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The Farahzad Neighbourhood of Tehran: Land Use Transition in the City Periphery

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Abstract: Since the 1960s, Iran's major cities have experienced significant migration from the country's rural areas and from other nations. Although many urban planning and design concepts can be traced back to Iran, the country's planning machinery has failed to effectively regulate urban growth, notably in the city peripheries, where land use has changed radically as semi-rural areas have been developed in a haphazard fashion with scant adherence to existing plans and planning regulations. Farahzad is one such area in the urban periphery of Tehran, where a range of sub-standard dwellings have been built, and urban services are deficient in many regards. This article examines how the urban landscape has evolved, how the resident population has grown, and the nature of the social and economic issues that persist today. The research method combines an analysis of the extant literature and local authority documentation, images developed from GIS data, and first-hand interviews with local practitioners to explore the growth of the neighbourhood in recent decades and assess the current problems confronting both residents and local authorities. The novelty of this article lies in the use of GIS-generated images and urban fabric classifications to assess the growth of the neighbourhood since the turn of century, during which time the planning machinery has generally failed to provide an adequate framework for development in this area of the Tehran urban periphery. Indeed, findings suggest that land use zoning has played little part in guiding or controlling urban development in Farahzad, and that identifying urban fabrics may prove a useful way of assessing socio-economic and physical development needs in such circumstances. This article makes a small contribution to our understanding of the change dynamics in a peripheral neighbourhood of a major city in the developing world.

Keywords: urban periphery; urban fabric; urban planning; informal housing; social deprivation; poverty; local plans

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1. Introduction

As in many other developing countries, Iran has experienced significant migration from rural to urban areas, which has impacted the scale and nature of city development [1]. Since the land reforms of the 1960s, mass country–city migration has seen the nation's capital, Tehran, expand its population to 9.6 million in 2024, with consequent pressure on the supply of housing, services and infrastructure. This study focuses on the manifestation of these problems in Farahzad, a neighbourhood in the periphery of the capital city. The primary objective is to examine land use changes in the neighbourhood and assess the

current issues facing the resident population. Tehran exemplifies the challenges and problems associated with rapid urban growth in developing world environments, including major flaws in urban planning and control mechanisms, excessive traffic from gasoline-powered vehicles, a high number of factories in built-up areas, and a shortage of green spaces. These factors have contributed to the creation of a range of development and environmental issues. District 2 of Tehran, in which Farahzad is located, encompasses 10% of the city area and is a mixed zone of residential and business land uses, interspersed with a variety of green zones. Rapid urbanisation has significantly impacted the ecological assets of the river valleys that run through the district, and highway expansion and uncontrolled dwelling construction have exacerbated these problems. As such, Farahzad, in the northern part of the district and on the very edge of the city as a whole, represents a microcosm of many of the ills that confront the residents and public officials in the urban peripheries of major cities in the developing world.

The study of land use transition enhances our understanding of human–environment interactions, which can underpin more effective solutions to socio-economic and environmental challenges. Such research can provide valuable insights for urban planning and environmental management, facilitating alignment with regional development goals [2]. For example, in their study of the urban periphery in Greater Cairo (GC), Salem et al. [3] concluded "the study found a development gap between the urban periphery and the main urban agglomeration in GC, particularly in the infrastructure aspect. These results highlight the deficiencies that exist in the urban periphery of GC which help decision-makers to prepare appropriate policies to improve SD [sustainable development] in such territory" (p. 971).

Nevertheless, there are relatively few studies that explore the change dynamics in the urban peripheries of developing world cities. Meth et al. [4], in the context of major conurbations in Africa, noted "the edges of cities are increasingly understood as places of dynamism and change, but there is little research on African urban peripheries, the nature of building, growth, investment and decline that is shaping them and how these are lived" (para. 1). There is, however, an increasing recognition across urban science disciplines of the significance of the urban periphery as a focus for academic research, as opposed to the city centre. Ren [5], for example, notes "a century after the invention of urban sociology, the paradigm of urban studies has been inverted, with the 'periphery' taking centre stage for urban inquiry" (p. 1), and that, in research of peripheral development in Indian cities, "based on mixed methods—historical analysis, oral history, ethnography, quantitative analyses, and visual documentation—these studies spotlight the incompleteness of city-making on the urban edge" (p. 2).

Here, with a focus on Iran—a major developing country in Asia—this article discusses the growth of the Farahzad neighbourhood in the periphery of the nation's capital city in recent decades and examines the role of urban planning in this change process. Immigration since the turn of the century—from both within Iran and from outside—has resulted in the growth of informal settlements in the neighbourhood, including self-built shanties made of clay and straw. In 2011, the total population of informal settlers in the Tehran province was estimated at 446,781 people in 50 main shanty settlements, covering an area of 5366 hectares [6]. Such developments in the urban periphery are found in many parts of the world, as cities have struggled to accommodate immigrant families through planned housing provision [7]. Atkinson [8] (para. 62) notes that "vulnerable groups have been impacted by poor planning in formal housing, such that no amount of reform or infill efforts could address the need for existing populations, much less the rapid influx of groups from other areas into the fringes of urban regions". More specifically, Rasoolimanesh et al. [9] (p. 220), in their study of the planning system in Iran, noted that "contemporary

urban planning and management suffers from many defects such as lack of stakeholder's participation, the existence of diverse organizations in the process of urban management without proper coordination and responsible mechanisms". They also highlighted "the necessity of replacement of existing planning system by an innovative and participatory planning approach".

The research problem centres on understanding the dynamics of urban change in Farahzad, specifically on how informal settlements and immigration impact land use transitions, and the actual and potential role of urban planning in managing this change. There is a relative dearth of studies focusing on the interaction between land use change, population growth, and urban planning in developing world cities, and in this context, this article addresses the following research questions (RQs):

RQ1. How has Farahzad developed since the turn of the century and what types of urban fabric are now in existence?

RQ2. What are the socio-economic problems currently evident in Farahzad and how can urban planning aid their resolution?

Following this introduction, Section 2 examines the relevant literature and background information to the study. Section 3 then outlines the research methodology. In Section 4, the results are presented, directly addressing the two research questions set out above. In Section 5, some relevant issues emerging from the results are discussed. Finally, Section 6 provides a conclusion to the study, noting its limitations and pointing out possible future areas for research in this field of study.

2. The Relevant Literature and the Planning and Development Context

Tehran is divided into 22 districts, 123 areas, and 355 neighbourhoods, providing the administrative framework for urban governance and planning in the city. The functional zoning of the city of Tehran is embodied in the master (or comprehensive) plan of Tehran (Figure 1), approved in 2006 [10], which is the main document for guiding and controlling urban development and monitoring construction in the city. There are four main land use classifications: residential, commercial/business activity, mixed, and protected areas. Each of these classifications has its own characteristics and uses. Residential zones (yellow in Figure 1) are the most common zonings in Tehran, comprising housing, schools, and associated infrastructure. Commercial/business activity zones (red) are intended for uses such as offices, shops, and factories. Mixed zones (orange) combine residential, commercial/business activity, and other uses. They are often found in areas that are undergoing rapid development. In the case of the Tehran municipality, although the zonings are based on these four main land use classifications, there are also sub-zones within these four classifications, each with its distinct set of guidelines and colour differentiation on the plan. For instance, residential zones, which are marked in yellow in general, encompass a range of shades from light to dark yellow. Dark yellow on the plan indicates a special residential zone in the central city areas. There are also areas demarcated for industry, shown in mauve in Figure 1.

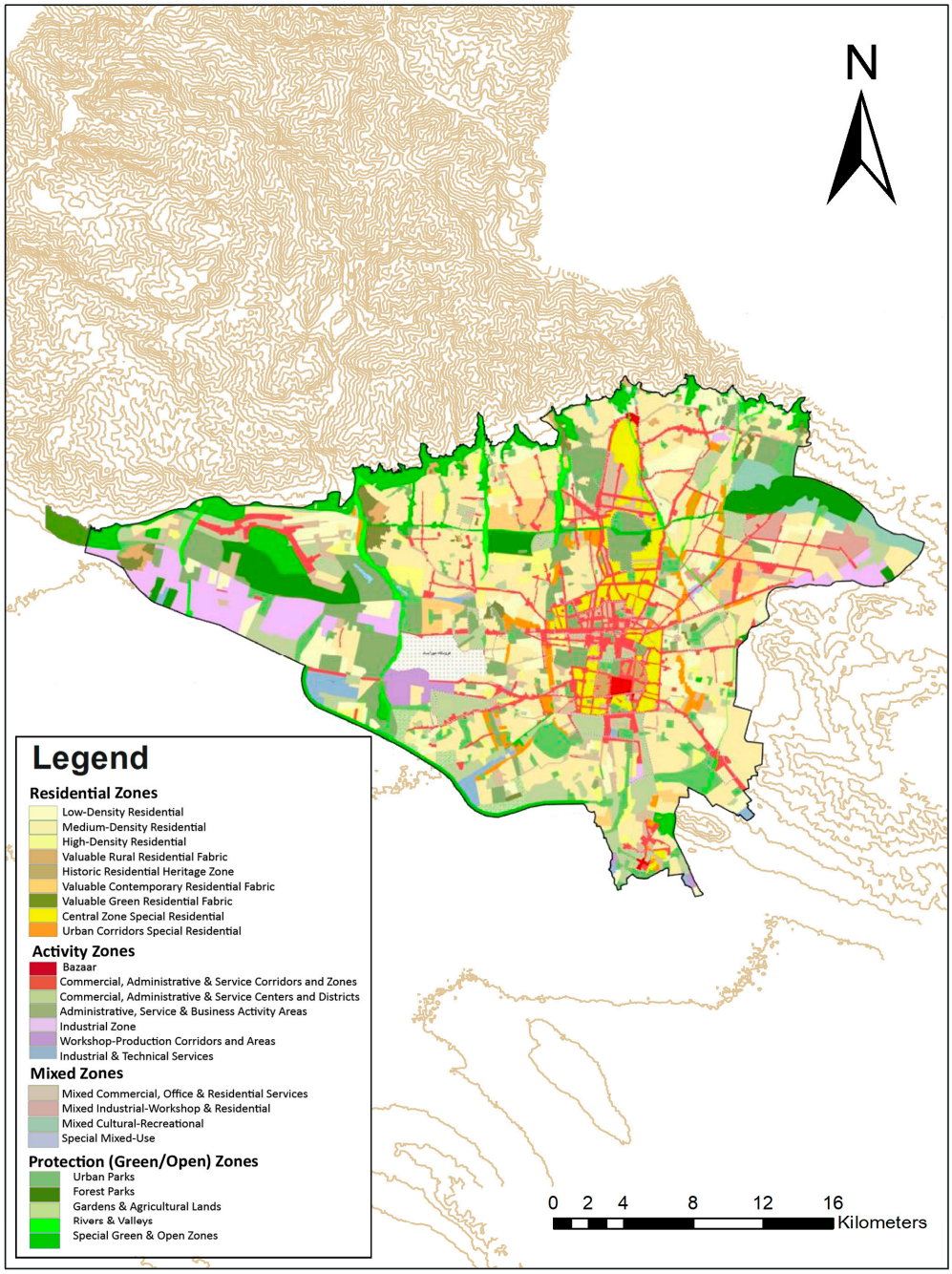

Figure 1. Land use zoning in the Tehran master plan. Source: Tehran municipality [10].

This zoning is intended to provide the framework for a variety of housing and employment initiatives. At the same time, the protected zones are designed to protect the city's natural and cultural resources (green), including parks, forests, and agricultural lands. As recently noted by Mansourihanis et al. [11], "land-use planning stands as a pivotal instrument for achieving the orderly, efficient, and sustainable physical evolution of cities and regions" (p. 1). However, all too often in the developing world [12], and indeed in some parts of Europe [13], urban planning has not played an effective role in guiding and controlling growth in the urban periphery. Indeed, Mohammadi [14], in his review of the master plans in Iran's main cities, concluded that "the master city plans in Iran have many shortcomings, in the various stages as well as the implementation", but that "these plans are still prepared and executed" (p. 1).

In addition to master plans, there are also detailed level plans. The master plan is a long-term plan in which land use with appropriate zonings is specified according to strategic and development priorities, as in the Tehran master plan. A detailed plan is prepared based on the rules and criteria of the urban master plan for the particular area and specifies development details such as population density and construction layout, local level transportation infrastructure, and improvement and renovation schemes. The detailed plans are at the district level (e.g., District 2 in Tehran) and complement the master plan of the city. These two types of plan have noticeable differences in the scale of the maps and method of preparation. The master plan aims to meet the needs for development in a 10-year period, with scales of 1:5000 or 1:10,000. Detailed plans are generally prepared based on geographic information system (GIS) data, with a scale of 1:2000. In theory, detailed plans should be prepared by the Ministry of Roads and Urban Development, but in practice they are often prepared by the municipality and sent to the city council, who first verify alignment with the master plan. The detailed plan is then submitted to the "Article 5 Commission", a body within the Supreme Council of Urban Planning and Architecture of Iran, for approval. There is also scope for the provision of local plans, which indicate how the detailed plan can be implemented in terms of road infrastructure, services provision, site parameters, etc., at the neighbourhood level [9].

One result of the inadequacy of these urban planning mechanisms in Iran is that it is difficult to measure and assess their efficacy in controlling urban development in any detail—they have, in many cases, become removed from the real urban growth process. This has parallels in other studies of peripheral urban growth in developing world cities. For example, Salazar Tamayo and Julio Estrada [15], in their study of the causes of the low quality of the urban environment in the periphery of five Columbian cities, identify the weakness of local authorities as a major contributing factor. They concluded that "the findings reveal that local authorities lack the capabilities to manage urban growth and deliver sustainable urban development. This is leading to poor outcomes: low planning standards, urban informality and inefficient land use" (p. 725). Indeed, this is pinpointed by Angel [16], who, in taking a wider perspective, concludes "in recent decades, most population growth has been accommodated through urban expansion. In the Global South, where most urban population growth now takes place, urban expansion occurs in a haphazard, unplanned manner, making cities less productive, less inclusive, less resilient, and less sustainable" (p. 124). Some researchers see the resultant landscape in the city periphery as "periurban areas", which Cruz-Bello et al. [17] define as "transition zones where urban and rural activities overlap and where rural landscape characteristics are quickly modified by industrial, commercial or residential land uses" (p. 2). Other authors see this as "urban sprawl" which Kumar Sinha [18] defines as "a form of urban development which is generally characterized by haphazard, uncontrolled, uncoordinated, unplanned or poorly planned expansion of low-density urban land-use into agricultural lands adjacent to city" (p. 1). Although there are slight differences in meaning and context, and their nature differs in developed as compared with developing world cities [18], peri-urbanisation and urban sprawl can be viewed as synonymous.

Some scholars have turned to other means of assessing changes in development in the urban periphery. Muñiz [19], in his review of concepts and terminology used in the context of the urban periphery, concluded that "the 'urban' has historically been delimited with accuracy, often as an administrative or statistical unit. Yet nowadays, complex urban regions overcome these boundaries and show a shape that is difficult to delimit. Therefore, the analysis of contemporary urban forms should be released from those limits" (p. 250). In this context, Sarvari et al. [20] studied peripheral urban areas in the cities of developing countries, notably poor-quality residential zones with a lack of basic services, and termed

these urban areas "worn-out urban fabrics" (WoUFs). In their study of WoUFs in Iran, they conclude that "urban regeneration of WoUFs is one of the main challenges that cities and inhabitants are facing, especially in developing countries where urban regeneration represents the principal means for improving the quality of life of residents and provides the minimum conditions to ensure a decent living" (p. 1). Typically, WoUFs are characterised by socio-economic problems, often associated with an increase in the migrant population of the area, poor environmental quality, architectural vulnerability and accessibility problems, as evidenced by an acute shortage of urban public services. A contrasting approach has been developed by Jahani and Barghjelveh [21]. In their study of the Farahzad valley, they propose "a classification system, based on the energy-information fluxes within organizational levels and through the heterogeneity of the landscape" (para. 1).

The urban fabric of an area can be conceptualised as its physical characteristics, including the streetscapes, buildings, landscaping, roads and other infrastructure. Lynch [22] took "fabric", "density", and "accessibility" as the main characteristics to define urban space, and argued that fabric was an effective tool for reflecting overall morphological characteristics, asserting that fineness and degree of uniformity were important aspects of urban fabric. However, Li et al. [23] argued that urban fabric not only reflects the physical characteristics of environmental structure, but also embodies social and economic relationships, and that the nature of land use, land value, construction intensity, and spatial density can also be considered in urban fabric studies. Thomson and Newman [24] further suggest that some urban fabrics have inherently more sustainable properties that need to be optimised and extended to other parts of an urban area. So, several different types of urban fabric can be identified, with WoUFs, discussed above, being just one type of urban fabric. Here, the evolution of the urban fabric in Farahzad is studied, taking its broader definition to include environmental and social aspects [25], as well as physical structure.

A number of existing studies put forward measures and proposals for addressing the socio-economic problems that are characteristic of many urban peripheries. For example, Portnov and Pearlmutter [26] concluded that "an increase of the economic potential of peripheral areas" could be achieved through a combination of measures, including "stricter land use regulation", "improvement in the means of transportation and expansion of existing transport networks", "promotion of, and support for, telecommunication development", and "development of a progressive system of investment incentives" (p. 305). An example of this in practice in the global south is in Baghdad, where the Arab Urban Development Institute [27] reported "urban sprawl directly affects the level of public services that the State can provide to the city's residents", but that the "city has taken several measures to ensure the provision of basic services to these new urban areas", which included "the rapid development of infrastructures into these areas, the establishment of planning regulations for the growing neighborhoods and dealing with the informal settlements within them" (para. 4).

Further studies of Farahzad include one by Salehi Komamardakhi et al. [28], who aimed to develop environmental quality strategies in informal settlements in the neighbourhood through a participatory approach, and Kheiroddin et al. [29], who suggest empowering the residents of informal settlements in the area by moving from a need-based to an asset-based approach. These studies provide some useful perspectives on the current situation in Farahzad, but none of them assess how and why the neighbourhood has developed in recent decades, or confront the resultant array of socio-economic issues that planning has failed to address. The Farahzad neighbourhood spans 136 hectares with almost 20,000 inhabitants [30] and is located in District 2 on the northern margins of the city (Figure 2). It is bounded by the Alborz Mountains to the north, the Yadegar-e

Emam Expressway to the south, and the Farahzad River to the west. To the east, modern apartment blocks have been built towards the neighbourhood's administrative boundary.

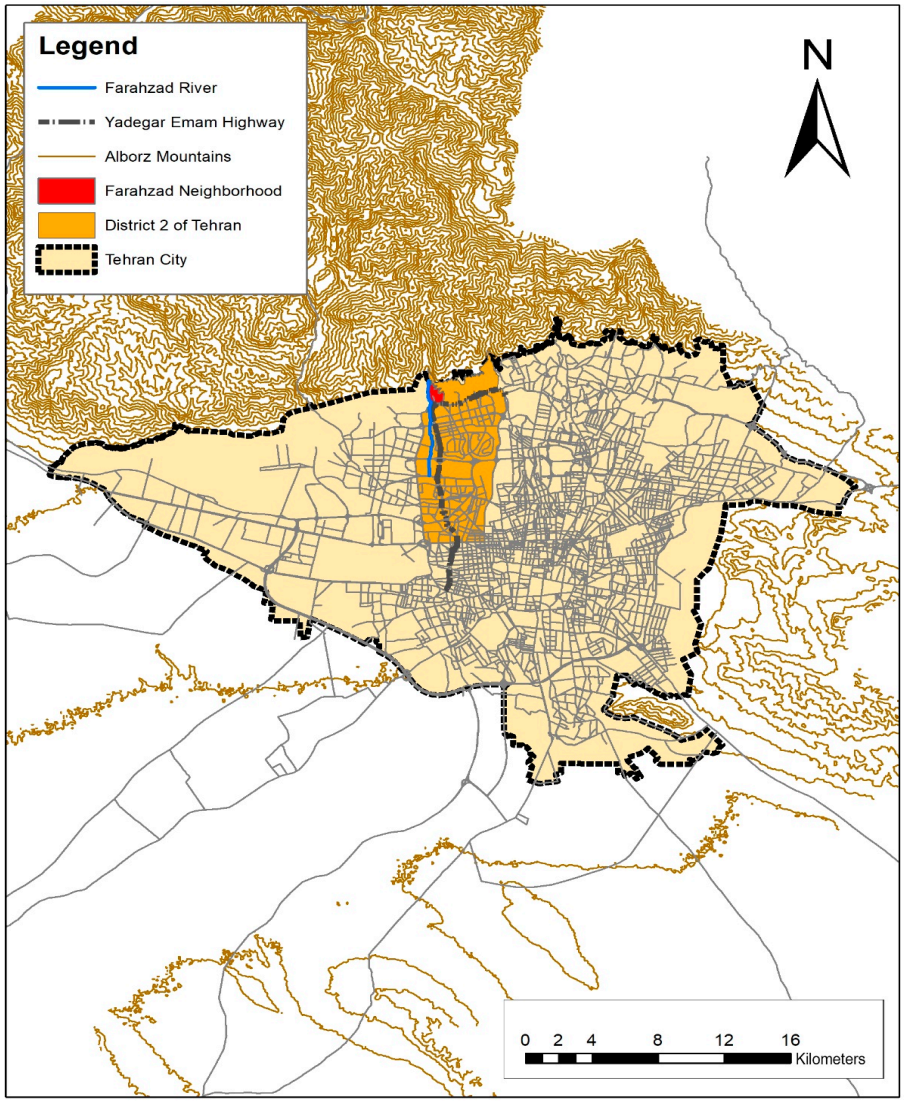

Figure 2. Location of the Farahzad neighbourhood in District 2 of Tehran municipality (2024). Source: authors, based on data from Tehran municipality.

3. Research Method

The Farahzad neighbourhood was selected as a case study of the problems encountered in balancing population growth and residential livability in the Tehran periphery. Farahzad provides a snapshot of the spatial mismatches between incompatible land uses as the neighbourhood has been impacted by the rapid growth of Tehran. It also provides an opportunity to assess the current landscape in terms of urban fabrics rather than land use zonings.

This research is based on an interpretivist philosophy and an inductive, qualitative approach. This is in line with Gill and Johnson's [31] assertion that an inductive approach is best suited to research in which the aim is to explore a study area and develop an explanation of the phenomenon being studied. There were three main phases in the research process (Figure 3). Firstly, a narrative synthesis was undertaken to identify key concepts and develop the research questions for the study, reported above in Section 1. A narrative synthesis can look at multiple sources and provide a summary overview of the

subject matter. It can involve a "broad scan of contextual literature" through which "topical relationships, research trends, and complementary capabilities can be discovered" [32] (p. 351). Various academic databases, including Science Direct, IEEE Xplore, and Google Scholar, were used to search for relevant sources, and the master plan for Tehran and associated documents were assessed.

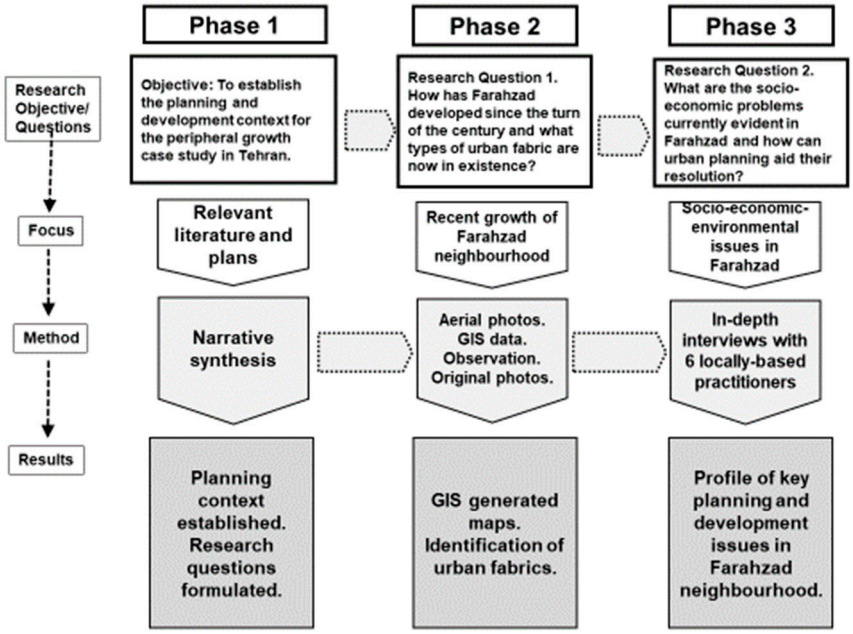

Figure 3. The 3 phases in the research process.

Secondly, relevant documents, aerial photo images, plans and projects for Tehran municipality's District 2, particularly the Farahzad neighbourhood, were located and studied. The availability of diverse data sources and models offers various approaches for measuring socio-ecological change [2]. Here, documents were obtained from online sources and from Tehran Municipality, and data for each map were gathered from relevant departments and organisations, such as the municipality and the Statistical Center of Iran, dated to 2023. The data were then analysed using GIS software, and appropriate maps were prepared.

Thirdly, a questionnaire (see Appendix A) was developed to elicit from interviewees (Table 1) relevant information regarding land use change and socio-economic issues in the Farahzad neighbourhood. Interviewees were drawn from a combination of public and private bodies that provided a cross-section of perspectives and experience of relevant activities and issues in Farahzad. The Farahzad council is the local public authority and includes an urban development department, with the interviewee (P1) having been its head in previous years. The Neighbourhood Development Office ("Shorayari") (P2) is a local, community-based arm of an organisation established in Iran in 2000 as part of an urban management reforms programme. These organisations serve as a platform for public participation, helping to identify local issues and facilitate communication between the community and municipal authorities, and have been active in various neighborhoods across Tehran and other major cities in the country. The Tehran city council includes council members at District level, and the interviewee (P3) has responsibility over planning and supervising the implementation of urban and architectural projects in the district. The Mehro Mah Institute (P4) operates as a non-governmental organisation (NGO) and is funded primarily through community support, relying on private donations and the public to sustain its activities, which are focused on educational activities for women and

children. The Imam Ali Community Institute (P5) was founded in 1999 and operates as an independent, non-political NGO, with the aim of identifying and supporting families experiencing financial hardship. One major issue they face is drug addiction among parents. It is primarily funded through private benefactors and micro-donations from a large number of individuals and students. The Rooyesh-e Nahal (Young Seedlings Growing) Institute (P6) is an independent, non-political NGO, with the main goal being to reduce social harm in the neighbourhood, especially through providing services to child labourers.

Table 1. Interviewee profiles.

Code	Affiliation	Role/Title	Experience
P1	Farahzad municipality	Advisor to Mayor	Mayor's advisor for more than 5 years and former head of the Farahzad Urban Development Department.
P2	Neighbourhood Development Office	Director	10 years of experience working in the organisation (now the Director)
P3	Tehran City Council	Council member for District 2	4 years of experience in Tehran city council
P4	Mehr o Mah Institute	Director	Office manager for the past three years
P5	Imam Ali Community Institute	Citizen Support Officer	1 year of experience working in the association
P6	Rooyesh-e Nahal Institute	Board member	Manager director for past 15 years

The questions were answered through face-to-face interviews with the officials shown in Table 1. Data were collected in the period from December 2023 to May 2024. The responses were then analysed to identify issues and activity patterns in Farahzad. Since the interviewees were not proficient in English, the questions were asked in Persian. The interview transcripts were translated into English by two of the authors who are fluent in both Persian and English. They were then cross-checked by the two authors themselves. Google translate was also used and compared with the translated versions to see if amendments were appropriate to avoid any possible bias. The interviews were semi-structured, having the characteristics of both structured and unstructured interviews [33]. Semi-structured interviews were judged to be the most appropriate means of obtaining qualitative data with the highest possible level of knowledge being acquired in a flexible manner. As the interview progresses, the interviewee has the opportunity to elaborate or provide more relevant information as appropriate. The authors considered six in-depth interviews with experienced officials from diverse backgrounds to be enough to allow the development of new material to address the research questions. This is supported by Guest et al. [34], who found that "basic elements for meta themes were present as early as six interviews" (p. 59), and the authors took the view that "theoretical saturation", which Flick [35] (p. 429) defines as "the judgment that there is no need to collect further data" had been achieved.

All interviews took a minimum of one hour and some went beyond the two-hour mark. The quotations contained in the sections below are taken from the questionnaire and appended notes added in the interviews, which were recorded and subsequently searched for additional relevant material and quotations to address RQ2 and identify emerging themes. Studying the neighbourhood's lifestyle and activity patterns and tracking them over time assisted the researchers in achieving this goal. The analysis of the interview material provided a snapshot of the socio-economic challenges confronting residents and public authorities in the Farahzad neighbourhood.

4. Results

4.1. RQ1. How Has Farahzad Developed Since the Turn of the Century and What Types of Urban Fabric Are Now in Existence?

The Farahzad neighbourhood was largely untouched by urban expansion until the late 1960s. Aerial photographs from the 1970s and earlier show that residential buildings

were limited to the Farahzad villages and hamlets, and most of the lands were dedicated to agriculture and orchards. It was not until the late 1960s that construction in the southern parts of the area began to encroach on the village lands. In the mid-1970s, the passing of a new law facilitating the building of residential complexes produced an increase in new housing development, but this was often unplanned and haphazard in nature, lacking adequate service provision and leading to the destruction of natural spaces.

The detailed plan for District 2 indicates a mix of land zone classifications for the Farahzad neighbourhood (Figure 4 and Table 2). As regards residential zoning, the neighbourhood includes zones of differing densities and environments (R111, R112, and R231), with zone R112 (three-storey low-density residential) covering the largest area in terms of allocated space. The village areas and a significant portion of old Farahzad are classified as R231 (contemporary valuable residential fabric). The activity zones (S112 and S214) are to the south and south-east, and include some lands currently vacant and unoccupied, plus a multi-story car park under construction. However, the main band of commercial/business zoning (S214) encompasses the lower section of Emamzadeh Davood street, stretching from the lower boundary of the Yadegar-e Emam Expressway into the Farahzad neighbourhood. To the north of this commercial central strip is a mixed zone of business and residential uses (M113), including commercial and office units, within residential areas, between Farahzad Square and Emamzadeh Davood street. Finally, the protected zones include the river valley to the west (G311), the northern limits in the foothills of the mountains and two parks within the neighbourhood at Golepaad (G111).

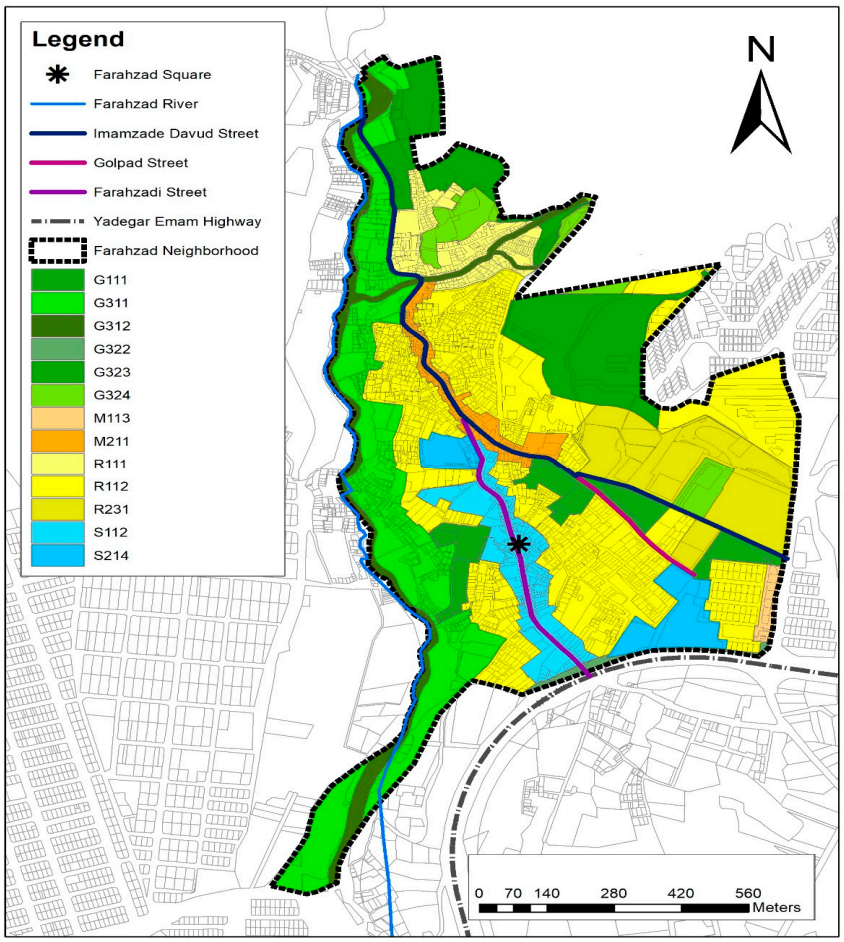

Figure 4. District 2 detailed plan: land zone classifications in Farahzad (indicating the sub-zone codes—see Table 2). Source: authors, based on [36].

Table 2. Farahzad land use zones and codes.

Macro Zones	Code	Main Zones	Sub-Code	Sub-Zones	Sub-Sub-Code	Specifications
Residential (R)	R1	General Residential	R11	Low Density Residential	R111	Villa Residential and Two-Storey Residential
					R112	Three Story Residential
	R2	Special Residential	R23	Contemporary Valuable Residential Fabric	R231	Contemporary Valuable Residential Fabric
Activity (S)	S1	Commercial, Administrative, Services	S11	Market (Commercial, Service, Cultural)	S112	Commercial and Service Corridors/Areas
	S2	Commercial/Admin Centres (Green/ Open Dominance)	S21	Commercial, Administrative, Service Areas/Centres	S214	Regional and Neighbourhood-Scale Functions
Mixed (M)	M1	Activity with Residential	M11	Mixed Commercial, Administrative, and Services with Residential	M113	Sub-Regional Mixed Axes (Regional/Neighbourhood)
	M2	Cultural & Tourism (Min. Residential)	M21	Cultural- Recreational Mixed	M211	Mixed with Service Dominance (Cultural/Artistic Focus)
Protection (Green and Open) (G)	G1	Public Green Space	G11	Urban Parks	G111	Urban Public Parks
	G3	Green and Open (Special Protection)	G31	River Valleys	G311	Recreational Garden-River Valley
					G312	Green Spaces of River Valleys
			G32	Special Green and Open Zones	G322	Special Highway Protection Zones
					G323 G324	Special Protection Zones (Between City Physical Boundary and City Limit)

This current situation on the ground largely reflects the land zoning in the district plan, although there are some discrepancies and contraventions of these land use classifications. The main area of agricultural land use, in the northern part of the neighbourhood, is in an area appropriately classified as a special green and open zone (G323). Nearly all the vacant land (in the north, south, west and east of the neighbourhood) is also in areas classified as green and open land. The major area where development has contravened the land classification is to the east of the neighbourhood where modern residential development has been built on land zoned as green and open land (G323). In addition, much of the informal dwelling construction in the Farahzad river valley to the west has been on land similarly classified as green and open. Figures 5 and 6 provide an indication of how Farahzad expanded in the period 2000–2023. As open land was developed for mass housing projects and infrastructure in other parts of Tehran, more people re-located to the Farahzad neighbourhood, which remained relatively undeveloped, in search of more traditional housing or informal dwellings. This resulted in the division and conversion of gardens into separate plots for construction, occupation of the protected riverside areas, and construction in the foothills of the surrounding mountainous areas. Development has spread around the main north–south axis (Emamzadeh Davood street, zoned for mixed and activity uses in Figure 4), which was once the route of passage for pilgrimage caravans, and around the tangential roads and pathways.

Today, Farahzad exhibits a number of contrasts in land use and the nature of the landscape. Its pleasant climate has given rise to several tourism-related businesses, but this has also attracted low-income individuals seeking employment in these tourist establishments. The lack of adequate housing for these migrants has led, as noted above, to the growth of shanty, informal developments, characterised by a lack of adequate services, poverty, insecurity and a resultant low quality of life. The majority of the inhabitants currently living in these shanty areas initially lived in tents, which were destroyed by the municipal authorities. Because of such actions, a lack of trust in the public authorities has increased. This is a recurring theme in the informal settlements literature. Atkinson [8], for example, in his comprehensive study of this literature, concluded that "programs may not work

because there is a lack of trust in the government and its efforts", and that "symbolic efforts are not enough" (para. 62). In Farahzad, however, the shanty dwellers constructed new dwellings, mainly of clay and straw, especially along the Farahzad River. Allahyari et al. [37] have emphasised the significance of river valleys in influencing land use and development patterns, and here, the availability of common land and amenable water supply have encouraged shanty developments in these riverside locations.

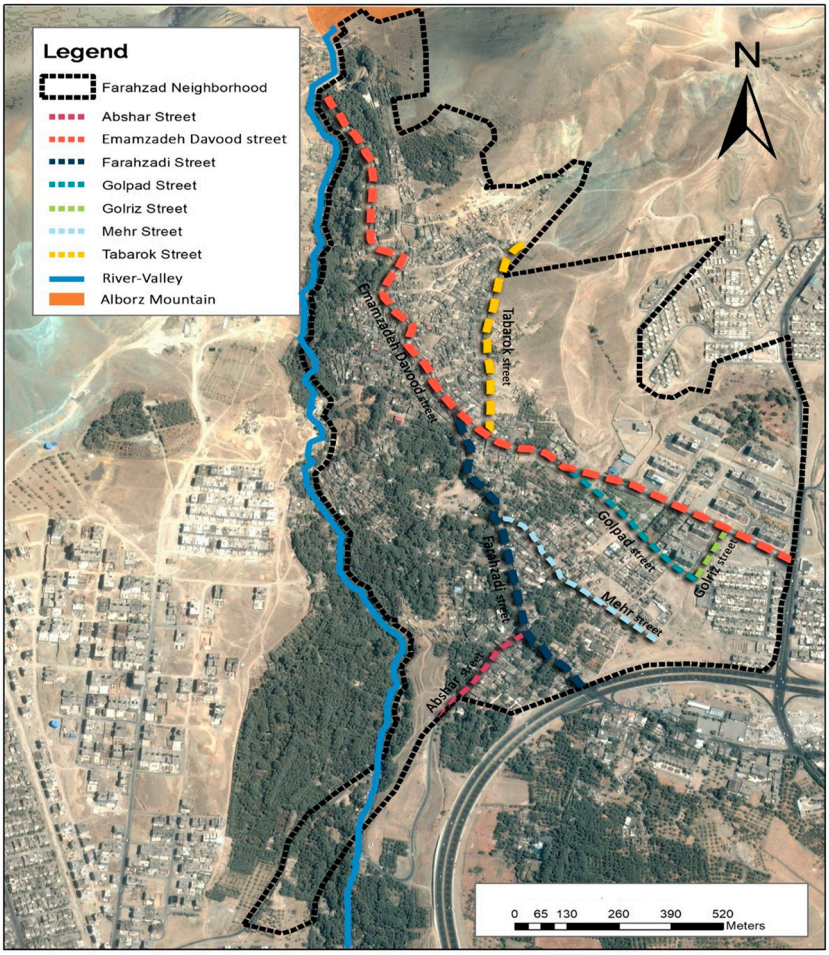

Figure 5. Farahzad aerial image 2000. Source: authors, based on Google Earth.

In contrast, the urban environment in the eastern part of Farahzad is of a higher quality, with better access to the city centre, and newer and better-quality housing with relatively affluent inhabitants [38]. This is adjacent to the main area of business and commercial activity which has grown up around Emamzadeh Davood street and the Yadegar-e Emam Expressway, which curves around the southern border of the neighbourhood, leading eastwards. The residential areas cover most of the central part of the neighbourhood, with green zones in the periphery to the north and west.

The most common land use in Farahzad is residential, accounting for approximately 45% of the land area (Table 3). Vacant land makes up 32% of the neighbourhood, much of this remaining fallow due to a lack of clear ownership and official documents. The challenging morphology of the area, with its mountains and hills to the north and river valley to the west, further complicates construction efforts. Agricultural land has been reduced to less than 5% of the land area, mainly used for cultivating diverse produce such as stone fruits, grapes, walnuts, and various vegetables. These agricultural plots, which serve as a food source for Tehran, are mainly located in the northeast part of the neighbourhood.

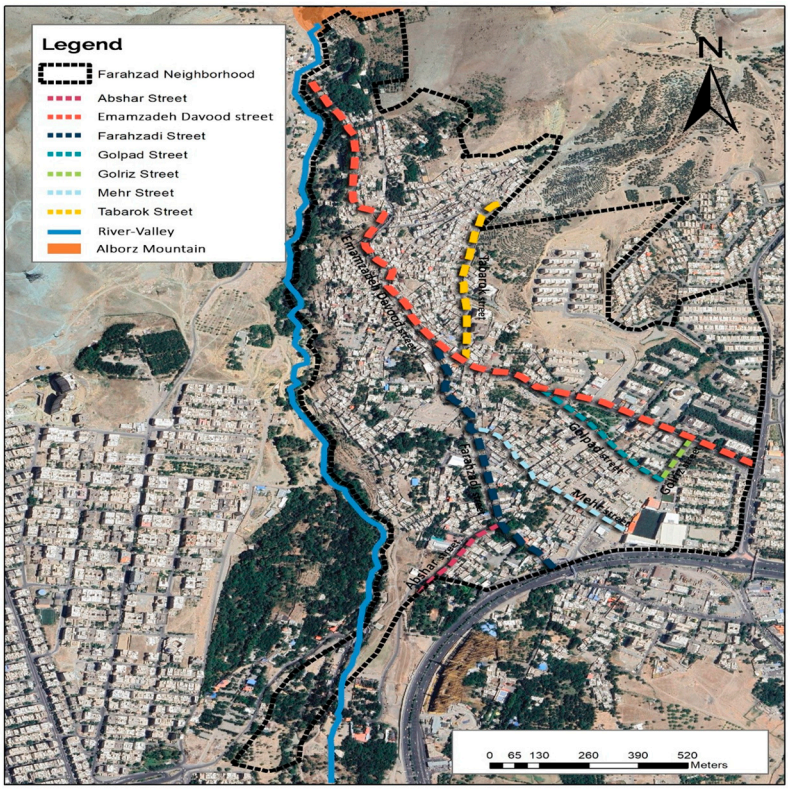

Figure 6. Farahzad aerial image 2023. Source: authors, based on Google Earth.

Table 3. Land use in Farahzad 2023. Source: authors, based on GIS data.

Land Use	Area (M^2)	Percentage
Residential	373,260.2	45.72
Mixed-residential	14,304.1	1.75
Commercial	23,288.6	2.85
Administrative	11,025.1	1.35
Educational	4326.6	0.53
Urban facilities	21,910.8	2.68
Medical	1305.6	0.16
Cultural	862.9	0.11
Religious	5740	0.7
Industrial	5123.1	0.63
Parks/open spaces	27,898.2	3.42
Agricultural	36,141.9	4.43
Urban equipment	23,012.8	2.82
Transportations	2660.1	0.33
Vacant land	265,625.2	32.53
Total	816,485.2	100

Figure 7 provides a detailed picture of land use in 2023. Apart from the large tracts of residential property, particularly to the east of the neighbourhood, the primary commercial land uses in the area include shops, real estate agencies, car galleries, car repair shops, and restaurants, which are located in the south and central areas around Farahzadi street. Urban facilities are integrated into these commercial areas, and additionally, there are several shrines, including Abu Taleb and Saleh, as well as important mosques that play a significant role at both local and supra-local levels. Two notable urban facilities include the health services centre located in the north and a parking area situated in the west. The administrative area in the southeast is designated for the Farahzad sports complex.

The driver of these changes in land use is primarily population growth within the city as a whole spilling out into the peripheral neighbourhoods like Farahzad. The housing shortage has been exacerbated by land ownership issues, with 32% of the area remaining vacant in part because of unclear land entitlement and lack of official documentation. The challenging topography, characterised by mountains to the north and a river valley to the

west, has further complicated construction efforts and limited available land for development. This has contributed to the rise in informal settlements and self-built structures, particularly among lower-income groups and immigrants, further influencing land use dynamics in the area. At the same time, the needs of a growing local population have seen the emergence of new commercial uses along the central Farahzadi Street axis.

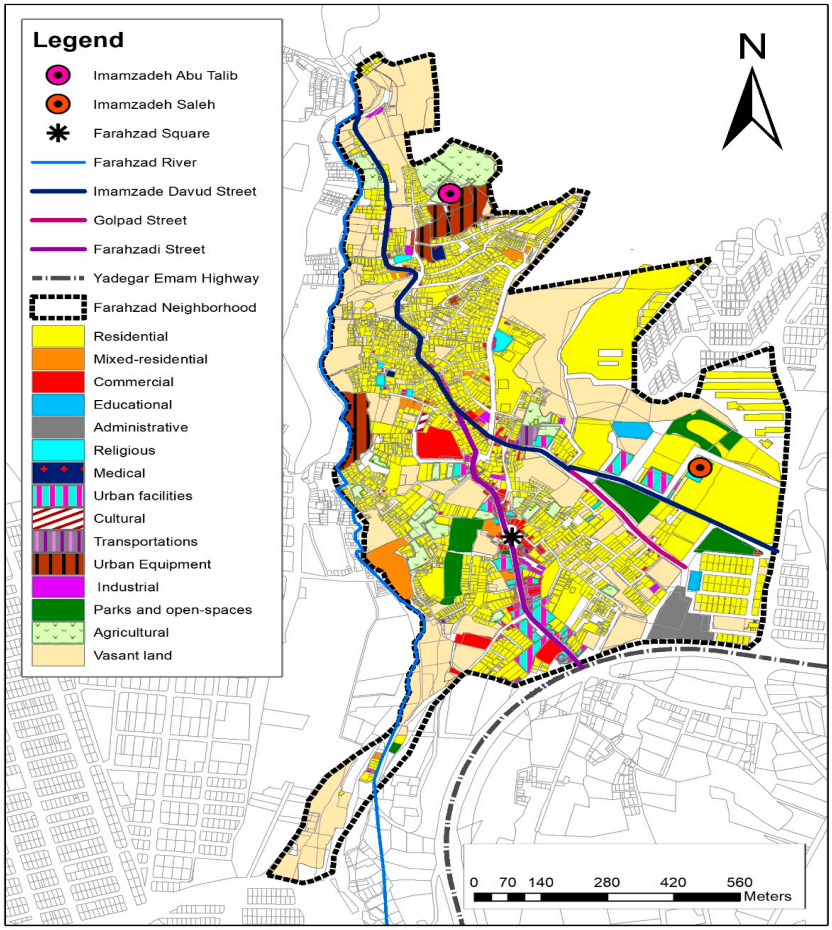

Figure 7. Land use in Farahzad 2023. Source: authors, based on GIS data.

In summary, the main changes in land use over the period 2020–2023, are as follows: firstly, the significant growth of informal settlements in the Farahzad river valley on the western margin; secondly, the significant infilling—comprising both residential and business developments—around the main north to south and east to west axes (Farahzadi/Tabarok streets; and Emamzadeh Davood street); thirdly, the expansion of modern apartment blocks on the eastern side of the neighbourhood; fourthly, the provision of new service infrastructure, including the sports complex, new parks and green spaces. The neighbourhood has thus changed significantly in this period, accommodating a growing population as Tehran continues to expand, experiencing environmental challenges, notably in the Farahzad valley area, with demographic shifts and some conservation initiatives.

Within this changed urban landscape—and building upon existing concepts in the existing literature—different urban fabrics (or patterns) can be defined and identified as an alternative to simple land use zoning. Population density, migration statistics, population ethnicity, dwelling typology, infrastructure quality and green zoning were all considered in conjunction with general land use assessment to define five urban fabrics evident in the neighbourhood (Figure 8).

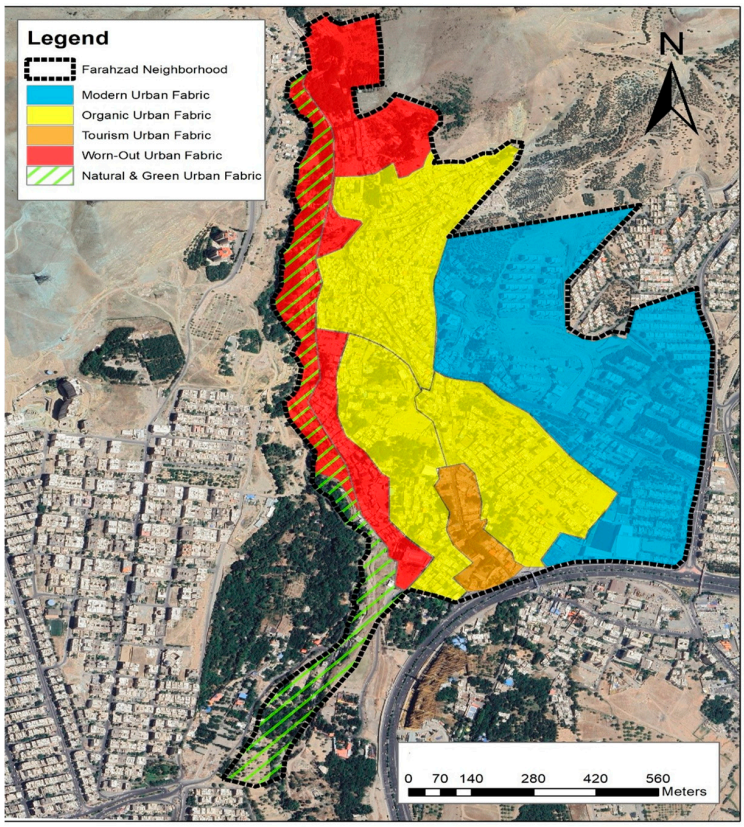

Figure 8. Urban fabrics in Farahzad 2024 (this figure illustrates the original core fabric, surrounded by four other distinct urban fabrics: worn-out areas with informal settlements to the north and west, a modern fabric to the east with improved living conditions, a tourism-focused area to the south, and a natural and green fabric to the west interspersed with the worn-out fabric). Source: authors, based on Google Earth.

The original core of the Farahzad neighbourhood, along with its gardens, has over time been impacted by land division to create an organic fabric with a local identity. Around this old core, four other urban fabrics have evolved to create today's urban landscape. Large areas of worn-out urban fabric are in evidence to the north, and to the west, on the banks of the Farahzad river, which include many of the informal settlements which are rapidly penetrating the surrounding fabrics, notably the areas of natural and green urban fabric, with which they are now interweaved. To the east of the neighbourhood, a modern urban fabric dominates, where—in general—there are better living conditions in newly constructed buildings where better economic conditions prevail. To the south, a small linear band of tourism fabric has evolved around the main routeway and commercial centre. These five urban fabrics (Figure 8) are detailed more precisely below.

The old (organic) urban fabric includes the old village settlement of Farahzad, which has been shaped by its natural features, local economy, and rural culture (Figure 9). It contains Emamzadeh Davood street, the most important access road to Farahzad from Tehran, and the narrow, winding alleys and passages branching off from it. It is characterised by indigenous architecture with a variety of occupation patterns and climatic orientation, and some remaining old trees alongside the traffic routes. The nature of this fabric reflects the initial methods of dividing gardens and the topography of the area, with north–south roads and avenues being used for internal communications and east–west alleys for access to the gardens. In the north and western parts of this fabric area, plots tend to be smaller and construction more unstable. This has led, particularly in the northern section, to a degraded dwelling stock, with residents vacating the area to be replaced by non-locals, including

Afghans. Nevertheless, social cohesion and local participation are significant features of this old fabric. This is visible during events like Ashura (a day of commemoration in Islam), where residents demonstrate their unity with black mourning flags.

Figure 9. Farahzad: old (organic) urban fabric. Source: authors.

The modern urban fabric is located in the eastern side of the neighbourhood and includes modern house construction built in accordance with the detailed plan of Tehran. New construction has generally followed the approved building regulations, with plots measuring around 100 to 200 square metres in which newer developments have been constructed, making up about 20% of the neighbourhood as a whole. The fabric features modern, multi-story buildings with enhanced amenities and designs, and higher standard urban infrastructure, such as water, electricity and gas networks, and public transportation. Population density here has significantly increased due to the increase in residential units. Commercial areas, such as shopping centres, restaurants, and offices, have also been developed. Good-access roads and sufficient passage widths are typical in this fabric, and proximity to major roads like Kouhsar and the Yadegar-e Emam Expressway ensures good connectivity to other parts of the city (Figure 10).

Figure 10. Farahzad: modern urban fabric. Source: authors.

The worn-out urban fabric is typified by illegal or informal development (Figure 11), socio-economic problems, poor environmental quality, architectural vulnerability, and a severe shortage of public urban services. This fabric is mainly in evidence in the northern and western parts of Farahzad, on the outskirts of the old town and near the Farahzad river, and requires new rehabilitation and management policies. Many dwellings are in irregular shapes with primitive architecture and there is thus no one dwelling design that typifies the worn-out urban fabric.

Figure 11. Farahzad: worn-out urban fabric. Source: authors.

The tourism urban fabric is found within the organic urban fabric and retains some of the same features, but it now predominantly performs non-residential functions. Economic activities in Farahzad have shifted from traditional agriculture and livestock to leisure activities and tourism. Many gardens have been converted, lining the main streets with garden–restaurants and teahouses, which are primary attractions and revenue sources. This rapid development, while economically beneficial, has caused spatial disorder and potential social and cultural issues. The Yadegar-e Emam Expressway has facilitated access to Farahzad, boosting the popularity of these leisure facilities. In part to cater for the tourist trade, the number of businesses such as car washes, repair shops, and other workshops has increased in recent years, interspersed with these recreational activities [39].

The natural and green urban fabric comprises gardens and orchards in which a variety of fruits are grown, using traditional farming methods for higher quality. Beyond crop production, these orchards provide crucial employment and help preserve rural culture. This fabric is found alongside the river valley in the west (Figure 12) and is interwoven with areas of worn-out urban fabric and shanty developments in some places.

Figure 12. Farahzad: natural and green urban fabric. Source: authors.

4.2. RQ2. What Are the Socio-Economic Problems Currently Evident in Farahzad and How Can Urban Planning Aid Their Resolution?

This section draws upon evidence from six in-depth interviews with local government officials and individuals working in development agencies (private and NGOs), as shown in Table 1 above. Farahzad suffers from a range of interconnected social, economic and environmental problems that impact the future planning and development of the neighbourhood, as attested to by several of the interviewees. P2, a Neighbourhood Development Officer, observed that "the people of Farahzad neighbourhood have obvious poverty—most of them are marginalized". P4 works for the Mehr o Mah Institute (a local charitable agency), "with the aim of empowering children and women, which is organized according to the needs of the people in the educational and literacy classes in the institute". P4 observed that "most of the residents who live in the Farahzad area are immigrants who have a low level of literacy, and their income is low, so the living conditions in this area are very low". P4 identified "Tabarok Street towards Farahzad River" as the main problem area in the neighbourhood, where there was an "accumulation of sleeping bags", and other issues included "the lack of training centers, treatment centers, addiction and security centers [and] the old texture and the existence of stairwells that greatly reduced security". Women were aided in earning a living by "training classes in the field of skill building and selling handicrafts through virtual networks or holding public exhibitions". P6, who works for a non-governmental charity (Rooyesh-e Nahal Institute), which provides a range of services for social, supportive, educational, and prevention purposes, added that the biggest problems were the sale and consumption of drugs, homeless people, working children and fugitive women and girls.

P6 also highlighted that "there were many ethnic prejudices and ethnic fights in Farahzad. . . we try to teach the concept that today's necessity is to live together". P2 noted that religious conflict existed: "There is a hidden ethnic conflict in the neighbourhood. Afghans, Torkamans and Kurds are Sunni; the Lors and the Khalkhalis are Shiite; and for this reason, there is a hidden conflict between them, but it is not so much that they cannot live together, but there is a distance between them, so that the Sunnis have a mosque for themselves and the Shiites one for themselves".

There are also problems with the physical infrastructure of the area. P2 stated that "the problem of garbage inside the neighbourhood is very significant due to the garbage trucks not being able to move inside the narrow alleys, and because of this, garbage is

left by people in the place". P2 also pointed out that "the neighbourhood does not have a sewer network, and the sewage is flowing in the streets and a part of it flows into the river valley, which has caused pollution and health problems" . . .. . . "some houses do not have a bathroom, and they heat and bathe in a pit of water, which creates difficult conditions in winter". P2 emphasised that communications improvements are needed: "the most important traffic plans that we proposed and want to implement are the connection of Yadegar-e Emam to Farahzad neighbourhood, which is now cut off, and the other is to reach the public transportation network, because Farahzad does not have a metro station, bus, taxi, or even minibus".

Several of the interviewees highlighted the need for a local plan to provide the necessary planning and regulatory framework for addressing the urban problems in the neighbourhood. P1, for example, emphasised that "Farahzad's biggest problem is the lack of a subordinate [local] plan that can be cited for urban development and urban design, and obtaining permits, etc.". He emphasised the need for a local plan "to carry out an urban design for this area and get an approval from the Article 5 Commission". He stressed the significance of the lack of a regulatory framework. Without the local plan approval, "if someone wants to do something there: issuance of a permit, reconstruction, etc., there is no document on hand as a criterion for action for the municipality". P1 talked about the content of a local plan drawn up with consultants and awaiting approval. It includes the "stabilisation of residences", "ecologically correct reconstruction", and "the organization of the restaurants". P3 opined that as regards getting a local plan approved, "the municipality does not perform its main duty". This lack of a clear framework for development has made attracting private investment into the neighbourhood more difficult. P2 reported the problems of attaining investment: "one of the capital owners, who is of Farahzadi origin, refused to invest in Farahzad and invested in the Opal business complex instead". F2 suggested that "development incentives should be done first to encourage investors".

The lack of ownership documentation is also a major hurdle in progressing future development. P1 made the following observation: "in my opinion, preserving the traditional texture and organising it, and expanding the uses that attract the population, such as native and student residences, can be effective, but all this takes time and requires a lot of infrastructure, and this lack of infrastructure puts off investors. .. the traditional fabric must be restored and secured. .. the problem is that we do not have ownership documents". P3, a local council member, reinforced these points: "our priority has been the local plan for Farahzad. The main problem of Farahzad is the residents' ownership documents. Construction permits are not given, people build without permits, which the municipality demolishes, and the ruins are a place for drug addicts".

P2 also highlighted this issue, asserting that "the most important problem that the people of the neighbourhood are facing is the problem of ownership, and they are not the owners of the houses they live in, because these lands belong to big owners, and at the beginning of the Revolution [1979], these people either ran away or bequeathed these lands to their children and their children either endow or abandon these lands". P2 concluded that "for this reason, many residents of the neighbourhood (even those who have lived in the neighborhood for nearly fifty years) do not have ownership documents, and this has caused Farahzad to become an informal settlement".

The potential of tourism and restaurant development was highlighted by several interviewees. P2 observed "it [the neighbourhood] has summer weather and in the past people came to Farahzad for recreation, climbing and the pilgrimage to Emamzadeh Davood, and the neighborhood was very prosperous, and has a very favorable climate both in the past and now". P1 noted that the neighbourhood's restaurants "have definitely been effective in Farahzad's economy, but they must be organised and controlled, in terms

of environmental measures and protection of traditional gardens". P2 saw the growth of restaurants as "definitely positive. . . . in general, the presence of activity there creates employment and establishes the cycle of the economy. Like Hossein's restaurant, where all the employees are drug addicts who have quit and are working there. For this reason, we see the performance of these restaurants and canteens as quite positive and think that they are useful in terms of tourism".

In summary, the neighbourhood faces a range of interrelated social–economic problems, exacerbated by the lack of an effective planning framework for development, lack of investment, and poor physical infrastructure. This has created a downward spiral of poverty and deprivation in much of the neighbourhood, alleviated only by limited municipal initiatives and charitable foundations. It has suffered from the rapid and haphazard urban expansion of Tehran into a rural suburb. As P3, a local council member, observed "Farahzad neighbourhood was originally a village that was forced into the city due to the development of urbanisation, but its economy, culture, way of life and even its problems are reflective of its former rural identity. Farahzad is neither a village nor a city". This has resulted in a situation in which, as P2 notes, "lack of trust is normal".

The work of voluntary organisations has been, and will continue to be, needed in Farahzad. The range of problems they face is illustrated by P5, who works as a volunteer for the Imam Ali Community Institute. P5 outlined the broad scope of their work: the charity focuses on "cultural aspects as well as economic activities; education of children left out of school; tutorial classes; training classes for income-generating professions such as sewing and needlework; a literacy movement; financial facilities in the form of loans and non-financial support to start a business; recreational camps; support in the field of mental health promotion; supporting products and helping to sell them".

The approval of a local plan and associated regulations to provide a framework for future development and land ownership ratification is urgently required, but the neighbourhood's challenges go far beyond mere planning. Drawing upon the interview feedback, personal observation and published research studies concerning Farahzad, the following actions and initiatives would be of value:

- Gaining approval for an integrated local plan specifically tailored to the socio-economic and environmental exigencies of Farahzad; this should prioritise residential stabilisation, ecological restoration, and infrastructure enhancements, and approval should be obtained from relevant planning authorities, such as the Article 5 Commission.
- Augmentation of the neighbourhood's physical services infrastructure by, for example, establishing a sewer network to mitigate sewage overflow, enhancing waste management systems for efficient refuse collection, and improving transportation connectivity to integrate with public transport networks.
- Facilitation of the documentation of landownership for long-term residents to formalise informal settlements, and collaboration with legal experts to streamline the process of obtaining ownership documents, thereby empowering residents and fostering community stability.
- Stimulation of local economic growth by promoting small enterprises and restaurants through financial incentives; develop tourism initiatives that leverage Farahzad's historical and cultural significance to attract visitors.
- Strengthening of community cohesion by organising vocational training programmes focused on skills such as handicrafts and hospitality, and establishment of forums that enable residents to articulate their needs and aspirations, fostering a sense of ownership and collaboration.

- Implementation of outreach programmes that provide support for drug rehabilitation, mental health services, and social integration, and facilitation of workshops aimed at promoting coexistence among diverse ethnic groups within the neighbourhood.
- Establishment of metrics to assess progress in economic development, infrastructure enhancement, and social cohesion, and conduction of regular community surveys to gather feedback on the impact of initiatives and adjust strategies as necessary.

Without such initiatives, the downward spiral of poverty and economic struggle is likely to continue for many of the neighbourhood's residents. The challenge and aspiration must be to make some progress in this direction, even while constrained under the yoke of the wider political system.

5. Discussion

A number of related issues emerge from the results set out above, which merit further discussion. Firstly, there are few directly comparable studies to the one reported here, but Rozati et al. [40] took a similar approach in their research of WoUFs in Isfahan, Iran's second city. The authors noted the methodology was "descriptive and analytic" and "the data have been gathered through librarian references, observation and questionnaires" (p. 241); they concluded that there was significant "potential which can be utilized in the best way including the regeneration of worn out texture of this city that can respond to the need of housing through revitalisation and renovation" (p. 245). This underlines the main contribution (to both theory and practice) of the research presented here, in that it illustrates how the urban fabric concept can be applied in the city periphery in a developing country. In the absence of any effective planning or development control mechanisms, this approach can provide an alternative perspective which may be of value to researchers, investors and planners operating in comparable environments. As Ren [5] notes, "focusing on the periphery can deepen our understanding of the people and communities living on the metropolitan edge", and "furthermore, it leads to important first steps for theorizing about urban structures, governance, and social relations in these rapidly urbanizing communities" (p. 3). In addition, the analysis of the relevant literature, in combination with field observations and interviews with local practitioners, provided the basis for a set of actionable recommendations for the future development of Farahzad.

Secondly, the recent evolution of Farahzad illustrates the convergence of what Yang et al. [41] term "top-down" and "bottom-up" influences in the development of the urban periphery. "The downward trend features the process that cities are expanding towards the urban outskirt next to which rural areas are located", whilst "the upward trend reflects the process that some rural areas located in the urban periphery are creating functional urban fabric and converging into urban lifestyles" (p. 95). Both these trends have worked in combination to produce the urban landscape in Farahzad today, which exemplifies the process of peri-urbanisation noted above [17]. Ojima and Hogan [42], in their study of demographic change in Brazil, note that such areas, which "were traditionally dedicated to farming activities, are now being used for industrial activities (especially for industrial agriculture), or for low density residential occupation. Thus, the borders that heretofore relatively clearly divided urban from rural areas are becoming increasingly blurred" (p. 6). This aligns closely with de Teran's [43] model of urban growth (Figure 13) (originally based on the uncontrolled expansion of Spain's major cities in the Franco era), which envisages areas of anarchical sprawl in the urban periphery, contravening planning regulations and land use classifications. As a result of this process, paralleled in the Tehran periphery, the residents of Farahzad must now contend with a range of social, economic and cultural problems, which together constitute a major challenge to progress.

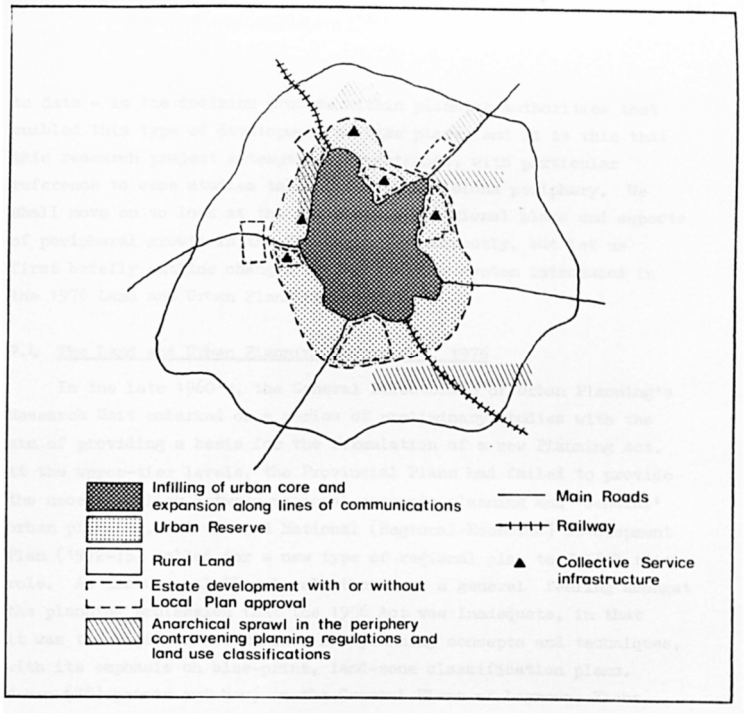

Figure 13. de Teran's model of urban growth (originally applied to development in Spanish urban areas in the period 1956–1978). Based on de Teran [43].

Thirdly, a "bottom-up" approach that involves residents in the design and implementation of any local solution is likely to have the best chance of generating successful outcomes. Such partnerships between municipal authorities, developers and residents have been pioneered in other parts of the world in recent decades [13,44]. As Väyrynen [45] has noted, "this model starts from user needs with an initial visioning phase, then runs through urban planning and building design, and finally ends in the construction phase to satisfy the user needs. The model aims at promoting collaboration and interaction between the stakeholders" (p. 1). Despite the constraints of the current political and administrative machinery and culture, there may be opportunities for such initiatives in future years.

Fourthly, experience from both the developed and developing worlds highlights the need for comprehensive solutions that go beyond land use planning and management. For example, Jain and Courvisanos [46], in their study of "the edges of capital cities in Australia" and the challenges they face, found that "what is clear is that the current policies are ad hoc and lack a coherent approach to addressing the dilemmas of disparity and inequality in these regions. What is also clear is that it is necessary for governments to invest in public transport and infrastructure despite the economic downturn" (p. 20). Indeed, Polidoro et al. [47], in their study of urban sprawl in Brazilian cities, concluded that "dispersed urbanization, urban planning and management instruments such as zoning, and urban expansion zones, have become increasingly consistent in leading cities toward an uncertain and chaotic future" (p. 1010). In a similar vein, Oyalowo [48], in her analysis of urban expansion in Lagos, Nigeria, affirmed that "urban expansion therefore presents more than just a spatial concern, it demands inclusive, comprehensive and strategic approaches that recognise and seek to balance the needs of state, people, businesses and the environment" (p. 707).

6. Conclusions

The urban landscape in Farahzad today reflects the urban change dynamics in Tehran as a whole over the past 25 years. What was hitherto a largely rural area on the northern

outskirts of the city has been dramatically changed by the urban expansion of the city, the immigration to the city of folk from various developing nations, the lack of any significant investment in public facilities and infrastructure, and the failure of the urban planning system to comprehensively regulate development in the neighbourhood as a whole.

One result of this combination of factors is that local planners and officials have struggled to put in place an authorised local plan as a point of reference from which to initiate development proposals, a situation exacerbated by the lack of clarity on land ownership and building regulations. While the District 2 detailed plan provides land zonings, more detailed development proposals are required. This situation is made worse by the lack of clarity on landownership and the fact that current land use is not in line with the zonings contained in the detailed plan in some areas. There are, however, some positives to be drawn from the current situation—the charitable organisations acting in the area have made some impact, the restaurant trade is bringing revenue and employment to the neighbourhood, the intrinsic beauty of the landscape to the north can be developed into new tourism opportunities, and a local plan may finally be approved to provide a clearer planning framework for future development.

The authors believe the research findings offer some valuable insights into some of the key themes discussed in the context of peripheral city growth. In addition, building upon field observation and feedback from local officials and residents, the article puts forward a classification of the neighbourhood into fabrics that accommodate human, physical, and environmental patterns schematically, focusing on the area's potential and weaknesses without adhering strictly to specific land use classifications. Nevertheless, this article clearly has its limitations in that it examines peripheral urban growth in just one neighbourhood of one major city in the developing world, and relies in part on evidence from just six interviews with local institutional executives and officers. Wider generalisations about urban development in the city periphery must therefore be treated with caution.

Future studies could build upon this initial study in Farahzad to assess progress in the plan-making and approval process and its impact in Farahzad. Comparative studies in other major developing world cities could also provide fruitful results, not least in the applicability of the urban fabric concept as an alternative, or complement to, land use zoning. However, as Mohammadi [14] concluded in his study of the Iranian planning system, "these plans now need to be modified in order to respond to the needs of the new urbanism or be replaced with suitable plans. This requires a change in the policy, laws, and spatial planning in Iran" (p. 1). Without change in these aspects of planning, and in the wider political system, it is difficult to envisage any significant improvement in the near future in this peripheral urban settlement in the outskirts of Tehran.

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Data Availability Statement: The GIS and interview data used in this article are held in a university environment. Further details are available from the corresponding author.

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Appendix A. Interview Questions for Responsible and Active Organisations in the Farahzad Neighbourhood

The questionnaire was in Persian. The outline questions for the semi-structured interviews are translated into English below.

1. What type of organisation/institution are you, and what are your main areas of activity?
2. What measures has your organisation implemented for the local community in recent years?
3. What have been the outcomes/achievements of these activities to date?
4. In your opinion, what are the most pressing problems faced by the local community (in order of priority)?
5. What solutions do you propose to address these problems?
6. How would you describe the level of community participation and cooperation with governmental and private institutions?
7. How do you assess the level of public trust in your organisation?
8. What is your opinion regarding the performance of local restaurants in the neighbourhood?

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