

The Amount of Attitudes towards the Use of Urban Aesthetical Elements and Citizenship Identity: A Sociological Survey in Three Neighborhoods in Tehran

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Abstract

In modern cities, various issues show up. One of them is consumption, which is deeply interlaced with modernity as the city's prevalent culture in its sociological sense. Amongst the most important manifestations of consumption in today's cities is the consumption of the elements that are applied by the assistance of urban policies and parallel to the beautification of the public spaces, which have been called aesthetical elements' consumption in the current article. It is now for a while that Tehran has offered different urban aesthetical elements in the public spaces. Considering the necessity of recognizing the extent to which urban aesthetical elements are consumed as well as their interrelationships with the individuals' citizenship identity, the present article aimed to evaluate the urban cultural policies through a survey research in three neighborhoods in Tehran, namely Niavaran, Jannat Abad and Yaft Abad. The study sample volume included 390 individuals from the foresaid three neighborhoods to whom a questionnaire was administered as the data collection instrument. In the end, the results indicated that there was a significant relationship between the urban aesthetical elements' consumption and citizens' identities. The interpretation of the form of this relationship would allow the researchers evaluate the effectiveness of the urban cultural policies. The results of this evaluation have been offered in the conclusion section of the current research paper.

Keywords: Cultural consumption, Urban aesthetics, Aesthetical elements' consumption, Citizenship identity, Tehran

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Introduction

In the modern cities, various issues show up; one of which is consumption that is deeply interlaced with modernity as the dominant culture of the city in its sociological sense. As a sociological action, consumption generally occurs in different grounds. House, workplace, neighborhood, village and city can be enumerated amongst the environments wherein the discussed action is always and instantly occurring. The consumption forms that constitute the sociological approach of the primary issue studied herein feature similarities and dissimilarities in each of the previously stated grounds. The similarities mostly stem from the general nature of the consumption action and the human beings' similar properties and tendencies as the consuming subject. The differences, of course, are more manifested according to the expediencies and special conditions of every ground. One of the factors giving rise to such a difference is that the consumption action occurs more in the public sphere and/or takes place in the private sphere. More attention has been paid to the consumption in public sphere considering the fact that it is more influenced than the private sphere.

City can be possibly recounted as the largest area and the public ground of the consumption. The citizens of every city spend substantial part of their hours in the urban spaces ¹ and it is in these spaces that elements are consumed that are considered as the products of the cultural policies of the cities' directors. One of the most important products that the citizens consume in the public urban spheres and is mostly available as the result of aforesaid cultural policies, is the product called urban aesthetic elements. These elements that include urban furniture, wall paintings, urban volumes, urban graphics (like advertising tableaux), urban walls, urban light and so forth can make a city appear as an artwork and are simultaneously capable of inducing a unit and integrated identity to create a sort of unity between the citizens as the consumers of those elements and city as the main

1- This is the primary characteristic of the modern cities. In premodern cities, the urban spaces were not qualified for much of such a value.

ground of the occurrence of such actions. In modern cities, the transferring of integrated identity as a policy-making issue is the duty of the public sphere as the spaces wherein the modern citizens spend much of their time therein. Previously, the public spheres were not so much valuable as the grounds of the identity policy-making. However, nowadays, the modern cities value the public spheres more than the other spaces for the reason that the citizens spend most of their time therein.

As a modern city with a mixed cultural identity, Tehran is bearing witness now for a long time to the daily consumption of the urban aesthetic elements by its citizens. This consumption seems to be problematic due to the fact that it could not lead to the construction of a unit identity or at least non-contradictory identities. The experience of consumption by Tehrani citizens appears to have been followed by contradictory outcomes that can be indicative of the ineffectiveness of the urban cultural aesthetic policies in Tehran; this ineffectiveness causes the wastage of the macro-scale urban beautification investments. Considering the fact that efforts have been always made to adjust the urban cultural policies to the macro-level cultural policies of Islamic Republic of Iran and one of the goals of these macro-scale policies is the construction of an integrated Islamic-Iranian identity in the citizens, the performing of the current research paper can elaborate the factors barring the accomplishment of such a goal. To do so, the present study sought to explore the experience of Tehrani citizens or the very consumers of the urban aesthetic elements in a methodical manner. The current research paper has been compiled in line with the evaluation of the policies leading to the production of urban aesthetic elements and hopes to finally succeed in discovering the relationship between the consumption of urban aesthetic elements and identity parallel to the evaluation of the effectiveness of the corresponding institutions' policies. In other words, the present study aimed at evaluating the urban cultural policies through analyzing the extent to which urban aesthetic elements' consumption influences the formation of

the citizenship identity in the studied citizens. If the citizens' amount of consumption was found having an effect on the citizenship identity, it can be stated that the cultural policies producing the consumable elements could form the citizenship identity and, if there was found no mutual influence between the two aforesaid variables, the root of the issues influencing the citizens' consumption should be sought somewhere else. In fact, the present study intended to figure out the relationship between the amount of the urban aesthetic elements' consumption and citizenship identity. In case that such a relationship is found existent, the cultural policies resulting in the production of aesthetic elements can be re-codified in such a way that they can cause an enhancement and increase in the citizenship identity hence Tehrani citizens' sense of belonging to the city wherein they live could be elevated. To do so, the present study has been conducted based on a survey method and the aforesaid hypothesis (significant relationship between the consumption of urban aesthetic elements and citizens' identity) was tested by the assistance of the findings obtained from the survey.

Theoretical Foundations and Main Concepts

In the present study, the main hypothesis has been constructed by the aid of two concepts; one of them was the consumption of urban aesthetic elements and the other was the citizenship identity. In this section, the theoretical trends of the two aforementioned concepts' processing have been scrutinized as the backgrounds of attaining a theoretical model wherein the variables' relationships can be clear. Since no comprehensive and independent study has been so far conducted in Persian especially about the consumption of urban aesthetic elements, the foresaid concept has been constructed by combining three concepts namely cultural consumption, urban aesthetics and urban aesthetic elements. As for the citizenship identity, as well, concepts like identity, subjectivity and urban identity have been analyzed. In the end of this section, it has been shown how the abovementioned studied concepts assist the construction of two variables "urban aesthetic elements' consumption" and

"citizenship identity".

A) Consumption of Urban Aesthetic Elements

"Consumption of the urban aesthetic elements" is a sort of cultural consumption. Thus, before expressing the angles of the concept "consumption of urban aesthetic elements", talks should be made about the cultural consumption. In sociology, the researches' concentration on the cultural consumption mostly dates back to 1950s and 1960s. Upon the disappearance of the WWII's effects, capitalism started booming in Europe and Northern America. The welfare resulting from the progresses after the reconstruction of the communities destroyed during WWII began a daily increasing growth. This daily increasing social and economic welfare growth led to the embodiment of a phenomenon in Europe and America that later on became known as "consumer society" and many perspectives and notions were asserted about it. Besides Marx who has dealt with the elucidation of cultural production and consumption, as well, George Simmel, as a classic sociologist, played an essential role in the elaboration of cultural consumption in the end of the 19th century. Accidentally, he is the same person who deploys the concept of "consumption" in a close relationship with the modern lifestyle and the social locus of the emergence of modern lifestyle, i.e. the city. From his perspective, lifestyle becomes totally distinct in megapoleis. He spoke of the "megapolitan individual" as a person with different social, economic, cultural and political characteristics. S/he is the person featuring particular psychological states and his or her new tendencies distinguish him in a special manner from the premodern human being (Simmel, 1994, p.55; for more information on the characteristics of modern human being as viewed by Simmel, please refer to Simmel, 1993).

Amongst these new and distinctive tendencies, the inclination towards the drawing of attentions and creation of distinction through consumption can be pointed out. The consumption in the modern society and its objective manifestation, i.e. the city, is performed more with the objective of satisfying the

luxurious and distinction-seeking dispositions. The tendency towards consumption for bringing about distinction is the first factor contributing to the creation of aesthetic taste (for more information, please see Holbrook, 2005 and Silby, 1959). In the city, such a tendency provokes the creation of urban aesthetic taste. The consumption driven by aesthetic taste is called hedonic consumption. During the recent three decades, research on the hedonic consumption has had an increasing growth in the literature on consumption².

Hedonic consumption has been followed by such a concept as hedonic production which has been defined as the products and/or services having more emotional value and more experimental value in comparison to the utilitarian production that per se are of more functional values. Since the aesthetic consumption is a sort of cultural consumption, it has to be specified as a modern phenomenon or, as George Simmel has put it, an urban phenomenon. Due to the same reason, it can be claimed that the urban aesthetic consumption is a sort of consumption in the city and not all kinds of consumption in the city; of course, urban aesthetic consumption is more of emotional and experimental values than being utilitarian consumption. It can also be realized as a hedonic consumption (Holbrook and Zirlin, 1985, p.3 and see also Day, 1985). In the same manner, the production of the urban aesthetic products, as well, is a sort of production featuring emotional and experimental values and it cannot be considered as being so much based on utilitarian values³. To study the consumption of urban aesthetic elements, attentions should be directed at the citizens' experiences of such consumption. This is consistent with the experimental value of the urban aesthetic elements' consumption, as well. To better understand the process of urban aesthetic elements' consumption and

scrutinize the concept, the urban aesthetics or environmental aesthetics, as well, should be discussed.

Different approaches have spoken about the aesthetics of the human environments with one of them being ecologic approach in which attentions are more directed at the relationship between the form of aesthetic elements and the identity of the social ground wherein those elements are consumed. In the present study, this approach and sociological approach have been theoretically blended so that the citizens' experiences of the consumption of urban aesthetic elements can be depicted as a completely sociological process. The urban aesthetic elements have been usually classified based on what the institutions proctoring the production of these elements believe in. These elements are all products exposed to consumption as the productions of the city beautification organization in Tehran.

In general and based on the frequently posited materials, the present study took the consumption of urban aesthetic elements as a process adjusted to the cultural consumption process; amongst the various kinds of cultural consumption, the sort of consumption was intended herein, in which the consumer engages in the consumption by the assistance of his or her own aesthetic taste and judgement. The consumed goods and elements constitute the set of productions by city beautification organization in Tehran that is mostly composed of urban aesthetic elements like urban furniture, urban walls, urban graphics, urban volumes, urban light and so on.

B) Citizenship Identity

The subject matter "identity" has sprouted out of the modernity as a social issue. Although it cannot be imagined that the subject "identity" was disregarded until late 18th century and individuals did not have any concept of their own selves, policies have emerged in the modern period out of the modern social movements under the title of cultural or identity policies that demand the fight for being authenticated with an emphasis on the differences and various ethnic or racial, value or ideological groups want the authentication of their identities. These policies

2- For example see Okada, 2006, Homer, 2005; Betra & Ahtola, 1991; Babin & et al, 1994.

3- For more information about the differences between the productions having emotional-experimental values and the productions having utilitarian values, please see Dhar and Wetenbroch, 2000.

founded the formation of the new identity groups, the subjects of whose battles are no longer effective as they were in 19th century for wealth, social prestige and/or access to the facilities of the bourgeoisie class or the fight for labor class.

In social sciences, identity is a widely applied word for the description of an individual's concept and expression of his or her individuality and/or attribution of his or her own self to a macro-system (for more information about the first efforts in the social sciences and also for a definition of identity, please refer to Reitzer, 2003). This word was most often used in psychology and sociology and/or in a combination of the two, social psychology. In the psychological approach to identity, the individual's imagination of self or self-esteem and/or the individuality of the "self" matters. For instance, one of the important identities in psychology is gender identity implying the idea that how an individual sees oneself as a person and in relationship with the other individuals around the globe.

In the sociological approach to identity, more emphasis is made on the concept of role-based behavior with identity being a concept originating from the interaction between the learning of social role and personal experience and also being a process wherein the individual gets involved in negotiation with the society in a vast level of identity's significance for being verified and authenticated; the next stage is intergroup conversations that means that the individuals behave inside the groups based on their own individual identity and, of course, the process of adaptation to the group attitudes (identification) is also in progress at the same time. In the sociological approach, the individual aspect of the identity is weakened in case that the adaptation to the group's attitudes is corroborated; as a result of which, the individual's identity is also influenced by the collective, group and social identity. Of course, at different times and under various conditions and expediencies, sometimes the individual identity and occasionally the collective identity are strengthened. It is better to say that there is always a dispute between these two

dimensions of the identity and, of course, it is this same controversial relationship that is followed by the dynamicity of the individual's and the society's personality.

As a perfect example of the community, the city is the manifestation of the individuals' social identity. In the city, as well, there is the aforesaid controversial relationship between the individual identity and collective identity with its largest one being the very urban identity. However, the individual identities also enjoy power in the modern cities. The numerosity and intermixed nature of the identities is vividly visible in the cities⁴. Citizenship identity is of great importance in two respects: one is that it is expressive of the individual's imagination of his or her own self and those of others in the society and the other one is that it is formed by the expediencies of the dynamic social conditions and that it is the product of the identity relationship between the government and the nation.

In communitarianism tradition, individuals are not deemed ethically and logically superior to the community because they have acquired many of their names and fame in the community, are fostered in the community and become aware and knowledgeable and accept roles in the community. The citizenship in this approach means perfect membership in the community and performance of the duties and responsibilities that are recrystallized within the format of social and political participation in the society and government in such a way that the individuals voluntarily and without any limitation pursue their own and the community's interest via fulfilling their ethical responsibilities and social duties. In the individualistic liberalist mindset, the individuals are epistemologically and ontologically and ethically superior and are defined as intellectual and autonomous beings. Citizenship identity in this approach is valuable in that it grants certain rights to the individuals and sets the required grounds for chasing individual interests and personal freedoms. Citizenship is the situation wherein more emphasis is made

4- Please refer to Tajbakhsh, 2008.

on individual rights based on which the position of the individual before the government and the other citizens is defined. These rights provide the individuals with the opportunity of pursuing their demands via legal instruments such as elections and so forth⁵. Urban identity and citizenship are sorts of spatial-place identity meaning that here the city is the source and locus of identity and grants identity to the groups therein. In spatial aspect, the city's identity is an objective issue meaning that the thing that makes a city appear as a city is the tangible elements belonging to the city. Milad Tower, Azadi Tower, Azadi Sport Complex, Autobahns, parks and others are all tangible elements considered as accessories of identity as an objective subject. In spatial aspect, urban identity is a subjective matter referring to the space made in the citizen's mind of the space to which s/he belongs. In this sense, urban identity is constructed by the citizen. By the assistance of policy-making, cities seek rendering these constructs more integrated and more coordinated, meaning that the cities transfer a unique purport to their citizens. That is because the cities attempt to make policies for citizenship identity. Making policies for urban identity means transferring of identity to the citizen. This is the transfer occasionally faced with many issues. The number of the mental constructs of a unit urban identity sometimes can influence the integration of the place, as well, due to the reason that, especially in Tehran, as the capital city of Islamic country of Iran, policy-making interventions in the construction of citizenship identity has always been considered as a major concern by the officials.

Considering the administration of urban affairs by the people-driven institutions, the urban cultural foundations have roles in the resolving of the aforesaid concerns. In the present study, the identity of Tehrani citizens has been studied and measured based on the classifications and topic's categorization existent in the sociological approach. In these classifications and topics' categorizations, efforts have been made to take both individual and social aspects of identity

into account. The main indicators of assessing this variable in the present research paper was the sense of belonging to the country, the level of belief in the government's adherence to the democratic norms, enjoyment of citizenship rights, national identity, acceptance of the diversity of interests, superiority of the collective interests to the individual interests, civil commitment and loyalty to the country.

Study Methodology

The dominant method in the present study was survey (for more information about this method, please see De Vaus, 2001). The data have been collected in this method by the aid of the questionnaire. In preparing questionnaire, four sources have been employed as explained beneath:

- 1) Existent theoretical perspectives regarding the cultural consumption, aesthetic consumption and citizenship identity
- 2) Ideas and perspectives of the sociology experts, cultural studies and urban researches that have been predominantly reflected in specialized journals.
- 3) Use of validated domestic and foreign questionnaires related to the study subject.
- 4) Pilot studies on a small sample similar to the main study sample volume.

Due to the vastness of the study sample volume, the present study was an extensive research. It was close to intensive research in terms of the criticism and study variables. The study sample volume in this study included all of the individuals residing Tehran with ages equal to above 15. The exact number of them was unclear at the time of doing the present research. However, this uncertainty, i.e. the largeness of the study sample volume, had an intangible effect on the study sample volume. The study sample's volume was a function of such variables as the volume of the statistical society, scattering of the studied variable and accuracy of the sampling process's estimation. The study sample volume featured a limited number based on the scattering of the studied variable in such a way that the further addition to the volume of the study participants would no more have an

5- See also Shiani, 2002.

effect on the study sample volume or exerted a very intangible effect. In this study, due to the fact that the statistical society was very large but its volume had no effect on the study sample volume, the following formula has been utilized for calculating the study sample volume:

$$n = \frac{z^2 p}{d^2}$$

Where, z is equal to -1.96 for an estimation error percentage of 5 and a dimensionless test of the study hypothesis. In the end, based on the highest scattering (the product of multiplying the number of individuals inclined towards the aesthetic elements with maximum aesthetical values by the number of individuals who are not inclined in such a type of consumption), the study sample volume was calculated equal to 380 based on a 5% error estimation rate. Finally, considering the likelihood of the emergence of some problems during data gathering stage, it was decided that the research group complete 420 questionnaires. Out of the foresaid number, 390 questionnaires formed the basis of the analyses. The samples' selection was also carried out based on combining two sampling methods, i.e. stratified and multistage clustering. At first, all of the regions in Tehran, each with a considerable volume of urban aesthetic elements exposed to consumption were classified based on taking a place in one of the high, intermediate and low social classes; then, a region was randomly selected from each class. The chosen regions were district 1, 5 and 18. A neighborhood was subsequently also selected from each region. These neighborhoods were Niavaran, Jannat Abad and Yaft Abad, respec-

tively, representing the high, intermediate and low social classes. In spite of the fact that no substantive research had been done regarding the number and multiplicity of the urban aesthetic elements in whole Tehran's level, it seemed in these neighborhoods that there is a more notable volume of urban aesthetic elements in comparison to the other neighborhoods. Use was made of a multistage cluster sampling method to select 140 households from each neighborhood as the study sample volume and interviews were made with a member of each household. The data were collected in a single stage and through making use of a research group during summer and early fall, 2013. The questionnaires were filled by the inquirers in the interview with the available participants. The inquirers performed interviews in the participants' houses so as to ensure their residence in the studied neighborhoods. The questionnaires were consisted of three parts.

The questionnaire had been constructed based on clustering method. However, there were some single questions in the questionnaires.

The main parts of the questionnaires were the followings:

- Individual properties of the respondent
- Questions for assessing the extents and types of urban aesthetic elements' consumption by the respondent
- Questions for assessing the amount of the respondents' citizenship identity

The questionnaires were totally comprised of 24 closed questions and one open-ended question. The results obtained from the questionnaires were analyzed using SPSS software. In the present analysis, statistics proportionate to the study's primary hypothesis were utilized.

Findings

A) Comparison of the tendencies towards the use of various urban aesthetic elements based on the comparison of the arithmetic mean in the studied neighborhoods

neighborhoods	Elements	Mural paintings with light subject	Urban volumes	Advertising banners	Ethical and instructional banners	Urban light	Urban furniture	Mural painting With religious subjects	Mural painting with national and historical subjects
Niavaran		4.6	4.69	5.15	1.92	5.81	3.49	1.63	2.64
Jannat Abad		5.93	4.87	5.78	1.84	6.35	3.38	2.35	2.89
Yaft Abad		2.36	2.06	5.49	3.18	4.78	1.29	2.70	1.95
Total		4.30	3.87	5.47	2.31	5.65	2.72	2.23	2.49

Table 1: Comparison of the arithmetic mean of the tendencies towards the consumption of various urban aesthetic elements in separate for the studied neighborhoods (mean values have been obtained for eight elements) (Source: the authors)

In Table 1, the comparison of the mean values obtained for the tendencies towards the consumption of urban aesthetic elements in the studied neighborhoods can be seen. According to the obtained arithmetic means, in Niavaran neighborhood, the order of the tendencies towards the consumption of the studied urban aesthetic elements was as outlined below:

- 1) Urban light
- 2) Goods advertising banners
- 3) Urban volumes
- 4) Mural paintings with artistic topics
- 5) Urban furniture
- 6) Mural paintings with national and historical subjects
- 7) Mural paintings with religious topics

According to the obtained arithmetic means, in Jannat Abad neighborhood, as well, the order of the tendencies towards the consumption of the studied urban aesthetic elements is as listed below:

- 1) Urban light
- 2) Mural paintings with artistic topics
- 3) Goods advertising banners
- 4) Urban volumes
- 5) Urban furniture

- 6) Mural paintings with national and historical subjects
- 7) Mural paintings with religious topics
- 8) Ethical and instructional banners

In Yaft Abad neighborhood, as well, the rankings of the consumption of the studied urban aesthetic elements have been specified according to the arithmetic mean values in the following order:

- 1) Goods advertising banners
- 2) Urban light
- 3) Ethical and instructional banners
- 4) Mural paintings with religious topics
- 5) Mural paintings with artistic themes
- 6) Urban volumes
- 7) Mural paintings with national and historical topics
- 8) Urban furniture

B) Status of the Citizenship Identity in the Studied Neighborhoods:

Amount of citizenship identity	Studied neighborhoods			Total
	Niavaran	Jannat Abad	Yaft Abad	
low	58	55	25	138
	42%	39.9%	18.1%	100%
				35.4%
Medium	55	59	79	193
	25.8%	30.6%	40.9%	100%
				49.5%
High	17	16	26	59
	28.8%	27.1%	44.1%	100%
				15.1%

Table 2: Status of the citizenship identity in the studied neighborhoods

Based on the data presented in Table 3, it is clear that 42% of the entire individuals who have recognized a low citizenship identity had responded to our inquirers in Niavaran neighborhood. The lowest number of the individuals who recognized a low citizenship identity has been residing in Yaft Abad. The people in Yaft Abad accounted for 44.1% of the entire individuals who have acquired a high citizenship identity. Based thereon, 27.1% of the entire individuals whose citizenship identity has been found to be high resided Jannat Abad and 28.8% of the individuals who has had a high citizenship identity resided in Ni-

avaran Neighborhood. The highest share of the studied individuals, as it was also previously specified, belonged to the individuals with medium citizenship identity. In between, 40.9% of them resided in Yaft Abad; 30.6% resided in Jannat Abad neighborhood and 28.5% resided in Niavaran neighborhood. In the next section, the status of each of the indicators of citizenship identity has been explored in the studied neighborhoods.

C) The Relationship between the Tendencies towards the Consumption of Urban Aesthetic Elements and the Citizenship Identity in the Studied Neighborhoods

Demographic variables	Mural paintings with artistic topics	Urban volumes	Goods advertising tableaus	Ethical banners	Urban light	Furniture	Mural paintings with religious themes	Mural paintings with national themes
Amount of citizenship identity	-0.360**	-0.324**	-0.429**	0.607**	-0.479**	-0.090	0.556**	0.356

Table 3. Pearson coefficient amount in the relationship between the tendencies towards the consumption of urban Aesthetic Elements and Citizenship Identity

It can be stated according to Table 3 that except the relationship between the tendencies towards the consumption of urban furniture and the citizenship identity, all of the other relationships were statistically meaningful. The relationship between the tendencies towards the consumption of the mural paintings with artistic themes, urban volumes, goods advertising tableaux and urban light with the citizenship identity has been negative. In other words, the more the tendencies were increased for consuming these elements, the more the citizenship identity was reduced. As for the relationship between the tendencies towards the consumption of mural paintings with religious themes, mural paintings with national themes and ethical banners with the citizenship identity, it can be stated that the more the tendency towards consumption of these elements was increased, the more the citizenship identity was also elevated. It has to be asserted that despite investments by organizations like Tehran's beautification organization on the production of such aesthetic elements as mural paintings with artistic themes and urban volumes and light, the consumption of these elements or the tendencies towards the consumption of them have not had a favorable effect on the citizens' citizenship identity in comparison to the consumption of the aesthetic elements wherein identity messages are transferred.

Conclusion

Considering the fact that there was a relationship between consumption and identity as evidenced in the study literature and theoretical foundation, it can be stated that the foresaid relationship has also been confirmed in the studied population. However, it seems that the relationship essentially differs from what has existed in the theoretical setting. The most ponderable part of the results was the type of relationship between the amount of the urban aesthetic elements' consumption and citizenship identity. Based on the amount of Pearson correlation coefficient values observed for the aforesaid relationship, it seems that the relationship between some of the Iranian society's properties should be somewhat explicated to elabo-

rate this finding. It was made clear in this regard that the increase in the individuals' tendencies towards the consumption of some of the urban aesthetic elements with some aesthetical values has led to the reduction in their citizenship identity scores. In the aesthetic elements with aesthetical values in contrast to the elements with functional values, content is provided for semantic impression, hence the construction of identity in a more effective way. In other words, considering the deeper semantic relationship established between these elements and the consumers, this set of elements can be expected to transfer the primary indicators of the citizenship identity more than the urban aesthetic elements with applied values. But, this does not hold true in reality and some reasons can be presented for it. One of the reasons given rise to the emergence of the obtained result can be the following: the urban aesthetic elements with maximal aesthetical values in Tehran have fallen short of establishing a significant relationship with the consumers in cultural terms; thus, the consumer engages in their passive consumption in lieu of their active consumption. Such consumption not only fails to construct a unit meaning within the format of identity, but it also makes the consumer be inflicted with dysmorphia. Such dysmorphia stems from the effect of non-native elements in the generation of the aesthetic products. The main root of such dysmorphia is in the problem-oriented multiplicity of the modern products in the Iranian society that dates back to long ago in history. The multiplicity of the non-problematic type would definitely cause dynamicity of the cultural elements' production setting. In sociological terms, this multiplicity is problematic when the interaction between the species gives its place to the contradiction and contention.

The multiplicity existent in the cultural elements' production setting in Iran, as a society in transition, is the outcome of the modern values' infiltration. Here, multiplicity, as a modern element, along with some traditional consumption behaviors contributes to the incongruence of the more general settings of such transitional communities as Iran. Many studies

have been conducted about the consumption behaviors in the developing communities and all of them affirm the consumers' wandering in the settings of cultural elements' production and consumption. Such a wandering sometimes acts as a rival and a barrier to the dynamicity of the production sphere and cultural consumption. In communities in transition, the cultural space or, in more detailed sense, production and consumption spaces of the cultural elements (including the urban aesthetic elements) construct subcultures that rapidly become anti-cultures. This same conversion to anti-culture leads to dysmorphia. Many of the consumption behaviors and some of the production policies in such communities as Iran have been described by such terms as cultural monopoly, cultural socialism and cultural traditionalism. These expressions very well reveal the behavioral examples of the consumers in some situations in the cultural elements' production and consumption spheres.

The troublesomeness of the cultural sphere in communities like Iran that are fostering the peaceful symbiosis ideal of traditional and modern ideologies in their minds, can be clarified based on the epistemological reasoning that these ideologies are inconsistent. It has happened many times that the cultural policy-makers in Iran have mistakenly realized the highly challenging cultural elements' production and consumption spheres as the main characteristic of the today's communities based on some postmodern presumptions and for the reason that the issue has not been explored in depth and interpreted contention in the behavior of the cultural elements' consumers as interaction and dynamicity; whereas the cultural elements' production and consumption in Iran is becoming a more non-dynamic everyday subject to this incorrect reasoning and the consumers of various cultural elements are engaged in the contention based on ideological denial of one another. This contention dates back to the hasty entry of some modern institutions into the Iranian society, especially in the middle of the first Pahlavi government's era and during the entire second Pahlavi government's period. At that time, the support of the western subculture changed

the shapes of the cities without bringing about any change in the behaviors of the citizens. In Iran, consumption of many of the cultural elements like urban aesthetic elements cannot be defined based on those elements' special value or meaning. In many of the cases, consumption is a sort of ideological resistance for the emergence of latent contentions. A short glance at the prioritization of the tendencies towards the consumption of urban aesthetic elements in the three abovementioned neighborhoods each representing the presence of a social class with its different cultural attributes makes the issue largely clarified. Consumption of some urban aesthetic elements by the high and medium cultural social classes in Niavaran and Jannat Abad Neighborhoods is more of the types featuring functional values and the non-consumption of some of them that have more aesthetical values like mural paintings with national and historical as well as religious themes and ethical and instructional banners is more resembling a sort of ideological contention. Such a type of consumption cannot be attributed to the consumers' unwillingness for the consumption of the lean urban aesthetic elements. It has to be defined as a sort of symbolic resistance to the ideological confrontation with the consumption of urban aesthetic elements.

This resistive consumption which is also manifested in the survey's results and findings leads to the consumers' wandering and causes an inability in controlling the citizenship identity and internalization of the values and norms in the citizens via producing such cultural elements as urban aesthetic elements. Every year, large sums of money are spent on the production of aesthetic elements aiming at transferring of the values that can construct the consumer citizens as expected by the cultural policy-maker. However, the resistive consumption disorders all the equations. Of course, it seems that this complex problem can be overcome by the same urban aesthetic elements. These same elements can be also applied to dismiss the unwanted ideologies in the consumers' consumption and subsequently contribute to the resolving of their wandering. The other reason that can be pointed

out as the cause of the obtainment of such results is the producers' disloyalty to the native values and norms. Analysis of the content of many of the aesthetic elements in Tehran⁶ can be expressive of the idea that a low percentage of the messages contain native and national values. Unfortunately, that part of the urban aesthetic elements commissioned to the transferring of the native values and norms are of a low quality and cannot attract the consumers as compared to the set of the urban aesthetic elements that are more influenced by the non-native cultures.

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