

Institutional stakeholder participation in urban redevelopment in Tehran: An evaluation of decisions and actions

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Abstract

Experimentation with citizen participation in urban redevelopments is increasing worldwide. This paper aims to scrutinise this trend through an in-depth case study of the decisions and actions taken by the institutional stakeholders involved in participatory urban redevelopment in Tehran, Iran. The discussion is based around two contrasting urban redevelopment areas which set out to adopt a participatory approach involving various stakeholders including institutions (the Municipality of Tehran and the Heritage Organisation) and local owner-occupiers, developing new knowledge, understanding, and clarity about the concept and application of participation in urban redevelopments in developing countries. In both areas, the institutions invited owners to participate in the physical and economic improvements of their places through land assemblage or sharing redevelopment costs. In this study a range of qualitative methods are used including photo-elicitation techniques (PEI) and semi-structured interviews with locals, officials and professionals. The results show the vulnerability of the process. This was revealed when one institution did not maintain their role and when some owner-occupiers acted as free-riders. This highlights the challenge of building an enduring collaboration between institutional stakeholders from the planning to in-use stages, in particular the difficulties that arise as different institutions become involved in the process. This issue is more problematic when resources are limited and/or intermittent. As the results show, the institutional collaboration was smoother when fewer stakeholders were involved in decision making. In the commercial case, there were more complaints about overdue completion in the projects due to poor institutional collaboration. We recommend the need for an agreed mechanism prior to such initiatives where the role of the various stakeholders and their responsibilities are clearly cited, and where all different impact scenarios from the planning to in-use stage are set out.

Keywords: Participation; Urban redevelopment; Institutional stakeholders; Tehran

Highlights

- A participatory urban redevelopment approach is emerging in Tehran.
- Institutions need an inclusive supporting, informing and consulting process.
- Long term agreement and engagement is important in the perception of project success.
- Outcomes show the vulnerability of process and inequalities between participants.
- The process exacerbated spatial and intangible differences in participant aspirations.

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Experimentation with citizen participation in urban redevelopments is increasing worldwide. This paper aims to scrutinise this trend through an in-depth case study of the decisions and actions taken by the institutional stakeholders involved in participatory urban redevelopment in Tehran, Iran. The discussion is based around two contrasting urban redevelopment areas which set out to adopt a participatory approach involving various stakeholders including institutions (the Municipality of Tehran and the Heritage Organisation) and local owner-occupiers, developing new knowledge, understanding, and clarity about the concept and application of participation in urban redevelopments in developing countries. In both areas, the institutions invited owners to participate in the physical and economic improvements of their places through land assemblage or sharing redevelopment costs. In this study a range of qualitative methods are used including photo-elicitation techniques (PEI) and semi-structured interviews with locals, officials and professionals. The results show the vulnerability of the process. This was revealed when one institution did not maintain their role and when some owner-occupiers acted as free-riders. This highlights the challenge of building an enduring collaboration between institutional stakeholders from the planning to in-use stages, in particular the difficulties that arise as different institutions become involved in the process. This issue is more problematic when resources are limited and/or intermittent. As the results show, the institutional collaboration was smoother when fewer stakeholders were involved in decision making. In the commercial case, there were more complaints about overdue completion in the projects due to poor institutional collaboration. We recommend the need for an agreed mechanism prior to such initiatives where the role of the various stakeholders and their responsibilities are clearly cited, and where all different impact scenarios from the planning to in-use stage are set out.

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1. Introduction

Engaging local people in urban re-development processes has long been a challenge for urban planners (Botes and van Rensburg, 2000; Fung, 2015; Cohen and Wiek, 2017; Clark, and Wise 2018). The need to address intellectual and policy challenges involved in these processes has led to questions about how the benefits of engaging locals are identified, and who distinguishes what these benefits are (Fraser, 2005). It is suggested that it is important to consider how the process of engagement is perceived from the perspective of participants, and which groups and individuals feel included or excluded (see Knudsen *et al.*, 2015; Glackin and Dionisio, 2016). Significantly, there is an important question as to whether readiness and capacity for, as well as the right to, engagement can be based on a set of criteria. For example, does property ownership confer particular rights and do owners have more right to engagement processes than others? Can a process based on ‘partial’ engagement be classed as what the literature defines as bottom-up active participation (Tosun, 1999)? Examples from around the world indicate a top-down managerial approach to urban (re)development is changing to a process where those institutions responsible for development decisions are now engaging with citizens, non-government organisations (NGOs) and central governmental ministries. This shift has been interpreted by researchers as a move towards more liberal democratic processes in urban redevelopment, and has also highlighted the importance of making an accessible space in which citizens can actively participate in the decision-making process (Head, 2007; Clark, and Wise 2018).

The literature suggests planning for urban redevelopment involves a wide range of different tasks including analysing current and future urban conditions, defining issues, setting goals, strategies, and policies, generating alternatives, and making decisions and actions (Ratcliffe, and Krawczyk, 2011; Wolfram, 2018). Participation in urban redevelopment opens up these plan-making tasks to the public with the aim of making the plan more accountable and transparent in terms of information-generating, consensus-building, and decision-making processes (Arnstein, 1969; Tosun, 1999; International Association for Public Participation, 2007; Murayama, 2009). In the various stages of plan-making, citizens participate in ‘...processes to identify and resolve social problems [that] may span many different organisational forms and may cover a wide range of topics or problem areas’ (Head, 2007, p. 443). However, this political thought theorises the participation of citizens as a long-term procedure that is not exclusively about recognition and solving of different types of problems; rather, it is a recipe for working through the means of citizens’

participation. This therefore seems to be more about a democratic ideal than the reality of solving the difficult problems of urban redevelopment. However, the majority of research on participation in urban (re-)development has been conducted in westernised countries such as the UK (Bailey, 2010; Benson *et al.*, 2014), Australia (Lahiri-Dutt, 2004; Legacy *et al.*, 2018), Hong Kong (Li, 2012) and conclusions may not be useful in very different socio-political and cultural contexts.

This paper aims to contribute to this literature through an in-depth case study of Tehran (Iran), which is interesting because the two key institutional stakeholders, the Municipality of Tehran and the Cultural Heritage, Handicrafts and Tourism Organisation of Tehran (hereafter called the Heritage Organisation), have over the last decade aimed to adopt a more participatory approach to urban redevelopment. As yet no academic assessment of this has been carried out. The initiative of these institutions is an intentional departure from the traditional approaches which were top-down, expert-driven processes. Within the new approach, selected locals (owners and owner-occupiers) are invited to participate in redevelopment schemes. The institutions have adopted this kind of community involvement as an integral part of a context-sensitive solutions process which can also be seen to represent a changing political and democratic culture within Iran. The present outside view of Iran as ‘chaotic’ in terms of political, social and policy conditions (Turner, 2015) seems inconsistent with the development of a less top-down, more participatory, approach. This suggests a gap in external understandings and the need for a more in-depth examination of the processes occurring. In addressing this gap, our main research question is therefore: To what extent can the institutional initiatives in Tehran be identified as ‘participatory’ processes?

Using a qualitative case study approach, this paper investigates the experimental participatory initiatives by evaluating the decisions, actions and outcomes of key institutional stakeholder engagements, primarily from the point of view of the owner-participants themselves. It examines who benefited from the decisions and actions made during the processes; in doing this it also explores the characteristics of the processes and the impacts resulting from those characteristics.

The primary aim of this study is thus to examine the nature and success of the novel forms of participatory urban redevelopment in Tehran. This aim is achieved through the following objectives: 1) to evaluate the key decisions and actions taken by the institutions; 2) to evaluate the collaboration between involved stakeholder institutions (the Tehran

Municipality and the Heritage Organisation) and the owner-occupiers, and 3) to reflect on the nature of the outcomes from the processes.

The paper is organised as follows. First, we review the relevant literature on participatory approaches to urban redevelopment and discuss four key conceptual issues (inclusivity, equity, knowledge building, process-driven approach) for the evaluation of participatory processes developed from this literature, particularly in relation to an assessment of community involvement, process and outcomes. Second, in our methodology section we describe the case study selection, data collection and analysis methods and the indicators of participation. We focus our attention on the decisions and actions taken by the involved institutions. Third, this evidence is employed to examine participatory urban redevelopment projects in the two case studies which are a commercial bazaar (Oudlajan) and a residential neighbourhood (Takhti). Fourth, we discuss the results in relation to the literature and the conceptual issues. The final section is dedicated to our conclusions.

2. Participation and urban redevelopment

A review of the literature on ‘participation’ reveals that despite its wide application in planning there is still no common definition of what this term means in theory or practice (Harrison, 2002; Roe, 2012; 2013; Mercado-Alonso and Fernandez-Tabales, 2018). Participation in planning processes in a general sense describes people’s engagement or interactions with planning decisions and actions, but these are often determined by other individuals and institutions rather than the participants themselves indicating that there are considerable problems based on the power relationships within such processes (Lahiri-Dutt, 2004; Bowen, 2008). The complexity and variety of such engagements means that typically researchers tend to put most emphasis on a particular aspect of participatory planning; commonly the inclusivity of the process, the nature of the community involvement, the value of the process versus the outcome, and the pitfalls of engagement (Fraser, 2005; Head, 2007).

Participation is frequently associated with other concepts such as democracy and justice (Fung, 2003; Fraser, 2005). Participation in urban (re)development depends on the inclusivity and equality of the approaches and how well the process reaches different socio-cultural and economic groups (Ferilli *et al.* 2016), particularly in terms of access to resources and institutional services (Chaskin *et al.*, 2012). Reviewing examples of

redevelopment strategies in the literature reveals that tenants, property owners, the private sector and wider local communities have all been involved in decision-making at key points in such processes (Adams *et al.*, 1988; Adams *et al.*, 1993; Atkinson and Moon, 1994; Carley, 2002; Shirlow and Murtagh, 2004; Ball and Maginn, 2005; Güzey, 2009). In particular, wider community involvement within the process of redevelopment is now increasingly highlighted as desirable and has become an important focus in urban planning literature (Legacy *et al.*, 2018; Sonjalfko, 2018). This is in response to the realisation that citizens feel alienated when they think that those with the power within existing decision-making structures ignore them, where such structures do not allow an effective role in decision-making processes for citizens, or when citizens are powerless to change the present structures. In Marxian theory, this sense of alienation is identified as neither ‘insiderness’ nor ‘outsiderness’ in a process of social transformation that confronts the prevailing *mode of production* (Knox and Pinch, 2010, p. 215).

Inequalities among social and community groups in access to decision-making processes over urban redevelopment projects have been identified as leading to unequal (re-)distribution of risks, spaces, costs, benefits and economic opportunities in urban areas (Breux and Bédard, 2013; De Schepper *et al.*, 2014). Participation in an inclusive decision-making process is seen as a mechanism to address the socio-economic, spatial, and institutional inequalities among various community groups. The perception of inequality and injustice, however, can differ from one context and city to another, indicating the importance of the consideration of the institutional, socio-economic, political and cultural contexts in participatory processes. For example, in the context of (strong) pre-existing inequalities in access to resources and institutional services (such as in slum communities), participation in urban redevelopment requires careful planning and management, and ‘firm external agency to achieve genuine social transformation’ (Rigon, 2014, p. 257).

Fraser (2005) sets out a number of questions as the basis for examining the role and success of participatory processes: how will evaluation ‘be conducted and by whom’?; is there ‘any room to negotiate the terms of reference’?; and does ‘evaluation [...] investigate how regional, state, national, and/or global strategies are ‘articulated’ by the work’? These questions highlight the role of the evaluator(s) by asking who evaluates and how, and whether the approach of evaluation is appropriately comprehensive. Neoliberalism (Joseph, 2002; Herbert, 2005) posits members of communities as the receivers of devolutionary processes (including participation), and therefore as appropriate evaluators who can assess

and legitimise the processes. In theory this gives the legal and political power to communities. However, in practice it is rarely the case (Herbert, 2005; Iorio & Wall, 2012). The literature has long suggested that a separation may be desirable between the assessment of the process of participation from the outcomes in participatory projects (Margerum and Born, 1995; Coglianesi, 2003; Nabatchi, 2012; Benson *et al.*, 2014). An evaluation of the process can help in understanding the role of participation at the different phases of planning, design, implementation, and management. This can reveal when and whether participants felt fulfilled and enjoyed the process and were sufficiently informed and consulted or not. It reflects a growing understanding of the importance of the socio-political learning aspects of participatory processes where there is a need to develop new roles, relationships, practices and approaches to difficult problems facing policy-makers and communities (Collins and Ison, 2009; Roe, 2007). An assessment of the outcomes and outputs of participation assesses whether participation achieves its goals and evaluates the different socio-spatial, economic, and ecological impacts on the stakeholder. The role of institutional stakeholders as catalysers and regulators is important in participatory processes, particularly where regulation is a key issue, such as in urban planning contexts. Dempsey and Burton (2012, p.18) emphasise the need for knowledge transfer among and between all stakeholders to raise the profile of 'place-keeping and the need for stakeholders to have both a strategic and local focus on long-term quality and efficiency'. It is also suggested that involvement of all stakeholders at all stages of the decision-making process that occur in regeneration and renewal contexts (Le Feuvre *et al.*, 2016), and housing estate developments (Ozarisoy, 2018; Ozarisoy and Altan, 2017) is important. However, it is clear from reviewing the literature that the institutional dimension of participation and stakeholdership, and particularly the potential knowledge-building role of stakeholders in participatory processes is often poorly recognised or evaluated in terms of the process and the outcome/impact in participatory urban redevelopment projects.

3. Study area and methods

3.1 Case studies: Oudlajan bazaar and Takhti neighbourhood

A qualitative case-study approach was used to gather in-depth data. The strategy for case selection was information-orientated (Flyvbjerg, 2006); the selected cases are very different in one key dimension (social characteristics or economic features). The intention

was not to do a comparative analysis but to build knowledge through an understanding of participatory approaches in different contexts presently occurring in Tehran. Criteria for selection were based on the key issues that emerged from the literature review and an analysis of urban redevelopment project types in Tehran. The criteria were: 1) clear institutional involvement; 2) distinctive conditions to represent the range of the participatory projects and approaches in Tehran; and 3) projects that were current and active. The cases using participatory approaches in Tehran were few in number limiting case choice. Two cases within district 12, the Oudlajan bazaar and the Takhti neighbourhood were intentionally selected (Fig 1) to provide a picture of areas covering a range of conditions and characteristics.

The Oudlajan bazaar is a traditional covered shopping area. It is representative of a commercial environment with important heritage value, whereas the Takhti neighbourhood is a low-income predominantly residential area, characteristic of those commonly found in Tehran. Additionally, in the case of Oudlajan, the shop owners participated in the redevelopment process through financially investing in the reconstruction and restoration of their shops and the associated public space between their properties (the whole bazaar). At the residential Takhti neighbourhood, the Municipality recognised and treated the entire area as one coherent unit as indicated by the establishment of a single local administrative office, through the method of engagement with local stakeholders, the way developers were recruited, and the nature of the redevelopment process which was based on land assemblage. The landowners were invited to participate in the redevelopment of their private housing space by assembling their smaller pieces of land into a larger developable parcel (Fig 2). Owner participants provided lands while developers recognised by the Municipality funded the construction costs.

At the time of data collection (2014), the redevelopment and restoration of the Oudlajan bazaar was almost complete (Fig 3). The Takhti case is a very large-scale housing neighbourhood (85 ha), it required a long-term approach and at the time of data collection it was in the middle of the implementation phase. A number of locals had settled into the new flats, a few were waiting for the completion of their flats, and others were at an earlier phase of involvement with the project. In both cases the role of the Municipality had been to facilitate the process of redevelopment through their local offices. In both cases, participatory urban redevelopment was implemented through capital investment (land or fund). In the Oudlajan bazaar case, a tripartite agreement with a participatory approach was

conducted between the Municipality, the Heritage Organisation, and shop owners. Each side was urged to fund 33% of the total costs of the redevelopment. During the informing and consulting stages, local authorities sent the message that the physical improvement of place would benefit owners such as by adding value to shops in Oudlajan, and by providing larger, safer, and improved flats in Takhti.

3.2 Research method summary

Data were collected in four successive phases using two main complementary methods (interviews and interpretative observational site analysis) designed to capture spatial data and different perspectives from locals (individual and collective) and professionals (Table 1). The fieldwork period of four months in the city of Tehran was conducted, from June to September 2014 as part of a larger research project.¹ A total of 36 interviewees (17 in Oudlajan and 19 in Takhti) aged 27-68 (see the profile of all interviewees in Tables 2 and 3) were initially recruited after suggestions made by the local offices established by the Municipality, which acted as gate keepers to the communities. The interviewees were therefore identified as those participating in some way in the redevelopment processes. Caution was taken to recruit interviewees from different geographical areas and social profiles in both cases to ensure diverse views were collected. We recruited shopkeepers from the bottom, middle, and head of the bazaar (Fig 4), house-dwellers and flat-dwellers from the centre and periphery of the neighbourhood. All interviews were conducted on an individual basis in Persian in a quiet room made available by local offices, and ranged from one hour to two-and-a-half hours in length; only shopkeepers in Oudlajan were interviewed in their workplace (by their choice). The researchers carefully transcribed the interviews and then translated them into English to accurately reflect each interviewee's views. The transcriptions and field notes were reviewed and coded using descriptive codes (such as ownership and involvement background) and then with more interpretative thematic codes, including individual and institutional trust, the process and outcomes of involvement, the role and performance of the institutions.

In the first phase, the case study areas were surveyed, and initial observations carried out before informal conversations with locals took place. The focus of the surveys was the physical condition of the built environment (newly reconstructed flats and restored bazaar) in both cases. The importance of the visual aspects of redevelopment that emerged from this first phase of study led to the employment of particular methods used in the second

phase. Photo-elicitation interview (PEI) techniques were conducted to generate individually visually interpreted data. The locals who volunteered to take part in the research were asked to capture/collect photos that they felt were representative of the key issues relating to their places. Three volunteers in the Oudlajan bazaar and six volunteers in the Takhti neighbourhood took part in the PEI. In addition to focusing on the interpretation of their photos during individual interviews, they also talked in-depth about their involvement, the role and performance of the institutions involved in the process. The effects of the process and the outcomes on their perceptions and activities, relating to a range of aspects of the redevelopment and their behaviour was also discussed.

During the next phase, professionals who were stakeholders (urban managers and experts, planners, and developers) were interviewed (Table 1). Two separate teams of professionals/officials involved in the participatory projects were individually interviewed in each case, including urban planners, developers, local office staff. All interviews were open and semi-structured, and the types of questions asked in different sets of individual interviews related to the interviewee's role and experience, and clustered around four main themes: individual visual interpretive data (PEI), the process and outcomes of involvement, and the role and performance of the institutions and the community approach. See Appendix A for a list of questions asked in different sets of individual interviews.

In the fourth phase, in-depth individual interviews were held with additional locals to investigate their reactions and responses to the results of previous phases. This allowed for reflection on the importance of issues that had been identified during the PEI (individual interpretive data). Examination of the narratives of the different participants was to understand individual perspectives as well as whether there was a collective perception about the redevelopment projects and the decisions/actions taken by the institutions. In this phase, the number of interviewees was not prefixed. The researchers conducted the in-depth interviews until a saturation point was reached and no new information was being generated (Kvale, 2008). Most of the interviews took place during this final phase of fieldwork. Since all the shop owners in the Oudlajan bazaar were men, fewer female stakeholders were interviewed regarding this case. In contrast, in the residential case of Takhti, gender balance in the interviews was achieved.

4. Results & analysis

Although the methods generated a large amount of data on a variety of topics related to the process and outcomes of the participatory initiative, the analysis emphasised the significance of two important issues in relation to the topic of this paper. The key decision by the Municipality to use property ownership as a determinant of who was eligible to be involved in the participatory planning process meant that potential stakeholders were excluded from the participatory process: local owners were included but non-owners were excluded from the process (see later discussion on this). The establishment of local offices in order to help build trust with locals was another key decision taken by the Municipality that had an impact on the process in both cases. The following section relates to these decisions:

4.1 Selection of participants: participation on the basis of ownership

The Municipality policy meant that any local who could demonstrate legal ownership was included in the process and anyone else was excluded. This immediately indicated that some potential stakeholders would be excluded from the process. The research results indicate the particular character of the benefits to owners which this policy provided. For example, in the Takhti case the benefit was in relation to the decision made to upgrade the amenities. One 42-year-old female owner participant said: ‘The first new building reconstructed in the Edalat lane was mine. Now, it’s about one year that I’ve been living in my new flat. I like it as I’ve got more spaces in my home... Cars can [also] come inside the lane and building easily which is more convenient compared to what we had before [the redevelopment]...our earlier houses were time-worn with unsafe wooden roof and steps’. The research also indicated that owners recognised that renters generally did not benefit: ‘Since renters do not own any property, we [owners] cannot do anything for them [renters]’ (43-year-old male owner participant). The improvements identified to private/public space (Fig 3&4) by residents’ participants in the PEI led to a raise in land values which resulted from the upgrade of the area. Interviewees reported that this meant that rents were raised and a number of renters could not afford to keep their current premises and were forced to move away.

Even within the owner groups in both cases, the benefits of change were not perceived to be equal. Although some owner participants commented on the improvement in convenience and living conditions as indicated above, they typically assessed the success

of the process through the frame of economic development, that is by the added value given to their properties by the increase in land values resulting from the redevelopment. This was true for both cases and can be clearly seen by the example of the Takhti neighbourhood where prior to the initiatives the land value was very low. The results showed that a high inflation rate during the period of redevelopment also had a significant impact on the land value during/after the process. The combination of rising land values and inflation gave considerable financial benefit to those participants who joined the process at a later stage. The later an owner entered the process, the greater the financial benefit and consequently the larger the flat the individual gained (higher added value). As confirmed by the authorities in a comment below, early-takers sensed that their involvement did not give them as much financial benefit as that gained by later participants because of the inflation in land values over time. Early-taker owner participants perceived inequalities in the process which was expressed as a sense of loss:

It's true that the early participants got less in land assemblage as land values changed in the neighbourhood. The formula has been changed in favour of the [late] owner participants. Indeed, the demand for [land] market determines the [land] value. When an alley is inaccessible by car, demand and consequently land value is low, once it is widened and redeveloped its value rises up to two times at least. (33-year-old male expert of the Municipality)

Shop-owner participants in the Oudlajan bazaar also reported the experience of economic inequality. To participate in the redevelopment process, they had all paid the same amount, but the value of their shop depended primarily on its location within the bazaar. That is, the closer to the main road, the higher the value which could be expected. The owners at the bottom and middle of the bazaar (see Fig 4) perceived they had less to gain personally from the redevelopment process compared to those owners of shops at the head of the bazaar, as confirmed by a shop-owner participant at the middle of the bazaar: '...we are only 50 m away from the main road. Here, [the land value] is 20 million [Toman] per metre [square], while an adjacent shop along the road front, is around 100 million [Toman]... Why there is such a big difference?!' However, in this case the factor of time (stage of entering into the process) did not affect the evaluation of the process by participants.

Not all shop owners in the Oudlajan bazaar decided to participate in the redevelopment process. However, the outcome of an improved public realm benefited every shop owner

whether they participated in the redevelopment process or not. All shop owners interviewed perceived that the process enhanced the potential for all shopkeepers to access resources and that all benefitted, regardless of who participated. The process was seen to create space for 'free-riding'; that is, there were those who did not pay a share of the redevelopment costs, but nevertheless benefitted from the added-value of their properties as indicated by a 35-year-old shop owner at the middle of bazaar: 'Here, there are a group of shop owners who think they are very clever! They are able to pay [their share], but since they think their financial mind is working very well, they are waiting for us to pay their share! This is one of the problems'.

The lack of engagement with the process was most common with the shop owners at the head of the bazaar where the shops had the highest value. These free-rider owners benefitted the most; those who had participated perceived that this gave the free-riders power over the outcomes even though they had not taken part in the process. In addition, since many of the free-riders were absentee owners who were perceived to have many other financial interests, the low quality of place and/or insecurity prior to redevelopment were also perceived not to be tangible concerns for them. This was a key reason why the Municipality was unsuccessful in mobilising all the shop owners to engage with the participatory process; that the pre-redevelopment condition of the bazaar had not been identified as a shared problem. The interviewees often raised and reflected on this issue:

The first 20 m at the head of the bazaar belongs to rich tradesmen. They do not need any property, shop, or income! They closed down their shops as their income comes from somewhere else! They do not care that if they close down the shops, the entire bazaar will be in recession...They did not pay their share either. (63-year-old shop owner at the bottom of bazaar)

During the bazaar redevelopment process, the Municipality did show some recognition of the importance of equal access to the resources. They did not compensate early participants in the process directly, but they introduced measures which raised the cost of involvement for later participants. Changes were made to the regulations, financial support was cut, and the cost of construction permission tax was increased. The reconstruction of the head of the bazaar was started at a later stage than that carried out in the middle and bottom of the bazaar. However, this had disadvantages for the commercial activities for the whole bazaar

and did not act as a penalty only for those late-comers at the head of the bazaar. As commented by an expert from the Municipality, the measures, which raised the cost of late participation, could not compensate for the basic fact that the redevelopment process added most value to the properties at the head of the bazaar. Despite these attempts by the Municipality to make the process fair, early-takers considered that later participants and free-riders gained most from the process. In the eyes of the early-takers, since the process had been unsuccessful in economically addressing equal access to temporal/spatial resources, it had not achieved equality between owners, rather it had exacerbated existing perceptions of unequal economic and power relationships. The changes made to the regulations during the process also meant participants felt poorly informed and that the participatory process was unbalanced.

4.2 Trust building and engagement

The evidence reveals that to engage with local owners and transfer key messages, the Municipality realised that it needed to establish and/or improve trust between the owners and the Municipality at an early stage. As comments below demonstrate, mistrust as a result of planning blight was a major barrier to the establishment of a positive discourse between institutions and locals. To try and mitigate this the Municipality established a local office and tried in several other ways to build trust with local owners. In Takhti, local facilitators were employed to help work with the residential community. In the male-dominated area of the Oudlajan bazaar, they designated female social facilitators to help create a space for dialogue between locals and the local office. These contextually sensitive strategies were based on the idea of building interpersonal trust between the local office staff and local people and were reflected in the comments made by developers and those working in the local Municipal office:

Shop owners did not trust either the Heritage [Organisation] or the Municipality [before the redevelopment]. (37-year-old architect developer)

The local office had to build trust with the locals while the office members were informing them ... [This] was indeed a difficult task. For instance, if you send excessive information to the locals, it would fail or create mistrust...To avoid creating mistrust or terrifying the locals, what they

said as well as the way they said it was very important. (29-year-old male member of the local Municipal office)

If, instead of us, three men were asking shop owners to participate, they could have easily said 'Get out of here!' However, in front of us, they tried to be polite. They had to listen to us and watch their language. (31-year-old female social facilitator)

Once trust began to emerge the Municipality used language to underline their view of the condition of the physical environment, e.g. by labelling the place with terms that implied negative connotations such as 'urban decaying areas', 'inaccessible areas' and 'unstable buildings'. The message was clear; that the physical improvement of place would benefit owners by providing a better living/working space. Although some owners participated, gaining the participation of every owner did not look promising. Therefore, alongside the problematisation of the situation, the Municipality introduced incentives to encourage owners/occupiers to take part in the process. These were mainly financial benefits (e.g. for each one square metre area of their own land in Takhti, an owner participant gained about 1.2m² reconstructed flat).

The discussions about the built environment in both cases resulted in improved environmental awareness among owners. Gradually, owners became more sensitive to the environmental quantities/qualities of the places. For example, for a female owner interviewee in Takhti, one outcome of the redevelopment was learning 'what is a declining area and so on, so I [she] learnt some stuff, because before I [she] never thought about these issues'. A number of locals indicated their perception that they were living/working in low-quality spaces, unstable buildings and inaccessible areas. Their concerns can be identified as 'place dissatisfaction' (Stedman, 2003). These concerns were exacerbated by the redevelopment process. New development enabled participants to compare between old and new, and what they perceived as low and high quality. From the local authorities' viewpoint, this place dissatisfaction was a constructive outcome as it encouraged owners to take part in the urban transformation process.

4.3 Institutional collaboration

It was clear from the Oudlajan bazaar case that mistrust between the two institutional collaborators affected the sustainability of the whole partnership. This was reported to

researchers in various ways. For example, an expert of the Municipality commented: ‘... they [the Heritage Organisation] do a project only because they want to show “we have done something”! ... Always when we had a meeting with the Heritage Organisation, I asked them to show us their receipts of spending 700¹ million [Toman]. They said: “we are not obliged to say how we spend the funds!” Then the shopkeepers said [to us] that while the Heritage does not reveal the bills, we will not pay our share’. This had a knock-on effect because shop owners then suspended the payment of their individual shares. The payment process therefore broke down because it was planned on the basis of a ‘soft’ agreement between the stakeholder groups, and no legal punishment was considered. The shop keepers believed that the Municipality would complete the project whatever the state of the stakeholder partnership and whether the financial contributions were made or not. The Municipality respondent indicated the view, found to be common with others in the organisation, that the suspension of financial involvement by the Heritage Organisation during the process was mostly for political reasons. These perceptions and difficulties indicate a clear lack of strong trust between collaborators and that the institutional collaboration in particular was not effective in providing leadership, and was unable to build a strong institutional partnership as an important precursor to building trust with other participants. The result of this breakdown in communication and facilitation was inconvenience, delays in the project, and dissatisfaction among participants.

5. Discussion

In order to understand the significance of the results, this section returns to the research question: To what extent can the initiatives by the institutions in Tehran be identified as ‘participatory’ processes? The discussion is based on the results and analysis of data in relation to the four key themes that emerged from the literature review. We then go on to consider an overall response to the research question.

5.1 Inclusivity/partial engagement issue

The selection of participants on the basis of their private property ownership caused considerable anxiety for non-owners who had ‘feelings of powerless, dissatisfaction and distrust, and rejection of the prevailing distribution of wealth and power’ (Knox and Pinch,

¹ £ 120,000

2010, p. 215). According to Marxian theory, powerlessness, estrangement and social isolations are the elements of alienation that confront the dominant mode of production. From this angle, alienation is the consequence of capitalism and is attributed to socio-economic factors. In contrast to alienated groups, owners explored the ownership as ‘access to resources, institutions, spaces, social arrangements, and opportunity’ (Chaskin *et al.*, 2012, p. 846) produced by the participatory process. The process recognised owners and let them have an effective role in decision-making, or to have power to counter the proposed process. These were all the elements that enhanced the socio-economic inclusion of owners in the participatory process by the municipal institution. However, the socially constructed divisions arising from the process created intergroup conflict: owners versus non-owners, or participants versus non-participants, which may have caused long-term damage to the community networks and social ties as described in other participatory processes in the literature (Shirlow and Murtagh, 2004; Ball and Maginn, 2005). The review of similar studies indicates that the huge socio-economic changes after urban redevelopment projects can lead to unwanted outcomes such as a large displacement of local residents, including homeowners and renters, as it did for example in the redevelopment of two streets in Ankara after only three years (Güzey, 2009).

5.2 Equity

The results reveal that the process could not establish what is seen in the literature as ‘equalities [between the contributors] in access to resources’ (Breux and Bédard, 2013, p.75). Participation on the basis of ownership not only kept inequalities between the community members such as non-owners and owners, but it reinforced these differences. It was also unable to distribute the reorganisation of resources equally between owners and other non-institutional participants; that is between those who already had fewer benefits and those who had most benefits. This inequality became deeper once free-riders decided not to enter the process.

5.3 Knowledge building/transfer & Partnership building approach

The results reveal that property redevelopment (the substantive outcome of the process) was most valued by the municipal institution. Inclusive involvement in decision making, which is seen as an essential determinant of participation in the literature (Chaskin *et al.*, 2012; Ferilli *et al.* 2016), was disregarded. Seen from this angle, the investment of private owners through their ownership (land) and/or funds requested by the public sector to

redevelop private and public spaces is urban regeneration by a public-private partnership. The emphasis on economic drivers and legal exclusion of non-owners further support the idea of a partnership approach rather than community participation in the sense often suggested in the literature. However, this may not be entirely in agreement with what the literature defines as partnership (see Carley, 2002; Ball and Maginn, 2005; Custos and Reitz, 2010).

5.4 Process vs outcome-driven approach

What was established by the institutions was what is identified in the literature as a 'technical-functionalist communitarians and managerialism approach' (Fraser, 2005, pp. 289-291) for community participation. In this approach, participation is interpreted as a function and/or technical-orientated solution in which managers are looking for maximum benefit and few conflicts. As confirmed by the local office, typically more than 70 % of the community in the case studies were owners (i.e. the majority). Participation on the basis of ownership assumes that the owners can represent the whole community. The owners who took part more or less benefitted from the process while those who were not owners did not. The use of ownership as a basis for participation was perceived by the Municipality to lead to fewer conflicts and reflects predominant beliefs in the particular socio-cultural context of the case studies. This approach is typically preferred by 'state authorities (such as local councils and provincial governments), large social welfare organizations (especially those that are church-based) and established charitable trusts' who pursue greater efficiency and less conflict (Fraser, 2005, p.291). Such an approach does not acknowledge the potential benefits of the participation of other community members; it is simply about improving utilities and/or economic affairs.

When considering the process illustrated in these cases it is useful to consider that in the context of Iran the right of private ownership has rarely been questioned as the basis for a greater say in decision-making in society (see Nami and Hatami, 2015). According to Iranian articles 30/31 of the civil code, no individual, institution, and/or urban scheme can challenge private ownership without law. Typically, a property owner expects to be informed and consulted about the changes that may influence its ownership. An owner also expects personal gain out of urban redevelopment more than a non-owner. This legacy has created a social expectation that may differ from other societies. In this study, both groups (owners and non-owners) accepted ownership-orientated participation because of the social norms relating to rights of land ownership. For this reason, there were few complaints about

the assumption of private ownership as the main criterion of participation. However, there were more complaints in the Takhti case regarding the experience of transition from single ownership of house to shared ownership in flat blocks since the new settlement limits the lifestyle and spatial control.

5.5 Synthesis

The results demonstrate that participants experienced an exclusive partnership. Once landowners (the private sector) are involved based on the criterion of ownership, or ownership size with institutions, developers, and representatives (the public sector), this is a partnership between the selected private and public sector (White, 2006; Li, 2012). The right of single ownership is determined before creating the new ownership, as Li (2012) specifies, and this is also one of the features of (exclusive) partnership in urban redevelopment. Typically, owners transfer their property based on the value. However, participants may attribute many other meanings and values that cannot necessarily be calculated in financial assessments of worth. A key issue emerges from this point. From the participants' perspective, their length of dwelling, feeling a kinship relationship with the neighbours (community), and/or relying on other residents' behaviours (trust) are embedded positive meanings in the place, which were omitted from the calculation of land worth in these cases. The transition to a new physical environment does not necessarily retain these values, and this may create a sense of loss, dissatisfaction, and detachment.

The results reveal that the institutions used a particular problematisation of the built environment to support their own case and objectives. They highlighted instability, inaccessibility, and tiny plots as main issues that should be addressed. And to solve these issues, institutions offered assembling the smaller pieces of land into larger developable parcels and/or sharing funds to redevelop urban areas (Louw, 2008). In this way institutions promote a 'partial truth' of the situation where a selective approach to the problems and benefits are highlighted by the institution. This study shows that institutional interpretation and expression of perceived problems is a way to deliver power to local authorities who define problems in the first place. These problems were mainly function-orientated issues. The solutions suggested were consequently predominantly technical and ignored the many important socio-cultural aspects of redevelopment. Mullaly (2002) discusses that this approach can also hide political problems in the guise of technical problems. The focus on the participation of owners indicates that this approach 'revolves around expert-driven consultations with community stakeholders' as a legitimate way 'to get others to ratify the

views of experts' (Fraser, 2005, p.290) which suggests that power relationships played a considerable role in the process. From a wider perspective, this political approach may seem in line with the planning regime in Tehran (see Madanipour 2006; 2011) where the general pattern across the city is for authorities to outline and legitimate problems and offer (technical) solutions to communities. However, because the cases in this study claimed to be participatory, a different approach was expected in which the community was to be more equitably included in the process of defining problems and offering solutions. As the results of this study show, the initiatives endorsed the general existing pattern of planning processes in the city. Participants were simply used to verify the expert driven approach. The institutions may claim community participation occurred, but their approach did not fulfil the common concept where participatory processes based on the devolution of power from a state authority to a community is its primary manifestation (Joseph, 2002; Herbert, 2005).

Place dissatisfaction was an important driver for owners' participation. Once an owner resident reached the point that his perception of the place, either a private and/or public space, no longer met his requirements the individual sensed place dissatisfaction. This concurs with similar findings in the literature (Stedman, 2003). In this kind of situation, the redevelopment proposals had a higher chance of approval by owner residents. The institutions assumed this to be the case and built on feelings of dissatisfaction by highlighting the problems and/or actively stimulating these feelings. The institutions define the initiatives as a 'functional utilitarian improvement' of the place (Fraser, 2005) in which institutions do not acknowledge the participation of publics rather than the problematisation of built environment, utilities, and/or economic affairs.

The results reveal that despite having a standard format and linear authority as merits of this approach, it has a corrosive domain mostly limited to manipulation and some superficial changes, without a real share in the decision-making process in which there is a 'high degree of tokenism and manipulation' of potential participants to enter the process rather than 'spontaneous participation' (Tosun, 1999, p. 118). This is more tangible once there is no consensus within a community or a few owners are ready to participate. In addition, as discussed in the previous sections, in the eyes of participants the socio-spatial tensions produced by the process are substantial. Thus, the notions of social diversity and power relations are demerits of this approach.

The results show the vulnerability of the process of participatory redevelopment planning that was carried out. The key indicators of this vulnerability were firstly the problems that were faced when a key main actor (the Heritage Organisation) did not maintain its role and secondly that other actors were able to benefit from the process without participating fully – the free riders. This highlights the importance of considering collaboration and proper ‘buy-in’ to the process between the main actors at every stage, in particular when a number of different individuals, groups and institutions are involved in the process. This issue is more problematic when the resources are limited and/or intermittent. An agreed mechanism is required which clarifies the role of the main actors and – where finances are involved – their responsibility and financial share is clearly set out. This needs to cover all different urban policy scenarios from the planning to in-use stage (Chakraborty et al., 2011). As the results show, the inter-institutional collaboration was smoother when fewer institutional actors were involved in decision making. In the Takhti neighbourhood, there were fewer complaints about overdue completion in the projects due to good institutional collaboration. While our study provides particular insights to the processes of participatory urban policy development and implementation, the findings also support those of others in different contexts which demonstrate the importance of the involvement of all stakeholders at all stages of the decision-making process.

6. Conclusions

The key decisions and actions of the institutional stakeholders mainly determined the nature and character of the participation in urban redevelopment in Tehran as reported in this study. The institutions designed the process based on the socio-cultural context of the initiatives and their own required outcomes. The decisions about process design, such as organising participation based on an ownership right, appears to support the continuation of the existing social construction of the context and power relations (Baker and Chapin, 2018) and benefit the institutional stakeholders and interests groups such as owner residents. The informing and consultation with local residents were actions taken on the basis of a common view of ‘community participation’ (Fraser, 2005) or ‘public participation’ (International Association for Public Participation, 2007), which are typically proposed for more developed and democratic contexts. However, inequalities between participants (e.g. early takers or later participants) in access to (mainly economic) resources was an outcome of the participatory redevelopment process that was revealed though an

evaluation by participants of the experience of being involved, but not foreseen by the institutions and which the process design could not address.

Another major conclusion is that once resources are limited and/or intermittent or participation is not consistent and perceived as fair, the quality of the whole process may be vulnerable to criticism and engagement may fall off, even with those who were originally fully engaged with and enthusiastic about the process. The inclusion of socio-spatial factors in the process also does matter. Once key players overlook and/or minimise equality in access to resources, community members may also perceive a sense of exclusion and detachment; this may damage, not only the process, but wider community cohesion. Nevertheless, as mentioned, all of these undesirable outcomes may not be driven primarily by the nature of the participatory process; rather, some are the results of the larger socio-economic and political context e.g. the planning regime in the city.

In general, the approach adopted by the institutions was a step towards a more participatory decision-making process in urban redevelopment in Tehran. It seems that the initiatives in this study are part of a general process in Iran of trying to open up decision making. Moreover, there are democratic pressures to open up the process of decision making, and this participatory urban redevelopment may be a partial response to those pressures, partly driven by technocratic intellectuals who want to embrace these ideas, and partly by the pressure to open up from the often-excluded sectors of Tehran society.

The results of this study raise several issues that can be helpful and worthy to consider for future policy development and practice. Ensuring appropriate institutional services, and support for informing and consulting, not only owners but everyone in the community should be high priorities for the institutional stakeholders. The community may perceive that further involvement in the planning and decision-making process is worthwhile when all community members feel that they have been sufficiently informed about the expected outcomes, are listened to, fairly represented and have their concerns and aspirations acknowledged, with feedback given. This lessens the limitations and thereby enhances the inclusivity of the process and the quality of outcomes. Another practical recommendation is considering a legal penalty and/or social disapproval once some key contributors and/or stakeholders do not keep their promise to the end. In this study, there was only soft pressure on those who did not pay their share, in that if they did not pay their share, the project would not be completed. However, participants believed that under any conditions the

Municipality would have completed the project. This is why some shop owners (the free-riders) did not keep their promise to the end of the process.

In the eyes of people involved in PEI, the photo elicitation method was more enjoyable and less annoying than other often-used methods (Beckley et al., 2007) such as surveys and word-only interviews. Since the researchers mainly listened while the interviewee interpreted the photos, this allowed the interviewee to feel respected in a non-evaluative and relaxed situation (Loeffler, 2004; Dennis Jr. et al., 2009). Moreover, in-depth interviews using the photos clarified intangible dimensions of the process/outcomes such as feelings/beliefs/behaviours embedded in the photos.

Declaration of Competing Interest

None.

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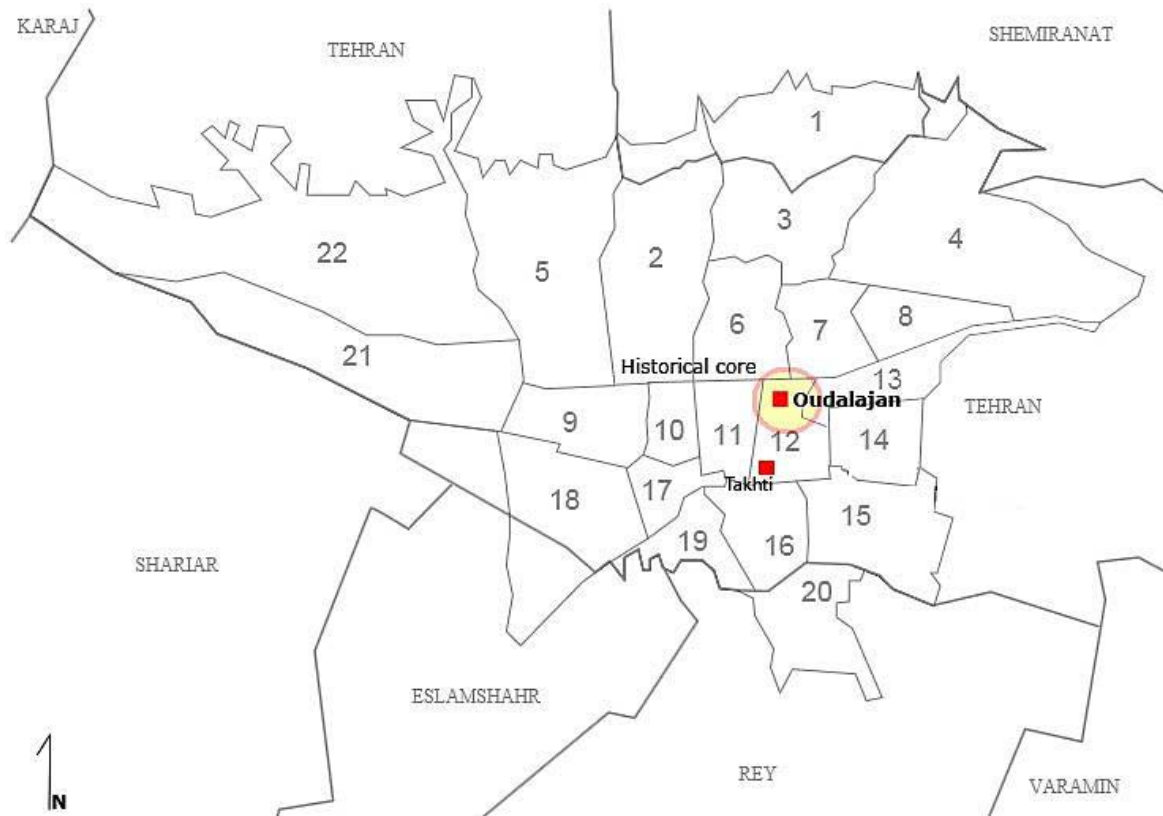


Fig. 1. Location of case studies in Tehran.



Fig. 2. Left: a narrow lane within the Takhti neighbourhood representing the spatial conditions before/during the redevelopment; right: assembled blocks after the redevelopment. Pictures were captured in the PEI by resident participants.



Fig. 3. Left: the Oudlajan bazaar in recent years before the redevelopment; right: the Oudlajan bazaar in August 2014 (after the redevelopment) collected over the PEI by shopkeeper participants.

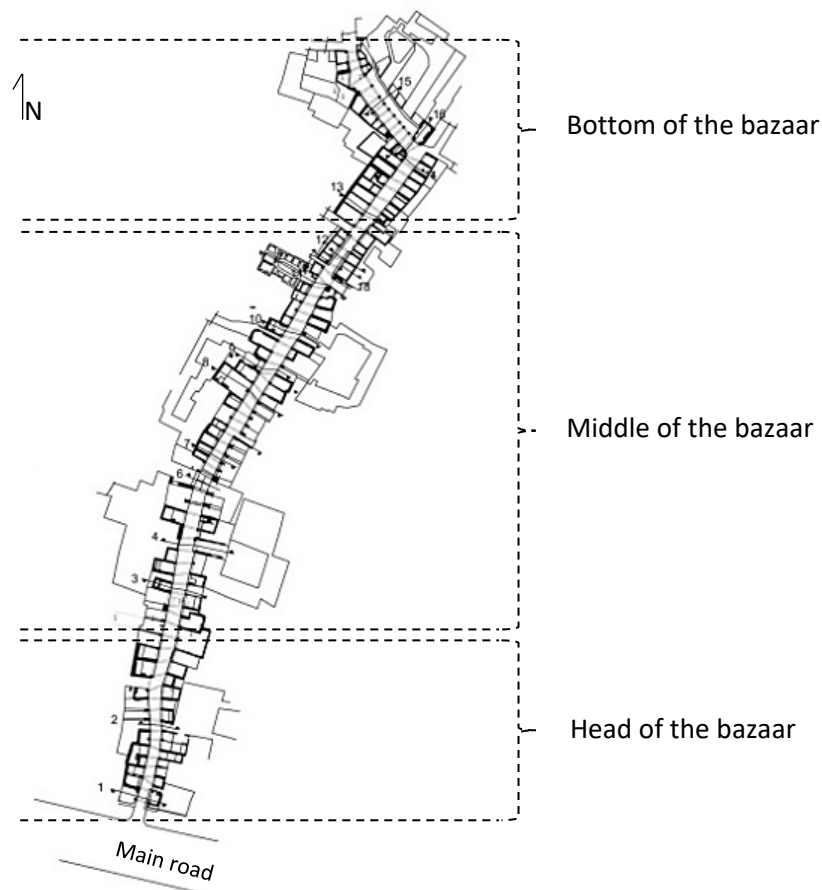


Fig 4. Shop owners defined three areas within the Oudlajan Bazaar according to their distance from the main road: the bottom, middle and head of bazaar.

Table 1. Methods and materials used at the data collection stage.

Phases	Method	Materials	Category	Number of interviewees in each case		Expected Data
				Takhti	Oudlajan	
I	Local observation	Maps and tape recorder	Place and usage space	-	-	Spatial analysis
II	Photo Elicitation Interview (PEI)	Maps, photos and tape recorder	Locals at different stage of the process	6	3	Individual visual interpretative data
III	Professional/ official interviews	Tape recorder	Managers, experts, planners and developers	6	6	Professional stakeholders' interpretative data
IV	Local interviews	Maps, photos and tape recorder	Locals at the different stage of the process	7*	8*	Collective interpretative data

* Including two non-participants in the projects.

Table2. Profile of all interviewees in the Oudlajan bazaar

Set of interviews	Gender		Average age (years)	Average shopkeepers' business operation in the bazaar (years)	Level of education
	Male	Female			
PEI	3	-	46.7	28.4	High school
Local interviews	8	-	51	43.2	Primary and high school
Professional interviews	2	4	40.5	NA	University degree
Total	13	4	46.1	36	Primary school, High school, University

Table 3. Profile of all interviewees in the Takhti neighbourhood

Set of interviews	Gender		Average age (years)	Average length of residence (years)	Level of education
	Male	Female			
PEI	4	2	48.8	38	Primary and high school
Local interviews	1	6	50.8	23	Primary and high school
Professional interviews	5	1	32.2	NA	University degree
Total	10	9	44	30	Primary school, High school, University

Appendix A: List of questions asked in different sets of individual interviews: PEI, Local, and Professional interviews

The followings are the list of questions asked in different sets of individual interviews. At the end of PEI and local interviews, demographic information was collected: home/shop address in the neighbourhood/bazaar, home/shop ownership (rent, own, shared or other type), length of residence/ shopkeepers' business operation in the bazaar, gender, age, level of education, and occupation (see Table 2 and 3: profile of all interviewees). The collected demographic information from professional interviewees included gender, age, level of education, and occupation.

Questions asked in the Photo Elicitation Interview (PEI)

- Questions addressing **individual visual interpretive data:**

1. Would you please tell me about these photographs that you have taken?
2. Why did you take this photograph? What does it mean to you?
3. Would you please tell me more about this photograph? Where did you take it? Why? (Specify the location of photographs on the neighbourhood/bazaar map)
4. How do you describe this neighbourhood/bazaar?
5. Are you satisfied living/working here? Why?

- Questions addressing the **process and outcomes of involvement:**

6. Would you please describe the activities you were involved in and your role?
7. Why did you decide to get involved? Why did/didn't you continue to be involved?
8. Why was the involved activity important to you? Is it still important? Why?
9. What is the importance of the participatory project to you personally?
10. What is the importance of the participatory to the local community?

11. Did the involvement lead to any changes in your life? How?
12. What new skills did you learn?
13. Can you tell me about the people you have met through participating in the project?
14. What do you know of other involved groups?
15. Do you trust your neighbours? Why?
16. Did the involvement lead to any changes in the local community? How?
17. How about changes in trust, familiarity, physical/spatial space, and the cultural landscape such as customs, food, events, characters, and religious ceremonies?
18. Are they a threat or opportunity to you? Why?
19. What did you gain during/after the process? What did you lose? Describe it please.

- Questions addressing the **role and performance of the institutions:**

20. How do you evaluate the role of the local office? How about the involved institutions e.g. the Municipality and the Heritage Organisation? Why?
 21. Do you trust the local office? How about the involved institutions (e.g. the Municipality, Heritage Organisation, etc.)? Why?
 22. Who do you think led the project? How do you know that?
 23. Do you know how the decisions were made during the process? Can you give me an example?
 24. Was there any decision that you were not agreed with? Like what? What did you do?
 25. How were you informed and consulted about the project?
 26. Were you informed about the outcomes of the project? How?
 27. Is there anything else you want to tell me about the project which I did not cover?
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Questions asked in professional interviews

1. Would you please introduce yourself?
2. Which participatory projects have you been involved in? For how long?
3. Would you please tell me about your role in the project(s)? What is your evaluation?
4. Do you think you have learned from that project(s)? Give me an example.
5. Did you think about non-owners in the project? What did happen to non-owners like renters in the project?
6. Do you think local residents are satisfied with the participatory project? Why?
7. What kind of social changes you have noticed within the neighbourhood/bazaar?
8. What kind of physical/spatial changes you have seen here?
9. How you can explain the relationships between locals and the local office? How about locals and the institutions? [e.g. how the decisions are made and actions are taken]
10. How you can explain the relationships between locals and the Heritage Organisation? How about the Municipality and the Heritage Organisation?*
11. Would you tell me about the trust between local residents/shopkeepers and the local office?
12. Would you tell me about the trust between locals and local office, and locals and your institution? How about the trust between your institution and other institutions?
13. How did you inform and consult local residents/shopkeepers about the project and its outcomes?
14. Some locals told me about their concerns about the quality of constructions or their gain/loss through the process. What do you think?
15. Some shopkeepers told me about their concerns about their heritage reconstitutions of the bazaar; what do you think? *
16. Some other locals told me about X and Y; what do you think?
17. How do you define this project 'participation' and/or 'partnership'? Why?*

18. If you could have done anything [e.g. decisions or actions] differently regarding the participatory process, what would it have been? Why?
19. Do you have any suggestions for the future participatory projects like the one you were involved? Like what?
20. Is there anything else you want to tell me about the project which I did not cover?

* These questions are exclusive to the professional interviewees from the Oudlajan bazaar.

Questions asked in local interviews

- General questions (**warmup stage**):
 1. Have you always lived here?
 2. How do you describe this neighbourhood/bazaar?
 3. Are you satisfied living/working here? Why?
 4. Have you seen any changes here?
- Questions addressing the **process and outcomes of involvement**:
 5. Would you please describe the activities you were involved in and your role?
 6. Why did you decide to get involved? Why did/didn't you continue to be involved?
 7. Why was the involved project/activity important to you? Is it still important? Why?
 8. What is the importance of the participatory project to you personally?
 9. What is the importance of the participatory project to the local community?

10. Did the involvement lead to any changes in your life? How?
11. What new skills did you learn?
12. Tell me about the people you have met through participating in the project.
13. What do you know of other involved groups?
14. Do you trust your neighbours? Why?
15. Did the involvement lead to any changes in the local community? How?
16. How about changes in trust, familiarity, physical/spatial space, and the cultural landscape such as customs, food, events, characters, and religious ceremonies.
17. Are they a threat or opportunity to you? Why?
18. What did you gain during/after the process? What did you lose? Describe it please.

- Questions addressing the **role and performance of the institutions:**

19. How do you evaluate the role of the local office? How about the involved institutions e.g. the Municipality and the Heritage Organisation? Why?
20. Do you trust the local office? How about the involved institutions (e.g. the Municipality, Heritage Organisation, etc.)? Why?
21. Who do you think led the project? How do you know that?
22. Do you know how the decisions were made during the process? Can you give me an example?
23. Was there any decision that you were not agreed with? Like what? What did you do?
24. How were you informed and consulted about the project?
25. Were you informed about the outcomes of the project? How? Was it enough?

- Questions addressing the **community approach:**

26. Do you have anything to tell me about these photographs taken by other people? Why do you think like that?
27. How do you describe the relationships between the neighbours/shopkeepers here? Is it more workable, rather than intense?
28. What do you think about newcomers here? Are you interested in interacting with them? Why?
29. Some people told me [based on the previous phase's results] here is not the place in which they should live/work, they should go somewhere else like X. What do you think?
30. Some people here said [based on the previous phase's results] they lost their trust in the institutions, what do you think? Do you have the same opinion?
31. Some people here told me [based on the previous phase's results] they have to work here since they are dependent on this place (e.g. job), what do you think? Why?*
32. Some shopkeepers said they liked here [based on the previous phase's results], but after the completion of this project they would probably sell their shop and find somewhere else to buy a new shop, what do you think about them? How about you?*
33. What are your hopes for the future?
34. Is there anything else you want to tell me about the project which I did not cover?

* These questions are exclusive to the local interviewees from the Oudlajan bazaar.

¹ . The results are reported from a PhD thesis at Newcastle University, UK, completed in March 2018, entitled 'Participatory urban redevelopment in Tehran: An investigation through sense of place'.