Zoroastrianism in Yazd from the Perspective of The Right to the (Creative) City

Armin Firouzi

Submitted to the
Institute of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Science
in
Cultural Heritage Studies

Eastern Mediterranean University
July 2021
Gazimağusa, North Cyprus

Approval of the Institute of Graduate Studies and Research

_____
Prof. Dr. Ali Hakan Ulusoy
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science in Cultural Heritage Studies.

_____
Prof. Dr. Resmiye Alpar Atun
Chair, Department of Architecture

We certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate in scope and quality as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science in Cultural Heritage Studies.

_____
Prof. Dr. Kokan Grchev
Supervisor

Examining Committee
_____

1. Prof. Dr. Kokan Grchev   _____

2. Asst. Prof. Dr. Hassina Nafa   _____

3. Asst. Prof. Dr. Muge Riza   _____

ABSTRACT

Zoroastrianism, the main religious tradition of Persia until the Arab conquest of Persian Empire, embodies a wide range of cultural heritage, from religious settings and sacred sites as tangible, to unique rituals and traditional festivities as intangible ones. Zoroastrianism in Yazd, to a large extent, constitutes the exceptional identity of the city and enriches its cultural diversity. When considering the role of associated heritage community in preservation, transmission, and promotion of the cultural legacies, the vital role of Zoroastrian community of Yazd is justified. While the mainstream of this research is related to cultural heritage, this examines *The Right of Zoroastrians to Their City* (Yazd), so that to find out the capabilities of the context to provide the required ground for inclusiveness of the associated heritage community, enhancement of cultural diversity, and ultimately for Yazd to function creatively. Throughout this research it is understood that Zoroastrianism potentially contributes to foster creativity indices in Yazd, while there are some gaps identified that systematically marginalize the community and prevent their active engagement for participating in social and cultural production of the space. Moreover, by addressing the role of regulatory systems to monitor and protect cultural heritage of Zoroastrians in Yazd, it is understood that focus of regulations and considerations barely speak out intangible dimensions with major concentration on preserving architectural heritage of the site, that avouch the passive contribution of Zoroastrian cultural heritage to creativity of the city.

Keywords: Zoroastrianism, Yazd, Right to City, Creative City, Cultural Heritage.

ÖZ

Pers İmparatorluğu'nun Araplar tarafından fethine kadar İran'ın başlıca dini geleneği olan Zerdüştlük, dini ortamlardan ve kutsal yerlerden eşsiz ritüellere ve geleneksel şenliklere kadar çok çeşitli kültürel mirası bünyesinde barındırır. Yezd'deki Zerdüştlük, büyük ölçüde kentin istisnai kimliğini oluşturmakta ve kültürel çeşitliliğini zenginleştirmektedir. Kültürel mirasın korunması, aktarılması ve tanıtılmasında ilişkili miras topluluğunun rolü düşünüldüğünde, Yezd Zerdüşt cemaatinin hayati rolü haklı çıkar. Bu bağlamda, bu araştırma, Zerdüştlerin şehirleri (Yezd) üzerindeki haklarını incelemektedir, böylece toplumun kapsayıcı olması, kültürel çeşitliliğin arttırılması ve nihayetinde Yezd'in işlev görmesi için gerekli zemini sağlamak için bağlamın yeteneklerini ortaya çıkarmak için yaratıcı bir şekilde. Bu araştırma boyunca, Zerdüştlüğün Yezd'deki yaratıcılık endekslerini teşvik etme potansiyeline sahip olduğu, ancak toplumu sistematik olarak marjinalleştiren ve mekanın sosyal ve kültürel üretimine katılım için aktif katılımlarını engelleyen bazı boşluklar olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Ayrıca, Yezd'deki Zerdüştlerin kültürel mirasını izlemek ve korumak için düzenleyici sistemlerin rolü ele alındığında, düzenlemelerin ve değerlendirmelerin odak noktasının, alanın mimari mirasının korunmasına odaklanan somut olmayan boyutları zar zor dile getirdiği, pasif katkıyı akla getiren anlaşılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Zerdüştlük, Yezd, Şehre Doğru, Yaratıcı Şehir, Kültürel Miras.

To Mah Monir and Vali

This humble work is a sign of my love to you!

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I would like to record my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Kokan Grchev for his supervision, advice, and guidance from the very early stage of this thesis as well as helping me to broaden my vision constantly throughout the work. Above all and the most needed, he provided me constant encouragement and support in various ways. His ideas, experiences, and passions has truly inspired and enriched my growth as a student. I am indebted to him more than he knows. I also would like to acknowledge my advisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ege Uluca Tumer for all her advice and encouragement, I am grateful in every possible way.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The concept of "The Right to the City" was first developed by Henry Lefebvre (1968), so that to restructure the power relations which underlie urban space, transferring control from capital and the state over to urban inhabitants (Purcell, 2005). The basic foundation in Lefebvre's theory can be developed so that to address more recent globalization and urban development trends in a way to sustain the right of all inhabitants. Within the framework of "The Right to the City", the city would embrace cultural diversity with respect to diverse identities of inhabitants and without discrimination, that would satisfy inclusive citizenship with political participation regardless of belonging to religious or any other kind of minority groups, and that would bring up more sustainable cities with equality for any marginalized groups and fulfilling social functions of it (Global Platform for the Right to the City).

By claiming "The Right to the City", admittedly it is not considered to be the existing city, or more of the same. Stepping towards such a utopia it is not (only) a right of individuals to be asserted within the existing society, but a right of all people, as human beings, to the production of a different society, a different city: a "creative city". It is a claim to an organization of society that will provide those basic rights, but that will provide them as part of an effort to nourish human development, growth, creativity, for all. (Marcuse, 2011) Urban areas are today's principal breeding grounds for the development of new strategies, policies and initiatives aimed at making culture

and creativity a driving force for sustainable development and urban regeneration through the stimulation of growth and innovation and the promotion of social cohesion, citizen well-being and inter-cultural dialogue. While in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, vital role of human rights is emphasized, among the core objectives to "make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable", creativity and culture are enumerated as one of the essentials; therefore, enhancement of cultural industries, supporting creation, promoting citizen and cultural participation and approaching the public sphere with a new perspective that public authorities, in cooperation with the private sector and civil society, can make the difference for urban development and conceiving of new solutions to tackle common challenges. (UNESCO, UCCN)

Zoroastrianism, as an ancient religion that was founded sometime between 600-6000 BC in Central Asia (Dhalla, 1938) has been the main religion of three great Persian Empires; the Achaemenians (550 BC-330 BC), the Parthians (247 BC-224 CE), and the Sasanians (224CE-651CE), and no longer after the invasion of Arabs to Iran in 7th Century (Ancient History Encyclopedia, Zoroastrianism Timeline, 2020). Afterwards, Iran has witnessed emigration and displacement of Zoroastrian community, and a decline in the number of Zoroastrians while the remaining community concentrated majorly in central Iran, known as Yazd. Zoroastrianism, as a distinct culture, contributes to cultural diversity of Yazd that has been inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List and contributes to the significance of it. The vital role of associated heritage communities is remarkable and it has been addressed both in relation with their Living Culture[1]; as they are who constantly "value, practice, nurture, and transmit the vitality of forms of traditional knowledge, skills and expressive

---

[1] Intangible cultural heritage is also referred to as living culture. (UNESCO)

culture that embody their identities" (UNESCO, 2003); and frequently emphasized in general sense for the identification, protection, interpretation and management of their cultural heritage through a range of doctrines, such as in Washington Charter (1987), Charter on the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites (2008), Recommendation on Historic Urban Landscape (2011), Buenos Aires Declaration of Human Rights (2018). Thus, this thesis examines the right of Zoroastrians to Yazd. Also, regarding the contemporary attention to social structure in a city and accordingly major consideration for the living culture of inhabitants, the role of Zoroastrian heritage and culture in promotion of creativity of the city is discussed.

1.2 Problem Statement

Although Zoroastrianism has been the dominant religion in the Persian Empire, the number of their population has shrank within centuries with less than 25000 followers in their homeland, Iran, while they are concentrated majorly in Yazd and Tehran (Zoroastrian Demographic, Heritage Institute). With regard to the drastic decline in the number of Zoroastrians in Iran by -70% in last six decades, accounted for 0.1% of the total population in 1940s and falling to 0.03% of the total population in 2016, also, the community has noticeably displaced in Yazd, although, still the relative population of Zoroastrians in there stands far above the other cities in Iran by comprising 0.4% of Yazd total population (Fathi, 2016). Moreover, the Historic City of Yazd, was registered by the UNESCO as a World Heritage City in 2017. Plus, Iran is looking forward to promoting the city of Yazd as a creative city (TehranTimes, 2018). Within the context of a World Heritage Site which is also seeking to join the creative cities network, it is of paramount importance for the Urban governance and public policies applied to Yazd to ensure active participation of any cultural community present in the society, especially those marginalized and minority groups.

Among those the right of Zoroastrians to the city of Yazd as an exclusively unique cultural identity in their homeland whose number is on a dramatically decreasing trend, to be reserved and their social bonds with context of the city, their inclusion in the society and their interactions and relationship with the urban environment to be evaluated.

Thus, this thesis is pursuing to evaluate inclusiveness of Zoroastrian community in context of Yazd within the concept of "The Right to the City" and to examine the capabilities for promotion of Yazd as a "Creative City" in association with Zoroastrian culture and heritage.

1.3 Research Questions and Objectives

Through the research problem the thesis attempts to answer the following questions. Main questions are:

- What is the role of culture and heritage in the concept of "the right to (creative) city" and what is the regulatory and protection status of Zoroastrian heritage in Yazd?

- Towards promoting Yazd as a creative city, how could the right of Zoroastrians as a minority and marginalized community be reserved for the sake of a balanced developed and sustainable society?

And the sub-questions are:

- What factors have contributed to displacement of Zoroastrians in Yazd?

- What factors can be addressed to be accounted for propelling or impeding today's Yazd social inclusivity of Zoroastrian community?

- How does Zoroastrianism contribute to creativity of Yazd?

Within this research, the objectives are to probe the relationship between the minority of Zoroastrian community and its context of Yazd within the framework of

The Right to the City, in order to fulfill the requirements of a Creative City. Through this study it is possible to examine the applicability of the concept of Creative City to the city of Yazd too. It is considered through this study, the environmental factors pushed externally to the to the displacement of Zoroastrians in Yazd to be addressed through the approach of this study that may clarify some gaps which contradicts engaged and inclusive presence of the community in context of Yazd. In addition, this research can open a window for the other marginalized social groups in a city which is registered as a world heritage site and is seeking to be promoted as a creative city.

1.4 Research Methodology and Limitation

It is based on an inductive methodology where the two concepts of "The Right to the City" spatial theory and "Creative City" urban policy are explored studying their preconditions and characteristics and turns to a descriptive approach exploring international case studies. Then the research adopts analytical and comparative approaches to analyze and compare the indices. As a result of these two approaches; the research concludes a framework consisting of three main pillars to address "The Right to (Creative) City", the required characteristics, and main dimensions to assess them. Accordingly; the developed framework according to the interconnection between the two concepts is applied in the case of this study. The purpose of this research is achieved by qualitative approach, while it is descriptive in collecting data, compiled of documents and records, and then comparative for the analysis.

By stating Yazd, as the context for this study, it is considered that the boundaries for this case study will be limited to the city of Yazd, and not the province of Yazd. Also, the selected boundaries for this study covers the area of the inscribed world heritage site for the historic city of Yazd.

1.5 Research Structure

The research consists of five chapters as follow:

Chapter one: outlines the study and motivation of the research; it describes the research problem; presents the research questions; and sets the main goal and objectives of the research. It also explains the methodology used to achieve those goals.

Chapter two: is about history of Zoroastrianism in Iran; outlining history of Zoroastrian community settlement in Yazd in specific; and an introduction to the mainstreams of Zoroastrian religion.

Chapter three: explains Zoroastrian Heritage in Yazd; categorized in manifestation of their tangible and intangible heritage assets.

Chapter four: clarifies the concept of "The Right to the (Creative) City"; starting from spatial theory of Lefebvre to emergence of "The Right to the City", reference to institutionalization practices. Then coming to background and evolution of "Creative City" concept, conditions and requisites; ultimately, investigating the intersections between the two concepts.

Chapter five: Zoroastrianism in Yazd, from the Perspective of the Right to the (Creative) City; Investigation of the Zoroastrian community inclusivity in Yazd in three main pillars retrieved and developed in the framework of this research, reflections on capacity to address socio-cultural diversity, political agency and resource distribution regarding Zoroastrian community in Yazd, discussions aspects of regulatory systems and protection status of Zoroastrian heritage in Yazd, Conclusion.

Chapter 2

HISTORY OF ZOROASTRIANISM IN YAZD

This chapter outlines general notes about history of Zoroastrianism in Yazd in order to introduce Zoroastrianism, Yazd, and the history for the placement of the community in context of the city. For this purpose, briefly it covers the history timeline of Zoroastrianism, since the emerge of the religion in ancient times until the modern period. Moving forward, historical and geographical specifics of Yazd are explained so that to clarify the context of this study. Later, some specific information about Zoroastrians' settlement in Yazd are indicated. Throughout explaining the historical aspects of this settlement, a primary understanding of the bonds and social relations that the community has established within this context are provided, to prepare background perception on this topic.

2.1 Introduction to Zoroastrianism

Zoroastrianism is an ancient Persian religion still in existence, while he origins of the Zoroastrianism are lost in antiquity. Zoroastrians are the descendants of the Proto-Indo-Iranian group of people, who in turn are descendants of the Indo-European family of nations (Zoroastrian Association of Metropolitan Washington). The Proto-Indo-Iranian people who probably settled in Airyanem Vaejah (south of Russia, east of Caspian Sea, north of modern Afghanistan) migrated gradually westwards and to the south to the Indian subcontinent between 8000 B.C.-6000 B.C. and the Indian and Iranian Aryans separated when they settled in Aryana (Present Iran) and in Northern India (Zoroastrian Association of Metropolitan Washington, 2018).

Zoroastrianism adopts its name after the Greek name of Zoroaster (their prophet), but also Mazdaism after the name of their supreme god, Ahura Mazdā (Skjærvø, 2011). Also, there are different names referred to the prophet in various sources such as Zarathustra, the old Persian name of him, Zartosht, his most common name in Iran, Zoroaster, the Greek and the most widely used version of his name (Duchesne-Guillemin, 1962).

According to accumulation of scholars Zarathushtra's date of birth may have been sometime between 600BC and 6000 B.C. (Dhalla, 1938). While philosophers such as Xanthus and Aritstotle put Zarathushtra's date of birth as late as 4000 B.C., many modern estimates including that of Paul Kriwaczek and Mary Boyce claim his birth date between 1000 B.C. and 1500 B.C., and other resources that put him as late as 600 B.C. (Ghan, 2014). Similarly, Zarathushtra's place of birth is of equal uncertainty and he is assumed to be born somewhere in northeast region of today Iran and west of today Afghanistan and he may have lived among tribes who practiced an ancient religion similar to early forms of Hinduism (History, Zoroastrianism, 2018).

Zoroastrianism in its birthplace was the religion of great Persian empires, dominated the middle east and beyond of that for over a millennium; the Achaemenians (550 B.C.-330 B.C.), the Parthians (247 B.C.-224C.E.), and the Sasanians (224 A.D.-651 A.D.). (Ancient History Encyclopedia, Zoroastrianism Timeline, 2020) "when Darius seized power (522 B.C.-486 B.C.), who owed his throne to the support of some noblemen, could not help favoring their cult, though he adopted Auramazda as a means of unifying his empire … he and his successors worshipped Auramazda." (Duchesne-Guillemin, 1962) This became the largest empire in the Ancient Near East, stretching from the Indus valley to Libya, from Ethiopia to north

of the Black Sea and to Central Asia, and including Anatolia and the Greek coastal colonies, but was conquered by Alexander in 330 B.C. (Skjærvø, 2014)

As the aftermath of Alexander's conquest, Iranian religious tradition also was submerged by the emergence of Hellenism. "In the middle of the 1st century B.C., gods bear combinations of Greek and Iranian names: Zeus Oromazdes, Apollo Mithra, Helios Hermes, Artagnes Herakles Ares." (Duchesne-Guillemin, 1962) Then during the Parthian Dynasty, Zoroastrianism was recognized as the official religion again. Parthian inherited and preserved a vast empire, both in extension, institutions and customs, Iran went through a transitional period between the co-existence of Iranian and Greek cultures to strengthening of Iranian cultural features and the prominent role of Iranians in the political scene of Western Asia; However, the revival of the Iranian culture of the Achaemenian period was not achieved in this period (Evangel & Mozdoor, 2003).

Around 224 A.D. Ardashir, founded Sasanian dynasty. Sasanian saw themselves as the successors of the Achaemenian Persians (Fowlkes-Childs, 2019). However, the enhancement of Zoroastrianism in Sassanian Empire was a long process started with Parthian efforts (Evangel & Mozdoor, 2003). Sasanian power expanded through decades that resulted their reign to stretch from the River Euphrates to the River Indus. Shapur II (310 A.D. – 379 A.D.) established control over Kushans in the east and fought against Arabs in south. Also during conflicts with Rome, Sasanian took control of northern Mesopotamia and Modern-day Armenia and Georgia (Fowlkes-Childs, 2019). In the following centuries, internal revolts and periodic wars with Byzantine Empire weakened Iran (Fowlkes-Childs, 2019). Then by the conquest of Arab forces united under Islam, at al-Qādisiyyah in 635 A.D. over the armies of Yazdegerd III, the last Sasanid king, Zoroastrianism was never again in dominance

like before, in any reign and sovereignty in its birthplace, Iran. After that Persia was defeated by Muslim Arabs, there was a constant stream of conversion to Islam. Conversions by persuasion or force were massive in many provinces. Meanwhile "Zoroastrianism shrank into the role of a religious minority" (Stausberg, 2012) while, discrimination against religious minorities slowly exacerbated the situation and it slowly resulted in large Zoroastrian population losses in Iran (Kestenberg, 2014).

For the history of Zoroastrianism in Iran after Arab conquest of Sasanian Dynasty, there is lack of evidence until Safavid reign (16th-18th). Zoroastrianism in Iran endured further population losses as in Safavid reign (1502-1736) the religion became a weapon of control, and then by Afghan invasion in early 18th century political turmoil of the time intensified the situation on the community, which was followed later by the rise of Qajar dynasty (1794-1925) Discrimination against religious minorities slowly exacerbated the situation and it slowly resulted in large Zoroastrian population losses in Iran (Kestenberg, 2014).

The ascension of Pahlavi Dynasty (1925-1979), and especially after the modernizing reforms of the last king of Iran, Mohammad Reza Shah, with a taste of nationalism, improved the situation for Zoroastrian community. There was a cherished environment for them to come out of isolation and many moved to big cities, especially Yazd and Tehran in pursue of better opportunities, whereas in late 19th century, the Zoroastrian community had reached its nadir and no more than 7,000 Zoroastrians remaining, living primarily in close to Yazd and Kerman (Thomson, 1868; Sykes, 1902), during 1970s the Zoroastrians could recover some of their strength, growing to about 25,000 people (Iran Government census, 1966). Zoroastrian symbols, traditions, and culture, emerged once more as representations of authentic ancient Persian identity. In different aspects, during the Shah's regime, Zoroastrianism reached an

unprecedented glory and prestige since emergence of Islam in Iran. Then again after the Islamic revolution of Iran in 1979, things changed; as During 1980s flock of Zoroastrians migrated which was the second great exodus of the community from homeland (Green, 2000).

2.2 Geographical and Historical specifics of Yazd

Yazd is the name of a province and the prominent city of that in Iran that is situated in the middle of Iranian plateau and close to the Silk Road. The city of Yazd constitutes to 2397 square kilometers and it is 677km distant from Tehran[2] to the south east, towards the center of Iran [Fig. 2.1]. It is one of the 7 metropolis cities of the country where over 650.000 inhabitants live (About Yazd, Yazd Provincial Government Webpage). Yazd is located on the periphery of the two great salt deserts, known as the Kavir in the north merging into the great sand and stone desert of Lut in southeastern Iran. This region is sited away of the sea that gets little rain and has relatively low dampness, heat and great temperature swings, and high water evaporation rate, all of which makes Yazd a dry and desertic climate.

About the name of Yazd, there are several assumptions and different names in the history. Yazd in some sources is referred to as Kase (Le Strange, G., & Nicholson, R. A., 2014) which means the city of Qanats (YazdScout, 2020). Also, the city may have got its name after the word of 'Yash' that means worship and prayer and it is one of the chapters of the holy Avesta (About Yazd, Yazd Provincial Government Webpage). Furthermore, Yazd may have had affinity with the word of 'Izad' correspondent to God, and also Yazdgerd the name of Sasanid King who is assumed to be the founder of Yazd in 4th century (YazdScout, 2020).

---

[2] Tehran is the Capital City of Iran.
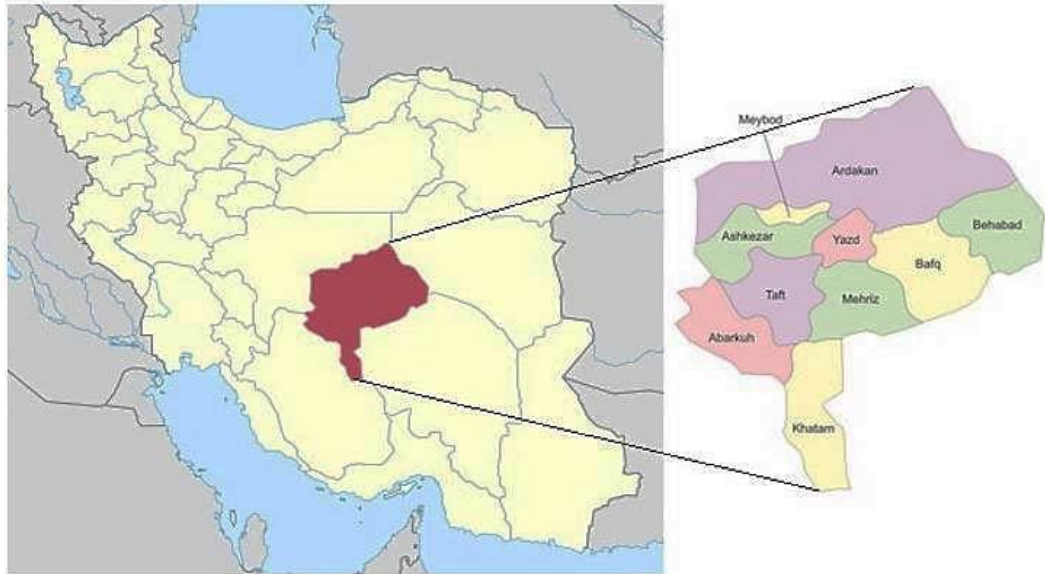
Figure.2.1. Map of Yazd in Iran (Hoseini, 2019)

According to some scholars the oldest mention of the city in historic records dates back to around 3000 years ago from the rule of Medes[3] (Iran Chamber Society), while based on the oral history, Yazd is as old as the Achaemenid era, when it was founded on the interconnecting roads between the ancient Rey, Kerman, and Isfahan, as well as the road between Pars to Khorasan (ICOMOS, 2016). However, some of the other historians believe that the first establishment of the City of Yazd goes back to when Alexander III of Macedon built a prison in this place, today known as Alexander Prison (About Yazd, Yazd Provincial Government Webpage). Estakhri, a 10th century geographer and travel-author of many Islamic territories, in accordance with many other historians believe the foundation of Yazd dates back from the Sasanian Dynasty, when Yazdgerd I (339-421 AD) established the city and called it Yazdgerd (Estakhri, 1994). Also, Estakhri states that in the early Islamic period, Yazd was in territory of Fars, that was under the reign of Abbasid in Basreh from 7th to 10th century. At this

---

[3] Medes: One of the Iranian peoples who overran the plateau and settled in the area known to ancient sources as Media; the creator of the Median kingdom, according to Herodotus, reigned from 728 to 675 BC. (Median Empire, Iran Chamber Society)

time, the city was fortified with two entrance gates, while some parts of the city walls are still present around the Jame Mosque. From 10th to 12th century, Yazd was expanded and it was developed with the water flow of numerous Qanats that prospered gardens and farms. It was entitled as Dar-ol-Ibadeh (Center for prayers) and several mosques and madrasas were added together with new fortifications around the city. Production of textiles, silk and cotton supplemented the newly built Bazaars in the city. Following the invasion of Genghis Khan to Iran in early 13th century, after the restoration of the city fortifications new districts were developed in Yazd, agricultural and industrial productions increased, economic and commercial activities flourished and Yazd gained and unprecedented political importance (ICOMOS, 2016).

By the rise of Safavid Dynasty, during 15th and 16th centuries, Yazd became more well known as an important hub of trade and many caravanserais were built alongside the major routes of that. The textile and silk production of it became well known even in Europe, India, and China (Bastani Parizi, 1960). Between 18th and 20th century and during the rule of Qajar Dynasty, the last repairing of city fortifications took place and city walls were repaired in 1820. The majority of the historic residential districts in Yazd that have survived until today belongs to Qajar period. At this time, Yazd comprised of 8 districts inside of the city walls and 16 districts outside and almost all of the Iranian Zoroastrian community were concentrated in Yazd, in Zoroastrians districts that continued to the present time (ICOMOS, 2016).

Starting in the late 19th century, the unprecedented political, social and economic changes and the modernism movements in Iran influenced the urban environments too. During Pahlavi period, Yazd witnessed a new genre of buildings and spaces, illustrated by the Post Office, cinemas, banks and urban green spaces. Moreover, this influenced the shape of this city in terms of urban grids, infrastructure

and the old districts; building two main roads of Pahlavi and Shah which cross in the middle of the historic quarter can be exampled (Vazini Afzal, 2019).
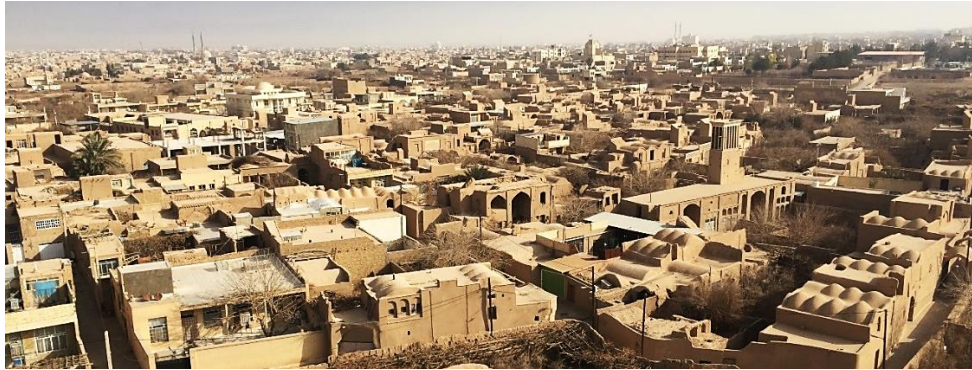
Figure.2.2. Historic Landscape of Yazd (Author)

Historic City of Yazd is a survived testimony for genius implementation of the limited resources in a desertic environment. Provision of water via developing a network of Qanats[4], earthen architecture with thick walls, roofs with vaults and domes, wind catcher towers, and courtyards that can be enumerated among the architectural characteristics of Yazd. Furthermore, partially covered alleyways (Sabbat), narrow traditional paths with thick adobe walls on the sides, together with conventional neighborhoods and bazars, mosques, water cisterns, historic gardens are denotative of magnificent urban quality of Yazd. Yazd is characterized by specific traditional building techniques and innovations. Historic city of Yazd, also, is the adjoining place for coexistence of three religions, namely: Islam, Judaism, and Zoroastrianism. (UNESCO, Historic City of Yazd, 2017).

2.3 History of Zoroastrians' Settlement in Yazd

Moving of Zoroastrians to the center of Iran (Yazd and Kerman) was a gradual immigration. There had been probably a link between moving of Zoroastrians and the

---

[4] Qanat is a system for transportation of water from aquifer to the ground level.

invasion of Mongols and Timurid (Amighi, 1990). Before Mongols' attack in 13th AD there had been groups of them residing in different locations, especially in Khorasan that was hardly devastated by Timurid attack and then they moved to Sistan and later on to Kerman (Sorušiān, 1978). Treatment of the Zoroastrians in each period was considerably varied. There are stories of cruelty and conflicts meanwhile, such as when in 9th century the founder of Taheri Governors in Khorasan burned the Zoroastrians' books (William Jackson, 1906); while in 10th century during the rule Shah Abbas I, the Safavid Founder, Zoroastrians were more welcomed according to oral history (Bastani Parizi, 1960). Then in 19th century, when many new influences came into play, the community was mainly centered in Yazd and their surrounding regions (Houtum-Schindler, 1882). Since this place is situated in the meeting periphery of deserts, that created a relative inaccessible geography for the choice of Zoroastrian populations (Boyce, 1977). However, based on religious matters, the interaction of Muslims with Non-Muslim communities, presented contradictions that paved the ground for conflicts in the society.

According to the Islamic laws, those people of religious communities who reside in Islamic territories are recognized as "People of the Book" (Ahl-e-Ketab), under the circumstances of having faith in god, the day of judgment, and having written scriptures (holy book). "People of the Book" have to pay poll tax in exchange for the status of protected people (Quran, 9:29). After the invasion of Muslim Arabs to Iran, they treated Zoroastrians as "People of the Book" and they started to collect poll tax from them. Following that, Non-Muslims were free to practice their religion in quiet and off the sight of Muslim eyes and to continue their own customs. Record of a Parsi representative in the mid of 19th century shows that majority of the Zoroastrians had difficulty to pay the poll tax imposed on them or they could not pay that at all. In such

cases, they were forced to convert to Islam or they ran away (Shahmardan, 1951). When the family could not afford neither to pay the poll tax nor to escape to India the whole family had to convert and the conversions continued by the mid of 19th century, so the number of Zoroastrians degraded to less than 1500 families in Yazd and less than 1000 in the periphery of that (Deboo, 2006). Whilst the power of the Muslim community grew, within time the developed laws limited the economic and political and social power of Zoroastrians to the second-class citizens (Amighi, 1990).

The community of Zoroastrians were prominently artisans and manual laborers like the majority of Yazd population. Although, some could benefit of businesses like trade and exports, yet it was illegal for them to make contracts with Muslims (Boyce, 1977). It was forbidden for Non-Muslim people in any way, physically or socially, to be elevated than the Muslims. They had to live in segregated districts in Yazd that were intentionally built lower than the house of Muslims, and sometimes partially below the ground level, so that it represents the lower status of Zoroastrian community by the customary law (Boyce, 1992). They were not allowed to touch moisty goods, for example when shopping in the market, or to go out in the rain as they would carry pollution (Amighi, 1990). They were forbidden to set up shop in bazaar, travel abroad, open schools, ride a horse, wear a watch or eyeglasses as these could elevate their status in comparison to Muslims (Malcolm, 1905). Furthermore, they were required to make themselves easily recognizable, such as by splashing white paint around their doors posts or by wearing distinctive clothes and colors like yellow and brown with twisted turbans (Malcolm, 1905).

Each of the authors who traveled to Iran during the 19th century have observed and cited both hazardous and normal aspects in life of the Zoroastrian community. Apparently, majority of the Zoroastrian were able to survive with their routines by

keeping those in isolation. Even, there were many reports of having positive interactions between the community of Muslims and Zoroastrians (Yeroushalmi, 2008). Especially the elites were more consistent in having relations. Wealthy level society of Muslims and Zoroastrians could socialize more effectively based on the reports of travelers (Browne, 2013).

The situation for the community of Zoroastrians in Yazd started to change in the second half of 19th century. One of the actions was to abolish poll tax by pushing Iranian central authority of the time. Later, with the royal permission and support of the Parsi community[5], Zoroastrian schools in Yazd, religious structures were restored and new construction were added. Fire temples were rebuilt, priests' education improved, festivals and celebrations increased, and some of the practices were revived (Ringer, 2011). Although in late 19th and early 20th centuries the protections increased and the situation improved, Zoroastrians were still treated as unclean and subject of abuse, the case that more or less continued until late 20th century (Amighi, 1992).

However, persistence of such withdrawn attitudes changed prominently with the rise of Pahlavi period who tied their legitimacy back to ancient Iran using Zoroastrian symbol, Faravahar, as a national emblem. With evolution of the economy and increasing employment opportunities, the number of Zoroastrians in Iran began to advance. This change was accompanied by urban migrations and turning hopes to Tehran for the younger generations. The new forces that came into play including urbanization, secularization, nationalism, liberal ideas, sense of nationalism, etc. offered the community a new environment. Despite the former harsh existence of the community, many of the cultural and religious practices were nourished in isolation

---

[5] A flock of Zoroastrians fled to India and since then, the community grew and referred to as Parsis.

and fear of the dominance in attempt of boundary maintenance reactions. Until the Islamic Revolution of Iran in 1979, not only emigration of the community to bigger cities like Tehran turned out as a new threat for the continuation of Zoroastrianism in Yazd, but also cultural assimilation, conversion, secular trends of the society, and modernity movement could be addressed as new challenges for the long-survived Zoroastrians of Yazd.

Chapter 3

ZOROASTRIAN HERITAGE IN YAZD

In the previous chapter, Zoroastrianism and Yazd were briefly introduced and some information about history of Zoroastrianism in Yazd were presented. In this chapter, manifestation of Zoroastrianism cultural heritage within context of Yazd is explained. In this regard, intangible cultural assets (living culture) as well as items of architectural heritage that are associated with the community are presented; all of which constitutes to significance of the city as a world heritage site. Cultural heritage of Zoroastrians and especially the living culture of them contributes broadly to the processes of creativeness in the city -which will be further explained in the next chapter- that falls within the context of this thesis. Thus, it is of paramount importance to elucidate some of the major cultural assets to understand specifics and aspects of Zoroastrian cultural identity to support the objectives of this research.

3.1 Zoroastrian Living Culture

Living culture, referred to as intangible cultural heritage represents traditions or living expressions that are inherited and passed from one generation to another, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts. UNESCO treaty of 2003 on intangible heritage states:

> Intangible Cultural Heritage means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, and skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly

recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. (Convention for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage, Art. 2)

In this regard, some of the elements that comprise Zoroastrian living culture are listed and explained in this subchapter; namely: Zoroastrian religion, language, clothing, festivals and iconography of Zoroastrian symbols.

3.1.1 Specifics and Aspects of Zoroastrian Religion

Although, Zoroastrianism is assumed to be the first monotheistic religion in the world (Rahimzadeh, 2020); it comprises both monotheistic and dualistic elements, and many historians believe some of the important concepts found in other religions – such as the concepts of monotheism, of heaven and hell, of the end of the world, of the resurrection of the dead, and of the coming of the Savior – originated with Zoroastrianism (Duchesne-Guillemin, 1962). Zarathushtra proclaimed there is only one omniscient - Omnipotent God and in Gathas, he preaches the One God, Ahura Mazda the "Wise Lord", who is transcendent. (Suren-Pahlav, 2000) Then according to the passages in Yasna (a part of Avesta), After Ahura Mazda, there is a duality (Controversially) of a twin spirits; Spenta Mainyu (the Holy or Bountiful Spirit) and Angra Mainyu (the Destructive or Opposing Spirit); while the relationship in which these two stand to Ahura Mazda is not clear. These two spirits are extensively understood as Good and Evil, but rather they are two principles that represent all the opposites of life. (Contractor, 2003) Sepanta Mainyu epitomizes everything that is life-affirming, creative, and activities which foster truth and care for the earth and its creatures, while in contrast, Ahriman represents destruction, untruth, violence and killing; and human beings are set free to choose between right and wrong (Collinson, 1994). Zoroaster's messages reflected also divine attributions in the whole universe;

advising people to acquire good mind and righteousness for peace and prosperity and for everlasting happiness (Suren-Pahlav, 2000). Doctrine of the faith is not based on mere compliance, fear or love, but rather ethics of personal responsibility embodied in trio of: Humata (Good Thoughts), Hukhta (Good words), Hvarshta (Good Deeds) (Riventa, 1990).

The prominent aspect of eschatology in Zoroastrianism is allocation of reward or punishment through divine judges. If a person takes the path of Righteousness (Asha – truth), he can attain the eternal happiness in heaven; while by choosing Evil (Druj – deceit), he would help Angra Mainyu, the wicked spirit in the universe (Bamji, 2013).

There are differences between the fate of an individual soul after his death (Individual Eschatology) and the fate of humanity after the end of the world (universal eschatology). In Universal Eschatology, the world is made to change into a new mode of existence where no evil can interfere. This will take place with the assist of Savior/Saviors in Zoroastrian belief; among which Saošyant is a very well-known name. There are also some beliefs that Zoroaster himself (or some person from his descendants) will be the savior (Encyclopedia Britanica, Zoroastrianism; Eschatology, 2020). In the universal eschatology, revival of the dead will take place through reunite of souls and the dead bodies which is going to last for fifty-seven years. People will rise at an age of perfection, regardless of their ages when they died. The metals in the earth will melt flow over the earth like a river and all the humanity have to pass through that fluid; while the righteous feel that as a bath of warm milk, the wicked suffer from the boiling heat and gets purification of their sins. At this stage even the residents of hell will be purified and will join the righteous. The situation of the world at that time is referred to as "frašô.kərəti" in Avestan, adherent to "making brilliant". Then there will be no hunger, thirst or death, but only pleasure. The Good will triumph over the

Evil and the boundaries between body and soul, material and mental aspects of existence, will disappear, or at least toned down (Shaked, 1970).

The sacred book of Zoroastrianism known as Avesta (also Zend-Avesta), comprises cosmogony, law, liturgy and the hymns and words of Zarathushtra, Gathas. Gatha is a set of five hymns of Zarathushtra himself and that has been preserved over a millennium by the priests. It is thought to consist the original and central part of the Avesta, while over the centuries, other scriptures accumulated around Gathas. Also, the existing version of Avesta is actually the remains of voluminous body of scripture gathered under Sassanian rule while the original manuscripts were destroyed by the conquest of Alexander (Encyclopedia Britanica, Avesta, 2020), and again some of the scriptures were destroyed by the Muslim and Mongol invasions. Yet, the Gathas are the core constitutional text of the faith and they were composed in Avestan. (Shapero, 1996)

3.1.2 Language

Avesta, the holy book of Zoroastrianism, is composed in Avestan language. Avestan is classified among Eastern Iranian languages, estimated to date back from over one millennium BC (Encyclopedia Britanica, Avestan Language). It is not yet clear in which language Avesta was written until that time, or if it was transmitted orally, though invention of Avestan language contributed undeniably in preservation of the documents until today. Some of the scholars believe the alphabet of Avestan was invented in Sasanian Period (Hoffman, 1968) while some others estimate it to be as old as Achemenian Period (Geldner, 1889). Avetsan had been a widespread language geographically and also evolved through different periods of time over a millennium (Goshtasb, 2011). Due to evolution of the language and the variations accordingly, it was divided into Old Avestan and Young Avestan. The oldest part of

Avesta, Gathas, was composed in Old Avestan that is very close to an Indo-European linguistic type, Vedic Sanskrit of India.

Figure.3.1. Holy Book of Avesta, Written in Young Avestan (URL 12)

Young Avestan is used in the greater part of Avesta, later when the priests composed new religious scriptures during Sasanian period; it is more simplified with a varied language structure than the old Avestan used (Encyclopedia Britanica, Avestan Language). Avestan is not a dead language, just extinct from popular communication, and still in use for the sacral purposes by the Zoroastrian communities of Iran and India.

In addition, Dari is the traditionally spoken language among Iranian Zoroastrians, a name shared with the dialect of Persian that is spoken in Afghanistan. However, regardless of sharing the same name, Dari dialect of Zoroastrians is different than in Afghanistan (Eduljee, 2014). Dari is also referred to as Gabri or Behdinani is spoken among the community mainly in Yazd, Kerman, and Tehran in Iran and it is among the most immediate imperiled languages of the world. Dari is not same as

Avestan, although there are a range of religious words found in this language (Gholami, 2018). The number of language users is estimated to be between 8000-15000 users that is decreasing dramatically in the coming generations, since parents speak the national language of Persian to their children rather than Dari (California Zoroastrian Council). There are above 20 dialects of Zoroastrian Dari spoken as of today and sometimes the variations between them bring about problems for understanding one dialect to the other dialects' users (Mazdapour, 1995). The two dialects of Mahallati and Sharifabadi are spoken in Yazd; Sharifabadi is the dialect related to a conservative Zoroastrian village of Yazd, while Mahallati is the mainstream dialect in the city of Yazd, a distinct dialect of Dari with a thick accent (Eduljee, 2014). Mahallati or Malati is considered as the main dialect that must be taught and used as "High" Dari because it is the dialect of the priests and their families (Mazdapour, 1995).

3.1.3 Clothing

As of today, Zoroastrian men and women in Yazd have the same dress code with their Muslim neighbors. Women are obliged to wear Hijab and cover their head and body in correspondence to the Islamic Republic civil laws. Apart from that, the traditional outfit of Zoroastrians women includes head covering garment, while according to the religion, there is not any constraints for head covering. This fact proves that outfit of Zoroastrians has got influences of the dominant culture through the history and has been adjusted with the socio-cultural (and political) situation of the time (Niknam, Hijab in Zoroastrianism). After lift of the discriminative rules against Zoroastrians, the specific outfit of men such as wearing distinctive colors to be identifiable dismantled, and it has become more similar to the garment of their Muslim

neighbors in the recent centuries. However, Zoroastrian women had more characteristic clothing with bright and colorful parts.

Figure.3.2. Custom Zoroastrian Garments for Women (URL 13)

Women's outfit consists of striped trousers (Shalwar), a wide dress with attached skirt (Pirahan), a triangular cap (Latchak), and a large rectangular head covering (Batch) (Mazdapour, 2017). Shalwar and Pirahan were loose garments and sometimes they did embroidery on them, called Zatoshti-Doozi (Zoroastrian sewed).

Above that, traditional Zoroastrians both men and women wear sacred garments under their cloth that includes of two pieces, a sacred shirt named Sudre, and sacred belt or Kushti. Sudre is a V neck shirt without sleeves that is made of white cotton and it is a symbol for purity. Kushti is a flattened tube of 72 interwoven strands of white wool and it is made by women of priestly families. Putting on the sacred belt of Kushti is a symbol to gain and succeed by struggling in the way of wisdom and virtue (Haug, 1884).

Figure.3.3. Sudre-Pushi Ritual in Yazd (URL 14)

Sudre and Kushti are given to the young boys and girls in their initiation ceremony when officially they put faith in Zoroastrianism and start practicing the religion. This ceremony is called Sudre-Poushi (Wearing Sudre). Sudre-Poushi and the traditional outfit of Zoroastrian women was registered on the National Intangible Heritage list in 2020. Zoroastrian priests (Mobed) have their clothing all in white. They put on a white fabric, called Panam, when they approach fire during the religious rituals. This is in order to avoid contamination of the fire when they breath (Shahriari, 2020).

3.1.4 Festivals

Living happily and to offer happiness for the others, is of the main cornerstones in culture of Zoroastrians and a virtue in their religion. There are variety of celebrations and festivals held by the community through the year that can be divided into monthly, seasonally, and annual festivals. The term "*Jashn*" (Persian correspondent to celebration) has its roots in the word of "*Yaz*", equivalent to worship. Zoroastrians start

each of the events by saying prayers first and then rituals are continued (Azargoshasb, 1971).

In the Zoroastrian Calendar each of the days of a month has a certain name, including the names of the twelve months of year. Both names of the twelve months and the days of a month are retrieved from the names of Amesha Spentas, divinity creatures and attributes of Ahura Mazda. Zoroastrians celebrate the days that come in the same name of that month, which in total, makes twelve monthly festivals (Niknam, 2000). Jashan of Farvardin celebrates the Fravashis, the spirit of the deceased, on the 19th day of the 1st month (April 8). Jashan of Ardavisht, celebrating fire and all other luminaries. 3rd day of the 2nd month (April 22). Jashan of (K)Hordad, celebrating the waters on 6th day of the 3rd month (May 25). Jashan of Tir, also known as Tiregan, celebrates Tishtrya and the rains, on the 13th day of the 4th month (July 1). Jashan of Amurdad, celebrating plant creation on 7th day of the 5th month (July 25). Jashan of Shahrevar, celebrating metals and minerals on 4th day of the 6th month (August 21). Jashan of Mihr, also known as Mehregan, celebrating Mithra on the 16th day of the 7th month (October 2). Jashan of Aban, also known as Abanegan, celebrates Apas, the waters, in particular of Aredvi Sura Anahita. It falls on the 9th day of the 8th month (October 26). Jashan of Adar, also known as Adaregan, celebration of Atar, fire. Adargan falls on the 10th day of 9th month (November 24). The 1st, 8th, 15th, 23rd day of the tenth month are each feast-days of Ahura Mazda, and each of those four days is called Jashan of Dadvah (Creator). Jashan of Bahman, celebrating animal creation is on 2nd day of the 11th month (January 16). Jashan of Spendarmad, celebrating the earth is on 5th day of the 12th month (February 18). (World Heritage Encyclopedia) Monthly festivals are mainly celebrated by reciting Avesta, gathering in fire temples or special halls, donation of food, singing and gathering in parties.

Figure.3.4. Mehregan Feast (URL 15)

Furthermore, there are six seasonal festivals, referred to as Gahanbar, that are irregularly spaced. Gahanbar festivals are associated with the six "*primordial creations*" of Ahura Mazda, otherwise known as the Amesha Spentas, and through them with aspects of creation; the sky, the waters, the earth, plant life, animal life, humankind (Boyce, 1970). Each of the Gahanbar festivals continues for five days long, while the fifth day is the most important day with the biggest celebration. The festival starts with reciting Avesta related to Gahanbar, and then those who can afford, hold a ceremony and hand out food, while some others who cannot afford the ceremony must participate in the parties and to have some of the special food prepared for Gahanbar (Niknam, 2000).

The annual ceremonies are the most prominent festivals that are held more consistently among the community. Nowruz (the new day) is the holiest and the most joyful ceremony of Zoroastrian year (Boyce, 2016) that is celebrated on 21st of March, not only in Yazd and Iran, but also in many countries such as Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, India, Turkey, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, etc. Although Nowruz is celebrated as a secular

and socially significant event in a vast region, it has some of its roots lie in the religion and it is considered as a feast day and a religious celebration for Zoroastrians.

Figure.3.5. Gahanbar Feast (URL 16)

Additionally, Zoroastrian celebration of Nowruz has been assimilated in the culture of the context and some of the rituals have been forgotten. People prepare for Nowruz by housecleaning (Khane-Tekani) but Zoroastrians intend to prepare for the Fravahar of the deceased ones, whom they believe at this time of the year come and visit the family. In the last night of the year, they set fire on rooftops to the next morning for the Fravhar of the deceased ones and they put flowers in the next morning while splashing water for the convoy of those until the next year.

Figure.3.6. Zoroastrians Set Fire on Rooftops the Night before Nowruz (URL 17)

Figure.3.7. Replacing Fire with Flowers at the Day of Nowruz (URL 18)

Then, reciting Avesta on the new day, gathering in fire temples, visiting family and relatives on the day of Nowruz are of traditions among them. Also, they set a special table in their places for Nowruz with seven elements that are material symbols for seven Amesha spentas. Zoroastrians celebrate festival of Nowruz for 21 days, during which there are events such as commemoration of Zoroaster's birthday on March 27th (Niknam, 2000). After acknowledgment of the significance of Nowruz as an ancient celebration, it was registered on the UNESCO List for the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2009. Furthermore, the UN General Assembly of 2010, declared March 21st as International Nowruz Day.

Figure.3.8. Zoroastrians Reciting Avesta on Day of Nowruz (URL 19)

Figure.3.9. Zoroastrian Table for Nowruz (URL 20)

Another prominent festival of Zoroastrians is (Jashn-e-) Sadeh. Festival of Sadeh is a midwinter event, correspondent to 30th of January, that was celebrated with splendor and glory in ancient Iran. Sadeh in Persian means one hundred, and the etymology of it may refer to the hundredth day of the five-month period of great winter in the Zoroastrian calendar. In another reference, which is less convincing, it refers to the 50 days and 50 nights remained to the Nowruz and the Spring equinox (Krasnowolska, 2009).

Figure.3.10. Igniting Bonfire in Sadeh Celebration (URL 21)

Sadeh is in honor of fire, light, and energy to overcome the demons of darkness, frost, and cold. Sadeh in some of the references is associated with the discovery of fire, that is also elaborated in Shah-Nameh of Ferdowsi (Niknam, 2000). In this legend Hushang[6], the Persian king, in struggle with a dragon throws a stone that hits another stone and the spark of that, burns a flame. Then, Hushang assigns some to add firewood and take care of the fire so that it will not be extinguished (Ferdowsi, 2016). Discovery of fire, was commemorated by Hushang and Sadeh is a memorial of this legend too. Sadeh endured during the Islamic society until today. Sadeh festival is associated with igniting bonfires in order to assist the revival of sun and to bring back the warmth and light of summer. Plus, it means to kick off powers of cold and frost that kill the plants. Zoroastrians hold this event by burning a pile of firewood in open spaces and celebrate coming of spring, overcome of darkness and cold, and it is a symbol for the infinite struggle with mischief.

Figure.3.11. Sadeh Celebration in Yazd (URL 22)

---

[6] Hushang is a legendary figure in Zoroastrian scriptures. Shah-Nameh of Ferdowsi, elaborates on the legend of the Persian King, Hushang Pishdadi, as the second ruler of the world.

Above that, many of non-Zoroastrians get involved in this festival, apart from the religious significance of it nor they take in part in the specific rituals, but they participate in lighting bonfires at sunset of Sadeh. Many Iranians of all faiths makes a collective effort to keep up with the ancient Iranian tradition and celebrate Sadeh together with the Zoroastrian community (Center for South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies at Illinois). Sadeh festival was registered on the National Heritage List of Iran in 2020.

3.1.5 Iconography of Zoroastrian Symbols

Iconography indicate symbols and forms that we see today and recognize them as part of the contemporary Zoroastrian culture. In that sense, those symbols are consistent of several important ones that are surviving with their original meanings which in the frame of thesis, three of the main symbols are presented; namely: Fravahar, Fire (Flame), and Cypress.

A) Fravahar (Modern Persian Forouhar) is the prominent symbol of Zoroastrianism. Fravahr derived from the Avestan "Fravarane" that is literally translated as "I choose" and it is also linked with the name of divine guardian spirit, Fravashi (Ghavidel, 2008). According to Mobed Shahzadi, the priest, in Council of Iranian Mobeds in North America,

> "It is winged, signifying the ascent of the soul or upward progress. The wing is in three major segments, representing Good Thoughts, Good Words, and Good Deeds. The ring in the center symbolizes the eternity of universe or the eternal nature of the soul. As a circle, it has no beginning and no end. The figure inside is that of an old man, representing wisdom of age. One of the hands points upwards, telling us that there is only one direction we should choose. The other hand holds a smaller ring, the ring of promise. This means when a Zoroastrian gives a promise, it is like a ring. It cannot be broken.
>
> The feathered tail below is also in three parts. It represents the opposite of the wings, namely, Bad Thoughts, Bad Words, and Bad Deeds. It is at the bottom, because such choices weigh us down and impede our ascent. And finally the two curly threads from the waist signify the duality of our experiences.

Through our Good Mind we can make the Good choices, and through its lack or opposite, we will make Bad choices." (Shahriari, 1996)

Figure.3.12. Fravahar

Fravahar is recognized by Zoroastrians all around the globe as the paramount motif and emblem of their faith and culture. It is also used as a motif and logo on facades of fire temples, Zoroastrian associations, mausoleums and memorials, and any other sacred sites of Zoroastrians, as well as it is imprinted in materials like Avesta. In addition, Fravahar as a secular symbol, represents cultural and historical legacy of Iran (Pandey, 2019).

B) Flame is another significant symbol in Zoroastrianism. Fire provides light, and light grants us the ability to see; and vision is a representation of wisdom, as we are able to see knowledge and know the difference of what is good and evil. Fire was also used judicially in ancient Iran so that to test innocence of those accused of lying. By doing so, if the accused died he was guilty and If not, he was innocent who has been protected by Mithra (another divine being). This also has been reflected in the Persian literature, such as in the legend of Siavash in Shahnameh (The Epic of Kings). (The Circle of Ancient Iranian Studies, THE STORY OF SIYÂWASH) Thus, fire acquired an association with truth (Avestan Asha) and so it is inextricably involved with Zoroastrian religious tradition; symbolizing righteousness and presence of god.

Zoroastrian veneration of fire has its origin in Indo-Iranian cult of the hearth fire that was regarded by ancient Iranians as the visual embodiment of divinity Atar (Persian Azar) who constantly helped human being by providing light, warmth, and comfort; thus, fire was also present at religious ceremonies. (Encyclopedia Iranica, Atash-Zohr) "Fire is created by 'Asha Vahishta' and with assist of the old Iranian fire-god, Atar. Fire is, therefore, the primary element of Asha, the cosmic order, which controls the material world, and represents moral standards and righteousness by which the mortals are judged." (Basirov, 2001) While Zoroastrians are sometimes misconceived as fire worshippers, they turn their face towards a flame (or other sources of light) when they worship and where possible, the fire burns constantly representing spiritual flame (mainyu athra) and temporal fire also symbolizes constant fire of creation. In Gathas, Zoroaster refers to spiritual fire (mainyu athra) as the one which illuminates the path of Asha. (Eduljee, 2005) Thus, the spiritual flame is whether fed with good thoughts or with negative thoughts is brightened or diminished, and that is why the temporal flame is kept free from anything that will sully the flame. In Avesta there is not any declaration about cult of fire; but in middle Persian texts added to Avesta during Sasanian dynasty, there are three principle grades of fire present in temples and for rituals and ceremonies: Atash Bahram, Atash Adaran, Atash Dadgah, all of which are lit, consecrated and maintained differently. (Eduljee, 2005) The most elaborate grade of fire is Atash Bahram, which is gathered from sixteen different sources, such as the fire of priests, soldiers, civil servants, farmers, artisans, etc. purified and consecrated in specific rituals and then unified. (Peterson, 2006)

C) Cypress tree is one more of iconic elements in Zoroastrianism. For Zoroastrians, Cypress (Sarv in Persian) is a rich symbol that represents sustainable life as an evergreen tree. Cypress evokes the Amertat (Agelessness and longevity) which

is denotative of life triumph over the evil forces. It also stands resolute as a meaning of liberty and freedom, as well as fairness and truthfulness as it stands upright (Eduljee, 2005). Cypress also is regarded as one of the crucial decorative elements that symbolizes contemporary Zoroastrian culture.

3.2 Zoroastrian Architectural Heritage in Yazd

In this part, some of the architectural heritage assets associated with Zoroastrianism in Yazd are explained that boost cultural diversity in Yazd, enrich significance of the site as a world heritage city, and some of the items are linked with the living culture of the community. Among those several items, major cultural properties are listed; namely: Fire Temples, Dakhma, Zoroastrian Houses, Water Cisterns, Asadan Castle, and Markar Complex.

3.2.1 Fire Temple

Fire temples are worship places in Zoroastrianism, where there they keep a constant burning fire if possible. However, there is not much evidence about cult of fire temple originated as early as the religion itself, but it is more recent than Zoroastrianism itself. "Zoroaster himself did not recommend this mode of fire-temples, and even the later Avesta does not refer to it. Herodotus and other Greek writers make it explicitly clear that the early Achaemenians did not have fire-temples and five centuries later Strabo confirmed this fact." (Antia, 2012) It is likely that the cult of constant burning fire was not practiced in a consecrated place, fire temples, was not practiced in Achaemenians but they only had hearth fire for praying. (Yamamoto, 1979) At that time, the temporal fire is thought to have been the hearth fire which everyone set up in house and kept it burning as long as he lived. This tradition then developed into the ever-burning flame kept alive in honor of and symbolizing the divine in a place of worship. (Mark, 2020) Some scholars believe that that first

Zoroastrian fire temple were erected no earlier than Parthian period. Accounting on Isidor of Charax, during Parthian dynasty fire was maintained permanently in Khorasan where they founded Arsaces empire. (Schroff, 1914) Then fire temples were quiet prevalent during Sasanian Dynasty, with their common architectural feature as what is called in Persian Chahaar Taaq (Four Arches) where four corner-pillars supported a dome over a square shaped room while fire was visible to the outsiders from the arches. (Antia, 2012)

Yazd Fire Temple (known as Atashkade in Persian) is the only temple of Iran with the highest grade of consecrated fire, Atash Bahram (Victorious Fire), while all of the other similar temples are in India (Eduljee, 2014). This temple was constructed in 1934 on a donated land of Amanat brothers in memorial of their father[7]. Through the accumulated funds of Society for the Amelioration of the Conditions of the Zoroastrians in Persia and the Association of the Parsi Zoroastrians of India this temple was founded under supervision of Jamshid Amanat[8] (Iran Gazette).
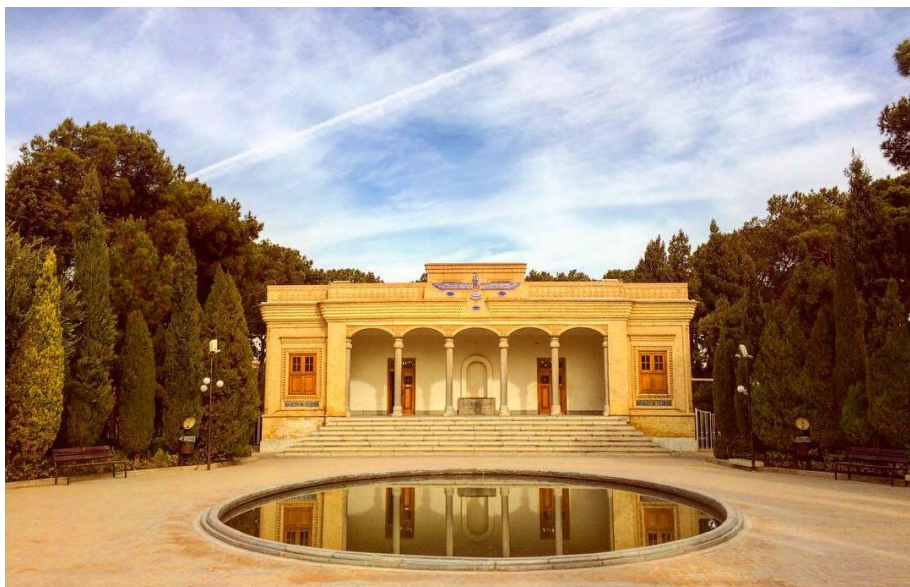
Figure.3.13. Yazd Fire Temple (Author)

---

[7] Ardeshir Mehraban Rostam Amanat.
[8] Son of Ardeshir Mehraban Rostam Amanat.

The Sacred fire of this temple has been consistently burning for over 15 centuries since 470 AD. This fire is a flame of the fire in Pars Karyan[9] fire temple that was originated in Sasanian Period. Then, it was transferred to Aqda[10] and it was maintained there for 700 years. Moving forward, it was transferred to Ardakan in 1173 AD and remained there for another 300 years. Then since 1473, this flame was maintained in the house of a high priest, Tirandaz Azargoshtab, in Yazd until it was given to Yazd Fire temple (Eduljee, 2014). Through this time, the fire has been tended under the responsibility of a special priest (Mobed) by adding woods of Almond and Apricot that stay longer burning for a couple of times a day (Mehr News 2014).

Figure.3.14. Sacred Fire (Atash Bahram) in Yazd Fire Temple (URL 1)

The temple was built by brick masonry, and designed in the middle of a large garden of Pine and Cypress trees [Fig. 3.13]. Above the main entrance to the temple, there is a Fravahar that is craftsmanship of artisans from Isfahan, so is the design of the stones and head columns that were transported to Yazd. Inside of the temple, there

---

[9] Karyan is a village in rural Larestan County in Fars province located in south of Iran.
[10] Aqda is a city in Ardakan County in Yazd Province.

is an inner sanctum where the consecrated eternal fire, Atash Bahram, is maintained in a Bronze vessel, while the visitors can only see the fire from behind the glasses concerning the possibility for the pollution of the sacred area and the fire. The fire is maintained by a priest called Hirbod and Zoroastrians enter the place with bright color clothes and barefoot at prayer times. Yazd Fire Temple was listed as a National Heritage Asset in 1999.

In addition, there are several other fire temples in Yazd with consecrated fire of Adaran and Dadgah grades, kept burning at their fire altars that serve Zoroastrians. Among those the fire temple of Kucha Boyuk is registered on the National Heritage List; this property dates back from 1861in Qajar period. Among the other fire temples in Yazd, those of Maryam Abad (1900), Qasem Abad (1940), Ahrestan (1950), and Qaleye Asadan (1970) can be enumerated (Choksy, 2006).

3.2.2 Dakhma

According to Zoroastrian values, contamination of four sacred elements of water, fire, wind and earth is not permissible. Also, they considered the dead bodies as a source of pollution and they avoided burning or burial of them (Khajepour & Raoufi, 2018). In order to prevent the contamination of earth or fire, Zoroastrians exposed the dead bodies on top of the hills and mountains until they are consumed by carnivorous animals and their bones are cleaned. Then, the bones were collected and buried. So that to fulfill this tradition, circular stone structures were built on top of the hills called Dakhma (Tower of Silence in Avestan) and the ritual was referred to as Dakhmagozari (Moulton, 1917). The oldest reference to this ritual probably dates back from five centuries BC, when Herodotus mentioned a tradition between Iranians about that they did not bury the dead bodies until they were consumed by carcasses and dogs (Ahmadi & Mehrafarin, 2020).

The architectural characteristics of Dakhma evolved in time since the ancient times. The most recent type of Dakhma was a round structure constructed at height and accessed by stairs. The highest level of the tower was an open area, stone floored and classified in 4 sections; the most outward circle was for the corpses of men, next was for women, and the inner was for children, corpses of whom were put exposed on the surface. The center of the tower was a pit called Estodan. Estodan was the place that they put bones in it when they were clean and dried enough in the sun (Alipour, 2006) and then the Dakhma was swept and cleansed for the next Dakhmagozari.
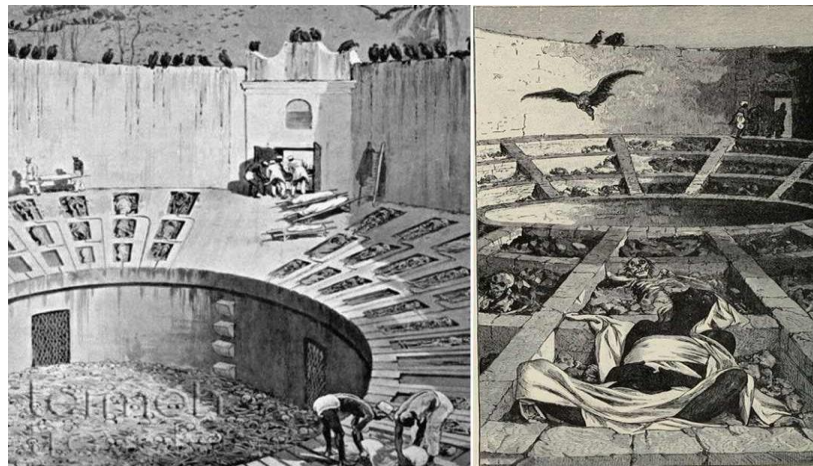
Figure.3.15. Interior of Dakhma (URL 2)

Close to Dakhma there were also other settings set up to serve for different purposes. Khile was the place for temporary residence of those who accompanied the deceased one. Dakhma-ban was the building where Dakhma Attendants (Nesa Salar) lived in there permanently as they were not allowed to come in the town. Lantern towers were the places that they set fire in them to provide light in front of Dakhma, usually after Dakhmagozari until three nights for the relief of the deceased spirit (Alipour, 2006). Among the establishments, there were spaces for preparation of food, stables, water reservoir (Ab Anbar), storage rooms, and so on.

Figure.3.16. Dakhma of Yazd (URL 3)

The ritual of Dakhmagozari was abolished since 1941 onwards due to consideration of social, cultural and health issues (Khajepour & Raoufi, 2018). Following that, Dakhmas were abandoned and the corpse of the deceased Zoroastrians was buried. The twin Dakhmas of Yazd are located in the south of the city, and registered in the National Heritage List in 2003. One of those twin Dakhmas dates back from Sasanian period, which was restored and refurbished in 19th century through the funds of Society for the Amelioration of the Conditions of the Zoroastrians in Persia while the other Dakhma is more recently constructed in Qajar period (Hoseini, 2003).

3.2.3 Zoroastrian Houses

Dasturan is a prominent urban district of Yazd populated by Zoroastrians and it is known as the priests' lodge. In comparison with other Zoroastrian districts, the residential buildings of Dasturan district has remained fairly intact and in a good condition, while its majorly Zoroastrian inhabitancy has not been displaced yet. There are some architectural characteristics found particularly in this quarter. As mentioned before, one of the imposed restrictions until the 19th century was that Zoroastrian houses must had been constructed lower than the house of Muslims. Thus, none of

those buildings could be of two storey building or to have a wind catcher, otherwise they would had been demolished (Jackson, 1906). However, the exterior walls of the houses in Dasturan neighborhood have been built quite tall, close to 6-8 meters high [Fig. 3.7], which seem to be constructed after the royal permission for lifting the bans. Still, the reason for towering the surrounding walls may had been for the fear of trespass and harassment (Amini, 2001).

Furthermore, one of the features is that the main orientation of the buildings is along the four cardinal directions, while the majority of Muslim houses in this region are built alongside northeast southwest (Bolouki & Okhovvat, 2016). Also, there are cruciform spaces, along the cardinal directions, found in the residential buildings that end up to a room (known as Peskam) in each of the directions [Fig. 3.8]. One might correlate between the main orientation of the Zoroastrian buildings and the cruciform spaces, that is thought to be inspired by the Zoroastrian theology (Boyce, 1971).

The four Peskams surround a central courtyard with a pit in the middle for holding the fire altar. The Four-Peskam area is built with religious purposes to hold Zoroastrian celebrations (Karimian & Karimi, 2020). The southern part, Peskam Mas, is the main one, with an elevated floor and bigger area than the other three Peskams [Fig. 3.8]. In addition to daily prays, funerals, Nowruz, and religious celebrations are held in this Peskam (Bolouki & Okhovvat, 2016). There are not many decorative components found in the Zoroastrian houses, but a few elements usually in Peskam area as well as on building facades. The most frequently used decorative elements include plasterworks of Cypress tree, Fravahar, pomegranate, Sun, and lotus (Bolouki & Okhovvat, 2016).

Figure.3.17. Highly-built Surrounding Walls of Dasturan Neighborhood (URL 4)

Figure.3.18. Cruciform and Four-Peskam Area on the Left, Peskam-Mas on the Rright (Karimian & Karimi, 2020)

Referring to religious values of Zoroastrianism "...one should protect the fire in the home carefully. Failing to look after the fire is equivalent to committing a sin, and causes reduced fertility in women and declines men's wellbeing" (Mazda pour, 2008. Red Flower Mark and Fourteen Chapters on Myth, P. 89). Also, leaving fire lit under the sunlight is considered as a sin (Dhabhar, 1909). For this reason, domestic fire of the Zoroastrian houses is kept in a confined and roofed space in the kitchen. Plus, there are two fireplaces in the kitchen of these houses, one is for daily cooking

and the other is exclusively for cooking in religious ceremonies. In addition, there is a space in the houses of Dasturan referred to as Armestgah (Filthy Room) where women were isolated during their menstruation. Armestgah is also referred to in the holy book of Vendidad as "...whenever in a Zoroastrian house, a woman is filthy (Armēšt), they should stay in Armēšt-gāh" (The Zend-Avesta: The Vendīdād Collection of Zoroastrian Laws: Section 59). The reason for this isolation was to keep those women in this period away from the sacred elements, so they move to the designated room.

Figure.3.19. Decorative Elements, Zoroastrian House (Karimian & Karimi, 2020)

Through the migration of Zoroastrians to Yazd and its periphery, they settled in scattered areas of this geography, from villages to suburban areas and then many of them moved into the city of Yazd gradually. Due to harsh climatic condition of this region, some of the Zoroastrian villages were abandoned while their inhabitants moved to the city. Also, as a result of the city expansions many of suburban regions were adjoined to the city later. In addition, the process of assimilation between residential quarters of Zoroastrians and the Muslims furthered by the ease of legislations and improvements in the social conditions for the Zoroastrians. Yet, today in 9 out of 77 districts of Yazd, Zoroastrians are the major resident community such as in Maryam Abad, Ahrestan, Nosrat Abad, Khoramshah, Khatam Abad, etc. Kholf Khanali or

Poshte Khane Ali is one of those Zoroastrian districts of Yazd as old as 250 years. It is said to be named after Imam Ali[11] to prevent attacks and insults from Muslim groups (ISNA, 2003).

3.2.4 Water Cistern

Water Cistern (in Persian Ab-Anbar), usually found in desertic environments, were the terminal point for many of Qanats that provided water for urban consumption. These structure were dug beneath the ground level and had access through subterranean steps. Their ventilation was through towers of wind catcher, known as Badgir, and the number of the towers depended on the capacity of the reservoir. Water cisterns could be of public and private ones. The private water cistern was only accessible to one household, usually of wealthy ones, while the majority of people collected water from the public ones. People collected water from those or alternatively there were individuals who collected water from this service point, carried that in waterskin and delivered to households (Heritage Institute, Yazd).

One of the great samples, Guiv Water Cistern, is also a prominent landmark in Yazd named after the Zoroastrian benefactor, Arbab Rostam Guiv. On-ground structure of that consists of an oval copula with ornamental brickwork indicating cypress tree. There are four wind catchers found around the copula that ventilate the reservoir with capacity of 2300-ton water. Depth of this reservoir is 15m and the diameter of that is 14m (Iranshahr Encyclopedia of the History of Architecture, 2015). The water Cistern has two entrances in 2km distance, so that to separate the access of Zoroastrians and Muslims and to prevent their encounter (Maserat, 2010). Today, the reservoir is dried due to degradation of the underground water surface. This structure was built in Qajar period and it was registered on the National Heritage List in 1995.

---

[11] Imam Ali was one of the leaders and central figure in Islam.
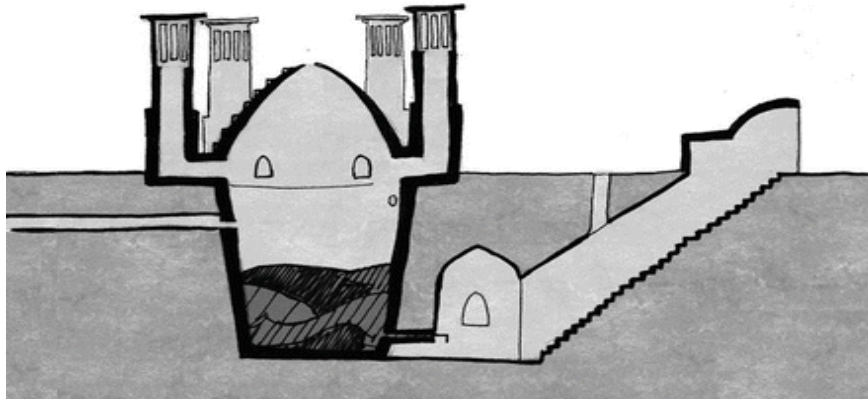
Figure.3.20. Water Cistern Section (URL 5)
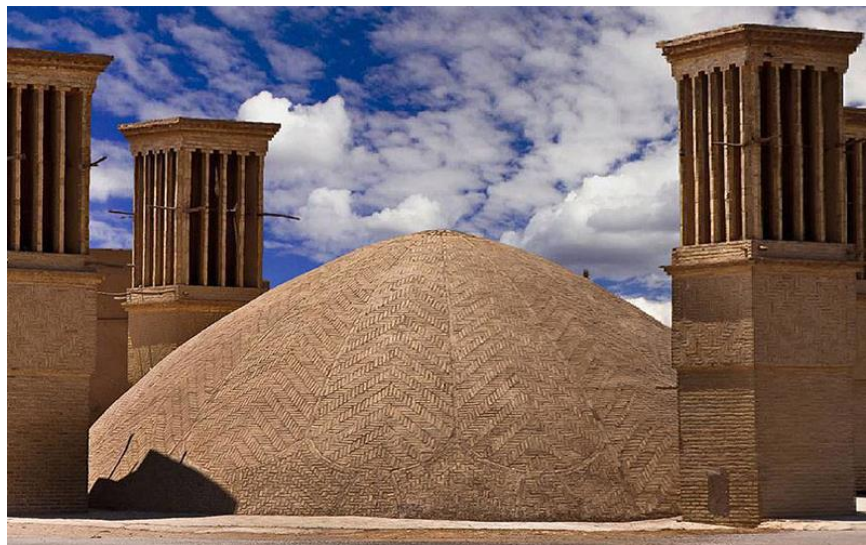
Figure.3.21. Guiv Water Cistern (URL 6)

Also, there are other two other water storages in Zoroastrian neighborhoods of Yazd, Qasem Abad and Maryam Abad, both of which were constructed in Qajar period and both registered on the National Heritage List.

3.2.5 Asadan Castle

By the surge of Muslim Arabs to Iran in 7th century the last king of Sasanian, Yazdgerd III, asks his family to escape separately through different directions. The royal family members separately run away in order to rescue from the Arab troops. Finally, Queen Mother Katayoun was caught up at the northeastern suburbs of Yazd with no escape away. According to the oral history, the queen and her two attendants

jumped into a deep well so that to save their honor (Eduljee, 2014). Then, this place turned into a site for pilgrimage of Zoroastrians and a symbol for grievance and remembrance. On this site, later in Qajar period, a castle-look building was constructed that is assumed to be on the remnants of fortifications for Sasanian period (Eduljee, 2014).

Figure.3.22. Asadan Castle (URL 7)

The sanctuary part of the building comprises three underground rooms and a shrine for the Queen Mother as well as a sacred well. Zoroastrian pilgrims light a candle and recite prayers in this place. Asadan Castle (also known as Seti-Pir) was registered on the National Heritage List in 2001.

3.2.6 Markar Complex

Pashootan Ji Dusabhai Markar (1872-1966) was a Parsi philanthropist who pioneered outstanding improvements for the Zoroastrian community of Iran in Yazd. He served as an ambassador of Iranian Zoroastrian Council in Bombay and in 1926 he became the vice director of the council. Markar is famous for his benevolent developments in Yazd whilst he lived in modesty and spent most of his wealth for

47

donation and charity. He founded marker orphanage in 1923 in Yazd, primary schools in 1928, secondary schools in 1934, and a clock tower in 1942 that was named after Ferdowsi, the great Persian poet. Markar complex in the city of Yazd was registered on the National Heritage list in 1998.
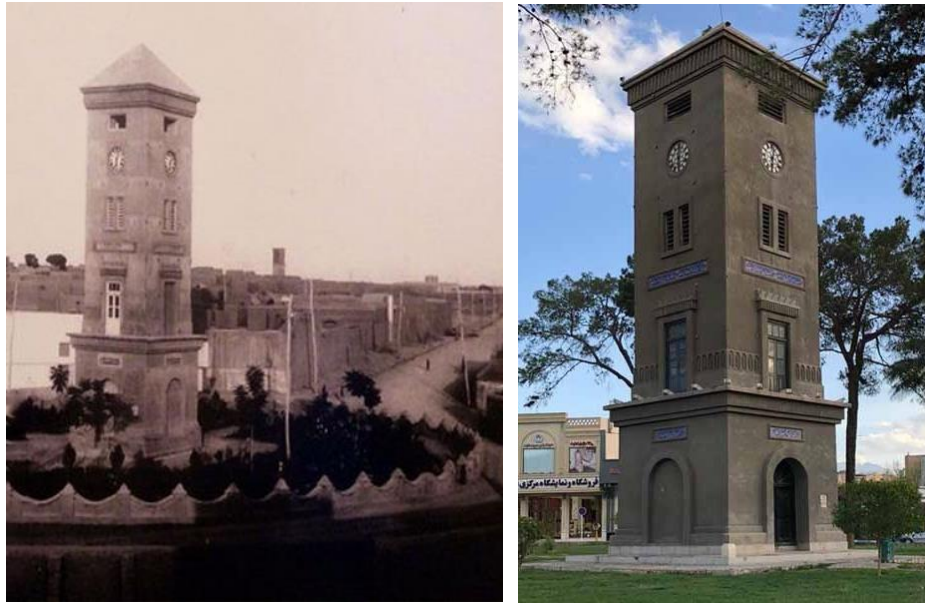
Figure.3.23. Markar Clock-Tower (URL 8)

The school of the complex has a modern style which is even pioneering comparing the traditional schools of Pahlavi period. Not only in terms of design and educational system, but also the facilities provided were quite forerunning (Iranshahr Encyclopedia of the History of Architecture, 2011). Provision of amenities such as free education for those in needs (regardless of whether the student was Zoroastrian or non-Zoroastrian), free boarding medical services, extracurricular courses and vocational trainings, variety of sports fields, first school with piping system and exclusive bathrooms, equipped dormitory and libraries, and etc. worth of counting (Jamshidi, 2019). The school building encompasses 18 classes and a hall conference of 800

people capacity and contains football, volleyball, and basketball pitches (Kazmi & Nozari, 2015).
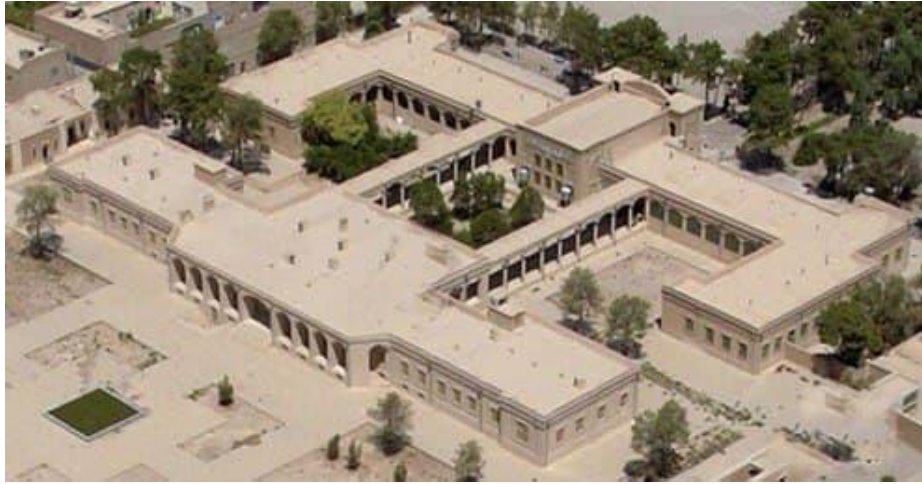
Figure.3.24. Markar Complex (URL 9)

Figure.3.25. Main Entrance of Markar School (URL 10)

It is adorned with a Fravahar symbol on the top of main entrance and Cypress tiling on the sides. The school was later used as a haven for refugees of the Iran-Iraq war, and then as a motel for a while. Later, it was converted to a research center for history, culture and religion of Zoroastrians, called Pardis Danesh Markar. The

orphanage building contains three main halls, staff rooms, Qanat access in basement floor, spaces used for the vocational training and workshops. This building also hosted students from remote places freely. This building was converted to Zoroastrian History and Culture Museum in 2015. The museum offers information about Markar, the religion history and values, pilgrimage, traditional festivals, Zoroastrian lifestyle using multimedia digital tools, and exhibits traditional dress code and some historic items.

Figure.3.26. Museum of Zoroastrian History and Culture; Markar (URL 11)

Cultural heritage of Zoroastrianism, both tangible and intangible items, within context of the city of Yazd were explained in this part. In the next subchapter, how these cultural assets constitute to the significance of Yazd as a world heritage city are presented.

3.3 World Heritage City of Yazd

In 2017, Historic City of Yazd was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List. It is a living testimony of an outstanding earthen architecture and construction system as well as acclimatization of living condition to the harsh climatic environment

of the region for several millennia. The genius management of limited resources in this arid human settlement contributed to such an environment-friendly microclimate. Continuity of the traditional social organizations, such as endowments for water cisterns, mosques, Hammam and Qanats, as well as unique commercial handicrafts like Daraee Bafi, and other intangible heritage in this multi-cultural environment has turned it to one of the richest historic cities in the world.
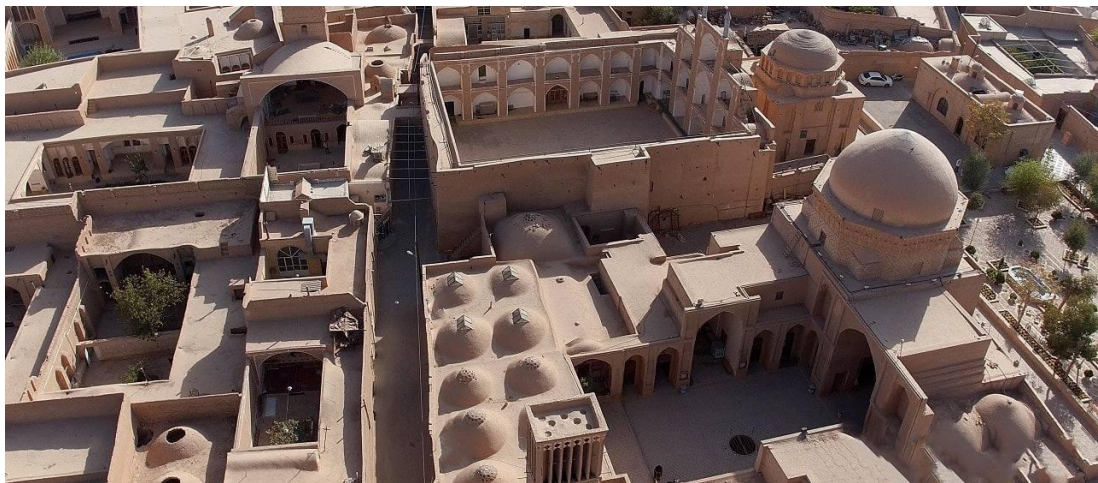
Figure.3.27. Earthen Architecture in Yazd (URL 23)

Through the modernization era, majority of the new developments took place outside of the historic city. Today, large zones of the historic city are remained intact where it is a manifestation of desert architecture from modest buildings to highly-decorated ones. Likewise, each of the districts has been preserved with the specific urban qualities and the original patterns, all of which contribute to the authenticity and integrity of the historic city (UNESCO, Historic City of Yazd, 2017). According to evaluation of UNESCO advisory bodies, as of today, most of the historic city is inhabited (about 80%), while despite the modernizations trends in 20th century, majority of buildings and public spaces are well preserved. Justification of the

Outstanding Universal Values, based on which Yazd is considered to be nominated as a world heritage site include:

> "Yazd is a unique surviving example of architecture and urban planning in the deserts of central Iran, relying on an effective water supply system;
>
> Its location close to main trade routes of commerce for silk and spices contributed to the flourishing of the city as a commercial center that influenced cities and towns in the region and along the trade routes;
>
> The builders of Yazd developed methods for survival in the desert by clever management of limited available resources and by bringing water into the city via the Qanat system and the use of earthen materials in construction (including houses and other types of buildings such as hammams, water cisterns, mills, shrines, mausoleums, synagogues and mosques);
>
> The design of buildings in Yazd is climatically controlled and resistant to earthquakes through the use of thick walls, underground building elements and wind-catchers;
>
> The city consists of districts, each of which is organized along a Qanat and different components;
>
> Yazd is an example of the homogenous coexistence of the followers of different religions;
>
> Yazd is an example of environmentally-friendly construction and sustainable development." (UNESCO, Historic City of Yazd, 2017).

Considering the justification for the universal values in Yazd that support significance of the city to become a world heritage site, living culture of Zoroastrians contributes to coexistence of religions in the city. Zoroastrian heritage as well, enriches cultural diversity and various manifestations for architectural heritage of the city. In specific, the complex of water cisterns, shrines, Zoroastrian houses and districts align with the Qanat systems, etc. constitute a part of the cultural property of Yazd and further support significance of it as a world heritage site.

Figure.3.28. Intactness of Historic City of Yazd (URL 24)

The boundaries of the property embrace three separated zones, including a Zoroastrian district. All together, the inscribed property covers an area as vast as 195.76 ha. In addition, an area of 665.93 ha has been aligned as the buffer zone of the properties (UNESCO, Historic City of Yazd, 2017). Majority of the building in Historic City of Yazd comprise residential and commercial buildings which have private ownerships, while there are some communal buildings owned by Waqif and non-governmental organizations; all of which are under supervision of Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Tourism of Iran since 2005 that Yazd was registered on the National Heritage List.

It is of importance to denote that some of the built heritage of Zoroastrians are situated in the boundaries of the inscribed world heritage site. Those are Zoroastrian district of Dasturan, Yazd Fire Temple and temple, Guiv water cistern, Markar

Complex and Markar clock tower, as they are shown in the map of the inscribed property.
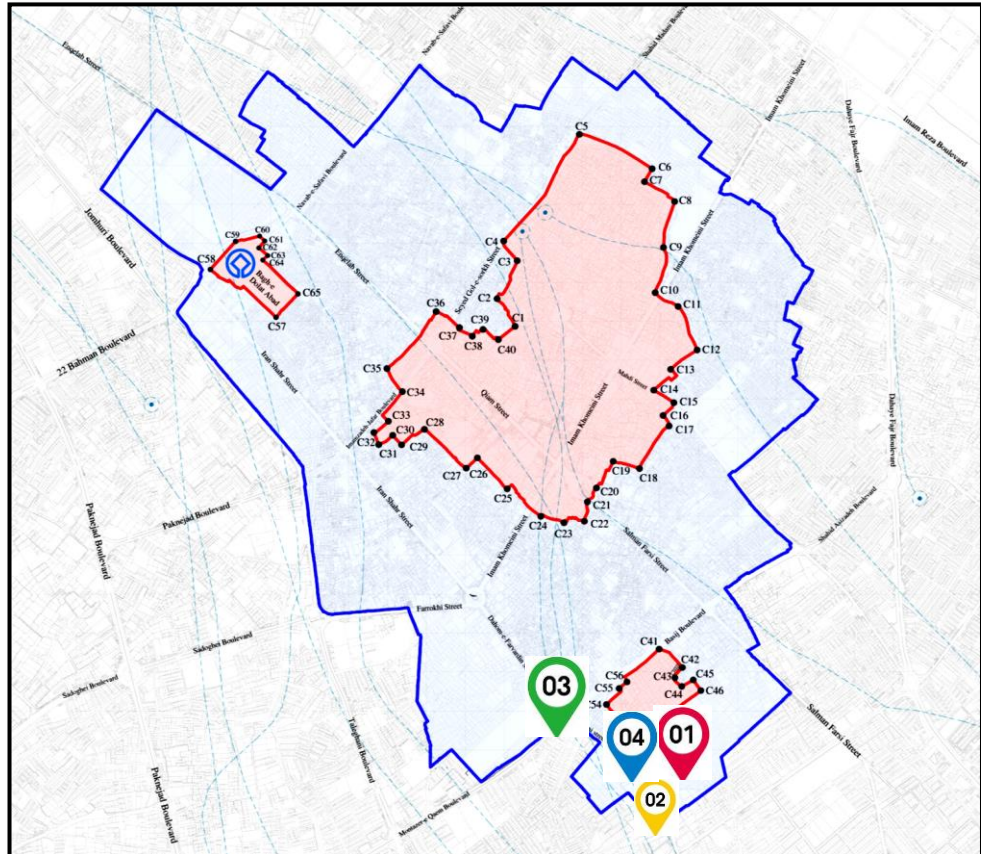
Figure.3.29. Core Zone (Red) and Buffer Zone (Blue) of the Inscribed Property; Locations are: 1- Zoroastrian district of Dasturan, 2- Yazd Fire Temple, 3- Markar Complex, 4- Guiv Water Cistern. (URL 25)

In this chapter, Zoroastrian heritage within context of Yazd was explained, through representations of architectural heritage and living culture of the community. In the next chapter, the role of culture and heritage of Zoroastrian to claim for their right to the city and to boost creativity of Yazd will be explicated.

Chapter 4

THE RIGHT TO (CREATIVE) CITY

The analysis of this chapter is divided into three main subsections, namely: The Right to the City, Creative City, and intersection between the two concepts. Through the frame of this thesis it is mandatory to unwrap some specifics and aspects of the two theories, so that to be able to examine Zoroastrianism in Yazd within the frame of the right to (creative) city. As it will be indicated in the outcome of this chapter, the processes through which the right of Zoroastrians to Yazd is justified, as well as contribution of Zoroastrianism to creativeness of the city, support the inevitable role of living culture, art, and heritage at the center of it.

In part one, the theoretical analysis, philosophical and historical origins of The Right to the City will be discussed. It explores the underlying concepts that are associated with the social theory of space, the right to the city and the notion of inhabitance. Constitutive elements of the theory are explored and examples for institutionalization of the right to the city are explained.

Moving forward, the literature, foundation and specifics for applying the concept of creative city are explained. Creativity of a city from the perspective of different theorists are outlined, while the similarities and overlaps are identified for the objectives of this research. In addition to the categories of creativity, the characteristics of a creative city are reviewed. Ultimately, the interconnectedness between the social theory of the right to city and creative city are argued in part three, so that to find out the intersections for a solid framework to apply within context of this thesis.

4.1 The Development of "The Right to the City" Concept

In the recent decades, there has been an increasing attention towards the right of inhabitants to their city in studies of urban phenomenon. The pioneering theorist of "The Right to the City" was the sociologist and the philosopher Henry Lefebvre (1901-1990). Lefebvre, the French philosopher was a Marxist[12] thinker, although not an orthodox follower. His philosophical position was informed by Marx, Hegel[13], Nietzsche[14], and Heidegger[15] in consolidation of his dialectic social theory (Purcell, 2008 & Athari, 2013). In this manner, he draws on Hegel's concern for the major dominance of the state, Marx's critiques of capitalist society, and Nietzsche's defense of civilization against the state (Butler, 2012. P: 13-45). Engagement with the mentioned intellectual concepts, Lefebvre developed the key concepts of his philosophy and the structure of his theory. Lefebvre was ambitious for opening a new window towards a new society beyond of capitalism[16] (Lefebvre, 2009). He describes a city like a constantly-transforming totality as a result of human actions that reshape it periodically (Lefebvre, 2009). The concept of totality enforces the conceptualized human agency and its role in transformative nature of the society. Lefebvre concept of urban totality draws on a participatory approach in critique of modern urban life and alienation of inhabitants that is represented in material world such as food, housing, environment and other resources. Therefore, he argues to prevail over the

---

[12] Marxism is a social, political, and economic theory originated from Karl Marx, focusing on the struggles between capitalists and the working class. Marxism influenced other political views, such as social democracy and reformist socialism.

[13] Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, German philosopher and the most important figure in German idealism.

[14] Friedrich Nietzsche, German Philosopher of 19th century.

[15] Martin Heidegger, German philosopher of 20th century, best known as contribution in phenomenology and existentialism.

[16] an economic and political system in which a country's trade and industry are controlled by private owners for profit, rather than by the state, which may cause inequality in the society.

marginalization of the inhabitants that has to be traced in the social contradictions of everyday life. Lefebvre believed that practical engagement of the citizens is mandatory in order to promote the new approach in his social theory and to achieve social reforms, and he considered urban realm as a synecdoche for society. His philosophical insights contextualized his theory of right to city (Huchzermeyer, 2014). Since 1960s, his work mainly concentrated on urbanization and its consequence of intensifying the inequalities in social relations (Butler, 2012). Lefebvre's theory was inspired by theorizing the nature of space through a multidimensional viewpoint.

Despite the classic perception of space as a quantitatively measured subject that precedents the social contents, Lefebvre counts space as an epistemological category (Lefebvre, 1991). Beyond of the absolute concept of space, he enumerates physical, mental, and social components in production of space, while he links the role of human agency in evolution and recreation of space through interconnection of the components (Butler, 2009). Also, Lefebvre's approach argues a conceptual triad that space could be perceived, conceived, and lived (Kofman & Lebas, 1996). Perceived space is the product of processes and practices of individuals or collective activities that create the social life. That also includes the physical environment on which ground the inhabitants encounter and construct social relations (Purcell, 2002). Conceived space is the result of rational, technical and intellectual approach in development of space where it excludes the social reality of the space. This approach codifies the representation of space into mental constructs, laws, and rights, all upon the physical space (Butler, 2012). Lefebvre's conception of lived space though, is a merger between perceived and conceived space intertwined in real life (Purcell, 2002). The human agency in lived space is interpreted differently than those in perceived and conceived spaces, as it provides the opportunity for inhabitants for engagement to creative forms

57

of practices so that to reproduce different social and spatial organizations (Lefebvre, 1991). In this essence, lived space has the potential for transformation of social constructs and it can be the scene for contest and resist of the inhabitants.

Lefebvre identifies the multidimensional nature of space encompassed through social interrelationships that not only result in production of space, but also commodifies the space for reproduction in its dynamic totality (Purcell, 2002). He draws on this multidimensional nature in dominant context of capitalism where unequal social relations play as forces and products of the society, political struggles and resistance (Lefebvre, 1991). Therefore, beyond of the classic comprehension of space as a geography or physical development, or the legally determined construct, and rather than intellectual property, Lefebvre appreciates space by the spatial processes that constantly reshape all aspects of the urban life (Purcell, 2002).

In Lefebvre's theory of space, advantages of state or market bring about abstract spaces with unequal social structures, while this excludes creative alternatives uses of spaces (Lefebvre, 1991). This fragmentation that is dominant in current era in our societies splits the space into separated and commodified units with the forces of political structure, economic values, or demand of other powerful actors (Butler, 2009). As a result of this fragmentation, diverse spatial uses and the social attributes in production of the space are neglected and eliminated in time. Moreover, active control of state in formation of space using the instruments of regulation, prohibition, infrastructure development, spatial planning and urban administration, possess potential for primary intervention in production of absolute spaces (Butler, 2009). In addition, Lefebvre's conception not only defines space as a ground for political struggle and as a product of social control, but also it is counted as a requirement for reproducing the space and as a means for changing the social relations. In the triad of

Lefebvre, lived space is the sphere where it represents a powerful context for contest of the inhabitants to assist transformation of exclusionary relations that are imposed by top down decisions in daily lives.

While the prerequisite for engagement of inhabitants in production of space is justified, practical implementation of a transformative social sphere relies on the strategies for participation of citizens in social reproductions accordingly (Brenner, 1997). In this manner Lefebvre's social theory was inspired by investigation of spatial relations in daily urban life that contributed to his critiques over state planning practices; which developed his theoretical notion discussing the relationship between inhabitance and 'The Right to the City'.

It was first in 1967, when Henry Lefebvre published the essay 'Le Droit à la Ville: The Right to the City' through which he expressed this notion as a radical reaction against capitalism and states (Lefebvre, 1996). In this essay, he argues that "the right to city manifests itself as a superior form of rights: right to freedom, to individualization in socialization, to habitat and to inhabit. The right to the oeuvre, to participation and appropriation, clearly distinct from the right to property" (Lefebvre, Kofman, Lebas, 1996. P: 173-174). By designation of his theory to urban space, he argues that through this framework interest of the whole society has to be addressed, but firstly those who inhabit that city (Mitchell, 2003 & Butler, 2012). Furthermore, he asserts that by reference to the city, the periphery of the city and marginalized informal environments also must be counted to be able to claim for the right to the city. While at the same time, his theory comes at the heart of broader transformative approaches for the modern societies so that to enable democratic involvement of citizens in decisions and processes that lead to transformation and development of society (Lefebvre, Kofman, Lebas, 1996). On this ground, Lefebvre's notion of

inhabitance within the concept of the right to city, investigates beyond of housing and physical developments of habitat, in order to assert multidimensional nature of urban environment and the social uses associated with the notion of citizenship.

In addition to high influence of Marx's critiques on capitalism, Lefebvre's significant theory of 'The Right to the City' was also inspired by the UN Convention on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights held in 1966. Through this resolution, Lefebvre captures attention to the prevailing human rights that influence social rights, especially those of vulnerable communities as part of broad spatial transformations (Kofman & Lebas, 1996). In addition to that, some other scholars have also elaborated on this ground as a valuable platform to claim restructuring of social relations in the modern societies. Peter Marcus counts 'right' of 'The Right to City' as a prominent context for judicially enforceable legal claim to promote justice and to meet the needs of all inhabitants (Marcus, 2009). David Harvey counts Lefebvre's theory entailing renewed right to urban life based on integrated theory of the city and urban society, rather than individual rights towards collective processes that interconnect and reproduce the society (Harvey, 2003).

One of the cornerstones of 'The Right to the City' as elucidated, encompasses appropriation of both material and social structure of the space to meet all the need of inhabitants through their daily urban lives. Appropriation of the urban space comprises a normative and political claim where different groups are engaged to the decisions, relations and the processes that collectively influence their everyday lives (Lefebvre, 1991). At the same time, appropriation of space justifies creative expression of that, as Lefebvre's argument prioritizes social fabric of the city over the abstract functions (Lefebvre, Kofman, Lebas, 1996). Critically, Lefebvre believes that the right to city entails the right to appropriation which is distinct from the right to property that leads

to promotion of economic values. In that sense, appropriation is against the neoliberal[17] attitude in urban governance which gives precedence to economic values at the expense of dismissing other spatial uses (Butler, 2012). Don Mitchell argues that appropriation is the constitutive element of the right to city that must go further than physical occupying the urban space to affirm the right of inhabitants to access, structure, and develop social relations in a way to address their demands (Mitchell, 2003). Then, appropriation is a step for marginalized inhabitants ahead to exercise their rights to inhabit the city.

Engagement of the citizens in decisions and the processes that affect control, use and development of space contribute to another component of 'The Right to the City', participation and broad urban citizenship. In this domain, participation of citizens must be capable of neutralizing dominative state and market influences if needed (Martin, 1982). From the viewpoint of Lefebvre, meaningful and adequate engagement of the citizens to reform social conflicts is dependent on self-management capability of the society (Lefebvre & Frank, 1976). The concept of self-managing society is distinct from the state-citizen engagement models that usually build on unequal terms, especially in context of capitalism and neoliberalism. In contrary, Lefebvre advances this potential to a new state institution, through which we can cope with persistent social divisions and inequalities (Lefebvre & Frank, 1976). Despite the first assumption of Lefebvre asserting the right of working class to participation, it is now widely accepted that notion of urban inhabitance does not differentiate nor it prioritizes over social status, while it equates the right of all inhabitants for

---

[17] Neoliberalism is a policy model that encompasses both politics and economics and seeks to transfer the control of economic factors from the public sector to the private sector. Many neoliberalism policies enhance the workings of free market capitalism and attempt to place limits on government spending, government regulation, and public ownership.

engagements (Kofman & Lebas & Lefebvre, 1996). Furthermore, the right to participation challenges mechanisms with limited capacity for engagement of those marginalized inhabitants due to political or social status (Marcus, 2009). The right to participation represents as a means for transformation of unequal power relations altering control away of state to the inhabitants.

Another argument of Lefebvre in theory of 'The Right to the City' refers to creativity in terms of philosophy, art, and in practice of inhabiting the space (Kofman & Lebas & Lefebvre, 1996). His conception of the city as a creative entity that is shaped and reproduced through human agency is a recall to the totality of urban space (Coggin & Pieterse, 2012). Thus, understanding urban space constitutive and fundamentally reliant on participation and encountering between various inhabitants that enable fostering different processes and ideas contributes to creativity of the urban space; while at the same time it is essential for overcoming inequalities of the modern societies (Young, 2011). Therefore, recognition of the city emerging from collaborative and creative relations provokes collective political processes and mediates state-citizen relations (Mitchell, 2003).

The abovementioned components of appropriation of space, participation and urban citizenship, creativity and engagement of inhabitants necessitate inclusiveness of urban space as the essential characteristic to reform urban totality and the means to advance spatial production of the modern societies despite the concurrent injustices. Lefebvre's theory of the right to the city has been criticized, implemented and evolved through decades. In spite of that implications of his theory are obscured in literature of the notion, there has been encouraging attention towards the concept as well as attempts to institutionalize it in some regions which is elaborated in the coming subsection. Urban areas are today's principal breeding grounds for the development of

new strategies, policies and initiatives aimed at the stimulation of growth and innovation and the promotion of social cohesion, citizen well-being and inter-cultural dialogue. Thus, the value of applying Lefebvre's theory within the context of this study is to evaluate the right of Zoroastrian community as a vulnerable minority group of inhabitants to the city of Yazd. In doing so, appropriation of space, democratic participation of the community, state-citizenship relation and the capacity for creative contribution of the Zoroastrians in context of Yazd is investigated.

4.2 Institutionalization Experiences of "The Right to the City"

Elaboration on the theoretical framework and constitutive elements of the right to city raises the question whether it can be successfully implemented through the current state structures and political systems. In that sense, some scholars, such as Chris Butler, cautions codification of the right to the city in absence of necessary support of the state could be counter-productive to all the aims of the theory (Butler, 2012). Palpably, it has not been easy to apply the theory of Lefebvre in action, nor to advise a particular pattern for revisions in the legal and state structure out of it. The novelty of Lefebvre's job contributes to understanding aspects of economy, politics, social, cultural, and ideological components in transformations of urban environment, although there were not well-defined legal formulations about how to proceed from theory to practice (Fernandes, 2007). In spite of that, there have been attempts to implement the constitutive components of the theory from philosophical and abstract notion into the reality of urban environments. Those took place both at regional and international levels so that to further legal and political mechanisms and to advance justiciable rights aimed at transformation of official frameworks in each of the contexts.

Within this section, some of the prominent attempts to institutionalize this concept are brought such as: World Charter on Right to the City, Global Charter Agenda for Human Rights in the City, Mexico City Charter for Right to the City, and Montreal Charter of Rights and Responsibilities. It is intended to provide some comparative materials that help to create our main theories on the concept of the right to (creative) city to apply on Zoroastrianism in Yazd.

A) World Charter on The Right to the City

Declaration of the World Charter on the Right to the City was a prominent movement towards claiming for the components of the concept at international level (Coggin & Pieterse, 2012). It was promoted through the association of social movements and civil society organizations representing years of dialogue that stems from grassroots initiatives (Brown & Christiansen, 2009). The aim of it was to prevail over the social exclusion in various aspects by moving towards a complex democratic approaches and articulation of human rights at the center of urban space developments. This charter was also inspired by European Charter for the Safeguarding of Human Rights in the City in 2000 and also Treaty for Democratic, Equitable and Sustainable Cities, Towns and Villages in 1992 (Fernandes, 2011).

Ultimately, a draft of the World Charter on the Right to the City was prepared in 2004, concentrated on democratizing urban governance, promoting social inclusion and civic engagement in urban sphere. It was an attempt to claim for united human rights in the city in various aspects, such as an environment free of discrimination based on gender, age, health status, income, nationality, ethnicity, migratory status, religious or political views, sexual orientation and etc. (World Charter on the Right to the City, Article 1). The charter represents an equitable usufruct of cities within the principles of sustainability, democracy and social justice and it is considered as the

64

"collective right of the inhabitants; in particular, those of vulnerable and marginalized groups" (World Charter on the Right to the City, Article 1). This charter emphasized on inclusion and equal use of the resources in the city while it does not confine the city to the formal boundaries but also to the surrounding territories and rural spaces to fulfill collective rights.

The charter also refers to the right to work, health, environment, access to services, energy and sanitation, transportation and mobility, and adequate housing. The principles of it address participatory governance, broad exercise of citizenship, full use of economic and cultural resources for the inhabitants, non-discriminative society, safety and security, freedom of organization, protection for vulnerable groups (World Charter on the Right to the City), most of which are interpreted from the international human rights arena (Coggin & Pieterse, 2012).

B) Global Charter Agenda for Human Rights in the City

Another prominent initiative for implementation of the right to the city at international level and in conjunction with human rights comes with Global Charter Agenda for Human Rights in the City. It was approved at a meeting of the Forum of Local Authorities for Social Inclusion during the World Social Forum in 2005 (Brown and Christiansen. 2009). Also, the proposal is supported by the 2007 World Congress of United Cities and Local Governments[18]. The aim of that was to situate human rights in the city as its point of departure, so that to develop a framework for urban environments for the committed cities around the world to set up inclusive policies and preserve human rights within their local actions. The Global Charter-Agenda for

---

[18] United Cities and Local Governments was established to advance democratization of urban environments and promote self-governance in the cities. Above a thousand of cities have membership of this body.

Human Rights in the City emphasizes that urban policies must substantively support terms of citizenship, sustainability, democracy and participation (Strauss, 2017).

C) Mexico City Charter for the Right to the City

Social reforms in the cities of Mexico started in 1960s until 2007, when Mexico Charter on the Right to the City was proposed to the Federal Government (Sugranyes & Mathivet, 2010). The aim of charter was to promote right of inhabitants to a city with sustainability, enjoyable, democrat, and with justice. Also, to restructure civil society organizations for social reforms and promoting just urban economy to support the public gain of the benefits were of the concentrations in this charter. Mexico City Charter, also known as 'The City We Want' draws on:

- Full practice of human rights in the city

- Social function of the city and urban resources

- Democratization of decision-making in the city

- Participatory social production of space

- Sustainable management of urban resources (including cultural heritage)

- Equality in distribution of urban resources. (Habibi & Amiri, 2015)

The charter of Mexico City considered the right to the city as a multi-dimensional legal right that goes beyond of current state of urban governance, calling for cooperation between experts of different fields to collaborate towards achievement of the charter goals. Additionally, it considers urban environment as a totality to fulfill the aims of charter, while it does not segregate between city center and urban periphery (Habibi & Amiri, 2015).

D) Montreal Charter of Rights and Responsibilities

The city, beyond of a territory, is a living space where values of human dignity, tolerance, peace, inclusion and equality must be promoted among all citizens

(Montreal Charter of Rights and Responsibilities, Art. 1). This charter became in force in Montreal for the municipal activities since 2006 and it was adopted by City Council of Montreal in 2011. It was an attempts to consolidate democracy and inclusiveness of the city in respect, justice and equity regardless of discriminations against any of the minority groups. Transparency in management and involvement of citizens in municipal affairs are also among the cornerstones of this initiative. Civic engagement is counted as the dynamic that strengthen citizens' sense of belonging to the city. One of the leading terms in this charter is that in specific it recognized the vital role of culture and heritage in improvement of life quality, social cohesion and as a driving force for city development (Montreal Charter of Rights and Responsibilities, Art. 8). In that sense, the charter commits to take proper measures for enhancement of cultural heritage and support diversity of cultural practices (Montreal Charter of Rights and Responsibilities, Art. 20).

In this section, the concept of "The Right to the City" was outlined from literature, foundation of the theory, evolution of that and the constitutive cornerstones. As a matter of fact, to formulize the concept in practice requires comprehension of the specifics, prerequisites and objectives of the concept. Thus, the intention in this section was to give some information regarding the theory of Lefebvre, that within context of this thesis, it supports the required framework based on which Zoroastrianism in Yazd is examined.

4.3 The Development of "Creative City" Concept

In this part, the concept of "Creative City" is generally elucidated as the second part that constitutes the framework within context of this thesis for the right to (creative) city. Therefore, the literature and background of the theory is explained, followed by some of the main approaches of the theorists to the concept.

Creative city is entangled with quality of life and quality of place in the literature. There are numerous elaborations on quality of life, place, livability and wellbeing defined by different scholars. According to Chapman and Larkham quality of life in urban sphere covers whole urban features from individual needs to cultural and socio-economic aspects (Chapman & Larkham, 1999). In argument of Marans and Stimson quality of place is a multi-faceted subject that is complex to distinguish between life quality, wellbeing and satisfaction (Marans & Stimson, 2011). In another point of view, promoting quality of life can be achieved by linking economic investment with sustainability and social assistance accompanied by grandiose financial programs in order to guide urban development: "Cities must promote urban innovations that will improve the quality of life in their cities and make them models of sustainable urban living" (Hall, 2000). Landry recognized quality of life as the major characteristic of a creative place that is required for improving social and economic dynamics of a city (Landry, 2008).

Recently, the concern of urban planners, rather than improving infrastructure and physical developments, has shifted towards how to make a good city and improve urban quality. Today, the focus on physical solutions to improve urban life has been replaced with more attention into sense of place, soft infrastructure, activities and social structure of cities. This change of interest is also apparent in the economic patterns that has captured attention of planners. "With the relentless pace of deindustrialization, older cities, both large and small, refashioned their economies from the production of things […] to the production of activities" (Lin & Mele, 2012). Thus, many of the cities in the world are passing through a change in their economies shifting from tangible industries to intangible products and creative economies, mainly centered around art and culture (AuthentiCity, 2008). Hartley argues that coming trend

of economic and social changes will be directed by creativity (Hartley, 2005). The concept of creativity may be explored via different disciplines such as in science, art, or technology; although according to Landry, most of them ignored creativity in public sector, social life, or bureaucratic creativity, adding that: "There is little work on the creativity of solving urban problems or urban development or on the creative approaches to thinking about science and technology" (Landry, 2006. 404).

With the increasing attentions towards social products to foster economic engines of city, some of urban theorists recognized importance of creative solutions. New thinking is the requisite for creative possibilities in a city. Special strategies and tools that are required to apply the concept shape an urban environment where people find their own strength and they add to the values of it. The pioneering scholar who elaborated the concept of creative city first was the urbanist Jane Jacobs. She described a safe and livable city in her book, "The Death and Life of Great American Cities" in 1961, as below:

> "Densely populated, displaying old next to new buildings and rich next to poor ones. It should allow people to live in the same area where they work, avoiding zoning. Walking should be encouraged (although cars should not be banned), pavements should be large enough to let children play, and streets should be short, so that people have the chance to turn corners and experience always new paths" (Jacobs, 1961. 55).

Although Jacobs described the concept, it is generally acknowledged that the actual term 'Creative City' was coined by Charles Landry. However, in 1988 the architect and heritage practitioner, David Yencken, published an essay on 'The Creative City' that was calling for attention towards innovative planning in urban realm that must extend in every dimension of that (Yencken, 1988). Kunzmann discusses by the rise of 21st century, leaders and planners are searching for more creative principles in developments so that to make the best use of resources

considering city budgets (Kunzmann. 2004. 283). Furthermore, Coletta argues that creative city reflects ideologies each of which apply a set of distinct ideas on urban development initiatives that all together makes this concept a complex subject to define (Coletta, 2008). According to Landry, creative city is a strategic urban planning that stimulates implementing talent and innovation of inhabitants to enhance livability of the city and for economic growth (Landry, 2008). Also, it is recognized that on this ground, art and cultural industries promote uniqueness of a city and the urban quality which contributes to economic development as well (Hahn, 2010). Creative city has to address the demands of creative class in order to generate new ideas and convert those into products and services that ultimately contribute to urban economy (AuthentiCity, 2008). So, in this new paradigm individuals from various communities are respected for not only for bringing diversity of talents, but for enriching cultural diversity that leads to uniqueness of the city. In this regard, intercultural flexibility and participatory governance of the city counts for other cornerstones of this concept, in a way to bring equity between the communities. Many other scholars have also elaborated on the concept of creative city, creative class, creative industries, creative economy and so on. Thus, through this concept there is shift of concerning merely economic capital towards social and cultural capital in a creative context (Duxbury, 2004).

What a 'creative city' is and how could it be defined remains a place of debate. While it is easier to define the subject of creativity in an individual, it becomes more complex when it comes to creativity of a city. Landry defines creativity of each city exclusively related to that context, while it may not be creative in a different place. Also, he identifies the concept as an innovative process rather than a certain result. Plus, the result may be positive or negative targets and creativity in itself has no value but for what reason it may be used gives a direction to it. Furthermore, Landry finds

70

creativity as a point of departure that requires other developments from abstract idea to reality of implementation (Landry & Bianchini, 1996). Although creativity is not only specific to individuals, when it is attributed to a group of people it goes beyond of personal genius. In that case, complexity of the relations, organization between those people and mediation in that network contribute to creativity of it. Similarly, a creative city is a complex organization of diverse systems and individuals that collaborate in mixed-structured relations processing towards a vision they make leads to. Landry's viewpoint of a creative city is constitutive of creative individuals, that make creative organizations and ultimately they structure a creative city all together.
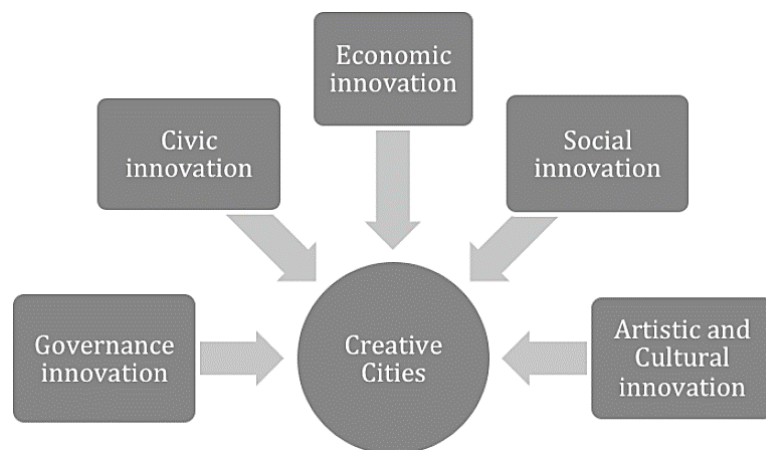
Figure.4.1. Components of a Creative City (Bradford, 2004)

Among the attempt to communicate the concept of creative city, Neil Bradford addressed characteristics of it as in Fig. 3.1. In his point of view, municipal administration has to be updated to function suitably in the creative environment, civic creativity improves urban problems, social innovation facilitates citizen participation, economic innovation nourishes through new ideas, and socio-cultural creativities come on this ground and contribute to prosperity of the other areas of innovation (Bradford, 2004).

71

This section outlined the concept of "Creative City" in general, so that to understand the notion fundamentally and to be able to comprehend it for the purpose of implementation within context of this study. Since this concept is hard to be defined in accurate terms to respond "what a creative city is", it is rather explained "what are the characteristics for a creative city" or "how a creative city would function". Thus, in this part some aspects and general notes that are related with this concept were explained to support a sufficient view on this topic.

4.4 Approaches to a Creative City

There are some prerequisites for a city to function creatively; the more the processes of a city are closer to the indices of creative city concept, the more creative that city could operate. However, creativity of a city is not an absolute result but a process through which creativity spectrum ranges. In applying creative city concept, there have been various approaches from the perspective of different urban theorists and organizations. In this part, three of the leading approaches to the concept of "Creative City" that elaborated cornerstones of that are explained, so that to underpin main aspects of creative city and to be able to intersect between two theories of "The Right to the City' and 'Creative City'.

Those three approaches are namely: Landry's approach; approach of Richard Florida; and Hahn's approach. It is intended to provide some comparative materials that help to create our main theories on the concept of the right to (creative) city to apply on Zoroastrianism in Yazd.

A) Landry's Approach

Landry's conceptual framework of a creative city was based on three distinct aspects of creative economy, creative society, and creative policy (Landry 1991. 31). This statement is often referred to as the outline key characteristics of the concept. In

1995, Landry and Bianchini published a book on creative cities based on research and consultancy with over a hundred cities around the globe in terms of problem-solving potentials in urban contexts. That was followed by Landry's more comprehensive book, 'The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators' in 2000, as a key reference document on creative city concept which outlines policies to plan cities creatively (Redaeli, 2011). Landry encourages urban planners in 21st century to rethink the role of cities and their resources in order to provide new solutions for urban problems (Chatterton, 2000). He explains how cultural aspects of a society contribute to creative expression of that, while he believes the culture of city has to be manifested in every aspect of it rather than in museum and gallery for instance. Therefore, establishing new urban strategies involves each of the practical arenas from the cultural perspective in Landry's discipline.
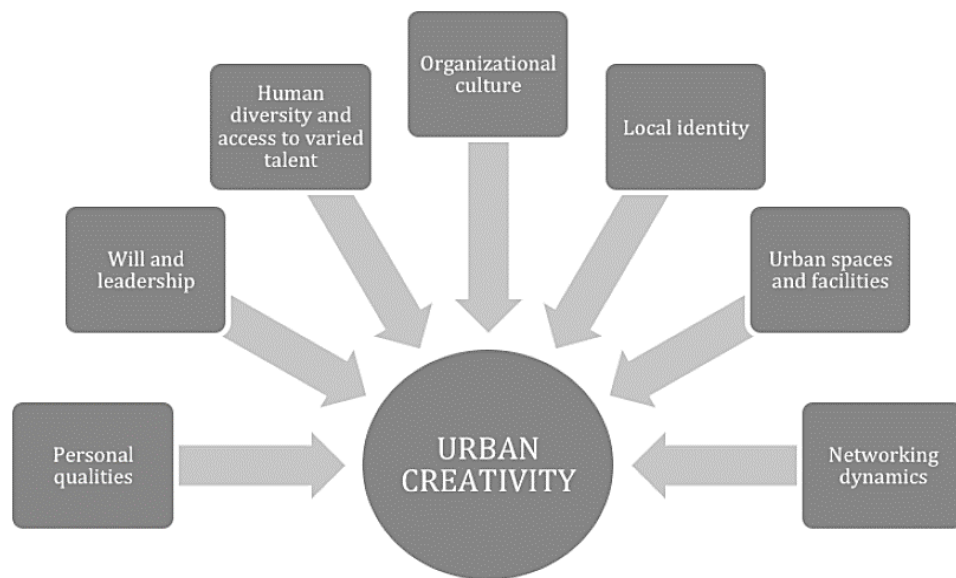
Figure.4.2. Prerequisites of Creative City in Landry's Approach (Landry, 2000. 105)

Furthermore, Landry suggests a number of prerequisites for a city to be considered creative, a range of individual and collective factors that are shown in the

73

Fig. 4.2. Plus, he emphasized presence of any of the preconditions can help to raise creativity level and it may reach to its maximum when all of the preconditions are addressed. Landry recommends incorporating creativity in urban planning as "a set of concepts, ideas, ways of thinking and intellectual notions to make understanding, exploring and acting upon a problem easier" (Landry, 2000. 163)

B) Florida's Approach

In a different viewpoint, Richard Florida discussed an economy-centered approach to the concept of creative city. In his opinion, this concept refers to a wider socio-economic challenges that involves human creativity as the key factor (Florida, 2004). He finds "the 3Ts of economic development: technology, talent, and tolerance" as the preconditions in order to harness creativity and apply the concept to a city (Florida, 2003). The first T, Technology, covers a wide range from new inventions such as software, robots, biotechnology or improvements in manufacturing. Talent, the second, refers to the number of creative class in the society. The third T, tolerance, embodies capacity of the context for integrating different cultures and communities from diverse groups and acceptance of citizens for each other. The 3T approach of Florida explains how the mentioned components can enhance the possibility for attracting creative class (Pratt, 2008).

Florida defines creative class as those whose primary role is to create and they have more independence and flexibility rather than working class, service class, etc. Those are individuals who work in professional sectors of creative industries, such as art, design, architecture, music, etc. and they contribute to economic growth of a city: "Its economic function both underpins and informs its members' social, cultural and lifestyle choices. The creative class consists of people who add economic value through their creativity" (Florida, 2004. 68). He finds creative class as the leaders of

society who motivate factors of creativity and get dragged to urban environments showing tolerance for newcomers and new ideas. Then, the home city of the creative class represents an authentic place open to diversity, amenities, with enriched cultural potentials (Florida, 2004. 245). Therefore, such places are able to attract creative class by offering stimulation, encouragement and support.

3T model of Florida marks an indicator for measuring the creativity level of a city, while each of the components are attributed to some indices. In this regard, index of talent is evaluated through the creative class share of workforce, index of technology is measured through patents and high-tech industries per capita, and tolerance is estimated via gay index. Gay index in this evaluation is considered as a reasonable proxy for an area's openness to different people and ideas (Florida, 2004. 244).
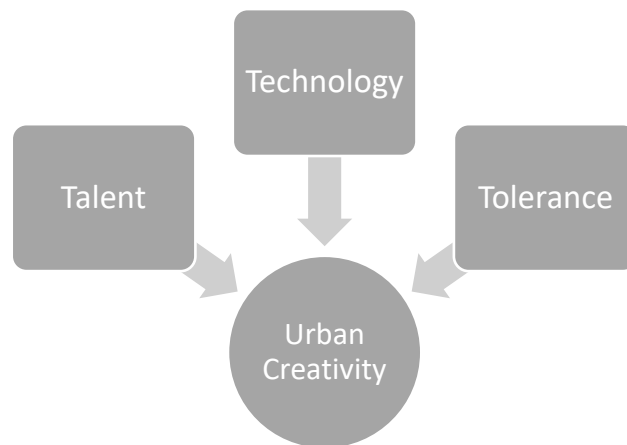
Figure.4.3. Prerequisites of a Creative City in Florida's Approach (Florida, 2004)

C) Hahn's Approach

In a different viewpoint, creative city is defined within a spectrum between cultural and economic discourses. Hall emphasized vitality of cultural production and consumption to recognize a city creative (Hall, 2004), and Landry emphasized inextricable links between creativity, city, and culture (Landry, 2012). Many other scholars recognized applicability and vitality of culture and creativity as resources for

economic growth and urban developments. Hahn deals with this approach and considers sustainability concerns. In her cultural and social point of view not only economic function of culture, but the significance of it also matters. Also, she criticized Florida's definition of creative class while it excludes majority of ordinary people, and because the emphasize of Florida's theory was merely on economic enhancement (Hahn, 2010). Therefore, she developed other principles as the prerequisites for sustainable creative cities. She believes realizing creativity is mandatory to be promoted from all of the citizens not only creative class. Also, there should be policies to encourage engagement of local communities stimulating creativity rather than policies to attract outsider talents. She emphasized a shift from policies that exploit cultural activities and creative industries for economic advancement to more holistic strategies that puts culture and creativity at the center of city's sustainability (Hahn, 2010. 171-175).

Figure.4.4. Prerequisites of Creative City in Hahn's Approach (Hahn, 2010. 171-175)

The multi-dimensional discourse of creative cities was illustrated from diverse perspectives. Ultimately, approaches to a creative city and the necessary features of a context that can stimulate creativity in an urban environment were discussed. In those debates, the important preconditions of a creative city were enumerated, within the

approaches of three leading urban theorists. In summary, after reviewing the literature and theoretical approaches to the concept of creative cities, the main features of that will incorporate a basis for this research are summarized:

- A creative city has uniqueness. The authentic identity of a place relies on culture that place. As Landry states, there are interwoven links between city, creativity and culture (Landry, 2012). Uniqueness of a city also contributes as a networking dynamic for a creative city to be promoted among counterparts.

- Planners must rethink cultural resources, both tangible and intangible materials, in an urban environment for making the best use of their potentials. Cultural resources not only can contribute to uniqueness of a city, but rethinking the potentials enables to convert them to products and services for cultural industries and economic purposes.

- There should be a new form of governance in a creative city so that to improve interrelations between individuals, organizations, and city authorities function creatively. This organizational culture will not be rigid as the formal current top-down relations. It gives the opportunity for creative sectors to well-engage in the processes, take risks, involve decision-making, and enhance creativity of a city.

- Diversity, inclusiveness and openness are of prominent features in a creative city emphasized by different scholars. This would not only encourage engagement of local citizens to the creative processes, but also promotes livability for the outsider talents and creative class to be attracted to that context.

- Facilities and innovations are counted majorly important in order to provide a proper context and required infrastructure to grow creative urban plans on that basis.

Figure. 4.5. Preconditions of a Creative City

In this section, once the foundation and background of "Creative City" concept were addressed, three of the pioneering approaches were presented. Then, through the provided comparative materials overlaps between the views over the characteristics for a creative city were identified. This would support to build a framework for the right to creative city, based on which we will examine Zoroastrianism in Yazd.

4.5 The Right to (Creative) City

Two of prominent theories in urban agenda were discussed and their conceptual framework were explained. The right to the city is a new paradigm that seeks to address challenges in the cities regarding social exclusion, production of space from below and assertion of equal rights for communities in urban arena. On the other hand, the concept of creative city opportunities innovative solutions in urban challenges; whilst its preconditions are set, there is a ground for development of

78

initiatives powered by creative processes in this new urban arena. Between the two concepts, there are intersections identified that provides a basis for examination of our case study on this ground.

The right to creative city, is a claim for the right of inhabitants to a city, beyond of the current situations. Where in a city the right of all inhabitants are addressed, it can boost creativity of that city as well. Thus, after the overview on the aspects and specifics related to both concepts, and considering different approaches to the notions and some intersection between them, a framework for "The Right to (Creative) City" is developed that can justify for the main objectives and foundation of them.

Within the developed framework, three main agendas are identified; namely: Socio-Cultural Diversity, Governance and Political Agency, and Distribution of the Resources. Socio-Cultural diversity in a city, boosts creativeness of the city, fuels the creative economy, and it claims for a new social production of space in which all inhabitants are appropriated within a fair and all-inclusive urban space. Thus, the criteria support social function of space in "The Right to the City" and comprises unique identity and authenticity, cultural resources, and inclusiveness and diversity in concept of "Creative City". By investigating Governance and Political agency, we elucidate on participatory governance, democratizing the space, and equality for the citizens within context of "The Right to the City", the policies which are also emphasized in concept of "Creative City". Throughout Distribution of Resources, just share of resources and equality of citizens in appropriation processes in the space fall within context of "The Right to the City", while openness and inclusiveness to diversity of cultures and backgrounds for a "Creative City" calls for examination of this pillar. Within context of this thesis, the developed framework will be applied on

Zoroastrianism in Yazd through the main three identified criteria that are shown in the table below.

Table. 4.1. Specifics of the Two Concepts and the Developed Framework (Author)

The right to the city	Creative City	Developed Framework
- Equality for citizens - Just share of recourses - Social function of space - Participatory governance - Democratizing principles	- Uniqueness, authenticity - Cultural resources - Participatory governance - Inclusiveness & diversity - Technology & facilities	-Socio-cultural diversity - Governance and political agency - Distribution of resources

As indicated, some aspects of creative city concept are addressed in the right to the city theory. While creative city calls for uniqueness and requires cultural resources to function creatively, the right to the city covers beyond of it by emphasis on social function of urban resources. When creative city refers to organizational cultural and participatory governance, the right to the city calls for democratizing policies and decision-making processes. On one hand creative city demands for inclusiveness, openness, and diversity and on the other hand the right to the city highlights equality for citizens and practice of human rights that contributes to bring in people from diverse communities and minority groups. Thus, assessment of the right to (creative) city concerned with the community of this study can be classified in three main agendas: the capacity for socio-cultural diversity; governance and political agency; and how resources are distributed.

In order to ensure evaluation of the three core pillars that are investigated, each of the components are unpacked for sub-categories, considering the reviewed literature and concepts' framework and according to Habitat III Policy paper on 'The Right to the City and City for all'. Although, the core three pillars and their subcategories are

interrelated and they have some aspects in common, the sub-components in each of those separately are reviewed:

- A city, in order to be open for socio-cultural diversity, has to satisfy support for cultural diversity and visibility of communities in the city; policies to integrate cultural communities in the city and stop their displacement through policies; support for their cultural identity and cultural heritage; public policies for cultural expressions; designation of public spaces to foster their art and culture; provide safety and security especially for the communities of vulnerable groups and minorities; meeting universal human needs, dignity, and equality; tackling social and physical segregations in a city;

- A city, in order to be inclusive in terms of political agency and governance, has to abort discriminative policies and support social, cultural and economic inclusion in legislations; provide the ground for equal engagement of grassroots in decision-makings; fostering possibility for integrated governance with key civil society organizations; prioritizing needs of vulnerable and marginalized groups;

- A city, in order to be just in distribution of its resources, has to satisfy inclusive economy and just employability between the citizens; support equal rights for education; improving infrastructure; equal access to services and utilities like water, sanitation, electricity, etc.; capacity building for resilience, risk reduction, and climate change adaptation; distribution of public space for the access of all inhabitants; improvement of livelihoods; adequate housing and affordable accommodation.

The table below will present some sub-components of the specified three main pillars, that would help for better understanding different aspects of those criteria.

81

Table. 4.2. Sub-components of the right to (creative) city (Author)

Socio-cultural diversity	political agency	Distribution of resources
- Cultural diversity - Visibility of communities in the city - Integration of cultural communities in the city - Support cultural identities and cultural heritage - Public policies for cultural expressions - Designation of public spaces to foster art and culture - Safety and security for vulnerable groups - Providing universal human needs, dignity, and equality - Tackling social and physical segregations in a city	- Abort discriminative policies - Support social, cultural and economic inclusion in legislations - Provide the ground for equal engagement of grassroots in decision-makings - Fostering possibility for integrated governance with key civil society organizations - Prioritizing needs of vulnerable and marginalized groups	- Inclusive economy - Just employability - Equal rights for education - Improving infrastructure - Equal access to services and utilities - Capacity building for resilience, risk reduction, and climate change adaptation - Distribution of public space - Improvement of livelihoods - Adequate housing and affordable accommodation

By claiming the right to the city, admittedly it is not considered to be the existing city, or more of the same. Stepping towards such a utopia it is not only right of individuals to be asserted within the existing society, but right of all people, as human beings, to the production of a different society, a different city: a 'creative city'. It is a claim to an organization of society that will provide those basic rights, but that will provide them as part of an effort to nourish human development, growth, creativity, for all (Marcuse, 2011). Urban areas are today's principal breeding grounds for the development of new strategies, policies and initiatives aimed at making culture and creativity a driving force for sustainable development and urban regeneration through the stimulation of growth and innovation and the promotion of social

cohesion, citizen well-being and inter-cultural dialogue. While in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, vital role of human rights is emphasized, among the core objectives to 'make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable', creativity and culture are enumerated as the essentials; therefore, enhancement of cultural industries, supporting creation, promoting citizen and cultural participation and approaching the public sphere with a new perspective that public authorities, in cooperation with the private sector and civil society, can make the difference for urban development and conceiving of new solutions to tackle common challenges (George, 2020).

This chapter was an attempt to unwrap the concepts of "The Right to the City" and "Creative City" which in further will constitute the basis for this research. The right to the (creative) city is a multidimensional investigation that within context of this thesis attempts to examine Zoroastrian heritage and community in based on the major pillars identified. Thus, intersection between the two urban theories are remarked, to support the objectives of this research. In the next chapter, the right of Zoroastrians to the city of Yazd, towards stimulating a creative environment is evaluated based on the framework that was founded in this chapter.

Chapter 5

PERSPECTIVES OF ZOROASTRIANISM IN YAZD; THROUGH THE RIGHT TO (CREATIVE) CITY

In the former chapters, Zoroastrianism was introduced through the history and cultural heritage of that in Yazd were specified. Moving forward, the theoretical basis and approach of this research was developed according to the literature and the framework for assessment based on the concepts of "The Right to the City" theory and "Creative City" urban policy, and their intersections identified as a basis within context of this research. This chapter aims to explore Zoroastrianism in Yazd through the developed framework within the retrieved main categories of "Socio-Cultural Diversity", "Political Agency" and "Resource Distribution" criteria. Due to the prominent role of culture and heritage in promoting creativity of a city, some reflections on regulations that affect Zoroastrian cultural heritage at national and local level were noted separately, so that to address protection status and insufficiencies.

5.1 Socio-Cultural Diversity of Zoroastrianism in Yazd

One of the enriching qualities in the historic city of Yazd is cultural and background diversity. Existence of Zoroastrian community, their heritage sites and cultural tradition stimulates socio-cultural diversity in the city. In order to boost creativity of Yazd through art and culture, the right of Zoroastrian community to the city of Yazd must be addressed and to further unique identity of the place Zoroastrian heritage is a great contributor. The vital role of Communities in identification, protection, interpretation and management of their cultural heritage is frequently

emphasized in doctrines, such as in Washington Charter (1987), Charter on the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites (2008), Recommendation on Historic Urban Landscape (2011), Buenos Aires Declaration of Human Rights (2018). Thus, it is in association with the role of Zoroastrians community who constantly "value, practice, nurture, and transmit the vitality of forms of traditional knowledge, skills and expressive culture that embody their identities" (UNESCO, 2003) that the interconnected below factors promote socio-cultural diversity in Yazd. Viewpoints for socio-cultural diversity of Zoroastrianism in Yazd is explained through: freedom to practice the religion, aspects of cultural expression, social cohesion and tolerance.

A) Freedom to Practice the Religion

Zoroastrianism is one of the officially recognized religions in the Islamic Republic of Iran. According to article 13 of Iran constitution: "Zoroastrian, Jewish, and Christian Iranians are the recognized religious minorities, who, within the limits of the law, are free to perform their religious rites and ceremonies, and to act according to their own canon in matters of personal affairs and religious education" (Iran Constitution). This legal endorsement accredits the required foundation for liberty of the community to practice their religion. Also, Yazd is counted as one of the prominent cities for Zoroastrians of the world, since many Zoroastrian pilgrimage and sacred sites are located in and around the city. There are variety of Zoroastrian worship places in Yazd, such as fire temples, Darb-Mehr, Seti-pir, etc. which plays an important role for the community and they perform their religious rituals in them.

On the other hand, there are limitations for the applicability of the given freedom. Zoroastrians may face restrictions to express religious views or to discuss their belief system out of the community boundaries (Mussi, 2013). Thus, the freedom to practicing the religion is allowed whilst it is kept in private. Considering Zoroastrian

religion as one of the manifestations for the living culture of Zoroastrians in Yazd that contributes to the significance of it, promotes creativeness of the city, and freedom of the religion justifies for the right of Zoroastrians to Yazd, this limitation has to become in consideration. Regarding the manifestation of Zoroastrian architectural heritage, there are also limitations for adding to the devotional sites in the city as new places of worship (Mussi, 2013); which in result reduce the chance for attracting the creative class of Zoroastrians and could potentially bring down cultural diversity in Yazd.

- Reflection: On one side, presence of Zoroastrianism in Yazd, with legal freedom to live in there and continue practicing their religion, with a number of Zoroastrian pilgrimage sites advance cultural diversity and creativity indicators in Yazd. On the opposite, the community may face limitations to publicizing, practicing and promoting religious factors (as a manifestation for their living culture) or to promote religious structures (as a manifestation for their tangible heritage).

B) Aspects of Cultural Expression

Inscription of Yazd on the World Heritage List of UNESCO is an important factor that assists raise in awareness for better expression of Zoroastrian culture and heritage in a large scope. There are variety of landmarks in Yazd related to Zoroastrianism, as explained further in the cultural heritage of the community in chapter three. There are not any limitations in regard to visiting the Zoroastrian heritage places, as they are majorly open to the public and contribute to cultural expression of Zoroastrians. Markar complex, in particular, constitutes one section as museum of Zoroastrian history and culture, in which, aspects of Zoroastrian cultural traditions, ceremonies and festivities are communicated with the public through the means of multi-media. There are also a number of Zoroastrian festivals, such as Sadeh,

that are regularly held during a year that offer the opportunity for the community to express themselves culturally. In the other aspects, article 15 of Iran constitution legitimates using and teaching of Dari language as a means for cultural identity as well as publishing that in the press. It is noteworthy that using Zoroastrian outfit is not restricted, however, it is not common in the city and people usually follow the particular dress code in special occasions (Stewart, 2020). The community, within the commands of the constitution, can hold cultural events, establish their organizations and institutions, share about the traditions and ceremonies, take advantage of press and publications for their cultural promotion, and actively raise (non-religious) awareness about the cultural content to the public related with their heritage and background. Thus, they must ask for permissions from the government to hold each of their ceremonies (Mussi, 2013).

Cultural expression of the community in Yazd may face some restrictions at times. As a manifestation for Zoroastrian living culture that happen to encounter limitations, for example, Sadeh festival is sometimes not publicized openly to express Zoroastrian culture. Niknam, the Zoroastrian councilor reports that during Sadeh in many locations in Yazd restrictions take place that affect the festival for celebration of fire and communication of that to the public (Ghazi, 2019). Also, as mentioned before, implications of Zoroastrian religious and propagation for the religious traditions as a manifestation of their living culture come occasionally in constraints (Mussi, 2013).

Zoroastrians, sometimes, hold great assemblies that are mainly held within the community at national and international level and provide the space to discuss issues in different criteria of religious, cultural, and (to some extent) political aspects (Sepehrifar, 2015). Among those, great assemblies of Iranian and Indian Zoroastrians

and the International Congress on 3000 years of Zoroastrians Ancient Culture in 2003 can be enumerated.

It is also denotable that the precedence of Zoroastrian genealogy in relation with Iranian culture formulates Zoroastrian cultural traditions as an epitome in various occasions. For example, in ceremonies, weddings and commemorations there are reflections of Zoroastrian traditions, while sometimes the ties between those traditions with the original routes in Zoroastrian culture are mostly forgotten (Fozi, 2011). Reflections of the epitomes could be found in the events such as in Nowruz tradition, Sofre exhibition, and even in some religious practices of Muslims. In this regard, Zoroastrians attempt to reestablish their connection with the traditional culture of Iran and criticizing monopoly of the political orders (Fozi, 2011).

- Reflection: Zoroastrian culture is to a large extent communicated with the public through a range of heritage places and intangible assets that are to a large extent recognized and more or less publicized. The right of Zoroastrians to Yazd is not fully but relatively addressed for expressing their cultural tradition, as long as it is separated from religious propagation. Expressing heritage and cultural traditions of Zoroastrians can actively promote creativity of Yazd.

C) Social Cohesion and Tolerance

First and foremost, Zoroastrian community have always found themselves strongly attached to Yazd and Iran, may be in linkage with the presumed original place for the birth and rise of their prophet or due to the fact that many Zoroastrian devotional sites are in this location. Thus, despite many of discriminations through the history, still they find their routes and their home in there and they articulate themselves as the original successors and protectors for Iranian culture beyond of geographical

indigenousness, even under the dominance of Islamic Sharia (Fozi, 2011). The lifelong coexistence of Zoroastrians in Yazd is a decree to social absorption of the community in this context and to some extent it shows relative social cohesion between them in this society. As of today, Zoroastrians still live in many districts in this city such as Khalf-e-khan Ali, Khorram-shah, Na'im-abad, Aharestan, Koocheh Boyuk, Nersi-abad, Tal district, Eysh-abad, Kheir- abad, Moobedan and Kasnavieh. Also, similar to other citizens they can equally benefit from facilities, health care, recreational and leisure in the city (Bastani, 2021). Although Zoroastrians are recognized as "religious minorities", priest Rostam Shahzadi says "Many Zoroastrians do not like to be considered as minorities since they share particular connection with Iranian land and ancient culture, although, conversion of most of Iranians to Islam has changed the situation" (Sanasarian, 2006). With emphasis on being inheritors of Iranian traditions, Zoroastrians put stress on unity of Iranians rather than segregations that initiates from religious believes (Mazdapoor, 1995). Right based on this common cultural ground and some religious similarities[19], great leaders of the community and authorities of the republic similarly have been highlighting necessity for peace and mutual respect, which has been reflected through the timeline of after Islamic Republic in Iran. Priest Khorshidian said: "Ayatollah Khomeini addressed Zoroastrians as people who constantly served to the interest of Iran and they will continue so…the republic has always respected our community, councils, sacred sites and we mutually respect them" (Jamarannews, 2019). Namiranian, the Zoroastrian councilor, continues: "we constitute a proportion of this society, we have always been in Iran, constituting to its history, culture and heritage. We love this country and we are committed to the improvement of it…although Ayatollah Khomeini, the spiritual leader, and other

---

[19] Monotheism, Prophecy, and Resurrection.

superior principals of Iran did not discriminate between us, we have to admit the social exclusion exists, that initiates in mid-class officials and result in victimizing the community in executive decisions" (Jamarannews, 2019). As indicated, due to some exclusions that take place in social arena, Zoroastrians happen to be marginalized in social reproduction of the space, while according to the experiences of the community, the applicability of the principles for justice and equity are counted as wording of instillation and not reflected comprehensively in action (Stausberg, 2012). Priest Niknam, the Parliament representative, indicates despite the appropriate legal ground some discriminations and inequalities practically exist against Zoroastrians that degrade their social status to second and third class citizens (Ghazi, 2019). In relation to context of this thesis, the practical segmentations happen to counter effect inclusiveness of the community and discourages creativeness of it.

Also, Zoroastrians of Yazd benefit from protection and security that is offered by the government. This has been a process that was further achieved in time and still there is a need for advancement. There are sometimes inter-communal conflicts that happen as a result of extremist religious views or provoking statement of some officials (Doostdar, 2013). Subjected to those, in spite of the tolerance offered by the central government, Zoroastrians more or less have suffocated counter-rendered practice of legal codes for protection (Choksy, 2011). For this reason, more or less, the community of Zoroastrians in Yazd has been marginalized as an attempt to behave conservatively so that reduce the encounters that result in conflicts (Amighi, 1990).

- Reflection: In spite of the laws and acceptance from the superior officials, sense of attachment of the community to their place, and acceptance of the grassroots, still there are some discriminations in terms of inclusiveness and

tolerance for the community in Yazd. Lack of openness and tolerance adversely contribute to creativity indices of the city.

5.2 Political Agency

To claim for the right to city necessitates for prerequisites related to the political system that provides proper context for a participatory governance. Ultimately this would result in innovative social production of the space as the goal of creative city concept. Political agency of Zoroastrians in Yazd questions the capacity for fair engagement of the community in creating the space. Through the examination of political rights, not only the engagement of Zoroastrians in decision-making process is assessed, but also the influence of political rights concerning human rights and citizenship are considered toward promoting cultural diversity, inclusiveness, and creativity of Yazd. Public policies examined in this category have close interconnection and influencing impact on the other subcategories such as social and economic distribution. Viewpoints for political agency of Zoroastrianism in Yazd is explained through: Decision-making processes and Public Policies.

A) Decision-Making

The legal ground for engagement of Zoroastrians in a participatory decision-making, both at national and local levels, are provided by choosing their councilors and representatives so that to express their views in the processes. According to Iran constitution article 64, religious minorities in Iran who are legally recognized (including Zoroastrians) can have their representative in the parliament[20]. Based on this legal code, Zoroastrians of Iran have one representative in the parliament who acts for expressing their views as one of the stakeholders in decision making at national level. In addition, Zoroastrians have their representatives in the Council of City and

---

[20] Majles Shoraye Eslami

Villages in Yazd ensuring their engagement to this process at the local level, where a major population of the community are settled (Sepehrifar, 2015). considering that communal gatherings are monitored by the official authorities their influence is limited for leaving an impact through the decision-making processes (Choksy, 2011). Within context of this thesis, the right to the city refers to active engagement of marginalized groups and claims for prioritization of their rights due to their vulnerability. On the other hand, creative governance in a city demands for a change through which all inhabitants can participate.

- Reflection: Zoroastrians are involved in decision-making processes of the state, as well as locally in Yazd. However, their authority is limited and not just enough to actively contribute in the processes. The right of Zoroastrians to decision-making is addressed but there should be a creative way of governance that can provide active engagement of all the citizens and prioritize right of marginalized groups due to their vulnerability.

B) Public Policies

Public policies bring about some limitations regarding the democrat participation of inhabitants in the city that are interpreted in the social life. Some of the biased legislations could potentially marginalize the community and hazard the openness to diversity of the society for creative functioning. Aspects of those distinctions can be addressed in some of the penal codes and civil laws; such as for case of murder, conversion between the religions, inheritance, marriage, inter-communal children and etc. (Sanasarian, 2000). Also, public policies sometimes affect aspects of Zoroastrian living culture in Yazd. Among those, for example, the religious festivities of Zoroastrians and their celebrations, are downgraded for Islamic events (Choksy, 2006). During times like Ramadan month or mourning periods, Zoroastrians

face limitations for holding their ceremonies and events (Mussi, 2013). Thus, there are indications for marginalizing Zoroastrian community through the public policies that brought about social conflicts and it has resulted in a decline in the number of their population in the recent decades in hometown.

- Reflection: Public policies are fundamentally biased and cause discriminations in the legal and penal codes, social orders, freedom or oppression in daily life of the community found in this respect. Accordingly, the right of Zoroastrians to Yazd in terms of public policies are not addressed and those policies adversely affect creativity of the context.

5.3 Distribution of Resources

Fair distribution of resources among Zoroastrians in Yazd (and at national level) constitutes to one of the cornerstones in claiming for the right to city. Towards production of a new space, creativity in social sphere, and engagement of creative class, just proportion of the benefits between the citizens is mandatory. In this respect, some aspects for distribution of resources among Zoroastrian community in Yazd is examined. As it was mentioned above, there are intersections (and interplay of contributing factors) between the public policies and political orders, social inclusion and distribution of resources and they overlap in some criteria. Viewpoints for resource distribution for Zoroastrianism in Yazd is explained through: employment and economy, education, accommodation urban quality and facilities, risk reduction and resilience.

A) Employment and Economy

The complication for distribution of employability among Zoroastrians is due to the contradictions found in the written words of constitution with reality of practicing those legislations. According to article 29 of Iran constitution Everyone may

decide about any occupation they wish under the conditions that the profession is not against Islam, right of other people, and public interest; and the government is supposed to provide the ground for equal employment opportunities for everyone. This statement is always accompanied with supportive statement from the officials who confirm there have to be policies measured so that communities of minorities (regardless of ethnicity, religions, etc.) could be engaged in development of their country and there would be no favoritism in place based on religion, as long as the applicant is qualified for the specific position (Sepehrifar, 2015). Despite the satisfactory considerations for inclusive job market through the legislations and statements, majority of Zoroastrian new generations are concerned about their employment (Bastani, 2021); while they find many of governmental posts hard to access and managerial positions in both public and public sectors impossible to achieve. It is unattainable to be hired in the military, to work in airlines, or in the bank (Mussi, 2013). There are limited job opportunities for Zoroastrians, while many job requirements find it mandatory if the applicant for the job is Muslim, especially governmental positions. In this respect, Niknam the representative said: "There is major employment issue concerning Zoroastrians, whilst majority of the community are sufficiently educated. They are not hired in army, radio and TV broadcasting, nor in education system except for the exclusively Zoroastrian schools" (Ghazi, 2019). The job discrimination is not written in anywhere nor in any of the laws but it is the reality that Zoroastrians face in their social life (Mussi, 2013).

Financial facilities for Zoroastrians is fairly included within the laws. Zoroastrians may apply for loans, possess trade union license, freely buy and sell properties and benefit from retirement pension (Sepehrifar, 2015). At national level, religious minorities of Iran are allocated with governmental budget annually that is

handed out to the representatives of each as a financial support implemented through different purposes. The sub-budget allocated for Zoroastrians in 2015 has been 3/680/000/000 Rials[21] (Sepehrifar, 2015). On top of that, the financial situation and economic hardships of Iran has been also affecting the community, even worse due to the status of being minorities. The economic crisis in IR Iran, which resulted in high unemployment and inflation that affected many of the ordinary people has been more tense on Zoroastrians (Sanasarian, 2000).

In historic city of Yazd, as a world heritage site with considerable number of tourists visiting each year, there is another consideration for just distribution of tourism benefits. First of all, Zoroastrian heritage destination contribute to a large proportion of visits from tourists who acknowledge uniqueness of the cultural assets found in Yazd. Regarding so, Zoroastrian landmarks such as Markar complex, Fire Temple, and Dakhmas, are managed under the administration of Zoroastrian communities in Yazd that ensures appropriation of the financial income directly to themselves. Accordingly, the major attribution of tourism to the Zoroastrian category of heritage assets in Yazd contributes to employment opportunities and financial income for them. However, there are reflections for inequitable share of benefits out of increased number of tourists after inscription of Yazd. For example, commodity of central historic places has increased the land value and living expenses that doesn't concern local people. Moreover, policies for attraction of investors, even from foreign countries, to buy and convert historic houses resulted in displacement of the local community and disturbed fair share of benefits to them (Rastegar & Zarezadeh & Gretzel, 2021). Although, this

---

[21] The correspondence of USD to Iranian Rial by 2015 has been $1 equivalent to IRR 32500. (Central Bank of Iran)

has not been exclusively related to Zoroastrians but generally to the inhabitants of the historic city of Yazd, including Zoroastrians.

- Reflection: By adverse influences of public policies, there is job discrimination that concerns the community; the right to having employment possibilities is limited for Zoroastrians in Yazd. On the other hand, Zoroastrianism in Yazd contributes to creativity of its economy by offering Zoroastrian culture and heritage as core elements to foster innovative financial schemes, fuel economic engines and by promoting the unique identity of that place.

B) Education

Zoroastrians benefit from equal rights in education at school as well as in the higher education system of Iran for continuation of their academic career to the highest university degrees. Muslim and Zoroastrian children may have access to the same educational opportunities without any discriminative assessment according to their religion. Different types of schools: public, private and special ones (such as NODET[22]) openly accept Zoroastrian students and fairly distribute educational resources. Also, they are provided with course contents about their own religion as an alternative for the Islamic Instructions that are given to the Muslim students at school.

For the academic studies in Iranian universities, there is an annual National University Qualification Exam, upon which students are ranked and they can choose a spot to continue their formal education. It provides totally equal chances for Zoroastrian students to engage in any of the majors and universities they would like to choose. Even, religious content and materials comprise one of the modules for assessment in the National Exam and Zoroastrian applicants are fairly assigned with questions regarding their own religion.

---

[22] National Organization for Development of Exceptional Talents in Iran

Furthermore, there are different Zoroastrians schools, some of which are exclusive to the students of community and some others are open for other religious minorities or even Muslim students as well. Zoroastrian schools may hire teachers and staff only from within the community (Sepehrifar, 2015). Also, Zoroastrian schools are allowed to teach their language together with Persian, according to the article 15 of Iran constitution. Regarding so, there are more than 20 Zoroastrian schools located in the city of Yazd such as Dinyari and Foroughi primary schools as well as Keykhosravi and Markar high schools (Mordadian, 2018).

- Reflection: The community has equal and fair rights to educational opportunities. Non-discriminative policies in education is one dimension for tolerance and openness to cultural diversity in the context. Concentration of Zoroastrian schools in Yazd can promote attraction of the creative class (Zoroastrians) to Yazd. Freedom to teach Zoroastrian traditions and language provides the ground for transmission and promotion of the cultural aspects in educational system.

C) Accommodation, Urban Quality, Facilities

One aspect for claiming the right of inhabitants to their city is to have access, sufficiently and affordably, to accommodation in that city. Providing enough housing and affordable accommodation in the city of Yazd, concerns the inhabitants in general and does not prioritize the right of Muslims over Zoroastrians nor there is any exclusion found in the legal codes. Challenges for development, such as in many other historic cities, impose pressures on heritage districts in Yazd without any biased planning policies to have negative impacts on urban quality of Zoroastrian neighborhoods. The state party has identified the pressure of developments that affects historic buildings and the need for providing required infrastructure, facilities and

services to further urban quality and facilities for the residents (UNESCO, 2017). According to collected reports, Zoroastrian neighborhoods in Yazd similar to the other historic districts of the city, have deficiencies regarding the urban infrastructure and facilities (Bastani, 2021). In particular, Dasturan, the prominent Zoroastrian neighborhood of Yazd that embraces majority of their urban population endures shortage of municipal services, poor urban facilities, lack of supervision for preserving the historic buildings, and absence of public green spaces that have brought about dissatisfaction of the local residents. (Rostami, 2015). One of the major problems in this neighborhood is collection of surface water that not only interferes traffic in the neighborhood passages, but also it is threatening to historic adobe buildings (Rostami, 2015). Lack of proper maintenance of the roads and pavement in this area has been reported as the other problem that has interfered daily lives of the local people; although it is located close to the central area of the city (Mandegari, 2015). Poor urban facilities and infrastructure in the central area of Yazd that embrace historic quarters, including Zoroastrian neighborhoods, is one of the dissuasive factors that draws the population to the uptowns and suburban areas with better municipal services (Dehghan, 2015). Also, another issue is related with the historic buildings that are abandoned. These buildings create safety hazards as their high rise surrounding adobe walls collapse in the narrow passages, in absence of any preventive preservations. On the other hand, those abandoned historic buildings cause security problems when they become shelters to addicts and burglars (Mandegari, 2015). The abovementioned factors adversely influence the quality of the space in historic neighborhoods, while Zoroastrian districts constitutes one of the main aspects of Zoroastrian heritage in Yazd.

Figure.5.1. Collapsed Adobe Building, Zoroastrian Neighborhood (URL 26)

Figure.5.2. Surface Water and Poor Municipal Services (URL 27)

In addition, environmental quality of the urban environment is affected by heavy industries that function in and around the city of Yazd. The negative outcome of that is traced in the environmental pollution and impose on the water resources (Talebian, 2018). After inscription of the site on the world heritage list, these challenges have been identified, tackled and monitored rigorously. The management plan of the site inspects integrity of the site, and redirects new development plans. Plus, it has considered the threat of heavy industries and has given special attention to tackle environmental impacts of them in their regular inspections (Talebian, 2018). In this regard changing the function of the factories and moving industrial activities to further distance has been considered in the management plan (UNESCO, 2017).

- Reflection: There is not any marginalization to provide accommodation for the community in Yazd. The right of Zoroastrians in Yazd for sufficient and affordable housing is addressed. However, imposed pressure of developments, poor facilities and infrastructure negatively contribute to creativity of Yazd.

D) Risk Reduction and Resilience

Risk reduction refers to policies adopted to prepare for and mitigate consequences of disasters. It is a systematic approach to identifying, assessing and reducing the socio-economic vulnerabilities to different hazards that trigger them (Wisner, 2004). Resilience is a term used for a range of design measures and planning policies that are required to advance the capability of meeting aftermaths of disasters. (Field & Barros & Stocker & Dahe, 2012). In other words, risk preparedness complements resilience while it promotes the chance of recovery in consequence of hazardous events. Resilience refers to both natural and built environments that address capability of each criteria to absorb and recover. Cultural heritage can enhance resilience of cities and communities (Boccardi, 2012) in different ways. Heritage is a contributor to creativity of a place that fosters economy and can bring up societal norms. That also characterizes the unique identity of a place that helps continuity and strengthening the social bonds. Moreover, knowledge and skills of local communities accumulated through the experiences when encountered potential disaster risks is another mean to risk preparedness and resilience.

Yazd is an outstanding representation of optimal use and clever management of limited resources in an arid context that can inspire responses to the challenges of climate change, global warming and developments of today (Talebian, 2018) and they constitute a source of resilience and risk reduction. For example, the characteristics of the earthen architecture in the historic quarter plays an important role to mitigate

damages of earthquake hazard, due to the Sabats (which function as buttresses), sunken courtyards and thick walls. As a result of former encounters, within time, the community have developed information about the severity, probability, and solutions to become resilient to the potential risks and they have adapted their practices and techniques regarding those situations (Eiser, 2012).

Figure.5.3. Earth Architecture and Sunken Courtyard (URL 28)

Figure.5.4. Earth Architecture and Sabat Structures (URL 29)

Historic City of Yazd, located on the edge of two central deserts of Iran, undergoes drought and degradation of water tables due to climatic changes and human activities (Talebian, 2018). Dwindling water resources influences the patterns for human settlements in the site that could potentially be counted as a dissuasive factor for inhabitance in Yazd. Also, shrinking water tables threat continuity of water flow in the Persian Qanats, the underground water transport system that was inscribed on UNESCO heritage list. Qanats are an outstanding example for ingenious management of water resources in such a harsh arid context over millenniums that can foster innovative responses for resilience through use of the traditional knowledge. By inscription of Yazd as a world heritage site, monitoring of water tables has become more rigorously under control and there is no further movement of the surface recorded (Talebian, 2018). In addition, in the management plan of Yazd preparedness for the risk of flood is considered but as a seismically hazardous location, still capacity building for mitigating risk of earthquake is recognized to be mandatory from advisory bodies (UNESCO, 2017).

While in the nature, biological diversity helps to enhance ecosystem resilience in the face of change and adaptive capacity, cultural diversity can build up social resilience (Jigyasu, 2013). Cultural diversity expands the broadness of cultural knowledge and resolutions that could be utilized to tackle urban challenges and contribute positively both for social cohesion and for the environmental responsiveness. Therefore, resilience in the Historic City of Yazd is not merely the result of risk management plans, but also interconnected with providing the context for promotion of cultural diversity. Thus, risk management and resilience are not only counted as resources for the inhabitants of the city, cultural communities such as Zoroastrians vice versa promote resilience of the city.

5.4 Aspects of Cultural Heritage Regulations Affecting Zoroastrian Heritage in Yazd

In the former sections, there has been emphasis on sociocultural and political bonds that the heritage community of Zoroastrians possess to their city in Yazd. In order to discuss aspects of regulation over Zoroastrian heritage in Yazd, some references to legislations for cultural heritage at national level, processes of local level, and considerations of international advisory body (as a world heritage site) are addressed in this section. Zoroastrian cultural heritage in Yazd to a large extent benefit from recognition and protection of the state party, but cultural enhancement and promotion of them, particularly about intangible assets, requires further considerations. Also, in this section it is understood that there are some gaps regarding protection and conservation of tangible legacies, that needs for capacity building as discussed in further.

Regarding legislation and administrative aspects of cultural heritage in Iran, there are two major organizations that regulate the policies for conservation of heritage sites and development affairs which affect historic cities, Iran's Cultural Heritage, Handicraft, and Tourism Organization (ICHHTO) and Urban Development and Revitalization Organization (UDRO). (Kermani, 2017) Apart from the two major organizations that are closely involved as the regulatory bodies for Iranian cultural heritage, there are a number of other agencies and diverse institutions who are engaged with the procedure of decision making and approval of plans for the historic quarters. At the same time, when it comes to action, there are two other bodies that become involved who cooperate for the implementation of those legislations, Islamic Council of City and Village as well as the Municipalities. Each of those bodies necessitate their own requirements, priorities and opinions concerning whichever of the historic

environments. The diagram below provides a clearer insight about how those bodies are engaged based on the legislative structure of Iranian cities. As it is apparent in this table, lack of an integrated system for legislation and a fragmented nature of the whole can be perceived, which cast a shadow over the effective management of the built heritage in Iran (Izadi, 2008).

Besides the need of an assimilated heritage management, lack of an up- to-date legislation by the Iranian Parliament and other involved institutions on the cultural heritage is problematic. Ambiguity in definitions, laws and the penalties even sometimes can simply affect the integrity of built heritage sites (Kermani, 2017). Additionally, ICHHTO has made changes in the policies in a way that it does not inscribe any new buildings to the National Heritage List without consent of the building's owner. As the consequence of that, historical properties, will be potentially less under protection by the legislations of cultural heritage. Considering that 88% of the historic buildings in Yazd are possessed by private sector (Talebian,2018), a vast number of heritage properties are under threat of demolition, alteration or any interventions that impact their significance upon the will of the landlords, just after claiming for deletion of their properties from the national heritage list (Rouhani, 2009), especially, those outside of the boundaries for world heritage inscription that are obviously under less protection and monitoring.

According to Article 171 of the Fifth Development Plan in Iran adopted in 2011, The Ministry of Housing and Urban Development and the municipalities are obliged to rehabilitate at least 10 percent of historic deteriorated fabrics each year, however not explicitly defined. The Fifth Development Plan also could have been more applicable and influential, only if that put stress on conservation projects concerning urban heritage (Kermani, 2017). Furthermore, the responsibility of the

Iranian Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization is not transparent in this procedure (or even excluded in execution). Updated legislation is necessary in order to assist the ideas as well as approaches for conservation of built heritage, as a driver for sustainable development.
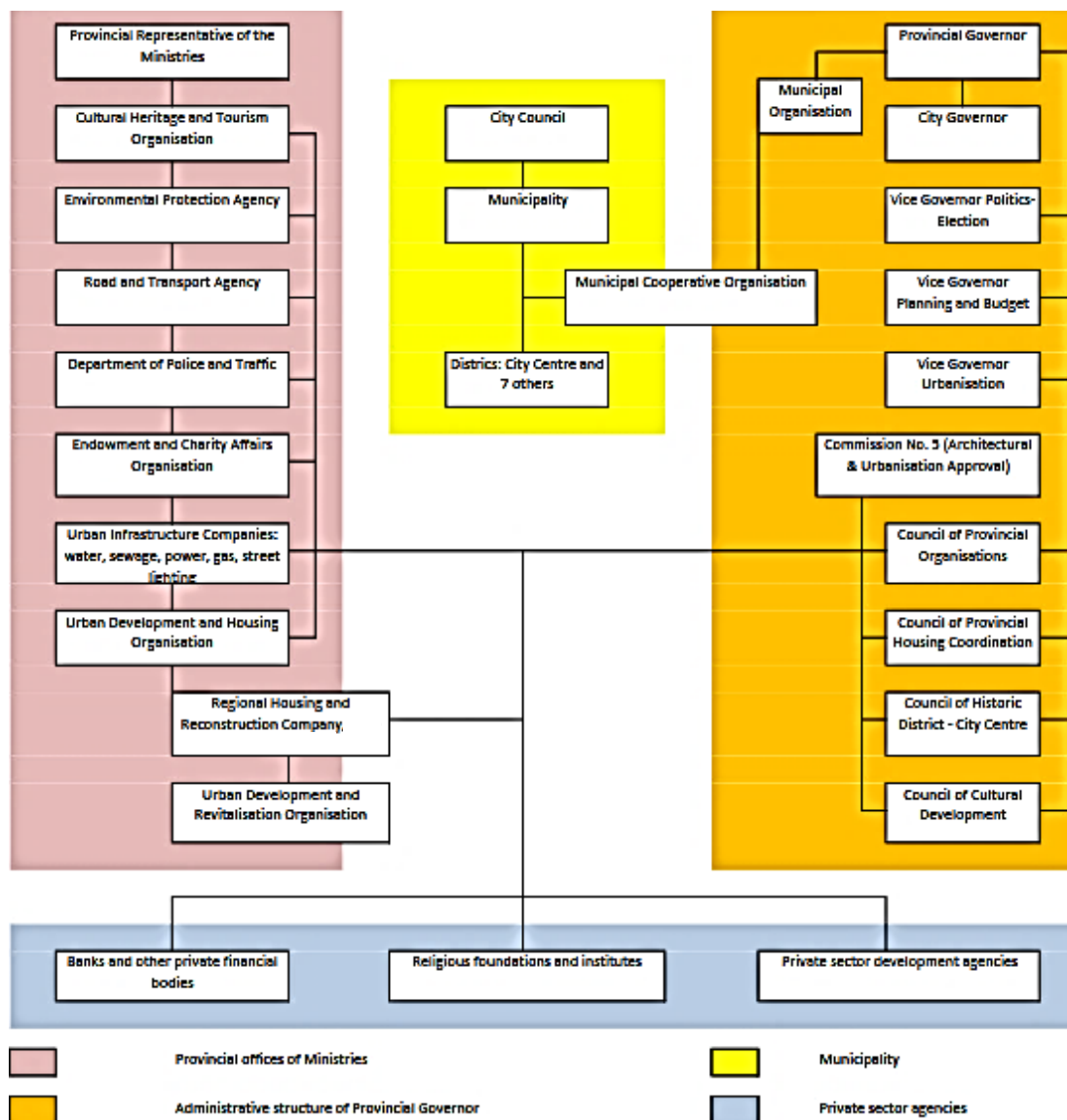

Figure.5.5. Involved Agencies in the Regulatory System (Izadi, 2008)

At local level, historic city of Yazd was registered on the National Heritage List of Iran in 2005 that provides the required legal protection administered by Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization (ICHHTO) and then it was inscribed on UNESCO

World Heritage List in 2017. The regulatory body that is responsible for World Heritage Sites in Iran is ICHHTO that collaborates with local, national and international authorities and other stakeholders. So far, there have been successful efforts from private sector, endowments, Yazd municipality, ICHHTO, and other stakeholders for conservation and management of the historic site, since a major part of the historic city survived destructions to authenticity and integrity of the property after the developments (Talebian, 2018). A technical committee including representatives of major stakeholders has been stablished. Also, the base office of ICHHTO in Yazd is responsible for monitoring of conservation and management of the site (UNESCO, Historic City of Yazd).

Regarding the management plan and reflecting on technical evaluation of ICOMOS, the boundaries of the site need to be more strongly articulated, including in the Zoroastrian districts. Since there are some historic landmarks excluded within the inscribed boundaries whilst there are some modern buildings included that do not justify for the outstanding values of the nominated property. Also, the state party has considered delineation of boundaries in accordance with intangible heritage dimension, however, further information stating the criteria for identifications of the boundaries by the advisory body has been requested (UNESCO, Historic City of Yazd). This may help for articulation of more consistent and developed considerations for conservation and enhancement of intangible heritage assets to be denoted.

In regard of protection status, ICOMOS finds the legal protection adequate, while it is not effective and requires raising awareness of local communities as well as capacity building for ICHHTO staff. Whilst majority of the properties possess private ownerships, managed and maintained by the owner under supervision of ICHHTO, there have been incompatible interventions carried out by the residents in lack of

supervision of the ICHHTO base staff. ICOMOS finds the state of conservation of the historic city as a whole satisfactory, although, adverse impacts of development policies, various interventions and additions of annexes are noticed. Moreover, lack of practice guidelines for conservation and maintenance of earthen architecture is identified. Eventually, ICOMOS recommends the state party for further analytical studies concerning the association between intangible and tangible aspects in each of districts (UNESCO, Historic City of Yazd).

Considering Zoroastrian built heritage, in terms of protection and conservation status, the properties are to a large extent protected under the administration of ICHHTO. As it was explained in chapter three of this research, historic landmarks of Zoroastrians are inscribed on the National Heritage List, including Fire Temple, Guiv Water Cistern, Markar Complex, Dakhma, and Asadan Castle. However, historic buildings in Zoroastrian neighborhoods, in particular Dasturan district, are not adequately protected due to lack of guidelines for conservation of earthen architecture, insufficient supervision of ICHHTO, pressure of development, and absence of an integrated regulatory system. Another prominent consideration is that, the multi-cultural identity and intangible dimension of the cultural property is enumerated in the management plan of the site. At national level, Sadeh festival, Zoroastrian women's outfit and Sudreh-pooshi rituals are registered on the National Heritage List. At international level, however, the only references to intangible heritage of the site are mentioned in requirement for clarification of the boundaries based on intangible dimensions, and the requirement for elaboration between tangible and intangible aspects of the cultural property. Though, there has not been any comprehensive considerations for protection, enhancement, and promotion of intangible heritage assets in the management plan of historic city of Yazd.

5.5 Conclusion

Zoroastrianism in Yazd was examined through the concept of the right to (creative) city. In this regard, after introduction of Zoroastrianism through the history and Yazd as the context for this thesis, manifestation of Zoroastrian culture and heritage in Yazd were outlined. Then, in order to comprehend the urban theories, the concepts separately were explained and the mutual foundations were identified through the comparative materials to support the objectives of this research.

Generally, throughout changing urban management policies, towards improvement of quality of life, many cities have been the context for implementation of different strategies and policies. One key aspect of that is shifting focus from physical approach to development of the space to social enhancement. The Right to the City asserts the privilege of various players that contribute in enhancement of social structures, formulating the spatial theory into a political right that has to be justifies and applied in practice. On the other hand, by acknowledging the necessity to turn from physical approach to development issues towards quality of life and social sphere, Creative City compiles new strategies in this arena. Creative City addresses formulation of innovative policies for betterment of our societies through emergence of creative economy, ground-breaking governance, democratization of space, embracing cultural activities, and promoting unique identity of the place. Therefore, Creative City to a large proportion complements the social theory of the Right to City and verbalizes the vision envisaged by that theory into practices of urban policies.

Zoroastrianism, as a community of marginalized citizens was considered as the mainstream of this research for analyzing the concept of right to the city. Also, considering their magnificent cultural identity and range of heritage assets provided

the ground to scrutinize creative city criteria. Eventually findings are summarized as below:

- Zoroastrians contribute greatly to creativity of Yazd, by enhancing unique identity of the city, enriching cultural diversity and through a range of tangible and intangible cultural heritage assets that are articulated as the core element for creativity of a city.

- Zoroastrians benefit from religious freedom in Yazd and the range of religious properties in this area is a stimulator for attraction of creative class.

- Zoroastrians can effectively communicate their cultural traditions and promote creativity of Yazd, while inscription to the world heritage list would help this process.

- Zoroastrians in Yazd relatively face discrimination in terms of social inclusion, openness and tolerance in this context. Although, they have the sense of attachment to this place, there is systematic marginalization of the community based on being a religious minority group.

- The theocratic power structure of Islamic Republic of Iran, fundamentally discriminates the right of Zoroastrians to political agency at national and local level, that is manifested through civil laws, penal codes, parliament decision-making, public policies that influences social inclusion, resource distribution and daily lives of Zoroastrians in Yazd.

- Zoroastrians are faced with job discriminations in Yazd. On the other hand, they constitute to a large extent to foster creative economy of the city and they are incorporated in many financial and economic facilities such as Muslim counterparts.

- The right of Zoroastrians to accommodation is equally recognized. In terms of urban facilities, quality and infrastructure some deficiencies were addressed that development issues majorly contribute to them.

- In terms of risk preparedness from the viewpoint of providing for resources, there are considerations addressed in the management plan of the site. Although, it was explained how social resilience in a place depends on cultural diversity that Zoroastrianism in Yazd promotes it.

Also, through the findings there was a gap identified when exploring between the constitutions and written legal codes, with implementation of the rules. There is an inclination towards isolating the Zoroastrian religious compound -which is a manifestation for their living culture- to the extent that the cultural expression of the community is restricted sometimes. The associated community, whose role as the protector and promoter of their cultural assets are asserted, may sometimes face restrictions in social arena and they cannot effectively engage in social structure of their city. Formulation of some public policies sometimes surge into intercommunal conflicts that adversely affect tolerance and cohesion within the society. It is understood that the authority of Zoroastrians in participation for decision-making and governance is limited within their context and it is under the influence of superior authorities and officials. Public policies that follow the laws of the Sharia, in some cases marginalize the community in respect of claiming for their political rights and practicing full inclusion for the social rights.

Towards a new paradigm to promoting quality and livability of a space, creative city is the strategy with a chance of focus on soft infrastructure. This is a claim for the emergence of creative planning, creative economy, and creative development of space. Promoting creativity of the city is entangled with art, culture, and heritage of

that place that gives a chance for evolution of innovative solutions in space development. In addition, heritage and culture are contributing factors to the unique identity of a place as a stimulator for drawing the creative class, rising creative economy and promoting livability of the space. Regarding the regulations for cultural heritage of Zoroastrians in Yazd it was understood that:

- Major landmarks of Zoroastrian heritage assets in Yazd are protected under the administration of ICHHTO, while a number of those also fall within the current boundaries of the internationally inscribed property. Also, some of the intangible heritage assets are nationally registered which provides the legal ground for protection and enhancement of those legacies.

- Historic buildings of heritage quarters in Yazd, including Zoroastrian neighborhood, lack the sufficient monitoring that has resulted in incompatible interventions. Also there is a need for capacity building in terms of raising awareness of the local community and training the ICHHTO staff base for conservation of earthen architecture, maintenance of historic buildings, and monitoring.

- Historic city of Yazd has majorly survived the adverse impacts of development, however, by inscription of the site at national and then international levels, there have been more rigorous policies for protection of the site and cultural assets.

- Last but not least, intangible dimension of the property has not been elaborated in a comprehensive way in the management plan of the site. Although, the importance of multiculturalism of the site, cultural diversity after coexistence of different religious heritage identities, and social values

are enumerated, neither there is a full consideration for how to protect the intangible assets nor there are policies in place for their promotion.

Through this research it was understood that Zoroastrianism in Yazd stimulates the potentials for developing strategies of a creative city. However, a creative city requires to build the capacity to foster the opportunities to the practice. This transition becomes viable through applicability of some prerequisites that ensures proper context for the transformation. The creative city builds on and is aligned with the right to the city social theory. Since, creativity of the city in social, political, economic spheres takes place only if the space is democratized and all the inhabitants are fairly, equally, and openly engaged. Majority of the discriminations are found in implementation of the laws of the state, but not in constitution. As a core element in both "Right to the City" and "Creative City" concepts, there is a need to change the structure of governance with an emphasis on a shift towards active and practical engagement of inhabitants in the processes of social production.

REFERENCES

Ahmadi, R., & Mehrafarin, R. (2020). A Research on Zoroastrian Dakhmagozari Rituals Based on Architectural Structure Study of the Zoroastrian Dakhmas. *Journal of Archaeological Studies*, *12*(1), 1-17.

Alipour, N. (2006). دادگاه چم: گوشه‌هایی از معماری و شیوه‌های تدفن پیروان اشو زرتشت پیامبر یزرگ ایرانی. Samira Press.

Amighi, J. K. (1990). *The Zoroastrians of Iran: Conversion, Assimilation, or Persistence* (No. 3). Ams PressInc.

Amini, T. (2001). Documents from Contemporary Zoroastrians of Iran from 1959–1979 AD [Asnādi az Zartoshtiyan-e Moaaser-eIran]. *National Library and Archives of Iran*. Tehran: Documentation Institute.

Ancient History Encyclopedia, Zoroastrianism Timeline, 2020. Available at: https://www.ancient.eu/zoroastrianism/

Antia. KH, (2012), Fire and Fire-temples in Zoroastrianism Through the Ages. Available at: <www.Avesta.org>

Aoki, T. (2015). Zoroastrianism in the Far East. *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Zoroastrianism*, *68*, 147.

Athari, K. (2013). Shahrvandi-ya-Shahrbandi: Introduction to 'The Right to the City. *Bahamestan*, Tehran, Iran.

City, A. (2008). Creative City Planning Framework. *A supporting document to the agenda for prosperity: Prospectus for a Great City. Prepared for the City of Toronto by AuthentiCity*, 1-44.

Azargoshasb, A. (1971). آئین برگزاری جشنهای ایران باستان The Ancient Iranian Celebrations. Rasti.

Bahār, M.T. (1935) *Tāriḵ-e Sistān*. English tr. Milton Gold, Rome (1976).

Bakhash, S. (1989). The politics of land, law, and social justice in Iran. *Middle East Journal*, *43*(2), 186-201.

Bamji, D. (2013) Exploring Dualism in Zoroastrianism. Zoroastrian Association of Greater New York. Available at: <https://zagny.org/exploring-dualism-in-zoroastrianism>

Barth, F. (1998). *Ethnic groups and boundaries: The social organization of culture difference*. Waveland Press.

Bastani Parizi, M.H., (1960). History of Yazd. *Yaghma Magazine* No 8.

Bastani, R. (2021, Feb.) Personal Communication.

Bianchini, F. (1999). Cultural planning for urban sustainability. *City and culture: Cultural processes and urban sustainability*, *24*, 34-51.

Boccardi, G. (2012). Working Document. In *Expert Meeting on "Heritage and Sustainability-from principles to practice" Toyama, Japan*.

BOLUOKI, S., & OKHOVAT, H. (2016). A Comparative Analysis of the Similarities and Differences between Zoroastrians and Muslims Houses in Yazd City.

Boyce, M. (1969). Maneckji Limji Hataria in Iran. *KR Cama Oriental Institute Golden Jubilee Volume*, *20*, 377-90.

Boyce, M. (1970). On the calendar of Zoroastrian feasts. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, *33*(3), 513-539.

Boyce, M. (1971). The Zoroastrian Houses of Yazd. *Iran and Islam*, 125-47.

Boyce, M. (1977). *A Persian stronghold of Zoroastrianism* (p. 154236). Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Boyce, M. (1992). *Zoroastrianism: its antiquity and constant vigour*. Mazda Publ..

Boyce, M. (2016). NOWRUZ i. In the Pre-Islamic Period. Encyclopedia Iranica, online edition. Available at: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/nowruz-i>

Bradford, N. J. (2004). *Creative cities: Structured policy dialogue backgrounder*. Canadian Policy Research Network, Family Network.

Brenner, N. (1997). Geographies of Globalization. *Public culture*, *10*(1), 135-167.

Brown, A., & Kristiansen, A. (2008). Urban policies and the right to the city. *Human Rights*.

Browne, E. G. (2013). *A Literary History of Persia: 4 Volume Set* (Vol. 6). Routledge.

Butler, C. (2009). Critical legal studies and the politics of space. *Social & Legal Studies*, *18*(3), 313-332.

Butler, C. (2012). *Henri Lefebvre: Spatial politics, everyday life and the right to the city*. Routledge-Cavendish.

California Zoroastrian Council. Posted on Endangered Languages. Available at: <http://www.endangeredlanguages.com/lang/4196/samples/6407>

Cardona G. (2018), Indo Iranian Languages. *Published by Britanica Encyclopedia*. Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Indo-Iranian-languages>

Center for South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies at Illinois: Middle Eastern Festivals. Available at :<https://csames.illinois.edu/system/files/202012/Middle_Eastern_Festivals_ Teachers_Handout.pdf >

Chapman, D. W., & Larkham, P. J. (1999). Urban design, urban quality and the quality of life: Reviewing the department of the environment's urban design campaign. *Journal of Urban Design*, *4*(2), 211-232.

Chatterton, P. (2000). Will the real Creative City please stand up?. *City*, *4*(3), 390-397.

Choksy, J. K. (1989). *Purity and pollution in Zoroastrianism: triumph over evil*. University of Texas Press.

Choksy, J. K. (1997). *Conflict and Cooperation: Zoroastrian Subalterns and Muslim Elites in Medieval Iranian Society*. Columbia University Press.

Choksy, J. K. (2006). Altars, precincts, and temples: Medieval and modern Zoroastrian praxis. *Iran*, *44*(1), 327-346.

Chosky, J. (2011). How Iran Persecutes its Oldest Religion. Available at: <https://edition.cnn.com/2011/11/14/opinion/choksy-iran-zoroastrian>

Coggin, T., & Pieterse, M. (2012, September). Rights and the city: An exploration of the interaction between socio-economic rights and the city. In *Urban Forum* (Vol. 23, No. 3, pp. 257-278). Springer Netherlands.

Coletta, C. (2008). Fostering the creative city: CEOs for Cities. Available at: Http://www. Ceosforcities. Org/files/Fostering the Creative City Wallace. Pdf.

Collinson, Diané, et al. (1994) Thirty-Five Oriental Philosophers, Taylor & Francis Group, ProQuest Ebook Central. Available at: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/doguakdeniz-ebooks/detail.action?docID=165162>

Council, M. C. *Montreal Charter of Rights and Responsibilities*. 2005.

Dehghan, N. (2015). The Current Condition of Zoroastrian Neighborhood of Yazd. Available at: https://www.yazdinews.ir/13756/

Deutsche Welle, (2017). Religious minorities may be elected for Council of City and Villages. Available at: < https://p.dw.com/p/2pBfw>

Dhabhar, E. B. N. (1909). *Saddar Nasr and Saddar Bundahišn*. NewDehli: The Trustees of the Parsee.

Dhalla, M. N. (1938). *History of Zoroastrianism* (p. 474). New York: Oxford University Press.

Doostdar, N. (2013). Iranian Zoroastrians and the challenge for being minorities. Available at: <https://www.radiozamaneh.com/81142/>

Duchesne-Guillemin, J., & Jamaspasa, K. M. (1962). *Religion of Ancient Iran; English Transaltion of La Religion Del'iran Ancien*. Tata Press.

Duxbury, N. (2004). *Creative cities: principles and practices*. Canadian Policy Research Network, Family Network.

Eduljee, K. E. (2014). Zoroastrian Heritage. Available at: < http://www. heritageinstitute. com/zoroastrianism.

Eiser, J. R., Bostrom, A., Burton, I., Johnston, D. M., McClure, J., Paton, D., ... & White, M. P. (2012). Risk interpretation and action: A conceptual framework for responses to natural hazards. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction*, 1, 5-16.

Ekhtiary, E. (2013). Iranian Zoroastrians and the challenge for being minorities. Available at: <https://www.radiozamaneh.com/81142/>

Encyclopedia Iranica. *Zoroastrians in Iran*. Available at: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/zoroastrians-in-iran>

Encyclopedia Britanica, *Zoroastrianism*. Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Zoroastrianism>

Encyclopedia Britanica, *Parsi*. Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Parsi>

Encyclopedia Iranica, *Atash-Zohr*, Available at: <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/atas-zohr-or-atas-zor-persian-zor-e-atas-a-middle-persian-term-for-the-zoroastrian-ritual-offering-to-fire-of-fat>

Encyclopeida Britanica, *Avestan Language*. Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Avestan-language>

Estakhrī, A. I. I. I. M. (1994). Mamālek va Masālek, translated into Persian by Mohammad ibn As' ad ibn Abdollah Tastarī. *Tehran: Bahman Publications*.

Evangel, V. Mozdoor, M. (2003). The Establishment and Development of Christianity in the Parthian Empire (1st cent-224/6 AD). Transoxiana.

Fathi, (2016). Religious Population of Iran in the Last Century (in Persian). Available at: https://www.amar.org.ir/Portals/0/News/1396/1_srtc-amar-v4n5p23-fa.pdf

Ferdowsi, A. (2016). *Shahnameh: The Persian book of kings*. Penguin.

Fernandes, E. (2007). Constructing theRight to the City'in Brazil. *Social & legal studies*, *16*(2), 201-219.

Fernandes, E. (2011, September). Implementing the urban reform agenda in Brazil: Possibilities, challenges, and lessons. In *Urban Forum* (Vol. 22, No. 3, pp. 299-314). Springer Netherlands.

Field, C. B., Barros, V., Stocker, T. F., & Dahe, Q. (Eds.). (2012). *Managing the risks of extreme events and disasters to advance climate change adaptation: special report of the intergovernmental panel on climate change*. Cambridge University Press.

Florida, R. (2003). Cities and the creative class. *City & community*, *2*(1), 3-19.

Florida, R. (2019). *The rise of the creative class*. Hachette UK.

Foltz, R. (2009). Iranian zoroastrians in canada: Balancing religious and cultural identities. *Iranian Studies*, 42(4), 561-577.

Fowlkes-Childs, B., & Seymour, M. (2019). *The World between Empires: Art and Identity in the Ancient Middle East*. Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Geldner, K. F. (Ed.). (1889). *Avesta: the sacred books of the Parsis* (Vol. 2). W. Kohlhammer.

George, H. (2020). Creative Cities and Sustainable Development: A Framework. In *Re-Imagining Creative Cities in Twenty-First Century Asia* (pp. 265-275). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Ghazi, F (2019). Religious Minorities in 40 years after the Islamic Revolution. Available at: <https://per.euronews.com/2019/02/14/euronews-exclusive-report-on-religious-minorities-in-iran>

Gholami, S. (2018). Remnants of Zoroastrian Dari in the Colophons and Sālmargs of Iranian Avestan Manuscripts. *Iranian Studies*, 51(2), 195-211.

Global Platform for the Right to the City. Available at: https://www.cnm.org.br/cms/images/stories/Links/29092016_WhatisR2C24June2016.pdf

Goshtasb, F. (2011). Stōš in Middle Persian Texts and Zoroastrian Rituals. *Language Studies*, *1*(2), 99-105.

Habibi, M., & Amiri, M. (2015). Right to the city from current to ideal city. *Iranian journal of anthropology research*, *5*(2), 9-30.

Habitat III. The Right to City and City for All. Available at: http://uploads.habitat3.org/hb3/Habitat%20III%20Policy%20Paper%201.pdf

Hahn, J. (2010). Creative Cities and (Un) Sustainability–Cultural Perspectives. *Cultura*, *21*, 1-20.

Hall, P. (2000). Creative cities and economic development. *Urban studies*, *37*(4), 639-649.

Hall, P. (2004). Creativity, culture, knowledge and the city. *Built Environment (1978-)*, *30*(3), 256-258.

Hartley, J. (2005). *Creative industries*. Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Harvey, D. (2003). The right to the city. *International journal of urban and regional research*, *27*(4), 939-941.

Haug, M. (1884). *Essays on the sacred language, writings, and religion of the Parsis* (Vol. 1). Trübner & C., Ludgate Hill.

Lefebvre, H. (1976). The survival of capitalism. *London: Allison and Busby*.

Heritage Institute, Yazd. Available at:
<http://www.heritageinstitute.com/zoroastrianism/yazd/page2.htm>

HISTORY. (2018). Zoroastrianism. Available at:
<https://www.history.com/topics/religion/zoroastrianism>

Hoffmann, K. (1968). The Avesta Fragment FrD. 3. *Indo-Iranian Journal*, *10*(4), 282-288.

Hoseini, M.R. (2003). Director of Yazd Cultural Heritage Organization. Available at:
<http://icro.ir/index.aspx?pageid=11751&newsview=323211>

Hoseini, S. M., Ronaghi, H., Zaheri, B. A., Moshrefi, A. H., & Adibi, M. A. (2019). Esophageal Infection of Spirocerca lupi with Vulpes rueppellii in Yazd Province, Iran: Case Report. *Iranian journal of parasitology*, *14*(3), 482.

Houtum-Schindler, A. (1882). Die Parsen in Persien, ihre Sprache und einige ihrer Gebräuche. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, *36*(1), 54-88.

Huaiyu Chen (2011) Zhonggu huahua xianjiao kaoshu [A Study of Sinicized Zoroastrianism in Medieval China], *Iranian Studies*, 44:3, 437-438, DOI: 10.1080/00210862.2011.556406

Huchzermeyer, M. (2014). Humanism, creativity and rights: invoking Henri Lefebvre's right to the city in the tension presented by informal settlements in South Africa today. *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa*, *85*(1), 64-89.

ICOMOS, (2016). Historic City of Yazd No 1544. Available at: https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1544/documents/

Iran Chamber Society. Median Empire. Available at: http://www.iranchamber.com/history/median/median.php

Iran Chamber Society. Yazd. Available at: http://www.iranchamber.com/cities/yazd/yazd.php.

Iran Gazette. Yazd Atashkade. Online at: <https://www.irangazette.com/en/12/360-yazd-atashkadeh.html>

Iranshahr Encyclopedia of the History of Architecture. (2011). Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization of Iran.

ISNA. (2003). Zoroastrian Neighborhoods in Yazd. Available at: <https://www.isna.ir/news/8108-07108>

Izadi, M. (2008). *A study on city centre regeneration: A comparative analysis of two different approaches to the revitalisation of historic city centres in Iran* (Doctoral dissertation, Newcastle University).

Jamarannews, (2019). There has always been a mutual respect between Zoroastrians and the Islamic Republic of Iran. Available at: <https://www.jamaran.news/1198711>

Jamshidi, F. (2019). Everything about Pashootan Ji Dusabhai Markar. Amordad Zoroastrian News Agency. Available at: < https://amordadnews.com/10595/ >

Jigyasu, R., Murthy, M., Boccardi, G., Marrion, C., Douglas, D., King, J., ... & Osihn, M. (2013). Heritage and resilience: issues and opportunities for reducing disaster risks.

Junior, N. S., & Rodriguez, M. E. (2003). Housing Rights in Brazil. *INTERNATIONAL STUDIES IN HUMAN RIGHTS*, 78, 175-206.

Karimian, H., Karimi, F., & Karimian, S. (2020). Impact of Religious Commandments on Residential Architecture of Zoroastrians, Case Study: Dasturān District in Yazd City. *Iran*, 1-15.

Kazemi, M. & Nazari, L. (2015). Studying the Effect of Schools Environment Architecture on Students Identity Formation in Iran High Schools. *International Journal of Architecture and Urban Development*, 5(3): 47-49

Arjomand Kermani, A. (2016). *Developing a framework for qualitative evaluation of urban interventions in Iranian historical cores* (Doctoral dissertation, Delft University of Technology).

Amighi, J. K. (1990). *The Zoroastrians of Iran: Conversion, Assimilation, or Persistence* (No. 3). Ams PressInc.

Khajepour, M., & Raoufi, Z. (2018). A Theoretical Approach to Restoration of Zoroastrian's Tower of Silence (Dakhma) in Iran (A Case study of Zoroastrian's tower of silence of Kerman). *BAGH-E NAZAR*, 15(61), 57-70.

Kiprop, J. (2017). Top Countries of The World by Zoroastrian Population. Available at: https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/top-countries-of-the-world-by-zoroastrian-population.html

Kofman, E., & Lebas, E. (1996). Lost in transposition–time, space and the city. *Writings on cities*, 3-60.

Krasnowolska, A. (2009). *Jashn-e Sadeh: Fire Festival*. The Circle of Ancient Iranian Studies. Online at: < https://www.cais-soas.com/CAIS/Celebrations/sadeh.htm>

Kunzmann, K. R. (2004). Culture, creativity and spatial planning. *The town planning review*, 383-404.

Landry, C. (1991). Out of Hours.

Landry, C. (2006). *The art of city-making*. Routledge.

Landry, C. (2012). *The creative city: A toolkit for urban innovators*. Earthscan.

Landry, C., Bianchini, F., Ebert, R., Gnad, F., & Kunzman, K. (1996). *The creative city in Britain and Germany* (Vol. 280). London: Anglo-German Foundation for the Study of Industrial Society.

Le Strange, G., & Nicholson, R. A. (2014). *Fārs-nāma of Ibnu l-Balkhī*. Gibb Memorial Trust.

Lefebvre, H. (2009). *State, space, world: Selected essays*. U of Minnesota Press.

Lefebvre, H. (2009). *Dialectical materialism*. U of Minnesota Press.

Lefebvre, H., & Nicholson-Smith, D. (1991). *The production of space* (Vol. 142). Blackwell: Oxford.

Lefebvre, H., Kofman, E., & Lebas, E. (1996). *Writings on cities* (Vol. 63). Oxford: Blackwell.

Lin, J., & Mele, C. (Eds.). (2012). *The urban sociology reader*. Routledge.

List of Fire Temples, (2020) The Parsi Directory.

Malcolm, N. (1905). *Five years in a Persian town*. Murray.

Mandegari, R. (2015). The Current Condition of Zoroastrian Neighborhood of Yazd. Available at: https://www.yazdinews.ir/13756/

Marans, R. W., & Stimson, R. J. (Eds.). (2011). *Investigating quality of urban life: Theory, methods, and empirical research* (Vol. 45). Springer Science & Business Media.

Marcuse, P. (2009). From critical urban theory to the right to the city. *City*, *13*(2-3), 185-197.

Marcuse, P. (2011). The Right to the Creative City. *Creative City Limits*.

Mark. J, (2020), Fire Temple, Ancient History Encyclopedia, Available at: <https://www.ancient.eu/Fire_Temple/>

Martins, M. R. (1982). The theory of social space in the work of Henri Lefebvre. *Forrest, R., Hendersen,[19]*.

Maserat, H. (2010). *Waqif and Donations for water storages in Yazd: Waqif the Sustainable Heritage*. No 63 P 60-76.

Mazdapour, K. (1995). *Vāža-nāma-ye guyeš-e behdinān-e šahr-e Yazd. Dictionary of Zoroastrians in Yazd*. Tehran: Institute for Humanities and Cultural Studies.

Mazdapour, K. (2008). *Red Flower Mark and Fourteen Chapters on Myth (Dāgh-e Gol-e Sorkh va 14 Goftar dar Bāre-yeOstoore)*. Tehran: Asaatir Press.

Mazdapour, Sh. (2017). The outfit of Zoroastrian Women. Amordad Weekly
    Newspaper. Online at: < https://www.pressreader.com/iran/amordad-weekly-
    newspaper/20170107/281706909366257>

Mazdāpur, K. (1995): *Zartoshtiyān. Tehrān*. Daftar-e Pazhuheshhā-ye Farhangi.

Mehr News Agency. (2014). This fire is burning for 1531 years. Available at:
    <https://www.mehrnews.com/news/2353148>

Mitchell, D. (2003). *The right to the city: Social justice and the fight for public space*.
    Guilford press.

Mordadian, E. (2018). Zoroastrian Schools in Yazd. Available at:
    <https://amordadnews.com/8483/>

Moulton, J. H. (1917). *The Treasure of the Magi: A Study of Modern
    Zoroastrianism* (Vol. 3). H. Milford, Oxford University Press.

Mussi, S. (2013). Rights of Religious Minorities and the Principle of Freedom of
    Religion and Belief: a Human Rights Assessment and the Case Study of the
    Islamic Republic of Iran.

Namiranian, R. (2015). The Current Condition of Zoroastrian Neighborhood of Yazd.
    Available at: https://www.yazdinews.ir/13756/

Nanji. A, Niozov. S, (2002). The Silk Road: Crossroads and Encounters of Faiths. Available at: <https://festival.si.edu/2002/the-silk-road/the-silk-road-crossroads-and-encounters-of-faith/smithsonian>

Niechciał, P. (2011). Constructing Zoroastrian identity in Muslim Iran. *Akta Fakulty Filozofické Západočeské Univerzity v Plzni*, (1).

Niknam, K. (2000). *Nowruz to Nowruz*. Fravahar Publications.Tehran.

Niknam, K. Hijab in Zoroastrianism. Online at: < http://www.kniknam.com/content/ ‏<درود-پوشش-و-حجاب-بانوان-در-دین-زرتشت-چگونه-است؟-چه-مقدار-باید-موها-پوشیده-شود>‏

Numrich. Zoroastrians, Encyclopedia of Chicago. Available at: <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/3626.html>

Palsetia, J. S. (2001). *The Parsis of India: preservation of identity in Bombay city* (Vol. 17). Brill.

Peterson, (2006), The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees (Bombay, 1922.) Part 3. Electronic edition. Available at: <http://www.avesta.org/ritual/rcc3.htm#part4> [Accessed September 2020]

Pratt, A. C. (2008). Creative cities: the cultural industries and the creative class. *Geografiska annaler: series B, human geography*, *90*(2), 107-117.

Purcell, M. (2002). Excavating Lefebvre: The right to the city and its urban politics of the inhabitant. *GeoJournal*, *58*(2), 99-108.

Purcell, M. (2005). Globalization, urban enfranchisement, and the right to the city: Towards an urban politics of the inhabitant. *Unpublished manuscript. Seattle: University of Washington*.

Purcell, M. (2008). Recapturing democracy. *New York: Routledge. Robinson, J.(2006) Ordinary Cities: Between Modernity and Development, London: Routledge. Sheller, M. and Urry, J.(2006) The new mobilities paradigm, Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, *38*, 207226.

Radiofarda, (2010). What Future for Zoroastrian Society in Iran. Available at: <https://www.radiofarda.com/a/f12_zoroastrians_in_iran_what_future_in_the _homeland/2326257.html>

Rastegar, R., Zarezadeh, Z., & Gretzel, U. (2021). World heritage and social justice: Insights from the inscription of Yazd, Iran. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *29*(2-3), 521-540.

Redaelli, E. (2011). Analyzing the "creative city" governance: Relational processes in Columbus, Ohio. *City, Culture and Society*, *2*(2), 85-91.

Rehman, J. (2017). Accommodating religious identities in an Islamic state: international law, freedom of religion and the rights of religious minorities. In *International Law and Islamic Law* (pp. 571-597). Routledge.

Ringer, M. M. (2011). *Pious citizens: reforming Zoroastrianism in India and Iran*. Syracuse University Press.

Riventa, R. (1990). Zoroastrians, Followers of an ancient faith in a modern world. FEZANA flyer.

Rose. J, (2019). Zoroastrianism from the early modern period. Available at: <https://www.bl.uk/sacred-texts/articles/zoroastrianism-from-the-early-modern-period>

Roshan, R. (2005). FEZANA Publication Committee (2nd edition).

Roshan. R (2012). The Zoroastrian World A 2012 Demographic Picture. Available at: <www.Fezana.org>

Rostami, N. (2015). The Current Condition of Zoroastrian Neighborhood of Yazd. Available at: https://www.yazdinews.ir/13756/

Rouhani, B. (2009, May). Different Concepts of Cultural Heritage in Iran. In *International Conference on Intangible Heritage-Sharing Culture* (Vol. 29, pp. 593-602).

Sanasarian, E. (2000). *Religious minorities in Iran* (Vol. 13). Cambridge University Press.

Schoff, W. (1914). Parthian Stations By Isidore ofCharax. *Philadelphia, 1914Schoff10Parthian Stations by Isidore of Charax1914*, 10-11.

Sennett, R. (1989). The Civitas of Seeing [The Mayors Institute on City Design]. *Places*, 5(4).

Sepehrifar, S. (2015). Legal Rights of Minorities in Constitution of Iran. *Studies of Islamic Human Rights*, 6th Edition. Available at: http://ensani.ir/fa/article/344987

Shabahang, M. UNESCO: Nowruz Celebrating New Year on the Silk Road. Available at: <https://en.unesco.org/silkroad/content/nowruz-celebrating-new-year-silk-roads>

Shahmardan, R. (1951). Farzanegan-e Zartoshti.

Shahriari, (2020). Amordad News. Available at: < https://amordadnews.com/38987/>

Shaked, S. (1970, January). Eschatology and the Goal of the Religious life in Sasanian Zoroastrianism. In *Types of Redemption. Contributions to the Theme of the Study-Conference Held at Jerusalem 14th to 19th July 1968* (pp. 223-230). Brill.

Skjærvø, P. O. (2011). *The spirit of Zoroastrianism*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Skjærvø, P. O. (2014). *Achaemenid Religion*. Religion Compass, 8(6), 175-187.

Soroushian, M. (2003). *Fire Within* (Vol. 2). AuthorHouse.

Sorušiān, J.S. (1978) *Farhang-e behdinān*, Tehran.

Stausberg, M. (2012). From power to powerlessness: Zoroastrianism in Iranian history. In *Religious Minorities in the Middle East* (pp. 171-193). Brill.

Stewart, S. (2020). *Voices from Zoroastrian Iran: Oral Texts and Testimony: Volume 2: Urban and Rural Centres: Yazd and Outlying Villages*. Harrassowitz Verlag.

Strauss, M. (2017). *A right to the city for South Africa's urban poor* (Doctoral dissertation, Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University).

Sugranyes, A., & Mathivet, C. (2010). Cities for All: Proposals and Experiences towards the Right to the City. Santiago, Chile: Habitat International Coalition.

Suren-Pahlav, S. (2000) *An Introduction to Daenâ Vanuhi*. The Good Religion of Asho Zarathushtra.

Sykes, P. M. (1902). *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia: Or, Eight Years in Irán*. London: J. Murray.

Talebian, M.H. (2018). *Historic City of Yazd*. Available at: <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5bf14ede2487fd867a2dca91/t/5d5dd21fa0a458000194a760/1566429763069/FINAL-Historic+City+of+Yazd.pdf>

TehranTimes, 2018. Available at: <https://www.tehrantimes.com/news/427638/Iran-seeks-to-nominate-Yazd-as-UNESCO-Creative-City>

Tessmann, A. (2015). *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Zoroastrianism* (Vol. 68). John Wiley & Sons.

The Circle of Ancient Iranian Studies, *THE STORY OF SIYÂWASH*, Available at: <https://www.cais-soas.com/CAIS/Literature/Shahnameh/siyawash.htm>

The Holy Quran. 9:29.

The Zend-Avesta: The Vendīdād (Collection ofZoroastrian Laws).

The Zoroastrian Trust Funds of Europe, (2011). Available at: <http://www.ztfe.com/other-publications.html>

Thomson R, (1868). *Report by Mr. Thomson, Her Majesty's Secretary of Legation, on the Population, Revenue, Military Force, and Trade of Persia*, Tehran, U.K. House of Commons, Parliamentary Papers LXIX, 1867-68.

Thulaja, Parsi Road. Available at: <https://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/infopedia/articles/SIP_281_2005-01-26.html>

UNESCO, (2017). Historic City of Yazd: Advisory Body Evaluation. Available at:
<https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1544/documents/ >

UNESCO, 2003. UNESCO Convention for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage.

UNESCO, UCCN. Available at: https://en.unesco.org/creative-cities/content/about-us

UNESCO. (2017). Historic City of Yazd. Available at:
<https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1544/>

Vazini Afzal, M. (2019). The Influence of the Modernist Strategies in Pahlavi Period
on Urban Historic Quarters. *Seasonal Journal of Alzahra University, History
of Islam and Iran, No 42, 173-192*. DOI: 10.22051/hii.2019.20044.1628

Williams Jackson, A. V. (1906). Persia, past and present. A Book of Travel and
Research.

WIPO, Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Available at:
https://www.wipo.int/edocs/lexdocs/laws/en/ir/ir001en.pdf

Wisner, B., Blaikie, P., Blaikie, P. M., Cannon, T., & Davis, I. (2004). At risk: natural
hazards, people's vulnerability and disasters. Psychology Press.

World Charter on the Right to the City, 2004. Available at:
<https://www.hlrn.org.in/documents/World_Charter_on_the_Right_to_the_C
ity.htm>

World Heritage Encyclopedia. Zoroastrian Festivals. Available at:

    <http://self.gutenberg.org/articles/Zoroastrian_festivals>

Yamamoto, Y. (1979). The Zoroastrian Temple Cult of Fire in Archaeology and

    Literature (I). *Orient*, *15*, 19-53_8.

Yazd Provincial Government Webpage. About Yazd. Available at:

    https://yazd.gov.ir/معرفی-شهرستان

Yazd Scout, (2020). About the History of Yazd's Name. Available at:

    https://yazdscout.ir/پیشینه-نام-یزد

Yencken, D. (1988). The creative city. *Meanjin*, *47*(4), 597-608.

Yeroushalmi, D. (2008). The Jews of Iran in the Nineteenth Century: Aspects of

    History, Community, and Culture. Brill.

Young, I. M. (2011). *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton University Press.

Zoroastrian Association of Metropolitan Washington, About Zoroastrianism.

    Available at: <https://zamwi.org/zoroastrianism/>

Heritage Institute, Zoroastrian Demographic. Available at:

    http://www.heritageinstitute.com/zoroastrianism/demographics/

Zoroastrianism Timeline. (n.d.). Available at:

    <https://www.ancient.eu/timeline/Zoroastrianism/>

URL 1. https://cdn.bartarinha.ir/files/fa/news/1398/6/11/2143588_764.jpg

URL 2. https://blog.termehtravel.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/torres-do-
silc3aancio.jpg

URL 3. https://www.ancient-origins.net/sites/default/files/field/image/Zoroastrian-
funerary-site-Tower-of-Silence.jpg

URL 4. http://cdn.bartarinha.ir/files/fa/news/1397/1/26/1639196_541.jpg

URL 5. https://media.springernature.com/original/springer-
static/image/chp%3A10.1007%2F978-94-024-0957-
4_1/MediaObjects/330568_1_En_1_Fig3_HTML.gif

URL 6.
https://safarmarket.com/blog/data/uploaded_files/0d486458e47dcca1f27b93f
1

URL 7.
https://safarmarket.com/blog/data/uploaded_files/61332658f8a975dd4dff4d3
a

URL 8. https://yazdnews.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/6-6.jpg

URL 9. https://s4.picofile.com/file/7794175913/9920_134small.jpg

URL 10. https://aoapedia.ir/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/IMG_0163_tonemapped.jpg

URL 11. https://www.kojaro.com/attraction/8665

URL 12. https://britishlibrary.typepad.co.uk/.a/6a00d8341c464853ef0191047ac56f970c-580 wi

URL 13. https://s.iranantiq.com/images/articles/handycraft/nasajisonati/zartoshtidoozi/lebas-zartoshtian.jpg

URL 14. https://adyannews.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/23-1.jpg

URL 15. https://amordadnews.com/media/baygani/05/mehregan/photo_2017-09-25_12-42-39.jpg

URL 16. https://amordadnews.com/media/1397/02/11030199/8.jpg

URL 17. https://static.dw.com/image/17567943_303.jpg

URL 18. https://static.dw.com/image/17567944_303.jpg

URL 19. https://static.dw.com/image/17567954_303.jpg

URL 20. https://static.dw.com/image/17567937_303.jpg

URL 21.

https://media.mehrnews.com/d/2017/01/30/4/2358484.jpg?ts=148646204739

URL 22. https://irangard.com/mag/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/Sadeh-Celebration-
1000x670.jpg

URL 23. https://irantourismnews.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Yazd-
UNESCO.jpg

URL 24. http://www.persiantourismguide.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Historic-
City-of-Yazd-7.jpg

URL 25. https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1544/multiple=1&unique_number=2148

URL 26. https://www.chamedanmag.com/news/212205

URL 27. https://samair.ir/wp-content/uploads/news/1397/11/23/50935_132.jpg

URL 28. https://www.cgie.org.ir/uploads/news/2018/7/2(16).jpg

URL 29. http://sabatfestival.com/public/custom/files/blog/sabat.jpg