

Genealogy of Bio-Power in Urban Development Plans (Case Study: Abkooh Neighborhood in Mashhad)

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ABSTRACT: In developing countries, after decades passed from preparing urban development plans, informal settlements and urban decay are unresolved, but their scope and severity increase day by day. Therefore, instead of tracing the root of this problem in preparing and implementing plans, it should be viewed from another perspective and the hidden aspect of planning theory, i.e., the realm of power and its application to living space, mainly ignored by urban planners. The primary purpose of this study is to investigate the genealogy of urban development plans in the Abkooh neighborhood to reflect the application of bio-power in the process of spatial planning. Using the social constructivism approach and accepting the transition of the capitalist system from imperialism to the empire, the current study analyses two categories of power-knowledge: disciplinary power and bio-power and their relationship with spatial planning. Then, after describing the gray spaces, applying disciplinary power and bio-power in these spaces is discussed. Finally, Foucault's genealogical approach is performed to critically analyze the bio-power in urban development projects related to the Abkooh neighborhood. From Foucault's power-knowledge perspective, power relations seek to accumulate capital and commodify urban spaces through urban development plans and rely on disciplinary power and bio-power and using the formal spatial planning system. The research findings prove that historically, the formation of urban development plans is connected to the network of power relations. Therefore, spatial planners, besides attending planning approaches routinely learned in the academic environment, should also address power-knowledge issues.

Keywords: *Power-Knowledge, Disciplinary Power, Bio-Power, Gray Space, Abkooh Neighborhood of Mashhad, Foucault's Genealogy.*

INTRODUCTION

A review of urban planning research related to urban decay and informal settlements reveals that most of these areas suffer problems in various files including social and economic (economic poverty, gradual evacuation of structures from old residents, growth of social delinquency, accumulation of low-level activities, and attracting criminals and addicts.), environmental (air pollution, noise pollution, water pollution.) and physical (low quality of buildings, high population density, severe lack of municipal services, poor access, fragmentation of parts. (Nikpour & Hassan Alizadeh, 2020; Pourmohammadi et

al., 2015; Poorahmad & Zarei, 2015; Sarvar, 2011; Veissi et al., 2020; Sayyafzadeh, 2019). In the common view, urban decay and informal settlements are formed due to non-compliance with rules and regulations of urban planning and lack of strict supervision or problems in preparing and implementing plans. Therefore, several solutions with different titles have been presented, including reconstruction, renovation, rehabilitation, and urban regeneration. In other words, the assessments regarding the ineffectiveness of urban development plans to solve the problems of informal settlements often occur in the context of maintaining the status quo and providing technocratic solutions. Despite decades of preparing urban

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development plans in developing countries and changing planning approaches in preparing these plans, it is observed that the problem of informal settlements and urban decay is unresolved, but its scope and severity are increasing day by day. Therefore, it is necessary to look at it from another perspective and trace the root of this problem to something less addressed in spatial planning, namely the phenomenon of power. Power can be examined from various aspects such as military or economic, but in this study, power is considered from Michel Foucault's perspective, power-knowledge (Flyvbjerg & Richardson, 2002, 44). This type of power is, firstly, networked and, secondly, linked to knowledge and ethics.

Abkooch neighborhood in the metropolis of Mashhad, despite the preparation of urban development plans from the urban scale (three comprehensive plans) to the local scale (two neighborhood renovation plans) as well as performing different approaches of urban planning from reconstruction, renovation, and improvement to urban regeneration approach in recent years, still faces many unresolved problems. So, it seems that power relations seek to accumulate capital and commodify urban spaces through urban development plans in Abkooch. The current study attempts to deal with the root of the unresolved problem of the Abkooch neighborhood from Foucault's genealogical methodology so that its future solutions will not be based on instrumental rationality but based on what is called phronesis or practical rationality.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The current study is performed through social constructivism, which is one of the genealogical assumptions. Social constructivism emphasizes that we must critically look at those ways of understanding the world, including our perceptions that have been taken for granted (Burr, 2015, 20-21). In other words, social constructivism is a critical approach to self-evident knowledge. The methodology developed by Flyvbjerg for power-related studies is called "phronetic planning research." Phronesis goes beyond scientific and analytical knowledge (episteme) and technical knowledge or know-how (techne) and attends to judgments and decisions made based on the behavior of social experts and political actors. The four rational-value questions at the forefront of research on phronetic planning are: Where do we end up with planning and democracy? Who wins and who loses, and by what mechanism of power? Is this type of development desirable? What is the best thing to do? (Flyvbjerg, 2002). Combining the research of Flyvbjerg's phronetic planning research and Foucault's genealogy, this study first examines the bio-power genealogy in urban development projects related to the Abkooch neighborhood. The plans studied in this study include the first comprehensive plan of Mashhad metropolis (Khazeni plan), the second comprehensive plan of Mashhad metropolis (Mehrazan plan), the third comprehensive plan of Mashhad metropolis (Farnahad plan), the first renovation plan of Abkooch neighborhood (plan to improve the quality of Abkooch urban

decay), the second renovation plan of Abkooch neighborhood (renovation and improvement plan of Abkooch urban decay) and the regeneration plan of Abkooch neighborhood. In the following, a social analysis of the actors' actions and reactions, and decisions involved in the Abkooch neighborhood, and a critical analysis of events in the context of the relationship between knowledge and power have been performed. At the same time, it has been studied what will happen to the people and Abkooch neighborhood if the proposed projects are implemented and the winners and losers. After reviewing what has happened in the past years by the official urban planning system for the Abkooch neighborhood, suggestions have been made for the future of this neighborhood.

Theoretical Foundation

Given the influence of macroeconomic, social, and political conditions on the spatial planning system, this section first describes the macro level and the current context, i.e., the transition of capitalism from imperialism to empire, and then the power-knowledge aspects from Foucault's point of view, including disciplinary power and bio-power and their relationship with spatial planning has been investigated. After describing the gray spaces, the method of applying disciplinary power and bio-power in these spaces is analyzed, and finally, Foucault's genealogical approach is discussed.

Empire, Disciplinary Power, and Bio-Power

In an evolutionary process after the transition from commercial capitalism in the 16th and 17th centuries and industrial capitalism in the 18th and 19th centuries, the capitalist system reached imperialism in the 20th century. In this period, a method of exercising power is Manichaeic rationality (dual rationality) that divides phenomena into self and other. Edward gives a clear example of this Said in that the East is not a pure fact of nature, but almost a European invention; And Orientalism is a thinking style based on the ontological and epistemological distinction made between the "East" and (often) the West, which expresses the cultural and even ideological part as a kind of discourse supported by institutions, words, academics, doctrines, ideas, and even the colonial bureaucracy. European culture presents its power and identity as a substitute by portraying it in the East (Said, 2003, 87). The same phenomenon is observed in spatial planning dualities, including center-periphery, north of the city - south of the city, downtown - suburb, and formal-informal settlements.

The capitalist system is more extensive and complex in the 21st century and is known as the "empire" - or "post-imperialist" era. The transition from imperialism to empire is taking place, which is in line with the new features of the internal arrangements for the transition from modernity to postmodernity. Postmodernity is the new stage of capital accumulation and commodification accompanied by forming the current form of the global market, which is based on difference and multiplicity (Hardt & Negri, 2000, 40-42). In

this period, besides cultural and economic exploitation, social activities are also exploitation and domination. The proletariat is no longer merely the industrial working class but includes all those subjugated to capital, including those deprived. The legitimacy of the empire is based on communication industries and self-validation languages, and police actions in the permanent state of exception. During the empire period, postmodern radical action is non-dialectical, based on the idea of plurality and multiplicity and the destruction of the discipline and dualism of modern sovereignty and based on the unity of values and voices of the marginalized, the exploited, and the oppressed individuals (Hardt & Negri, 2000, 212-215).

In fact, from the genealogical perspective, which can be classified within the framework of the traditions of critical urban studies, the history of human societies is the history of power relations. Cities were built with different power-based relationships before they were replaced by the capitalist market and capitalist production (Marcuse, 2011, 217-218). According to Foucault, the function of power in the empire era is directly related to the system of knowledge and language. Power produces knowledge. It must be acknowledged that power and knowledge are directly co-related; It must be admitted that neither power relations exist without the creation of a field of knowledge associated with it, nor a knowledge exists unless it requires power relations and at the same time creates power relations. A Power-knowledge network means exercising power through force and knowledge (Foucault, 1977, 265-270). By examining Foucault's works, two types of power-knowledge can be identified: disciplinary power and bio-power. These two types of power are not separate but a continuation of each other, and as Foucault states, bio-power does not eliminate disciplinary power but integrates with it. Hence, in the following, disciplinary power and bio-power will be discussed.

From the 17th and 18th centuries, a new power system emerged that differed from the legal-political theory of sovereignty¹(Foucault, 2003, 78). Disciplinary power focuses on the body and its actions and the extraction of land and labor from the body, rather than on the earth, producing goods extraction and wealth. This type of power seeks to regulate the body-tool or body-machine relationship instead of forcible exploitation with the physical existence of a ruler, or in other words, it tries to regulate the coercive relationship with the production machine through the existence of a tight grid of material coercions (Foucault, 1977, 135-137). The prerequisite for this type of power exercise is disciplinary knowledge, penal institutions, and disciplined spaces that form the three sides of disciplinary power.

In the 18th century, the sciences were disciplined. In other words, the internal organization of each knowledge turned into a discipline that had a selection criterion in its territory with which it could eradicate its incorrect knowledge or non-knowledge. The primary function of 18th and 19th-century universities, like the Napoleonic University, is "selection,"

but not the selection of people, but a selection of sciences. As a penal institution, the university can play this selective role because it has a monopoly. According to this monopoly, any knowledge that is not born or formed in this type of institutional realm is automatically and from the outset pre-disqualified. The university selects knowledge. Its role is to establish and impose a kind of consensus. Its role is the direct or indirect use of government agencies to centralize knowledge (Foucault, 2003, 190-192). The third side of disciplinary power is disciplinary spaces. Power disciplined the spaces needed, including factories and universities, through new knowledge accumulation (Foucault, 1977, 194-195). Foucault explores the concept that "discipline arises from the distribution of individuals in space." He also describes the physical and mental control over individuals exercised by manipulating spatial relationships in Bentham's famous "circular building." (Philo, 2000, 208-209).

In the second half of the 18th century, "bio-power" is formed: a new technology of power integrated with disciplinary technology instead of eliminating it (Foucault, 2003, 240-242). Empire domination is no longer exercised through the disciplinary requirements of the modern state but the requirements of bio-political control. Empire is the ultimate form of bio-power; since life is the absolute deviation from power (Hardt & Negri, 2000, 353-355). Bio-power seeks power's hold over life, and governmental control is biological. In this type of power, the mechanisms of power and regulations were adapted to the phenomenon of population and the biological or biosocial processes specific to human masses. Among issues related to bio-power, one can mention the birth rate, mortality rate, life expectancy, population fertility, control of human race relations, and, most importantly, control of the environment and living space related to knowledge and practice of spatial planning. Concerning disciplinary power and bio-power, the two concepts of disciplinary society and control society should also be mentioned. Disciplinary power leads to the creation of a disciplinary society, and the bio-power creates a controlled society. Although in the disciplinary society the exercise of power through limitations of thoughts and actions, punishment of criminal behavior, and the prescribing of normative behavior was effective, in the control society, the power is exercised through machines directly in the brain (e.g., communication system, information network) and bodies (e.g., in welfare systems, supervised activities) which leads to a spontaneous alienation from the meaning of life (Hardt & Negri, 2000) In short, in bio-power and the control society, life has become the object of power and power has surrounded life. In this situation, the production and reproduction of life have been directly endangered by power, and bio-political contexts are increasingly serving capital accumulation (Foucault, 2008, 18-21).

Gray Space

The ultimate goal of critical urban theory is to realize the

right to the city (Schmid, 2011, 43). This is the right to enjoy social justice, which requires non-decisive acceptance of the ruling capitalist system (Marcuse, 2011, 25-26). Gray spaces refer to those in which social justice has been neglected and in the period of empire are attended for the relations between power and capital. The inhabitants of these spaces are usually the most deprived residents who had no privileges and obtained space on the margins of the law easily or by force (Foucault, 1977, 73-75). The concept of "gray space" includes settlements, enclosed lands, people, and activities that fall between the "light" of legality, official approval, safety, and the "darkness" of expulsion, destruction, and death. Gray spaces that have neither been merged nor eliminated from the quasi-permanent margins of today's urban areas and are somewhat out of sight of government officials and urban plans. The recognition of "gray space" as an uninterrupted process of "production" of social relations ignores the false modernist dichotomy between "legal" and "criminal," "oppressed" and "inferior," "fixed" and "temporary." Gray spaces have largely, but not alone, become the dominant feature of contemporary urbanism in the less developed world (Yiftachel, 2011, 150-151).

Undoubtedly, power-based relationships are string favorites of the government, builders, or the middle class. However, informal settlements' "invisible" population is an essential player in shaping cities and regions. Gray spaces, in the realm of urban politics, are usually quietly tolerated, while they are exposed to offensive discourses for their known "ugliness," "crime," and "danger" for the desirable situation. The segregation between the current imposed reality, and the expression of its "intolerable" reasoning, planning, and legal point of view begins a process of gray space creation during which the boundaries between "accepted" and "rejected" are constantly changing. All people are trapped in an unplanned urban area that lacks certainty, stability, and consequently development. These consequences are evident in many cities. All neighborhoods and regions lack services to realize their urban citizenship, and new urban colonial relations are formed. Gray space is a process full of power. Thus, the objective emergence of "stubborn" informal spaces is usually confronted with a range of illegal and prohibitive discourses, regulations, and violence instead of reform or equalization policies. This creates boundaries that divide urban groups according to their status, an "integration segregation" process that keeps gray spaces in a state of "permanent temporality" that is both tolerated and reproached and constantly awaits "correction" (Yiftachel, 2011, 152-153).

Disciplinary Power and Bio-Power in Gray Space

One of the problems of gray spaces is the commodification of housing. In the capitalist economic system, housing and land are treated as commodities produced, sold, and managed for personal gain. This system is based on an economic system that moves by the tendency to increase profits for some and to the detriment of others (Marcuse, 2011, 216). In the Urban

Revolution (2003), Lefebvre briefly notes that "when the main turnover ... industrial production ... begins to slow down, capital shifts to the second sector, real estate" and shows how "even real estate trading may become the main source of capital formation, that is, the realization of surplus-value." However, his goal in that writing and other contemporary writings was not to create a political economy for the city, but rather a more fundamental study of world urbanization and its process, i.e., the politicization of space (Goonewardena, 2011, 87).

The supply of housing, which is one of the necessities of life, is provided through the private market, housing for business and not for the people. In the language of classical economics, the issue of housing transfer is essential due to its exchange value and not for its use-value or the commodification of housing (Marcuse, 2011, 224). In the established discourses of neoliberal urban politics, there is a dichotomy of "destruction or renovation," meaning that declining urban centers must be renovated. If renovation does not occur, these areas will be devastated and depopulated. However, the renovation will be to evacuate residents or increase rents, and there are other ways to increase the prosperity of these areas. One of the strategies of decommmodification of housing is limiting the role of profit in decisions that affect housing and replacing the basic principle of determining social needs. This strategy requires social ownership of housing, social production of housing supply, general control of housing investment, social control of land, controlling neighborhoods by residents, positive action and choosing to house, and fair allocation of resources (Slater, 2011).

Order must be maintained in society. Order in society preserves the current discipline and helps different classes to perform their defined functions. This order may include housing, jobs, social relationships; The anarchists' debates concerning the order of society, especially in the second half of the 19th century, believed that the rule of society served the bourgeoisie. That crime and rebellion of criminals and lawbreakers were a tool for combating it and that a political unity must be established among popular lawbreakers. Part of "power relations" is discipline. When discipline exists in the society, it means that the ruling class has been able to institutionalize its demands through discipline; In other words, it has made its favorite behaviors constant and repetitive and "takes care" of them while "punishes" everything other behaviors. Marginalization can include that "outlawed" person, that great nomad of society who wanders the borders of obedient and terrifying order. Crime is not born in the margins, but through the most intensive accessions, under the most rigorous care, and as a result of the accumulation of disciplinary coercion that is born (Foucault, 1977). From this perspective, a cause of the so-called informal settlement is the accumulation of strict disciplinary coercion. Urban development plans lead to the establishment of "discipline" in construction by providing regulations for using the land, the minimum land allocation area, and other similar cases for which the urban management

complex is responsible for taking care, and failure to comply with this rule for the privileged class only includes fines and can be violated. However, if the working class violates this law, it is called informal settlement. It is subject to punishment (destruction by disciplinary bodies including the Article 100 Commission or failure to receive municipal services or creating decay and informal labels.)

In the following, the genealogy of the power relations with the people and two critical concepts, torture, and punishment over time, are discussed. In the 19th century, "torture," or the great show of corporal punishment in Europe, which had a long history in the Middle Ages, disappeared. The 19th century marked the beginning of the age of impunity for punishment or punishment without appearances. The purpose of punishment moved from the body toward the restriction of freedom and property. Punishment targeted the soul instead of the body (Foucault, 1977, 15-17). If the inhuman punishment on human beings was reduced and the offender was dealt with humanly, it was not for "humanity" for the effects of inhuman punishment on the agent of power. Humanity is an attributed respectful name. In other words, power only matters that punishment should be a preventive factor so that a crime with adverse effects on the power agent is prevented. For example, in the case of informal settlements, the reason for stopping rigorous destruction was not for respecting humanity but for preventing the adverse effects it had on the ruling class itself, such as the alliance and street riots of the working class. In other words, the destruction of these settlements did not prevent the formation of urban decay and reinforced the unity of their inhabitants and the growth of these structures.

On the other hand, the people living in these areas were cheap laborers, with the minimum living facilities at the disposal of the capitalist system and the ruling class. Therefore, although these neighborhoods were illegal, the cost of punishing their inhabitants for the ruling class was more than its benefit. Nothing can weaken the law system as much as the hope of not being punished. Hence, on the one hand, the powerful class creates a higher density than allowed without fear of violating the rules since it hopes it will not be punished and that it can compensate for its wrongdoing by paying the price. On the other hand, the working class starts building by ignoring the rules hoping that its solidarity and insurgent power will prevent justice and that the ruling power does not punish it.

According to the reasons mentioned above, punishments and tortures were changed since the purpose of punishment was

changed; during the torture period, which intended to punish the offender himself, punishments included the "offender's body." Nevertheless, when the goal of punishment turned into "preventing the recurrence of crime," there was a need for a form of punishment with a more significant impact on society, such as "defamatory and scandalous punishments." The punishments of the inhabitants of informal settlements may be called defamatory. Instead of destroying houses, they labeled these types of structures. They called them urban decay and informal settlements, which imposed severe negative social consequences (social status and occupational/economic opportunities). After the reforms in Europe, the offender's body became the property of society. In other words, the offender's body turned into the object of collective property and, therefore, the best torture one with a benefit for the general public that is doing public work. Therefore, although some residents of informal settlements possess working skills, they are not accepted and trusted by society due to the geographical location of their living place, and sometimes they are forced to seek non-official and labor jobs. They do work with the lowest payments and specific services. Punishment should be like a school, like an open book that constantly educates and reminds people, not a ceremony that is suddenly held and ended (like torture; Foucault, 1977, 19).

In other words, punishment must be a kind of discourse to remain in society and achieve its primary purpose to prevent the recurrence of crime in the future. Those who have undertaken unauthorized construction in informal settlements carry this title and suffer social exclusion as long as they live there. Discourse becomes the transmitter of the law: by educating and reminding the offense and the offender and the punishment that the offender endures, effects of the offense are warned to the posterity, and exerting law is institutionalized in other citizens. Instead of performing torture at one point in the city, the whole city becomes a place for torturing, and a "punitive city" is created. The discipline and power relations in the city are neither by the "center of power" nor by a nucleus of forces, but by multiple networks of various elements - space, institution, rules, and discourse.

In summary, as shown in the comparison of torture and punishment in Table 1, torture emphasized the body and corporal punishment. Because the punishment purpose turned from punishing the offender to preventing the recurrence of the crime, the torture was abandoned. Punishment was placed on the agenda of governments by emphasizing defamatory

Table 1: Comparison of torture and punishment (Foucault, 1977)

Kind of punishment	Origin	Purpose of punishment	Method of punishment	How to prevent crime
Torture	King's will	Punishing the offender	Body	Institutionalization in the people is based on the collective fear and terror caused by torture
Punishment	Law's will	Preventing recurrence of the crime	Defamation or acting for the public interest	Institutionalization in the people based on the discourse created in society

labels and working for the public benefits based on disciplinary discourses in society.

In ancient times, the social method of the Greeks to deal with the insane was social exclusion, so that they were severely separated from others, and they were taken by ship to the sea or other cities. During the Middle Ages, social exclusion was also practiced for lepers, depriving them of some of the rights of ordinary citizens. This rejection occurred by labeling and attributing unique characteristics to these people. Therefore, with the support of laws and regulations and norms in the social, security, religious and ritual fields, these people were hampered from entering specific urban spaces. After the Middle Ages, social exclusion techniques were applied to other social groups, including the poor. In the mercantilist economy (16th to 18th centuries), which was based on commercial capitalism (exports), the poor was neither producers nor consumers. Therefore, the poor were sent to the hospital² and the insane and offender as a nuisance and moral justification. After the Industrial Revolution, attitudes toward poverty changed from moral to economic. The poor became important as labor and were no longer sent to the hospital. From this period onwards, governments attended to the poor and distributed them in areas where the workforce was scarce. The target population of these forced residences included peasants expelled from their land, expelled or fugitive soldiers, unemployed workers, poor students, and the sick, who were often ordered to be expelled from the city. Compulsory residence, at least at its beginning, had a single meaning throughout Europe; this was a solution for the 17th century to deal with the economic crisis that plagued the entire Western world: declining wages, unemployment, lack of money, a set of phenomena that may have arisen from the crisis in the Spanish economy (Foucault, 1964). Essentially, the poor are an eternal postmodern figure: a transversal subject, different, omnipotent, and dynamic.

Today, in biopolitical regimes of production and post-modernization processes, the poor are an exploited body. In the era of world production, he/she is always the most exploited and, most of all, is always dependent on the wages of the rulers (Hardt & Negri, 2000). What matters is the techniques and trends of excluding these social groups (Foucault, 2003, 66). In the present era, this group of people is somehow expelled from the city during the imperial period. However, due to society's need for their workforce, they live in the suburbs with difficult conditions with the least allocated public resources. So, the same social exclusion has been reproduced differently, reinforced by disciplinary power and bio-power.

Genealogy

More than any other contemporary philosopher, Foucault seems to have reminded us of the decisive importance of power in forming and controlling discourses, the production of knowledge, and the social construction of spaces. The path to power in planning theory can be traced back to the work of Michel Foucault. Foucault's works are divided into two

periods: "archeology" and "genealogy." Foucault's theory of discourse was part of his archeology. Archeology in no way seeks to define the thoughts, ideas, images, themes, and preoccupations hidden or revealed in discourses; instead, it follows the definition of these discourses as actions subject to rules. In his archeology studies, Foucault sought rules that determined which propositions in a particular historical period should be accepted as meaningful and accurate. The Archeology description seeks to reveal the regularity of a discourse action. Archeology is nothing more than a rewrite. Archeology is the systematic description of a discourse, object (Foucault, 1972).

In Foucault's archeology period, the truth was producing, regulating, and disseminating propositions. However, Foucault establishes a link between truth and power in the genealogy period, arguing that truth is rooted in and produced by power systems. Genealogies are related to the revolt of the sciences. This rebellion does not refer much to the themes, methods, or concepts of science. However, above all, it is essentially a rebellion against the effects of centralizing power, which depends on the institutionalization and efficiency of any organized scientific discourse. Genealogy must combat the effects of the power of any discourse that is considered scientific. Genealogy is an attempt to liberate historical knowledge, to remove its limitations, or in other words, to empower them to fight against the compulsion of an integrated theoretical, formal, and scientific discourse. The difference between what may be called the history of science and the genealogy of sciences is that the history of science essentially has its root in the general axis of cognition truth. Unlike the history of science, the genealogy of the sciences is on a different axis; That is, the axis of discourse-power or, in other words, the axis of action-confrontation of power discourse (Foucault, 2003). In short, if we call archeology the identification of dominant discourses in each historical period, while genealogy seeks to identify the power relations that in each historical and temporal period has made a discourse scientifically dominant in the society.

Critical urban theorists argue that capitalist cities are not only areas for commodification, but they have become so commodified that their socio-spatial forms - from buildings and built environments to land-use systems, production and exchange networks, and city-wide infrastructure supplies - are constantly reorganized to increase profitability capacity. Cities in the capitalist system have turned into places for capital accumulation strategies (Brenner, 2011). The city, or urban life, becomes a commodity. This process may be described as the commodification of urban affairs. Lefebvre points out (Lefebvre, 2003), this strategy goes far beyond mere and bit by bit sale of space. Space, not just land and real estate, become exchange value (Schmid, 2011, 53). In this empire period, the commodification of urban affairs is occurring, common attitudes of urban planning such as instrumental rationality and communicative rationality. Their derived methods are not sufficient for dealing with this phenomenon and finding other types of development. Instead, it is necessary to implement a

method that, by examining power relations, can recognize the mechanisms of the situation in cities. The authors believe that the combination of critical urban theory and genealogy helps to analyze power relations in urban development plans.

Genealogy of Urban Development Projects related to Abkooh Neighborhood

To investigate the bio-power genealogy in the Abkooh neighborhood in urban development plans, the first three development plans of Mashhad city have been studied. After that, two renovation and improvement projects for this neighborhood have been explored. In continuation, the measures taken by The Abkooh neighborhood regeneration office have been reviewed.

Before the physical development of Mashhad, the primary core of the Abkooh neighborhood was formed as a rural in the 1100 solar year at a distance of 6 km west of Mashhad (Saeedi Rezvani, 2006). Areas around the Abkooh neighborhood were formed before 1956, and its adjacent areas were developed after 1956 and 1957. Abkooh neighborhood is located in District 1 of Mashhad municipality, one of the most privileged districts. The population of this neighborhood is 5295 based on the population and housing census and the data of the statistical block in 2016 (Statistics Center of Iran, 2016). Analysis of the income and physical status of the residents of the Abkooh neighborhood shows that these residents are among the less privileged people in Mashhad. The highest frequency in the land parcels area, as shown in Table 2, belongs to the area

group of 50-100m², which includes about 40% of the land parcels, and among these, the parcels up to 75m² have the highest number. In the second category, which includes 25%, the parcels areas are 100 to 150m². Then, there are the parcels under 50m² which make up about 15% of the total parcels. In general, about 80% of Abkooh neighborhood land parcels are less than 150m² which indicates small land parcels (Farnahad, 2013).

In the first comprehensive plan of Mashhad, called the Khazeni comprehensive plan, residents of different city districts were divided into three parts based on their income as shown in Table 3: high privileged, semi-privileged, and low-privileged (Khazeni, 1971). This division has been maintained in the detailed plan, so the borderline between the three regions, given the social and economic situation of the people, has made it possible to divide the lands into larger parcels in the privileged and in smaller parcels in low-privileged districts.

Based on the revenue zoning of this plan, also presented in the detailed Khazeni plan (Mashhad first detailed plan) and accepted in the reports of Mehrazan comprehensive plan (Mashhad second comprehensive plan), the city of Mashhad is divided into three low-income, medium-income, and high-income districts, in which Abkooh neighborhood is located in the high-income. The proposed density of the detailed Khazeni plan is a combination of medium and high density, which includes a minimum area of 200 and 175m². It should be reminded that about 80% of the Abkooh neighborhood texture is below 150 meters³. In other words, in Khazeni's proposed plan,

Table 2: area of residential land parcels in Abkooh neighborhood (Farnahad, 2013)

Percentage	Land Parcel area
13.9	0 - 50
39.7	50 - 100
25.0	100 - 150
10.4	150-200
11	Above 200
100	Total

Table 3: Density details in residential land use in Khazeni detailed plan (Khazeni, 1971, 70)

Income district	Density	Minimum parcel area
District 1 High-Privileged	Low density	250
	Middle density	200
	High density	175
District 2 Semi-privileged	Low density	200
	Middle density	162.5
	High density	137.5
District 3 Low-privileged	Low density	150
	Middle density	125
	High density	100

nearly 80% of Abkooh neighborhood residents are neglected, and this plan aimed to change the nature of this neighborhood by supposing it the same as other neighborhoods of District 1. In line with what was proposed in Khazeni detailed plan, the severe first intervention took place in the Abkooh neighborhood in early 1981. According to this plan, the construction project of Dastgheyb Boulevard started to provide access to the Sajjad neighborhood⁴, and the Abkooh neighborhood was divided into two northern and southern halves. The study of the roads and the proposed land use of the Khazeni detailed plan (Farnahad, 2013) indicates that only the peripheral roads and some large parcels around the neighborhood have been achieved while its inner roads have not been implemented.

In the second comprehensive plan of Mashhad, called the Mehrazan comprehensive plan, which was prepared in 1991, the revenue zone of the city (previously mentioned in the Khazeni plan) was represented, and Abkooh neighborhood was put again in the affluent District 1. The proposed land use of the Mehrazan comprehensive plan in the Abkooh neighborhood is also a commercial-residential complex (Mehrazan, 1991). In the third comprehensive plan of Mashhad city called Farnahad plan prepared in 2006, the revenue zone of the city is divided into five districts. Although the residents of the Abkooh neighborhood are in revenue zones of 3, 4, and 5, in this plan, they are in zones 1 and 2, which points to the purpose of the plan to make the residents' status, land prices, and housing quality similar to those of the adjacent neighborhoods (Farnahad, 2006). In this plan, the Abkooh neighborhood has been introduced as a mixed zone with district and city services, which shows the continuation of economic attitude toward this neighborhood due to its strategic economic position in the city.

A significant event in the third comprehensive plan is to determine what is called urban decay. The Article 5 Commission has approved the area of urban decay in Mashhad city of the Law on the Establishment of the Supreme Council of Urban Planning and Architecture in the studies of the comprehensive plan. Abkooh neighborhood has been identified and introduced as an urban decay without urban heritage. The fundamental propositions of the comprehensive plan of Mashhad metropolis about urban decay such as Abkooh neighborhood are the tendency of urban management to participate in urban decay projects, the exceptional location of the urban decay of Abkooh in Mashhad and its facilities and opportunities, low employment rate and the existence of some informal jobs and physical weakness of existing buildings (Farnahad, 2006). Given the physical criteria of merely determining an urban decay, including the fine grain residential pieces, instability of buildings, and impermeability of roads, the urban management complex with higher-order institutions' approval allows and rationalizes entry and intervention into this neighborhood. As mentioned before, besides these physical criteria, the unfavorable economic situation of these neighborhood residents is referred to as "informal jobs."

In 2011, the urban management complex went beyond and did

not limit itself to the provisions of comprehensive and detailed plans of Mashhad for solving the problems of the Abkooh neighborhood. Therefore, it prepares the first renovation plan entitled "Abkooh urban decay quality improvement plan" specifically for this neighborhood. In the vision of this plan, it is stated: "Abkooh neighborhood... has a functional and physical connection with the same neighborhoods as its surroundings". As stated earlier, due to the strategic economic position of the Abkooh neighborhood in this project, it has been compared with the surrounding neighborhoods, and it is believed that it should be equal to its surroundings. Although in the third proposed comprehensive plan, the floors of residential buildings were between 2 to 4, in the 2011 (Abkooh improvement plan) plan, the number of the proposed floors is increased, and 3 to 5 floors are proposed, which shows the intensification of an economical approach to the plan. The minimum segregation of residential parcel area is considered to be 400 m², while about 80% of Abkooh texture is less than 150m². Also, most of the intended uses are for-profit and include residential and commercial land uses on a regional and city scale (Farnahad, 2013). Analyzing the level intended for linear and commercial complexes in the proposed plan compared to the previous detailed plan manifests that this share of these land uses is increased significantly. The for-profit approach to the plan is more intensified.

In 2011 when this plan was prepared, the Abkooh neighborhood's current situation was equal to 8350 people. However, in the approved detailed plan, the proposed population was 3615, and in the proposed plan, it was 3950 people. Also, residential land use has been reduced from about 17 hectares in the current situation to 9 hectares in the proposed plan. These numbers show that the population and residential area of this neighborhood should be reduced by almost half. On the other hand, the commercial infrastructure of this neighborhood, which is currently 31,000m², has been proposed about 144,000m² in this plan, which is almost increased fivefold. All these figures refer to a change in attitude towards this neighborhood and a decrease in the share of residential land use on the one hand and an increase in the share of commercial land use on the other hand. Finally, the economic and financial estimate prepared by the consultant indicates that in case of using the securities and acquiring the entire texture, including the building site and standing property, providing and constructing public services and for-profit land uses, both commercial and residential, costs up to 10,000,000 million rials for urban management and in return brings an income of 44,000,000 Million rials for it. In other words, the urban management complex is promised that after performing this plan, the revenue will be four times its cost for the municipality organization.

In line with the proposed plan and to finance the acquisition of real estate, the executive management of Abkooh texture issues financial securities in two stages through banks. According to Article 2 of the Law on the Issuance of Participation Papers, participation bonds are "securities issued under a partnership law at a specified nominal price for a specified period. Holders

of these bonds will share in the profits from implementing the relevant plan in proportion to the nominal price and the duration of the participation." These securities are issued to provide part of the financial resources required by government development-profit projects to pay for creating, completing, and developing profitable production, construction, and service projects and are handed over to investors who intend to implement these projects. The first period is between 2009 and 2015, in which about 600 land parcels are acquired in this period with the support of these bonds. In the second period, which begins after the revision of the Abkooch neighborhood plan, i.e., from 2016 to 2017, the second phase of issuing financial securities starts with the participation of banks, and about 150 more land parcels are acquired.

The second renovation plan of the Abkooch neighborhood, titled "The renovation and improvement plan of the urban decay of Abkooch neighborhood," is prepared in 2016 (Deputy of Urban Planning and Architecture, 2016). Since five years were passed from the first plan and the due date of these bonds was approaching, and since a small percentage of the land parcels were acquired despite having enough financial resources, the urban management complex decided to review the previous plan and to adjust it to the reality to take steps towards its implementation. The minimum area for the land parcels in this plan was at least 200m², which was reduced compared to the 400m² in the previous plan. Also, the proposed area for the residential unit was 75m², which was less than 135m² in the previous plan. Although this plan decreased the area of residential land parcels to become more feasible, investigating the share of for-profit and non-profit uses shows that it has increased from 43% in the 2011 plan to 47% in the 2016 plan, which implies the intensification of the economic view toward this neighborhood and more excellent economic added value to the plan in order to achieve economic forecasted in the previous plan.

Following the national approach, which in academic literature moved away from issues such as reconstruction, renovation, and improvement approaches and was replaced with regeneration literature, in enactment the feasibility package of repairing, renovating, and improving the urban decay of Abkooch neighborhood approved in 2020, this change of approach has been tried, "Due to the change in the national approach in the implementation of renovation and improvement projects and line with the change in the approach of Mashhad urban management in the reconstruction of Abkooch neighborhood, from direct project-based intervention to regeneration with maximum participation of the people ..." (Islamic City Council of Mashhad · 2020). First, the intellectual turmoil can be seen in this resolution as the three terms of renovation, improvement, and regeneration have been mentioned together in the title and text. Second, it is clearly stated that due to the change in the national approach, the approach of local urban management has changed from direct project-based intervention to regeneration with maximum participation of people. However, as previously

discussed, only the title and appearance of reconstruction have been preserved; participating agents are not the neighborhood residents, but the investors since the first group cannot afford it. According to construction experts, the construction license and completion certificate cost is approximately 8% to 12% of the construction cost. Therefore, all the incentives provided in this enactment for the construction license and completion certificate are ultimately 12% of the construction cost. In other words, practically, the power of the municipality organization to reduce construction costs for the residents of the Abkooch neighborhood is equal to 12%, which is very small compared to the difference between the cost of residential land parcels in this neighborhood with that of adjunct ones.

The urban management has no clear picture of what regeneration is and what it should do in the Abkooch neighborhood. Despite the change of approach due to lack of belief, it still follows the same old approach behind all its policies. The big contradiction in the approach of urban management is that contrary to the gentrification and social exclusion of the neighborhood residents, it must recognize the right of people to stay in the neighborhood due to the regeneration approach. This means that the economic value of the neighborhood does not increase, at least in the short term, due to the maintenance of its physical condition. On the other hand, the economic approach of urban management based on financing through partnership bonds indicates that the valuation of acquired lands and according to what is mentioned in urban development plans, i.e., "sameness of Abkooch neighborhood with its adjacent neighborhoods," requires that current residents leave the neighborhood and be replaced by people who can afford to buy high-rise housing and be more affluent like the adjacent neighborhoods. Therefore, although the regeneration approach and facilitation offices formed in these neighborhoods improves the residents' life quality, interviews with city managers and facilitation offices managers show that in practice, they do not believe in this (Shahre Zibaye Khavaran, 2020) since life quality improvement may solidify the residents' decisions to stay at the neighborhood, which is contrary to the hidden goal of those in power and capital to expel the residents from the neighborhood and to trade their land and real estate.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Surveys of the situation of the Abkooch neighborhood in 2020 show that out of 1913 land parcels in the Abkooch neighborhood, only 723 parcels have been acquired by the municipality, which is about 37.8%. Therefore, despite the preparation of numerous plans for the Abkooch neighborhood and financing by banks during these years, for various reasons, the future of this neighborhood has not progressed according to the comprehensive, detailed plans and renovation and improvement plans performed to modify its fate. As mentioned earlier, the price of land in the Abkooch neighborhood is about half the price of apartments in adjacent neighborhoods due to several problems like lack of land documents and other issues

that arose in this urban decay. If we consider the average number of residential land parcels in the Abkooch neighborhood as 100 m², if a landlord sells his land, he can buy a nearly 50 m² apartment. In addition to the economic issue, the challenges of apartment culture must be added. This is not the whole story. Another problem of the residents of this neighborhood is the low proportionate shares of the owner. Since the owner constructs unauthorized floors and sells them, his proportionate shares are reduced by half or one-third. So economically, these landlords cannot consolidate and create residential land parcels with minimum segregation of 200m². Furthermore, at best, they can buy an apartment in the suburbs if they sell their property. Since the working environment of these residents is mainly in the adjacent neighborhoods, moving to suburbs will add to the cost of their daily commuting from the suburbs to the city center.

Given the above mentioned, authorities behind the technical and rationalization approaches of urban development projects with titles such as regeneration and beginning the question, and applying titles relied on academic knowledge, pursue a policy of social exclusion in practice with the idea of depriving services and reduce life quality to lead the residents of Abkooch neighbor to sell their residential units. These authorities aim to acquire and consolidate the residential units and hand them over to investors to reach a suitable economic added value. In this regard, as shown in Fig.1, four forces can be identified that are the components of bio-power.

First, political institutions and decisions should be considered. For the Abkooch neighborhood, all urban development projects in this neighborhood were suspended due to a political decision based on social, cultural, physical, and decay problems. With the approval of the city council, the executive management specific to the Abkooch neighborhood launched. Then, a unique plan was prepared for this neighborhood which intensified the economic attitude towards it compared to the previous plans. Like Agamben's idea about the permanent state of exception, the Abkooch neighborhood cannot have regulations like other similar parts of the city due to its unique social, physical, and cultural problems. Enforcing laws and regulations for this texture, i.e., implementing comprehensive and detailed plans, is suspended. Due to a lack of ownership land documents, the residents have neither the right to sell nor build their residential units. They have to wait for reform, and during this period,

those who cannot stand this precarious situation may decide to move to another neighborhood after selling their properties.

The second factor is market forces who are one of the leading players in bio-power. As mentioned earlier, the strategic location of the Abkooch neighborhood has provided an excellent opportunity for real estate investors. The difference between the purchase price of residential units in this neighborhood compared to its adjacent neighborhoods (which is nearly half) shows the attractiveness of investing in it. According to investors, the price growth of land parcels only happens when the Abkooch name is removed. Its residents move to other neighborhoods since, as mentioned in the urban development plans, this neighborhood becomes its adjacent neighbors.

The third factor is the media and media coverage of these neighborhoods. Analyzing images and news text about urban decay shows that these textures are often portrayed with greater social and delinquent problems than other parts of the city, while several studies reject this idea. Also, the images reflecting these textures often display half-destroyed or destroyed buildings with construction debris, most of which are the same pieces that the municipality has owned and destroyed. Also, acquired and destroyed spaces, often scattered in the neighborhood, create defenseless urban spaces that reduce social control. Also, following the city managers, the media usually offer physical solutions such as consolidation, which is impossible for the residents to participate due to their low economic status.

The fourth factor that we are most concerned about is the knowledge of urban planning. As Foucault puts it, power seeks to discipline through knowledge. Relying on the duplications of Manichaeic logic, a formal-informal discussion of settlements and occupations is shaped. Like the defamatory punishments that Foucault puts it, the term urban decay refers to these areas, which themselves have severe consequences for the inhabitants' social life of these areas. In addition to the psychological burden these textures have on the residents of these neighborhoods, and in line with achieving job opportunities and marriage due to their home address and the name of their neighborhood makes them have a lower position in society and miss many of them these opportunities. Likewise, disciplinary knowledge is evident in urban development plans. So that in each historical period, regarding the urban planning literature that is considered by academics in the world and Iran, once with the words renovation and improvement and again

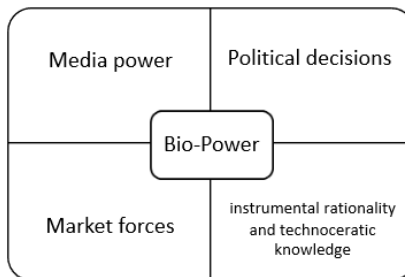


Fig.1: Bio-power components

with the approach of regeneration, they try to validate their proposals and rationalize intervention to the neighborhood to pursue social exclusion of residents from the neighborhood.

From the social constructivist approach, neighborhoods that are introduced as urban decay can be considered as constructed in a social context that manifests the power discourse: neighborhoods that have physical problems such as small land parcel area and instability; social problems such as the presence of addicts and stragglers; traffic problems such as being and lack of parking spaces; security problems such as stealing and substance abuse; environmental problems such as the high amount of sewage and unpleasant odors; and finally, economic problems such as informal employment. Although some of these problems may exist in these neighborhoods, this is not the total truth. A close look at causes and effects in these neighborhoods reveals that some of their problems are the results of urban management actions. For example, if the segregation limit of residential land parcel is considered 200m², most parts in Abkooch neighborhood is called small land parcel. However, according to the first comprehensive plan, minimum segregation of 100m² is acceptable in low-privileged areas. Therefore, it is evident that by changing the position of the Abkooch neighborhood in high or low-privileged districts, it can be labeled as an urban decay neighborhood or a neighborhood built according to the rules and regulations. Also, field surveys in the Abkooch neighborhood indicate that due to the acquisitions and destruction carried out in this texture, suitable hidden spaces are formed for addicts and stragglers. This issue causes dissatisfaction of the neighborhood residents after intervening in urban management. As previously stated about the disciplinary power, the intervention approach has recently shifted from torture or bulldozing and demolition of residential units to punishment and defamatory labels such as "urban decay" and "informal settlement" with numerous social and economic consequences for the inhabitants.

CONCLUSION

Critical urban theory suggests that spatial planning does not have a purely technical and non-political role but is a political and social action in which power relations are influential. Therefore, in this study, it was shown that urban planning has a dual role that, in addition to its mission and goal, which is to improve the quality of life and promote the public interest, may have a hidden aspect: integrating with power relations. Based on Foucault's power-knowledge perspective, power relations seek to accumulate capital and commodify urban spaces through urban development plans, disciplinary power, and bio-power, and using the formal system of spatial planning. In other words, authorities take advantage of the formal system of spatial planning, instrumental rationality, planning rules and regulations, and raising standards, seek to create dualities such as formal and informal for economic benefits.

The results of the present study proved this genealogical approach. They showed that historically, the progress of urban

development plans has been in line with the network of power relations. By rationalizing spatial planning processes at first and using disciplinary power and disciplinary knowledge, they justify their intervention approaches scientifically.

In the end, it is suggested that urban planners, whether professors or those working in consulting engineers, instead of using mere instrumental rationality, pay more attention to power relations in urban development plans, and the genealogy and phronetic planning research summarized in this research both in the urban planning knowledge and urban planning action. This helps them be more active and influential in interaction with power relations and the formal system of spatial planning. Using practical rationality or phronesis in interaction and bargaining with power, they do their best to create a human discourse and achieve another type of development. For the Abkooch neighborhood, it is suggested that the urban management complex recognize the residents' right to the city and right to stay in the Abkooch neighborhood. Instead of pursuing a policy of social exclusion, seek to improve their neighborhood quality of life. Also, to achieve economic benefits in the neighborhood and compensate for some of its investments, the acquired lands should be existed from the frozen mode by clarifying their ownership land documents by negotiating the semi-governmental organizations and starting constructions with the partnership of the private section.

ENDNOTES

1. Foucault believes that to analyze power, we must eliminate the legal-political theory of sovereignty because it does not represent reality. The written legal rules and regulations are derived from power.

2. In 1656, a law was issued to establish the Paris General Hospital with the aim of "preventing begging and unemployment as the source of all disorder." According to this law, people without an income and without social affiliation who were wandering in the city, regardless of gender, age, health, and social class, were arrested and sent to the hospital. This public hospital was not a medical institution but a quasi-judicial organizational hospital, an administrative institution that, along with other present powers and outside the courts, made decisions, judgments, and executions.

3. Although this statistic belongs to 2010, the high age of residential parts indicates that the share of the mentioned percentages is acceptable with a slight difference.

4. Sajjad neighborhood is near Abkooch neighborhood and is one of the most prosperous neighborhoods in Mashhad, with many commercial units and complexes. Therefore, it has a strategic economic position in Mashhad.

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