



AENSI Journals

Journal of Applied Science and Agriculture

Journal home page: www.aensiweb.com/jasa/index.html

The Role of Baladieh (Town Hall) in Iran's Urban Changes during the Age of the First Pahlavi

Shohreh Jalalpoor

Department of Political Science, Shahreza Branch, Islamic Azad University, 86145-311, Esfahan, Iran.

ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received 16 January 2013

Received in revised form 2

March 2013

Accepted 10 March 2013

Available online 5 January 2014

Key words:

Baladieh, Town hall, Victuals,
Sanitary, The court of town

ABSTRACT

Baladieh is one implication of constitutionalism (Mashrouteh) in Iran the rule of which was approved in parliament in early formation of The National Consultative parliament (the fourth approved law). Contemporaneous with the society needs, its primary form became more developed and more complete gradually in a manner that it turned into one of the busiest organizations of that time and from counting and cleaning, it developed to central sections, calculation, sanitary, charity, victuals and etc. Because of the expectations of people and the articles which compared Iran's town hall to European town halls that were published in newspapers, members of parliament comments, Shah's and viziers' expectations, Baladieh set its financial and constructive plans and performed quite a few actions through taking tolls from people and receiving annual budget from the Ministry of Finance and also getting loans and people's financial support. "Baladieh" that changed to "town hall" in the second half of Reza Shah's kingdom (9th of September 1934 and the other narrative 6th of February 1936) had lots of constructive, economical, sanitary, cultural and social duties that are going to be analyzed carefully in this research and all of the details are organized by virtue of official documents. The most important documents used, are newspapers and publications during the years 1921-1941, and a column in these publications which was about urban events; and also Baladieh's publication that was Baladieh's exclusive publication and was regularly published in Tehran and large cities. The other documents are gathered from The Institute for Iranian Contemporary Historical Studies, The President Documents Organization, Islamic Revolution Documents Organization, Iranian National Documents Organization and The Parliament Documents Organization and memories of personages written during the age of the first Pahlavi. In this research it is intended to answer the questions below:
What was the domain of duties and responsibilities of Baladieh?
Did Baladieh within the law and legal framework?
How was people's reaction (approving and disapproving) to the measures of Baladieh?

© 2013 AENSI Publisher All rights reserved.

To Cite This Article: ShohrehJalalpoor., The Role of Baladieh (Town Hall) in Iran's Urban Changes during the Age of the First Pahlavi.
J. Appl. Sci. & Agric., 8(7): 1459-1471, 2013

INTRODUCTION

Establishment of Baladieh is one of the most significant effects of Mashrouteh revolution in Iran. Before that, people were bound to clean the area around their homes so that they would meet the holly Elias and they lit the lanterns in alleys to light up the paths or they lit a light over poor houses to prevent falling into the pits in alleys. Naser-al-din Shah's travels to foreign countries and Iranian's travels to Europe made the government understand that at least it should keep the capital clean and build some flat roads for carriages.

After a while a counting company was created. Then the company was divided into two sections, counting and sanitary and also the lighting company was attached to it, and these companies were obviously only in Tehran. The other provinces lacked the companies. After foundation of the National consultative parliament and receiving people's complaints of tainted water, dark alleys, dirty and stink towns, in March 1946 in lunar calendar, the Baladieh law in 108 articles was approved. Dr. Khalil Allah Khan Alam-al-dolehSaghafi was the first administrator of Tehran's Baladieh, who managed different sections (central office, counting, sanitary and public assistance, engineering and cleaning, victuals and taking statistics and charity matters). By receiving tax and charity from towns, Baladieh gained a little finance but there were still plenty of financial problems in the Baladieh and people resisted against tax giving. "Because a lot of people did not know how their money was going to be used", so the lack of budget, financial abuse people's protest and obstinacy led to closing of Baladieh after 4 years and during the age of the first Pahlavi in which many reforms were done, towns as the

Corresponding Author: ShohrehJalalpoor, Department of Political Science, Shahreza Branch, Islamic Azad University, 86145-311, Esfahan, Iran.
E-mail: shohrehjalalpoor@yahoo.com

center of modernism, became noticeable for officials such as Shah, parliament, cabinet, publishing and etc. At that time Baladieh reorganized and received some duties that made it the busiest, largest, costly company. Baladieh's official organization improved in many ways, for example in 1935, it was divided into five large offices (financial office, victuals and sanitary office, technical office, statistics center, and the major sanitary and public assistance office) and a lot of subsets. Baladieh's budget became more and more every year. The budget of Tehran's Baladieh in 1939 was 45500000 RLs and Baladieh was so important that Reza Shah chose the mayors of large cities himself. This research focuses on Baladieh performances to establish urban discipline and change the urban traditional system to a modern one. In all of the sources and articles that are written about urban system of Iran, architectural changes, the process of Baladieh's rules changes and the manner of cities' developments of Iran especially Tehran are mentioned and they don't explain Baladieh duties and details of them. The research focuses on several responsibilities of Baladieh during the rule of Reza Shah, that are gathered from personages' memories, official documents of related organizations to contemporary history of Iran and the time publishing. The questions of this research are:

1. What was the domain of duties and responsibilities of Baladieh?
2. Did Baladieh act within the law and legal framework?
3. How was people's reaction (approving and disapproving) to the measures of Baladieh?

In this research Baladieh's performances in constructive, cultural, social, hygienic and economical sections are inspected:

A-Constructive Actions:

Along with urban development which was done by collapsing of gates and filling in the moats, people protested against narrow alleys and winding streets, polluted baths, dusty and stinky places and etc. Using vehicles and public transportation required new environment and modern buildings, especially in Tehran which was the main city in Iran and the center of political power and a place for Europeans. Therefore, after the approval of new laws from the Baladieh and the insistence of town inspectors and warning the offenders to be tried in town's settlement courts, they obliged people to conform their constructions to new laws the most important of which are:

- 1- Preparing new maps for towns: according to the article 2 of Baladieh law (approved in 1307 in solar calendar) preparing the map of the town was a duty of this organization. Foreign advisers were employed to design new streets and paths in order to develop towns. Because before drawing the new maps, the limit of constructions and consequently the limit of trading lands would not become clear.
- 2- Prohibition of constructing weakly-founded houses: that was mostly typical in the north part of the country. People built their houses with reeds, straws and lumber and Baladieh asked the people of Amol and Rasht to build the walls with bricks and the ceilings with clay.
- 3- Constructing sidewalks and paving the alleys with stones: Baladieh ordered the type of the bricks that should be made, to the brick bakers. People were forced to build pavements in their neighborhoods according to the Baladieh's map under the pressure of inspectors and penalties.
- 4- Leveling, extension, and laying down the asphalt on the streets: according to the new maps of the towns, the first two cruciform streets which led to a large square were built and then parallel with them the other streets were built and fringed with cement, trees were planted, and ditches were made. The width of the streets reached to thirty meters and they became wide.
- 5- Building alleys in new sizes: according to the new law alleys were built in 7 meters width so that "cars could enter them easily" and lots of narrow and winding alleys were demolished.
- 6- Building more floors for houses and changing their exterior designs: Baladieh especially noticed the houses beside the streets. Houses were built in two floors and constructing one-storey houses were forbidden in these areas. Baladieh also controlled the exterior design of the buildings and making balconies.
- 7- Changing the form of stores at the curbs: the stores were built with large glass doors and windows, under the supervision of Baladieh.
- 8- Repairing the destroyed walls on the street margins: for beautification of streets, Baladieh ordered the owners of the destroyed walls to repair or set up a fence in front of them.
- 9- Issuing numbers for houses: to prevent confusion of postmen and people, the main office of statistics with the aid of Baladieh considered numbers on tiles with black and white background for houses.
- 10- Painting the walls of the towns: in order to beautify the towns, Baladieh ordered the owners of the houses to paint the walls. They used green in Tehran and white in Esfahan, Shiraz and Neishabour.
- 11- Setting up the Shah's statue in main squares of the cities: like Sepah square in Tehran and Mojasameh square in Esfahan.
- 12- Lighting up the cities: there were contacts between Baladieh and local factories (like Haj Amin-al-Zarb in Tehran and Dahesh in Esfahan), at first from sunset till late and then until midnight and later to sunrise the lights remained on. After lighting up the streets it was time to light up the alleys. The cement and metal

lamp posts were set up all over the cities. Although at first they were not welcomed, gradually people got used to them and they received electricity bills. Baladieh also set up traffic lights for the junctions.

13- Removing the ceiling of the old bazaars: in order to let in more light and air, Baladieh removed the ceiling of bazaars in Tehran and Mashhad.

14- Planting trees, flowers and grass in paths and squares: Baladieh directly founded greenhouses and hot-houses, bought grass seed, and in addition to planting day (24th of Esfand equal to March 14), Baladieh's officials planted trees and flowers. It was also banned to set up sunshades and ropes to trees.

15- Setting up large clocks in squares of cities: in order to beautify and inform people of times, large clocks were set up in some cities like Esfahan, Tehran and Tabriz.

16- Constructing urban underground piping system: it was one of the most important problems of the cities. Waste water gathered outside of the houses and mucker trucks carried it. Baladieh set a plan how to make an underground piping system and a contract was signed and people carried the waste water into the houses.

17- Constructing cement curbs: this was done in all cities.

18- Building public toilets all over the cities: according to the new hygienic law, Baladieh built public restrooms on conjunctions.

19- Building large squares: after constructing streets, Baladieh set some benches and large clocks and some statues of Reza Shah and some gas stations for gasoline.

20- Building bridges and dams: not only the old bridges were repaired, but also new bridges were built, Baladieh built a bridge in Esfahan in ShaykhBahayiStreet, in Ahvaz, Ahvaz Bridge, in Tehran SepahBridge and some dams in Tabriz, Esfahan and Tehran.

21- Setting up bulletin boards and newsstands: in order to beautify the cities and keep the walls clean, some bulletin boards were set up and people could only stick their advertisements on them or they would punish and for selling publications, some news stands were built in European style.

22- Building gas stations in large squares: by throwing coins in them people could get gasoline for their cars (for example Shemiran Square and ZaviehMoghadaseh).

23- Making flat lands for airplanes: after purchasing some airplanes and signing contracts with Younkers or Lufthansa Company, Baladieh made some flat lands for airplanes in large cities.

24- Setting up pay phones: in 1318 in solar calendar in Tehran, Baladieh built a place for pay phones on Sepah Square and gradually they became twenty pay phones in Tehran.

25- Founding fire departments and fire stations: in 1315 in solar calendar, Baladieh could gain 40000 Tomans from the tax of wool and cotton and allowed it for fire department and bought rinsing equipments from Germany. They also used urban sprinkler to extinguish a fire and there were two numbers to announce the fire accident, first 15 and later 8888.

26- Public transportation services: population growth and the cities development, made it necessary to improve the transportation system. At first electric trains were used and even a German Engineer was employed. In order to protect streets, a few restrictions were imposed on trucks entering the cities and they were supposed to unload in a few specific main squares, but later they were completely banned to enter the cities and metal wheels on carts were replaced by plastic wheels to prevent damage to the streets. The bus system was also established and bus tickets were printed and tax was obtained on them as follows: for a 5 Shahi ticket 1 Shahi and for a 10 Shahi ticket 100 Dinars was set.

In 1306 in solar calendar a constitution in 17 articles was approved for garage owners and chauffeurs that clarified drivers' ethics. Also in 1316 in solar calendar the cabinet approved a constitution in 3 sections and 44 articles and Baladieh and police supervised the garages.

B-Cultural Actions:

One of the important fields of Baladieh's activities were cultural actions that were done by people's and experts' cooperation or inspiring by Europe and Reza Shah's cultural approaches. These actions were performed gradually and sometimes by force. The most important cultural actions are:

1. Renaming the stores names: according to Baladieh's and police announcements, all the stores were ordered to register their selected names in towns' publications and receive license. Baladieh asked people to avoid unusual names (Khayam Bar, Sadi dairy).

2. Renaming the alleys' names: as the routine of modern societies, Baladieh suggested using scholars and philosophers' names and asked people not to apply to name an alley after their names. It also changed the names with immoderate tone to the moderate ones for example Heshmat Alley changed to Shams, Yakhchal Alley changed to Simorgh and Richard Khan Alley changed to Yaghma.

3. Renaming the streets: streets names changed. The name of the largest and the best streets were a combination of the name of Shah or his titles, for instance Shah Street, ShahpourStreet, Shah Reza Street, Sepah street, Pahlavi street and etc which were almost used in all of the cities in Iran. One of the reasons was that at the time of establishment or demolition, no one "claimed" or "had to pay for demolished houses" (No. 1 attached document). Some of old names were Ghajar titles or difficult to pronounce for foreigners, so Baladieh

was obliged to make a list of these names and send it to Ministry of Defense every week. Some of these changes in Tehran are as follows: SepahSalar Street to Khanghah, DoushanTapeh Street to Jaleh, Tofighi Street to Ghazali, and in Esfahan, Bigdeli Street to Hafez, MarizKhaneh Street to Saeb.

4. renaming the urban paths: as the recommendation of Tehran's Baladieh and reforming the lexicography the following names were chosen for urban paths:

Paths with more than 12 meters width →Khiaban (Street)

Paths within 6 to 12 meters width →Kouy (Alley)

Paths with less than 6 meters width →Koucheh (Lane)

Back alley → Bon bast (cul-de-sac)

Drive →Darband

Passage →Timcheh

Neighborhood →Barzan

5. Preserving historical monuments: cities' historical monuments were damaged or were sold as the public domains especially after Ghajarieh and some of these monuments were occupied by troops. For example the Si-o-Se (33^{translator}) Pol and Khajoo, Shahrestan, Masjed Ali bridges and Naqsh-e-JahanSquare in Esfahan and also the Shams-al- Emareh monument in Naserieh Street in Tehran were repaired. In Esfahan, Baladieh gathered the budget from the tax of cars and carriages for repairing and forbade all vehicles to pass on historical bridges.

6. Obligation to have educational certificate for occupations: all the occupations and restaurants owners were threatened by Baladieh to have educational certificate or they would not be given "trading license", "because all the illiterate people had to study in seniors' educational institutes upon the order of Baladieh".

7. Strengthening citizenship: Baladieh tried to consult with people. For renaming the names of streets it convened people to "bring out accepted names and send them to Baladieh" or Esfahan's Baladieh announced people that "cleaning the city is up to the people and Baladieh could not perform it on its own" and asked for help and also Ghazvin'sBaladieh in order to improve its performances asked people to help.

8. Supporting handicrafts: in Esfahan, Baladieh attributed all the stores around the Naqshe-e-Jahan Square exclusively to the handicrafts to promote these arts.

9. Publishing Baladieh's publication: in article 83 of Baladieh's law (1325lunar) and article 6 of Baladieh's organization (1922), Baladieh was obliged to announce all its performances, incomes and expenses to people by publishing a publication. At the beginning of Reza Shah's kingdom "Tehran's Baladieh Publication" printed in Tehran and Mir SeyedKazemSharifi directed it (No.2 attached document). It contained announcements, laws and even critical articles about Baladieh's performances. In Esfahan "EsfahanBaladieh's Publication" printed (No.3 attached document).

10. Constructing recreation centers and National Gardens: in this period, Baladieh focuses on constructing recreation centers for people. Most of the uncultivated, ruined and deserted lands were under the supervision of Baladieh and changed to the parks and National Gardens. In most of the cities Baladieh built National Gardens. In Tehran, AmenehKhatoun, Tajrish and MeydanMashgh cemeteries became to National Gardens.

11. Building theatres: Baladieh constructed theatres in most of the cities like Tehran, Rasht and etc.

12. Baladieh's museum: it seems that Baladieh had a museum as well, because in EsfahanBaladieh announced that "it is supposed to examine and collect the old tiles in the city and record them by names in Baladieh's museum".

13. Baladieh's contribution in mourning of Moharam: in mourning months Baladieh received poor and mourners by distributing food and drinks in places that were marked earlier or even attributed Baladieh's salons to the mourners.

14. Establishing libraries: in most of the cities Baladieh established libraries and reading rooms. In Tehran next to the Baladieh's Café a library was built and in EsfahanMirza Mohammad Ali Khan Mokaram aided in establishing a library.

15. establishing technical schools: Baladieh was recommended to establish centers to teach occupations because "education never was capable to do it". In 1928, Baladieh established a technical school that exclusively taught carpet weaving. In 1930 new majors added to the school they employed a technical supervisor. The first course was held from 14th of December 1940 until 3rd of April 1941. The training was free and trainees received certificates and Baladieh employed them.

16. Establishing fee schools for poor children: in 1936the constitution of these schools were approved in 8 articles and the schools were established for 7-10 year old poor children for free.

17. Establishing adult classes: the victuals and occupation organization "invited all the occupations to attend to the adult classes in order to promote the knowledge". The principal of Baladieh association asked them to register for the classes in a speech, because having educational certificate was necessary for trading license.

18. Contribution in anti-hijab movement event: to prevent the increase of hats' and women's clothes' price after anti-hijab movement a meeting were held in victuals and occupations organization (2nd of January 1936)

and selling hats without price tag was banned. The wage of sewing women's clothes was clarified, so that people could buy easily by controlling the prices.

19. Sending Baladi's (related to Baladiehs' actions) students to Europe: when the Baladiehs' organization was settled, it was needed to have some experts in Baladi's affairs. Baladiehs could also afford to pay the educational costs of the students overseas, so it decided to send off 1-2 people from each city to Europe to create "a strong foundation in Baladi's reformations". Some Baladiehs like Esfahan's Baladiehs announced that "since the current incomes are not enough for the smallest reformations of this ruined city and it is not possible to impose more tax and there are no financial aids from the magistrate" we cannot send off students to Europe (1932).

20. Baladiehs' contribution to pay the speech costs of educating thoughts meetings: Baladiehs was under pressure to hold and pay for the speakers' wages. At first the Baladiehs' officials accept the expenses by increasing the price of the theatre tickets but later due to the lack of budget they announced that they are not able to pay for the costs any more.

21. Baladiehs' cooperation with the Academy Organization: after forming of Iran's Academy Organization, reformation and occupation commission and public and official commission took the responsibility to supervise Baladiehs' reformations. Foroughi in a letter to Baladiehs' supporter wanted to make a complete list of Baladi's expressions. Mohammad Ghavamian who was the Baladiehs' representative sent that list (22nd of December 1935), but the Academy did not agree with it and Baladiehs reported that except a few, for most of the merchants and occupations there are no linguistic contrasts between their jobs and their names (apothecaries don't sell perfumes, wholesale grocers don't sell goods in small amounts and tea shopkeepers sell tea and Hookah). Generally, Tehran's Baladiehs was not so successful in replacing suggested Persian terms to the Academy.

c- Social Actions:

Baladiehs' actions about this field related to all the social levels and the most important actions were:

1. Setting Fridays as holidays: until this time there was no specific and united holiday and government forced merchants to keep their stores open every day. Different religions had different holidays. Seyed Zia-al-din Tabatabai announced Fridays as holidays and ordered merchants to set Iran's flag on their stores. According to this occupations' representatives in Tabriz and some other cities, requested Shah and ministry of interior and prime minister by letters to set Fridays as holidays which was accepted and they were hopeful that the members of the ninth cabinet would agree as well. Later a directive was sent to ministries and superior organizations and 4 days (9th of Moharam, 20th of Safar, 19th and 23rd of Ramadan) were omitted from the national holidays and the 4-article directive of the ministry of state announced that only Fridays are national holidays and occupations like bakeries, butcheries and grocery stores could not be closed on holidays. Restaurants, hotels, bathes and garages could not be closed as well. Beauty salons and barberies had to be open before noon on Fridays but it was optional to stay open in the afternoon and Baladiehs supervised all these affairs.

2. prohibition of making piercing sounds in towns: Baladiehs announced that "since some merchants disturb residents by shouting while they are selling their goods and due to the part 11 of article 1 of the affairs constitution it is against the law and there would be punishment for it, from now on who shout and disturb others for selling their goods or contribute in it would be tried in baladi's settlement court".

3. prohibition of flying pigeons: according to Baladiehs' law since "pigeon keeping causes immorality and wandering and unemployment, after this announcement practice of pigeon keeping is shut down".

4. Gathering and accommodation of poor people: in Tehran, Esfahan and Tabriz, Baladiehs started to accommodate poor people. In 1923 in Tehran 1200 poor people were gathered and after examining 250 of them were sick and 500 of them were addicted. According to the order of the administrator of Baladiehs' hygienic bureau they were cured and moved to specific places to live. The ministry of interior enforced Baladiehs to accommodate the poor people. For cities that were not capable of receiving all of them, they were shared in some other cities. Poor and unemployed people were separated and schools and maternity hospitals were founded for them. Sometimes after repairing a ruined place, poor people settled there (No.4 attached document). In Hamedan some poor people were employed and the ministry of interior used them in building construction with particular wages.

5. Baladiehs' support for sport: in several cities Baladiehs established fields which were mostly deserted lands or cemeteries. For example SettiFatemeh cemetery in Esfahan or establishing a grand field in Haji Esfahani garden in Esfahan.

6. Baladiehs and conscription: Baladiehs assisted government in conscription affair. "Statistics and registration organization made a list of people who were subjected to military service at that time according to the regions bureau and prepared them to distribute".

7. Establishing particular places for fireworks in celebrations: Donya year book wrote about a building which was built by Baladiehs in the suburbs for people to do fireworks in 1935.

Hygienic actions:

From the beginning of Baladieh's performances the situation of people's health was extremely poor and Baladieh prepared the vaccination costs by receiving vehicles tax. There were problems like illnesses, the lack of physician especially female doctors. In 1926all the health organizations combined in Public Health Bureau that was under supervision of the ministry of interior. In 1927announced hygienic rules for merchants and people in 7 articles: washing clothes and carpets in public, pouring sludge and trash public places, spitting and passing urine in public, cutting lumbars, pouring snow in sidewalks and spread out things in the streets were banned.

Aside from these, other Baladieh's actions about health matter are as follows:

1- Establishing clinical services: in 1925supporter of Tehran's Baladieh established clinical services and statistics and registrations centers in 8 regions to reduce costs. Dr. Mehdi Khan Filsoof(philosopher^{translator}) in Esfahan established free clinical services. Baladieh's hospitals, clinical services, ophthalmology services and dental services were all free.

2- Free vaccination: some officials were sent on duty from Baladieh;they were sent to inject vaccine for free door by door in all the cities included Mazandaran in which 800 children among 2-10 were injected. In Esfahan there were 5 regions for vaccination. Baladieh was compelled to send off its official with police in some regions to prevent protests (!) and even by spreading announcements asked the nobles and dignitaries to promote people to do vaccination.

3- Reforming baths and changing reservoirs of the Turkish baths into showers: baths were dirty and polluted and the stench of lanterns made the air inside them so stinky and they did not change the water of reservoirs month by month, so they were a place to contract different kinds of dermatitis and venereal diseases. In 1935in Esfahan a constitution were spread in 15 articles and the baths rules were announced. Baladieh banned pouring fertilizers on the roofs, because when it was windy the fertilizer would spread out and pollute everywhere. In 1936the baths' owners were ordered to shutdown the reservoirs and change them into showers and even some baths were closed. They ordered to the bath owners to build an underground piping system and the Baladi's officials supervised the process of building baths by repetitive visits. Under the pressure of the government, gradually the baths were reformed and hygienic, but after Reza Shah they returned to the previous condition (!).

4- Issuing medical license for doctors: in order to prevent unauthorized people to cure illnesses, Baladieh ordered all the doctors, pharmacists, midwives and medicine whole sellers in private hospitals to receive medical license.

5- Supervising the pharmacies and pharmacists: Baladieh asked all the pharmacies to write the combination of substances on the bottles of the medicines to prevent cheating and graft. Baladieh even directly established pharmacies and in 12th of March 1926Dr. Ehya-al-Saltaneh (the administrator of Public Health Bureau) opened 4 pharmacies in Tehran. Sometimes Baladieh announced people about fake medicines to prevent using them. Pharmacies worked on call from Saturdays to Fridays with a fixed plan so that they would be available all the time.

6- Controlling the health condition of prostitutes: one of the biggest problems of the country at that time was venereal diseases. People complained about neighboring bawdy houses and their homes or their neighbors. In September 1939 a commission was held with the ministry of interior officials, the police department, public health bureau and Baladieh's public assistance and they approved a constitution that limited the numbers of prostitutes. In Esfahan, prostitutes were sent to Khorshid hospital to be examined and it was found that two third of them were infected who were cured.

7- Prohibition of using opium in tea houses and public places: it was very normal to use opium and people use it easily in public places. At first Baladieh's health organization produced "opium pills" and gave them to the assistance unit and then ordered the owners of tea houses to forbid using opium in those places. In fact "the opium restriction organization" resulted in the spreading of the opium usage in tea houses because after decreasing incomes, government lifted the ban from opium usage that Baladieh protested against it and immediately all the opium-smoking pipe were taken away from tea houses and only for medicinal aims Baladieh sold drugs (like cocaine) to the cabinet but it was prohibited to use them in public.

8- Drying swamps close to the city: In order to prevent contagion, a commission was held in town hall and it was appointed to dry swamps near to the city and it was one of the elements of national development and prosperity.

9- Banning the traffic of muckers during daylight time: Due to lack of waste-water piping system, muckers used to carry household wastes to suburb during the daytime which caused pathways pollution, Baladieh (town hall) announced that it is permitted only "from the beginning of nighttime until early morning".

10- Providing public toilets: Lack of public had caused pollution and nonstop mephitis. Except toilets built by Baladieh all over the town and in public squares, public health bureau (department) of Baladieh obliged

caravansaries (public houses) and mosque custodians to open their toilets if it was closed and renovate them. On the other hand it was noticed to shops to build 1 toilet for every 40 shop or stores. Restaurant owners, shop owners, and cooks were obliged to build toilet otherwise they will stopped from working. For houses it was appointed to move toilets into the indoors. In Esfahan, a toilet was built according to new frameworks under the supervision of an architect in some areas of the city (such as Khorshid Hospital, madhouse, and Baladieh bureau) so people could take the pattern. Construction of drainage wells became compulsory for all shops otherwise Baladieh itself would make it for them and charge them for the expenses.

11- Banning walk of pets in public pathways without collars: Baladieh noticed those who walk their dogs without collars, muzzle, or leashes that their pets would be shot as stray animals. Because one of the actions made that time was killing stray dogs by cops of police.

12- Construction of laundries: In order to prevent water pollution, Baladieh constructed laundries (in Esfahan, Tehran, Saveh, Behbahan, and ...). Saveh's laundry was put into tender and in Zanjan, local people build their own laundry.

13-Construction of baptisteries: Until this time, the baptisteries (for dead bodies) were constructed inside the cities and were insanitary and polluted places. Sometimes people baptized their dead bodies in their own houses and sometimes benevolent people built a baptistery for public use. Obedient of other religions were not allowed to wash their dead bodies in Muslims' baptisteries... At this era, Baladieh built big and hygiene baptisteries outside the city and asked people to wash their dead bodies in these baptisteries and report to Baladieh if someone violated the rule, because at that time Jew people wash their dead bodies in their own houses. Baladieh set out new rules for building baptisteries on 8/5/1934 and announced them. Sometimes rivalry between Baptists caused to bring dead bodies into their own houses and baptize them or pick their clothes for themselves. Baladieh opposed all of these actions. The issuance of death certificate became compulsory and all physicians were noticed to receive and complete the forms directly from public health bureau.

14- Construction of slaughter house: Until Ghajars era, the slaughter places were moldy and polluted places. Slaughters used to slay animals on trenches hired by one or more bondmen. The blood was mixed with soil and used as fertilizer or mulch. Then the trench was filled up with soil for next slaughter (!). After that the corpse brought to butchery on a dirty phaeton or on shoulders of butchers' footboy which had gathered dust, flies, and jerks (!). This is while the primary conditions for slaughters were being clean and paved, a slaughtering doctor had to be present there, and the meat should be transported and distributed via appropriate vehicles, and the place had to be washed using running water. Slaughter houses were reconstructed and moved to suburb. The floors were paved with mosaic and washed and disinfected regularly. The blood was transported to the outside of slaughter house and specialist physicians were there for farmers who wanted to use it. Baladieh bought cars for meat distribution and four of them were used for Tehran. All of the barns were moved to outside of the city. Butchers were allowed to buy meat only from Baladieh which was stamped by slaughter house. The trade of meat out of this framework announced to be forbidden. Meat was covered by a white cloth and health rules of butcheries were also issued by Baladieh in 3 articles.

15- Health regulations of occupations: at first, Baladieh's bylaw of health examination was published (attached document no. 5) then all professions were obliged to provide health examination booklet (article 2). This booklet was free, depicted and stamped by Baladieh's public health bureau. Job owners had to show this stamp to health officer. Careers dealing with edibles and food production were particularly considered and food health regulations were issued for each one (attached document no. 6) for example for careers such as bakeries, butcheries, barbershops and ... thirdly health inspector officers of Baladieh steadily scrutinized the shops and checked their healthiness status. Shops' buildings were also assembled based on Baladieh's instructions. Peripatetic food selling also became forbidden (ice cream, cookies, fried cookies and ...). Use of butter making machines was banned and dairy makers were focused in a specified spot. Above all, the town hall founded a chemical laboratory to examine food products.

16- Baladi clean-up: Means cleaning the city, rinsing, garbage collection, and In the beginning of Pahlavi's era, Baladieh and police were simultaneously responsible for this job. From 1923, the responsibility of city's health status was up to police and as publications said, they had performed it "very well". Reza Khan the Raeis-al-Vozaracared about civil issues from his first days of authority and commanded the financial ministry and Baladieh to fence wastelands to prevent from accumulation of junks. It was banned to dump rubbishes into the streams (attached document no.7). It was set that shops put their trashes besides their shops at late hours of night for garbage transporting lorries to collect them. Baladieh also set a few ash bins in some areas of the city. In order to rinse the city, specific leaching machines and fire fighting machines were used. Sometimes some benevolent people bought leaching machines on his own expense and dedicated it for rinsing the city.

17-Construction of piping system and water-wastes underground piping system: this subject was mentioned before in civil services topic. This system resulted in elimination of stench smell and jakes scattered over the avenues as well as muckers who transported household water-wastes to suburb.

18- Construction of nursery and Darolveladeh (a public house for nursing poor pregnant women^{translator}): For wellbeing of poor and needy people and to prevent mortality among derelict or sick mothers, some centers were built up. Darolveladeh kept pregnant women who were poor and impotent. A maternity Clinique was established beside nursery in Pahlavi Street of Tehran. Printing and distributing some statements, the town hall asked people to introduce this center to breast-feeding mothers who did not afford livelihood. In Naseri school of Tehran, a gestation Clinique was established by Baladieheh and eligible people were enrolled. After graduation and receiving official license, Baladieheh officially employed them. Sometimes benevolent people constituted such centers on his own expense to serve women.

19- Construction of hospitals, bedlam, and poorhouses: Public health bureau constructed these institutions in towns that did not have such facilities and had lead to contests by inhabitants. In Tehran, Baladieheh built 6 aid centers, maternity Clinique, madhouse, and etc. In Esfahan also, Baladieheh established a well-equipped madhouse in a wasteland where used to be a junk accumulation field. Thanks to the efforts of philanthropist people such as Haj Agha Noorollah, Haj Habibollah Amin, and etc, hospitals such as Khorshid, Amin, 100 beds, Sonbolestan, and etc. were built in Esfahan.

20- Urban water and refrigerator: There had been no clean drinking water. In Tehran, the water was provided from subterranean flumes streamed from suburb. In some spot, some of these flumes were exposed to pollution that polluted the water. Owner of some houses in which Paknehs (basements built near flumes to access water) were placed, removed it whenever they desired and caused water pollution. Occasionally, household waste-waters or toilets wastes permeated into flume's water and polluted it... Baladieheh decided to manipulate it by itself, so it hired a number of flumes or bought and leased. Baladieheh made actions to preserve the healthiness of urban water: it ordered the houses that their toilets were on the way of flumes' streams to build new conduits. For usage of Paknes, houses were ordered to use pumps and taps. Baladieheh put the repairmen of pumps for tender. Washing clothes, dyed silk, carpet, and etc announced to forbidden in all ducts and conduits related to flumes and inspectors arrested the offenders of the rule. Construction of hygiene water reservoirs was considered in Baladieheh's work plans and some rules were regulated for that. Water bills were issued for the amounts of water used by houses and villas and price was calculated by auditors. Despite all these action, some houses removed Paknes and polluted the water (1). Some houses did not pay their water bills and made Baladieheh to notice them. The water branch right was established from 1930. In spite of negotiation with several companies about installation of piping system for Tehran, it had lead to no result by the end of first Pahlavi's era. Baladieheh reserved Saqakhaneh (traditional fresh water Coleman held in streets^{translator}) also and considered a significant budget for that. Refrigerators in which ice was produced became under supervision and consideration of Baladieheh. Qomesh ditch in Esfahan was chosen for ice production under the supervision of town hall. Finally on 1937, the management of urban water was assigned to jurisdictions of town hall through a proclamation by ministry of the state.

21- Moving some carriers to suburb: careers such as furnaces, tanneries, stucco furnaces, wood sellers, brickwork furnaces, garages, soap baking, felt manufacturers were sent to suburb. This decision was made because of the risks in careers such as wood sellers (in which the risk of fire was high) or because of noise or hygiene reasons. Furnaces were the first career that was sent to suburb.

Economic Actions:

One of the most important jobs of Baladieheh was calculation of incomes and expenses of people, supervising the living status of people, and confrontation with jobbery. As a result, the domain of Baladieheh's jurisdictions extended to market and economy. These actions were as following:

1- Determining the prices of stuffs, and prohibit of hoarding and jobbery: In year 1927, Baladieheh issued the bylaw for provisional and occupational regulations. Opening new shops without Baladieheh's permission, colportage, and dealing live sheep were prohibited (article 9). The town hall commenced to declare the prices of goods in Baladieheh's publications and other periodicals: "Tonekabon's exquisite rice, 44-48 Tomans per sod (sod=300 kg^{translator}); exquisite cooking oil, 8 Tomans per 4 Manns (Mann= 3 kg^{translator}); and etc." Whenever a good was hoarded, taking the permission from prime minister (Raeis-al-Vozara) Baladieheh interfered and discovered and seized the goods, and lowered the prices. Afterwards Baladieheh got obliged to announce the prices every 15 days and punish the offenders. The next action by Baladieheh was to oblige the sellers to put "etiquettes or labels or tags" on their goods. The phrase of "fixed price" or "one price" became obligatory. Jobbery was severely dealt with. In year 1928, 4 bakers were exiled and their shops were closed because of onerous prices. The files of 353 persons in just a single month (September 1939) were referred to court of Esfahan's town hall. In another action, Baladieheh contracted with some occupations and committed them to obey the rules of contracts.

2- Determining the wages of different jobs: The wages of workers and individuals who had manual jobs were determined in town hall's announcements: "laborer inside the city= 3.5 Qeran (10 Qeran= 1 Toman^{translator}), outside the city= 4 Qeran, house painter inside the city= 10 Qeran, outside the city=15 Qeran ",

“foreman inside the city=5-7 RLs, outside the city=7.5 RLs”. Shaving and haircut “in barbershop= 1.5 RLs, and shaving=0.75 RLs”. This was done to avoid overwhelming people’s rights.

3- Modification of measures and scales: For uniformity of all weighing scales and modifying the former avoirdupois to new measures which were set by department of commerce, the town hall announced that all tradesmen, craftsmen, and sellers must bring their measuring and weighing devices (beam balances) to town hall’s tradesmen section and receive new devices; and if they didn’t do that, town hall would prosecute them. Then it was ruled that all traditional weighing scales must change to two pan balance scales and 20 days were given to them to do this.

4- Construction of Baladi restaurants, cafes, and guest houses: Due to lack of debonair guest houses, whenever a VIP (Iranian or foreigner) visited a city, he was hosted by one of the grandees of that city. Therefore or for sake of money, a luxurious mansion was built besides study-house (equal to library^{translator}). It encompassed different halls, restaurants, cafes, pools, floriculture, and etc and its opening was on September 4 of 1312 equal to 1311 in solar calendar. Or Café Baladieh of Tajrish that loaned for 700 Tomans and it was told that 30 million was spent that 15 million of that was paid by people”.

5- Construction of shops and renting: After constructing new streets, new shops were built by Baladieh. Baladieh advertised in publications and rented these shops. In Naqshe-Jahan Square of Esfahan, Baladieh rented the shops for 90 RLs, and nimbohs (smaller than a shop^{translator}) for 60 RLs.

6-Construction of exhibition: In year 1925 (equal to 1304 in solar calendar) the committee of ministers (cabinet) commanded Baladieh to build an exhibition in north-west angle of Sepah Square of Tehran.

7- Determining specific squares for supplying goods and provisions in cities: At first Baladieh started to renovate and repair the pathways and roads in order to ease the communication between cities and farmlands and accordingly ease of people’s access to provisions. The pathways were smoothed and rubbed down, therefore wagons could pass easily. Then some squares in different cities were selected and introduced to people that fruits, vegetables, and groceries were sold in one square, and firewood and woodworks were supplied in other square and etc.

8- Verification of bread, meat, and necessary goods for livelihood: Baladieh was directly responsible for meat. It bought live sheep from ranchers and prohibited the deal of live sheep in the city. After slaughtering, the hygiene meat stamped with Baladieh’s slaughter-house arm was sold to butchers. Baladieh itself decided on the price and the contract between Baladieh and butchers forced them to obey the regulations. Concerning bread, Baladieh again announced the price of different types of bread and noticed bakers “not to mal-treat people”. Offenders were punished and their names were published in newspapers. In 1937 in Mashhad, 23 bakers were deprived from baking because of swindle. Or in Esfahan in order to avoid deception in baking, importing baked bread to the city was prohibited. Whenever it was necessary, Baladieh itself bought wheat and stored it or opened new bakeries to solve people’s problems. The tax for avoirdupois was eliminated and some contracts were made between Baladieh and bakers to force them to obey the rules.

Treacheries of Baladieh: This organization as a governmental organization having authorities and plentiful income as well as enjoying the presence of militaries, committed some misdemeanors that a few of them are as follows:

1- Collaboration with cultural policies of government: One of the major cultural policies of government was the formation of intellectual development institutions and acting against veil (hijab). In spite of the fact that Baladieh was not permitted to interfere such issues, it practically involved this matter: In order to hold lecture sessions of institute, Baladieh was obligated to pay financial aids and provide this sum by raising the price of Cinema tickets and dragging pay cheque. In order to prevent from raise of prices of hats and dresses that were the key points of anti hijab program, the provision bureau of Baladieh determined the prices of these goods.

2- Illegal money catching from people: Sometimes they forced people to pay cash under the title of increase in property value because of streets’ expansion or adjacency of the houses to the streets. Or sometimes masques were forced to pay tax while they were officially tax-exempt. Or sometimes Baladi taxes were taken from areas where there was no Baladieh in their region.

3- Bribery and imposing levy: Sometimes officers with disguised appearances went to people and asked them for money foisting themselves as Baladieh officers. Or by receiving bribes or sharing the earnings, they colluded with merchants and traders, and gave them merchandise monopoly. Many of these officers were trialed in peace court of Baladieh.

4- Discrimination in performing the reformatations: There are lots of reports about Baladieh’s moderation with wealthy people and giving them special privileges. For instance, “to build Sarab Street in Mashhad, Baladieh bended the street because of street’s confluence with Moqbel-al-Saltaneh’s house that had hosted Baladieh’s officers in his house”. Or for cabling Machine Street, they had cabled the street until Qavim-al Saltaneh’s house and the street remained in darkness after this point.

5- Threatening inhabitants by building new roads: Hart has reported that Haji Moeen-al-Tojar Booshehri was threatened that he had to pay 600 thousand Tomans to his majesty or the new road would pass by his beautiful land in Tehran”.

6- Treacheries by Baladieh's members: There were lots of complaints about the behaviors of bureaucrats and employees of Baladieh which were sent to legislative assembly. For example, the head of Baladieh in Shahreza, had seized multiple posts (?). Or there were complaints about head of Baladieh in Rasht because of his moral corruption, debauchery, and misdeed with his wife. (Attached document no. 8)

7- Payments for Reza Shah and Royal Family from national treasury: After Reza Shah left the country, lots of articles was published which demonstrated betrayals of Reza Shah's via Baladieh: A) 50 thousand Tomans of transportation income was remained in town hall's deposit and Reza Khan sent his soldiers and confiscated the money.

B) Behboodi quotes in his memories that he had owned a number of flumes that Baladieh needed their waters. One day Reza Shah called him and announced that he will not be paid anymore for his flumes because he is rich enough. This is while people had to pay for the water they received and on the other hand, Reza Shah's lands and gardens were provided with urban water.

C) Town hall aided for construction of so many Palaces of Reza Shah.

D) In so many cities, it was town hall's duty to host Reza Shah and his concomitants (Attached document no. 9).

E) A lot of money was taken from Gorgan's people by Baladieh to furnish Reza Shah's guest house.

F) Baladieh's aids in cash to Reza Shah (!), Salvar writes in his memories that the rotten worthless wheat of Reza Shah's lands was sold by Baladieh to bakers for 8 Tomans. The salary of army was occasionally paid from Baladieh's budget. According to reports by Hart, a portion of funds of Pahlavi Bank was provided by town hall.

People's reaction to Baladieh's reforms:

Since Iranian people were not familiar with income tax and tariff, and their antecedents had lived in inheritable lands and had no idea about what happens to these payments as tax, a sense of disgust emerged among people from the very first days of formation of Baladieh in constitutional revolution. In Reza Shah's era, rapid growing of urban development, destruction of houses, disruption in terrific, and etc, provoked contests among people against Baladieh. Only a small number of contesters were worried about Iranian heritages, specially the monuments of Qajar dynasty, (such as magnificently tiled gateways of Tehran which were destroyed as a result of urban development). The other protesters objected just because of detriments by town hall to their own properties. The concurrent people were mainly those who enjoyed watching vast streets, floriated and planted squares, light bulbs, and beautiful buildings.

Baladieh's reformations from westerns' viewpoints:

Dr. Samuel Jordan, the founder of Alborz American School thanks and says: "the materialistic development in this country is appreciable". Herman Norden writes "considering the scenes I saw in Ira, a hopeful future is predictable for Iran." Sir ClarmontSkrine believes that "changing Iranian medieval economy to a twentieth century economy within 15 years is an unrivaled emprise and extraordinary move". An American publication has talked about actions of Mashhad's Baladieh in one of its articles. Sandra Mackey writes "the government ruthlessly destroyed Iranian cities because of their old buildings and constructed vast street and bootless boulevards instead." The ambassador of Great Britain wrote in one of his reports "The house destruction is very cruel and an insignificant amount is paid to them as recompense [to them]. Their destructive aspiration has passed logic limitations." Engert from American Embassy writes "approximately 30 thousand constructions were destroyed in Tehran according to Reza Shah's command. An unreasonable and spiteful destruction and brutal cut of glorious centuries-old trees ..." Michel Foucaultbelieves that "Iran is in crisis of renovation and this unqualified egoist dictator wants to compete with industrial countries."

Reactions in favor of Baladi Reformatons:

In study of documents of legislative assembly (parliament) in Reza Shah's era, some documents were occasionally seen which were sent by people to parliament, indicating thanks and appreciation by people for Baladieh's reforms. For example people of Baharestan had thanked the head of Baladieh of district 3 in Tehran (attached document 10) for his efforts to collect the junks in lands besides Baharestan and for its clean up and fencing (January 10 of 1926 equal to 1305 in solar calendar). Or when the head of Baladieh in Kermanshah was arrested, inhabitants and clergymen supported him and requested for his freedom. As well as lots of articles published in newspapers of that era indicating Baladieh's achievement to satisfy people; for example a traveler who voyaged to Esfahan and talked about beautiful lamps and light bulbs installed in pathways specially those in Chaharbagh Street. Or a manuscript by M. R. Kharrazi who had reported about southern Tehran: "Formerly people used to talk about ChalehMeydan or Sir's tomb with disgust but now come and see the renovations done by Baladieh just within two months" In Esfahan, SarhangShahrdar (entitled:Colonel Mayor, sponsor of Baladieh and head of police of Esfahan) and Mr. Sooresrafil the governor of the city were appreciated because of the effective efforts of Baladieh within 5 years. Moreover, the conversion of old baths and khazine (small pool of warm water^{translator}) to shower baths; and use of coal instead animal muck (as fuel) was appreciated. The

traveling journalist of Esfahan Ettelaat called the year 1319 in solar calendar (equal to 1940) as the “golden age” of Esfahan because of newly asphalted streets, floriculture, and etc.

Opposite reactions to Baladi reformations:

Objections to Baladi actions are vaster. For instance protests against Baladi regulations that introduced Baladieh as an independent national organization and it was while being administered by government and ministry of interior. Or Baladieh of Kerman was mentioned as a “senseless name” which was hatred and disgusted by people. In Shiraz it was wrote that “why is Baladieh’s building which mean to be the best mansion, so crisscross”. The two-storey houses with stone and brick frontages, terrace, and windows exposed to street were not desirable for people. Salvar writes “we don’t want European style; Iranian needs yards, basements, and roofs”. Objections partly were due to people’s custom and being used to traditional life style; not to Baladi reformations. For instance when Baladieh locked traditional baths, people entered there using ladders. At the beginning of Baladieh’s formation, its actions was disarranged and confused. If people in a city had any request, Baladieh was not accountable. Baladieh’s budget was little and not enough to solve urban problems. People were complaining about darkness of paths and alleys especially in month of Ramadan that the traffic continued until morning. The affairs of Baladieh in Lengeh port (Bandar Lengeh) were not properly done. Therefore they blamed the actions of this organization via publication of statements. Mirza Ali Homami asked about Esfahan: “why Baladieh doesn’t have even a single guest house to host its own guests?” In a letter, MahmoodQane’e asked Baladieh “What is Baladieh doing?” In Tehran, there were some critics about discriminations by Baladieh concerning uptown and downtown areas; developments are for northern areas (uptown) and adversities are for southern (downtown); or there were complaints about destruction of cemeteries and their transmutation to national park. In this regard a gifted poet said:

The weather in Ferdows Garden should be pleasing
In plants and grass and flowers it must be sinking
For people joy and charm, for men and women
The lovely enjoyable music must be always playin
Tea, ice cream, sweet desserts, and tasteful drinks
Must be abundant and inexpensive for buying
Believers! Come to this paradise
each & every night
The underworlds’ eyes are after you keep on looking.
In some cities people even combated and struggled with government officials. In Rasht, people leaded by Ayatollah Rasooli stroke against a newly building street which was performing by major-general Ayrom; Ayatollah was arrested, and then released, but Ayrom was reprimanded. The recompense for destruction of houses paid by town hall was so insignificant and with long delays. Even General Mohammad Khan inevitably asked for Teymourtash’s support to get his detriment)attached document 11). In spite of authors such as ElvelSaten mentioned these reformations dogmatic and cruel, these reforms in some cities such as Ahwaz and Arak are described very good! The government faced many problems. On one hand, the enormity of undone programs totally suspended by previous governments, and on the other hand confronting habitual and traditional people who lived a life far away from modern life style.

Conclusion:

A new stream of reformation flew between years 1921-1941 (1300-1320 in solar calendar) and transformation of cities and new legislations resulted in a basic evolution in cities of Iran; so that urban structure of Pahlavi’s era was incomparable to Qajar’s. Everything became under the control of government and especially Baladieh or town hall. Inspectors and supervisors of town hall monitored everything with the help of people and all fundamental urban elements such as hygiene issues (baths, water, provisions, etc), prices, constructions, civil matters, electricity, transportation, communication, and etc were revolutionized. A new city was born. However, there were some dissatisfactions and critics about destructions and renovations by Baladieh, but as it was shown, Baladieh forcibly made people to move toward reformations as hygiene, enjoying the help of police force (cops, soldiers, and Baladieh’s guard). People’s confrontation with vaccination or their traditional beliefs such as ablution in Khazineh or refusing to use shower baths demonstrate the extent of stability and rigidity of town hall’s staff and officers to organize and systematize Iranian society.

In order to respond to the question of “aspects of Baladieh’s duties”, 83 cases were covered in this study under the five titles of cultural, development, hygiene, social, and economic areas. Nowadays, the majority of these duties are out of town hall’s duties and independent organizations manage these issues such as traffic, common hygiene, hospitals and physicians, schools, charity, recruitment, and etc. During these years, there had been some mistreats and offenses that was the main reason for people’s despondency about Baladieh. In response to the question of “people’s reaction to Baladieh’s acts”, the two groups of dissidents and conformists were investigated and the main reasons for opposition against these actions were: 1- People were exempt for paying taxes for years, and after tax legislation they didn’t know how these funds are used, so they resisted. 2- Destruction of houses in which generations had lived before and the insignificant amount of money paid by Baladieh as recompense was another reason for people’s opposition. 3- People were lowbrow and uncivilized and on the other hand they were not clarified enough by Baladieh and therefore they treated Baladieh’s actions against their traditional and ancestral beliefs and resisted against Baladieh. 4- Mistreatments of Baladieh’s agents, was another reason for people’s distrust to Baladieh. In brief, it is to be said that the vast operation

extent of Baladieh as well as the rapid pace defined by Baladieh, caused for some unpleasant reactions against this organization. However after Reza Shah was gone, some evolutions and alterations were stopped or even there had been return to the past (reconversion of shower baths to Khazineh); but the basis institutionalized in this era, resulted in a boost in people's expectations as in second Pahlavi's era, these reforms were continued.

REFERENCES

Documents

A) Printed Documents:

Documents of Baladi Associations, trades and occupations (1300-1320), 2 vols, Tehran: Publications of Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance).

Violence and Culture, private documents of anti-hijab movement (1312-1323), (Tehran: Publications of Iranian National Documents Organization, 1371).

Delfani, Mahmood, Heterogeneous Culture during Reza Shah (unpublished records of Intellectual Development Organization), (Tehran: Publications of Iranian National Documents Organization, 1375).

Minutes of Second Parliament's Negotiations (Tehran: Printery of Parliament, Bita).

Majd- Mohammad Taqi, Reza Shah & Britain, translated by MostafaAmiri, (Tehran: Publications of Institute of Political Studies And Researches, 1389).

Directory of Subject Rules and Acts in Sixth Legislative Assembly, without location, second edition, 1311.

B) Unprinted Documents:

Iranian National Documents Organization: 29100016, 290002185, 290002186, 350001953.

Presidency Documents Organization: 4367-6199-8528-9847-17491.

Documents of Museum of Isfahan Town Hall (Isfahan, DarvazehDolat, without number).

Institute for Iranian Contemporary Historical Studies: 0-0-5143200, Mim-12-2862-9, Mim-12-2317-1-0, Alef-114-3036-23, and Alef-256-6-8-0

Documents of Parliament 5/135/26/1/94, 4/24/13/1/1/16, 3/5/35/1/12/2, 2/152/25/1/19, 6/8/71/1/25, 5/124/19/1/69.

Publications:

Old publications: Adamiyat, Azhir, Azad, Akhtar, Massoud, Akhgar, Arjang, Esteghamat, Ettelaat, Iran, Irane Azad, Iran Bastan, Danesh Esfahan, Setareh Iran, SobheOmid, Sehat, Toofan Weekly, Kamkar, Erfan, Mojahed, Maaref, Nahid, Esfahan Baladi Publication, Tehran Baladi Publication.

New Publications: FarokhzadKhamsei, Documents about Tehran Town Hall and its brigades, "GanjinehAsnad", second book, winter 1386.

Memories:

Sir ClarmontSkrine, World War in Iran, translation by QolamHosseinSalehYar, (no location. Selseleh publications, 1363).

Iranian Files, Memories of Claude Anet in beginning of Constitution, Translated by ZabihParvashani, (Tehran, Moein Publications, 1368).

Bazargan-Mehdi, Sixty Years of Service and Resistance, vol 1, (Tehran, Rassa Publications, 1375).

Hojjati-Abolmajd, Passing from Pahlavi's Era in Stuck with Two Cultures, (without location, Mohsen Publications, 1377).

Hekmat, Ali Asqar, Thirty Memoirs from Auspicious Era of Pahlavi, (without location, Vahid Publications, 2535).

Salvar-JahangirMirza, Newspaper of Eyn-al-Saltaneh Memoirs, by MassoudMirzaSalvar and IrajAfshar, vol 10, 9, (Asatir Publications, 1379).

Six Years in Pahlavi's Court, by AbdolrezaHooshangMahdavi, Memories of Mohammad Arjmandthe superior of telegraph center of Reza Shah,(Tehran, Peikan publication,1385).

Farrok-Seyed Mehdi, Political Memories of Farrok, by ParvizLoshani, (Tehran, AmirKabir Publications, 1347).

Kadivar, Manoochehr, Haj MirzaQolamHosseinKadivarFassayi, Notebook of the Days, (1258-1322), (Tehran, Kavir Publications, 1384).

Mostofi-Abdollah, Description of my Life or Socio-Bureaucratic History of Qajar, vol 3, (Tehran, Zovar Publications, 3rd edition, 1371).

Sandra Mackey, Persia-Islam and the Soul of a Nation, translation by Shiva Rooygaran, (Tehran: Qoqnos Publications, 1380).

QolamHosseinMirzaSaleh, Memories of Reza Shah (memories of SoleimanBehboodi, Shams Pahlavi, AliIzadi), (Tehran: TarheNoe publications, 1372).

Private Letters and Confidential Reports of Sir Reader Bullard ambassador of Britain in Iran, translation by QolamHosseinMirzaSaleh, (Tehran: TarheNoe Publications, 1371).

Herman Norden, Under the Blue Sky, translation by Cyrus Samiei, (Tehran: Publications of Tehran University, 2530).

Studies and Researches:

Abrahamian- Ervand, A History of Modern Iran, translation by EbrahimFattahi, (Tehran: Nay Publications, 4th edition, 1389).

Skrine- Sir Clarmont, World War in Iran, translation by QolamHosseinSalehYar, (without location, Selseleh Publications, 1363).

Eshraqi-Firooz, Isfahan in Foreigner Tourists' View, (Isfahan, Atropat Publications, 1378).

Khajenoori-Ebrahim, Actors of Golden Age, (Tehran: Javidan Publications, New Edition, 1357).

Saten-Elvel, Great Reza Shah or New Iran, translation by AbdolazimSaboori, (Tehran: Mohammad Ali Elmi Publications, 3rd Edition, 1344).

EskandarDoldam, Adventurous life of Reza Shah, vol 1, (Tehran: Golfam publications, 3rd edition, 1371).

Foucault- Michel, What Iranians Dream About, translation by HosseinMassoomiHamedani, (Tehran, Hermes Publications).

Costello -Vincent Francois, Urbanization in Middle East, Translation by ParvizPirani&AbdolaliRezaei, (Tehran, Nay Publications, 1386).

Lambton-Ann, an Excursion to Iran's History after Islam, translated by YaghoubAjand, (Tehran, Amirkabir publication, 3rd Edition, 1385).

MahboobiArdekani- Hossein, History of New Civilian Institutes in Iran, vol 3, (Tehran: Publications of Tehran University, 2537).

Makky-Hossein, 20 years of Iranian History, vol 1 (Tehran: Amir Kabir publications, new edition, 1358)

MousaviEbadi Ali Asghar, Mayors of Tehran from Naseri Age to Khatami Government, (Qom and Tehran, Khoram Publications, 1378).