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Non-indigenous and Interventionist Interventions in Land Changes (Case Study: Founding Land Use Planning in the Pahlavi Era) Mahmoud Maham^{*1}, Mahnaz Qubadi²

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Abstract

Development programs design and operationalize land changes. Although development programs in Iran have been new, interventions in Iranian land have a long history. In other words, the methods of nurturing and exploiting natural and human resources identifiable in indigenous technologies have over time created a specific combination and fabric in the land that reflected the ancient organization of the Iranian land. Therefore, land changes in the Pahlavi era - which result from the implementation of development programs within the framework of modernization- are placed in relation to the organization of the land in the historical background of the country's population. Therefore, the main question of the article is, 'How did land reform in Iran during the Pahlavi era take shape and what characteristics did it have?' The present study used descriptive-analytical and critical method. It seems that regarding the external nature of the development programs of the Pahlavi era and their lack of indigenous foundation, the designed land changes lack the characteristic convergence between culture and technology, and neglect and indifference to the vital role of the ecosystem in the mentioned connection. In fact, the findings indicate that land changes resulting from modernization programs were designed and operationalized in confrontation with the pre-modern organization of the land. The interventionist approach in land during the Pahlavi era has resulted in a divergence in the cultural-ecosystem-technology cohesion. The result of this interventionist approach in land during the Pahlavi era has been a divergence in the culturalecosystem-technology cohesion.

Keywords: Land Use Planning, Modernization, Ecosystem, Indigenous Technology, Space.

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Introduction

Today, "Development" is not acceptable without "Justice," and "Land Use Planning" is the effective response strategy to this vital need; in other words, "If the space of Iran is not balanced, achieving social justice is not possible." (Shakui, 1985 AD/1364 SH: 9)

The organization and structuring of the land and geographical space of Iran are designed based on capitalist theories. The prevailing ideology in the planning system of the five-year plans before the revolution was a capitalist system, and planning was carried out partially within that ideology. During the Pahlavi era, significant mistakes occurred in organizing the space due to profit-oriented thinking (Papoli Yazdi, 2004 AD/1383 SH: 1, 11, and 16). The use of the term "Progress" by the leader of the Islamic Revolution as an alternative to "Development" has a conceptual basis and is intended to emphasize "Justice." The naming of the "Decade of Justice and Progress" is an example of emphasizing this need, stemming from the ideology and culture of the Islamic Revolution. The reality is that the unstable ideologies, trends, and standards in the form of human interaction with each other and the environment in the modern era have gradually led to the introduction of a new concept of "Sustainable Development" as an alternative and a way to overcome the shortcomings of "Development" known for its focus on economic growth¹.

While "Sustainable Development" itself has its own thoughtprovoking shortcomings,² it represents efforts to address the serious deficiencies and shortcomings of the prevalent growth-oriented development, and the emphasis on "Economic Development" has also

^{1.} It is interesting and thought-provoking that the idea of planning in Iran, which led to the formation of the "Economic Council" in 1316 as one of its serious manifestations and signs, had the following duties: "The main duty of the council is to prepare the general economic plan of the country." (Ebrahimzadeh, 2015 AD/1394 SH: 201-202, Boostak, 2016 AD/1395 SH: 147) Another point is that "The long-term general strategies of land development after the Islamic Revolution, which resulted from the overall studies of development, were discussed in several sessions of the Economic Council and were approved by the council with some modifications in 1986 and communicated to all the executive bodies of the country." (Zakery, 2018 AD/1397 SH: 42) The focus on the economy raises the question of 'Which economic school and theory has been relied upon in the design of land development. Furthermore, how has the relationship between culture, technology, and a sustainable and environmentally-based societal pattern been addressed in terms of policy-making, indexing, implementation, and evaluation?'

². For example, cf. Shams al-Sadat Zahedi, 2016 AD/1395 SH: 6; Makhdoum, 2014 AD/1393 SH: 18.

been undertaken to support the process of reform.³ From the positive perspective of the Islamic Revolution and in line with the modeling of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the adoption of an indigenous and outwardlooking strategy is vital and will not be achieved without "Land Use Planning." "Land Use Planning is considered a fundamental condition for reducing spatial imbalances and establishing social justice." (Sarvar, 2007 AD/1386 SH: 83) Therefore, a deeper analysis of the Islamic Revolution on one hand, and the design of post-revolutionary land changes for systematization on the other, requires a study and analysis of the background of land development in the country. Hence, the question arises: 'How did land development take shape in Iran during the Pahlavi era and what were its characteristics?' In this article, Land Use Planning is discussed not only as a specialized field but as a specialized and practical domain overseeing the ecosystem and the Islamic Revolution in Iran, in order to address technical issues related to tangible outcomes within the framework of the Iranian-Islamic culture and its model of progress. Therefore, policy reform in the intertwined areas of "Culture-ecosystem-technology" is essential. It is evident that if post-revolutionary urban and developmental activities based on land use planning are not designed and implemented, the realization of the main slogans of the Islamic Revolution such as independence, and the noble values such as social justice, will face serious obstacles. Therefore, if we accept replacement as the most important issue after the revolution, then identifying the basis and model of land changes during the Pahlavi era will be a serious and vital necessity.

With fulfilling of this important matter, the positive aspect of the Islamic Revolution becomes identifiable and analyzable, and it becomes apparent in various dimensions of "Culture-ecosystem-technology." This need is addressed through interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary studies.

1. Background

Prior to the forming centralized state-citizen pattern during the Pahlavi era, diverse methods of utilizing and benefiting from indigenous

³. In 1974, the University of Sussex, with the establishment of the Department of Culture, Development and Environment Studies, took the first practical step to realize a deeper perspective and an incredible development in this field. The design of the slogan C.E.D (Culture, Development, Environment) instead of the slogan "Development, Economy" expressed the fact that a new phenomenon and factor under the title of culture has entered the realm of knowledge and its presence in the scientific apparatus should be recognized (Ramasht, 2011 AD/1390 SH: 11).

technologies in the country had brought about various capabilities on a national scale (such as during the Safavid era and even in ancient times and during the time of the empire, such as the Achaemenid era).

These conditions and patterns of land utilization led to the experience of civilizing societies in the country. The response to how these experiences were realized and repeated must be sought in the continuity of "Culture and Technology" as the thread of these societies' rosaries. From the perspective of the relationship between society and government, strong social capabilities in providing for communal life arising from ecological literacy, diverse societies corresponding to the capacities of Iran's ecosystems in three forms (rural, nomadic, and urban), and "The harmony of government and society which led to scientific and economic prosperity and thus political power and authority," (Asghariyan Jaddi, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 39) had brought a deep meaning to "Land Use Planning" in biological and defensive dimensions to the forefront; therefore, "Iran is among the countries with a historical and ancient root in political space organization." (Ahmadipour, 2009 AD/1388 SH: 2; Vosoqi, 1998 AD/1377 SH: 25)

This method of land management has shown vital and valuable signs of "Passive Defense," making the continuity of communal life possible for Iran, which has constantly been involved in a storm of events related to foreign and international relations. Therefore, the efforts made to discover the history of spatial planning in Iran over the centuries indicate a deep, cultural, and technological familiarity with the optimization and rationalization of natural and human resources in the Iranian plateau. With the decline of the harmony between society and government and the change in the foundations and variables of land management, indigenous knowledge and technologies that were the basis and result of centuries of land development declined and a new form of "Land Management" emerged.

This process was the result of the gap between natural and human domains in the modernization of Iran by the imported Pahlavi government. The gap between culture and technology and the neglect of the role of the "Ecosystem" in this relationship promoted an imbalanced growth that led to temporary, imitative, and non-selfsufficient improvements that were the achievement of land development in ancient Iran.

The way of dealing with environmental issues and determining the scope of the environment shows a deep gap with the collective biological patterns and communities in Iran. "In Iran before the revolution, environmental protection was not only a modern idea from the society - which did not have a participatory space for it - but was

also raised and implemented by the upper echelons of the system and usually by the king. The absolute structure of the quasi-modern Pahlavi government and the concentration of power in the hands of the king created a barrier to the creation of social movements such as the environmental movement and, consequently, the formation of discourses in this field and the participation of the people in various aspects of society, including public participation in environmental protection." (Rafati Panah Mehrabadi, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 81 and 95)

In the field of the environment and its protection, at the beginning of the establishment of the Environmental Protection Organization during the Pahlavi period, according to the (then) head of the World Indigenous Quails Consortium, Taghi Farvar, a colonial protection system was created. Despite the experience of thousands of years of indigenous and local communities in protecting nature and therefore the of involving indigenous communities in proposal achieving sustainability, the founder of the Environmental Protection Organization (Eskandar Firouz) did not accept it and put an inappropriate protection system in place in Iran. He rejected any plan in which the role of the indigenous community was prominent. (Babakhani, 2017 AD/1396 SH: 30)

2. The Theoretical and Conceptual Framework; Institutional Changes and Basic Patterns for Land Changes

Interventionist studies with various titles such as development and urban development programs generally pursue one goal: How to achieve land changes in line with program objectives.

What is important is the formation of a basic pattern for intervention and interventionist institutions. The adopted pattern for land changes in the Pahlavi period is a form of ecological modernization. Instead of reconstruction, ecological modernization was based on the negation of ecological development and urbanization. This change in theoretical and conceptual approach leads to the destruction of the foundational infrastructure of the land. Initially, as the first step, the old land reform was designed and pursued. In the second step, ecological modernization was accepted as the framework for new land changes and reforms.

2.1. Processing Break and External Land Changes

With forming a centralized government in Iran during the Pahlavi period on one hand, and the new colonialists' interaction with Iran on the other, "Land Use Planning" entered a new phase in the country. As a result of this kind of centralization, "All planning activities in Tehran became centralized, which limited the prospects of planners. The excessive centralization was not a mistake of the planners in carrying out their

duties, but clearly indicated the old policy of preventing the strengthening of local governments and private interest groups." (Baldwin, 2015 AD/1394 SH: 198)

New and different methods were also adopted in dealing with foreigners. The replacement of the previous colonial method of "Physical Conquest of Land" was, in fact, the creation of fundamental changes in the patterns and methods of exploiting "Natural and Human" resources. More precisely, the modern land reform of the Pahlavi period was a plan to achieve changes in the relationship between the natural and human domains and land management in Iran, the result of which was the deepening and solidification of the gap between the natural and human domains, and the institutionalization of national weakness and the deprivation of independence in the context of "Culture-ecology-ecosystem-technology;" "Humans must use the land in a way that is dictated by the natural (ecological) characteristics of the land and then align these characteristics with their economic and social needs." (Makhdoum, 2014 AD/1393 SH: 16)

From this perspective, it can be said that "Iran, in its geographical land, is a large country with very diverse environmental conditions. Its environmental capacities are very diverse. Therefore, to create regional balance in it, a kind of spatial division of labor must be considered. This spatial division of labor will help to specialize activities and will also link the entire country in a coexisting system with each other." (Rahnamaei, 2014 AD/1393 SH: 345)

The concept of spatial in spatial planning and processing is functional space that results from the interaction between human and environmental factors (man-made and natural) over time (Ebrahimzadeh, 2015 AD/1394 SH: 1). Just as "Today's land use planning is a set of new knowledge that operates in a coordinated and integrated manner, and experts in various social sciences (sociology, demography, economics, social planning, etc.) and engineering (architecture, roads and buildings, agriculture, natural resources and environmental sciences, and urban planning) can study and plan land use planning in a participatory and rational manner." (Makhdoum, 2014 AD/1393 SH: 19)

Despite the necessity for the enhancement of knowledge, institutions, and policies for land use planning and the sustainability and resilience of the land, there was a gap between formal knowledge and indigenous knowledge during the Pahlavi period, as well as a gap in institutional and policy development. In fact, the governmentaladministrative formulation for land changes in the Pahlavi period, which acted as the main agent for external development, prevented the

indigenous-based changes in population, habitat, and settlement. In other words, land use planning in the preparatory period was rejected, and fundamental changes for land management were prepared.

2.2. Modernization as the Framework for Land Changes in the Pahlavi Period

External necessities⁴ and internal needs shaped the studies of land development in Iran within the framework of the established administrative and government system based on the coup and the imported model. The government's involvement in land development in the country, which was the result of the cooperation between the Iranian government and foreign governments and forces, created a specific form of land use planning that, according to the prevailing theory at the time for the development of countries like Iran, i.e., the modernization school, lacked the essential characteristics for indigenous land development, such as participation, grassroots involvement, the use of indigenous technology, ecosystem-oriented, and emergence from the Iranian-Islamic culture.

"Abolhasan Ebtehaj, the head of the Planning Organization, stipulated that in each of the priority areas of the country's development, the Planning Organization must rely on the recommendations and consultations of foreign engineers above all else." (Boostak, 2016 AD/1395 SH: 183)

The modernization school has defined and implemented "Development" within this framework, and the experiences of development in Iran are one of the many instances of the application of the modernization school in changing the socio-economic patterns of countries such as Iran. The focus of this "Natural and Human" restructuring, in terms of knowledge, culture, and technology, goes back to the design of a specific type of land use planning during this period that weakens the national foundations. Therefore, strengthening national foundations and achieving the strategy of "Strong Iran" requires a critical reconsideration of the design of land use planning. As mentioned, the studies of land use planning in Iran during the Pahlavi period were:

- Single-agent (governmental and non-governmental-popular);

^{4.} The spread of new technologies and their varied and conflicting socio-economic consequences on one hand and the International Management of Social Transformations Program (MOST) on the other hand are among the external variables that Different factors affect the design and policy making in the field of land management and should be taken into consideration in land planning.

- Single-scale (comprehensive and national without considering the relationship between the part and the whole and the organic relationship between the diverse constituent parts of the land);

- Unilateral (top-down and non-participatory);

- Blind to the necessity of land connections (disregarding the extent of the land and the requirements of the dynamic integrity of this land);

- In search of non-indigenous technology (the application of technology in an uneven manner and in confrontation with environmental potentials and collective life patterns based on it);

- Dependent and non-interactive in relation to major powers (incapable of playing and determining the rules in power equations);

- Knowledgeable but alien to society, culture, ecosystem, and its technology.

The fundamental theory of these structural changes in Iran's spatial organization was the modernization school and its various scientific, cultural, biological, and technological roots in the diverse "Natural and Human" areas of Iran. "Due to the non-interference of the natural abilities (ecological potential) of the land in the process of land use and exploitation, the use of the land often becomes problematic, and as a result, the implementation of such plans leads to environmental degradation." (Makhdoum, 2014 AD/1393 SH: 99)

3. Research Method

The approach to answering the main question is descriptive-analytical and critical. Ecological description and analysis on one hand, and critical analysis based on changes in the landscape on the other hand. Given the main question of the article 'How was land development in Iran during the Pahlavi period shaped and what its characteristics were?' It is necessary to adopt a method that can reveal a change in the approach to land use.

The study of methods used in ecological planning and land use shows that considering the theoretical and practical difficulties of land science, there has been a reformative and complementary process in the field of methods. Naturally, some of these methods are only suitable for intra-sectional changes in the landscape. For example, the method of measuring vegetation covers in a specific region. In addition to these limited and intra-sectional methods, there are methods that are inherently suitable for macro and inter-sectional studies. Since in this article, land use planning from a basic perspective and its direction is the focus and question, there is a need for a comprehensive method.

"The applied landscape ecology approach, which is based on systemic relationships and emphasizes the importance of spatial

distribution," (Yavari, 2017 AD/1396 SH: 131) describes and analyzes landscape changes at an inter-sectional level. Therefore, in terms of approach and method, it is suitable for use in this article. Therefore, the analysis of divergence or convergence of landscape changes based on their impact on the landscape is considered. Using this method, it becomes clear whether land use planning and intervention design are based on the ecological and reliant on the relationships between natural and social domains or not.

In other words, by adopting this method, the difference between posteriority and anteriority of land use planning becomes apparent. Evaluating the validity of the adopted method, considering the lack of negative case sampling in qualitative analyses with purposive sampling, is important and can be examined. Neglect and lack of investment in discovering the characteristics of the land and predicting land use planning to reduce the adverse effects and abnormalities resulting from the implementation of modernization programs, demonstrates the effectiveness of the ecological method for evaluating the method of land use and landscape changes during the Pahlavi period.

4. The Non-ecological Planning, groundwork for the Divergence in Land Changes

The most significant impact of land use planning is observable in development programs. The planning during that time in Iran clearly reflects the influence of externalization and rejection of the ancient Iranian land use planning (self-sufficient, diverse, independent, and self-reliant) which had a continuous, ecological, and "Biodefense" fabric. Therefore, the necessity of proportionality between "Society and Government" and "Culture-ecosystem-technology" was ignored and denied. Instead, the confrontation of "Government with Society" and the rupture of the bond in the nexus of "Culture-ecosystem-technology" in the Pahlavi development model led to the weakening of Iran's strong roots and the loss of cultural and technological independence.

"The first plan (1327-1333) was written with the help and supervision of American experts. During the years of the second plan (1334-1340), the first comprehensive plans were prepared by foreign consulting engineers for several cities in Iran. In fact, these plans were carried out by the original American experts of the Truman doctrine. The goal of the third plan (1341-1346) was regionalization of planning activities." (Zabihi, 2011 AD/1390 SH: 94-98; Baldwin, 2015 AD/1394 SH: 54 and 82)

Regarding regional development program in Khuzestan, executive management was also entrusted to a group of American consultants (Bustak, 2016 AD/1395 SH: 194).

It may seem that this goal-setting in the third plan and attention to "Region" in planning is a correct step to remedy deficiencies and reduce gaps. However, in addition to the undesirable results of the program's implementation, which is the best evidence of the inaccuracy of the planning, an examination of the sources of that time shows that there was a mindset for the design and planning to use the "Natural and Human" resources of the land of Iran, which resulted in the dependency and negation of cultural and technological independence.

An important example in this regard is an analysis provided by T.H. McLeod, the executive supervisor of the Harvard consultants' group in the third development plan, who offers technical assistance and foreign consultancy: "Foreign technical consultancy is the kind of work that will probably show its real successes in the long run. Foreign technical consultancy is not essentially aimed at creating physical establishments or even, according to the current literature on foreign aid, "Institutionalizing." The success and sustainability of these two goals are contingent upon the presence of a conductive environment. The transfer of new ideas and perspectives to the host society is the most fundamental and challenging aspect of technical consultancy. Without success in this area, the achievements in other fields will not be sustainable.

Therefore, assessing the success of foreign technical consultancy, especially in the short term, is impossible given the intricate and unpredictable nature of the transfer of new ideas and perspectives. The time gap between the acceptance and absorption of new ideas in the host society is entirely unpredictable. The process of absorbing new ideas inevitably involves profound bewilderment and confusion about change and evolution of concepts." (Leod, 1998 AD/1377 SH: 23 and 24)

It is worth noting that "Every geographical space is a symbol of cultural, ideological, and economic actions, and geographical structures are always recognized as reflections of decision-making and socioeconomic systems." (Shakoui, 1990 AD/1369 SH: 3)

Therefore, what McLeod has raised as new ideas and the subsequent confusion is not merely theoretical but is entirely related to life, land changes, and biological patterns of society, which can be observed in the emergence and development of new land development programs and designs. Therefore, the issue of land development and its reinterpretation is closely linked to the identification and production of real data and information and the redesign of resource distribution

patterns based on the correction of beliefs and information that have supported the previous development. A prominent example of such activity is the <u>Truman</u>'s <u>Point Four Program</u> in Iran, which has received very little attention and analysis.

"In the fourth five-year plan (1347-1351), there was a greater emphasis on deep economic dependence. The official goal was to accelerate economic growth and rely more on industrial development and the expansion of existing poles, as well as the creation of new industrial zones. The main goal of the fifth plan, in addition to industrialization, was the identification of new regions suitable for regional development. In the sixth plan (1357-1361), the focus was more on regional planning and land development, which was entrusted to the consulting engineers of Stiran." (Zabihi, 2016 AD/1395 SH: 98-101)

A crucial point that should not be overlooked in the process of shaping new land development in Iran is the backward attitude and thus the incomplete birth and passive understanding of it, which hinders fundamental, creative, and grassroots changes in land development as a serious and vital strategy for future-oriented and non-experimental utilization of "Natural and Human" resources.

In the years of the 1350-1360s, the increase in oil revenue and the greater intensity of concentration and accumulation of capital in growth poles created severe problems and inadequacies for the government leaders. To prevent social and economic consequences, land development was included in their third and fourth plans. The main difficulties that the previous regime faced in the 1350-1360s and land development claimed to be responsive and provide solutions for them are as follows:

- Concentration of capital in the modern sector and marginalization of the traditional sector;

- Abandonment of some natural resources and extensive areas, accompanied by excessive exploitation leading to resource waste in other densely populated areas, resulting in environmental destruction;

- Uncontrolled rural migration leading to widespread relative poverty;

- Population concentration in a limited space, with its supply gradually becoming tighter compared to increasing demand;

- Explosive urban growth accompanied by the concentration of innovation and dynamism in a few cities and the sprawling expansion of congested urban areas;

- Inability to control the growth of Tehran and the concentration of active forces of the country in central provinces (which at that time included Tehran) at the expense of other parts of the country;

- The increasing cost of this growth, part of which falls on other parts of the country;

- Exacerbation of inequalities in living standards and lifestyles between cities and villages, among various provinces, and so on;

- The decline of social structures, national heritage, and traditional culture (Chokhachizadeh Moghadam, 2002 AD/1381 SH: 82).

In parallel with government planning, systematic studies began at the University of Tehran with the establishment of the Institute for Social Studies and Research in 1337. However, gradually, a different path was taken and despite the useful work that was done, the recovery of environmental capabilities and the application of indigenous technology did not take place.

The spatial structure model of Iran in the Pahlavi era had a progressive and divergent depth compared to the previous traditions of the Safavid and Achaemenid eras, as well as the Seleucids, Parthians, and Islamic era. The only kinship that can be found beyond documents during the several thousand years of administrative rule in Iran is the kinship of the administrative system and power distribution during the Sassanid era.

The Sassanids, with minor differences, had implemented a hierarchical structure pattern in the space of Iran. The year 1316 is considered important and influential in the history of the spatial structure model of the country in Iran. In this year, the Academy entered the decision-making arena in formulating the model of the country's spatial structure and began its work by choosing names for some railway stations and changing the names of some cities, which were also approved by the Shah. However, the most important decision of the Academy was to change the model of the country's spatial structure and create a structure similar to the Sassanid period with new names. The names of provinces, governors, counties, prefects, sections, sub-prefects, rural districts, and rural district governors were extracted from ancient languages by the Academy to replace the words "State," "Province," and "Block."

The division of Iran's space into six provinces and fifty counties was carried out by the Academy on Aban 16, 1316. On Bahman 11, 1316, the country's space was divided into ten provinces and forty-nine counties. It is also noteworthy that during that time, the hierarchical theory had a special place in Europe, and most biologists, geologists, and others sought to introduce and use this theory as the most modern theory in natural divisions. In other words, creating such seemingly superficial changes, backed by strong scientific knowledge, had very important consequences in governing the country, which manifested

itself in various social and environmental fields after a hundred years (Mahmoudi Mohammadabadi, 2018 AD/1397 SH: 41-42).

The reality is that "Culture" and, of course, "Regional Planning Technology in Iran," has been borrowed from foreign countries, and the method and approach of studying by Iranian consulting engineers have been important (Ebrahimzadeh, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 61, Kalantari, 2017 AD/1396 SH: 331). Provincial development plans in Iran follow a cognitive approach (Mokhtari Karchagani, 2017 AD/1399 SH: 54), while we cannot blindly imitate their planning methods - neither in principles and foundations nor in strategies and methods (Azimi Bolurian, 2009 AD/1388 SH: 40).

The difficult reality of land use planning in the face of increasing negligence towards indigenous knowledge and technologies, which have been the result of country studies in various dimensions, should not be overlooked. Attention to the "Nature of Borders" (Baru, 2007 AD/1386 SH: 253) and the fact that "Natural Borders of Land, Vegetation, Landforms, and Climate often do not align with each other" (Makhdoum, 2014 AD/1393 SH: 17 and 21) is important.

The injection of national resources and gigantic hardware projects in the absence of software policies that prioritize social and environmental development is contradictory to governance and social development theories. The injection of national resources often leads to addiction in many cases and results in abandoning indigenous capabilities (TavakKoli, 2018 AD/1397 SH: 166), contrary to the theory of "Biological Community Capital," (Amirahmadi, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 30) which has a structural understanding of collective life realities and sustainable patterns in resource allocation.

It should be added that the influence of the hierarchical theory and the Growth Pole Theory by R. P. Misra (Kalantari, 2017 AD/1396 SH: 371) on land use planning and development is noteworthy. In the 1340s, he designated the theory of growth poles as a necessity for development and transformation in Iran. Based on the information he had received about Iran, he emphasized that a country with more than 70,000 population centers cannot have a successful development plan. Therefore, he classified Iran into 8 urban region centers and precisely determined the population and extent that should be migrated to these centers for development to occur in those areas.

Although this plan was carried out under the title of decentralization, in practice, it resulted in nothing but spatial concentration and imbalance. The perception of urbanization as the ultimate goal of civil transformation pursued in the policies and programs of the fifth and

sixth Islamic Republic of Iran development plans, known as CSDs,⁵ and the establishment of only two development poles in Iran, has been one of the consequences of the aforementioned susceptibility.

With the decrease in civil stability resulting from the law of biodiversity in biology and human ecology, which states that any system whose diversity and plurality are reduced, its capacity for sustainability will also decrease, it should be noted that the population of Iran is scattered in 70,000 villages and hundreds of cities, indicating a land rule that the resources of this land have a high dispersal capacity. In other words, it does not have the capacity for centralized concentration (Mahmoudi Mohammadabadi, 2018 AD/1397 SH: 50 and 51, Pourahmad, 2002 AD/1381 SH: 65). Although the rural settlements of the country appear scattered and separate from each other, a kind of internal order based on the limited resources of the land has connected them in various local, regional, and national levels in a network related to each other (Jalalian, 2017 AD/1396 SH: 226).

This pattern of dependent thinking has been deposited in various countries. One example of this is the mechanical collision and misunderstanding with rural communities. As Marion Bodiguel puts it, "In a text written about the concept of rural space from an epistemological perspective, the need to think about the independence of rural space and its separation from urban space was felt when land use planners entered the scene of the village and, in their imagination, saw rural space in a field-based way and described it as if it were the residue and continuation of the unnecessary of urban space." (Paroo, 2004 AD/1383 SH: 113 and 114)

There have been numerous problems and serious shortcomings regarding villages and, fundamentally, the understanding of collective life patterns in Iran, which have their roots in the epistemology and analysis patterns of Iranian-Islamic society and culture. "Without awareness of the ideologies behind these planning in each land, it is not possible to properly analyze the issues of that land." (Tavakkoli, 2018 AD/1397 SH: 170)

The direct impact of this theoretical weakness can be seen in land management, land use planning, and how to deal with the issue of space and place: "In the studies of consulting engineers in Iran, the field of climate and land was very rare and non-specialized." (Ramazani, 1998 AD/1377 SH: 17) Since the beginning of the Pahlavi era, the political

^{5.} City Development Strategies (CDS) documents were recommended for the first time by "Nigel Harris" who is one of the experts and economists of the World Bank, and these documents were prepared for many cities of the world in different countries (Sadri, 2013 AD/1393 SH: 171).

territorialization of space in Iran has not been based to a large extent on the factors influencing the process of national divisions (Ahmadipour, 2009 AD/1388 SH: 26).

The result is that one of the prominent features in spatial development in Iran is the existence of regional inequalities (Kalantari, 1998 AD/1377 SH: 120; Nazmfar, 2017 AD/1396: 165; Parizadi, 2018 AD/1397 SH: 195), and there is still a meaningful relationship between regional centrality and the attraction of economic opportunities (Sarvar, 2016 AD/1395 SH: 37). Based on such a background, spatial justice has received more attention than ever before. "Ensuring spatial justice at the territorial and intraterritorial levels, while taking advantage of the capacities and capabilities of geographical spaces in all environmental-ecological, socio-cultural, economic, institutional-management, and physical-spatial dimensions, can help reduce and eliminate regional inequalities and provide desirable population distribution and activities in the land." (Moulaei Hashjin, 2016 AD/1395 SH: 8)

From a scholarly perspective, it should also be noted that "On the one hand, geography is fundamentally the science of spatial analysis, and practically, it is the science of spatial planning, and on the other hand, politics, meaning the essence of governance, rule, and exercise of power in society and space, therefore, there is always a relationship between politics and space." (Hafeznia, 2012 AD/1391 SH: 119)

Space is a fundamental dimension in human society, and social justice materializes through its existence in space. Understanding the mutual relationship between space and society in the understanding of social justice is inevitable, and its reflection in policies and planning systems will increase its impact. Thinking about space in recent years has significantly shifted from emphasizing uniform mapping thinking that saw the dimensions of space within the framework of human activities or simply considered the physical dimensions of space in fixed forms, towards becoming an active and fundamental force in shaping the lives of citizens (Hafeznia, 2020 AD/1398 SH: 118).

In fact, regional planning is not limited to land use, the environment, shaping the human-made environment, agriculture, industry, education, healthcare, and leisure activities, but rather regional planning is a complex integration of various socio-economic sectors in adaptation to the needs of society and social justice (Shakoui, 1997 AD/1376 SH: 38).

The existence of a real connection between space and social justice in theoretical and practical dimensions, and the subsequent transformations resulting from attention to such a connection, indicates a mutual interaction that is observable in policy-makings, and therefore it is expected to be addressed. More precisely, political and ideological

differences and conflicts in spatialology and spatial-making planning are highly influential, and the Islamic Revolution in Iran, with a new design in the political sphere, and therefore in spatialology and spatialmaking, should benefit from a different land use planning.

Conclusion

Land use planning in ancient Iran had an ecological and foundational structure. In this design, land stability is recognized as a key variable. In such conditions and frameworks, land use planning will be a successful and sustainable intervention in the structure of living ecosystems. Therefore, any weakness in this area affects the quality of land use planning and the state of convergence or divergence in the "Culture-ecosystem-technology" nexus.

A nurturing and utilizing natural and human talent, or more precisely, the pattern of land changes during the Pahlavi era, was based on the modernization school and the rejection of foundational ecological design. Weakness and poverty in the analysis of knowledge to understand land unity and its institutional-political representation regarding how interconnected and interdependent "Natural and Human" areas are, led to the neglect of indigenous spaces and communities, and thus the inability to design spatial and land use planning. "Land Use Planning" follows the methods of preservation, continuity, and improvement of life and collective environmental patterns in the land area and, in general, dynamic protection of the land's face. However, non-participatory and confrontational non-ecological land use planning led to an emphasis on maximizing resource exploitation and the centralization of "Economic Growth" as the focal point of development plans. The result of this process gradually replaced convergence with divergence in land changes, which in turn created a social confrontation in the formulation of the Islamic Revolution to achieve a different development pattern.

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