of safety, or the perception of a lack of safety, in some areas. In the 1970s the impact of TV and other home entertainments, restriction policies, suburbanisation and out-of-centre entertainment complexes which were only accessible by car reduced night-time activity and the streets became empty at night (Lovatt and O'Connor, 1995 ; Nottingham, 2003). Also zoning plans created mono-use, central business districts. These areas are abandoned at night due to lack of activities and surveillance (Oc and Tiesdell, 1997). The limit of retail opening hours also meant that the town centres became deserted in the 'dead period' between 5:00 p.m. when the shops closed and 8:00 p.m. when the night life started (Heath, 1997). Because of all of these factors some parts of cities become deserted at night and safety, or the perception of safety, is reduced in them, since most people feel safe in places where there are numbers of other people around them (Roberts, 2001). They often feel safer in crowded spaces than in deserted ones or in ones that are crowded with the '*wrong kind*' of people (Carmona et al., 2010:244). As a result, deserted areas in cities deter people because they are perceived as dangerous and they become more desolate and accordingly more unsafe.

The perception of safety might decrease in an area without a rise in the actual risk (Roberts and Turner, 2005). Not many incidents need to happen to stop people from using an area (Jacobs, 1961) and these incidents do not need to be personal experiences either (Roberts and Eldridge, 2007) since the perception of danger is very real in the minds of some people (Watson, 2006) and sometimes is magnified by the media (Minton, 2006). Although some commentators argue that the presence of strangers is the basis for civility and safety in the city (Sennett, 1974 ; Minton, 2012 ; Jacobs, 1961), the perception of safety decreases in the city at night due to the fact that the nocturnal city is a place of strangers (Melbin, 1978) and each stranger has the potential for danger (Kilian, 1998 ; Newman, 1996). In the darkness of night everybody is frightened and can frighten others since '*Everybody is potentially both murderer and victim*' (Sante, 1991:358). This fear can also be because of

the presence of drunken crowds or lack of sociality (Oc and Tiesdell, 1997 ; Roberts, 2013 ; Sutton et al., 2011), a distrust of urbanity or the people using that area (Lovatt and O'Connor, 1995 ; Minton, 2012) or as a result of social change (Sparks et al., 2001) or low social cohesion (Woldoff, 2006). In order to overcome these issues in the city at night the idea of a 24-hour society was proposed.

The concepts of 24-hour city and night-time economy are discussed separately in the following sections. Each of these concepts has a specific definition and is used at certain points. Night-time is a temporal concept of the night which is related to the time after dark. 24-hour society is a concept which is influenced by various aspects of contemporary societies such as globalisation. Night-time economy is a term mostly used in the UK and Australia and relates to the economy of the night.

24-hour city

The main concept of a 24-hour city contains *'a series of propositions to revitalise town and city centres'* (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009:38). The term '24-hour city' was first coined at a conference held in 1993 in Manchester (Lovatt et al., 1994) which had as its aim the revitalisation of urban centres in the evening and at night (Roberts and Turner, 2005). However, the idea of a 24-hour city is being proposed by several commentators. Based on her personal observations of streets with small businesses, Jacobs (1961) argues that mixed-use areas with residential, commercial and cultural activities, used by various groups of people at different times of the day and night, provide safety, comfort and variety.

In the UK the concept of a 24-hour city was influenced by European experiences (ODPM, 2003) where, according to some commentators (Tiesdell and Slater, 2006 ; Montgomery, 1994 ; Bianchini, 1995), cities have a relatively more inclusive night-life than cities in the UK and people from different ages take part in various activities. This concept was used for developing policies by British planners in the late 1980s as a response to zoning plans to revive deserted town centres after 5:00 p.m. and to bring people back to the cities and attract visitors (Carmona et al., 2010 ; Heath, 1997). This idea provides good urban design through consideration of night-time activities in public spaces by providing mixed-use areas, including residential, commercial and cultural, which attract various groups of users with different aims, including daily activities and entertainment, to the town centres during

the day and at night (Bentley et al., 1985 ; Comedia, 1991). These include a relaxed approach to alcohol licensing (Montgomery, 1994 ; Roberts and Eldridge, 2009), the promotion of café culture (Oosterman, 1994 ; Montgomery, 1997 ; Montgomery, 2003), retailers extended their opening hours and providing more family-style licensed premises by admitting children and serving soft drinks as well as alcoholic drinks (Evans, 2001). However, this pattern was taken from European cities without considering the context and cultural differences and cities at night in the UK and end up having a different vision from their European peers. This is because foreign patterns of behaviour in different contexts may only work successfully if various cultural and social interventions are considered.

Although one vision of the 24-hour city illustrates mixed-use, well-managed areas '*where city centres are dynamic, safe and typically aspirational communities*' (Eldridge, 2010:183), its negative aspects, which are similar in many countries around the world, cannot be ignored. These negative aspects are described as another vision of the night-time city illustrating unsafe, noisy and crowded areas with binge drinking, anti-social behaviour, violence and crime (see for example Roberts and Gornostaeva, 2007 ; Richardson et al., 2003 ; Plant and Plant, 2006).

In the next section, the expansion of night-life in Western Europe, USA and Australia is studied which is mostly based on alcohol-related activities. It is called 'night-time economy' by Professor Dick Hobbs. Tiesdell and Slater (2006) differentiated between night-time and an evening economy. However, the term 'night-time economy' as used in the majority of studies refers to both.

Night-time economy

Night-time economy creates jobs and wealth in the alcohol industry and its supporting industries including clubs, fast food restaurants and transport. It attracts young people and engages them in urban activities, supports national governments by increasing revenue and attracting inward investment (Roberts and Gornostaeva, 2007 ; Chatterton, 2002). However, the question is '*which kinds of work and leisure it promotes, and how the latter can be governed in a way that, in turn, reconciles safety, diversity and autonomy*' (Rowe and Lynch, 2012:144). When the majority of night-time activities are based on alcohol-related activities, inefficient management or lack of management it may lead to the creation of unsafe areas which are threatened by disorder, noise, litter, traffic congestion,

violence and other forms of anti-social behaviours and eventually the creation of no-go areas (Hobbs et al., 2000 ; Moore et al., 2011).

Economic and cultural development, the entertainment industry and night-time economy impact on each other (Talbot, 2007). Active night-life improves economic and cultural development, tourism and destination marketing, while promotion of each of these elements may lead to development of night-time economy. For instance, the growth of tourism, late-night entertainment for youth and competition for more benefits between the developers and investors lead to the expansion of the night-time economy (Hubbard, 2013 ; Rowe and Lynch, 2012), whilst at the same time up-market style cafés, bars and night-clubs being active at night improves the entertainment industry (Hollands and Chatterton, 2003 ; Chatterton and Hollands, 2002). In many societies this factor has influenced the concept of the 24-hour city to develop mostly around the entertainment industry with less focus on mundane everyday activities. Also because investment in alcohol-related activities facilitates revitalisation, the night-life in many cities becomes youth-oriented and alcohol-based. This type of night-time economy excludes certain types of everyday activities such as family or business meetings as well as shopping and does not offer night-time activities to people with different needs or tastes (Bianchini and Greed, 1999 ; Carmona et al., 2010) and becomes problematic in some cases (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009).

One of the main issues with an alcohol-based night-time economy is that it does not increase safety in the cities at night as envisioned by Comedia (1991), but creates dangerous districts with several safety issues and anti-social behaviour (see for example Measham and Brain, 2005 ; Winlow and Hall, 2006). Although the Greater London Authority (2005), argued that the night-time economy is one of the main attractions of London and brings money to the city, local authorities of other British town centres report problems with anti-social behaviour, including public urination, swearing and shouting which has transformed some parts of their town centres to dens of drunkenness and no-go areas for people aged over 30 after 9.00 p.m. (Roberts, 2006) due to the fear of violence and disorder made mostly by drunk '*young working-class males*' (Lovatt and O'Connor, 1995:132; Nottingham, 2003 ; Hadfield et al., 2009). The mass development of licensed premises since the 1990s is an important factor leading to this problem (Measham and Brain, 2005). '*On 31st March 2010 the number of premises licences with on-sales only alcohol licences and both on and off sales of alcohol licences in force were at the highest level recorded in over 100 years*' (Antoniades and Thompson, 2010:16). However,

drinking alcohol does not necessarily mean binge drinking and its related troubles. It is a matter of how, where and with whom alcohol is consumed and legislation plays an important role in controlling the situation and reducing the problems. This problem exists in many other countries including Western European countries (Bell, 2007 ; Chatterton and Hollands, 2003), USA (NYNA, 2011), Australia (Kypri et al., 2010 ; Rowe and Lynch, 2012 ; Hadfield, 2011) and New Zealand (Latham, 2003). Other problems which occur as a result of having 24-hour districts apart from excessive drinking and anti-social behaviour are noise pollution, overcrowding, pressure on public facilities such as public transport, public toilets and parking spaces, conflicts between various uses and accordingly a reduction in safety or in the perception of safety (Hubbard, 2013 ; Roberts and Eldridge, 2007 ; Rowe and Lynch, 2012) which make the '*night-time hell*' (Evans, 2001:144) for some people.

Connecting pleasure and civic space and mingling classes which is the main idea of 24-hour society may lead to contradictions and tensions (Lovatt and O'Connor, 1995). Cities are full of strangers who have various tastes for different things, therefore it is impossible to mix all these different groups together without having any tensions and contradictions (Eldridge, 2010 ; Amin and Thrift, 2002). Also there are always conflicts between entertainment use and everyday life at night. For instance, particular styles of music and events attract large groups of people who increase the perceptions of social disorder and are subject to tough regulations (Talbot, 2011). Conflicts between the residents in some night-time active areas and the young people attending noisy and crowded bars and pubs has been documented by different studies (see for example Roberts et al., 2006 ; Davies, 2010 ; Davies and Mummery, 2006 ; Evans et al., 2009 ; Roberts and Turner, 2005). Management tries to make the night-time cities more inclusive by reducing the conflicts between different activities including noise-generating ones and noise-sensitive ones (see for example Chatterton and Hollands, 2002 ; Tiesdell and Slater, 2006 ; Burke and Schmidt, 2013). However, these conflicts basically depend on the residents' profile and their lifestyle and a degree of tolerance which varies according to climate, nationality and work, play and sleeping habits (Evans, 2001).

One of the greatest problems in generating conflicts between different uses is noise pollution. However, the perception of noise is influenced by various factors including '*the time of the day, the context and the personality of the listener*' and some kind of noises might be more tolerable for some people at certain times (Moore et al., 2009). Annoyance in people varies with the type of noise, including the sound source, and factors such as how

long they have been living in an area, how they perceive the place in its surroundings, how involved they are in the social life and how integrated they feel in their neighbourhood as well as their social, psychological status and the economic benefits of the sound (Schulte-Fortkamp, 2002 cited in Moore, et al., 2009). The amount of dissatisfaction they feel is also influenced by the amount of control they have over the source of noise. This dissatisfaction does not necessarily reduce their feeling about the quality of life in their living area since they might complain of noise pollution while feeling basically satisfied with the quality of life in the area (Lercher et al., 1999 cited in Moore, et al., 2009).

Studies conducted on the mixed-use areas for the VivaCity 2020 project[2] (Evans et al., 2009 ; Moore et al., 2009 ; Boyko and Cooper, 2009 ; Hillier and Sahbaz, 2009 ; Foord, 2010) show that if the area is sufficiently mixed and one particular activity does not dominate the night-life of the area, this brings reasonable benefits for the residents who live there. For instance, Evans et.al (2009) points out that Clerkenwell in London is a mixed-use area with a wide range of spaces and activities being used by various groups of users at different times of the day and night. Here, less conflicts existed and residents experienced a low-level of fear of crime but were more concerned about litter, rubbish and noise. Also some safety factors were relatively higher in this mixed-use area than a mono-used area. For instance, there were relatively less break-ins and domestic and office burglaries while pickpocketing, snatch theft and vehicle crime were higher in the permeable streets with poor surveillance even with high levels of pedestrian flow and street activity. Therefore, the generated conflicts in the mixed-use areas are not necessarily intolerable and the benefits of living or working in a 24-hour mixed-use area, including convenience and economic benefits and a certain level of safety, may trade-off its problems (Foord, 2010 ; Perdikogianni et al., 2008). Also the problem of conflicts between various uses in a mixed-use area may never resolve completely but, as Beer (2011) argues, future urban liveability depends on the planners' ability to deal with the various challenges of the night-time economy.

The 24-hour society is basically more than a late night drinking and dancing culture for young people or a '*playground for affluent classes*' as discussed by Grazian (2008:225).

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[2] VivaCity2020 VivaCity2020. (2005) *Toolkit*. Available at: http://www.vivacity2020.co.uk/vivacity-toolkit/all-tools/index.html (accessed May 2013). is a UK research project conducted 2003-2008 with the aim of urban sustainability for the 24-hour society. In this study the night-time economy in Manchester Mackay L. (2005a) Manchester and its Late Night Economy. VivaCity2020.and Sheffield Mackay L. (2005c) Sheffield and its Late Night Economy. VivaCity2020.are studied.

The main idea of creating later than usual opening hours is to develop a more vibrant urban culture (Kreitzman, 1999). A district which is sufficiently mixed-use and offers various opportunities from mundane everyday activities to leisure and entertainment provision for different groups of users is an example of an inclusive 24-hour society. Bianchini and Greed (1999) differentiated between this inclusive society and the '*male, concept of the 24-hour city*' which is based on alcohol-related entertainment and does not offer alternatives to other groups of society to use the night (Bianchini and Greed, 1999:203). They argue that in an inclusive 24-hour society the problems of people who work full-time and do not have the opportunity to do their essential simple daily tasks such as shopping, going to the dry cleaners or posting a letter will be fixed.

With the expansion of the concept of a 24-hour society around the world, different commentators criticise its disadvantages from various points of view. Some commentators discuss the various biological harms of living and working in a 24-hour society by emphasising the problems that people who work at night may suffer (Melbin, 1978 ; Moore-Ede, 1993 ; Kreitzman, 1999). They argue that although a 24-hour society has great advantages, the life-style it is leading to is not one for which human bodies are biologically designed (Moore-Ede, 1993). They discuss the health problems suffered by shift workers (Kreitzman, 1999) and the mechanical problems which happen as a result of human fatigue at night (Moore-Ede, 1993). However, based on various sleep patterns and life styles in different societies discussed by Ekirch (2005), these issues might not necessarily be true and need further investigation in other societies. Also these debates are similar to those which were prevalent at the beginning of the development of the railways and some of them are discussed in Schivelbusch (1986). Although many people in the 19th century suffered nausea and dizziness when travelling by train, after over a century of rail development and further transport developments such as air travel, people in many societies in the 21st century cannot think of a world without fast transport. This supports Scott (2009) argument that the body responds to the cultural needs of people.

Kreitzman (1999) argues that people working in night services or during the weekends suffer from loss of leisure time. However, night-time shift working in some services, such as police or hospitals, is inevitable, and has a long history. The only difference in modern times is that night-time shift working has become necessary in other forms of services as well. Shift working provides the possibility for workers to have some time off in the day. In a 24-hour society this time can be used for carrying out various activities in contrast to a traditional nine-to-five society where workers are only able to do their everyday activities

at certain times during the weekend and may never have the opportunity to do some daily activities, such as picking up a parcel from the post office, unless they get some time off during the week.

There is also discussion about reducing night-time activities to decrease illumination at night. This is argued by ecologically-friendly associations such as the International Dark Sky Association, who hold that humanity is destroying the darkness of the night through artificial lighting, or those who seek energy-saving aims (Gallan and Gibson, 2011).

None of these might terminate a 24-hour society since this is not a trend but a feature of modern life. As Kreitzman (1999) argued more than a decade ago, in the future the big cities might not be able to withdraw from the process of becoming a 24-hour society. The trend towards a 24-hour society continues with the support of some young people who are time-pressured and who seek immediate gratification of their demands. However, there are considerable differences in the extent of this process (Brunt, 2003). It is a collection of ideas and methods and there are no objective rules for recognising a 24-hour city, nor a single model for developing one. Different approaches are used in various cities, based on their circumstances and the availability of funds.

In order to provide a dynamic sustainable night-life it is important to consider social and cultural interactions and requirements and the spatial form of each context and not just the trend. Brunt reminds us of various nightspots in New York which do not exist any more because they relied on the *'trendsetters' ever-changing taste'* rather than the local culture (Brunt, 2003:177). Also *'there is no 'global' solution to* [solve] *the problems of the night-time economy and that to believe that there is one is, itself, part of the problem'* (Rowe and Bavinton, 2011:822). Therefore it is not possible to apply a night-time economy pattern from one area to another area without considering the context and cultural differences. Bavinton (2010) points out the importance of local consumption culture on the formation of a uniquely successful night-time economy for each city. She argues that, although certain forms of night-time activities may change the image of cities to being successful and modern, they economically exclude the users and undermine the value of pre-existing local consumption cultures which characterise the uniqueness of the place. Therefore, in order to have an active 24-hour society it is not enough to be open 24-hours but to provide the services and facilities that customers, including local people and tourists, require at night (Kreitzman, 1999). Even currently successful 24-hour societies need to consider the

further needs of customers by conducting dynamic research and updating their facilities based on customer needs.

International scope

'Night-time economy is part of a wider social and cultural economy' (Lovatt and O'Connor, 1995:131). Night has been known and experienced differently in various cultures and throughout history. Local and international forces related to economic, cultural, social, political, historical and environmental issues shape cities and develop the night-time activities of each individual city (Jayne, 2006 ; Maver, 2003 ; Latham, 2003 ; Bell, 2007 ; Rotenberg, 1992). Age, social class, gender and urban-facilities affect people's experience of the night-time city (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009).

The night-life of cities is complex and cannot be described by a few statements (Jayne et al., 2008) and the night-time economy in each part of the city may run differently because of various influential social, cultural and political factors. Therefore *'there is no singular night-time economy'* but a number of economies in different cities or even in different areas of one city *'running side-by-side in support or opposition to each other'* (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009:11). For instance, in British multi-cultural society, a study shows that in neighbourhoods in which Muslim communities live instead of pubs, bars and nightclubs alternative spaces that do not serve alcohol such as cafés and canteens are formed for family activities at night (Valentine et al., 2010).

Although all cultures have some form of time structure, the boundaries between day-time and night-time activities are more visible in Western societies with a distinct relationship between time and moral order (Nottingham, 2003). These boundaries are less visible in some societies by everyday activities extending completely into the night. However, as Scott (2009) agues the definition of mundane and ordinary depends on the norms of each society. Therefore everyday life in one society might contain a series of activities called ordinary that are known as extraordinary in another society. Urban life in regulated time scheduling in Western cities such as Sydney (Rowe and Lynch, 2012), have a sharp contrast to cities such as Dubai (Barrett, 2010), Singapore (Su-Jan et al., 2012 ; su-jan and Kiang, 2013) and Mumbai(Brunt, 2003) with commercial orientation and small-scale industries without a clear boundary between day-time and night-time activities and work and free time (Brunt, 2003). These are samples of what Melbin called *'incessant*

communities' (Melbin, 1978:7) challenging assumptions taken for granted about the conventional use of time in society, including in Western societies. Much of the discussion about the city at night is dominated by Western frameworks and experiences including Western European countries, USA and Australia and there is a significant lack of night-time studies in other parts of the world. In the following section some cases around the world with less clear boundaries between day-time and night-time activities are investigated.

One of the factors influencing night-time activities is the sleep pattern in different societies. Scott (2009) argues that an individual's temporal rhythm is different based on their age, gender and social class. Steger and Brunt (2003), by studying different traditional sleeping patterns, argue that cultures with a siesta pattern, which are mostly prevalent in Mediterranean or Asian countries, have more tolerance towards late night-time activities with the siesta working as an important buffer zone. Also in many Asian societies it is recommended only to take the minimum amount of required sleep. A Japanese proverb says *'In the morning get up at the hour of rabbit,* [around sunrise] *in the evening go to bed at the hour of rat* [around midnight]' (Kurokawa, 2/1977 cited in Steger, 2003) and a Chinese proverb says *'early to rise and late to bed'* (Steger and Brunt, 2003:10).

In the majority of Muslim countries night is a continuity of day and many day-time activities take place at night. This is due to the cultural and social factors that characterise night-life and the climate that makes summer nights much more suitable for activity than hot summer days. Barrett (2010) who lived in Dubai for a decade, described the city in his book *'Dubai Dreams'* as a 24-hour city. He argues that, even after midnight, the streets and restaurants are busy with people who *'clearly had little intention of retiring to bed any time soon'* (Barrett, 2010:26). He continued that *'it is possible to sit down to a good meal at any time of the day* [or night] *and even at 4a.m'* (Barrett, 2010:117) He argued that this night-life style is prevalent in the whole area and the cities in the Persian Gulf only come alive at night. The night-life in Dubai is also popular with tourists and various sightseeing and entertainment tours take place at night (Barrett, 2010).

As discussed before, spontaneous active night-life is not restricted to a culture, society or an urban area. Further from the Middle-East in India, natives of Mumbai proudly describe theirs as a city that never sleeps (Brunt, 2003). Brunt (2003) questions *'whether Indian people ever sleep'* and describes Mumbai as an active city where life continues day and night with masses of people walking around and doing different things, vendors selling

goods such as fruits and snacks and crowded small shops on the pavements selling ice cream and fruit drinks (Brunt, 2003:176). Brunt argues that, at midnight, Mumbai without any modern street lighting is more active than many modern Western cities such as Vienna and Glasgow. This is a vision of a relatively inclusive night-time economy in Mumbai. However, there are also exclusive night-time activities such as 'ladies bars' or 'beer bars' which are avoided by upright citizens and are private indoor parties for wealthy Indians (Brunt, 2003:181). Mumbai is a multi-layered city which is a harbour, an industrial city, the most important globalised city in India and a cultural and artistic centre with a large service sector. There are fewer boundaries between day-time and night-time activities in Mumbai and its night-life does not have co-ordinated time schedules which categorise different activities taking place at different times. Also, certain parts of Mumbai lack some features of technology, while still evidencing an active life. Therefore, in order to investigate the life in Mumbai or similar cities, a new theoretical concept is required (Brunt, 2003) which is to be more inclusive and consider the social and cultural differences in various societies.

Su-Jan et al. (2012) argue that in the global city of Singapore an informal night-time economy co-exists alongside the formal night-time economy. These informal economies exist in each ethnic enclave as well as in residential neighbourhoods where people of various classes and ethnicities may take part in both the production and consumption of night-life at the *'night bazaars, hawker centres and group activities'* (Su-Jan et al., 2012:372). They describe the night-life in *'Minimart'* as a region in the city of Singapore where many Bangladeshi ethnic minority people live and work. The life in this region is slow and relaxed during the day-time and gets faster after 5:00 p.m. when most of the migrant workers return from work. On weekends this process starts after 3:00 p.m. where thousands of people gather by nightfall. This region has an intensive street-life at night with people *'dining, marketing, servicing their mobile phones, playing carom and chatting with one another – all in an informal place-setting'* (Su-Jan et al., 2012:387). In another study Su-Jan and Kiang argue that the night-time economy in Singapore is not limited to the town centres but also flourishes in the *'quotidian places where ordinary people live, work and play'* (su-jan and Kiang, 2013:13). They argue that night-time routines are important in making vibrant cities, helping to foster social sustainability by enabling wider accessibility, tolerance, diversity of people and businesses and participation.

Further from Singapore, in Japan, Jun (2003) argues that modern Japanese life-styles, youth attitudes and relationships are changing with companies initiating flexible working

hours. Bars, cafés and Karaoke lounges stay open late at night and there is the possibility of obtaining groceries, babysitters, hairdressing and even fishing tackle after midnight. Technology-based home entertainments mean that people stay up much later than before.

Considering Europe, tourists in Italy, Spain and Greece report that families with children were seen out together until 10 p.m. at night, children were welcomed to restaurants and people drink alcohol and soft drinks in a relaxed manner (Tiesdell and Slater, 2006). Night-time festivals described by Bianchini (1995) in Rome between 1977 and 85 and the Nuit Blanche (Evans, 2012) in various capital cities are types of night-time activities including musical events, cultural activities, viewing artworks, eating food, drinking wine, playing sport and going shopping. However, they are short-term festivals and do not happen every night.

In Greece as Gospodini (2009) says night-time entertainments are clustered with cultural activities and people at night might visit a museum then go to the theatre and finally attend a music club. However, these night-time activities that happen in hotels, cafés, bars, restaurants and music clubs and make the highest contribution to the post-industrial economy of Greece take the form of entertainment and not everyday night-time activities.

Staying in Europe but moving back through history, Amsterdam before World War II was described as a city which had moved from being a relatively tightly scheduled to a 24-hour city by the liberalisation of opening and closing hours for the shops at night and on Sundays (Brunt, 2003). This was an important step in the globalisation of the economy in Amsterdam. Dekker (1949) describes different forms of everyday activity that took place at midnight in Amsterdam in the early decades of the 20th century. According to Dekker (1949), in Amsterdam people used to go shopping for freshly-cooked buns, fresh fish, eggs and would smoke cigars or drink hot chocolate, listening to spiritual nourishment or taking part in debates about religion or politics until 4 a.m. In his book Dekker recalls that *'even in the most out-lying streets of the suburbs some shops were open late at night, while there were still some old men waiting at the hairdressers at 11 p.m'* (Dekker, 1949 cited in Brunt, 2003: 183). However, Dekker argues that this active night-life did not last long and after World War II Amsterdam became *'dull'*. This process of change in the night-life style in Amsterdam continued and at the end of the 20th century Mevissen (1989) states that residents of the city centre in Amsterdam complained about noise at night arguing that *'the night is a period in which people should sleep instead of roam the streets'* cited in (Steger and Brunt, 2003:4). These complaints illustrate the antisocial behaviour issues related to

intoxicated individuals on the streets at night, which is the result of the shift in the night-time economy in Amsterdam from an inclusive night-time economy in the early 20th century to a more exclusive alcohol-based night-time economy in the late 20th century. They also point out that late-night activities and the perception of noise may change across time.

Blurred boundaries between day-time and night-time activities in these cases show that, unlike the common belief in Western societies, night is not necessarily a 'wild frontier' (Melbin, 1978) dominated by '*hedonistic consumption*' (Gallan and Gibson, 2011:2514) which is made possible by technological development, specifically street lighting (Schlör, 1998) which began in the West and was exported to other countries (Melbin, 1978), nor a '*social problem*' in need of control by policy and regulations (Talbot, 2004:887). But some parts of the world are dominated by different forms of everyday activities with a lower technological base (Brunt, 2003) and less awareness about day-time and night-time boundaries amongst the local people. It is important to consider that some developments might even have a reverse trend on the night-life of a city (Nottingham, 2003) and night-life developed in some time periods might be decreased in a later period (Brunt, 2003) or the people who use the city at night might be different at various historical times (Nottingham, 2003).

It is concluded that although the following assumptions might be true in individual cases, none of them are necessarily true and applicable to the whole world.

- Cities with a more developed technology have a more developed night-life

- The night-life in a city will improve when it is technologically developed

- When a city achieves an active 24-hour economy it will keep it for ever.

As a result, it is important to consider that technological developments that do not consider the society, its culture and local night-life might lead to the decrease of its night-time economy or end up replacing it with an unsuitable economy in its context and result in rise of more problems than benefits. Besides, investigating the cultural interactions of each area may bring new ideas for understanding the '*lived experience*' of night-life (Rowe and Bavinton, 2011:817). Also Modernity does not necessarily lead to progress or expansion of the night-time economy.

Planning and managing the night-time city

As discussed in the last section, 24-hour society is becoming a feature of our contemporary cities and this study argues the requirement of considering night-time activities in planning guidelines. Time is an important concept in urban design (Lynch, 1984) since it is a four-dimensional tool with time as its fourth dimension (Carmona et al., 2010). In a 24-hour society the buildings and spaces function in a *'poly-chronic'* way (Tiesdell and Slater, 2006:140) which means that they might be used at different times for various activities. Therefore planners need to appreciate and consider *'time cycles and the time management of activities in space'* (Carmona et al., 2010:241). Planners may need to prohibit some activities at certain times to avoid conflicts, separate them in time to reduce congestion or bring them together to allow connection and sufficient density of usage (Lynch, 1984:452). Also planners need to consider that raising the quality of spaces and safety at night is as important as raising their quality in the day-time (Rogers et al., 2008), and, as discussed in the last section, provision of an active night-life is necessary for creating a successful public space (Cullen, 1961 ; Llewelyn-Davies, 2000).

The earliest form of architecture and planning prescription for the night-time city were suggested by Jacobs (1961). However, they were in the form of a recommendation and not policy or regulations. She recommended mixed land-use areas used by different groups of people at various times during the day and night and small blocks to increase permeability and provide safety and convenience. Later Bentley et.al (1985) and Comedia (1991) recommended mixed-use areas, providing continuous active frontages viewed from and to the adjacent public spaces, improved street lighting and keeping continuous pedestrian and vehicle traffic to increase safety and revitalise the town centres after 5:00 p.m. Mongomery (1998 ; 1997) and Oosterman (1994), suggest that promotion of a café culture and provision of a series of free events and festivals taking place at night may attract varied groups of users from different ages and genders to the town centres at night. Now late-night festivals and events take place in national and regional capital cities and are an opportunity to revitalise the town centres (Evans, 2012 ; Maitland, 2010). In order to provide safer spaces at night, Oc and Tiesdell (1997) recommend including group night-time activities near to the transport nodes, avoiding locating routes that are being used at night through or alongside unsupervised and unlit spaces and providing concentrated configured routes through and near parking areas at night.

As discussed in the last section, the current anti-social behaviour issues related to an alcohol-based night-time economy has transformed some parts of many town centres to no-go areas. This is because night-life in many town centres offers only alcohol-based entertainment activities and the activities that support them. These town centres lack various types of uses to attract different groups of people (Carmona et al., 2010). Therefore, in order to overcome these issues, the main idea is to provide a relatively inclusive 24-hour society to offer a wide range of activities to people with different tastes. It is important to consider that working, shopping, service and transport hours are strongly linked together and affect the land-use pattern (Kreitzman, 1999), and the goal of having a 24-hour society will be only reached when the land-use, working hours and the social life all support this idea. Also, provision of facilities, public transport and family venues are very important in creating an inclusive 24-hour society since studies show that lack of these facilities may make people avoid going out at night as much as the prevalence of intoxicated youth does (Eldridge, 2010 ; Eldridge and Roberts, 2008).

Adding more cultural activities and venues to cities at night, if there is a demand for them in society, it may also attract some groups of people to the town centres (Roberts and Eldridge, 2007). However, these centres, in the same way as many town centre complexes, exclude certain groups of society who cannot afford to pay for the services and provide an empty and unsafe area around them when closed (Evans, 2001). Although it is argued by several commentators that the night-time city should not exclude some groups of society (Worpole and Greenhalgh, 1999 ; Carmona et al., 2010), there are always some restrictions based on race, class and location in the nocturnal city.

The night-life of cities can become more inclusive by providing everyday mundane activities in the night-time city. As Roberts and Eldridge argue these activities are not necessarily boring and *'doing some mundane activities such as going to the laundry or post office, simple acts of walking to the nearby late-night store and the simple pleasure of walking at night or doing window shopping can change the vision of the city from a place of pleasure or danger and chaos to a place which is accessible and convenient for its different users'* (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009:187). The success of this idea can be seen in some parts of the world which contain a routine inclusive night-life. Some of these cases are described in the last section of this chapter and the following chapters.

As discussed in the last section, the physical environment has an influential impact on the night-life of cities by the type of land-use pattern and facilities they offer as well as the

form of their buildings and streets. Many town centres at night look attractive for young drinkers as they become a leisure environment free from the censure of older citizens (Hobbs et al., 2000). However this feeling of freedom or drinking does not necessarily lead to violence and the physical environment has an important role in preventing violence happening at night. This is partly due to pressure on the resources and facilities or the form of the built environment which decreases accessibility or provides movement restrictions (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009) since the intoxicated crowds display greater levels of violence as crowd density increases (Moore et al., 2008). Also the amount of noise and disturbance from night-time activities is found to be higher in narrow streets with small block size (Roberts et al., 2006).

Street illumination also plays an important role in the nocturnal city. Street lighting is used differently in various kinds of streets with different aims. For instance, commercial streets and streets with higher traffic are illuminated more than the others. However, streets are basically illuminated to help people find their way as well as provide surveillance (Williams, 2008) and lack of illumination may decrease safety or perception of safety (Painter, 1996) with an increase in people complaining (Schlör, 1998). Improved street lighting can be extremely cost-effective in decreasing crime (Painter and Farrington, 2001).

Different regulations have been set and efforts have been taken in countries dealing with the issues of an alcohol-based night-time economy and dead periods in cities. However, there are fewer regulations or even awareness in countries that contain a routine active night-life such as Iran. In the UK, Planning Policy Statement-6 (ODPM, 2005:12) had a section devoted to managing the evening and night-time economy. However, it is being superseded by the National Planning Policy Framework (Department-for-Communities-and-Local-Government, 2012) which do not offer guidance. Various items in this scheme which were necessary to support each other included re-populating the town centres by residential use, promoting street entertainment and festivals, extending opening hours for a variety of activities including live music, theatres, cinemas, galleries, some museums, libraries, restaurants, retailers, cafés, pubs, bars and clubs and providing a range of night-time uses including leisure, cultural and tourism activities to attract and retain different groups of people from various ages or social groups in the cities at night. Public transport, taxis, police and cleaning were also proposed to increase the ease and convenience of the use of facilities (Heath, 1997 ; Greater-London-Authority, 2005 ; ODPM, 2005). Using noise insulations or putting time-limits were also suggested to avoid conflicts (Tiesdell and

Slater, 2006). Based on this scheme the retailers were attracted to participate in a scheme for longer working hours; however, they did not co-operate in various cases in Britain (Heath, 1997 ; Tiesdell and Slater, 2006).

Additional guidance was also provided to address some issues related to the night-time economy such as safety. A study called Safer Places (ODPM and Home-Office, 2004), aimed to increase safety at night-time venues through provision of mixed-use areas, enough car parking, public transport, street lighting, CCTV, clear and legible movement spaces, active frontages, clearly defining private and public spaces and the maintenance and management of public spaces. Also, for specific areas, supplementary planning guidance in the form of a master plan or urban design framework, was used to promote certain forms of activities and restrict the other activities that generate problems in the area.

Besides the planning guidance, some context and consumer based research scheme reports, 'Night Vision' (The-Civic-Trust, 2006) ,'Better Town Centres at Night' (Davies, 2010) are provided to improve the night-life experience in the UK and increase safety and perception of safety in the town centres at night. 'Purple Flag' ATCM (2012 ; 2013) is a policy instrumental in the form of an accreditation scheme which works with the partnership of local governments and stakeholders. Purple flag has a toolkit to assess and improve the night-time economy in town centres through better management practices and provide an accreditation badge to the area as having successful night-life. In the UK, Covent Garden in London is known as an example of successful night-life which contains street entertainment, dining, retail, pubs and bars all together. However, these might have conflicts with residents' requirements as it does in other mixed-use areas across the world (see for example Davies, 2010 ; Evans et al., 2009 ; Roberts and Turner, 2005). Also, London, due to its location, density and size, has a unique opportunity for night-time activities which may not be available in other towns and cities. This style of night-time planning does not result in more inclusive spaces at night, as it supposed to do, but provides a *'patchwork of 'no-go' areas dominated by vertical drinking establishments and deserted shopping streets with the possibility of one very small gentrified cultural zone centred around up-market restaurants, a theatre or cinema'* (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009:212) which is not affordable for low-income groups.

The model of the 24-hour city in the USA, similar to the UK model, is based on reviving the downtown, central business areas by attracting a residential population. This is

achieved through provision of attractive residential neighbourhoods, cultural entertainment, restaurants and leisure activities during day and night, convenience shopping within walking distance, reliable integrated public transport and relative safety and security. By this plan some of the successful districts become 16, 18, 20 or 24-hour districts (Kreitzman, 1999). There are reports and night-life associations in different states in USA similar to the ones in the UK. However, the UK version of report and tools are more concerned about provision of an inclusive, active, safe night-time city, while the USA version is more concerned with keeping the night-time spaces safe and free from illegal activities (NYNA, 2011 ; CityofNewYork, 2007 ; Hamilton, 2012).

In Australia night-time economy reports are provided for the two major cities of Sydney (Bevan et al., 2011 ; Hadfield, 2011) and Melbourne (Gulko, 2012 ; CityofMelbourne, 2010). These reports have a similar approach to the UK reports and aim to produce inclusive active and safe night-time cities. These studies also suggest a series of recommendations for managing the night-time city such as use of CCTV, improving street lighting, provision of public facilities, improving transport and cleaning services and the provision of active frontages.

Various management and planning efforts are discussed in different studies and reports (see for example Mackay, 2005b ; ATCM, 2012 ; Comedia, 1991 ; The-Civic-Trust, 2006 ; Davies, 2010). However, these regulations are mostly in the form of managing available night-life in the area rather than considering its changes in a master plan or a large-scale regeneration project, while considering the night-life of cities in master plans in parallel with management efforts will lead to more sustainable active cities at night.

Gender is also an influential factor in night-time studies and time-planning. A place is inclusive when it is being used by various groups of people in the society regardless of their age, gender or social class. Therefore when talking about an inclusive city at night, it is important to consider whether that space is being used differently by men and women or has different impressions on them. Fear is an influential factor for people using the city at night. Female nocturnal fear as a stereotype exists in many societies (Sutton et al., 2011) and many women use strategies to avoid conflicts or safety problems at night (Pain, 2001). Also they have certain norms of behaviour which might be different based on their age, class, religion and ethnicity (Holloway et al., 2009). However, the actual figures of safety issues show that both men and women are subject to attack at night (Pain, 2001). However, as Roberts (2013) argues, an emphasis on women's vulnerability risks lead to a situation in

which some women exclude themselves from some night venues and avoid certain spaces at night. Therefore, in order to provide inclusive spaces at night, gender needs to be considered in studies and planning efforts. Gender is taken into consideration in some of the night-time planning, (see for example Boccia, 2013 ; Gelmini and Zambianchi, 2013); however, it needs more in-depth studies and investigations in various cultures.

Discussion

Night has been known and experienced differently in various cultures and time periods. Although illumination plays an important role in the formation of modern night-time activities by introducing a solution for the main problem of the night which is darkness, it does not necessarily lead to the development of night-life. Many social, cultural, political and economic factors have great influence on the formation and development of various forms of night-life in different societies. This can be conceived by comparing the less technologically developed societies that work 24-hours and the developed ones that stay less active at night.

One of the problems of contemporary society is the mono-use areas which become deserted at night as a result of zoning plans. To deal with this problem several commentators recommend spatial and temporal mixed-use areas to increase vitality (Bentley et al., 1985 ; DETR and CABE, 2000 ; Tibbalds, 1992 ; Llewelyn-Davies, 2000), and reduce disorder and antisocial behaviour (Tiesdell and Slater, 2006). Therefore, the concept of a 24-hour society in Western countries was formed to revitalise the deserted town centres. However, it was also formed because of several factors including increasing demand for a more efficient society, importance of economic and capital exchange, change in lifestyle, impacts of globalisation and the tourism industry. Therefore, 24-hour society does not only mean longer opening hours or all night drinking and dancing and a mix of entertainment activities for affluent young people to enjoy themselves in restaurants and cocktail bars as discussed by Grazian (2008:225). Night-life can include a series of routine and everyday activities and refers to removing time constraints from people's life. It is not necessarily a designed concept but may be a routine concept in response to the social, cultural, economic and political changes in society. This can also be conceived by studying the everyday 24-hour societies around the world. Although 24-hour society is a feature of modern life, there is also no global prescription for producing a 24-hour society since it is a dynamic context-based concept.

The 24-hour society aims to provide flexible leisure-time and choice, extend the capacity to trade in retail and leisure facilities, create active safe cities at night and bring certain groups of people who were excluded back into the cities (Evans, 2001 ; Comedia, 1991 ; Bianchini, 1995). In modern cities different leisure spaces, including theatres, operas, cinemas, restaurants, fast food restaurants, pubs, bars, clubs and cafés, attract various groups of people for socialising at night. However, the families which were historically excluded from the night-time city (Schlör, 1998) are still not included in many modern night-time economies. In many examples this type of night-time economy that is based on alcohol-related activities and is youth oriented resulted in safety and antisocial behaviour problems. Therefore, a 24-hour society, when modelled around excessive alcohol consumption, not only fails to solve the traditional problem of the nocturnal city that is lack of safety or perception of safety, but results in more safety problems in itself.

Although the safety and antisocial behaviour problems are the result of a mono-use night-time economy which is dominated by intoxicated young crowds and excludes certain groups of society, other problems including conflicts between residents and users, lack of facilities, noise pollution, overcrowding and litter are inevitable in mixed-use areas. However, the level of conflicts and dissatisfaction of local residents in these areas depends on a series of social, cultural and economic factors and, for many people, the benefits and convenience of living in a mixed-use area even trade-off its disadvantages. Therefore these conflicts may be managed with research and context-based planning and management efforts.

Planning for the night-time city, its context and current consumers' requirements, needs to be considered and patterns cannot be taken from other countries or even other areas within one city since the social and cultural interaction and the users' requirements might be different in different parts. For instance, in Sydney over 90% of people go shopping before 6 p.m. (Bevan et al., 2011:10). In the UK a study shows that for many people late-night shopping is not recognised as 'going out' (Roberts and Eldridge, 2007:263); however, it is shown in the same study and a BBC report (BBC, 2010) that many people appreciate extended opening hours for shopping centres. Also the majority of people asked for more eating and drinking venues in the UK (Roberts and Eldridge, 2007) and more eating, recreation and arts venues in Australia (Gulko, 2012). However, in Iran shopping is one of the main night-time pleasures. Also it is argued that the current available criteria for 24-hour societies and night-time economy which is mostly based on UK, USA and Australia experiences cannot be used for studying and categorising societies with a night-life that

contains everyday active night-life such as the cases studied in this chapter or the case-study Mashhad. Therefore further research on various forms of night-life is necessary in future to provide more inclusive criteria for studying 24-hour city and night-time economy.

At the end of this chapter a series of different planning and management regulations are discussed that, as Talbot (2004) argues, underline the notion of night-life as consumption rather than a part of everyday life. These regulations provide recommendations for the present situation of the urban environment but not for its future form in the case of regeneration. However, due to the importance of night-time activities for now and in the future, this study highlights the importance of considering the night-life of cities in their master plans and regeneration plans. This study also emphasises the social differences in various circumstances and highlights the importance of considering the social and cultural factors of the local context of each society in planning for its night-life and spatial form. This idea becomes more important in developing countries where large-scale development plans take place with less awareness or consideration of the night-life of cities. This may result in the loss of local night-life and character of these cities in the future, since the night-life of a city does not necessarily improve when it is technologically developed but might be harmed or lost when the requirements of the society are not considered in the developments.

Moving towards the second part of the theoretical framework, in the next chapter the relationship between urban design and the social life of cities is studied.

Chapter Three – City

In the previous chapter night-life in an urban context was studied as the first part of the literature review. In this chapter, which is the second part of the theoretical framework, the relationship between urban design and the social life of cities is investigated. Since the dominant urban design method used in the case-study, the shrine area in Mashhad, is Modernity, in the first part of this chapter the related issues of modernisation based on CIAM disciplines are discussed. These issues include zoning plans, large-scale demolition, demolition of the historic parts of cities, building highways, tall buildings and large blocks, segregation of pedestrians, cyclists and vehicles in traffic routes and widening traditional routes according to vehicular use and speed. These factors are used in Iran as necessary features of urban design, being applied in a traditional context as well as newly built areas, where the relationship between modernisation elements and local context is ignored.

Following this section is a comparison of modernism with traditional urbanism which investigates the relationship between an urban context and users which is ignored in modernisation. In this section it is shown that, in the traditional style of urbanism, cities were mostly developed incrementally when and where needed. There was also a close relationship between social life and the spatial form of the cities. As a result, it is argued that each society has its own independent spatial pattern that is not necessarily applicable to other societies. Imposing the spatial pattern of one society to another society does not necessarily lead to similar outcomes but could lead to the loss of vital characteristics of the area and result in many social and spatial problems, including problems in the night-life of cities.

Displacement of local people in the name of a betterment plan is a form of urban design intervention in the shrine area in Mashhad. The result of this style of forced eviction is in accordance with the aims of redevelopment plans in the shrine area to raise land-values and hand over land to the middle-classes. In this chapter the issues related to raising the land-value through clearance while ignoring the users' point of view are examined. These issues include signs of decay, empty sites, dissatisfaction, financial and social exclusion and the displacement of people to the peripheries of cities with non-standard dwellings and poor living conditions.

It is argued that cities and people have mutual impacts on each other and the attribution of public spaces has a close relationship with their users. As a result, it is alleged that displacement of users in an area might lead to a change in the area's character and social life. This can be unfavourable if keeping the area's attributes is important for the planners.

Also it is considered that, for many people, the mental image of the city in their mind is more real than the spatial form of the cities that can be seen on maps or in studies. Even the majority of utopian writings pay more attention to the social relationships of utopia than its spatial environment (Lynch, 1984). It is argued that an ideal city can be made only when it meets the expectations of its local users. A city with a supposedly perfect spatial form is not an ideal city if it does not consider social life in its context and does not target a group of forthcoming but as yet unknown users.

The first section of this chapter concludes that the discussed modernisation efforts reduce direct public interactions and accordingly change the social life of spaces. However, these impacts might be different in other societies. So this chapter does not aim to criticise all modern cities, but to investigate the impact of modernisation on the context of the case study. It is important to note that changes in the social life of the space also lead to changes in night-life. The important factors in the night-life of the public spaces are discussed in the last chapter. The relationship between the night-life of the case study and its urban form is also discussed in Chapter Eight.

The importance of the social life of spaces in urban design is investigated. It is argued that activities conducted in public spaces are affected by several factors including the social, cultural, religious and economic context of the space. These can be investigated by looking at everyday life on the streets. Therefore, urban design interventions can provide opportunities for new public interactions or lead to the loss of current ones. This section continues by studying the attributes of a successful public space, by discussing influential factors including diversity, land-use, block size, the importance of pedestrian facilities and permeability, visual permeability, active frontages, small businesses and permanent users.

Modernisation

Modern urban planning emerged after the industrial revolution as a response to concerns about rapid urbanisation, unhealthy living conditions, a lack of essential human needs and a shortage of open green spaces (Watson, 2009 ; Gehl, 1996 ; Barnett, 2011). CIAM[1] as an organisation run by the leading architects of its time from across Europe, categorised the key principles of modernism and had a great influence on architecture, urbanism and

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[1] CIAM stands for Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne, International Congresses of Modern Architecture working from 1928-1960

landscape design all around the world (Mumford, 2000 ; 2009 ; Hall, 2002). The concept of a functional city as the most significant theoretical approach of CIAM has several positive and negative impacts on the future of urbanism, which are discussed in the following section. However, it is important to note, based on the aims and objectives of this study, only the social and spatial impacts of a functional city are discussed and the economic, technological and political aspects of the city are not discussed.

One of the disadvantages of CIAM impacts was the demolition of medieval parts of cities including their narrow streets and mixed-use areas. These parts of cities were known as slums (Rowe and Koetter, 1978 ; Barnett, 2011 ; Hall, 2002). In the CIAM Zurich Congress in 1931, it was argued that historic districts with a high density of population and lack of development suffer from poor living conditions and a lack of open spaces as a result of unnecessary medieval block and plot forms. Therefore the traditional texture of cities needed to be demolished and rebuilt in order to provide healthy living conditions with modern facilities (Mumford, 2000 ; LeCorbusier, 1987). However, this argument is not necessarily true, since many of these problems did not exist in medieval cities before modernisation, including automobiles entering cities. The main problem originated from the incompatibility between the city form and its modern usage, rather than the city context. Demolition of city contexts is amongst the main disadvantages of CIAM. As Rowe and Koetter (1978) argue, designing a city is similar to collage and should use the materials in hand rather than draw on a clean sheet of paper because *the city must be transformed but need not be destroyed'* (Giedion, 1967:821). Although the concept of conservation includes the preservation of buildings, their context and uses (Carmona et al., 2010), based on the CIAM briefs, historic monuments were conserved while the residential fabric around them was recognised as slums, demolished and turned into green spaces (Mumford, 2009 ; Harvard-University, 1946 ; Barnett, 2011).

Zoning plans were also introduced by CIAM (Watson, 2009 ; Hall, 2002). By zoning plans the location of future development of the city, including housing estates, future industrial areas and future traffic routes, are proposed (Mumford, 2009 ; LeCorbusier, 1987). The main disadvantage of zoning plans is the severe segregation of uses in the city as well as pedestrians, cyclists and vehicles in traffic routes (Barnett, 2011 ; Tarbatt, 2012 ; Hebbert, 2005). Zoning plans increase the distance between functions and generate large amounts of vehicle movements. It seemed to be a good idea in the 1920s, due to the low level of car ٮﮟ 坲 ﮟ 坰市 懿ﮞ(Barnett, 2011). However, car-based cities discourage pedestrian (Watson, 2009). Based on zoning plans, the mixed-use areas in the cities are demolished.

43

This leads to polarisation and a reduction of the social interactions which were dominant in mixed-use areas and accordingly a reconfiguration of social life. Jacobs (1961) Ghel (1996) Whyte (1980 ; 1988) Lefebvre (1991) and several recent studies (see for example Barnett, 2011 ; Gindroz, 2002 ; Duany, 2003 ; Carmona, 2010 ; Carmona et al., 2010) discuss these issues. As a result of zoning plans, movement in modern vehicular streets becomes a *'purely movement experience rather than a movement and social experience'* (Carmona et al., 2010:84) and the streets become a transport vein rather than a place for social and public interactions.

Le Corbusier, as a leading member of CIAM, argued that architecture must be totally machine-like and functional (Fishman, 1977 ; LeCorbusier, 1998) and belittled the social factors that make cities liveable. Le Corbusier considers express highways and tall building blocks as the horizontal and vertical elements of the functional city. He debated that the construction of tall buildings would solve traffic problems in cities, light and health problems of dwellings and leave the land free for green spaces (Mumford, 2000 ; LeCorbusier, 1987 ; Hall, 2002). However, this was the beginning of social and security problems with high-rise segregated buildings which ignored the importance of human interactions in urbanism. Because of the large numbers of people living in these buildings, the communal areas become *'no man's land'* needing repairs and where it was not possible to recognise residents from strangers (Newman, 1996a ; Mandeli, 2010). This led to inevitable demolition or abandonment of some complexes (Crump, 2002) such as Pruit-Igoe (Rowe and Koetter, 1978 ; Newman, 1996a ; O'Neil, 2010).

Figure 1: Pruit-igoe Being torn down with a $300 Million loss (Newman, 1996b).

Figure 2: Vandalism in a communal corridor (Newman, 1996b).

Le Corbusier claimed that automobiles and railways help by creating a new scale in cities (Harvard-University, 1946 ; Kenneth, 1992). He argued that the medieval street patterns which were based on pedestrian movements were not suitable for modern means of transport and recommended widening these streets in accordance with the speed of different vehicles (Mumford, 2000 ; LeCorbusier, 1987). This idea, which prioritises vehicle movement, is the basis for many demolition and redevelopment plans which leads to a reduction of public life in the cities (Barnett, 2011 ; Carmona, 2010). Based on this idea, the small blocks are joined to make superblocks with dead-end streets within them and pavements are narrowed or disappear (Gehl and Gemzoe, 2001); while, in the traditional city, streets used to form a connected network providing several routes to move from one place to the other (Barnett, 2011).

As a result of these radical changes cities become a composition of *'isolated monuments'* (Carmona et al., 2010:86), building complexes, highways, parking and landscaping and lose their spatial consistency (Hebbert, 2008). The social and physical context of the city get lost in these polarised spaces (Madanipour, 2007). Streets, squares and open public spaces, which used to be focal points and gathering places in the traditional city, (Gehl, 1996), disappear and are replaced by roads, paths and grass lawns as a result of the functional city.

After World War II, because of the social and economic forces and technological improvements, the concept of the functional city was used for redevelopment of various cities across the world (Watson, 2009 ; Barnett, 2011). However, since the concept of the functional city did not consider social differences in various societies, a series of standard rules were prescribed for the redevelopment of various cities. These rules did not consider that changes in the environment do not necessarily lead to a change in society (Lynch, 1984), and social problems in some of these societies arose.

An important advantage of CIAM was the consideration of orientating buildings towards the sun to reduce energy usage. This was based on the development of medical knowledge which sought to provide healthy and physiologically suitable architecture by the provision of light, air, sun, ventilation and access to open spaces in dwellings together with separation of residential and work areas (Mumford, 2000 ; 2009 ; Gehl, 1996). Another important advantage of CIAM was the idea of considering the human scale in any form of urban developments (Mumford, 2000:87; Harvard-University, 1946). However, this is

simply ignored in the concept of the functional city by constructing tall buildings, highways and physical segregations in areas planned for pedestrians.

In modern cities people are segregated through various traffic controls and functions are segregated through zoning plans. As a result, direct people interaction is reduced to a minimum (Harvey, 2004). Automobile-based transportation also reduced outdoor activities and possible social interactions. Although many efforts taken by modernism were helpful in the reduction of physiological disadvantages of newly-introduced functions, the possible advantages of closer social interaction were also reduced (Gehl, 1996).The modern city became a *'jungle of anonymity'* (Raban, 1974:80) with machines as the master of humans instead of being humanity's tools. In these cities face-to-face interaction, which was an important character of the traditional city, was reduced (Amin and Thrift, 2002). When the contemporary city is basically structured as a place of segregation it no longer acts as a place of aggregation. As a result, social interactions were reduced in modern spaces in cities, not as a well-thought out planned concept but as a result of several other issues (Gehl, 1996). This led to the loss of public space and more privatisation (Varna and Tiesdell, 2010 ; Zukin, 2000) making the modern city *'more loss than gain'* (Amin and Thrift, 2002:32). Although these issues were criticised a long time ago by several commentators (see for example Sennett, 1974 ; Jacobs, 1961 ; Gehl, 1996 ; Raban, 1974), modernisation is still the most dominant planning approach in many developing countries.

Alternative efforts

As a response to CIAM, several movements were formed in developed countries. These included New Urbanism and Smart Growth in the USA, European Compact City (Barnett, 2011), British Urban Village Forum (Madanipour, 2003) in Europe and Urban Renaissance (Urban-Task-Force, 2005 ; Urban-Task-Force, 1999) in the UK. Congress for the New Urbanism, CNU, was founded by Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zybrek in 1993 as a response to CIAM. It was influenced by traditional design principles in order to revive city life with its roots in theoretical models by 'Leon Krier' in the 1980s. CNU looks to the past for guidance, honours useful historical patterns and proposes new ones when required to overlay past and future (Barnett, 2011). It opposes zoning plans and the different levels of segregation made by modernity, considers the human scale in the planning details, sets regions as the basis for planning units rather than the city, gives priority of movement to pedestrians rather than vehicles, connects buildings to the streets and public spaces and

encourages mixed-use and small blocks (Barnett, 2011 ; Kushner, 2003 ; Gindroz, 2002 ; Carmona et al., 2010).

As a result of these movements, modernisation efforts are used less for the redevelopment of cities in developed countries and the central parts of cities are being revitalised in a response to zoning plans (Fishman, 2005). However, planning authorities in several developing countries such as Iran (Sazman-Mojri-Tarh, 2010), Arab Countries (Mandeli, 2010), China (Albert Cao, 2008) and Eastern European countries (Bouzarovski, 2011) still use modernist efforts as if they are the only available choices for redevelopment. In countries with a historical background such as China and Iran, the modernist design is applied to the traditional parts of the cities, demolishing the historical quarters and endangering the culture of these countries. In China, due to available funds and techniques, the redevelopment process is completed in a short time and parts of the city might be completely rebuilt in a few months (see for example Albert Cao, 2008). However, in Iran and some other countries, after demolition some parts of the city might remain vacant and never be rebuilt due to lack of investment and poor management, such as the Shrine area in Mashhad, Iran (Sazman-Mojri-Tarh, 2010) and the city centre in Skopje, Macedonia (Bouzarovski, 2011). These demolished or half-demolished properties have corresponding under-used and neglected spaces. Because social interactions are decreased in these areas, they gradually become good places for criminals to hide in and consequently there is a reduction in the quality of life. This is similar to the situation described by Ravetz (1983) in 1970s in some cities in the UK affected by the *'Clean Sweep'* approach to town planning. This condition and the fact that the whole area is subject to demolition and redevelopment, leads to a lack of maintenance similar to what Kelling and Wilson (1982) call a sign of decay which results in an urban area that no one cares about.

Modernism and traditional urbanism

Regulating and designing the built environment can be traced back to ancient civilisations (Carmona et al., 2006 ; Carmona, 2009 ; Watson, 2009). Kings and political leaders always built palaces, governmental buildings and squares to display their wealth. However, the main parts of cities mostly evolved over hundreds of years through direct action by their residents. Cities were developed piecemeal rather than being planned beforehand. In this process the new physical environments adjusted and adapted slowly to the older parts of the city and its functions. As Gehl (1996) argues, the traditional city is a tool formed by

use whilst the modern city is a goal. Traditional Iranian cities used to develop in a similar way before the modernisation wave reached Iran. This will be investigated in detail in Chapter Six.

In traditional cities, the majority of journeys took place on foot (Barnett, 2011). The streets, squares and outdoor spaces in almost all traditional cities allow people to move about easily and stay outdoors (Gehl, 1996), establishing a sense of community and interaction (Madanipour, 1992). Today these urban spaces around the world provide a high quality environment and attract many tourists (Gehl, 1996 ; Pirnia, 2001). Traditional cities had close-grained, mixed-use streets which are identified as successful urban spaces in several studies (see for example Llewelyn-Davies, 2000 ; DCLG, 2002 ; Jones et al., 2007 ; NEF, 2010 ; Res-Publica, 2011).

The change made in the structure of shopping from the bazaars and streets of medieval towns to shops in high streets, shopping centres and supermarkets in contemporary cities as analysed by Venturi, et al.(1977) illustrates this change. In bazaars, customers can easily feel and smell the goods and negotiate with the merchants. In the narrow streets of the medieval town communication was mainly through sight and smell. However, on main streets, shop windows use signs to display to pedestrians as well as motorists. Smell and sight become less important on these streets and disappear from the supermarkets that are set back from the road at the back of a car park with low buildings and neutral architecture. In supermarkets both merchandise and architecture are disconnected from the road. Only the signs and advertising hoardings visible to the drivers from the road and car parks are used to connect the buyer with the merchandise.

Because of the close relationship between human interaction and the physical form of the city, each culture has its own unique physical pattern for cities which is based on the particular time and place in which they were designed. Giedion argues that the city is produced through history by various cultures and it is *more than a contemporary and passing phenomenon'* (Giedion, 1967:821). The effects of physical patterns may be predictable, though it is impossible and dangerous to apply it to another culture because it will enforce the values of one culture onto another (Lynch, 1984). However, if the social context of a society is considered in the planning, the lessons learned from planning approaches in one context can be helpful in understanding the possible advantages or disadvantages of a planning approach in another context.

Betterment planning

Planning is known as a *'two-edged-sword'* which can have positive effects as well as negative ones by being used to gain profit and power or deal with opponents through its restrictive rules (Watson, 2009:154). As discussed in the last section, urban modernisation leads to social and spatial exclusion and the marginalising of cities (Greene, 2003). Friedrich Engels (1975) called this trend *'Haussmann'* by referring to the practice of Haussmann, the Parisian planner, as a dominant approach to break through the working-class quarters at the centre of cities and build boulevards with luxurious buildings on either side. Haussmann's plan for Paris had several aims including slum clearance, traffic improvements and connecting the new parts of the city with the centre, and also had the advantage of providing through routes for the military (Barnett, 2011 ; Harvey, 2006).

Betterment plans aim to increase land-value through development by using urban modernisation tools including the demolition of mixed-use historic areas. They are mostly carried out where large groups of poor people live by governments whose stated aim is the provision of a central business area, traffic improvements, a consideration of public health, beautification of cities, privatisation or a reduction in crime. However, mostly they are seeking profit, because of political, ethnic, racial or class control and they seek to permanently remove highly valuable land from small traders and increase its value. This is also supported by the middle-classes as they will maintain their property values and exclude less desirable people through zoning plans (see for example Harvey, 2006 ; Watson, 2009 ; Greene, 2003 ; Ley, 1980 ; Zukin in Sevilla-Buitrago, 2012).

Seeking economic benefits is an important part of these plans which influences the social life of their targeted societies. The ability of developers (Hamnett, 1991) and the 'rent gap' which provides the potential for profit (Smith, 1979) are the main factors leading to redevelopment of city centres and the displacement of people. 'Rent gap' is produced when *'the capitalised ground rent'* of the inner city site is less than its *'potential ground rent'* and redevelopment happens when the 'rent gap' becomes large enough to make a profit (Smith, 1979:545). The betterment plans result in the physical renovation of an area in order to meet the requirements of new users and a degree of transformation in tenure, physical change in the housing stock and an economic change in the land and housing market (Hamnett, 1984 ; Hamnett, 1991 ; Smith, 1987). This leads to the economic and spatial exclusion of those who are unable to use the development advantages (Watson, 2009 ; Kushner, 2003 ; Bouzarovski, 2011). These people are mostly from minority groups

and the poor and are perceived as a 'problem' for the city and being deprived of full 'planning right' (Yiftachel and Yacobi, 2003). These people are pushed out to the periphery of cities (see for example Lees et al., 2008 ; Lees et al., 2010 ; Hamnett, 1984 ; 1991 ; Berg et al., 2009 ; Cabannes et al., 2010 ; Greene, 2003) to sub-standard dwellings which are threatened by environmental issues and natural hazards (Watson, 2009). Based on this system, the expectation of service in each area is connected with the ability of residents to pay (Harvey, 2006).

Displacing people disconnects them from their neighbourhood, community and social ties, leads to the loss of their jobs, or means longer journeys to work and may mean the loss of their heritage. This may lead to their resistance (see for example Greene, 2003 ; Harvey, 2006 ; Cabannes et al., 2010 ; Bouzarovski, 2011). The redeveloped areas look very different from the old version. In the Paris Guide 1867, Paris before and after Haussmann intervention is described as being two different cities where residents felt like strangers in their own home (Harvey, 2006). A lot of people displaced through betterment plans are vendors or ones who run small businesses in their own home as the only job they know. These people could not continue their jobs in new areas or in the offered apartments in the redeveloped area. All of these issues lead to dissatisfaction, resistance and hostility (Greene, 2003 ; Cabannes et al., 2010).

In some betterment plan projects people resist redevelopment projects, as they do not want to be relocated and do not have any choice other than accepting compensation. They might not even receive compensation at all or, if they do, it might be much less than they need to buy a similar dwelling or even any dwelling at all. In the majority of displacement cases, people are moved to areas far from the city centre where they cannot sustain their life and they need to move to another area which means paying out much more than the compensation they received (Cabannes et al., 2010).

Because the historic parts of cities are mostly subject to betterment plans to attract global investment and tourists (Pendlebury et al., 2009) through upmarket property development, waterfront and convention centres (Kipfer and Keil, 2002), preservationists stand against them. Preservationists argue that tourism might endanger the local economy of some historical sites, the integrity of the heritage assets and the quality of life of their residents (Pendlebury et al., 2009). Tourism can also exacerbate problems originating from social and spatial exclusion, loss of authenticity and the displacement of residents and businesses (Zukin in Sevilla-Buitrago, 2012 ; Watson, 2009).

Betterment plans that aim to displace a group of local people basically deny human rights by excluding a group of society (Yiftachel and Yacobi, 2003). The results of these plans are not good in any case. As Watson (2009) argues, on one hand if the government succeeds in moving local people who do not meet the government's requirements to the peripheries, a series of informal settlements might be built around cities which is a form of exclusion and might lead to further social problems for society. On the other hand, problems will also arise if the timing of the betterment project is extended and the government does not succeed in its ambition of moving people out of the area. Since in the majority of betterment plans, maintenance and refurbishment are not allowed in the areas that are subject to demolition, a longer time for project execution will lead to the appearance of signs of decay and further social and spatial issues. These problems include lack of safety in similar terms to those discussed by Ravetz (1983) or a perception of a lack of safety in the area.

As different studies show (see for example Greene, 2003 ; Harvey, 2006 ; Zukin in Sevilla-Buitrago, 2012) the planning authorities in different betterment projects argue that their plans are aimed at reducing the housing shortage or decreasing social dissatisfaction. However, raising land-values as the initial result of these plans leads to higher rents which are not affordable by poor people and, accordingly, cannot solve the housing shortage problem. Basically, these plans do not solve the problems of deprived areas but, as Breg, Kaminer et al. (2009) discussed, transfer the problem to somewhere else out of sight and marginalised (Greene, 2003). This might lead to an increased housing shortage and social and financial segregation. Also, if these plans are conducted in tourism destinations, by excluding local people from the area they increase the dependency of the economy on tourism.

Although betterment is not a favourable practice for the city and specifically for its residents, it seems to be inevitable in some cases. However, it is important to realise that there are other forms of development available for deprived inner city areas that are more friendly and considerate of the social life of the area. As a response to the globalisation of historic parts of cities, conservation movements propose one of these development forms by conducting habitant- and heritage-friendly projects in the historic parts of cities. Basically they involve the living residents of the area, mostly poor people, in the process and in decision-making about the project and its possible benefits (Kocabaş, 2006 ;

Greene, 2003). However, displacement is still a part of these studies. Zukin in (Sevilla-Buitrago, 2012) argues that in order to have cultural distinctness and social diversity in the cities displacement needs to become impossible. More friendly redevelopment plans are conducted by BSHF such as the renewal of historic cities of the Yemen (BSHF, 2012) and Vermont in the USA (BSHF, 2008). In Yemen, the heritage was preserved by renovating residential buildings in local materials and traditional techniques and targeting the living community by engaging them in the process in order to improve housing conditions and local economic development (BSHF, 2012).

Public life

In this section the importance of public life in the formation of urban spaces is investigated. Public life and public space have mutual effects on each other as *'people and places script each other'* (Amin and Thrift, 2002:23). Urbanity is partly shaped by interactions amongst the public. Traditionally these interactions used to shape the special character and spatial form of cities as *'the settlement form is the spatial arrangement of persons doing things'* (Lynch, 1984:49). However, in some modern cities, 'political economy' also plays an important role in their physical form and character (Madanipour, 1996). Although modernisation by mass production influenced the relationship between the city and society (Cuthbert, 2008), people's interactions still modify the space, shaping enclosures, surfaces, channels, ambiences and objects. Public life is also developed in public spaces (Zukin, 1995 ; Sennett, 1974 ; Ehrenfeucht and Loukaitou-Sideris, 2007). *'It is in public open space that people are best able and most likely to engage with the social diversity gathered together in cities'* (Stevens, 2007:5). As Madanipour (2010a) argues, public space is a functional place for carrying out everyday activities with a symbolic role and emotional attachments. However, the social and physical attributes of each space also have a great impact on the development or limitation of public life in that specific space (Gehl, 1996). Therefore to understand an urban space it is necessary to investigate its *'physical, social and symbolic dimensions simultaneously'* (Madanipour, 1996:30) and take a socio-spatial viewpoint to investigate how the spatial structure of urban spaces expresses their social life as well as affects them.

Understanding everyday life is necessary in social studies (Lefebvre, 1971 ; Douglas, 1981). Since our experiences of everyday life continually develop in urban space (Lefebvre, 1991), in order to understand social needs and the urban experience it is

important to look at everyday life and the multifaceted tensions arising between *'different means, different meanings and different users in space'* (Stevens, 2007:7). However, it is important to consider that spaces have powerful and varied meanings for different groups of people that are completely contradictory in some cases and change from time to time (Roberts and Lloyd-Jones, 2001). This is because people and society influence each other. Each society is influenced by interactions between individuals. Society also exerts forces upon individuals in the form of conventional rules. Therefore social life is a *'dynamic on-going process'* reproduced through people-interactions and not an abstract concept (Scott, 2009:15). Schutz (1972) argues that people in society create their own subjective realities and, based on those realities, take a series of assumptions for granted. However, these are different in various societies and, as Garfinkel (1967) argues, people become aware of these assumptions when they break. These assumptions are the basis for performing a series of routines and habitual actions and they shape the everyday life in every society. As discussed by Giddens (1984), these habitual activities provide comfort and convenience for people and create anxiety if they are prevented from following them. Therefore, in order to study the social life of a society, it is important to understand the local subjective realities and examine how people feel about themselves (Weber, 1949 ; Scott, 2009) from the inside and avoid imposing theories from one culture to another (Winch, 1958). In the light of these facts it becomes clear that it is not possible to produce a successful urban form including public space without considering social, cultural, political and economic factors in their context. As Whyte (1980) argues, a well-used public space is identified by its performance for the people who use it, pass by and enjoy it, or like the city because of it.

As discussed earlier, modernisation acts by segregating spaces and people leading to privatisation of lives and accordingly, as Sennett (1974) argues, a decline in public culture. Modernisation provides a series of standard rules that do not always respect the social life or cultural, political and economic contexts. However, based on the differences in each context the success or failure of modernisation is different. Cuthbert (2008) argues this behaviour is not limited to modernisation since urban design is basically defined as a discipline between architecture and urban planning which fails to engage with the economic, social and political factors. However, since the real object of urban design is the public realm, it is necessary to form the spatial shape of society based on its demands and re-orientate urban design as a social science.

> *'Our understanding of the production of design outcomes must change from a modernist, Beaux Arts obsession with form, the eureka principle, and the cult of*

master/disciple to one where the organic production of urban forms and spaces are homologous with the production of society' (Cuthbert, 2008:179).

Cuthbert (2008) argues that a theory for urban design can be formed based on sociology, economics, geography and cultural studies. Several commentators (Shaftoe, 2008 ; Gehl, 1996 ; Carmona et al., 2010 ; Whyte, 1980) argue that provision of good urban public space can improve social life in society. Tarbatt (2012) discusses the fact that bad design or management might lead to various issues including segregation, social exclusion and vandalism, while good design or management can lead to attractive places, diversity, variety, social inclusion and safety. However, the factors for defining bad or good urban design are based on its approaches towards the social, cultural, political and economic life. Stevens (2007) argues that, although different activities, including practical and 'playful', take place in various urban spaces at different times or the same time and under different or the same conditions, the social and physical context of the space affects how these activities are conducted in each time and by each person and as Gehl (1996) discusses improve or limit the occurrence of these activities. By considering the social-economic context of each society, architects and planners can provide opportunities for public interactions and *'seduce'* people to use the space (Allen, 2006:441; Varna and Tiesdell, 2010). However, if they fail to understand the requirements of local people they might provide spaces that are not compatible with users' requirements. A BBC series called *'The Secret History of Our Streets'* had an interview with Nicholas Taylor, the former chair of Lewisham planning committee in London about their planning interventions in Deptford, London in the 1960s. He argued that the people who were moved from a series of sub-standard houses to new housing blocks where unhappy and very soon they could not find enough local people to move to the new high-rise buildings and started looking for people from other areas. He continued that:

'A lot of my older council colleagues couldn't understand why people were so ungrateful. I remember one of them saying to me but they have got wonderful lovely kitchens, lovely bathrooms, you know, what are they complaining about? Why are these people so ungrateful when we have given them these wonderful places to live in? Even though he was living in a big Victorian house up the hill' (BBC, 2012).

If urban design considers the social-economic context of the space it can improve the social integration of deprived residents (Madanipour, 2010a). This fact has recently been considered by some authorities as Pasqual Maragall, former Mayor of Barcelona, said

'Improving public space is relevant to solving social and economic problems' cited in (Madanipour, 2010a:124).

Successful public spaces

Streets and squares are the main public spaces in a city and serve several purposes. In traditional cities they used to be the basic urban spaces where social interactions happened, and shaped the main circulation network of modern cities by carrying vehicles and pedestrians. Despite all the problems created by modernisation tools, resulting in the loss of streets' social importance, they still act as the main public space when needed, as has been shown by street demonstrations in the Middle East in the last three years. The quality of streets is vital in the function of a good city. *'If a city's streets look interesting the city looks interesting, if they look dull the city looks dull,... if a city's streets are safe from barbarism and fear, the city is thereby tolerably safe from barbarism and fear'* (Jacobs, 1961:37).

The presence of people in public space, called *'animation'* by Varna and Tiesdell (2010), is recognised as one of the factors identifying publicness of space. Other factors include *'ownership, control, civility, physical configuration'* (Varna and Tiesdell, 2010:580). Several studies (see for example Young, 2000 ; Ne´meth and Schmidt, 2011 ; Nemeth, 2012 ; Van Melik et al., 2007) discuss the same factors. However, as Carr, et al (1992) reminds us, people use public spaces if their needs are provided for, including accessibility, welcoming ambience, inclusion, and 24-hour activities (Oc and Tiesdell, 1999). Many efforts are taken to motivate people to use public spaces and promote neighbourhoods (Madanipour, 2010a).

Enjoyable places are safe, environmentally friendly, related to their context, freely accessible, memorable, identifiable, distinctive and appropriate to the human scale as well as including several uses. They also provide proper sunlight and are free from wind and pollution (Billingham and Cole, 2002). These spaces called *'convivial urban spaces'* are known as *'the heart of democratic living'* (Shaftoe, 2008:5). These are places for public encounters as well as helping people to learn how to tolerate each other (Worpole and Greenhalgh, 1996). Because several issues influence these spaces, multifaceted approaches, as well as consideration of the social life of the area, are needed to produce

more convivial spaces. How public spaces and streets are perceived and used at night is an important factor in how successful they are.

The night-life of cities was discussed in detail in the previous chapter. In the following section some of the planning concepts that can be used to produce an active night-life for cities are discussed. As shown in the previous chapter, the night-life of cities has been studied in a limited number of cities mostly located in Western European countries, USA and Australia. In these cases the majority of the ways that are used to regulate night-life are in the form of management and there are less planning methods available.

In Western societies, the concept of the 24-hour city was supported by the idea of medium to high-density mixed-use as an approach to overcome the limited time use of the city and to attract a wide range of groups of people to come back and use services and facilities (Heath, 1997). Jacobs (1961) suggests a series of recommendations to keep cities active during the day and at night. She argues that mixed-use and diverse neighbourhoods that contain plenty of residential opportunities, a variety of commercial activities and sufficient numbers of cultural opportunities together with a good proportion of buildings in various ages and condition attract pedestrians. These range from residents and visitors of different ages and to various social groups who use the area for different purposes during the day and at night and weekends. She discusses that this increases safety in the neighbourhood by adding to the *'eyes upon street'* (Jacobs, 1961:35). She also argues that small blocks are required to increase pedestrian permeability and provide safety and convenience in the area. The important point about Jacobs' ideas is that they are concepts based on her observations of her own society and not a series of rough standard design policies. A helpful lesson to learn from her ideas is the importance of studying society and social interactions before applying any planning tools to the context of cities. These ideas, including diversity, mixed-use, pedestrian permeability, small blocks, small businesses, active frontages, visual permeability, safety and the importance of permanent residents in an area are also discussed by different commentators being included in several planning tools (Cullen, 1961 ; Tarbatt, 2012).

Diversity

An important factor in the production of successful public spaces is diversity. Diversity, as Tarbatt (2012) argues, is not limited to various activities and land-use but also includes

buildings of various types, sizes, forms and age and also plots with various tenure and urban grain. A space is public when it is equally accessible to everyone (Montgomery, 1998) regardless of their *'physical ability, age gender, ethnicity, income-level and social status'* (Madanipour, 2010b:242) and the everyday needs of people are satisfied. However, achieving social diversity is difficult (Kintrea and Atkinson, 2000) since people's behaviours might have conflicts when they all share one space and also some people might feel unsafe in these spaces. As Mitchell (1995) argues, fear of crime is the result of the sharing of one space by people with different behaviours. In this case, when the space does not meet their basic requirements, they might stop using it and, as Ellickson (1996) argues, they might move back to their own private zones. Many cities around the world, including some cities in the USA and Europe (Kohn, 2004 ; Carmona et al., 2010 ; European-Commision, 1994 cited in Madanipour, 2003), or some areas within them are segregated. In these cities some groups of society are excluded by reason of age, race or socio-economic status (Woolley and Johns, 2001) because their behaviour conflicts with other groups or is anti-social. Segregation and zoning plans excluding poor people and minority groups from planning projects (Kushner, 2003) might reduce the conflicts between certain groups of people but they do not lessen the social issues in the city as a whole. What these segregation plans do is divide the city to several social and spatial parts (Madanipour, 2003) and displace the problem to other parts of the city.

Lack of diversity reduces the publicness of space which may lead to a loss of safety or perception of safety. Although the publicness of space might be different for different people (Iveson, 2007), there are several factors that reduce the publicness of space all around the world, as argued by Carmona (2010). The publicness of space and accordingly safety is reduced in neglected spaces, car-invaded spaces, spaces that physically or psychologically exclude a group of society or are segregated based on wealth or to prevent fear or crime; formulated-base spaces without authenticity, spaces for consumption leading to social or financial exclusion and spaces dominated by crime or the fear of crime.

Exclusion increases the opportunity for street crime and fear of crime (Ellin, 1997 ; Oc and Tiesdell, 1997) and spreads it around the city by making 'no-go' areas' and develops a growing sense of hostility and dissatisfaction (Jacobs, 1961 ; Davies, 1992). For instance, a study (Cnih-Feng-Shu, 2000) shows that the rate of burglary is higher in segregated housing areas such as cul-de-sacs with footpaths rather than integrated through roads. Another study (Foord, 2010) shows that there are more break-ins in segregated zoned areas than mixed-use areas. Carmona (2010) argues that segregation reduces the quality of space

which leads to vacating public spaces and a further decline of space. Diversity is necessary to keep cities as integrated spaces with better and safer public spaces and keep vulnerable people safe. However, a *'degree of tolerance'* (Madanipour, 2003) amongst the users of space is necessary to sustain these qualities.

Although public space is shared by people with nothing in common (Sennett, 1996), the opportunity for socialising amongst these people can be increased in a good public space through mixed-use, active frontages (Whyte, 1988 ; DCLG, 2012) and fitting small businesses into residential areas (Talen, 2008a ; 2006 ; 2008b ; 2009 ; Clarke, 2009 ; Jabareen, 2006). Public spaces that are well-used and well-managed attract large numbers of men and women of different ages and from differing social groups (Whyte, 1980 ; 1988 ; Varna and Tiesdell, 2010). Diverse areas also provide the capacity for play. Playful behaviour, as argued by Stevens (2007), is an escape from everyday life; it is formed by urban social conditions (Lefebvre, 1996). These spaces, called 'loose' spaces (Franck and Stevens, 2007:23), are adaptable, unrestricted spaces and are used for doing many unplanned activities.

Mixed-use

In order to reduce social issues resulting from zoning plans, mixed-use areas with home, work and leisure all in one, walkable neighbourhood are proposed (Urban-Task-Force, 1999 ; Barnett, 2011). Several commentators argue that spatial and temporal mixed-use areas increase vitality (Bentley et al., 1985 ; DETR and CABE, 2000 ; Tibbalds, 1992 ; Llewelyn-Davies, 2000).

Mixed-use areas have several advantages. They are environmentally friendly as they encourage walking and cycling, they are good for the economy as they provide connected local businesses, they are good for society as they provide more social activities, and bring more liveability by providing pleasant places (Jones et al., 2007 ; Carmona et al., 2010). These advantages are acknowledged by Gindroz (2002) in the downtowns of American cities, which used to suffer from safety and social problems, specifically at night-time as a result of zoning plans. He argues that, with new planning approaches that moved residents back to the downtowns, the areas attract more people to participate in urban life, and they are becoming more stable and safer.

Pedestrian activities

In modern cities pedestrian activities and a walking culture are replaced by automobile use (Gindroz, 2002) or moved inside buildings (Kushner, 2003). However, as several commentators argue (Gindroz, 2002 ; Tarbatt, 2012 ; Gehl and Gemzoe, 2004), successful streets are pedestrian-based and not invaded by vehicles. Walkable areas are still amongst the most attractive tourist destinations (Barnett, 2011). Also they have higher capacity for play, being safe from vehicles (Stevens, 2007).

The amount and quality of outdoor activities are influenced by the numbers of pedestrian or vehicular streets and traffic volume. Building of new roads is a tool used for controlling traffic volume, but it only develops traffic rather than reducing it. A study by Appleyard (1981) shows that streets with medium to high traffic intensity, 8,000–16,000 vehicles per day, have a severe, negative impact on the amount of outdoor activities and public interaction. Also, the number of pedestrian-only streets and squares have a direct positive impact on developing the number of pedestrians using the streets and engaging in public activities (Gehl et al., 2006).

Increasing the walkability of spaces is investigated in various studies (see for example Forsyth and Southworth, 2008 ; Alfonzo et al., 2008 ; Lindsey et al., 2008 ; Tahrani and Moreu, 2008 ; Wunderlich, 2008 ; Johnston, 2008 ; Ewing and Handy, 2009) which identify several strategies. These strategies include reducing vehicle speed limit, increasing foot permeability (Carmona et al., 2010), dividing the road width equally between vehicles and pedestrians, widening pavements in some areas to facilitate crossing the street by pedestrians (Steuteville et al., 2009), the provision of cycle lanes and encouraging people to cycle more (Tolley, 2008). Also it is argued that the provision of related activities and a proper space for walking (Gottdiener in Sevilla-Buitrago, 2012) and visual permeability with a direct sight line can increase the connectivity between two spaces and motivate pedestrians to walk (Baran et al., 2008).

Traffic issues have an important effect on encouraging pedestrians to use an area and accordingly developing and sustaining public life in that area. By creating divided areas roads make movement difficult (Carmona et al., 2010). Whyte (1980) argues that traffic rules are mostly designed by prioritising vehicles and giving the majority of street space to them. Basically modern cities are designed to let the cars drive fast without the need to stop, but pedestrians are supposed to climb up and down bridges or subways. Also traffic lights give more green time to the vehicles than to pedestrians. The wider are the streets,

the shorter the green traffic light for pedestrians. So pedestrians can only cross half of a street in one green light and need to stand on the islands in the middle of fast moving cars to have the chance to cross the rest of the street. These supposedly pedestrian-friendly traffic accessories are even more challenging for people who cannot move so fast such as elderly or disabled people or ones carrying children. Guardrails are also used on the streets to control pedestrian traffic, though they reduce the streets' coherence and make them uncomfortable and unattractive (Tolley, 2008 ; Badland and Schofield, 2005).

Figure 3: A boulevard in Mashhad fragmenting the area and making movement difficult (Mashhad-Gardi, 2012)**.**

Block size

Commentators (Talen, 2008a ; Jacobs, 1961) argue that small blocks are necessary to accommodate mixed-use and diversity in areas. Even in a harsh financial climate, smaller blocks containing small businesses were shown to experience less financial fail (Res-Publica, 2011). They increased commercial possibilities (Carmona et al., 2010); and provided higher permeability by having more buildings and streets (Gindroz, 2002 ; DCLG, 2012). In contrast Tarbatt (2012) argues that long blocks contain fewer buildings, entrances and less variety and diversity and tend to close off the areas by giving less alternative routes for people to cross. Figure 4 shows the different approaches towards block and plot size in the city of London from 1700 to 2000.
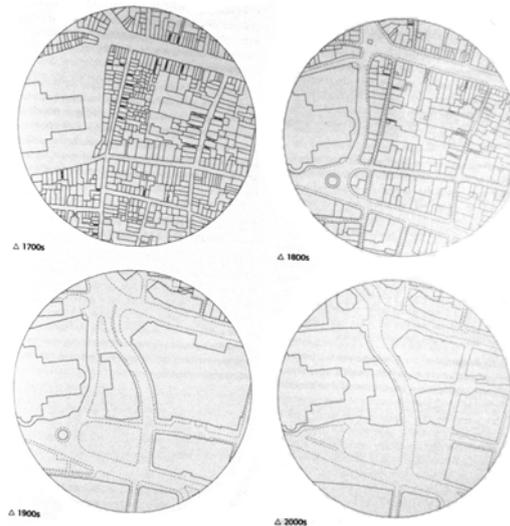
Figure 4: Change in plot size in the city of London (Tarbatt, 2012)**.**

Small businesses and active frontages

Although public life is related to public spaces, small businesses such as cafés, or vendors play an important role in shaping public life (Banerjee, 2001). The existence of vendors and entertainers has a positive influence on street life. Whyte (1988) argues that vendors are popular all around the world as they provide the most basic face-to-face communication which used to be in bazaars.

Various shops and active frontages that are located at street level attract large numbers of pedestrians. The doors and windows of these activities at street level keep the streets active and encourage activities such as outdoor cafés (Gindroz, 2002 ; Carmona et al., 2010). Amongst these activities a number of local and privately owned businesses and street markets might keep the area active out of hours.

Window shopping is a popular habit amongst pedestrians. When a space is pleasant and shops have display windows at street level, the opportunity for window shopping for pedestrians is provided. However, as Whyte argues, street life in many modern cities is reduced (Whyte, 1980:57) because shops are moved inside large malls and shopping centres with few windows and large office buildings, car parks or cinemas dominating the streets with rigid frontages. Commentators (Carmona et al., 2010 ; Gindroz, 2002) argue that to revive public life it is necessary to activate the street by moving-back activities that can work within the street and provide active frontages. However, some large buildings such as car parks or cinemas cannot have visual interaction with their environment. A

solution proposed for this problem in the USA is called 'big box' (Mouzon in Steuteville et al., 2009) and activates the streets by wrapping these with a row of buildings that provide active frontage to the street.

Visual permeability

A sense of space is also very important in attracting more people. Commentators (Bentley et al., 1985 ; Llewelyn-Davies, 2000) argue that provision of physical and visual permeability is an important factor in increasing the publicness of space. This means providing the possibility for people in a public space to see outside and be seen from outside since, as Whyte (1988) argues, people use the spaces that they can see and are attracted by the sight of people, light, sound, food and drink. Madanipour (2003) argues that the rigid boundary separating two spaces reduce public interaction and social life. Therefore, building walls around fields and parks does not necessarily make them safer but makes them more isolated and unpleasant. Commentators (Madanipour, 2010a ; Oc and Tiesdell, 1999 ; Ne´meth and Schmidt, 2007) argue that barriers, gates or social and financial exclusion and restrained opening hours exclude some groups of people in public space and the publicness of space.

Figure 5: The impact of rigid walls, two sides of one street (Carmona et al., 2010:217).

In modern cities, indoor spaces, including shopping centres, malls and indoor walkways, are designed as an alternative to outdoor public spaces. Contemporary cities include a number of these areas that are popular with users. However, as commentators (Carmona, 2010 ; Bannen in Sevilla-Buitrago, 2012) argue, these indoor spaces are not as public as streets since they filter the users based on their financial or social status and through gates and barriers as well as opening hours. Also, these spaces are mostly not visually permeable

as many parts of them do not have any view of the sky or the sun or nothing to aid orientation or to avoid distraction from shopping as discussed by Mattson (1999). However, when these interior spaces provide visual permeability, they become more interesting and successful (Whyte, 1988:211). Therefore provision of outdoor visible public spaces can be used to revive public life on the street. In the design of these spaces, as Whyte (1988) argues, it is important to consider the eye level of the person sitting in a public space rather than the architecture of buildings around them and provide green areas, water or art with suitable materials and colours to make the area alive.

People surveillance

Management efforts such as CCTV (Oc and Tiesdell, 1999) and the use of visible signs and rules (Ne´meth and Schmidt, 2007) or light (Painter, 1996) are used to increase safety. However, without *'effective eyes to see'* (Jacobs, 1961:42) none of these efforts are effective in increasing safety and the perception of safety. People surveillance, or as Jacobs argued *'eyes upon the street'* is one of the most vital issues in providing safe streets (Jacobs, 1961:35; Carmona et al., 2010). However, it is not possible to make people use or watch the streets when they have no reason to do it. People surveillance can be useful for only when people are using and enjoying city streets voluntarily and are aware that they are policing. The people who live and work in the streets, pedestrians using the streets and shopkeepers and vendors serving the users are amongst the most effective eyes upon the streets and the cooperation between these groups is what Jacobs calls a *'ballet of the street'* (Jacobs, 1961:50). It is the basis of mixed-use streets and unique to each street supporting liveliness, convenience, variety and choice within a district.

In order to increase people surveillance and add to the number of eyes on the streets Carmona et al. (2010) argue that buildings must be orientated towards the streets and not have blank walls on them. The presence of enough numbers of pedestrians may motivate people in the buildings to watch the streets since many entertain themselves by watching other people. As Jacobs (1961) argues, pedestrians can be attracted to use an area by the provision of sufficient numbers of shops and public activities on the streets with active frontages. These activities can be used by people of different ages and social groups during both day and night to eat and drink or just walk on the streets. If these shops spread into the streets they can provide reasons for pedestrians onto less-used and unattractive pavements as alternative routes for travelling to other areas. Jacobs' ideas were later examined (Hillier

and Sahbaz, 2009) and the results shows that her recommendations are partly effective but not completely. This is simply because her recommendations are based on her observations of her own society in the 50s. As discussed before, since each society has its own norms which change throughout history, these ideas might work successfully in one area or at a certain time and fail in another area or time period. Therefore, based on the character of each area and the public's experience of that area, the level of safety or perception of safety differs even in similar or attached areas.

Permanent users

People living or working in a street are permanent users of the streets. They are familiar with most of the features of the streets on their routes and know which streets are more populated, safer, with better physical characters, better lit and used more at night. As Jacobs (1961) argues, these people are amongst the best group for street surveillance.

However, in the redeveloped areas of the cities, tall buildings replace traditional dwellings and transient newcomers replace local people who used to be the permanent users of the streets. These newcomers, if they see themselves as temporary residents, mostly do not bother to get to know their neighbours and watch the streets less than the previous permanent owners. This might reduce safety in these areas (Jacobs, 1961 ; Newman, 1996a). Shopping centres replacing small businesses also exclude the shopkeepers and pedestrians from street surveillance by drawing them from the street into buildings. As a result of this, streets might be left empty to be used by automobiles mostly for transport. This reduces the perception of safety since people mostly feel safe in a place where there are sufficient numbers of other people present (Roberts, 2001). They often feel safer in crowded spaces than deserted ones or in ones that are crowded with the *'wrong-kind'* of people (Carmona et al., 2010:244). As a result, deserted areas in the cities deter more people as they feel dangerous and these areas become more deserted and accordingly more unsafe.

Street furniture

An important factor in improving the quality of life in public spaces is to provide for the needs of users through the provision of enough street furniture including simple benches,

canopies, clocks, drinking fountains, rubbish bins, public toilets, telephone boxes, lighting, bollards, signs, symbols and visual art (Ne´meth and Schmidt, 2007 ; Carmona et al., 2010 ; Varna and Tiesdell, 2010). Although these items are designed to provide the users requirements, many of them are designed in such a way that people do not use them. Whyte identified several furniture items that intentionally lack basic factors to avoid being used by supposedly undesirables and argues that *'the city is full of vexations: steps too steep; doors too tough to open; ledges you cannot sit on because they are too high or too low, or have spikes on them so that undesirables will not sit on them'* (Whyte, 1988:1). However, as discussed earlier in this section, an inclusive public space does not recognise anybody as undesirable. Another important factor about street furniture as Carmona et.al (2010) argued, is that they should be located out of the thoroughfare so they do not become an obstacle.

As commentators (Whyte, 1980 ; Gehl et al., 2006) argue, popular spaces have much more sitting spaces than less-used ones; also people tend to sit down more when seats are provided. Seats are necessary in a public space because people always need to sit to enjoy the space or just to take a rest and take part in public life without being involved (Carr et al., 1992). This makes them active in what Jacobs (1961) called the *'ballet of the streets'*. However, there are other forms of seating places in cities and not just the traditional form. For instance, stairs are popular forms of seating places (Carmona et al., 2010) as they provide the possibility of seating for large groups as well as *'watching the theatre of street'* (Whyte, 1980:32). Another alternative for seating is grass where people often sit or lie down. Studying social norms in the target society is very important in the provision of furniture for cities. For instance, due to Islamic religious restrictions in Iran, women are not allowed to lie down on the grass in a public space but they may sit on it. However, in Iran, due to the difficulties in grass maintenance in the majority of public spaces people are not allowed to sit on the grass.

Food vendors are also very popular in public space and can integrate people in the space. Basic food activities and a set of tables and chairs attract more people (Whyte, 1980 ; Montgomery, 1997).

Trees are also play an important role in the street. They are very useful for providing a visual comfortable space when the pavements are wide as well as providing shade when required (Whyte, 1988 ; Bentley et al., 1985 ; Llewelyn-Davies, 2000 ; DETR and CABE, 2000).

Pavements are very important for motivating pedestrian activities and to give human value to the streets (Carmona et al., 2010). The width of pavements is important in the social life of the street. When they are too narrow or have too many obstacles they make excessive traffic (Roberts, 2001) and when they are too wide and out of human scale people do not feel comfortable using them. Also the stores on one side are not well viewed from the other side (Whyte, 1988).

These factors are some of the most important influencing the quality of life in public spaces as discussed by several commentators. A decline in these factors or in the management of public space might lead to a decline of the whole area (Carmona et al., 2010 ; Carmona, 2010). Because the most important issues in urban design only arise from context and cannot be applied to different circumstances (DETR and CABE, 2000), these factors might have similar or different effects on different societies and climates and cannot be used as an urban design blueprint applicable to a series of cities all around the world. Therefore, in providing a successful public space, the first step is to investigate the local context and related issues. The history of construction of a residential complex near Isfahan, Iran (see Zamani, 2010) or in Saudi Arabia (see Mandeli, 2010) shows that ignoring the socio-cultural needs of the users can lead to the provision of spaces that are not compatible with users requirements. If people stop using these spaces there is a possibility that they turn into 'no man's land' and suffer from serious safety issues. The role of management and maintenance for the improvement of public spaces is important. A study in Taiwan (Hong-CheChen, 2010) shows that raising the quality of space and pedestrianisation can only slow the process of decline while a successful management of space is needed to sustain the life of public spaces.

Discussion

Traditional cities were formed based on various social, cultural, political, economic and geographical attributes of their context and the interactions between their people. Therefore, the social and spatial forms were closely linked in traditional societies. However, modernisation, by focusing only on functionalism and economic benefits while ignoring the social life and cultural background of societies and by introducing mass production while disregarding the differences in various societies, results in serious problems in many modern cities. These problems are different in different societies. Carmona et al. (2010) argue that an effective urban design needs to consider various

aspects as shown in Figure 6. Also Cuthbert (2008) argues that formation of a new theory for urban design based on the sociology, economics, geography and cultural studies is required.

The temporal dimension of urban design shown in Figure 6 emphasises the importance of considering time cycles in urban design to understand how different spaces are used at different times and how the spaces may change through time. This highlights the importance of studying the night-life of cities in planning projects which was discussed in the previous chapter.
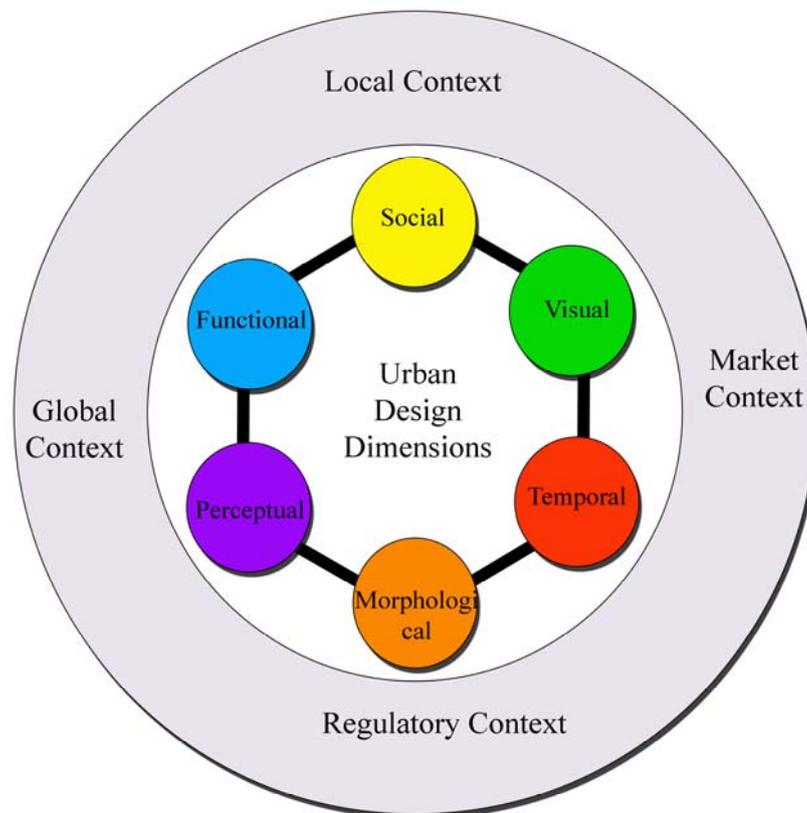
Figure 6: Factors required for a successful urban design (adapted from Carmona et al., 2010 by the author).

Traditional urbanism that shaped the historic parts of contemporary cities is pedestrian-based with mixed-use areas and provides everything in a walkable neighbourhood. In this urban style streets are the main public spaces as well as a circulation network. However, modernist urban design, by imposing vehicular roads on the streets, changes the form and character of cities to segregated zones and complexes with streets as the veins for motorists and marginalised pedestrians. As a result of this, social life is changed in modern cities and reduced in certain forms. While modernisation is still the dominant urban design tool in the

redevelopment plans of many developing countries and demolishing the historic parts of their cities, its negative impacts are understood in different developed countries. In Europe and USA several movements are established to control modernisation effects and replace them with other means to revive the social life of cities.

In the same way, in many developing countries, in order to increase land-value through redevelopment, historic areas are mostly subject to slum clearance and betterment plans. This is performed by the forced eviction of local residents which are mostly poor and from ethnic minorities and this leads to marginalisation and social exclusion in these cities and sometimes serious conflicts. However, in some parts of the world some context-based and user-friendly alternatives are used for redevelopment of the historic parts of cities. These alternative tools condemn displacement and benefit seeking from the betterment plans and target the plans to the current users of these areas, based on traditional customs and materials.

Public life and public spaces have mutual impacts on each other. Therefore, in order to understand the social needs and urban experience in a society it is important to look at everyday life in that society. Since the concept of everyday life might vary from one society to another, due to social and cultural differences, an ordinary activity in one society might be considered strange in another society. Also it is important to consider that people in each society perform different routines and habitual actions which bring them comfort and convenience. People might not become aware of these routines until they break and if people are prevented from performing these routines they might feel anxious. Therefore, in order to produce safe and enjoyable urban spaces, before proposing any form of spatial pattern for a city it is important to investigate the social-economic life of it from inside to find out how the local people of that society perceive their everyday life and what they need now or might require later. As Carmona et al. (2010) argue, temporal dimensions play an important role in designing urban spaces. One of the aspects of temporal dimensions is to understand how the environment changes through time and therefore provide a flexible built environment. Also it is important to consider that an urban design blueprint does not exist and it is not possible to produce a successful urban space by enforcing a pre-planned pattern or a pattern taken from one society on another as Carmona et al. (2010) argue spatial arrangements can facilitate and manipulate social encounter, but not determine them.

The outcome of this chapter is used in Chapter Nine to criticise the redevelopment plan of the case study, the shrine area in Mashhad, which is subject to modernisation. The ideas discussed in this chapter are considered further in Chapter Ten to propose a series of recommendations in order to revitalise the case study area. These ideas are used, based on the observations and surveys discussed in Chapter Eight, to relate to the social life of the area.

Up to this point, night-life, urban design and their mutual impacts are studied with regard to the aims and objectives of this study. In the next chapter the impacts of pilgrimage on night-life and the urban form of cities is discussed in order to investigate the interconnection between these three factors which are influential in the life of the thesis' case study.

Chapter Four – Pilgrimage

This chapter follows the previous two chapters about night-life and urban design and is the third part of the literature review exploring how pilgrimage destinations in different parts of the world and for different religions are developed and what type of night-time activities they provide. This discussion is important as the main character of this thesis is based on investigating the relationship between night-life and urban design interventions at a mass pilgrimage destination. In this chapter the boundaries between day-time and night-time activities and the urban development of the case study, Mashhad, are briefly investigated in parallel with some other mass pilgrimage destinations around the world in order to investigate the impact of development on them and on their night-life. This discussion highlights the similarities and differences between Mashhad and some other mass pilgrimage destinations in order to find out how the results of this study can be applied in other cases.

Since pilgrimage is known as a type of tourism as well as the primary activity and main development factor for many cities around the world, this chapter starts with a brief history of pilgrimage and the similarities and differences between pilgrimage and tourism. This section helps to investigate the impact of pilgrimage on the development of cities and the life of local people. It also investigates how religious and secular activities are balanced in some pilgrimage destinations and how they are managed during the day and at night. These examples are selected from different popular religions which are subject to mass pilgrimage and are categorised by their development type and the form of night-time activities that they provide or support. It is argued that, although Mashhad has a unique character as a mass pilgrimage destination, it has fundamental similarities with some other pilgrimage destinations and the results of this thesis may be helpful for planning and managing the night-life in other pilgrimage destinations. However, as discussed in the previous chapters, the night-life and urban forms of each city are closely related to their social-economic context and this thesis does not aim to produce a blueprint to be used across the board.

Pilgrimage history

Pilgrimage might be the primary activity of a city or a region (Richards and Fernandes, 1996) and the main factor for its development. Pilgrimage is a journey to a place which is sacred in pilgrims' belief in order to seek holiness, for spiritual purposes and to achieve understanding. It may be taken in large groups or by individuals (Murray and Graham,

1997 ; Collins-Kreiner, 2010 ; Barber, 1993 ; Cousineau, 1998). In other words, it is the most ancient type of tourism (Nolan and Nolan, 1992 ; Franquesa and Morell, 1996 ; Swatos and Tomasi, 2002 ; Tomasi, 2002 ; Belhassen, 2009), as old as religion itself, and is its most sustainable form (Travis, 2011). It was prevalent in pre-history among different societies around the world and had other connotations including political, athletic and entertainment (Rinschede, 1992). Pilgrimage has an ancient history in almost all of today's popular religions (Collins-Kreiner, 2010 ; Travis, 2011) and plays an extremely important role in tourism.

Pilgrimage is categorised in various studies from different points of view. Rinschede (1992) argues that pilgrims might visit a destination for a short time, perhaps for a few hours, or for a long time, such as visiting a religious centre for several days or weeks. Jacowski et al. (2002) categorises pilgrims by whether they are visiting a regional, supra-regional or international centre. Nolan and Nolan (1992) argue that pilgrims might visit pilgrimage shrines which are also a tourist attraction, sacred spaces with historic/artistic importance or religious significance.

Although Richards (1996) argues that the number of tourists travelling purely for religious reasons is relatively small nowadays, Digance (2003) discusses that, based on the number of pilgrims visiting sacred sites around the world, pilgrimage is still as popular as ever, and has even risen over the last few decades. Millions of people go for Hajj (Henderson, 2011), visit Marian shrines[1] (Vukonic, 2006), go to the River Ganges in India (Collins-Kreiner, 2010) or visit sites such as Notre Dame cathedral in Paris. Also the data collected in France (AFIT, 2002) shows that many cultural tourism trips involve a visit to a religious site. Basically, pilgrimage and tourism in contemporary societies are closely tied.

> '*The inheritance, protection and spread of religious culture cannot be separated from the development of tourism, and development of a tourism industry also depends on the precious resources of religious culture*' (Zhang Mu et al., 2007:110).

Pilgrimage is largely tied to other types of tourism; it can be a subgroup of cultural tourism or involve aspects of holiday, economic, social, political, and group activities (Rinschede, 1992). Basically, there are similarities and differences amongst pure pilgrimage and pure tourism. Pilgrimage is related to some sacred and supernatural power, whereas tourism is partly about 'getting away' and seeking pleasure or to experience a change (Shinde, 2007).

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[1] Marian Shrines are the shrines that make an apparition or miracles ascribed to the Virgin Mary. They are pilgrimage destinations for mostly Christian Catholics.

However, tourism may have many varied forms such as visiting friends, families, business or shopping. Cohen (2001) divided travellers based on their motivation into three groups: pilgrims, religious tourists and tourists. Several commentators try to distinguish pilgrims from tourists (see for example Griffin, 1994 ; Digance, 2003 ; Murray and Graham, 1997 ; Nolan and Nolan, 1992) or study their similarities and differences (see for example MacCannell, 1976 ; Graburn, 1977 ; Cohen, 1992 ; Smith, 1992 ; Turner and Turner, 1978). Studies show that in contemporary societies the boundaries between pilgrimage and tourism are becoming blurred in the same way as boundaries between the sacred and the profane (Finney et al., 2009 ; O'Guinn and Russell, 1989). Sacred spaces are connected to political, social (Chidester and Linenthal, 1995) and commercial factors (Finney et al., 2009) and this can be seen in Jerusalem as the Israeli seat of government and in the Vatican state both of which are also the highest sacred sites in Judaism and Christianity respectively, or in the large-scale commercialisation which is taking place in Mecca as the most sacred city in Islam (see for example Woodward, 2004 ; Bianca, 2000). In the development of pilgrimage destinations, in order to provide an inclusive and sustainable development, it is necessary to consider other influential factors including social, cultural, political and economic.

Several commentators (Collins-Kreiner, 2010 ; Urry, 2001 ; Kong, 2005) argue that the boundaries between pilgrimage and tourism is blurring since people travel with a combination of sacred and secular travel motivation. Pilgrims are partly or exclusively motivated by religious reasons; however, they may have several other motivations and goals including visiting gravestones of family members or an important person, interest in architecture and history or merely curiosity (Nolan and Nolan, 1992 ; Shackley, 2002 ; Smith, 1992 ; Vukonic, 1996 ; Hughes et al., 2013). So pilgrimage destinations may be used for recreational, educational and cultural purposes (Shackley, 2001 ; Woodward, 2004) and may appear in tourism marketing materials and promotions (Francis et al., 2008).

Several studies on pilgrimage sites reveal that many visitors are not categorised as either strict pilgrims or tourists and have both pilgrimage and tourist intentions (Shepherd et al., 2012 ; Keeling, 2000 ; Hughes et al., 2013). Therefore it is impossible to clearly distinguish between pilgrims and tourists (Shih Shuo et al., 2009 ; Ambrosio, 2007 ; Blackwell, 2007 ; Collins-Kreiner, 2009) because of the following reasons as discussed by Olsen (2010). First, he states that the modern tourist has been compared with medieval pilgrims, albeit pilgrimage has changed over time and the medieval pilgrim does not exist

anymore. Second, he holds that the idea of pilgrimage in Europe basically ignores pilgrims in other cultures where, as Douglas (2001) argued, the definition of holiness and un-holiness are different based on differing religious beliefs or due to what Schutz (1972) called different subjective realities. Third, he defines the classic idea is of an ideal type of pilgrim and tourist which is impossible for individuals to fit into. In this respect *'a tourist is half a pilgrim, if a pilgrim is half a tourist'* (Turner and Turner, 1978:20).

Nowadays pure religious motivation seems to become less important than before and visitors, even the most devote, require some recreational activities including sightseeing or shopping (Shih Shuo et al., 2009) *'pilgrimage involves sightseeing, travelling, visiting different places and, in some cases, voyaging by air or sea and buying the local memorabilia, almost everything a tourist does'* (Gupta, 1999:91). Therefore, places catering for visitors' requirements spring up around pilgrimage sites permanently or temporarily during the pilgrimage period (Shih Shuo et al., 2009 ; Woodward, 2004). This leads to the rapid development of many pilgrimage towns (Nolan and Nolan, 1992).

Development

Tourist-based development can raise funds, improve economic development (Woodward, 2004) and act as a *'pro-poor'* catalyst by bringing income to the area and improving the local economy through provision of job opportunities and access to outside services (Kasim, 2011:452). However, it has negative impacts on the built environment by imposing overcrowding and traffic problems on the area resulting in congestion and a lack of parking and an overuse of resources which will lead to insufficient services and infrastructure. Also it makes changes to the patterns of tenure and the traditional mixed local economy leading to changes in the social life of the area (Orbasli, 2000) and the local urban fabric. It also results in noise pollution, litter and vandalism (Woodward, 2004) and may harm the local economy and affect poor inhabitants by displacing them, making them lose their jobs and cause dissatisfaction. This has happened in several pilgrimage and tourism destinations (Davidson and Maitland, 1997). For instance, development started in a pilgrimage site in China following its verification as a world heritage site. This led to the dissatisfaction of locals due to displacement, loss of jobs and insufficient compensation which did not allow them to buy a similar house, shop or even a designated vendor's place (Shepherd et al., 2012). Although mass tourism may influence some pilgrimage sites, it

does not make *'tourism and pilgrimage basically incompatible'* (Nolan and Nolan, 1992:77) since, as discussed earlier, they are mixed in contemporary societies.

Development mostly starts by the religious centre becoming the core of a new city or district, surrounded by an open place for pilgrims to gather. Based on the needs of the city and pilgrims, other establishments also form to provide for the pilgrims' needs (see for example De Pinho and De Pinho, 2007 ; Ambrosio and Pereira, 2007 ; Mahovan, 2004). The sites at large shrines mostly continue developing to accommodate larger crowds, (see for example Henderson, 2011 ; Burns, 2007 ; Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 1989 ; Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 2008). This includes increased levels of commercialisation to provide services for large numbers of visitors (Nolan and Nolan, 1992). In small pilgrimage towns, most of the residents of the surrounding area who hope to offer services to pilgrims move to these towns to live (see for example Bhardwaj and Rinschede, 1988 ; Rinschede and Sievers, 1985 ; Rinschede, 1992). However, in exclusive and international pilgrimage cities which are larger, the population grows because of the required workers and service personnel and the settlement of pilgrims. Many pilgrims stay temporarily to make money or permanently to be closer to the sacred site (Rinschede, 1992). For instance, Mecca, Medina and Jidda in Saudi Arabia have developed into cosmopolitan cities in the Islamic world because pilgrims settled there permanently (Burns, 2007). Basically, the economy of an entire city, its surroundings and sometimes of an entire country can be influenced by the pilgrims' stream (Rinschede, 1992), such as Jerusalem, Mecca (Burns, 2007 ; Kasim, 2011) and Mashhad (Rezvani, 2005).

The promotion of pilgrimage routes for tourism, leisure and culture make these routes and destinations more secularised and commercialised (Eade, 1992 ; Nolan and Nolan, 1992 ; Smith, 1992 ; Morpeth, 2007) since pilgrims with any level of devotion spend money on necessities (Rinschede, 1992). This can support the pilgrimage site, since tourism income is a helpful source of revenue which can be used for maintenance and repair (English-Tourist-Board, 1979). However, pilgrims do not like to see sacred areas over-commercialised (Olsen, 2010) and this development is satisfactory as long as spirituality is not decreased (Ambrosio and Pereira, 2007). In development of sacred sites it is important to consider the traditions and rituals in them and address the development in such a way so as not to lose the cultural and spiritual attributes of the site by commodification (English-Tourist-Board, 1979 ; Murray and Graham, 1997 ; Finney et al., 2009). Unfortunately, this is the main problem with many pilgrimage destinations (Kasim, 2011 ; Henderson, 2011 ; Shepherd et al., 2012). As Ambrisio and Perira (2007) argue, these changes will not reduce

the number of pilgrims since sanctuary towns do not lose the basic qualities that attracted the pilgrims in the first place. Pilgrimage to sacred destinations might be reduced because of economic difficulties or lack of security, but not because of its unfashionable or modern features (Ambrosio and Pereira, 2007) see (Henderson, 2011 ; Woodward, 2004 ; Burns, 2007).

This chapter continues with an investigation of several pilgrimage destinations that are subject to mass tourism including the case study, Mashhad. This section investigates the impact of development on various pilgrimage sites and their night-life and highlights the similarities and differences between Mashhad and some other mass pilgrimage destinations in order to find out how the results of this study can be referred to other cases. Sites which are discussed in the following section have different levels of urban development, commercialisation and night-time activities based on their character and religious practices. Based on the level of development and available night-time activities shaping the night-time economy of these sites, they are categorised into four main groups discussed below.

These groups include natural sites with limited levels of urban development and night-time activities, constructed pilgrimage sites with a minimum level of development but a limited level of night-time activities, pilgrimage sites as tourism destinations with a high level of development and night-time activities and pilgrimage sites with a high level of development and religious-based night-time activities. Studying these groups of pilgrimage destinations demonstrates how night-life which was discussed in Chapter Two, built form which was discussed in Chapter Three and pilgrimage which is discussed in this chapter come together and articulate in different ways with different effects. Also, formation of various kinds of development and night-time activities in these sites highlight the importance of social and cultural factors in the establishment of built form and night-life in each society.

Natural pilgrimage sites

These sites are located in the countryside and not in the towns. Because of the character of these sites and the religious rituals related to them, development and commercialisation is not possible. Accordingly their night-time activities are limited and do not lead to the formation of a specific night-time economy. For samples in this group see Appendix A.

Constructed pilgrimage sites with minimum level of development

Unlike the last group of sacred sites, these sites are not located in the natural environment but in the middle of towns. The level of development near these sites is limited to the construction of religious buildings and simple accommodation for pilgrims with the building of guesthouses, hotels, shops and restaurants being prohibited. Any form of night-time activities leading to a specific type of night-time economy cannot develop at these sites. Impact by the tourism market, or increase in the number of pilgrims staying there overnight, may result in changes at these sites increasing the chance of possible further night-time activities. For samples in this group see Appendix A.

Pilgrimage sites as tourism destinations

This group of sacred sites, as the previous group, are located in towns. Since these sites attract tourists and pilgrims, the level of development is relatively higher than in the last group. In these cities, because of the social-economic life of their society or due to security reasons, religious sites are closed at night. Therefore night-time activities taking place here are mostly tourist-based and their night-time economy is similar to many other tourist destinations with similar social-economic factors.

The Holy See of the Vatican: The shrines and basilicas built in honour of St Peter and Christian martyrs in Rome, Italy have been the focus of pilgrimage from the early Middle Ages (Caldwell and Caldwell, 2011 ; Rinschede, 1992). The Holy See, which is on the same site as the Vatican City, is one of the most famous Christian pilgrimage sites since it is the location of the Pope's residence, St Peter's Basilica and the Vatican Museum. Based on figures released by the Vatican, 2.3 million pilgrims visited in 2012 (Romereports, 2013). The Vatican is the smallest independent state in the world with an area of approximate 44 hectares and a population of just over 800 people and is separated by walls from the city of Rome.

The city's boundaries with Rome are its walls and St Peter's Square (Uffici-di-Presidenza-S.C.V). It has three entrances to the city of Rome. The most famous entrance is through Saint Peter's square which is separated from Rome by a white line. The other entrances are

the museum entrance on the north side of the city and the train entrance on the south side of the city. There are different pilgrimage sites and museums at the site (Vatican-Publishing-House). According to the Holy See website, the pilgrimage to Saint Peter's tomb in the Vatican Necropolis is like walking through the history of Christianity to sense its soul (Vatican-Publishing-House). The educational and museum status of the buildings in the Holy See is different from a pilgrimage to Mecca, Mashhad or Fatima by attracting both secular tourists and pilgrims.

Historical development took place in the Holy See and Rome to emphasise the ancient nature of the churches. In the sixteenth century, the Popes had made temporary efforts to regulate the city (Benzi, 1990 ; Westfall, 1974 ; Luitpold Frommel, 1988). Their interventions, which were limited in scale, included repairing aqueducts, enlarging and paving pilgrims' routes or decorating important basilicas (Caldwell and Caldwell, 2011). The most significant intervention took place in the 1580s, when a system of roads was laid out to link important pilgrimage sites. This system of roads, as described by Bacon, imposed *'order on an environment of chaos'* (Bacon, 1967:141). These roads which were set on the *'crowded jumbled medieval city'* of Rome connect monuments physically as well as providing visual connections between them and make vistas (Ibid:140). Architecture and city planning were joined together in the Sixtus plan to enrich the city of Rome by monumentalising facades, re-erecting obelisks and marking routes and vistas (Bacon, 1967). All of these interventions including improving routes and providing vistas were to emphasise the religious importance and power of the Vatican and not to provide more tourist facilities.

Excluding some specific nights such as Christmas Eve, special religious ceremonies or vigil prayers, in general night-time activities at these sacred sites are limited to certain hours. Even on specific religious nights the ceremonies finish by midnight and there are not any specific religious-based night-time activities in the Vatican. The Vatican City and the Holy See website (Vatican-Publishing-House ; Vatican-Museums ; Vatican ; VaticanTV) states that the museum and Papal basilicas are open until 6p.m to 7p.m and pilgrims do not visit them at night. Therefore, night-time activities and the related night-time economy in the area are the same as many other tourist destination in Rome.

Figure 1: Vatican (Lewop, 2007).   Figure 2: The Holy See mass (The-Telegraph, 2009).

Figure 3: The location of the Vatican in Rome and its relation to the urban form of the neighbourhood (Google maps).

Jerusalem: Jerusalem is a city comprising a series of spaces that each attracts a particular group of pilgrims and tourists based on their religious denomination (Jules-Rosette, 1994). In Judaism, Jerusalem was the capital of King David and the place of Solomon's temple and the second temple (Shachar and Shoval, 1999). According to Christian belief, Jesus was brought to Jerusalem soon after his birth and it is also the site of the Last Supper and his crucifixion (Rinschede, 1992). In Islam, Masjid-al-aqsa in Jerusalem is known as the first Qibla[2] of Muslims and Dome of the Rock is the place from which Mohammad ascended to heaven. As a result pilgrims from all these religions with diverse nationality and cultural traditions visit the city. This creates severe conflicts over rituals, sites and itineraries. According to the Tourism Ministry of Israel almost 2,700,000 tourists and

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[2] Qibla is a place that all Muslims should pray towards to symbolise their unity. Masjid-al-aqsa in Jerusalem was the first qibla and later Mohammad orientated Qible towards Kaaba in Mecca.

pilgrims visited Jerusalem in 2012, making it the most popular destination in Israel (AP, 2012).

The growth and structure of the urban built environment of Jerusalem started to be shaped by different religions in 1949 when it became the capital of the state of Israel (Prawer, 1972). The holy site and related religious organisations created a dynamic core stimulating development around the site. The old city of Jerusalem contains four main quarters including the Muslim quarter around the Dome of the Rock and the Al-Aqsa Mosque; the Christian quarter around the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; the Jewish quarter adjacent to the Wailing Wall and the Armenian quarter around St. James Cathedral (Shachar and Shoval, 1999).

According to the Tourism Ministry of Israel (AP, 2012) around 80% of tourists to Israel visit Jerusalem. The major groups of visitors and tourists have religious or national motivations, visit their sacred sites and stay in the city from one day to a few weeks. The results of a study by Shachar and Shoval (1999) show that the Ultra-Orthodox Jews and Muslims visit specific recreational, shopping and cultural sites as well as their own religious sites. This factor may show that in Islam and Judaism, unlike some other religions, there is not a contrast between pilgrimage and conducting worldly activities and it is possible for pilgrims to go shopping or to a recreational space after or before visiting a shrine and even in a pure pilgrimage journey. The character of some pilgrimage destinations is discussed in more detail in the following examples. This is in accordance with discussion in the last chapter about how different groups in society may use different spaces and the meaning of the same spaces might be different for various users.

Jerusalem is a city with different quarters and each quarter has its own specific night-time activities and night-time economy. However, due to the importance of security control in the city, the religious sites have limited opening hours which are rigorously controlled. Security factors are important in Jerusalem since it is the destination of large numbers of pilgrims from different religions who have certain conflicts. The shops and facilities in the old city of Jerusalem, which is the location of different pilgrimage destinations, are mostly closed at 8:00 p.m. and because of security reasons most people do not wander around the city after dark. However, night-time activities outside the old city of Jerusalem are similar to many other tourist destinations in the region.

Figure 4: Mass Muslim prayer in Dome of the Rock mosque (Gharabli, 2011).
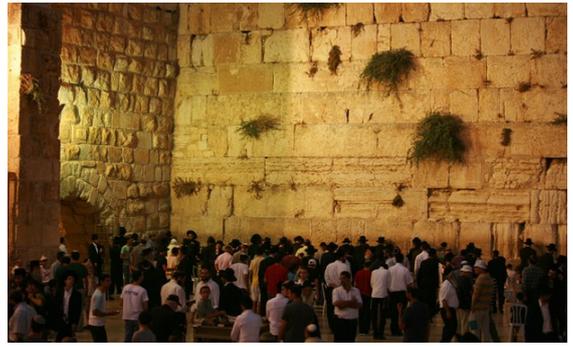
Figure 5: Jewish praying behind wailing wall (Inbal-Jerusalem-Hotel).

Figure 6: Christian religious ceremony at Via Dolorosa (IFMSA, 2010).
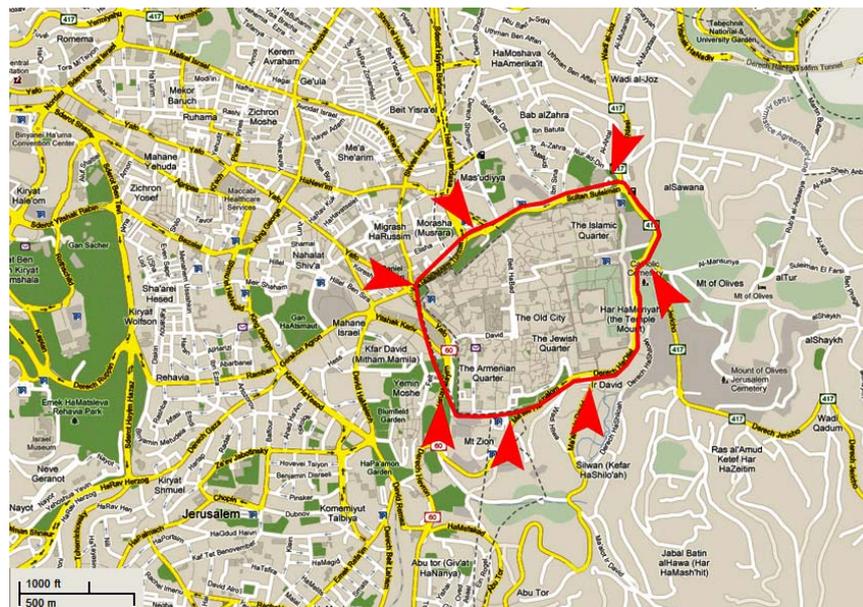
Figure 7: The Old City of Jerusalem with the location of its gates and and its relation to the urban form of the neighbourhood (Google maps).

Pilgrimage sites with religious night-time activities

This group of sacred sites are located in towns or small villages and their level of development is similar to the last group but, unlike the last group, these sites mostly attract pilgrims and not tourists. Shops selling religious souvenirs, from holy water to more expensive items, are an important part of the economy. Also because these sites are open to pilgrims at night and provide special night-time services, there is a specific night-time economy or its possibility centred around the religious activities taking place at night. These night-time activities vary according to the number of pilgrims staying overnight and visiting them at night.

Fatima: Fatima, a sanctuary town situated in the heart of Portugal, has an important Marian Shrine which receives over four million visitors a year from all over the world (De Pinho and De Pinho, 2007). As Nolan and Nolan (1992) argue, development in Fatima, started after the apparition in 1919. Due to the large number of pilgrims, a small chapel was constructed and later a basilica. The sacred site now includes a large esplanade, nursery, retreats, Calvary, a pastoral centre with a conference room, hotels, souvenir shops and a museum (Ambrosio and Pereira, 2007 ; De Pinho and De Pinho, 2007).

The initial urban plan for the town was proposed in 1929, which provided a car-park and a railway station. Later, when pilgrims came from greater distances and evening ceremonies such as candlelight processions became more popular, adequate tourist accommodation was built. Even some local people constructed huts on their properties for tourist accommodation. Since many foreign pilgrims were attracted to Fatima, a series of seminaries, convents, schools and pastoral houses were built.

The town and the life style of its residents were greatly influenced by its sacred status after the apparition. The local people, who were mostly farmers, found new jobs selling religious souvenirs as they could not cultivate the land near the sacred sites any more. Construction of new buildings, including shops, accommodation and food facilities for pilgrims, has changed the traditional architecture of the village. However, attempts have been made to preserve local designs (De Pinho and De Pinho, 2007).

Night-time activities in Fatima include vigil mass and candlelight processions on specific nights. These attract many pilgrims to the town who stay overnight and spend a few hours in the sanctuary. A specific night-time economy may develop if the numbers of pilgrims increase and night-time activities extend. The impact of pilgrimage on the social-economic

life of the locals as well as the spatial form of the town can be seen in Fatima. This is in accordance with the discussion in the first section of this chapter arguing that these changes have positive and negative impacts on the local economy. The local economy can be improved by raising revenue but these changes can also alter the traditional economy, tenure pattern and might result in displacement of local people and create dissatisfaction. It can also lead to pollution, litter and a lack of facilities and basic changes to the character of the area.

Figure 8: Candlelight procession in Fatima (Syed, 2009).

Figure 9: Fatima (Fatima-casadolago, 2009).
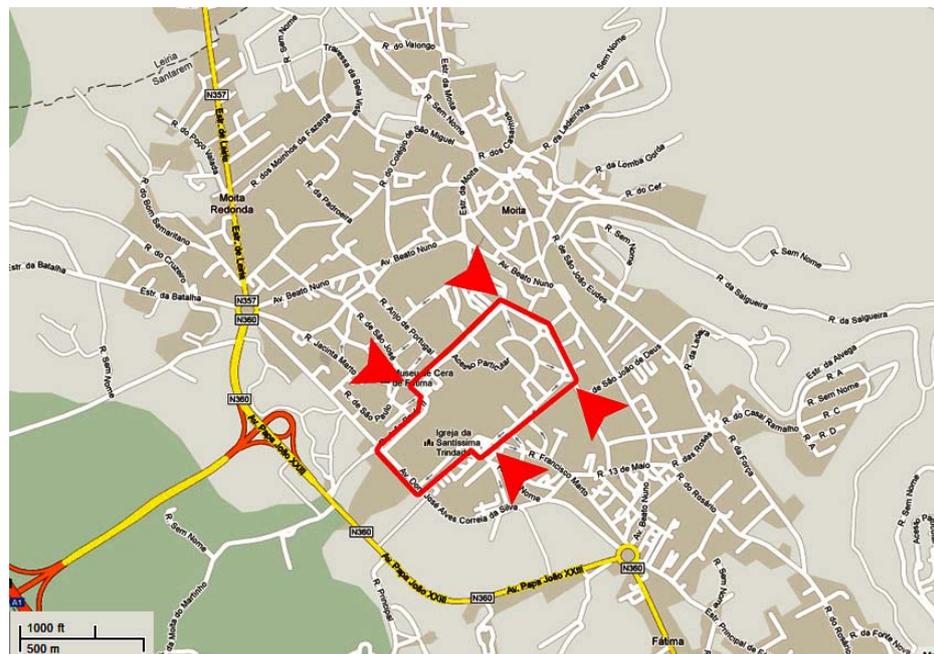
Figure 10: Sanctuary in Fatima and its relation to the urban form of the neighbourhood (Google maps).

Mecca and Medina: Mecca and Medina are accepted common sacred places for any denomination in Islam. Based on Quran prescription, pilgrimage to Mecca, Hajj, is an obligatory religious practice in Islam which any adult Muslim who can afford it financially

and is physically able should perform once in their lifetime (Burns, 2007). In pre-Islamic times, Mecca was an important stop on the caravan route (Rinschede, 1992 ; Raj, 2007) and Hajj has a pre-Islamic background which Mohammad included in his teachings of Islam (Long, 1979). Hajj is the world's largest annual gathering with almost 2.5 million pilgrims. (Burge, 2011 ; Nureldine, 2011 ; Henderson, 2011 ; Raj, 2007). Hajj is conducted on the first days of the lunar month of Dhul-Hajjah[3], and lasts for six days, though the whole itinerary nowadays takes a minimum of two weeks and includes a trip to Medina. Medina is the city where Mohammad used to live and contains many sacred sites including the Prophet's Mosque, his burial tomb, religious schools and a cemetery called Jannat al-Baqi which is the burial place of Mohammad's relatives and companions, four Imams of Muslim Shiite and early Islam's martyrs. The journey can be taken on foot or by any other transport means.

Many pilgrims take the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina for the whole year which is called Umrah and is not obligatory. Non-Muslims are not allowed into Mecca and Medina. Also, for Muslims, Hajj is a pure pilgrimage journey and it is not a tourist phenomenon and not an escape for leisure and entertainment (Burns, 2007). Mohammad said *'Hajj should be for God's sake and there should be no worldly object and no ulterior motive prompting this deed'* (Raj, 2007:129). During the six days of Hajj, pilgrims should be wholly at God's service. It involves pilgrims *'time, possessions and temporarily sacrifice of their all ordinary comforts'* (Raj, 2007) including cutting nails or hair, killing any animal, using any scent and having sex. Pilgrims going for Hajj might have other motivations as well, though they should behave as pure pilgrims when visiting the sacred sites.

On the first day of Hajj pilgrims enter into a state of consecration known as 'Ihram' as they reach the city of Mecca by putting on pilgrim's dress. They stay in pilgrimage dress until finishing the Hajj ceremony and it is only possible to change it for another Ihram dress but not ordinary dress. When pilgrims reach Mecca they should first settle in suitable accommodation. There is no specific recommendation for the type of accommodation and it can be anything from a tent to a five star hotel. However, in the following days when they stay in Mina, an uninhabited village, they only stay in group tents. Pilgrims' first obligation is to visit Kaaba for circumambulation and to perform certain prescribed acts of worship (ibid:135). Then they have to go through a number of stages during the six days of Hajj. The general practices of Hajj are similar amongst all Muslims; however, there are

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[3] Dhul-Hajjah is the 12th month of the Islamic year

slight differences in the practices of followers of each denomination. The main priority of pilgrims is to perform the rites of Hajj precisely; though buying religious souvenirs for family and friends is an old custom that many pilgrims do when they have free time. The most popular souvenirs are water of Zam Zam well, a believed holy source, which is free (Raj, 2007).

Development in Mecca and Medina has continued throughout history. Since these two mosques are located at the centre of the towns, many historical religious buildings have been demolished and replaced with roads or modern buildings (Woodward, 2004 ; Bianca, 2000). This process still continues with a plan to extend the Grand Mosque territory and provide facilities for five million pilgrims. The Mayor of Mecca insisted on the necessity of this plan which results in inevitable changes to housing, transportation and infrastructure development (Henderson, 2011). The situation is the same in Medina in the neighbourhood context of Prophet Mosque (Woodward, 2004 ; Bianca, 2000). Although commercialisation of the adjacent areas of these two mosques is censured by several commentators (Henderson, 2011 ; Laessing, 2010), the process continues with the government prioritising commercial development and amenity provision and ignoring heritage and spiritual concerns. However, the main point ignored in these plans is that development has a threshold and there are limits to the resources and the number of pilgrims that a city may accommodate which, when exceeded, may lead to destructive results and irreversible impact on the urban environment, social life, spiritual experience, pilgrims' satisfaction and loss of heritage (Henderson, 2011 ; Orbasli, 2007). Regarding this Irfan al-Alawi, an Islamic theology professor argues *'Mecca doesn't have to look like Manhattan or New York'* (Laessing, 2010).

There are other sites in North Africa, the near East and Southeast Asia as the aim of religious journeys for Muslim Sunnis (Jackwoski, 1987 ; Lanczkowski, 1982 ; Roussel, 1954 ; Rinschede, 1992 ; Martin, 1987), In Islam Shiite the alternative religious sites are the burial shrines of Imam's and their children. Four Imams of Shiite are buried in Medina and do not have any shrine or even a specific gravestone as they are Sunni that do not believe in building shrines or making tombs for dead people. Six Imams are buried in Iraq and one is buried in Iran Mashhad. Also there are many small shrines in Iran attributed to the descendants of Imams. However, many of these are assumed to be the graves of Zoroastrian clergy (Kheirabadi, 1991 ; Spooner, 1963). Two of the most popular ones are in Shiraz and Qom; however, they are much smaller than Imam Reza's shrine in Mashhad, with few specific impacts on their neighbourhood urban environment.

Figure 11: Hajj at night (Syed, 2009).

Figure 12: Circumambulation of Kabba in the Grand Mosque in Mecca (Zia).

Figure 13: Mina the tent city (Imtiyaz, 2007).

Figure 14: Mecca development plan (Laessing, 2010).
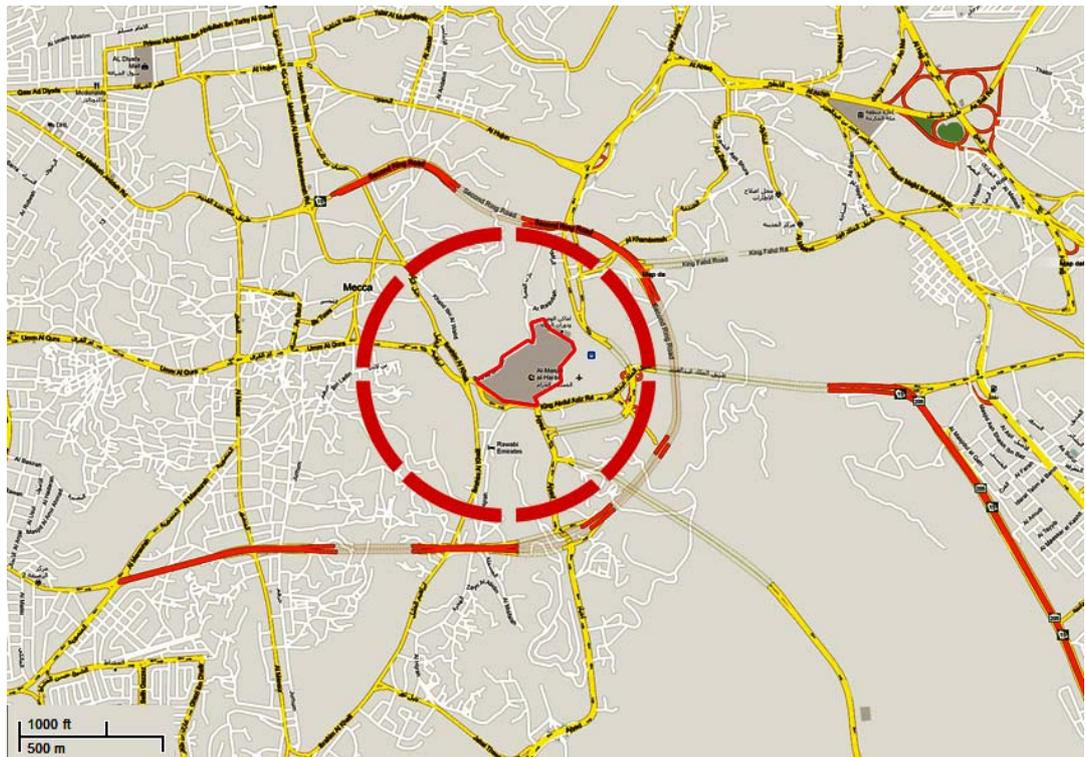
Figure 15: The Grand Mosque in Mecca and its relation to the urban form of the neighbourhood (Google maps).
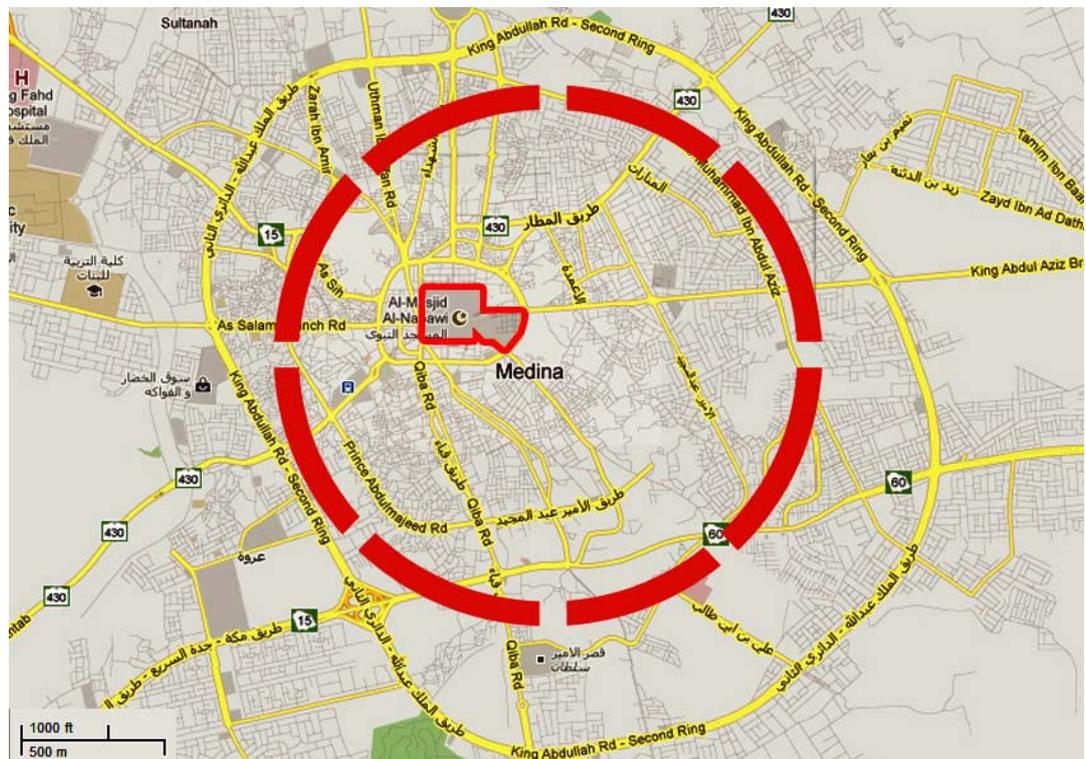
Figure 16: Prophet Mosque in Medina and its relation to the urban form of the neighbourhood (Google maps).

Mashhad: Mashhad is the second largest city of Iran after Tehran, and one of the holiest cities in Shiite Islam. It was established around the shrine of Imam Reza[4], in the ninth century (Kheirabadi, 1991). The population of Mashhad was almost 2,800,000 (Shahrdari-Mashhad, 2012) in 2012. The city hosts more than 20 million pilgrims every year (Tabnak, 2010 ; Mashregh-News, 2010 ; Khorasan-Newspaper, 2010), 28 million in 2011 (IRNA, 2012) exceeding the residential population in the holidays and summer. Thirteen million pilgrims visited Mashhad during summer 2010 (Mashregh-News, 2010). Imam Reza's Shrine, with an area of 51 hectares, is the biggest mosque in the world. The area of Masjid-al-Haram in Mecca is about 35 hectares (Hussain et al., 2011 ; Archnet) and planned to expand to 40 hectares (Henderson, 2011).

People started visiting Imam Reza's grave for pilgrimage after his martyrdom; and by the end of the century a dome was built on his grave and many buildings and bazaars grew up around it. The new city formed around the shrine was called Mashhad-al-Reza which means the place of martyrdom of Imam Reza. The shrine has been destroyed and reconstructed several times in the past 12 centuries (Mahovan, 2004 ; Rezvani, 2005). In the following section the religious and political factors that have promoted visiting the shrine of Imam Reza are discussed.

Unlike Sunni Muslim orthodoxy, that considers pilgrimage to the tombs of Muhammad and the twelve Imams heretical, in Shiite it is an important form of pilgrimage recommended in 'Hadith'[5] (Kheirabadi, 1991 ; Rokni, 2007 ; Alsamhoodi, 1506). Shiite adherents are encouraged to visit Imams' shrines as often as they would go to visit them if they were alive (Allame-Majlesi, 1698) and, in response, Imams will bless pilgrims by keeping them safe from hell, forgiving their sins (Hor-e-Ameli, 1692 ; Allame-Majlesi, 1698 ; Quran ; Alame-Amini, 1970s ; Sheikh-e-Sadoogh, 10 C.E) and welcoming pilgrims to be with them in heaven (Allame-Majlesi, 1698 ; Ibn-Ghoolooye, 10 C.E). Visiting Imam Reza's shrine is highly recommended by the ancestors and descendants of Imam Reza (Rokni, 2007). It is believed that his shrine is a part of heaven and anyone who visits it will go to heaven after death (Sheikh-e-Sadoogh, 10 C.E ; Allame-Majlesi, 1698 ; Qumi, 1890s-b ; Tabarsi, 11 C.E ; Hor-e-Ameli, 1692). Imam Reza said: *'One pilgrimage to my shrine is like thousands times of pilgrimage to Hajj'* (Ibn-Ghoolooye, 10 C.E). Even if

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[4] Imam Reza امام رضا ع, 765-818, was the seventh descendant of the Islamic Prophet Muhammad and the eighth of the twelve Imams in Shiite Islam

[5] Hadith refers to reports of statements, actions or tacit approval, validly or invalidly, ascribed to the Prophet Muhammad or Imams.

pilgrims cannot go inside the shrine they are recommended to visit the outside (Ibn-Ghoolooye, 10 C.E).

The majority of these traditions date back to the end of the 16th century, during the 'Safavid dynasty'.[6] At that time Mashhad was promoted as the most important religious city for Shiite. This was following the extension of the Ottoman Empire to the Islamic world, when all the holy sites of Islam including Mecca, Medina, and the shrines of Shiite Imams in Iraq, were located in Ottoman territory, Iran's greatest enemy. Because pilgrimage to these sites was dangerous, Shah-Abbas, the king of Iran at that time, promoted Mashhad as an alternative pilgrimage destination by enforcing high taxes for pilgrimage to the Hajj (Mahovan, 2004 ; Canby, 2009), while repairing and extending the shrine of Imam Reza in Mashhad and performing a 965 kilometre pilgrimage on foot from Isfahan, capital of Iran at that time, to Mashhad. Accordingly, Mashhad was established as a new pilgrimage destination called 'Haj-e-Foghara'.[7] This is still remembered in public belief and ballads[8]. Pilgrimage to Mashhad is an alternative for poor people who cannot afford to travel to the Hajj.

Historically, Imam Reza's shrine attracted millions of pilgrims from the Shiite world since it was the only accessible shrine of Shiite Imams for a long time. Pilgrimage to the shrines located in Iraq was very difficult and almost impossible because of Sunni governments in power and long-time conflicts in Iraq (Rotherham, 2007 ; Cochrane, 2004). These shrines and the areas around them did not develop as much as Imam Reza's shrine did. However, after the fall of Saddam Hussein, these shrines were subject to development by Shiite volunteers with the support of the Iranian government. In the following section some rituals that pilgrims perform at the shrine of Imam Reza are discussed. Excluding the special ceremonies and mass prayers that are performed at certain times in groups, the majority of these rituals are performed by individuals at any time during the day or night at the pilgrims' convenience. This explains why pilgrims visit the shrine of Imam Reza at various times of the day or night.

Theologically there is no limit for pilgrims who want to visit the shrine regarding their length of stay, accommodation and travel mode, or their daily activities. However, when they are in the shrine they are advised to keep away from worldly thoughts and just pray.

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[6] سلسله صفوی Safavid dynasty
[7] Haj-e-Foghara
[8] اغنیا مکه روند و فقرا سوی تو آیند   جان به قربان تو شاها که تو حج فقرایی Rich go to Mecca, and poor to your shrine, I want to sacrifice for you as you are the poor's Hajj

The whole shrine territory is for pedestrians and there are small electric vehicles and wheelchairs for senior and disabled pilgrims. Before pilgrims enter the shrine sanctuary they should take Islamic ablution and take their shoes off. However, they can wear their shoes when they come out of the sanctuary into the courtyards. After entering the sanctuary it is up to the pilgrim to decide how to pray; they may visit the tomb, read the Quran or religious recitations, perform individual prayers or take part in different types of group recitations, prayers or daily mass prayer (Rokni, 2007 ; Islamic-Research-Foundation, 2006 ; Qumi, 1890s-a). Depending on what they do, pilgrimage may take just a few minutes or a few hours.

Pilgrims and Mashhad residents might visit the shrine for different reasons. They may visit the shrine for daily mass prayer, to pray in a sacred place, to get spiritual relief and wisdom, to get blessed, to show gratitude to Imam for their happiness, to fulfil their promise to God by making a vow to visit the shrine, once or on a regular basis, and ask the deceased Imam to solve their problems and accept their requests, to reduce their pain, to cure their diseases, to keep them safe and to intercede for forgiveness of their sins, called 'Tavasol'[9] in Shiite terminology (Rokni, 2007).

The frequency of visits differs based on pilgrims' faith or their distance from the shrine. For instance, a resident living near the shrine might take part in mass prayer three times a day, though a resident living further away might feel the need to visit the shrine once a week, once a month or once a year. People who visit Mashhad regularly for business or family visits, official or medical reasons as a tourist or a pilgrim might visit the shrine at least once in each trip. The ones who do not travel to Mashhad frequently might feel able to go for pilgrimage at least once every few years. Visiting Imam Reza's shrine has been transformed into an Iranian tradition as almost every religious or less religious Iranian feels the need to make a visit. Many of Mashhad's residents have moved from other cities in Iran or other Shiite countries to Mashhad just to live near the shrine. A study (Glazebrook and Jalal Abbasi-shavazi, 2007) shows that many Hazara Afghan families chose to stay in Mashhad and not return to Afghanistan since they wanted to be near Imam Reza's shrine, to visit it on a regular basis and die and be buried in Mashhad. They felt that being close to Imam Reza was worth the difficulties of living as an Afghan immigrant in Iran.

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[9] Tavasol means interceding Imam to god for asking for a wish or forgiving the sins. Rokni M. (2007) Shogh-e Didar, Mabahesi Piramoon-e Ziarat Mashhad: Astan-Quds-Razavi.

Millions of pilgrims, 28 million in 2011 (IRNA, 2012), visit the shrine from all over Iran or Shiite countries by different modes of transport including airplanes, trains, coaches, private cars and other vehicles or on foot. Visiting Imam Reza's shrine is always recommended, though there are several specific dates which are more important (Rokni, 2007) including the special pilgrimage day, the birthday and martyrdom day of Imam Reza. There are different types of pilgrims at different times of the year. On 'Norouz' many people come to Mashhad to celebrate the Persian New Year near the shrine and visit their relatives and friends. Many people who do not have school children and prefer more tranquillity, visit Mashhad in spring after the Norouz holidays. Summer is the busiest time of the year as schools and universities are on holiday. Farmers who are busy during summer visit Mashhad in the autumn. Winter is the least busy time of the year, but there are still many visitors. Religious occasions are also one of the busiest times in Mashhad when many on-foot carnivals come to visit the shrine from different parts of Iran. Any kind of visitors, including pilgrims and tourists, may enter the shrine, as long as they dress and behave according to the shrine rules. Basically, it is difficult to divide pilgrims and tourists in Mashhad, since each pilgrim might be a tourist and when they come out of the shrine go to other tourist destinations, or go shopping or carry out other mundane activities. Also, each tourist can become a pilgrim by performing the same rituals in the shrine that pilgrims conduct. The aims and behaviour of the visitors in the shrine area are discussed based on the results of a series of surveys in Chapter Eight.

The shrine territory contains courtyards, sanctuaries, a mosque, a library, a museum, a religious school, a cemetery, catering facilities, a dining hall, public toilets, ablution areas, car parks, dormitories for shrine workers, related offices, wheelchair hire facilities and cloakrooms. Other facilities including shops, fast food outlets, drinking places, hotels and recreational facilities are located outside the shrine area on the streets nearby. The area around the shrine is the busiest part of Mashhad since it is the main destination of pilgrims and provides the everyday commercial requirements and accommodation for the majority of them. The area includes many small shops, cheap hotels and guesthouses as well as some four and five star hotels and shopping centres. This area as the case study is discussed in more detail in the following chapters.

Bringing souvenirs from Mashhad is an old custom in Iranian culture as they are believed to be sacred. Many people ask for a religious souvenir from Mecca or Mashhad to cure their disease or help to achieve a goal. These souvenirs are mostly local foods and spices such as

saffron or praying accessories called 'Mohr'[10], 'Tasbih'[11], religious books and 'Kafan'[12]or souvenir photos with the shrine in the background. Different kinds of clothes, shoes and ornaments might also be bought as souvenirs. The majority of shops in the shrine area sell souvenirs and their customers are mostly pilgrims.

Figure 17. Food and religious souvenir shops (Author).

The shrine is open 24-hours and pilgrims and residents may visit it at any time of the day or night for pilgrimage or to take part in prayers. Therefore boundaries between day and night and pilgrims and tourists in Mashhad and specifically in the shrine area are less clear cut since night-time activities include various kinds of everyday activities. Also since religious rules do not prevent it, there are no restrictions on pilgrims' activities; they might go shopping, eat in a restaurant or visit other tourist sites when they come out of the shrine. These factors and also the large number of pilgrims visiting Mashhad, required the building of various shops, restaurants and hotels around the shrine and account for why the shrine-area is active 24-hours.

Figure 18: Imam Reza's shrine, Mashhad (Astan-Quds-Razavi, 2007).

Figure 19: Night shopping in the shrine area (Author, 2010).

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[10] مهر Small piece of soil or clay like a tablet using for prostrating during praying by Muslim 'Shiite'
[11] تسبیح praying beads similar to the rosary used in Christianity
[12] کفن Burial shroud which is a kind of winding sheet made of white cotton or linen.
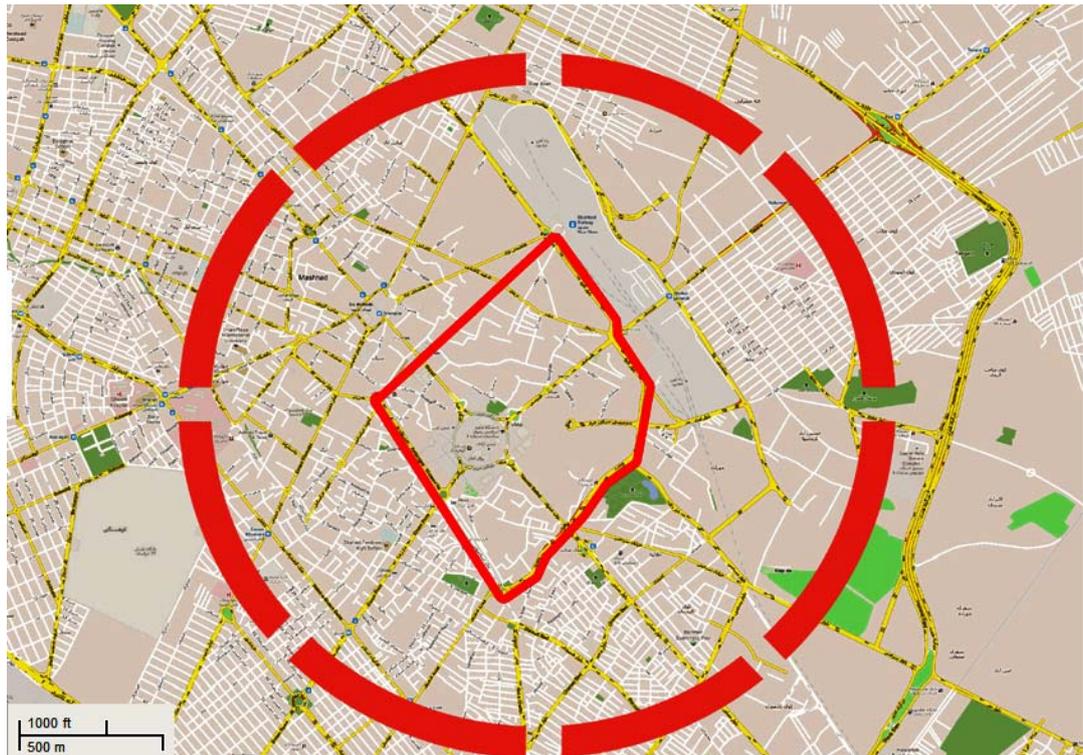
Figure 20: Imam Reza's shrine and its relation to the urban form of the neighbourhood (Google maps).

Discussion

In many contemporary societies pilgrimage and tourism are closely connected and have a similar impact on the built environment of their destinations and the social-economic life of the local people. However, the level of this impact might be less in some pilgrimage destinations because of the restrictions that their related religion puts on the pilgrimage site or the behaviour of pilgrims. The impact of pilgrimage on the social-economic life of the settlements is not a new phenomenon. Lynch (1984) argues that ancient civilisations form around an attractive shrine, which gains reputation and attracts pilgrims and gifts. This shrine becomes a ceremonial centre with special rituals and a *'sense of awe'* in its physical environment. As civilisation develops this settlement takes on other roles in addition to its primary one which is as a *'holy place'* (Lynch, 1984:8-9).

This impact can be positive by raising revenue and improving the local economy by providing job opportunities and access to outside services. It can also be negative by imposing overcrowding and traffic on the built environment leading to a lack of facilities, noise pollution and litter. It may change the tenure and job pattern and the mixed local

93

economy. Redevelopment plans that are mostly used in these areas to improve the pilgrimage experience might also lead to the displacement of locals and loss of jobs and result in the local's dissatisfaction. Pilgrimage influences commercial activities in destinations, their night-life and night-time economy by changing the spatial form and land use in the cities and the life style and jobs of local people. However, based on the aims and objectives of this thesis, the main focus of these impacts is on urban development of the sites and the balance between religious and commercial activities which leads to the formation of night-time activities in both cases.

Based on the nature of the sacred sites and the rituals of their respective denominations, different levels of development and commercialisation are conducted in the neighbourhood of religious sites. This is in accordance with the discussion in the previous two chapters highlighting the importance of the social and cultural context on the structure of the built environment and night-life in each society. The lowest level of urban development and commercial activity is seen in sites located in the natural environment since they need to maintain the tranquillity of nature and development would harm this. The next level of development is associated with groups which are located in towns though theology might limit urban development and commercial activities around religious sites. In these sites accommodation and the food industry might not develop as pilgrims must stay in simple hermitages and not hotels and prepare their own food and not buy it. In both of these groups theology imposes restrictions on development and limits commercial activity. Hence, in these cases, the level of night-time activities that may lead to the formation of any type of night-time economy is limited.

The third group is located in towns and cities and has a higher degree of development. Since these religious sites attract many pilgrims and tourists, various kinds of commercial activities are provided to meet the requirements of visitors. Due to security, safety or cultural and religious reasons, access to the religious sites is limited to day-time and certain times at night on specific dates. Therefore the night-time activities in these sites are mostly tourism-based and are similar to many other tourist destinations in their region. Examples of this group are the Holy See of the Vatican and Jerusalem in Israel.

The fourth group, in common with the previous group, are located in towns and cities. However, they mostly attract pilgrims and fewer tourists. The religious cities in Islam basically deny access to non-Muslims and the Muslim tourists are supposed to behave and dress as pilgrims when visiting the religious sites. These sites are open to pilgrims 24 hours

and have religious and secular night-time activities forming a specific night-time economy. However, cultural and religious believers and the target group of these sites play an important role in the intensity of these activities. Examples of this group are Fatima in Portugal for Christians, Mecca and Medina in Saudi Arabia for Muslims, Mashhad, Qom and Shiraz in Iran and Najaf, Karbala, Samarra and Bagdad in Iraq for Muslim Shiite. See maps in Appendix A.

Although the sanctuary in Fatima is open to pilgrims 24 hours a day, the majority of night-time activities take place in specific group programmes such as candle light processions and vigil praying and hence when these programmes finish there are fewer people visiting the shrines. Also mundane secular night-time activities in Fatima are much less than the activities taking place in Mashhad or Mecca because of social cultural behaviours and religious beliefs.

There are plenty of secular activities around religious sites in Saudi Arabia, Iran and Iraq. For many pilgrims, a pilgrimage to the Islamic shrines provides a form of travelling as well as visiting a sacred site to pray. Rinschede (1992) argues that this is similar to medieval times in developed countries. It is important to note that by excluding non-Muslim tourists it is almost impossible to distinguish between pilgrims and tourists visiting Islamic pilgrimage destinations, since both pilgrims and tourists behave similarly when they are inside these sites and when they come out of them. They might all pray when they are inside and go shopping or visit historical or tourist sites when outside. This is basically because shopping and pilgrimage in Islam are not contradictory. Muslims from all over the world on their pilgrimage trips spend plenty of time shopping for religious souvenirs or other things in pilgrimage destinations including Mecca, Medina, Mashhad or the shrines in Iraq. In Islam people regard the trinkets bought from a pilgrimage destination as holy and that they can bring good fortune for their recipients or relieve their sadness or pain. However, they are mostly produced in China. These trinkets can take in any form, from a bottle of water to a pair of shoes. As Rezaian (2007) argues *'Islam and consumerism appear to go hand in hand'*.

Three factors are important in the formation of a specific night-time economy at a pilgrimage site. These factors are the possible level of development in the neighbourhood, its target group and its religious and secular night-time activities. Therefore, a religious-related night-time economy forms when the religious site is located in towns or cities, has large numbers of national and international target groups, local groups may not be enough,

and includes some religious and secular night-time activities accepted in their respective denominations. This factor requires the religious site to be open at night and might be influenced by cultural, social, political, security and climactic issues. Religious cities containing these factors are examples in the fourth group and the shrines in Iraq. For maps of these shrines see Appendix A. Figure 21, Figure 22, Figure 23, Figure 24, Figure 25, and Figure 26 show activities in the sanctuaries in Mecca, Medina, Mashhad, Karbala, Fatima, and the Vatican at 1:00 a.m. on the 7th of April 2013. Amongst this group, the Vatican and Fatima have fewer night-time activities and the shrines in Iraq have fewer pilgrims than Mecca, Medina and Mashhad. Therefore their night-time economy is limited.

In this thesis night-life in the shrine area in Mashhad and the impact of recent urban design intervention on it is investigated. However, further study on night-time activities of other sites in this group is recommended since all of these sites have their own night-time economy and they are all to some extent subject to urban design interventions. This chapter was the last part of the literature review. In the next chapter methods used in this study are discussed.

Figure 21: Grand Mosque in Mecca, Saudi Arabia at 1:00 a.m. on 07 April 2013 (Makkah.live).

Figure 22: Prophet Mosque in Medina, Saudi Arabia at 1:00 a.m. on 07 April 2013 (Makkah.live).

Figure 23: Imam Reza's shrine in Mashhad, Iran at 1:00 a.m. on 07 April 2013 (Astan-Quds-Razavi).

Figure 24: Imam Hossein shrine in Karbala, Iraq at 1:00 a.m. on 07 April 2013 (Ashoora.ir).

Figure 25: Fatima Sanctuary in Fatima, Portugal at 1:00 a.m. on 07 April 2013 (Santuario-de-Fatima).

Figure 26: The Holy See in Vatican at 1:00 a.m. on 7th April 2013 (VaticanTV).

Chapter Five - Methods

Following the three chapters of literature review, this chapter focuses on the methodology, methods and techniques of data collection used to answer the research aim and objectives. This study aims to evaluate the potential impacts of urban design interventions on the nightlife of cities through an investigation of a case study, the shrine area in Mashhad, Iran, arguing it is an active 24-hour area of a type which has not been studied previously, with fundamental differences compared to other case studies, which are mostly located in Western countries. As discussed in Chapter Four and in more detail in Chapter Seven, the shrine area in Mashhad is used 24-hours a day by various groups of residents and pilgrims carrying out different everyday activities. Since these activities are carried out at night as routine and habitual actions based on several social, cultural, economic, climate and political factors, many people are not aware of the differences between their night-life and that of other societies. Therefore, there is little research about the boundaries between day-time and night-time activities in Mashhad or the impact of its possible loss. Because of the study's aims and objectives, complexity, the lack of available data, limitations and the fact that the study is new in context, an exploratory multi-method research has been selected including both quantitative and qualitative methods.

In order to define the methodology, this chapter starts with a close look at the aims and objectives of the thesis and research questions which led to the choice of used methods and techniques for data collection and data analysis. This is followed by a discussion on the use of quantitative and qualitative methods and a multi-method approach in social science and urban design studies as well as investigating urban design process. In the next part of the chapter, methods used to address the aims, objectives and research questions, data-gathering and analysis of data are discussed in detail. This chapter finishes with investigating the reliability of the results and discussing the limitations and ethical considerations of the study.

Aims, objectives and research questions

The initial aim of this study was to compare the night-life in the shrine area in Mashhad and Camden Town in London. However, in the early stages of the study it was found that, because of the fundamental social and cultural differences between Mashhad and London, it was not possible to compare them within one framework. As discussed in Chapter Four and in more detail in Chapter Seven, Mashhad is an Islamic pilgrimage destination where drinking alcohol, gambling and going to night-clubs are banned yet the city is active at

night with various forms of routine activities being performed by people as a matter of course. However, Camden Town in London is a tourist destination where the dominant forms of night-time activity are cultural entertainments, alcohol-related activities, casinos and night-clubs and activities that are usual in Mashhad after midnight cease at or before 10:00 p.m. in London. So the two cases are basically different and have not much in common. As there are many studies of night-life in the cities of the UK (see for example Roberts and Eldridge, 2009 ; Evans et al., 2009 ; Evans, 2012 ; Talbot, 2011 ; ATCM, 2010), USA (see for example NYNA, 2011 ; Hamilton, 2012) and Australia (see for example Rowe and Lynch, 2012 ; Bevan et al., 2011 ; Beer, 2011) but fewer studies in the developing countries, this study focuses on the shrine area in Mashhad as a 24-hour society in the Middle-East. However, this study can fill only a part of the gap in night-life literature and more studies in various parts of the world are required to provide a holistic night-life literature.

Mashhad is a suitable case study since it has not been studied before and its dominant types of night-time activities are fundamentally different from the studied cases in the UK, USA and Australia. Also, Mashhad and the shrine area are subject to modernisation in common with many other cities in developing countries and studying Mashhad provides the possibility of investigating the impact of urban design intervention on the night-life of an active 24-hour society which is subject to mass pilgrimage.

Mashhad is selected as the case study in this thesis because in order to study the social life of a society it is important to understand the local subjective realities and examine how people feel about their society (Weber, 1949 ; Scott, 2009) from within that society (Winch, 1958). To achieve this aim it is important for the researcher to be able to communicate with the local people. This requires travel to the case study, the ability to speak and read in the local language and the ability to investigate and observe the case study with a minimum of difficulties. These abilities are necessary for studying Mashhad as there are few studies in English on contemporary social life and nothing on the night-life of Mashhad. Therefore, the researcher must have the ability to extract them from the related studies, books and secondary data that are only written in Farsi. Also a vital part of the data needs to be taken from observations and interviews with local people. For this it is important that local people trust the researcher and feel safe to talk openly.

As discussed in Chapter Four, Mashhad has a special character amongst the pilgrimage destinations though it is not as unique as Mecca. Studying Mashhad can be helpful in

studying some other pilgrimage destinations, 24-hour active cities in the Middle East or states who are recipients of immigration from the Middle East. For these reasons Mashhad was selected as the case study for this study.

The main aim of this research is to evaluate the potential impacts of urban design interventions on the nightlife of cities through an investigation of a case study, the shrine area in Mashhad, Iran. This study aims to investigate a different type of a 24-hour city from the previously studied cases. Aims, objectives and questions about this study and the methods used are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Aims, objectives, questions and methods.

Aim	Objectives	Questions	Methods used
To evaluate the possible impacts of urban design interventions on the nightlife of cities by investigating these impacts on the shrine area in Mashhad, Iran as a case study.	To study night-life in the shrine area	1. What are the activities that keep the shrine area active at night? 2. What kinds of activities are performed in the shrine area at night? 3. What are the boundaries between day-time and night-time activities in the shrine area? 4. What is the relationship between the nightlife of the shrine area and its context? 5. Evaluate the quality of the shrine area as a 24-hour active area	Questionnaire-based interview survey

Observation including: Taking photos, videos, Counting pedestrian and vehicles on specific points, Watching people's behaviour and behavioural mapping Observing the physical form and facilities in the area Observing social-life in the area

Semi-structured interviews

Secondary data |
| | To study the relationship between night-life and urban design in the shrine area by considering its night-life as a part of its social life | 6. Examine the relationship between the social-economic life in the shrine area and its urban form 7. Examine the impacts of urban design on the social-economic life of the shrine area 8. Examine the impacts of urban design on the nightlife of the shrine area | |
| | To evaluate the impacts of modernisation on the night-life of the shrine area | 9. What are the impacts of modernisation that may influence the social-economic life of the shrine area 10. What are the impacts of modernisation that may threaten the nightlife of the shrine area 11. How to improve or maintain the night-time activities in the shrine area | |

Multi-method approach

Based on the aims and objectives of this research a mixed-method approach including both quantitative and qualitative methods was used. Although there used to be arguments against mixed-method research (Bryman, 2008), combined strategies and using different sources of evidence is a common method in planning and architecture research (Groat, 2002) as well as social and behavioural science (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998 ; Bryman,

2008). As Scott (2009) argued, a combination of methods is used for taking an in-depth understanding of everyday life. Neuman argued that studies using both quantitative and qualitative data *'tend to be richer and more comprehensive'* (Neuman, 2011:165). Also, as Yin argued, a combination of these methods can result in significant benefits and lead to a *'strong analytic strategy'* (Yin, 2009:132; Yin, 2012). This combination can also tackle contradictions and *'highlight the fragmented and multi-faceted nature of human consciousness'* which increase data validity (Brannen, 1995:31). This study, as discussed in the previous section, aims to evaluate the potential impacts of urban design interventions on the nightlife of cities through an investigation of a case study, the shrine area in Mashhad, Iran. Therefore it is a mixed study related to both social life and urban design and will benefit from a mixed-method approach.

As Yin (2012) argued, the main benefits of choosing a case study is that it covers some unique situations and the research findings of a case study can be applied to other situations. However, this generalisation needs to be through *'analytic not statistical generalisation'* (Ibid:6). In this process an idea is established based on the theoretical framework of this study which is discussed in more detail in Chapter Ten. As discussed before, by considering the specific character of Mashhad amongst other pilgrimage destinations lessons from this study might be applicable to other situations but only with careful consideration of the local context.

Using multi-methods in data-gathering is recommended to make the findings as robust as possible. The use of multiple sources of evidence gives the opportunity to investigate more historical and behavioural issues (Yin, 2009) and also increase the chances of scepticism and searches for *'discrepant evidence'* (Yin, 2012:14). Methods of data-gathering recommended by several commentators (see for example Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998 ; Neuman, 2011) include conducting surveys as a quantitative method, direct observation and conducting interviews as a qualitative method and using archival records and documents. These methods are also used for data-gathering in projects by planners who consider the social life of cities as an important factor in their spatial form (see for example Gehl and Gemzoe, 2004 ; Bahreini, 1997). These methods are used in this study for data-gathering, shown in Figure 2, and each of them is discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Urban design and its impact on the social life of urban context which was discussed in Chapter Three, is a part of the theoretical framework of this study. The data is collected by considering methods used in urban design studies (see for example Whyte, 1988 ; Evans et

al., 2009 ; Bahreini, 1997). The data collected is used to analyse the current urban form of the case study, to criticise the Regeneration and Reconstruction Plan of Imam Reza's shrine-area (RPIS) and to suggest a series of recommendations to improve the quality of life in the case study while keeping its active night-life. Therefore, in the following section, before discussing the methods, some related urban design methods are discussed.

Urban design

'Urban design' as a term was first used in 1950s in North America (Rowley, 1994 ; Cooper et al., 2009), associated by Jose Luis Sert, and used by several writers and designers including Jacobs (1961), Lynch (1960), Cullen (1961), Alexander (1977), Gehl (1996) and others from the 1960s. However, the use of urban design codes can be traced back to ancient civilisations (Carmona et al., 2006 ; Donald, 2003 ; Rowland and Howe, 1999). Detailed rules were evidently in place in Renaissance and Baroque cities and in rapidly growing cities in the 19th century to provide the minimum standard of light and hygiene (Giedion, 1967), Haussmann's interventions in Paris and CIAM efforts (Barnett, 2011 ; Imrie and Street, 2011). This process continued to the present which is the *'sum of the decades of rules'* (Ben-Joseph, 2005:XV).

'Urban design is the process of making better places for people than would otherwise be produced' (Carmona et al., 2010:3). It involves planning change for an urban area while considering its likely impact in the future. Urban design is multi-faceted and complex (Moughtin et al., 1995 ; Erickson and Lloyd-Jones, 2001) and different groups including academics, researchers and the private sector consider it in their own specific terms and context. It leads to physical transformation (Rowley, 1994) and considers the public activities in a 24-hour period (Cooper et al., 2009). Urban design is about how places are shaped, used and managed and considers several issues such as community safety (DETR and CABE, 2000) and not only the aesthetic point of view and the appearance of buildings (Townshend and Madanipour, 2001). It is important to note that there is not a blueprint for good design since it is based on the careful understanding of place and context (DETR and CABE, 2000) and brings uniqueness to each urban area (Cooper et al., 2009).

The urban design process, as Carmona et al. (2010) discuss, can be divided to six stages, Figure 1. The first stage is to set goals and objectives by considering clients' and stakeholders' requirements and political and economic realities. The second stage is to

investigate the case opportunities and constraints. This includes analysis by gathering data and ideas that might lead to the design solution. The third stage is the visioning that generates and develops possible solutions through imaging and presentation. The fourth stage is synthesis and prediction by testing the solutions to find alternatives. The fifth stage is decision-making by checking alternatives and promoting the preferred one as the design solution, and finally the sixth stage is evaluating and reviewing the finished product against identified goals. This process is iterative and cyclical and necessarily includes a cycle of review and refinement (Seex, 2001) since in each stage the nature of the problem may evolve and the solutions refine in the light of new information (Zeisel, 2006).
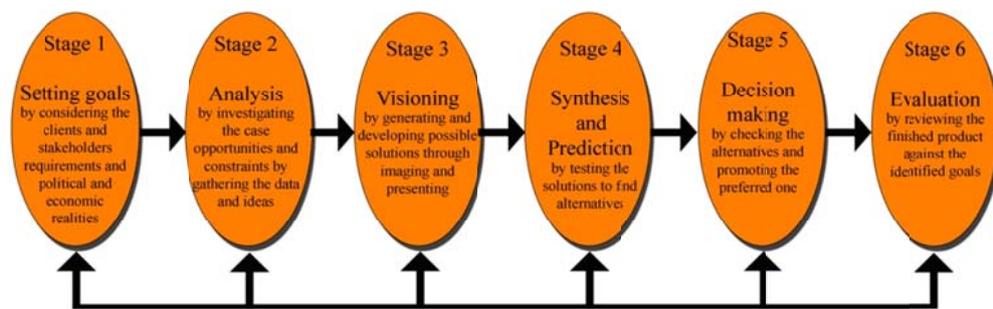
Figure 1: Urban design stages (adapted from Carmona et al., 2010:72 by the author).

Urban analysis is a part of the second stage and one of the most vital parts of urban design. As Schwalbach (2009) argued, urban analysis involves collecting and processing various forms of data, including scale maps, plans, reports, texts, images, videos, observational notes, interviews and secondary data. Field work, which includes observations, interviews, surveys and studying the area through archival records and documents, is an essential part of this stage since the majority of results can be only obtained by recording the existing situation on site. In this process, interviewing local people is very helpful as they have extensive knowledge of their own neighbourhood which is very useful in urban analysis.

The initial stage in urban analysis is studying the existing urban structure with its social, historical and architectural influences (Schwalbach, 2009) because the current form and functions of a city can be revealed only through studying its history (Moughtin et al., 2003). The current situation in the city is analysed by studying the transport structure including pedestrian and vehicle movement and public transport, natural features including green spaces, topography, pollution and noise, land-use, development pressure, planning

policies, building types, historical evolution, street profiles and social analysis (Roberts, 2001 ; Carmona et al., 2010). The current meaning of each place also should be considered in the design process because design interventions are liable to change and alter the meaning and perception of spaces and places (Roberts and Lloyd-Jones, 2001). This can lead to social problems including dissatisfaction as Giddens (1984) argued people feel anxious if prevented from living their routine life.

In the following section, the important methods used in urban design studies are discussed along with how these methods are used for data collection in this study.

Research methods

A mixed-methods approach was taken for data gathering in this study. This mixed-method, as shown in Figure 2, contained collecting primary data through quantitative and qualitative approaches and the use of secondary data. A combination of these methods was used to provide a thorough and in-depth interpretive understanding of social-economic life and the way that local people perform their everyday life in the shrine area. This strategy, which involves a combination of methods, is used in studying social life (Scott, 2009 ; Bryman, 2008). Various methods used in this study are employed to search for the underlying rules that make the shrine area active 24-hours a day.
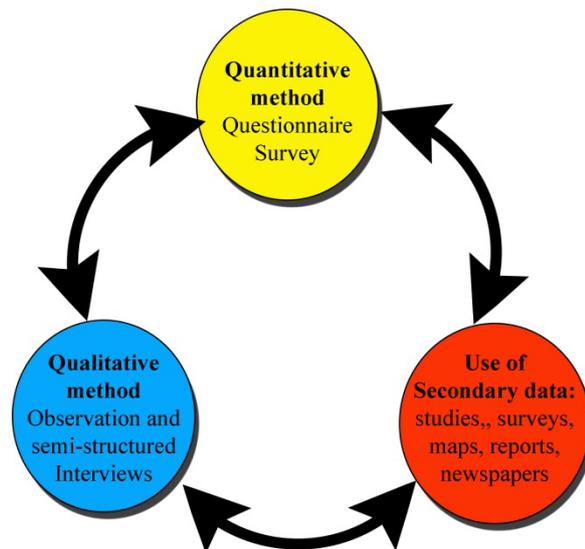
Figure 2: Mixed-methods (Author).

Because of the lack of directly related information to the study and the limitations for collecting certain forms of data including data related to safety and security, or anything

related to political issues, primary data was collected through quantitative and qualitative approaches in August and September 2010. The quantitative approach contains an exploratory questionnaire survey with users of the shrine area. The qualitative approach contains direct observation of the shrine area and semi-structured interviews with the planning authorities. The questionnaire survey and observations were designed to answer the following questions:

1. What are the factors making the shine area active 24-hours a day?
2. What kinds of activities are performed at day-time and night-time in the shrine area?
3. What are the boundaries between day-time and night-time activities in the shrine area?
4. Evaluate the quality of life in the shrine-area as a 24-hour area without alcohol-related activities.

As Neuman (2011) argued, in order to identify problems in a study and to develop it, conducting a pilot study before implementing the main study is necessary. This pilot study was conducted in August 2010 in the shrine area with ten respondents. The pilot study was conducted in exactly the same way as was proposed for the main study to examine the usage and reliability of the designed questionnaire and the possibility of direct observations. Since the main survey and observations were to be conducted at different times of the day and night, the pilot study was also conducted at various times of the day and night. This was done to check the possibility of conducting a survey and direct observations in the early hours of the morning and check if there were differences between the respondents' behaviour at day-time and night-time. The results of the pilot study led to some changes in the questionnaire survey which are discussed later in this chapter.

The secondary data was also helpful in clarifying social-economic life and planning interventions methods in the case study. The secondary data contained archival records, previous surveys, studies, reports, maps and newspapers.

Although all the methods, including quantitative survey, qualitative study and use of secondary data, that are used for data collection in this study overlap one another, each of them has unique outputs. Each of these methods used in this study are discussed in detail in the following section.

Survey research

Survey research is a quantitative method and the most used data-gathering technique in social science studies. It is used to study the behaviour, attitudes, beliefs and opinions of respondents (Neuman, 2011). It is important to consider that survey researches are not free of errors and the researchers need to minimise these errors to produce strong survey results. These errors, as Bryman (2008) argued, might occur in survey language, selecting the interviewees, responding to survey questions and administrating the data. Steps for conducting a survey are shown in Figure 3.
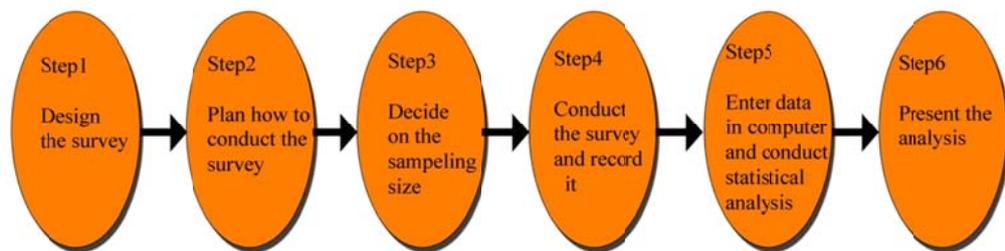
Figure 3: Process of survey study (adapted from Neuman, 2011:312 by the author).

A questionnaire survey was a method used for data-gathering in this study. This survey was conducted in the case study in August and September 2010, to document the day-time and night-time activities in the shrine area, investigate various activities being performed at day and in the night, investigate the boundaries between day-time and night-time activities and evaluate the quality of life in the shrine area as an active 24-hour area. To reach this aim a quantitative questionnaire survey was designed to investigate the behaviour and opinions of the users in the shrine area. The questionnaire survey was selected as opposed to qualitative methods, including semi-structured interviews and focus groups, due to the difficulties in recruiting respondents and the risk of attracting the attention of the security authorities. Conducting a quantitative questionnaire survey in this study was necessary because of the lack of related studies; the majority of theories in the case study lack supportive background in the literature. Therefore, an important use of the results of the survey was to document the night-life in the shrine area to be used in the next stages as well as further possible studies. This is in accordance with Scott (2009) argument about using quantitative studies in social sciences to provide background information. Another important factor is time as it would be very time consuming to obtain this large amount of data through semi-structured interviews. However, it is important to note that the observations which are discussed later are also important in forwarding this aim.

Sampling: Sampling plays an important role in conducting a survey and the methods of sampling may differ in different studies. In a representative sample, the sample data, if chosen properly can represent a bigger population and can be generalised. Probability samples are the most accurate; however, the cost is high. They are time consuming and not practical for all studies. Amongst non-probability sampling methods, quota sampling, which is a non-random method, is the most acceptable to produce a quasi-representative sample. For this the population is divided into relevant categories to provide diversity and a certain number are defined for each category to be studied (Neuman, 2011 ; Bryman, 2008).

Quota sampling methods, by dividing the population into subgroups and defining a certain number of respondents in each group, is used in this survey to provide diversity and a quasi-representative sample. The users of the area were divided to three subgroups of residents, workers in the area and pilgrims. This study's sampling group includes residents and workers in the shrine area since their experiences have not been studied before. Pilgrims are not included in this survey since their experiences were studied previously by the planning authorities through several surveys. These surveys include 18506 pilgrim participants in Ketab-Moshaver-Khorsan (2005), 1913 pilgrim participants in Sharafi (2006), 4900 pilgrims participants in Amayesh-Toos (2008) and 960 pilgrim participants Fakoori Haji Yar (2010). These surveys include large numbers of participants and have a higher possibility of showing a representative sample than a survey conducted with limited resources and time. Hence the results of these surveys are used in this study to investigate the opinions of pilgrims and their behaviours.

In order to investigate a wider range of opinions and include the opinions of the residents of other parts of Mashhad in the survey, two subgroups of shrine employees and drivers were also added to the survey target group. Studies (Sherkat-e-Omran-va-Behsazi-e-Shahri, 1999) argue that the residents of other parts of Mashhad avoid the shrine area, unless they work there, go to visit the shrine or pass through the area to go to other parts of the city. This is verified by the large number of transit traffic in the shrine area (Daftar-e-Motaleat-e-Haml-va-Naghl, 2000 ; Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 1994). In the two latter cases the residents of other parts of Mashhad mostly experience the shrine area by vehicle are not involved in the social life and do not experience the urban texture of the area. Therefore these people are not included in the survey's target group. However, some of the respondents in the workers group, the shrine employees and the drivers group are residents of other parts of Mashhad.

As shown in Figure 4, there are four main streets ending at the shrine, dividing the area in to four main sectors. Each of these sectors has different attributes. However, the borders of these sectors, which are based on ancient neighbourhoods in the borough, are not clearly defined and fixed. Although people in each sector are from different social classes with varied incomes they have got many things in common with their neighbours. In the pilot survey the sampling categories contained groups of residents and various workers in offices, shops, restaurants and hotels, the shrine employees and drivers. These categories were selected for people in the whole area, regardless of their precise neighbourhood. The pilot study revealed that there were no specific differences between the opinions of various types of workers in the area, while greater differences were found amongst groups of people living or working in varied neighbourhoods within the area.
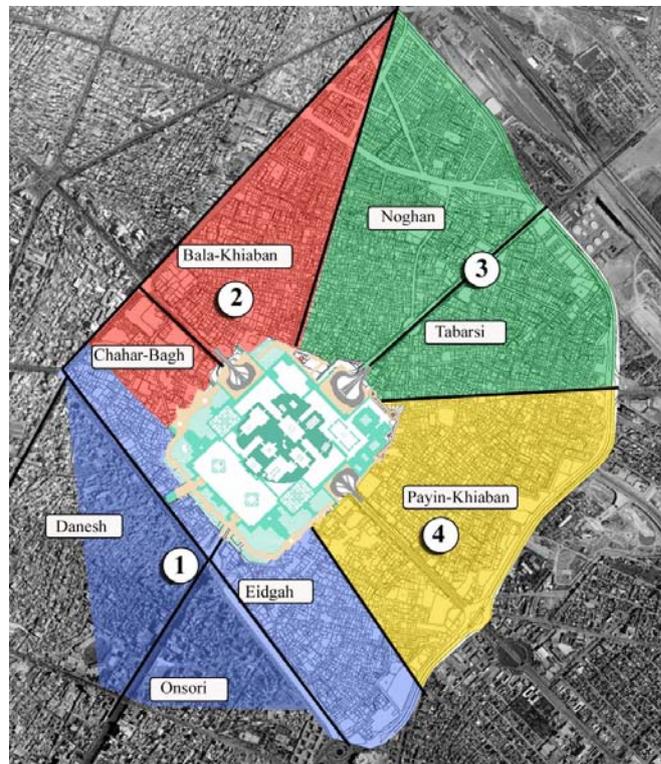
Figure 4: Sectors and traditional neighbourhoods in the shrine-area. Four sectors are divided by colour and number. The borders of the eight traditional areas are shown by black lines and labelled with the name of each of the neighbourhood (Mashhad Aerial Photo and Mashhad CAD plan, analysed by the author based on Mashhad's neighbourhood map).

After conducting the pilot study, in order to provide a reliable representative sample, eight groups of residents and workers, each living or working in one sector, were selected as the target group. Each of these groups contained 25 people. Therefore, the survey's sample

includes 100 residents, 100 workers, 25 drivers and 25 shrine employees. Because of security issues the majority of shrine employees were not happy to be interviewed and only five interviews with them were conducted. In general 230 questionnaire-based interviews were conducted.

Survey techniques: The survey format selected was a questionnaire-based interview. The questionnaire was designed to answer a series of questions that were not available in the secondary data. The quantitative data collected through the questionnaire was used to answer these questions and document the current situation in the shrine area. The questionnaire includes both open-ended and closed-ended questions. The majority of the questions that were asked to investigate the behaviour of the respondents were open-ended because, as Neuman (2011) argued, open-ended questions allow the respondents to answer the questions as they wish and permit adequate answers to complex issues. Closed-ended questions were used for the evaluation questions in the form of one to five rating and helped the interviewees to answer the rating questions. Responses to the pilot study led to some changes in the detail of questions. For instance, in the initial questionnaire, the rating questions about cleanliness, lighting and pavement conditions were addressed to the streets in general. However, the results of the pilot study showed that these questions needed to be addressed to the major streets and minor streets separately.

The majority of interviews in this study were conducted through face-to-face approaches instead of dominant self-completion questionnaires to increase the reliability of answers to the questions and maximise the return rates. As Bryman (2008) argued, face-to-face interview methods permit the longest and most complex questionnaires and allow the interviewer to observe the respondent and surroundings at the time of the interview. In only two cases, with a hospital employee and a shrine employee, telephone interviews were used when a face-to-face interview was not possible. In the telephone interviews the same approach as in face-to-face interviews was taken. However, in telephone interviews the same time observation was not possible. Face-to-face questionnaire-based interviews were preferred to self-completion questionnaire methods due to the situation in the context of the case study. If a self-completion questionnaire method was used because the area is always busy there was a possibility that some workers would forget to fill-out the forms and return them; some of them might not spend time reading the questionnaire and just fill it out randomly or ask their colleagues or family members to fill out the forms for them. By conducting face-to-face interviews this was avoided. Face-to-face interviews make it possible to include larger groups of people including the illiterate, less-educated people

and people with poor vision or visual disabilities in the survey. Also, at the time of interview, some respondents started talking about other things that could be useful in investigating the shrine area and analysing the results of the study. These discussions were noted at the time of interview on the borders of each questionnaire page.

To cover a broad range of the population, the interviews were conducted at different times of day and night around 1:30 a.m., 5:30 a.m., 8:30 a.m., 1:30 p.m., 5:30 p.m. and 8:30 p.m. The interviewees were selected randomly by the researcher walking in the area, going to the businesses or residents' houses and asking them if they were happy to take part in the interview by describing the process to them. The interviewees were selected from all age groups and it was intended to include men and women equally. However, the number of men working in the shrine area and the number of male residents who agreed to take part in the interviews was much higher than the number of women. Because the study aimed to compare different areas, similar conditions, including day of the week and time of the day, were selected for interviewing different sectors. Each interview took almost ten minutes. However, it took longer if the interviewee gave more useful information related to the questions or just related to the case study. Due to governmental, political and security issues, information relating to safety and crime was not accessible to public and researchers in Iran, therefore safety factors in this study are based on the perception of safety concluded from the survey data rather than accurate safety figures.

Direct observation

Direct observation is a method which is used for data-gathering in this study. It is a part of field research used in social science studies to understand or describe social interactions in a specific site (Scott, 2009). However, there are possible dangers and high risk aspects in this method which should be considered. Observation is used by several commentators in planning and architectural studies including Whyte (1988 ; 1980), Gehl and Gemzoe, et.al (2006 ; 2004 ; 2001), Jacobs (1961), Bahreini (1997) and VivaCity 2020 projects (see for example Thwaites, 2007 ; Foord, 2010 ; Boyko and Cooper, 2009 ; Evans et al., 2009). Observations let the observer see ordinary events and everyday activities in a natural setting, notice explicit and implicit aspects of culture and become directly involved while keeping a distance. In this method, the observer uses a variety of techniques and social skills and produces data in the form of notes, diagrams, pictures and maps (Neuman, 2011).

With the lack of directly related data in this study, direct observation plays a key role in data gathering. An extensive observation was performed in the area which included spending two months of experiencing the shrine area from inside during day and night by walking in the area, communicating with the local people and experiencing their problems closely. Also the quantitative method used in this study, which was discussed in the previous section, was in the form of a questionnaire-based survey and provided the possibility of communicating with local people. With the help of observations, everyday activities and some social interactions were extracted from their context. Personal direct observations were conducted concurrently with the questionnaire-based survey in the case study area in August and September 2010. Similar to the questionnaire-based survey, the observations were conducted to investigate factors that make the area work 24-hours, investigate the boundaries between day-time and night-time activities and evaluate the quality of life in the shrine area as an active 24-hour area.

Observations techniques: Observations were conducted extensively at different times during both day and night similar to those conducted by urban commentators and planners including Jacobs (1961); Whyte (1980); Gehl and Gemzoe (2004); Bahreini (1997). Observations involved walking in the shrine area and observing its physical condition and social life. The physical form and facilities in the shrine area, and the social interactions between users of the area and how they used the urban facilities were observed during day and night. Also pedestrians and vehicles were counted at specific counting points during the day and night. Observations were documented by taking photos and videos and behavioural mapping. Data produced by these observations are in the form of photos, videos, notes, diagrams and maps which are recognised as an important source of information in studying everyday life by Scott (2009). Some of the photos and maps are included in Chapters Seven, Eight, Nine and Appendix C, and charts are included in Appendix D.

Similar to the questionnaire-based survey, observations were conducted at different times during day and night in various sectors in the shrine area as shown in Figure 4. Each sector was observed at around 1:30 a.m., 5:30 a.m., 8:30 a.m., 1:30 p.m., 5:30 p.m. and 8:30 p.m. The results of observations were arranged separately for different times and different sectors.

The results of the observations demonstrated real social life and night-life in the area and were used to support or criticise the results of the questionnaire survey. For instance, in the survey there was a question asking the respondents to rate overcrowding in the area separately during day and night. Residents and workers responded differently to this question. In the same area, residents said that the area was very crowded during day and night, while workers said it was not. This conflict is because the meaning of overcrowding is different for individuals depending on their age, gender and status in the environment. In this study, to have a more realistic view of overcrowding in the area, some places in each area were observed at various times of the day and night and the numbers of the pedestrians and vehicles were counted. The results of this counting showed how many pedestrians and vehicles used the area during day and night and compared these numbers with the respondents' answers and revealed varying points of view between residents and workers in each area.

Semi-structured interviews

Due to the importance of the RPIS in the current and future social life and night-life of the area, semi-structured face-to-face interviews were conducted with the general director of applied research and the general director of plans' supervisory of the Urban Development and Revitalisation Organisation in Iran.[1] The results of these interviews were noted on paper. These interviews were conducted in September 2010 at their main office in Tehran. The main aim of these interviews was to understand the viewpoint of the shrine areas' planning authorities on night-life of the area and the RPIS. Also these interviews aimed to investigate if the planning authorities have considered the local night-life of the area in the RPIS, or proposed a future night-life for the area.

Also it was proposed to interview the general directors of the urban planner consulting firm who planned and have been executing RPIS, but they refused. However, some aspects of their point of view are extracted from their planning reports (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 2008 ; Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 1989 ; Vezarat-Maskan-va-Shahrsazi, 1992), minutes of planner and developers official meetings (Sazman-Mojri-Tarh, 2010b ; Sazman-Mojri-Tarh, 2010a) and a book published by the firm about RPIS (Sepanloo, 2009).

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[1]. This office is based in Tehran as a part of the Housing and Urban Design Ministry. It is the major department which is responsible for planning and the revitalisation of cities in Iran.

Secondary data

Secondary data used in this study contains archival records, studies, surveys, reports, maps and news in the process of data-collection. Due to a lack of enough primary data, use of secondary data plays an important role in data gathering. The aim of using this data was to investigate the reliability of primary data collected through questionnaire survey and observations and collect more data on night-life, social-economic life and the urban form of the shrine area. The archival records, reports and maps of RPIS, and a detailed-plan of Mashhad are used to provide information about the current situation in the case study as well as its proposed future life and appearance.

As discussed before, pilgrims were not included in the questionnaire survey conducted for this study because several surveys that contain large number of pilgrim participants were conducted for the Mashhad Municipality. These studies are Ketab-Moshaver-Khorsan (2005); Sharafi (2006); Fakoori Haji Yar (2010); Amayesh-Toos (2008). In order to reveal the pilgrims' point of view in the shrine area, the results of these surveys are analysed and used.

Since the study is new and unknown in its context, there are no directly related studies available. The most directly related materials to this study are news about the night-time activities which are mostly provided by local newspapers. Although these materials are not as reliable as primary research, they are used since they are the only available reference to illustrate a part of social life in the case study.

Analysis

As recommended (Yin, 2012 ; Bryman, 2008), the techniques for analysing data were selected to answer the research questions shown in Table 1 in the best possible way. First the data collected through different methods and techniques was recorded by taking notes, transcriptions, photos and videos. Voice recording was stopped in response to participants' wishes and the photos and videos were not connected with respondents and were taken randomly only to illustrate the current situation. The quantitative data gathered through the survey was statistically analysed by SPSS, the computer software. For this, data gathered through the questionnaires were numerically coded and entered into SPSS. The outputs were analysed individually and on a comparison basis between the four neighbourhoods of the case study and two major groups of residents and workers. Finally, the results were

illustrated in Excel to produce a better graphic. These results and the results of the available studies on pilgrims (Ketab-Moshaver-Khorsan, 2005 ; Sharafi, 2006 ; Fakoori Haji Yar, 2010 ; Amayesh-Toos, 2008) were analysed to answer the questions shown in Table 1.

Analysing the qualitative data was done by coding and organising them into conceptual categories and creating theme or concept. These codes, unlike the quantitative codes which are numerical, are tags or labels (Neuman, 2011 ; Bryman, 2008). The coding process in qualitative studies is divided to three steps by Strauss (1987) and the data is reviewed in each step. The first step is called open coding and involves assigning initial codes to the data. In the next step, axial coding, the codes are organised and linked and key analytic categories are discovered. In the last step, selective coding, the previous codes are examined to identify and select the data supporting the conceptual coding categories (Neuman, 2011). In this stage the observation material, in the form of photos, text and maps, was used to illustrate and validate the information of the survey results. In this stage each of the four sectors around the shrine was analysed and its attributes, night-life and urban conditions were examined. The results of analysing the semi-structured interviews and the reports of proposed plans for the area, RPIS, were used to present the future plans and its possible night-life. The current situation was analysed by studying the pedestrian and vehicle movement, public transport, green spaces, pollution and noise, vistas, land-use, planning policies, historical evolution, street profiles, building types and social-economic life.

Due to the importance and extensive application of the RPIS, it was criticised based on the possible future night-life which it might impose on the area. This criticism was conducted with the insights derived from the literature review and the findings of this study including results of quantitative survey and qualitative study.

Based on the results of the study and criticism of the RPIS, a series of planning recommendations for the shrine area have been compiled in order to improve its quality whilst keeping its liveability and dynamic night-life. However, as discussed before, urban design is iterative and cyclical and includes a cycle of review and refinement (Carmona et al., 2010 ; Zeisel, 2006 ; Seex, 2001). Therefore the next stage includes prediction and the search for possible alternatives. Since the case study is subject to extensive changes, three alternatives are proposed to adapt to possible changes in the area. These recommendations consider the social life of the area and the needs of the current users. They provide an

indication as to how scientific methods including social observation and research can inform design and planning (see Marshall, 2012). They cover recommendations for land-use, streets, blocks, plots and buildings, but avoid being over-prescriptive and are flexible enough to adapt to a number of scenarios.

Reliability

Several errors may influence the results of both quantitative and qualitative studies. However, the following efforts have been taken to maximise the reliability of the collected data. A pilot study and mixed-method which were used in this study increased the reliability. In designing the questionnaire the questions were clarified by carefully separating all the dimensions; for instance by clearly dividing each question for day-time and night-time conditions. Multiple indicators were used to investigate different factors of a variable. For instance, the boundaries between day-time and night-time activities were investigated in the survey through several different questions and the area's night-life was studied by investigating it through the questionnaire survey from the participants' point of view, observing it directly and drawing it out from the literature and secondary data. This is the advantage of mixed-method since the results are based on both quantitative and qualitative data. Efforts were taken to ensure that the collected data was not biased. Data was collected to investigate and describe life in the area and not necessarily support the aim of the study. This data led to some results which were unknown at the beginning and were revealed through the last stages of analysis. Another factor in increasing reliability and reducing the bias in this study was the use of data that was used for planning the RPIS. This data was used in the study to criticise RPIS and propose critical amendments to it. This data is the studies and surveys that are produced by the Iranian planning authorities, the planning consultancy and the development company who proposed RPIS. These studies include the current situation in Mashhad and the surveys conducted for investigating the requirements of pilgrims.

The results of data collection through different methods in this study are reliable because of the following reasons: the results of the survey to describe social life in the case study are in accordance with the results of available surveys conducted for the Mashhad municipality including Ketab-Moshaver-Khorsan (2005); Sharafi (2006); Fakoori Haji Yar (2010); Amayesh-Toos (2008), though these surveys were conducted at different times amongst different target groups and with different aims. Data collected through different

methods including qualitative study, quantitative survey and secondary studies support one another.

Limitations and ethical consideration

Because of the nature of this study, it has certain limitations as it was conducted in the context of a lack of plans and research into night-life. In Mashhad, even the people who work 24-hours are not aware of the meaning of a '24-hour city' since they perform these activities routinely and are used to working, shopping and doing commonplace activities at night. For these people the extraordinary situation is when they cannot work or perform their usual activities at night.

Due to the controversial on-going urban design interventions and the high volume of legal and illegal commercial activities taking place in the shrine area, respondents were not happy to be photographed, videoed or for their voices to be recorded since they were worried that this evidence might be used against them later. Also, because of religious beliefs, many people, specifically women, did not like to be photographed. Throughout the process of interviews the main concern was to assure the respondents that the interview questionnaire did not include any sensitive questions and they were free to decline to answer any question or leave the interview if they felt uncomfortable. Also, they were assured that the interviews and the results would be kept anonymous and would be used only for academic purposes. Therefore the interviews were only recorded by writing notes on each questionnaire sheet without a voice recorder.

The limitation of quantitative surveys derives from the sampling technique used. Quota sampling was used as the sampling technique to produce a representative sample. The problem with this technique is that the fixed number of cases in each category might not reflect the accurate proportion of that category. Also the cases were selected randomly. However, due to personal security reasons, it was important not to conduct the survey visibly. Therefore, people who might make trouble and those who did not respond to the interview were excluded from the sampling group.

The limitations for conducting the semi-structured interviews were that, due to security reasons, it was not possible to interview Astan-Quds-Razavi, the shrine trustee and the main figure in the development company. Also, the planning consultation company did not agree to take part in the interview. Therefore, from the authorities' point of view, this study

refers to secondary data and the interviews which were conducted with a major planning authority in Tehran. However, these limitations do not risk the reliability of the study as discussed in the previous section.

Discussion

In this chapter the methods and techniques for collecting and analysing data have been discussed, as well as the limitations, ethical considerations and efforts taken to maximise its reliability. In this chapter it is argued that multi-methods are used to investigate night-life and the impact of urban design on the night-life of the shrine-area in Mashhad as a new case study which lacks directly related data. In the following chapters night-life and urban design in the case study are investigated. This investigation starts with studying night-life and urban design in Iran in order to achieve an in-depth understanding of the case study in a larger context.

Chapter Six - Iran

This chapter is the first stage of the case study analysis investigating Iran. In order to study night-life and the urban design interventions in the shrine area in Mashhad as being part of Iran, it is important to study Iran and Mashhad in the larger context. As discussed in Chapter Two, the night-life in each society is influenced by its social, cultural, political, economic context and, in turn, all of these factors are influenced by the larger context. Therefore, in order to investigate the boundaries between day-time and night-time activities in the shrine area, it is important to investigate these boundaries in Mashhad and Iran as a whole. Also, in order to analyse urban design interventions in the shrine area it is necessary to study them in Mashhad and Iran as larger contexts which are influenced by the same political decisions.

Although the shrine area in Mashhad is active 24-hours and the boundaries between day-time and night-time activities in Mashhad are less apparent, Mashhad is not the only Iranian city which is active at night and various form of night-time activities are carried out in many major Iranian cities. As discussed before, social life in each society is formed by interactions between individuals in that society. Therefore, as Scott (2009) argued, in each society people perform a series of routine and habitual actions which shape their everyday life. However, these everyday activities might be different in some places to others and something which is ordinary in one society might be extraordinary in another. In the first section of this chapter a series of activities that are carried out in Iranian cities at night are discussed. It is argued that, based on several social, cultural, climatic, religious and political factors, there are less visible boundaries between day-time and night-time activities in Iran and that varying types of commonplace activities take place at night.

In the next section of this chapter urbanism in Iran, including traditional urbanism and modernism, are investigated. Traditional urbanism is the main factor in the formation of the older part of the Iranian cities including Mashhad and modernism, as the dominant form of urban design intervention in the past century, is the most important factor in the current shape of Iranian cities including Mashhad. As discussed in the Mashhad section in Chapter Four and in detail in Chapter Nine, the shrine area, which is the main 24-hour area in Mashhad, is subject to modernisation and large-scale redevelopment. However, this is not limited to Mashhad, but is being conducted in almost all of the historic areas in major Iranian cities. In the next section of this chapter the history of modernisation and urban design interventions in Iran are studied to investigate the background of the redevelopment plan in the shrine area in Mashhad and the barriers to its revision. These interventions started in Iran as a part of a modernisation process in the 1930s. Studying traditional

urbanism in Iran shows that the spatial form of the traditional Iranian cities had a mutual relationship with their societies. However, the modernisation trend in Iran was imported from Western European countries and the USA as a series of standards and was applied to Iranian cities in a rapid process. It is argued that the relationship between the spatial form of Iranian cities in their context and consideration of cultural, social, religious and climatic factors have been ignored in hasty and superficial modernisation and it is necessary to consider these aspects in future redevelopment plans.

Night-life in Iran

The archaism Shab neshini and Shab zende daari have their roots in Iranian literature, and used to convey the concept of having meetings until midnight or until the next morning (Dehkhoda) with families and social groups. Basically, in Iran, in common with other Middle-Eastern countries, there are less visible boundaries between day-time and night-time activities due to various social, cultural, religious and climatic reasons. For instance, in cities located in the warm climate of the Persian Gulf in the south of Iran, various forms of everyday activities take place at night when it is cooler. Night-time activities in Iran include different kinds of daily activities plus services and entertainments excluding activities not permitted in Islam such as consuming alcohol, gambling and going to nightclubs. Because various everyday activities which happen in Iran at night are routine and habitual actions, the majority of people do not consider this as unusual. Therefore, these activities, or the possible effect of their loss, were not studied previously and the majority of this thesis' findings are based on observations and experience newly gained during this study.

In Iran TV and radio, taxis, hospitals, hotels, police, parks, religious spaces, airports and coach stations provide 24-hour services. There are also many pharmacies, convenience stores and newspaper kiosks working 24-hours with many other shops and amenities working until after midnight or sometimes 24-hours on specific dates or in special places. In the following section influences on the night-life of Iranian cities are discussed.

Social and cultural reasons

A series of social and cultural habits influencing the night-life of Iranian cities are discussed in this section. These activities are amongst the routine activities which many people in Iran perform habitually without even being aware that things are different in other societies. Performing these activities, such as shopping for bread after midnight, or visiting relatives late at night, are ordinary in many major Iranian cities and much less common in the UK.

Working: The official working hours in Iranian cities are 8 a.m. to 2.30 p.m. with an optional second shift in the afternoon (Aftab, 2011 ; BMI, 2010). This working time-table is used in offices though shops and self-employed people may have their own time-table which varies at different times of the year and may also work at night as well as in the day-time. They may work until 11 p.m. (Almas-e-Sharq) or 24-hours a day. In summer most of the shops extend their opening-hours until midnight. This is greatly influenced by the type of facilities they provide. Many convenience stores and newspaper kiosks are open until midnight or 24-hours. Restaurants and fast food outlets close later than any other shops and it is always possible to have dinner at 2 a.m. or an early breakfast at 5 a.m. Opening hours are also influenced by the season, weather and their location in the city.

Shopping habits: As Scott (2009) argued, shopping is experienced as either a pleasure or a pain but it is part of everyday life. Shopping, or just browsing, in the bazaar is a kind of entertainment in Iranian culture (Kheirabadi, 1991) as well as a necessity. As people work all day and have only Friday off in the week to spend with their family, they do their main shopping at night, mostly after 5 p.m. This includes everyday shopping as well as shopping for clothes, home appliances and any other articles. Many people arrange to meet their friends whilst shopping. They might also have a coffee or a late dinner after shopping. In Iran people might arrange meetings in cafés and go shopping after 8 p.m., dine out after 9 p.m. or they may just go for a walk after 10 p.m. These activities may continue until midnight or later. Young adults are more keen on night activities so it is always possible to see them dining or just hanging around at 2 a.m. These activities are routines and habitual activities in Iranian society, however, they challenge the definition of shopping in many other societies including in the UK.

Visiting friends and relatives: As Scott (2009) argued, family meals are forms of social interaction that bring people together and produce social order. One important feature of night-life in Iran is visiting relatives and friends for various reasons and on different occasions. Sometimes, for example visiting parents or grandparents is an obligation. People arrange family meals at least once a week in a similar way to Sunday family activities in the UK. These activities take place at night after 8 p.m. and may continue until midnight at weekends or finish earlier at around 11 p.m. on weekdays. These times vary during summer and winter nights. They may end later on summer nights or earlier on long winter nights. Some of these activities might take place in a restaurant, a café or even in a park on summer nights.

Going to specific meetings: Shab Sher means poetry-night and these are amongst the most popular meetings taking place in Iran at night. At these meetings a group of poets, or people interested in poetry, meet up seminar-style to read poems. Because the poets sometimes oppose the government, many of these meetings have to be held in secret at night. Political meetings, held by opposition parties, are another kind of secret night-time meetings (Rezvani, 2005). Different kinds of ceremonies, including official receptions and also wedding ceremonies are held at night. Wedding ceremonies start in the afternoon, the main part takes place at the evening and they continue with a late dinner finishing around 2 a.m. with a private party.

Everyday activities on special dates: Routine and everyday activities might take place later or extend into the night on specific dates as discussed below.

Norouz[1]: It is the Iranian New Year, which has been celebrated for over 3,700 years at the spring equinox on the 20th or 21st of March (Shakourzadeh, 1984 ; Enjavi, 1973 ; Razi, 1992 ; Encyclopædia-Iranica, 1996c). People get ready for Norouz ceremonies almost a month in advance. Several special customs take place at Norouz. Usually people replace old clothes and home appliances with new ones to celebrate the coming of spring and nature's renewal (Shakourzadeh, 1984 ; Enjavi, 1973 ; Razi, 1992 ; Encyclopædia-Iranica,

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[1] نوروز Norouz is the Iranian New Year

123

1996c). This custom results in extended opening-hours for shops, food industries and transport. Several customs related to cleaning and cooking also mean working until late.

Norouz holidays are for 14 days and cities are active at any time of the day and night during this period because residents and tourists spend more time staying out. At Norouz shops, restaurants, food services, leisure activities and even museums and historic places extend their opening hours. This happens in Shiraz and Isfahan, two major tourist centres in Iran.

Charshanbe soori[2]: It dates back to at least 1700 BCE. It is one of the night-time ceremonies conducted at the last Wednesday night of the year before Norouz. The ceremony starts after sunset and ends in the morning and has different rituals for all members of the family (Encyclopædia-Iranica, 1996a ; Razi, 1992 ; Razi, 2005 ; Enjavi, 1973 ; Shakourzadeh, 1984).

Figure 1: Traffic at night (Hamseda, 2009).

Figure 2: Shopping at night (Tavakolian, 2006).

Shab e Yalda[3]: It is a ceremony which is celebrated in Iran on the longest night of the year at the winter solstice on the 20th or 21st of December. On this night people hold parties with friends and relatives eating nuts, special dishes and fruits (Razi, 1992 ; Enjavi, 1973 ; Shakourzadeh, 1984 ; Encyclopædia-Iranica, 1996b). Many ceremonies, such as wedding parties or before and after wedding ceremonies, are also held on this night. Before Shab-e-Yalda people are busy preparing and spend less time at home so shops, restaurants and food services extend their opening hours. Because these services are mostly run by people working shifts, shopkeepers can also find time to spend with their families or do their shopping.

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[2] چهار شنبه سوری Charshanbe-Soori means Wednesday feast
[3] شب یلدا Shab-e-Yalda called also Shab-e-Cheleh

Figure 3: Yalda feast (Pix2Pix, 2007-2010).

Figure 4: Shopping for Yalda (Mekanik, 2009).

Ramadan[4]: It is the ninth month of the Islamic lunar calendar and is a fasting month for Muslims. Night-life in Ramadan is similar across Iran and in other Muslim countries. In Ramadan every Muslim, excluding sick people or ones travelling, are forbidden to eat, drink, smoke or have sexual relations from dawn until sunset, but they are allowed to eat, drink and have an ordinary life between sunset and dawn (Quran). Official working hours in Ramadan days are reduced in order to help people fast (Tabnak, 2012), whilst they are extended at night. People mostly go shopping, visiting relatives and other everyday activities or arrange business meetings almost an hour after sunset and after having Iftari[5]. This might continue until midnight or even dawn on holidays or at weekends. The restaurants, food services, shops and even leisure facilities such as cinemas or swimming pools open from sunset to sunrise in order to serve more customers (Aftab, 2012 ; Azad-Del, 2012). So in Ramadan night-life, from sunset to sunrise, is more active than during the day.

Nights of Qadr[6]: When the Quran was first revealed (Quran) is in Ramadan. Muslims are required to stay awake on these nights until sunrise and conduct specific rituals and read the Quran (Qumi, 1890s) going to sleep after dawn. In order to help people in performing these rituals official working hours start later the next day (Tabnak, 2012).

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[4] رمضان Ramadan
[5] افطاری Iftari is the evening meal when Muslims break their fast.
[6] شب های قدر. Nights of Qadr are the nights of 19th, 21st and 23rd of Ramadan in the Islamic calendar.
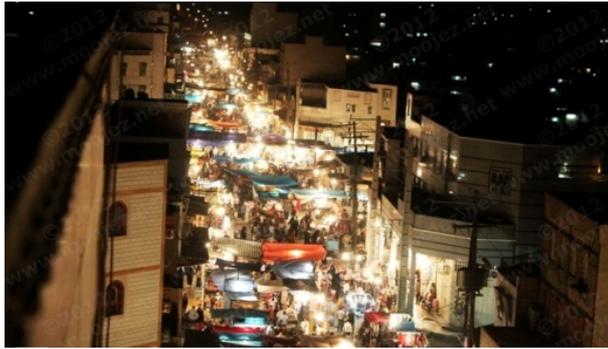
Figure 5: Night-life in Ramadan (Mojez, 2012).

Figure 6: Vigil praying at Qadr-night (Mirzadeh, 2012).

Religious reasons

Iran is an Islamic country with Islamic rules being imposed since January 1979. Based on Islamic rules, certain activities including any kind of alcohol-related activities, gambling and going to nightclubs that dominate the night-life of cities in non-Islamic countries have been prohibited in Iran since 1979. Therefore any kind of pubs, bars, casinos or night-clubs are not allowed in Iran. However, all of these activities used to be available in Iranian cities before 1979, apart from in the shrine area in Mashhad. On the other hand, specific Islamic practices and occasions keep cities active at night. In the last section, Ramadan and nights of Qadr were discussed; praying times and pilgrimage are discussed in the following part.

In Islam it is thought better to take part in mass prayers rather than performing individual prayer and Muslims try to attend mass prayers when it is possible. There are three praying times in Shiite Islam; dawn, noon and sunset. Dawn praying time, changing between 3 and 5 a.m. during summer and winter is another factor making Muslim cities active early in the morning. This is closely linked with one of the main activities in Mashhad and will be discussed in the next chapter.

Visiting cemeteries and graves of deceased family members, friends and religious leaders is a kind of pilgrimage for Shiite Muslims (Kheirabadi, 1991 ; Rokni, 2007 ; Alsamhoodi, 1506). It is recommended by prophets and the other religious leaders as Mustahab[7] (Allame-Majlesi, 1698 ; Hor-e-Ameli, 1692), referring to duties which are recommended in Islam but are not essential: their fulfilment will be rewarded, though they may be neglected without punishment. A shrine in Shiite[8] is a building around the tomb of a

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[7] مستحب Mustahab
[8] شیعه Shiite is the second largest denomination of Islam. They believe in the leadership of Imams after death.

religious leader. Pilgrimage is an important factor in keeping the shrines' neighbourhoods active during both day and night as the shrines are open 24-hours and pilgrims visit them at any time of the day or night.

Visiting shrines might be to take part in mass prayer similar to in mosques, or to recite special prayers for the Imam or the leader buried in the shrine and supplicating to God through them, which called Tawasol[9] (Allame-Majlesi, 1698 ; Hor-e-Ameli, 1692). People visit shrines to feel closer to God or ask for help. This is another important factor related to active night-life in Mashhad and will be discussed in the next chapter.

Climatic reasons

Summer days in Iran, as in the other Middle-eastern countries, are mostly very hot and people prefer to carry out their activities during the night-time. It is common to find people shopping, visiting friends or relatives, dining out, sitting, walking or having picnics in parks in the summer at midnight. The presence of people in these spaces increases perception of safety since, as discussed in Chapter Two, people often feel safer in crowded spaces than deserted ones (Carmona et al., 2010). This is characterised by the presence of families with children and individual women in the parks at night. However, because of security reasons, it was not possible to collect any precise figures on safety issues.

These are some of the important reasons blurring the boundaries of day-time and night-time activities in major Iranian cities. However, the intensity and variation of these activities differs from place to place. Amongst major Iranian cities, Mashhad has the most active night-life. Mashhad's night-life will be discussed in the next chapter in more detail. In the next part of this chapter the traditional form of Iranian cities and their changes through modernisation are studied in order to investigate the impact of modernisation.

Urbanism in Iran

Although traditional Iranian cities are described as a *'tangle of blocks badly ventilated by a labyrinth of twisted alleys and dark courts'* by De'Planhol (1959:I), some others, such as Sir Jean Chardin, the French jeweller and traveller, argued that Isfahan in Iran during the

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[9] توسل Tawasol means supplicating to God through another person believed to be sacred who can be alive or dead.

Safavid dynasty[10]' was comparable to London in the 17th century (Pirnia, 2001). Traditional Iranian cities have been planned based on climate, physical environment, trade, social, cultural and political affairs, religion, historical events, water and energy resources (Kheirabadi, 1991 ; Pirnia, 2001 ; Pirnia, 2004 ; Qubadiyan, 2007 ; Soltanzadeh, 1991) to deal with climate issues such as unbearable heat or cold, dust and water shortage and to provide better living conditions.

Traditional Iranian cities used to have a network of streets in the form of a grid or radial pattern with the main street functioning as the *'backbone of social and physical fabric'* (Madanipour, 1998:226). In the radial pattern cities were built around an important building that might be a governmental building, temple or shrine (Pirnia, 2004 ; Madanipour, 1998). Although traditional Iranian cities were divided into major public sections, including the bazaar and its related spaces and private sections, including residential zones (Ardalan and Bakhtiar, 1979), the entire city was closely connected and it is not possible to study one part of the city independently from others (Kheirabadi, 1991 ; Pirnia, 2001 ; Pirnia, 2004 ; Qubadiyan, 2007 ; Soltanzadeh, 1991).

Elements of Cities

Some elements of Iranian cities are discussed in the following section. For more detail see Appendix B.

Streets: Unlike the common recent belief that a street is a modern phenomenon coming from Western countries, the most ancient, widest and longest streets were built in Iran (Pirnia, 2004). It is recorded that there used to be streets in the ancient city of Rey similar to contemporary boulevards with shops forming their sides and a river passing through them connecting the gates and also later in Isfahan (Pirnia, 2004), shown in Figure 7.

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[10] Safavid dynasty, an Iranian dynasty from 1501–1736CE.
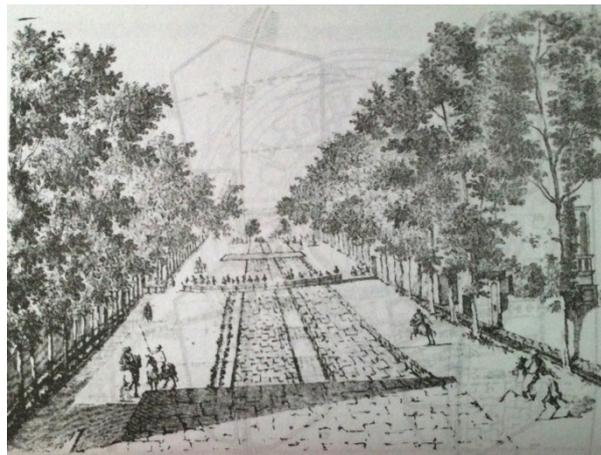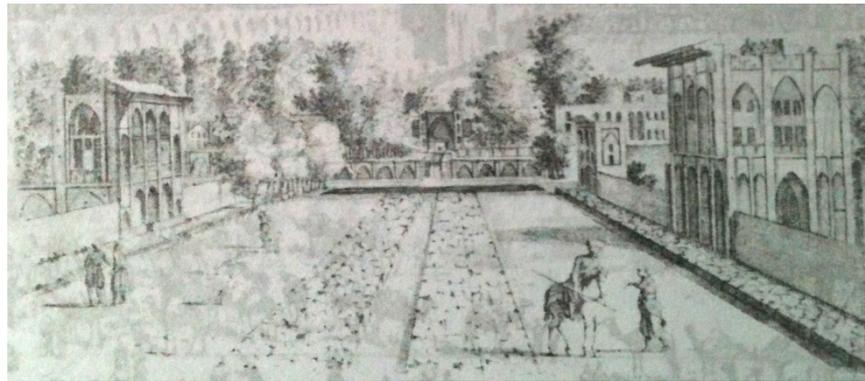
Figure 7: Charbagh Streets, Isfahan, Iran with shops forming the street sides and a river passing through (Pirnia, 2004:12-13).

Frieden and Mann (1971), divided the streets of Iranian traditional cities from the main street, bazaar, and the streets branching off them. Soltanzadeh (1991) later classified these streets as those used for the circulation network while the bazaar forms the main circulation network and social and cultural core of the city (Pirnia, 2004 ; Kheirabadi, 1991). A mixture of geometry, land ownership, topography (Frieden and Mann, 1971) and water sources (Bonine, 1979 ; Kheirabadi, 1991) define the street patterns in Iran.

Streets in traditional Iranian cities used to have a close relationship with the spaces around them. The form of street changed depending on their surrounding buildings. They became wider and formed a square when reaching the entrance to mosques, the bazaar or other important buildings, helping people to be aware of reaching an important place. Arches were built on the streets at the entrance of the bazaars (Qubadiyan, 2007). Streets were formed spontaneously based on public behaviour, culture and social interactions. Main public spaces were located around the major streets. Minor streets were semi-private for connecting residential spaces, used by residents of the area. Cul-de-sacs were a kind of

semi-private space being only occupied by the residents of nearby houses and their visitors (Kheirabadi, 1991 ; Soltanzadeh, 1991). Garden roads were less occupied and provided the entrance to nearby gardens (Soltanzadeh, 1991). Some issues, including safety, religion, attraction between similar activities, repulsion of incompatible activities and social functions of streets, influence the type of spaces and activities on each street. For instance, streets located on the border of cities were less safe and had a lower social identity. Hence land in these areas was cheaper than in the city centre. Shops selling expensive goods such as rugs, gold, or jewellery were not located near them and people with a higher social status did not live there. Also there were no alcohol or musical instrument sellers on the roads ending at the shrines or mosques or any other religious spaces and these activities were mostly located in the areas where residents with other religions lived (Soltanzadeh, 1991).

Some religious and national ceremonies were also conducted on the streets or in the bazaar. Each kind of street had their specific standards and attributes based on the social interactions of their users (Soltanzadeh, 1991). So streets in traditional Iranian cities used to play an important role in the social-economic life of society which is in accordance with the discussion in the third chapter about the importance of social and cultural interactions in a society on its spatial form.

Bazaar: It is an old Persian word meaning place of aggregation (Pirnia, 2004 ; Dehkhoda). Bazaars in Iran are permanent structures, in comparison to the Arabic souk that were mobile and seasonal without a permanent structure (Pirnia, 2004:122). The bazaar used to have a vital role in Islamic Iranian cities before modernisation. In the next paragraph the physical form of the bazaar is discussed and in the following paragraphs the importance of bazaars in the social life of society is discussed.

Bazaars were a part of circulation network of traditional Iranian cities, as shown in Figure 8 and Figure 9. Bazaars mostly start at the main gate of the city and pass through the city centre and sometimes end at another city gate (Pirnia, 2004 ; Soltanzadeh, 1991 ; Kheirabadi, 1991). They were a part of the context of their neighbourhoods and were not individual buildings separated from their adjacent neighbourhoods. Their design elements were based on the climate of each region, shown in Figure 10. They are mostly covered to control heat and ventilation in the warm weather of summer and the cold weather of winter.
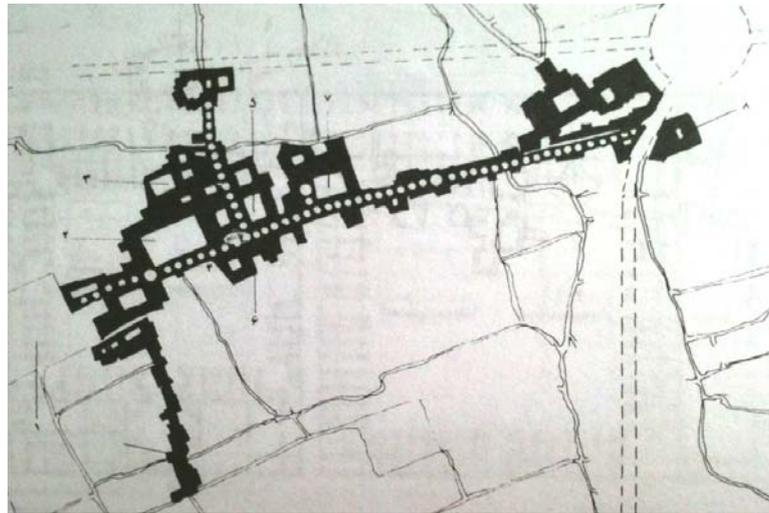
Figure 8: Bazaar of Kerman in Iran. (Pirnia, 2004:137)
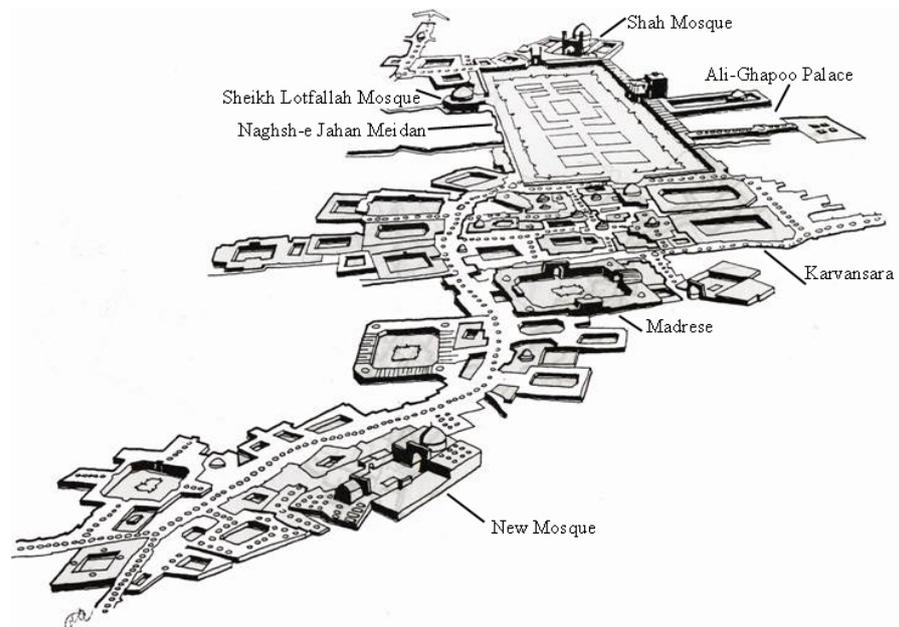
Figure 9: Isfahan bazaar, showing the mosques and Naghsh-e Jahan Meidan, 3D map (Sahebdel, 2013).
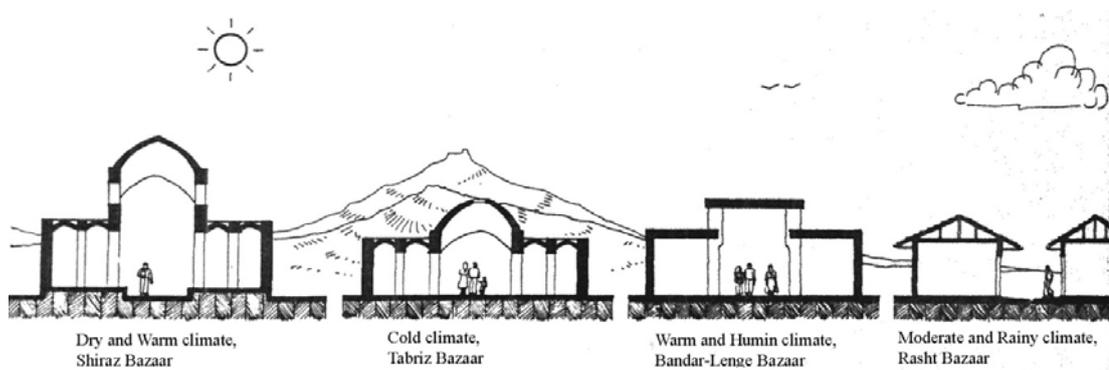
Figure 10: Structure of the bazaar in different regions of Iran (Qubadiyan, 2007:183).

Bazaars were constructed at a human scale. Arches were important elements to reduce the ceiling height and provide a pleasant space. Materials used in bazaars varied with the climate. They were mostly built from bricks or adobe with domes and arches and had basements (Qubadiyan, 2007). Covered bazaars are still the best choice for traders and customers in the climate of Iran, as the arches protect people from summer sunshine and winter breezes. However, these elements are lost in the modern high streets and shopping centres that replaced bazaars after modernisation. Large bazaars have hundreds of shops. However, prosperity and importance decreases further from the city centre (Madanipour, 1998). The bazaar was mostly located near the administrative quarters and Friday mosque. In cities with shrines or important tombs, such as Mashhad, Qom[11] and Rey[12] in Iran and similar cities in Iraq and Saudi Arabia, bazaars are mostly located near shrine entrances (Qubadiyan, 2007).

(Seeiran, 2013)
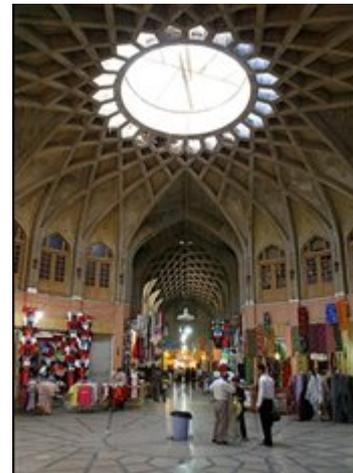
(Hamshahri, 2013)

Figure 11: Vakil bazaar in Shiraz.

The growth and decline of the bazaar was related to the growth and decline of the city. Basically, the growth of the bazaar was spontaneous, as a result of a growing population and flourishing trade. Residential areas that were always concentrated around the bazaar expanded with their development. However, in many cases, the expansion of the bazaar, including rebuilding some older parts, adding new parts or building a completely new bazaar in another section of the city were devised by important political leaders. In some cases the centre of the city gradually shifted from its traditional location to the site adjacent to the new bazaar (Kheirabadi, 1991).

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[11] قم Qom is a city near Tehran, where the shrine of Imam Reza's sister is located. It is the centre of religious studies in Iran.
[12] ری Rey is a historic town near Tehran where the shrine of one of Imam's descendants is located.

The bazaar was the heart of public life and allowed people to play a major role in economic and administrative decisions, in the same way as the city squares in pre-industrial European cities (Falamaki, 2005). Also, the bazaar was the most vital financial part of Iranian cities. It was located in a significant part of the city and different kinds of economic and social public activities took place there. Economic activities included trading, production, storage and warehousing but they also acted as non-economic centres where religious, educational, socio-political, and recreational services took place (Falamaki, 2005 ; Qubadiyan, 2007 ; Pirnia, 2004 ; Kheirabadi, 1991 ; Soltanzadeh, 1991). Therefore, public spaces with high accessibility were located in the bazaar to cater for each of these different activities. Building adjacent to the bazaars were Sara[13], mosque, Madrese[14], Ab-Anbar, Hamam, library, museum, Zurkhane'[15] and governmental buildings (Pirnia, 2004 ; Qubadiyan, 2007 ; Soltanzadeh, 1991 ; Kheirabadi, 1991). Zarabkhane[16] and Ghoorkhane[17] were also located near Tehran bazaar (Qubadiyan, 2007). Daarughe[18] had administrative building in the bazaar to deal with financial affairs (Najmi, 1983). The close relationship between these activities and spaces shows the mutual impacts of the social-economic life of society and the spatial form of the city which was discussed in Chapter Three. Shops and workshops are located in the immediate Raaste of the bazaar to provide direct access for the public, while Saras are located at the rear of the shops. Sara is larger than a shop and is occupied by wholesalers and is not open to the public (Qubadiyan, 2007 ; Soltanzadeh, 1991 ; Pirnia, 2004). Everyday services such as bakeries, groceries and restaurants have always been dispersed in different parts of the bazaar as well as around it and in residential neighbourhoods (Kheirabadi, 1991). Each Raaste and Sara were specialised based on their business, ethnicity, nationality or religion. This benefitted customers, was convenient for traders and authorities and was beneficial for security reasons (Qubadiyan, 2007 ; Soltanzadeh, 1991 ; Pirnia, 2004 ; Bonine, 1979 ; Kheirabadi, 1991). Bazaars in large cities also functioned as a space for exchanging goods between caravans and local merchants (Kheirabadi, 1991).

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[13] سرا Sara is the trade centre and storage for wholesale. It is mostly located at the back of the bazaar to have more space.

[14] مدرسه Madrese is a school.

[15] زورخانه Zurkhane is a traditional gymnasium, using traditional methods for body-building and exercise.

[16] ضرابخانه Zarabkhaneh was the place where currency was forged.

[17] غور خانه Ghoorkhane was the place where weapons were made.

[18] داروغه Daarughe is the police chief in traditional Iranian cities.

Holding religious or national ceremonies were also a part of the activities taking place in the bazaar. In mourning occasions[19] each business group or street of the bazaar, called a Raaste, and held a ceremony to show-off. The bazaar was covered in black in mourning time and decorated for Norouz, to welcome the king or religious leaders (Qubadiyan, 2007). Guards also pass criminals through the bazaar in order to warn the public against committing crimes and to reassure them that criminals have been arrested (Soltanzadeh, 1991).

Bazaaris and religious leaders always had a close relationship. Many religious leaders were from the bazaar. Bazaaris were usually educated in the schools run by the religious leaders and took part in the discussion about religious issues which were tightly intertwined with politics and the economy. The bazaar had an important influence on the political issues of the country and strikes in the bazaar always had a vital effect on the social and political situation of society (Soltanzadeh, 1991 ; Qubadiyan, 2007 ; Falamaki, 2005). Several times in the history of Iran, during the constitutional revolution, the revolution in 1979 (Qubadiyan, 2007 ; Kheirabadi, 1991) and recent demonstrations, the Bazaaris[20] went on strike against political decisions or the respective regime.

Masjed: It means mosque. Each city has one Masjed-Jame[21] known as a Friday Mosque in English and there is at least one mosque in each neighbourhood (Pirnia, 2004). Friday mosques are important in building a city's identity (Qubadiyan, 2007 ; Von Grunebaum, 1955 ; De'Planhol, 1959 ; Pope, 1967 ; Kheirabadi, 1991). They are amongst the tallest, largest and most beautiful buildings of a city and are visually recognisable from a long distance (Pirnia, 2004 ; Kheirabadi, 1991).

Friday mosques serve various purposes including religious, political, social, and educational (Rokni, 2007) therefore they are located at the focal point of the bazaar, in an area where there are more crowds and activities and that is closely connected to the structure of the town (Kheirabadi, 1991 ; Qubadiyan, 2007 ; Soltanzadeh, 1991 ; Pirnia, 2004 ; Pope, 1967). Although Friday mosques are physically integrated into the city as if they have *'melted and merged'* into the surrounding buildings (Pope, 1967:3/909), they are nicely separated from the secular square by some architectural means (Madanipour, 1998).

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[19] Mourning occasions specifically for Shiite Muslims is in the Muharram Month, the first month of the Islamic calendar, when the third Shiite Imam, Imam Hossein, and his family and friends were killed in a battle.

[20] بازاری Bazaari is a member of the bazaar, a person who works in the bazaar.

[21] مسجد جامع Masjed-Jame

People go to the mosques to participate in mass prayers, attend religious sessions, or visit a religious leader and consult their religious ideas (Pope, 1967). Basically, in comparing mosques with cathedrals, mosques are more social institutions, putting less emphasis on religious rituals and are more open to secular activities. A mosque used to be a washing and resting place for travellers, a home for poor and homeless people at night, a meeting place to exchange religious, political and economic information and news and where rules and policies were posted (Kheirabadi, 1991). However, nowadays in many mosques the doors are closed between praying times and especially at night to avoid homeless people sleeping there.

Mosques also function as educational spaces. In traditional cities children used to go to the mosques to learn basic reading and writing skills and the Quran and adults studied in schools next to the mosques (Kheirabadi, 1991). Important schools were built near the bazaar or Friday mosques (Qubadiyan, 2007). Nowadays there are still Quran sessions and secular sessions held in mosques during summer for children. Each mosque has a library with religious and secular collections which is accessible through a separate entrance.

The mosques also play an important role in political issues and demonstrations. During the Iranian revolution in 1979, people went to the mosques to listen to political speeches. The large open space in the mosques provided a suitable place for mass demonstration. Also, due to the close relationship between Bazaaris and religious leaders, the strikes spread from the bazaar through the mosque to the public (Kheirabadi, 1991).

Members of each trade in the bazaar built a mosque close to their shops with the name of their profession. People from different regions or ethnicity built their own mosques in different cities. Also political leaders, to show their level of piety and religiosity, built mosques. There are several mosques in each city and each neighbourhood. Neighbourhood mosques are mostly located at the centre of their community near local Bazaarche. They are also a gathering place for people to discuss different issues relating to their area including security, water, rubbish disposal, youth problems and family affairs including marriage, divorce, funerals or celebrations[22] as well as issues related to the whole city or country (Kheirabadi, 1991).

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[22] Family celebrations can be for several reasons; one of the most important ones held in the local mosques, mostly take place at night or at noon, is when a family member returns from a pilgrimage to Mashhad, Hajj or other Islamic pilgrimage destinations. This celebration includes a feast provided by the pilgrim for the friends, relatives and residents of the neighbourhood.

Mosques and bazaars have a close relationship for several reasons. To fulfil the needs of activities which take place in mosques, including religious practices and educational classes (Kheirabadi, 1991), the nearby shops in the bazaar sell religious goods including Mohr[23], Tasbih[24], perfume, candles, books and stationery. Also, mosques are frequently used by the Bazaaris at prayer times which are three times a day for Shiite Muslims (Gibb and Kramers, 1953 ; Kheirabadi, 1991).

Mosques and bazaars both have multifunctional qualities and function as the main public centre in the city. The difference between mosques and the bazaar is that the bazaar is a public gathering place for people of different religions, ethnicity and socio-economic backgrounds, whilst the Friday mosques are only accessible to the Muslim population of society and are even separated between Shiite and Sunnis. This makes mosques the second major communal space in traditional Iranian cities. However, the important shrines in Mashhad and Qom function as the most important buildings in these cities (Kheirabadi, 1991).

Haram: It means shrine; it is an important religious site in Shiite cities as they are the tomb of Shiite Imams or their descendants. They are the reason for the establishment and further development of some cities in Iran and their major core, such as at Mashhad and Qom, and function as the main communal place in these cities for residents and pilgrims. Visiting shrines is a popular pilgrimage for Muslim Shiite, and pilgrims from around the country and other Shiite countries come to visit these shrines (Kheirabadi, 1991). There are many small shrines in Iran attributed to the descendants of Imams. However, many of them are assumed to be the graves of a Zoroastrian holy man (Kheirabadi, 1991 ; Spooner, 1963).

Shrine buildings are similar to a mosque and have a dome and minarets that are located on the top of the central room which contains the tomb. They also have sanctuaries for mass prayers and religious ceremonies and at least one courtyard, used when there is an overflow of people in religious ceremonies or mass prayers (Kheirabadi, 1991), with a water fountain. The water fountains are located for aesthetic reasons as well as being a place for taking ablution and providing drinking water.

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[23] مهر Mohr is a small tablet made of clay from sacred lands.
[24] تسبیح Tasbih is a rosary

History of Urban Planning in Iran

The first example of large-scale urban intervention, building streets, squares or large governmental, social or cultural buildings, in Iranian cities was carried out by Shah-Abbas Safavid, 1587-1629 (Habibi, 1996 ; De'Planhol, 1968). Shah-Abbas' interventions in the 16th century, Nasser-al-Din Shah's interventions in the 1870s (Barthold, 1984) and Reza Shah's interventions in the 1930s (Lockhart, 1960) show that the supreme leader used to be in charge of large-scale planning. The reason for large-scale urban development, its size, scale and geometric form were mostly political to shape the society (Madanipour, 2003 ; Abdulac, 1984) or emphasise the authority of a dynasty.

In order to symbolise the triumph of Shiites, Shah-Abbas and his successors made large-scale changes to Isfahan, which was the capital of Iran at that time, and Mashhad as an important religious city (De'Planhol, 1968 ; Scarce, 1991). The next dynasties also followed this pattern. Qajar, specifically Nasser-al-Din-Shah, 1846-96, conducted extensive constructions in Tehran and Mashhad (Scarce, 1991). Although several large-scale urban developments took place at this time, the new structures merged with the old part of cities without attempting to transform them.

Traditionally urban changes in Iran used to be gentle, gradual and adaptive by considering the pre-existing context, but this has changed dramatically from the late 19th century, becoming rapid, large-scale and destructive (Izadi, 2008). Regardless of the interventions taken by the governments, building royal palaces, citadels, city walls and prestigious buildings, urban changes used to be conducted mostly by private individuals including wealthy merchants, endowment institutions, members of the ruling aristocracy or private charities who built the majority of houses, commercial and religious buildings and public services including Hamams, Ab-Anbars, mosques and Madrese (Madanipour, 1998:191).

From the beginning of the twentieth century a centralised planning system was established and, based on that, the government and its agencies have got increasing powers to have direct or indirect intervention on urban changes through the *'investment of public money, introduction of development policies and control of planning system'* (Madanipour, 1998:177). These changes are divided into several stages by (Izadi, 2008 ; Kamrava, 2007 ; Madanipour, 1998) and discussed in the following section.

First wave of modernisation

The development of Iranian cities based on their context ended by Reza Shah's attempts during 1920s and 1930s (Madanipour, 2003 ; Boroujerdi, 2003 ; Atabaki and Zurcher, 2004) by the first attempts of urban planning (Kamrava, 2007). At this time several efforts were taken to change the social and spatial form of the country and the government became the only dominant force on urban change (Madanipour, 1998 ; Ehlers and Floor, 1993). Reza Shah used modernisation in opposition to Islamic traditions (Kamrava, 2007). He tried to change the cities' appearance by widening streets and constructing modern buildings and to change society by forcing men to wear suits and ties and women to unveil (Ansari. M, 2003). His main goal was *'nationalism, secularism and modernisation'*. He centralised the government, developed industrial manufacturing from which emerged a new working class, unified the country by development of the transport network and led Iran into capitalism by changing social patterns, from production to consumption, in all aspects of life (Izadi, 2008 ; Kamrava, 2007 ; Habibi, 1996).

Reza Shah's first effort to achieve modernisation was the destruction of the urban fabric on a large scale which was influenced by the French Second Empire style of urban planning and most importantly the transformation of Paris by Haussmann (Kamrava, 2007 ; Madanipour, 1998). In a similar way to Paris, the city walls and the walls of the citadel were pulled down and wide boulevards were built through the existing old narrow streets and densely historic areas (Wilber, 1986 ; Madanipour, 1998), to replace the traditional urban fabric and provide primary axes for new developments. Then urban infrastructures and parks were built (Kamrava, 2007) and cities expanded. In addition, architectural uniformity was achieved in the facades of the new streets and, accordingly, the individuality of different areas were lost (Madanipour, 1998) in a similar way to Paris (Benevolo, 1980).

Development in this period was *'fast and forceful towards modernisation without sufficient attention to the historical context'* (Mozayeni, 1974:265) leading to the isolation of the traditional cores of the cities. New forms were planned by German planners (Shahrsazi, 1982) and had no basis in Iranian tradition (Marefat, 2004) since they were built by European standards (Ansari. M, 2003) without considering the social-economic life of Iranian society. The redevelopment programmes of inter-war Europe, transferred to Iran by French and German planners, combined the ancient Iranian and Islamic architectural styles (Madanipour, 1998) and Western-style interiors (Lockhart, 1960). Also replacing religious

symbols by pre-Islamic symbols of the ancient Persian Empire was a popular trend in this period (Marefat, 1997). The new legislation, political power and economic power which were raised from the benefits of oil revenues financially supported modernisation and funded the construction of new buildings and streets (Mozayeni, 1974 ; Boroujerdi, 2003 ; Clark, 1981).

As a result of these planning attempts, the urban population became divided by class. Modern architecture, infrastructure features and new business areas developed along the streets of the newly established quarters. Wide boulevards, modern buildings, luxury shops, cinemas and other entertainment centres in the newly built areas attracted upper and middle class families, encouraging them to leave the historic core whilst the poor people stayed there (Katouzian, 1981). However, regardless of all of these changes, old city centres with the bazaar as their focus continued to play a significant role in the cities (Madanipour, 1998).

Second wave of modernisation

In August 1941, Reza Shah's son Mohammad Reza Shah replaced him and continued development under the influence of foreign forces, specifically the United States. Rapid change to cities, industrialisation, an oil-based economy and land reforms of 1960s led to migration from small towns and rural areas to large cities including Tehran and Mashhad (Madanipour, 2006 ; Keddie, 1981 ; Dehesh, 1994).

Large cities began a vast physical expansion because of increased population growth and migration; and the historic cores lost their *'physical, social and economic significance'* in the sprawling cities (Izadi, 2008:72). The differences between available public amenities, physical appearance and socio-cultural characteristics of the historic cores of cities and newly developed areas increased the gap between the new and traditional parts of the cities. The newcomers and migrants from rural areas mostly moved to the historic cores of the cities as it was cheaper and thus undermined the social cohesion of these areas (Izadi, 2008).

At this time the authorities started preparing master plans for large cities (Mozayeni, 1974). *'Iranian consultants were to associate with a European or American partner and, in the absence of a local equivalent, to adopt the standards and regulations'* (Cantacuzino, 1976:297) borrowed from a Renaissance ideal for cities, the transformation of Paris, the

modern movement and post-war development of Britain and the USA (Madanipour, 1998). The basic environmental and sociological differences between Iranian cities and the Western pattern and the lack of relationship or precedent with traditional forms, led to further problems. The situation in the historic cores worsened with the implementation of master plans which reduced activities in them and imposed road networks on their traditional texture (Cantacuzino, 1976).

This situation intensified in the 1960s when the government put into effect a slum clearance policy and offered tax exemption for three years to any landowners who agreed to replace their house with a new building (Lawless, 1980:200). Because of this rule, many old buildings in the historic cores of the cities were demolished or divided to bring more financial benefits for their owners. Although some historic buildings survive and are conserved as heritage, the historic urban fabric was demolished (Lawless, 1980).

The establishment of the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development in 1964 (Shahrokh-zadeh, 1997 ; Kamrava, 2007 ; Roshd) was another attempt to centralise policy to make progress and channel it into desired paths, but not to improve the quality of life in poorer quarters (Clark, 1980). After this time housing development was encouraged in new-build areas (Ardalan, 2000) without considering the local people's point of view (Clark, 1981). In 1973 the revenue coming from the oil industry let the government initiate a series of large-scale development projects (Ehlers, 1992). Due to the close relationship with the USA, American aid, including official and technical advisors, *'technical and commercial organisations and private investors'* (Hambly, 1991:444) came to Iran to plan for speedy modernisation (Saikal, 1980).

These large-scale projects included huge public buildings, infrastructure development, urban renewal programmes and big housing projects to accommodate the growing population (Ardalan, 2000 ; Farmanfarmaiyan, 2003). Further legislation enabled the municipalities to compulsorily accelerate large-scale urban interventions (GhanbariParsa and Madanipour, 1988 ; Clark, 1981). After 1966 municipalities were forced to build according to the comprehensive plans. In 1974 a clear definition of comprehensive plans, detailed plans and guide plans were put forward (Madanipour, 1998).

During the Pahlavi period, 1925-1979, the main attitude towards the built environment was to *'praise the new and disregard the old'* (Madanipour, 1998:144). The main concern of the authorities and planners was to preserve individual buildings and monuments and their

context was neglected. The result in cities like Mashhad was that the historic structure was surrounded by '*large geometrical Western-style squares*' (Abdulac, 1983:17) .

After revolution period

This was the first stage after the revolution in 1979 when major political, social and economic changes happened in Iran. Although there were several political parties involved in the revolution the conqueror was the Islamic government. The new government intended to reinstate the Islamic traditions of Shiite to replace the secular and nationalistic practices of the previous regime (Kazemi, 2003). As a result, the traditional power of the clergy and the practice of Islamic rituals revived. However, because of '*centralisation, dependency upon oil revenue and administrative hierarchies*', physical expansion of cities and inequalities continued (Izadi, 2008:79).

In September 1980 the war between Iran and Iraq started, leading to political and economic instability (Kamrava, 2007). As Tajbakhsh (2003) argues three factors led the country to greater centralisation in this period including nationalisation of industry, eight years of war with Iraq and the desire to create a new state based on new ideologies. Initial reaction to the comprehensive plans after the revolution was very critical. These plans were condemned because of their modern approach and lack of consideration for the social life of society and specifically the religious norms (see also Hashemi, 1993 ; Vezarat-Maskan-va-Shahrsazi, 1981 ; Vezarat-Maskan-va-Shahrsazi, 1982). Eight years of war terminated the redesign of the planning process (Madanipour, 1998).

During this period the migration from rural areas continued with the flow of people from war-affected areas, western and southern parts of Iran, to safer cities in Eastern parts and specifically Mashhad. This increased the population and expansion of cities continued (Iranmahboob and Mirfardi, 2003). In order to control the rise in population and expansion of urban areas, large new urban residential areas were built and policies issued through master plans (Azizi, 1998 ; Dehesh, 1994). However, these just created more problems in the historic cores of the cities suffering from '*decay, disinvestment and abandonment*' diminishing their proportional size (Izadi, 2008:80).

The Housing Foundation and Martyrs' Foundation, established by the government, were two organisations working as development agencies in housing provision (Madanipour, 1998 ; Kamrava, 2007). Accordingly, religious institutions and charity foundations, led by

the clergy, started working independently with significant economic and political power and transferred into *'giant private monopolies with no governmental discretion over their operation while they could contribute to the ideological and cultural needs of an Islamic state'* (Saeidi, 2004:480).

Iran in the post-secular world: Because of the contradictory role of religion in traditional and modern societies from having a great importance in traditional societies and being excluded by values of 'progress and secularism' from the structure of modernity (Duara, 1991:67), it was believed that *'religion would disappear in both public and private spheres of Western, modernised societies'* (Stevenson et al., 2010:324). However, as Stevenson et al. (2010) argued post-secular societies demonstrated a constant change between secularisation and de-secularisation leading to a revision of this radical point of view and acceptance of levels of religion in modern societies.

Iran, with Islamic and anti-western governments, as well as several other strict Muslim countries such as the Arab countries are amongst the main users of modernity. As Eisenstadt (2000) argued, although modernity developed in Europe and transferred to other countries as a Western idea, many of the typically modern movements that arose in non-Western societies have expressed *'strong anti-western or even anti-modern themes'* (Eisenstadt, 2000:2), attempting to separate modernisation from Westernisation and introduce national multiple versions of modernity.

Iran is an Islamic country with a strong desire to modernise. More than 150 years ago, as Arjomand (2002) argued, Iran sought to overcome 'backwardness' and adopted 'modern civilization' or 'development' as a new style of life (Mujtahid-Shabistari, 2000:13-15). Almost a century later the Islamic leaders of Iran, who took over after the 1979 revolution, were hesitant in confirming or opposing modernity (Vahdat, 2003). On the one hand it was over a century since modernisation had started in Iran (Mujtahid-Shabistari, 2000:21) and its results could not be removed easily, for instance the Islamic version of the Iranian constitution, revised after 1979, was modern-based more than traditional jurisprudence (Mujtahid-Shabistari, 2000 ; Arjomand, 2002). On the other hand, the 1979 revolution basically opposed any foreign dependency and was handed to the Islamic government with the slogan 'no Eastern, no Western, only Islamic republic'. Iran in the post-secular world took a dual attitude towards modernity. Some aspects of modernity which seem to be

harmful or not beneficial to Islamic society, known as 'Westoxication[25]'(Vahdat, 2003 ; Hanson, 1983), were rejected and some others that could benefit the Islamic government were accepted and dissolved in Iranian public and private life.

Modern architecture and urbanism, which began in Iran in the 1930s, has since become the basis for many radical changes to major Iranian cities. These efforts are amongst the aspects of modernisation accepted by the Islamic government and applied to cities (Dehesh, 1994). These efforts are widely used in the regeneration plans of cities in Iran such as the Regeneration and Reconstruction Plan of Imam Reza's shrine (RPIS) in Mashhad (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 2008). Although the results of these efforts in the spatial and social form of cities were similar in Iran before and after the revolution, this has never been admitted by the Islamic governments of Iran. The Islamic government constantly condemns the urban design efforts taken before 1979 and argues that they were Western-based. For instance, these arguments are discussed in a section in the RPIS report (Vezarat-Maskan-va-Shahrsazi, 1992). However, modern architecture and urbanism were being extensively applied to the Iranian cities after 1979 with almost the same trend as started in the 1930s.

Post war period

The war with Iraq ended in August 1988. The proposed five year plan aimed to regenerate the economy and reconstruct war-damaged regions (Kamrava, 2007), promote private investment and initiate freedom from economic regulations (Pesaran, 2000). However, these efforts were accompanied by a new trend towards centralisation. Development agencies in the public sector, became channels to transfer government earnings from oil production to the 'marketplace' and support large-scale development projects based on modernisation (Madanipour, 1996:165).

The flow of refugees from neighbouring countries increased the population and, accordingly, demand for housing. More housing organisations were established and a new regeneration programme instigated for housing provision in the traditional cores of cities, which had been neglected for decades and suffered from decay and low maintenance,

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[25] 'Gharbzadegi' in Persian meaning Westoxication, is a term coined by Iranian philosopher Ahmad Fardid used by Al-e-Ahmad J. (1962) *Gharbzadegi,* Tehran: Azad.

(Management-and-Planning-Organisation, 1996), influencing the social and historic structure of them.

This programme included a series of large-scale neighbourhood regeneration projects in more than 40 cities on 1,000 hectares of historic land in the core of the cities called *'obsolete urban areas'* to *'increase the density of these areas and replace the derelict sites and deteriorated properties with new and modern residential and commercial complexes'* (Izadi, 2008:84; Urban-Development-and-Revitalisation-Organisation, 2001). The organisations created by the government for this purpose started purchasing land and properties in these areas all over the country by using governmental power of compulsory land acquisition. However, the land ownership problems and lack of financial resources for undertaking such large-scale interventions resulted in the suspension of plans for a long time, leading to more problems. The abandoned properties and vacant sites of demolished buildings provided a suitable place for drug use or dealing and other criminal activities, making the areas unsafe (Izadi, 2008).

Religious institutions, as the trustees of religious centres, are a threat to the traditional parts of the cities as they became *'money oriented'* (Adelkhah, 1999:127) and have enough funds and authority to redevelop these centres and their urban context. They are like *'giant private monopolies'* (Saeidi, 2004:485) as they do not pay taxes, are exempted from other legal restrictions, have easy access to various financial resources such as a low exchange rate and income from religious charities, have undisclosed budgets and do not have any shareholders or public accounts. After the Iran-Iraq war, these agencies started large-scale reconstruction projects around the religious centres including shrines and grand mosques located in the traditional cores of the cities. For instance, the redevelopment plan of Imam Reza's shrine in Mashhad (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 1989) and the recent demolition for redevelopment of an Imam Zadeh shrine in Yazd (BBC, 2013).

Municipalities are the main bodies to authorise any changes in urban areas and their attempts at self-sufficiency, including land-use change, land sale, raising taxation, obtaining fees through increasing construction density and the development of residential and commercial activity and facilities became threats to the traditional parts of the cities (Tajbakhsh, 2003) by generating negative impacts and normalising illegal practices and bribing (Kamrava, 2007).

The construction industry was encouraged by Iranian governments because it was considered as a catalyst in the development of other sectors of the economy, it was easier

than development of the manufacturing industry or agriculture (Halliday, 1979), generated income and increased demand for goods and services (Dezhkam 1985 cited in Madanipour, 1998:166). Before the revolution, a market-economy development for sale increased, which was slowed down after the revolution and during the war. However, it arose again in this period (Madanipour, 1998). Although the basic ideologies of the Islamic government and the last secular regime were different all the projects being conducted in this period were attempts at modernisation similar to the efforts being taken by the secular regime.

Triumph and fall of reformists

Victory of reformists in the presidential election in 1997 led to decentralisation of planning authorities and the enhancing of the roles of professionals (Izadi, 2008) through establishment of city councils (Kamrava, 2007). Accordingly the Urban Development and Revitalisation Company was established to manage city centre regeneration plans and the revival of deprived areas within cities (Izadi, 2008). Although the aim of this period was better city management, by prioritising users' requirements to the government's goals, the outcome was not different from previous periods.

The return of conservatives to political power in 2005 and their focus on nuclear projects resulted in international sanctions against Iran. These influenced urban projects with a lack of financial resources and a rise in public dissatisfaction. An example of these slow-going or suspended projects is the Regeneration Plan of Imam Reza's shrine area in Mashhad with only 2% of the plan achieved in 10 years of work (Sazman-Mojri-Tarh, 2010).

Centralised government

Since the First World War, due to the concentration of political power, growth of bureaucracy and rise in oil revenue, many of the activities that used to be done by the private sector have been taken over by central government (Madanipour, 1998 ; Kamrava, 2007) empowering them to become the only authority and financial power in the country to set out urban interventions and plans. *'The public sector has controlled the flow of oil revenue and has channelled it partly to the construction sector through the banking system's credit schemes, which are often biased towards middle and higher income groups'* (Madanipour, 1998:197-8).

Because of this, and because the public's point of view is not considered in urban projects, the authorities have not been accountable and urban patterns have been applied forcefully and unexpectedly without enough announcements or consultation; people are dissatisfied and mostly distrust the new plans. Basically, among Iranian urban planning authorities, there is no association working directly for the public. Even the city councils, which were designed in the reformist period to work directly with locals, are only accountable to the respective ministry and not to the populace. The conflict between society and the government on urban legislations led to chaos and the irregular expansion of cities. People resisted urban projects, including detailed-plans and guide-plans, built houses illegally at night or during holidays and bribing became the prominent tool in municipality affairs (Kamrava, 2007). The hierarchy of Iran's constitutional power structure and mayoral appointment as the local planning authorities is shown in Figure13 and Figure 12.
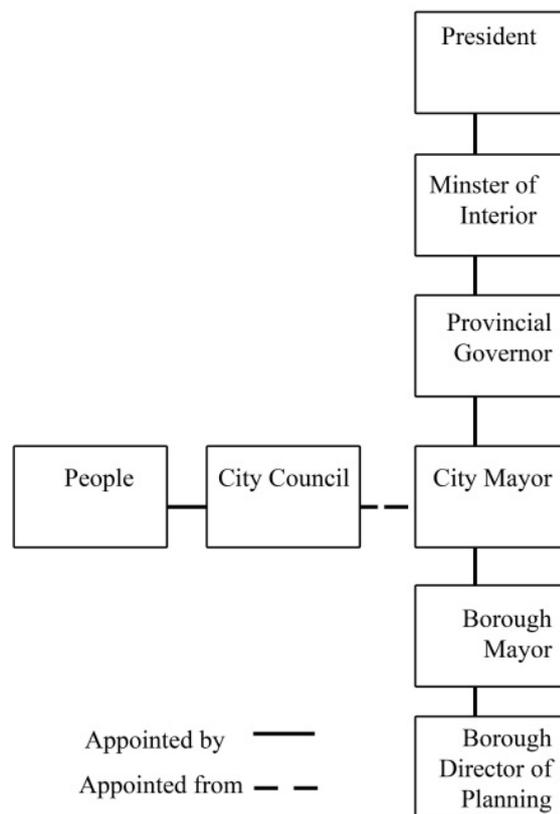

Figure 12: Mayoral appointment (adapted from Iran.C.T by the author).

People of Iran

Assembly of Experts | Supreme Leader — Ali Khamenei **C** (since 1989) | President | Parliament

Council of Guardians (12 members)
Judiciary
Regular Military
Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps
The Law Enforcement Forces
Voice & Vision Radio & Television
General Staff of the Armed Forces
Expediency Council (32 members) Head: Hashemi Rafsanjani **C** (since 1997)

Four Vice Presidents | Planning & Budget Organisation | National Security Council | Office of the President | Central Bank

Council of 20 Ministers as of June 2002

Defence	Information & Security	Oil	Interior
Culture & Islamic Guidance	Post Telephone	Science & Research	Economy
Industry	Roads & Transport	Justice	Education
Agricultural Jihad	Energy	Labour	Housing & Cities Development
Trade	Foreign Affairs	Health	Cooperation

Election →
Appointment --->
Confirmation ·······►
Conservative **C**
Reformer **R**

Figure13: Iran's constitutional power structure (ICG, 2002:37).

Transportation system

Congestion is one of the major problems in large urban contemporary Iranian cities (see for example Transport-and-Traffic-Organisation, 2012 ; Madanipour, 1998 ; Theran-Traffic-Congestion-Charging, 2012). The importing of vehicles to Iran from Europe started at the end of the nineteenth century (Kamrava, 2007). Accordingly, with the increase in vehicular use, the demand for widening the cobbled streets increased. In the 1930s with the rise of

car importation, transportation network projects started in most Iranian cities and narrow streets and cul-de-sacs disappeared. The Act entitled Building and Widening of Streets and Alleys was passed in 1933 by parliament (Shahrsazi, 1982). In the 1950s new wide streets were set out in Tehran and the city walls and many structures built in Qajar, such as the city gates and royal palaces, were demolished even though they were considered as cultural heritage. This process followed in other large cities and later in small urban areas (Madanipour, 1998 ; Clarke and Clark, 1969).

The first public transport company was established in Tehran in 1957, six years before the High Council of Town planning was established. Public transport had previously had priority in the transport system of Iran for 150 years. In 1963, with the rise of political affiliation with the USA, private transport got priority in transport networks. In 1967, the first Iranian car company, called Iran National, was established and started making Peikan as the first Iranian car with the slogan *'Hope for a day, when each Iranian has one Peikan'*. Over forty years later, this wish has almost come true with the provision of cheap affordable cars and cheap fuel while not enough related urban and financial infrastructure has been provided (Kamrava, 2007).

The main problem in transport and traffic systems in Iran, as Kamrava (2007) argued, is that the urban infrastructure is built prioritising public transport. However, the systems used in cities prioritise private transport. The authorities have already spent large amounts of money on the construction of highways, subways or the widening of streets. However, the result was only more intensive congestion (Theran-Traffic-Congestion-Charging, 2012 ; Taghvayi, 2011) as the applied pattern does not fit the urban form and the social and financial structure of society.

Discussion

This chapter has discussed the point that the boundaries between day-time and night-time activities in Iranian cities are less visible. However, it is important to note that this character of Iranian cities has certain similarities with other Middle-Eastern countries. People in the various cities of Iran perform different forms of routine activities as habitual actions during day and night. Therefore, performing these activities at night in Iran is as ordinary as it is extraordinary in some other parts of the world. These activities include shopping, dining out, holding meetings and family visits late at night. However, these

activities might differ in various societies based on climate or social interactions. For instance, in cities with warm climates, people might conduct various activities at night instead of during the day-time. Also these activities might extend more into the night on specific dates. These daily activities are a kind of entertainment for many Iranian people and they might go window shopping at night just as an entertainment. Since alcohol-related activities are prohibited in Iran since the revolution in 1979, people go to restaurants and cafés or go shopping at night to socialise. The advantage of these activities is that any specific groups of society based on gender or age are not excluded from the cities' night-life and almost everybody can find something to enjoy in the city at night. A result of this attribute is the perception of safety, attracting more people to stay out at night and consequently leading to a more active and safe night-life. This was observed in the case study and is discussed in Chapter Eight.

There was always a close relationship between the physical form of traditional Iranian cities and the activities taking place in them during both day and night including their social life, cultural and religious customs and climatic factors to provide Asayesh and Mandegari[26] for their users and the built environment. For instance, people used to go to the bazaar to socialise, discuss the news and visit their friends as well as shopping and the physical form of the bazaar supported all of these activities. Therefore, the social life of cities and the cultural and religious needs of the people used to shape and change the form of the built environment and make the bazaar, mosque and city centres social aggregation spaces rather than exclusive commercial or religious spaces. Climate also had a great impact on the formation and development of these cities by orientating the buildings' direction towards the sun and against adverse winds and specifying the amount and direction of openings. These factors were considered in the principles of traditional architecture and urbanism in Iran but were lost in the modernisation trend after the 1930s. Although the use of electricity supports and facilitate continuation of these activities at night they are being threatened by recent trends of modernisation which are discussed later.

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[26] Due to the varied meanings and modern use of the terms 'sustainability' and 'liveability', Persian terms of Mandegari and Asayesh with a root in Iranian history are adopted as alternatives. In traditional Iranian architecture there were no terms for sustainability or liveability; however, their meanings were considered carefully in doctrines in order to provide durability, a steady state and comfortable and safe spaces for their users. Mandegari, replacing sustainability, means resistant, long lived, permanent, stable, lasting, immortal, durable and something that remains. Asayesh, replacing liveability, means comfort, easement, relaxation, convenience, joy and fortune. This term is a fair replacement for liveability as all efforts in Iranian architecture and urbanism are taken to provide Asayesh for users.

Modernisation started rigorously by remodelling whole aspects of Iranian life including the built environment by taking its pattern from the West and authorising Western consultants to regenerate Iranian cities. The social life of spaces was lost in this hasty and superficial process because of imported standards that were not based on the social-economic life of the cities and users' requirements. This process continued until the revolution in 1979 when the Islamic government took over power. Although the fundamental basis of the Islamic government was independency from any foreign power and changes to the constitution, still some aspects of modernity which were deemed necessary for the development of the country and harmless to Islamic rules were adopted and the rest, known as Westoxication, were rejected. Accordingly, modernisation of cities continued more or less in the same way during the Islamic government based on imported Western standards. The main change was the prohibition of constructing places for gambling, nightclubs or alcohol-related activities. However, the night-life of the cities continued with these activities.

Modernisation based on Western patterns by the support of oil revenue was the main aim in Iranian urbanism after the 1930s. This has been conducted continuously by different leaders regardless of their foreign affairs and whether secular or non-secular. Each of these leaders condemned previous governments for conducting radical changes, though they made more or less the same changes to show that the country is progressing and moving forward by diminishing traces of the traditional urban fabric which they called 'obsolete' and replacing them with modern urban forms. This process was speedily achieved by importing standards and applying them to Iranian cities without considering the context, in the same way as they were applied to French, German, British or American cities. Obviously, in the contemporary global world, the importation of new features of technology or being influenced by other cultures is inevitable. However, it is very important to contextualise features of modern life in order to blend in with local culture and context. Studying the traditional urbanism in Iran shows that, unlike modern urban design, the traditional urbanism was based on the social-economic life of societies; and updating them can improve the quality of Iranian urban design to plan Mandegar spaces based on the local culture, climate and customs as well as providing Asaayesh for the users.

Although modernisation may not have a direct connection with temporality and even modern tools can support and facilitate night-time activities, the results of modernisation efforts in each culture can differ, encouraging or discouraging social life, everyday

activities and the spontaneous night-life of society. Basically, night-life of cities is a part of their social life which is influenced by the physical form of their spaces. As discussed previously, people in each society perform a series of routine and habitual activities as their everyday life during day and night. These activities are deeply rooted in the social-economic life of their society and might be harmed if the society changes for any reason. Therefore, if modernity reduces the social life of spaces it may also accordingly reduce the night-life of those spaces as shown in Figure 14.

In traditional Iranian cities the physical form of spaces was related to their everyday activities and each space was shaped by these interactions to host different social activities. Changes in the physical form of cities can encourage or discourage some activities and support or threaten different social aspects of life. In the following paragraphs some aspects of modernity in the context of the case study that reduce the social life of spaces and threaten their night-life are discussed.
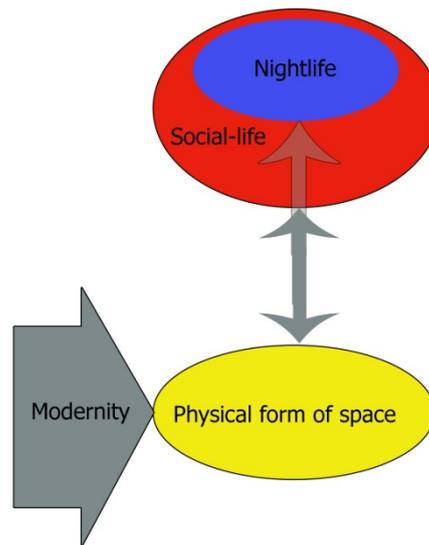

Figure 14: The relationship between modernity, physical form of space and night-life (Author).

Iranian cities are modernised by taking multiple copies of Western standards used for various activities in different places. These standards and produced spaces are not compatible with local culture and customs since they ignore the social, cultural and religious traditions and climatic factors of Iranian cities. Accordingly, with the diminishing usage of traditional spaces, or the spaces in which various forms of social activities used to take place, people might stop carrying out some forms of social activity that they used to

perform during day and night. A reduction of night-time activities in some modernised areas are observed in the context of the case study and discussed in detail in Chapter Eight.

Another important factor based on modernity that affects the social life of spaces is the traffic network. By the importation and production of cars and promoting the use of private cars for daily travel, the streets which used to be a space for social interactions were occupied by vehicles. This led to a reduction of social interactions and more traffic congestion in the streets. This trend was followed by a continuous process of constructing more streets and widening the old ones. These efforts replaced humans with vehicles in the streets and reduced the social life of cities. However, the history of these efforts shows that they were unsuccessful in facilitating traffic and only resulted in more congestion and loss of social life on the streets. This is an important issue in the context of the case study which is discussed in the following chapters.

Although leaders and political affairs always had a great impact on the development of Iranian cities it used to be conducted with some respect to the available urban forms and users' requirements. However, after the 1930s centralised planning authorities took over the redevelopment process of Iranian cities, with the support of oil revenues and modern methods, to make a profit. The result was the rapid application of fundamental changes to the urban form of cities without considering the users' point of view and the context, loss of social life and accordingly public dissatisfaction. This process specifically endangers the traditional parts of cities by authorising the powerful and wealthy religious institutions and the municipalities who are in search of financial gain. This is also supported by conservation policies in Iran that focus on individual buildings and allow the regeneration of the urban context. This process leads to the separation of historic buildings from their related context and eventually the loss of the traditional context of the cities and their social life. As a result, the contemporary cities become a series of disparate buildings with highways connecting them and are invaded by vehicles instead of being a space for human interactions. Astan Quds, as the trustee of Imam Reza's shrine, is a most powerful and wealthy religious institution and the main drive behind the regeneration of the shrine area in Mashhad. This is discussed in detail in the next chapter.

In the next chapter, in order to provide an in-depth understanding of context of the case study night-life and urban design interventions in Mashhad are studied as the second stage of the case study analysis.

Chapter Seven - Mashhad

The previous chapter discussed night-life and urban design interventions in Iran; in this chapter Mashhad is studied as the second stage of the case study analysis. In order to study night-life and the urban design interventions in the shrine area it is important to study Mashhad in a broader context. Although Mashhad as was briefly introduced in Chapter Four as active 24-hours, it is not the same as 24-hour cities discussed in the literature which, as argued, are more related to a Western context. The main difference from Western 24-hour cities and Mashhad is that it is active at night because of a series of routine activities and excludes any kind of alcohol-related activities which dominate the night-life of Western 24-hours cities. Mashhad is a 24-hour city with fewer boundaries between day-time and night-time activities.

In the first part of this chapter Mashhad's exclusive night-time activities are discussed. These activities are in addition to night-time activities discussed in the last chapter in all major Iranian cities. People in Mashhad perform a series of routine ordinary activities day and night and the majority of people are not aware of the difference between the night-life of Mashhad and that of other parts of the world. It is argued that the main activities in Mashhad are influenced by millions of pilgrims visiting the shrine, as discussed in Chapter Three. Therefore the shrine area which is the main destination for pilgrims and the main 24-hour area in the city is investigated. There are other 24-hour areas in Mashhad which are not related to the shrine but are still influenced by the presence of pilgrims. Some parts of Mashhad include examples of a night-time economy that is not in accordance with available criteria for a 24-hour city and this study aims to open the discussion by investigating other forms of 24-hour cities in different cultures and different parts of the world.

The character of Mashhad as a 24-hour city had not been noticed and acknowledged until June 2012 when the authorities implemented a new policy to reduce businesses' working hours at night. This was met with opposition from the public and some members of parliament. This is discussed in detail in the next chapter.

The shrine area, which is the main 24-hour area in Mashhad, is subject to modernisation and large-scale redevelopment. In the next part of this chapter a brief history of Mashhad's formation and development and large-scale redevelopment are investigated in order to study the background to the recent redevelopment plan. It is argued that large-scale redevelopment in the shrine area started in the 17th century and speeded up after the 1920s when the whole country was subjected to rapid modernisation. This process continued after

1979 during the Islamic regime with almost the same pace but with larger plans. These large-scale plans have changed the physical form of the shrine area. In this chapter the impact of these changes on the social life of the shrine area is investigated.

In the last part of this chapter, the current situation of the shrine area in general is studied in order to describe the case study's context which will be followed by the results of observations and surveys in the next chapter.

Night-time activities

Night-time activities in Mashhad include activities discussed in the last chapter and shrine-related activities. Night-time activities take place in different parts of Mashhad, similar to other large Iranian cities, but millions of pilgrims, who arrive at the city at any time of day or night, search for accommodation and food and go to the shrine, thereby keeping the city working spontaneously over 24 hours. Many pilgrims stay near the shrine but others spread through the city, keeping the whole city active at night. However, the shrine area, as the main destination of pilgrims, is historically the main spontaneous 24-hour area in the city. Mashhad has few boundaries between day-time and night-time activities and has not been studied previously, therefore, the majority of the following section is based on observations and experiences which are discussed in more detail in the survey results in the next chapter.

Everyday activities: People perform different kind of activities 24-hours a day in the shrine area. They might go shopping for food, clothes and souvenirs. They might drink refreshments or dine out or just walk to the shrine. The whole shrine area serves pilgrims as the majority of residents also rent their houses to pilgrims. Therefore, night-time activities are greatly dependent on the presence of pilgrims and the shrine which is open to them 24-hours a day and seven days a week.

2:20, 27/07/10

2:26, 27/07/10

Shops working 24-hours include food, clothes and souvenir shops.


00:34, 10/08/10

1:07, 14/08/10

People walking in the shrine area are mostly pilgrims.

2:41, 28/07/10

2:36, 27/07/10

Pedestrian and vehicle traffic volume is high 24-hours.

2:20, 27/07/10

00:36, 10/08/10

Night-time activities do not exclude children, women or old people.
Figure 1: Shops and activities in the shrine area (Author).

Figure 2: Pilgrims visit the shrine at any time and in any weather (Mashhad-Gardi, 2012)**.**

Figure 3: Specific religious ceremonies in the shrine (Mashhad-Gardi, 2012)**.**

In the following section shrine-related activities as Mashhad-exclusive night-time activities are discussed.

Religious practices: As discussed in Chapter Four, visiting the shrine is highly recommended in religious texts. So residents of Mashhad also go to visit the shrine as well as pilgrims. It is amongst the most common night-time activity of Mashhad's residents because they have more time during the night and also the shrine area is more accessible at night-time after 8.30 p.m. when traffic congestion charging time is finished and offices are closed. The crowded nature of the area in day time, which is partly due to the working hours of offices, lack of parking space and public transport, makes daytime pilgrimage for residents living far from the shrine difficult or even impossible, encouraging them to visit the shrine at night.

Mass prayer times are amongst the busiest times of the shrine area drawing many people from all around the city. Dawn mass prayer which is conducted at 3 to 4 a.m. is an example of early morning activity. The sunset mass prayer is crowded as it is performed when offices are closed and many residents and pilgrims attend. However, many other residents

157

may avoid the shrine at the times of mass prayers because it is so crowded and therefore visit the shrine at night.

Figure 4: Shrine court yards at night (Flo14wer)**.**

Wedding ceremonies: In Mashhad it is a common tradition to bless marriages in the shrine by performing an unofficial marriage. So at any time of day or night there are couples and their families in the shrine to perform these ceremonies. The ceremony must be held in silence, respecting the holiness of the shrine and pilgrims. However, the ceremony continues on the streets by the hooting of car horns. Another common tradition called Aroos keshan[1] is circumambulation of the shrine after the wedding parties to bless the marriage when the couples' car is followed by their friends and relatives' cars hooting on the streets around the shrine. Although this musical carnival is joyful for its participants, it is one of the most annoying issues for residents of the shrine area as they have to tolerate this noise after midnight and even the whole night through on some special dates.[2]

Although many pilgrims might only spend their time in the shrine area, others might visit shopping centres and other entertainments in Mashhad, or stay far from the shrine. Hence the whole city is influenced by the presence of pilgrims in accordance with the results of several religious tourism studies that suggest pilgrims may influence local population in the places they visit (Belhassen and Santos, 2006 ; Finney et al., 2009). Basically, carrying out different activities including dining out, shopping or browsing the arcades and shopping centres at night has become a part of residents' culture as well. As a result there

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[1] عروس کشان Aroos keshan means taking a bride to her home; guests accompany the bride and groom's vehicle to circumambulate the shrine and finally go to their house with music and hooting of car horns. This continues with dancing and music at the couple's house until late at night.
[2] Many weddings are performed on some religious date to bless the couple's life and especially the last week before Ramadan and Moharam, which are religious mourning months in Shiite when it is not possible to have wedding ceremonies.

are other 24-hour districts in Mashhad, discussed in the following section. Various forms of activities being performed in Mashhad by residents and pilgrims 24-hours show that the same space can be used differently by various people and there is not only one determined role for each space.

Figure 5: Marriage in the shrine (Mashhad-Gardi, 2012)**.**

Visiting the countryside: The countryside of Mashhad, especially the two towns of Torghabe[3] and Shandiz[4] with their non-polluted air and beautiful natural landscape have been enjoyed for many years. Although the countryside of Mashhad has been redeveloped in the last few decades, their features are intact and are known as an important tourist area. Pilgrims may visit the countryside at any time during their journey, while residents of Mashhad mostly visit at a weekend, holiday or at night. The natural landscape, hotels, shops selling local food and handicrafts and restaurants serving traditional food are the main attractions making these towns the most important 24-hours areas near Mashhad especially during Norouz, summer, holidays and Ramadan.

Figure 6: The countryside around Mashhad (Mohsen, 2008)**.**

Night-market: On summer nights there is a newly established market near the main car park of Mashhad called 'Night-market'. It starts after 10:00 p.m. and ends next morning.

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[3] طرقبه A town near Mashhad, popular for its beautiful views, handicrafts and refreshments.
[4] شاندیز A town near Mashhad, popular for its beautiful views, rugs and restaurants.

159

Different kinds of clothes, shoes, books, accessories, facilities and even kitchen appliances are sold in this market by vendors. Although initially customers of this market were people going to the park for a walk or taking exercise at night, later it attracted many customers from different parts of the city every night. There is a mutual support between this market and the park as the customers of the market keep the park busier at night and people in the park may be customers of the market. Safety is the outcome of this composition which is demonstrated by the large numbers of women vendors working in the city at midnight.

People visiting the night-market.

Many of the vendors are women which demonstrates its safety.

Different things are sold at the night-market from food processors to shoes and even books.

Figure 7: Night-market, 2:20 a.m. 22/09/10 (Author).

Women at the night-life of Mashhad

The presence of women and children in the night-life of Mashhad is common. Women frequent the parks and streets at night in different areas of Mashhad and it is difficult to name a male-dominated area of the city. This is simply demonstrated in the different pictures of Mashhad and the shrine area at night in this chapter and also in Chapter Eight which discusses these observations. Due to the dominancy of unregistered taxis on the streets, some women might not go out at night. However, the 24-hour availability of pre-ordered registered taxis might reassure them that they can access a safe taxi at any time of the night. Discussing safety issues in Iran and their difference for men and women needs an in-depth investigation with possible access to the real safety figures which is out of the scope of this thesis. However, observations and experiences of the author, a woman who has lived in Iran for 30 years, show that various safety issues are not restricted to day or night nor to men or women. If an area is unsafe, men and women might be mugged at any time of the day or night; or an accident could happen to anybody regardless of gender if they take an unregistered taxi.

Establishment and early development of Mashhad

Imam Reza, the eighth Imam of Shiite, was martyred in 818 A.C and is buried in the governor's garden near Sanabad[5] village and the ancient city of Toos[6]. After a while, Shiite adherents started to make pilgrimages to his grave. By the end of the 9th century a dome was built on the grave and many buildings and bazaars were built around it. The new city formed around the shrine was called Mashhad-al-Reza meaning the place of martyrdom of Imam Reza (Rokni, 2007). Since then it has been destroyed and reconstructed several times. Ibn Battuta[7], the Muslim traveller, visited Mashhad in the 14th century and described it as a large town with many fruit trees, streams and mills. When Timur[8] attacked Toos in 1390CE he destroyed the whole city and also nearby cities including Nishapur[9] killing thousands of people. Those who survived relocated to Mashhad and took refuge in the shrine and built houses nearby. Because of the demolition of almost all of the big cities around Mashhad in the Mongolian invasion, and the immigration of many people and

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[5] سناباد Sanabad was a village and a neighbourhood in old and today's Mashhad
[6] توس Toos was an ancient city 35 km far from today's Mashhad
[7] ابن بطوطه Ibn Battuta.
[8] تیمور Timur was a Turkish ruler known as the Mongolian heirs and the founder of the Timurid dynasty in 1370-1526 CE
[9] نیشابور Nishapur is an ancient city in the Khorasan province 125 km away from today's Mashhad.

scholars, this period is known as the beginning of Mashhad's development. In the its expansion, Sanabad and other small villages around it merged together forming the city of Mashhad. In the 15th century, Mashhad became one of the main cities of the Timurid dynasty. In 1418 the King's wife Goharshad[10] funded the construction of a great mosque beside the shrine, known as the Goharshad Mosque (Kheirabadi, 1991 ; Rezvani, 2005 ; Mahovan, 2004 ; Sani-Al-Daula, 1885 ; Abrishami, 2007). Because of the expansion of the shrine it is located within the shrine territory now.

In addition to religious elements, Mashhad's suitable climate, agriculture and strategic location were also important in its growth. Its location along the roads connecting the north of Iran to central Asia and Afghanistan made it a suitable place for caravans to stop, rest and trade (Kheirabadi, 1991 ; Rezvani, 2005 ; Mahovan, 2004).

In the 17th century, Shah Abbas built different public facilities for the shrine, expanded the shrine territory and decorated the shrine structure. Later political leaders continued Shah Abbas' plan to develop the shrine and Mashhad by building mosques, religious schools, bazaars, and other facilities to enhance their prestige. Nader Shah[11], the founder of the Afsharid dynasty[12], appointed Mashhad as the capital of Iran and built many public facilities and city structures there (Kheirabadi, 1991 ; Rezvani, 2005 ; Mahovan, 2004 ; Sani-Al-Daula, 1885 ; Abrishami, 2007). Figure 8 shows the process of Imam Reza's shrine development including the courtyards and buildings of different periods.

The radial form of Mashhad is compatible with the Islamic city model as understood by Von Grunebaum (1955), with the shrine at the centre instead of a Friday Mosque but with similar functions (Kheirabadi, 1991). The shrine is the hub of Mashhad from which bazaars radiate outward forming the commercial zones. Residential zones encircle the bazaars connecting them to the shrine via several roads. Access to houses is provided by narrow winding alleys (Sykes, 1910 ; Fraser, 1825 ; Kheirabadi, 1991).

At this time, Mashhad was developed according to traditional principles of Iranian architecture and urbanism with consideration of cultural, social, religious and climatic factors. For instance, because of the importance of the view of the shrine, the buildings around the shrine used to face it and the main streets provided a view of the shrine. In the traditional part of Mashhad in early developments, all the buildings have a view of the

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[10] گوهرشاد Goharshad was the wife of Shahrokh a Timurid King.
[11] نادر شاه Nader Shah was the founder of the Afsharid dynasty 1736-1796.
[12] سلسله افشاریان Afsharid dynasty.

shrine from their rooftops. Bazaars around the shrine, which were built in the traditional form, were basically a part of its urban context with access and views of the shrine. They connected the residential area and pilgrims' accommodation to the shrine and provided for the different requirements of pilgrims and residents. Also, because Mashhad is located in the cold mountainous climate of Iran, the buildings were attached to each other, built from adobe or brick and had central courtyards to reduce the amount of wasted energy. Streets were mostly narrow and covered to deal with the harsh winter conditions (Qubadiyan, 2007).

Courtyards and buildings built in
different periods
O:Timurid(1380-1507A.C),
A:Safavid(1501-1736A.C),
B:qajar(1794-1925A.C),
C:PahlaviI(1925-1941A.C),
D:PahlaviII(1941-1979A.C),
E:Islamic Republic(1979A.C)

Figure 8: Development of Imam Reza's shrine **(Izadi, 2008:265).**

History of urban design in Mashhad

The first governmental large-scale urban interventions were conducted in the early 17th century by Shah Abas Safavid. He cut through the old part of Mashhad by constructing a broad avenue (Alberti, 1971 cited in Madanipour, 1998) passing through the shrine territory, with the shrine building on its border. The pattern used in Chahar Bagh Isfahan was also used for this street. It was a wide avenue with trees, streams and pools (Honarfar, 1984) and views to the shrine which connected the two main gates of the city. The canal in the middle of this street was used to bring water from the western part of the city to its

eastern part. This street, shown in Figure 10, was one of the first streets built in Iran and is now part of two of the four main streets in the shrine area. The western part of this street used to be called Bala Khiaban, now known as Shirazi Street. It was a high class area and the eastern part, Payin Khiaban, now Navab Street, was a poor area, as shown in Figure 9 and Figure 11. The linear form of this street in the radial context of the shrine area further changed development of the city from a radial to a mixed radial and linear and become a base for further development of the city in a linear form towards the west (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 1994) shown in Figure 12.
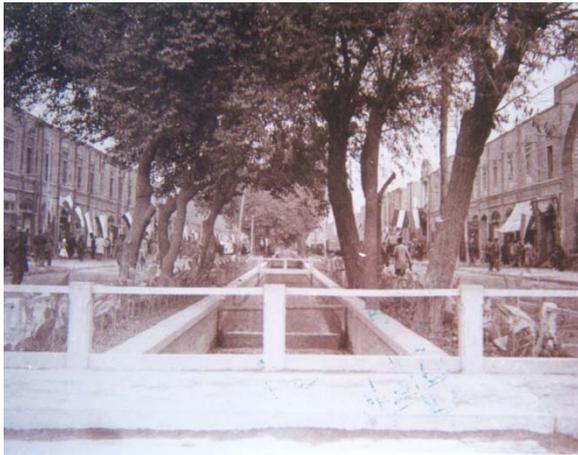
Bala-Khiaban in 1936-1941, the canal had concrete walls.

Payin-Khiaban in 1936, the canal's walls were supposed to be built from rubble.

View of the shrine, shops bordering the street and water in the middle provide a space for social interactions.

Figure 9: The street built in the 17th century in Mashhad (Mashhad-Gardi, 2013b).
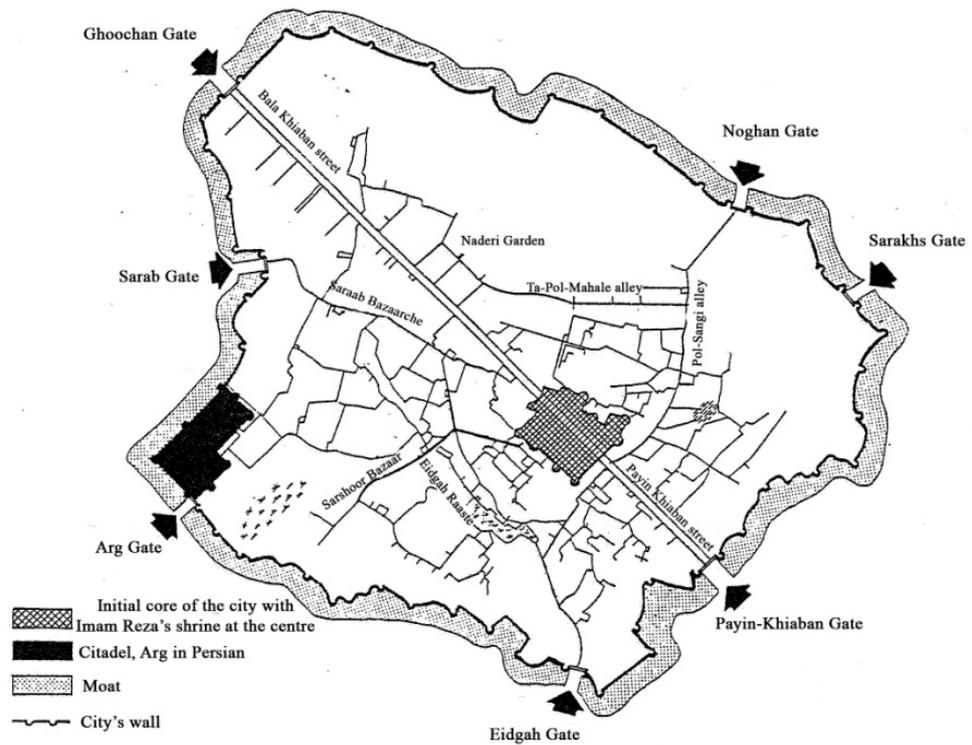
Figure 10: The old city of Mashhad in 1874 (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 1994:24 reproduced from MacGregor, 1879:284).

Figure 11: Shirazi and Navab streets in a recent aerial photo of the shrine-area (Google maps).

165

Figure 12: Mashhad in the 1963 (Darwent, 1965:fig.8).

In the 1920s the citadel and the city's walls were pulled down and new streets were built. The development of the city started towards the west in a linear form (Vezarat-Maskan-va-Shahrsazi, 1971) and continued by building several streets, boulevards, roundabouts and governmental buildings. Construction of Imam Reza and Tabarsi streets and the Imam Reza roundabout around the shrine, with the improvement of Shirazi and Navab Streets, changed the pedestrian-based network of the city through roads and bazaars to a vehicle-based network through streets and roundabouts (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 1994) as shown in Figure 13. A positive attribute of these streets is that they provide a direct view of the shrine and also consider Qibla direction. Tabarsi Street was built by considering the exact angle of Qibla and a view to the shrine (Rezvani, 2005). Also the height of the buildings on these streets was controlled to retain the view to the shrine, as shown in Figure 13.

After the 1950s, the newly developed parts of Mashhad followed the grid pattern. The city expanded and the population grew quickly after the 1960s (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 1994). Immigration to Mashhad from rural areas in 1970s, which was from cities in Iran affected by the war with Iraq (1980-1988) and later from neighbouring countries including Afghanistan, Iraq and Turkmenistan was one reason for the rise in population and expansion of the city, making Mashhad the second biggest city of Iran after Tehran. However, when the Talibans were ruling Afghanistan, the eastern border of Iran became

less safe and immigration to Mashhad was reduced (Kamrava, 2007). The formation and development of Mashhad is shown in Figure 14 and Figure 19.
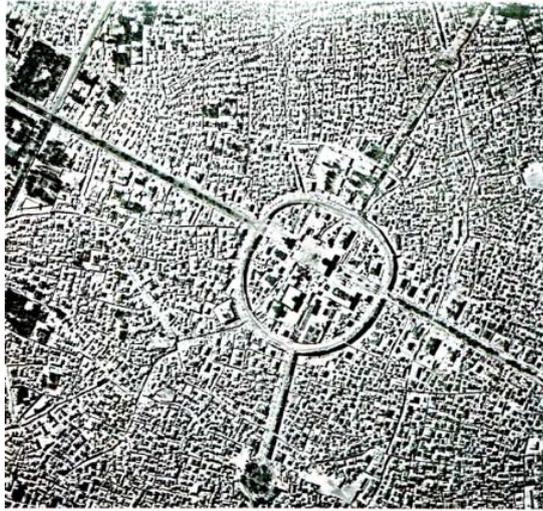
(Darwent, 1965: plate7)   (Mashhad municipality archive)
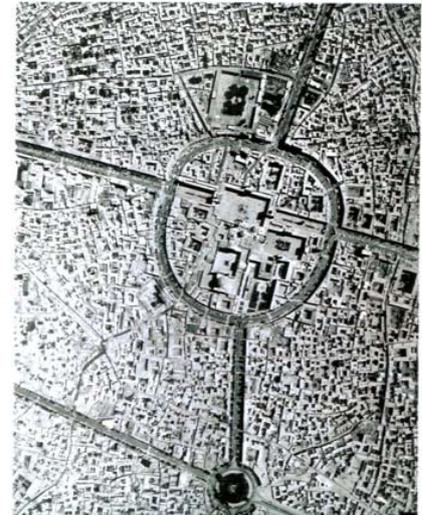
More streets are being imposed on the traditional context of the shrine-area. Left: 1961, right: 1972.

(Darwent, 1965: cover)   (Mashhad municipality archive)

Building height and decorations were considerate to the shrine and its character.

Figure 13: Changes in the context of the shrine area.

Based on the archives of (Ministry-of-Housing-and-Urban-Development), the process of provision of the first comprehensive plan for Mashhad began in 1964 and was approved in 1971, four years after Tehran (Roshd). The plan began to be implemented by Mashhad municipalities in 1973. In this plan, further development of the city was considered towards the west where it was spontaneously developing by building a public park and Mashhad University in the far west.
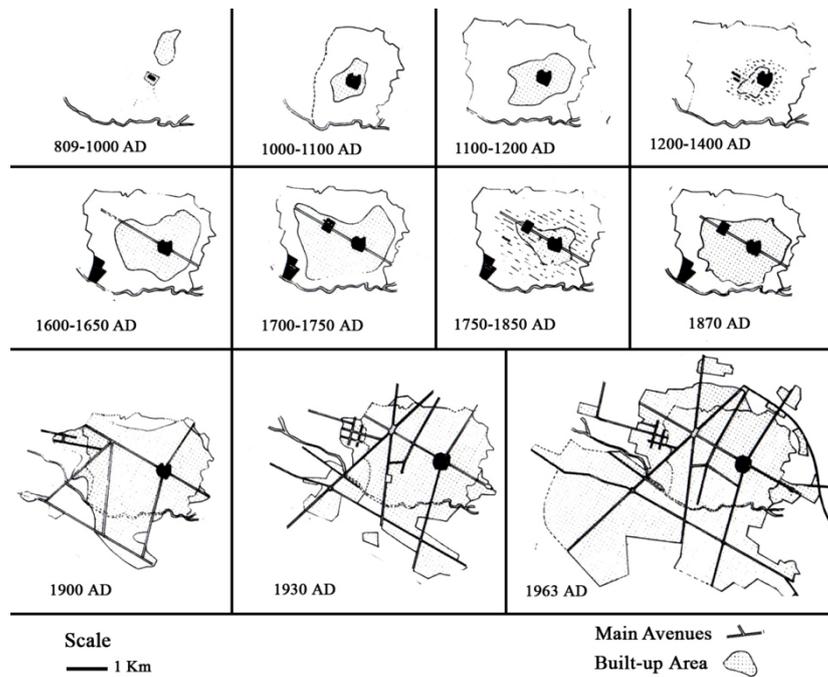
Figure 14: Mashhad formation and development between 809-1963 AD (Darwent, 1965:fig.9).

Currently, Mashhad's urban context consists of both radial and linear spatial forms shown in Figure 15. In the radial spatial form which cover the traditional part of the city including the shrine area (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 1994), a view of the shrine is provided from the roof of each building, while it is lost in the linear spatial form which covers the newly built areas and further development of Mashhad (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 1994) by deviating from the shrine direction and by the construction of tall buildings.

Mashhad expanded and the shrine area, as its main traditional part, became a small borough which was subject to large-scale redevelopment. The social life of the area was threatened by these redevelopment plans, though, thanks to the suspended redevelopment plans and increasing number of pilgrims visiting the shrine, as shown in Figure26, the area continues to function as the main 24-hour area of the city. In the following sections the history of urban design interventions in the shrine area is studied.
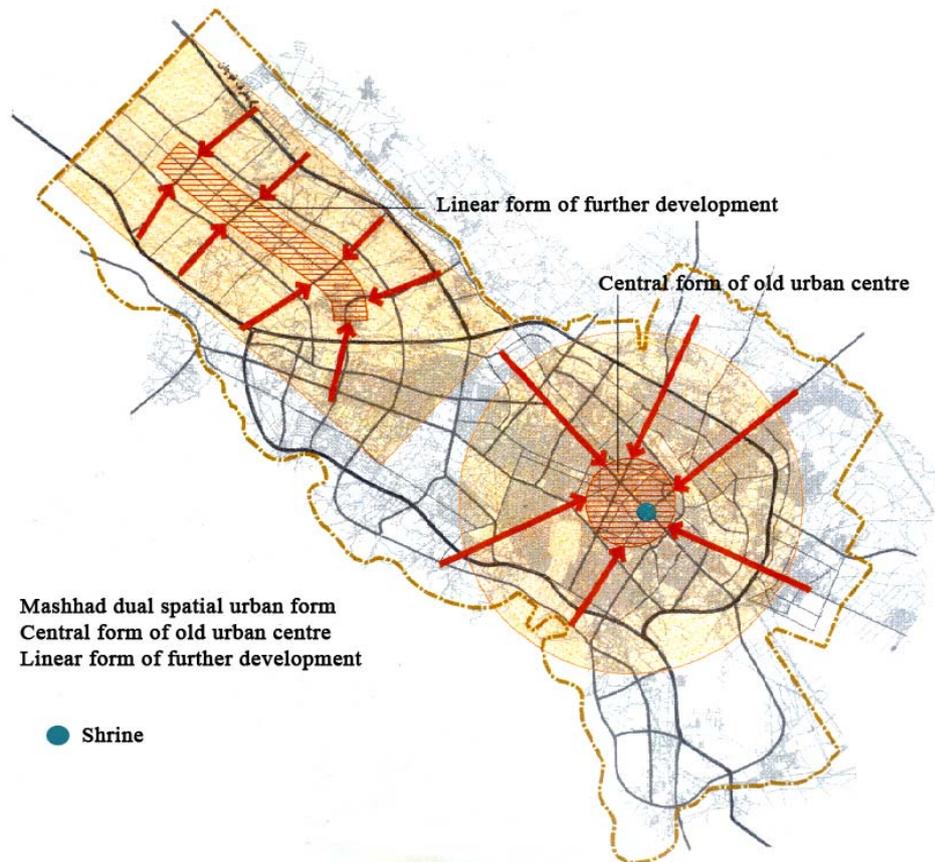
Figure 15: Dual spatial urban form of Mashhad (Sherkat-e-Omran-va-Behsazi-e-Shahri, 1999:15).
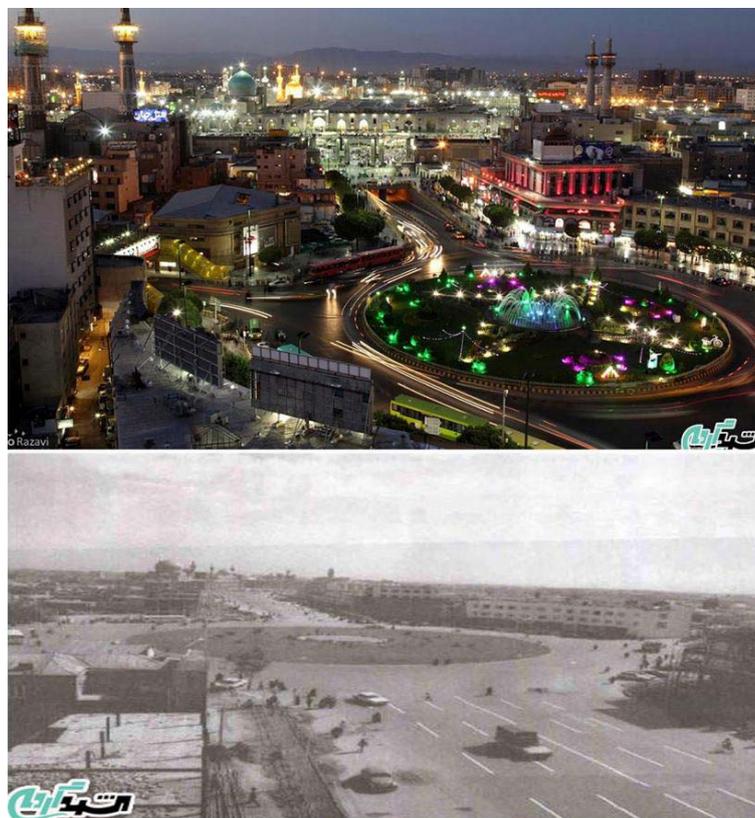

Figure 16: Imam Reza Street now (top photo) and in 1970s (buttom photo) (Mashhad-Gardi, 2012).

A large-scale reconstruction plan for the traditional core of Mashhad, the shrine area, started in 1975 (Ardalan, 2000). Although buildings in this area date back to different historic times, Pirnia (2001) described the area as a museum of Islamic Iranian architecture, many old bazaars, mosques, schools, retail outlets and residential spaces were demolished (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 1994) to be replaced by a large roundabout around the shrine. Architects and planners argued against the large-scale redevelopment taking place in the area, though the centralised system allowed the authorities to continue with their plans. Kamran Diba, who was an architect and planner in the Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning in the 1970s, was against the large-scale redevelopment in the traditional parts of the city and the demolition of the traditional quarters. He argued that the shrine, nearby accommodation and bazaars were all connected and demolition around the shrine might ruin the social life of the area. He also argued that displacing residents and workers of the area might lead to further social problems (Boski, 2009). However, the large-scale redevelopment happened and Bazaar Reza was built to replace the demolished old bazaars and its shops were ceded to the owners of the demolished shops (Shahrdari-Mashhad). Bazaar Reza was built with traditional decoration, though it does not have the sense of a real bazaar (Soltanzadeh, 1991). It does not provide a space for the social activities which used to take place in a bazaar as it is a separate building which is not connected to the adjacent urban context and not a street as bazaars used to be, see Figure 17. The narrow streets near the shrine became an alternative to the demolished bazaars but, because they were not designed with consideration of the climate, users cover them with curtains to control the sunlight during summer and breezes in winter. Modernisation in this period did not consider the social life of the area but, by using traditional decorations, tried to build a pastiche; however, the basic principles of traditional urbanism were ignored, see Figure 17.
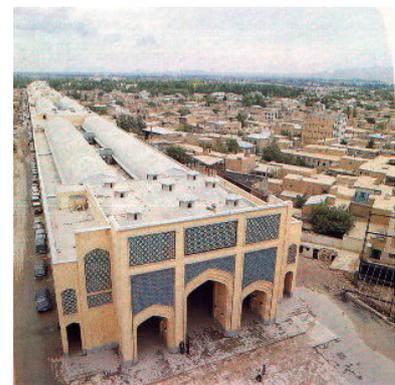

Figure 17: Bazaar Reza replaced the traditional bazaars (Archnet).

Traditional bazaars connected the shrine to the pilgrims' accommodation and residential areas.

The only four-storey building in Mashhad in 1949, with traditional decorations.

Streets and the buildings around were planned to keep the view of the shrine

Figure 18: Shrine area before 1975 (Mashhad municipality archive).

After the revolution in 1979, based on the power of the Islamic authorities, a new plan for redevelopment of the shrine area was formulated condemning past attempts. The Islamic authorities argued that past attempts did not consider the social life of the shrine area and its religious norms and only aimed to modernise it (see also Hashemi, 1993 ; Vezarat-Maskan-va-Shahrsazi, 1981 ; Vezarat-Maskan-va-Shahrsazi, 1982). However, the main aim of the new plan was still large-scale redevelopment. The largest development of the shrine buildings and courtyards, the shrine area and Mashhad took place after 1979, as shown in Figure 8, Figure 19 and Figure 20. Comparison of the old and new pictures of the shrine area during the last century in Figure 20, reveals that although these changes were intended to facilitate pilgrimage and improve the landscape, they have reduced the importance and centrality of the shrine as it is now lost in the centre of large courtyards and tall buildings.
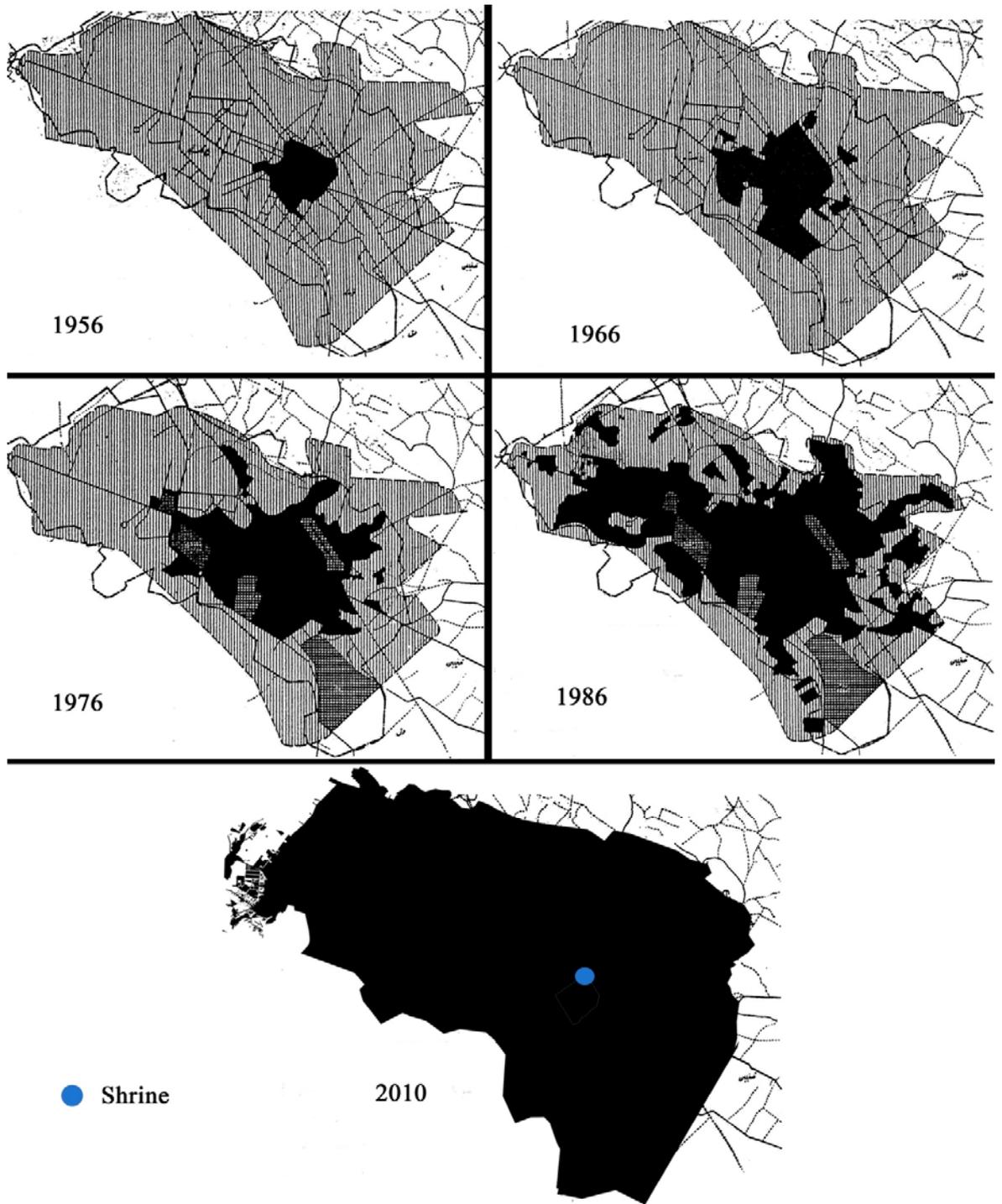
Figure 19: Mashhad development after 1956. 1956-1986 (Ghamami, 1993:69), 2010 (Author).

Shrine area before 1941. (Mashhad municipality archive)
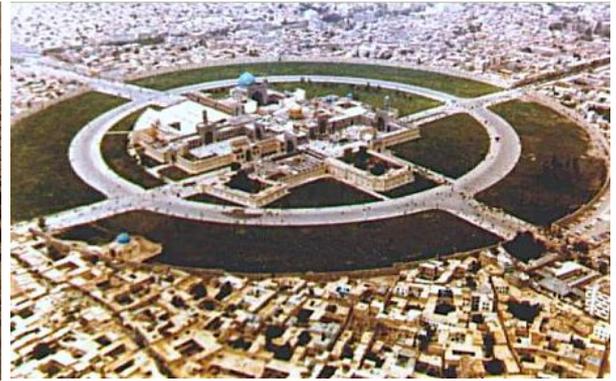
Shrine area after 1977. The shrine is still the most eye-catching building. However, the bazaars around the shrine are demolished and it has lost its relationship with the context. Photo taken by Georg Gerster, 22/09/77 (Gerster, 2009).
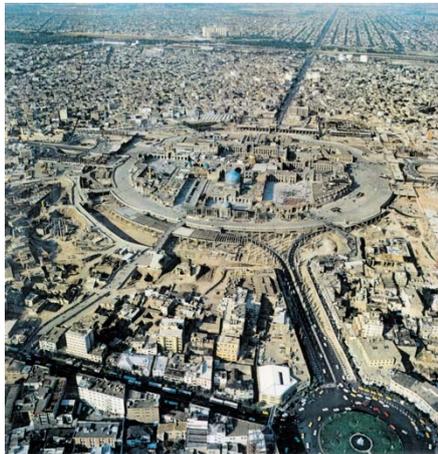
Shrine area in the 1980s (Mashhad municipality archive).

Shrine area in 2010. The shrine is almost lost in the large buildings which surround it (Google maps).

After 1979 the shrine territory and its buildings expanded without relationship to its urban context.

Figure 20: Development of the shrine area in the last century.

Regeneration and Reconstruction Plan of Imam Reza's Shrine (RPIS)

The RPIS was started in the year 2000 with the aim of modernising the area in order to attract and accommodate more pilgrims by replacing small shops, guest-houses and residents' houses with new multi-level shopping centres and hotels and widening the current streets to facilitate traffic flow. The RPIS area covers 309 hectares, affecting 52,000 residents and 120,000 pilgrims staying in the area per night (Tash-Consultant-

Engineers, 2008b). As discussed in Chapter Six the centralised planning system in Iran gave less consideration to the users' point of view. Basically, RPIS was formulated for the shrine area without conducting any study that investigated the requirements of users. In the study that investigated the current situation in the shrine area (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 1999) factors related to the spatial form of the area, including land-use, height of buildings, materials, tenure and the price of land were investigated. However, there is no consideration of the social-economic life of the area, the social interactions amongst the people and the type of people who used the area. In these reports various forms of land possession are discussed but basically there is no consideration of possible places that people with properties in the shrine area could be relocated, once their property has been compulsorily purchased by the authorities. RPIS is investigated and criticised in detail regarding its impact of the night-life of the area in Chapter Nine. In the following section, the shrine trustee as the main power behind this large-scale redevelopment of the shrine area is explained.

The history of urbanism in Iran in the last chapter shows that, after 1979, large-scale redevelopment plans have always been conducted by governments as well as by religious institutions. Astan-Quds Razavi, the trustee of Imam Reza's shrine in Mashhad, is one of the most important and wealthiest religious organisations and the largest economic institute in the east of Iran (Astan-Quds-Razavi, 2012). The main funding of this organisation comes from the benefits from the shrine's own properties, from pilgrims and from financial support from residents. The majority of land and valuable properties in Mashhad, and many other land and properties around the country, are bequeathed to Imam Reza's shrine (Lambton, 1991) called Vaqf in Farsi. This means that their benefits are used for maintenance and development of the shrine and Astan Quds Razavi as the trustee has the right to decide how to spend the income. These funds are used for maintenance and administration of the shrine as well as being invested in industry, business, health, academies, buying and developing lands (Astan-Quds-Razavi, 2009).

Astan Quds Razavi is one of the biggest landowners and developers in Iran. It owns many valuable properties and land all over Iran including universities, libraries and museums, hospitals, a large food industry and medical industry serving the whole country and exporting goods (ISNA, 2012 ; Astan-Quds-Razavi, 2009). Their financial ability also persuaded the planning authorities to authorise their proposed plans to the shrine area. Also, as was discussed in the last chapter, the municipalities, as the planning authorities, are in favour of modernisation projects in the traditional part of cities to gain financial

benefits. They can get these benefits through selling building permits, increasing density and change of land-use. Collaboration of municipalities and shrine trustees became a great threat to the shrine area. It results in large-scale demolition of the shrine area and the change of the physical form of the area which might lead to a series of problems which will be discussed in detail in the following chapters. In the next section, the current situation of the shrine area as the case study is investigated and will be followed by the results of observations and surveys in the next chapter.
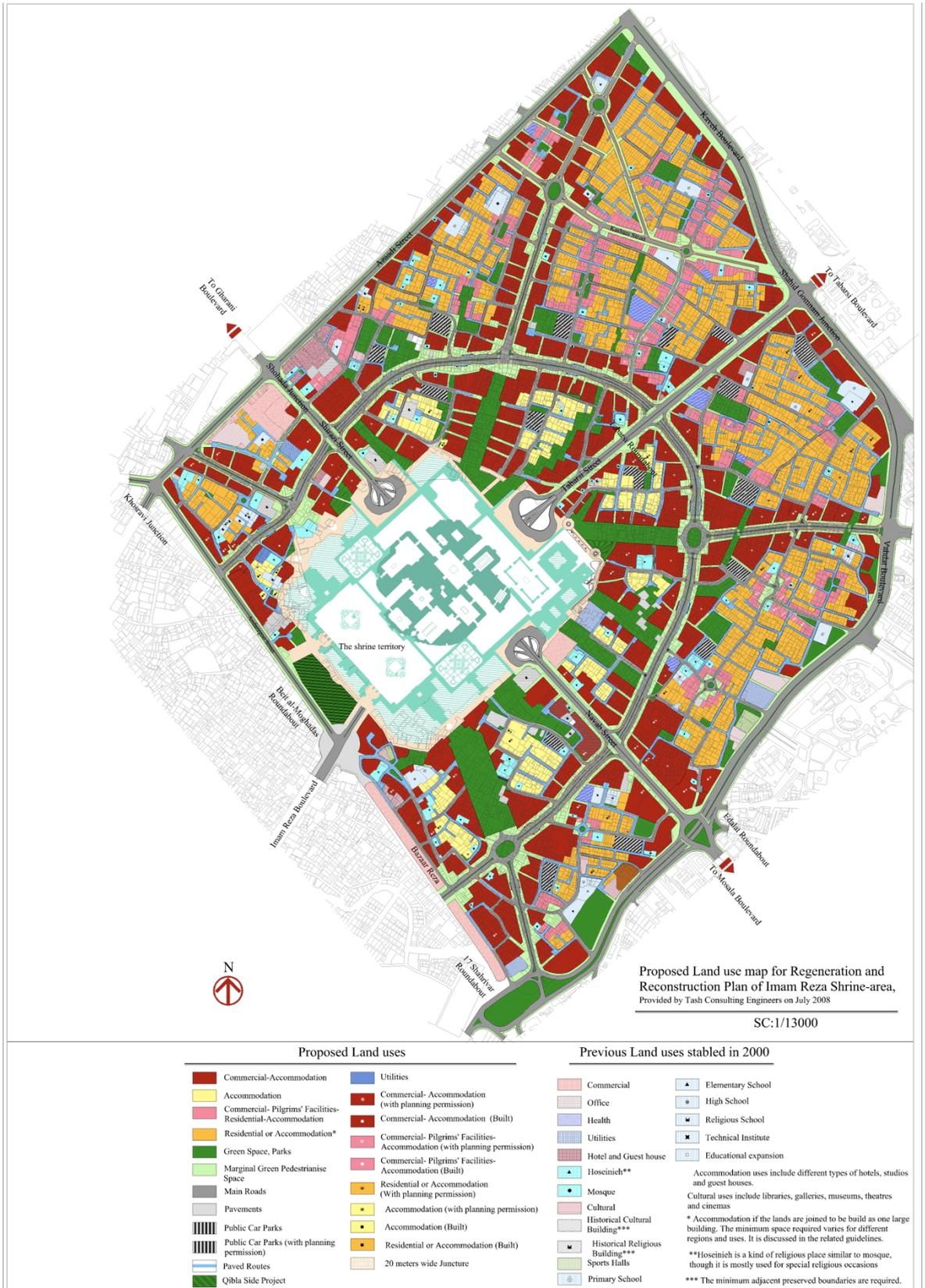
Figure 21: Land-use map for RPIS (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 2008a)**.**

Analysing the current situation

The shrine area is one of the thirteen boroughs of Mashhad located on the east of the city, as shown in Figure 22. Its borders with the adjacent boroughs that contain business, commercial and residential activities are three boulevards on the north and east and three streets and the main bazaar of Mashhad, called Bazaar Reza, on the west and south shown in Figure 23. The shrine area is 360 hectares, including 51 hectares of the shrine territory located in the centre of the area containing the shrine prayer halls, courtyards and related buildings. This territory is separated from the adjacent urban context by an underground roundabout shown in Figure 24 (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 1999).
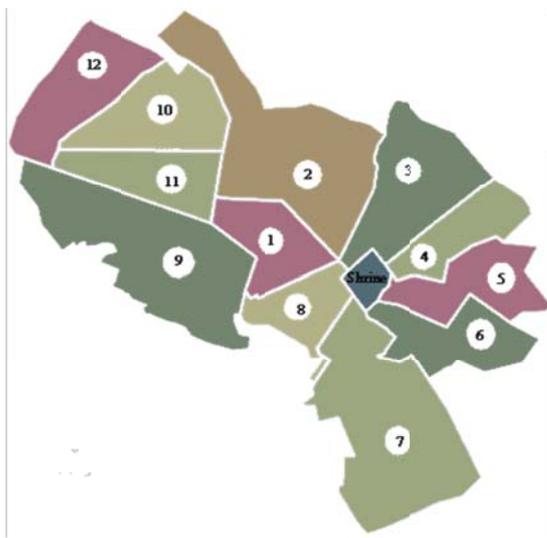

Figure 22: Boroughs of Mashhad

(Shahrdari-Mashhad).
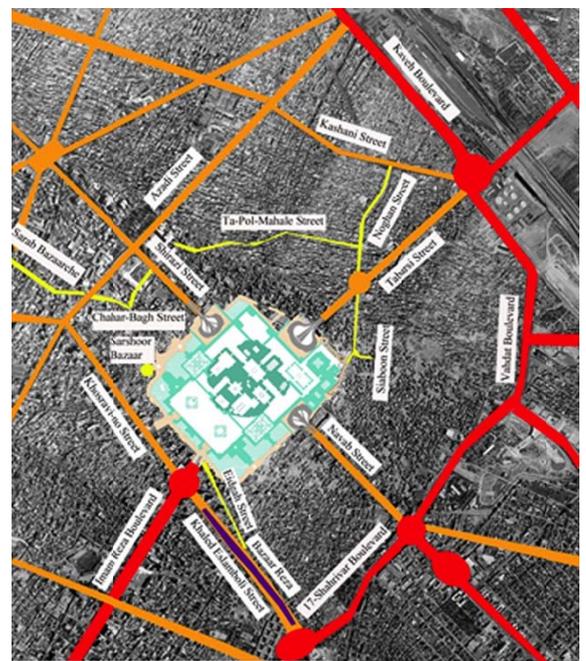
Figure 23: Street levels in the shrine area

(Google maps analysed by the author).
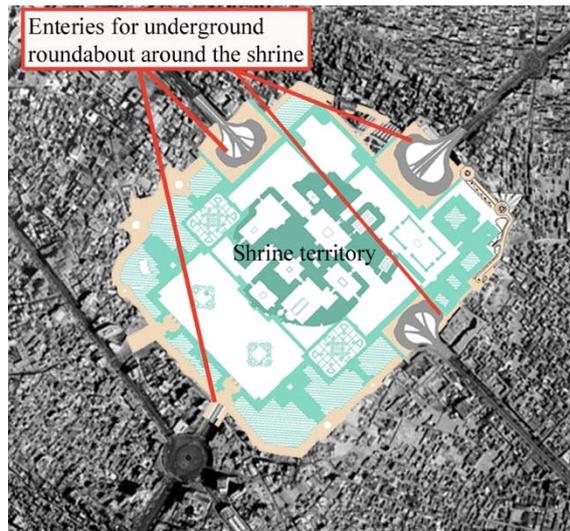
Figure 24: Underground roundabout built in 1990s (Google maps analysed by the author).

The shrine borough is the oldest area of Mashhad, almost covering the fortified city of traditional Mashhad though, as discussed before, not many historical buildings and urban context survived past urban interventions (Vezarat-Maskan-va-Shahrsazi, 1992). The surviving narrow winding streets are being used by both vehicles and pedestrians. The area suffers from poor accessibility and lacks the necessary facilities and infrastructure (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 1999) as it has been subject to suspended redevelopment for over 40 years and lacks maintenance.

In the following section, the current situation of the shrine area is discussed. However, the data is based on a study (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 1999) conducted in 1985 before provision of the latest version of RPIS. It does not precisely describe the current state of the area as large-scale demolition and long periods of execution have changed the current situation. There is no on-going situation plan for the area and, when asked for one, the authorities produced the original RPIS plan which was the proposal for the area rather than the current situation. However, up until 2011, only 2% of the plan has been achieved (Sazman-Mojri-Tarh, 2010). Observations and surveys which are used to update the current situation are discussed in the next chapter.

The area has almost 52,000 residents (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 1999) and, as shown in the land-use maps, residential is the greatest land-use in the area. Accordingly, different local services are provided for residents. The shrine area is the main centre for

governmental offices, business and commerce in Mashhad (Sherkat-e-Omran-va-Behsazi-e-Shahri, 1999). Also, millions of pilgrims visiting the shrine all around the year day and night, see figure 25, are the reason for accommodation and pilgrimage facilities in the area (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 1999). 34% of hotels, 57% of guest houses and 8% of commercial spaces of Mashhad are located in the shrine area (Sherkat-e-Omran-va-Behsazi-e-Shahri, 1999). The ratio of pilgrims to residents in Mashhad was two to one in 1891 and this ratio grew to seven to one in 1986, see figure26. As discussed in the pilgrimage chapter, the number of pilgrims varies at different times of the year. As different studies (Sazman-Mojri-Tarh, 2010 ; Rezvani, 2010) and surveys (Fakoori Haji Yar, 2010 ; Sharafi, 2006) show more than 72% of the pilgrims staying in the shrine area are low-income pilgrims looking for cheap accommodation near the shrine. As a result, many pilgrims stay in legal or illegal rooms that residents rent as they are cheap, do not need certain documents such as pilgrims' marriage documents and provide more privacy. In the peak of pilgrimage or summer Hoseinie[13] schools are also used as pilgrims' accommodation (Sherkat-e-Omran-va-Behsazi-e-Shahri, 1999) since they provide large empty rooms with basic facilities such as toilets.

Comparing the area's land-use maps at different levels shows that the shrine area is mixed-use and activities in each building are also mixed. For instance, most of the residents rent out their houses, or rooms in their houses, to pilgrims specifically at the peak of pilgrimage and many households run family businesses in a part of their house, mostly on the ground floor. These commercial activities on the ground floor frame the minor streets in the residential area and become more important than historically famous streets which used to be a part of the old bazaars. As shown in the land-use maps, this area seriously lacks any kind of green space including parks, gardens and children playgrounds. For more maps of current situation see Appendix C.

The shrine area attracts many people and deters many others (Sherkat-e-Omran-va-Behsazi-e-Shahri, 1999). The area lacks urban facilities, especially compared to other parts of the city (Vezarat-Maskan-va-Shahrsazi, 1992). When Mashhad started expanding many people left the shrine area to move to the newly built districts. Some groups of Mashhad's residents avoid the shrine area and come there only to visit the shrine or an office or to travel to other parts of the city. However, many others believe in living near the shrine and

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[13] حسینیه Hosseinie are religious buildings or spaces built in the memory of Imam Hossein, the third Imam of Muslim Shiite. He, his family and followers were martyred in a battle in the 7th century.

stay in the shrine area, despite all the problems they need to deal with. These people mostly have pilgrimage-related jobs and are dependent on the presence of pilgrims in the area. These contradictions make the shrine area like a small town within Mashhad and divide the residents of the city into two groups: the ones who live and enjoy the shrine area and others who do not. Therefore, not many residents move from the shrine area to the other parts of the city or vice versa.

Figure 25: Large number of pilgrims on special religious dates (Mashhad municipality archive).


Pilgrims' population — · — · — · — · —

Residents' population ————————
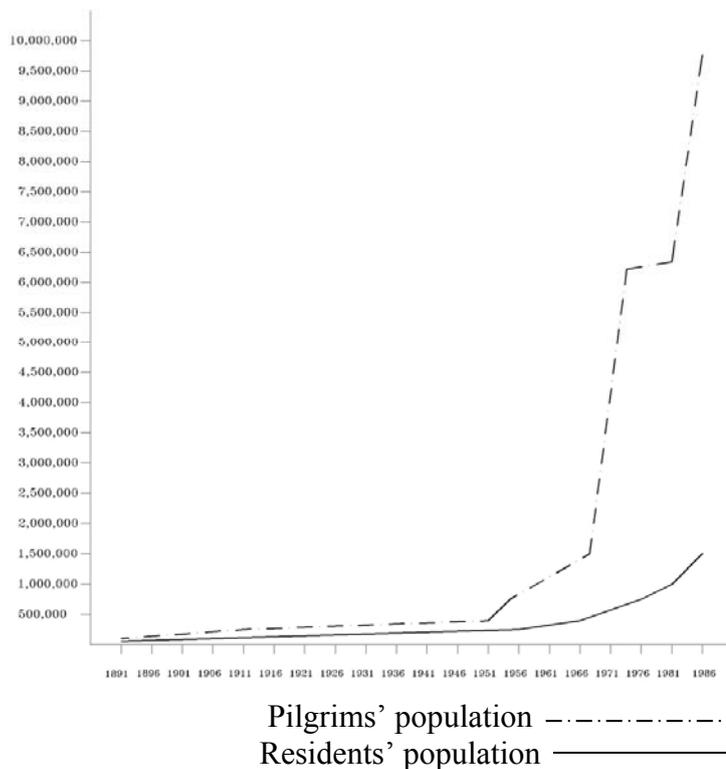
Figure26: Population of residents and pilgrims 1891-1986 (Sherkat-e-Omran-va-Behsazi-e-Shahri, 1999:9).

Traffic in the shrine area: Traffic congestion is a major problem in the shrine area. Because of a lack of safe pedestrian crossing facilities, the streets are chaotic, see Figure 27. The shrine area is located in the congestion charging zone shown in Figure 28. Different plans, including selling daily entry permits, limiting entry for residents at specific times and odd-even traffic schemes, are being executed to control the congestion in the area. The previous congestion charging zone, shown by a blue line in Figure 28, was shaped around the shrine and each of the congestion schemes is applied temporarily, mostly at Norouz and in summer from 7 a.m. to 9 p.m. (Mashhad-Gardi, 2013a). However, the recent congestion charging zone, shown by a red line, extends from the shrine area to large parts of the city centre. This plan is (Tafrihi, 2013) to be a permanent odd-even scheme and lasts from 7 a.m. to 10 p.m. in spring and summer and 7 a.m. to 9 p.m. in autumn and winter. The shrine area is the destination of more than 77% of daily intercity trips in Mashhad; 55% of these trips are work trips and the rest are taken for doing office works and shopping. 60% of these trips are taken by private cars and 10.5% by public transport. However, 47% of vehicles enter the shrine area to transfer to the other parts of the city (Daftar-e-Motaleat-e-Haml-va-Naghl, 2000).There are many pedestrians in the shrine area day and night, as many pilgrims stay in the area to be able to walk to the shrine (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 1994). The large number of commercial spaces in the shrine area are also important in intensifying traffic as many people park their cars illegally on the streets to do their shopping (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 1994 ; Vezarat-Maskan-va-Shahrsazi, 1992). As a result, the widths of the streets and pavements are not enough for the large number of cars and pedestrians using them (Vezarat-Maskan-va-Shahrsazi, 1992).

15:10, 31/07/10   13:44, 13/08/10
Figure 27: Traffic in the area (Author).

The shrine area is investigated in more detail in the next chapter by analysing observations and recent surveys. Also RPIS is described in detail and criticised in Chapter Nine.
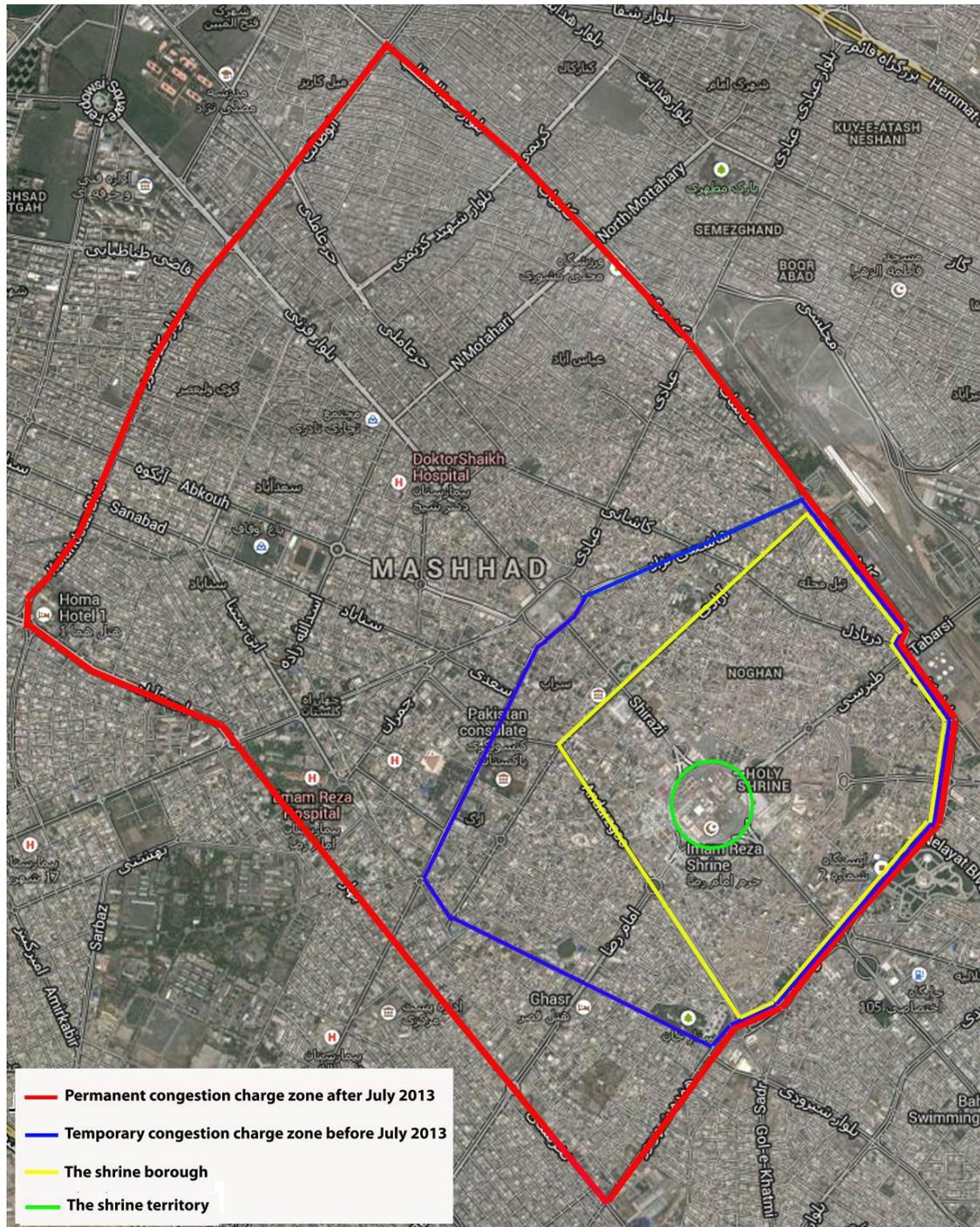

Figure 28: Congestion charging zone (Produced by the author using Google Maps and Tafrihi, 2013 ; Mashhad-Gardi, 2013a).
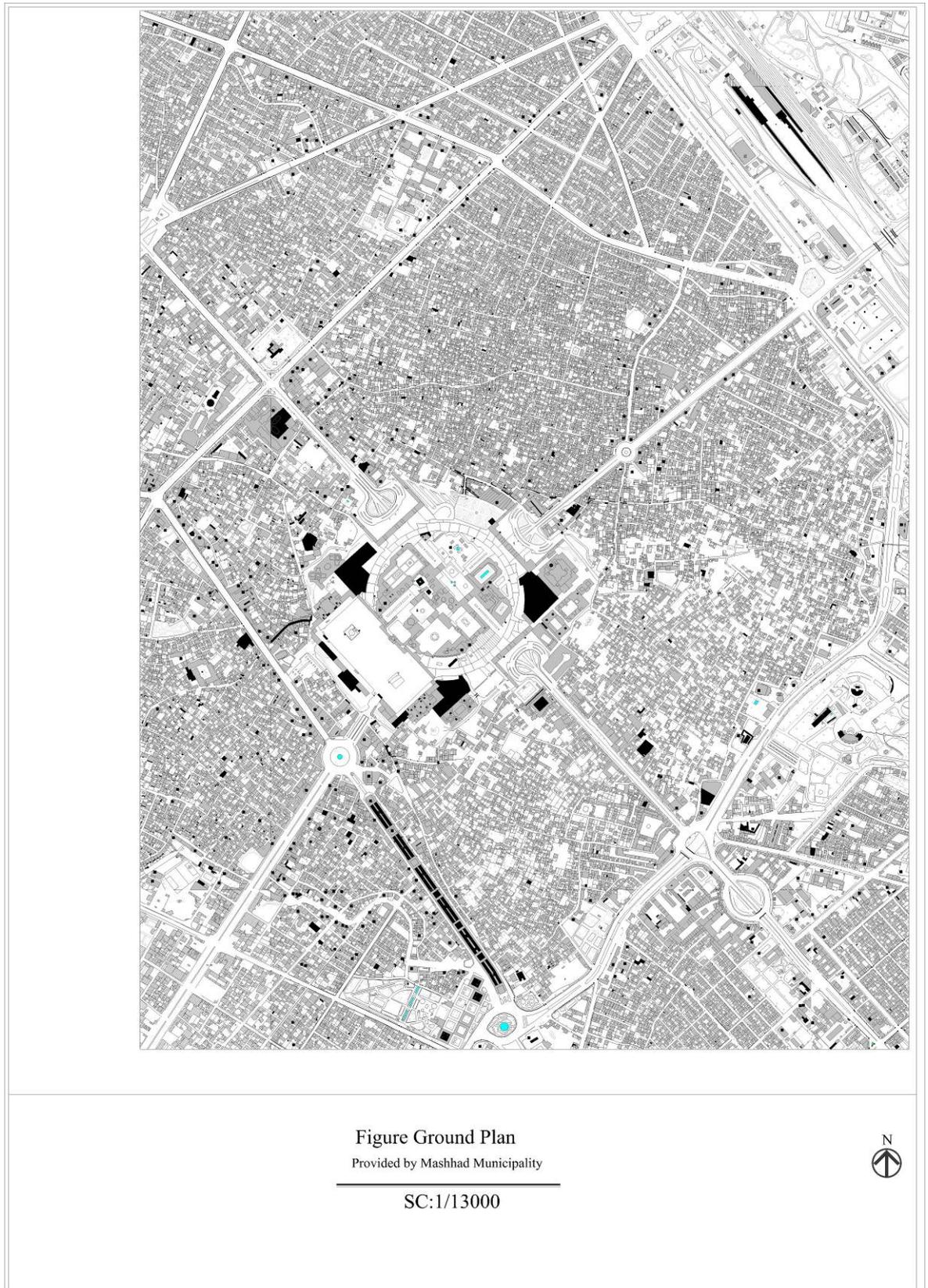
Figure 29: Current figure ground (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 1999)**.**
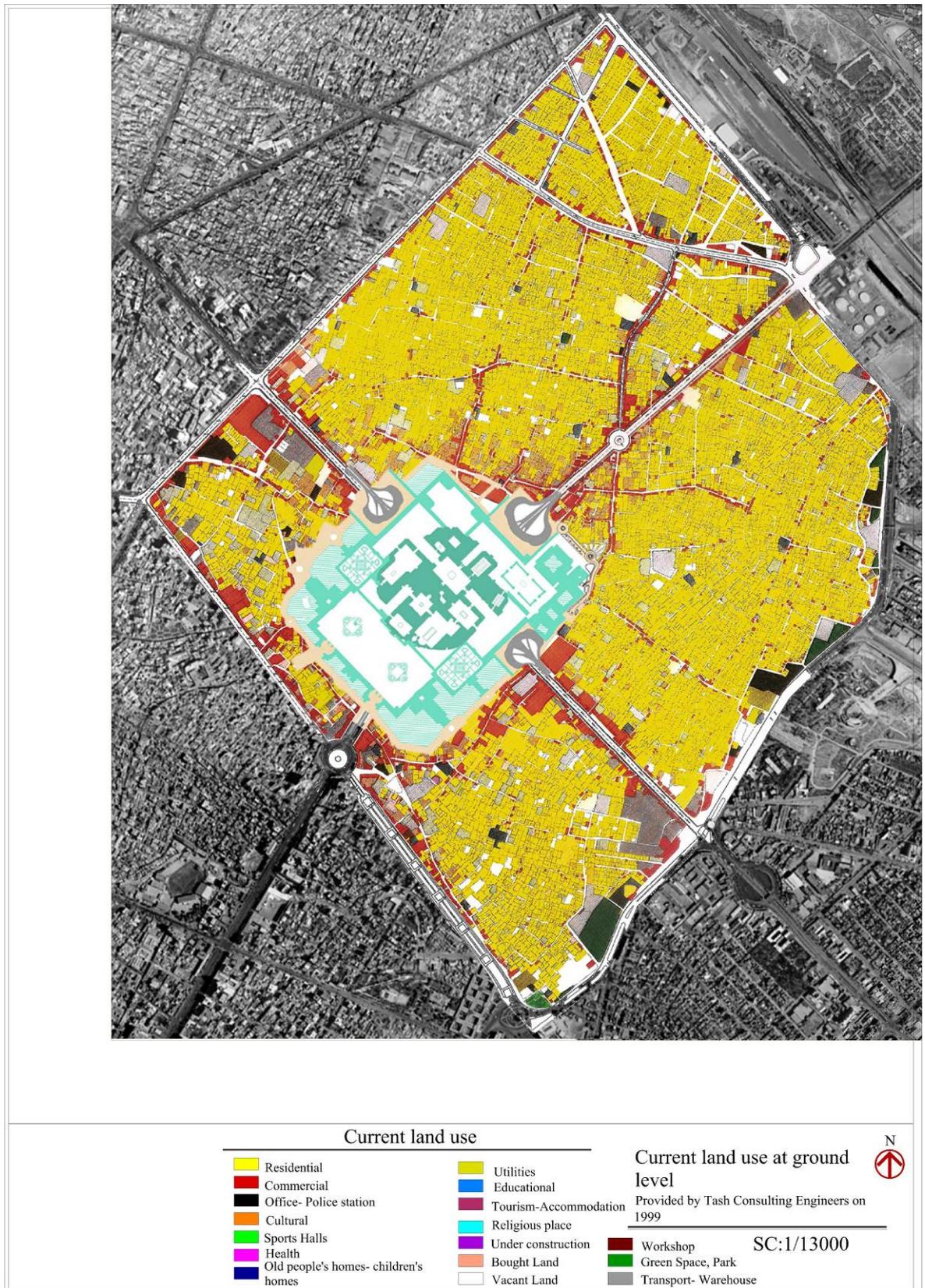
Figure 30: Current land-use at ground level (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 1999)**.**
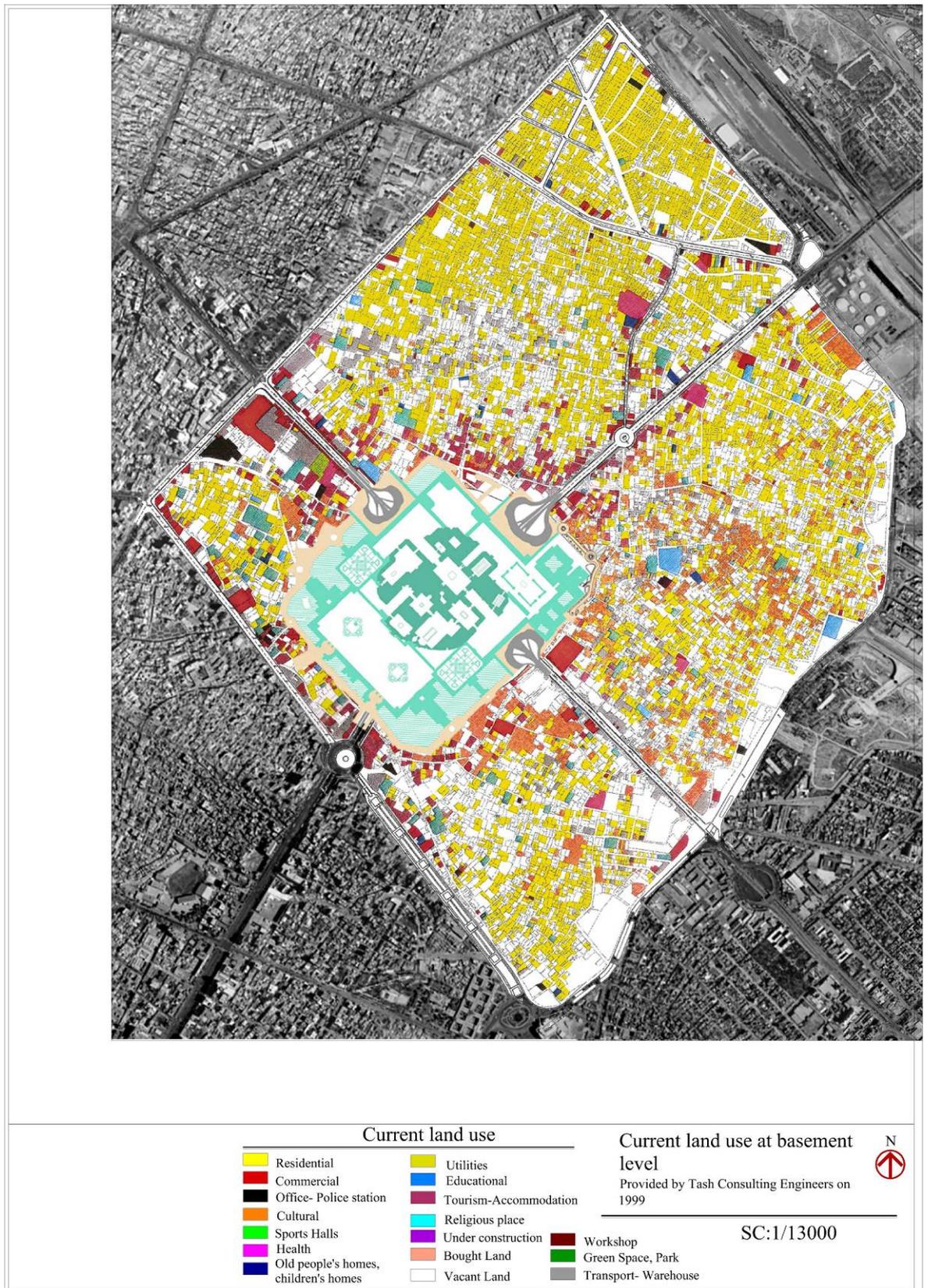
Figure 31: Current land-use at basement level (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 1999)**.**
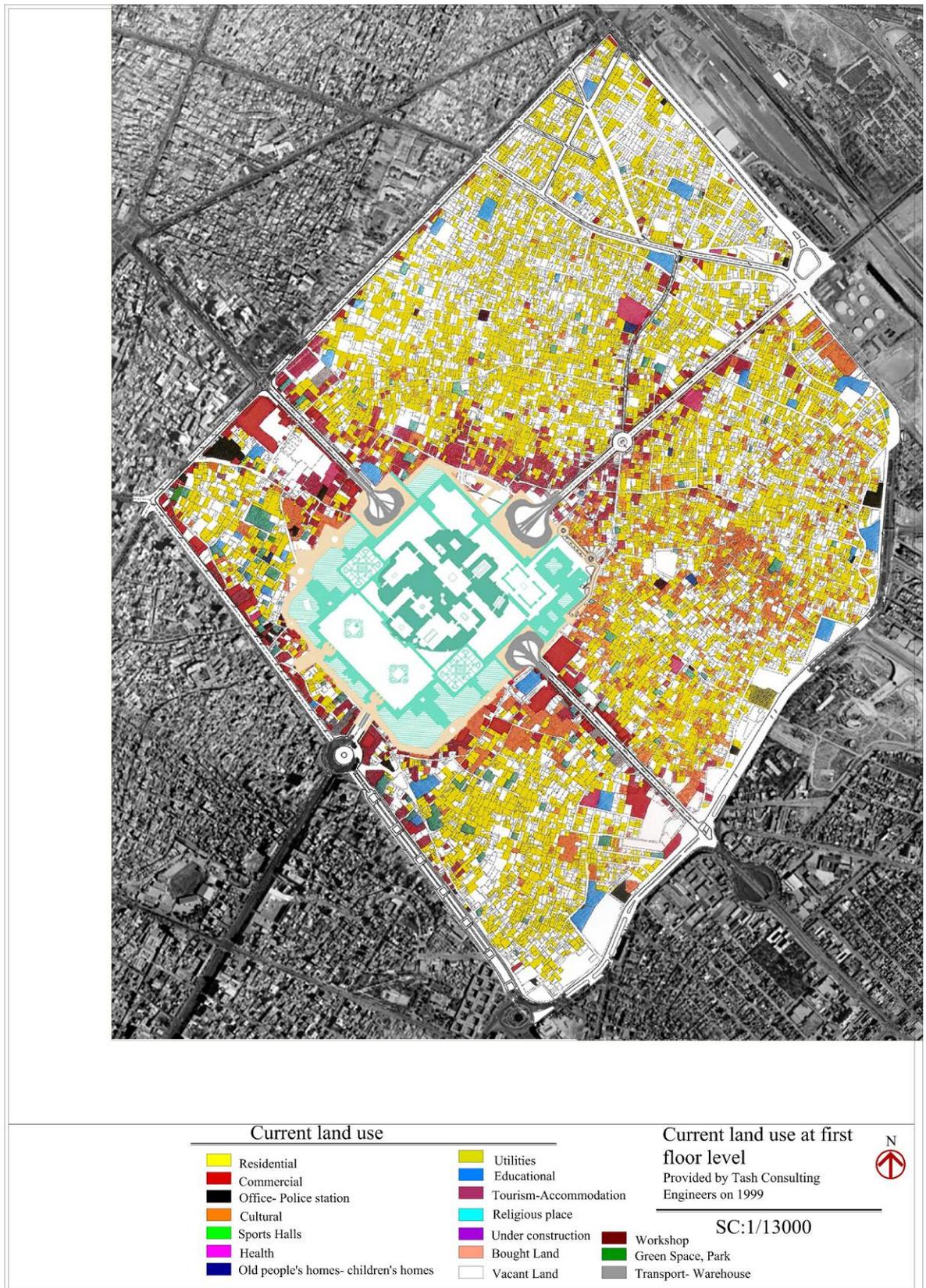
Figure 32: Current land-use at first level (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 1999)**.**

Figure 33: Current land-use at other levels (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 1999)**.**

Discussion

The city of Mashhad was shaped historically as a pilgrimage destination as well as a trading post. The town was formed around the shrine by bazaars and houses to provide for the needs of pilgrims. Therefore, when the shrine attracted more pilgrims and immigrants and the city expanded, the bazaars also got more active. The history of urbanism in Iran, discussed in the last chapter, clarifies that there was always a mutual close relationship between mosques or shrines and bazaars. Mosques and bazaars were both places for social interactions; mosques were located at the focal point of bazaars, bazaaris used to support religious activities and go to the mosque three times a day for mass prayer and religious occasions. Also the bazaar provided the materials needed for religious activities or studying at the mosque. This defines the close relationship between Imam Reza's shrine in Mashhad and the commercial streets around it, which were previously bazaars.

The importance of the shrine as a pilgrimage destination, attracting millions of pilgrims from all over Iran and other Shiite countries, places even greater emphasis on the importance of shops around the shrine which must provide pilgrims' everyday needs and souvenirs. Mashhad, as the immigration and pilgrimage destination of millions of Shiite people, developed and became the second biggest city of Iran after Tehran and the only 24-hour city in Iran. The whole city is influenced by large number of pilgrims, and the presence of pilgrims has even influenced the residents' style of life. Many pilgrims come to Mashhad for holidays and they visit the shrine as well as entertainment spaces during their trip. Therefore, this character of the city is in accordance with what Scott (2009) argued about the change in the norms of social behaviour at holiday time. She argued that people recognise holidays as a time to escape from the social norms of society. People enjoy their holidays and, since it is limited in time, the norms of social behaviour are relaxed and everyday routines are changed. Therefore people on holiday enjoy performing various activities at different times to make the best of their limited time. In Mashhad, because of the presence of pilgrims, the temporal norms are more relaxed. Because pilgrims may enter the city at any time, they may go shopping for their basic requirements or to the shrine at any time. Therefore the shops are open 24-hours wherever the pilgrims are and provide different facilities for them. This also assures the residents of Mashhad that they can find their own different requirements 24-hours, setting up an exclusive night culture. As a result, everybody is used to night-time activities in Mashhad and the recent authorities' attempts to limit the opening hours of businesses at night have raised resistance amongst the residents, pilgrims and even some authorities and parliament members. This is discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Studying the night-time activities in Mashhad shows that location and the built form are important factors in night-life. The areas providing different facilities for residents, workers and tourists are the active night-life areas demonstrating that function and purpose are layered in the city. In Mashhad the main area with this attribute is around the shrine which works 24-hours without attracting remark. This area includes various shops, shopping centres, arcades, a bazaar, hotels, guest houses, restaurants, cafés and a residential area. Because of the 24-hour presence of pilgrims in the shrine area, its night-time economy is different from the other 24-hour areas in Mashhad. However, the night-life in Mashhad involves residents and pilgrims and does not exclude anybody based on age or gender. Therefore, to sustain the night-time activities in Mashhad, considering the requirements of pilgrims and residents from any social class, age or gender is crucial.

The first attempted large-scale redevelopment in Mashhad took place in the 17th century by Shah Abbas, based on the conflicts between Iran and the Ottomans, to promote pilgrimage to Mashhad instead of Hajj. Also, rapid development based on modernisation started in Mashhad after the 1920s and the city expanded greatly during the Islamic government after 1979. These modernisation attempts led to a loss of social life in the city and specifically the shrine area. Modern buildings, built based on the standards of modernisation which was imported from the West, did not consider the social life of the shrine area, or the climate.

The first attempts at modernisation, from 1920 to 1975 imposed streets on the traditional layout of the shrine area and changed the pedestrian-based network to become pedestrian- and vehicle-based. The second attempt at modernisation, from 1975 to 1979, imposed more streets and a large roundabout around the shrine. To build this roundabout, bazaars near the shrine, which used to connect the identity of the city to the shrine, were demolished, influencing the social life of the area, as argued by Diba, and discussed earlier in this chapter. Shops were moved into a building called Bazaar Reza, which does not have any of the characteristics of a bazaar but is just a pastiche. Also the newly built streets and buildings did not consider the climate and social life of the area. Accordingly, winding narrow streets which survived the urban design interventions became the focal point of social life in the area, in the same way as the traditional bazaars had been. Some of them were a part of the traditional bazaars which were demolished. However, their structure needed some corrections to be able to work as a bazaar. These corrections were made by the local people. For example, shopkeepers covered some parts of the streets with curtains. These two waves of modernisation changed some features of the area and its social life, but

kept the important view to the shrine. However, it got slightly lost in the development of the city towards the west, with deviation from the shrine angle and use of a grid pattern.

RPIS is the most recent urban plan for the shrine area which seeks to impose more boulevards and streets, build tall buildings which limit the view to the shrine and replace the houses and small businesses with tall apartments, hotels, complexes and shopping centres without consideration of the users' point of view, requirements or social life of the area and this might reduce social interactions in the area. RPIS is a result of the increasing power and funds of the shrine trustee, Astan Quds Razavi, the related municipality, the land owners and developers to increase financial benefits. Based on the centralised planning system in Iran, the opinions of users of the area, including the residents of Mashhad and millions of pilgrims who visit it every year from all over Iran, are not considered in this plan; it is simply announced by the planning authorities (Sazman-Mojri-Tarh, 2010). These modernisation attempts are discussed in more detail in the next chapters, based on observations and conducted surveys, and it is argued that they might lead to more loss of social life in the whole area and accordingly threaten the night-life of the area.

In order to achieve an in-depth understanding of the shrine area, the night-life and urban design interventions in Iran were studied in the previous chapter and the night-life and urban design interventions in Mashhad and the current situation of the shrine area are studied in this chapter. In the next chapter the shrine area is investigated through a series of methods.

Chapter Eight – Case study

In the previous chapter, night-life and urban development of Mashhad and the shrine area were discussed by using secondary sources. In this chapter, the results of the multi-method study, which was conducted in the shrine area in Mashhad in August and September 2010, are considered. This study includes observations, questionnaire-based surveys, semi-structured interviews and the use of secondary data. The details of these methods are discussed in Chapter Five. This study, by investigating night-life in the shrine area as a 24-hour active area and the relationship between night-life and the urban form of the area is new in the context and lacked background information. It also investigated everyday life in the shrine area where people perform a series of activities routinely at night. Therefore, as discussed in Chapter Five, a combination of methods are required to provide background information and a holistic understanding of everyday life in the shrine area and its relationship to the built environment. These various methods are aimed at investigating and documenting night-life in the shrine area by answering the following questions. What type of activities take place in the shrine area at day and night? What are the factors that keep the shrine area active at night? What are the boundaries between day-time and night-time activities in the shrine area? Then the quality of life in the shrine area as an active 24-hour area is evaluated and the relationship between night-life and its urban environment examined.

This chapter begins with impressions of night-life in the shrine area through direct observation, continues with analysis of a series of surveys which were conducted on pilgrims in the shrine area for Mashhad Municipality in 2005, 2006, 2008 and 2010. These surveys show the behaviour of pilgrims as an important group of the users of the shrine area. In the next section of this chapter the results of the survey, observation[1] and semi-structured interviews that were conducted for this study in 2010 are discussed. The chapter continues with discussion of a policy which was implemented in Mashhad in June 2012 to reduce the working hours of businesses at night, and the opposition to this that led to its termination in May 2013. It is important to note that this policy excluded the shrine area, however, a specific border was not detailed for the shrine area. The observations and survey related to this policy, which were conducted by local newspapers, are discussed as the evidence that Mashhad is active 24-hours.

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[1] Photos in this chapter are author's own unless stated otherwise.

A night in the shrine area

It is 2 o'clock in the morning in Imam Reza Street, sector one. The area is almost as busy as day time. Shops, restaurants and hotels in the area are still open and full of customers. The area is full of pilgrims from various social classes: men and women of different ages. An interesting point is the presence of children enjoying the night-time in the shrine area with their parents. Among these children are many infants being carried by their parents. Individuals and people in groups are heading towards the shrine or coming out of it. Many others are walking around the various shops. It does not seem that any of these people are thinking of going to bed soon. The shops in the area are selling different kinds of souvenirs, religious goods, clothes, shoes and food.

Some of the busiest shops at midnight are the photo-snap shops. Most of them are very small. The minimum facility they have is a curtain with a photo of Imam Reza's shrine or a picture of his tomb on their back wall, a camera, a tripod and a printer. People have their photos taken in front of the curtain and wait to collect their printed and framed photo. Many pilgrims are waiting in the queue to be called by the photographer. A young boy is standing almost 50 meters from the shop with a collection of framed photos which were shot in the same shop, offering passers-by the chance to take their photo. This is the only way of advertising in the shrine area, though it is only used by photo-snap shops. Other shops do not advertise and believe it is not needed because the area is always busy and they have enough customers during both day and night.

There is a souvenir shop next-door selling different kinds of silver or wooden hand crafted decorations such as mirrors and candle holders. The next shop is a jewellery shop with showcases full of jewellery: rings with agate stones for men and women, earrings, necklaces, bracelets and gemstones. The original gemstones are being sold separately and are mostly different colours of agate, which is a stone with religious significance, and turquoise which is a local stone. There are two shopkeepers in the shop serving customers who are trying on different jewellery or bargaining. Many other people are just window shopping.

The next shop is a religious souvenir shop. Prayer beads called Tasbih are hung on the walls around the shop. They come in different colours and sizes and are made with different type of stones, wood or plastic. Different coloured prayer carpets are also hung on the walls or folded and presented in showcases. Prayer beads and carpets are the most popular non-food souvenir from Mashhad. Many people are buying several sets of beads as

presents for their friends or relatives since they are cheap. Decorative copies of the Quran or paintings of Imams, Mohr, shrouds and related things are also for sale in this shop.

The next shop is selling clothes: shirts, skirts, trousers and tops for adults and children. There is another shop nearby which only sells scarves and women's veils, called Chador, in different colours. The next shop is a perfume shop and just next to that there is a toy shop, then a goldsmith, a bank which is the only closed business at midnight, another photo-snap shop and then a shop selling different spices: saffron, authentic candies called Nabat, barberry and nuts. These are special food souvenirs from Mashhad as saffron and barberry are cultivated in the area. The next shops are a shoe shop, a convenience store, a juice bar, a drapers, a media shop, a butchers, a silver shop, a fast food outlet, a café, a shop selling mobiles, an optician, a bakery, a clinic, a restaurant, a greengrocers, a book shop and a mosque.

It is possible to smell the mixture of scents of the spices, especially saffron, perfumes, and foods on the street whilst hearing religious music being played in the shops nearby. Suddenly there is a rhythmic sound of cars honking their horns. This sound means a couple are coming to circumambulate the shrine on their wedding night. The sound is getting louder as the cars get closer. The couple's car is in the front and about six cars are following them, all hooting. People are dancing in the cars. They go straight towards the shrine underground. A few minutes later another group comes. This is a common scene in the area on specific holy dates.

The front door of the nearby hotel is open. It is quite busy as many people are going in and out. Some of them are carrying their baggage as they have just arrived or are leaving. The shops on both sides of the streets are open, including souvenir or convenience stores. Walking towards the shrine on the right hand side of the street is Bazaar Reza but it is closed at this time of night. It closes every night around 11 p.m. However, the small shops outside the bazaar are open 24-hours. In front of the bazaar there is a wide seating area which is always full of pilgrims. A woman and two boys are sitting on their baggage, a young man who seems to be her husband approaches them and, after a short talk, they go into a hotel on the other side of the street. A group of pilgrims seems to have come from a long way away. They spread a thin carpet on the street between their cars. They use a small picnic gas stove to cook and have a late dinner. Their children are also playing on the pavement near their cars. It seems that they are going to sleep in their cars for the night.

The same thing is going on Tabarsi Street, sector three, though pilgrims in this street are mostly from low income families. A shocking thing is the number of drug dealers in this street day and night; however, they are more active at night. They stand on the street, peer inside each car standing in front or near them and offer them drugs. However, in the day time they just stand on the street and watch people walking around. These same people stand in the same place every day. The nearby shopkeepers believe that these drug dealers make the area unsafe and frighten pilgrims away who want to use the subway.

Surveys studying pilgrims

In order to investigate pilgrims' impact on the night-life of the shrine area and their needs and expectations, the results of four surveys are analysed in this section. The following three surveys were conducted for Mashhad Municipality with various aims. However, they all investigate similar items. Ketab-Moshaver-Khorsan (2005) was conducted on 18,506 pilgrim participants to investigate why and how pilgrims travel to Mashhad. Sharafi (2006) was conducted on 1,913 pilgrim participants to investigate the requirements and expectations of pilgrims who travel to Mashhad for Norouz. Amayesh-Toos (2008) was conducted on 4,900 pilgrim participants to investigate the economic effects of pilgrims on Mashhad. Fakoori Haji Yar (2010) was conducted for the developer company of the Regeneration and Reconstruction Plan of Imam Reza's shrine area (RPIS) in the shrine area on 960 pilgrim participants. The main aims of this survey were to investigate the requirements and expectations of pilgrims at Norouz and check how familiar they were with the RPIS. The technique used in all of these surveys was questionnaire-based interviews. All of these surveys have almost similar outcomes with minor differences in percentages which does not influence the main outcome. These are also similar in certain ways to the results of the survey which was conducted on 230 residents and workers in the shrine area in 2010 for this study.

In all of these surveys it is argued that pilgrims who visit Mashhad come from all over Iran and neighbouring Muslim Shiite countries. These surveys show the high frequency of pilgrims travelling to Mashhad. The majority of pilgrims had been to Mashhad several times before, for instance in Sharafi (2006) 47.5% of participants had travelled to Mashhad at least five times before and in Fakoori Haji Yar (2010) 42% of participants said that they travel to Mashhad at least once a year.

In this section the behaviour of the pilgrims in Mashhad at night is investigated based on the discussed surveys. Iranian pilgrims mostly come to Mashhad by bus or in their own cars and start looking for accommodation soon afterward they arrive which might be any time of the day or night. Based on these surveys, the majority of visitors to Mashhad, for instance 95.8% of participants in Sharafi (2006) and 95.22% of participants in Amayesh-Toos (2008), describe themselves as pilgrims. These surveys show that many of the pilgrims, for instance 52% of participants in Ketab-Moshaver-Khorsan (2005), go to the shrine as soon as they arrive in Mashhad. This might be any time of the day or night, since Mashhad's coach stations and the airport are active 24-hours. Also these surveys show that the majority of pilgrims stay in Mashhad for four to seven days, for instance 46.9% of participants in Fakoori Haji Yar (2010). This is a short time for seeing the city, shopping for souvenirs and pilgrimage especially when studies show that many pilgrims go to the shrine two or three times a day. Therefore, these pilgrims, in order to make the most of their time, might go to the shrine or go shopping at night. They need 24-hour facilities in the shrine area and want the area to serve them, regardless of the time, day and night. They spend most of their time in the shrine and, as these surveys show, they prefer accommodation as close as possible to the shrine. Based on Fakoori Haji Yar (2010), more than half of the pilgrims stay less than two kilometres from the shrine and only less than a quarter stay further than five kilometres from the shrine, as shown in Figure 1. These surveys show that pilgrims report safety, price and nearness to the shrine as their factors for choosing where to stay.
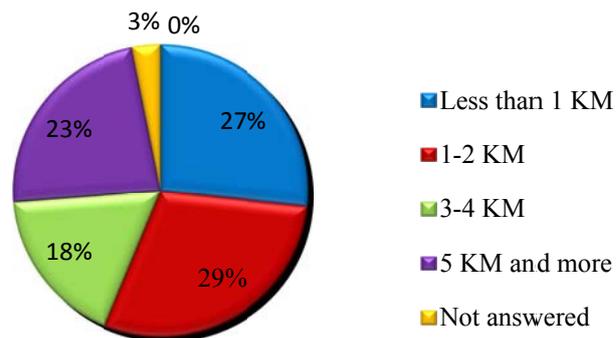

Figure 1: Pilgrims' accommodation distance from the shrine, based on 960 participants (adapted from Fakoori Haji Yar, 2010:52 by the author).

These surveys also show that pilgrims are mostly from low-income families. 76% of participants in Sharafi (2006) and 71% of participants in Fakoori Haji Yar (2010) had the lowest level of income in Iran at the time of interview. In these surveys it is argued that the

majority of pilgrims can spend only a limited amount of money on their whole trip including transport, accommodation, food and souvenir shopping. For instance this amount was 40% of their monthly income in Sharafi (2006). As these surveys show almost a quarter of pilgrims stay in the streets, parks and camps. For instance 18.7% of participants in Sharafi (2006) said that they spend nothing on their accommodation in Mashhad by staying in the parks, streets and camps. All of these studies show that the majority of pilgrims stay in rented houses because they are cheaper and provide more privacy and convenience for family groups. In Sharafi (2006) 10% of participants stayed in hotels, while 31% of them stayed in private rented houses and guest houses and 24% of them stayed on the streets, parks, camps or the shrine courtyards. However, these statistics can be different in different areas. Fakoori Haji Yar (2010) argued that pilgrims in Imam Reza and Shirazi Streets mostly stayed in guesthouses and hotels, while pilgrims in Tabarsi and Navab Streets mostly stayed in rented houses. He also argued that Imam Reza Street had the highest level of facilities and Tabarsi Street had the lowest. However, he did not give any figures to support these arguments.

The statistics in the last paragraph show that the majority of pilgrims are from low-income families. They try to reduce their expenditure by staying in the shrine area so that they can visit the shrine a few times a day by walking and spending the least amount of money. They mostly stay in private rented houses, guesthouses or on the streets and parks to pay as little as possible for their accommodation. They also spend a limited amount of money on food and souvenir shopping. As Amayesh-Toos (2008) argued, pilgrims mostly purchase their requirements, including food, everyday needs and souvenirs, from the shrine area, as shown in Figure 2 and Figure 3, and this helps the economy of the shrine area, as shown in Figure 4. This survey showed that pilgrims also go to restaurants and fast food outlets in the shrine area, while Fakoori Haji Yar (2010) argued that 71.7% of pilgrim respondents in his survey cooked their own food rather than eating out.
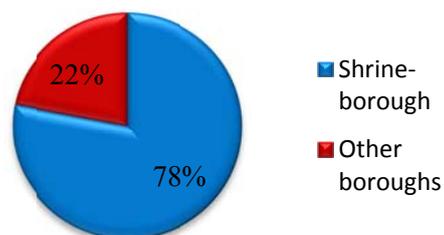

Figure 2: Total commodities purchased by pilgrims, based on 4900 participants (adapted from Amayesh-Toos, 2008:60-82 by the author).
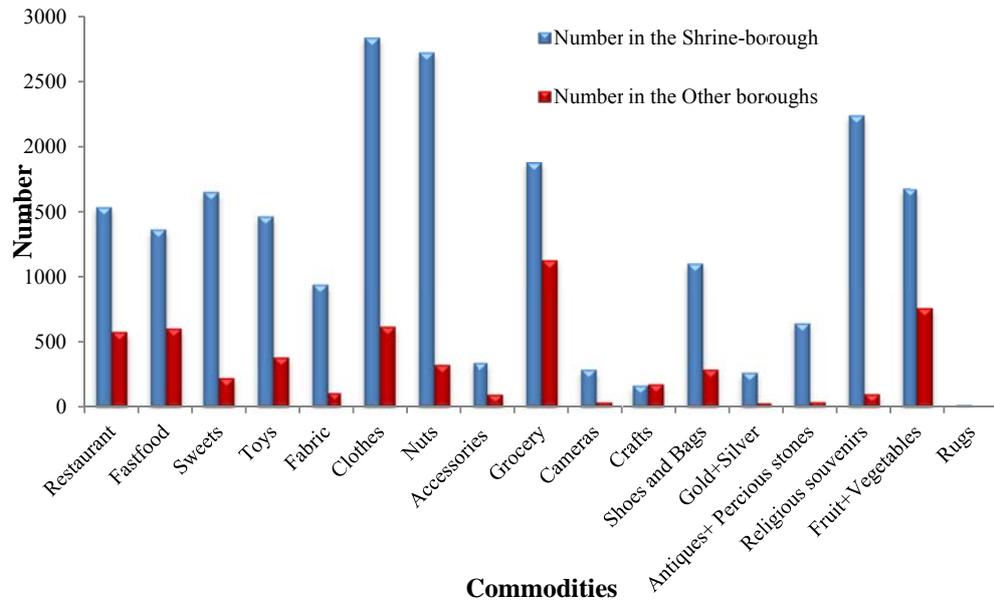
Figure 3: Comparison between commodities purchased by pilgrims in the shrine borough and other parts of Mashhad[2], based on 4900 participants (adapted from Amayesh-Toos, 2008:60-82 by the author).

It is important to note that the majority of pilgrims who stay close to the shrine simply walk to conduct their everyday activities during day and night. These pedestrian activities support the high level of perception of safety in the shrine area. As it is argued in different surveys (see for example Khorasani and Mir-Anvari, 2008 ; Fakoori Haji Yar, 2010 ; Ketab-Moshaver-Khorsan, 2005 ; Sharafi, 2006 ; Amayesh-Toos, 2008), the majority of pilgrims were satisfied with the level of safety in the shrine area.

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[2] Rugs number and value is relatively small and is not visible in Figures 3 and 4.
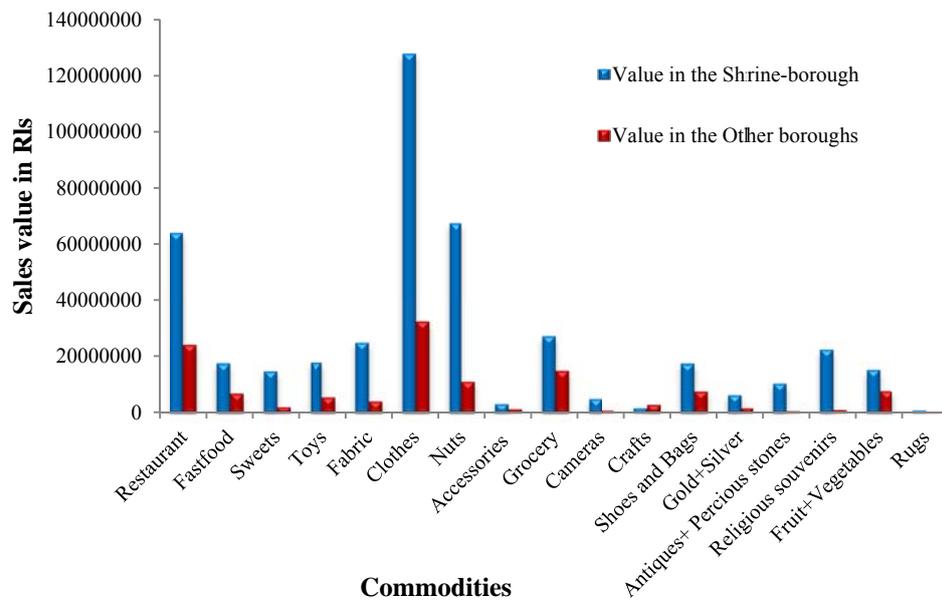
Figure 4: Comparison between the amount of money spent by pilgrims on different commodities in the shrine borough and other parts of Mashhad based on 4,900 participants (adapted from Amayesh-Toos, 2008:60-82 by the author).

Various surveys which were conducted on pilgrims in 2005, 2006, 2008 and 2010 are analysed in the last section. These analyses reveal the underlying reasons that make the shrine area active 24-hours. In the next section the results of the same surveys are used to investigate the pilgrims' viewpoint on the quality of life in the shrine area.

In this paragraph different facilities in the shrine area, that were rated by pilgrims in these surveys, are discussed. Pilgrims mostly use buses to get around and said that the area needs more public transport. They were not satisfied with the pedestrian facilities, including the quality of subways, overpasses and pavements, and said that the area needs more pedestrian crossings and wider pavements. Pilgrims were not satisfied with the car parks and traffic in the shrine area. They argued that parking is expensive, the streets crowded with vehicles and it is dangerous; traffic in the area needs regulating. Based on these surveys, the majority of pilgrims argued that cleanliness of streets, quality of parks and gardens, quality of public toilets, tourists' facilities and the availability of everyday needs are average and higher. However, in the same surveys it was argued that pilgrims highlighted poor quality, scarcity and expensiveness of everyday needs, scarcity of tourist facilities and poor street surfaces as the main issues in the shrine area. Fakoori Haji Yar (2010) argued that the majority of pilgrims were not familiar with the aims and objectives of RPIS and many of them complained about the high level of construction in the shrine area. The majority of pilgrims said that the area needed revitalisation.

Analysis of the survey

Having explored the findings from the surveys conducted on pilgrims this following section moves on to explore the results of the survey and observations which were conducted for this thesis in the case study in summer 2010. In this survey, the shrine area as the main 24-hour area in Mashhad is studied. The results of the survey are followed by a series of pictures which are taken as a part of direct observation. As discussed in Chapter Five, there are four main streets ending at the shrine and the regions around each of these streets have a specific character. Based on this, the shrine area is divided into four main sectors, shown in different colours in Figure 5. It is important to note that the borders of these sectors are not clearly defined or fixed. Traditionally Iranian cities were divided into different neighbourhoods called Mahale which each had different characteristics. These different neighbourhoods in the shrine area are shown in Figure 5 with black lines as borders. As shown in Figure 5, each of the sectors covers one or more traditional Mahale. For instance, sector one surrounding Imam Reza Street covers the whole Eidgah Mahale and parts of Onsori, Danesh and Chahar-Bagh Mahale. This is the underlying reason that each of these sectors present different characteristics from their neighbours. These differences in contemporary life in the shrine area are mostly based on the inhabitants' social class and income.

An underground roundabout was built under the shrine in the 1980s, as shown in Figure 6. This also contains four car parks providing space for almost 2,500 cars. This roundabout has four accesses from the four main streets, Imam Reza, Shirazi, Tabarsi and Navab Streets ending at the shrine.

To assess night-life and living and working experience in the shrine area, a questionnaire was administered face-to-face with a sample of 100 residents, 100 workers which included 25 of each group in each area, 25 drivers and 25 shrine employees. However, only five shrine employees were interviewed as, because of security restrictions, they were not happy to be interviewed. Also the results of interviews with 25 drivers are omitted from this study since they did not provide any specific viewpoints and did not add to or influence the results of the survey. Drivers who mostly live in other parts of the city did not take part in the social life of the area or use its facilities.

As discussed in Chapter Five, the respondents were selected by the researcher walking in the area at different times of the day and night and randomly asking people if she/he can answer some questions. In order to cover a broad range of people, the interviews were

conducted at different times of the day and night, with individuals from all age groups living or working in the area. The aim was to interview the same number of men as women but the majority of workers in the shrine area were men, and only four women were interviewed amongst the workers' group. Also, there were more men who volunteered to be interviewed amongst the residents' group. However, the results of interviews did not show strict differences based on gender.
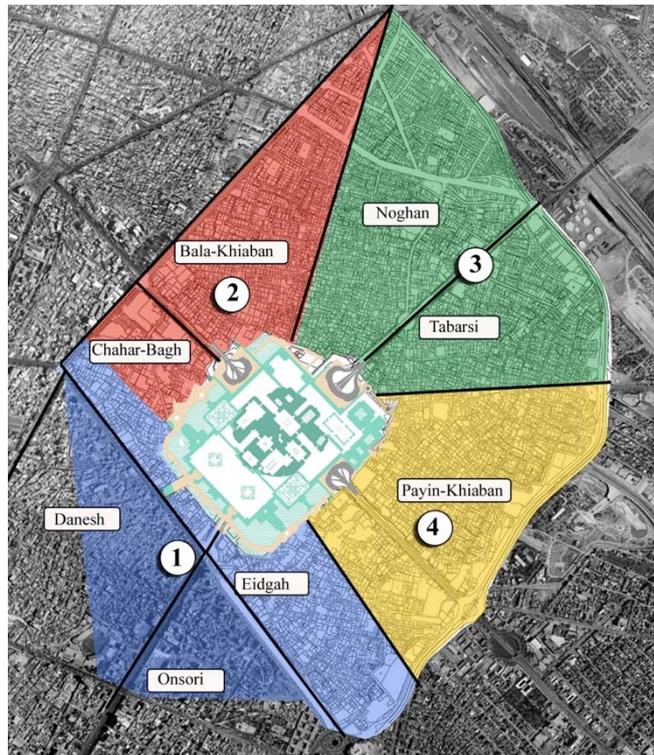

Figure 5: Map of the survey's sections based on neighbourhoods in the shrine area (Adapted from Mashhad Aerial Photo, Mashhad CAD plan and Mashhad neighbourhood map by the author).

In the following section the results of surveys in each sector are discussed separately. Analysis of each sector starts with an introduction, a series of pictures showing observations, the analysis of findings in detail and finishes with a table ranking various factors in that sector. For charts see Appendix D.

Sector one

Sector one surrounds Imam Reza Street and covers parts of four different traditional Mahale and three boroughs, including the shrine borough. Imam Reza Street, previously

called Tehran Street[3], is one of the main streets culminating at the shrine. It is directly connected to the coach station and indirectly to Mashhad International Airport. It is the only street in the shrine area with a direct access to the current Metro stations and a proposed Metro station at the shrine entrance will be on this street, as shown in Figure 6. Because of the several types of hotels, guesthouses, shops and bazaars which are located in sector one, this area is one of the busiest streets in the shrine area and is active 24-hours seven days a week.

This sector is more luxurious in comparison with other sectors with its luxury hotels and shops. These include three, five-star hotels, seven four-star, 21three-star, 14 two-star and six one-star hotels. This sector is considered to be the best area of Mashhad by residents and workers of sectors three and four, the most deprived sectors in the shrine area.

The Bazaar Reza, which was built in 1975 at the time of the second wave of modernisation in Iran, is located in this sector as shown in Figure 6. It was built as a replacement for the demolished traditional bazaars. Working hours of this bazaar are 8 a.m. to 11 p.m. every day. Bazaar Reza is like a linear shopping centre containing different kinds of shops, mostly souvenir shops and bank branches on the ground floor and silver and precious stone wholesalers and jewellery workshops on the second floor. Customers of the ground floor are mostly pilgrims but customers of the second floor are shopkeepers from the whole city or other cities.

As shown in Figure 6, sector one contains a hospital and eight car parks excluding those under the shrine territory. In the shrine area the building of overpasses is not allowed as they would spoil views of the shrine and the only overpass in the whole shrine area is in this sector, on a street that does not block the view of the shrine.

[3] خیابان تهران , called Tehran Street since it was the road from Mashhad to Tehran
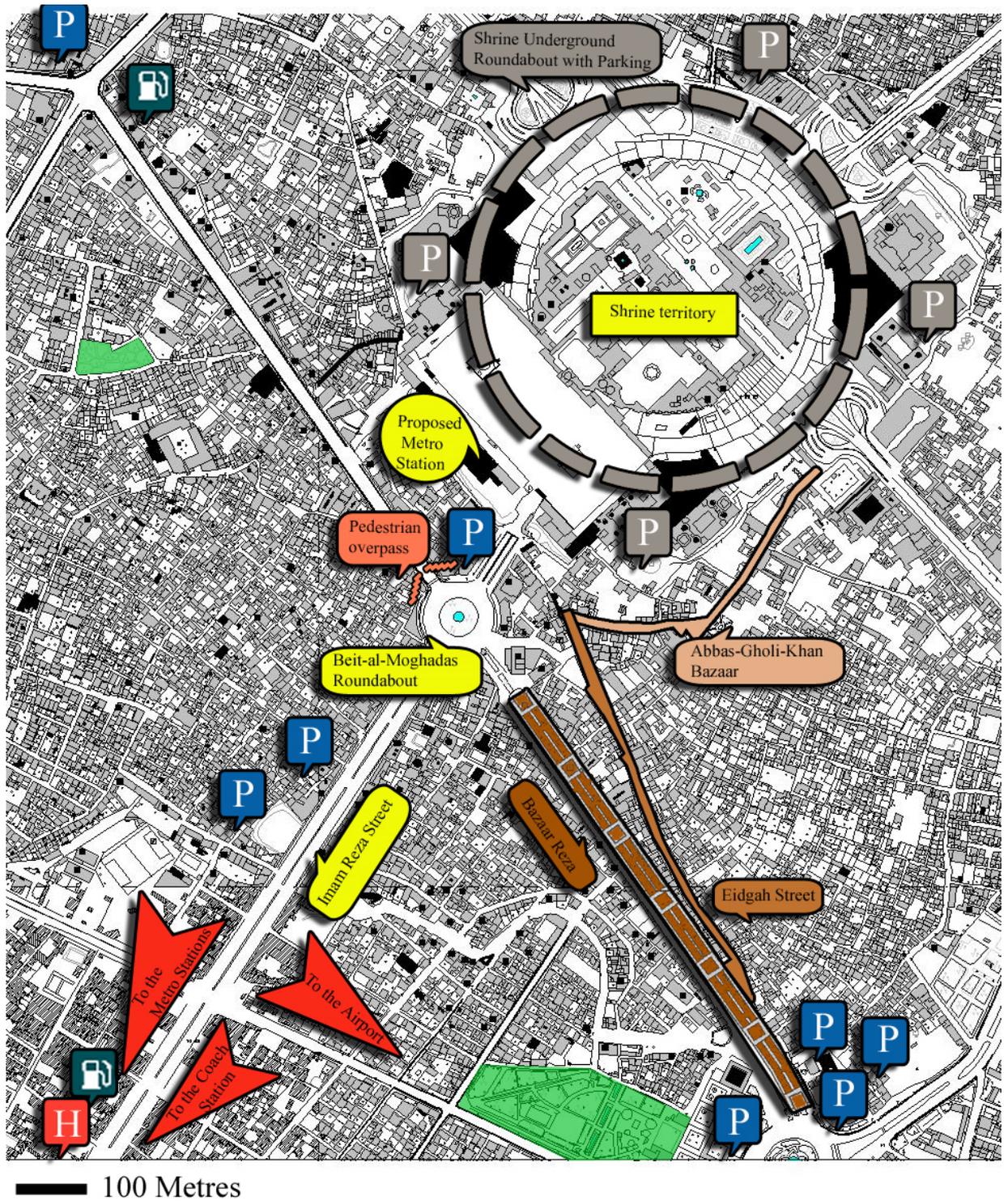
Figure 6: Sector one (Adapted from figure ground map by the author).

14:35, 16/08/10

15:00, 16/08/10

Four and five-star hotels in Imam Reza Street. This street is wider than other streets in the shrine area.


12:26, 04/08/10

13:23, 04/08/10

Street improvements are only in Imam Reza street in the shrine area.

16:41, 05/09/10
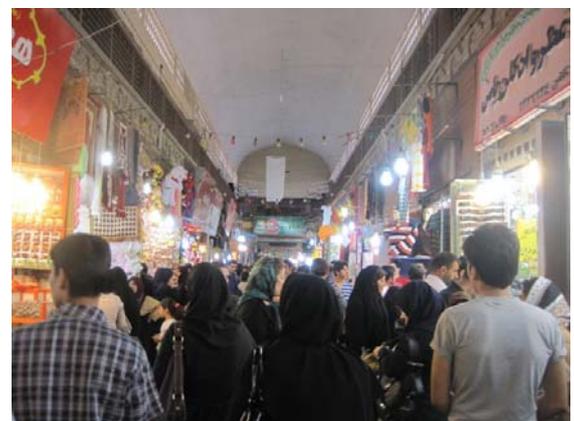
17:00, 05/09/10

Bazaar Reza, main entrance and interior.

15:20, 04/08/10

Water fountains are in a better condition in sector one compared to other streets in the shrine area.

14:30, 04/08/10

Arcades as well as shops serve pilgrims; however, they are closed after midnight.

15:20, 04/08/10

14:32, 04/08/10

A lack of seats and shelters mean that people use stairs and flower boxes for sitting on.

11:17, 04/08/10

The only overpass in the shrine area; it has escalators.

10:31, 04/08/10

Vehicular underpasses segregate pedestrians.

11:13, 05/09/10

13:58, 05/09/10

A lack of rubbish bins is one reason for the streets being dirty.

14:46, 16/08/10

14:42, 16:08/10

Pavements are used for car or motorcycle parking because of a lack of car parks.

12:50, 16/08/10

Most minor streets do not have pavements.

13:42, 15/09/10

People walk on the street since the pavements are not wide enough.

14:21, 05/09/10

Basic infrastructure for drainage is only available in some of the minor streets in sector one.

11:25, 05/09/10

Narrow streets are used by both vehicles and pedestrians.

10:31, 05/09/10

An example of street design on minor streets.

16:48, 05/09/10

Obstacles on the street.

15:05, 15/09/10

14:24, 04/08/10

Narrow pavements with obstacles are not wide enough for the pedestrians using them.

2:36, 27/07/10

Imam Reza Street at midnight.

3:03, 22/09/10

Beit Al Moghadas roundabout at midnight.

3:05, 22/09/10

2:24, 27/07/10

Pavements at midnight.

12:22, 04/08/10

Barriers do not stop people from walking on the street.

16:23, 15/09/10

A lack of car parks is the reason for double parking.

24-hour activities

This analysis starts with 24-hour activities in the area as the main concept of the study. This sector is active 24-hours a day, seven days a week, since the majority of workers work shifts over a period of 24-hours. Amongst the 25 worker respondents in this sector, 20 of them work over 24-hours in shifts, two of them work until 3 a.m. in shifts and three of

them work until 10 p.m. Also, participants from residents and workers group rank different parameters including safety, noise, overcrowding, accessibility and traffic in this sector almost the same during day-time and night-time with insignificant differences. The main factor that makes the area work 24-hours is the pilgrims. Shopkeepers argued that they kept their shops open to serve pilgrims and the majority of their customers are always pilgrims during the day and at night. However, night-time activities also depend on the location of shops. The arcades and Bazaar Reza are open until midnight at the latest and the shops located inside them must close before midnight, while the shops outside them on the streets can be open 24-hours. This shows the threat of the loss of night-time activities after a certain time if shops are replaced with shopping centres. It might be assumed that a change in the law could allow shopping centres, arcades and bazaars to be open 24-hours. However, the underlying reasons why this law has not changed throughout history should be considered. The shopping centres and bazaars are historically closed at night to clean their shared spaces, including corridors, stairs and toilets. They are also closed to avoid provision of some hidden less crowded spaces at night in which criminals can hide. These places can easily form in a shopping centre at the end of a corridor or in the toilets when the shops around are closed. However, this issue does not occur on the permeable streets so easily since, if one or two shops are closed at night, the nearby shops and the people who walk on the street keep the area active and avoid the provision of hidden places. Night-life in a newly built shopping centre which was open 24-hours is discussed in sector two.

There is a close relationship between where workers live, the transport modes they use and their working hours. The majority of workers in this sector live in the city centre. Although many of them work over a 24-hour period, many others run businesses in Bazaar Reza or arcades and do not work 24-hours so they can travel further distances. They also use motorcycles or cars to come to the shrine area and report the congestion charging scheme as their main traffic problem. However, residents and workers who live in the shrine area mostly use motorcycles or bicycles and not cars because of overcrowding issues.

In order to have an overview of the crowds in the area at night, respondents were asked to evaluate this. They were also asked to highlight the busiest times in the area. These results provided information on the crowd based on the respondents' standards which basically varied for different people. Therefore, to produce more realistic results, some points are selected from the area with similar or different characteristics and the number of people and vehicles that pass these points are counted.

The majority of workers and residents said that the busiest time of the area is 8 a.m. until 1 p.m. and 5 p.m. until 10 p.m. The majority of residents said that the area is very crowded day and night, while the majority of workers said it is not very crowded at day and night. However, overcrowding is a conventional concept and can mean different things to different people. Residents rate the area as crowded while workers who can make more money when there are more people in the area argue that it is not. The results of counting pedestrians in this sector are shown in Table 1. These results show that there are large numbers of pedestrians in the area both day and night. Figure 7 and Table 1 show that the number of pedestrians reduces at night in the areas that do not provide facilities for pilgrims in CP10 and CP11. It is near the demolished areas in CP05. Shops are closed after midnight as in Bazaar Reza in CP03 and CP04. The areas located in front of large-scale hotels without shops in CP06. However, the demolished areas, CP05, and the areas that do not provide facilities for pilgrims, CP10 and CP11, are also less crowded in the day-time. Figure 7, Table 1 and observations also show that the closer the area is to the shrine the greater is the number of shops working 24-hours and hence the area is busier than other areas during both day and night.
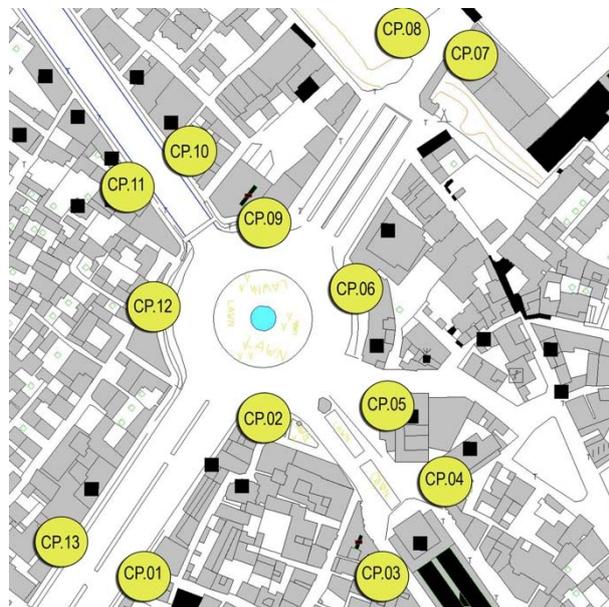

Figure 7: Counting points for pedestrians in Imam Reza Street (Adapted from figure ground map by the author).

Table 1: Counting of pedestrians in sector one (Author).

	CP.01	CP.02	CP.03	CP.04	CP.05	CP.06	CP.07	CP.08	CP.09	CP.10	CP.11	CP.12	CP.13
01:30a.m	51	85	40	46	10	14	112	95	108	9	6	110	65
05:30a.m	28	35	17	25	16	18	52	46	50	5	4	58	32
08:30a.m	37	75	48	39	28	38	110	83	125	47	50	130	56
01:30p.m	82	125	>135	>135	85	79	>135	120	>135	74	88	>135	90
08:30p.m	110	>135	>135	>135	92	87	>135	>135	>135	68	75	>135	120

Table 2: Counting of vehicles in sector one, C: Car, M: Motorcycle, B: Bus, Bi: Bicycle (Author).

	CP.01	CP.03	CP.04	CP.06	CP.09	CP.10	CP.11	CP.13
01:30a.m	C:10, M:5	C:1 M:6,	C:12, M:2,	C:7, M:4,	C: 9, M:8	C:2, M:2,	C:4, M:7, Bi:1	C:13, M:2,
05:30a.m	C:5, M:1	C:2, M:4, Bi:1	C:2, Bi:3	C:8, M:2,	C: 6, M:1	C:2, Bi:6	C:1, M:5	C:6
08:30a.m	C:60, M:5, B:1	C:10, M:8, Bi:2	C:12, M:2, Bi:8	C:66, M:2,	C: 67, M:4	C:27, M:5, Bi:9	C:24, M:2, Bi:3	C:65, M:8,
01:30p.m	C:27, M:6	C:1, M:4, Bi:3	M:3, Bi:6	C:34, M:7,	C: 25, M:1, B:1	C:12, M:9	C:8, M:10, Bi:1	C:30, M:9, Bi:4
08:30p.m	C:50, M:9, Bi:5	C:2, M:6, Bi:1	C:1, M:5	C:60, M:9,	C: 65, M:7	C:22, M:8, Bi:2	C:26, M:9,	C:68, M:8,

Perception of safety

Safety is studied as an important factor influencing night-time activities. Since, due to security reasons, it was not possible to obtain safety figures for the area, the results of this section are based on the perception of safety in respondents' answers. Residents and workers in this sector said that the area is safe day and night. This sector has the highest level of perception of safety in the whole shrine area. However, many respondents reported some local districts with lower degrees of safety during both day and night. These areas were Abas Gholi Khan bazaar and Eidgah Street, which are old streets with old buildings which were half-demolished due to RPIS. Some respondents refer to the ethnic minorities

including Afghan refugees, Jews and Zabolies[4] as a safety issue. However, this is not an actual threat and loss of perception of safety is due to the different life-style of these minorities that might seem hazardous to some people.

Abas Gholi Khan Bazaar[5] in this sector was a traditional bazaar where cheap goods and second-hand clothes were sold. Mashhadi Jews also used to live in some parts of Eidgah Street.[6] Large parts of these two streets, which are located between sectors one and four, have been demolished based on RPIS, safety is reduced for several reasons discussed below. On the one hand, some guesthouses have been demolished leading to a reduction of pilgrims staying in these areas. Also, many shops which used to work around the clock have been demolished and others close earlier at night since there are fewer customers in these half-demolished areas. Because there is not enough street lighting in these areas they relied on the light from open shop windows and doors; when the shops closed the streets remained dark at night. On the other hand, due to large-scale demolition and financial and legal problems, the reconstruction took longer, only 2% in 10 years based on the developer's minutes (Sazman-Mojri-Tarh, 2010a). As a result, the streets became vacant and a suitable place in which for drug dealers, drug users and criminals to hide. These issues are known as 'planning blight' (Ravetz, 1983). Reduction in safety, and the perception of safety, in the area led to more residents moving out, fewer pilgrims staying, more shops closing at night and accordingly more vacant streets and a greater loss of safety.

Social interactions

Since the night-life of each area is a part of its social life, social interactions in the area are studied. The majority of residents and workers have been living or working in sector one for a long time, residents for more than 40 years and workers more than 13 years. Residents are of mixed ages and workers aged 18–35 and the majority of them have inherited their houses or businesses. It seems that the area does not attract or keep newcomers.

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[4] زابلیZabolies, people of Zabol which is a city in the south east of Iran, in Sistan- baloochestan سیستان و بلوچستانprovince, close to the border of Iran and Afghanistan
[5] بازار عباس قلی خانAbas-Gholi-Khan Bazaar
[6] عیدگاه Eidgah

There is a close relationship between residents, workers and pilgrims in the area. All the workers said that the majority of their customers are pilgrims and all the residents said that they are closely involved with the pilgrims. The majority of residents, 19 out of 25 respondents, rent their houses to pilgrims, mostly at the peak of pilgrimage which is in summer or at Norouz. For many of the residents renting their houses is an important, or the only, source of income, therefore, for the majority of residents, the presence of pilgrims in their living area is quite important. Many residents in sector one were not satisfied with the congestion charging scheme[7] applied in summer 2010 since they thought it had reduced the number of pilgrims that summer.

Pedestrian facilities

Due to the large-number of pedestrians in the area that keep it active during both day and night, in the following section a series of factors are studied which are necessary for the provision of better experiences for pedestrians and a more pedestrian-friendly environment. Residents were more dissatisfied than workers with some factors including pavement quality, lighting and cleanliness of streets. Both resident and worker groups thought that the pavements were too narrow and streets had poor lighting and cleaning. Residents said that the pavements are narrow and old in the main streets and there are no pavements in minor streets. Workers also said that pavements have poor and uneven surfaces.

The only overpass in the shrine area is located in this sector at one side of Beit al Moghadas roundabout. Residents use the overpass more frequently than workers during both day and night. Although the majority of interviewees rank this overpass as good, almost one third of respondents said that *'they prefer to cross this street as they cross other streets at the junction and it is easier and faster than climbing up and down the overpass'*. However, the majority asked for the construction of more overpasses in the area. These mixed views prove that the area lacks pedestrian crossing facilities.

Provision of street furniture encouraged a walking culture and improved pedestrian experience, although in sector one residents are more dissatisfied than workers with street

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[7] طرح ترافیک The shrine-area, which is further than the shrine borough, used to have different types of traffic restrictions at different times of the year. Odd and even schemes, restrictions for residents of Mashhad and congestion charging schemes are the most recent ones in the last five years, while the area is mostly closed for vehicles except for registered taxis and buses.

furniture. Basically the area lacks different street furniture including public toilets, rubbish bins, seats and water fountains. Residents mostly rank public toilets very poor and believe that dirtiness and a lack of public toilets is the reason for the dirtiness of the streets. They also argue that there are insufficient rubbish bins. Residents and workers said that the area lacks street seating and water fountains but the quality and number of public telephones were satisfactory.

Many residents walk or cycle in the area day and night. They are also satisfied about walking or cycling and using motorcycles in the area. Residents and workers said that they rarely take taxis since they are expensive and also they do not take buses since they are crowded and do not provide night services. The respondents argued that traffic in the area is heavy, unregulated and poor in the day-time and slightly better at night.

The perception of accessibility, quality of area, overcrowding and noise also differs between residents and workers. Residents have mixed views about the sector's accessibility at day and night while workers rank it higher than average. Residents rank the area as very noisy and crowded during the day and at night, while workers rank it not crowded at both day and night and less noisy at night. However, observations documented in Table 1, show that the area is mostly crowded and accordingly noisy both day and night. Although workers rank the quality of area higher than residents, they mostly live in the city centre and report noise and overcrowding, lack of modern facilities and expensiveness[8] as the main reasons for not living in the shrine area. Respondents almost never go to the parks and gardens and mostly rank them very poor; they said that the two parks are not enough for the area, see Figure 6, and asked for construction of more parks and gardens.

The area's requirements

In the following section the basic requirements of the area based on its residents' and workers' views are studied to be considered in the further redevelopment of the area. Almost half of the residents and the majority of workers felt that quality of their environment was good, though half of the residents rank it as poor. Residents mostly do their everyday shopping at local shops, while workers do not. This shows that the area is partly successful in providing the everyday needs of local people. Despite a wide variety of local restaurants and cafés available in the area, almost half of the residents and workers do

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[8] Refers to everything containing daily needs, travelling in the city and house rentals.

not eat in them. Basically, respondents have two different approaches towards shops, restaurants, cafés and residential facilities, ranking them either very poor with poor quality and high costs, or good. However, they rank these facilities almost the same during the day and at night. Residents mostly rate tourist facilities very poor, while workers rate them very good. Considering these mixed views, it seems that not all the users' requirements are adequately met in this sector.

Residents and workers were not satisfied with the quality of streets, junctions and squares. Workers complain that they are old and narrow and residents say that they are poorly designed. In the last 30 years the shrine territory has expanded and a roundabout was built under the shrine. However, when this underground roundabout was built, a small roundabout, called Beit al Moghadas, which had been on the street near the shrine for a long time, was very close to the access ramps, as shown in Figure 6. As a result, cars coming up the ramp suddenly find a roundabout in front of them and, as they are not expecting it, this causes accidents and threatens the safety of pedestrians and vehicles. Residents rank traffic signage very poor, while workers rank it good. Both residents and workers almost never use car parks in this sector and rank them very poor. Residents said that there are not enough and workers said that they are overcrowded. Although a redevelopment plan is in progress in the area, residents and workers were not satisfied with its aims and process of execution.

Respondents were asked to choose the best area in the city, list its good characteristics and recommend necessary developments for their own sector to become ideal. In sector one they choose Ahmad-Abad[9] in the city centre as the best area in Mashhad since it has more urban facilities and less air pollution. Residents recommend street development and workers recommend improvement of traffic as the necessary requirements of sector one.

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[9] احمد آباد, Ahmad Abad, considered one of the best areas in the city centre with many luxurious shops, shopping centres, apartments and houses and the widest street in the city centre.

Table 3: Ranking parameters in sector one (Author).

Parameters	Imam-reza Street	
	Residents - 25 respondents	Workers – 25 respondents
Quality of life		
Safety-Day		
Safety-Night		
Noise -Day		
Noise -Night		
Overcrowding-Day		
Overcrowding-Night		
Accessibility-Day		
Accessibility-Night		
Cleanliness of main street		
Cleanliness of minor street		
Traffic-Day		
Traffic-Night		
Congestion charge scheme		
Traffic signage		
Overpass-Day		
Overpass-Night		
Residential facilities		
Tourist facilities		
Streets, junction and squares		
Pavement of main streets		
Pavement of minor streets		
Car parks		
Shops		
Restaurants		
Parks and gardens		
Taking taxis		
Using private car- Day		
Using private car- Night		
Using motorcycle		
Using bicycle or walking		
Taking buses- Day		
Taking buses- Night		
Regeneration project		
Lighting of main streets		
Lighting of minor streets		
Public toilets		
Public telephones		
Rubbish bins		
Seats		
Water fountains		

Very poor ■ Good
Poor ■ Very good
Average

25 15 5 5 15 25   25 15 5 5 15 25

Sector two

Sector two surrounds Shirazi Street, covers parts of two traditional Mahale and the shrine borough. Shirazi Street, previously called Bala-Khiaban[10], is one of the main streets ending at the shrine and one of the first streets built in Mashhad during the17[th] century and was redesigned as a modern street in the 1930s at the time of the first wave of modernisation in Iran. There used to be a canal in the middle of this street passing through the shrine and continuing into Navab Street which was built at the same time. The canal was covered after the 1930s when the number of vehicles using the street increased.

An important part of the Regeneration and Reconstruction Plan of Imam Reza's shrine area, RPIS, has been taking place in one of the junctions called Shohada square[11] in this sector, shown in Figure 8. The project contains pedestrianising the square, construction of a vehicular underpass and a new city hall. Shohada junction[12] also connects Shirazi Street to the train station. Naderi garden[13] which is an historical site containing a garden, the tomb of Nader Shah Afshar[14] and a museum of the Afsharid dynasty[15] is located on the north side of this junction attracting many tourists.

The main branches of several administrative offices are located in sector two. This means that the staff of these offices and many residents are the main users of this sector during the day-time. Also, Shirazi Street is historically taken as the popular route to the shrine at different times of day and night by many residents of Mashhad.

This sector includes three four-star hotels, three three-star, two two-star and three one-star hotels. Also this area is thought to be the best area of Mashhad by some residents and workers of the same sector. Because of several types of hotels, guesthouses, shops and bazaars are located in sector two and because Naderi Garden is an historic monument, this area is one of the busiest streets in the shrine area 24-hours a day and seven days a week, though it is less busy than Imam Reza Street at night when offices are closed.

As shown in Figure 8, this sector contained a medical centre and two car parks excluding the parking under the shrine.

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[10] بالا خیابان, Up Street
[11] میدان شهدا, Shohada roundabout
[12] چهار راه شهدا Shohada junction
[13] باغ نادری Naderi Garden
[14] نادر شاه افشار, Nader Shah Afshar was the king of Iran during 1736-47 and the founder of the Afsharid dynasty. At this time Mashhad was the capital of Iran. He was a military genius and passed most of his life in battle.
[15] سلسله افشاریه, Afsharid dynasty is a Persian dynasty 1736-1796, after the Safavid and before the Qajar dynasties.

As a part of RPIS, a complex containing a four-star hotel, a luxurious shopping centre and restaurant have been built in 2010 in Shirazi Street in front of the shrine, as shown in Figure 8. Some of the interviewees were selected from the workers of this new complex. All of these workers are newcomers in the shrine area.

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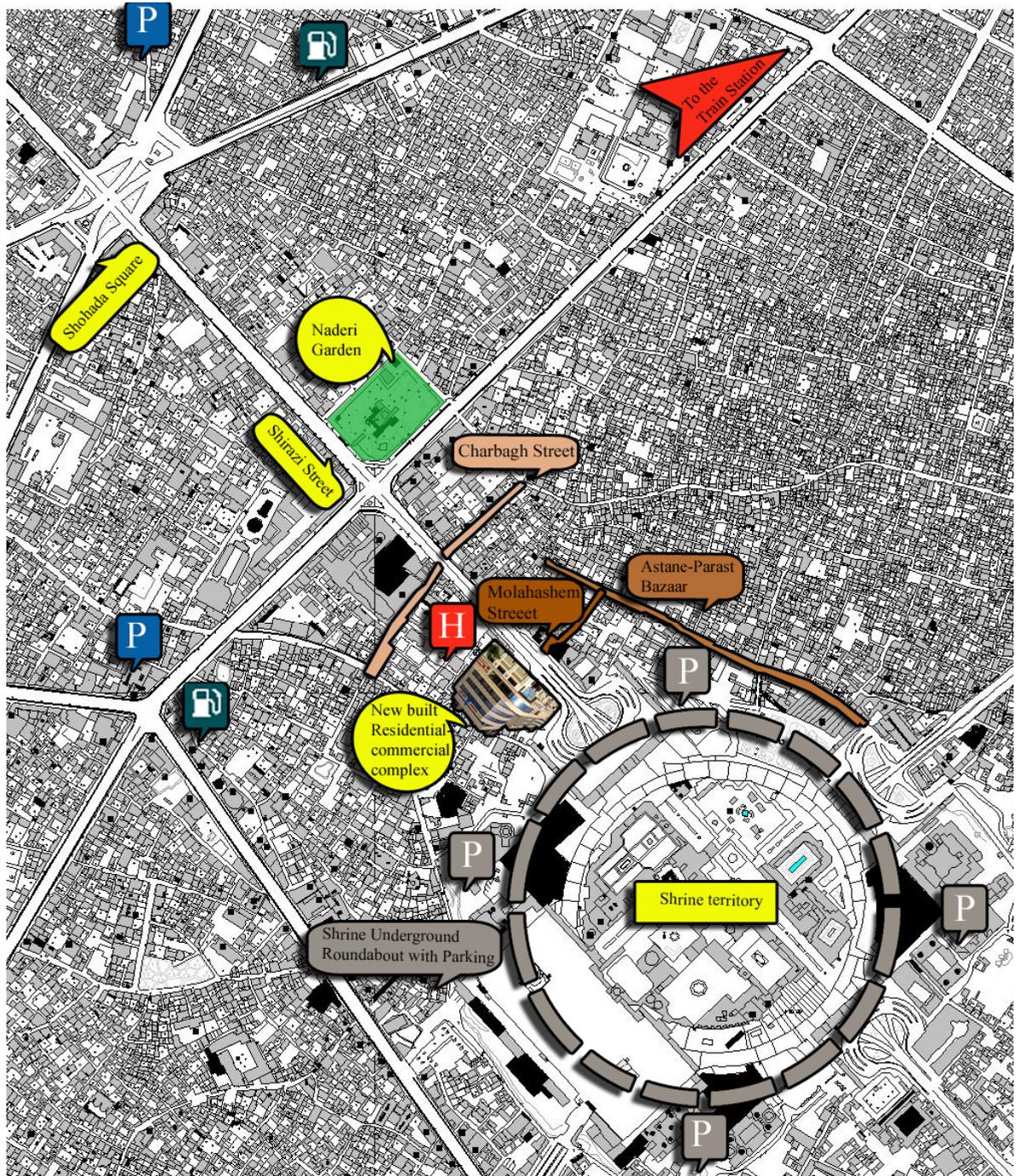
Figure 8: Sector two (Adapted from figure ground map by the author).

10:12, 24/09/10

10:20, 24/09/10

Newly built commercial residential complexes.

02:08, 28/07/10

Street at midnight.

00:39, 10/08/10

Pavements at midnight.

02:11, 28/07/10

02:30, 28/07/10

Shops at midnight.

1:56, 10/08/10

Pavements at midnight.

10:14, 29/07/10

Buses at night.

00:40, 10/08/10

People sitting on the seats outside the new shopping centre, but only a few of them go inside.

00:20, 10/08/10

Water fountains in sector two.

1:44, 10/08/10

1:50, 10/08/10

Many shops in the new shopping centre are closed at midnight and the open ones are not popular amongst pilgrims, while the nearby shops on the street are busy.

24-hour activities

As in sector one, sector two is also active 24-hours a day, seven days a week with the majority of workers working in shifts. Amongst the 25 worker respondents in this sector, 18 of them work 24-hours in shifts, three of them work until 3 a.m. in shifts, two of them work until midnight in shifts and two of them until 10 p.m. Also participants ranked different parameters including safety, noise, overcrowding, accessibility and traffic in this sector almost the same during the day and night with insignificant differences. Workers

and residents said that the busiest time of the area is 5 p.m. to 10 p.m. Similar to sector one, the main factor that makes the area work 24-hours is pilgrims. However, in sector two shopkeepers argue that their customers include both residents and pilgrims, though the majority of their customers at night are pilgrims. However, night-time activities also depend on the mutual relationship between customers and shopkeepers. This sector contains a newly built shopping centre that does not seem to be accepted by customers. Observations show that, although this shopping centre does not have any specific obligatory working hours, the majority of shops inside the shopping centre are closed at night and the ones that are open do not have many customers. However, the small businesses on the street outside the shopping centre were almost all open and quite busy. Also newcomers to the area were not satisfied with it and did not adapt to it and its culture. This shows the threat of a decline of night-time activities if shops are replaced with shopping centres and local businesses and local people are displaced.

There is a close relationship between where workers live, the transport mode they use to reach work and their working hours. The majority of workers in this sector live in the shrine area; however, large numbers of them live in the city centre or further away. They are mostly the newcomers who mostly work in the newly built complex. They do not benefit from the 24-hour mixed-use area and need to spend long hours travelling from home to work and vice versa. Many of them travel by car, but the young ones who do not have cars need to take public transport every day. They mostly take taxis and, as residents, are dissatisfied with their high costs. These newcomers do not adapt to the area easily; they feel that they are obliged to stay in the area, do not work 24-hours and do not meet the pilgrims' expectations. This is why the majority of businesses in the newly built complex are vacant and closed at night and the shopping centre is not popular with pilgrims.

As in sector one, observations show that the closer the area is to the shrine the more shops are open 24-hours and, hence, the area is busier than other areas during both day and night. However, these shops must meet customers' expectations and needs and failure to comply with these requirements might result in deserted shops, even if they are at the heart of a night-time active area. Also observations show that newcomers do not fit into the area easily. They do not benefit from a mixed-use 24-hour area, feel isolated from the environment and do not participate in the night-life of the area. Therefore, if they become the dominant population of the area, its night-life might be threatened.

Perception of safety

As in sector one, due to security reasons it was not possible to obtain safety figures for the area, the results of this section are based on the perception of safety which is based on the respondents' answers. The majority of respondents said that sector two is safe both day and night. However, some respondents said that minor streets including Molahashem, Char-Bagh Streets and Astane Parast bazaar, and the demolished buildings because of RPIS have lower degrees of safety both day and night. Chahar Bagh Street, located between sectors one and two, and Astane Parast bazaar, located between sectors two and three, are two traditional streets in this sector in which large parts have been demolished based on RPIS and, similar to sector one, are listed amongst the unsafe areas of sector two. As in sector one, since some parts of sector two have been demolished because of RPIS, safety is reduced as there are fewer guesthouses, a reduction of pilgrims and working hours for shops in the demolished areas are reduced and, accordingly, street lighting becomes an issue acknowledged by residents and workers as a night-time safety problem. Also large-scale demolition made the streets empty and a suitable place for drug dealers, drug users and criminals to hide. This is also acknowledged by residents and workers as a safety issue day and night. A group of residents in sector two said that near the shrine is not safe during the day and night because of overcrowding and the presence of strangers, which refers to pilgrims.

Social interactions

The majority of residents and workers have been living and working in the area for a long time, though this sector has the highest number of newcomers amongst residents and workers. Residents are from all ages and mostly live in inherited properties, but the majority of workers are 18 to 35 and many of them work in the area as that is their only job opportunity. A group of them are office workers and some others work in shops and hotels. They mostly use cars, motorcycles or take taxis. Residents also use cars and motorcycles or bicycles. Although many respondents use cars, they were not satisfied and said that overcrowding, the congestion charging scheme and a lack of car parks are the main problems.

As in sector one, there is a close relationship between residents, workers and pilgrims in the area since the majority of businesses' customers are pilgrims and the majority of

residents, 17 out of 25 respondents, rent their houses to pilgrims mostly at the peak of pilgrimage, which is in summer and at Norouz. However, this sector has the highest number of non-pilgrim customers. As in sector one, respondents in sector two were not satisfied with the congestion charging scheme since they thought it had reduced the number of pilgrims in the year it was introduced.

Pedestrian facilities

The respondents' view on pavement quality, lighting and cleanliness of streets in sector two was similar to sector one, that is that pavements and streets are dirty and have poor lighting. In this sector, because many workers live in the area their opinions were similar to the residents' opinions. However, because there were some newcomer workers in this sector, their opinions make the results a little mixed as their opinions are not similar to local people. Also this sector lacks street furniture including public toilets, rubbish bins, seats and water fountains.

The results of this sector regarding transport modes, traffic issues, noise and overcrowding and required improvements are similar to sector one. Also respondents rarely go to parks and gardens and mostly rank them very poor, as there is only one garden in the area, and they have asked for the construction of more parks and gardens.

The area's requirements

In common with sector one, the quality of the environment, shopping and eating facilities are considered satisfactory, showing that the area is partly successful in providing for the everyday needs of local people but not all users' needs are adequately met.

Similar to sector one, respondents were not satisfied with streets, junctions, squares and traffic signage and said that the area lacks car parks. Residents rank the redevelopment plan in progress in the area very poor, while workers rank it good. The majority of respondents choose Ahmad Abad in the city centre as the best area in Mashhad since it is more regulated and has more urban facilities, less air pollution, better street conditions and more parks and gardens. Residents and workers said that provision of more urban facilities and revitalisation are vital needs for redevelopment in sector two, while workers also asked for more tourist facilities and residents asked for further street development. Some of the

workers in sector two said that sector two is the best area in the city and does not need any improvement.

Table 4: Ranking parameters in sector two (Author).

Parameters	Shirazi Street	
	Residents - 25 respondents	Workers - 25 respondents
Quality of life		
Safety-Day		
Safety-Night		
Noise -Day		
Noise -Night		
Overcrowding-Day		
Overcrowding-Night		
Accessibility-Day		
Accessibility-Night		
Cleanliness of main street		
Cleanliness of minor street		
Traffic-Day		
Traffic-Night		
Congestion charge scheme		
Traffic signage		
Residential facilities		
Tourist facilities		
Streets, junction and squares		
Pavement of main streets		
Pavement of minor streets		
Car parks		
Shops		
Restaurants		
Parks and gardens		
Taking taxis		
Using private car- Day		
Using private car- Night		
Using motorcycle		
Using bicycle or walking		
Taking buses- Day		
Taking buses- Night		
Regeneration project		
Lighting of main streets		
Lighting of minor streets		
Public toilets		
Public telephones		
Rubbish bins		
Seats		
Water fountains		

Legend:
- Very poor
- Poor
- Average
- Good
- Very good

Scale (Residents): 25 15 5 5 15 25
Scale (Workers): 25 15 5 5 15 25

Sector three

Sector three surrounds Tabarsi Street, covers parts of two traditional Mahale and the shrine borough. Tabarsi Street is one of the main streets culminating at the shrine with an important religious reputation that, only on this street, shrine and qibla[16] are located in the same direction. Tabarsi Street is directly connected to Mashhad train station as shown in Figure 9.

This sector is one of the most deprived areas in the environs of the shrine and in Mashhad, though it is one of the busiest and is active 24-hours a day and seven days a week. Although there are only one four-star hotels, one three-star, two two-star and one one-star hotel in this sector, many registered and unregistered guesthouses accommodate large numbers of low-income pilgrims.

As shown in Figure 9, there is a hospital close to the shrine and one car park excluding those under the shrine. The only pedestrian subway in the whole shrine area is located in this street close to the shrine entrance. The subway does not have escalators or lifts, which makes it inaccessible for elderly or disabled people. Thirty-three shops are located in the subway, working 24-hours a day and seven days a week whenever there are pilgrims in the area, especially in the summer, at Norouz and on other religious occasions. Some of the interviewees were selected from these shopkeepers.

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[16] قبله, The direction that Muslims should face while praying.
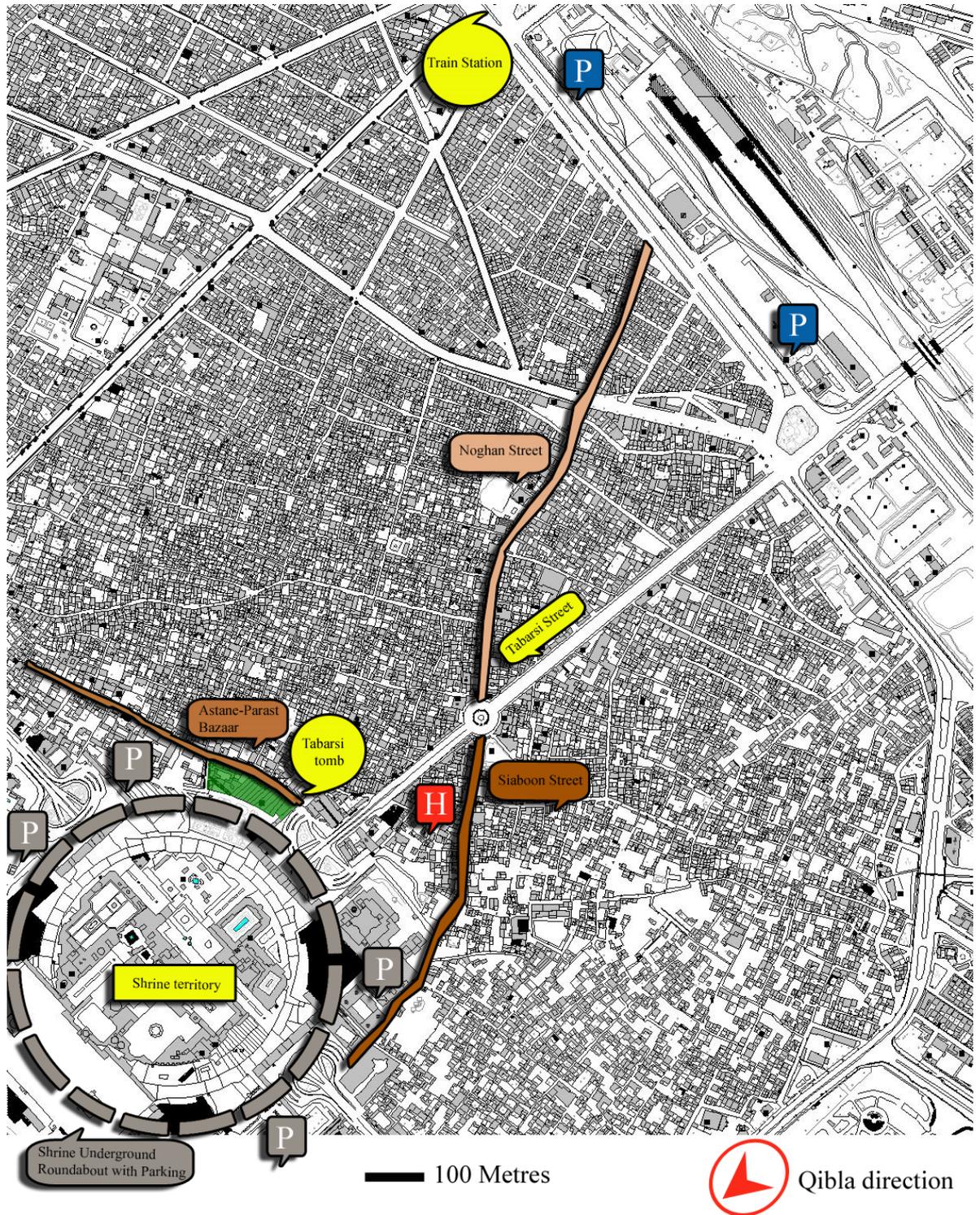
Figure 9: Sector three (Adapted from figure ground map by the author).

19:15, 14/08/10

A newly built four-star hotel.

19:15, 14/08/10

It is not easy to find public toilets.

16:11, 31/07/10

15:45, 31/07/10

The only pedestrian subway in the whole borough.

15:46, 31/7/10

Shops in the subway.

10:20 31/07/10

According to subway shopkeepers, drug dealers standing at the entrance of the subway make the area unsafe.

13:13, 21/08/10

There is no pavement or drain water infrastructure in the minor streets.

14:19, 15/08/10

Pavements in main streets are used for motorcycle parking.

12:10, 31/07/10

Pilgrims looking for guesthouses sit anywhere on the street.

11:12, 31/07/10

Minor streets are used by both pedestrian and vehicles.

13:20, 31/07/10

Pavements of main streets.

15:07, 31/07/10

Minor streets.

14:30, 25/08/10

16:00, 21/08/10

Demolished buildings.

20:10, 14/08/10

20:15, 14/08/10

Demolished areas transform some parts of sectors three and four into a large construction site.

14:07, 25/08/10

14:55, 25/08/10

Tabarsi roundabout.

Pedestrian crossing.

12:15, 31/07/10

Shelters used to close the shop temporary at praying time.

15:19, 31/07/10

Vendors selling homemade bread.

15:21, 31/07/10

Demolished buildings used as car parks,

15:00, 31/07/10

Vendors find a place to sell their wares in the half-demolished streets.

20:08, 14/08/10

Shop windows.

19:38, 21/08/10

Curtains used as shelters in the minor streets.

20:10, 14/08/10

Shops selling special religious goods.

15:38, 31/07/10

Clothes shop.

15:31, 21/08/10

A guesthouse in a minor street.

16:40, 14/08/10

A refurbished historic building in a minor street.

1:25, 15/08/10

A street at night.

1:07, 15/08/10

Pavements at night.

1:27, 15/08/10

Subway at night.

1:56, 15/07/10

Street at night

12:13, 31/07/10

Half-demolished buildings.

2:14, 31/07/10

A lack of water fountains in summer is a serious problem for pilgrims.

24-hour activities

As in the last two sectors, sector three is active 24-hours a day and seven days a week with the impact of pilgrims and the majority of workers work 24-hours in shifts. Amongst the 25 worker respondents in this sector, 19 of them work 24-hours in shifts; four of them work until 3 a.m. in shifts and two of them work until 10 p.m. Also participants rank different parameters almost similarly with insignificant differences during day and night.

The majority of workers and residents said that the busiest time of the area is 8 a.m. to 1 p.m. and 5 p.m. to 10 p.m. They also said that the area is very crowded during the day and at night. Because workers in this sector also live there, the responses of residents and workers in this sector were relatively similar. This might be because, unlike sector one, the majority of workers in this sector also live in the shrine area. Counts in this sector show that there are large numbers of pedestrians in the area both day and night. Figure 10 and Table 5 show that the number of pedestrians reduces during the day and at night in the demolished areas which do not provide facilities for pilgrims. Figure 10 and Table 1 and

observations also show that, although the areas close to the shrine have more shops working 24-hours and are busier, when they are half demolished safety is reduced and they have fewer pedestrians.
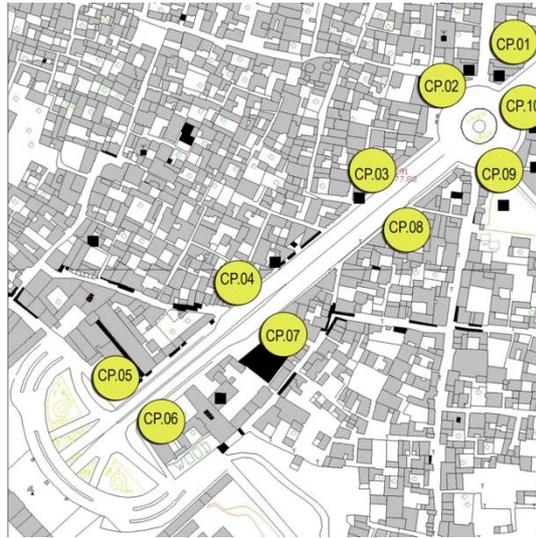
Figure 10: Counting points for pedestrians in Tabarsi Street (Adapted from figure ground map by the author).

Table 5: Pedestrian counts in sector three (Author).

	CP.01	CP.02	CP.03	CP.04	CP.05	CP.06	CP.07	CP.08	CP.09	CP.10
01:30a.m	48	112	103	110	126	28	112	98	100	52
05:30 a.m	22	42	52	36	29	16	58	45	49	26
08:30a.m	25	70	100	108	120	35	97	102	83	22
01:30p.m	79	118	135	>135	>135	86	>135	128	92	68
08:30p.m	95	>135	>135	>135	>135	72	>135	>135	124	85

Table 6: Vehicular counts in sector three, C: Car, M: Motorcycle, B: Bus, Bi: Bicycle (Author).

	CP.01	CP.03	CP.05	CP.06	CP.08	CP.09	CP.10
01:30a.m	C:10, M:2, Bi:3	C:12 M:3,	C:1	C:3	C: 9, M:2,	C:2, Bi:1	C:8, M:1, Bi:2
05:30a.m	C:6, M:1	C:8, M:4, Bi:1	C:2	C:1	C: 6, M:1	M:1, Bi:3	C:7, M:1, Bi:1
08:30a.m	C:23, M:4, Bi:2	C:20, M:8, B:2	C:3	C:4	C: 28, M:4	C:1, M:5, Bi:1	C:24, M:2, Bi:3
01:30p.m	C:20, M:5	C:24, M:6, Bi:3	C:5	C:8	C: 29, M:4, B:1	C:1, M:2	C:23, M:3, Bi:1
08:30p.m	C:28, M:7, Bi:3	C:29, M:6, Bi:1	C:7	C:6	C: 20, M:4, Bi:3	C:2, M:6, Bi:1	C:26, M:4, Bi:2

Perception of safety

As in the previous two sectors, because of security reasons it was not possible to obtain safety figures for the area and the results of this section are on the perception of safety based on the respondents' answers. The majority of respondents said that sector three is safe day and night. However, some respondents said that minor streets including Siaboon and Tapol Mahale[17] streets, and demolished buildings caused by RPIS have lower degrees of safety both in the day and at night. Some respondents also said that the problem is worse at night because of poor lighting. Noghan Street in sector three and Siaboon Street, between sectors three and four are famous traditional shopping streets. Siaboon Street is a minor street joining Tabarsi and Navab Streets and is located in sectors three and four. This street is acknowledged unsafe by interviewees of both sectors. Historically kolies[18] used to live in Siaboon Street (Rezvani, 2005). Later, because of the poor reputation of the street, the houses were rented at low prices to ethnic minorities and poor people. Because there was less police control on this street, drug dealers, drug users and criminals used this street

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[17] Tapol mahale تَپُل محله
[18] Koli means gypsy in Persian, these people live by making and selling handicrafts or fortune telling.

for working or living. However, since some parts of these streets have been demolished because of RPIS, safety is reduced in the same way as the previous two sectors.

According to some interviewees, dealers used to sell drugs openly in this sector. Nowadays the police clamp down on them, though many are still active in the area but less publicly. Shopkeepers in the subway market said that drug dealers standing at the entrance of the subway threaten people and, therefore, people do not use the subway. They argue that the presence of drug dealers at the entrance reduces the safety of the subway, their shops and their customers day and night. In winter, when there are fewer pilgrims, shops in the subway close around midnight and, accordingly, the safety of the subway is reduced. One of the workers also said that taking taxis is not safe in this area as there are more unregistered taxis than registered ones.

Social interactions

As in the previous two sectors, the majority of residents have been living in sector three for more than 40 years and the majority of residents and workers have inherited their houses or businesses. Almost half of the workers in this sector live in the shrine area and many live in the city centre and suburbs. As in other sectors, the majority of residents and workers use motorcycles or bicycles and not cars because of overcrowding and narrow streets.

As in the previous two sectors, there is a close relationship between residents, workers and pilgrims in the area and respondents were not satisfied with the congestion charging scheme since they thought it had reduced the number of pilgrims in the year of its introduction. The majority of customers are pilgrims and the majority of residents, 22 out of 25 respondents, rent their houses to pilgrims throughout the year but mostly at the peak of pilgrimage which is in summer and at Norouz. This is the highest rate in the whole area.

Pedestrian facilities

As in the other sectors, respondents were not satisfied with the quality of pavements, lighting and cleanliness of the streets and street furniture. They said that pavements are narrow and streets have poor lighting and are dirty.

Most residents and workers use the pedestrian subway day and night, though they ranked it very poor since it was dirty and had poor accessibility. However, they must use it as it is the only way to cross the street for almost one kilometre. This means that the area seriously lacks pedestrian crossing facilities. Also, the lack of street furniture including public toilets, public telephones, rubbish bins, seats and water fountains is more obvious in sector three.

The results of this sector regarding transport modes, traffic issues, noise and overcrowding and its required improvement are similar to the previous two sectors. Respondents in this sector report a lack of safe routes for bicycles as a big problem. They rarely go to parks and gardens and mostly rank them very poor. There is only one garden in the area and respondents asked for construction of more parks and gardens.

Observations documented in Figure 10, show that the area is mostly crowded and accordingly noisy both in the day and at night. It seems that this sector is less expensive than the previous two sectors since workers not living in the area cited the same reasons as the previous two sectors, including lack of facilities, noise and overcrowding for not living in the area, but excluded expensiveness.

The area's requirements

More than half of the residents and workers felt that their environment quality was poor. Shopping and eating habits in sector three are similar to the previous two sectors, showing that the area is partly successful in providing for the everyday needs of local people but fails to meet the requirements of all of its users.

As in the previous two sectors, respondents were not satisfied with the quality of streets, junctions, squares and traffic signage. They said that the area lacks car parking and the available car parks, which are basically the vacant land of previously demolished buildings, are not safe. Although a redevelopment plan is in progress in the area, residents and workers were not satisfied with its aims and the process of its execution.

The majority of respondents choose Imam Reza in the shrine area, sector one, and Ahmad Abad in the city centre as the best areas in Mashhad since they have more urban facilities, more parks and gardens, better working opportunities and better street conditions. Respondents said that improving the area's traffic, provision of more urban facilities, street

development as well as improving the area's cleanliness and revitalisation are the most vital needs.

Table 7: Ranking parameters in sector three (Author).

Parameters	Tabarsi Street	
	Residents - 25 respondents	Workers – 25 respondents
Quality of life		
Safety-Day		
Safety-Night		
Noise -Day		
Noise-Night		
Overcrowding-Day		
Overcrowding-Night		
Accessibility-Day		
Accessibility-Night		
Cleanliness of main street		
Cleanliness of minor street		
Traffic-Day		
Traffic-Night		
Congestion charge scheme		
Subway-Day		
Subway-Night		
Traffic signage		
Residential facilities		
Tourist facilities		
Streets, junction and squares		
Pavement of main streets		
Pavement of minor streets		
Car parks		
Shops		
Restaurants		
Parks and gardens		
Taking taxis		
Using private car- Day		
Using private car- Night		
Using motorcycle		
Using bicycle or walking		
Taking buses- Day		
Taking buses- Night		
Regeneration project		
Lighting of main streets		
Lighting of minor streets		
Public toilets		
Public telephones		
Rubbish bins		
Seats		
Water fountains		

Very poor · Good
Poor · Very good
Average

25 15 5 5 15 25   25 15 5 5 15 25

Sector four

Sector four surrounds Navab Street, covers parts of two traditional Mahale and the shrine borough. Navab Street, previously called Payin-Khiaban[19], is one of the main streets ending at the shrine and one of the first streets built in Mashhad during the17th century. It was redesigned as a modern street in the 1930s at the time of the first wave of modernisation in Iran. There used to be a canal in the middle of this street which starts from Shirazi Street passing through the shrine and continue into Navab Street. The canal was covered after the 1930s when the number of vehicles using the street increased.

Navab Street is famous for having many wholesalers. A large part of RPIS has been taking place in sector four, hence many minor streets and buildings have been demolished transforming the area into a large construction site in the last ten years. Accordingly, sector four is the most vacant area in the shrine borough and the only sector in which large parts do not work 24-hours, even in summer time.

Presently, there is only one three-star hotel in this sector, though there used to be many registered and unregistered guesthouses which are now demolished and are planned to be replaced by large residential and commercial complexes. However, improving the street condition and making new luxurious buildings does not necessarily change the area's reputation or conditions since this has not changed in sector four. Although many new buildings are built and street conditions are much better than the other streets in the area, this sector is still one of the most deprived areas in the shrine borough as it used to be historically. As shown in Figure 11, there is a hospital and three car parks excluding the parking under the shrine.

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[19] پایین خیابان, Payin Khiaban means Down Street.
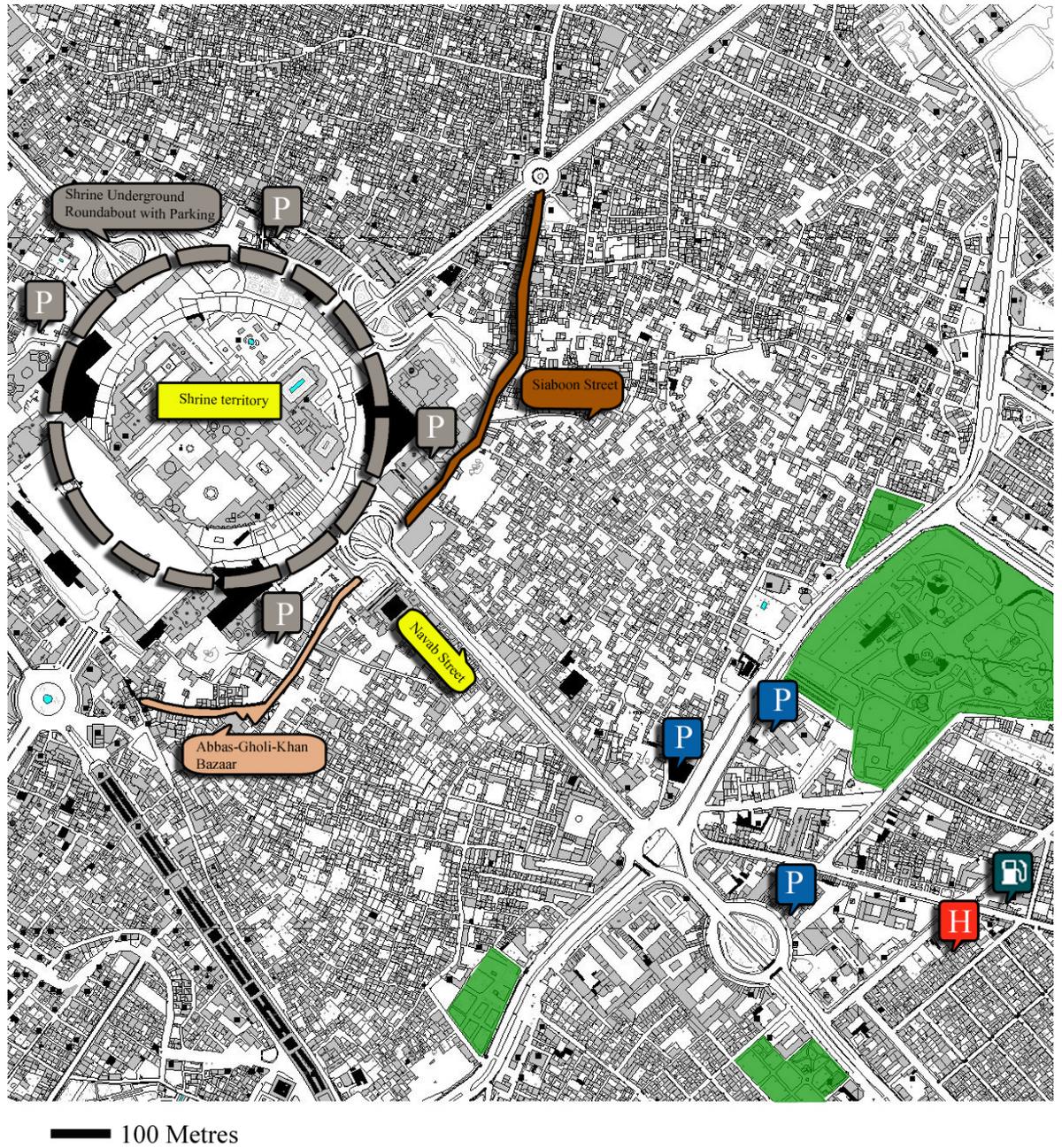
Figure 11: Sector four (Adapted from figure ground map by the author).

13:44, 13/08/10

13:50, 13/08/10

Newly built buildings do not adapt to the traditional architecture.

13:10, 13/08/10

13:44, 13/08/10

Streets are not pedestrian-friendly.

12:45, 13/08/10

Construction sites.

12:47, 13/08/10

Vehicular underpass.

15:26, 03/08/10

15:12, 03/08/10

Pavements of the main street.

There is no pavement in the minor streets.

14:08, 03/08/10

14:10, 03/08/10

An open arcade in this sector.

12:00, 03/08/10

Pavements in front of shops.

13:46, 13/08/10

Pavements in front of demolished buildings.

13:43, 13/08/10

Main street.

15:12, 13/08/10

Minor street.

1:07, 14/08/10

Street at night.

1:16, 14/08/10

Pavement at night.

24-hour activities

Sector four is also active 24-hours a day and seven days a week with the impact of pilgrims, though less active than other sectors. The majority of workers work 24-hours in shifts. Amongst the 25 worker respondents in this sector, 15 of them work 24-hours in shifts; two of them work until 3 a.m. in shifts, six of them work until midnight and two of them until 10 p.m. Participants from the residents and workers group rank different parameters including safety, noise, overcrowding, accessibility and traffic almost the same during day and night. Also workers and residents said that the busiest time of the area is 8 a.m. to 1 p.m. and 5 p.m. to 10 p.m. This sector includes the highest number of workers who work only until midnight, these are workers whose businesses are located in the areas that have been demolished due to RPIS. They said that *'there is no reason to work 24-*

hours any more, as fewer pilgrims stay in their neighbourhood and the number of their customers has been reduced significantly'. Observations also show that, although the areas closer to the shrine have more shops working 24-hours and are busier, if they are half demolished safety is reduced and the area has fewer pedestrians.

Perception of safety

As in the previous three sectors, respondents said that sector four is safe both in the day and at night. However, some respondents said that minor streets, including Siaboon Street and demolished buildings because of RPIS, have lower degrees of safety during both day and night. Some respondents also said that the problem is worse at night because of poor lighting. Siaboon Street and Abas Gholi Khan bazaar are acknowledged unsafe by interviewees of sectors one, three and four, as discussed in the previous sectors. Since some parts of these streets have been demolished due to RPIS, safety is reduced in the same way as in the other three sectors.

Social interactions

As in the previous three sectors, the majority of residents have been living in sector three for more than 40 years and the majority of residents and workers have inherited their houses or businesses. Also the majority of workers in this sector live in the shrine area.

As in the previous three sectors, there is a close relationship between residents, workers and pilgrims in the area. Many of the respondents were not satisfied with the congestion charge scheme and RPIS demolitions since they thought it had reduced the number of pilgrims. The majority of customers are pilgrims and the majority of residents, 21 out of 25 respondents, rent their houses to pilgrims mostly at the peak of pilgrimage which is in summer and at Norouz.

Pedestrian facilities

Residents and workers had mixed views about the pavement quality, lighting and cleanliness of streets, while residents were more dissatisfied with these. Based on residents opinions pavements are narrow and streets have poor lighting and cleaning. As in the

previous three sectors, sector four also lacks street furniture including public toilets, public telephones, rubbish bins, seats and water fountains. However, workers and residents have different views on these facilities and residents were more dissatisfied with them.

The results of this sector regarding transport modes, traffic issues, noise and overcrowding and its required improvement are almost the same as the last three sectors. The main difference is that a significant number of workers use taxis. Also, respondents in this sector report a lack of safe routes for bicycles as a problem. Respondents rarely go to parks and gardens and rank them mostly very poor. There are four parks in the area but they are not safe, since many drug dealers are active in them.

As in the previous three sectors, workers not living in the area report a lack of modern facilities, noise, overcrowding and high costs as the main reasons for not living in sector four.

The area's requirements

Residents' and workers' opinions in ranking the quality of sector four were mixed. Shopping and eating habits in sector four are similar to the last three sectors, showing that the area is partly successful in providing for the everyday needs of local people but fails to meet the requirements of all its users.

As in the other three sectors, respondents were not satisfied with the quality of streets, junctions and squares. They said that the area lacks car parks and available parking which is basically on the vacant land of previously demolished buildings, is not safe. Although a redevelopment plan is in progress in the area, residents and workers were not satisfied with its aims and the process of its execution.

The majority of respondents choose Imam Reza in the shrine area, sector one, and Ahmad Abad in the city centre as the best areas in Mashhad since they have more urban facilities and more parks and gardens. The majority of residents and workers said that the most important need for redevelopment of sector four is the provision of more tourist facilities. This shows the close relationship between pilgrims and life in the shrine area. As observations and surveys show, this area lacks facilities and is historically one of the most deprived areas. However, the residents and workers feel there has been a reduction in pilgrims in the last two years and that this is the most important issue. Many of them said

that Imam Reza Street is the best street in Mashhad as it has more pilgrims. They were not satisfied with RPIS, since it had reduced their customers.

Table 8: Ranking parameters in sector four (Author).

Parameters	Navab Street	
	Residents - 25 respondents	Workers - 25 respondents
Quality of life		
Safety-Day		
Safety-Night		
Noise -Day		
Noise -Night		
Overcrowding-Day		
Overcrowding-Night		
Accessibility-Day		
Accessibility-Night		
Cleanliness of main street		
Cleanliness of minor street		
Traffic-Day		
Traffic-Night		
Congestion charge scheme		
Traffic signage		
Residential facilities		
Tourist facilities		
Streets, junction and squares		
Pavement of main streets		
Pavement of minor streets		
Car parks		
Shops		
Restaurants		
Parks and gardens		
Taking taxis		
Using private car- Day		
Using private car- Night		
Using motorcycle		
Using bicycle or walking		
Taking buses- Day		
Taking buses- Night		
Regeneration project		
Lighting of main streets		
Lighting of minor streets		
Public toilets		
Public telephones		
Rubbish bins		
Seats		
Water fountains		

Legend:
- Very poor (red)
- Poor (orange)
- Average (yellow)
- Good (light green)
- Very good (dark green)

Scale: 25 15 5 5 15 25 | 25 15 5 5 15 25

Shrine employees

Having explored the findings from the questionnaire, this following section moves on to explore the view of the shrine employees. Working in the shrine is an ambition of many people living in Iran. According to one shrine employee, there were 25,000 volunteers on the waiting list to work in the shrine in 2009 some of whom have been waiting 25 years. There are different kinds of shrine employees including paid and volunteer with different responsibilities including policing, giving information, shoe keepers, cleaning staff, restaurant staff, and courtyard staff. Different facilities are provided for shrine employees. They have special car parks, have access to free accommodation and food on their shifts and they are excluded from the traffic restrictions in the shrine area.

Only one of the shrine employees could remember the time when shrine started being open 24-hours. According to him historically, the shrine was evacuated after midnight for cleaning and it opened again for the sunrise praying time which could be as early as 2 a.m. in the summer and not later than 4:30 a.m. in winter. Around 1982, at the time of war between Iran and Iraq, many people from Tehran and the war-affected cities of Iran came to Mashhad to take refugee from the bombing. People stayed in their relatives' houses, hotels and guest houses but, because there was not enough accommodation for everybody, the shrine doors were left open 24-hours to accommodate the people in the shrine. This process continued until the end of the war in 1988 and the doors of the shrine never closed even after the war. He continued *'Maybe cleaning was the only excuse of the shrine employees to close the shrine doors at night and they learned how to do it at the time of war when the doors where always open and the shrine was full of people'*. It is important to note that now the shrines of Imams in Iraq, which became accessible to international pilgrims after 2004, are also open 24-hours in the same way as the Imam Reza shrine. This is easily verified by checking their live 24-hour webcams.

It was planned to interview 25 shrine-employees however, only five were actually interviewed because of security restrictions; they could not be interviewed during their shifts and refused to do it later. It is not possible to credit the results of this small sample as being the opinions of all shrine employees, though it is still useful to see how they rank the shrine area as a type of worker. The findings of this sample group which is similar to the other findings are discussed below.

As other respondents, the shrine employees said that the shrine area is noisy and crowded with poor traffic conditions and accessibility during the day and at night. However, they

argued that the area is safe day and night except for Siaboon and Noghan Streets which are unsafe at day-time and night-time due to presence of drug dealers and drug users. They acknowledged night-time as the busiest time of the shrine and pilgrims as the dominant people in the shrine after 1 a.m. However, they said that, at praying time, the number of residents is also significant. None of them use the overpass or car parks during the day and night and only one of them said that he always use the subway.

Their shopping and eating habits and opinions about the congestion charging scheme, overpass, subway, parking, parks and gardens, streets, junctions, squares, quality of pavements, lighting and cleanliness of main and minor streets, process of redevelopment in the shrine area, transport modes and street furniture were similar to other respondents. They said that the area needs more pedestrian facilities, car parks, parks and gardens and wider pavements. Also accessibility of the available pedestrian subway and safety of the available car parks need improvement. Similar to other interviewees, they considered Ahmad Abad in the city centre and Imam Reza Street in the shrine area as the best areas in Mashhad since they are cleaner and have more urban facilities, more parks and gardens and better street conditions. They said that revitalisation, street development and provision of more urban facilities are the main needs for redevelopment in the shrine area.

Semi-structured interview with the planning authorities

As discussed in Chapter Five, semi-structured face-to-face interviews were conducted with Izadi, the general director of applied research and Ablaghi, the general director of plan supervisory of the Urban Development and Revitalisation Organisation in Iran in September 2010 at their main office in Tehran. The main aim of these interviews was to understand the viewpoint of the shrine areas' planning authorities on night-life of the area and the RPIS. Also these interviews aimed to investigate if the planning authorities have considered the local night-life of the area in the RPIS, or proposed a future night-life for the area.

In response to the main introduction that was given by the researcher about Mashhad as a 24-hour city Ablaghi said: *'Does 24-hour city mean many pilgrims might stay in the city only 24-hours?'* When the meaning of a 24-hour city, with activities taking place at night, was explained he said that this was something dominant in many Iranian cities and not specifically Mashhad. He argued that many historical sites in Shiraz or Isfahan stay open

24-hours at summer or at the time of the Norouz holidays. He argued that *'the night-life of Mashhad was not considered in the RPIS, maybe because it is basically taken for granted'*. He also said that *'I assume some accommodation for low-income pilgrims is considered in the shrine area but I am not sure if that is enough'*.

Izadi, who had studied the shrine area as a case study for his doctorate thesis (Izadi, 2008), was familiar with the RPIS and the Tash consulting company as its planner. He argued that *'Tash based change as the main aim of RPIS and all the radical changes in the shrine area are intentionally aimed by the planning authorities'*. He argued that *'the needs of the low-income pilgrims are not considered in the RPIS and it is planned that the low-income pilgrims need to be moved to other areas, such as the camps on the margins of the city'*. He said that *'the night-life of the shrine area was not considered in the RPIS'*.

The viewpoints of the developers and planners of RPIS are extracted from minutes of planner's and developer's official meetings (Sazman-Mojri-Tarh, 2010b) and a book published by the firm about RPIS (Sepanloo, 2009). Investigating all of these studies and reports reveals that the night-life of the shrine area, as well as its social life, were not considered in the RPIS. Sepanloo, the director of Tash, in his book emphasises the aim for change in the shrine area. He divides the levels of RPIS into three of *'implementing great change with the aim of producing a contemporary pilgrimage space, balancing the change in order to make it more viable and elaborating change by activating all the possible resources'* (Sepanloo, 2009:5). He also suggests changing the name of RPIS to *'Making a Contemporary Space in the Imam-Reza's shrine area'*.

The discussions in the minutes of the RPIS meetings also show that there is less consideration about social life of the shrine area, but the main focus is on the economic benefits of RPIS and the rise of land-value. Sepanloo, when he was criticized by his opponents that his plan was processing slowly, had little outcome and did not consider people's lives said *'obviously there is a great outcome, with application of RPIS, the land value in the shrine area is increased 2.2 times'* (Sazman-Mojri-Tarh, 2010a:27). Jafarzade, the planning director of the development company of RPIS, in the same meeting said *'what we built in the shrine area is not in accordance with the everyday life of the people and it is not supposed to be like that either. We are building commercial and accommodation complexes which are not addressed to the residents'* (Sazman-Mojri-Tarh, 2010a:23).

The results of the interviews and studies show that the main aim of RPIS was change and the social life of the shrine area and the requirements of the current users were not

considered. Also, they reveal not only that the planning authorities in Iran did not consider the night-life of the shrine area in RPIS but also that they are basically unaware of its importance in Mashhad.

Policy for closing businesses at night

The character of Mashhad as a 24-hour city has not been recognised since the summer of 2012, when the authorities of Iran decided to manage and limit the opening hours of businesses at night in all major Iranian cities, including Mashhad. The initial plan began in the summer of 2009 in Tehran. Later it was approved as an obligatory regulation to be applied in all major Iranian cities including Mashhad. It is important to note that, at the beginning, because of pilgrims' needs, the shrine area was excluded from this policy. However, there was no explicit border defining the shrine area.

The experience of applying this policy to Mashhad is a clear example of what Giddens (1984) argued when he said that people perform a series of routine and habitual actions which provide comfort and familiarity for them. People become aware of these routines only when they cease and it could result in anxiety if they are prevented from performing them. Therefore, this policy resulted in opposition amongst residents, pilgrims, and authorities including some members of parliament. Various discussions and reasons for opposition were published in the Khorasan Newspaper, the local newspaper, for several months. It was argued that the policy was approved by the Business Commission to regulate working hours and increase safety at night (Khabar-online, 2012 ; Nasekh, 2012a ; Nasekh, 2012b ; Mohamad-Zadeh, 2012 ; Barand, 2012).

Based on this policy, businesses could start working at 6 a.m. (Khojaste-Nia, 2012), technical support businesses must close at 8 p.m., general businesses at 10 p.m. and food services, including supermarkets, convenience stores and restaurants at midnight (Khabar-online, 2012 ; Barand, 2012). However, this was not to be applied in Ramadan when all businesses can work 24-hours (Mehr, 2012b). Also the shrine area was excluded from this policy (Khabar-online, 2012 ; Nasekh, 2012a ; Shooshtari and Yousef-Zadeh, 2012) and food services in any part of the city could apply for a work permit to extend their opening hours until 2 a.m. (Isna, 2012 ; Nasekh, 2012b). By January 2013, almost 130 convenience stores all around Mashhad had got a work permit to increase their opening hours (Isna, 2012).

The authorities argued that the policy increased safety by sustaining the family structure (Nasekh, 2012a) and keeping young people out of public areas and restaurants after midnight (Khabar-online, 2012) thus preventing crime at night (Mohamad-Zadeh, 2012), facilitating traffic flow and saving energy. The chief of police in Mashhad and Khorasan said that *'when all businesses are closed after a certain time it will be easier to provide safety in the cities and criminals can be recognised and arrested'* (Nasekh, 2012b ; Nasekh, 2012a). This is similar to the opinion of Sir Richard Mayne KCB, Chief Commissioner of London Metropolitan Police in the mid-19th century, regarding all public places including coffee houses. He said *'the late hour at which they* (coffee houses) *remain open at night is a very great source of evil. Many persons are tempted to go there and led on, step by step, to criminal or immoral proceedings, which they would not be led into if there were no place for them to remain away from their homes at night'* cited in (Kneale, 1999:340). Although some groups of night-time users are known criminals, the majority of night-time users in Mashhad are various groups of society from residents and pilgrims who are performing their everyday routines.

(Mashhad-Gardi, 2012)   (Mehr, 2012a)

Figure 12: Mashhad at night.

The chief of police in Khorasan and secretary of the Business Commission also argued *'all over the world shops and services are closed at night; therefore we should do the same in Iran'* (Nasekh, 2012b ; Khojaste-Nia, 2012). However, what these authorities do not realise is that a lack of night-time activities have been a concern in many parts of the world, several studies have been conducted (see for example Greater-London-Authority, 2005 ; Hadfield, 2011 ; NYNA, 2011), and several associations, such as 'Purple Flag' in the UK, have been established to keep cities active at night. However, Iranian cities that used to be

routinely active at night are threatened by the most recent effects of modern urbanisation or political decisions through producing temporal zones and regulating opening hours.

Although the authorities acknowledged that people were against this policy, they assumed that people would get used to it (Khabar-online, 2012 ; Nasekh, 2012b ; Nasekh, 2012a). Some of the authorities were aware of the inconvenience of this policy (Khorasan-Newpaper, 2012c ; Khorasan-Newpaper, 2012d). For instance, the Governor suggested that it should be revised for restaurants and convenience stores (Toosi, 2012) or extended to 2 a.m. Some members of parliament were also against the plan. A member of parliament from Mashhad argued that:

> *'Mashhad has specific needs due to the presence of pilgrims. Services should serve pilgrims and residents 24 hours, not just in the shrine area but in the whole city as pilgrims are spread throughout the city. If there are safety and security problems in some parts of the city, the problems should be solved rather than the whole city being shut down'* (Khorasan-Newpaper, 2012c).

Some members of parliament also argued that they were shocked at this policy being executed in Mashhad. They argued that *'Mashhad needs to be active 24-hours to be able to serve pilgrims otherwise it will lose its efficiency, and pilgrims will be dissatisfied'* (Khorasan-Newpaper, 2012d). A group of members of parliament and Mashhad's Governor argued that this policy would not increase safety but reduce it as streets are safer when people are using them, rather than when they are empty (Alinejad, 2012). This is in accordance with theories argued in the second chapter (Carmona et al., 2010 ; Roberts, 2001).

A survey was conducted to gauge the opinions of residents of Mashhad and pilgrims about this policy by Khorasan-Newspaper amongst 45 residents and pilgrims (2012b). The results of this survey are discussed in the following section. Amongst the 45 respondents, 33 were against applying the policy and eight were supportive of the policy with the rest neutral. People who were against this policy discussed the different reasons for their opposition which are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Amongst this opposition the most significant reason is the arguments of Movahedian, the Mashhad governor. He said *'since people work until 10 p.m. or later, they can only go out for entertainment or everyday shopping after that. Also, Mashhad has hot summer days and the majority of people start going out after sunset. Therefore by applying this policy*

people cannot do all their daily activities and different needs and expectations of residents and pilgrims will not be met. Therefore, it is better to extend it until 2 a.m.'. He continued *'When the shops are closed and everywhere is dark and deserted at night, safety will be reduced and mugging will be increased instead'* (Khorasan-Newpaper, 2012a).

Amongst the responses published in the newspaper (Khorasan-Newpaper, 2012a) some residents said that they simply did not understand why night-time services should be curtailed. Some respondents argued that certain activities, including convenience stores and food services should be exempt. A 20 year old boy said *'Certain areas including Torghabe and Shandiz should be excluded from the policy'*. A 16 year old girl and a 50 year old man said that, unlike the authorities argued, this policy will decrease safety. Safety increases when services are open and the area is active. Some of the residents argued that dangerous areas are unsafe during both day and night and closing businesses at night would not increase safety in the area.

A clergyman said *'Mashhad is a pilgrimage destination and the city must serve the pilgrims 24-hours. This policy is not in accordance with pilgrims' needs and neither is it good for the reputation of Mashhad. Many pilgrims arrive at the city at midnight and need to buy food or fix their broken car'*. A pilgrim said *'Pilgrims might be unfamiliar with the city and need to ask others to find their address or look for accommodation at night'*. A resident said *'Many pilgrims stay in Mashhad for a short time and want to make the best use of their time; they might go to the shrine or go shopping at midnight and services should be provided for them'*. Shopkeepers said that they are paying rent for their shops for the whole 24-hours and cannot work only half of the time. They complained that the application of this policy would lead to their financial loss.

The people supporting the policy were in the minority in this survey and reported reduction of congestion and increased safety as the possible outcomes. A barber who works until after midnight near the shrine area supported the policy. He said *'I was supposed to work until late since all my neighbours were open at night near the shrine area and now by application of this policy I can close earlier'*. However, this policy excluded the shrine area. An 80 year old retired man said he supported the policy because *'by this policy people can rest at night'*.

Since the enforced application of this policy, streets that used to be active become deserted. However, various kinds of food services and convenience stores work in secret after midnight and many people from all around the city go shopping there and find them very

helpful. But this is not as easy as in the day-time as the police watch the streets and, if they find any open shop, the owner is forced to close and penalised. Therefore shopkeepers and customers have to be very careful. In the following section observations conducted by Barand (2012) on the streets of Mashhad after midnight are studied to document the importance of night-time activities amongst residents and pilgrims of Mashhad.

> *'The owners of a convenience store kept its shutter half closed to let customers in and out. One of the owners watched the street and closed down the shutter by a remote when police arrived. People inside the shop needed to wait until the police had gone and the shutter was half raised again. The shopkeepers said that their income had halved since the policy was applied, they fired half of their staff and had to work in secret until 2 a.m. to serve people and avoid more financial loss. The customers inside the shop also said that they came long distances to find a shop open and purchase their basic requirements'.*

In another area of the city Barand (2012) observes a juice bar. He said

> *'All the lights in a large juice bar, which used to work 24-hours with people queuing up in front of it until 5 a.m., were off after midnight, but one of the shopkeepers, who was standing behind the door, took customers inside one by one to order, then they waited outside until their order was ready and came to collect it. However, they could not drink inside the shop and needed to find a safe hidden place on the street. One of the customers said he works until 11 p.m. and this is the only time that he could take his children to a restaurant, or a juice bar. But since this policy was applied it seems that drinking juice became a criminal offence at night'.*

When he observed a kebab shop he said

> *'A kebab shop owner was also selling kebabs in secret and asked the customers to find a hidden place far from his shop to eat. Another snack bar owner only sold food to the customers he knew. A convenience store owner sold from the back of a closed shutter. It is even more ironic when two soldiers came to buy from the same shop. A shopkeeper said that the police force them to close at night and force the customers to leave the shop; they even did not let a customer finish paying and forced him out. Many shopkeepers said that they were more frightened of the police than the muggers. However, a convenience store near a police station was open at 2 a.m. and a police*

officer was shopping there. The shopkeeper said the police turned a blind eye to them as they were close to the police station where police officers do their shopping'.

Barand (2012) argued that a shopkeeper said this policy had made the city unsafe by assuring thieves that shops are closed at night and they can conduct robbery after midnight. This policy had influenced different businesses, even a butcher said his income was halved since the policy was applied since he conducted a significant amount of selling at night. Taxis also complained of financial loss as they did not have so many customers as usual.

Observations of Toosi (2012), a reporter who wrote a critical text about this policy, also show similar results including financial loss for different businesses, many people getting fired and inconvenience for residents and pilgrims. Based on her interviews, a shopkeeper of a snack bar said '*Our income has halved since our highest amount of selling was after sunset and specifically from 10 p.m. to 2 a.m., while, based on this policy, we have to close at midnight which is the peak of our selling'.* He continued that '*The shops in Mashhad were open because people used to go shopping at night and when they are closed at night the requirements of residents and pilgrims are not served'.* Since the shrine area is excluded from this policy, a shopkeeper in the shrine area said that recently he has had more customers from other parts of the city at night.

Because of the people opposing this regulation and the inconvenience it caused for people in Mashhad including residents and pilgrims, in May 2013 the execution of this policy was terminated, but only in Mashhad. It is still applied to other major cities in Iran. Also the authorities admitted that it was a mistake to apply this regulation to Mashhad. Memarian, the chief of Mashhad Business Association said '*This policy is cancelled because Mashhad is a large pilgrimage city and the residents and pilgrims' requirements need to be provided 24-hours'.* Also a Faculty of Economics school in the Ferdosi University of Mashhad argued that '*Execution of this plan had bad effects on the Mashhad's financial status; however, cancellation of this plan may lead to its recovery'* (Mousavi-Zadeh, 11 May 2013).

The experience of implementing the policy of reducing businesses' working hours to Mashhad, the oppositions against this policy and its revision prove that Mashhad is a 24-hour active city. They also show that the 24-hour activities in Mashhad are not only limited to the shrine area and pilgrims but apply to the whole city and residents perform a series of routine activities at night. This experience showed that being active 24-hours is a major character of Mashhad which, if taken away from the city, might have effects on its status.

Figure 13: A juice bar 12:45 a.m., July 2012 (Mashhad-Gardi, 2012).

Figure 14: A convenience store selling food from the back of shutters (Barand, 2012).

Discussion

All the surveys and observations studied in this chapter clarify that there are less visible boundaries between day-time and night-time activities in Mashhad. Basically, people in Mashhad carry out their routine and habitual actions during day and night without being aware of the difference between their night-life and that in other parts of the world. These everyday activities keep the whole city active at night, and the shrine area active 24-hours. This night-life of the city has not been studied or even acknowledged until June 2012, when the authorities set their policy for closing businesses between midnight and 6 a.m. Although this policy was applied to the whole city by the police force, the shrine area was excluded as it is the main destination of pilgrims and it was allowed to be active 24-hours. However, after less than a year, in May 2013 the authorities announced termination and admitted that it was not a good policy for Mashhad. They understood that it was not enough for Mashhad, as a pilgrimage destination, to have only the shrine area as a 24-hour area and that the whole city needs to be active in order to provide for pilgrims and residents requirements.

Pilgrims come to Mashhad all year round and the majority of people in the shrine area are pilgrims. They mostly come to Mashhad in their own cars or by bus and may arrive at any time of day and night. Their main destination is the shrine and they mostly look for accommodation in the shrine area to minimise their transport expenses. Since they stay only a few days in Mashhad they want to make the most of their time and plan their itinerary for both day and night. There is a close relationship between pilgrims and residents who often rent their houses to pilgrims and workers who provide various services for pilgrims in the shrine area. Residents and workers serve pilgrims 24-hours a day and

pilgrims spending the majority of their trip in the shrine area bring financial benefits for the area. However, it is important to note that these pilgrims are mostly low-income and cannot afford high prices. The area is active 24-hours with safety and perception of safety as its initial outcome. Accordingly, when pilgrims feel safe in the area and find what they need day or night, more pilgrims stay there and more people use the facilities and walk in the area thus providing more safety and a greater perception of safety, as shown in Figure 15.

What was ignored in the policy for closing businesses at night is that pilgrims coming to Mashhad first arrive in the city and then find their way to the shrine area and many of them might stay in other areas. Also after a history of 12 centuries of pilgrimage, the culture of the whole city and its residents is shaped to serving pilgrims needs and hence the night-time users are not only pilgrims in the shrine area but also residents of the whole city. The majority of residents said that their relatives stayed in their houses when they came to Mashhad for pilgrimage. The pilgrims' surveys also show that many pilgrims stayed in their relatives' houses. Therefore residents of Mashhad might have guests who arrive at midnight and might need to go shopping for a late dinner or for breakfast the following day. The majority of residents and pilgrims were not happy with the policy and asked for its termination, extending opening until 2 a.m. or excluding everyday needs, food services and entertainment from it.
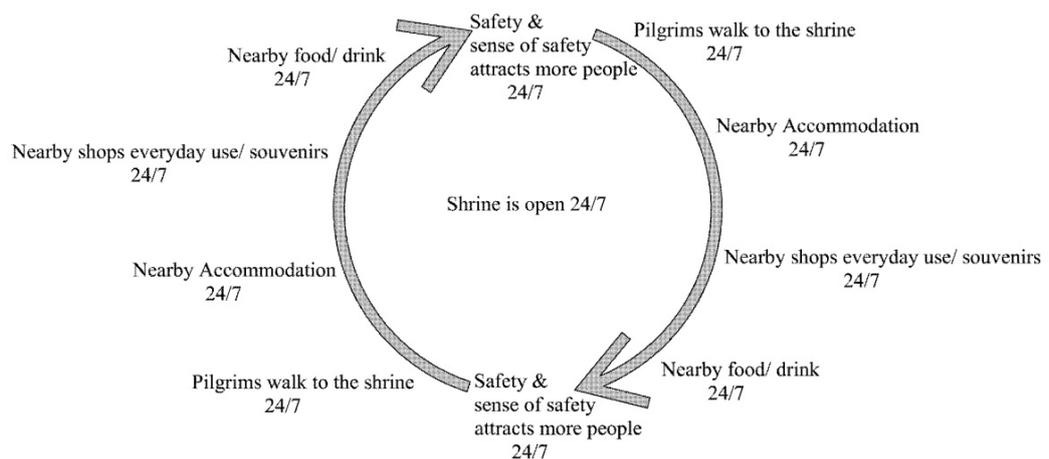
Figure 15: 24-hour activities in the shrine area (Author).

As discussed above and concluded from the surveys, the shrine area is active 24-hours because of various factors discussed below.

These factors are:

- the shrine which is open 24 hours.

- Pilgrims who arrive in the city at any time of day or night.

- Residents and workers who provide 24hour services for pilgrims in a walkable distance.

Therefore people walk on the streets 24-hours keeping the streets active and as a result safety and perception of safety is provided. All of these factors work as links of a closed chain which, if any are missing, might lead to breakage of the whole composition, as shown in Figure 16.
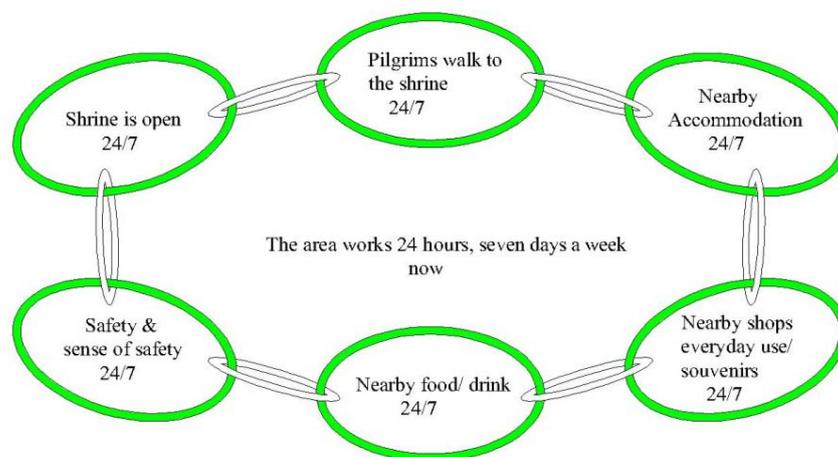
Figure 16: Factors making the shrine area work 24-hours (Author).

RPIS, discussed in more detail in Chapter Nine, threatens the night-life of the area by influencing these factors. This argument is not just an expectation because, although, RPIS has executed only 2% of its planned development, it has started reducing the night-life of the area in some observed areas temporarily in some areas in sector two and permanently in some areas in sector four. In the shrine area, which is believed to be safe during day and night, the only unsafe areas are the parts demolished because of RPIS. This is a result of a lack of pilgrims staying there, decline of working hours for businesses, lack of lighting at night, lack of safety and perception of safety which leads to residents gradually evacuating the area and drug dealers filling it. This reduces safety and thus the area becomes more vacant and more unsafe with fewer night-time activities. However, these issues, known as 'planning blight' (Ravetz, 1983), are a temporary impact of RPIS, since when the project is completed all of the empty areas will be built on. However, built complexes in the shrine area are not successful. The newly built complex in sector two shows that construction of

buildings which do not meet users' needs and the replacement of local people with newcomers leads to a decline in night-time activities.

Observations and surveys reveal that the closer the area is to the shrine the more businesses are active at night and it is consequently busier than other areas. These 24-hour active businesses mostly provide for the requirements for pilgrims. Also walking and cycling are the dominant form of transport in the shrine area. The mixed-use character of the area, which brings the convenience of shops and services 24-hours, seven days a week, is an important factor for some of the residents, workers and pilgrims and influences their decision to stay in the area. However, as the experience of sector two shows, the area is failing to attract newcomers or encourage them to stay in the area and work 24-hours. These factors are considered in evaluating the impacts of modernisation on the night-life of the shrine area discussed in Chapter Nine.

Considering participant's opinions as shown in Table3, Table 4, Table 7 and Table 8the majority of residents tolerate rather than enjoy the area, trading-off the noise, overcrowding, rubbish and litter, limited open and green spaces, inconvenient parking, traffic and movement restrictions for the benefits of the area's safety, convenience of 24-hour activities and financial benefits from the presence of pilgrims. Workers are slightly more satisfied with the area because factors such as noise and overcrowding do not annoy them as much as they do residents. The more crowded the area is the more money they can make.

There is a close relationship between the shrine area and its users. For many respondents Mashhad is defined by the shrine area and they cannot think of any other areas further from the shrine. Many respondents in sectors three and four said that sector one is the best area of Mashhad, while the respondents in sector one did not think so. The majority of respondents choose Ahmad Abad in the city centre as their ideal area in Mashhad. This area has one of the widest boulevards with many green spaces, luxurious houses, apartments, arcades and shops selling goods which are more expensive than the shrine area. However, the respondents refer to more urban facilities, parks and gardens and street conditions as the advantages of this area.

A comparison of Table 3, Table 4, Table 7, Table 8 and results of the shrine employees' survey and pilgrims' surveys show that the majority of respondents in the shrine area were just satisfied with the safety, use of motorcycles, bicycles and walking in the area. Therefore, the results of this survey, pilgrims' surveys and observations, show that

improvement of the following factors are necessary in any further planning. Although the majority of users in the shrine area are pedestrians, the area lacks basic pedestrian facilities including pedestrian crossings, wide pavements, parks and gardens and street furniture. The majority of respondents use motorcycles and bicycles for travelling in the area, though the area lacks facilities for these transport modes. The area suffers from noise, overcrowding, rubbish and litter, poor accessibility, poor lighting, poor street conditions, a lack of parking and public transport, congestion, unregulated traffic and lack of facilities for residents and pilgrims. However, the most important fact is that these are the requirements of current users of the area and in any further redevelopment this needs to be addressed, rather than ignore possible users requirements, as has happened in RPIS.

RPIS, as briefly discussed in Chapter Seven and in detail in Chapter Nine, was formulated on the dominant centralised planning system in Iran without conducting any study to investigate the requirements of users. As the results of the semi-structured interviews show, the main aim of RPIS was change without consideration of social life and night-life of the shrine area. The current study, Fakoori Haji Yar (2010), which was conducted for the development company, concentrates only on pilgrims and omits residents and workers. Also its results do not justify the RPIS aims and objectives but show that current pilgrims in the shrine area are low-income groups that look for cheap accommodation. The irony is that, after conducting this study, the development company keeps on building five star hotels based on the fact that the majority of pilgrims in the study said the shrine area needed revitalisation. However, what is lost in this process are people as the main users of the built environment.

Modernisation standards are being formulated for the shrine area in Mashhad without considering the requirements of current users or addressing the needs of possible users in the future. It might be assumed that a modern area attracts more upmarket users. However, the problem is that there is no study showing that the upmarket residents in Mashhad might move to the shrine area if it was modernised, or any study to show that the upmarket pilgrims do not visit Mashhad because there are not enough modern hotels and shopping centres in the shrine area.

In the next chapter, the aims and efforts of the RPIS are criticised and their possible impacts on the night-life of the shrine area considered.

Chapter Nine - Impacts of urban design on the night-life of the case study

Chapter Nine – Impacts of urban design on the night-life of the case study

In the previous chapter the results of studying the shrine area through multi-methods were discussed. These studies show that the shrine area is active 24-hours because of various factors. However, Regeneration and Reconstruction Plan of Imam Reza's Shrine area (RPIS) is influencing these factors and, accordingly, the night-life of the area. In this chapter, a literature review and the outcome of analysis of different surveys and observations discussed in the previous chapter are used to criticise the RPIS and evaluate the impacts of urban design on the night-life of the shrine-area.

In the first part of the chapter the main aims and objectives of the RPIS that have relevance to the night-life of the area are investigated. This chapter continues with an appraisal of the projected temporary and permanent impacts of RPIS on the night-life of the shrine area while it is being executed after its completion.

The Revitalisation and Reconstruction Plan of Imam Reza's shrine area, RPIS

Although the shrine area is the destination for millions of national and international pilgrims every year, it has poor living conditions. It has been subject to various redevelopment plans for almost a century. The latest version of these plans was first confirmed in 1999 and reconfirmed in 2008. Based on the hierarchy of Iranian urban plans each level must be based on the higher level, as shown in Figure 1. For the provision of design guidelines, Comprehensive Plan [1] has the highest level. However, the Comprehensive Plan of Mashhad did not include any recommendations for the shrine area and just highlighted the importance of the provision of a master plan for the shrine area. Therefore a Detailed Plan[2], which is the next level of design guidelines, was proposed in 1992 for the shrine area with updated versions in 1994 and 1999. The plan was applied to the shrine area in 2000 and was last updated in 2008. This plan was a part of a series of plans proposed for the regeneration of the traditional parts of various cities and was called

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[1] طرح جامع A Comprehensive Plan is a long-term plan containing the related policies for zoning areas of the city including residential, commercial, industrial, agricultural, official, and for its infrastructure. It shows public amenities, main traffic networks, city gateways and the location of airports, ports, train and coach stations and gives information about the infrastructure improvement, the priority for improvement and reconstruction of the city and policies regarding the conservation of historic buildings and the natural landscape Ministry-of-Housing-and-Urban-Development. *Moarefi Anva-e Tarh hay-e Shahrsazi va Memari*. Available at: http://www.shahrsazi-mhud.ir/ (accessed 15 December 2011), Kamrava MA. (2007) *Moghadameyi Bar Shahrsazi-e Moaser-e Iran* Tehran: Tehran University Press.

[2] طرح تفصیلی A Detailed Plan is based on the Comprehensive Plan and shows the exact area and location of different land use in various neighbourhoods, the exact condition and details of the traffic network, the population and built environment density, priority maps for development and reconstruction areas, the exact size and shape of each plot with related construction policies Ministry-of-Housing-and-Urban-Development. *Moarefi Anva-e Tarh hay-e Shahrsazi va Memari*. Available at: http://www.shahrsazi-mhud.ir/ (accessed 15 December 2011).

Revitalisation and Reconstruction Plan for Obsolete Areas [3] . The Iranian planning authorities recognised the traditional part of many Iranian cities, with their hundreds of years of history, as obsolete areas and planned for their demolition. However, in various studies the traditional parts of cities are known as successful urban spaces (Llewelyn-Davies, 2000 ; DCLG, 2002 ; Jones et al., 2007 ; NEF, 2010 ; Res-Publica, 2011 ; Venturi et al., 1977) since they provide pedestrian outdoor activities, a sense of community, social interaction (Gehl, 1996 ; Madanipour, 1992 ; Barnett, 2011) and attract tourists (Gehl, 1996 ; Pirnia, 2001). This approach of the Iranian planning authorities for regeneration of traditional parts of the cities, as discussed in Chapter Six, is partly due to their main aim of urban modernisation and partly their search for economic benefits by raising the land value in these areas. The Iranian centralised planning system has facilitated this approach.
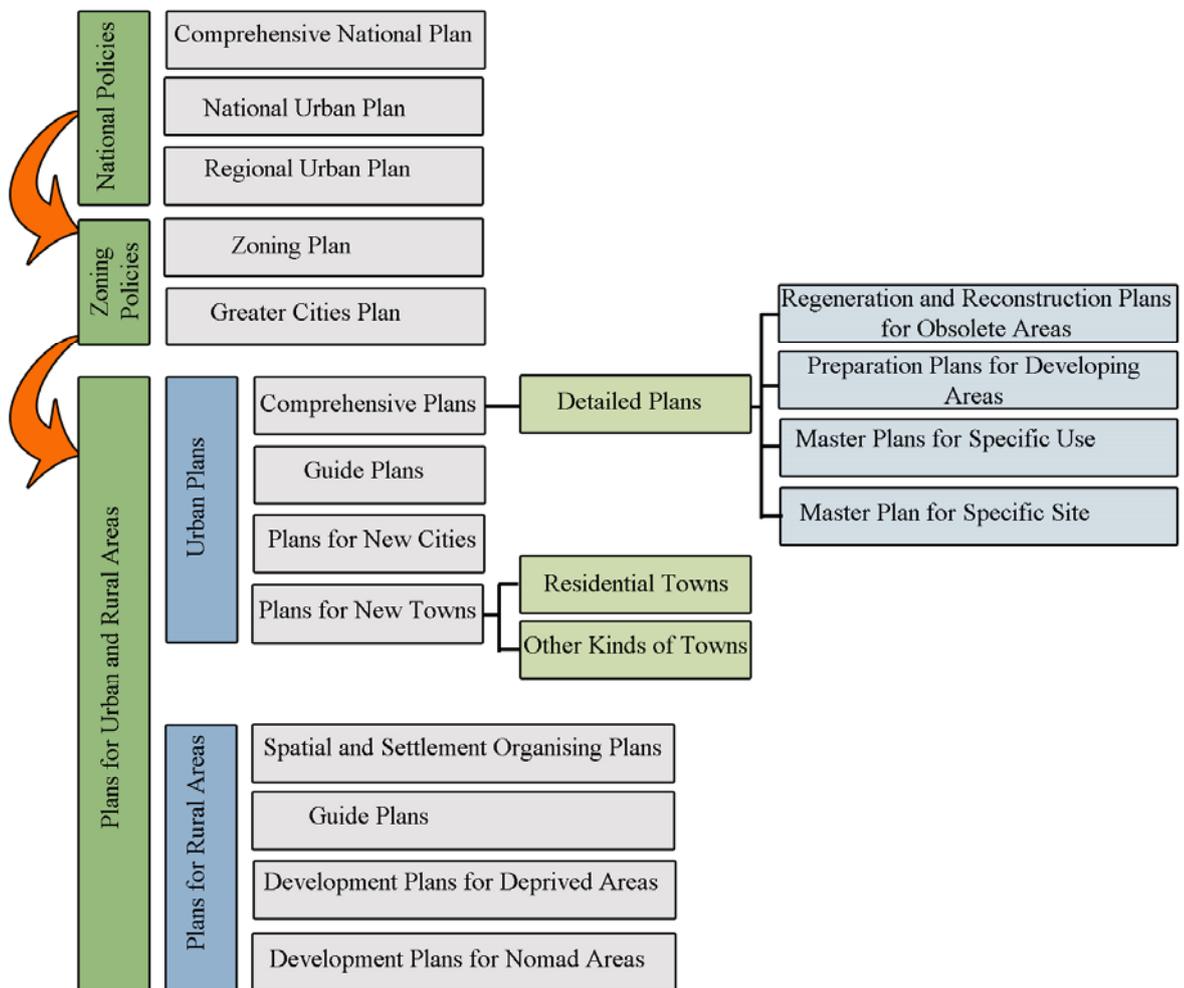
Figure 1: Hierarchy of Iranian planning policies (adapted from Ministry-of-Housing-and-Urban-Development by the author).

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[3] طرح بهسازی و نوسازی بافتهای فرسوده شهری Revitalisation and Reconstruction Plan for Obsolete Areas is a regeneration, renovation or redevelopment plan for an old or problematic neighbourhood within a city and should be first proposed in the detailed plan of that city. This plan is mostly applied to the traditional core of cities.

As it is argued in the RPIS reports that it is an inclusive plan which proposes to control the increasing density of the shrine area and provide an up-to-date space for pilgrimage. It aims to provide a high quality modern urban space near the shrine to highlight the importance of Imam Reza's shrine in the urban form of Mashhad, Iran and the world (Sherkat-e-Omran-va-Behsazi-e-Shahri, 1999). Although in this report, it is argued that RPIS will keep the familiar historical character and context of the area, in the same report it is stated that since the shrine area is old and lacks necessary facilities and infrastructure, restoration cannot raise the quality of life in the area. Therefore, as it was discussed in a previous report for the regeneration of the shrine area (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 1994), demolition of the whole area and reconstruction in a modern form are proposed as the only options for raising the quality of life in the shrine area. Accordingly, unlike the famous argument of Rowe and Koetter (1978) about designing cities with the materials in hand rather than drawing on a clean sheet of paper, the final plan of RPIS (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 2008b) aims for demolition of the traditional context of the shrine area and provision of modern features and living facilities in the area. As a result, RPIS aims to change features of the shrine area by replacing small buildings with large businesses, modernising the architectural and urban vision of the area (Vezarat-Maskan-va-Shahrsazi, 1992) and joining small blocks to make large blocks (Sherkat-e-Omran-va-Behsazi-e-Shahri, 1999).

This is ironic when, in RPIS reports, the last regeneration plan of the shrine area which took place in 1975 was blamed because of the large-scale demolition and construction of a non-familiar environment. In one of these reports it is argued that

> '*The most stressful urban intervention in the shrine area took place in 1975. The governments conducted large-scale demolition in order to regenerate the area, improve the vision and raise the quality of life. Although these efforts were taken by considering the financial and social aspects of the area, since the authorities did not consider the public satisfaction, people were not satisfied and did not support the project. Therefore, the result was an unfamiliar vision for the area and enormous public dissatisfaction*' (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 1994:28).

Although the regeneration plan in 1975 and RPIS both aimed to modernise the shrine area and impose new streets and boulevards on the traditional street pattern, comparing the aims and objectives and efforts taken by these two regeneration plans show that RPIS is more radical than the plan in 1975. In 1975, large-scale demolition took place in some areas,

while RPIS is intent on demolishing and rebuilding the whole borough. Although the traditional bazaars were demolished and replaced with a new commercial building in 1975, the architecture of the new building reflected the form, materials and decorations of the traditional architecture. However, none of these factors were considered in RPIS. In 1975 a wide view to the shrine was provided by setting out a flat green space around it, while RPIS reduced the importance of the view to the shrine by the construction of large walled courtyards in the shrine-territory and tall buildings around it. The regeneration plan in 1975 was friendlier to users by avoiding displacement and ceding the new buildings to local users, while RPIS is based on displacement of users. The plan in 1975 was also friendlier to the street layout by imposing some boulevards on the traditional context but keeping the main context untouched, while RPIS aims to rebuild the whole street pattern.

Based on RPIS, in order to run the project an investment company, comprising of state authorities and investment institutions, was established to work in association with stakeholders and landowners. The main participants of this company are the Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning, Mashhad Municipality, the National Insurance Company, the Veteran Institution, Astan-Quds-Razavi and state banks. This company is responsible for land provision, provision of guidelines, direct investment on construction, execution of RPIS and supervising the execution process (Vezarat-Maskan-va-Shahrsazi, 1992). Plans and design codes of RPIS are prepared by a joint company called TASH comprising of two architectural and urban planning consultancy companies and under the supervision of the investment company.

Based on the RPIS report (Vezarat-Maskan-va-Shahrsazi, 1992), the investment company detailed three ways to obtain land and two of them are based on the displacement of residents and workers. The main drive is the purchase of property by paying the official value which is much less than the market value. It is argued in this report that, since the municipality did not let the landowners refurbish or rebuild their properties, the owners are not satisfied with the area. Therefore, the majority of lands can be possessed in this way. This report also suggested exchanging 10–15% of commercial properties with another property in a different part of the city. The last effort suggested in the report is to share profits with landowners by taking their properties as a part of the investment required for redevelopment.

Although in the RPIS reports, the planning authorities argued that they aimed to deal with the social and spatial issues in the shrine area, as Izadi discussed, the methods used by

RPIS, and the form of the built environment produced by these efforts, reflected the *'market-friendly approach'* of the investors (Izadi, 2008:366). He also discussed the fact that investors mostly pursue their own *'profit-making goals'* rather than considering the local social and spatial patterns (Ibid: 364). RPIS is more economically-based and less considerate to the social life of the shrine area since its main concept is proposed without considering residents' requirements. In RPIS reports there is no evidence of studying the inhabitants' needs and points of view. Also the main methods of land provision are based on displacing local inhabitants. Therefore, as it will be discussed in this chapter, based on the results of the observations and surveys there is a possibility that the methods used by RPIS and their results could threaten the social life of the area and accordingly its night-life by decreasing social interactions. In the following section the basic ideas of RPIS, its codes, efforts and outcomes that may impact on the night-life of the shrine area are investigated and criticised. The proposed land-use map for RPIS is shown in Figure 2. For more maps of RPIS see Appendix C.
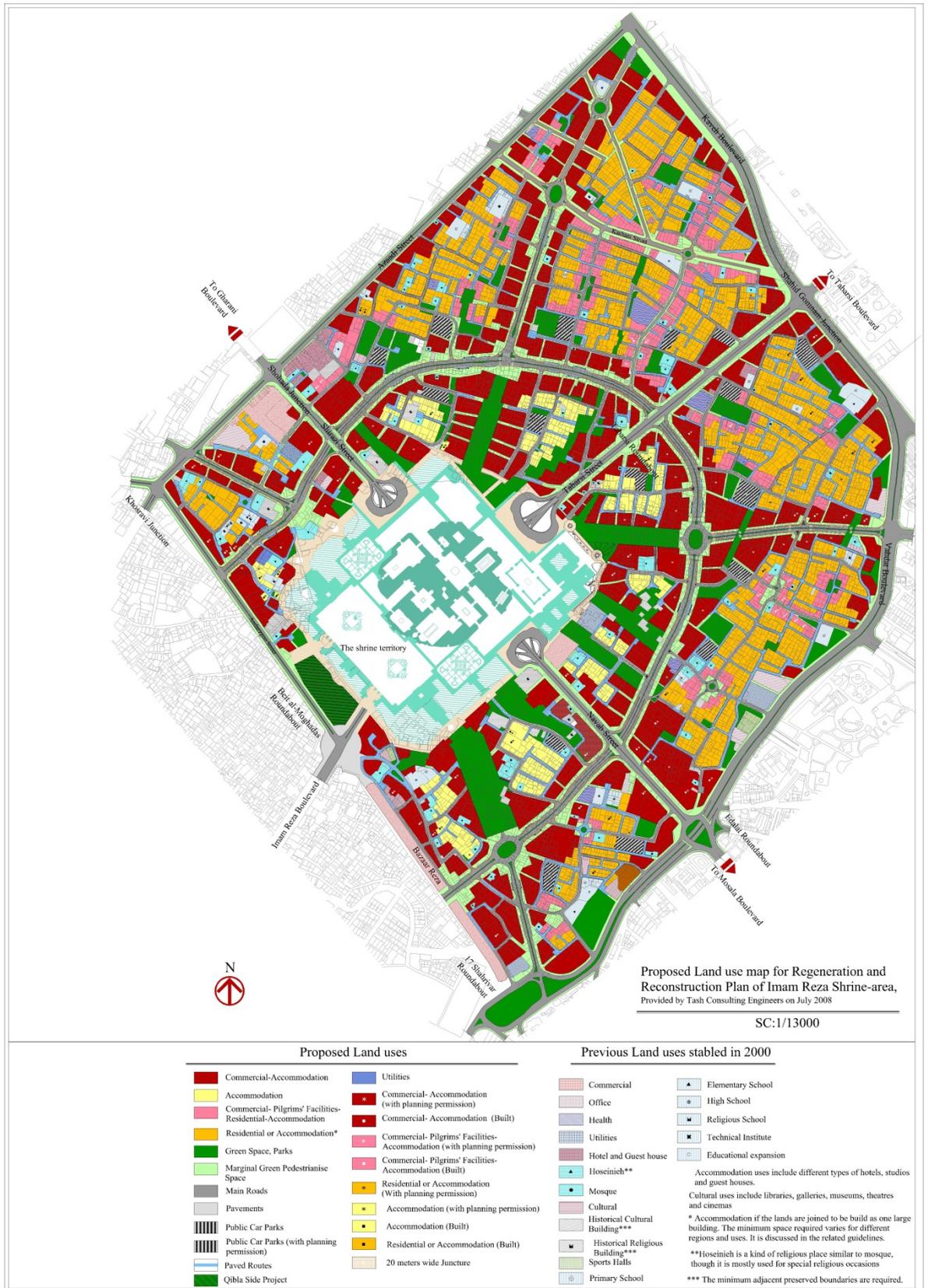
Figure 2: RPIS land-use map.
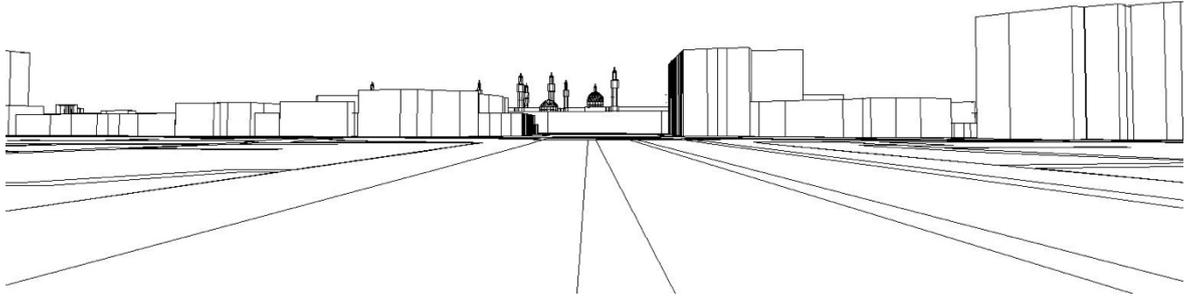
Figure 3: Current view to the shrine from Imam Reza Street (Author).
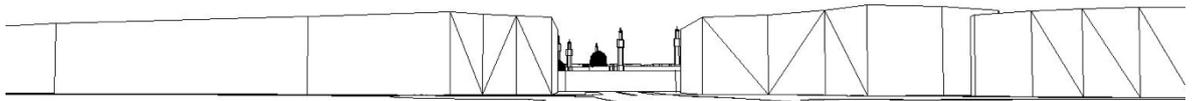
Figure 4: View to the shrine from Imam Reza Street proposed by RPIS (Author).
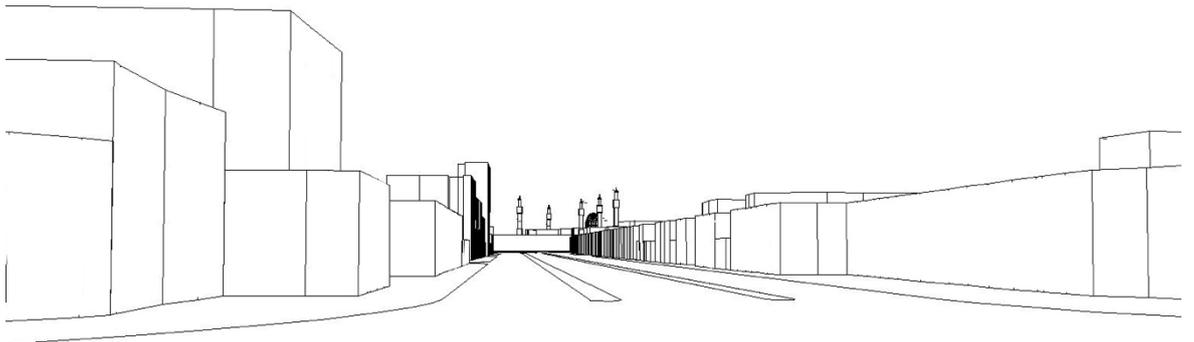
Figure 5: Current view to the shrine from Shirazi Street.
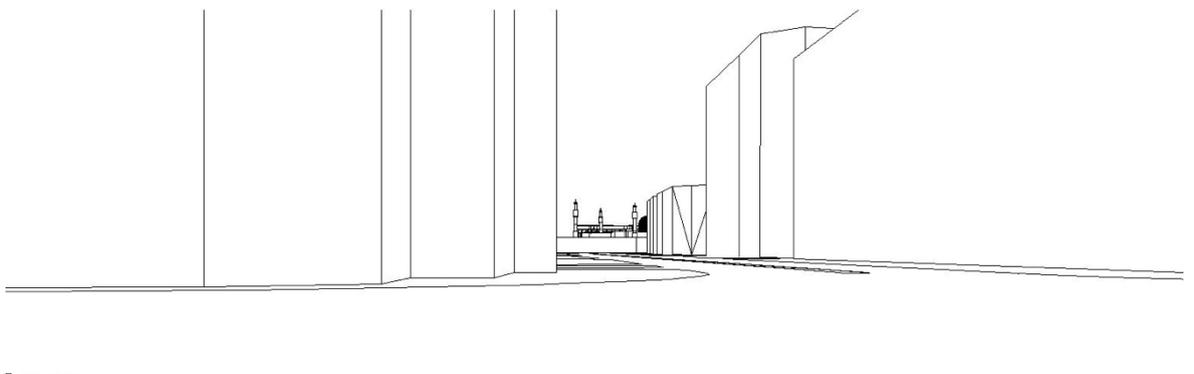
Figure 6: View to the shrine from Shirazi Street proposed by RPIS (Author).
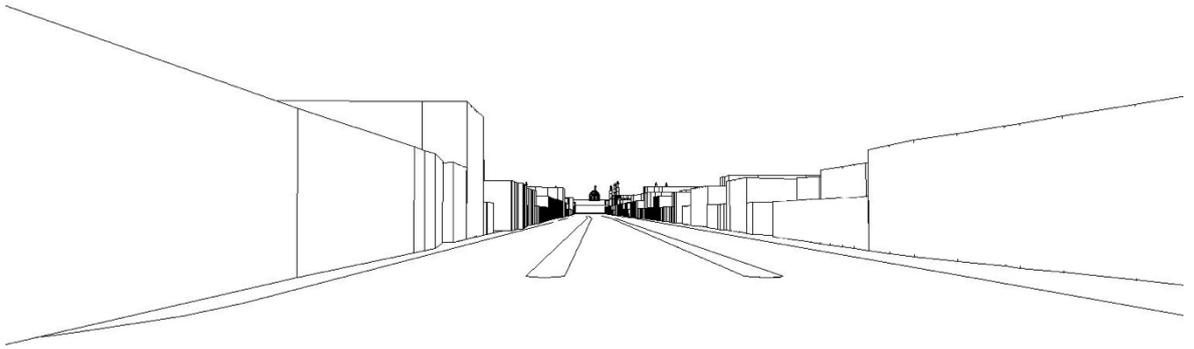
Figure 7: Current view to the shrine from Tabarsi Street (Author).
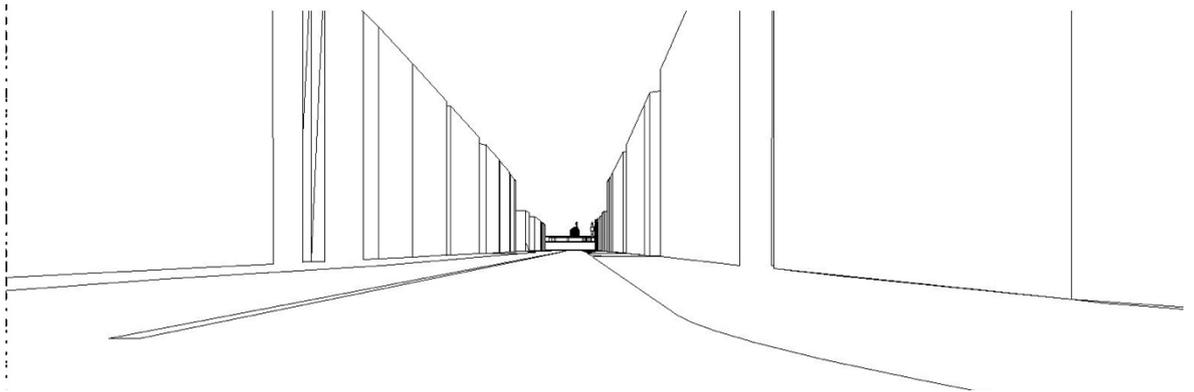
Figure 8: View to the shrine from Tabarsi Street proposed by RPIS (Author).
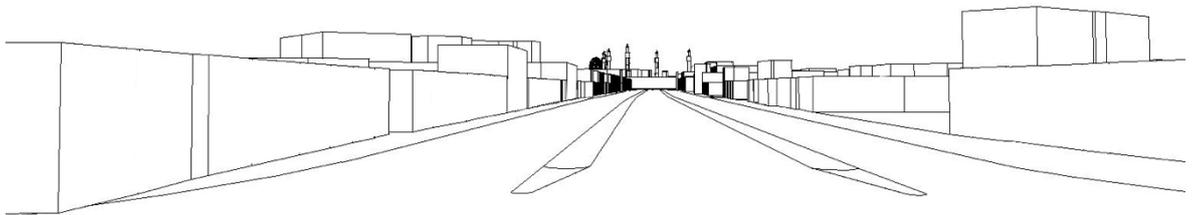
Figure 9: Current view to the shrine from Navab Street (Author).
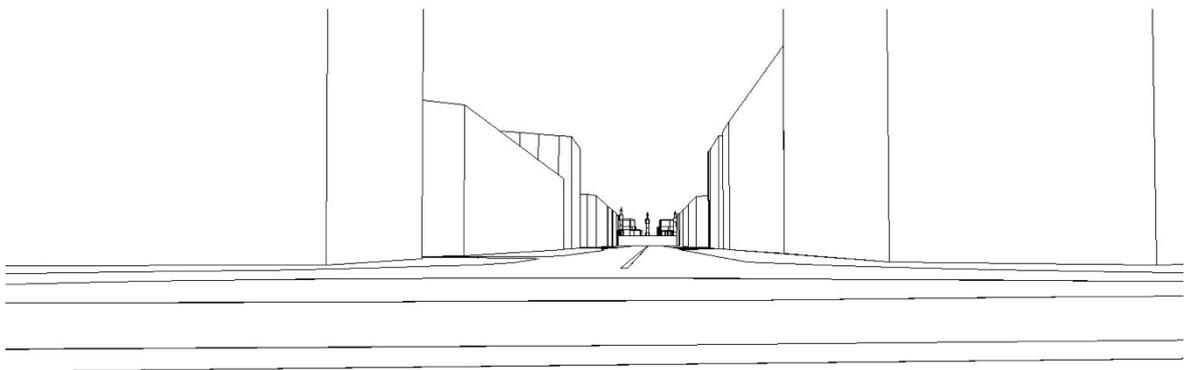
Figure 10: View to the shrine from Navab Street proposed by RPIS (Author).
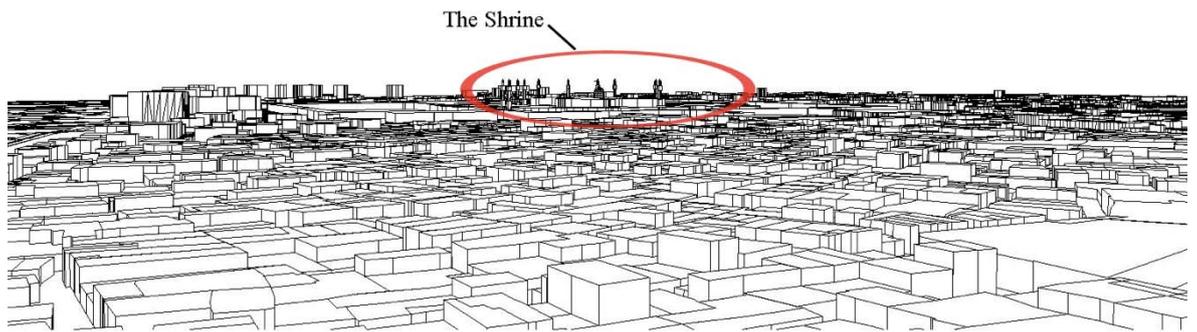
Figure 11: Current view to the shrine from tops of buildings (Author).
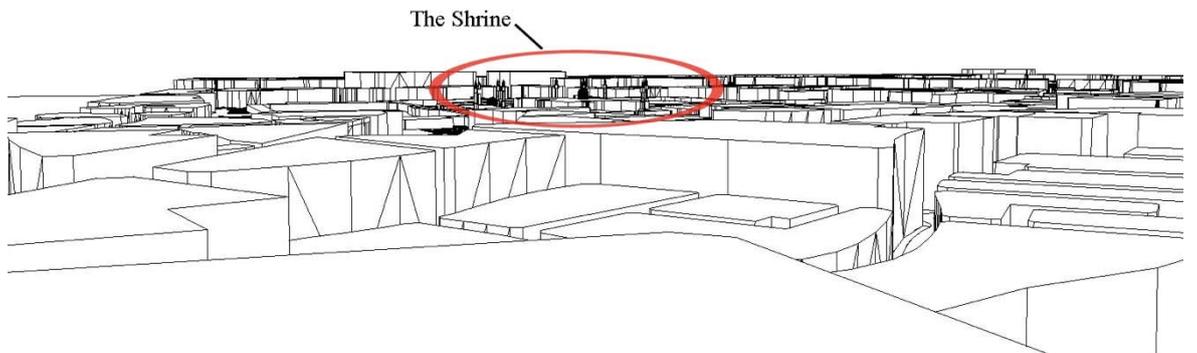
Figure 12: View to the shrine from tops of the buildings proposed by RPIS (Author).
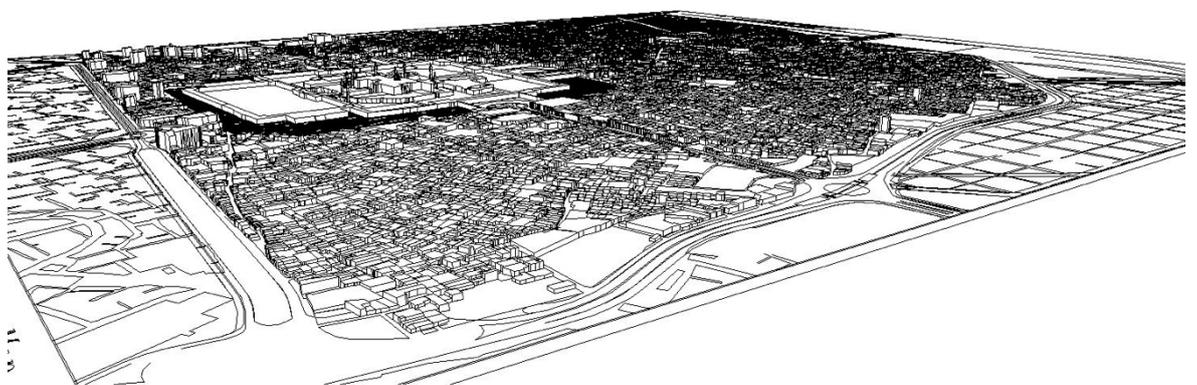
Figure 13: Current situation of the shrine-area (Author).
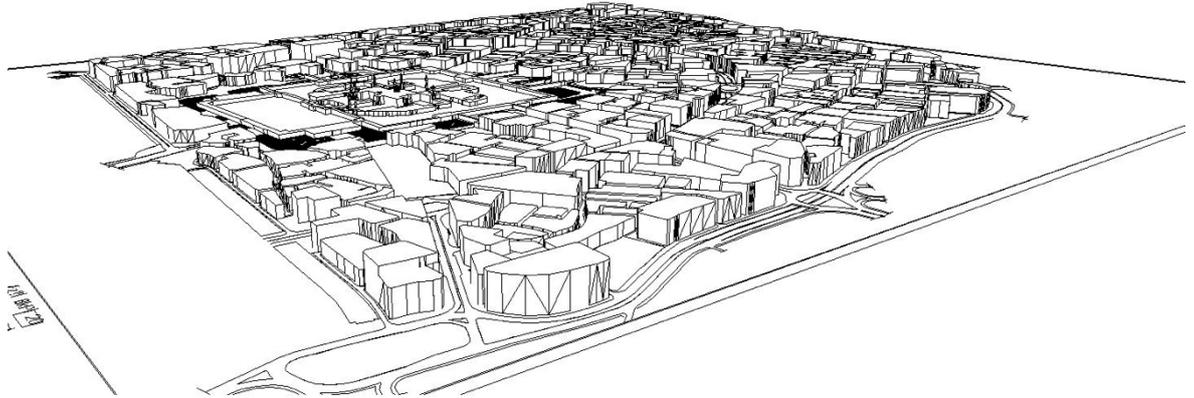
Figure 14: Shrine-area proposed by RPIS (Author).

Contradictions

There are certain contradictions between the aims, objectives and execution methods of RPIS. These contradictions are related to several factors including the users of the shrine area, economic concerns, the area's character and the transport system.

It is argued in the RPIS reports that the target group are the current users of the area (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 1994) including low-income pilgrims and residents (Sherkat-e-Omran-va-Behsazi-e-Shahri, 1999 ; Vezarat-Maskan-va-Shahrsazi, 1992). Also it is argued that RPIS is based on public partnership with limited state intervention and the involved state bodies do not seek financial benefits from this plan (Sherkat-e-Omran-va-Behsazi-e-Shahri, 1999). However, displacement of local residents and workers is the main method of land provision; this is mostly achieved by purchasing the properties at the official value, which is much less than market value, and selling the redeveloped properties at market value (Vezarat-Maskan-va-Shahrsazi, 1992). Also, as it is discussed in the following sections, RPIS excludes low-income pilgrims as a result of large-scale redevelopment (Vezarat-Maskan-va-Shahrsazi, 1992) and the provision of retail services and accommodation which are not affordable for them.

The results of the survey and observations discussed in the previous chapter show that the majority of residents rent their houses to pilgrims and subsequently various types and sizes of accommodation are provided for pilgrims with different budgets and requirements.

However, based on RPIS (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 2008b), residents' houses are replaced with hotels and guesthouses and only the residents who own houses larger than 350 m² with adjacent roads wider than eight meters are allowed to rent their houses to pilgrims. The majority of residents' houses in the shrine area do not meet these criteria. This reduces accommodation types and the convenience of the shrine area for various pilgrims with different budgets.

Although in the RPIS reports, it is argued that residents' and pilgrims' spaces are separated to reduce conflicts (Sherkat-e-Omran-va-Behsazi-e-Shahri, 1999 ; Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 2008b), any evidence of conflict between residents and pilgrims is not provided in these reports. The results of the survey discussed in the previous chapter show that, although there are issues with litter, overcrowding and noise-pollution in the shrine area, there is also a close practical relationship between residents, workers and pilgrims. It is also important to note that pilgrims are not only coming to Mashhad from other cities but they might be residents of other parts of Mashhad as well as the shrine area itself who visit the shrine for daily prayer or on a regular basis. The area's identity and many of its attributes, such as its night-life and safety, are based on its mixed-use character. Therefore, segregation of residents and pilgrims may not necessarily increase the quality of life, but might threaten its mixed-use character, active night-life, social interactions and safety.

By pricing the residents out of the shrine area and devoting the area only to pilgrims' facilities, including hotels and shopping centres, there is a possible chance that these facilities will not be used other than at times of peak pilgrimage. However, currently the area includes hotels and residents' houses who rent rooms to pilgrims at the peak of pilgrimage. Therefore, when there are fewer pilgrims in the area, residents as the permanent users of the area, keep it active.

It is argued in the RPIS reports that it aims to raise the quality of the area and facilitate traffic flow and the area's accessibility by gradual intervention (Sherkat-e-Omran-va-Behsazi-e-Shahri, 1999 ; Vezarat-Maskan-va-Shahrsazi, 1992) to avoid further harm to the holy character of the shrine area (Sherkat-e-Omran-va-Behsazi-e-Shahri, 1999). However, large-scale demolition (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 1994) and modernising of the area by changing its features (Vezarat-Maskan-va-Shahrsazi, 1992) are the main methods taken by RPIS for the revitalisation of the shrine area.

In the RPIS reports it is claimed that a direct view to the shrine is provided (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 1999) and the newly built constructions provide a gentle and moderate space around the shrine and respect the shrine's visual and religious authenticity through provision of a strong horizontal skyline at a proper level (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 2008b). However, in the same study the height of the buildings are proposed to be between six and twelve storeys high (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 2008b) which will influence the view to the shrine for pedestrians at street level.

In the RPIS reports it is argued that the sacred character of the shrine area is improved through RPIS regeneration efforts and that areas closer to the shrine are more sacred. The irony arises when the adjacent areas to the shrine are packed with tall modern shopping and hotel complexes in order to provide a commercial centre in the region and for the east of the country (Vezarat-Maskan-va-Shahrsazi, 1992). Also, in this process, the only land-use moved out of the area is local residents' houses and their space is given to commercial activities.

This process of commercialising the shrine area is reminiscent of Jayne's (2006) argument that, in the competition among consumer societies, the cities with more commercial facilities have a greater chance of success. Although as discussed in Chapter Four, commercial activities play an important role in the development and active life of the shrine area, as admitted in the reports (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 2008b), the attraction in Mashhad is the shrine and not the shops around it and the main aim for pilgrims visiting Mashhad is pilgrimage; any other form of tourist activities only support pilgrimage. Therefore, making the area a traffic core for the city or a commercial centre for the region could put more pressure on the area and reduce rather than increase the quality of life for the users of the area. Also, as discussed in the following sections in detail, this commercialisation plan is not economically viable.

It is argued in the RPIS reports that the current traditional traffic network is properly joined to the new established networks to facilitate traffic flow (Sherkat-e-Omran-va-Behsazi-e-Shahri, 1999) and the social aspects of newly established networks (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 1994) and the historical character of the area (Sherkat-e-Omran-va-Behsazi-e-Shahri, 1999) are considered in the new pattern. However, the traditional traffic network, current social aspects and historical character of the area are basically destroyed in the large-scale demolition of the area and its ultramodern replacement.

In the RPIS reports it is claimed that transport modes are improved by prioritising pedestrian movement and the use of public transport. However, widening the streets and constructing more vehicular streets and highways (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 2008b) which are the RPIS methods increases the speed limit and prioritises vehicular movement rather than pedestrian. Also, the specific pedestrian pathways proposed by RPIS called 'garden roads', as shown in Figure 27, do not necessarily attract more pedestrians for the following reasons. These roads are very short, they are located near to nine main vehicular streets and the activities around them do not support pedestrian activities. They are located at the back of streets without any residential area around them and when the shopping centres close at night they might be thought to be unsafe because of 'lack of eyes' upon them. Even if the shopping centres are open, they do not necessarily provide safety without having effective interactions with the area around them since, based on RPIS (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 2008b), the pedestrian entrances for these buildings are centralised and the adjacent roads might not be used actively by pedestrians.

Impacts of RPIS on the night-life of the shrine area

As discussed before, RPIS aims for large-scale redevelopment of the shrine area by employing large-scale demolition in order to modernise it. The impact of RPIS reflects the fact that planning is a 'two-edged-sword' which may have positive or destructive effects (Watson, 2009:154). RPIS' aims and methods, including demolition of the traditional part of Mashhad, zoning plans, joining small blocks to make superblocks, construction of tall buildings and provision of more vehicular roads and highways replacing pedestrian streets are examples of modernisation. However, since modernisation prioritises vehicular movement (Gehl and Gemzoe, 2001) and imposes a large amount of traffic movements (Barnett, 2011) this could reduce social life (Jacobs, 1961 ; Gehl, 1996 ; Whyte, 1988 ; Lefebvre, 1991 ; Gindroz, 2002 ; Duany, 2003 ; Carmona, 2010 ; Carmona et al., 2010 ; Harvey, 2004 ; Varna and Tiesdell, 2010). As discussed in the third chapter, this is being used less in developed countries (Fishman, 2005) and more in the developing countries, see (Mandeli, 2010 ; Albert Cao, 2008 ; Bouzarovski, 2011 ; Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 2008b). In the following section, various efforts taken by RPIS and the results of these efforts which might influence the night-life of the shrine area are discussed.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the results of the thesis identify that night-life in the shrine area depends on several factors that are shown in Figure 15. These factors include the presence of large numbers of pilgrims in the area, various pedestrian activities at night and high pedestrian permeability. These factors are supported by the availability of different types of accommodation for pilgrims, based on their budget, various 24-hour small businesses with active frontages and the streets layout which is pedestrian-dominant. Subsequently, when the area is active 24-hours with various users, the perception of safety increases. This attracts more people to use the area day and night. These factors are connected as the links of a closed chain and removing any of them might weaken the whole. Although this may not lead to the fall of Mashhad, it might result in a series of unexpected results and change in the character of the shrine area. However, the urban design interventions based on RPIS in the form of modernisation threaten these items through various issues including the reduction of pedestrian permeability and activities, displacement of residents and workers, financial exclusion, exclusion of everyday uses and loss of safety and perception of safety in the area, as shown in Figure 16.

The number of pedestrians, pedestrian permeability, social interactions and perception of safety in the shrine area is threatened by building more vehicular roads, widening the current streets, enlarging block size, large-scale demolition, resident and worker displacement, financial exclusion, replacing small businesses with large residential and commercial complexes and residents' houses with apartments. Availability of everyday use, mixed-use and the diversity of the area are also threatened by large-scale redevelopment. All of these factors threaten the active nights of the area as discussed in the following section in detail.
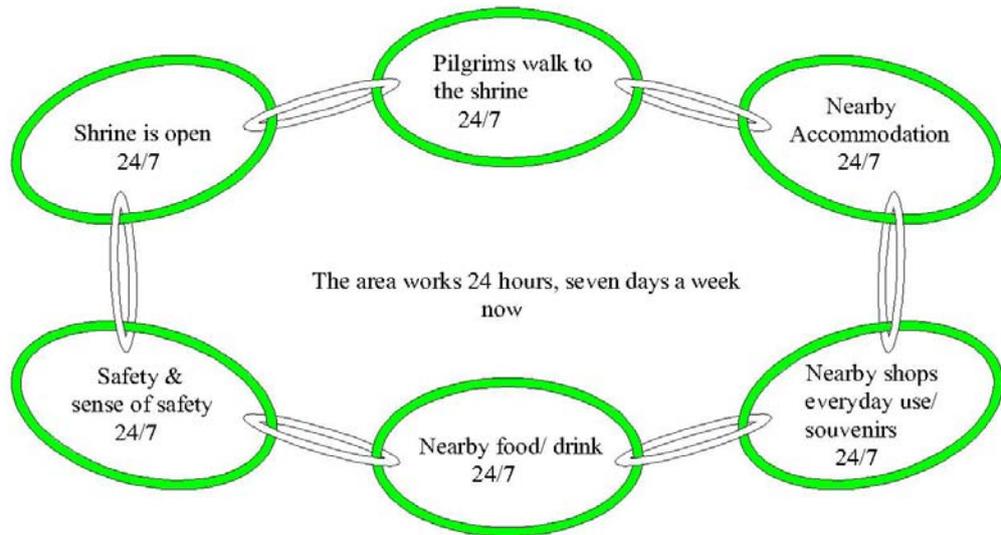
Figure 15: Items making the area work 24-hours (Author).
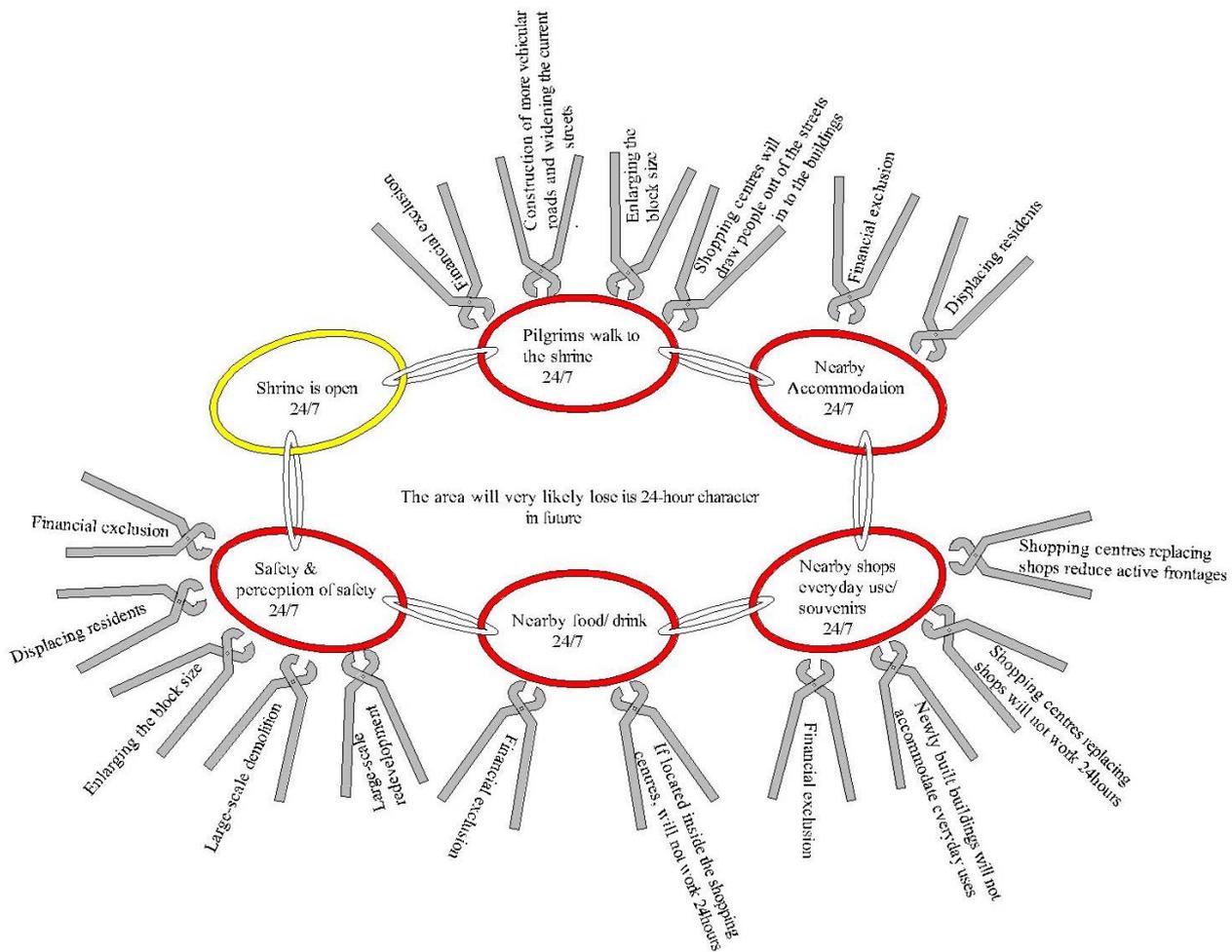
Figure 16: Issues threatening the 24-hours characteristics of the shrine area (Author).

Figure 17: Levels of night-time activities in the area.

Large-scale demolition

As the results of the thesis survey show, as discussed in the previous chapter, in the places where large-scale demolition has occurred it has decreased activities and specifically night-time activities, in the area. The observations and surveys show that, since some of the residents' houses or guesthouses are demolished, fewer pilgrims stay in the area. Accordingly many shops reduce their working hours as they have fewer customers. Also the vacant construction sites produced as a result of large-scale demolition reduce the perception of safety in the area during the project's execution. This reduces the number of pilgrims staying in the area as well as residents and decreases the working hours especially at night. The condition worsens when demolition takes place without rebuilding or when the rebuilding process takes longer than usual. The execution of RPIS is taking much longer than was planned. Since the start of the project in 2000 to 2010 only 2% of the project is completed (Sazman-Mojri-Tarh, 2010) while various properties in different parts of the area are being demolished and left vacant. Maps of demolished properties are shown in Figure 18. These demolished or half-demolished properties correspond to underused and neglected spaces. Because the social interactions are decreased in these areas, they gradually transform into places for criminals to hide and consequently a reduction in the quality of life. This is similar to the situation described by Ravetz (1983) in the 1970s in some cities in the UK affected by a Clean Sweep approach to town planning. This condition, and the fact that the whole area is subject to demolition and redevelopment, leads to lack of maintenance similar to what Keling and Wilson (1982) call a sign of decay which results in an urban area that *'no one cares'* about.

Figure 18: Demolished areas.

Large-scale redevelopment

Large-scale redevelopment is the main method proposed by RPIS for revitalisation of the shrine area. In this way the whole area is demolished and rebuilt in order to supposedly raise the quality of life. Figure 19 shows the results of large-scale demolition and its related efforts taken by RPIS which may influence the night-life of the shrine area. Each of these factors is discussed separately in the following section.
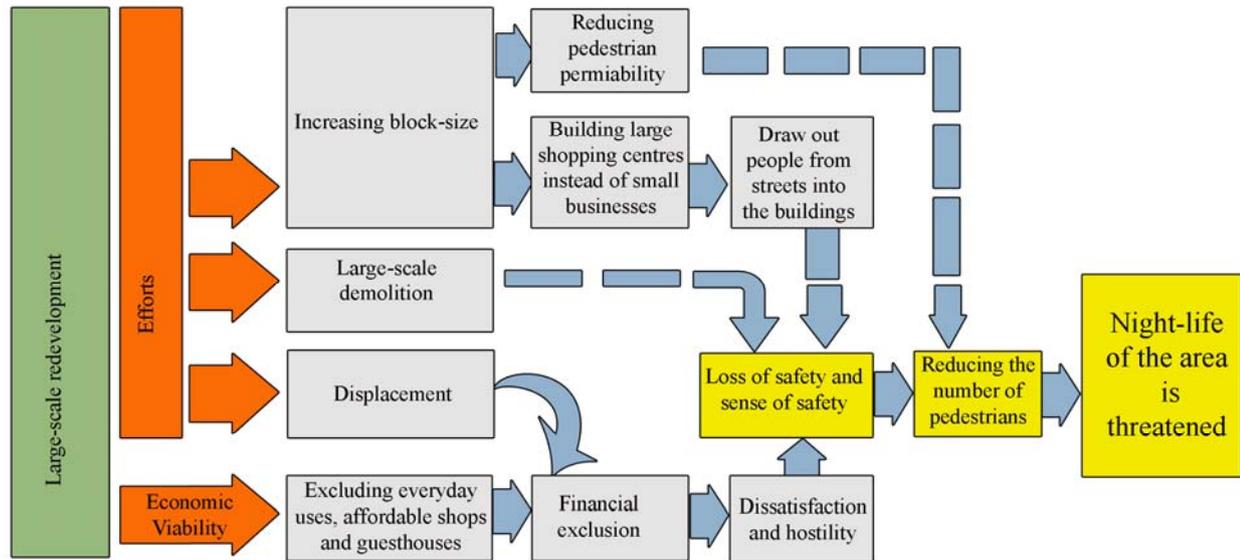
Figure 19: Efforts and actions related to large-scale redevelopment (Author).

As Bentley et al (1985) discussed, old buildings have more robustness than new buildings. Old buildings serve several uses including commercial, residential and temporary accommodation at different levels, while the newly constructed buildings, which are designed for a specific purpose, cannot serve other activities. For instance, most of the buildings in the shrine area have high flexibility. The houses have changed their garages to small shops selling everyday requirements to residents and pilgrims. Also many residents rent some part of their house to pilgrims at the peak of pilgrimage. However, in the redeveloped buildings, the large parking areas of a residential complex cannot transform to a shop nor can people living in small flats rent their rooms to pilgrims.

Keeping suitable old buildings is a way of providing affordable space for a variety of uses. As shown in Figure 20, if space is available at a cheap price, various users can afford to locate there, whilst, when the space is expensive, it is affordable only by a few (Bentley et al., 1985). As shown in Figure 21, the rents are low in old buildings since building costs

are relatively low, little money is tied up in them and there is often limited demand to rent them, whilst high current construction costs and interest charges increase the rents of redeveloped buildings to keep them economically viable. These increased rates are not affordable for all uses and, accordingly, some of the everyday uses such as greengrocers, bakers, dairies, shops, garages, tool shops and ironmongers and some other small businesses such as cheap souvenir shops will be excluded and give way to jewellers, luxurious shops or offices. Therefore large-scale redevelopment reduces the variety of uses and consequently night-time activities by excluding the uses that make the area active 24-hours, since these uses are often relatively unprofitable and cannot afford high rents. This situation is a true example of the Bentley et al (1985) argument that, even if these uses are given free space in a redeveloped area, they probably *'pay the enterprise to sell their valuable premises, move somewhere cheaper, and pocket the difference'* (Bentley et al., 1985:29).
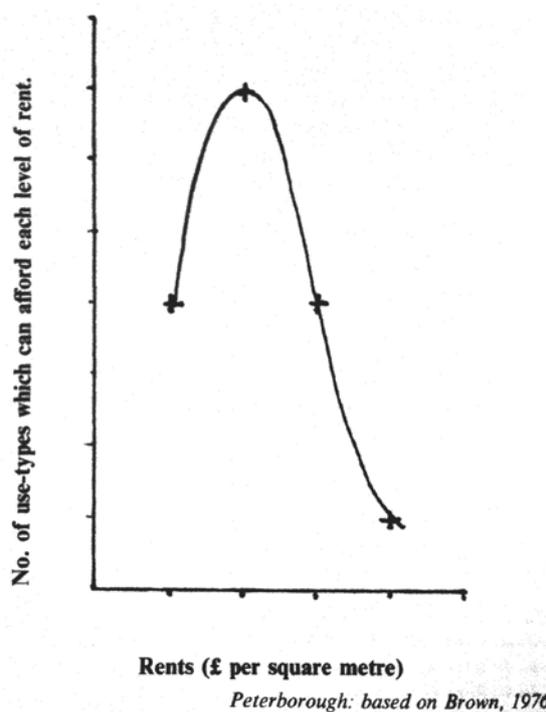
Figure 20: Ratio of number of user-types who can afford each level of rent to the level of rents (Bentley et al., 1985:28).

Therefore total redevelopment reduces the variety of uses by pushing rents up, while lack of development leaves the area in a situation that does not attract upmarket uses, or those who functionally need new buildings, see Figure 21 (Bentley et al., 1985). Therefore, redevelopment at a certain level is required to keep different uses active in the area. This is the main reason for the success of the area around Imam Reza Street amongst all the

sectors in the shrine area, since this area contains a variety of buildings, of different age and in different conditions containing a variety of uses. The survey discussed in the previous chapter shows that there was more satisfaction amongst the users in sector one, around Imam Reza Street. Also the majority of respondents of the survey chose this area and another area in the city centre called Ahmad Abad, with the same characteristics as the best areas in Mashhad.
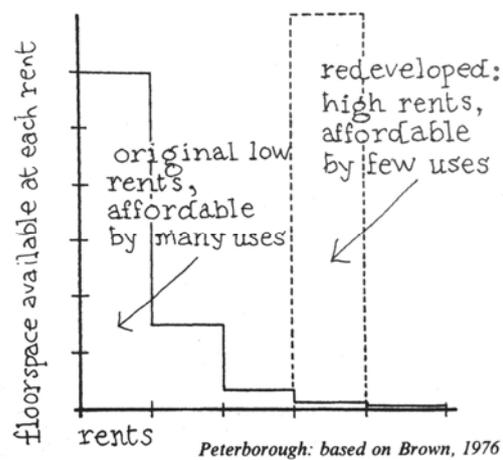
Figure 21: comparison of rents for mixed old and new areas and redeveloped areas (Bentley et al., 1985:29).

Increasing the block-size

Increasing the block and plot size (Sherkat-e-Omran-va-Behsazi-e-Shahri, 1999) is one of the main methods used by RPIS that influence the night-life of the shrine area indirectly by decreasing the variety of uses, pedestrian interactions and permeability, safety and perception of safety. Therefore property owners are asked to join their plots together to reach the minimum size; if not they can be built on only for residential use. Plots smaller than 150m^2, cannot be built on and the investment company must possess them. Bonus density is added to the allowed building density when landowners join their plots. These bonuses increase with the number of joining plots to motivate more landowners to merge. Figure 22 and Figure 23 show the comparison between the RPIS proposed block size and the current block size.

However, to have a mixed-use area and diversity, small blocks are required to provide spaces for a variety of uses (Talen, 2008a ; Carmona et al., 2010 ; Jacobs, 1961). Small blocks increase commercial possibilities (Jacobs, 1961 ; Carmona et al., 2010) and a large

281

number of shops and active frontages may attract large numbers of pedestrians for various reasons (Gindroz, 2002 ; Carmona et al., 2010) as well as providing higher pedestrian permeability (Tarbatt, 2012 ; Gindroz, 2002 ; DCLG, 2012). Large-blocks however, by reducing the opportunity of choosing an alternative route, decrease pedestrian permeability (Bentley et al., 1985 ; Jacobs, 1961) and subsequently the chance of social interactions between various groups of people on the street and the perception of safety in some less-used areas (Jacobs, 1961). The modern streets become dull when shops are taken into the shopping centres and large buildings line them (Whyte, 1980). This is evidenced partly by the situation when the commercial accommodation complex replaced small shops in sector two. Loss of pedestrian permeability, public interactions, safety and perception of safety are other unforeseen results of RPIS.
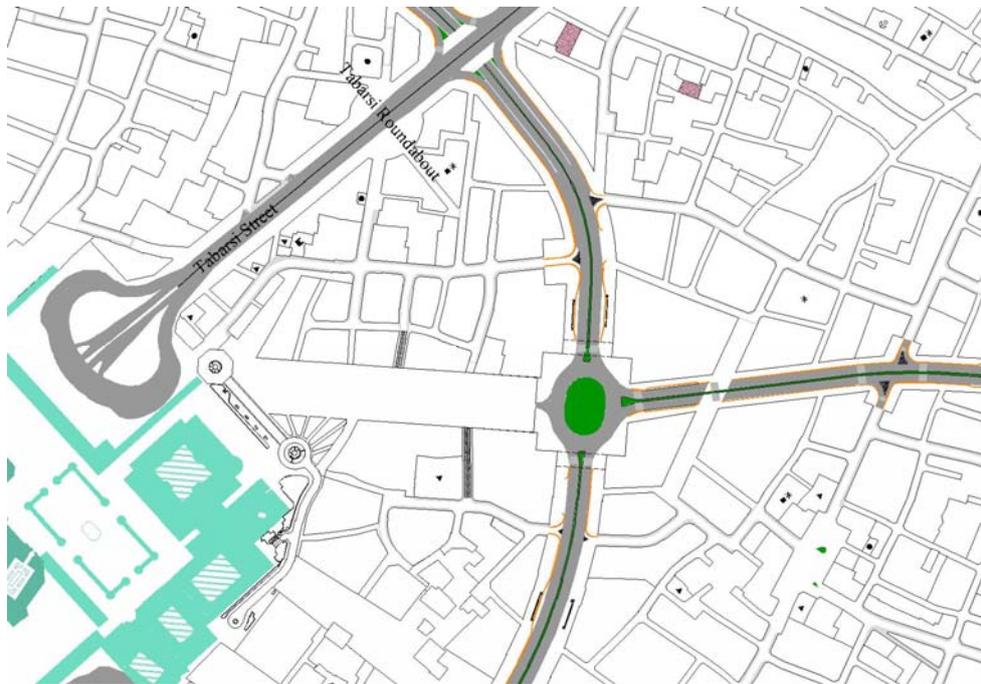
Figure 22: Proposed block-size by RPIS (adapted from Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 2008a by the author).
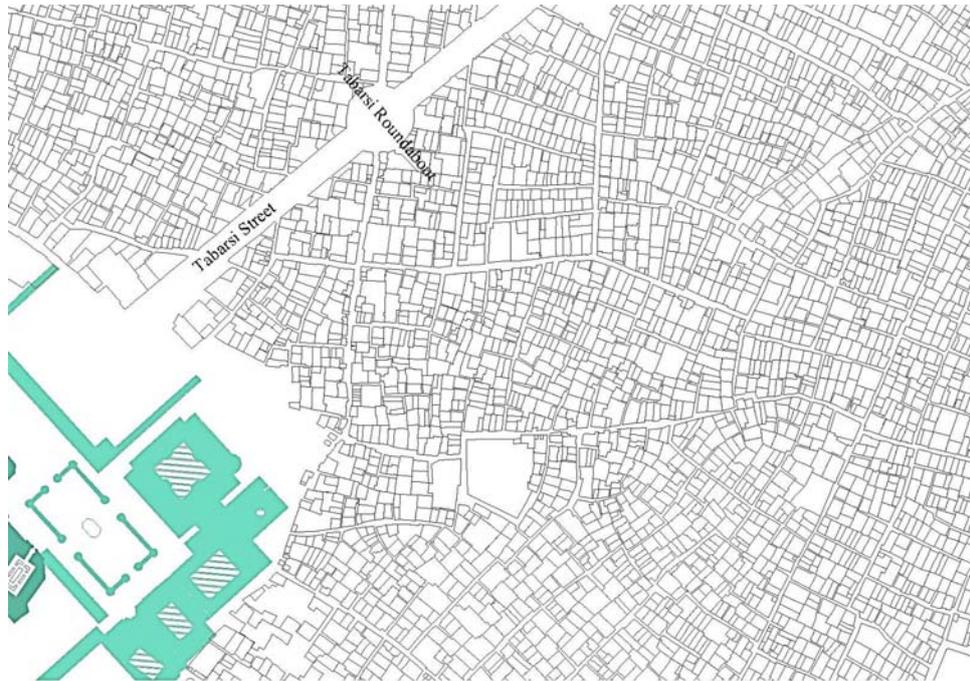
Figure 23: Current block size (adapted from Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 2008a by the author).
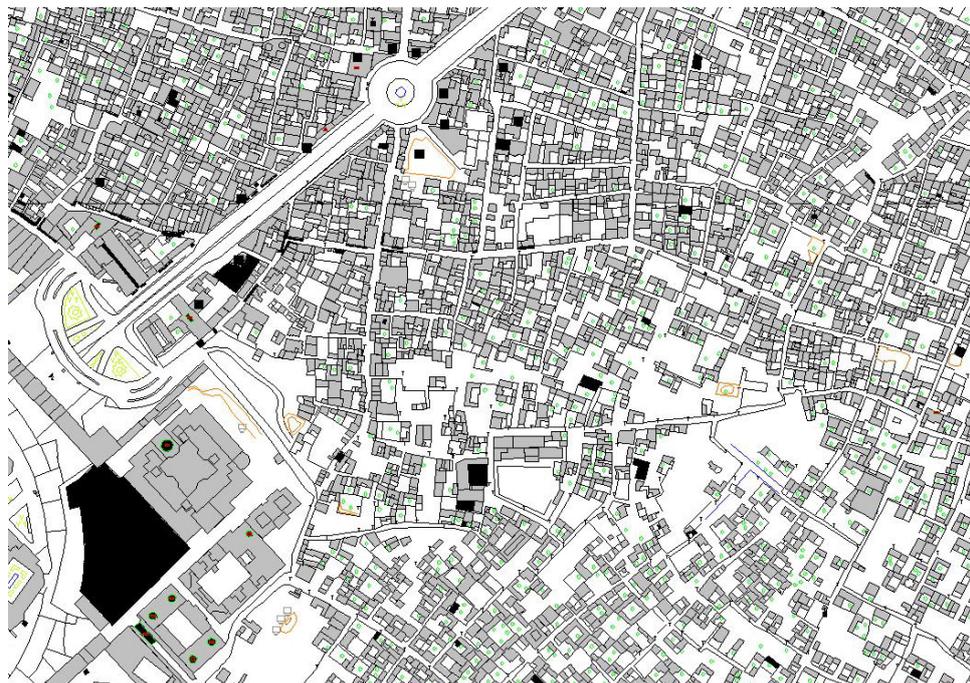
Figure 24: Current figure ground after partly demolished (adapted from figure ground map by the author).

Displacement

Displacement of residents and workers of the shrine area might also influence its night-life by decreasing public interactions and the perception of safety. RPIS in common with other

betterment plans in the world discussed by (Harvey, 2006 ; Watson, 2009 ; Greene, 2003 ; Ley, 1980) and Zukin in (Sevilla-Buitrago, 2012) is conducted by governments in the name of raising the quality of the shrine area as the main destination of pilgrims, provision of central commercial premises and facilitating traffic movement. However, as discussed by Izadi (2008), it is mostly conducted to seek profit by taking highly desirable land from small traders and raising its value through redevelopment. This includes demolition of mixed-use and historic areas where many poor people live.

The results of these methods, similar to other betterment plans in the world, are not favourable in any case. This is because of the fact that, in order to make the redevelopment projects economically viable, the property value and the rent in the redeveloped areas are increased. These properties are then not affordable for the poor people who used to live in them (Greene, 2003 ; Harvey, 2006) Zukin in (Sevilla-Buitrago, 2012). Therefore, considering the high density of displaced people from the shrine area, RPIS may not solve the housing shortage problems but lead to marginalisation of a group of the society. This is partly perceived in the observations and also discussed by Izadi (2008). However, in the best case scenario where the redeveloped shrine area succeeds in attracting large numbers of pilgrims, it increases the dependency of the economy of the city on the pilgrimage industry by provision of excess facilities that are exclusively addressed to the pilgrims rather than the whole society with the anticipation that the numbers of pilgrims in Mashhad are growing annually. Similar cases are discussed by (Greene, 2003).

As the results of the survey discussed in the previous chapter show, the majority of inhabitants of the shrine area are living or working there almost all of their lives in properties inherited from their ancestors. Many of these people believe in living near the shrine and some of them have moved from other cities or countries to Mashhad just to live near the shrine. However, RPIS, in common with other betterment plans or tourism industry plans discussed by (Lees et al., 2008 ; Lees et al., 2010 ; Hamnett, 1984 ; 1991 ; Berg et al., 2009 ; Watson, 2009 ; Cabannes et al., 2010 ; Greene, 2003 ; Davidson and Maitland, 1997), initially results in pricing out and marginalising the majority of the local people. Further issues, including disconnecting users of the area from their neighbourhood, community and social ties, are also similar to cases discussed by (Greene, 2003 ; Harvey, 2006 ; Cabannes et al., 2010 ; Bouzarovski, 2011 ; Davidson and Maitland, 1997). Displacement also leads to loss of jobs, or longer journeys to work and a loss of heritage.

This might be followed by people resistance, dissatisfaction and hostility which can accordingly reduce safety, perception of safety and liveability of the area.

Basically, as (Zukin, 1995 ; Sennett, 1974 ; Ehrenfeucht and Loukaitou-Sideris, 2007) argued, public life is developed in public spaces and it is not possible to produce a successful public space without considering its social context. The shrine area has been shaped throughout history by the interactions amongst growing number of pilgrims visiting it and the ones who live or work near it and serve pilgrims. Therefore, the character of the area, to a large extent, depends on its users and pricing the users out of the area might threaten its publicness and night-life. Certainly, there will be other people moving into the area; however, as the results of surveys studied in the previous chapter show, the number of these newcomers is overestimated and filling the area with newcomers does not necessarily support the area's social life and night-life.

Because RPIS claims to target the current users of the area and there is no reason to price them out, the process of displacing people from the shrine area seems to be partly the result of RPIS efforts rather than a pre-planned process and might have various unforeseen harmful impacts. Even though, if it were proved that the current inhabitants of the area are responsible for its predominantly poor living conditions, excluding them from the planning projects and displacing them will not solve the problem in similar terms to the debates raised by (Madanipour, 2003 ; Kushner, 2003), but just move it to other parts of the city, polarise the city, increase hostility and the opportunity for crime and reduce safety and the perception of safety (Jacobs, 1961 ; Davies, 1992 ; Ellin, 1997 ; Oc and Tiesdell, 1997) leading to more vacant areas and further decline (Carmona, 2010).

Financial exclusion

Financial exclusion influences the night-life of the shrine area by reducing the publicness of spaces, social interactions, safety and the perception of safety. Basically, a space is public when it is equally accessible to everyone (Madanipour, 2010b ; Jacobs, 1961 ; Montgomery, 1998). Therefore streets are more interesting (Carmona, 2010 ; Bannen in Sevilla-Buitrago, 2012) and public than indoor spaces since they do not exclude any group of people. Streets and small businesses on the streets are accessible to everyone but when these businesses are located inside buildings, restricted working hours, physical barriers or financial issues exclude some groups of people including the poor, disabled and night-time

shoppers. This might harm the publicness of spaces in similar ways to the debates raised by (Madanipour, 2010a ; Oc and Tiesdell, 1999 ; Ne´meth and Schmidt, 2007).

Financial exclusion is another unforeseen result of the methods taken by RPIS, which seek to replace cheap guesthouses and small businesses with luxurious residential and commercial complexes and displace residents and workers from the shrine area, as discussed in the previous section. Although RPIS aimed to address the requirements of low-income pilgrims, the facilities provided for them can only accommodate a maximum of 30,000 pilgrims within 14 buildings (Shahrdari-Mashhad, 2012 ; Seda-va-Sima, 2012) which is only 15% of the whole area's capacity. Therefore the 85% remaining are given over to 170,000 middle- to high-income pilgrims, whereas statistics show that over 70% of pilgrims staying in the shrine area are low-income and currently, based on (Mashhad-Gardi, 2013) the capacity of all hotels in Mashhad, are a maximum of 75,000 people. These statistics simply show that the facilities provided in the shrine area are not provided for low-income pilgrims, and further users are overestimated.

Currently, pilgrims staying in the shrine area walk to the shrine a few times a day and hence need to be in close proximity. However, increases in rent for accommodation in the shrine area, due to redevelopment, might reduce the number of pilgrims accommodated there. Because the final destination of pilgrims is the shrine, large numbers of pilgrims who have to stay at a greater distance will come to the shrine by vehicles. This increases the number of vehicular journeys in the area and subsequently reduces the number of pedestrians walking on the streets. This is discussed in more detail in the following sections.

Large newly built shopping centres replacing small businesses do not cater for everyday uses and cannot supply affordable goods as the construction costs will be high. Based on the large-scale redevelopment of the shrine area, everyday uses might be excluded from the whole area, or at least from large parts of it. Exclusion of everyday use and small businesses will make the area less convenient for many people living or staying there and will also threaten the current night-time activities which are supported by this kind of use. Also, there may not be sufficient demand for luxury shops in the newly built shopping arcades as the majority of pilgrims in Mashhad are on a low-income and they cannot afford to shop in luxury shops. This hypothesis is supported by studying the history of construction of luxury shopping centres in the shrine area in past years that has failed

economically and these have ended up reducing their rents to accommodate cheap businesses.

Lack of diversity

The idea of a 24-hour active area is supported in medium to high density spaces (Heath, 1997) with diversity. Diversity includes varying types of land-use, building type and size, form, age, tenure and urban grain (Tarbatt, 2012) and various users from residents and visitors of different age and social groups who will use the area at various times (Jacobs, 1961). Social life increases in diverse public spaces through mixed-use, active frontages (Whyte, 1988 ; Tarbatt, 2012 ; DCLG, 2012) and small businesses in the context of residential areas (Talen (2008a ; 2006 ; 2008b ; 2009) and (Tarbatt, 2012 ; Clarke, 2009 ; Jabareen, 2006). Therefore, the 24-hour activities in the shrine area are supported by mixed-use, active frontages, small businesses and different users including residents, workers and pilgrims who use the area throughout the day and night. The presence of these people, specifically residents and workers as permanent users of the area, provide safety and a perception of safety and also encourage more people to use the area.

However, RPIS aims to segregate residents and pilgrims through reducing the population of residents in large parts of the area by replacing residents' houses with accommodation and commercial complexes (Sherkat-e-Omran-va-Behsazi-e-Shahri, 1999 ; Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 2008b). Reducing the resident population results in fewer people caring for the streets and fewer *'eyes upon the street'*, this could lead to a decrease of liveability and safety in the area.

Loss of safety, perception of safety and active frontages

Safety and a perception of safety are important factors in the social life and night-time activities of an area and are influenced by several issues. An important factor in making an area safe is people surveillance, the so called *'eyes-upon-the street'* (Jacobs, 1961:35; Carmona et al., 2010). The most effective eyes upon the street belong to permanent users including residents, workers and pedestrians and the cooperation between these groups, called *'ballet of the street'* by Jacobs (1961:50), is the basis of mixed-use streets and is unique to each street, supporting liveliness, convenience, variety and choice within a

district. However, the number of pedestrians on the streets is quite important (Carmona et al., 2010). To increase the number of streets users, enough activities with active frontages are required to attract users from different age groups to use the streets during day and night (Hillier and Sahbaz, 2009 ; Jacobs, 1961). Less-used streets might attract undesirables, which will result in a reduction of safety and the perception of safety and more people avoiding the streets (Whyte, 1980). In the redeveloped areas of cities, permanent users of the streets are replaced by transient people in new tall buildings. These newcomers are less aware of their neighbourhood and watch the streets less than permanent owners. This could lead to a decrease of safety and the perception of safety in these areas as discussed by (Jacobs, 1961 ; Newman, 1996).

Safety and a perception of safety in the shrine area is threatened by several actions taken by RPIS and their results. These issues, as discussed before, are large-scale demolition and redevelopment, increasing block size, loss of diversity, displacement and financial exclusion.

By replacing small businesses with large residential and commercial complexes the number of effective eyes upon the street of shopkeepers, vendors and pedestrians are reduced. Also the situation worsens when residents' houses are replaced with purpose-built accommodation for pilgrims and permanent eyes upon the streets are reduced. Also, replacing small businesses with large residential and commercial complexes reduces the interaction of people on the streets since the shopping centres are designed to have a limited number of controlled entrances (Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 2008b) and the rest of their buildings do not have any interaction with the street. In these shopping centres the shop windows on the ground floor might only provide visual interaction with the street and not a physical one. Also, the shopping centres draw people into the buildings and leave the streets vacant which might reduce the number of pedestrians walking in the area.

Replacing current buildings, which are mostly active on the ground floor, with apartments will reduce street surveillance and accordingly safety and the perception of safety in the area. Also, locating only service spaces and parking on the ground floor, which is the common apartment plan in Iran, will separate buildings from the street and reduce surveillance and pedestrian activities.

15:21, 21/08/10

12:08, 31/07/10

20:45,14/08/10

20:48, 14/08/10

Figure 25: Demolished or half-demolished properties provide suitable places in which criminals can hide and reduces safety and the perception of safety.

Invasion of public space

In modern cities pedestrian activities are replaced by vehicular use (Gindroz, 2002) and priority of movement is given to vehicles (Mumford, 2000 ; Harvard-University, 1946 ; 2009 ; LeCorbusier, 1987) while pavements are narrowed or disappear (Gehl and Gemzoe, 2001). These issues influence the social interactions and night-life of the cities by reducing pedestrian activities and permeability. Highways reduce pedestrian permeability (Carmona et al., 2010), guards make streets less coherent and attractive (Badland and Schofield, 2005 ; Tolley, 2008) and vehicle-based traffic instead of a pedestrian-based one leads to a reduction of public life in the cities (Gehl and Gemzoe, 2001 ; Barnett, 2011 ; Carmona, 2010). Vehicles have a negative impact on social activities taking place in the streets (Appleyard, 1981) while these activities improve in pedestrian only streets (Gehl et al., 2006). History shows that mixed-use areas in a walkable neighbourhood provide successful public spaces by encouraging walking, cycling, small businesses and more social activities

(Jones et al., 2007 ; Carmona et al., 2010 ; Gindroz, 2002 ; Tarbatt, 2012 ; Gehl et al., 2006) all of which are attractive to tourists as well (Barnett, 2011).

Currently, walking is one of the most prominent modes of travelling in the shrine area both day and night because of the predominantly narrow and traffic-free streets, large numbers of hotels, guesthouses and privately rented houses near the shrine, 24-hour active frontages of small businesses, safety and the perception of safety as well as religious rituals and traditions. However, pedestrian activities in the area are threatened by the following proposals by RPIS. Priority on the streets of the shrine area is given to vehicles by adding more vehicular streets, widening the current streets but not widening the pavements and raising the vehicular speed by putting highways on the borders of the shrine area. However, the history of this in Iran shows that it mostly results in more congestion by attracting more vehicles. Widening the streets to supposedly facilitate traffic has been a method taken by Iranian planning authorities for almost thirty years though it has never reduced congestion as the streets become more crowded as soon as the new wide streets are created (Theran-Traffic-Congestion-Charging, 2012 ; Taghvayi, 2011). The shrine area, as the traditional part of Mashhad with limited infrastructure and traffic capacity, is already the destination of more than 20 million visitors annually (Tabnak, 2010), 28 million pilgrims in 2011 (IRNA, 2012), which RPIS aims to increase. It is also used as a traffic intersection for the whole city of Mashhad to transfer vehicles from west to east via the roundabout under the shrine. RPIS, by proposing new highways in the shrine area, is prioritising the traffic needs and will impose more pressure on the shrine area.
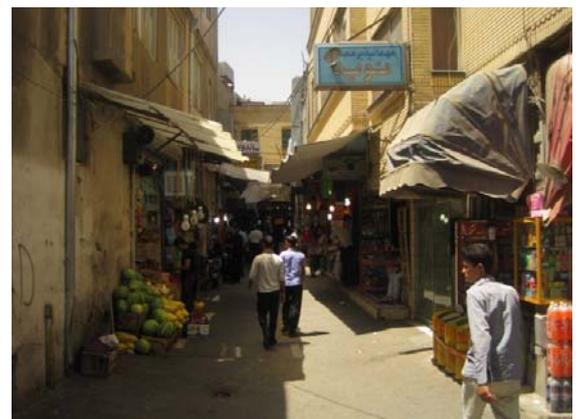
<table>
<tr><td align="center">21:12, 14/08/10</td><td align="center">13:17, 21/08/10</td></tr>
</table>

Figure 26: Mixed-use streets used by pedestrian and vehicles or pedestrians only.

The shrine territory

Pedestrian and vehicular circulation network * for Regeneration
and Reconstruction Plan of Imam Reza Shrine-area,
Provided by Tash consulting Engineers on July 2008

SC:1/13000

	Main roads
	Minor streets
	Paved Routes
	Green Space, Parks

* All of these streets are used by pedestrians and vehicles

Figure 27: RPIS proposed pedestrian permeability.

Figure 28: Current pedestrian permeability.

Discussion:

In this chapter the impacts of urban design interventions on the night-life of the shrine area are evaluated. It is argued that the RPIS, which is conducting large-scale redevelopment in the form of modernisation could adversely influence the spontaneous, active night-life of the shrine-area by various means, including financial exclusion, zoning plans, prioritising vehicular movement, replacing small businesses and residents' houses with large complexes, increasing the block size, large-scale demolition and the displacement of local residents and workers in the area. These projected impacts have been articulated drawing on the theoretical framework and the findings of the survey discussed in Chapter Eight. Furthermore, a small percentage of the RPIS has already been completed and the impacts of these interventions have also been taken into account. Notwithstanding these observations, it is possible that the projected impacts might change in the future as new conditions may arise. This does not detract from the insight, based on this chapter, that urban design interventions might influence the night-life of cities. Therefore it is necessary to study the local night-life of cities in current plans and to include a discussion of night-life in urban areas in regeneration proposals and in master plans. In the next chapter conclusions from the whole study are discussed.

Chapter Ten- Conclusion

Chapter 10 – Conclusion

Following the previous chapters that covered an introduction, literature review, methods and case study analysis, in this last chapter the conclusions to the whole study are discussed. This study was an attempt to develop a deeper insight and better understanding of the concepts of a 24-hour city and night-time economy and investigate their relationship with urban design interventions in order to improve night-life in the built environment.

This chapter begins with the original contribution to knowledge and continues by explaining how that contribution to knowledge has been achieved through response to the thesis' main aims, objectives and research questions. The chapter continues with key findings and a series of recommendations for redevelopment of the shrine area in Mashhad while keeping its active night-life. This chapter finishes by discussing required further studies by taking a critical look at the thesis and discussing how this study could be improved if conducted differently.

Original contribution to knowledge

This research represents a substantial and original contribution to knowledge by filling a part of the gap in the literature of a 24-hour society and night-time economy through investigating a less-studied type of a 24-hour society in a context that has not been studied previously. This study is important as it builds a more comprehensive understanding of the concept of 24-hour city and night-time economy, since the majority of studies are focused on cases in Western Europe, the USA and Australia, and the majority of theories and ideas are based on them. In this study, a 24-hour society which is active at night with people performing commonplace activities and with fewer boundaries between day-time and night time activities is investigated in Mashhad in Iran. This case has similarities to societies with comparable night-life, including some parts of the Middle East and South East Asia and areas in countries that are subject to immigration. However, it has fundamental social and cultural differences with available cases in the literature. Therefore the results of this study can help to achieve a holistic understanding of the concept of a 24-hour society and, by considering the differences in the similar cases, can be helpful for planning night-life in these places.

This study embodies an original contribution to knowledge by highlighting the importance of considering night-life of urban areas in regeneration plans and master plans. The results of this study have direct policy relevance in the regeneration plan of the shrine area in

Mashhad and are helpful for regeneration plans of similar cases in Shiite shrine areas in Iraq. Also this study can be helpful for regeneration plans of cases around the world with local active night-life.

This study is helpful in redefining some ideas which have been formed because of the gap in night-life studies. Some of these ideas are locally specific with limited understanding, such as Melbin's understanding of *'night as a frontier',* which has developed in the USA and in the future [after 1978] it *'may appeal to developing countries with meagre treasuries and teeming populations of unemployed'* (Melbin, 1978:20), or Kreitzman's argument about 24-hour chemists as *'an American phenomenon which has not yet [in 1999] crossed the Atlantic'* (Kreitzman, 1999:15). However, evidence shows that there were 24-hour chemists and other activities in Mashhad in the 1980s. Spontaneously conducting various kinds of routine activities at night is historically part of social life in some developing countries. This study is an attempt to show that just because night-life in many developing countries has not been studied that does not mean that it does not exist but might be due to the fact that, in these societies, people continue performing various common activities at night and they are not aware of the sharp differences between day-time and night-time activities in some other societies and do not recognise the necessity of studying night-life. Also the lack of studies on these societies might be due to language issues and there may be some night-life studies but these are in the local languages and not in English.

This study embodies an original contribution to knowledge by holding that some forms of 24-hour societies, carrying out everyday activities at night, are formed spontaneously and influenced by various factors, which may include societal, cultural, economic, political and climatic. This study, by arguing that entertainment and alcohol-related activities are not necessarily required in an active 24-hour society or in the formation of a night-time economy, expands the meaning of a night-time economy which was introduced by Hobbs. Hobbs argued that the night-time economy has developed in the UK based on the alcohol industry and other activities supporting it, such as the fast food industry. Roberts and Eldridge (2009) elucidated this idea by arguing that there are several forms of night-time economies in different cities or different parts of a city which support or are in opposition to one another. This study expands this idea by arguing that a night-time economy is not necessarily based on alcohol-related activities or entertainment and may include various forms of everyday activities. This study also shows that the night-time economy is not a

recently devised concept and it may have existed in some societies for many years as a matter of course.

By discussing the importance of social, cultural, economic, political, geographical and urban design impacts on the night-life of societies this study argues that the most ordinary type of night-time activities in one society might be the most extraordinary type in another society.

This study has revealed the precise interconnections between the temporal structure of spaces, urban design approaches and mass pilgrimage. It shows that night-time activities in separate societies are based on a series of factors including societal, cultural, economic, political and climatic. Each of these factors are closely connected together in a society and may influence the night-life of that society and define the boundaries between day-time and night-time activities. For instance, this study shows precisely the impact of mass pilgrimage, as a cultural and religious behaviour, in the creation of an active night-life in Mashhad. However, comparison of the case study with other pilgrimage destinations shows that this is not the norm and other social, cultural, economic and political factors are important. Therefore not all pilgrimage destinations are active 24-hours a day.

This study also investigates the impact of mass pilgrimage on the urban form and night-life of cities by reviewing cases that limit that development and commercialisation because of religious beliefs. It also looks at case studies where the opposite attitude has been taken, where the most radical forms of urban design and commercialisation of spaces and night-life has been allowed.

By investigating the interconnection between the temporal use of cities and their spatial form this study details the possible threats to the night-life of cities that might result from urban design approaches that ignore their context. By an innovative investigation of the interconnections between the temporal structure of spaces, urban design and mass pilgrimage, this study argues that societal, cultural, economic, political and climatic factors are all important in the formation of night-life in a city. This is also influenced by urban design, globalisation and tourism. In order to produce an inclusive urban design it is necessary to consider all of these factors in the context of the city, taking account of Cuthbert's ideas (2008) to redefine urban design based on sociology, economics, geography and culture.

As Scott argued *'time is a phenomenon that we take for granted as real and external but it is no more than a social construction'* (Scott, 2009:90). By investigating the impact of pilgrims on the night-life of Mashhad and the changes that mass pilgrimage has had on the social habits of its residents, this study shows that the social and temporal habits of people who shape a city's night-life are a product of various factors, as discussed earlier, including cultural and societal, and they are not static and may change through history. Time structures in contemporary Mashhad are blurred simply because of the presence of pilgrims and their needs, but also because of the requirements of its residents who also wish to conduct their business 24 hours a day. By investigating the underlying pattern of day and night-life activity in Mashhad, this study reveals that, because of the presence of pilgrims, residents have become used to being able to access various services in the city 24-hours a day. Many residents who provide these services also know that, if they work 24-hours in shifts, they can make more money and keep their customers happy. Performing these routine and habitual activities has slightly blurred the boundaries between day-time and night-time and basically changed the social habits of people over time. As Giddens (1984) argued, this makes life feel comfortable and familiar to people.

This study emphasises the importance of the local night-time economy in the formation of 24-hour societies. It also reveals that, although technological developments brings new forms of activities and the possibility of using them day and night, if these technological developments are made without considering the context and users' requirements, they may lead to a reduction of local routine night-life. This study underlines the importance of considering the durability of local night-time economies which can be endangered by urban design interventions and emphasises defining them by conducting local surveys before taking any urban design interventions.

Methods used to achieve these outcomes

In this study various methods were taken to deal with its limitations. Limitations were present because of the nature of the study. This study was new in its context and was also in an area where collecting data was a serious problem. Also it involved collecting data on people's everyday lives and investigating society from the inside.

In the first stage of this study, the literature was reviewed in order to define why this study was important and form its theoretical framework. The literature was categorised based on

the main aim of this thesis, which was to evaluate the potential impacts of urban design interventions on the nightlife of cities through an investigation of a case study, the shrine area in Mashhad, Iran as a case study which is both a major city and a pilgrimage destination. Aims, objectives and research questions of this study are shown in Table 1. The theoretical framework of this study is formed through the literature review by investigating the joint impacts of urban design, pilgrimage and night-life, as shown in Figure 1. Other factors, including economics and politics, also influence the night-life of the case study. However, because of several security issues, this study was limited in its ability to investigating these.
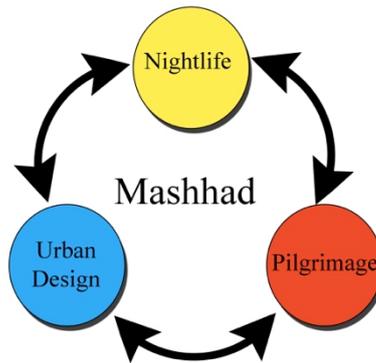
Figure 1: Structure of literature review (Author)**.**

Chapter Two – Night-life, focused on the literature discussing the night-life of cities, investigating the relationship between that night-life and its context. In this chapter, the factors which may threaten night-life in cities and some urban design approaches that have been taken to improve this were reviewed. This chapter showed the gap in studies of night-time economies which are mostly focused on cases in Western Europe, the USA and Australia where the dominant form of night-time activity is entertainment-based. Also, by investigating some international cases, it described other forms of inclusive night-life across the globe, which further emphasised the gap in studies of night-time economies. This chapter also investigated the available planning and management tools and showed the lack of planning approaches that have been applied in consideration of the night-life of cities in redevelopment plans.

Chapter 10 – Conclusion

Table 1: Aims, objectives and research questions.

Aim	Objectives	Questions	Methods used
To evaluate the possible impacts of urban design interventions on the nightlife of cities by investigating these impacts on the shrine area in Mashhad, Iran as a case study.	To study night-life in the shrine area	1. What are the activities that keep the shrine area active at night? 2. What kinds of activities are performed in the shrine area at night? 3. What are the boundaries between day-time and night-time activities in the shrine area? 4. What is the relationship between the nightlife of the shrine area and its context? 5. Evaluate the quality of the shrine area as a 24-hour active area	Questionnaire-based interview survey Observation including: Taking photos, videos, Counting pedestrian and vehicles on specific points, Watching people's behaviour and behavioural mapping Observing the physical form and facilities in the area Observing social-life in the area Semi-structured interviews Secondary data
	To study the relationship between night-life and urban design in the shrine area by considering its night-life as a part of its social life	6. Examine the relationship between the social-economic life in the shrine area and its urban form 7. Examine the impacts of urban design on the social-economic life of the shrine area 8. Examine the impacts of urban design on the nightlife of the shrine area	
	To evaluate the impacts of modernisation on the night-life of the shrine area	9. What are the impacts of modernisation that may influence the social-economic life of the shrine area 10. What are the impacts of modernisation that may threaten the nightlife of the shrine area 11. How to improve or maintain the night-time activities in the shrine area	

There are not many studies investigating the impact of urban design interventions on the night-life of cities. However, night-life is a part of the social life of cities, Chapter Three – City, studied the relationship between urban design and social life. This chapter focused on modern urbanism as the principal urban design approach from the context of the case study and also from some developing countries that have a spontaneous active night-life. However, other urban design approaches might have different impacts and need to be investigated in their related cases.

Since the case study is a pilgrimage destination, in Chapter Four – Pilgrimage, the interconnections between the temporal structure of cities, urban design and mass pilgrimage were studied. In order to do this, temporal structure and urban design were investigated in a series of pilgrimage destinations around the world by studying the development form of the areas near the pilgrimage site and the activities taking place in them at night. Basic rituals of the related religion have also been studied to find underlying interconnections of the current night-life and urban form in each pilgrimage destination. The importance of studying Mashhad as a pilgrimage destination with similarities to other pilgrimage sites was highlighted.

The theoretical framework in Chapters Two, Three and Four was used to analyse the case study in Chapter Eight, to evaluate the possible impacts of modernisation on the night-life of the case study in Chapter Nine and to propose a series of recommendations for the case study area as a postscript in Chapter Ten.

In the next stage, in order to achieve an in-depth understanding of the case study in a larger context, the night-life and urban design approaches in Iran and Mashhad were investigated. The research questions were answered by studying night-life and urban design interventions in Iran as the highest level of the case study in Chapter Six and Mashhad as the second level of case study in Chapter Seven. However, since the study is new in its context and also because it is unknown in the existing body of work, there is a severe lack of directly related information to the main context of the study. Therefore, different studies that discuss the social life and urban development in Iran and Mashhad as well as some religious texts were studied.

The third stage was data collection in the case study. However, there were no directly related studies to use as secondary data and, because of security issues and for political reasons, it was not possible to collect certain forms of data including that showing safety and security figures or anything related to political issues. Therefore, in response to the operational question, a mixed-method approach was taken for data gathering. This mixed-method, as shown in Figure 2, involved collecting primary data through quantitative and qualitative approaches and the use of secondary data. The quantitative approach contained an exploratory quantitative questionnaire survey with users of the shrine area. The qualitative approach contained direct observation of the shrine area and semi-structured interviews with the planning authorities. The results of this stage, and analysis of the data, were discussed in Chapter Eight. A combination of these methods was used to provide a thorough and in-depth interpretive understanding of the social life of the shrine area of Mashhad and everyday life from the perspective of local people. These methods were also used to search for the underlying pattern that makes the shrine area active 24-hours by investigating it from the inside.
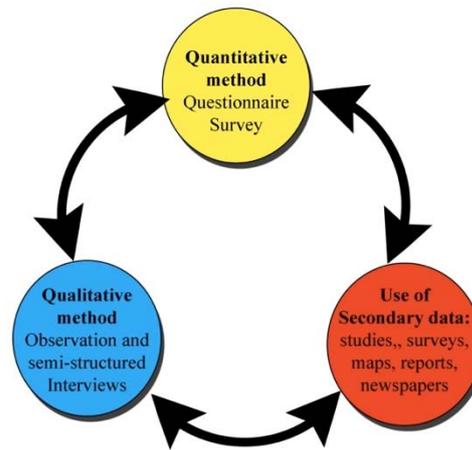
Figure 2: Mixed-methods (Author).

This study investigating the night-life of the shrine area and its underlying pattern was intended to look at the everyday life of people in the shrine area and deal with the difficulties and complications of studying everyday life. As discussed previously, people in different societies perform a series of habitual actions routinely which form the framework of their everyday life. The difficulty of studying everyday life is that, when people perform habitual actions, they are not basically aware of them. The most difficult question to answer was therefore 'What do you do at night in Mashhad?' For most people in Mashhad the answer to that would be 'The same as I do in the day'. Designing the questionnaire was a difficult process since the questions needed to be open and were not to be leading questions in order to reveal the true pattern of night-life and social interactions in the area. Conducting interviews was also difficult since some of the questions seemed odd to the respondents. For example, when workers in the shrine area were asked 'What time do you close at night?' their first response was surprise as they were so used to being open 24 hours a day and did not even consider closing. Indeed, some of them even remarked that their shops did not have shutters or a gate to close. There was a similar reaction to questions about evaluating various factors in the area including overcrowding, noise and safety separately for day-time and night-time as they did not consider that there were boundaries between day and night.

Observations of the area came up with some unexpected results. In general, people were very welcoming and cared about the pilgrims. The streets and urban texture were very old and in many cases inefficient, but the local modifications that had been carried out, such as installing curtains over the streets to control sunlight in summer and wind in winter or the use of trolleys for moving the pilgrims' luggage in the winding streets, highlighted the

importance placed on users' needs and the adaptations to the spatial form of the city which had been made to the cater for these.

Observations showed that various groups of people, both male and female and of varying ages, use the shrine area freely and safely at all times of the day and night without being in danger or feeling threatened. It is possible to argue that gender is not an issue in the night-life of the shrine area. Therefore, perception of safety, social and cultural factors that form the norm of each society are important in shaping the way that women use or perceive the city at night. However, more in-depth studies are required to clarify the main influential factors that impact on how women use the streets at night.

3:03, 22/09/10

Figure 3: Women at the shrine area (Author).

In Iran, because of political concerns, interviewing people to obtain data that is to be used out of the country is always a risky task. However, this is more risky in the shrine area in Mashhad as it is the most religious place in Iran with a powerful political trustee. Therefore, interviews needed to be conducted secretly so that they would not attract the attention of police or security.

Conducting interviews with the authorities highlighted the fact that they were not knowledgeable about the importance of night-life in the shrine area and had not considered it in any of the regeneration plans.

The results of the survey were surprising in showing the close relationship between residents, workers and pilgrims in shaping the social and economic active night-life of the shrine area. In the fourth stage, the results of the studies in the shrine area were analysed by considering the theoretical framework and background studies. These results were then used to evaluate the possible impacts of modernisation on the night-life of the shrine area

in Mashhad and finally prepare a series of planning recommendations for regeneration of the shrine area to increase its quality of life, whilst keeping and supporting its local active night-life.

Findings

The key findings of this study are discussed in the following section.

This study reveals that night-life in cities is the product of various factors including social interactions, cultural behaviours, economic factors and climate. Based on these factors people perform a series of activities including habitual activities at night. These activities and the requirements of people define the boundaries between day-time and night-time activities. Therefore, there are various forms of the night-time economy and 24-hour societies and they do not necessarily need to be based on entertainment. Also it is important to consider that there is no single prescription for producing a 24-hour society since it is a dynamic and context-based concept.

Studying the shrine area in Mashhad shows that this area is active at night partly because it is a relatively inclusive mixed-use area. As a result the perception of safety is high in this area. Although there are conflicts between various uses in the area, the convenience and the benefits of living in a 24-hour active area trade off its disadvantages and the majority of people living and working in the area prefer to stay there rather than moving to a different part of the city. Therefore, this study highlights the importance of mixed-use 24-hour areas in providing an inclusive night-life.

Based on this study, pilgrimage, like tourism, influences social life, night-life, the economy and the built environment of its destinations. In a pilgrimage destination a local night-time economy forms when the religious site is located in a town or a city, has large numbers of national and international target groups (local groups may not be enough), its respective denomination allows levels of secular commercial and everyday activities, the religious site stays open at night and some of the secular and religious activities take place at night. However, the night-time economy of pilgrimage destinations, in common with the night-time economies of other places, is greatly influenced by cultural, social, political, security and climatic factors.

This study shows that there are similarities between the night-life in Mashhad and some pilgrimage destinations in Iraq, Mecca and Medina; non-pilgrimage cities, such as Mumbai which is active at night or tourist destinations such as Dubai and areas in other countries that are subject to immigration from these areas. Although Mashhad is unique in some attributes, it is similar to other societies to some extent and findings from Mashhad can be helpful for the regeneration plans of similar cases. However, as discussed before, it is important to note that any changes in the spatial form of the cities need to be based on the local social and economic life of that city and this can be understood only by conducting studies in each specific context and investigating the society from within.

This study shows that although electric light plays an important role in the formation of modern night-time activities, modernity and technological improvements in urban areas do not necessarily lead to a more active night-life. Studying Mashhad reveals that although modernisation may not have a direct connection with temporality and modern tools may support and facilitate night-time activities, the results of modernisation in each culture can be different, either encouraging or discouraging its night-life. The night-life of cities is part of their social and economic life which is influenced by the physical form of their space. Therefore, if modernity reduces the social life of spaces it might also accordingly reduce the night-life of those spaces.

This study shows that because of social, cultural, religious and climatic factors there are fewer visible boundaries between day-time and night-time activities in major Iranian cities, which is also the case in other Middle-Eastern countries. Amongst the major Iranian cities, Mashhad, and specifically the shrine area, are spontaneously active 24-hours providing different facilities for residents, workers and pilgrims.

The results of the empirical investigations revealed that there are fewer boundaries between day-time and night-time activities in the shrine area. The shrine area in Mashhad is active throughout 24-hours and the whole city is active until late at night because of the following factors:

- The shrine is open 24-hours
- Large numbers of pilgrims visit the shrine 24-hours. Pilgrims come to Mashhad all year round. Many of them come to Mashhad in their own cars or by bus and they may arrive at any time of day or night. Their main destination is the shrine and they mostly look for accommodation in the shrine area to minimise their travel expenses. Many of these pilgrims stay in the shrine area and walk to the shrine.

However, the presence of pilgrims is not limited to the shrine area and their activities extend all over the city. 24-hour services are also provided in other parts of the city. The majority of pilgrims staying in the shrine area have low-incomes and look for cheap accommodation; many rent rooms in residents' houses or stay in cheap guest houses. Since they only stay for a few days in Mashhad, they want to make the most of their time and plan their itinerary for both day and night.

- Due to a lack of regulations and the fact that there is continuous demand in the shrine area and across Mashhad, businesses are active for 24-hours in the shrine area or until late at night in other areas to serve the pilgrims.

- The continuity of these services over time has influenced the requirements of the residents. The availability of different services on a 24-hour basis also assures the residents of Mashhad that they have access to everything they need throughout an entire day and night. When, because of the recent regulations, these services were stopped for 11 months this brought inconvenience and dissatisfaction for the residents of Mashhad. These factors have resulted in a special night-life for Mashhad which forms part of its character.

- Because of these activities, the shrine area is active over 24-hours, contributing to a perception of safety. Accordingly, because pilgrims feel safe in the area and find their requirements are met day and night, increasing numbers of pilgrims stay there and more people use the facilities and walk in the area, thereby enhancing both safety and the perception of safety.

All of these factors work as links of a chain. The breaking of one link breaks the chain, as shown in Figure 4.
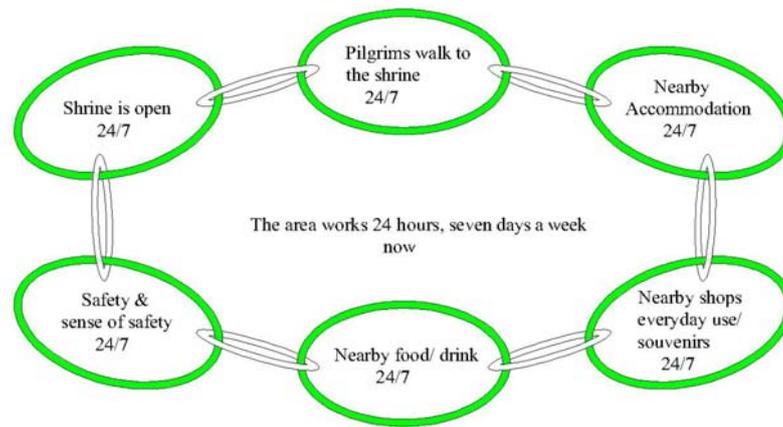
Figure 4: Factor making the shrine area work 24-hours (Author).

This study shows that the RPIS threatens the night-life of the shrine area by influencing these factors through the replacement of small businesses with large shopping centres and commercial complexes, increasing the block size, displacing local people, introducing financial exclusion, large-scale demolition, the widening of streets, building more vehicular streets and, accordingly, reducing safety and perception of safety, as shown in Figure 5. Although only approximately 2% of the works in the RPIS has been completed, observation demonstrates that it has already started to reduce night-life in the shrine area both temporarily and permanently. Within the shrine area, the only areas perceived to be unsafe are those where buildings have been demolished as required by the RPIS. Perceptions of safety are reduced by the presence of vacant buildings and demolished wastelands, with the result that fewer pilgrims stay in these areas, the shops close at night and there is a lack of lighting. This causes residents to gradually move out of the area and drug dealers to move in, leading to a greater apprehension of danger. This cycle continues and leaves these areas increasingly empty and unsafe with fewer night-time activities. This is a temporary impact of RPIS since, when the project is completed; all the vacant lots will be built up. However, the newly built complexes in the shrine area are not successful either. Observations show that these do not meet users' expectations and have replaced local people with newcomers which has resulted in the decline of night-time activities. However, there is a *caveat*. These findings are based on a survey and observations which were conducted for this study in the summer of 2010. Since these factors are greatly based on social interactions in the area they may change later based on new conditions.
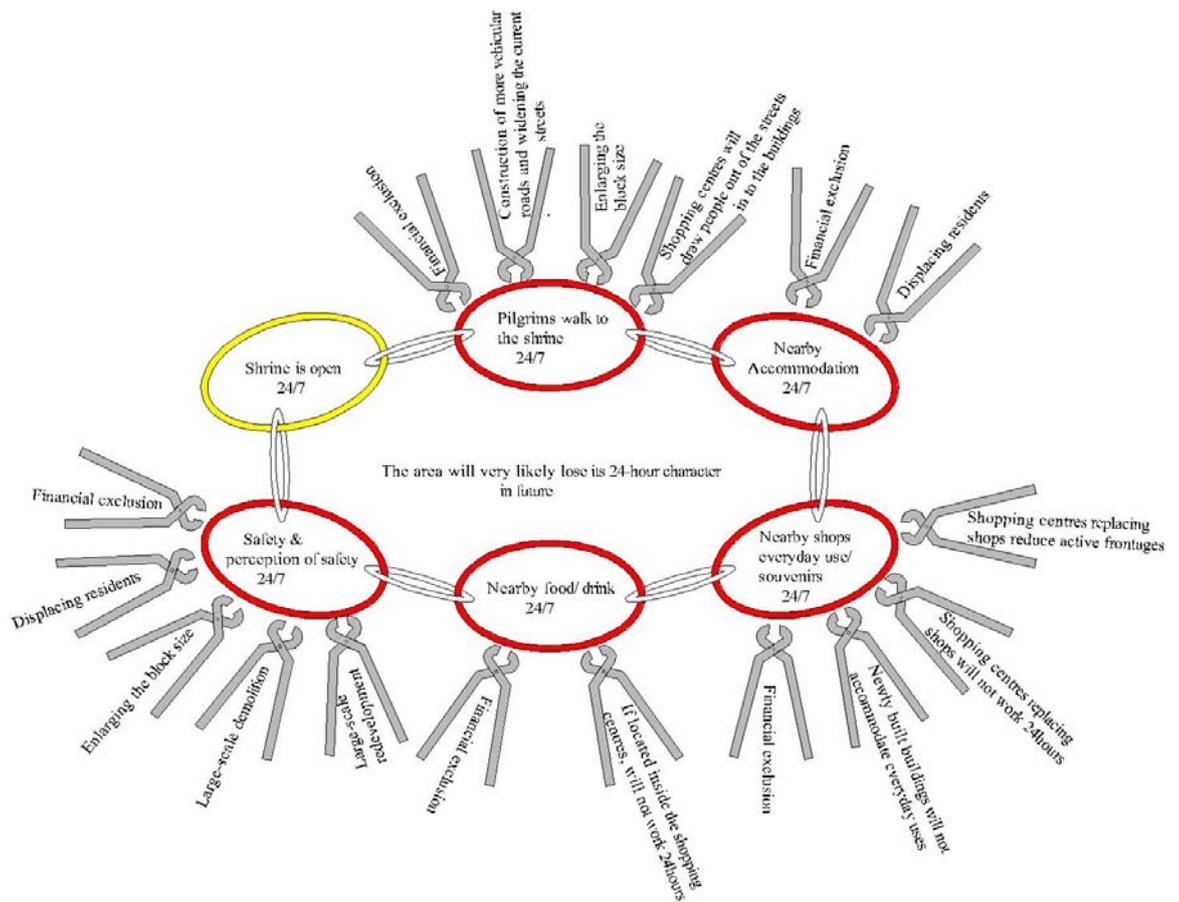
Figure 5: Issues threatening the 24-hours characteristics of the shrine area (Author).

This study reveals that there is a possibility that urban design interventions in the form of modernisation will reduce the night-time activities in the shrine area in Mashhad. Therefore, urban design interventions that do not consider the local and temporal factors of the context may have negative impacts on its social life and its night-life. Studying Mashhad reveals that in order to produce successful urban spaces with an active night-life it is important to base any changes on the demands and requirements of the users rather than enforcing the pre-planned standard patterns that modern urbanism recommends.

This study highlights the threats of replacing local residents and workers of an urban area with newcomers. Based on the findings of this study the social interactions might change in the area when local residents are displaced and if these social interactions shape a specific character for the area this change can lead to irreversible social and economic problems. For instance in the shrine area in Mashhad, residents of the area have lived there for a long time and the majority of them, who inherited their houses, have never lived anywhere else. Therefore it can be assumed that they are used to this lifestyle, including the overcrowding and noise, and they are more tolerant of these issues than people who

used to live in other residential areas. If people from other residential areas replace the local residents in the shrine area there might be serious conflicts between residents' expectations and users' behaviour. It might be thought that all of the developments in the shrine area are based on attracting groups of upmarket pilgrims. However, fundamental changes in this large-scale project of 309 hectares require continuous review to estimate the impact on the target group while none have been conducted in the shrine area. By investigating the reports provided for the RIPS and the minutes of developer and planner meetings it is clear that the authorities are looking for change and aim to provide a modern space for pilgrimage, in a manner similar to developments in Mecca. The modernised areas adjacent to the mosques in Mecca have been implicitly selected by the Iranian authorities as successful patterns on which to regenerate the shrine area in Mashhad. However, Mecca and Medina's modernisation has had opposition and is condemned by several commentators (Henderson, 2011 ; Laessing, 2010). Their supposed success will not necessarily be reproduced in the modernisation of Mashhad for the reasons discussed below.

- The target group of Mecca and Medina is the whole Islamic world for whom a pilgrimage journey is theologically obligatory. The target group of Mashhad are restricted to Muslim Shiites, who are mostly pilgrims from Iran and there are fewer international pilgrims.

- Some prohibitions and problems associated with visiting other Shitte shrines have been removed. As a result, this may lead to less pilgrims visiting Mashhad.

- The radical modernisation and development in Mecca and Medina did not attract more pilgrims. As two studies (Woodward, 2004 ; Burns, 2007) have shown, many hotels and facilities were fully used only at the time of Hajj and are empty at other times of the year. Therefore the Saudi Arabian authorities decided to promote local tourism and extend international pilgrims' visas so that they were able to use these facilities all year round.

It is important to consider that Hajj attracts millions of pilgrims annually, not because of the modern environment around the mosques, but because it is an obligatory practice for believers of the second largest religion in the world. Therefore, taking patterns from Mecca may not bring success for Mashhad but only impose irreversible issues on the urban life and social and economic life of the city.

This study reveals that the night-time activities in the shrine area in Mashhad make a significant contribution to the economy of the area and the city as a whole. Therefore, if the city stops working 24-hours for any reason, it loses its character, attraction and convenience and possibly some of its pilgrims. Although these changes might not necessarily directly reduce the number of pilgrims, they might be reduced indirectly by other means, such as financial exclusion and, as a result, the economy of the city and its life might experience significant harm. It is important to consider that if Mashhad loses its active night-life, it might not possible to reverse it easily.

This study shows that although urban design interventions might influence the night-life of an urban area, the night-life of cities has not been considered in regeneration plans in Mashhad. In this study it is argued that because of the importance and necessity of 24-hour activities in contemporary and future societies, it is important to consider night-life of urban areas in master plans and regeneration proposals. It is important to study the local night-life of each area by conducting context based studies which are prepared before the provision of guidelines formulated in plans for regeneration. It is important that these guidelines are based on the local context by considering social and cultural factors and investigating the drivers of area's local night-life in order to discover the important factors that can provide potential improvements in its night-life. These influential attributes are local and context-based and not internationalised and applicable world-wide. This idea becomes more necessary in developing countries where large-scale redevelopment plans take place with less awareness and consideration of the night-life of cities and might result in the loss of this local night-life and affect the character of these cities in the future.

In the following section a series of recommendations in the form of three scenarios are proposed for the regeneration of the shrine area taking into consideration its local night-life. These recommendations are based on the findings of the surveys and observations discussed in Chapter Eight.

Aims and objectives of recommendations

As discussed previously, the shrine area is the most historic part of the city. Its attributes, including temporal and spatial multi-functionality, are the results of its history, the action and interaction of the people living and working in the area and pilgrims visiting and staying there. Its night-life is an important part of its social life and authenticity. Therefore

it is necessary to consider the continuous form of its active night-life in any redevelopment plan proposed for the area. However, this has been completely ignored by the RPIS as discussed in the previous section. Therefore, new guidelines are required to support the sociability and character of night-life in the shrine area.

These recommendations seek to detail the necessary changes to the built environment, including urban texture, buildings and traffic, in the shrine area. Their main aim is to improve the quality of life in the area whilst keeping its current night-time activities alive and to expand night-time activities to the less active areas suffering from safety issues. Based on the findings in Chapter Eight, these recommendations are not opposed to development and aim to redevelop the area. However, the redevelopment needs to be based on user requirements, as discussed in the previous chapters, in a more sensitive manner and with consideration given to its traditional form and character.

The objectives of these recommendations are listed below:

1. To accommodate the needs of the current users of the area including local residents, workers and pilgrims.
2. To increase pedestrian activities and permeability.
3. To increase the quality of life in the area by improving the built environment and the provision of facilities for local residents, workers and pilgrims.
4. To support night-time activities as a continuity of day time activities in the shrine area.
5. To provide and support mixed-use and diversity to attract people from all age groups, genders and social classes with various interests.
6. To balance between conservation of the valuable built environment and new development to accommodate all kinds of uses including everyday uses.

Recommendations

These recommendations are focused on night-time issues in order to keep the shrine area active at night. In order to reach this aim, several influential factors are shown in Figure 7. These factors are discussed in the first part of the recommendations followed by a series of other related recommendations.

These recommendations are proposed in three different scenarios so as to be more resilient. The details of these scenarios are compared in Table 2. The first scenario describes the ideal situation by minimising the use of vehicles in the area. In this scenario the

underground roundabout under the shrine is closed, the pavements are widened by reducing the widths of the vehicular roads and some of the streets in the traditional texture of the area are pedestrianised. In this scenario, construction of more streets and widening of the current streets is avoided. Also this scenario intends to replace private transport with public transport and encourage the use of bicycles by devoting one lane of each street to public transport and providing bicycle lanes. Since 47% of vehicles enter the shrine area only to transfer to other parts of the city (Daftar-e-Motaleat-e-Haml-va-Naghl, 2000 ; Tash-Consultant-Engineers, 1994), an advantage of this scenario is that, by closing the underground roundabout, transit traffic will be diverted from the shrine area to its borders reducing congestion and noise on the main streets ending at the shrine. However, since closing the underground roundabout under the shrine might not be accepted by the Iranian authorities a second scenario is proposed. This scenario is similar to the first but excludes the closure of the underground roundabout.

Since demolition is constantly taking place in the area, a third scenario is proposed to increase night-time activities in the shrine area while adhering to RPIS proposals. In this scenario, the idea of 'big box' (Mouzon in Steuteville et al., 2009) is used to keep the street level active with small businesses located on the ground floor of large commercial complexes. These small businesses need to have direct interaction with the adjacent streets. Also, to increase the interactions between the buildings and the streets, pedestrian roads are proposed to cut through large blocks of commercial complexes. In all of these three scenarios the new buildings are ceded to local residents and workers and cheap accommodation and facilities are provided for low-income pilgrims.

Figure 6: Streets near the shrine are pedestrian only on special occasions (Mashhad-Gardi, 2013).

Area's Night-life depends on	Required efforts for keeping it	By	Through
Large number of pedestrians in the area during day and night	Walking culture should be encouraged.	Prioritising pedestrian movement Increasing pedestrian permeability provision of pedestrian facilities	Stop widening the current streets Stop building more vehicular streets Avoid built-in traffic segregation Divert the transit traffic out of the area Keep block-size small Encourage, mixed-uses, small businesses and active frontages in the street level Improve pavements' conditions, lighting and cleaning of steets Provide enough street furniture
Mixed-uses in the form of small businesses working 24-hours	Mixed-uses and small businesses should be supported to work 24-hours	Avoid replacing small businesses and houses with residential-commercial complexes.	The main commercial spaces in the area should be in the form of small businesses with doors to the adjacent streets. The traditional pattern for housing should be supported.
Everyday uses providing affordable facilities for pilgrims and residents 24-hours.	Preserve old and usable buildings to accommodate everyday uses	Avoid large-scale redevelopment	Support current everyday uses Identify and encourage more potential places for everyday uses Redevelopment may take place only in small size
Large number of pilgrims staying in the area.	Plans should address the current users of the area, including low-income pilgrims, current residents and workers	Avoid replacing houses, guesthouses and small businesses with luxurious buildings, resulting in financial exclusion	Affordable facilities including accommodation everyday uses and shops should be provided for low-income pilgrims. Avoid displacement of residents and workers Avoid large-scale redevelopment

Figure 7: Efforts to keep the area active at night (Author).

Table 2: Comparison of three proposed scenarios.

Proposed Guidelines	Scenario 1	Scenario 2	Scenario 3
Pedestrianising some streets	✓	✓	
Providing pedestrian facilities	✓	✓	✓
Providing bicycle lanes	✓	✓	✓
Closing the underground roundabout	✓		
Reducing the streets width to two lanes on each side	✓	✓	
Assigning one lane to public transport	✓	✓	✓
Keeping the street level active with the current small businesses	✓	✓	
Keeping the street level active with small businesses having direct interaction to the adjacent streets			✓
Cutting through the large blocks with pedestrian routes			✓
Keeping the current urban texture	✓	✓	
Keeping the local people	✓	✓	✓
Keeping the area as a mixed-use area	✓	✓	✓
Diverting the transit traffic out of the shrine area	✓	✓	
Provision of facilities and accommodation for low-income pilgrims	✓	✓	✓

Pedestrian activities

As the surveys and observation show, large numbers of pedestrians in the shrine area support social interactions and the night-time activities of the area. Therefore, to keep the area active at night, walking culture should be encouraged through prioritising pedestrian movement, increasing pedestrian permeability and providing facilities for walkers. The common strategies that are used for increasing walkability include reducing the vehicle speed limit, increasing foot permeability (Carmona et al., 2010), dividing the road-width equally for vehicles and pedestrians, widening the pavements in some areas to facilitate crossing the street by pedestrians (Steuteville et al., 2009) and building cycle lanes and encouraging people to cycle more (Tolley, 2008). In addition, provision of related activities and proper spaces for walking (Gottdiener in Sevilla-Buitrago, 2012); added visual permeability with a direct sight line that can increase the connectivity between two spaces and motivate pedestrians to walk (Baran et al., 2008).

Increasing pedestrian activities can be done by improving cleaning and lighting and the provision of attractive spaces and views, including of the shrine and other local important views. The importance of old bazaars and pedestrian streets should be highlighted. Therefore, for scenarios one and two, the current streets with the potential for revitalisation are selected from the urban environment. This potential is based on the activities taking place in them during day and at night, keeping their reputation and accessibility. These streets are mostly local bazaars or mixed-use streets with various commercial and cultural activities including souvenir shops and everyday uses on the ground floor and residents' houses and different types of pilgrims' accommodation on the other floors or streets nearby. Also they have an active life day and night with a view or potential view to the shrine. It is proposed to pedestrianise these streets. However, they need to have the possibility of vehicle movement in cases of emergency and provide bicycles and trolleys for moving goods around. In the third scenario, the previous location of these streets is used to provide pedestrian roads cutting through the large commercial blocks.

The area seriously lacks open and green spaces. They can be planned in the form of squares with a view of the shrine. Also a green pedestrian ring is added to connect the whole area and provide pedestrian accessibility and permeability all around the shrine.

Pedestrianising the area should be done in phases in a regular and planned way in order to give enough time and space for people to adapt to the changes. This idea needs time to be accepted by the public. This is possible in the long-term as, currently, pedestrian activities

are dominant in some parts of the shrine area and also as Moeini (2012) argued there is increasing interest in a walking culture in Iran, to reduce pollution and transport problems as well as improve public health.

In order to increase pedestrian permeability, traffic volume should be reduced. The first method is to reduce any unnecessary journeys to the area by diverting the transit traffic away from the shrine area by installing enough clear traffic signs on the borders and neighbouring streets. The next method is to stop building more vehicular streets, stop widening the current streets and encourage and promote the use of public transport instead of private transport. Provision of enough public transport and restrictions on using private vehicles in the shrine area will facilitate traffic flow in the area and reduce the problem of a lack of car parks. This will consequently raise the quality of the streets. Another way is to increase street flexibility by avoiding built-in traffic segregations used for separating two sides of the streets to provide the possibility of changing them from two-way to one-way or pedestrian-only streets at peak times as required. There should be several easy and accessible facilities for pedestrians to cross the streets and enough parking before entering the area to let people leave their cars and take public transport or walk to the shrine.

In order to increase pedestrian activities and permeability, safety and the perception of safety should be improved. Methods for realising this aim are to avoid the following: large-scale demolition, large construction sites, enlarging the block-size, replacing small businesses with complexes, replacing active frontages with dull buildings and replacing residents' houses with apartments. Demolition should take place if a building's condition is hazardous to the public or redevelopment is necessary for increasing the quality of life in the area. The areas selected for redevelopment should be small in size in order to connect the neighbourhood. The buildings should be demolished or half-demolished only when they can be built and the demolished sites should be under careful control until they are built. There should not be any spaces suitable for drug dealers and wanderers to hide in and temporary use, for instance as car parks, should be avoided.

In order to encourage a walking culture and pedestrian activities, pavements' conditions should be improved through widening, improving their surface and removing obstacles. Also, proper street drainage should be provided for all streets including major and minor streets. Street furniture, including seats, water fountains and public toilets, should be provided. The amount and location of street furniture should be enough to avoid blocking movement through an area. Railings should provide safe and free movement for all

members of the community travelling by foot including children, the old and the less-able people who should be able to use the streets easily. In designing these places climate should also be considered.

Public spaces should be safe, attractive and active day and night to attract more pedestrians. In order to provide safety, all streets and spaces should be overlooked, well-used and properly lit. Use at street level should directly relate to pedestrians and have well-used frontages. Buildings should be visually interesting and active at street level with entrances and windows overlooking the public areas. They should not turn their backs on streets and public spaces. The visual impact of parking and servicing facilities should be limited by a solution called 'big box' to avoid blank walls, such as parking walls, by wrapping these buildings with a row of buildings with active frontages (Mouzon in Steuteville et al., 2009).

There is a suitable high street-style in the warm central part of Iran that is proposed for use in the main streets. In this style, in order to provide a suitable space for window shoppers and pedestrians, a part of the pavement adjacent to the shops is covered by a canopy. This provides a covered space for window shoppers as well as separating them from the pedestrians passing by thus facilitating movement.

Mixed-use, small businesses and everyday use

Small businesses are necessary to provide the mixed-use and diversity which increases public interactions. Since small businesses with active frontages that work 24-hours are one of the main factors keeping the shrine area active at night, they should be supported. More small businesses providing everyday uses, food, drink and souvenirs, with active frontages and direct access from adjacent streets should be provided and encouraged to work 24-hours. This can be done by avoiding the replacement of small businesses with residential and commercial complexes, which makes prices too high for everyday use and reduces public interactions as well as excluding some groups of users. Having mixed use is one of the most influential characteristics of the area which is supported by small businesses. Keeping the current mixed use on the ground floor of the area and within different floors of each building is recommended. Sufficient numbers of residential or commercial accommodation and office buildings are required in each neighbourhood. As discussed before, only small-scale redevelopment may take place and the majority of buildings should be refurbished rather than rebuilt.

Current users

Another important factor influencing the active night-life of the shrine area is the large number of its current users and their close relationship. Therefore, in order to keep night-time activities in the shrine area, the plan should address current residents, workers and pilgrims in the area. As discussed previously, the majority of residents and workers have been living and working in the shrine area for a long time. Mostly they run small family businesses and rent rooms in their houses to pilgrims. Most pilgrims have low incomes and look for cheap accommodation close to the shrine and affordable facilities, including everyday uses or souvenir shops. Therefore, residents and workers should be supported to run their small businesses and affordable accommodation and facilities should be provided for pilgrims. However, there must be close observation and control on the health and safety of houses rented to pilgrims. Therefore, large-scale redevelopment, displacement of residents and workers as well as financial exclusion of pilgrims should be avoided by stopping the replacement of small businesses with residential and commercial complexes and residents' houses with apartments. The area should provide various types of pilgrims' accommodation, affordable to those with different budgets, from residents' houses to guest houses and hotels. Also, various small businesses including mixed-use and everyday use should be active 24-hours to make staying in the shrine area convenient for the users.

15:07, 03/08/10

Figure 8: Everyday use plays an important role in the economy of the shrine area (Author).

1:39, 10/08/10

Figure 9: Redevelopment plans do not address the current users and lead to the creation of empty spaces (Author).

In the following section, a series of other related recommendations are discussed. These recommendations are either indirectly related to night-time activities in the area or are necessary for increasing the quality of life. Since, large parts of the area have been

demolished or are already under redevelopment, a scenario based on real-life conditions provides an example of how some attributes of the current character of the area might be retained.

Redevelopment

For the majority of buildings in the area, refurbishment is recommended rather than redevelopment. However, redevelopment on a small scale is necessary to raise the quality of life and diversity of the age and type of buildings.

The height, mass, scale, proportion and bulk of redeveloped buildings need to respect the local area, adjoining buildings and the historic and religious character of the area. Therefore the buildings that are located on the streets with a direct view of the shrine should be allowed to have a maximum of three storeys to match the adjacent buildings and keep the view to the shrine. Also, the architectural design, details, materials and colours, of redeveloped buildings need to respect the local area, adjoining buildings and the historic character of the area.

11:30, 11/09/10

Figure 10: Mashhad, Imam Reza Street (Author).

The visual impact and safety issues of the building and demolished sites should be considered. The structure of demolished or half-built buildings and redeveloping sites should be covered until the end of the execution, as shown in Figure 11.

14:31,   15:42,
25/08/10   31/07/10

Figure 11: Vacant lands or half-built buildings (Author).

Alterations and extensions

If any alteration or extension is needed this should consider the form, proportion and character of the original building, trees growing on the site and neighbouring streets. Any alteration or extension should respect the historic and religious form and character of the area.

Most of the shops are a part of dwellings. Shop fronts contribute to the character of the shrine area and old Mashhad. Their structure, type, width and size show their history. If a shop design is altered the design should respect the characteristics of the main building, nearby buildings and the area. If the use of historic buildings is changed it should not harm the architectural or historical attributes of the building and the area.

Signage

Signs are very important in this area as a historic, religious and commercial area and a pilgrimage destination. They should be properly designed and not be out of scale to denigrate the importance of the shrine and the character of the area.

Internally illuminated advertisements and projecting signs are not appropriate in the shrine area as it is a religious and historic site and they interfere with the shrine views. Traditional hanging signs are the only acceptable forms.

Enough clear signage and map stands should be provided to facilitate the movement of pilgrims, whether they are pedestrians or in vehicles.

The character of the shrine area

The area's character and identity is threatened by the change of streets by modernising buildings, increasing the height of buildings, increasing the size of blocks, widening the streets and a loss of night-time activities. In these ways the area will look like a newly built complex and not a traditional part of a religious city which has been a pilgrimage destination for centuries and shaped the memories of millions of people. Also, changes of street vision will reduce legibility in the physical layout as many of the *'key physical elements'* (Bentley et al., 1985) including *'nodes, edges, paths, districts and landmarks'* (Lynch, 1960) will be removed or changed in the area. Changing the visual forms of the area will not reduce the number of pilgrims as their main destination is the shrine and their main aim of travelling to Mashhad is pilgrimage. However, a loss of memories may eventually result in dissatisfaction. Therefore it is important that the area keeps its authenticity.

The area's authenticity also depends on the night-life of the area. Based on the results of studies discussed in the previous chapter, the shrine area has been spontaneously active 24-hours for a long time. Also, the policy for limiting the shops' opening hours at night does not apply to the shrine area since everybody agrees that it must be active 24-hours to serve pilgrims and provide their needs. Therefore any changes in the shrine area influencing its active night-life, either directly or indirectly, could influence its convenience, authenticity and the number of pilgrims staying there. Although loss of authenticity in Mashhad might not directly reduce the number of pilgrims, as it does in many tourist destinations, it may reduce the number of pilgrims indirectly through other means such as financial exclusion.

Figure 12: Mashhad at night, the shrine area is shining (Mashhad-Gardi, 2012).
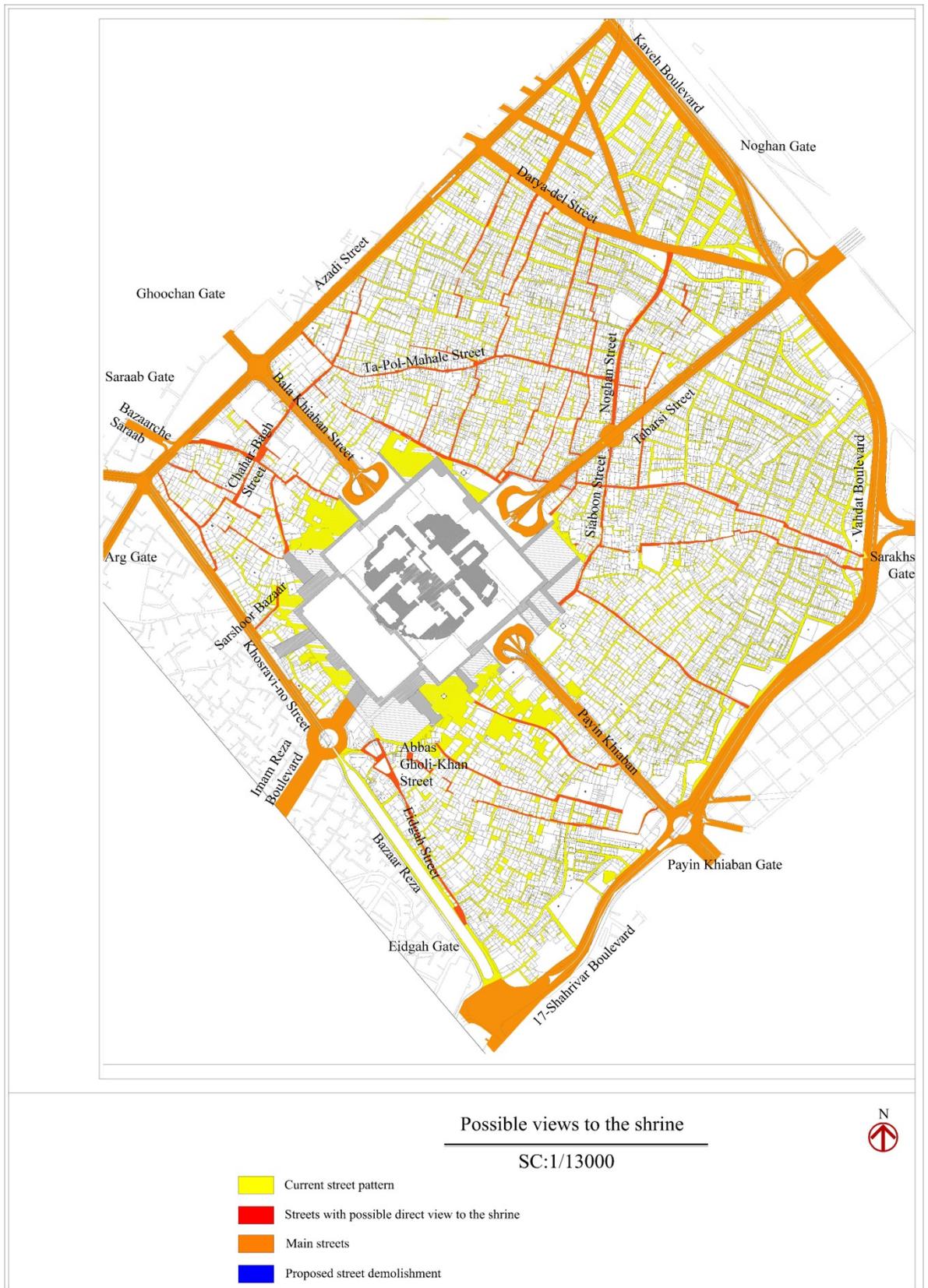
Figure 13: Possible views to the shrine.

Further studies

The results of this study could be improved if there were available related studies to show the night-life of the area and its changes through history. Also if there were clear figures showing the safety of the area during the day and at night. A more robust data set could have been achieved through employing research assistants to conduct more interviews at different times during the year or over several continuous years. Also, the creation of behavioural maps for the day-time and night-time of the shrine area in various seasons and on different dates could increase the reliability of the data. These maps could be provided by installing recording equipment on the roofs of buildings to take videos of public behaviour over a continuous period. The outcome of this study could be also improved through applying a set of proposed guidelines in the shrine area and investigating their practical outcome in a year.

This study reveals that there is a significant gap in the literature related to the 24-hour society and night-time economy. It also shows that the current available criteria for 24-hour societies and night-time economies, which are mostly based on experiences in the UK, the USA and Australia, cannot be used for studying and categorising societies that are active 24-hours with normal activities because of the following facts. Firstly, because the dominant form of night-time activity in Western societies are alcohol-related or entertainment based, while the dominant form of activity in some other 24-hour societies include everyday activities with less boundaries between day-time activities. The target group in the Western studies are the people who come out at night to be entertained and, hence, some groups of society are excluded. However, in the everyday 24-hour societies the target group is a variety of people regardless of age, gender or social class. In Western studies the night-time spaces are planned, while in the everyday 24-hour societies they are formed based on the social and economic life of the cities.

Further research on various forms of night-life in less studied contexts is necessary in the future to provide a comprehensive understanding of the concept of a 24-hour society and night-time economy and inclusive criteria for studying them. These studies may include studying cities with a vibrant night-life which is not based on alcohol or entertainment, such as Mecca, Medina, shrine areas in Iraq, or studying cities which are based on entertainment but with limited alcohol-related activities, such as Dubai, or cities with mixed night-time activities such as Mumbai and areas in large cities where minorities with different night-time habits live, such as the Edgware Road in London.

Hope this study has an impact on future urban planning to avoid the previous mistakes which by imposing standard plans on various cities, disrespect their societies and people interaction and have destroyed a great deal of cultural heritage.

'Living in cities is an art, and we need the vocabulary of art, of style, to describe the peculiar relationship between man and material that exists in the continual creative play of urban living. The city as we imagine it, then, soft city of illusion, myth, aspiration, and nightmare, is as real, maybe more real, than the hard city one can locate on maps in statistics, in monographs on urban sociology and demography and architecture'.

Jonathan Raban

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[8%A7%D9%86%D8%B4%DA%AF%D8%A7%D9%87%20%D8%A7%D8%B5%D9%81%D9%87%D8%A7%D9%86%29;%D8%B2%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%AA%D8%A7%D9%86%201389;21;4%20%28%D9%BE%D9%8A%D8%A7%D9%BE%D9%8A%2040%29;19;36](#) (accessed 18 October 2012).

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Appendix A

Natural pilgrimage sites

Pilgrimage in Buddhism and Taoism, China: Religious practices in Buddhism, the fourth largest religion in the world, stress pilgrimage and promise that the dying pilgrim will enter into heavenly Nirvana directly (Rinschede, 1992). Historically and ideologically Buddhism and Taoism[1] are connected with mountains which offer tranquillity, freedom from desire and the adoration of gods and 'Devas' which are believed to exist in the natural environment (Yuan, 2004; Kong, 2005). Therefore Buddhist and Taoist religious sites are mainly located in mountainous, less-populated and beautiful scenic areas (Zhang Mu et al., 2007) the complete opposite to political centres and worldly life. This important fact has a great influence on the urban development and planning of Buddhist and Taoist religious sites compared to Muslim and Christian peers which are mostly located in densely populated areas because of their tradition of gathering for worship.

Analysis of the main tourist attractions of China (Zheng et al., 2004; Yuang, 2005) shows that almost half of the important national scenic areas contain religious sites. The increasing numbers of tourists and overdevelopment to provide for their needs destroys the environment and threatens the tranquillity of these religious sites by commercial recreational activities, litter, graffiti and rowdy behaviour. However, many efforts have been taken to reduce the harmful impact of tourists in the sacred sites of China by restricting the number of tourists and prohibiting any kind of activities damaging the environment (Zhang Mu et al., 2007).

The main attribute of Buddhist and Taoist religious sites, which is tranquillity, is in contrast to the urban development and commercialisation of space. Although there are some built temples and basic facilities in these religious sites, the level of development is strictly controlled to maintain the tranquillity of the site. Accommodation and pilgrims' facilities are located in nearby towns at a certain distance from the pilgrimage site to avoid harming their peacefulness and provide a recommended walking distance for pilgrims. As a result, any specific night-time activities that may lead to formation of a kind of night-time economy may not occur close to these sites.
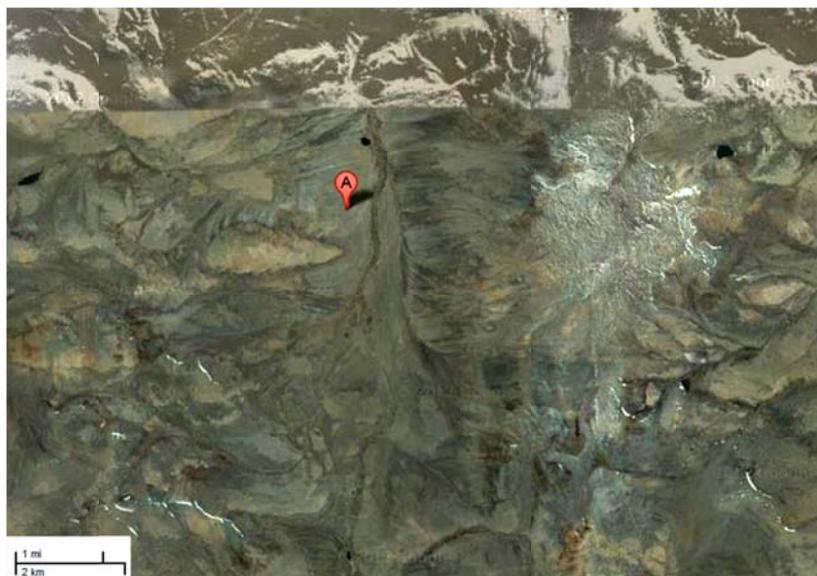
Figure 1: Mount Kailash, Xizang, Tibet, China, shows the limited development in the area. (Google maps)

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[1] Taoism is an ancient Chinese religion which has great influence on Chinese Buddhism.

Appendix - A

Figure 2: The Pilgrim Path in Tibet (Losang, 2007)

Figure 3: The Barkhor in Lhasa (Losang, 2008)

Figure 4: Mount Wudang a Taoist pilgrimage site in China (XIAOSUI, 2007)

Figure 5: Pilgrimage path to Mount Wudang (Coplansinchina, 2011)

Croagh Patrick: Croagh Patrick, a holy mountain in the west of Ireland which overlooks Clew Bay, has been a site of Christian pilgrimage for at least a millennium and almost 100,000 people visit it annually (Griffin, 2007). The site was important in pre-Christian times and possibly even as far back as the Neolithic period (Watt, 1995). Pilgrimage mainly takes place on the last Sunday of July each year when over 20,000 pilgrims fast and then climb seven kilometres to the top of this peak, mostly barefoot, for mass (Griffin, 2007). Because of the location and character of this site, nearby development is limited to a chapel at the top of the peak, a visitor centre including a coffee shop and restaurant, a craft shop, hot showers, lockers and parking (Teach-na-Miasa) and a series of cottages at the foot of the mountain (Croagh-Patrick-Holiday-Village). The majority of accommodation is further from the mountain in the nearby towns and pilgrimage mostly takes the form of a one-day climbing tour. Night-time activities are limited since pilgrimage at night was banned (Griffin, 2007). Therefore a night-time economy does not develop around this site.
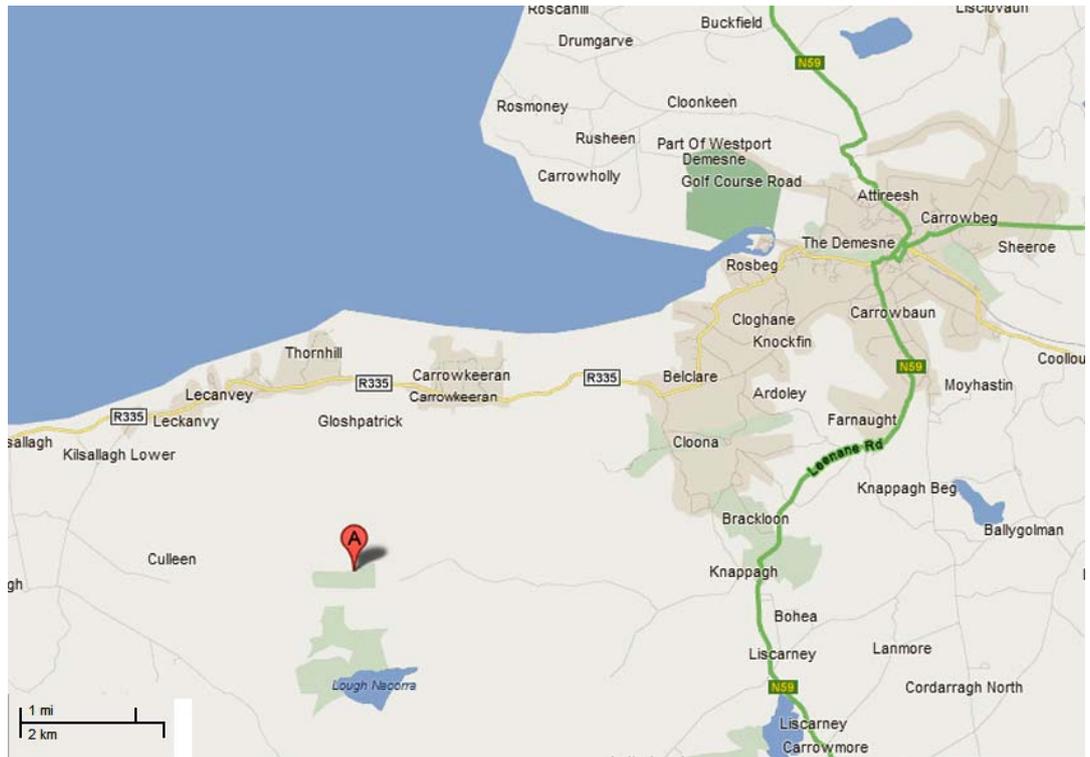
Figure 6: Craogh Patrick, Ireland, (Google maps)

Figure 7: Pilgrimage to Croagh Patrick (Woods)

Constructed pilgrimage sites with minimum level of development:

Pilgrimage in Hinduism, India: Pilgrimage plays an important role in Hinduism, the third largest religion in the world. Rivers and streams, particularly the Ganges, are the most important pilgrimage goals for the Hindus of South Asia (Rinschede, 1992; Collins-Kreiner, 2010). Over 20 million Hindu pilgrims visit some 150 well-known holy sites annually (Bhardwaj, 1973, 1987; Bhardwaj and Rinschede, 1988). In traditional pilgrimage in India, pilgrims arrive at a sacred site barefoot with a sense of denial of worldly matters. In performing this, they are assisted by priests who are specialised in the rituals of pilgrimage (Shinde, 2007).

As an example, Vrindavan is a popular Hindu pilgrimage centre in northern India. It is a town with 60,000 residents which attracts 3.5 million pilgrims annually for long-term and short-term visits on religiously important occasions. It has more than 5,000 temples

dedicated to Krishna.[2] For a short-term visit pilgrims may come to visit a particular sacred centre for a specific event, such as a festival or fair or whenever they get an opportunity to do so (Shinde, 2007). Typically pilgrimage takes from one day to more than six months and pilgrims follow a certain pattern of movement and perform certain rituals with the help of religious specialists called 'Panda' (Vidyarthi, 1961; Bhardwaj, 1973; Singh, 1997). Panda organise the itinerary and keep records of it and provide a solitary lodge called 'ashram' at their houses for pilgrims to stay (Shinde, 2007).

Pilgrims in Hinduism are supposed to stay in simple pilgrims' lodges and not modern hotels, provide their own food and not go to restaurants or fast food outlets. They must forget about any worldly issues throughout the pilgrimage since this is based on consumerism and is in conflict with the notion of pilgrimage in Hinduism which is based on a denial of worldly concerns. The secular urban development of religious sites which results in an increase of commercial activities is not acceptable in Hindu rituals. As a result, any kind of night-time activities leading to the formation of a specific night-time economy do not take place in these sites.

Tourist facilities and marketing have impacted on contemporary pilgrimage to Vrindavan by changing the journey type, composition of visitors, their motivation and behaviour (Shinde, 2007). In the future it might be possible to see these sacred sites occupied by different types of pilgrimage shops, hotels and facilities. This is in accordance with the discussion in the first section of this chapter. These changes have both positive and negative impacts on the local economy which is improved by the provision of jobs and raising funds, but these changes can also alter the traditional economy and tenure pattern and may result in the displacement of local people and cause dissatisfaction. It can also lead to pollution, litter and a lack of facilities and basically change the character of the area.

Figure 8: The holy festival in Vrindavan
(Branagan, 2011)

Figure 9: Hindu temple in Vrindavan
(AnandWay, 2011)

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[2] Krishna is the human incarnation of Vishnu which is one of the five primary forms of God in Hinduism
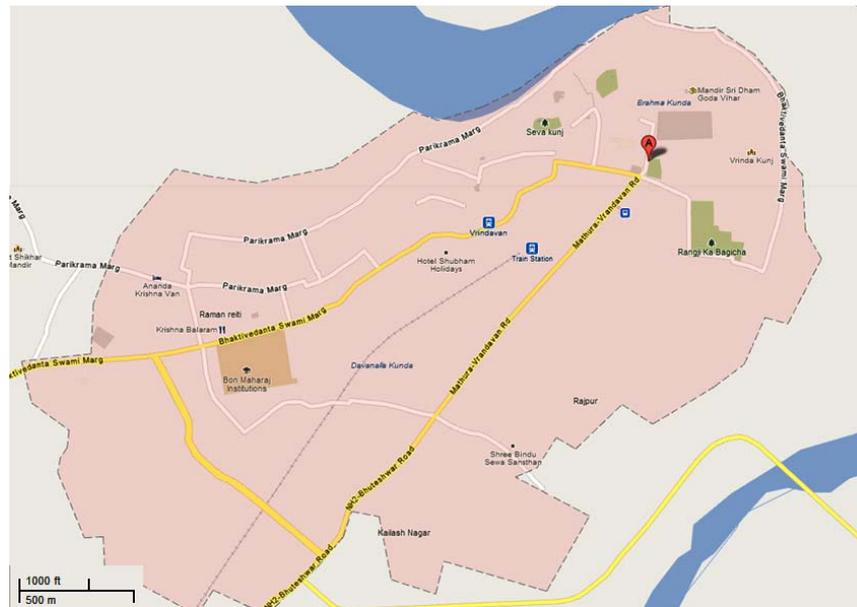
Figure 10: Vrindavan, India, (Google maps)

Shrine of Marija Bistrica, Croatia: Marija Bistrica in Croatia is a village with 7000 residents. It has been a pilgrimage destination for almost eight centuries for a group of Catholic Christians who worship the Virgin Mary, and has a simple statue of a Black Madonna (Pavicic et al., 2007). In order to preserve the devotion and spiritual content of this complex, any secular businesses such as cafés, restaurants, souvenir stands are not allowed in the area. This situation continues only because the majority of pilgrims visiting this site are families from urban communities nearby who visit the shrine at weekends using their own cars and spend either a few hours or a day at the site (Pavicic et al., 2007). They do not stay overnight and do not need accommodation. Accordingly any night-time activities leading to the formation of a specific night-time economy do not happen here. If the site becomes more popular, and attracts pilgrims from a greater distance, further development and a specific night-time economy may develop.

Figure 11: Shrine of Marija Bistrica, Croatia (Martina)

358

Shrines of Shiite Imams in Iraq and two shrines in Iran
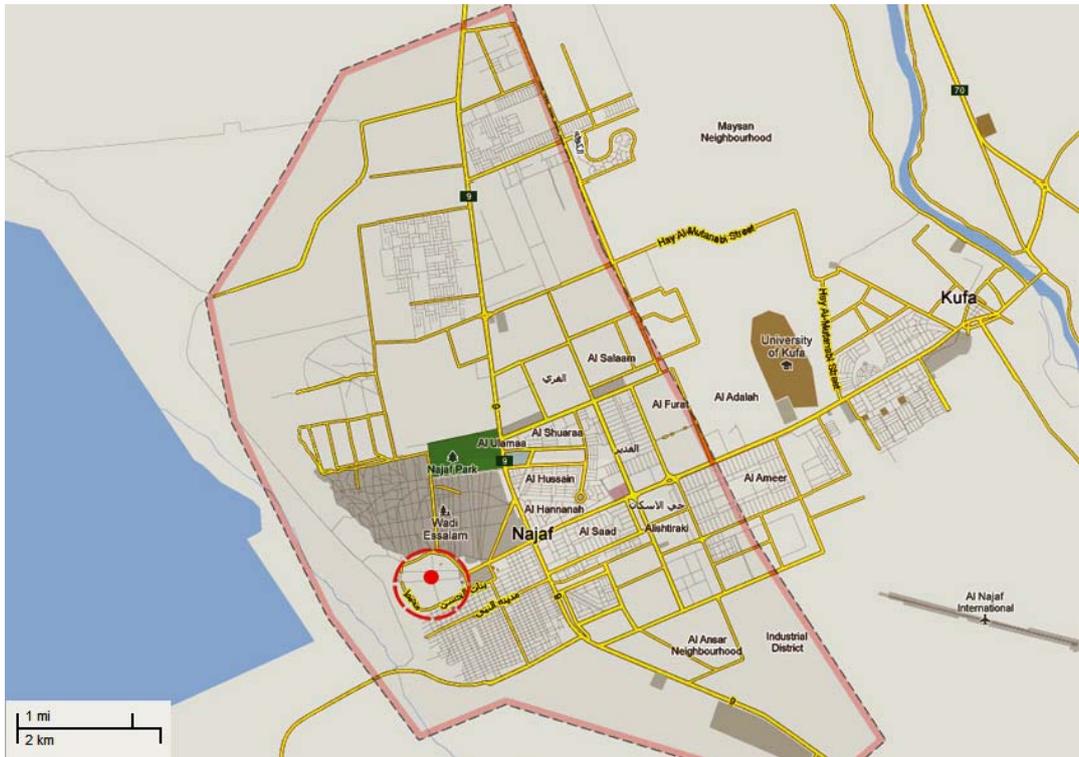
Figure 12: Najaf, Iraq and the location of Imam-Ali's shrine. (Google maps)
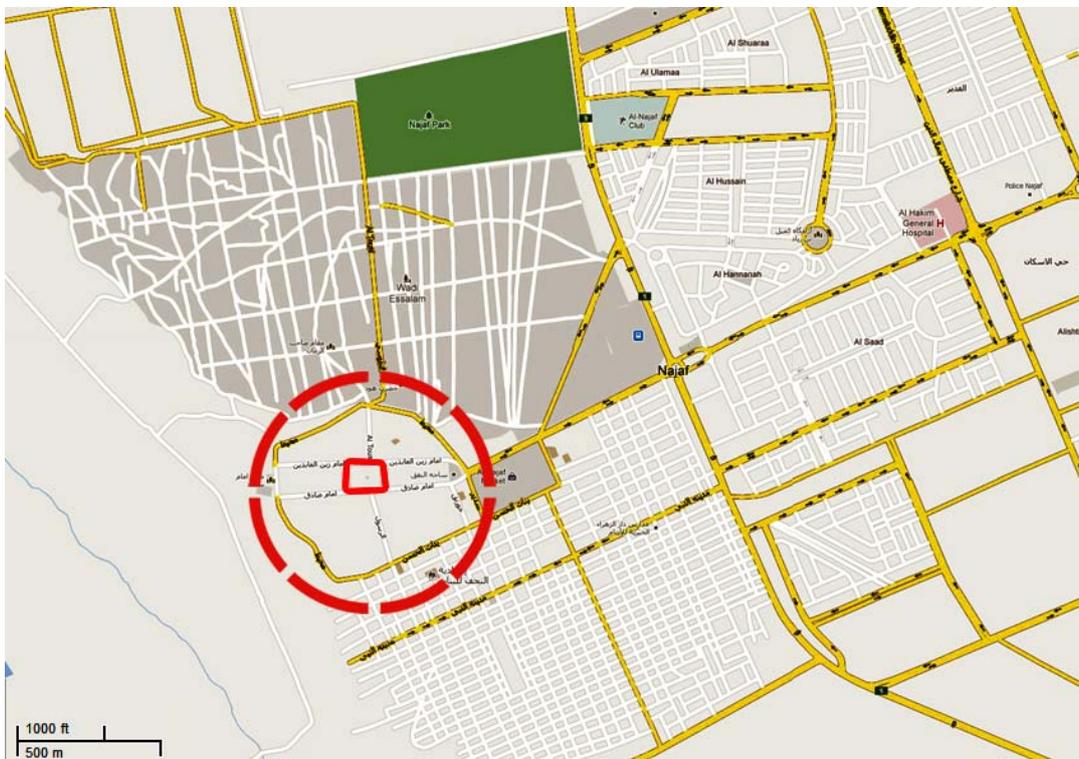
Figure 13: Imam Ali's shrine and the urban area influenced by its location. (Google maps)
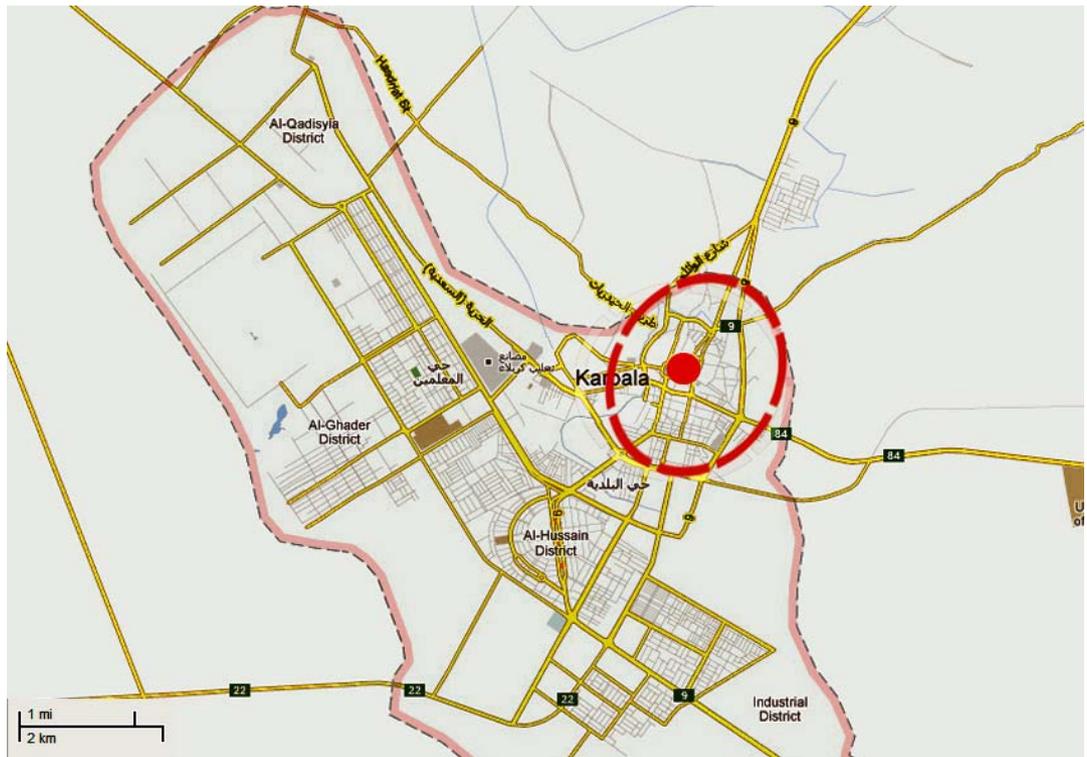
Figure 14: Karbala, Iraq and the location of Imam Hossein's shrine. (Google maps)
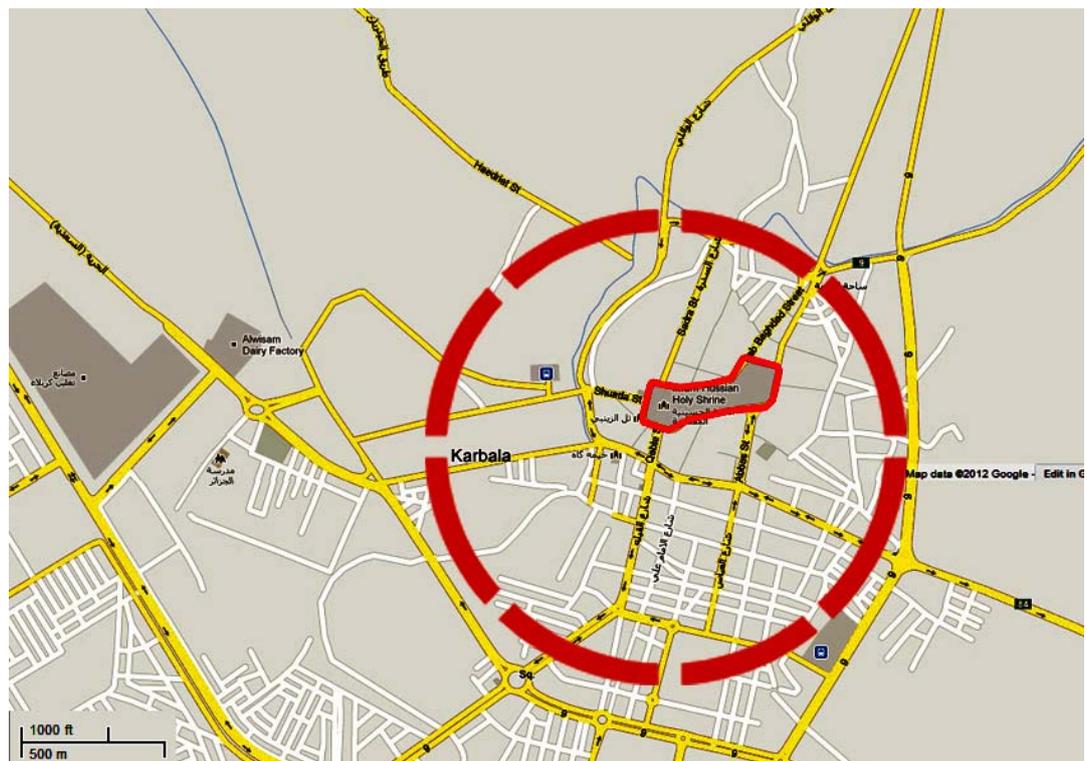
Figure 15: Imam Hossein's shrine and the urban area influenced by its location. (Google maps)

Figure 16: Bagdad, Iraq and the location of Imam Kazem's shrine. (Google maps)
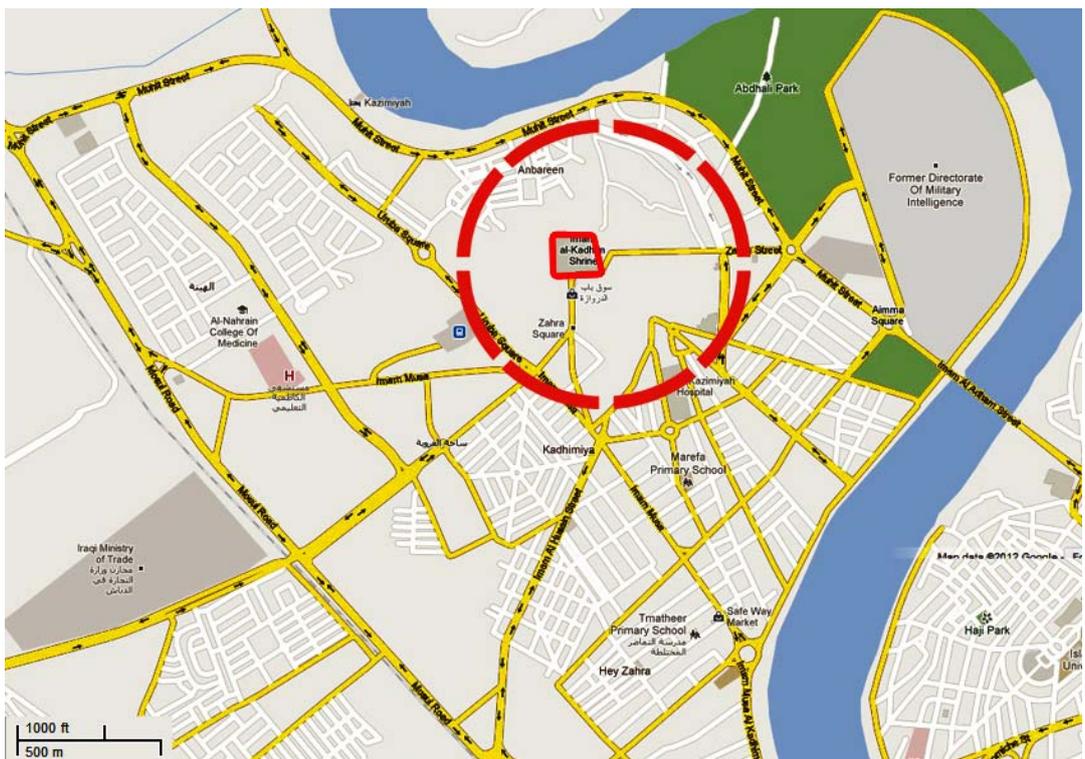
Figure 17: Imam Kazem's shrine and the urban area influenced by its location. (Google maps)
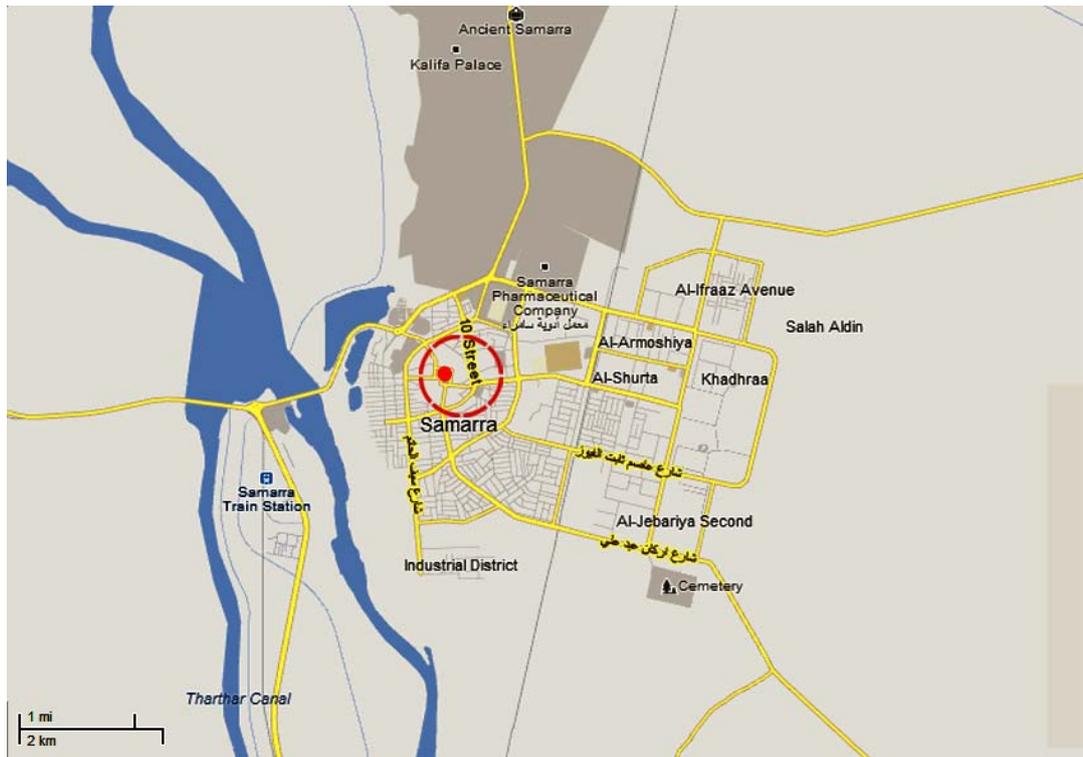
Figure 18: Samarra, Iraq and the location of Imam Asgari's shrine. (Google maps)
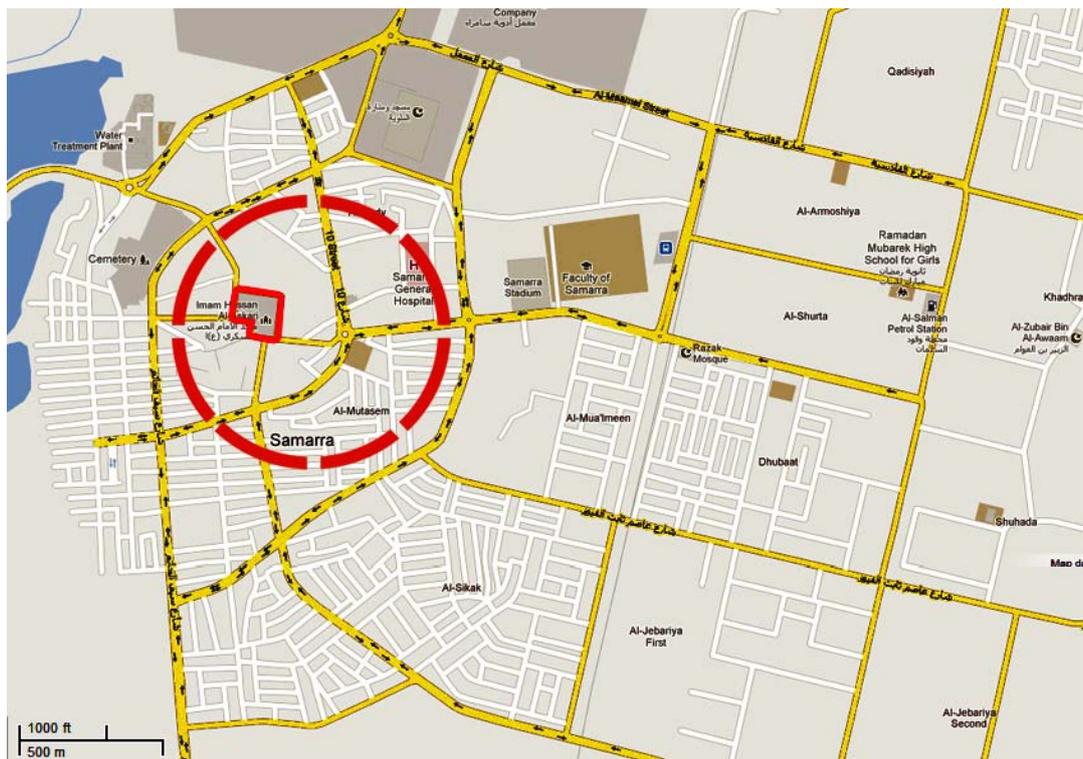
Figure 19: Imam Asgari's shrine and the urban area influenced by its location. (Google maps)
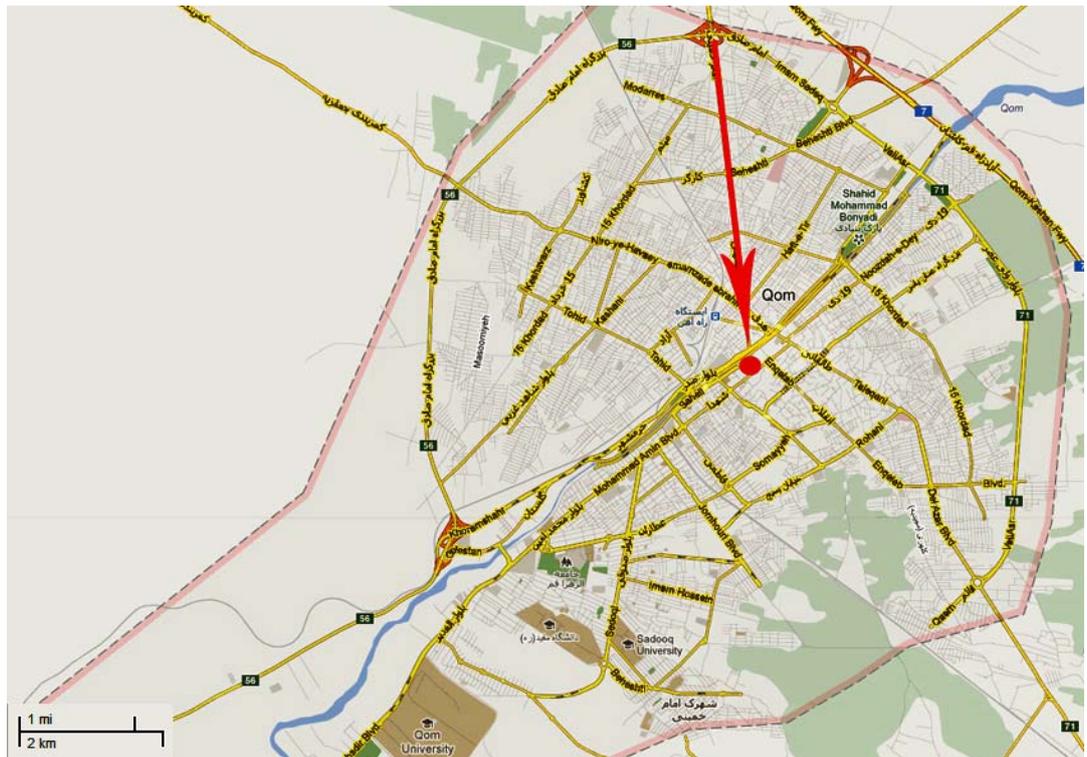
Appendix - A

Figure 20: Qom, Iran and the location of Imam Reza's sister shrine. (Google maps)
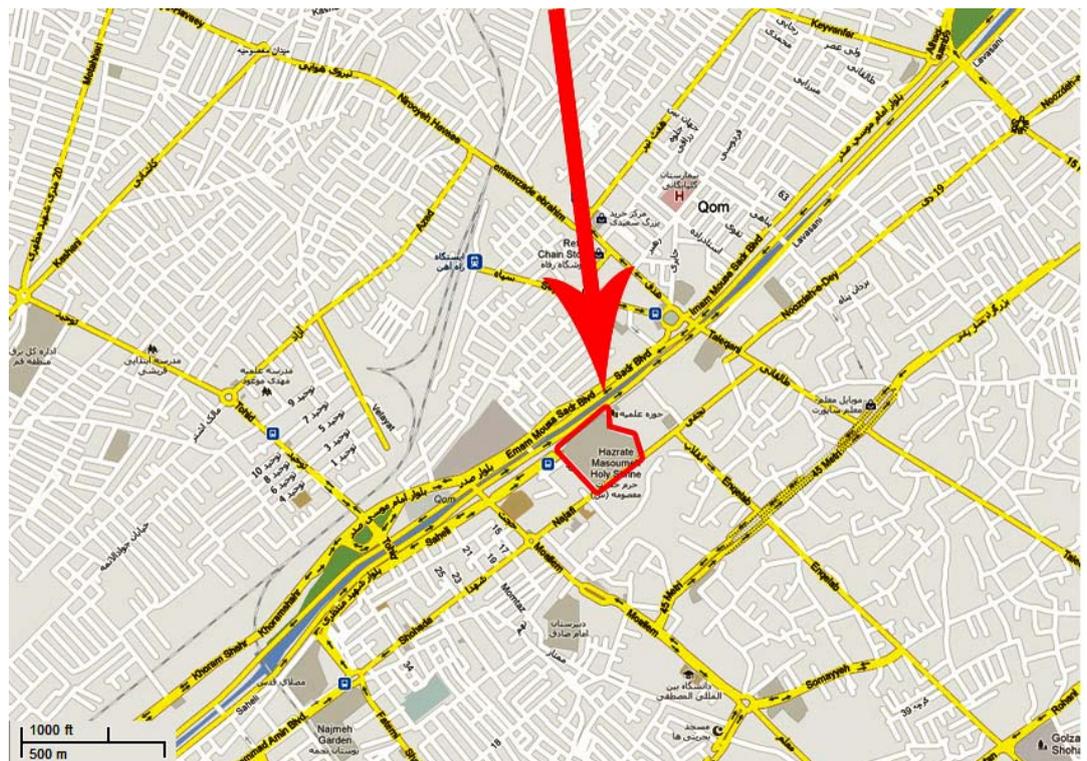
Figure 21: Imam Reza's sister shrine and the urban area influenced by its location. (Google maps)

Appendix - A

Figure 22: Shiraz, Iran and the location of Imam Reza's brother shrine. (Google maps)
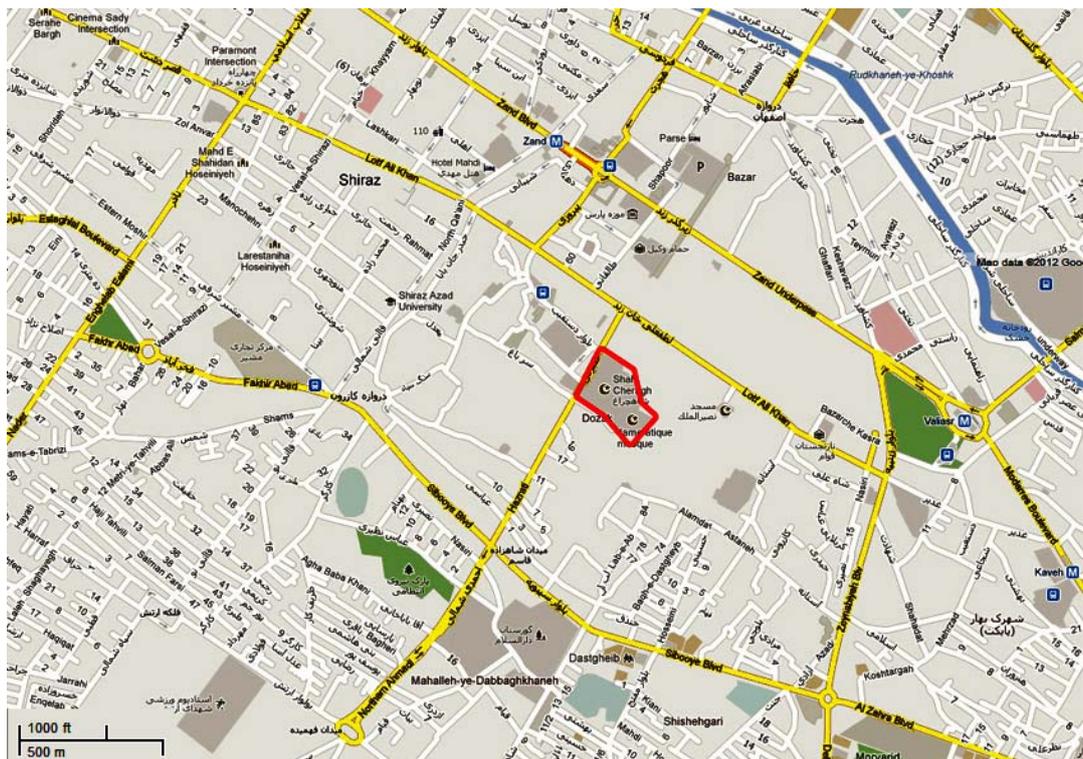
Figure 23: Imam Reza's brother shrine and the urban area influenced by its location. (Google maps)

Appendix - A

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Appendix - A

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Appendix B

Appendix - B

Traditional Iranian cities

Climate was an important factor in the establishment and development of traditional Iranian cities. The urban texture, form of buildings, orientation and proportion as well as the materials used were compatible with the local environment and climactic factors such as solar angle, latitude, altitude, topography, wind direction and speed, availability of water, humidity and plants. Climate varies in different regions of Iran and the spatial form of cities was based on the climate of their region (Qubadiyan, 2007).

Iranian cities are mostly polarised between rich and poor. Qanat[1] is the water provision system in traditional Iranian cities that has influenced the distribution of settlements in Iran (English, 1966) and led to their historic polarisation. Qanat is a system with a mother-well and a number of shafts which collect ground water and lead it to settlements. Wealthy neighbourhoods were near the mouth of the Qanat and had fresh, clean water; poor neighbourhoods were further away (Madanipour, 1998: :203). Large cities in Iran remained polarised after development similar to the classic sectoral model of urban structure developed by Hoyt that *'if one sector of the city first develops as a high, medium or low rental residential area, it will tend to retain that character for long distances'* (Hoyt in Nelson, 1971:79 cited in Madanipour, 1998: :185).

Mahaleh neighbourhood: In pre-Islamic Iran cities were surrounded by citadels and walls and divided into hierarchical social levels in which it was not possible to move from one city to another (Pirnia, 2004; Qubadiyan, 2007). Social class exclusion was dismantled after Islam, however Islamic cities were also divided into neighbourhoods based on their residents' religion, denomination, ethnicity, originality or profession. Each of these areas was like a town within the city with specific characteristics. This segregation helped the residents of each neighbourhood to perform their specific religious ceremonies and the administrators to control taxation (Qubadiyan, 2007; Pirnia, 2004; Kheirabadi, 1991).

Although water location was an important factor in scattering groups around the city making the cities polarised, the people living in each neighbourhood were mostly related to each other. Considering the importance of family structure and neighbours (Madanipour, 1998), it was the responsibility of family members to support their lower income family or neighbours. Therefore, as Kheirabadi (1991) argued, sometimes rich and poor lived next door to each other with the poor being supported by their rich neighbours.

The minor roads of each neighbourhood functioned as semi-private spaces (Kheirabadi, 1991) where female residents used to sit on the veranda of their houses and socialise with their neighbours whilst performing some of their daily activities. The centre of each neighbourhood was similar to a town centre and included a square, a mosque or temple, a covered or open Hosseinie[2]', a Hamam[3], a Bazaarche, an Ab-anbar[4] and a Ghahve-khane[5] (Qubadiyan, 2007; Pirnia, 2004; Soltanzadeh, 1991; Kheirabadi, 1991). All neighbourhoods were connected to the bazaar through alleyways most of which passed through the local centre and contained some public spaces and buildings.

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[1] قنات Qanat

[2] حسینیه Hosseinie are religious buildings or spaces built in the memory of Imam Hossein, the third Imam of Muslim Shiite. He, his family and followers were martyred in a battle during the 7th century.

[3] حمام Hamam is a public bath

[4] آب انبار Ab-Anbar is a reservoir to store clean water. This was used before the introduction of a public water system.

[5] قهوه خانه Ghahve-Khane means a coffee house. It is a public place similar to a café.

City centre: Each city used to have a centre where many different activities happened including social, political, religious and commercial interactions. Important structures of the city, including the bazaar, administrative offices, the main shrine, mosque, temple, or other public spaces were located in the city centre or near it (Qubadiyan, 2007). The city centre was a place for meeting and talking about the news. It was a public space where different people spent time and a junction connecting different roads and neighbourhoods (Qubadiyan, 2007; Pirnia, 2004; Soltanzadeh, 1991). Some of the longer roads connected the city centres to the city gates. The width of the roads differed based on their usage and the usage of adjoining areas (Qubadiyan, 2007).

Bazaarche: This is a small bazaar at the centre of each neighbourhood catering for the daily requirements of people and including a butchery, bakery, grocery and greengrocery. The size of the bazaarche depended on the size of the neighbourhood's population. It could be in the form of a square or a wider part of the road to provide space for people to stop, interact and do shopping without disturbing other pedestrians (Soltanzadeh, 1991). People do their daily shopping from the bazaarche in their neighbourhoods and go to the bazaar to do their main shopping (Pirnia, 2004).

Hosseinie or Takiye[6]: This is an open or covered square or building used for holding religious ceremonies especially in Muharram[7]. These squares have access to several routes representing the spiritual power of the clergy. Hosseinie, if a building, contains a large courtyard with several rooms around it. During the month of Muharram this space is used for religious mourning ceremonies during the day and at night. The main Hosseinies are located along the bazaar and some smaller ones nearby. In building Hosseinie, like building a mosque, it is important to show the piety and social prestige of the builder. Hosseinie may be built by people from similar professions, or people from a specific city or ethnicity. Therefore, it is common to see different Hosseinies built in the bazaar by specific traders. Each neighbourhood has their own Hosseinie but if a neighbourhood does not have one they use the neighbourhood mosque instead for Muharram ceremonies. Takiyeh Tajrish in Tehran is used for commercial purposes and activities during the year except in Tasua and Ashura'[8] in Muharram when they are used for religious activities. During this period the shops are closed and necessary facilities for religious ceremonies or mourning are provided instead (Qubadiyan, 2007).

Religious ceremonies taking place in Muharram are mostly run by similar professions in the bazaar and start from their local Hosseinie, moving through the bazaar and the city to the Friday mosque or the shrine. The procession is formed of men wearing black and chanting about the death of Hossein and his followers, who was the third Imam of Shiite Muslims and was martyred in the seventh century. After finishing the circuit in the city they go back to their starting point, mainly a Hosseinie, and eat the prepared free feast. After that the mourning ceremony continues until midnight. The procession may stop at specific places within the city including beside the house of a religious leader, or any influential resident of the city or town. In the procession a group of people use special make-up and clothes and play some scenes of the Karbala[9] battle. People in the city may

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[6] تکیه Takiyeh is another name for Hosseinie
[7] محرم Muharram is the first month of Islamic calendar. Because the battle that Imam Hossein was killed in took place in Muharram, it is a mourning occasion for Muslim Shiite.
[8] تاسوعا و عاشورا Tasua and Ashura are respectively 9th and 10th of Muharram. In the first year many families of Imam Hossein were martyred and on the 10th of Muharram, Ashura, Imam Hossein was martyred.
[9] کربلا Karbala was a valley and now a city in Iraq where the battle, which Imam Hossein was killed, took place in.

stand on the streets or on the rooftops of their houses to watch the procession (Kheirabadi, 1991).

Meidan: This means square, it is an open space for social aggregation. It is mostly near the bazaar. There are also small specialised Meidans located in different areas such as the one used for greengrocery shopping (Pirnia, 2004). Each city has at least one Meidan. If this was located at the city centre, it shaped the entrance to the bazaar, surrounded by *'mosques, madrese, palaces, bazaar, Qeisariyeh[10]'* (Gaube, 1979: :76-7). If it was located at the city's periphery it was used as a racecourse as well as for commercial purposes and festivals (Madanipour, 1998). If it linked the citadel and the city it was used as an administrative centre with official buildings and palaces around (Frye, 1965). Smaller Meidans were located in local centres.

The main use of Meidan was for gathering at religious, social, political and cultural events, for example celebrating Norouz, conducting religious ceremonies, political events including elections, executions or an important announcement or by the retailers or vendors on ordinary days to sell their products using temporary stalls.

Meidan-e Shah, King's Square in Isfahan, built in the Safavid period, is known as the *'largest public square in the world'* (Groseclose, 1947: :8), predating the squares built in Western cities (Vance, 1977). This Meidan is surrounded by the royal palace, two mosques and the entrance to the main bazaar.

Principles in Iranian architecture

In the following sections some principles of traditional Iranian architecture and urbanism are discussed as Pirnia (2001) argued. These principles were used to provide Asaayesh and Mandegari for users and to give space in traditional cities which is being ignored in modern Iranian architecture and urbanism.

Mardom-vaari means people. Based on this principle, elements of buildings, size of spaces, width of streets and height of buildings need to be in accordance to human size. This is being ignored in modern architecture and urbanism by the construction of tall buildings and wide boulevards that are not in accordance with human-scale.

Khod-basandegi means self-efficiency. Based on this principle, the use of local materials in the construction of buildings was preferred to speed up the construction process and build structures in accordance with the local environment. This principle is also being ignored in modern Iranian architecture and urbanism by using imported, manufactured materials instead of local materials.

After Islam serenity and equilibrium were added to the discussed principles (Pirnia, 2001). However, these are also ignored by the construction of huge complexes replacing traditional buildings.

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[10] قیصریه Qeisariyeh is the main part of the bazaar with shops on both sides and doors on its front and back.

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Appendix C

Appendix - C

Figure 1: Current plot size.

373

Appendix - C
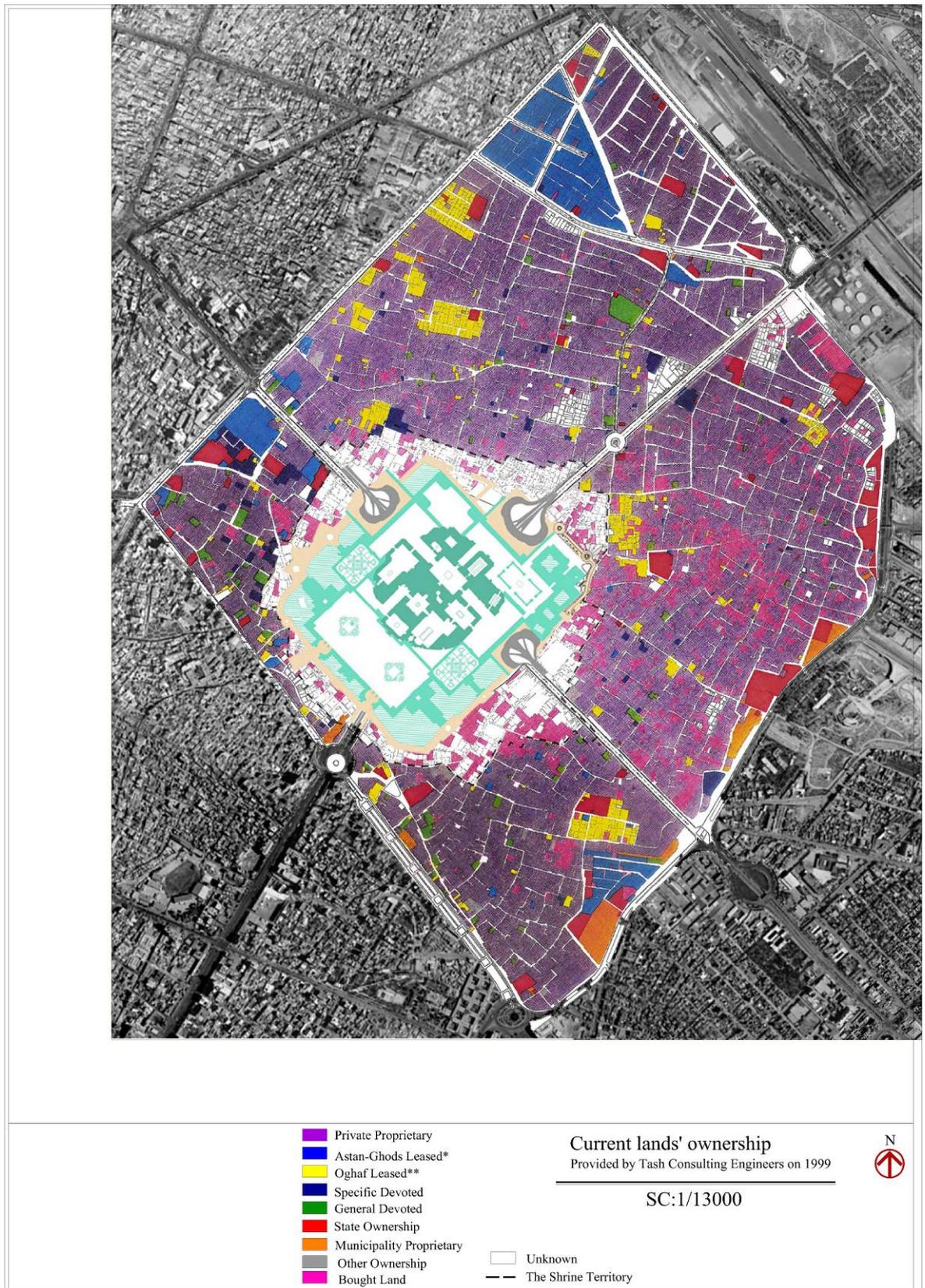
Figure 2: Current land ownership.

374

Appendix - C
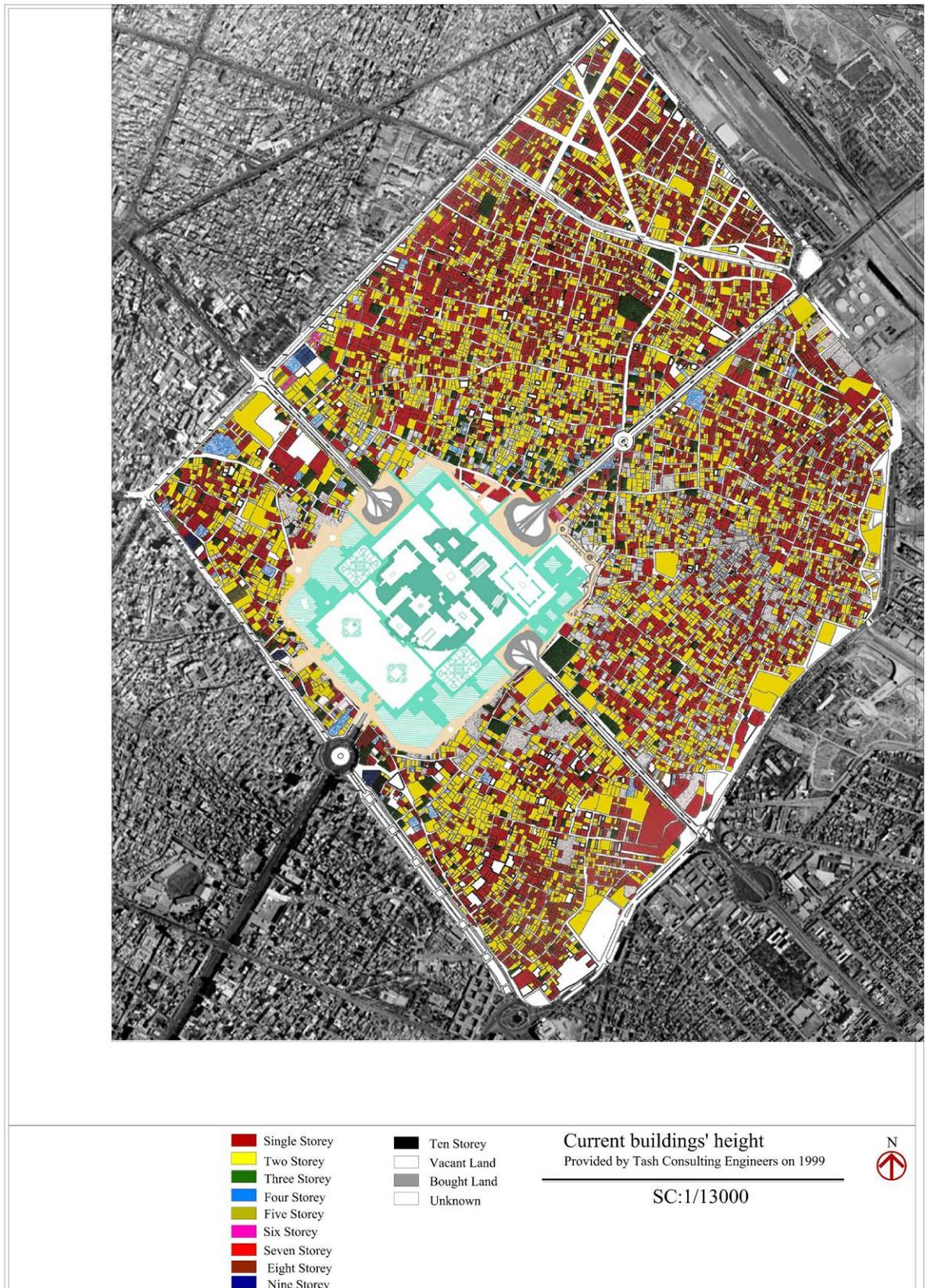
Figure 3: Current building height.

Built after 1988
Built from 1979-1988
Built from 1973-1979
Built before 1973
Unknown
vacant land
Bought land

Current buildings' age
Provided by Tash Consulting Engineers on 1999

SC:1/13000

N

Figure 4: Current age of buildings.

Stone
Brick
Cement Coating
Mud
Composed- Other
Vacant Land
Bought Land

Materials used in the front elevation of
current buildings
Provided by Tash Consulting Engineers on 1999

SC:1/13000

N

Figure 5: Materials used in the front elevation of current buildings.
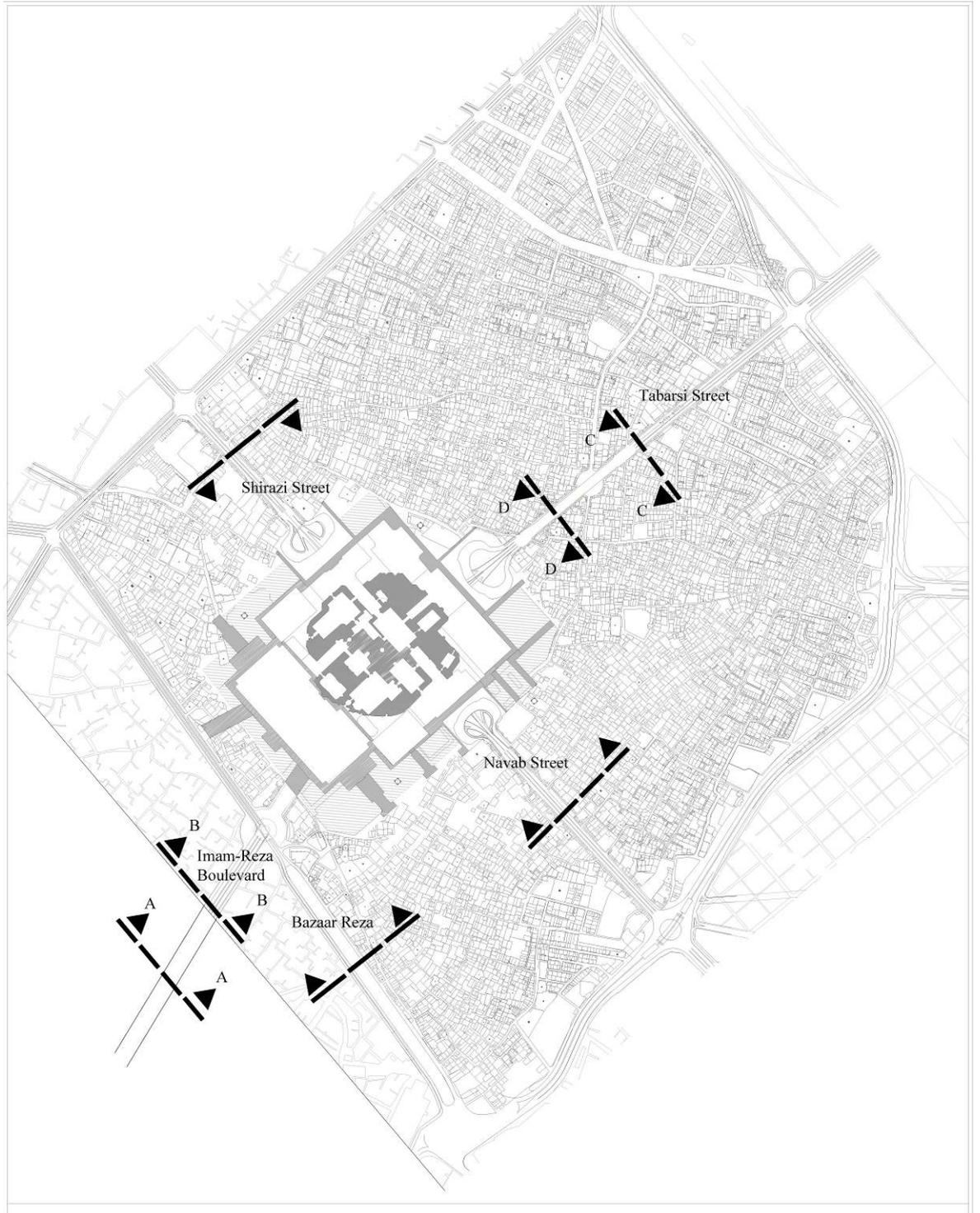
Figure 6: Section guide. (Author)

Appendix - C

Current Situation Section of Imam Reza Boulevard, Section A-A

SC : 1 / 200

399
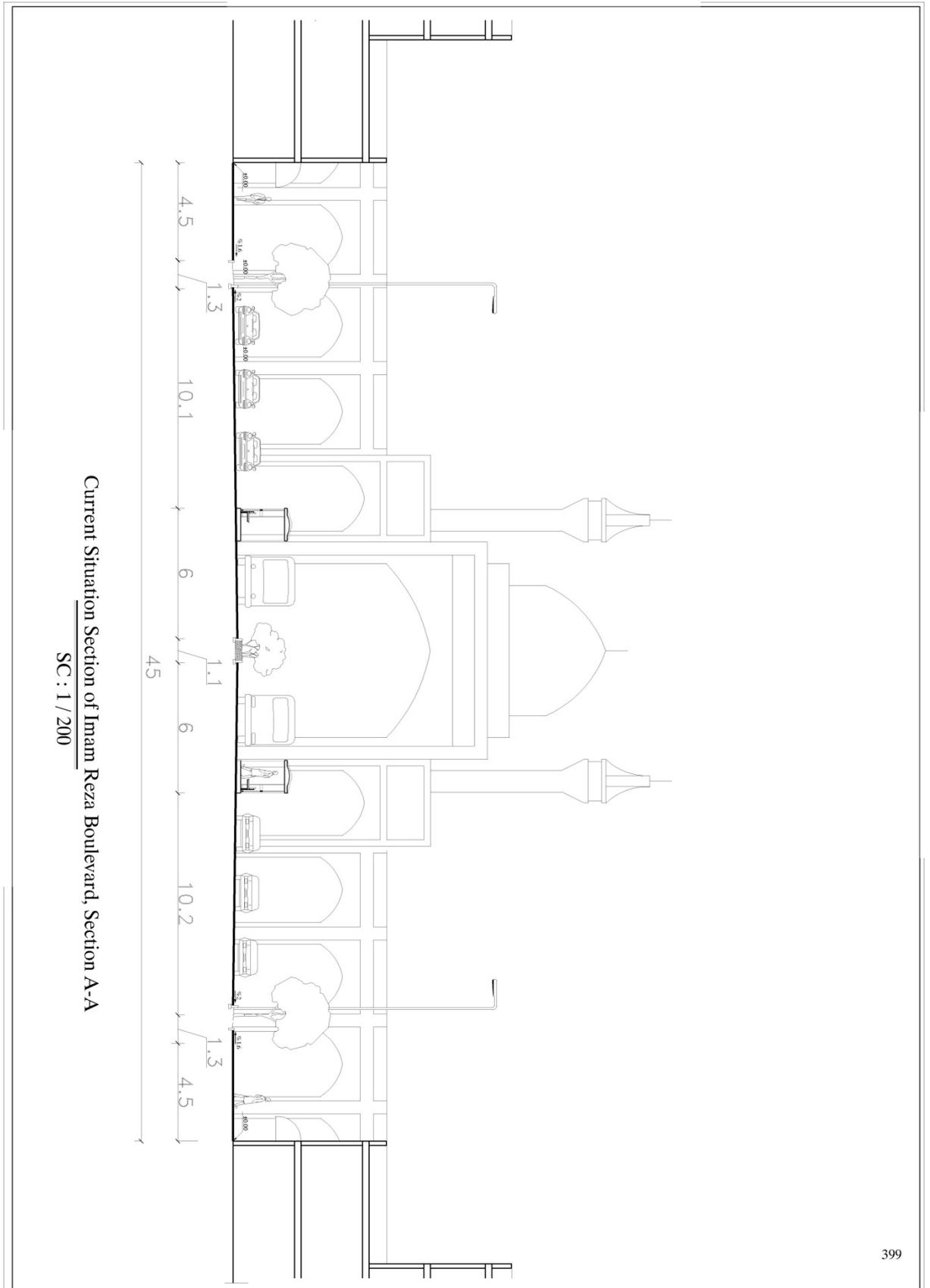
Figure 7: Section of Imam Reza Street, Section A-A. (Author)

Appendix - C

Current Situation Section of Imam Reza Boulevard, Section B-B

SC : 1 / 200
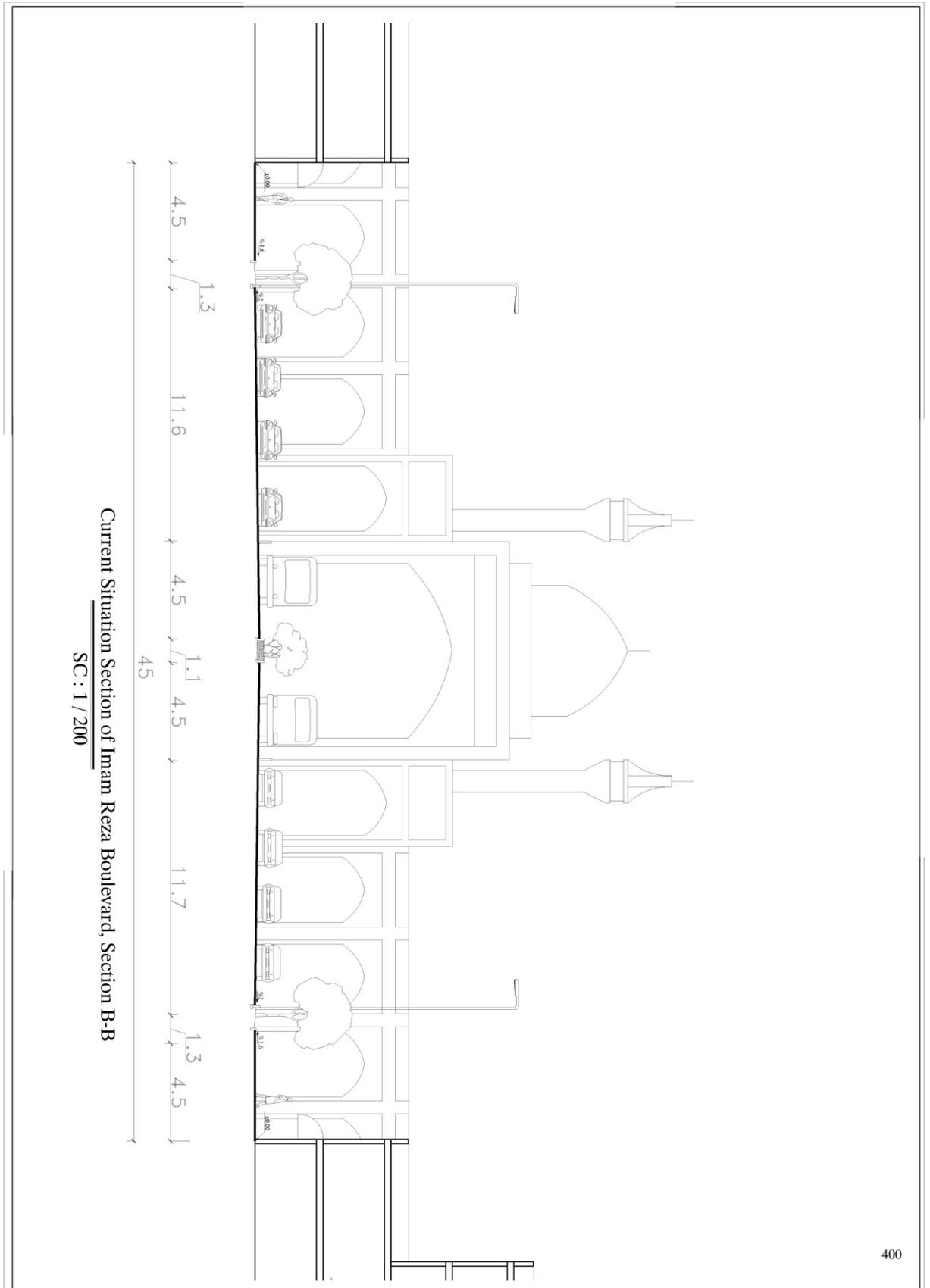
Figure 8: Section of Imam Reza Street, Section B-B. (Author)

Appendix - C

Current Situation Section of Shirazi Street

SC : 1 / 200

3.8   1.2   10.4   30   10.4   1.2   3
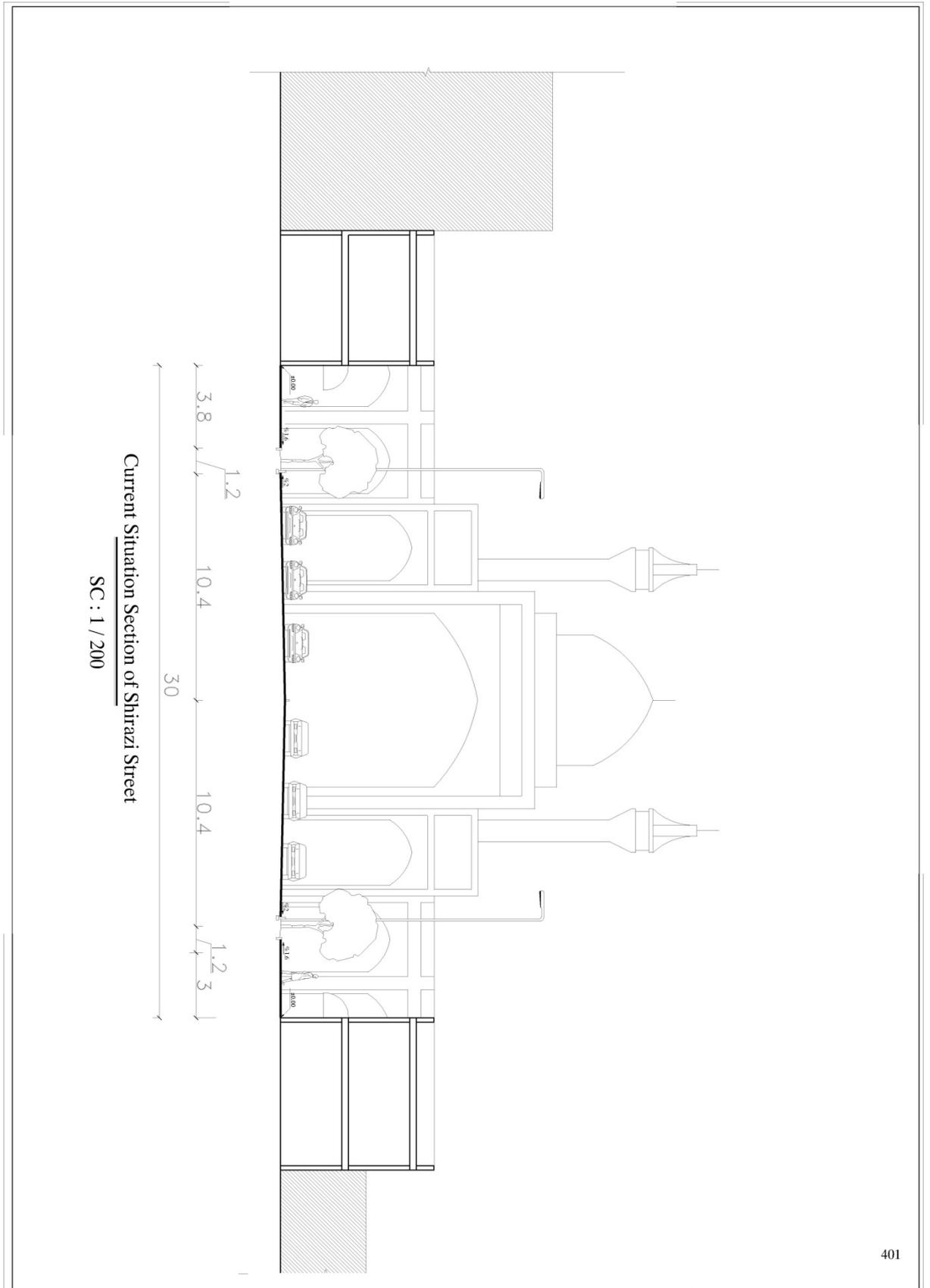
Figure 9: Section of Shirazi Street. (Author)

Appendix - C

Current Situation Section of Tabarsi Street, Section C-C

SC : 1 / 200

402
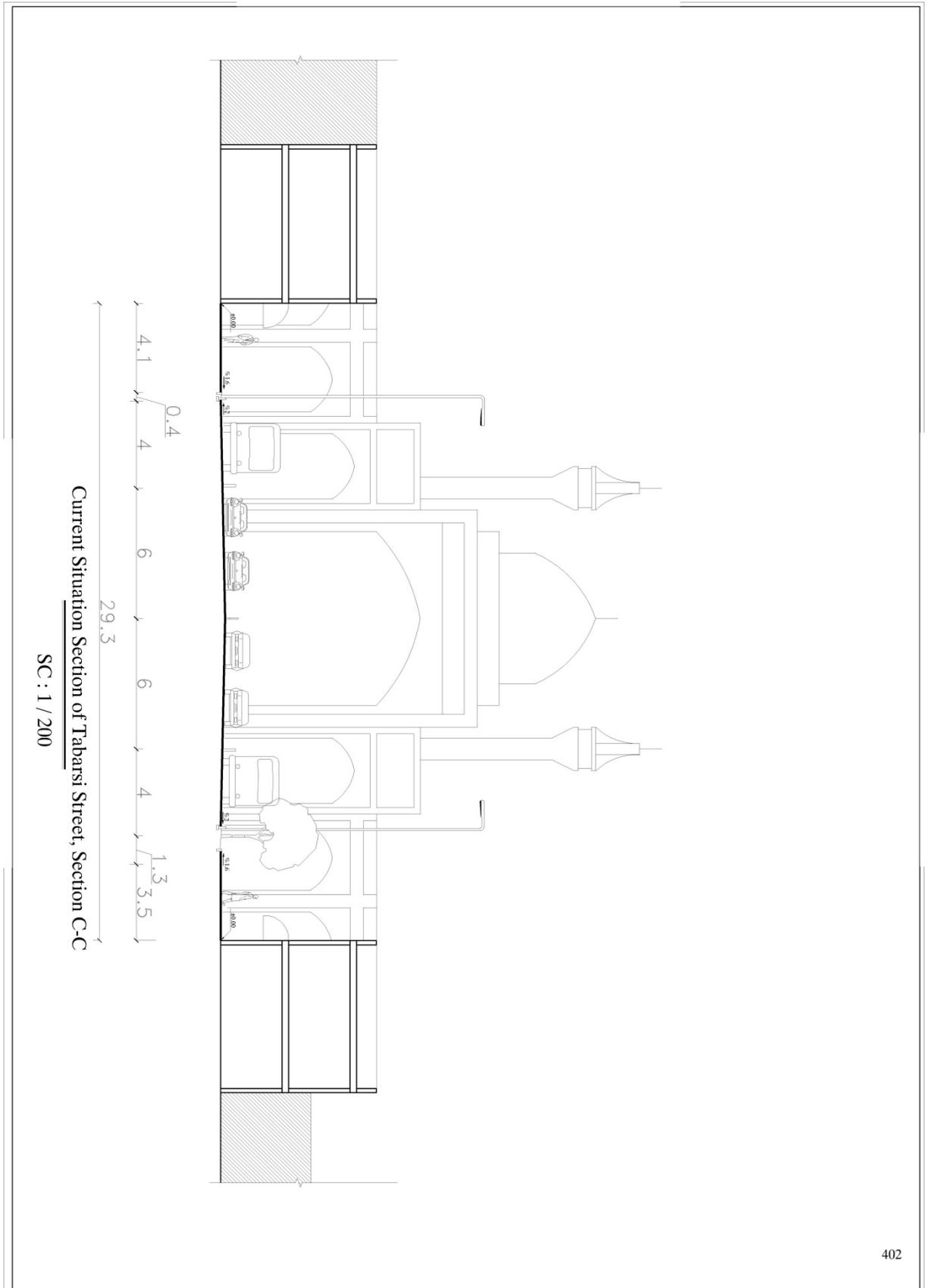
Figure 10: Section of Tabarsi Street, Section C-C. (Author)

Appendix - C

Current Situation Section of Tabarsi Street, Section D-D

SC : 1 / 200

4.5   10   10   1.3   3.5

29.3
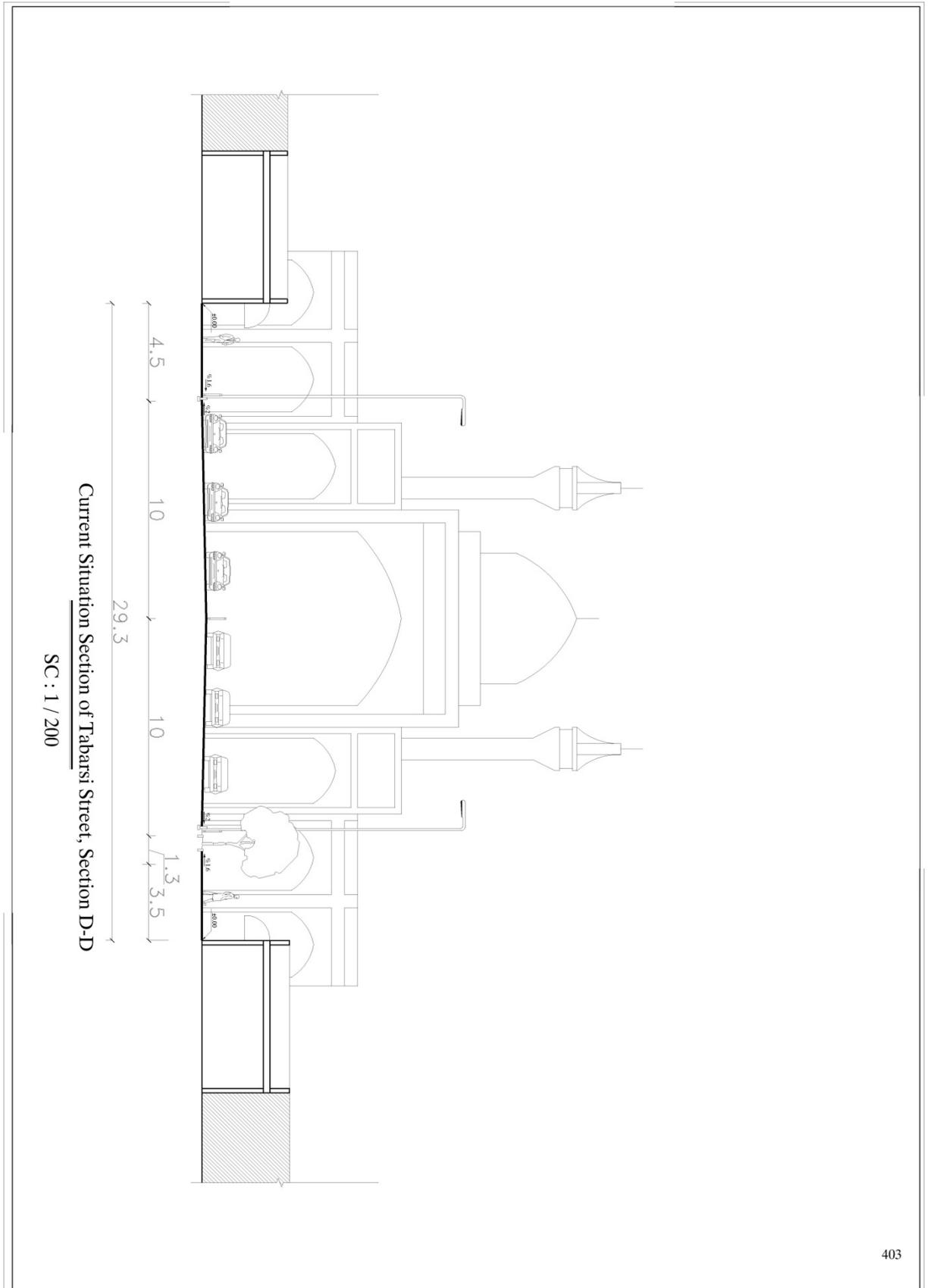
Figure 11: Section of Tabarsi Street, Section D-D. (Author)

Appendix - C

Current Situation Section of Navab Street

SC : 1 / 200

404
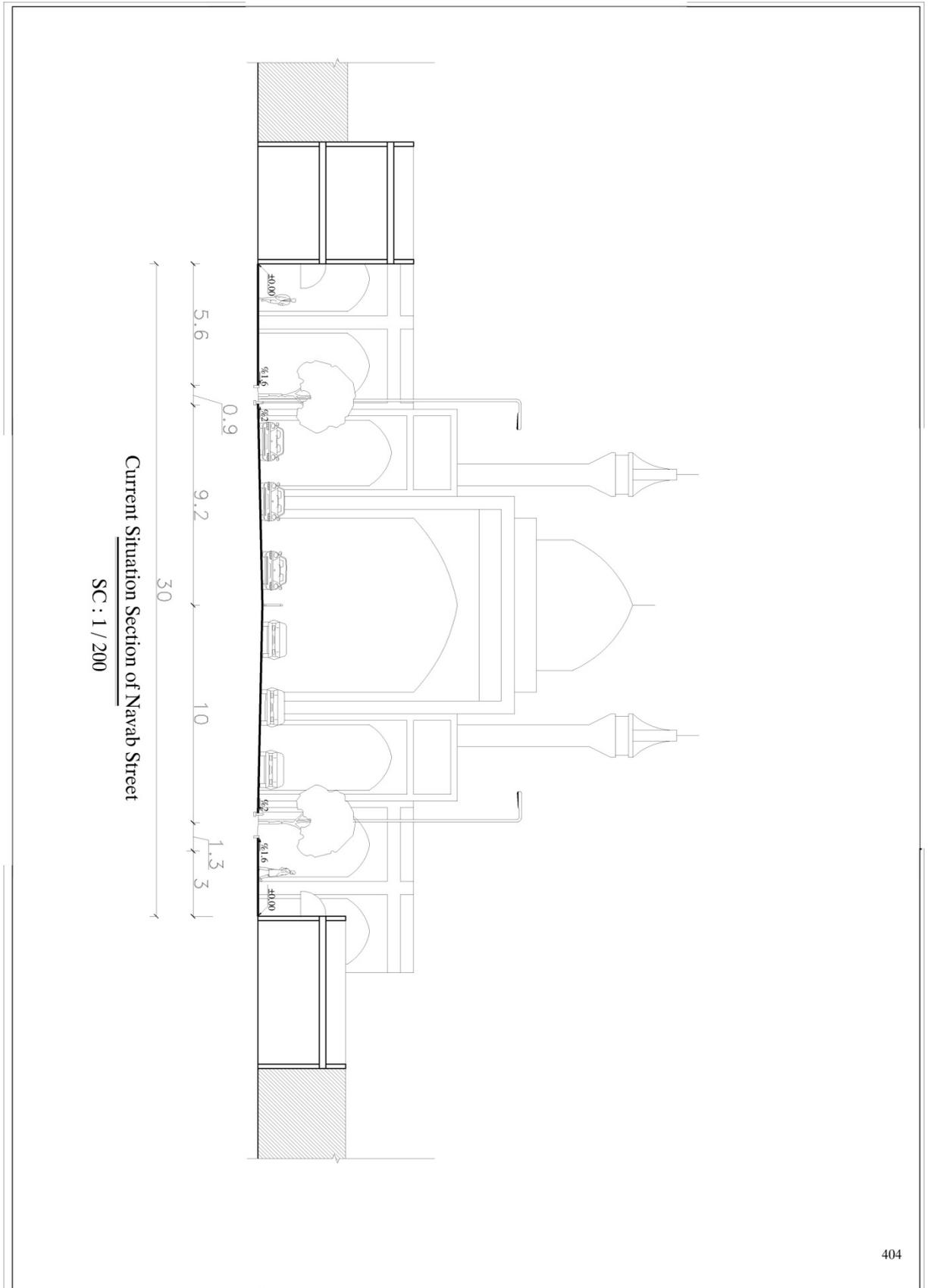
Figure 12: Section of Navab Street (Author)

384

Appendix - C

Current Situation Section of Khaled Eslamboli Street (Bazaar Reza)

SC : 1 / 200
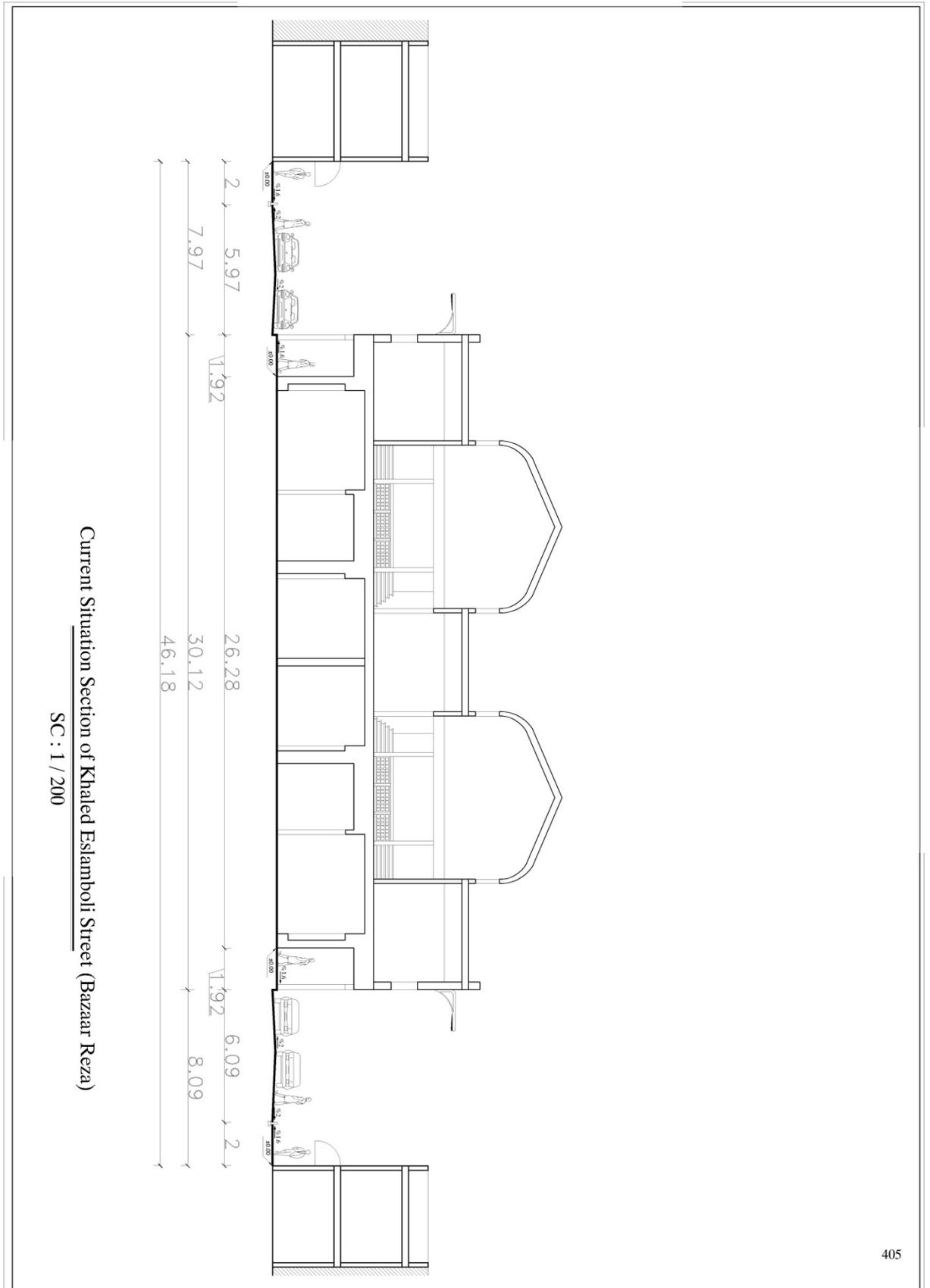
Figure 13: Section of streets on the sides of Bazaar Reza (Author)

RPIS proposed section for Imam Reza Boulevard

SC : 1 / 200
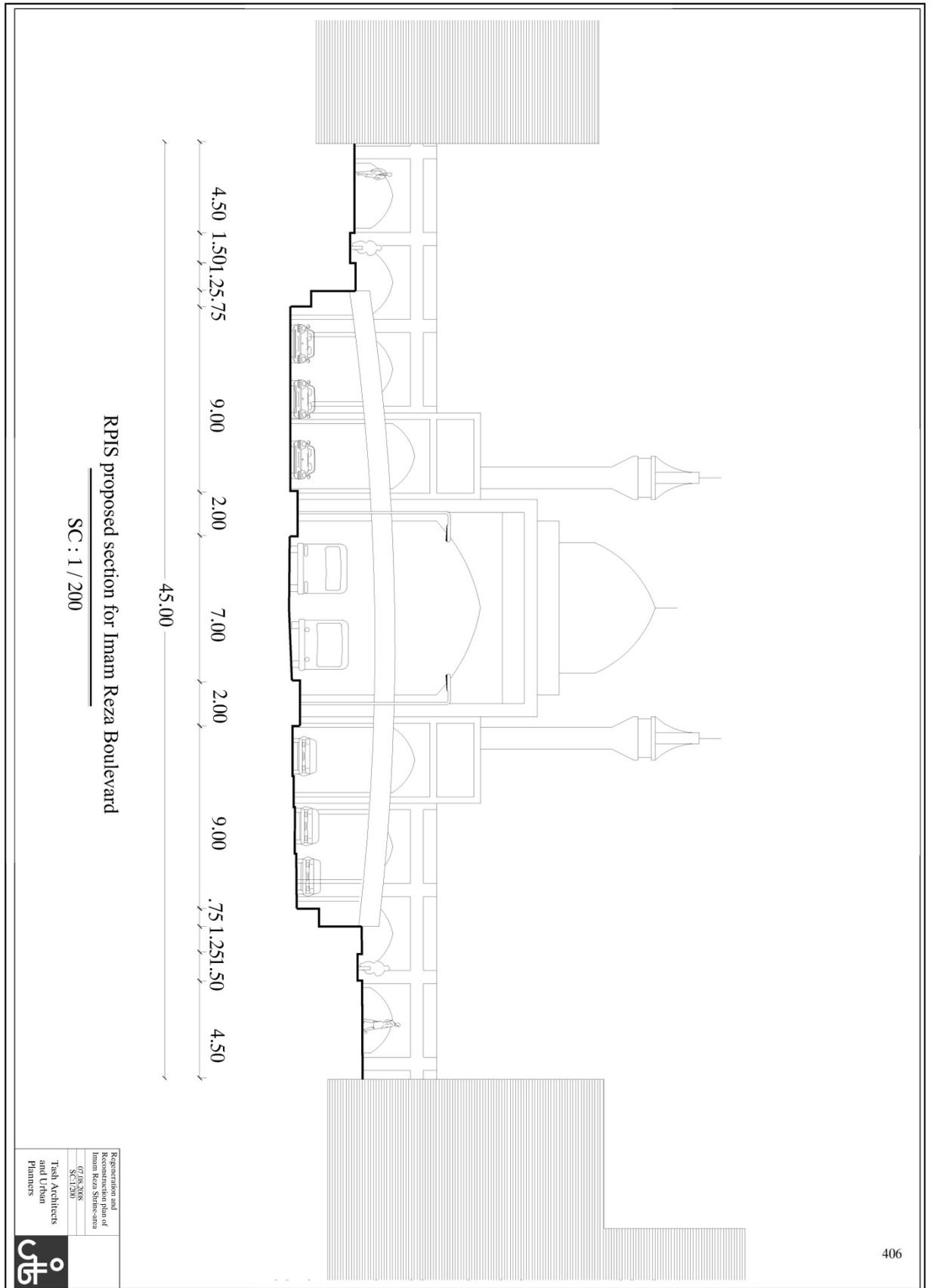
Figure 14: RPIS Proposed section for Imam Reza Boulevard.
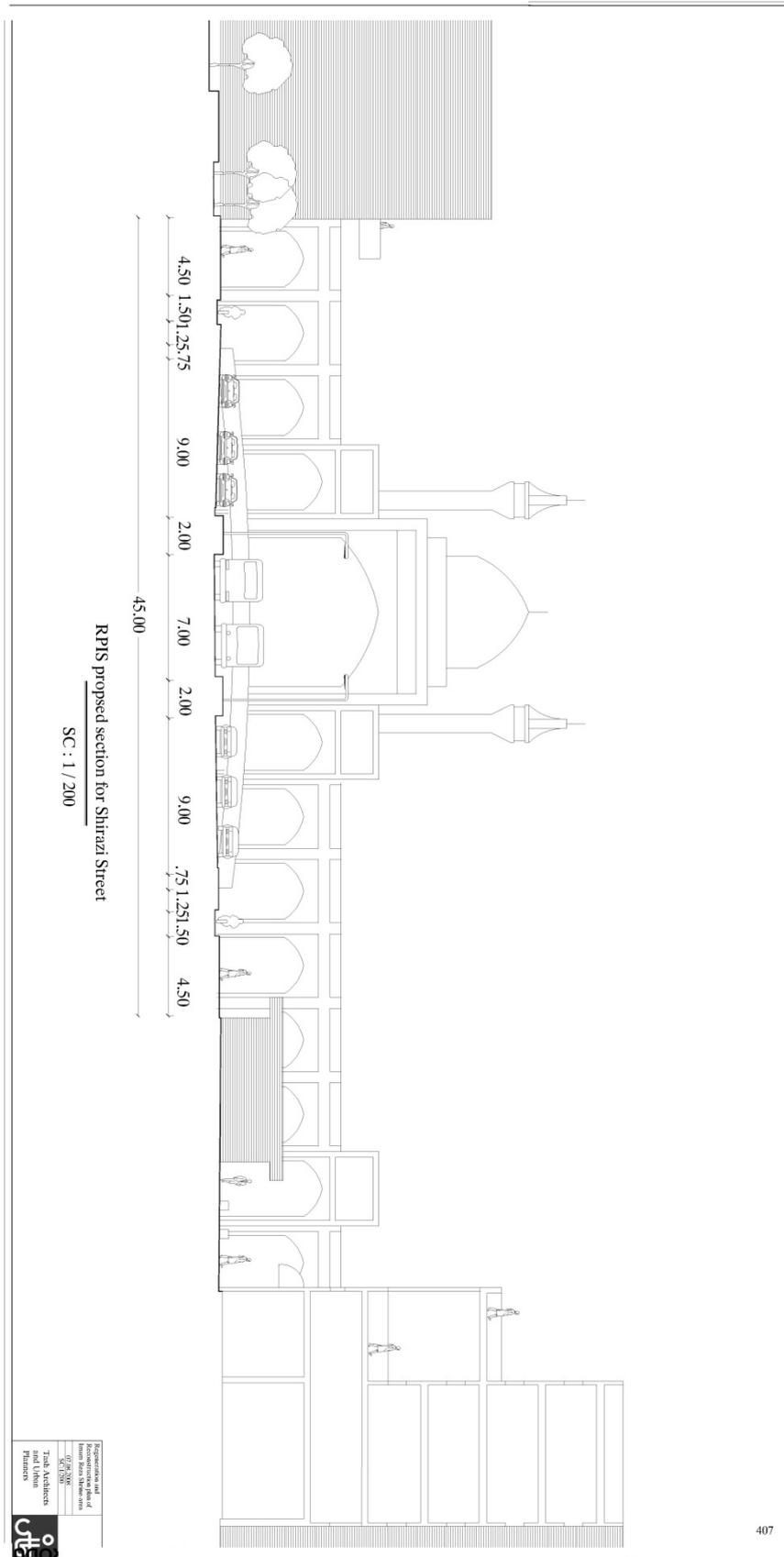
Appendix - C

Figure 15: RPIS Proposed section for Shirazi Street.

387
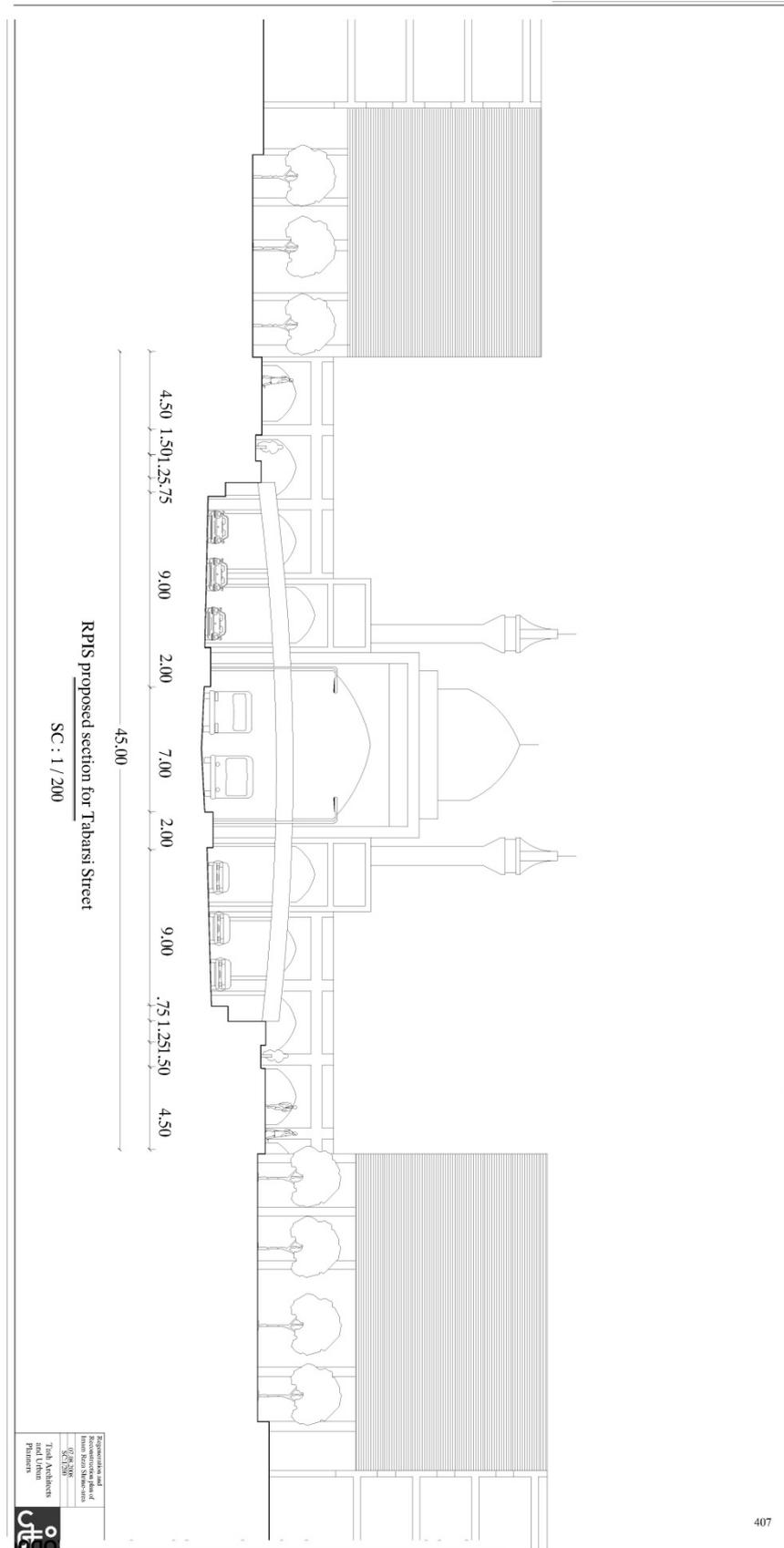
Appendix - C

Figure 16: RPIS Proposed Section for Tabarsi Street.
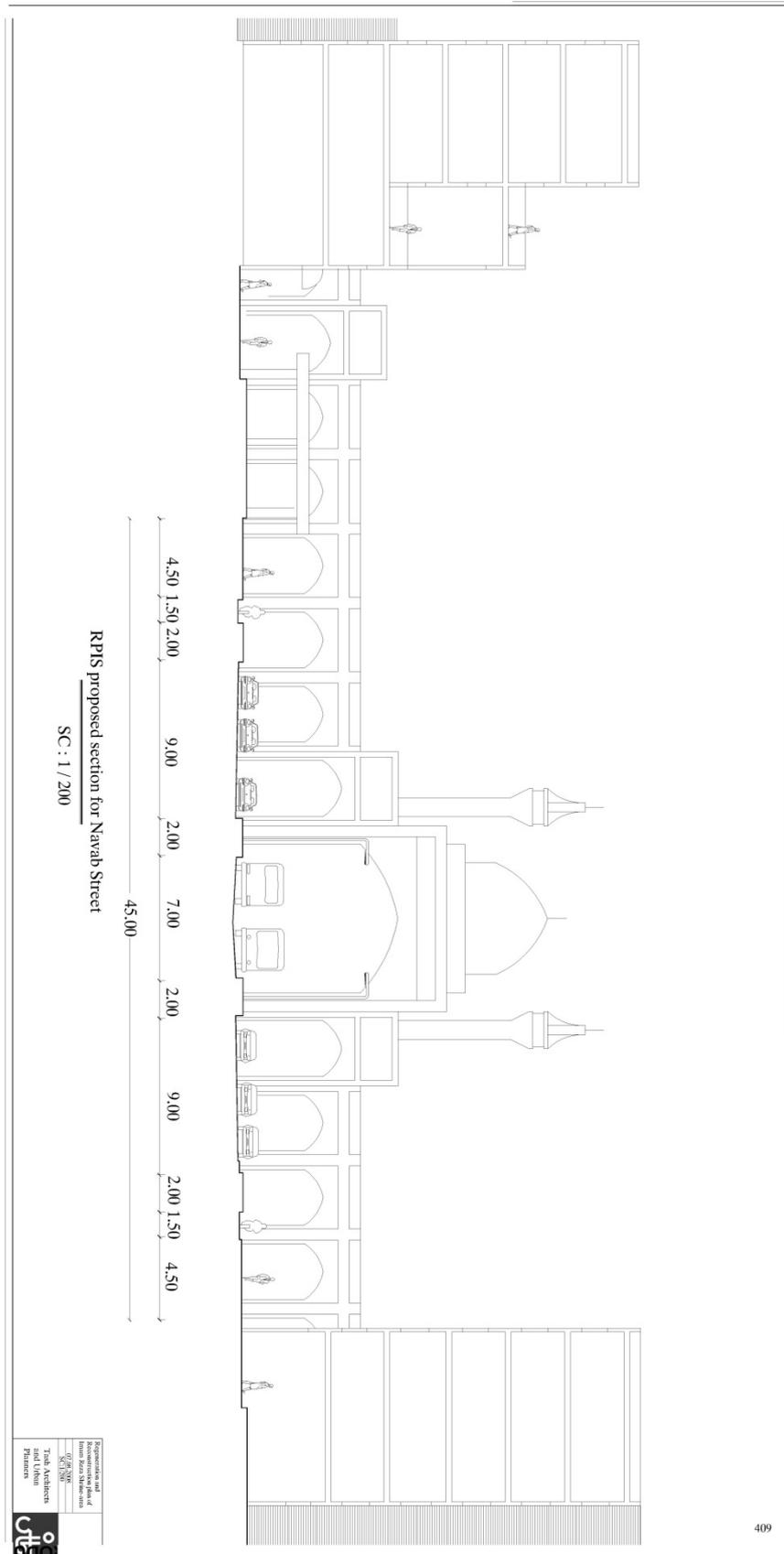
Appendix - C

Figure 17: RPIS Proposed Section for Navab Street.

389

Appendix D

Appendix-D

Analysis of survey

The shrine area is divided into four main sectors, shown in different colours in Figure 1. The questionnaire (Figure 2) was administered face-to-face with a sample of 100 residents, 100 workers which included 25 of each group in each area.
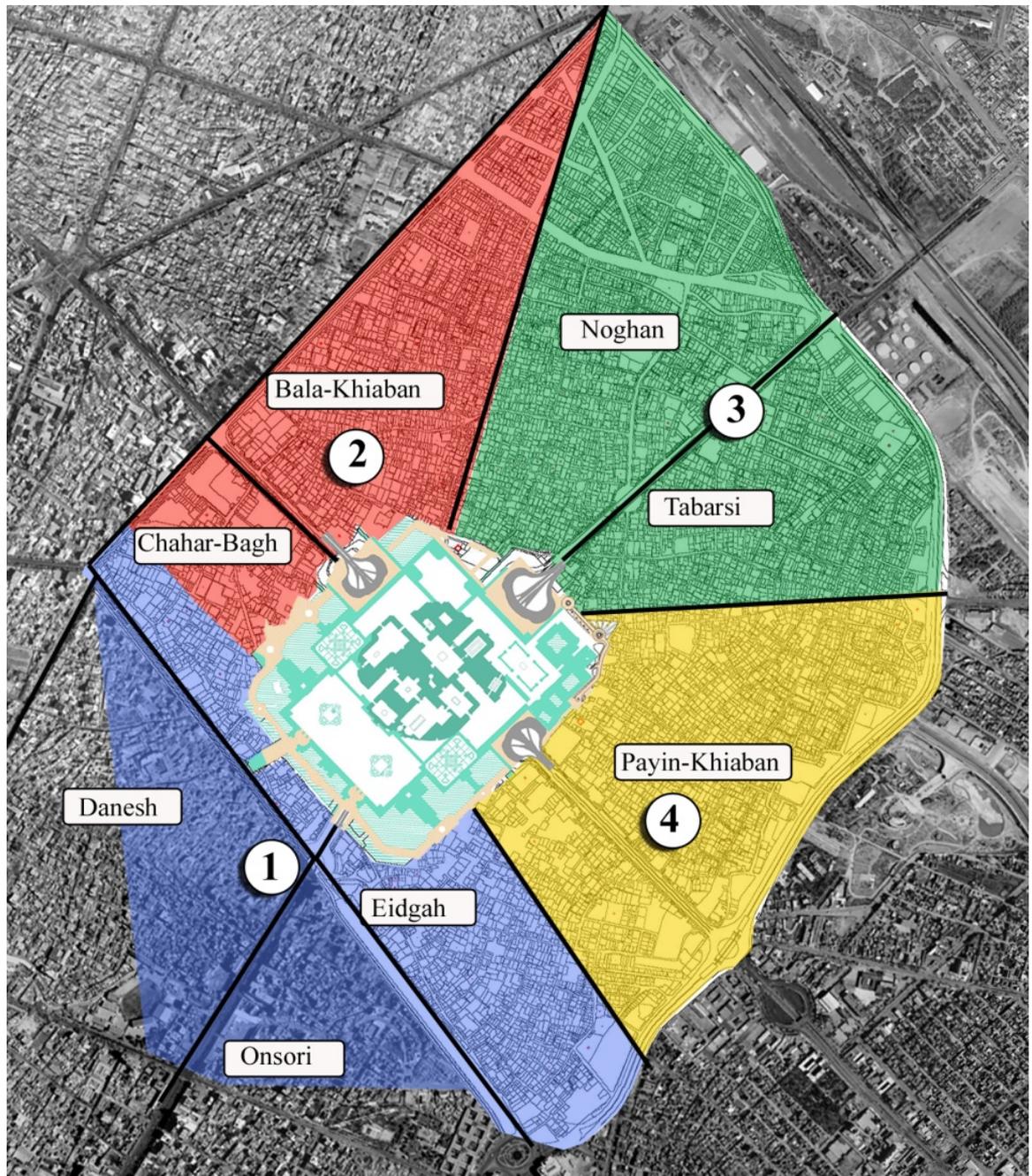
Figure 1: Map of the survey's sections based on neighbourhoods in the shrine area. (Adapted from Mashhad Aerial Photo, Mashhad CAD plan and Mashhad neighbourhood map by author)

Date:			Time:			Questionnaire No.:		

Aim: To investigate factors making the area active 24-hours, the boundaries between day-time and night-time activities, evaluate the quality of life and facilities in the area as an active 24-hour area

Location: In the shrine area (Mashhad)

1	Are you….?		Resident		Office employee		Shop owner/employee		Shrine employee	
	Hospital employee		Hotel employee		Restaurant employee		Drivers: taxi, motorcycles, organisation services			
1a	Gender:		Female		Male					
1b	Age Group:		Teenager		Adult		Aged			

PERSONAL INFORMATION

2	Where do you live:									
	Near the shrine		City centre		Suburbs		Nearby Villages			

2a	If you **LIVE or WORK in the area**, Evaluate its quality of life? (10 = very good, 1 = very poor)					1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

2b	If you **DON'T LIVE in the area**, Why?					
	Family resistant		Obligation		High prices	It is old fashioned
	Noise and crowdedness		Lack of facilities		Air pollution	Other

2c	Factors choosing the shrine area for **WORKING/ LIVING**?					
	Safety		Nearness to shrine		Nearness to home/work	Nearness to the centre of city
	Family heritage		Urban facilities		High income	Obligation
	price		Other			

GENERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT THE SHRINE AREA

3	How long are you working/ living in the shrine area?							
4	What is your working schedule?					How many colleagues do you have?		
	24 hours		Other		All day	Rotary shifts	2-3	3-5	More than 5

5	Who are your customers/ clients mostly?				
	DAY	Pilgrims	Local residents	Residents of the whole city	All
	NIGHT	Pilgrims	Local residents	Residents of the whole city	All
	On peak of pilgrimage	Pilgrims	Local residents	Residents of the whole city	All
	On other times of the year	Pilgrims	Local residents	Residents of the whole city	All

6	When is the busiest time of day?					Varies on different seasons	
	8a.m-1p.m		1p.m-5p.m	5p.m-10p.m	10p.m-5a.m	5a.m-8a.m

7	When is the busiest season?				
	Persian new year		Summer	Religious occasions	Always

8	In your opinion, where is the best area of Mashhad?		
8a	What are its top 3 key points?	1.	
	2.	3.	

9	In your opinion, What are the vital needs for development in the area?				
	Safety	Traffic issues	Public transport	City's hygiene	Urban facilities
	Street development	Regeneration of the city centre	Tourist's facilities	City's view	Other

10	How do you **TRAVEL** mostly in the area during day and night: (d/n)								
	Private car	D		N	By bus	D	N	Route taxis	D	N
	Motorcycles				Bicycle			Walking		

11	Are there any unsafe areas on your neighbourhood at day or night?			Yes		No
	If yes where?		If yes Why?			
	DAY					
	NIGHT					

NOTES

Figure 2a: Questionnaire, page 1

12	In the Shrine Area	How often do you use …		Rank the questions below (5 = very good, 1 = very poor)											Do you feel are there any advantages or disadvantages with…	
		DAY	NIGHT	DAY					NIGHT						ADVANTAGES	DISADVANTAGES
a	Safety			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
b	Noise			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
c	Overcrowding			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
d	Accessibility			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
e	Cleanliness			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
f	Traffic			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
g	Congestion charge scheme			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
h	Traffic signage			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
i	Residential facilities			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
j	Tourist facilities			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
k	Streets, squares and junctions			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
l	Pavements in main streets			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
m	Pavements in minor streets			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
n	Overpasses			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
o	Subways			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
p	Car parks			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
q	Shops and shopping centres			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
r	Restaurant and cafes			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
s	Parks and gardens			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
t	Taking taxis			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
u	Using private car			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
v	Using Motorcycle			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
w	Walking or cycling			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
x	Taking buses			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
y	Regeneration Project			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
z	Lighting in main streets			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
A'	Lighting in minor streets			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
B'	Public toilets			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
C'	Public telephone			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
D'	Bins			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
E'	Seats			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
F'	Water fountain			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			

13	**RESIDENTS**	How much are you involved with pilgrims?		Always		Often		Rarely			Never	
14	Do your friends or relatives stay in your house as pilgrims? If yes how often?						Yes				No	
	Most of the year			On some occasions each year							Rarely	
15	Do you rent your house? If yes how often									Yes	No	
	On Summer		On Persian new year			On religious occasions			All the year			

NOTES

Figure 2b: Questionnaire, page 2
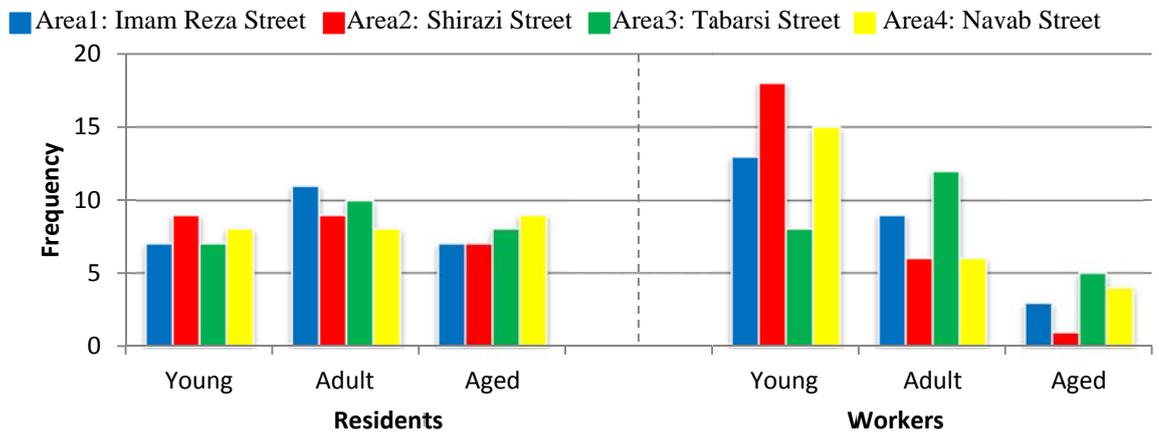
Figure 3: Age of interviewees.
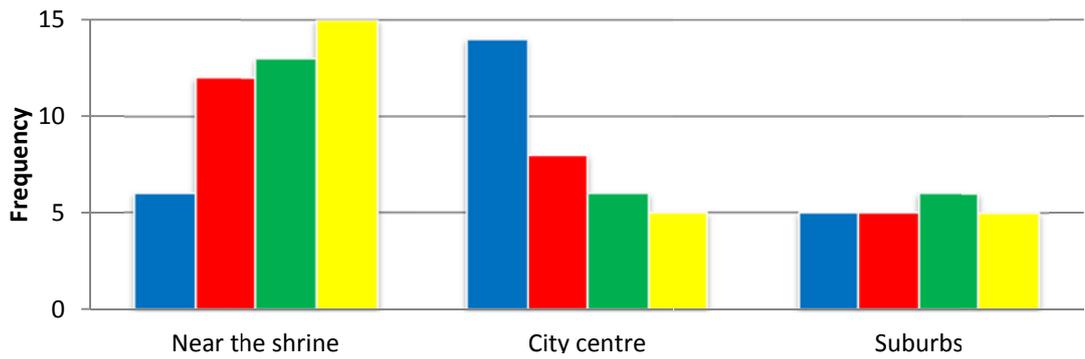
Figure 4: Living area of workers.
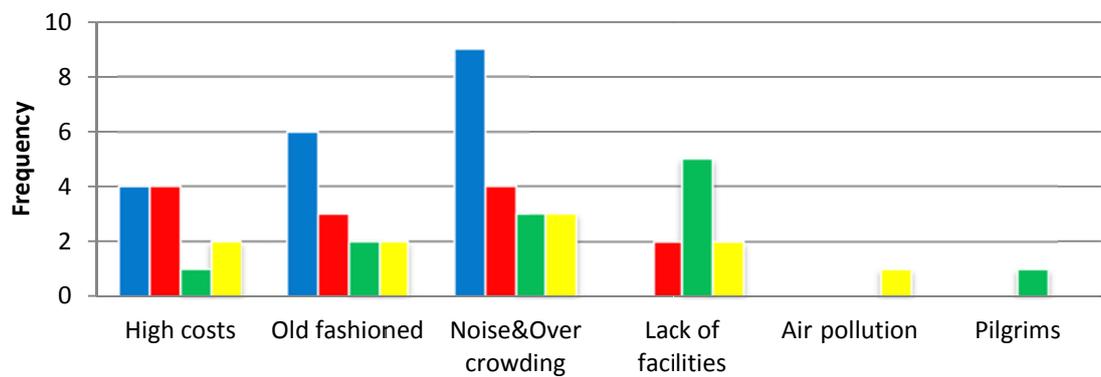
Figure 5: Why workers do not live in the shrine-area.
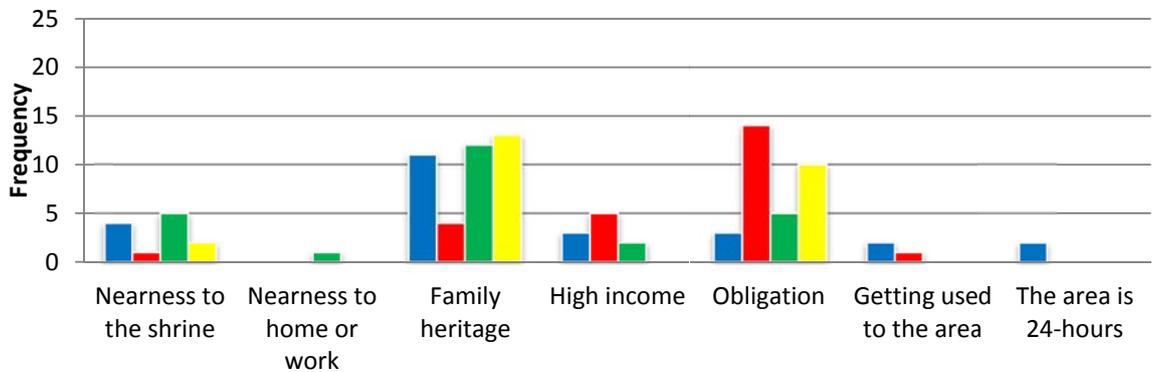
Figure 6: Factors for choosing the shrine area for working.
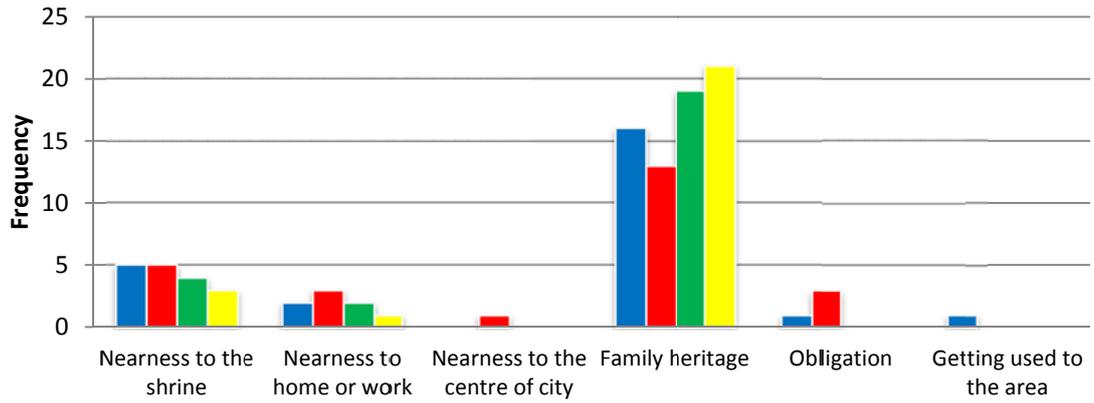
Figure 7: Factors for choosing the shrine are for living.
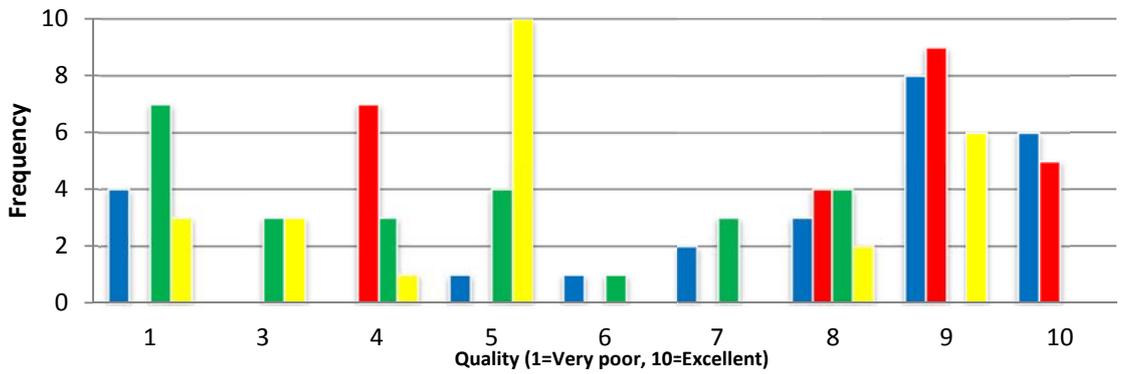
Figure 8: Quality of life in the shrine-area (workers).
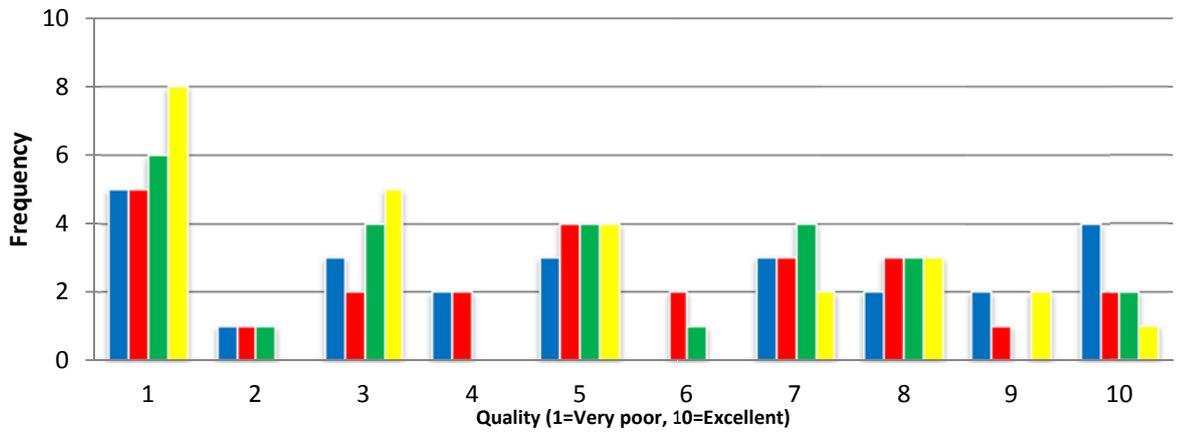
Figure 9: Quality of life in the shrine-area (residents).
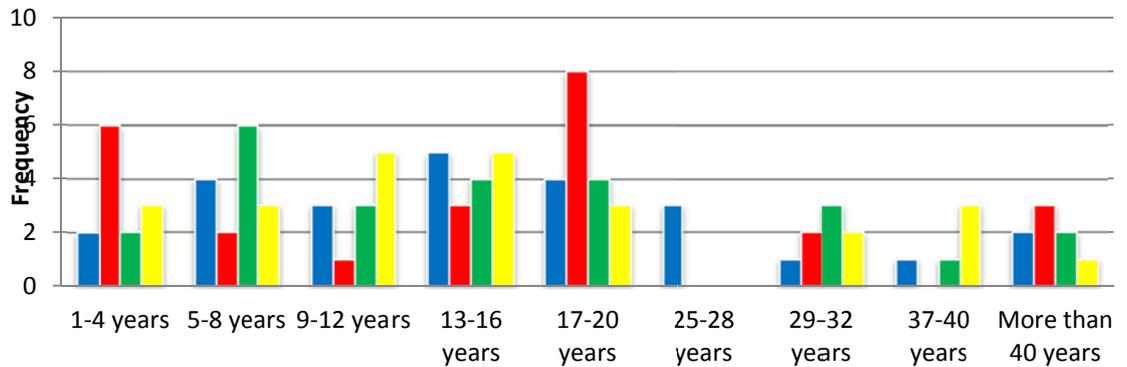
Figure 10: Working years in the shrine-area
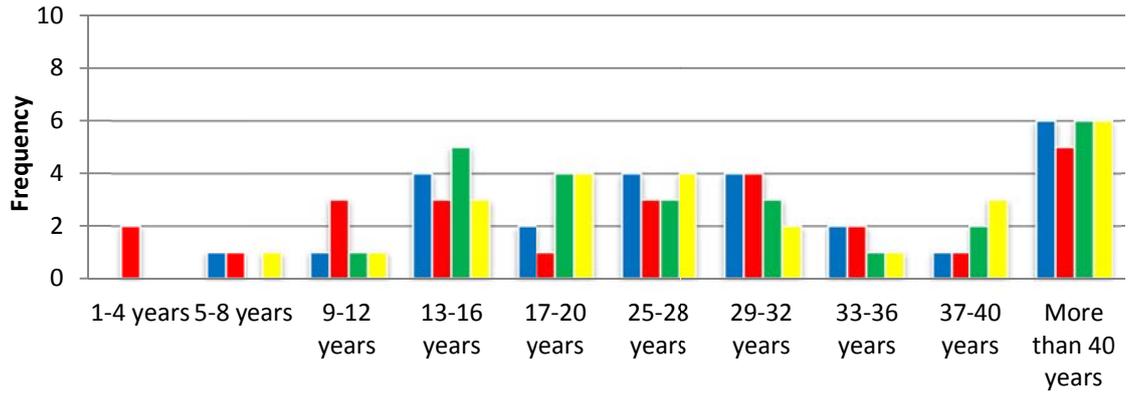
Figure 11: Living years in the shrine area.
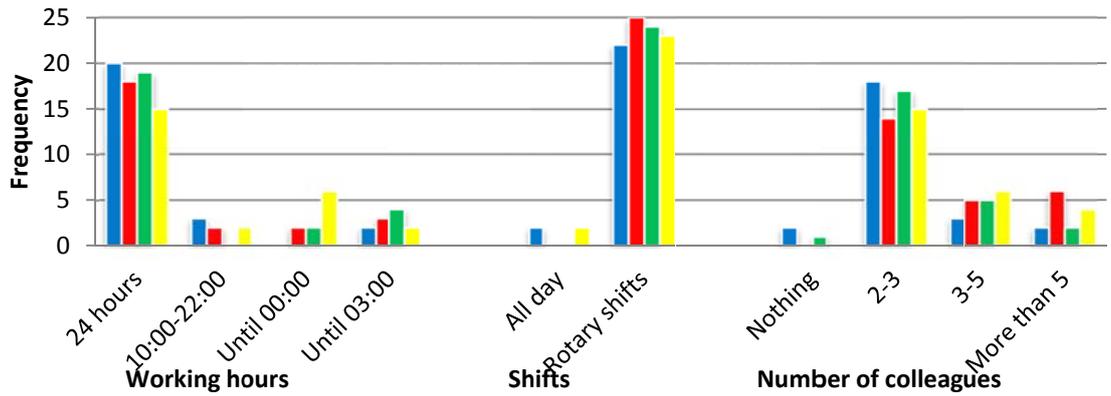
Figure 12: Working hours / Working schedule / Number of colleagues.
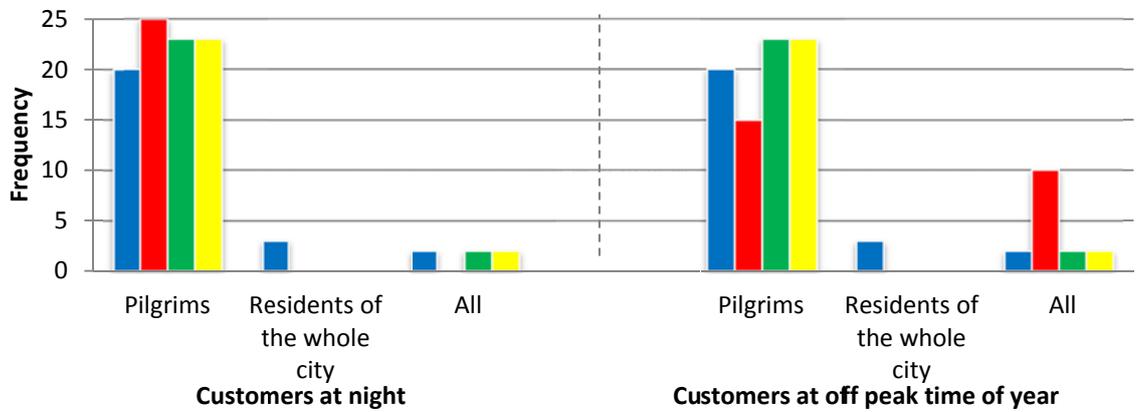
Figure 13: Customers at different times of year.
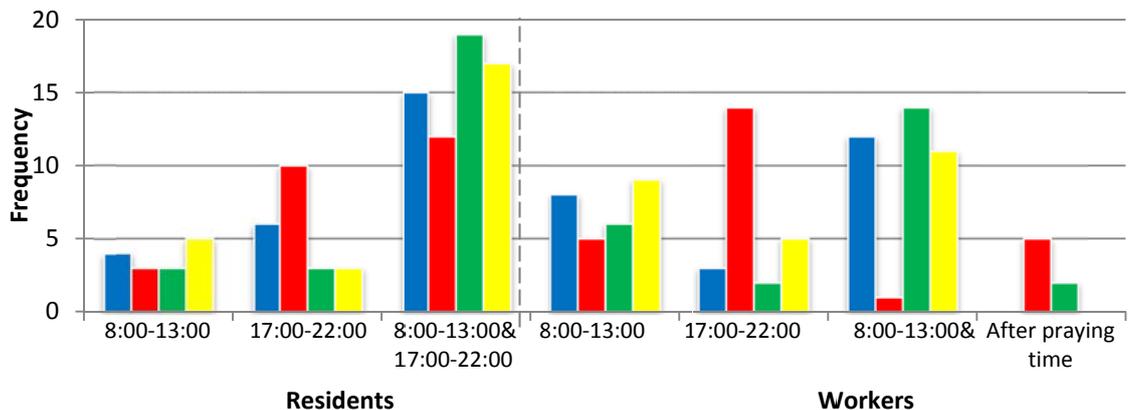
Figure 14: The busiest time of the day in the shrine-area.
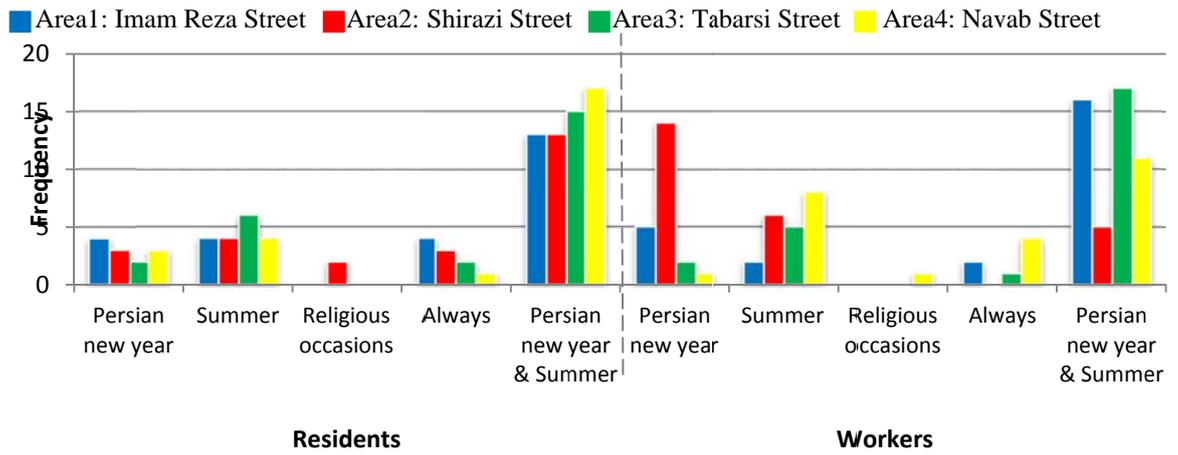
Figure 15: The busiest season of year in the shrine-area.
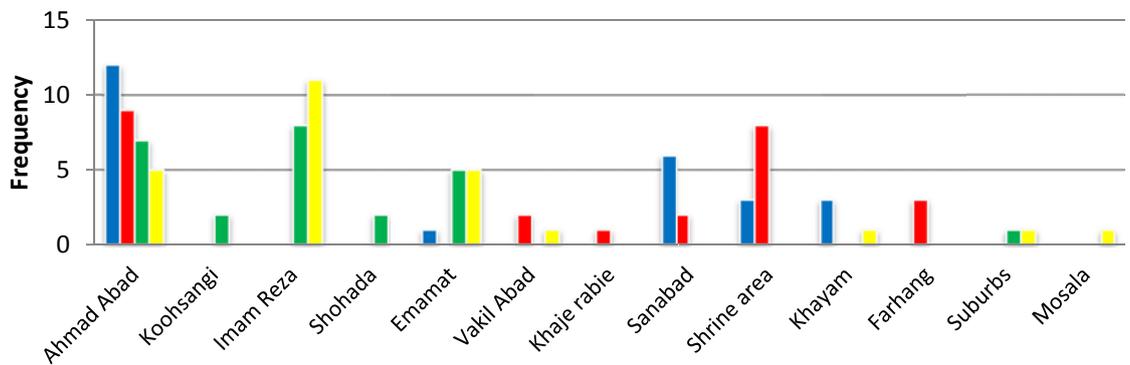
Figure 16: The best area of Mashhad (workers).
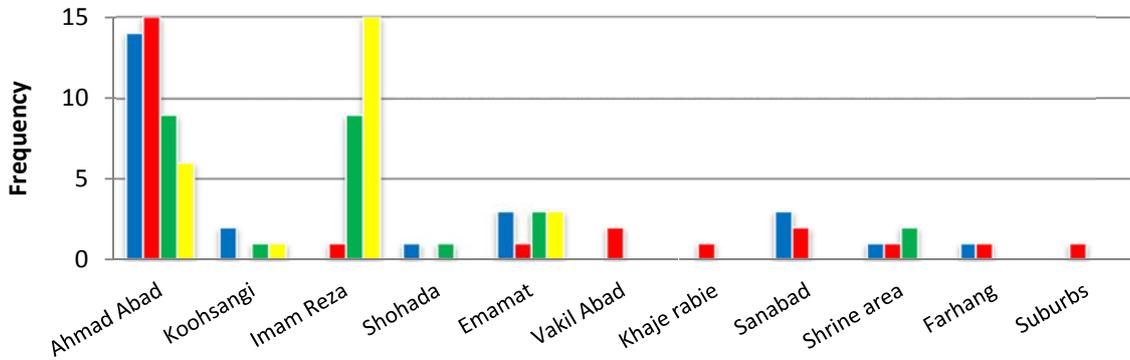
Figure 17: The best area of Mashhad (residents).
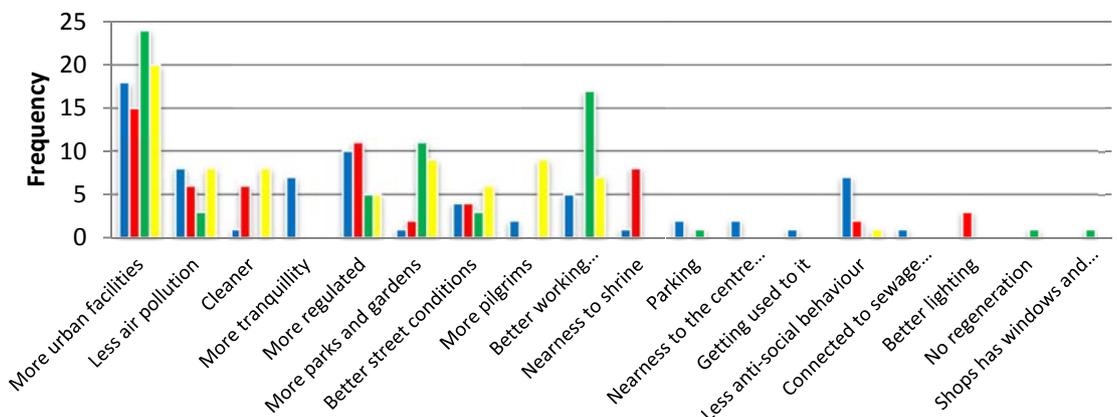
Figure 18: The main key points for choosing the best area of Mashhad (workers).

Area1: Imam Reza Street Area2: Shirazi Street Area3: Tabarsi Street Area4: Navab Street
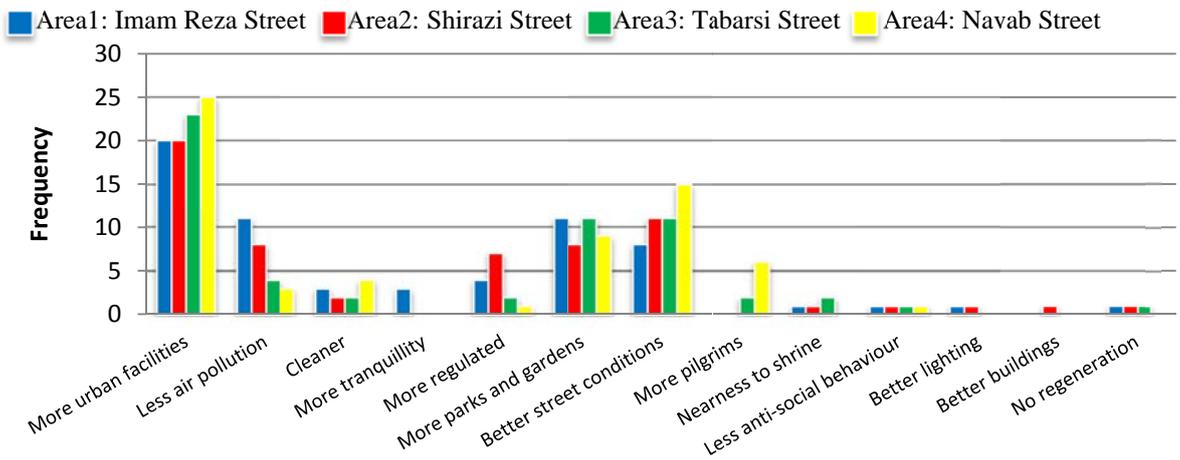
Figure 19: The main key points for choosing the best area of Mashhad (residents).
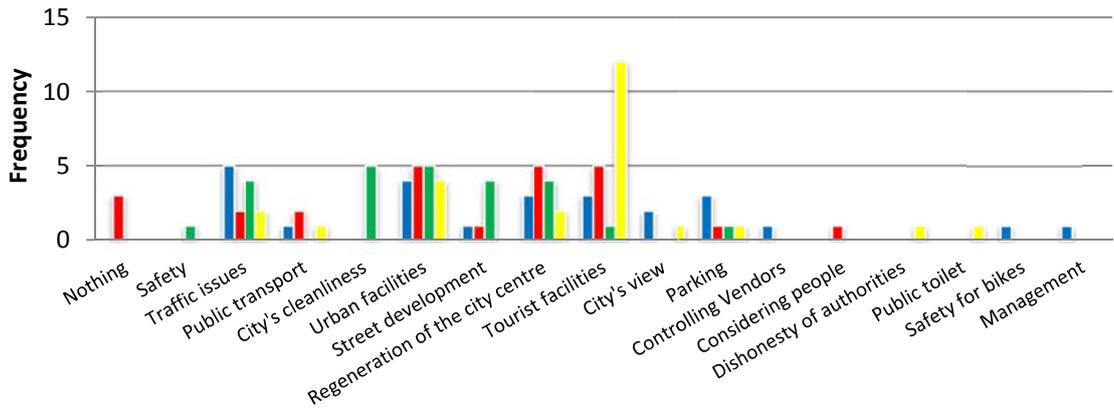
Figure 20: Vital needs of development in the shrine-area (workers).
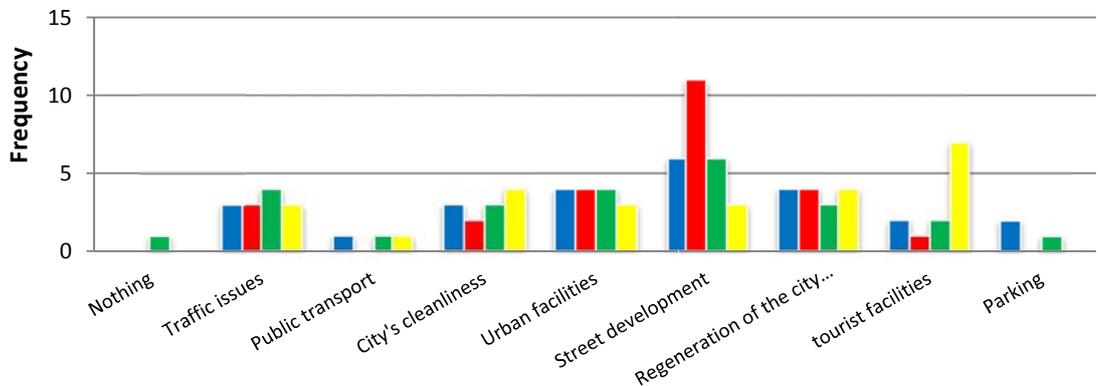
Figure 21: Vital needs of development in the shrine-area on (residents).
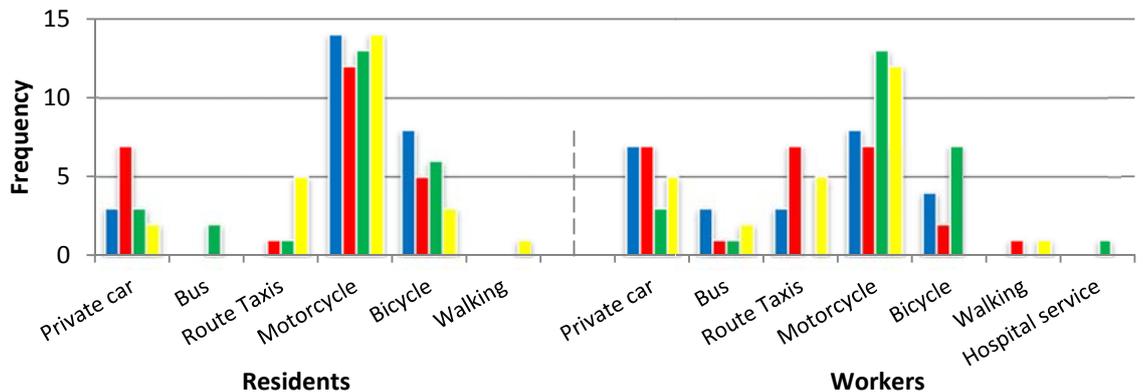
Figure 22: How do you mostly travel in the shrine-area at day time
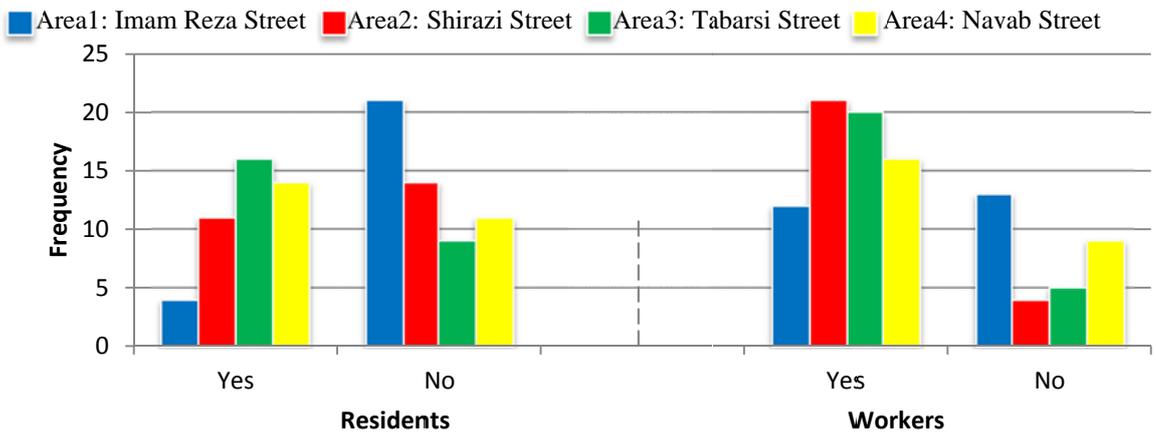
Figure 23: Are there any unsafe areas in your neighbourhood?
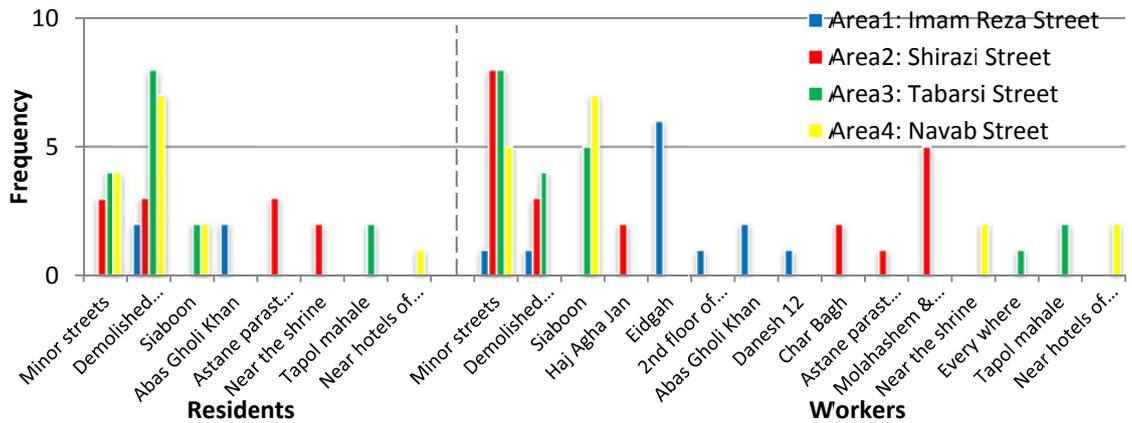
Figure 24: Unsafe areas in the shrine-area.
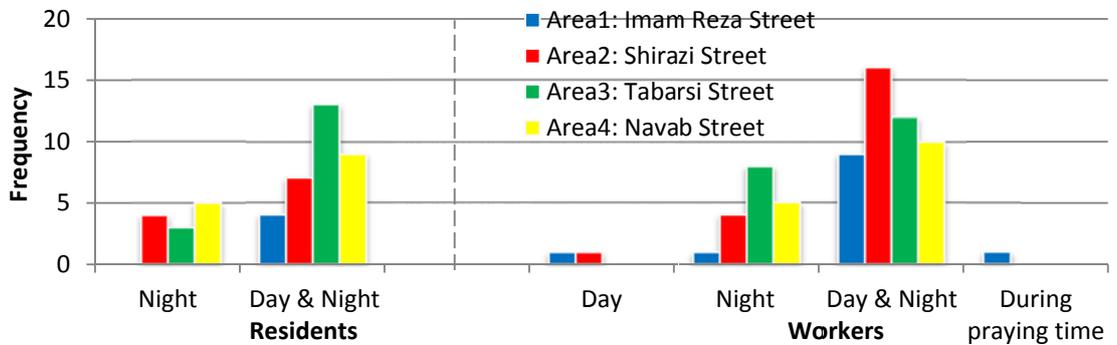
Figure 25: When are these areas unsafe?
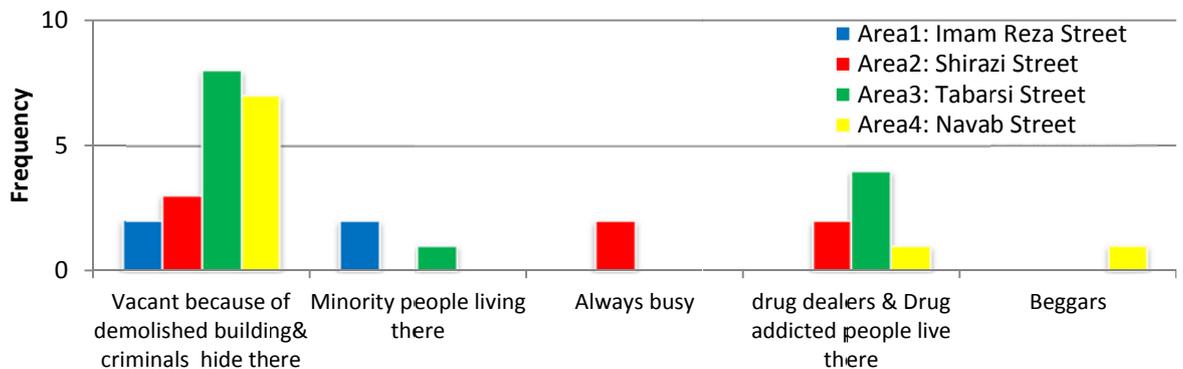
Figure 26: Why an area is unsafe during the day (residents).
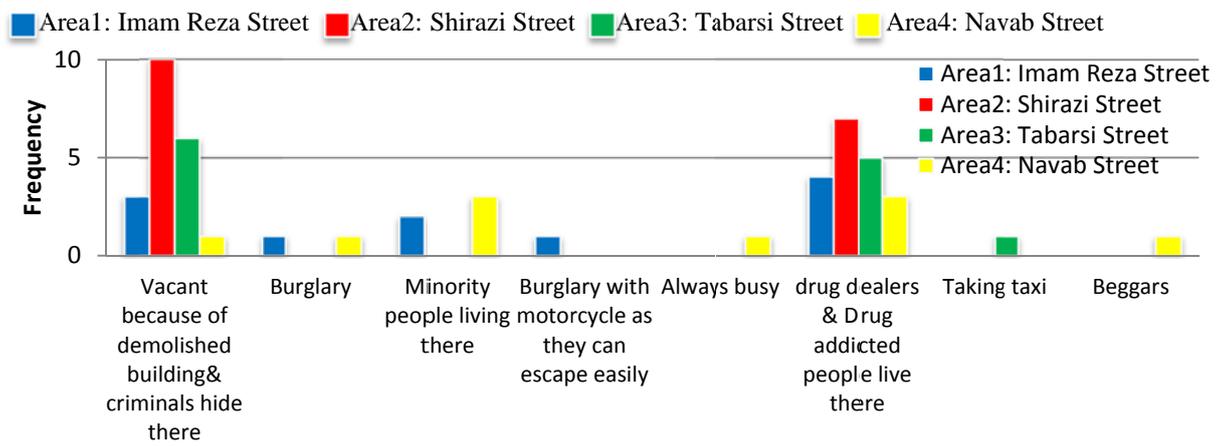
Figure 27: Why an area is unsafe during the day (workers).
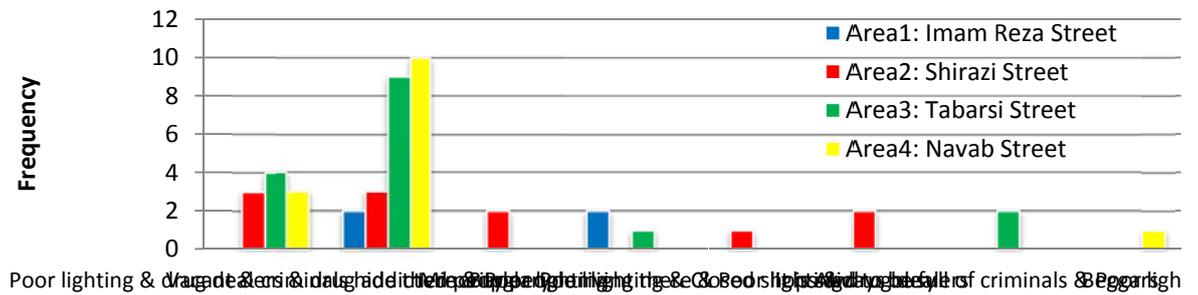
Figure 28: Why an area is unsafe during the night (residents).
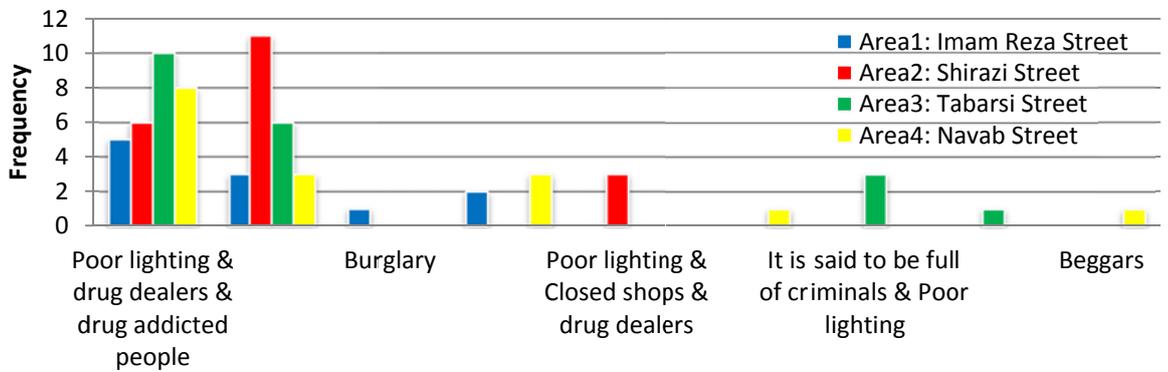
Figure 29: Why an area is unsafe during the night (workers).
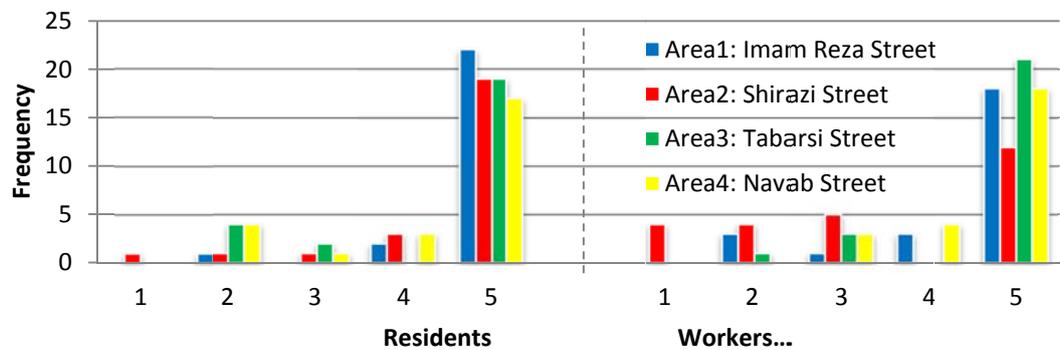
Figure 30: Safety of the area at day time.
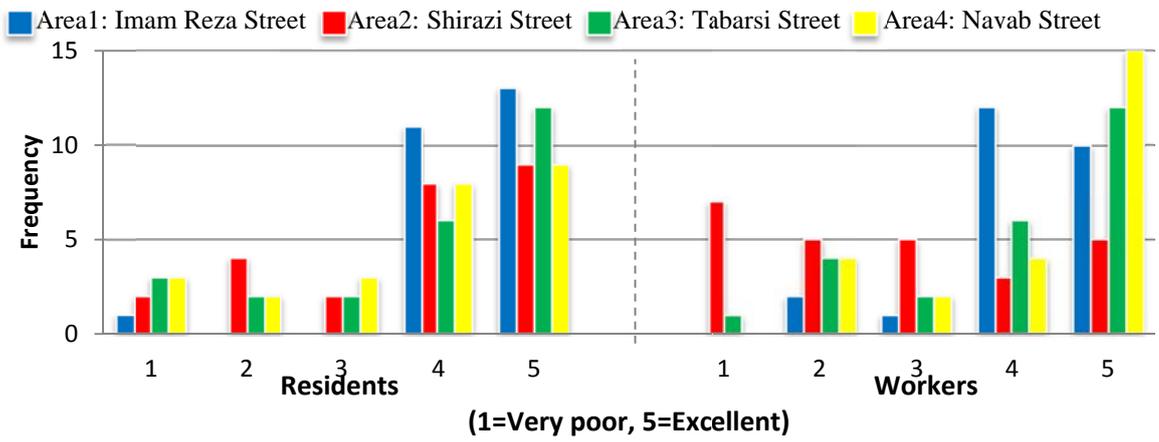
Figure 31**:** Safety of the area at night.
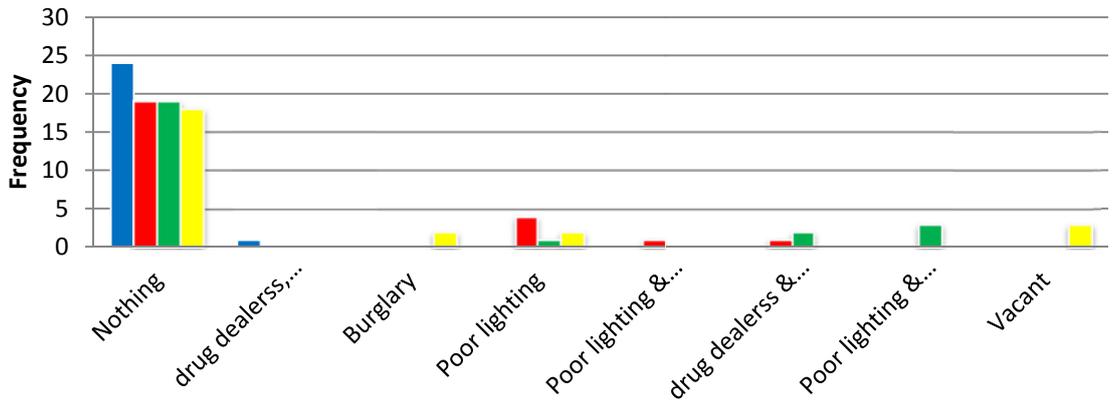
Figure 32: Safety problems (residents).
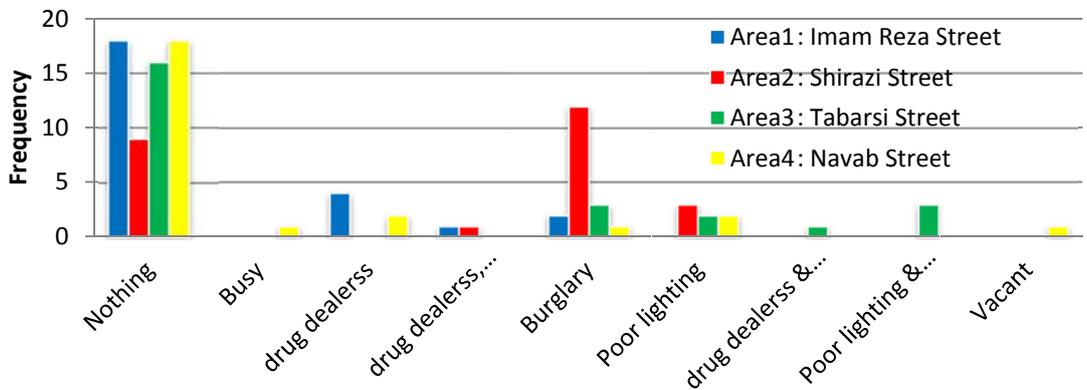
Figure 33: Safety problems (workers).
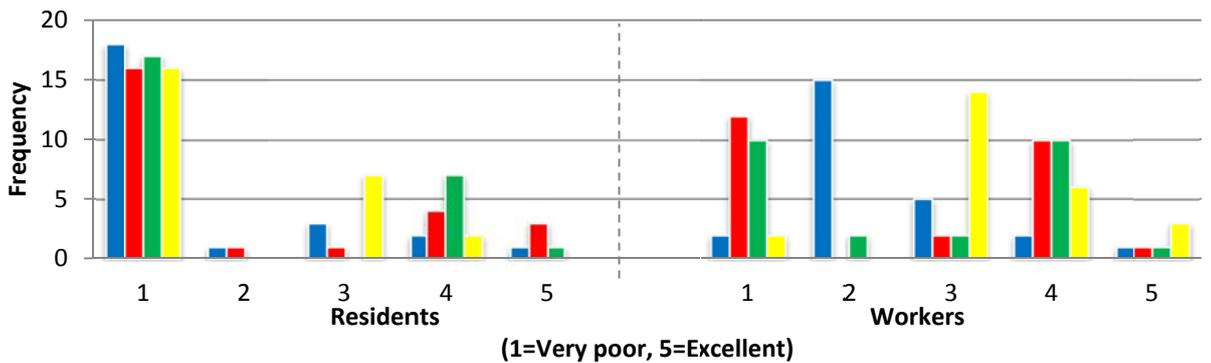
Figure 34: Noise at day time.

■ Area1: Imam Reza Street   ■ Area2: Shirazi Street   ■ Area3: Tabarsi Street   ■ Area4: Navab Street

(1=Very poor, 5=Excellent)
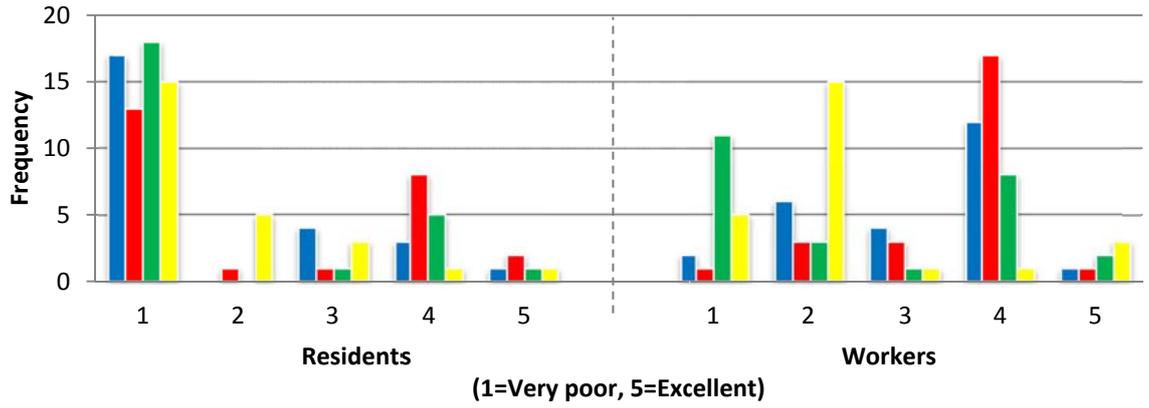
Figure 35**:** Noise at night.

(1=Very poor, 5=Excellent)
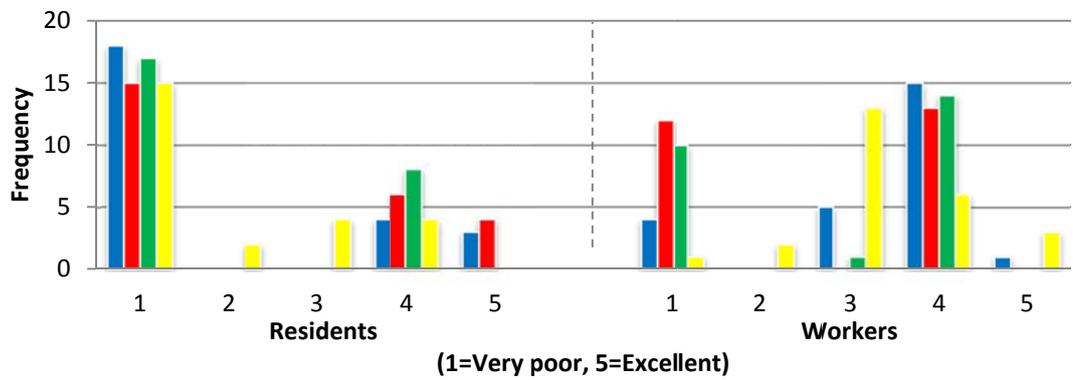
Figure 36: Overcrowding of the area at day time.

(1=Very poor, 5=Excellent)
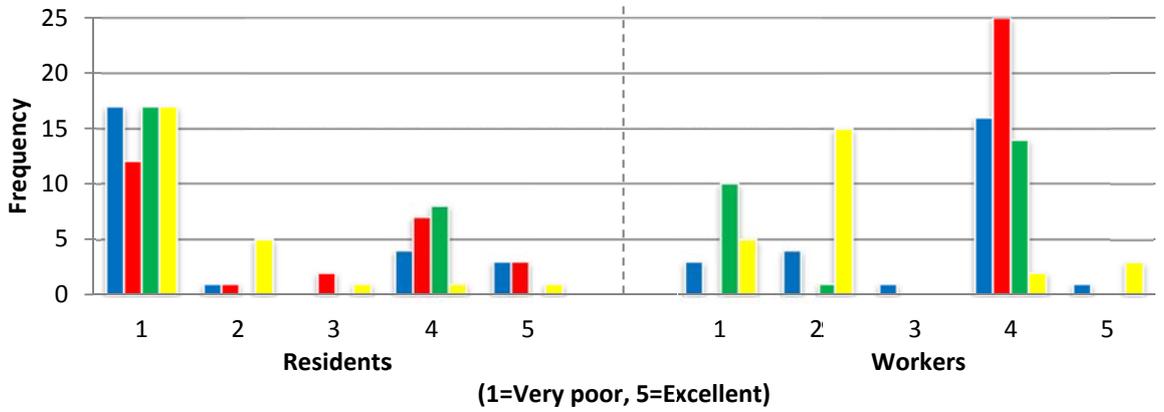
Figure 37: Overcrowding of the area at night.

(1=Vey poor, 5=Excellent)
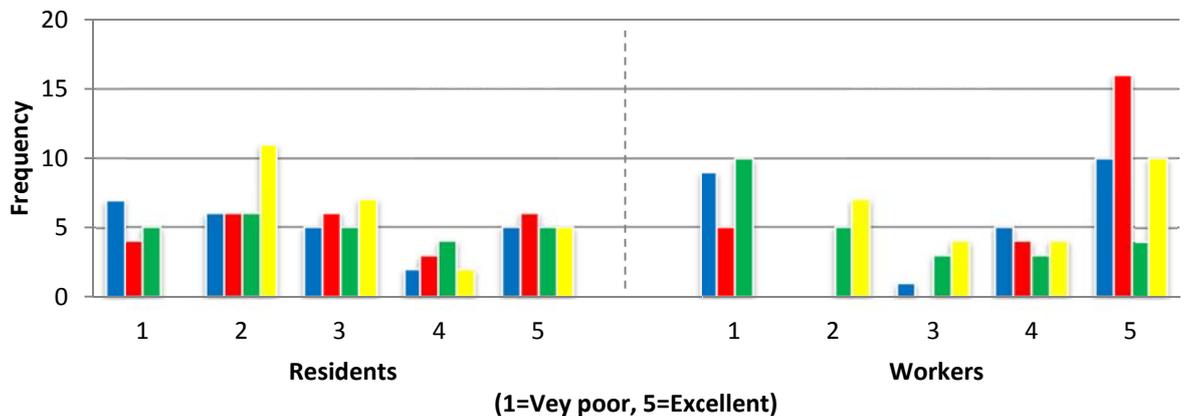
Figure 38: Accessibility of the area at day time.
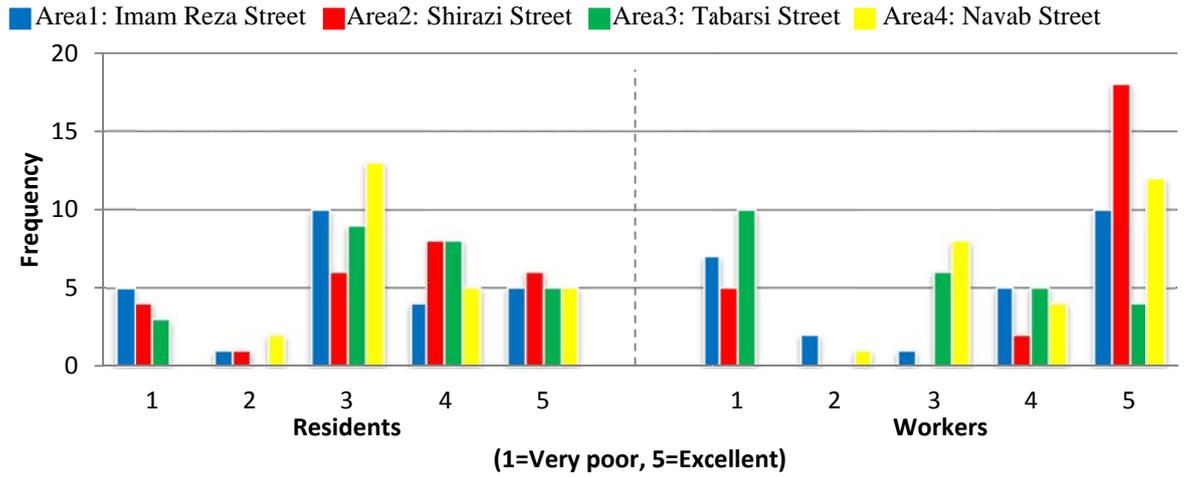
Figure 39: Accessibility of the area at night.
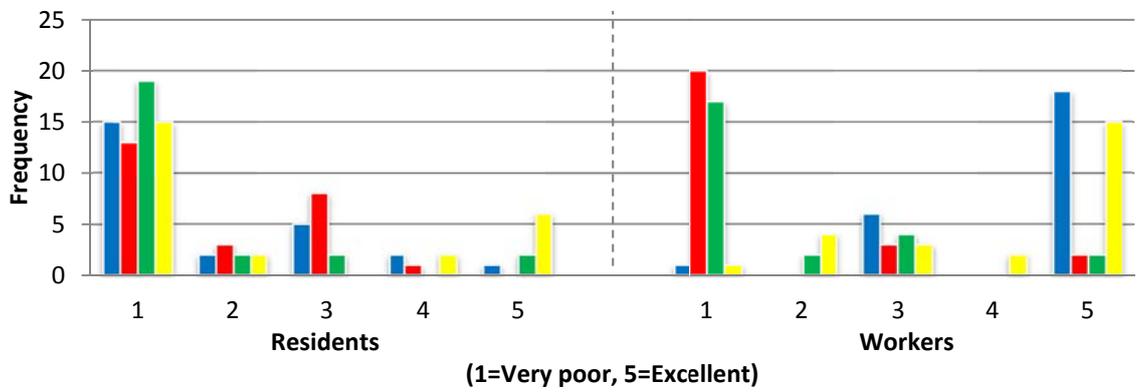
Figure 40: Cleanliness of main streets during day and night.
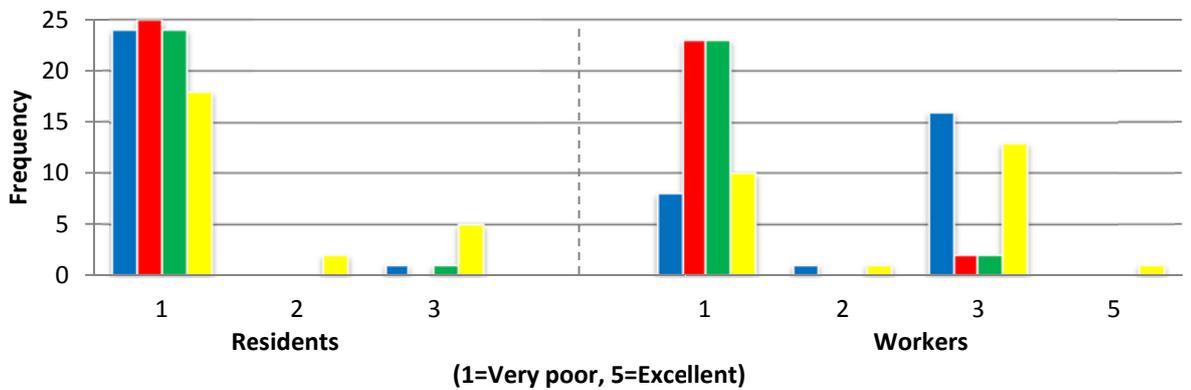
Figure 41: Cleanliness of minor streets during day and night.
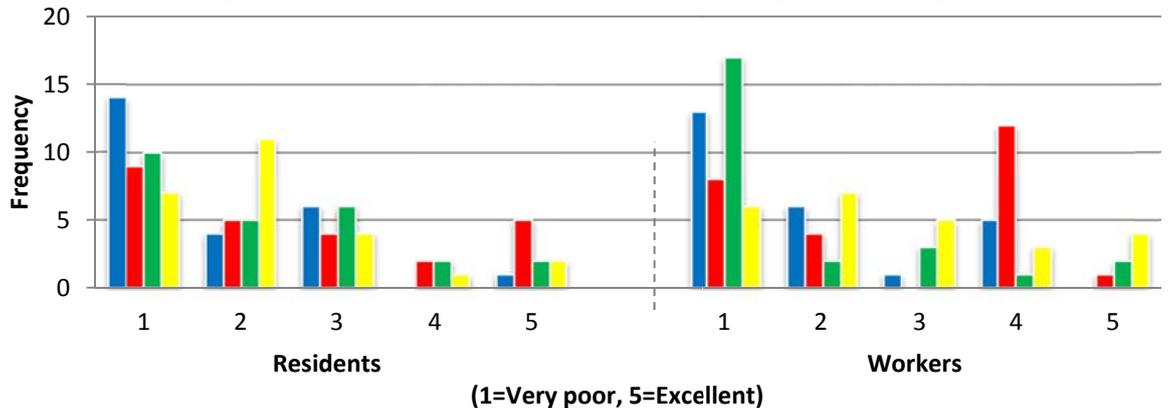
Figure 42: Traffic in the shrine-area at day time.
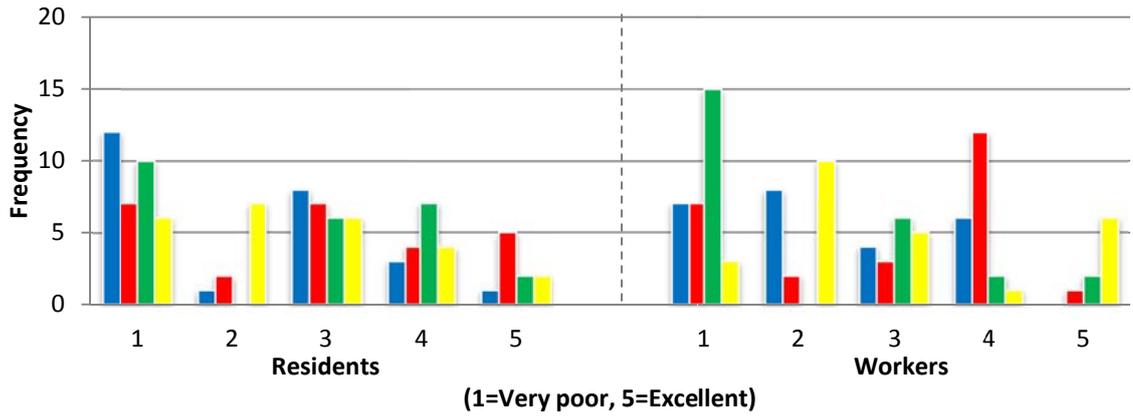
Figure 43: Traffic in the shrine-area at night.
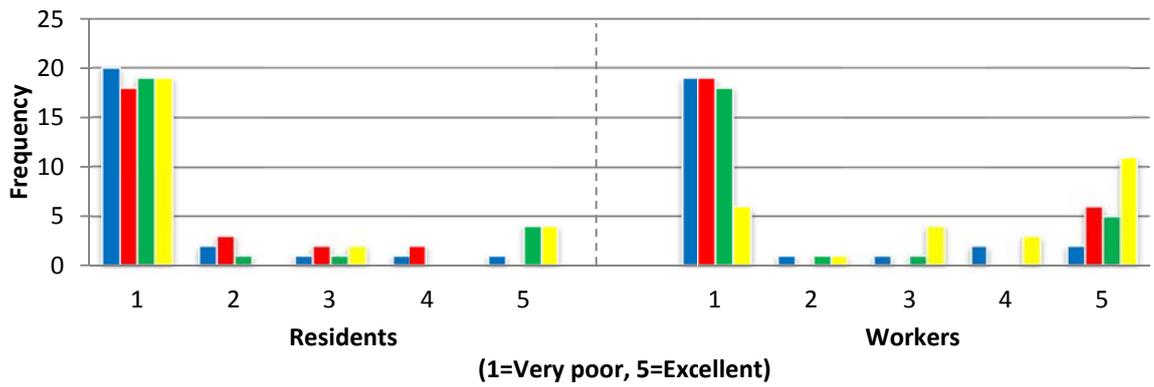
Figure 44: Quality of congestion charge scheme
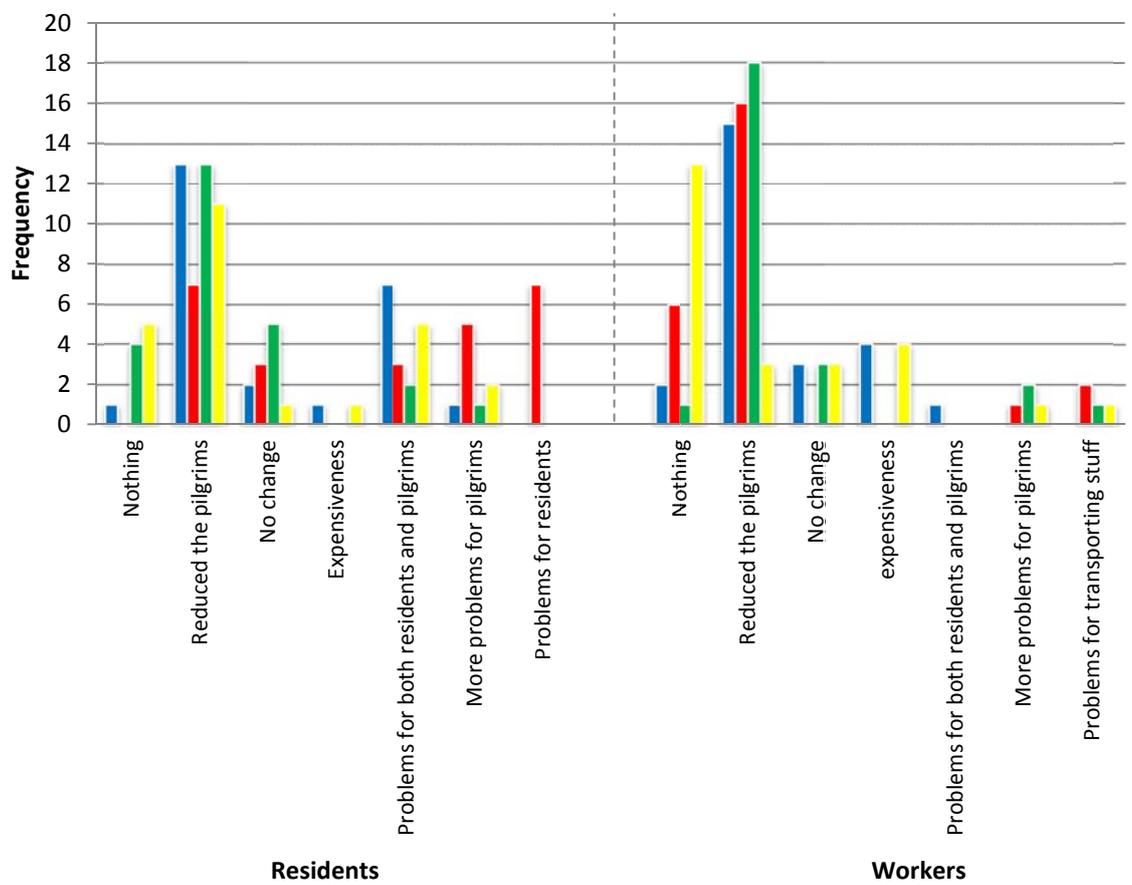
Figure 45: Disadvantage of congestion charge scheme

Area1: Imam Reza Street   Area2: Shirazi Street   Area3: Tabarsi Street   Area4: Navab Street
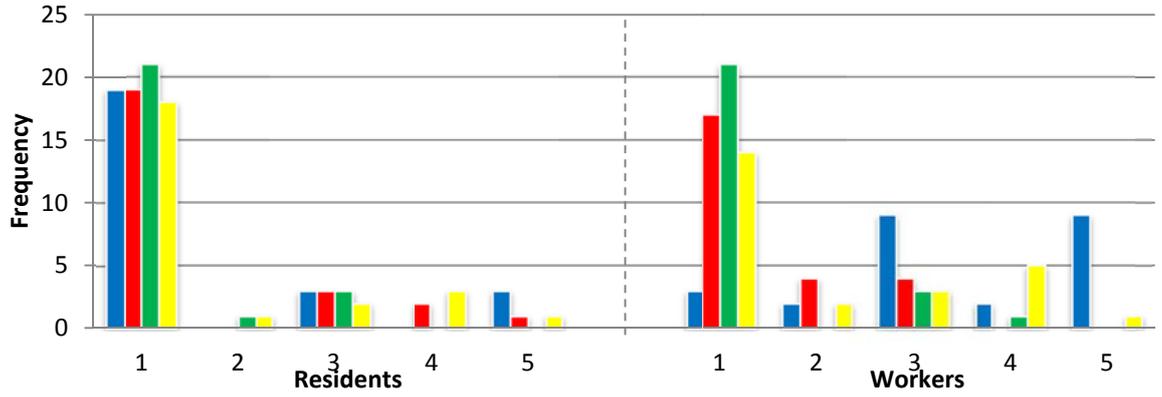
Figure 46: Quality of traffic signage.
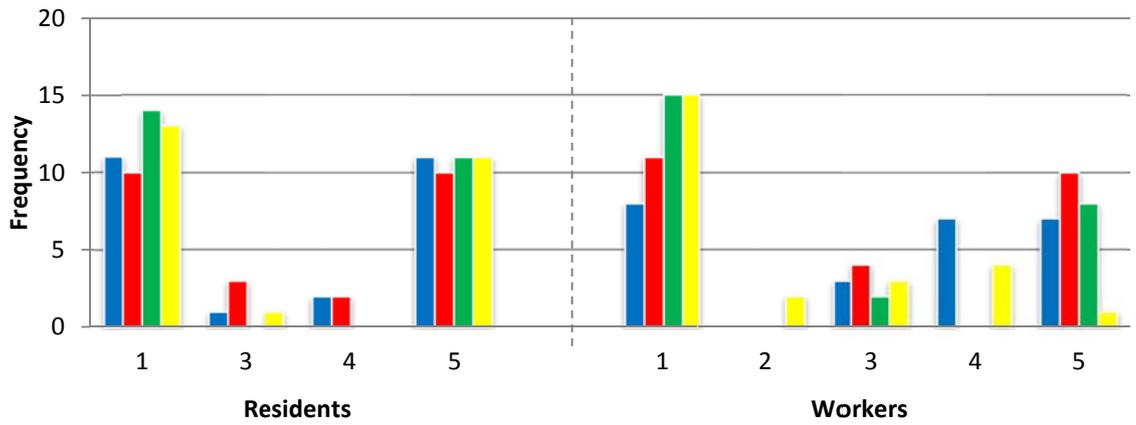
Figure 47: Quality of residents' facilities.
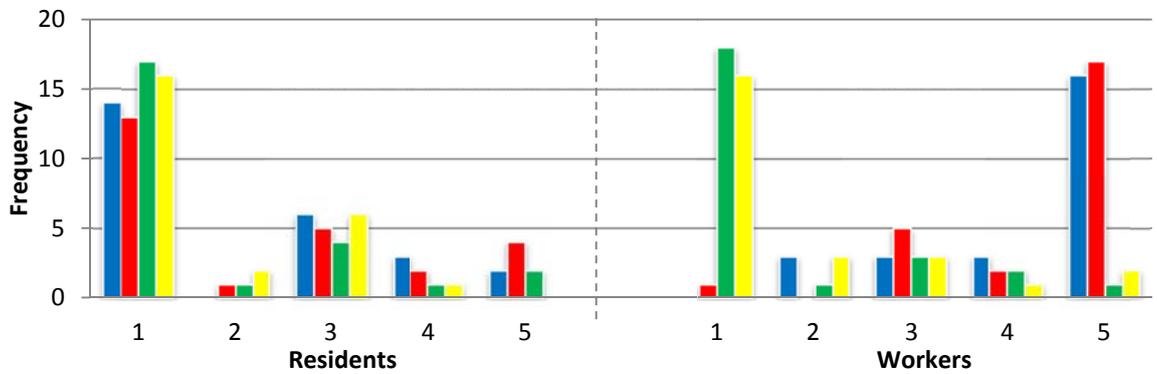
Figure 48: Quality of tourists' facilities.
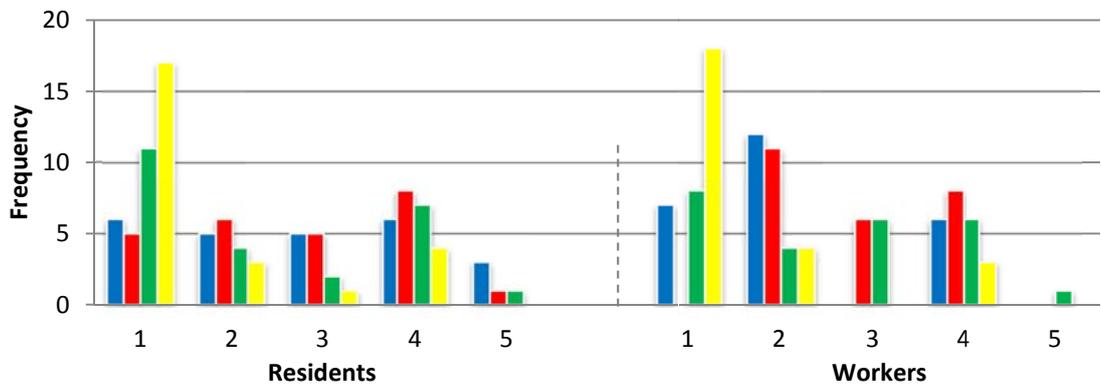
Figure 49: Quality of streets, junctions and squares.

Area1: Imam Reza Street Area2: Shirazi Street Area3: Tabarsi Street Area4: Navab Street
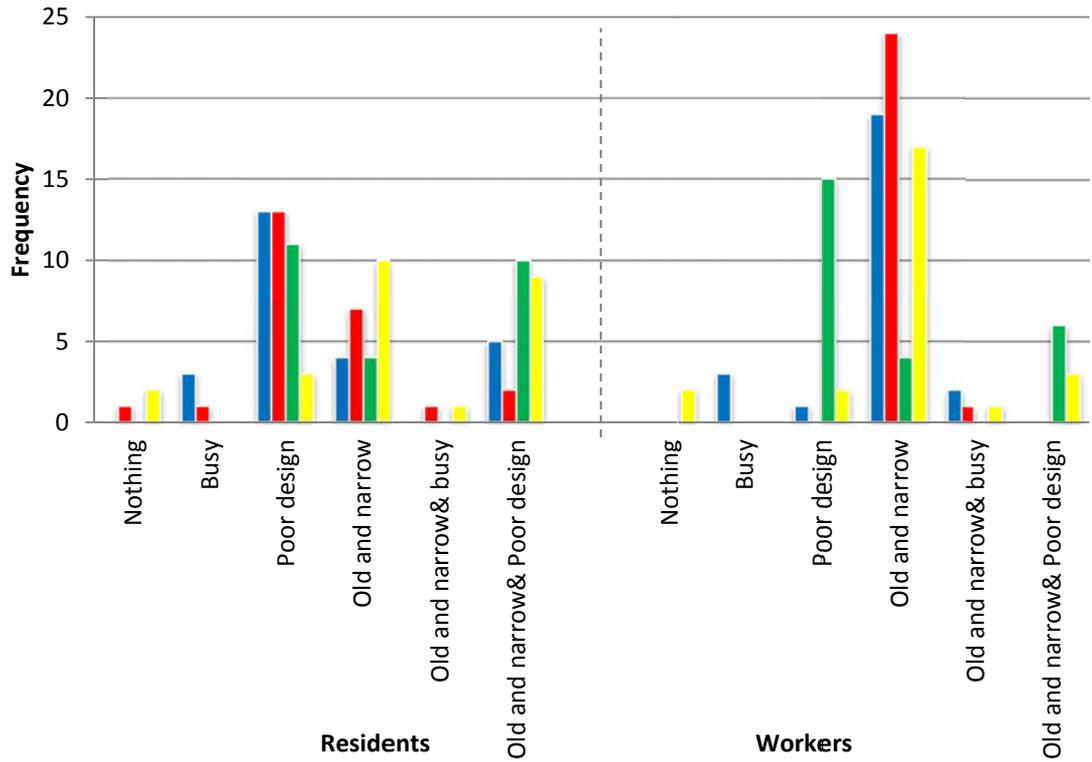
Figure 50: Disadvantage of streets, junctions and squares.
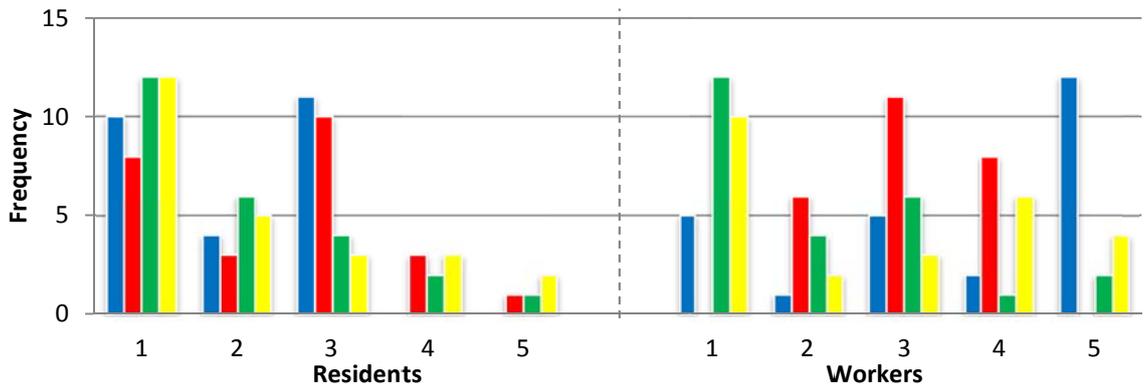
Figure 51: Quality of pavements in main streets.
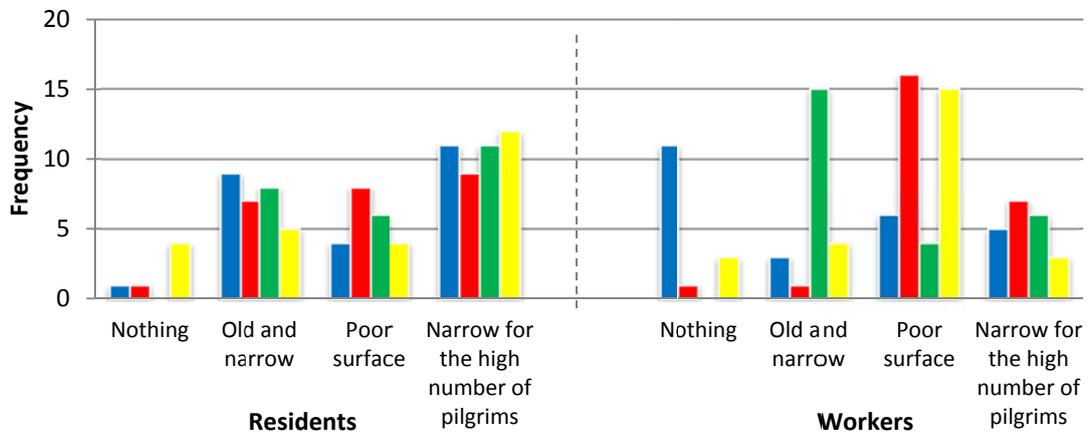
Figure 52: Disadvantage of pavements in main streets.

■Area1: Imam Reza Street ■Area2: Shirazi Street ■Area3: Tabarsi Street ■Area4: Navab Street
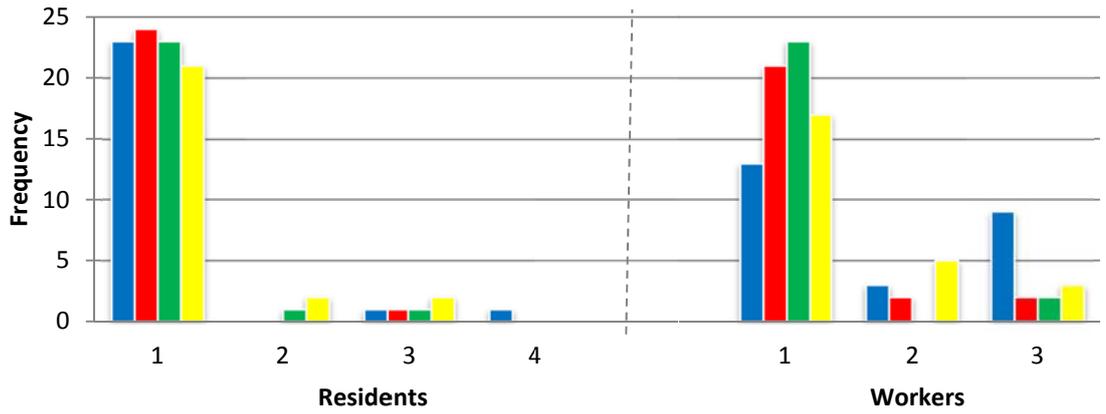
Figure 53: Quality of pavements in minor streets.
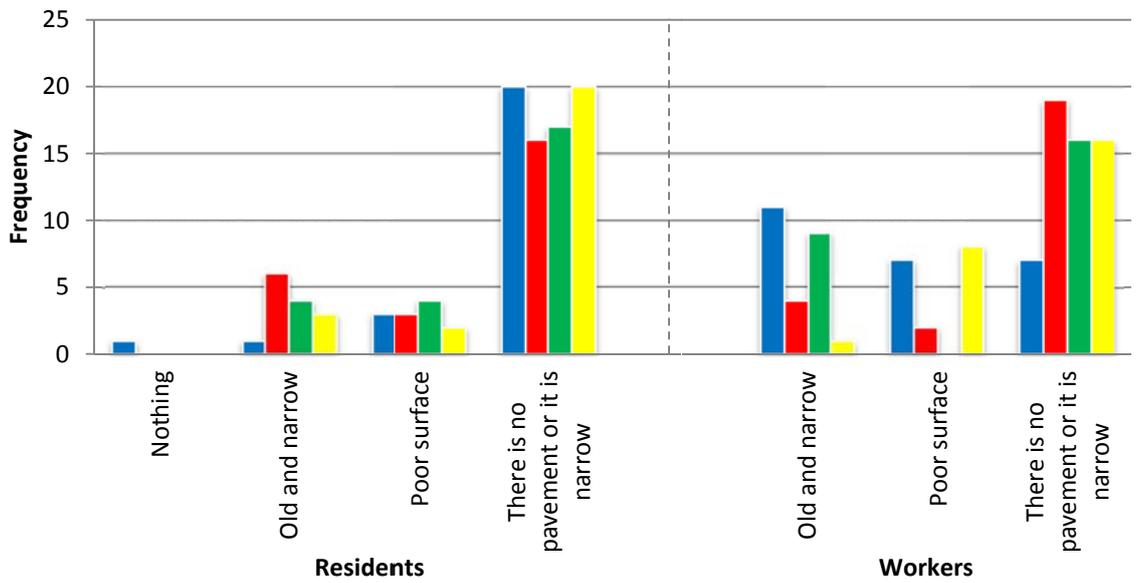
Figure 54: Disadvantage of pavements in minor streets.
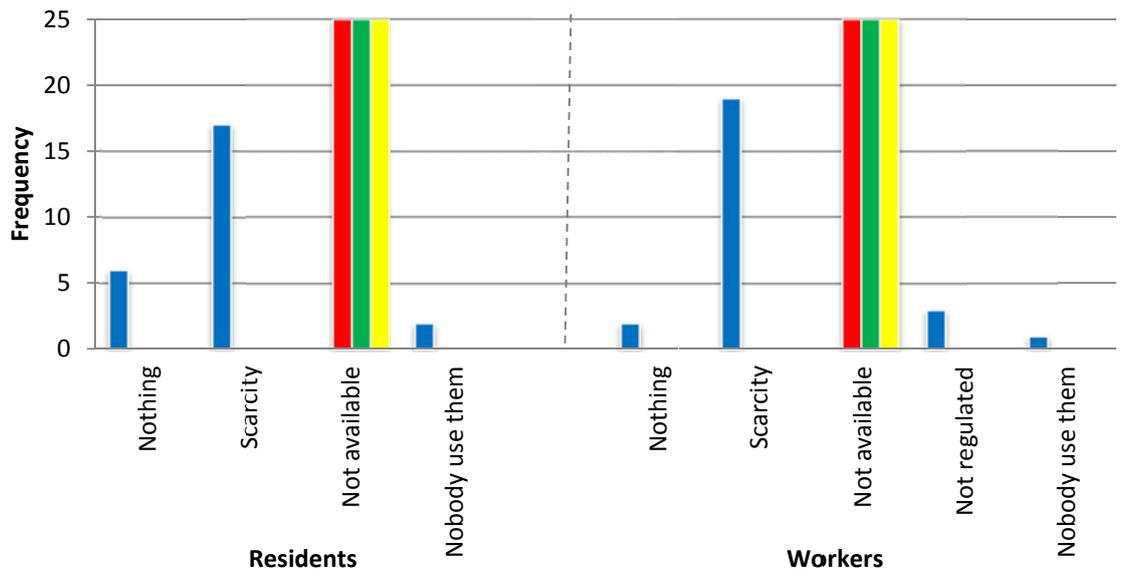
Figure 55: Disadvantage of overpasses.
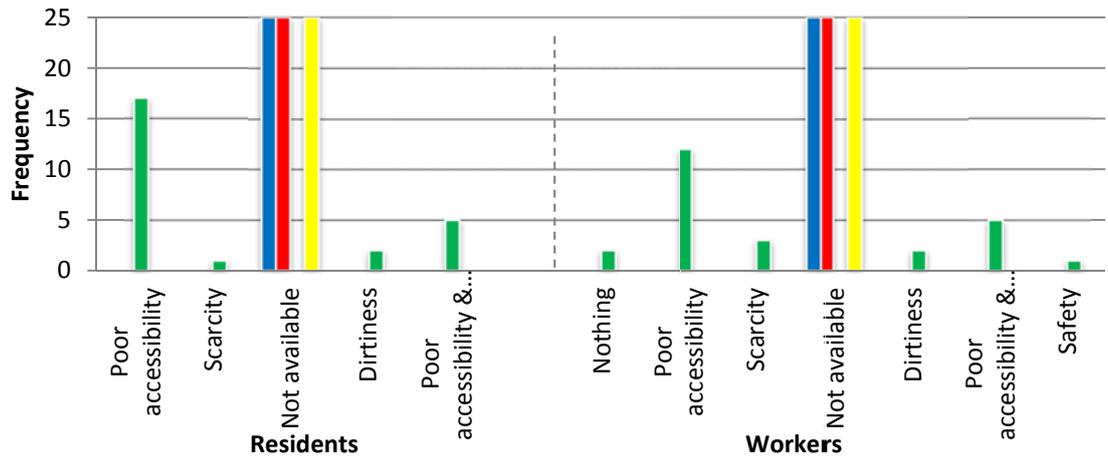
Figure 56: Disadvantage of subways.
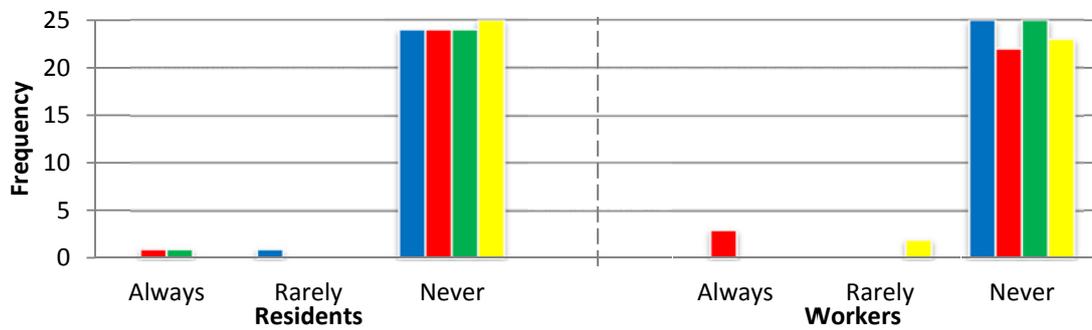
Figure 57: How often do you use car parks in the area.
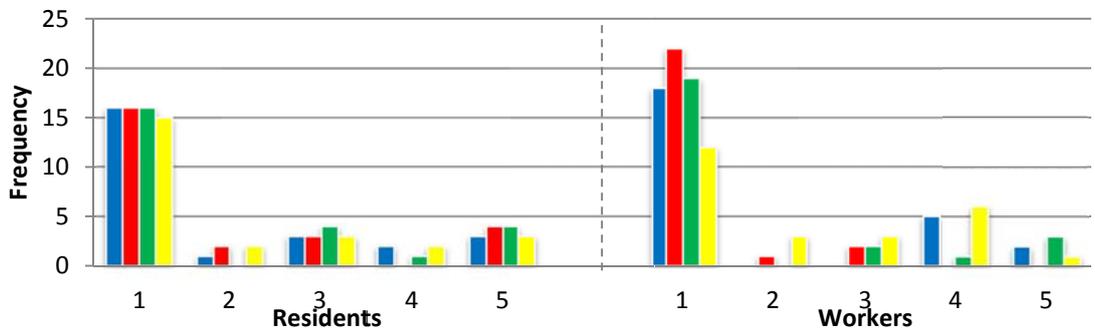
Figure 58: Quality of car parks in the area.
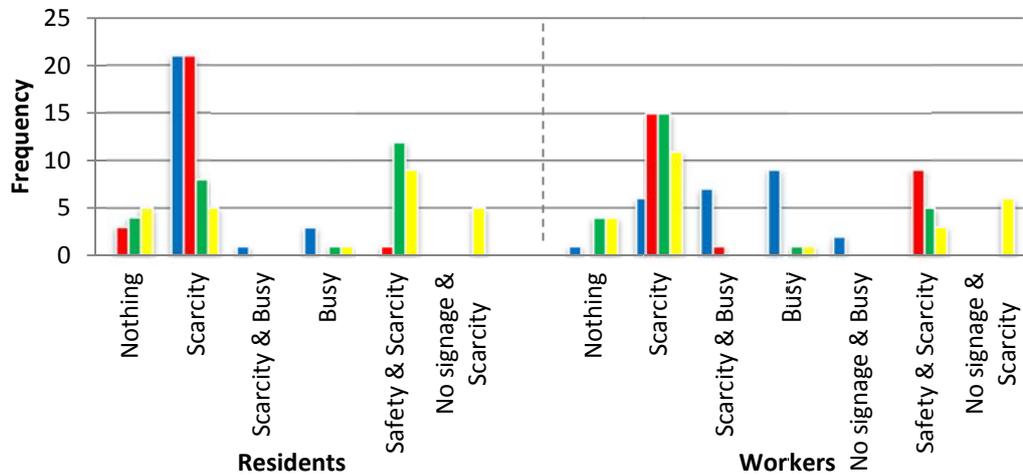
Figure 59: Disadvantage of car parks in the area.
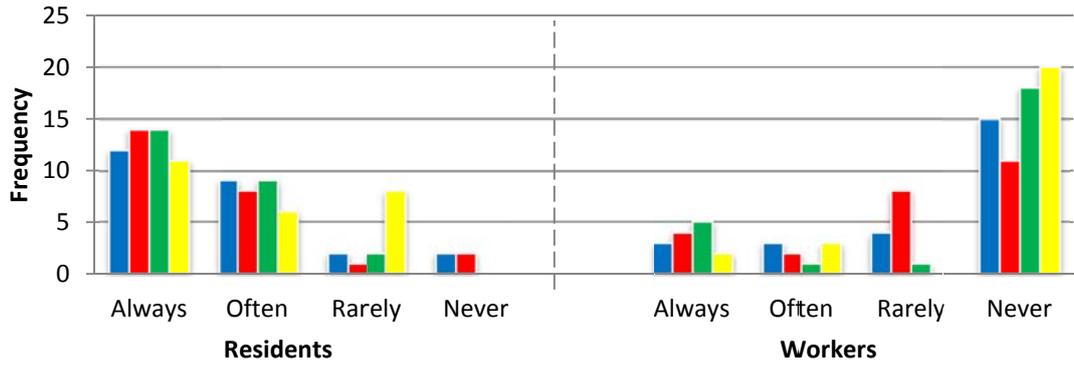
Figure 60: How often do you buy from the shops.
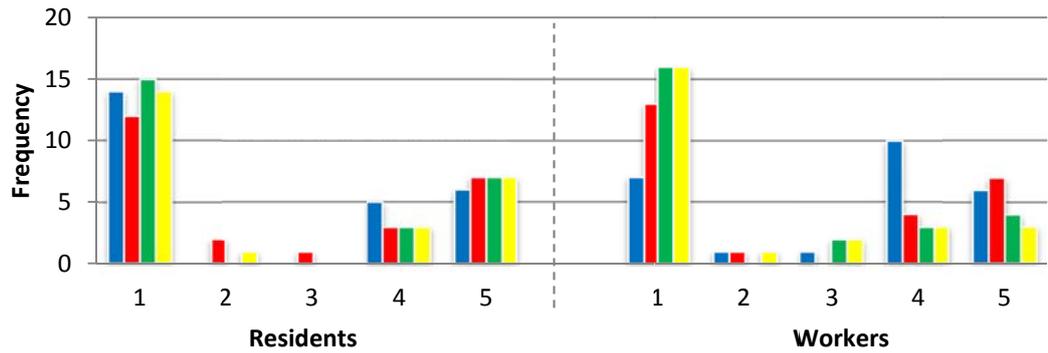
Figure 61: Quality of the shops.
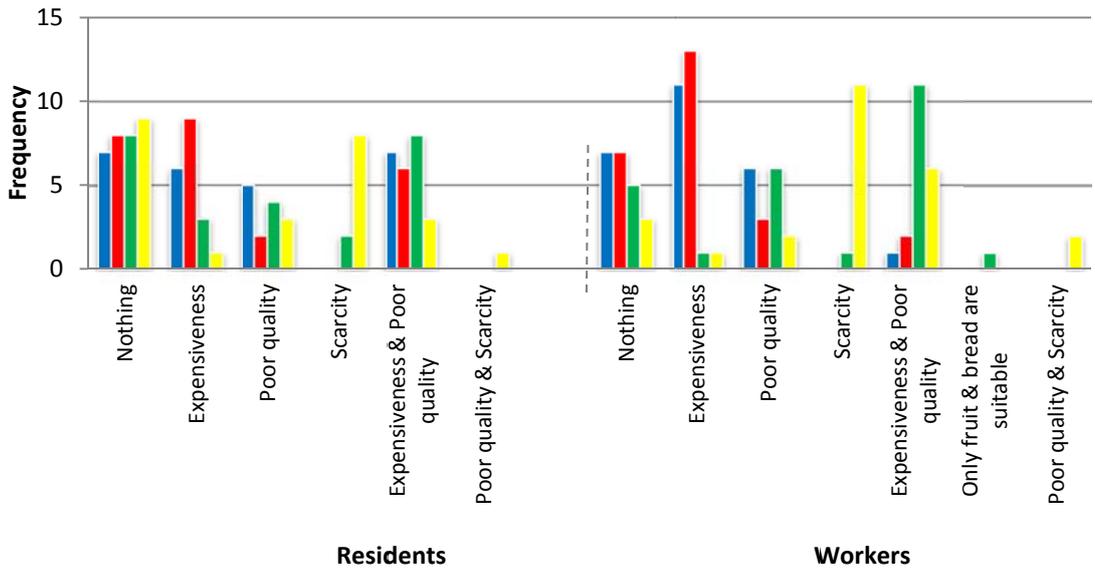
Figure 62: Disadvantage of the shops.
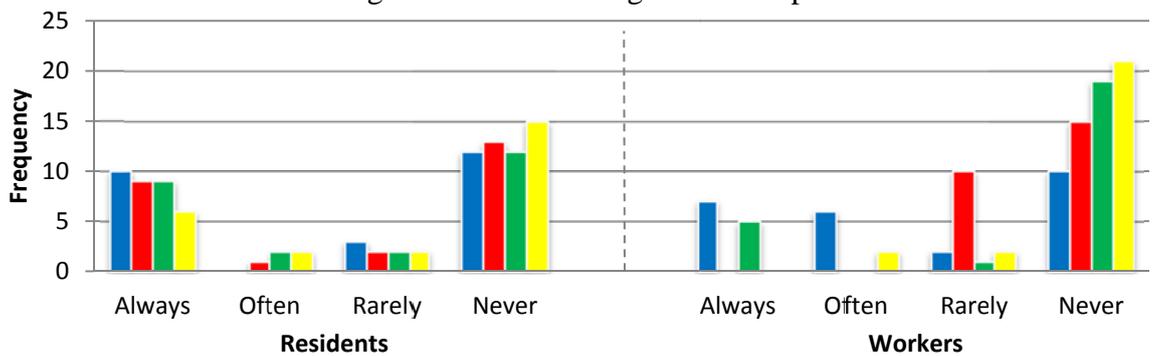
Figure 63: How often do you eat in the restaurants and cafes.
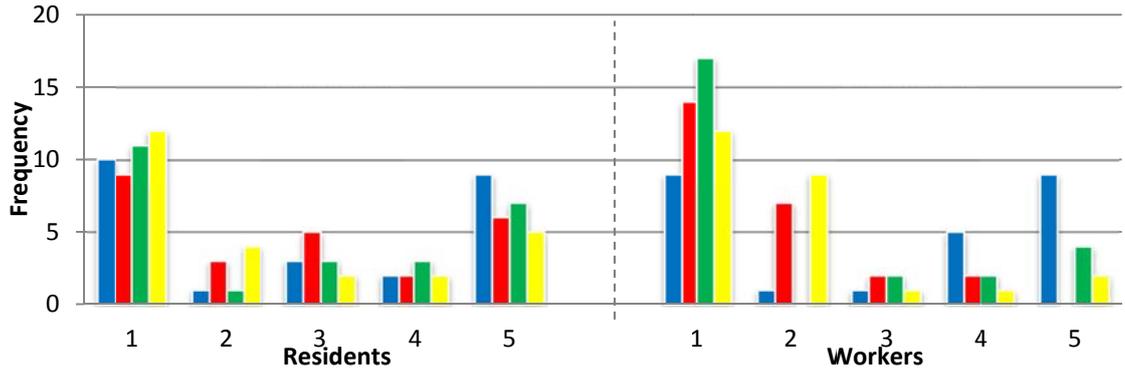
Figure 64: Quality of restaurants and cafes.
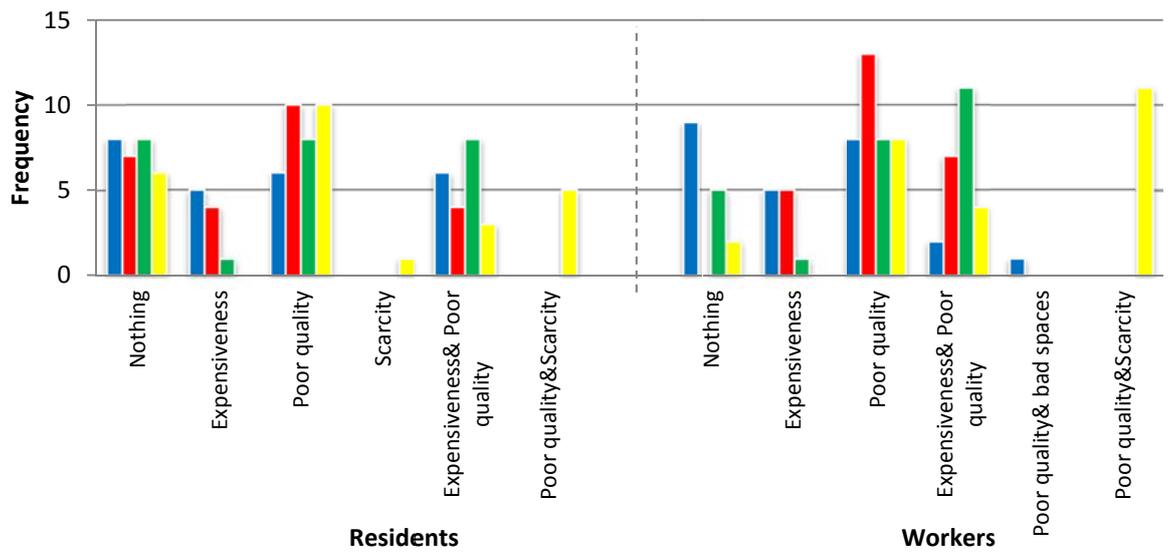
Figure 65: Disadvantage of restaurants and cafes.
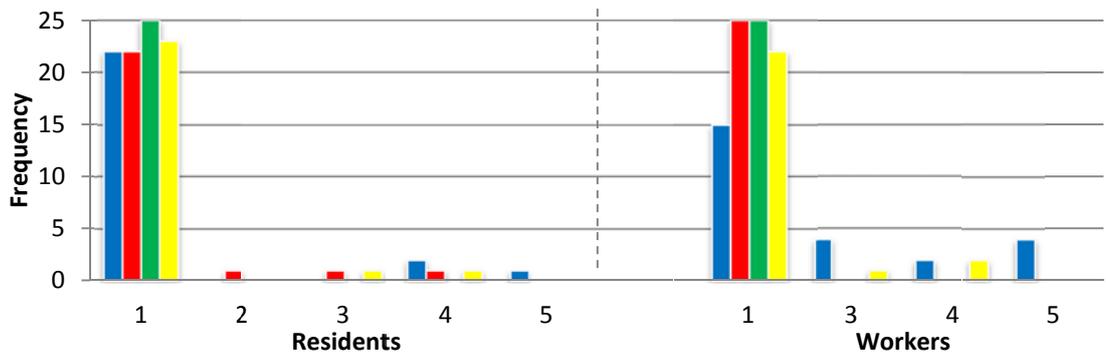
Figure 66: Quality of Parks and gardens at day and night.
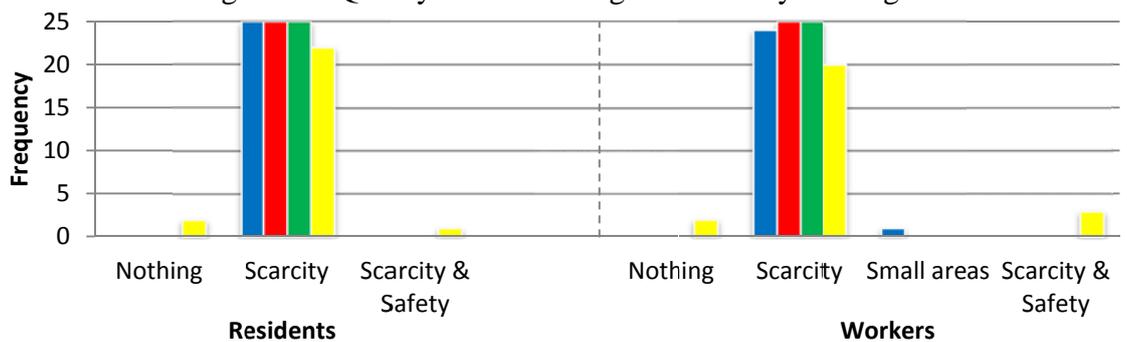
Figure 67: Disadvantage of parks and gardens.

Area1: Imam Reza Street   Area2: Shirazi Street   Area3: Tabarsi Street   Area4: Navab Street
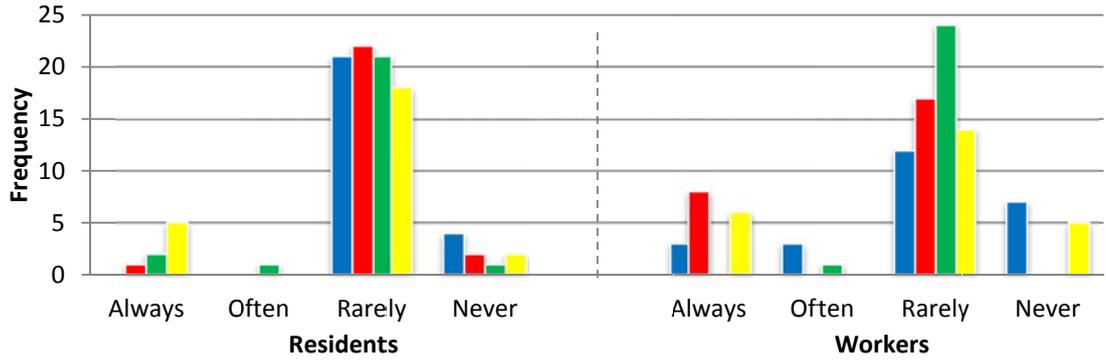
Figure 68: How often do you take taxis?
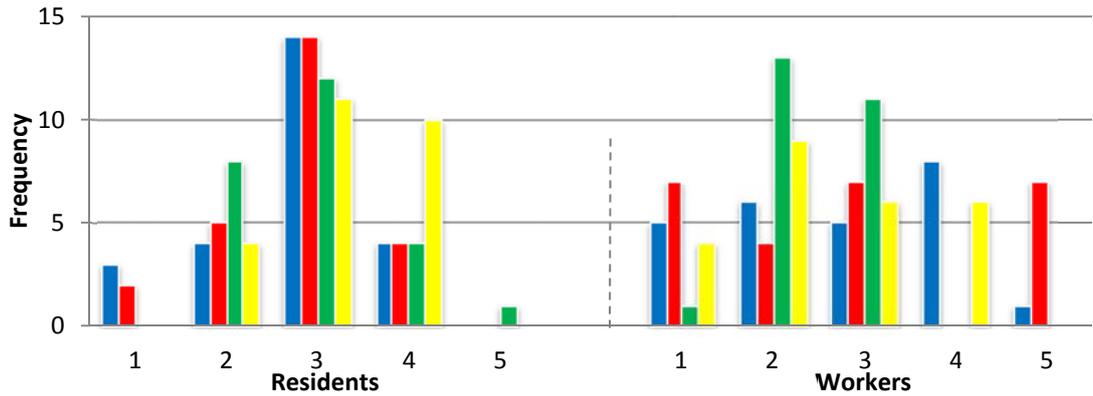
Figure 69: Quality of taxis at day and night.
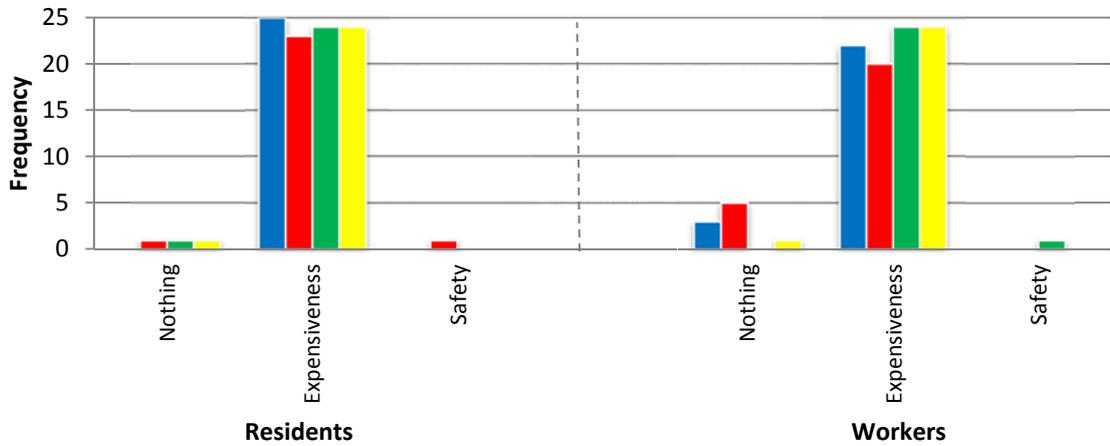
Figure 70: Disadvantage of taxis.
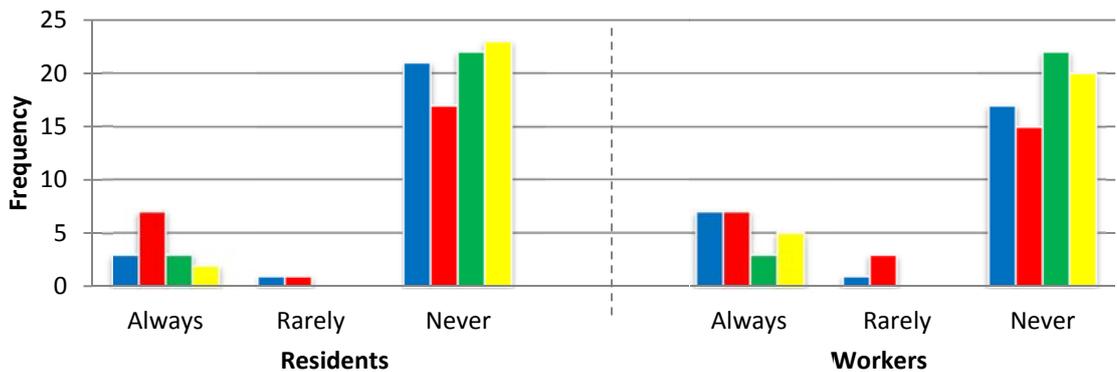
Figure 71: How often do you use private car at day and night.
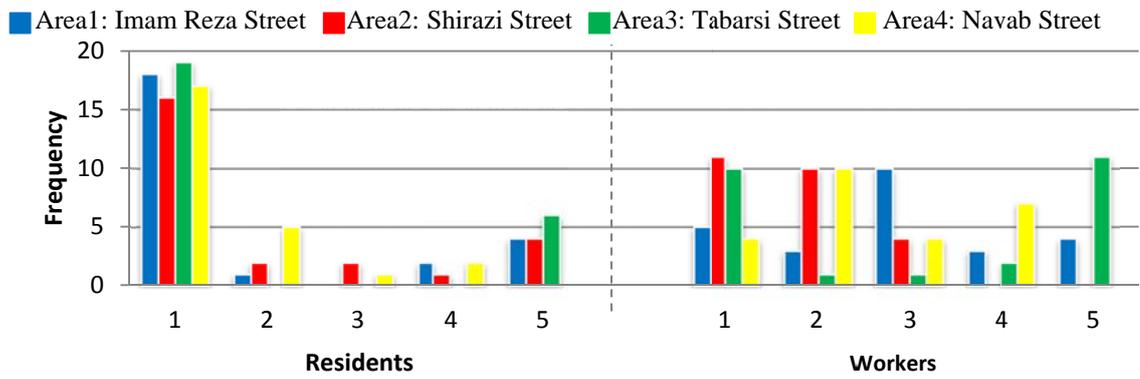
Figure 72**:** Quality of using private car at day time.
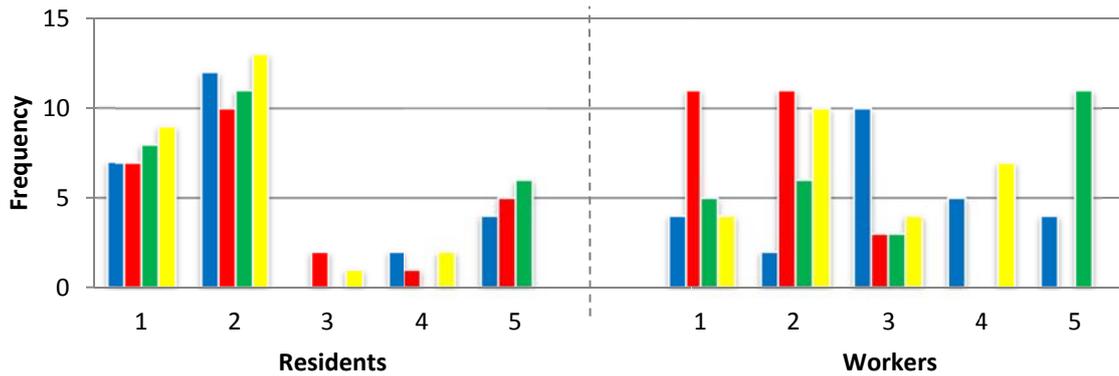
Figure 73**:** Quality of using private car at night.
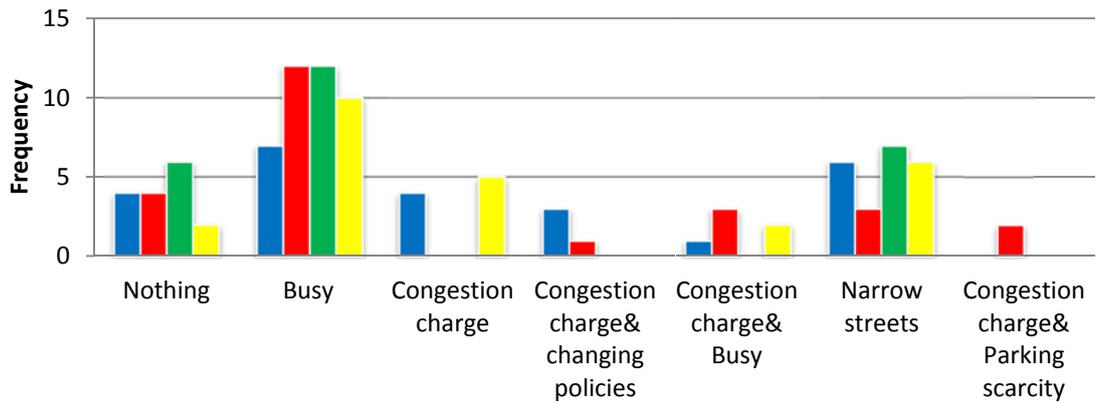
Figure 74: Disadvantage of using private car (residents).
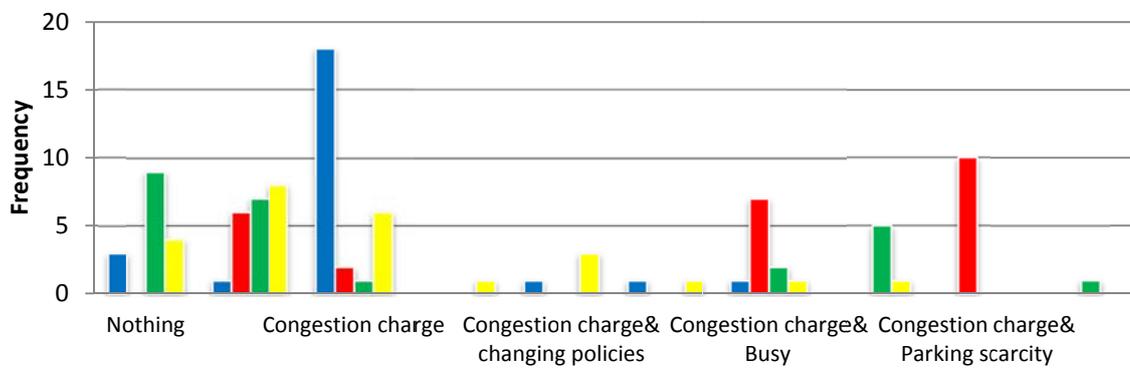
Figure 75, Disadvantage of using private car (workers).
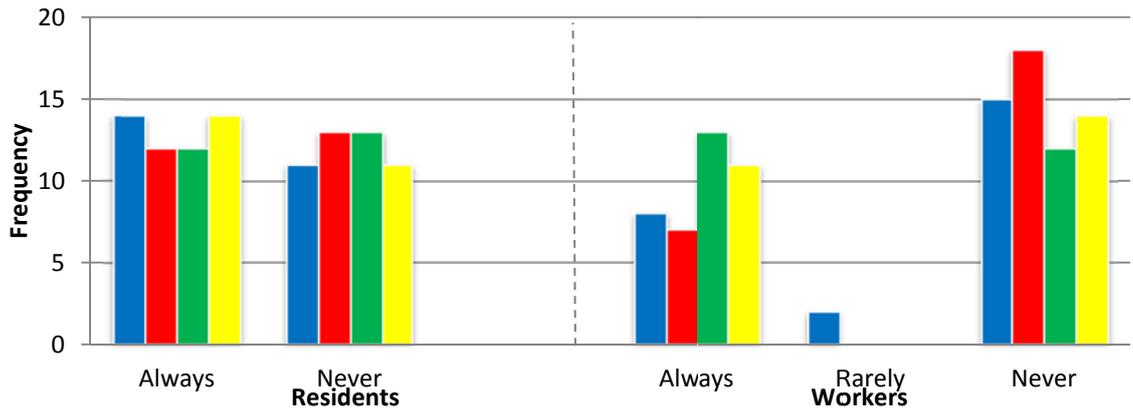
Figure 76: How often do you use motorcycle during day and night.
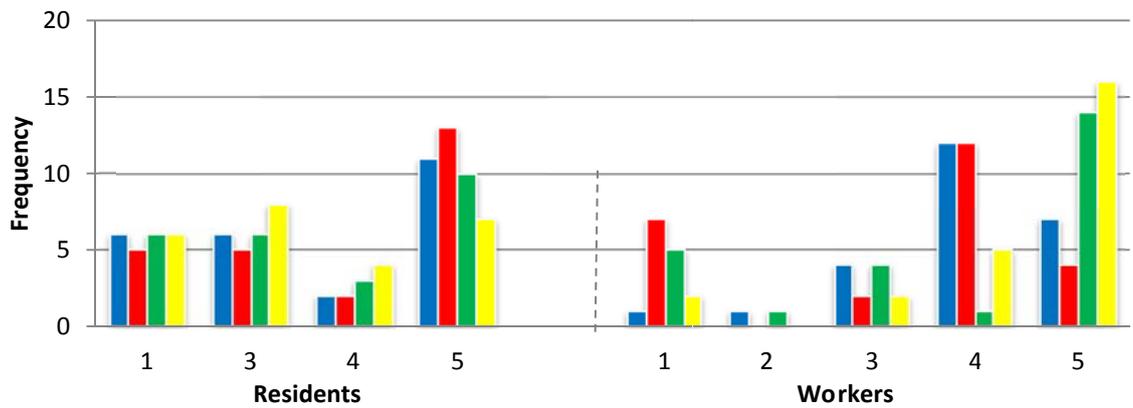
Figure 77: Quality of using motorcycle during day and night.
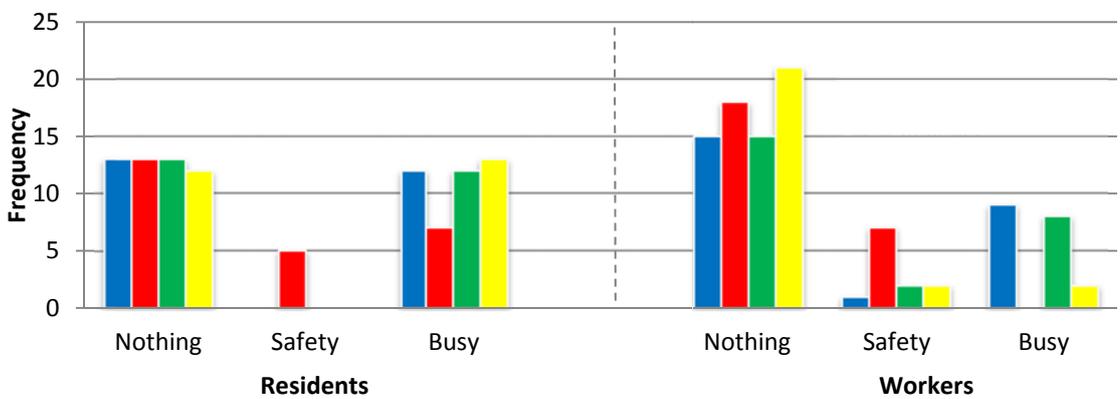
Figure 78: Disadvantage of using motorcycle during day and night.
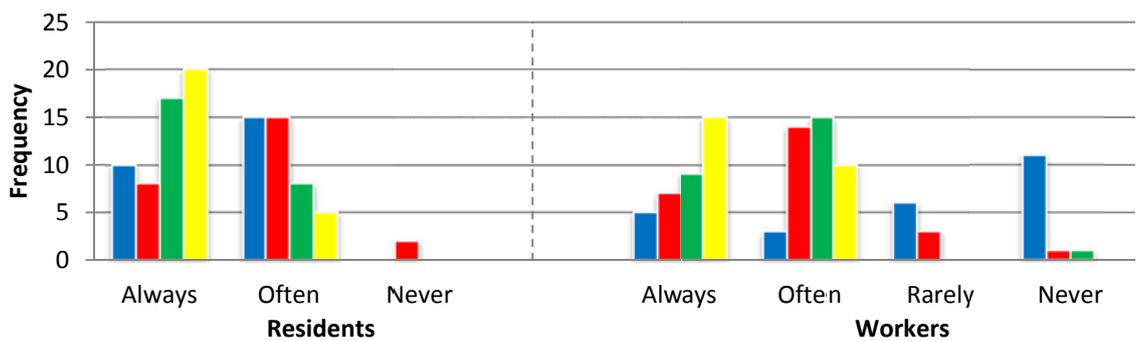
Figure 79: How often do you walk or cycle during day and night.
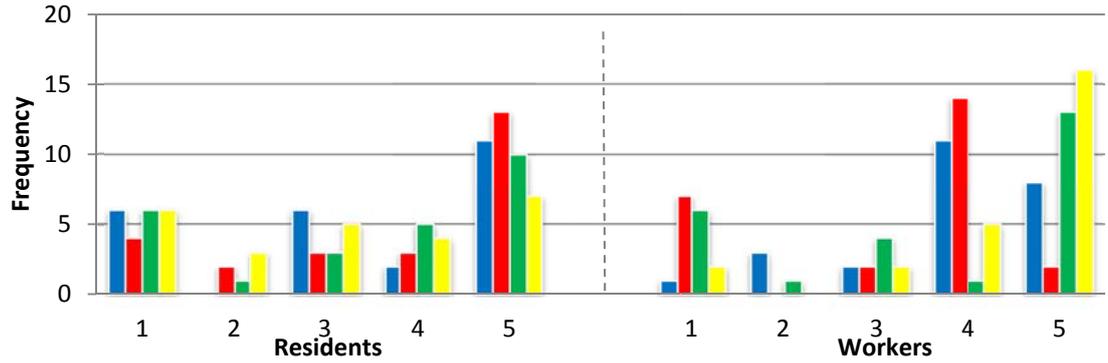
Figure 80**:** Quality of walking or cycling during day and night.
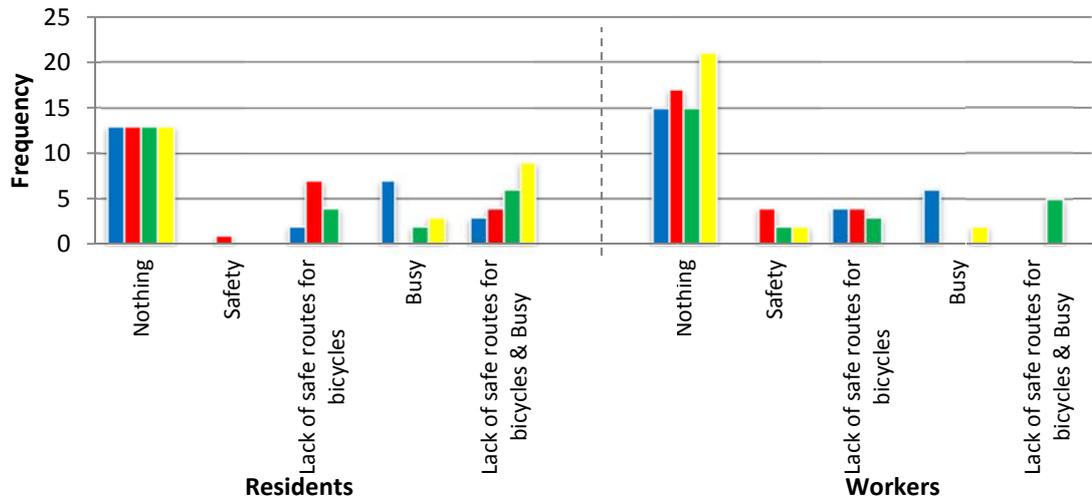
Figure 81, Disadvantage of walking or cycling.
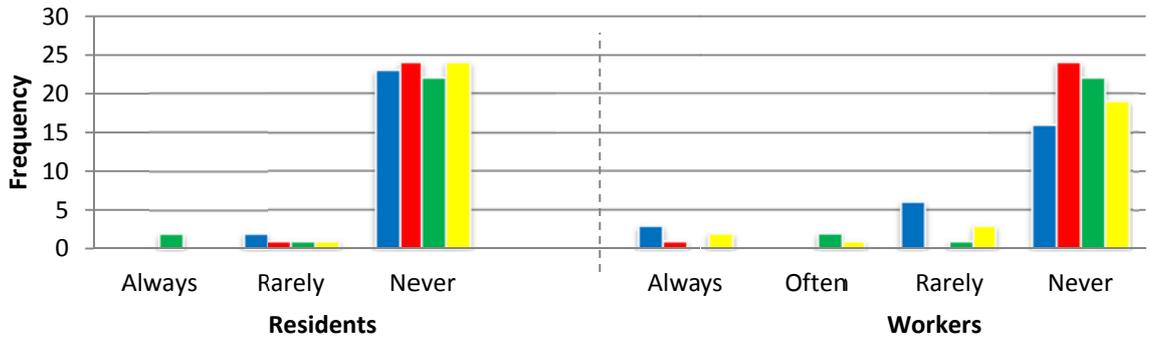
Figure 82: How often do you take buses at day and night?
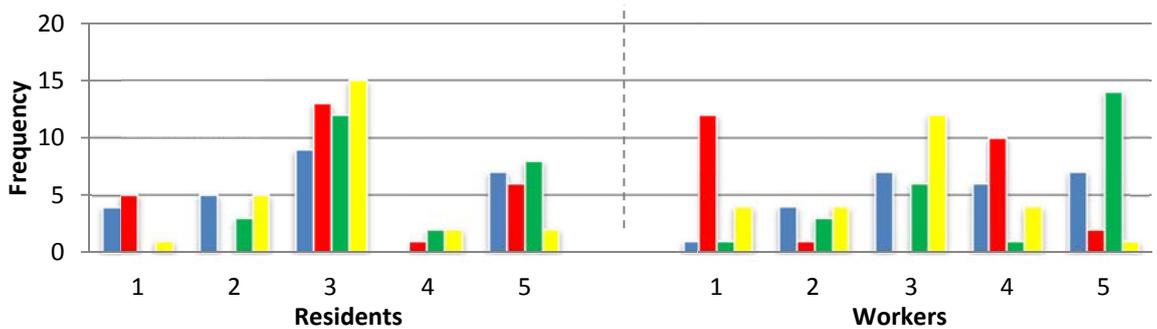
Figure 83**:** Quality of taking buses at day-time.
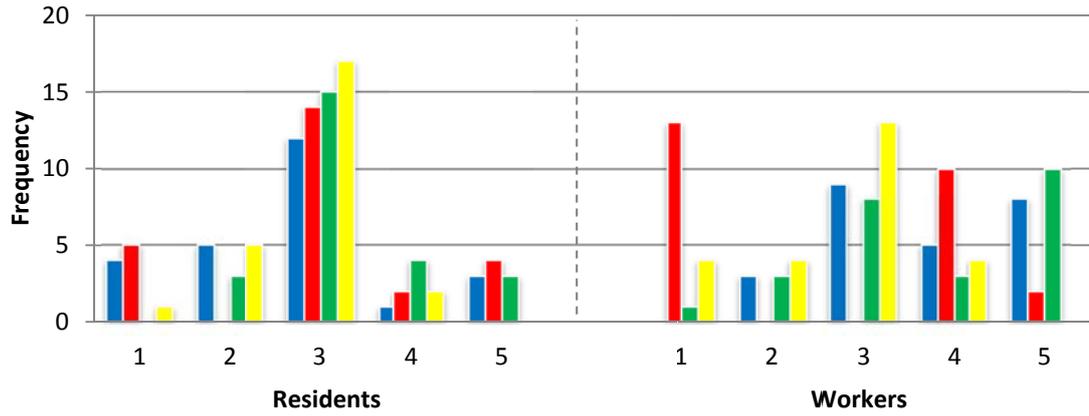
Figure 84: Quality of taking buses at night.
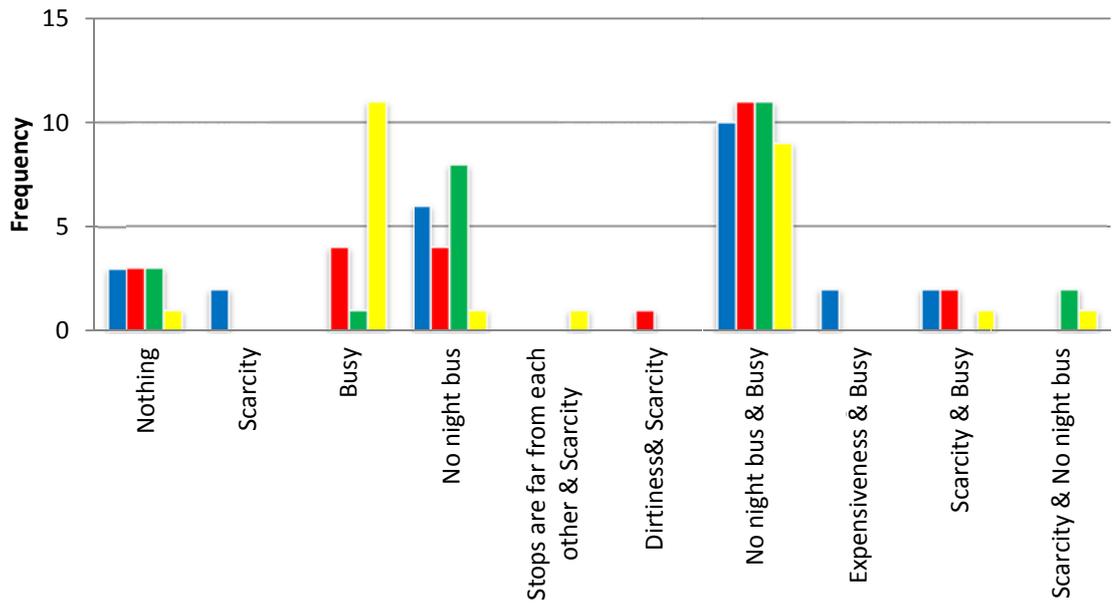
Figure 85: Disadvantage of taking buses (residents).
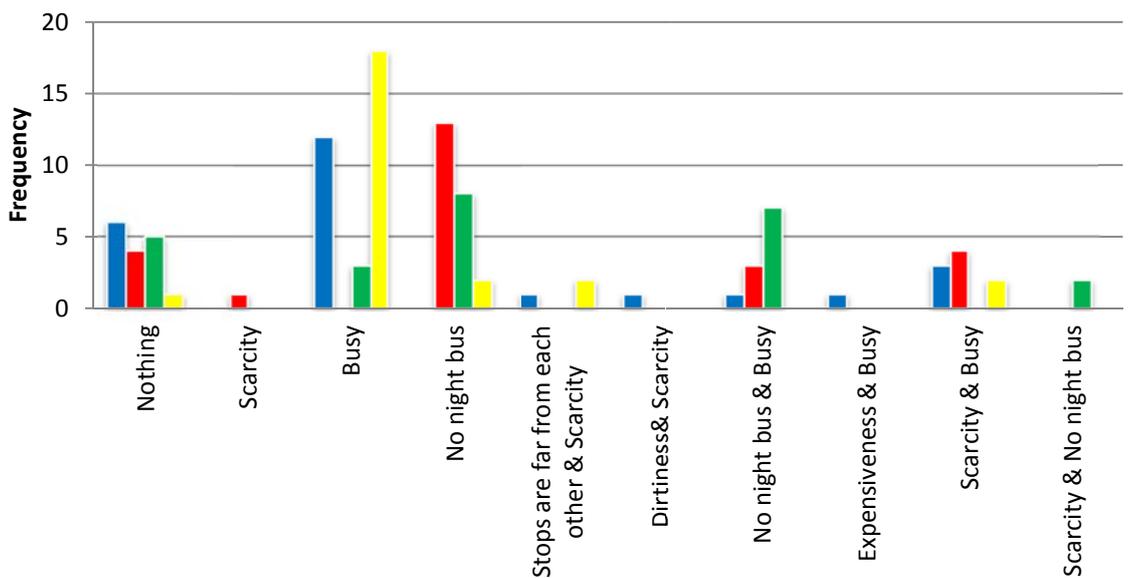
Figure 86: Disadvantage of taking buses (workers).
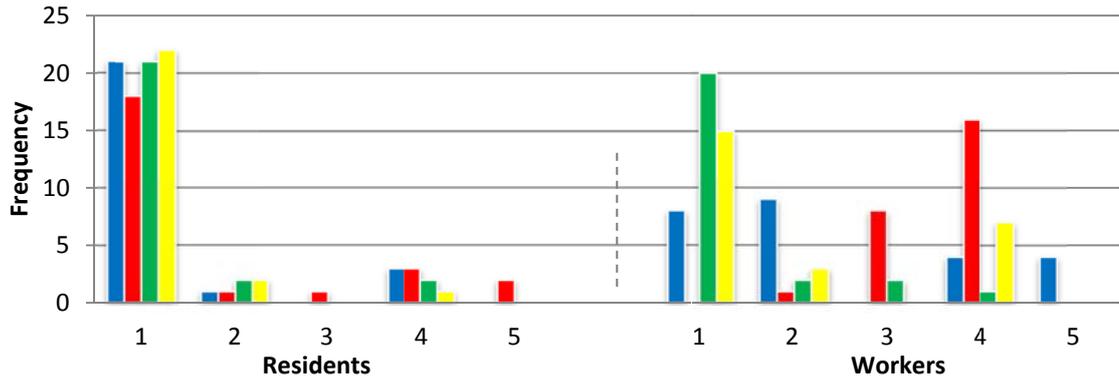
Figure 87: Regeneration project of the shrine-area.
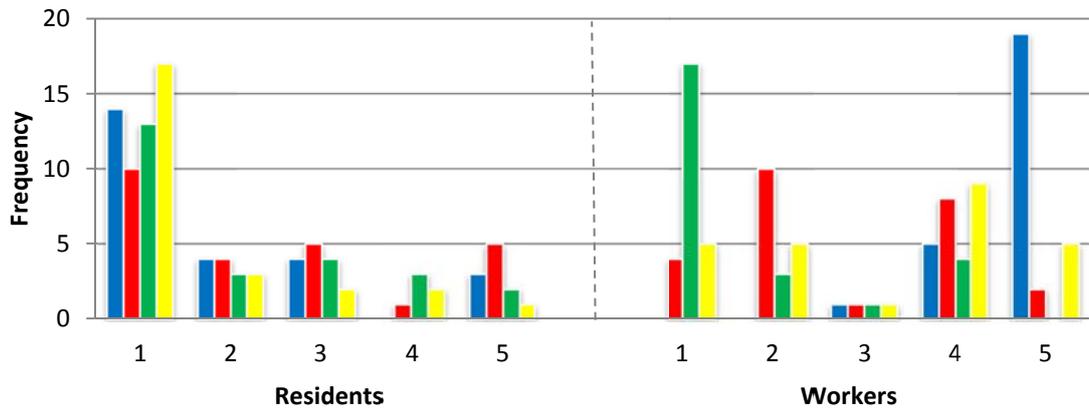
Figure 88: Quality of lighting in main streets.
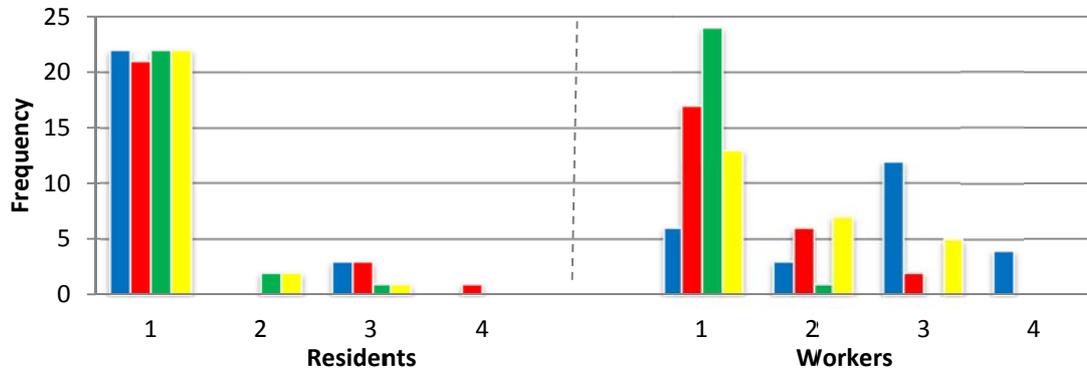
Figure 89: Quality of lighting in minor streets.
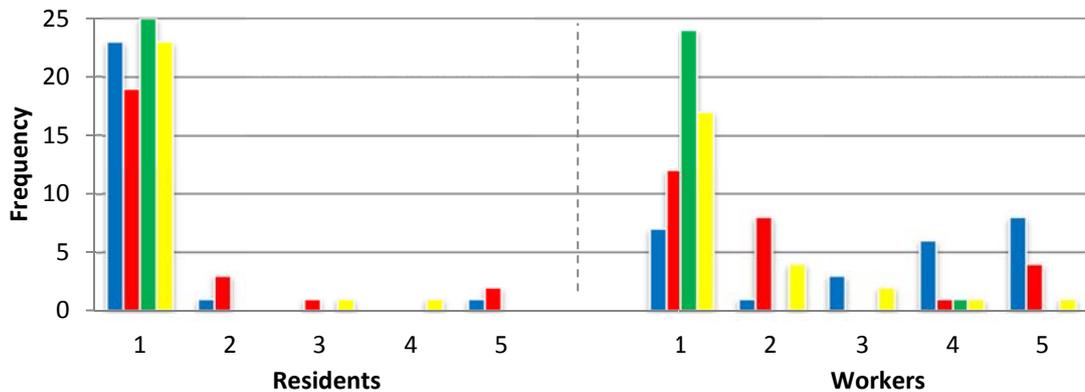
Figure 90: Quality of public toilets.
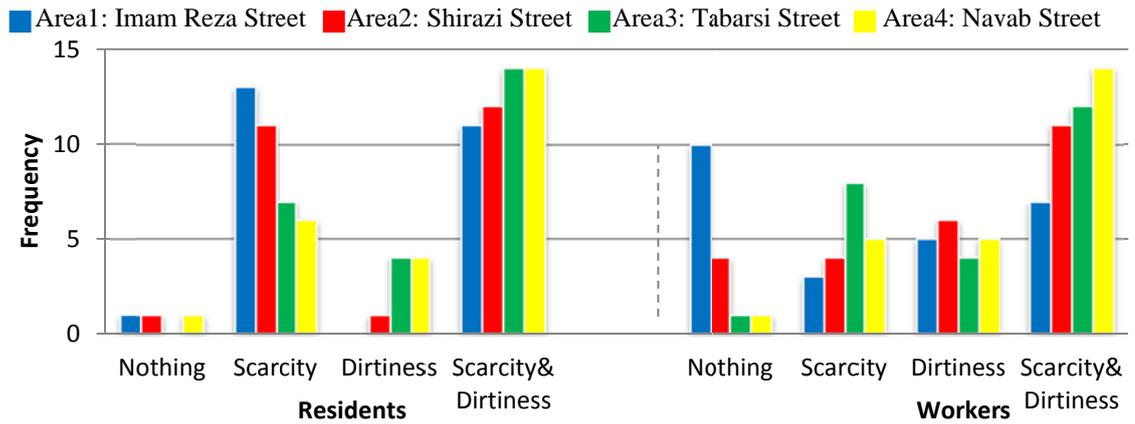
Figure 91: Disadvantage of public toilets.
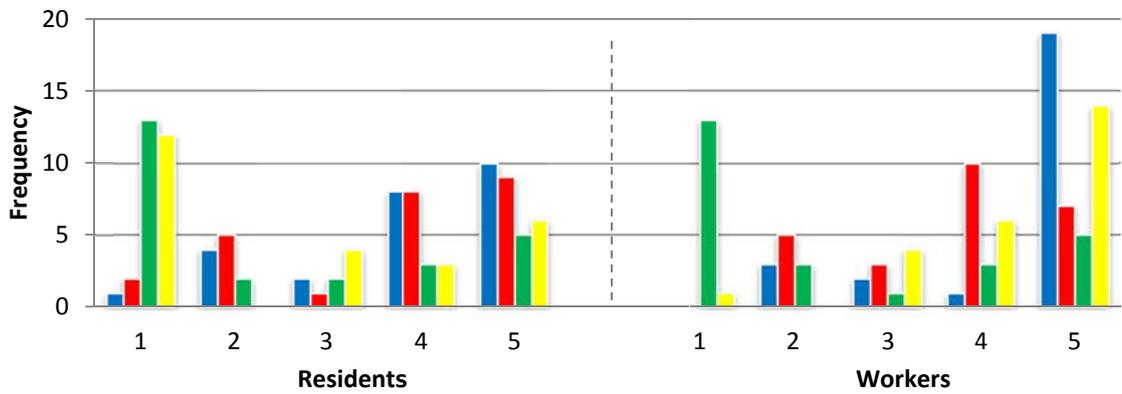
Figure 92: Quality of public telephones.
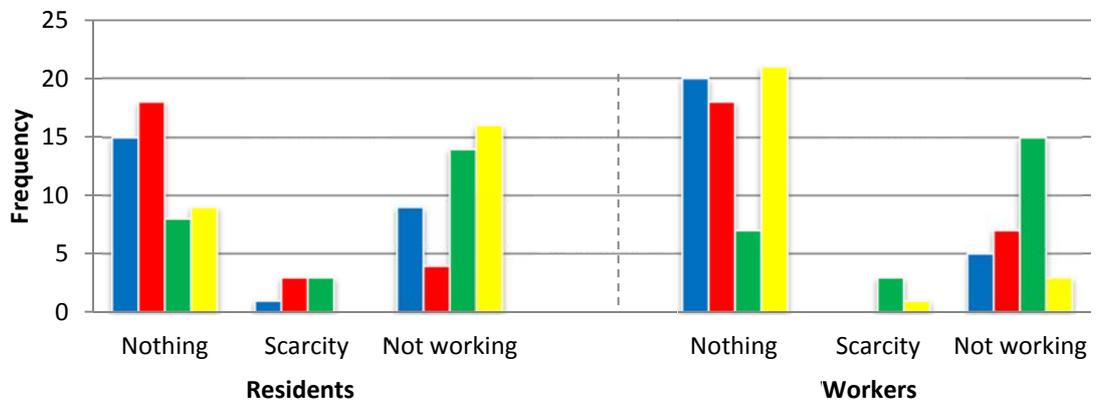
Figure 93: Disadvantage of public telephones.
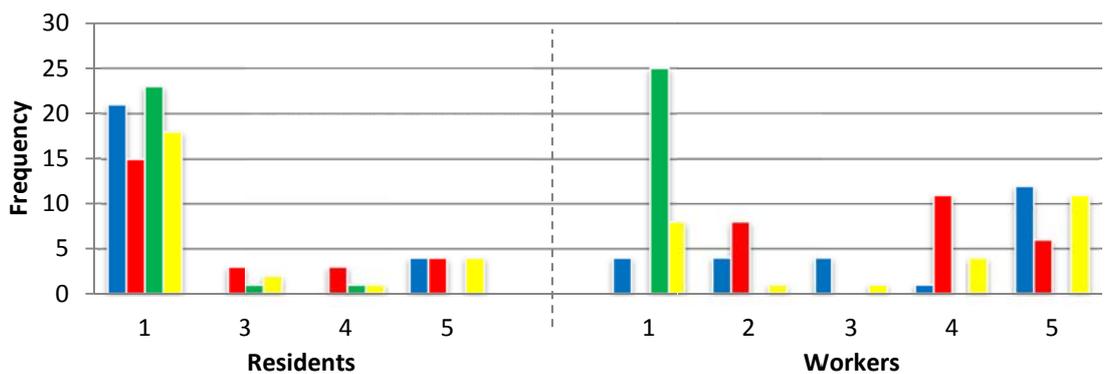
Figure 94: Quality of trash bins.
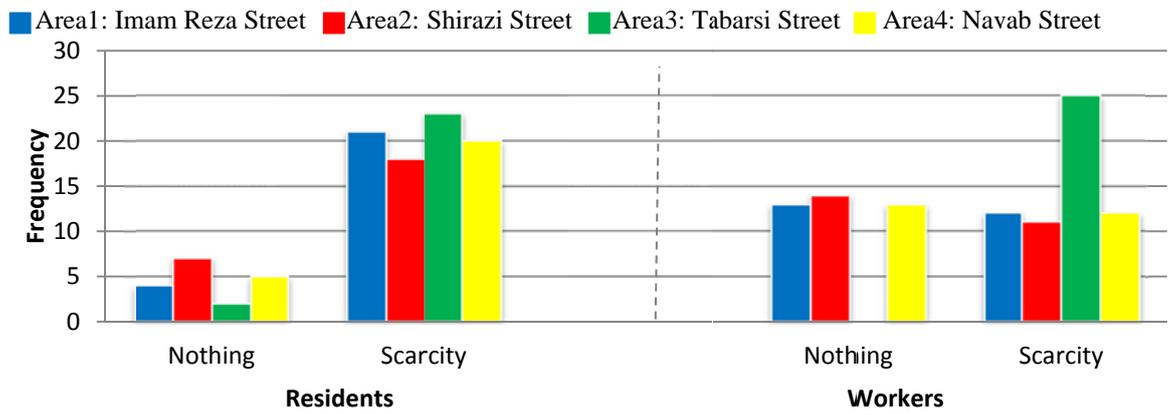
Figure 95: Disadvantage of trash bins.
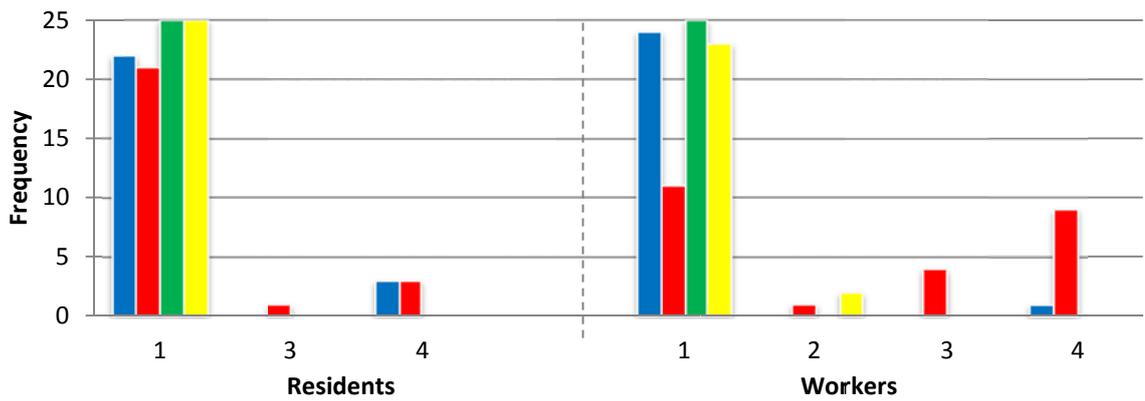
Figure 96: Quality of outside seats.
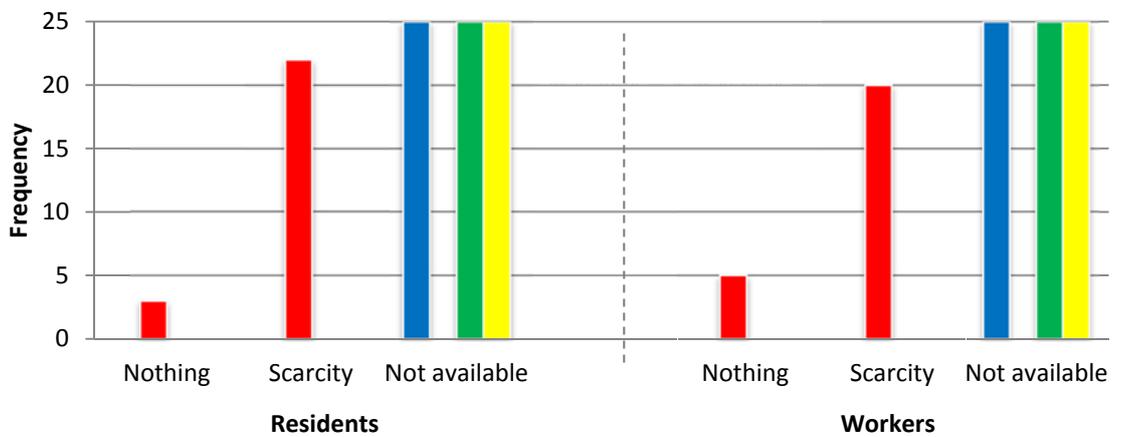
Figure 97: Disadvantage of outside seats.
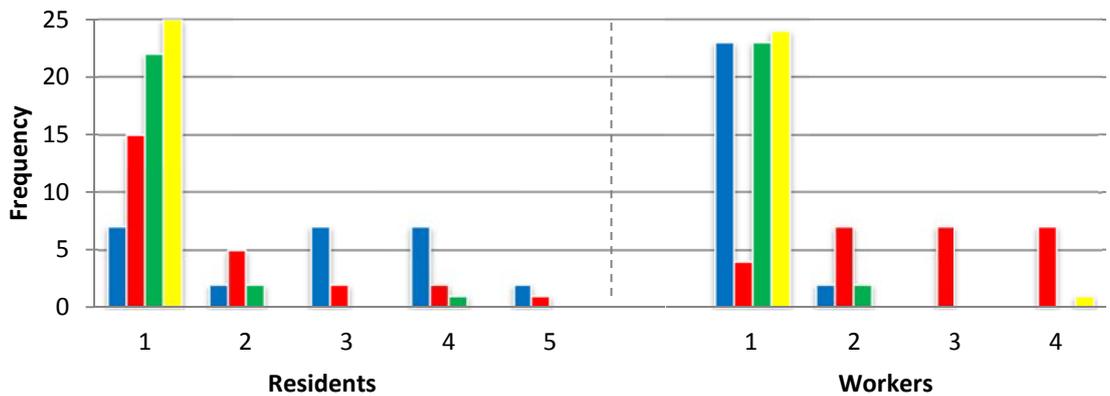
Figure 98: Quality of water fountains.

418

■Area1: Imam Reza Street ■Area2: Shirazi Street ■Area3: Tabarsi Street ■Area4: Navab Street
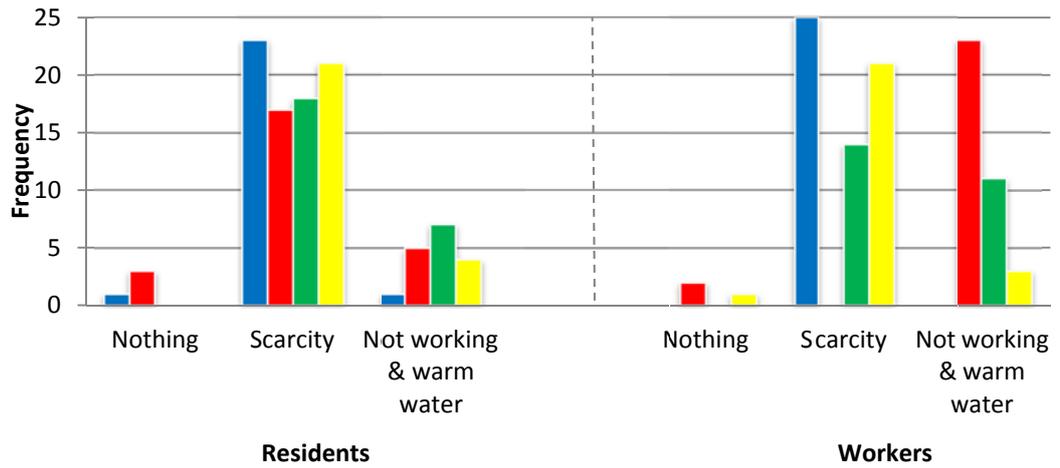
Figure 99: Disadvantage of water fountains.
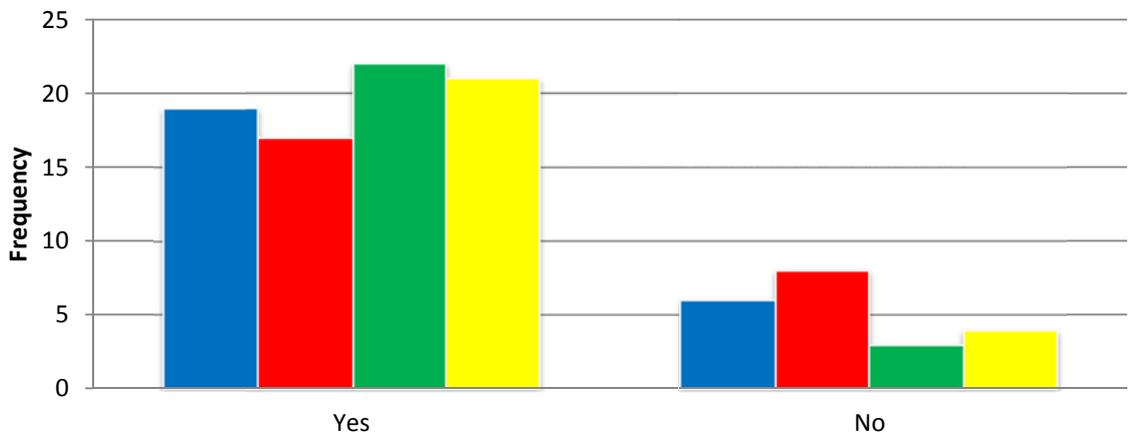
Figure 100: Do you rent your house to pilgrims?
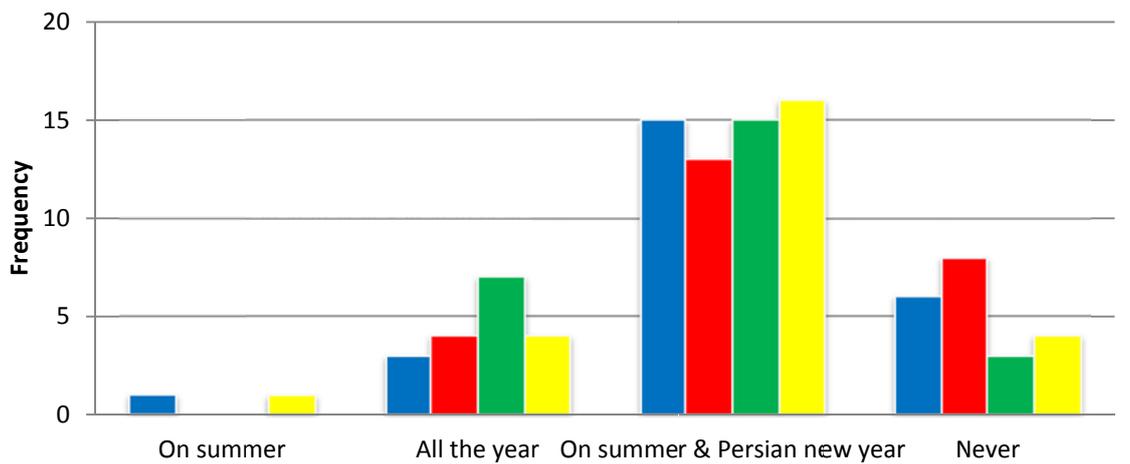
Figure 101: How often do you rent your house?
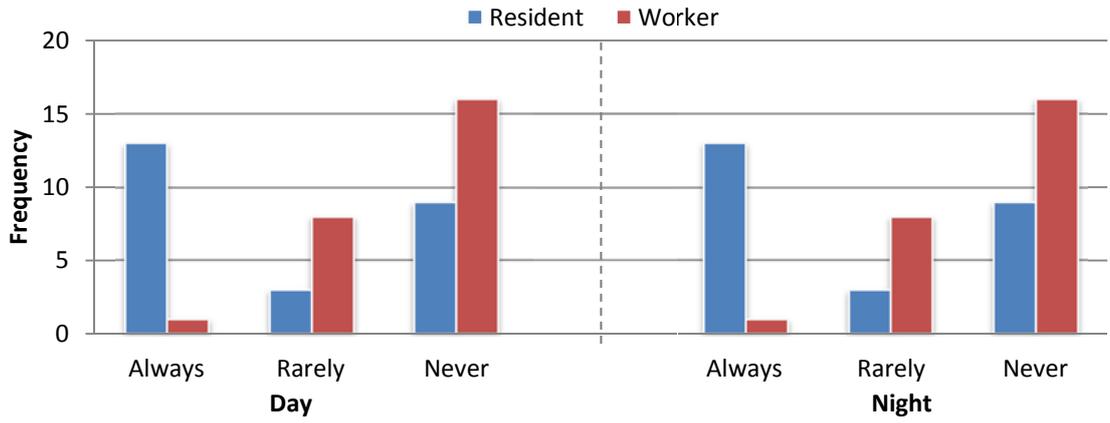
Figure 102: How often do you use overpasses?
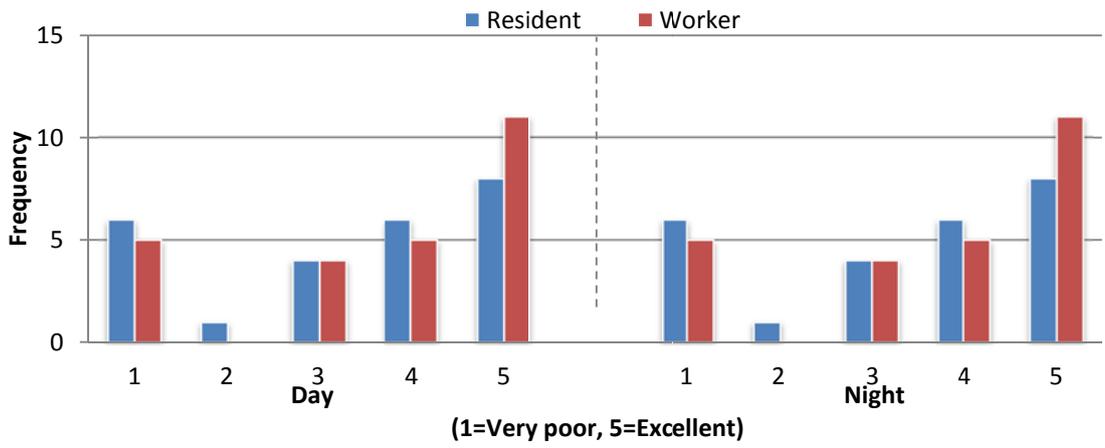

Figure 103: Quality of overpasses.
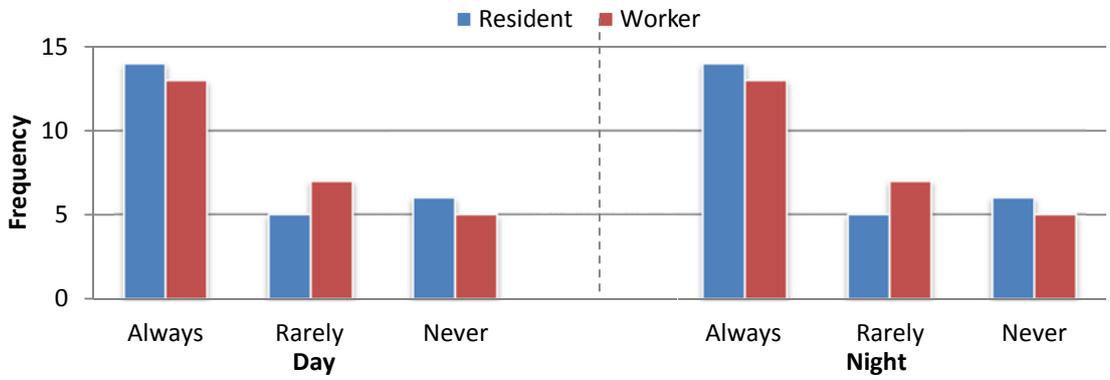
Figure 104: How often do you use subways?
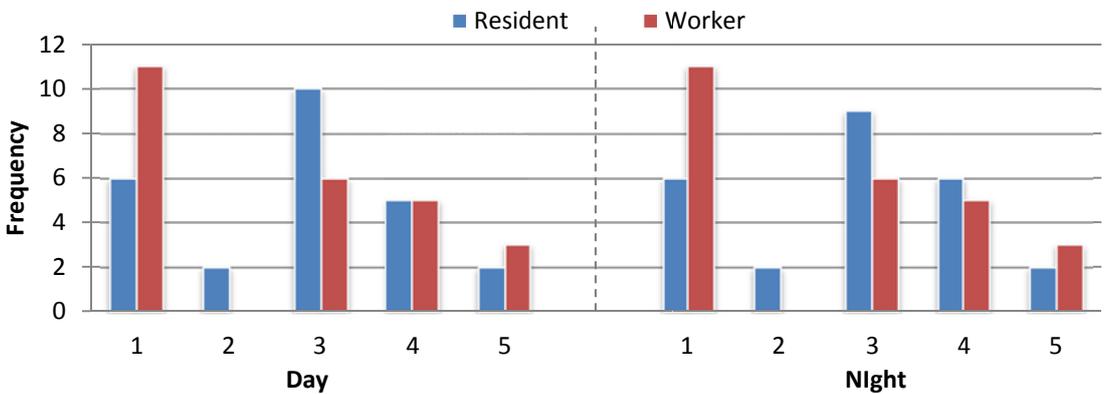
Figure 105: Quality of subways.