CHANGING DISCOURSES ON VISIBILITY AND INVISIBILITY IN IRANIAN DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE: A CASE STUDY IN VALI-ASR DISTRICT IN TABRIZ (1980-2000)

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submitted by **MARYAM GOLABI** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy in Architecture Department, Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Halil Kalıpçılar
Dean, Graduate School of **Natural and Applied Sciences** _____

Prof. Dr. F. Cânâ Bilsel
Head of Department, **Architecture** _____

Prof. Dr. F. Cânâ Bilsel
Supervisor, **Architecture Dept., METU** _____

Prof. Dr. Jale A. Erzen
Co-Supervisor, **Architecture Dept., METU** _____

Examining Committee Members:

Prof. Dr. Mualla Erkılıç
Architecture Dept., METU _____

Prof. Dr. F. Cânâ Bilsel
Architecture Dept., METU _____

Prof. Dr. Esin Boyacıoğlu
Architecture Dept., Gazi University _____

Prof. Dr. Hilde Heynen
Architecture Dept., KU Leuven _____

Prof. Dr. Belgin Turan Özkaya
Architecture Dept., METU _____

Date: 10.12.2018

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Surname: Maryam Golabi

Signature:

ABSTRACT

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Golabi, Maryam
Ph.D., Department of Architecture
Supervisor: Prof. Dr. F. Cânâ Bilsel
Co-Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Jale A. Erzen

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This thesis aims to investigate the influence of socio-cultural transformations on the domestic architecture in the twentieth century in Iran in general and in Tabriz in particular. Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework on the relation of social space and physical space provided conceptual tools for this study. The house is conceptualized as a physical embodiment of the social space. The attempt is to understand how the structure of social space, which is influenced by the ideology of the state is mirrored and spatialized in the domestic architecture. The thesis devises the concept of the 'aesthetics of invisibility' for understanding the residential architecture in the post-revolutionary Iran.

This study employs a combined research methodology. Firstly, the development of Iranian architectural discourse in terms of domestic architecture is investigated through publications from early twentieth century onwards. Changing ideas and thoughts on visibility and invisibility in the residential architecture is studied in the contemporary Iran. Secondly, the shifts in the identity of Iranian women and their influence on the design of the domestic space is investigated through the mass media. Finally, a case study is conducted in *Vali-asr* district in Tabriz to examine the plan and façade organizations of houses built between 1980 and 2000.

The findings of the study demonstrate that the domestic architecture cannot be evaluated comprehensively in an abstract way, in isolation from contextual factors. This study highlights how the revival of Islamic values in Iran influences the organization of the plans and elevations of houses. It shows how the domestic space is the product of the social space and any change in gender relations, habitus, and individuals' identity is translated in the domestic architecture.

Keywords: Domestic Space, Socio-cultural Values, Women Identity, Aesthetics of Invisibility

ÖZ

İRAN'DAKİ KONUT MİMARİSİNDE GÖRÜNÜRLÜK VE GÖRÜNMEZLİK SÖYLEMLERİNDE DEĞİŞİM; TEBRİZ'DE VALI-ASR MAHALLESİ KONUTLARI (1980-2000)

Golabi, Maryam
Doktora, Mimarlık Bölümü
Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. F. Cânâ Bilsel
Ortak Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Jale A. Erzen

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Bu tez, genel olarak İran'da ve özellikle Tebriz'de yirminci yüzyılda sosyo-kültürel dönüşümlerin konut mimarisine etkisini araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Pierre Bourdieu'nün sosyal mekan ve fiziksel mekanın ilişkileri konusunda geliştirdiği kuramsal çerçeve, bu çalışma için kavramsal araçlar sağladı. Bu kapsamda ev, sosyal alanın fiziksel olarak vücut bulduğu, fiziksel düzenleme olarak kavramsallaştırılmıştır. Burada amaçlanan devlet ideolojisinden etkilenen sosyal alan yapısının konut mimarisine nasıl yansıtıldığını ve uzamsallaştırıldığını anlamaktır. Tez, devrim sonrası İran'da konut mimarisini anlamak için "görünmezliğin estetiği" kavramını ortaya koymaktadır.

Bu çalışmada karma bir araştırma metodolojisi kullanılmıştır. İlk olarak İran mimarlık söyleminin iç mimarlık açısından gelişimi yayınlar üzerinden izlenmiş, çağdaş İran'da konut mimarisinde görünürlük ve görünmezlik kavramları çevresinde fikir ve düşüncelerin değişimi incelenmiştir. İkinci olarak, İranlı kadınların kimliğindeki değişimler ve bu değişimlerin konut mekanının tasarımına etkileri ilgili medya ve kitle iletişim araçları üzerinden irdelenmektedir. Son olarak, Tebriz'deki Vali-asr bölgesinde, 1980-2000 yılları arasında inşa edilen evlerin plan ve cephe

organizasyonlarının yukarıdaki toplumsal değişimler bağlamında incelendiği bir alan çalışması yapılmıştır.

Çalışmanın bulguları, konut mimarlığının bağlamsal faktörlerden yalıtılarak soyut bir şekilde değerlendirilemez olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu çalışma, İran'da İslami değerlerin canlanmasının, evlerin plan ve cephe organizasyonunu nasıl etkilediğini vurgulamakta, konut mekânının sosyal alanın ürünü olduğunu, ve cinsiyet ilişkilerinde, habitusta ve bireylerin kimliğindeki değişimlerin konut mimarisinde ifadesini bulduğunu ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Konut Mekânları, Sosyo-kültürel Değerler, Kadın Kimliği, Görünmezliğin Estetiği

To my parents and Meysam for their endless encouragement

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Definition of the Problem

Humans give meaning to the places they dwell in and their presence influences the spaces they reside in (Amjadi, 2011). A house helps its residents to meet their needs and also helps them to feel rooted and belonging. While the house outlines daily routine of inhabitants, it also maintains and transfers values of its residents who shape it and reside in it (Lawrence R. J., 1987).

In the twentieth century, Iran witnessed substantial cultural, social, political, and economic transformations. The initial transformation was when the Pahlavi state with its modern ideologies and modernization programs attempted to change the traditional society of Iran. During the Pahlavi period, all that which was considered to be traditional rejected by the authorities and they needed to be changed with a new one as a symbol of modern Iran. In line with the large-scale programs of the regime for progress, the daily life, social life of people, domestic space and its architecture all were subject to many modifications and shifts as well. All these had to embody and follow modern rules. Iranian architects trained in Europe, who were motivated to educate Iranian society to a modern way of life through the adoption of European and American values, militated for reform in the cult of domesticity through the design of modern houses. The idea of the modern house gave rise to a significant transformation in Iranian domestic architecture, as it will be discussed in chapters two and three.

The attempt to be modern in the Iranian society continued until the Islamic revolution took place in February 1979, which was a turning point in the socio-cultural history of the country and influenced all aspects of Iranians' life as a result of the policies for the revival of Islamic beliefs. The revolution brought about a great shift in the system of

values and codes of behavior for Iranians. Since the Islamic revolution, as Najmabadi explains, the state has planned the development of new values and the creation of "a new breed of men and women" as its most vital mission (Najmabadi, 1987, p 215). According to her, the emphasis was on "cultural and moral campaigns, on education and propaganda, and on a thorough cleansing of society from values associated with the previous era of Western penetration" (Najmabadi, 1987, p 215). In doing so, the lifestyle of the Iranian people changed in the post-revolutionary period as a result of numerous reasons: the new value order promulgated by Islamic ideology, anti-western viewpoints, the introduction of new norms of conduct and some restrictions on gender relations, the prohibition on imports and restriction on production of some luxury objects, restriction on the types of entertainment considered as the contravention of the religious values, for example, "various types of clubs and music record shops" (Gorji B. A., 1997, p320). The aim was to eliminate the manifestations of the West on the society of Iran and the immediate effect of eradication or change was felt mostly on social and cultural practices found as extremely westernized and incompatible with Islamic tenets (Gorji, 1997, p 323). Religious thinkers considered that the main achievement of the Islamic Revolution was its cultural aspect. According to them, Iran has had a real and tangible revolution in values (Grigor, 2014). They put forward new ideas regarding the social relation between men and women. These ideas resulted in the redefinition and reconfiguration of certain aspects of traditional domestic rules in which the emphasis was on gender segregation. The idea of gender segregation in social relations has affected the architecture of public and domestic spaces in Iran (Gorji B. A., 1997). As Masserat Amir-Ebrahimi points out, with the triumph of the Islamic Revolution in 1979, the Islamic law (*sharia*[1]), which had a dominant role in the history of Iran, returned to pervade the private and public spheres of Iranians' life. Moreover, the first decade of the Islamic state was concurrent with the long war

[1] Sharia is an Islamic law that was formulated and promoted by Muslim intellectuals to shed light on the principles of Islam. Its aim is to provide Muslims with rules and guidelines for what Islam permits or is against. For more, see Eben Saleh, M,A. (1998), pp 537-55

between Iran-Iraq. As it will be discussed in chapter 4, the war was also influential in the reinforcement and the consolidation of the Islamic ideologies of the new state.

This thesis argues that the redefinition of gender relations and woman identity based on Islamic laws have influenced the domestic architecture of post-revolutionary Iran. As it will be discussed in the theoretical framework, the relationship between gender and domestic space has a long history in the world. Even, modernity, which was conceptualized as pursuing and expressing the ideals for progress, integrity, emancipation, authenticity, and rationality, contained gendered implications, as Hilde Heynen (2005) points out. In her text entitled "Modernity and Domesticity", through a detailed investigation of modernity literature, Heynen discusses about oppositional gendered interpretation of modernity by Anglo-American and poststructuralist French authors. She also argues about the different stages in the development of the cult of domesticity in US and Great Britain in the nineteenth century. The modern woman could not completely leave the cult of domesticity. Throughout the world, the media represented the modern woman within the modern house as a domestic consumer, responsible for the hygienic condition of her house, and also the shaper of the modern way of living. According to Heynen, for a majority of women in the West, the home was considered as a place in which modernity was enacted; it was considered as part of an effort of civilizing mission (Heynen, 2005, p13).

Architectural historian Beatriz Colomina, in her insightful researches, has dealt with the concepts of domestic space and gender through a different lens. The notion of gender along with its visuality in media has taken an important part in her debate regarding modern architectural discourse. Based on archival investigations, she highlights how modern architects including Adolf Loos and Le Corbusier has dealt with the concept of gender in their designs of domestic space. In her book entitled 'Privacy and Publicity', regarding the Muller house designed by Loos, Colomina states that the sequence of spaces and furniture provided "the occupant with a vantage point overlooking the interior (Colomina, 1994, p 238)." She interprets the interiors designed by Loos as a theatre box, which is the space that is "marked as female, the

domestic character of the furniture contrasting with that of the adjacent male space" (Colomina, 1994, p 248). Colomina argues that the split created between the interior and the exterior in the works of Loos are gendered. Loos writes, as cited by Colomina, the exterior of the house is like "a dinner jacket, a male mask, as the unified self, protected by a seamless façade, is masculine. The interior is the scene of sexuality and of reproduction, all the things that would divide the subject in the outside world" (Colomina, 1994, p 274). In her interpretation of Le Corbusier's film, *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui*, Colomina argues that the woman is already inside, bounded and enclosed by the house. She continues that even in the photographs and the drawings of Le Corbusier, women by no means occupy the same space as men. Women already are inside, shot from the back while looking over the interior spaces. In contrast, men are already "on the balcony, looking out, toward the city" (Colomina, 1994, p 296). Colomina's investigation on the relation of gender and space is noticeable in other writings. For instance, in her book "Domesticity at war", she highlights that the gender issues were evident in the advertisements of popular magazines during World War II. Colomina states that the "gender split" in wartime advertisements, "the girl inside, on the carpet; the boy outside, on the grass", reveals the separation of domestic activities in the suburban house (Colomina, 2007, p132). Therefore, as both Colomina and Heynen pointed out in their respective works, gender has been an important notion in the formation of everyday life and domestic space in modern times.

In this thesis, it is argued that as in the pre-revolutionary period in Iran, social reforms including the banning of the Islamic cover (veil) for women as a part of modernization process had a significant effect on the new open form of residential dwellings; in the post-revolutionary period, gender segregation and re-veiling of women as part of new Islamic rules influenced the design and debates around domestic space as well. This research proposes the notion of the 'aesthetics of invisibility' for the understanding of the residential architecture in Iran in the years between 1980 - 2000. By the 'aesthetics of invisibility', this dissertation refers to the aestheticization of invisibility of domestic space by the post-revolutionary authorities. It is argued that the notions of gender

segregation in social life and veiling of women that have been aestheticized morally by the state, brought about the invisibility of both the women's body and also of the domestic space. As it will be discussed in the following parts in detail, the invisibility of women and domestic space was advocated and aestheticized through different metaphors and slogans.

Regarding the research on domestic architecture in Iran, a number of architects and architectural historians have carried out valuable researches. Above all, Mina Marefat, an architectural historian, in her Ph.D. thesis, entitled 'Building to Power: Architecture of Tehran 1921-1941', in 1988, dealt with architectural modernism in the first two-decades of Pahlavi period in Tehran. However, she mainly focused on modern governmental buildings and structures in Tehran, she also dedicated a part of her work to a number of modern private houses built in Tehran for elite clients. Another comprehensive research is the work of Pamela Karimi, an Iranian architectural historian, "Domesticity and Consumer Culture in Iran: Interior Revolutions of the Modern Era (Routledge, 2013)" which can be considered as an examination of the relationship between domestic culture and the social transformation of contemporary Iran. Karimi investigates the relationship between women and consumer culture and their influence on domestic space in Iran.

Some other researchers in Iran have investigated the vernacular domestic architecture of Iran. They have selected different traditional cities and mostly deal with the regional variability of vernacular house forms. They have focused on the integration of environmental factors (climate, construction methods and materials) and social organization (community, household, gender relation). For example, the architectural historians Mohammad Karim Pirnia and Gholamhossein Memarian have explored various house forms in different regions in Iran. They have investigated indigenous houses through photographs, drawings, and texts and presented a typological study of housing. The authors have explored the construction technology, climatic conditions, and materials used in the vernacular houses. In other words, they interpreted the diversity in house forms as a way of conformity and adaptation to the climatic

conditions. Mohammad Reza Haeri, in his book entitled "House in culture and nature of Iran" (2009), has addressed how traditional house forms had been integrated and consolidated into the cultural whole. The book is also a kind of formal comparison between traditional residential architecture and contemporary housing. The author puts emphasis on how design concepts of a traditional house can be used to solve the design problems (mainly privacy) and spatial organization of contemporary houses. Fatemeh Kateb (1998) in her dissertation has focused on the domestic architecture of Tehran during the Qajar period 1794-1925. She has examined house forms, layout, decoration and furnishing through a series of case studies. Her study provides a description for almost all the elements found in the traditional Iranian houses built in the Qajar period.

However, while the domestic architecture of Iran has been studied by several researchers, clearly many aspects related to the domestic architecture have not been explored. Particularly, the changes that residential architecture has undergone after the Islamic Revolution has been ignored. The architectural shifts that were an outcome of the redefinition of the woman identity and gender relations in post-revolutionary period have not been studied yet. Therefore, the present study attempts to explore neglected aspects of housing studies in Iran by examining the culture of post-revolutionary period as it has manifested itself within the home.

The underlying concern of the present study is to understand the relationships between the contemporary society, culture, and dwellings. The argument of the thesis is that the changes in residential architecture are part of the social, cultural, and political shifts of a country. It is assumed that the Islamic revolution (1979) and the Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988), which brought pronounced changes to the lifestyles and gender relations of the Iranians, laid the foundations for the change in domestic architecture. To summarize the intentions of this research, this thesis has three main aims. The first aim is to investigate the development and changing of thoughts and ideas in the architectural discourses around the domestic space in the twentieth-century Iran. As the Islamic state was a reaction to the Pahlavi period, studying the architectural

discourses of Pahlavi period is necessary in order to better grasp the transformation and shifts of ideas and thoughts.

In the history of Iran, the two different regimes in accordance to their different ideologies, defined the gender-relations and woman identity in opposite ways. The second aim is to explore how gender-relations and identity of women are translated into the domestic space.

Through selecting and analyzing a number of houses as a case study, the third aim is to study the architectural patterns and elements, and to explore how they are articulated to provide the invisibility of domestic space. Moreover, how building regulations correspond to the concept of invisibility will be investigated as well.

Therefore, the aim of the study may be organized around four sets of specific questions:

1. How and to what extent, everyday life and domestic space in Iran were influenced by socio-cultural transformations in the twentieth century Iran in general and in the post-revolutionary period in particular?
2. Which concepts emerged in the contemporary architectural discourse in Iran in terms of domestic architecture; how have the ideas and concepts in residential discourses changed in the post-revolutionary period; and how have building regulations corresponded to the Islamic values, particularly, the invisibility, promoted by the Islamic state?
3. How has the Islamic feminine identity, especially "invisibility," reflected in the domestic architecture in the post-revolutionary period in Iran?
4. And finally, what are the changes in domestic architecture in two consequent decades in terms of the organization of plan layouts and facades?

1.2. Conceptual Framework of the Study

Dwellings are constituted as the physical medium, through which cultural values, norms and traditions are represented. In this sense, Lesila Kanes Weisman asserts that "the built environment is a cultural artifact" and both the forms and the process through which we build them embody and represent cultural values and involve standards of behavior that affect us all (Weisman, 2000). Being the backdrop of social life, domestic spaces both reflect and structure core cultural values. Thus, it needs to be understood in the context of its production namely society, economics, politics, and culture.

The book edited by Susan Kent 'Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space' (1990), explores the relationship between domestic architecture and human behavior in different cultures around the world through a multi-disciplinary approach. Each researcher puts emphasis on the degree to which cultural conducts shape architecture and, the extent to which the built environment impacts on and reproduces cultural behaviors. The contributors investigate and analyze the complex interaction between the spatial organization of domestic space and the use of space.

Undoubtedly, the concept of "culture" points to issues of great depth and complexity. The purpose of this dissertation is not raising broader questions or making further interpretations of this concept, but clarifying its meaning within the scope of this thesis. Amos Rapoport (1998) states that the word 'culture' was first used in anthropological sense in 1871, when it was defined by Edward Burnett Tylor, an English anthropologist, as the complex whole which contains knowledge, belief, morals, art, customs and any other habits acquired and attained by man as a member of a society. Therefore, culture is a broad domain and the built form shapes a small part of the whole culture and is a subset of it as well (Rapoport, 1998). According to Rapoport, it is often fruitful to clear the broad concept of culture by "dismantling" it and studying the components and the ways in which those components relate with each other and with other variables, for example, the components of the built

environment. Dismantling of the word “culture” depends on the opinion that particular parts of the environment are compatible with particular expressions of culture, given some understanding of the mechanisms involved (Rapoport, 1998). Culture is defined in two distinct components, which are the external representation, practices, activities, and internal content. The external layer is related to the concrete representation of culture concerning visible activities, behaviors, and products while the internal layer encompasses the formerly defined commonalities which are considerably and deeply embedded within (Kamalipour & Zaroudi, 2014). However, some researchers have defined several levels between these two important layers of culture. For instance, “symbols, patterns, and heroes are generally positioned in-between the internal and external layers of culture” in order to act as a mediator between these two main layers. Similarly, the mediator layer is the level of norms between the concrete external and abstract internal layers of culture (Kamalipour & Zaroudi, 2014).

In its attempt to capture the relationship between culture, society, and the domestic architecture in Iran, this thesis will basically focus on Pierre Bourdieu’s conceptual framework related to ‘social space’, and ‘physical space’. In order to develop clear disciplinary boundaries, one needs, to work within a relevant interdisciplinary field, which provide complementary conceptual references. The primary purpose of this dissertation is to contribute to the development of the field of housing research that touches on essential issues related to the domestic space in a specific context in the contemporary era.

1.2.1. Social Space and Physical Space

According to Pierre Bourdieu (1996), social space and physical space have many aspects in common. As “physical space is defined by the mutual externality of parts, social space is defined by the mutual exclusion (or distinction) of positions which constitute it, that is, as a structure of juxtaposition of social positions” (Bourdieu, 1996). ‘Social space’ is the arena of planned and organized relationships and their representations in the social sphere, and agents experience it completely in a real and

tangible way (Fogle, 2011, p. 2). It is an invisible and unseen collection of relations that are retranslated into the physical space through certain distributional adjustments of agents and assets. The structure of social space demonstrates itself, in the most different settings, in the shape of "spatial oppositions and inhabited or appropriated space" which act as a kind of spontaneous and unplanned representation of social space (Bourdieu, 1996, pp12-13).

Social space is not solely a framework for connecting and relating people to each other; it also incorporates all manner and means of cultural phenomena as structured and organized in Bourdieu's developed notion of capital (Fogle, 2011, p7). Activities, objects, and artifacts with diverse configurations of cultural and economic capital are represented in social space. Cultural indicators as clear as career and style of dress, along with subtle markers, for example, taste in furnishings, music, vocabulary, and accent are all involved in order to signify their role in the distinction of social groups (Fogle, 2011, p7).

Nikolaus Fogle (2011, p 35) argues that physical space, according to Bourdieu, acts as "an organizational template for the structure of the social world", and it enforces oppositions, conveys meanings and underlines inequalities. Physical space refers to a "blurred" translation of social space and this blurring is not an uncertain or accidental effect because "it is the structure of power in social space" that forms the structure of physical space. Certain groups and individuals with adequate cultural and economic capital have the authority to impose their own image of the social sphere on the ground. Architects and planners who take a position of high cultural capital as well as investors and developers who take a position of high economic capital practice to have an influence, in a controlled manner, over the form of the space that is occupied by all classes. Obviously, this influence is intervened by many factors, for example, potential tenants, zoning clearance, geographical constraints and so on (Fogle, 2011).

In order to explain the interaction of social space and physical space, Bourdieu offers a theory based on practice and his fundamental concept is 'habitus' (the practice of

everyday life) which is the mediator between them. That is to say that he formalizes the function of praxis or action in the production and reproduction of structures and meaning in the socio-spatial orders (Lawrence & Low, 1990). The habitus is "the system of structured, structuring dispositions"- and it is formed in practice and is constantly leaning to the practical functions (Bourdieu, 1990, p52). Bourdieu proposes the concept of habitus, "as a set of personally held dispositions around which" an individual's belief and actions are organized (Archer, 2005). Therefore, it is also defined as a deep structure of a socially organized "system of cognitive and motivating structures" (Bourdieu, 1990).

As a product of history, habitus generates collective and individual practices consistent with the scheme produced by history. It assures the active existence of past experiences that are stored in each organism in the schemes of perception, thought and action, inclined to ensure the accuracy and authenticity of practices and their stability over time, more credible than all formal rules and clear norms (Bourdieu, 1990, p54). As a product of the social conditioning, the habitus, creates an organized set of goods and possessions, unified by a cohesion of style, adapt to each class of positions (Bourdieu, 1996, pp 14-15). One of the roles of habitus is to constitute style solidarity, which unifies both the practices and possessions of a class of agents or of a singular agent (Bourdieu, 1996, p15). On the one hand, the notion of habitus refers to an internalization of social structures. A person's central dispositions are not intrinsic and instinctive but rather are formed by the social and physical understanding of the world in which one is involved. On the other hand, "habitus captures the manner in which dispositions are externalized" as individuals actively re-make the world through their everyday activities (Sallaz, 2010, pp 321-323). Thus, habitus is a relation between the situation and the practices, which is created within a subculture, and designates how the individual gives value to a way of life and makes choices among practices.

Among other things, habitus embraces two supplementary relations between the individual and the built space. The first one is that the spatial form is an apparatus by which people create an identity and express social relations; and the second one is the

permanent capacity of building to maintain, retain, perpetuate and eternalize these identities and social relations (Archer, 2005, p 431). For example, a certain type of room or building may be set aside and used by a specific class or gender; or, the orientation of a building may adapt to a given cosmology. One's dispositions are inevitably attached there. Thus built space turns into a reference system where knowledge is created and used. Built spaces both constitute the dispositions shaping social identity (Bourdieu, 1990, p 71) and naturalize and establish those dispositions within society (Archer, 2005, p 431).

Bourdieu's approach could give the architectural researcher a fruitful theorization of the precise and familiar relations that are found between the built environment and the human being as John Archer (2005) mentions. Physical aspects of buildings such as volume, scale, plan, orientation, enclosure, light, color, and pattern express the dimensions of human life including consciousness, status, identity, religion, gender, occupation, class, wealth, and taste. Within a certain social context, one's habitus, the set of tendencies that an individual may keep independently or in common with members of diverse groups and classes is fortified by identifying the potentialities and restrictions in the built environment occupied by those dispositions (Archer, 2005). Built environment and habitus reciprocally reinforce each other, but none of them has decisive control over the other. For example, changing and variable conditions including progressing technology, the intervention of new political, and economic forces may destabilize the relations persistent by a given and certain set of buildings, consequently causing either alterations and modifications to the buildings to befit the new conditions, or revision and alteration of the habitus to suit new circumstances (Archer, 2005, p. 431).

The analysis of the design of the Kabyle house, amongst Bourdieu's earliest and the most empirical works is crucial and focal to his thinking about the relationship between physical space and social space. Bourdieu established a basic mechanism for explaining the role of habitus in the "objectification of symbolic oppositions" that were established in the interior of the house. He states that inside the house, everybody

"learns not by assimilating mental structures but by imitating the actions of others" (Lawrence & Low, 1990). The spatial organization and material possessions of the house express both the seasonal and daily habits and ritual practices of the occupants to maintain the shared and collective meanings of the Kabyle society (Webster, 2010). The analysis of the physical layout of the Kabyle house, and the specific practices and uses, which are created from that layout, display how the space works as a mechanism of social reproduction (Fogle, 2011).

The Kabyle house is divided into two different parts in terms of its size. The large side at the right is pertinent to dominant masculinity, while the smaller side at the left is pertinent to the dominated femininity. This basic opposition in the house, which is fundamentally a division of sexual labor, is also linked with many other sets of oppositions such as high/low, day/night, light/dark, dry/wet[2] (Bourdieu, 1990). The affiliation of these oppositions is analogical since they are "similar in different," namely, they consist of a kind of position between the central oppositions within the natural and social world (Fogle, 2011). As stated, the smaller part of the house is female space while the larger one is male, and each one expresses the characteristics that basically describe the difference between men (light, high, dry, cooked, culture) and women (dark, low, wet, raw, nature), and the responsibilities, rights, and powers of each (Gieryn, 2002). The female space is the place for sleep, sexual intercourse, animals, water jars, birth, and death; male space is for humans (specially guests), lamps, fire, and cooking utensils. Each object and the practice associated with it, is a part of a symbolic scheme and gets its meaning only in opposition to other parts or places (Gieryn, 2002).

The spatial organization and the practice of space use in the Kabyle house disclose that the 'bodily occupation of space' is absolutely integrated and consolidated with the scheme of cultural meaning of a certain society. "The basic relations of the body are its space function as an analogical template for an entire universe of oppositions, social

[2] The division of the house into a dark and light part conforms to the division of the year into a wet and dry season. For more see Bourdieu, 1990, p. 281

and cultural as well as material, that themselves become, integrated components of a total system, embodied in the form of habitus" (Fogle, 2011). Habitus, which is adjusted in this manner to work within a "socially structured physical space," creates the practical engagement of an individual with his/ her world to be seen completely natural. As Folge points out, "conscious reflection on one's physical space may not be enough to break the spell of this naturalization, which manifests itself epistemically in what Bourdieu calls the *doxa*, an unquestioned belief in the objective reality of structured appearance" (Fogle, 2011). *Doxa*, in modern societies, refers to shared, collective but unquestioned or undisputed beliefs, opinions, and perceptions, which are mediated through relatively "autonomous social microcosms (fields)" that define natural activities and points of view through the "internalized sense of limits and habitus of the social agents in the fields" (Grenfell, 2012). Therefore, *doxa* is the relationship of direct adherence, which is created in practice between the field and a habitus to which it is adapted, "the pre-verbal taking-for-granted of the world that flows from practical sense" (Bourdieu, 1990).

In sum, although the physical space is not the only designator of the habitus, but, undoubtedly, it has one of the most important roles, because "habitation to occupying and traversing physical space" encompasses the body directly in the attainment of spatialized social orders (Fogle, 2011). Therefore, physical spaces address silent commands and injunctions directly to the body.

As it was mentioned by many researchers Bourdieu's analysis of the Kabyle house conveys implications that go beyond that particular case. As Bourdieu himself highlighted frequently, as cited by Nicolaus Folge (2011), the usage of physical space as a reservoir for social meaning, in connection with a bodily occupation of space, is not peculiar to the Kabyle society. It can be used and applied in all types of the built environment. Therefore, human habitations involve "meaningful symbolic elements of social relationships and ideologies". Any modification or change in them elucidate "the social and gender relations that took precedence in the lives of inhabitants of a particular locale" as Thomas and Rotman (2012) argued.

1.2.2. The Translation of Social Space into Physical Space in the Traditional Domestic Architecture of Iran

As discussed above, the spatial organization and household activities within domestic space embody social relations. To be precise, the spatial organization of a house and the arrangement of rooms mirror the use of domestic space and social relationship of people (Coolen & Ozaki, 2004). In a similar way, "social life without culture is as impossible as social life without production" (Shahidian, 2002). Culture gives meaning to people's practices or actions and permits them to become aware of their lives. It is not only a reflection of social relations but also it is a window through which people look at the world. (Shahidian, 2002)

In Iran, where the dominant religious culture is Islam, the roles of men and women are defined in such ways that have a direct effect on domestic architecture. Several scholarly works put an emphasis on the important role of religion in the built environment through performing the "religion-required activities". Religious practices, for example, define the rules determining the orientation, axis, and "boundaries of human-made structures" (Lawrence R. J., 1987). Islam encompasses strong religious conducts that exert directly to the practice of everyday life within the dwelling and its environment. The architecture of traditional Muslim houses was subject to the guidelines from principles defined in *Sharia* (Islamic law) that were derived from the Quran as well as the *hadiths*[3] (Othman, Arid, & Buys, 2015). In his article, Eben Saleh reveals the role of Islamic religion in the urban form and architecture of three settlements in Saudi Arabia. In his research, he explores how the Islamic law and customary laws have influenced the urban form development. In the analysis of built form, he demonstrates that both the interior and exterior of the dwellings are conditioned by Islamic religious teaching and the concept of privacy (Eben Saleh, 1998).

[3] Utterances of Prophet Muhammad

Based on Islamic teachings, Iranians were particularly concerned about the social interaction between family, especially female family members and outsiders (*non-mahram*). In Iran, gender relations have been obviously affected by the notion of the supplementarity of roles in a heterosexual household. The assumption is that as the two sexes are created differently, they have to undertake dissimilar duties in private and public environments. "Men and women are dichotomously identified with rationality and emotionality. Though both sexes are regarded as sexual in nature, women are deemed in need of male supervision as female action is supposedly dominated by emotion" (Shahidian, 2002). In this situation, men belonged to the public sphere whereas women were defined by enclosure and revolved around domesticity: *zan-e khane (woman of house)*. The perfect woman was expected to stay in her "proper place." (Milani F. , 2011)

Regarding the spatial segregation based on sex, Gulsum Baydar (2005, p. 32) cited from Mark Wigley that women's responsibility is to protect the house, but in line with the law or rule that precedes both her and the dwelling. This is the "law of the father, the law of the marriage as the taming of desire, and the law of order and surveillance" (Baydar G., 2005, p 32). Therefore, masculine desire and control over sexuality is exerted in the house. The house is an arena of order and purification that is sustained by women who do not need to move outside (Baydar, 2005). In the west, the differences in "nature" between the sexes were considered to be the reason of the separation between women and men realms (Heynen H. , 2005).

It should be mentioned that division of gender spheres is fundamentally historical that existed in the ancient societies. Xenophon's fifth-century book Oeconomicus (The Economist) represents patriarchal ideology and construction of gender in Athenian society. His book is about the household management, the management of wife, and the division of gender spheres through expressing the dialogue of Socrates with his ideal gentleman, Ischomachus who has the pedagogical methods for training and

domesticating his wife. Regarding the naturalization of the spatialization of gender, Xenophon[4] explained:

> For a woman to bide tranquilly at home rather than roam abroad is no dishonor; but for a man to remain indoors, instead of devoting himself to outdoor pursuits, is a thing discreditable. But if a man does things contrary to the nature given him by God, the chances are, such insubordination escapes not the eye of Heaven: he pays the penalty, whether of neglecting his own works, or of performing those appropriate to woman (Xenophon, 2004).

In terms of such spatial division of gender in Athenian society, Mark Wigley in his text "Untitled: The Housing of gender" states that in Greek thought, women had to be bounded in order to control their identity, that is to say, their sexuality and chastity. He argues that the house, which was as the mechanism of this control, was involved in the creation of the gender division. Mark Wigley recalls Alberti's discussion in terms of the architecture's involvement in the practice of patriarchal authority. According to Alberti, cited by Wigley, in the design of private houses, the spatial order and the system of surveillance creates gender division. "Women are to be confined deep within a sequence of spaces at the greatest distance from the outside world while men are to be exposed to that outside" (Wigley, 1992). Therefore, a woman is domesticated by the spatial order of the house that confines her.

Regarding the relationship between gender and domestic space in the contemporary time, Hilde Heynen (2005) in her text "Modernity and Domesticity" argues about the gendered overtones of modern architecture through investigating the literature of modernity, architectural discourses, and practices of the time. She argues that the concepts and ideas around domesticity, which developed in response to the "division between work and home" in the modern time, underlined the segregation of

[4] Xenophon (430-354 BCE) was a Greek philosopher, warrior, historian, and the writer of many practical treatises on topics "ranging from horsemanship to taxation" (Browning). He wrote comprehensively on domestic matters in his Economics and "defined the duties of a wife therein (the overseer of the home and children) and marriage as a partnership ordained by the gods." Xenophon is well-known as a soldier and the writer of "Anabasis ('The Expedition' or 'The March Up Country'), his narrative of the Persian Expedition under Cyrus the Younger against Cyrus' brother Artaxerxes II of Persia in 401 BCE" (Mark, 2009).

male/female realms (Heynen H. , 2005). Domesticity as an issue of feminized containment is not in opposition to modernity, but intrinsic to it. Heynen argues that due to their different natures, males were considered to take part in the public realm of work, while females were bounded to the private realm of the domestic space, which they were expected to turn into a place of tranquility and rest for their families' male members. (Heynen H. , 2005)

In some Muslim countries, in addition to the domestication of women, gender relations gave rise to the 'separate spheres' and the division of domestic space into the public and private spheres. The rigidity of the gender division in the domestic sphere, through physical or symbolical barriers, differs from one subculture to the other, from rural to urban conditions, and from one country to another. However, the separation is not as clear as it was some decades back; it is still found in many cultures in many ways and in different degrees across all cultures (Farah & Klarqvist, 2001). Farah and Klarqvist investigated the role of gender in the spatial configuration of domestic space and they explored that the plan layout in Muslim Arab houses is organized along with gender lines. The traditional houses were made of the female/private realm and the male/visitor area. The spatial placement of the women in the domestic space has been interpreted as a separating, isolating and secluding realm with the incorporation of religious beliefs (Farah & Klarqvist, 2001). Therefore, the pattern of the 'separate spheres' is the most persistent symbol of "gendered space". It is "an oppositional and a hierarchical system" involving of a public domain (men) and a private domain (women) that leads to the division of the city from the dwelling, the public from the private, and males from females (Rendell, 2000, p103).

As Gulsum Baydar states, the spatial arrangement of a house permits defined familial encounters and restricts others, it controls the visible and invisible in the symbolic rule of domesticity, which is the rule of father (Baydar, 2005, p 39). The organization and function of the traditional houses and family were determined by three factors including religious practices, the Persian household structure, and the occupation of the head of family (Mahdavi, 2012). In the same manner, the disposition of women in

society, which was destined by Shi'i Islam, the official religion of the country, affected the traditional domestic architecture of Iran (Mahdavi, 2012). Muslim cultural values ordained that women had to be segregated from men except their close relatives (the legally defined *mahram*). The living quarters of those who could afford it were divided into two different parts: one part that was for the men of the household and their guests was called *biruni* (public), and the other part that was dedicated to women and religiously allowed men (*mahram)* was called *andaruni* (private). This type of separation also occurred in the poor people's houses which might be composed of one room, and where the separation was implemented through a curtain or some other separating partitions (Mahdavi, 2012).

In Iranian traditional houses, *andaruni* was the private and secluded part of the house for the family members, where they were most relaxed, can act freely and it was where the events were likely the most anticipated (Wagenknecht, 2015). It was dedicated solely to the family members, and restricted to the strangers. The *andaruni* courtyard, the most private type of courtyard, and its related rooms were considered for the private life of inhabitants. It acted as a place for familial gatherings, as a playground for children (Fakharian, 2015). Female guests would be more likely to go to the *andaruni*. Their presence in this part meant that male members of the household who were *na-mahram* to women visitors and considered adult would withdraw from the family group in the *andaruni*. The cooking and preparing food for both areas were done in the *andaruni* but shopping for the household were generally undertaken by male servants of the *biruni* (Khatib-Chahidi, 1997). The door opening to the *andaruni* was frequently covered with a curtain to distinguish it from the *biruni* door. Women's and men's relationship in terms of sexuality was based on the "traditional bargain". In the traditional bargain, a "good women", who was compatible with and followed the social codes of virtue and chastity, would have men's protection and respect. Women who failed to fulfill these social codes would be deprived of social respect and protection (Shahidian, 2002). Therefore, as Richard Jenkins (1992) explains, the concrete oppositions including outside/inside, public/private, male/female, and so on,

are combined with abstract and cultural oppositions including *namus* (male honor)/ *nejabat* (female honor). According to Jenkins, the concrete existence of commodities, artifacts, and physical organization represents and refers to the abstract cultural system of values and interpretive principles (Jenkins, 1992).

The *biruni,* in contrast to *andaruni*, was the public part of the house where visitors and male guests were received. It was also where the hierarchical relations were more important, and the events that took place there were less predictable (Wagenknecht, 2015). The *biruni* courtyard and its linked rooms were devoted to the shared use of occupants supervised by the head of the household. The *biruni* courtyard was also a storage place for family productions and goods (Fakharian, 2015). Furthermore, the *biruni* was used as a workplace for the household's males and as a meeting place in terms of the economic activities of the household (Khatib-Chahidi, 1997). *Na-mahram* male visitors and non-relatives would be accommodated and entertained by the men of the household in the *biruni* part which was accessible to visitors by the main vestibule. In this situation the rest of the family members was not disturbed. The *biruni* which was intended for social activities and events, generally for the men of the family had a reception hall in it.

The leading concepts of *biruni* and *andaruni* in the Iranian domestic architecture are also socially and culturally relevant subjects in a mixed society whose existence is related to the idea of otherness. The *biruni* life refers to the social life of people, where individuals should follow the accepted social codes of conduct. In contrast, the *andaruni* life refers to the private and spiritual life, which can also be "liberating", "imaginative", and enjoyable (Sheibani, 2011)

At this point, there is a practice of life similar to the harems of the Islamic imperial palaces however in a very small scale. In these houses, the segregation of sexes was also noticeable and yet the women who live in a household were often more isolated than the women in the harem of a palace. This situation and this type of family life

might have been the reason for the practice of polygamy, although, according to Jane Khatib-Chahidi, it occurs rarely in this century (Khatib-Chahidi, 1997).

In the Iranian traditional cities, the houses were arranged in a compact plan layout and positioned back to back. The inward-looking courtyard house was the most dominant type of dwelling (Chowdhury, 1998). While it was closed to the exterior world, it looked to a central courtyard, hence it accomplished the needs for privacy, sufficient light, and ventilation. Islamic rules for privacy and seclusion of women have brought about a number of architectural patterns and elements that are approximately similar in the domestic architecture of all Islamic countries (Chowdhury, 1998).

In general, the physical expression of privacy was achieved through the patterns of accessibility and visibility. One way to achieve the privacy in domestic space was the hierarchy of spaces. This notion and concept related to the order and sequence in spatial organization of a building. It referred to the degree of private-ness of spaces, namely, a movement from the entrance door into a house and from less private space to the more private ones (Vaziritabar, 1990). On the exterior, the traditional dwelling was surrounded by high walls which completely enclosed the house, and had no way except the entrance door with its adorned and decorative front (Figure 1. Left). The entrance door was the only way of accessing the courtyard and different spaces of the dwelling. However, the access to the house complex was certainly not a direct way. The visitor usually had to enter the house and its private parts by passing through three different spaces, each of which caused a different sensual and physical experience (Kateb-Valiankoh, 1998). The spaces were, in turn, the *hashti (*octagonal vestibule)[5], the *dalan*[6] (a narrow corridor as seen in Figure 1. Middle), and the *hayat (*courtyard).

[5] The *hashti* (vestibule) was located immediately after the entrance door. Its shape in plan was often octagonal, half octagonal, or rectangular, "with a low ceiling and a small roof-light in the dome shaped roof" (Kateb-Valiankoh, 1998, p. 212). The *hashti* provided access to a corridor or corridors and its size and form depended on the homeowner's economic status. In a large dwelling it provided access to *andaruni* as well. (Kateb-Valiankoh, 1998, p. 212).

[6] *Dalan* was an indirect corridor from the vestibule (*hashti*) to the courtyard *(hayat*) of the traditional houses.

The leading purpose of making such controlled route was to make invisible the strongly private part of domestic space to the outside and outdoor world (Kateb-Valiankoh, 1998). Even when the entrance door was left open, the most private part of the house was visually inaccessible from the street. “With no windows to the street and its twisted entrance”, the traditional Iranian house layout guarantees a controlled connection with the outside world (Madanipour, 1998, p. 242). This characteristic is found in many houses in the traditional neighborhoods.

Traditionally, the attention to privacy was also expressed in the door itself by using different doorknockers for men and women that made different kinds of sounds. In this sense, all visitors had to announce and disclose themselves by means of the knocking before entering the house (Memarian, Hashemi Toghr-oljerdi, & H., 2012). The two doorknockers were placed side by side. One of them, which was a quieter one and was in the form of metal ring, would be used by women. The other one, which was a louder and was in the form of a large metal hammer, was used by men. This situation gives the female members of the household the possibility to know and recognize the sex of the guest or visitor and decide whether to open the door or not when they are alone in the house (Figure 1. Right).

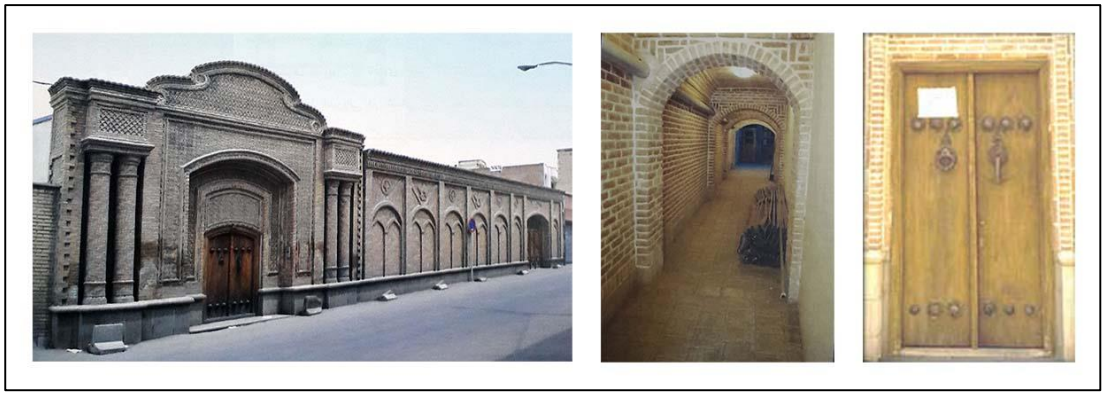


Figure 1. Left. The entrance door and the exterior wall of the Bolurchian house in Tabriz, source: (Esmaili Sanghari & Omrani, 2015); Middle. Traditional *dalan* as an indirect corridor from the vestibule (*hashti*) to the courtyard (*hayat*); Right. Traditional door

Figure 2 illustrates the layout of a traditional house in Iran, which contains two independent areas, the public realm *(biruni*) and the private realm (*andaruni*). *Biruni*,

literally means ‘outside’ related to those parts that were placed near the main entrance of the house. And *andaruni,* which literally means ‘inside’ referred to the household areas, and mainly females’ area (Shabani, Tahir, Shabankareh, Arjmandi, & Mazaheri, 2011). The design of gendered spaces was a main solution for protecting privacy in traditional houses of Iran. However the Quran does not apparently determine the requirement in terms of creating gendered spaces in Muslim houses, with the exception of the creation of the social boundaries and segregation between non-family (*no-mahram*) male members and women (Othman, Arid, & Buys, 2015). In fact, there is no obligation in Islam or Quran relating to the spatial locality of the woman in the house. In terms of the built environment, what the *surats*[7] say is about valuing the privacy, namely, to get “permission” when entering people’ s private realms (Farah & Klarqvist, 2001).

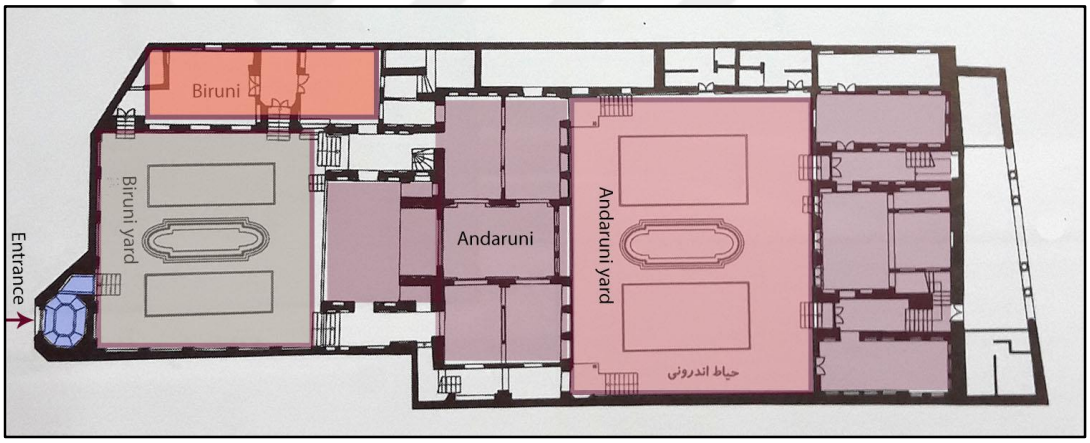


Figure 2. The separation of *biruni* (public area) from an *andaruni* (private area) in a traditional house in Tabriz (Mojtahedi house). source: (Esmaili Sanghari & Omrani, 2015)

The social relations between men and women associated with an entire structure and system of real and materially certain relations. And as Bourdieu states almost “all prove to be based on movements and postures of the human body” (Bourdieu, 1977). In this sense, the “oppositional structure of the human body”, for example, front/back, up/down, and “the possible movements from one to the other of those poles, not only

[7] Quran verses

grounds the structure of human space perception, but also structures the social and cultural world" (Fogle, 2011).

Therefore, a dwelling as the initial type of the "inhabited space" is the peculiar site for the objectifying of the generative structures by the "divisions and hierarchies" it established between objects, between individuals and between practices and activities. This materialized structure of ordering instructs and continuously strengthens the codes of the classification that organizes the "arbitrariness of a culture" (Bourdieu, 1990). The rigid physical and spatial division at a micro level led to a conceptual division in the society of Iran in general. Therefore, the gendered and separated spaces, even though they are institutionalized and formalized after the Iranian Islamic Revolution, has never been an unfamiliar idea for Iranians. The post-revolutionary government, with the aim of implementing principles of religion, created gendered spaces in many public spaces for women and men.

1.2.3 Aesthetics of Invisibility

Regarding Bourdieu's ideas, all distinctions in social space are classified and mirrored in the physical space through visible or invisible boundaries. This dissertation argues that gender relations based on Islamic teachings especially in the pre-Pahlavi period and after the Islamic revolution gave rise to the "aesthetics of invisibility" both in the women' life and domestic architecture. It may seem strange to discuss about the terms 'invisibility' and 'aesthetics' together and in the same phrase, as aesthetics is usually associated with the precious aspects of artworks, while 'invisibility' is related to the situation of being unseen. Arnold Berleant defines aesthetics as "a mode of experience" based on "sensuous perception, a perception that is deeply influenced by the multitude of factors affecting all experience-cognitive, cultural, historical, and personal" (Berleant, 2010, p 45). Berleant in his book "Sensibility and Sense: The Aesthetic Transformation of the Human World" argues that aesthetic values are no longer limited to the museum and art galleries where they are cherished and appreciated but kept isolated. Aesthetic values, however, can be in relation with

"values in morality, religion, economics, environment, and social life" (Berleant, 2010).

Being unseen in terms of domestic space and women has been considered as having a moral beauty for centuries in Iran. That is to say that, in everyday life, aesthetics is mostly connected to morality and moral considerations are intervened in the aesthetic evaluation of Iranians. Regarding the relationship between aesthetics and morality, David Hume argues that both of them are similar in kind because both contain sentiments or feelings that arise in an observer "with the capacity to be affected by objects or conducts that give rise subsequently to pleasure or pain, approbation and disapprobation" by people (Costelloe, 2007). Hume dwells on the normative dimension of aesthetic and moral judgment. In terms of moral judgments, Hume in his work "A dialogue" argues that what designates a given virtue differs from one culture to another and also within the same culture over time (Hume, 1998). Thus, for Hume, "the colors of virtue and vice derive their peculiar shade from being stained by the social and historical context in which they are situated" (Costelloe, 2007).

According to Hume, aesthetic perception arises in an individual through the relationship shaped between that perceiver and the world. Timothy Costelloe (2007, p 2) cited from Hume that the reaction of people to the environment is not simple because perception stems rather from the human frame. Social factors and shared experiences constructed culturally are embodied in aesthetic perception and affect the development of aesthetic judgments as Berleant (2010) argues. Consequently, aesthetic standards and criteria are subjective and historical which change from one individual to the other one, from one place to the other, and from one era to another era.

In this study, 'aesthetics of invisibility' is formulated as a concept for understanding the domestic architecture of post-revolutionary Iran. It related to those realms of sensibility that are suffused with the values of seclusion, timidity, veiling, and finally invisibility. It is argued that the seclusion and invisibility of women which was

advocated, accentuated, and imposed by the Islamic state in the revolutionary period influenced the architecture of domestic space, which was recognized as a proper and secure place for women by most of the religious thinkers. Since the Islamic revolution, veil was advocated as a solution to protect women out of others' (non-family members) sight and, thus, aesthetic language has been used to approve those practices that are consistent with the seclusion of women and the introversion of domestic space and finally with the invisibility of them. Veiling in Iran known as *hejab*, literally means *pushidan* (covering), is associated with the covering of body, and in the physical space it means sex segregation with visible or invisible barriers. Monica Mookherjee (2008, 234) points out that the term *hejab* in Arabic has three dimensions to its meaning; it refers to hide; it symbolizes a boundary or threshold; and it bears a moral notion of the forbidden- that what is concealed by the veil had to be protected from strangers.

Invisibility, which is propagated through the appropriation of veil, concealment, and sex-segregation is morally justified in Iranian society. Based on religious underpinnings, it is thought that veil and sex-segregation fulfill moral function and they prohibit the stimulation of sexual desire in sexes especially in men. According to Islamic thinkers, veil, as a medium of morality, as an instrument for the protection of women's honor, as an obstacle to the men seduction prohibit social disorder. Regarding the nature of veil in the Islamic societies, the Turkish sociologist Nilüfer Göle points out that the function of the veil is more than a piece of cloth. Indeed, veil is used to lessen "the attractions of any woman to the lowest possible degree in her behavior, conversation, and in ways of sitting and standing" (Göle, 1996). In terms of the value of the veil in the history of Iran, Farzaneh Milani, an Iranian author on Persian literature and women's studies, argues that a properly veiled body has been associated with the idea of the precious and the beautiful in the moral aspect, while not being properly covered has been as a symbol of "moral laxity, rampant sexuality, and unattractiveness" (Milani F., 2011, p 57). Therefore, women are forced to protect

themselves from the gaze of men. They have to hide their body and beauty in order not to cause social disorder.

The long-term effects of the analogy of preciousness, beauty, invisibility, and veil are represented in a number of cultural fields in Iran, "from literature[8], cinema, and architecture to gait, gaze, and body language; it is reflected in methods of communication and in rhetorical devices"; it is represented through aesthetic sensitivity and language (Milani F. , 2011, p 58). An Iranian art was recognized as an art of concealment by Bahram Beizaie, a film director, in his interview with Hamid Dabashi. In this interview, Beizaie explained "Iranian art is far more concerned with covering and concealing things rather than revealing them" (Dabashi, 2001). In a similar way, Abbas Kiarostami, another film director, stated "I want to create the type of cinema that shows by not showing" (Sullivan, 2007).

In Iranian culture, self-containment rather than self-revelation has been accentuated and emphasized (Wagenknecht, 2015). It is disapproved to reveal or disclose emotions, details about individuals' private life or any difficulties the individuals or the family has to undergo. Hiding one's expression through the face is of greatest importance. "A typical Iranian caution that Beeman quotes is "*zaher ra hefz kon*" (protect the external appearance)" (Wagenknecht, 2015). It has already been explained by some authors that the dichotomy of *zaher* (outside, appearance) and *baten* (inside, soul) influences remarkably the Iranian's life from many aspects. For example, this is right in the architecture as well, where traditional houses were divided into *biruni* (public) and *andaruni* (private), the architectural analogous of *zaher* and *baten* (Wagenknecht, 2015).

Therefore, seclusion and invisibility in terms of women and domestic space are not alien concepts for Iranians. They existed in traditional society of Iran. However, during the Pahlavi period, they were rejected by the state as sign of nation's backwardness

[8] Persian literature is full of cryptic, concealed, invisible pleasure enclosures, and promises that are hidden behind the enclosures. For more see (Milani F. , 2011)

and replaced with the visibility, women's unveiling, and their presence in public life. With the emergence of Islamic revolution, the ideologies of the previous state were opposed and, once again, traditional concepts were enforced by the new Islamic state. The Islamist intellectuals gave reference to the traditional Islamic values, while manifesting the Iranian culture in ideas such as in "*bazgasht beh khishtan* (back to oneself)" to resist Western culture (Parvizi Amineh & Eisenstadt, 2007). The intention was eradicating all signs of western impact on the Iranian people and society (Najmabadi, 1987, p215). The ideology of the new state influenced architectural discourse and practices in the post-revolutionary period. In an article, Ali Mansouri argues that in the field of architecture, the only way for *bazgasht beh khishtan* (back to oneself) is to apply design concepts of traditional Muslim houses in contemporary architecture. He discusses about the traditional Iranian cities and reintroduces veil and introverted-ness of traditional houses as solutions for the privacy problem of the contemporary houses (Mansouri, 2010).

Although, the term privacy was used by authorities as the reason of all discourses and measures on female body and domestic architecture, in this dissertation the notion of the 'aesthetics of invisibility' is preferred instead of the concept of 'privacy'. The reason is that as Peter Ward states the term 'privacy' has a slippery[9] meaning and it is also a relative concept. Ideas about the nature of privacy have varied greatly from time to time, place to place, culture to culture (Ward, 1999). Hence, notions of the privacy are dynamic and contextual and what is considered private in one country may not be so in other countries. In this sense, the western notion of privacy varies from its eastern counterpart[10]. According to Irwin Altman, privacy has three functions; First, it is the

[9] According to Peter Ward (1999), the term privacy is slippery and it needs to be used with a little caution. In Merriam Webster privacy is defined as "the quality or state of being apart from company or observation" and also a "freedom from unauthorized intrusion" (Merriam Webster Dictionary). In contemporary time, privacy is used in various ways including private information, private property, personal privacy, and private company. For more see, (Ward, 1999)

[10] A Classic Western definition and interpretation on privacy was developed by Edward Hall in 1959, who asserted that privacy means the control of personal space. This interpretation showed the importance of "personal space vis-à-vis personal privacy to the Western views" (Ahmad, Harlina, &

management of social interaction; Second, it is establishment of plans and strategies for interacting with others; and Third, privacy serves for the development and maintenance of self-identity (Altman, 1977).

In Iran, the term privacy literally means *mahramiyat*, which is more than the separation of the personal from the public, it is mostly referred to the segregation of women from non-family men through creating boundaries. It is achieved through the segregation, seclusion, and veiling of female members. Various mechanisms are used to regulate visual access, visual exposure, and gender interaction. This type of privacy is called by many authors as culturally specific process.

Several Iranian studies investigated and highlighted the significance of privacy as a prominent design factor in housing in Iran (Memarian, 2008; Memarian &et.al, 2011; Valizadeh-Oqani, 2014). The traditional dwelling where women were restricted to *andaruni* at the far distance from the outdoor through a sequence of spaces can be understood in the way that putting women out of display constitutes the main component of 'privacy' which has been emphasized as the important principle of traditional domestic space organization by some contemporary architects and authors. The house has been literally understood as a mechanism for the invisibility of women. Setting boundaries between the public and the private domains in the spatial organization and its division into two quarters (public-private) has been followed in the contemporary houses, however, in a modified form. It is argued that invisibility can be complementary part of the privacy provided that people voluntarily decide on it, but it cannot be true when the state and authorities oblige public to follow and implement it in all aspects of their life.

As it will be highlighted in the following chapters, since the Islamic Revolution, the Iranian private space has been subject to strict isolation from the outside, and the

Samah, 2009). The Eastern culture gives importance to the family and household privacy and disregards the individual privacy. Both types of privacy (individual and family) are closely connected to the history of the dwelling. Privacy has always been tied up with the comforts of the domestic space and it had bound to its private sphere of familiar and intimate faces. For more see (Ward, 1999, p. 6)

female body, which is considered to be private has been subject to the concealment from the public. The veil and invisibility of women is highly valued and aestheticized through different methods such as metaphors and slogans. *Zan-e ba hejab hamanand-e gohari dar sadaf* (a veiled woman as a pearl in the shell), or *khaharam hejab-e to zinate to hast* (my sister, your veil is your grace or beauty) are two slogans that have been inscribed to the mind of every Iranian.

The use of aesthetic mask for the invisibility of women's body and domestic space is prevalent in the *Resaleh, Towzih al-Masael* (a clarification of Questions) of Ayatollah Khomeini, the founder of the Islamic Republic. In his book, two pages were dedicated to the promotion of veil for both women and domestic space. Regarding the importance of women's veil, he assimilated an ideal woman explained in the Quran, that is, the veiled woman, to a pearl in a shell (top image) and the unveiled woman to an artificial jewelry that can be found without cover everywhere (bottom images) (Figure 3). Then he asked "which one is more valuable? Whether a pearl in a shell (a covered woman) or artificial jewelry that can be found without cover everywhere?" (Khomeini, 1980, p. 54)

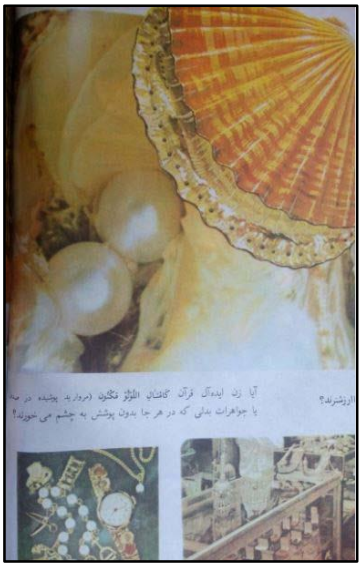


Figure 3. The caption reads: "Which one is more valuable? An ideal woman explained in Quran (A pearl in the shell) or artificial jewelry that can be found without cover everywhere? source: (Khomeini, 1980)

In terms of domestic invisibility, Imam Khomeini puts two images from two bedrooms; one's windows are covered with thick curtains that prohibit the visibility of inside and the other's windows are transparent and without curtain? Then he asks which one is courteous and attractive? A house with curtain or a house which is curtain-less and unveiled? (Figure 4)



Figure 4. The caption reads: Whether a house with curtain is courteous and attractive or a house which is curtain-less and unveiled? source: (Khomeini, 1980)

In sum, following theoretical arguments on the relationship of domestic architecture to the socio-cultural values of a society, the main assumption in this research rests on the belief that social and cultural transformation of the Iranian society after the Islamic revolution (1979) resides in the physical form and spatial organization of houses. As Bourdieu (1996) states, all the segregations and distinctions in the social space are translated into and found in the physical space. As the women veil and cover their bodies, their domestic life become hidden through some implementations in the plans and façades. The exposure of the inside to the public is considered to be immoral and un-Islamic. The introduction of new buildings regulations[11] under the concept of privacy, and new Islamic conduct codes have been influential in the invisibility of

[11] It should be mentioned that these regulations relate only to the exterior of buildings.

domestic life. Home life and its intimacy have turned inward away from the public realm of the street. In terms of domestic architecture, the invisibility is usually attained through the organization of plan layout, creation of transition space between private and public space, and various exterior design interventions, for instance, the location and design of entrance doors, the placement and sizes of openings, the control of building heights and balconies.

1.3. Methodological Approach

In the theoretical framework of this study, a house (physical space) is conceptualized as a translated form of social space. In order to investigate domestic architecture of Iran and to explore the embodiment of the 'aesthetics of invisibility' in the post-revolutionary domestic architecture, this dissertation employs a combined research methodology. Indeed, this study deals with both discourse analysis and case study through using multiple data sources in order to address the influence of a broad socio-cultural transformation of the Iranian society on domestic architecture.

The approach of this research is threefold. Firstly, this study attempts to explore the shifts and the developments of ideas related to domestic space in the contemporary architectural discourse of Iran. Architectural publications constituted a preliminary process for exploring influential ideas and thoughts in the discourse and practice of architecture-particularly those centered on the domestic architecture- in Iran throughout the twentieth century. The leading discourses promoted by architects in the formation of the modern house are traced, and the architectural characteristics of modern houses are examined. Then, the changes in the architectural discourse and practice, to integrate cultural aspects in the contemporary architecture, which already appeared before the Islamic revolution and gained a different direction after the revolution, are studied. It is intended to investigate how the concept of transparency and visibility of domestic space, which was emphasized and implemented by pre-revolutionary architects to symbolize the modern dwelling were transformed into the notion of invisibility in the post-revolutionary period. The attempts of architects for

redeeming an Islamic identity in houses are discussed. It is argued that certain theses of the modernist discourse in architecture, has led to the development of anti-theses after the Islamic revolution in Iran.

Secondly, in accordance with the conceptual framework of the present thesis study, the changing ideas about the identity and the place of women in both the discourse of modernization and that of Islamic revival is traced back through investigating journals, magazines, and visual media in order to grasp the shifts in gender relations that shape the domestic space. It is aimed to explore the relationship between women and domestic space and how the changing gender relations through twentieth century influenced the domestic space. The structure of the social space and the habitus of Iranian women are discussed in chapter 3. How habitus is influential in the organization and the use of domestic space are investigated. Popular visual and printed media are the main sources for data collected about women, domestic space, and their relationship.

Thirdly, how the changes in the ideology of the new state and women's position are reflected in the organization of plans and facades of houses will be explored through selecting a case study from the *Vali-asr* district in Tabriz. This district which will be discussed in the introduction part of the chapter 4 in detail, is one of the first modern neighborhoods in Tabriz that emerged during the Pahlavi period. The aim of its founder was to create a modern neighborhood for modern middle and upper income group. However, after the revolution, most of the plots that were more than 1000 meters were expropriated by the Islamic state based on some urban laws enacted after the Islamic revolution, and these lands were distributed to the low income people since one of the slogans of the Islamic state was to bring an equality in wealth (see chapter 4 for a detailed discussion). Although *Vali-asr* district was initially planned based on a modern thought, it became subject to many changes after the Islamic revolution. Data gathering on this district took months since there is no specific place that archives all information about the *Vali-asr* district, the drawings, and plan layouts of houses in the district in a comprehensive way. Moreover, persuading the responsible individuals

for giving information was very a difficult process. The first step in the data gathering process was to collect information about *Vali-asr* neighborhood in terms of its emergence, formation, its founder, the plan, and building regulations implemented. After numerous visits and interviews with the officials of different organizations in Tabriz, the master plan and plan of *Vali-asr* district was accessed from the Ministry of Roads and Urban development of Tabriz.

After access to the plan of the neighborhood, the second step was to achieve the drawings and plan layouts of a number of houses from the *Vali-asr* district that were constructed between the years 1980-2000. It was impractical to deal with all different types of housing (row houses, apartments, villa type houses, high-rise residential complexes, and mass housing) in a single dissertation. The particular types of dwelling, which were surveyed in the present study, are mostly one-to-three storey individual houses except two examples from the late 1990s that are four storey apartment buildings. It should be mentioned that the majority of the apartment buildings built in the 1990s, in which the inhabitants were responsible and engaged in the construction process, were occupied by the members of a family or relatives. The reason for the selection of individual houses was that they were assumed to be more representative of socio-cultural values of the occupants than standardized mass housing. It is assumed that the sense of personal space and individual freedom are naturally greater in these types of housing. Therefore, in line with its aims, this study concentrates on those projects of that are owner-occupied.

The architectural drawings of the houses were accessed from three different sources. Among the 70 houses that constitute the sample of this study, 10 of them were personally surveyed and their plans were drawn by the author. The drawings were supported by the photographs, taken by author. 20 houses were accessed from the personal archives of architects, civil engineers, and developers who practiced in the field of domestic architecture in Tabriz. The fieldwork was complemented with the drawings and layouts of houses archived in Tabriz Municipality. Tabriz Municipality was consulted in order to have access to those houses (built between 1980-2000) that

were archived in the Municipality. This archival research was a challenging process. In every visit, only 5 folders that included the architectural drawings of houses were accessible and the visits to the Municipality had to be done on the specific weeks, days, and hours determined by the official responsible in the archive section[12]. The number of houses that were accessed from the municipality was 40, however, 8 of them had the very same elevations and plan layouts. It was not permitted to take the photograph of the drawings, and only coping of them inside the municipality was possible. The quality of the drawings copied and the resolution of the copies were low. Therefore, the fragmented architectural drawings taken from the municipality were attached, re-prepared, and sometimes redrew by the author in the AutoCAD and Photoshop applications.

After gathering the sample of the study, the next process was to analyze the elevations and plan layouts. In the first steps, the houses were classified according to their types and the date of their construction. Then, the spatial organization and usage patterns in terms of ritual purity, women visual privacy, social interaction, gender segregation, and public/private duality were studied. How and in what ways the spatial organization of the houses were consistent with the concept of invisibility was investigated. Consequently, the elevations and their transformation in the two decades (1980s and 1990s) were studied. They were studied according to the organization of openings and balconies. The more representative houses are analyzed in chapter 4, and all sample of the study are presented in the appendices A, B, and C.

It is worth mentioning that some of the houses that were examined in this dissertation were demolished a few months after the researcher's survey. These houses have been drastically vanished and replaced by new high-rise apartments. Without documentation, most of these buildings are being demolished to make room for high-rise apartment buildings. Obviously different factors are engaged in this process of

[12] The author could not visit the archive section by herself because all the individuals working there were male, hence, she had to be accompanied by one of his male family members in her frequent visits of Municipality.

demolishing and rebuilding. The tendencies of the period affect the whole housing process noticeably. In the last decades, the contractors changed their business both in scale and quality according to the country's conditions and the appearance of new building regulations. The residential building of the last two decades varies from the houses of the previous periods in terms of types, heights, scales construction systems, materials and finally spatial organizations. This dissertation contributes to the documentation of the houses, which were not documented and archived previously.

CHAPTER 2

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE IN IRAN (1930s-1990s)

Architectural discourse in the post-revolutionary period is a kind of reaction to the discourses in the Pahlavi period. Some aspects of Iranian modern architecture were criticized by post-revolutionary critics. Secularization, openness and visibility, and the rejection of tradition, which were the main architectural themes in the Pahlavi period, were criticized and replaced with new concepts that conveyed an Islamic Identity. Therefore, in order to better grasp the architecture of post-revolutionary period, it is important to know the measures of the state and the attempts of architects regarding architecture in general, and domestic space in particular in the Pahlavi period.

2.1 Modernization and Rejection of Tradition in Architecture During Pahlavi period

The time-period (1921-1941) in Iran was approximately concurrent with the constitution of a modern social order and urban system. When Reza Shah came to power in 1921, the historical identity of Iran was subjected to major shifts, which were frequently put forward by the notion of the emergence of a modern Iran (Safamanesh, 2009, p. 122). The purpose was to elevate the country from a less-developed one to a westernized, industrialized and developed country (Gorji B. A., 1997). Like in some other non-Western countries, Iranian modernization was a top-down process that was implemented by the state. Reza Shah "launched a reconstruction and modernization program, moving Iran toward secularization and casting Islam as a force that hindered progress" (Khan, 2009, p. 193). According to Safamanesh, the discourses and practices regarding the historical identity of Iran confronted with a 'dichotomy,' that is, "the confrontation between tradition and modernity" (Safamanesh, 2009, p. 124). In other words, the measures taken were mainly directed toward rejecting and fighting

tradition. Therefore, in the new state, all that which displayed itself as traditional or Qajar needed to be changed to a new element as a symbol of modern Iran. The western and rationalist notions were substituted the traditional Persian Islamic ideas and beliefs of the late nineteenth century (Khan, 2009, p 193). In preparing the grounds for fundamental changes and developments, most of the Iranian elites and authorities used "the West" and "Modernity" interchangeably, as Kamran Safamanesh, an Iranian architectural historian points out. In this way, when West became the source of inspiration by authorities for progress, the term '*farang*', which implied the achievements of Europe emerged (Safamanesh, 2009, p. 122).

During two decades under Reza Shah, the demand for change, development and modernity was initiated through urban projects and buildings, and the state became the main client of architecture (Marefat, 1988, p. 95). In architecture, the ideal of modernization and the rejection of tradition was the dominant motivation as well (Safamanesh, p. 125). This was to be done by the destruction of any element believed to be backward, which was replaced by modern structures and urban form. The result was a major spatial-morphological transformation of cities (Gorji B. A., 1997).

Talinn Grigor, an architectural historian, points out that "the realization of a *tabula rasa*, a utopian blank slate upon which a new Iran could be conceived over again, was endemic to the strategies of Pahlavi modernization" (Grigor, 2014). Therefore, the spirit of modernization led to the destruction of much that gave cities especially Tehran its traditional appearance. The walls, gateways and moats of the cities were indeed in opposition to the image Reza Shah had in mind and with the requirement to permit the city to develop naturally beyond its limits (Marefat, 1988). "The eradication of historical structures and urban pockets meant that a newly built environment could emerge free from the burden of history, geography, and colonialism" (Grigor, 2014). The urban renewal developments in urban centers all over the country provided "the utopian tabula rasa to build a new future that matched the ambitions of the rising bourgeoisie" (Grigor, 2014). Therefore, Reza Shah considered the previous regime as a symbol of backwards-ness. The hostility of the Shah toward the tradition led to the destruction of the traditional fabrics of cities and also the elimination of many old

buildings, structures, marketplaces, and landmarks. The process of destruction was rapid and new infrastructures were established. As Shirazi (2017, p 13) states, it was reported in many diaries and reports of the time that tens of thousands of houses and old structures were demolished. Any resistance regarding the preservation of the historical structures was not accepted by the new state, even those concerns that came from religious clerics about the religious elements and buildings were not regarded by the new Pahlavi state. Moreover, in the 1930s, the official policy of Reza Khan was resulted into the closing down of many mosques (Baker, Smith, & Oleynik, 2014, p 89). In order to prevent clerics from organizing active resistance against the modernization process of the country, the state used force against them (Faghfoory, 1978, p 72).

Ali Madanipour argues that in 1930s, the city walls and gates were destroyed to allow the imposition of a street network, "an open matrix in which goods and services could circulate" (Madanipour, 2003). Through the implementation of 'Street Widening Act' in 1933, Reza Shah imposed on the traditional cities a geometric network of wide straight streets, which many of them ploughed over compact residential zones with absolute disrespect for pre-existing buildings and their dwellers (Mazumdar, 2000). As a result of this street act, new urban forms and structures along with the recently designed streets, which were unfamiliar in the country previously, emerged. Moreover, this act led to the appearance of new boulevards, and also the widening of the traditional streets (Mashayekhi, 2016).

In parallel with various changes in urban space, residential forms changed as well. Houses transformed from inward-looking buildings with courtyard into extroverted ones, although they were still surrounded within walls. The transformation in houses forms have been mainly related to the changes in the street systems. Row houses became the most dominant housing type first in Tehran and later in other cities from the late 1930s onwards (Marefat, 1988). Before that time, modernization in terms of architecture was limited to the monuments, governmental buildings, and villas for the upper-income group. It was only after the emergence of the middle class that the image

of dwellings changed in accordance with the idea of the modern way of living (Habibi, 2017). As Ali Madanipour (1998, p 125) states, the new house form was mainly due to the new land subdivision system, that is to say, the standardization of land parcels in terms of their shape and size. The land parcels were subdivided into smaller regular lots, usually 10-15 meters wide and 20-25 meters deep. The house was built at the northern part of the parcel, and the southern part was reserved to a courtyard surrounded by a wall. Although the inspiration of this type of housing was from West, the walls, which completely prevent views into yards are Persian adaptation. Madanipour continues that similar to the new street network, the expansion of the new building form was, "a part of a package of goods, ideas, and images imported from the West" (Madanipour, 1998, p 125). For instance, the extensive use of pitched roofs for a period of time, which are now represented as a symbol of prestige in luxury buildings. However, "these images of modernity, were confronted by some cultural patterns, which have resisted change" (Madanipour, 1998, p 125). The new modern dwelling, social practices and codes of behavior had its own specificities in the context of Iran. Ideas and concepts inspired from the West underwent some modifications in the context of Iran according the aspirations of Iranian society.

However, Pahlavi state had a pioneering role in the rejection of the tradition and promotion of modernization of the country, the propagation of modern ways of life and modern domestic space is not solely forced by the state. The modern house was both one of the indicators of the nation's modernization and also an embodiment of the elites' imagination. The modern middle class composed of professionals, salaried officials, and secular educated intellectuals, who emerged during that time formed the eager clients of the modern living way and a modern house without being directly tied to the state. They were in contact with the advancements in the West through travel, translations, and educational establishment. This middle class people, which were fascinated with European modern houses and furniture created modern aspirations and values. They were proud of living in a modern house. Through the modern house, elites and modern middle class attempted to change and replace their traditional ways

of life. This discussion will be traced in detail in chapter 3 through analyzing popular media. How the modern house, the modern housewife, and the modern way of life were represented in the popular mass media is the subject of discussion in the first section of chapter 3.

2.1.1. The Formation of Architectural Profession as One of the Major Policies of Modernization

The formation of architecture as a distinct discipline, the emergence of written literature and publications on urban planning and architecture, and the establishment and inauguration of institutions and schools which were special in teaching of architecture and construction were parts of policies of modernization in the early Pahlavi period (Safamanesh, 2009). Until the formation of Pahlavi regime, building projects including state-owned ones and royal palaces were done by *memars*, which were master-builders. These *memars* came to this position usually according to their work skill and experience (Farmanfarma'iyan, p129). Therefore, most buildings were constructed without any architectural plans and the decisions related to foundations, stairs, walls, and spatial organization were mostly made in situ (Marefat, 1988).

When the state launched its reconstruction program, very few Iranians had the training and knowledge required by Reza Shah's reform program. Thus, the Iranian government called upon foreign architects for the new building projects, which were to be implemented as part of the building program. The traditional Iranian master-builders were considered unfamiliar with the functions of these buildings, as well as with the modern building techniques (Marefat, 1988). Among the foreign companies, the Czech institute of Skoda Tcheque and Danish institute of Kampsax and among foreign engineers and architects, André Godard[13], Maxime Siroux, Roland Marcel

[13] André Godard educated in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. In 1928 he was assigned as the head of the first museum of antiquities (Bastan) in Tehran. In addition to be the responsible person in the archeological and preservation projects, Godard was appointed as the first Dean of the school of Fine Arts at Tehran University (Isenstadt & Rizvi, 2008). The curriculum that he introduced in the architecture department was the same to that of the Ecole-des Beaux-Arts system in Paris, with projects and drawings that had been translated from the architectural program of that school (Kateb-Valiankoh, 1998).

Dubrulle, Heinrich, and Oberlin were those who were invited to Iran during the first decade of Pahlavi reign (Farmanfarma'iyan, p129).

In the meanwhile, Iranian architects who were trained in Europe returned to the country with the mission of reconstructing, re-thinking and questioning the current situation of Iranian cities. The most well-knows architects were Vartan Avanessain (1896-1982) who educated in the École Spéciale d'Architecture in Paris, Gabriel Gueverkian (1900-1970) who graduated in 1921 from the Hochschule für Angewändte Kunst in Vienna, Keyghobad Zafar who educated in the Royal College of Art and the Architectural Association in London, Paul Abkar (1908-1970) who graduated from the Université de St. Luc in Brussels, and Mohsen Forughi (1907-1982) who educated the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris.

The first professional journal, *Architecte,* started to be published in 1946. Its first issue announced the establishment of *Anjoman-e-Memar-ha-ye-Irani-ye-Diplome* (The Association of Iranian Architects with Diploma AIAD) which was created in February 1944. The Association was formed by 38 architects, Keyghobad Zafar as president, and Ali Sadegh as vice president (Habibi & De Meulder, 2016). The introduction of the international building codes for Tehran Municipality, communication with international cultural associations, and attendance in international symposiums were some of the AIDA's endeavors. They established an architecture library and received donations and dedications from Italy and France, published journals, and organized exhibitions. In brief, their program was the introduction and propagation of modern architecture and urbanism (Habibi & De Meulder, 2016).

In spite of its short life, *Architecte,* covered a broad scope. In its six issues between 1946 and 1948, *Architecte* introduced a microcosm of the architectural themes and topics provoked by the urbanization in progress. Its published articles were related to the well-known historic and old buildings, both pre-Islamic and Islamic. Noticeably, *Architecte* provided a significant platform for Iranian modern architects and urban planners to represent their idea that "a healthy and modern nation was embodied in the

modern house" (Habibi, 2017). Almost in all issues of *architecte,* housing concerns were regularly emphasized and the modern houses designed by modern architects were represented. Every issue introduced several exemplary residential plans, from villas and vacation homes to modest buildings for the middle class people. Architects attempted to introduce readers some prevalent principles of a modern house that were initiated by foreign modern architects.

The fourth issue of the journal featured the first modern residential neighborhood in Tehran, that is to say, *Chaharsad Dastgah* (400 unit) project, which was constructed for government employees. This housing complex was designed by Ali Sadegh, Abbas Ajdari, and Manouchehr Khorsand who educated in Europe. Architects adopted the two storey individual row houses in this project in contrast to the worldwide type of mass housing, which was apartment typology. Abbas Ajdari as one of the designers of the project explained that they did not pursued apartment typology because they found it inconsistent with the Iranian ways of life (Ajdari, 1947). (Figure 5)

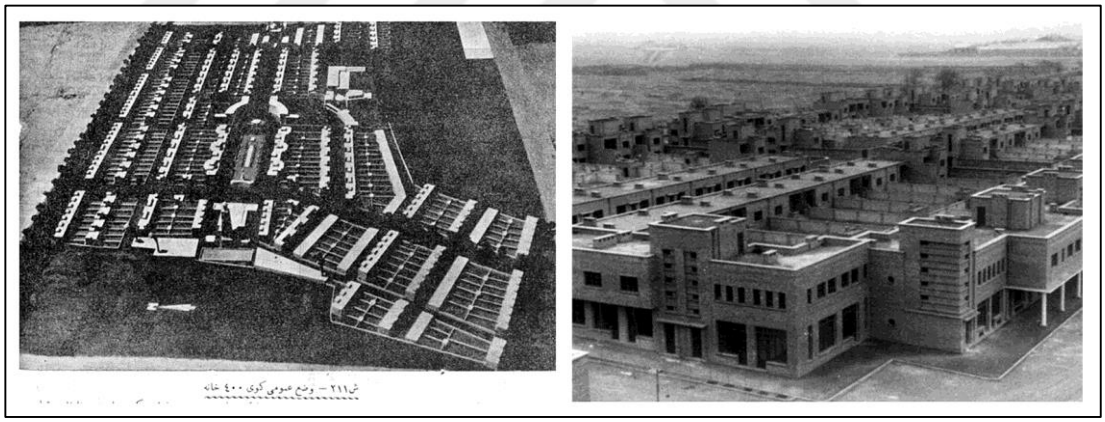


Figure 5. *Chaharsad Dastgah* (400 unit) housing project built in Tehran in 1946. source: Left, (Ajdari, 1947); Right, (Khosravi, 2016)

Therefore, the proposal of architects for the layout of houses was a combination of modern and traditional principles. It can be said that the new dwellings were the modified form of the traditional courtyard type based on the modern building regulations introduced in the 1930s. The land parcel of each house was approximately 140 m^2 and half of the parcel was dedicated to the building and half of it was reserved

for the yard surrounded by walls (Habibi & De Meulder, 2016). In terms of spatial organization, unlike the traditional Iranian houses in which rooms were multifunctional, architects offered new spatial configuration and every room was designed for a specific function (Khosravi, 2016).

2.1.2 "Hygiene, Comfort, and Functionality" as the Initial Ambitions of the Iranian Modern Architects for the Transformation of Traditional House in Iran: (1930-1950)

In the 1930s, along with the return of Iranian architects trained in Europe, *memari-e khaneh* (the architecture of house) changed. Apparently, architects were pioneers in shaping the modern house. In the late 1930s, for the first time, educated architects criticized the quality of the houses of the populace, which were condemned for being unhealthy and unsanitary. Modernist architects including Vartan Aavanessian, Mohhamad-Ali Sheibai, Ali Sadegh, and Gabriel Gueverkian among others, engaged more with the residential design in the 1940s. Architects were willing to promote public awareness of the need for modern approaches to sanitation and technical improvements. (Hakim, 2001). With this objective, they started publications to educate society for a new and modern way of life. As Meltem Gurel states about Turkey, "architecture became instrumental in shaping citizens' lifestyles in the private sphere of the family" (Gürel, 2009). The home drawings published in architectural journals advertised and declared the changes in the spatial organization of domestic space, which reshaped everyday activity patterns.

Some texts in every issue of the journal of *Architecte* were dedicated to "the house question". Architects, especially Vartan Aavanessian[14] pointed out the problems of contemporary houses. He was one of the pioneers who wrote a number of articles advocating the modern architectural design and practice. In an article published in the first issue of *Architecte,* he emphasized the qualities of a modern house by condemning

[14]Vartan had his own magazine called Memari-e- now (new architecture), which was published only in three issues between the years 1962 and 1965 (Kateb-Valiankoh, 1998, p. 322).

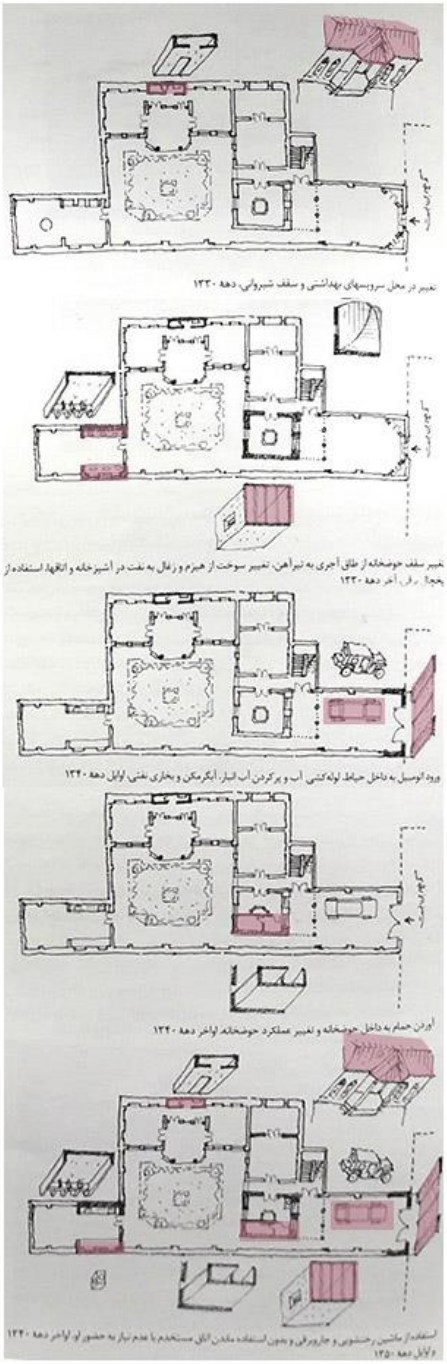
and criticizing the "unresolved problems" of traditional houses. He argued that the traditional design principles, methods, and materials were not acceptable in modern time, which was the age of the machine, technology, and science (Aavanessian, 1946). Abu Taleb Goharian in a Tehran radio program, in 1948, discussed about the materials and techniques, which were common before 1920. According to him, the condition of buildings was degraded. He stated that the construction material was mostly mud brick and *kahgel*, that is, a mixture of clay and straw. The exterior of buildings was whitewashed with *gach* (i.e. plaster) and wiring and plumbing were not customary. Walls were thick and bulky and ceilings were constructed with timbers and *hasir* (straw mats). The lighting of the rooms was not mostly taken into consideration (Goharian, 1948). The article continued with a discussion of the worsening of traditional homes and problems of upkeep and maintenance and the risk of demolition caused by rain or flood. Abu Taleb Goharian put emphasis on the various advantages of the modern constructions, listing the construction technologies developed in the years between 1930-1940 (Goharian, 1948). In the same way, the first issue of *Architecte* published a text, which reads "the dwelling is one of the main subject matters of architecture… but unfortunately, our today's houses lack basic comfort and the question of house has not yet been resolved properly in its totality…" (Anonymous, 1946).

Therefore, in every issue of *Architecte*, architects discussed the need for the design of modern house, which embodies the desires and ambitions of a contemporary life in accordance with modern times. They argued that the architecture of a modern house was the architecture of sanitation, functionalism, and rationalization, which they perceived as the vital solution for modern life. Architects, particularly, Vartan Avanessian and Mohhamad Ali sheibani, in their texts advocating the modern house, claimed that their goal was to satisfy people's needs for hygienic, comfortable, and functional houses.

Accordingly, hygiene became one of the main factors in architects' designs, and the phrase of "minimum sanitary requirement of a house", the main topics of which were

bathroom and toilet as defined by the architects was prevalent. While the Iranians were careful about the hygiene of their bodies through religious teachings, they did not have a place called bathroom in their homes and they usually used public baths. Sometimes, in the summer, the residents of the houses used the courtyard's pool as a bath. Toilets, which were small, dark, without stonework or tiles on their surfaces, and completely unsanitary and unclean spaces were located in the corner of the courtyard (Hakim, 2001). The technical aspects and modern amenities of the house were other comfort related themes that defined the ideal modern home and family life. Amenities such as hot water, heating system, electricity for lighting, and household appliances were seen as prestigious symbols of contemporariness. Ali-Akbar Saremi, an Iranian architect shows the transformation and modernization of his traditional family house (built in 1920s) in a diagram with respect to the notions of hygienic environment, new building materials and new home appliances. As seen in figure 6, he describes the transformation of his father's house in five stages. In the first step, the toilet which was formerly located far from the main living spaces in a corner of the courtyard was brought inside the house. Moreover, the roof's structure changed and iron beams were used instead of traditional wooden beams. In the second stage, the use of oil for cooking and heating allowed the house owners to eliminate the old charcoal oven from their kitchen and to have more space for new home appliances such as electric refrigerator. The roof of the *hozkhaneh* (the traditional summer room with a small pool) changed from brick vault to iron beam slab in this period as well. In the third stage, plumbing was introduced and it made useless the pool in the courtyard. Because of that the pool was covered with concrete tiles, allowing more empty space for parking the cars in the yard. In order to bring automobiles, it was essential to remove the little flower boxes of the yard and widen the traditional vestibule. Also, it was necessary to replace the entry door, which was a small wooden two-side entrance with double different-sound doorknockers for men and women to identify the gender of visitors, with a bigger metal door. In the fourth stage, plumbing helped bringing the bath inside the limits of the house and the *hozkhaneh* was changed to be used as a simple shower area. In the fifth step, by using electrical appliances like washing

machines and vacuum cleaners, which were time-saving tools, maid employment became unnecessary, henceforth, the maid room came to be useless (Saremi, April-May 2006).



A). The changes in the place of toilets and the form of roof in the 1950s;

B). The changes in the structure of roof from brick vault to the iron beam, the changes in the fuel from the wood into the oil in the kitchen and rooms, and the use of refrigerator in the late 1950s;

C. The replacement of traditional wooden door with a large metal door in order to make possible the automobile access to the courtyard, introduction of pluming, water heater, and oil stove in the early 1960s;

D. Bringing the bathroom into the house and changing the function of *howskhaneh* (pool room) in the late 1960s;

E. Using washing machines and vacuum cleaners, and therefore no need to servant and her room in the late 1960s,

Figure 6. A diagram by Ali Akbar Saremi showing the transformation of a traditional house between (1950s -1960s), in five steps. source: (Saremi, April-May 2006)

Although these changes were gradual, the Persian house was considerably transformed by the end of 1940s.

The kitchen became an important design element among modern architects. Iranian architects, like European architects, paid special attention to the efficiency and location of the kitchen in the spatial organization. According to them, old kitchens should be replaced with hygienic and functional areas. Hence, the traditional kitchen gradually became obsolete. In their designs, the kitchen was moved into the house and usually to the first floor and coal-burning stoves were replaced with the kerosene stove. Meanwhile, the use of electricity became widespread.

The journal *Architecte* dedicated an article, in 1948, to the topic of kitchen and dining room. In a part of the article it was mentioned that according to Le Corbusier, "the kitchen, like a modern laboratory, should be clean and equipped with the latest appliances of present-day inventions" (Anonymous, 1948, p. 204). But according to the author, unfortunately, in Iran, this topic was not taken into consideration; He continued "generally, in our homes, a sad and unclean crypt with one or two stoves in a style of thousands years ago that has been located far from the main parts of the house is called kitchen" (Anonymous, 1948). Then the article introduced some examples of modern kitchens and dining rooms mostly elicited from the French journal of *Homme et Architecture* (Figures 7-8).



ش ۲۹۹ – تقسیمات داخلی وارتباط آشپزخانه
با سایر قسمت ها

ش ۳۰۰ – نمایش داخلی یك آشپزخانه

ش ۳۰۱ – نمایش داخلی یك آشپزخانه در خانه های پیش ساخته شده

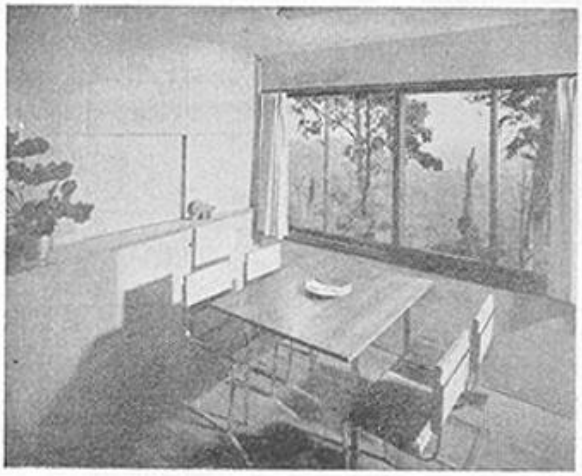
ش ۲۹۹ ـ پلان و تقسیمات مربوط به شکل ۲۹۸ را نشان میدهد ـ آشپز خانه و ارتباط آن با سالن نهار خوری از قسمت درب (۱۸) ویا یك تراس از قسمت درب (۱) را نشان میدهد این آشپزخانه ازطرف دیگر (قسمت پائین نقشه) به رختشورخانه و یك آبدارخانه وانبار مربوط است .

شکل ۳۰۰ ـ نمونه دیگر از آشپزخانه های جدید امریکائی را نشان میدهد از وسعت طولی استفاده و تاسیسات از قبیل فرها و ظرف شوئی وغیره درطرفین ومیز وپنجره دوبرو قرار گرفته است

شکل ۳۰۱ ـ منظرهٔ داخلی یك آشپزخانه در خانه های آلمینی پیش ساخته شده را نشان میدهد که از یك وسعت خیلی کم برای جابجا کردن کلیه لوازم و تاسیسات آشپزخانه استفاده شده است .

Figure 7. Exemplary kitchens that elicited from the French journal, Homme et Architecture, and were presented in *Architecte*. source: (Anonymous, 1948)

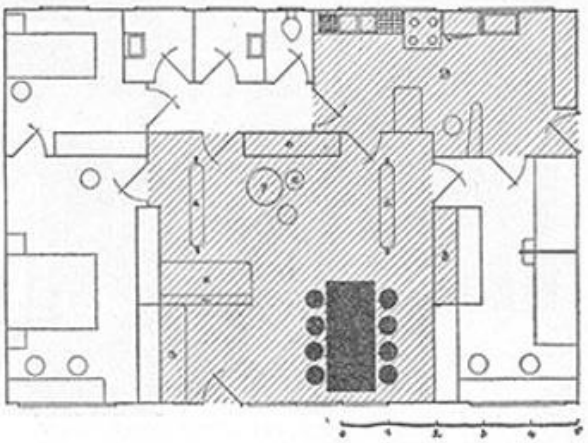
سالن نهارخوری - اولا ارتباط نزدیك و آسان آشپزخانه با سالن نهارخوری یکی از مباحث اساسی میباشد - حتی المقدور غذای تهیه شده باید زودتر در دسترس صرف کنندگان آن قرار گیرد - و در ثانی تزئینات و تنظیم میز و صندلی و سایر اثاثیه سالن غذاخوری باید بنحو ساده و زیبائی انجام گیرد - در آپارتمان‌های کوچك غذاخوری و آشپزخانه در یك محوطه قرار گرفته و به اصطلاح دیگر آشپزخانه و سالن غذاخوری توأم گردیده است - و گاهی نیز غذاخوری بوسیلهٔ یك دریچه سرویس به آشپزخانه مربوط میگردد امروز ارتباط این دو قسمت خانه با دریچه‌های مزبور اهمیت شایانی پیدا کرده است . این دریچه‌ها بطور کشوئی بسته و باز میشوند . در بعضی موارد نیز بوفه های مخصوصی بین آشپزخانه و سالن غذاخوری قرار میدهند - که در عین حال برای مجزا کردن این دو قسمت و برای گرفتن ظروف و لوازم از دو طرف واحدات دریچه سرویس استفاده میشود .



ش ۳۰۲ - سالن نهارخوری (آرشیتکت ژ - و - کلاوس)

ش ۳۰۲ - یك سالن غذاخوری را که بوسیله یك دریچه سرویس کشوئی (جنب گلدان) به آشپزخانه مربوط میشود نشان میدهد (در این عکس دریچه بسته است)

در هر حال سالن غذاخوری یا آشپزخانه و سایر قسمت‌های خانه باید بطور ساده و منطقی مربوط شود در بعضی از خانه های اروپائی یك اطاق نشیمن (Salle Commune) در عین حال برای نشستن و غذاخوری و پذیرائی مهمان تخصیص داده میشود .



ش ۳۰۳ - تقسیمات و جایگاه میز و صندلی غذاخوری و غیره

ش ۳۰۳ - تقسیمات داخلی یك خانه کوچك را با جایگاه مبل و اثاثیه نشان میدهد قسمت های مختلف آن بقرار زیر است

(1) میز غذاخوری (سیاه) (2) صندلی‌ها (سیاه) (3) میز کار (4) کتابخانه (5) فیمکت (دیوان) (6) میز کوچك سرویس (7) میز گرد (8) ایشقاب (9) آشپزخانه و رختشوئی

قسمت‌های دیگر (سفید) ٤ اطاق خواب و ۲ روشوئی و مستراح را نشان میدهد در واقع در این تقسیمات کلیه قسمت هایه سالن «نشیمن - غذاخوری» مربوط میباشد .

Figure 8. Exemplary dining rooms that translated from the journal of Homme et Architecture and were presented in *Architecte*. source: (Anonymous, 1948)

Hence, as seen in Figure 9, in the houses they designed, modern architects attempted to promote new ways of domestic living in buildings which would function as perfect ‘machines for living’. The kitchen was no longer a “depressed area”. It had an opening facing the yard to make natural light and ventilation available. Certainly, the conditions of houses in Iran developed a lot during the Pahlavi period, with new facilities and technology with which they are equipped.

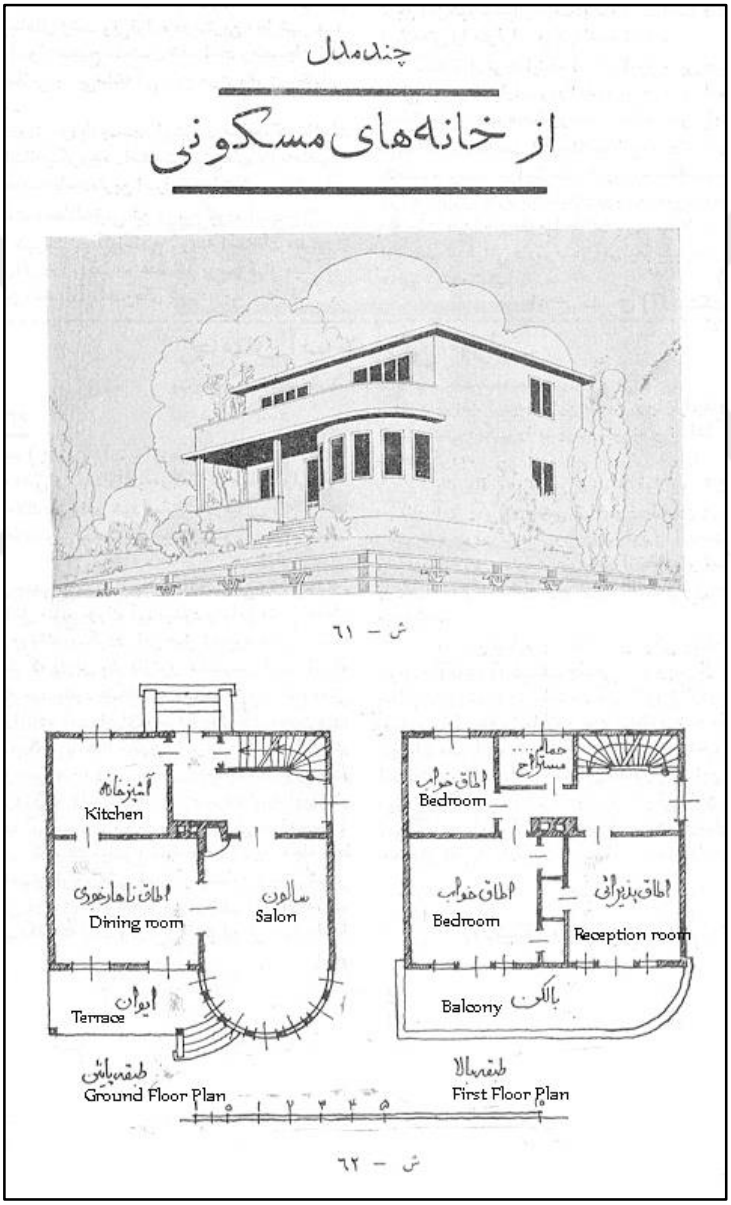


Figure 9. A house designed by Akbari-fard, source: (*Architecte* 2, 1946)

Architecte allocated a section for the presentation of some examples of a "good house" (*khane-ye khoob*), publishing pictures of recently built houses, mostly in Tehran. For instance, in one of its volumes, some houses designed by Ali Sadegh were published as examples of a 'good house' (Figure 10). The houses were presented as prototypes of modern, healthy, functional, individual family-houses which supported modern principles.



Figure 10. Exemplary good houses (*khane-ye khoob*) by Ali Sadeqh. source: (*Architecte* 1. 1946)

Most of the explanations accompanying the published houses mentioned the initial qualities of a modern dwelling, its rational design, and the spatial organization based on function. Generally, in the majority of modern two-story houses, like the European ones, the ground floor was allocated for public spaces and the upper floor was dedicated to the private rooms. Other types of spaces including the kitchen and bathroom, which were formerly accessed only from the courtyard, now were an integrated part of the interior.

Most of the explanatory texts by architects in terms of their designs highlighted the importance of the spatial organization based on function, comfort, daylight, openness, and view. These articulations corresponded to the "beauty of living" defined by Sigfried Giedion, the Swiss historian of art and architecture and the advocate of modernism. In a small book ", Befreites Wohnen" published in 1929, Sigfried Giedion, defined "beauty of living" in these terms: "a house is beautiful when it corresponds to our feeling of life. This means light, air, movement, openness… a house is beautiful if it has light (glass windows) rather than shadows (window supports) … a house is beautiful if it charms results from the interplay of functions well served" (S. Giedion, 1929 cited by Betta, 2007). Giedion's views corresponded to the characteristics of "good house" explained by Mohhamad Ali Sheibai in a note published in *Architecte*. Sheibani defined a "good house" in these terms (Figure 11):

> The house is the first stone for building of a society…a comfortable and beautiful house strengthen the spirit and the body, a good house absorbs the sun in order to raise strong and healthy individuals, a delightful house gives rise to the creation of intimate families, the owner a good house has more passion for his motherland, a functional house creates order in life, a good house is a vivacious house which bestow happiness and health on its inhabitants, … (Sheibani M. A., 1947)

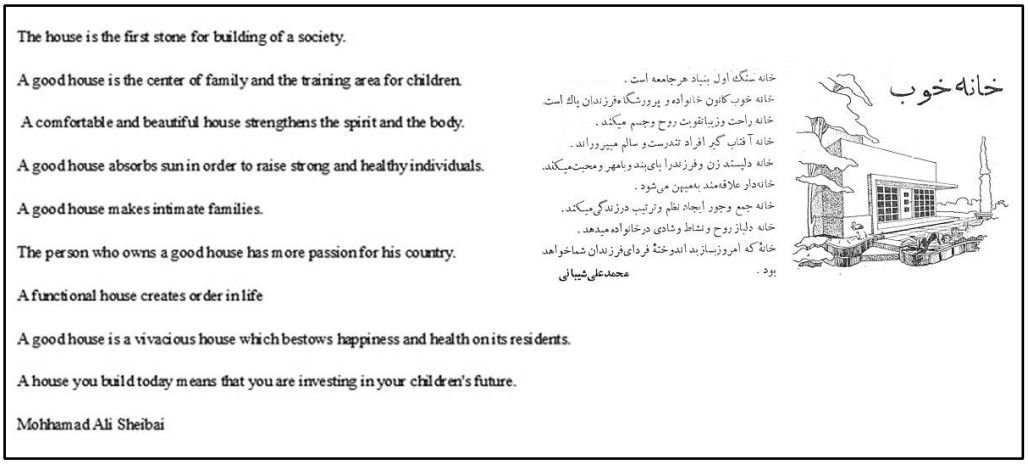


Figure 11. A note by Mohhamad Ali Sheibai in terms of the characteristics of a "good house". source: (*Architecte* 4. 1947)

The promotion of hygiene, comfort and efficiency by architects prompted remarkable changes in household needs. In order to achieve convenience and health, indoor bathrooms were designed in the houses(Marefat, 1988). These concepts even affected the advertising of home in journals and magazines, where hygiene and convenience became the hallmark of the presented houses (Figure 12).

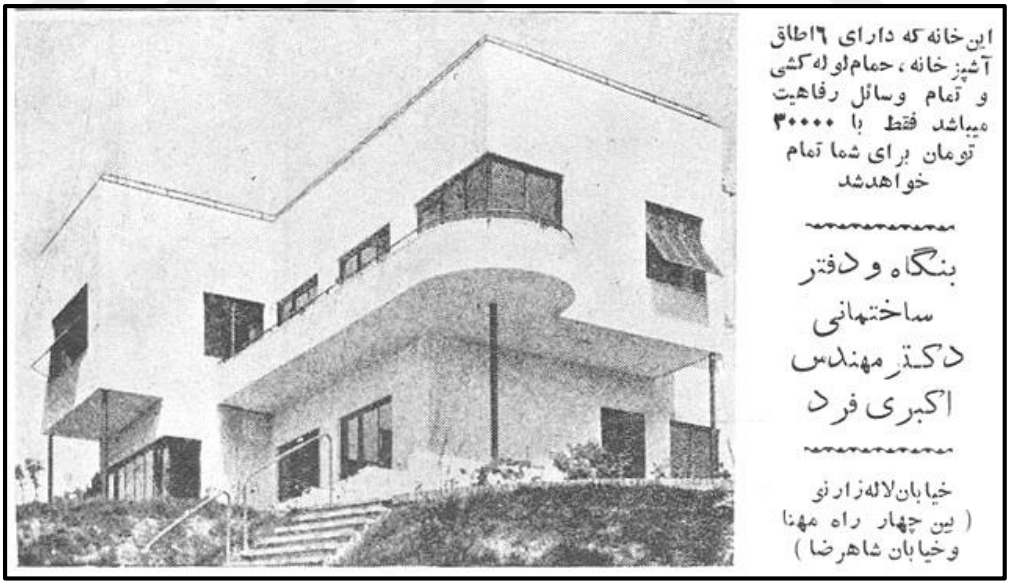


Figure 12. A house's advertisement; The caption reads: "This house, which consists of six bedrooms, kitchen, a bath with plumbing, and all the amenities costs only 30,000 tuman for you." source: (*Architecte* 3, 1947)

In sum, as Hilde Heynen points out, modern architecture gave rise to a revolution in the home culture by emphasizing the principles of modern architecture such as the rationalization, efficiency, ergonomics, hygiene, open plan, and transparency between inside and outside (Heynen, 2005). Architects introduced new houses as a main improvement to current conditions. They explicitly expressed "their commitment to better urban health and sanitation" as stated by Marefat (1988).

2.1. 3. Framing the Visibility of Domestic Space

During Reza Shah's reign (1925-41), the prevalent change in house architecture was the replacement of the traditional introverted house form with the extroverted one (Kiani, 2006). Indeed, the elements and interior spaces of the private house were reinterpreted. No longer the courtyard, which had been the focal space of the dwelling, was located at the center. Its position in the house was moved to the back or front part. Like in their American and European models, houses were oriented to the outside and living spaces once faced the interior courtyard in the traditional houses were now oriented towards the street (Marefat, 1988). Therefore, houses changed from inward-looking courtyard buildings to extroverted buildings, although still enclosed within walled courtyards in all cases (Figure 13).

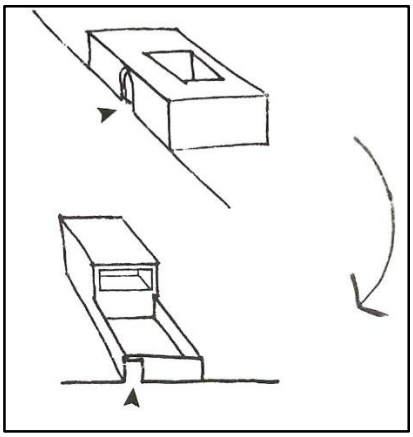


Figure 13. A diagram shows the transformation of traditional house into the modern house in Iran. source: (Haeri, 2014)

Moreover, in the street-facing elevations, the windows became essential architectural elements of the new generation of houses and the glass became the most significant material, symbolizing transparency in the eyes of architects (Figure 14). Before Pahlavi period, the socio-cultural values of Iranian society gave rise to the introverted domestic architecture in which the building could communicate with the street and alley only through the main entrance (Kiani, 2006).

In traditional houses, light was taken from the windows opening only to the courtyard. During the Pahlavi period, for the first time, new windows along with the balcony turned to the street, and the interior private space communicated with the outside (Zekavat, 1996, p132). The balcony, which formerly had been only used in royal palaces, became widespread in houses, and it connected the private space of the home to the public space of street during the Pahlavi period.



Figure 14. Rastgar house with windows looking the street was built during the first Pahlavi period in Tabriz. source: (Kaynejad & Shirazi, 2011)

A good house, according to Sheibani, required big and elegant windows (Sheibani, 1947, p 148). By using transparent boundaries in the modern houses, architects planned to integrate the interior and exterior spaces in a visually unified and functional

pattern, which created an exciting new experience. As seen in figure 15, broad windows and views blur the visual distinction between the interior space of the house and the street.

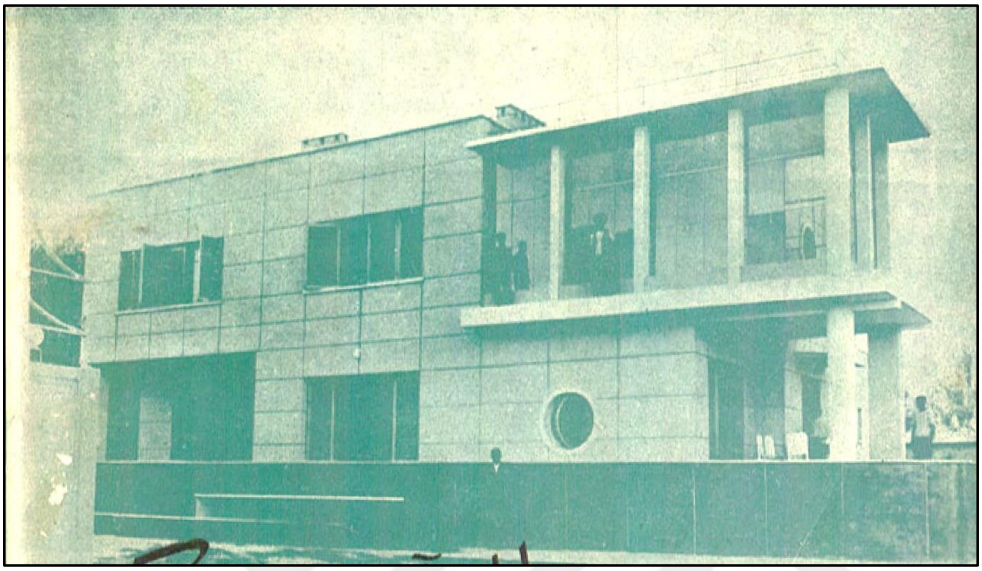


Figure 15. A house with broad windows designed by Keyghobad Zafar. source: (*Architecte* 2, 1946)

One of the most identifiable principles that modernist architects were ambitious to use in the exterior façade was circular and horizontal strip windows along with horizontal lines on the exterior elevations of the houses. For instance, Keyghobad Zafar's use of small circular windows and "clusters of casement windows with horizontal edging and shades" became an identifiable stylistic signature, which were imitated and used in middle class villas (Marefat, 1988). Round windows were placed on the most eye-catching part of the façade (Figure 16).

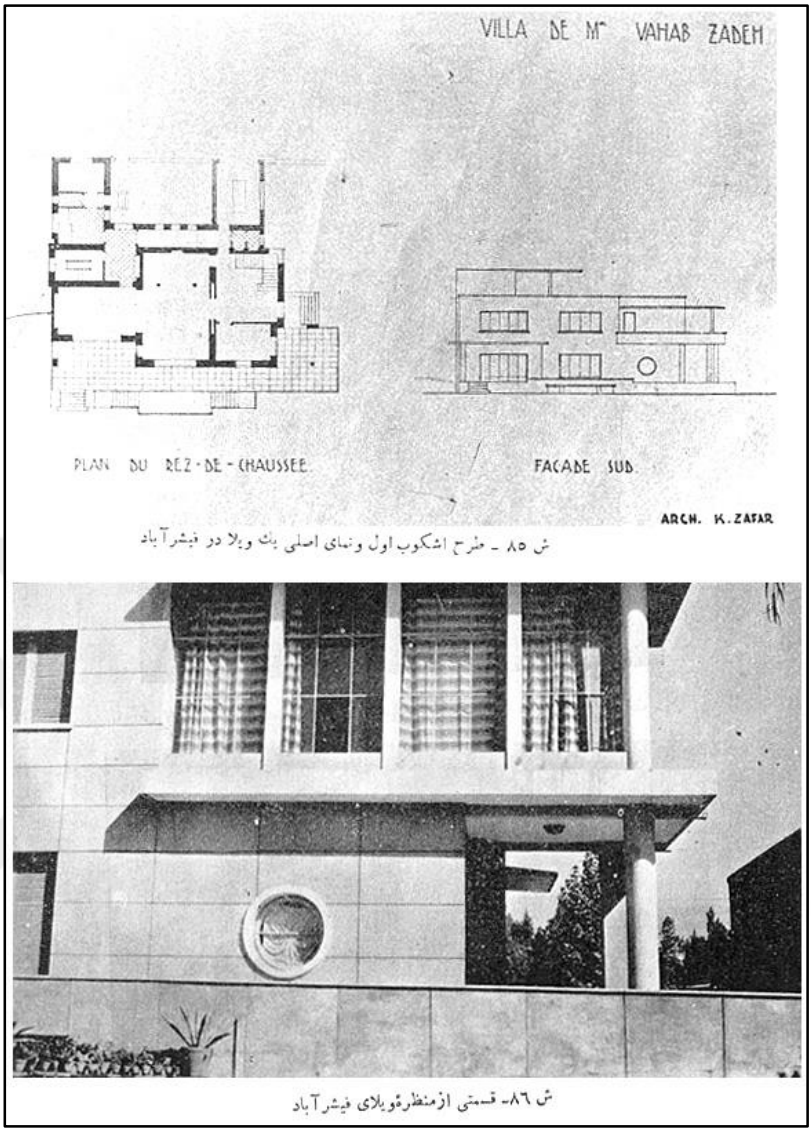


Figure 16. A house designed by Keyghobad Zafar. source: (*Architecte* 2, 1946)

According to Mina Marefat, the endeavors for modernizing the Iranian society undermined the *andaruni-biruni (*private-public) division, which determined the spatial organization of Iranian traditional houses. The emergence of a new and considerably large urban middle class and the encouragement of women to take part in activities outside the domestic space were effective in creating changes in lifestyle and their spatial and architectural implications as well (Marefat, 1988, p. 194).

Vartan Avanessianin in an article published in 1946, related the elimination of *andaruni-biruni* division to the Reza Shah's abolition of the veil. He believed that the unveiling of women was one of the reasons for the extroverted-ness of a contemporary house. He stated;

> When women removed the veil from their faces, the new houses removed their mask which was adobe and mudbrick walls and converted them into the short walls or fences. As the veil was lifted from the women's faces and they could freely go to streets, houses also opened their eyes and looked to the streets and alleys. In other words, the window opened toward the street and *andaruni-biruni* (private-public) division disappeared. (Avanessian, 1946)

The pattern for a new modern plan appeared with functional and specified rooms replacing the traditional spatial organization in accordance with the division of private and public spheres (Frye, 2000). In this new pattern, wet spaces including kitchen and toilets, which once were located in the courtyard moved into the houses. Moreover, outdoor and semi-enclosed spaces such as balconies and terraces appeared and they replaced to some extent the functions of the courtyard (Marefat, 1988).

2. 1.4. Vocabularies of the Architecture of a Modern House

The design of the new modern floor plan was initiated by Mohsen Furughi, who changed the traditional spatial organization and gender-based *andaruni-biruni* distinctions of the house and replaced these spaces with functional rooms (Karimi, 2013). Therefore, in the spatial organization of domestic interiors, new notions were followed. By eliminating the traditional method of space division with immovable walls and using of sliding doors, a flexible interior arrangement was attained.

Villa Siasi (1935), designed by Gabriel Gueverkian[15] took its source of inspiration from Adolf Loos, who formulated a theory of architecture that was known "as

[15] Gabriel Gueverkian was a member of the modern architectural movement and one of the companions of Le Corbusier in the Congres Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM). He practiced in Iran for a few years, designing a number of villas and public buildings (Farahi, 2012). As an international figure, Gueverkian is an important link between the European modern movement and the development

raumplan, in which boundaries were broken and all rooms, annexes, and terraces were connected in subtle ways" (Karimi P. , 2013). Adolf Loos's conception of space is prevalent in the floor designs of Villa Siasi (Figure 17). The ground floor plan shows that the difference in level was used for the separation of spaces and rooms were situated on different levels. As far as possible, the architect refused to use walls in spatial organization and in his plans the spaces are opened to each other. Hence, none of the main rooms had door and all of them were separated through surfaces with different heights. Gabriel Gueverkian designed his plans in accordance with a three-stage method that he learned from Oskar Strnad during his years of study in the school of Architecture in Vienna's Academy of Fine Arts. Oskar Strnad stated that in the first step, the paths and transitions must be specified. In the second step, floor levels must be determined. At this stage, the buffers, stairs, and doors as a boundary or perimeter lines and their sizes must be identified. In the third step, it is necessary to specify lighting and its types (darkness-brightness). (Hakim, Negar, Fall 2001).

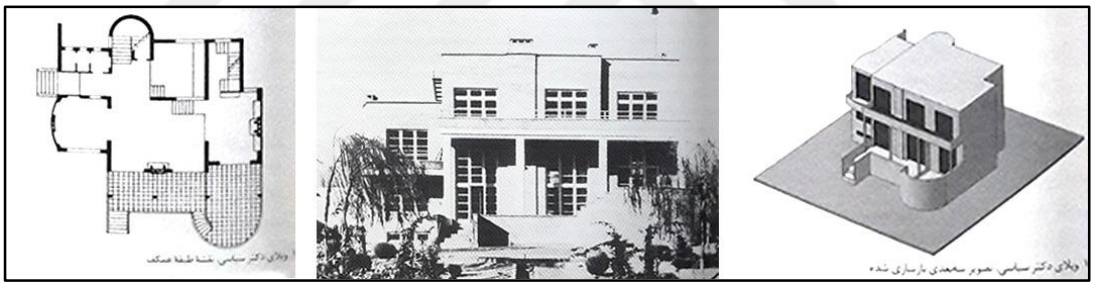


Figure 17. Villa Siasi designed by Gueverkian. source: (Hakim, 2001)

In addition to their interior spatial organization, Gabriel Gueverkian's villas including *Panahy* built in 1934, Siassy and *Aslani* built in 1935, *Khosrovani and Taleghani* built in 1936, *Firouzi and Mafie* built in 1937 were highlighted through their modern appearance appropriate for the newly created nation of Iran. Though inevitably larger than the typical single-family house, his villas can be seen as exemplary of the modern house for Iranian architects. Their wide, cantilevered roofs above a wide terrace on

of modern architecture in Iran. His first-hand association with European architectural leaders and his own positions in Iran made him influential for many young Iranian professionals. Although his career in Iran lasted only four years, Gabriel Guevrekian left a considerable impression on Iranian architecture.

the upper level, cantilevered entrance canopy, and, on the interior, large glazed surfaces are particularly strong modernist features. Figure 18 shows a house that was designed by Gabriel Gueverkian. In the Villa *Malek Aslani*, the organization of plan and the interrelationship between public and private rooms can be interpreted as an important embodiment of a modern approach to domestic privacy. The architect implied an unconventional approach to the requirements of domestic life, and he searched for rearranging the relationship between public and private rooms. To be accurate, the well-lit, spacious and open plan of ground floor is distinguished from the separated, partitioned, and closed plan of the first floor, and is interpreted "as a choice between communal openness and enclosed domestic privacy" as Julienne Hanson (1998, p 197) states in terms of these plans. His houses can be considered precursors in transforming the dominant notions of domestic architecture along with the way of life contained by it.

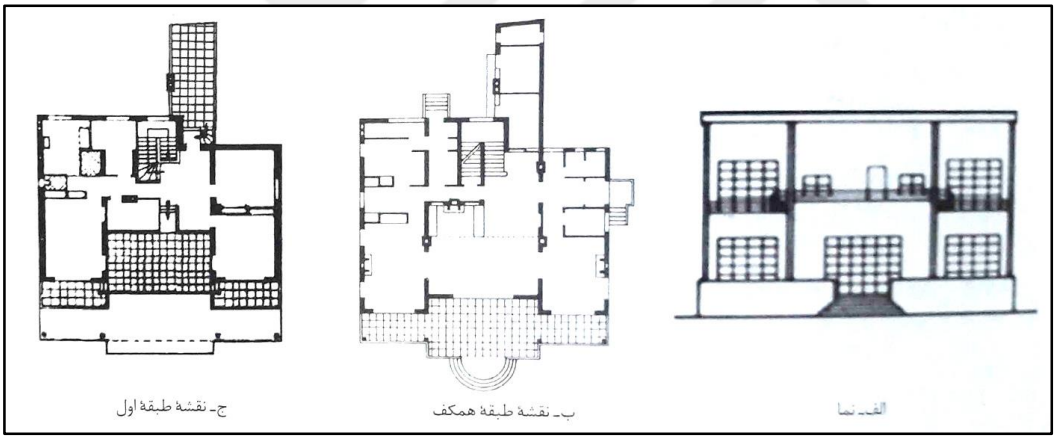


Figure 18. Villa Malek Aslani designed by Gueverkian. source: (Hakim, 2001)

Although most of the houses designed by Gueverkian were for private elite clienteles, his designs noticeably influenced the architectural style of Iranian houses in the following periods. According to Marefat, his use of semi-circular balcony in Villa Siassy became precursor to a style later developed in the work of other Iranian modern architects, particularly Akbar Boudaghian and Ali Sadegh). For instance, in a house designed by Ali Sadegh (Figure 19), rounded spaces and corners produce one of the recognizable modernist aesthetic features. These spaces, which were mostly placed in

the corner of the plan layout, were frequently used as living rooms. Usually those rounded spaces also contained balconies in the front, which can be interpreted as an expressions of modern aesthetics in houses. The use of semi-cylindrical volumes in individual houses became gradually widespread, and it was used to accommodate most important spaces in terms of function such as guest rooms or living rooms.

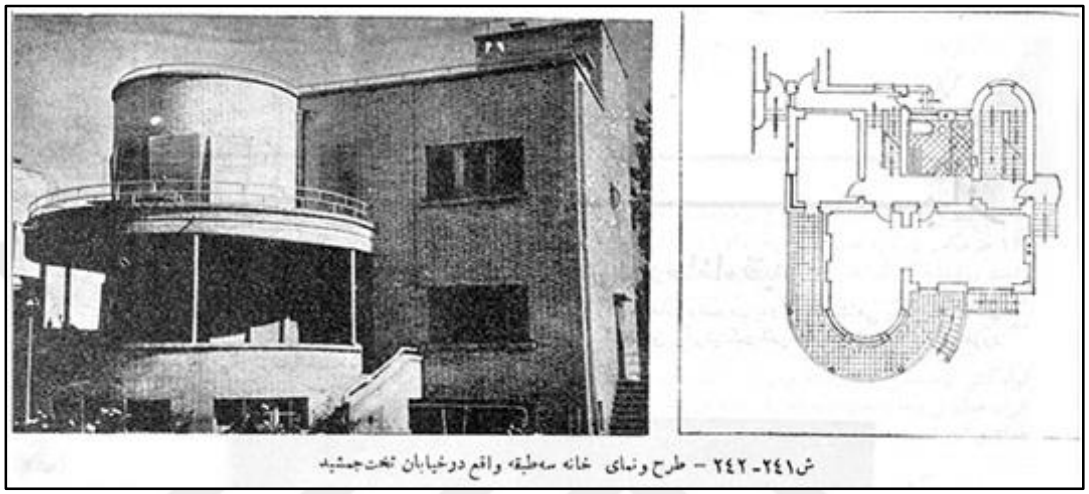


Figure 19. A three-storey house by Ail Sadegh. source: (*Architecte* 4, 1947)

Like his colleague Guevrekian, Vartan Avanessian left a distinctive mark on residential buildings and apartments for the middle class. Particularly, in the facades of his buildings, admired regularly in the pages of *Architecte*, Avanessian was recognized with both stylistic and structural novelties (Figure 20). From the cantilevered floors of the *Darband* Palace that he designed to his distinctive use of clear horizontal and vertical lines, he created a distinctive architectural vocabulary, as Mina Marefat (1988, p134) states. *Architecte* almost in every issue published both his building projects and his ideas and texts about the modern architecture. The first issue of *Architecte* addressed a monograph introducing Vartan Avanessian. In that text, the formal feature of the buildings of Vartan were explained in these terms; horizontal and corner windows, vertical long windows encompassing stairways, the projections in the façades and the use of cement in different colors in facades, cantilevered stairs, cement bands above windows, and a horizontal plain strip at the roof, which was popular among the builders of Teharn as *chefteh vartani* (Vartan-style edge) (Anonymous,

1946). The text concluded that the use of these changes alone (the features of Vartan's architecture) were sufficient for the transformation of architecture in Iran.

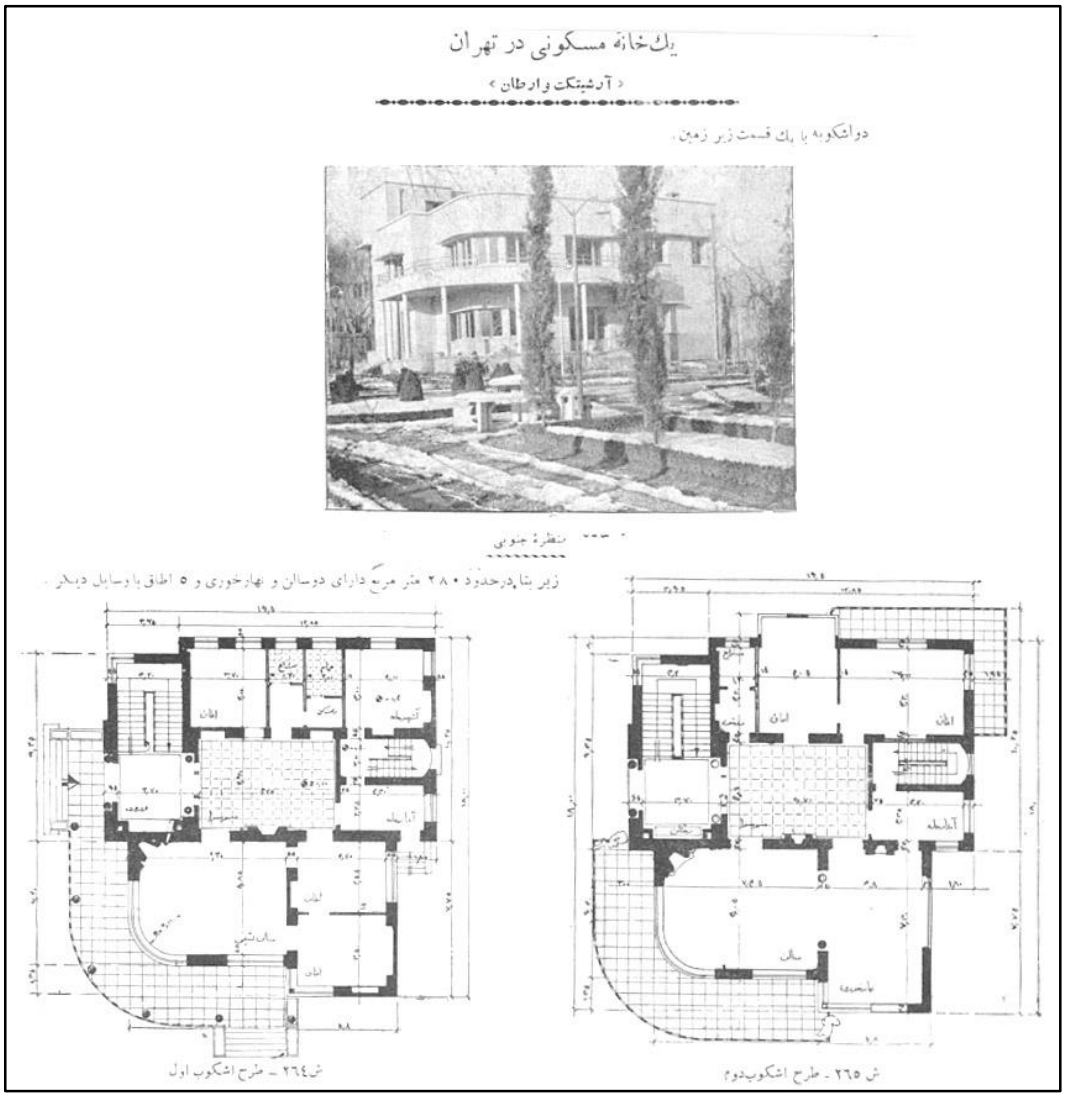


Figure 20. A house designed by Vartan Avanessian. source: (*Architecte* 5, 1948)

In his houses and commercial-residential buildings, Vartan Avanessian used his experience of working with Henri Sauvage, a French architect who was one of the most important architects in the French Art Nouveau movement. Similar to Sauvage, Vartan used circular forms, bow-windows, and triangular projecting windows. The details of window treatment in apartment buildings on Shahreza by Vartan points to the influence that Sauvage may have had on Vartan and it also represents the affinities

that his works had with the Sauvage buildings (Figure 21). Vartan was an undeniably modernist with "a faint touch of Art Nouveau" as Mina Marefat (1988, p 215) argues. Next to the Art Nouveau details, one can clearly see the distinctive modernist features in Vartan's houses as stated above.

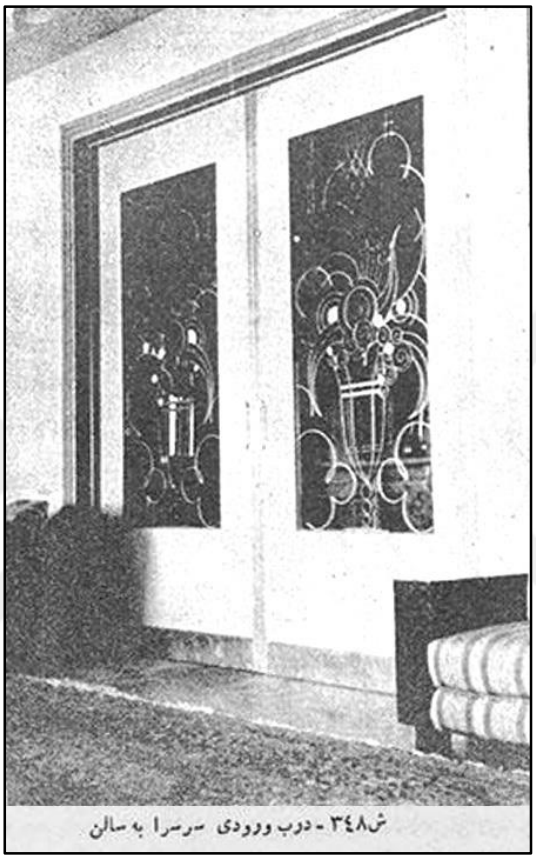


Figure 21. The influence of Art Nouveau on the interior of a house designed by Vartan Avanessian located in Takhte Jamshid street. source: (*Architecte* 6., 1948)

In terms of interiors, it can be observed that the ornamental expressions of interior spaces were rejected in support of the modernist aesthetic of the facades (Figure 22). A modern house was explained with its rejection of the excessive and unnecessary ornament and decoration. Figure 23 shows the interior decoration of a house designed by Boudaghian that was published in the first issue of *Architecte*. The picture shows a serious simplicity of bare walls and modern furniture. In the text one can read "in the interior decoration of houses, like other aspects of social life, some noticeable developments have been appeared. The old-fashioned difficult decoration, plastering

and framing is now no longer common. The beauty of decoration is more searchable in logic and simplicity" (Anonymous, 1946, p. 29). An interior of the modern house was subject to the rationalism and functionalism. Indeed, in the housing experiments portrayed in *Architecte*, simplicity, functionality and rationality were the main sources of inspiration for architects.

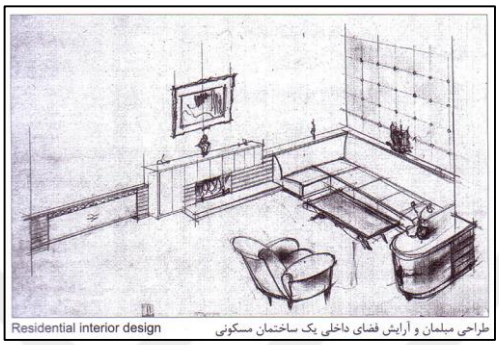


Figure 22. Interior design by Paul Abkar in 1940s. source: (*Memar*, 2017)



Figure 23. Views from the interior decoration of a house designed by Boudaghian. source: (*Architecte* 1, 1946)

Regarding the materials used in modern houses, the new generation of Iranian architects discussed about the potential of the concrete in the debate of modernism. Architects argued about the possibilities provided by the use of reinforced concrete in buildings. Rounded, projected, and cantilevered forms and volumes in residential buildings were the immediate impact of the reinforced concrete. A new style of residential architecture emerged through the usage of colored pigments on facades known as '*me'mari simani'* (cement architecture).

In addition to reinforced concrete, brick was another material used by modern architects in the houses. Cantilevered roofs, balconies and projecting bays gave rise to the emergence of a distinguishable style for the residential brick architecture. According to Fatemeh Kateb (1998, 315), brick in various colors and patterns was produced in standard sizes and it became popular and widespread in the new building market (Figure 24).

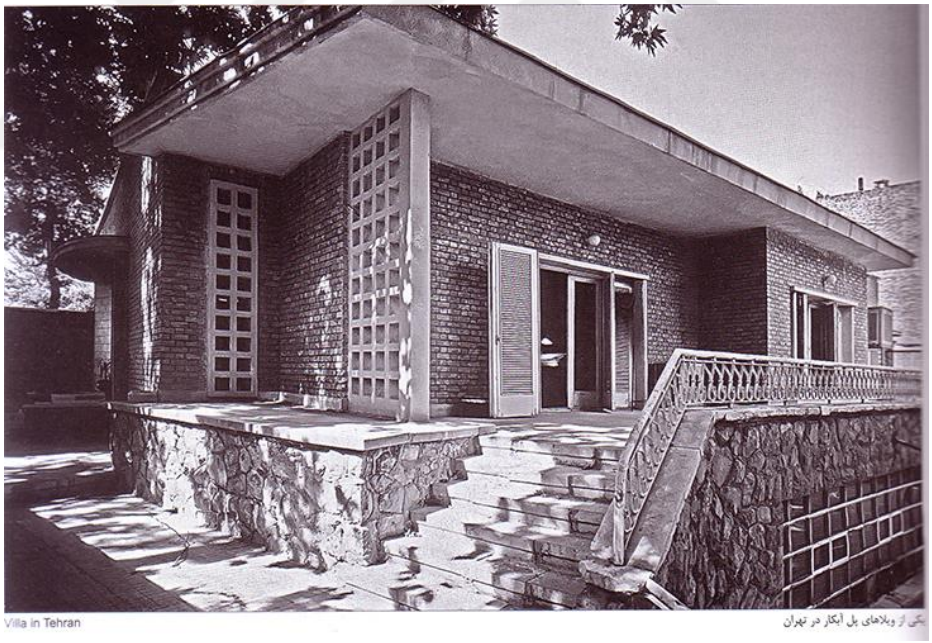


Figure 24. Brick was used in a villa designed by Paul Abkar in Tehran during the Pahlavi period. source: (*Memar*, 2017)

Between the years 1945-1953 when Iran experienced substantial social and urban transformations, non-professionals participated in the construction of residential

buildings. One of the significant changes of that period was the emergence of an urban middle-class (Habibi, 2017). During this period, as a result of the expansion of industries in Iran and the flow of thousands of migrants from different parts of the country toward the major cities in order to find jobs in industries, a housing shortage emerged in all major cities. In this situation, in addition to architects, traditional master builders and masons took the main part in the housing construction activities.

Traditional architects *(memars)* began to build houses for middle-class people. These types of houses built with the way called "build and sell", were usually two-storey buildings with travertine stone façades, with steel window frames and doors and simple materials. Another type of houses, which were far smaller were built without an architect by masons and they are called "mason-builder houses". These houses were usually built with bricks in one to two floors, doors made of steel and windows, with an area of less than 100 meter square and with a minimum of sanitation facilities. New building materials including reinforced concrete, brick, steel and glass, which were formerly employed in governmental buildings by well-known architects, were now also used by *memars* in residential projects. New building materials and new ways of life helped to the break-down of tradition and gave the way to a new, modern set of values being embodied in architecture as Fatemeh Kateb states (1998). Therefore, modern houses were designed and constructed not only by modern architects but also by non-professionals who practiced and intervened in the construction process of housing. As many contemporary architectural critics state, however, Iranian modern houses in Iran were influenced by the concepts of the modern house introduced in the west, especially in terms of the visibility and openness of facades, which did not exist in the traditional domestic architecture of Iran, they were not directly the very same copy of the western modern house. That is to say that Iranian modern domestic architecture conveyed some characteristics, which were unique to the context of Iran particularly in terms of spatial organizations of the plan layouts. With the exception of some houses that included the open plan layout, most of the modern houses were central-hall plan type in which all rooms were opened into the hall. Central hall acted

like the courtyard in the traditional dwellings in which all spaces surrounded the central yard and looked at it. For example, *Darband* Palace designed by Vartan Avanessian, explained in the previous pages as being the representative of Iranian modern houses due to the embodiment of modern vocabularies in its elevations, had a central hall plan and all rooms located around it and they were separated from each other through solid walls like the traditional plan layouts. Therefore, Iranian modern houses conveyed some principles of the traditional houses including the introversion and the walled courtyard in a modified form. Sensitivity to the context and the combination of cultural values with modern principles in domestic architecture was accelerated in the works of Iranian architects from the late Pahlavi period onwards which will be discussed in the following parts.

2.1 Rethinking on 'Authentic Culture' (Farhang-e Asil): (1960s -1970s)

During the 1960s and 1970s, Iran witnessed an important period of "return" to native roots and a dominant "discourse of nativism, rejecting the west and celebrating Iranian authority", had turned into an increasingly prevalent mission as Matin-Asgari (2012) points out.

The debate of *Farhang-e Asil* (authentic culture) became widespread among intellectuals who were discontent of the conducts and policies of the authoritarian system. The restrictions imposed and executed by the government on "political activities and freedom of expression in the mid-1960s" were powerful in the initiation of this dispute (Nabavi, 2003). In order to challenge government, intellectuals attempted to seek less direct ways to express their disagreement to the authority, as Negin Nabavi states.

The Iranian writer Jalal Al-e Ahmad's pamphlet Westoxication (*Gharbzadegi*) published in 1962 was the most famous book that criticized the modernizing programs of Pahlavi regime. According to the book, western corporations and a western way of life had been imported into Iran without an understanding of its complexities (Deylami, 2011). Jalal- al-Ahmad asserted that Iranian society suffered from a

psychological affliction. He used the term "*gharbzadegi*[16]*"* to describe this mental condition. Like other contemporaries who were in opposition to the impact of westernization on Iranian identity, Al-e Ahmad worried that Iranians were losing themselves as they wandered aimlessly toward the mirage of "modernity." In his book, he articulated this self-alienation, writing "we are like strangers to ourselves, in our food and dress, our home, our manners, our publications, and most dangerous, our culture. We try to educate ourselves in the European style and strive to solve every problem as the Europeans would " (Al-e Ahmad, 1984). Al-e Ahmad put the cultural roots of Iranians in Islam and was more critical of secularism and westernization.

According to Afshin Matin-Asgari "A lesser-known source for Iran's modernist authenticity discourse was the intellectual circle formed by the French Orientalist Henri Corbin[17] and his Iranian associates". During the 1960s and 1970s in Tehran, Corbin made organized efforts for modern interpretation of Shi'ism. Matin-Asgari states, "the Corbin circle linked a metaphysical critique of the West to a modern recasting of Iran's religious and mystical traditions". One of the closest colleagues of Corbin was Seyyed Hossein Nasr who educated at the University of Chicago (Matin-Asgari, 2012). According to Pamela Karimi, Nasr, communicated to the artistic expression of the "co-option" of Islam through promoting a Sufi-oriented discourse. Karimi mentioned that Nasr was one of the world's prominent specialists on notions of "Islamic spirituality", particularly "Sufism (*tasawwuf*) and Mysticism (*irfān)"* during the 1970s (Karimi P. , 2013). Moreover, Nasr worked as cultural advisor of Farah Pahlavi, Empress of Iran who assigned him to found the Imperial Academy of Philosophy in Iran which quickly turned into "one of the most important and vital centers of philosophical activity in the Islamic world" and attracted well-known

[16] The term *gharbzadegi* which started to be popular in the 1960s displayed anti-Western feelings, expressions, and sentiment.

[17]Henry Corbin (1903-1978) was an orientalist, philosopher, theologian, and one of the eminent thinkers of the twentieth century. One of the twentieth century's most prominent intellectuals of Islamic mysticism, "Corbin was Professor of Islam & Islamic Philosophy at the Sorbonne in Paris and at the University of Tehran." (The Lecacy of Henry Corbin, 2010)

international specialists in the field, for instance, Henry Corbin and Toshihiko Izutsu (Karimi, 2013). Ayatollah Morteza Motahhari was another important figure and the most persuasive "interpreter of modernist Shi'ism" in the last two decades of Pahalvi period (Matin-Asgari, 2012).Therefore, a group of Iranian scholars tried to depict an idealistic representation of Islam. Ali Shariati in theological seminaries asked for a reform and change in curriculum. He called for "the study of an idealized concept of the Islamic city" (Karimi, 2013). This was coincided with making process of land reform laws of the "White Revolution" by Mohammad Reza Shah.

Meanwhile, events such as the *Siahkal*[18] on 8 February 1971, which began to symbolize the first rebellious movement that effectively challenged the government and encouraged many other revolutionaries to battle, or student protests against the regime, both within the country and outside the borders of Iran, did much to disgrace and discredit the regime. "In this situation, it became more imperative for the establishment to co-opt the more moderate intellectuals" (Nabavi, 2003). Therefore, the state attempted to adopt the distinctive discourse of 'authentic culture' of the 1960s through numerous measures. These included the formation of study groups and cultural organizations that pursued the very goals of intellectuals, that is, the conservation of a native culture. "Cultural authenticity", in that context, "was considered as a means of consolidating the foundations of national unity" (Nabavi, 2003).

Assisted by Empress Farah Pahlavi's affinities with Persian tradition, and enabled by strong sections of the resistance who were dissatisfied by what they considered as the regime's purposeful promulgation of Western ideals, a powerful movement of "return" transformed the Iranian cultural context (Milani, 2008). The idealistic appropriation of the Islamic heritage of Iran was came to a climax in art events, especially, the Festival of Culture of Art and the Shiraz Arts Festival which were began

[18] On 8 February, 1971, 13 young men equipped with hand grenades and guns invaded the gendarmerie office in the *Siahkal*, a village on the border of the Caspian forests. This strike, subsequently became known as the "*Siahkal* incident," motivated many other radicals including Islamic and Marxist, to express and take up arms against the Pahlavi state. For more see (Abrahamian, 1982, p. 480)

in 1967 were among those events (Karimi P. , 2013). The Shiraz Arts Festival was "both a showcase for the most advanced work of the European-American avant-garde and a forum for introducing little-known traditional Eastern art to an international audience" (Kodat, 2014). The festival was a special interest of Farah Pahlavi, whose cultural taste had been profoundly influenced by her education in France (Kodat, 2014).

Empress Farah had initiated a mission to revive and rescue overlooked practices of traditional Iranian arts. From a broad perspective, obviously, Hossein Zenderoudi, an Iranian painter and sculptor, and the school of *Saggakhaneh*[19] were part of a return program that pervaded the art and architecture of Iran at that time (Milani A. , 2008). It was a transition from the imitation of the Western "other" toward the discovery, revival, and respect of the Iranian "self". Abbas Milani making reference to Fereshteh Daftari says that Zenderoudi represents "the 'authentic local' with whom begins a movement far from western idioms and back into the depths of Shiite iconography in terms… of the local vernacular" (Milani, 2008). Zenderudi employed indigenous sources, "dawn from local decorative crafts objects found in bazaars determined the enthusiastic reception of his work", understood as a opposition to the influence of Western culture, recognized as *gharbzadeghi* or 'westoxication' (Malik, 2007). Iftikhar Dadi considered his effort as part of a broader movement called "calligraphic modernism" that was representative of the definitely local terms in which "modernism in art" was connected to nationalism in cultural conflicts for freedom from colonialism (Figure 25) (Malik, 2007).

[19] The term *Saqqa-khaneh* was first used by Karim Emami, art critic, at the Tehran *Honarkadeh-ye honar-hay-e taz´ini* (College of Decorative Arts). The term was initially employed in the artworks such as painting and sculpture, which employed some features from the "votive Shi'ite art" in their modern artworks. In terms of the origin of the *Saqqa-khaneh* school, Parviz Tanavoli, an Iranian sculptor and one of the principal pioneers of the movement, explains that one day he and Hossein Zenderoudi traveled to the Shrine of Shah Abdol Azim in the late 1950s and faced with "some religious printed posters, talismanic seals, and images" (Keshmirshekan, 2005). According to Tanavoli, at that moment, they were searching for native Iranian raw material to be employed in their artworks. "The simplicity of forms, repeated motifs, and bright colors attracted them" (Keshmirshekan, 2005). Tanavoli mentions that the initial drawings produced by Hossein Zenderoudi through the use of that materials were considered to be the initial examples of *Saqqa-khaneh* movement (Keshmirshekan, 2005).

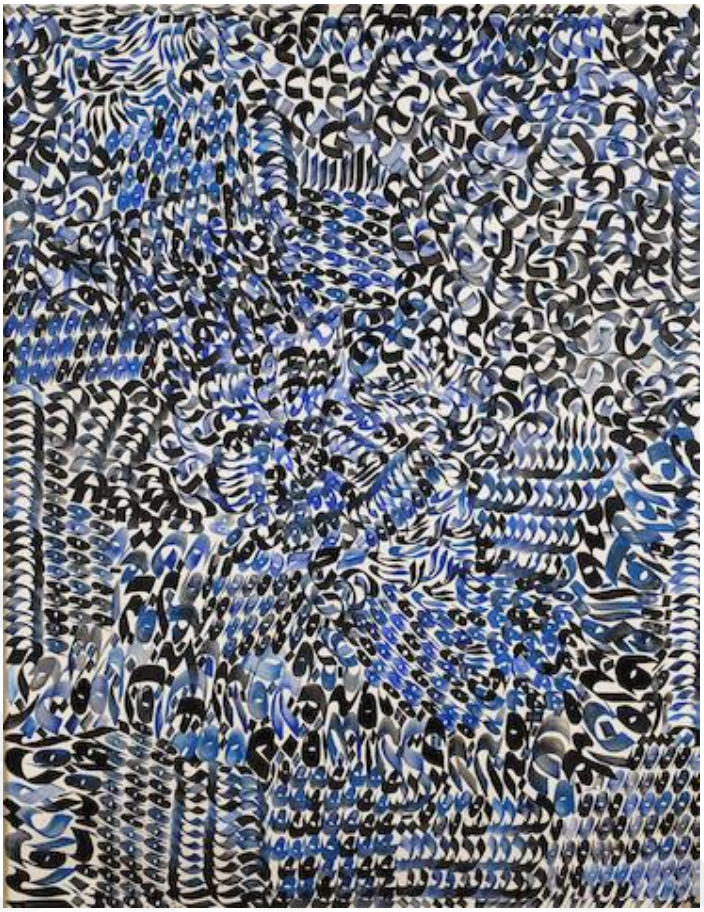


Figure 25. Untitled. acrylic on canvas, framed 146 x 114.5 cm. Hossein Zenderoudi, 1969. source: (https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/16393/lot/71/)

In architecture, Hushang Seyhoun[20] had dominant voice in the revival of vernacular architecture. In 1961, he substituted Mohsen Forughi as the dean of the School of Art and Architecture at University of Tehran. He brought about significant alterations in the curriculum of the school. In his own view, his significant contribution to architecture was to initiate the practice of asking students of architecture to travel around every region of Iran and to visit traditional and new buildings, marking outstanding buildings of the past along with the simple adobe buildings of the poor (Milani A. , 2008). Moreover, he invited the manager of the Department of Antiquities of Iran, and consequently, many important but previously overlooked buildings were

[20] Hushang Seyhoun graduated from the Faculty of Fine Arts in Tehran and also the École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts in Paris. He was influenced by the ideas of André Godard. (Shirazi, 2017)

positioned on the list of historic places and indicated for preservation (Mialni, 2008). Rejecting the formal imitation and repetition of Western architecture, Hushang Seyhoun attempted to encourage learning form the principles of Iranian traditional architecture while benefitted from the technical achievements of the contemporary world (Shirazi, 2017). According to Reza Shirazi, in his architectural projects, Seyhoun's objective was not to go "beyond 'the modern', but localizing and settling 'the modern' on and within the syntactic and semantic context of Iran" (Shirazi, 2017).

Hossein Nasr's ideas of "the traditional society," "the traditional man," and "the traditional space' pertained to the debate of the revitalization of traditional styles in architecture. 'The Sense of Unity: The Sufi Tradition in Persian Architecture' (1973), an influential book by Nader Ardalan and Laleh Bakhtiar is one of the most important manifestations of such inspiration. The book includes a foreword by Nasr, who puts a spiritual tone for investigation of the Iranian Islamic architecture. (Karimi, 2013) This book contains the philosophy and mysticism of Sufi traditions in the architecture of Iran. Its authors attempted to express some ideas of the unseen order that had defined Iranian architectural forms (Özkan, 2002).

In 1969, the first issue of *Honar va Memari* was published under the editorial guidance of Abdol-Hamid Eshragh[21] and it became the professional and public face of 'The Association of Iranian Architects' (AIA) (Roudbari, 2013). The inaugural statement of the first issue of of *Honar va Memari* was:

> Our aim, in service to our native land, is to identify the art and architecture of its soil, and to attempt, with an interest, to be globalized.

The content of the journal remained faithful to its goal. Although discursive culture of *Honar va Memari* linked to Iran's 1960s condition and the "publications by left leaning intellectual groups", faithfulness to the sponsorship of the monarchy would cause an extended shadow on content of the journal and ultimately get involved in the profession's destiny in the revolutionary years (Roudbari, 2013).

[21] Abdol-Hamid Eshragh was an architect that graduated from Beaux Arts educated.

The sensibility towards cultural identity was led to the three international architecture congresses in Iran. These gatherings were planned and organized by the founding members of 'The Association of Iranian Architects', chiefly among them was Abdol-hamid Eshraq, the editor of the journal of *Honar va Memari*. The third issue of the journal declared that the First International Congress of Architects in Iran (1970) was under the patronage of Shah and Shahbanu Farah[22]. The first international architectural conference titled "Investigating the Possibility of Linking Traditional Architecture with Modern Methods"[23] was held in Isfahan in September in 1970. Major debates were around "the integration of traditional concepts with modern technology". At this conference, Louis Kahn presented his ideas and works in architecture had a fascinating influence on Iranian architects. Amir Bani-Masoud states that Iranian architects through the works of Louis Kahn, Alvar Aalto, James Stirling, and Hasan Fathi inclined into regionalism, neo-vernacularism and historicism (Bani-masoud, 2010).

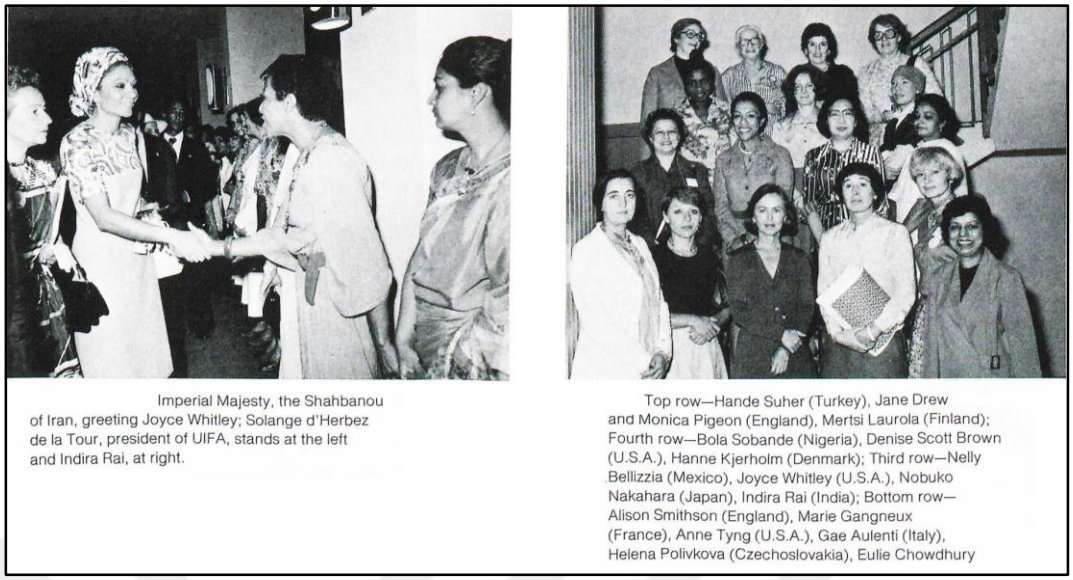
The second international architectural conference entitled "The Role of Architecture and Urban Planning in Industrializing Countries" was held in September 1974 in Shiraz. Many of the leading, Internationally known theorists and practitioners debated the issues related to regional culture, social identity, and human habitat (Mozaffari & Westbrook, 2015). And finally, the third congress was titled "The Identity Crisis in Architecture" held in Ramsar in 1976. It was the first international congress of female

[22] Farah Pahlavi had a great passion for architecture. In an interview with Donna Stein regarding her views on Iranian architecture, she recalls Henry Corbin ideas that "We had to learn from our past, but at the same time, allow contemporary-inspired ideas to flourish. We wanted to encourage our creative people-painters, philosophers and architects. We could not always copy what we had for thousands of years. From a national perspective, aesthetic considerations have a powerful impact on progress, invention, renewal of self-determination, social integration and quality of life. We have to improve our educational and cultural values, because physical and material developments proceed much faster than cultural advancement. Like so many other Third World societies, we had to break loose from the tyranny of resistance to change and the interia of underdevelopment" (Stein, 2013).

23The title of some presentations in the conference were: "tradition and contemporary interior architecture", "the combination of Iranian old architecture with modern construction technology", "tradition and contemporary architecture", "the use of traditional architecture in contemporary architecture", "technology", "architectural tradition and technology", " a study on the Iranian traditional architecture and the reality of the present era", " technology and traditional architecture", "The application of modern technology in traditional architecture", and "Tendency to the regional architecture". For more see, Art and architecture, (1971). no 6&7

architects in Iran held under the patronage of Farah Pahlavi who was an opening speaker of the congress. Farah Pahlavi indicated that the aim of the congress as exchanging ideas among various cultures and she emphasized on the role of female architects[24] in the social and cultural progression of Iran (Tabibi, 2013). Twenty female architects and planners as official guests of the government were present from 14 countries, and an approximately 165 attendees were members of L'Union International des femmes Architects as seen in figures 26-27. (Progressive architecture, 1977).

[24] Women's role in architecture was appreciated in more considerable ways during the last decade of Pahlavi state. Three years after the establishment of the College of Fine Arts (September-October 1940), the first woman enrolled at the school of architecture (Tabibi, 2013). The promotion of the status of female architects was encouraged by Queen Farah Pahlavi, the wife of the Shah, who started to study architecture at the École spéciale d'architecture in 1957 (Karimi P., 2013). Queen Farah stated that during her education period in the architecture department, there was only one female architect (Nectar Papazian Andreff) in Iran (Stein, 2013). One of the issues of the journal of *Honar ve Memari* (Art and Architecture) was dedicated to female architects in Iran. In the first pages of the journal, a number of architectural drawings and rendering by the Shahbanu Farah Pahlavi during her architectural study in Paris was presented. In the next pages of Art and Architecture, some of Iranian women architects and their practices were introduced. Among them, Leila Sardar Afkhami' practices were about house design. In explaining her works, she discussed about the theme of identity. She stated that she had tried to give her works an "identity" through contextually and locally specific design. However, she had not described explicitly her notion on "identity". What is apparent is that the local material was one of the most important elements with which architects of that period tried to give identity to their buildings. In the Aryamehr Technical University Residences in Isfahan, Leila Sardar Afkhami discussed that by using brick as a prevalent local material, she aimed to give local identity to the houses. Regarding the plan organizations, she considered the real habitants and designed different types including open plan houses and central-hall plan types.



Imperial Majesty, the Shahbanou of Iran, greeting Joyce Whitley; Solange d'Herbez de la Tour, president of UIFA, stands at the left and Indira Rai, at right.

Top row—Hande Suher (Turkey), Jane Drew and Monica Pigeon (England), Mertsi Laurola (Finland); Fourth row—Bola Sobande (Nigeria), Denise Scott Brown (U.S.A.), Hanne Kjerholm (Denmark); Third row—Nelly Bellizzia (Mexico), Joyce Whitley (U.S.A.), Nobuko Nakahara (Japan), Indira Rai (India); Bottom row—Alison Smithson (England), Marie Gangneux (France), Anne Tyng (U.S.A.), Gae Aulenti (Italy), Helena Polivkova (Czechoslovakia), Eulie Chowdhury

Figure 26. First International Congress of Women Architects in Ramsar, Iran, 1976. source: (Progressive Architecture 58, 1977)



Figure 27. First International Congress of Women Architects in Ramsar, Iran, 1976. source: (Progressive Architecture 58, 1977)

The main theme of the Congress was "*Bohran-e Hoviyat dar Memari*" (The Identity crisis in Architecture). Although "the women's role in architecture and planning was recognized as an aspect of the Identity Crisis', this clearly was not a meeting of

feminists" (Progressive architecture, 1977). During proposal of a program of periodic conferences, remarkably, it was suggested that they should be advanced forward not certainly severely as a feminine effort, but rather as a joint professional endeavor with male associates in the series of International Architectural congress. (Progressive architecture, 1977)

The discussion of the 'identity crisis' dealt with the relationship between the built environment and its physical and cultural context. The argument was that most of the architectural and planning practices in Iran was with the involvement of foreign firms or Iranian architects educated abroad. Regarding this issue, Farah Pahlavi pointed out that many of architects who studied abroad copied whatever they have learned in the European countries. Therefore, according to her, the cultural traditions of Iran were not considered by the young Iranian architects (Stein, 2013).

Consequently, "identity" was defined in the congress as "unity and persistence of character" and was recognized as "vital to a sense of well-being" (Progressive architecture, 1977). Further, the congress acknowledged that identity needs to be included in the built environment not by imitation but rather by regenerative process. However, different thoughts in terms of the nature of the crisis and appropriate solutions were voiced (Progressive architecture, 1977).

These three conferences in the 1970s addressed a discontent and dissatisfaction with the development of the modern approaches in art and architecture and the negligence *vis-a-vis* Iranian culture. Some architects and urban planners opposed and attempted to prevent the dominance of international style of modern architecture on residential architecture. Especially architectural practices that did not consider the physical and cultural needs of different cultures and regions were rejected and criticized. Meanwhile, the discourse of 'critical regionalism' became a prominent discourse in the world. By 1983, Kenneth Frampton had dealt with the idea of regionalism in his writings. Through recalling Paul Ricoeur's essay "Universal civilization and National Cultures" published in 1955, Frampton wrote his most widely read articles on critical

regionalism. Ricoeur had warned of the "phenomenon of universalization, while being an advancement of mankind, at the same time constitutes a sort of subtle destruction, not only of traditional cultures, … but also of the creative nucleus of great cultures… the ethical and mythical nucleus of mankind" (Frampton, 1985). Pursuing Ricoeur's Idea, Frampton stated that the essential strategy of critical regionalism was "to mediate the impact of universal civilization with elements derived indirectly from the peculiarities of a particular place" (Frampton, 1985). Critical regionalism was considered to be a reaction to the homogenizing influences of international capital on indigenous culture and societies, and a discourse through which some architectural theorists attempted to put emphasis on place, identity and region as an important aspects in the improvement of a modern architectural practice (Mozaffari & Westbrook, 2015).

The theory of critical regionalism received much attention in the journal MIMAR which was published in 1981 and sponsored by The Aga Khan Award. This journal performed a significant function on the discourse of critical regionalism in architecture of developing countries, particularly Muslim countries (Lim, 2005, p. 160). Authorities in developing countries like Iran, struggled with the question of "how to create a culturally authentic habitat in the face of similar problems of population displacement and housing shortages in the cities" (Mozaffari & Westbrook, 2017). In the Second International Congress of Architects in Iran (1974), the main debate was that the Iranian government should authorize the program of model housing projects, representing the new idea of "habitat". *Shushtar No'w* housing project designed by Kamran Diba, located in the vicinity of the old city of *Shushtar* was one of the exemplary state-funded housing projects. It was one of the most notable and publicized instances of new town planning in the developing countries, as published and introduced in numerous journals, for instance, it was displayed on the cover of the book of the Aga Khan Awards Foundation in 1990. It received an 'Aga Khan Commendation' in 1986 due to its faithfulness to the region's traditions, customs, and the needs of its inhabitants. Its architect, Kamran Diba, in the Aga Khan Symposium,

regarding his design for housing at Shushtar No'w emphasized that his project preserved a "traditional continuity", and the new town had a "tightly knit fabric reminiscent of Islamic vernacular architecture" (Mozaffari & Westbrook, 2017). The project illustrates the traditional revival approach and integrates design principles of the traditional courtyard houses in the south parts of Iran. In Iranian architectural circles as well as the popular imagination, this project was considered as a heritage of the late-Pahlavi approach to the indigenous traditions of Iran, which was mostly regarded to be "elitist and cliché" (Karimi P. , 2014).

Shushtar residential complex was designed according to "the principles of organization and typology of traditional Iranian cities and the use of local materials" compatible with the climate (Diba, 2012). From the formal aspect, it complies with the general principle of Iranian traditional architecture, namely, an introverted architecture which has taken its forms according to the climatic conditions, available local material and construction methods, and the inhabitants' traditions and customs. In the houses, "thick walls, small windows on the shady side of the house, usually facing a small inner courtyard. Entry from the street is usually through a small protected space, between the street and the entry door, which provides a cool space for people walking down the street. The flat rooftops are accessible by steps for evening sleep. The parapet walls surrounding the roof are often perforated for ventilation using brick grilles, high enough to provide shading" (DAZ Architects & Diba, 1977).

Because of the topography and slight slope of the land, the buildings combined in a harmonious composition showing an interesting human scale. As mentioned earlier, the project remains faithful to the local customs, traditions, and the needs of inhabitants of the region (DAZ Architects & Diba, 1977). (Figures 28-32)



Figure 28. The site plan of Shushtar new town, source: (DAZ Architects & Diba, 1977)

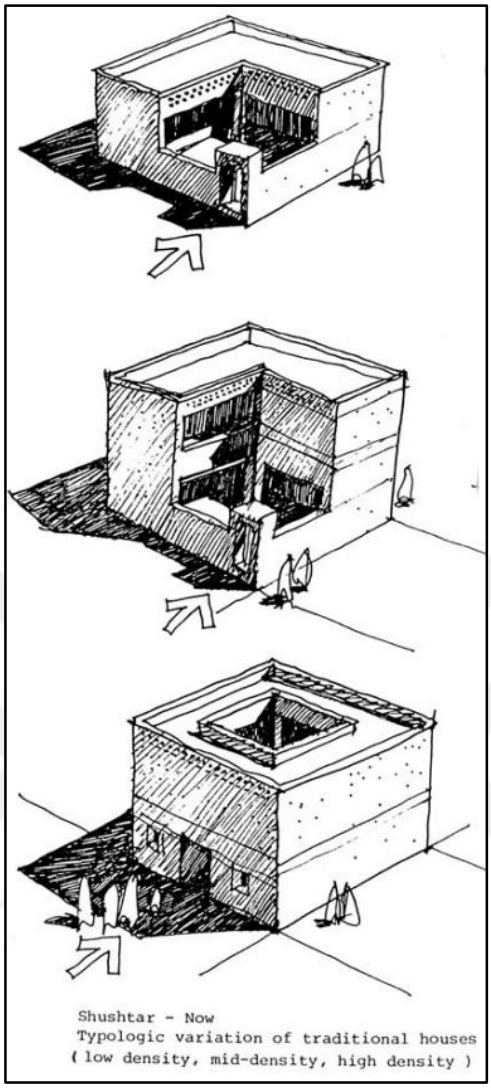


Figure 29. Three different house types in Shushtar new town, source: (DAZ Architects & Diba, 1977)

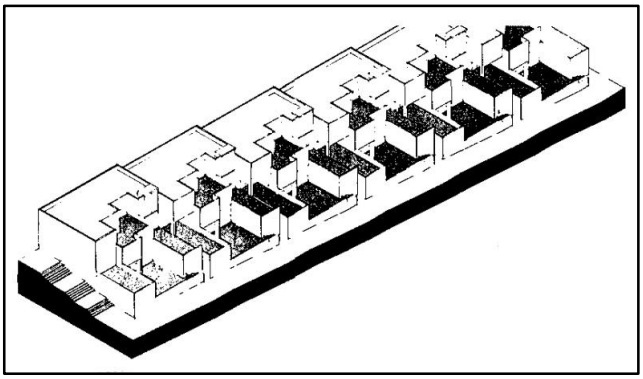


Figure 30. Axonometric view of houses, source: (DAZ Architects & Diba, 1977)

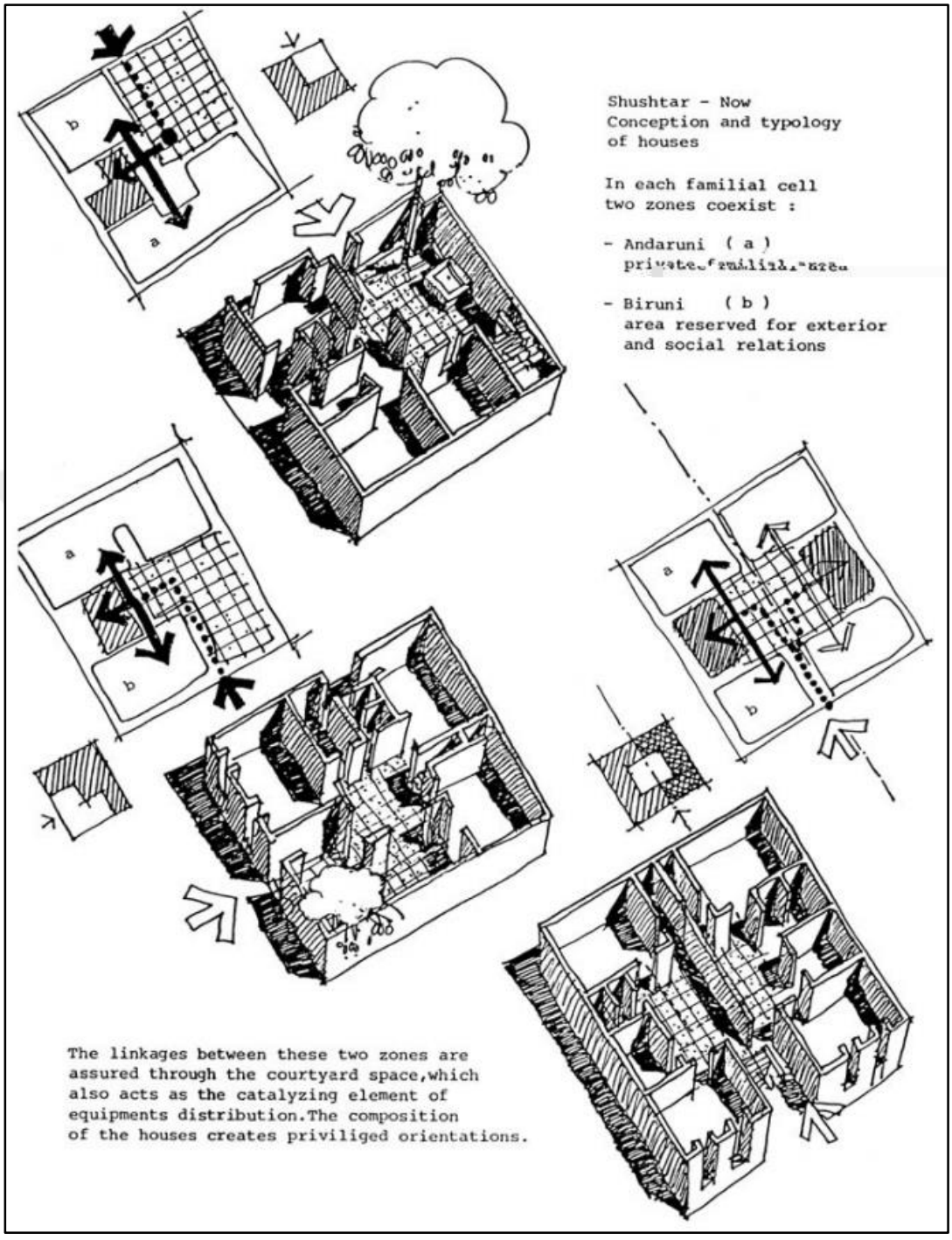


Figure 31. A diagram showing the *biruni* (public/social) and *andaruni* (private) zones in the spatial organization of houses, source: (DAZ Architects & Diba, 1977)

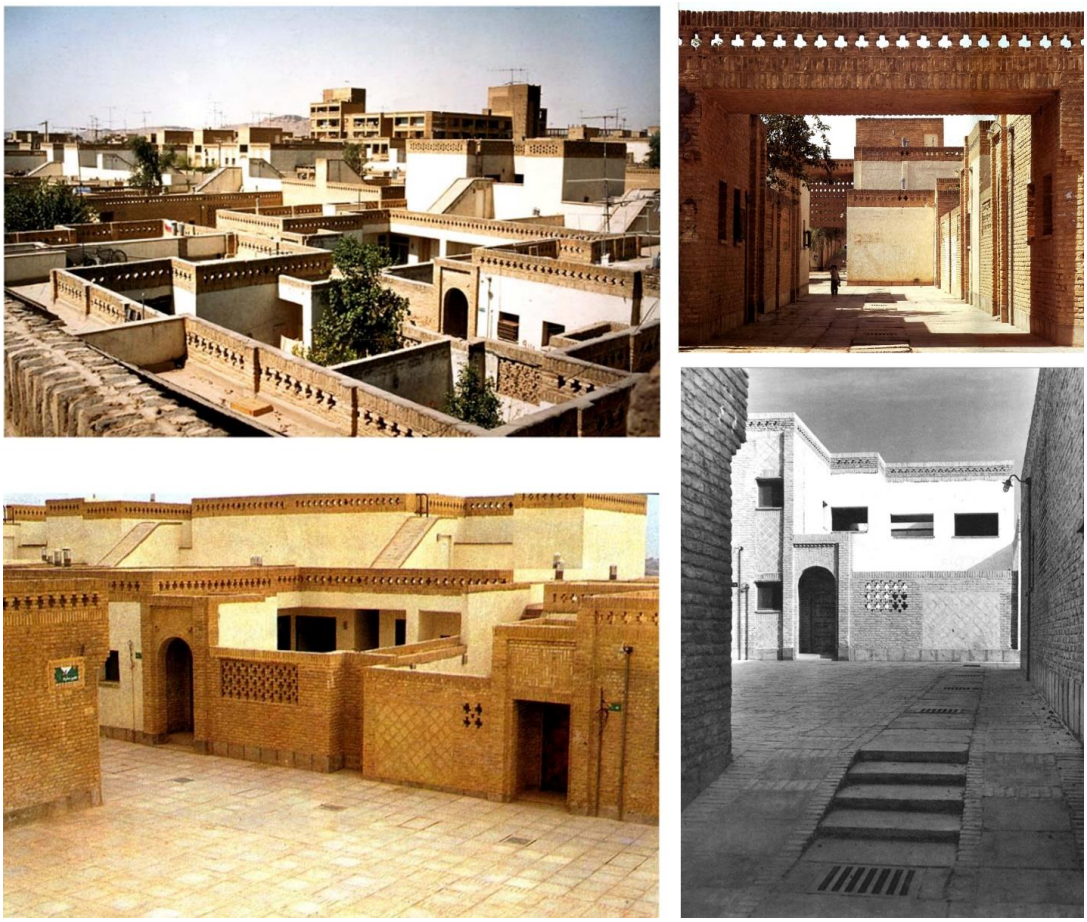


Figure 32. Views from Shushtar new town, source: (DAZ Architects & Diba, 1977)

Juhani Pallasmaa points out that a sense of specific locality is the product of natural, physical, and social reflections in architecture. Perception and experience of specific nature, landscapes, geography, local materials, skills, and cultural patterns are the constituents of this sense. However, it should be mentioned that they are not separated and disconnected elements, rather, the characteristics of culturally compatible architecture are certainly corresponded to tradition. The lack of the consideration of tradition even in architecturally well- designed elements which have regional identity is reduced to a "sentimental scenography, to be a naively shallow architectural souvenir" (Pallasmaa, 2007).

During the 1970s, Iranian architects including Yousef Shariatzadeh, Iraj Kalantari, Faramarz Sharifi, Mehdi Alizadeh did experiments that were largely influenced by

modern architecture with a tendency toward brutalism, and combined with the concepts inspired from Iranian architecture (Bani-masoud, 2010).

Some architects attempted to create a paradigmatic shift in the residential architecture through considering the place-specific characteristics of the region and context (Shirazi M. R., 2016). Architects with a sensibility to place and context attempted to develop the notions of locality and identity. The houses that were designed by Mehdi Alizadeh were an endeavor of this approach. Mehdi Alizadeh, in his house designs, consciously seeks to reconcile the spatial relationship of traditional Iranian houses with the architecture of modern houses. The plans of his houses are more focused on responding to the psychological needs and social relations of the inhabitants. *Koohbar* apartment house was designed and built between the years 1971 and 1973 in six floors with five residential units (Figure 33). His designs for apartment buildings were not just the repetition of a uniform plan, but either in the area of apartment units or in their composition of spaces, a wide range of options were included. The idea of Alizadeh in the design of Koohbar residential building was to reconcile the traditional concepts with modern ideas. In this building, by using the slope and creating three parallel walls along the slope, the architect created diverse, separated, and independent spaces. He also paid attention to the spatial articulation of human relationships, the functions of daily life and how these spatial arrangements reinforce family hierarchies through purposeful separation and togetherness (Anonymous, 1996). In an interview in the *Journal of Abadi*, he explained as:

"In my all house projects, I tried to balance the relationship between the resident and his/her environment. In the buildings, I was building a cozy and separate room. I made it for the men that I know; they bring guest to the home in the evenings and disturb the family. Or, for the grandparents who … I tried to make such a room in all houses even in the ordinary houses." (The Journal of Abadi, 1996)

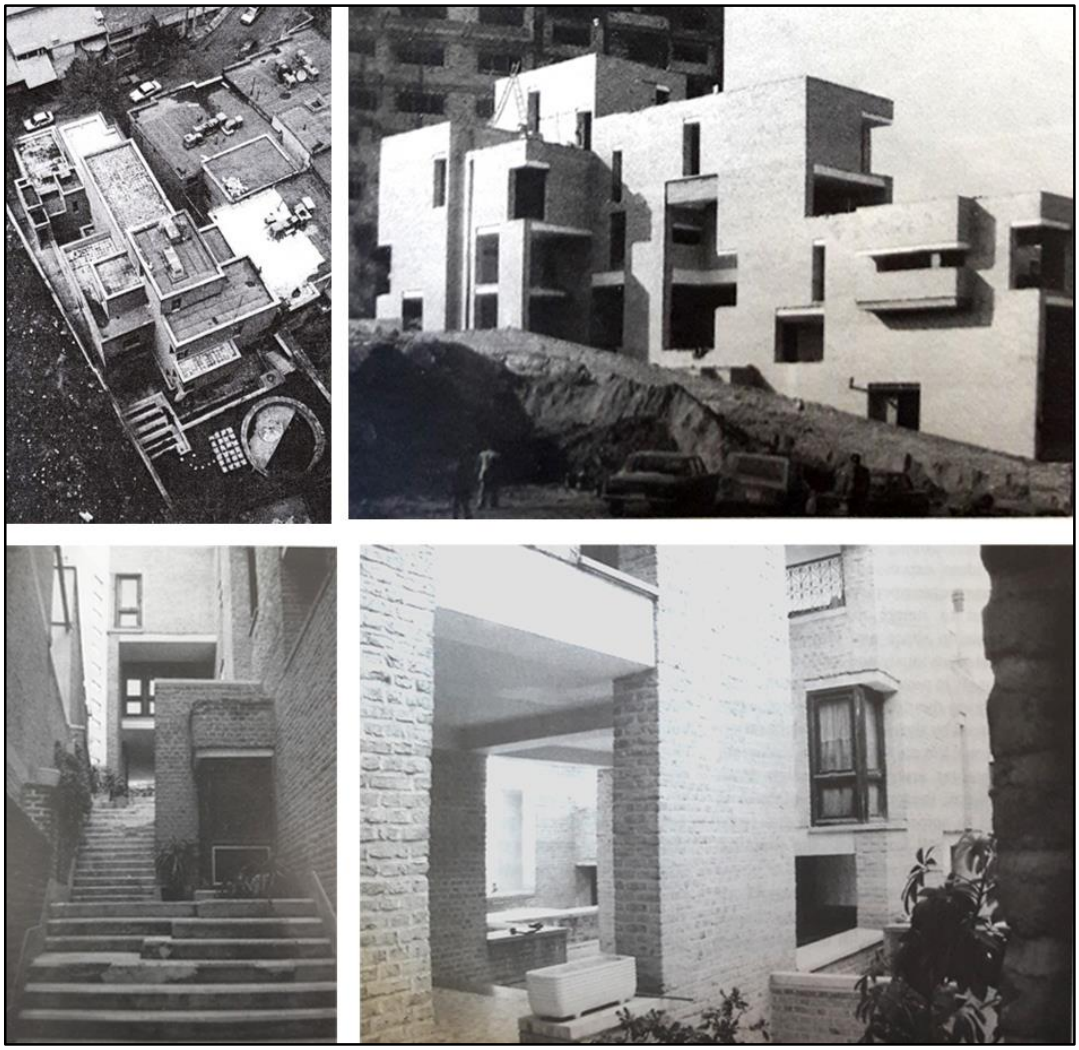


Figure 33. Kooh Bar house, source: (above; Bani-masoud, 2010), below; *Me'mar* 5, 1999)

Alizadeh used the climatic factor as an important factor in the formation of his buildings. His works exhibit their structure and materials. Moreover, in his architecture, he considers social and cultural dimensions and regional variations.

It is better to mention that during 1960s and 1970s, some architects were inspired by the concepts of courtyard in traditional Iranian architecture and reinterpreted it in different manners. For example, Iraj Kalantri, in the Daryabandari residence built in 1964, one of his early works, noticeably represents his outlook and approach in residential architecture. In spatial organization, majority of spaces essentially were opened to an internal focus. This focus was not a fixed geometrical center coercively

governing space shaping lines and surfaces. That is to say that, the kitchen overlooked dining room and the latter overlooked the sitting room, the study room overlooked both dining and sitting room and all rooms overlooked the inner garden (Hashemi S. R., 1999).

In the traditional house, there existed a hierarchy of spaces. At the center of the hierarchy, there was the central courtyard to which all spaces were ultimately looked and opened. In Kalantari's architecture, however, geometry and structure were not traditional. In contrast to some architects to whom everything was dependent on the sunlight's direct entry into all or most of the rooms, to Kalantari, the most important architectural feature was spatial introversion, that is, the tendency of spaces towards a focus (foyer) around which family members got together. He did not feel any need to present to passer-by the architecture of the house. He even preferred windows to overlook a small garden rather than 'overlooking infinity'. In contrast to this internal spatial dynamism, the façade was simple and modest looking in spatial acrobatics and gaudy polished materials. "Through chasing, opening and interpenetrating the space of rooms and corridors, he manages to make it seem protracted and infinite" (Hashemi S. R., 1999). Rather than dividing and separating the rooms through fixed and solid walls, he, created spaces that were half-revealed and half hidden, which were influential in the arousing of a feeling of infinity in observes. This feature was reflected in Dr. Safavi's small house (1971), looking as a plain cube from outside (Figure 34). In the Azarba residence (1972) built on a narrow, long and inclined parcel of land, space was constantly moving in different directions and on different levels around a focal point, which was not as traditional Iranian residential foci fixed and static (Figure 35). In the traditional house, the courtyard was the center of attention and of orientation of surrounding spaces. In the traditional house the interrelationships of rooms encourage stability, whereas in Kalantari's works, spaces establish multidirectional and twisting relations. An optimal use of different levels was employed to make different spaces flowing from one another. Sitting and dining rooms as well as the mezzanine were built on three different levels overlooking one another

creating such interpenetrating space that observers find it difficult to conceive its limits (Hashemi S. R., 1999).



Figure 34. Safavi House, Iraj Kalantari. source: (Hashemi, 1999)



Figure 35. Azarba House, Iraj Kalantari. source: (Hashemi, 1999)

2.3. Islamic Revolution and its Impact on the Architectural Discourse and Practice in Iran

When, in 1979, the Iranian Revolution ended the reign of Pahlavi monarchy and led to the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the new government represented a new cultural and religious viewpoint in accordance with the Islamic traditions of Iran. It can be recognized as a historical turning point which has significantly changed Iranian society. The Islamic Revolution's ideological milieu is Islam, and many slogans of the revolution are rooted in Islamic precepts (Panahi, 2000).

The event was the outcome of a call for change and revolution by many social groups within the Iranian society. The primary groups were the religious leaders (*ulama*), merchants (*bazaaris*), intellectuals, "the new popular class, who became known as 'the deprived' (*mostaz'fin*), and the middle class, which had emerged as a result of the modernization policies of the shah and was expanding because of the increasing oil revenues" (Khosrokhavar, 2002). All groups promoted the strong anti-Western sentiments that had been developing in Iran over the previous two decades.

Nikki Keddie, in her text "Religion, Society, and Revolution in Modern Iran," states that the opposition against the Mohammad Reza Shah was caused by the following factors: "1) A 'modernization' characterized by massive corruption benefitting especially the rich and the royal family; 2) a growing gap between rich and poor, between city and countryside, and between the two cultures; 3) the association of the dynasty with Western control and with everything un-Islamic; and 4) jailings, executions, tortures, and growing controls on free speech and press" (Keddie, 1981). Indeed, different economic, social, and political factors were involved in the collapse of the Pahlavi rule.

After revolutionary authorities came to power, they tried to determine and define the nature of the political system that was to substitute Pahlavi monarchy. Numerous groups expressed their visions in this regard which were reflected in the slogans of that time. The slogans of "Independence, Freedom, Islamic Republic", and "Neither

East, nor West, but Islamic Republic" advocated establishing an Islamic republic (Panahi, 2000). Post-1979 Iran, as Golnar Mehran states, is an Islamized society. The "Islamized" society differs from a simply Islamic society which is distinguished by a primarily Muslim population and the dominance of Islamic thoughts, beliefs, and everyday practices of its individuals. In contrast, an Islamized society is characterized through "politicized Islam" ruling both the private and public life of its people. The strict implementation of religious rules in all spheres of life and the dominance religious-political leaders are what differentiates Islamized Iran from other Muslim countries (Mehran, 2003,).

2.3.1 Re-emphasizing and Re-practicing the 'Aesthetics of Invisibility' in Domestic Space in Post-revolutionary period

The social and political transformation of 1979 led to a gap between the architecture of pre- and post-revolutionary period. After the Revolution, new points of view have emerged in terms of the ideals of cultural and religious aspects (Osanloo, 2017).

In the years after the Islamic Revolution, the country was engaged in an imposed and unwanted war with Iraq[25]- which lasted eight years. As a remarkable social change, the Iran-Iraq war which began seven months after the revolution (September 22, 1980), reinforced the process of Islamisation. This non-stop eight years' war, which is called in Iran as *Jang-e Tahmili* (imposed war) or *Defa-e Mogaddas* (holy defense) helped the regime to strengthen its new programs[26] including those on gender relations

[25] The war had different reasons. There was a long history of border disputes between two countries about the oil-rich Khuzestan Province of Iran. Saddam Hussein, the leader of Iraq, established an ideology of Arab nationalism and sought to be seen as leader of a great, neo-Mesopotamian Iraqi nation (Motyl, Alexander J, 2001, p. 240). On the other hand, Iran after the Islamic revolution with a Shiite ideology proclaimed itself as the leader of Islamic struggle against Western powers. Imam Khomeini, the leader of Iran, in one of his public speech introduced Saddam Hussein as a corrupt person and Iraqi nation should attempt to change his regime.

[26] Ali Ansari, a professor of modern history at the University of St Andrews in Scotland, mentions that "I think the Iran-Iraq war has had a profound impact on the way in which the Islamic Republic developed," ... "The more hardline Revolutionary Guard have used it as a foundational myth." (Doucet, 2015)

and sexuality. The main objective of the government was to create and define a new Islamic identity.

The eight-year war created many social and economic disturbances that influenced architecture and urban planning. The extensive changes were occurred in the educational system, most of the investment in civil affairs was interrupted, and several architectural firms were closed. A considerable number of academicians and professional architects emigrated and this also had an important effect on the architectural practice after the Islamic revolution. Therefore, any remarkable development in the field of architecture was impossible in this period. Nevertheless, architectural competitions continued to be organized and hold (FarmahiniFarahani, Etesam, & Eghbali, 2012). The decade after the war (1989-1999), which is also called as "the Decade of Construction", was mostly characterized by rebuilding of the demolished constructions in the areas affected by the war, re-establishment of economical infrastructures, and provision of functional spaces required for government buildings, industries, and the like (FarmahiniFarahani, Etesam, & Eghbali, 2012). Hence, during the war and after the war, architects attempted to promote new ways of domestic life and to plan more functional and efficient housing.

In the post-revolutionary period, like other disciplines, the educational system in architecture changed. A group of professors, experts, and students studied educational programs of many countries and tried to provide a curriculum which was consistent with Iran's conditions. The new curriculum was to be constituted by looking at the culture, old heritage, Islamic issues and the analysis and interpretation of old buildings. This was stated in the journal of Abadi as "return to ourselves, give importance to vernacular and national culture" (Diba, 1992). Consequently, some courses related to the Islamic architecture of Iran were added in the curriculum of the departments of architecture in the universities. Student trips to historical cities increased. Iraj Etesam, an Iranian architect, expressed their aim as not copying the traditional architecture superficially, but look at it, in terms of climatic, cultural and traditional aspects in architectural design. He stated that "understanding spatial qualities, volume

combination, the methods of using and combination of materials, and consideration of climatic issues are all that should be investigated deeply in our traditional architecture" (Soleimanipour & Etesam, 1992, No3).

During the 1980s, there was a strong impetus to modernize traditional Islamic culture and its architectural forms, perceived as a priority by the authorities. After the war, as a publication of the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development, the different issues of the journal of *Abadi* published a discussion about the architectural education in Iran. The heads of departments of architecture from prominent universities such as Shahid Beheshti University and University of Tehran, in Iran came together to discuss the problems of education. The main discourse was around the revitalization of traditional architecture through some shifts in educational programs. One of the main questions was "how the architectural education in Iran can benefit from the valuable features of our past architecture?" or "why architectural education of Iran was more influenced by west architecture and less affected by our own past architecture?" Mr. Gafari, the head of the department of architecture in the Shahid Beheshti University, stated that one of the characteristics of the revolution was to return to cultural values. According to him, it was the time of revolution in architecture through understanding the cultural and climatic determinants. He also stated that designing with regard to the needs of different regions provided historical continuity in architecture (Seyfianm, Gaffari, & Nouhi, 1991, No 2)

Mohammad Kazem Seyfian, the head of fine arts at the University of Tehran in 1991, stated; "tradition means culture and life style of people" and thus the question of veil should be taken into consideration in the design of houses. For instance, he argued that in the houses, which have open kitchen, the Iranian women, while working inside, cannot be protected from the gazes of *na-mahrams* (non-family members). He continued that bedrooms and bathrooms should be out of the view of guests. He emphasized that the division of *andaruin-biruni* needed to be reconsidered in housing designs (Seyfianm, Gaffari, & Nouhi, 1991, No 2). Then he continued that even if a design was imported from other counties, the traditions of Islamic society should be

considered in it. He emphasized “the discussion is not about new or old, but we should invite and use the technology in our own culture and tradition in a better way” (Seyfianm, Gaffari, & Nouhi, 1991, No 2).

Darab Diba in an interview with The Journal of Abadi argues that when the question of identity was raised, information about traditional architecture and its patterns was rare. Therefore, students sometimes plainly replicated the old buildings and presented them as their projects. This practice in the initial years were acceptable as a reaction towards the invasion of western movements. but, he continued that “now” we need to the projects that while noticing cultural heritage, do not neglect from contemporary time (Diba, 1992).

The importance of returning to cultural values and Iranian identity in architecture was emphasized in an exhibition of Iranian architects, which was held in November 1992 in Seyhoun gallery. Mohammad Reza Atashzad, Khosrow Ahuri, Simon Ayvazian, Darab Diba, Kamran Samii, Shamil Zargham, Iraj Kalantari and Mohamad Hasan Momeni displayed their works in this exhibition (Figure 36). As published in the Journal of Abadi, the aim of this exhibition was:

“This exhibition is an effort to bring about some omitted relationships, to connect discrete relationships, to revive the spirit of contemplation in time and nature, and it is a general look at the human environment that inherited from the ancient civilization and culture of this country; it is a revival of civilization, culture, customs, tradition, all memories and images that were recorded in our minds and should not be forgotten; it is a resistance to the growing invasion of imported practices and … ; it is a more original look or a wish to such a look to the future” (ABADI, Fall 1992).

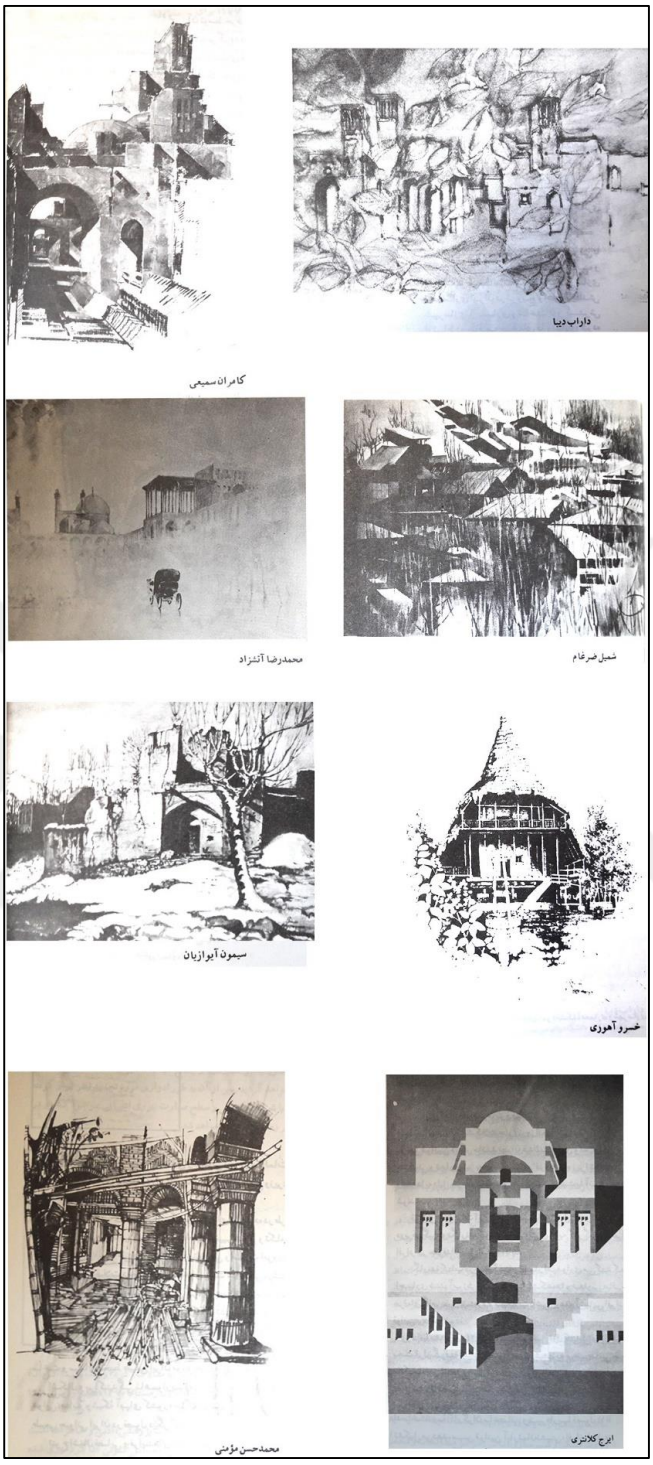


Figure 36. The works of Iranian architects who participated in the exhibition at Seyhoun Gallery. source: (ABADI, 1992)

It can be argued that the discourse in 1980s and 1990s motivated architects to practice the concepts of "invisibility" in their residential practices. For example, in some architectural practices it is seen that greater attention was given to courtyard type with different interpretations. In order to appropriate the formal qualities of the courtyard, some architects without any attention to its physical aspects, considered it as an abstract universal idea and a typical element of the Iranian architecture. From this point of view, the courtyard does not physically exist in the buildings, but its sense of introversion and intimacy are generated in the interior spaces through the design of different elements, for instance, the patio. The apartment designed by Faryar Javaherian has a plain façade. The building does not display the hidden source of light which pours into the interior from above and spreads into the spaces. The patio in this project, indeed, creates the sense of a traditional courtyard (Figure 37).



Figure 37. The patio acts as a traditional courtyard in an apartment building by Faryar Javaherian

Architects attempted to bring certain characteristics of traditional courtyard house into their projects. A noticeable example is the project of "Two Houses for Two Friends" designed by Firouz Firouz. This project won the award of *Me'mar* magazine in 2001. This project consists of two independent houses, which are located on two adjacent plots without being separated by a wall. The houses were designed similarly due to the owner's request. The total volume of two houses is a rectangular cube, with a ground floor dedicated for daily functions and upstairs for bedrooms (Figure 38). This project addresses a specific topic regarding its relation to the street.

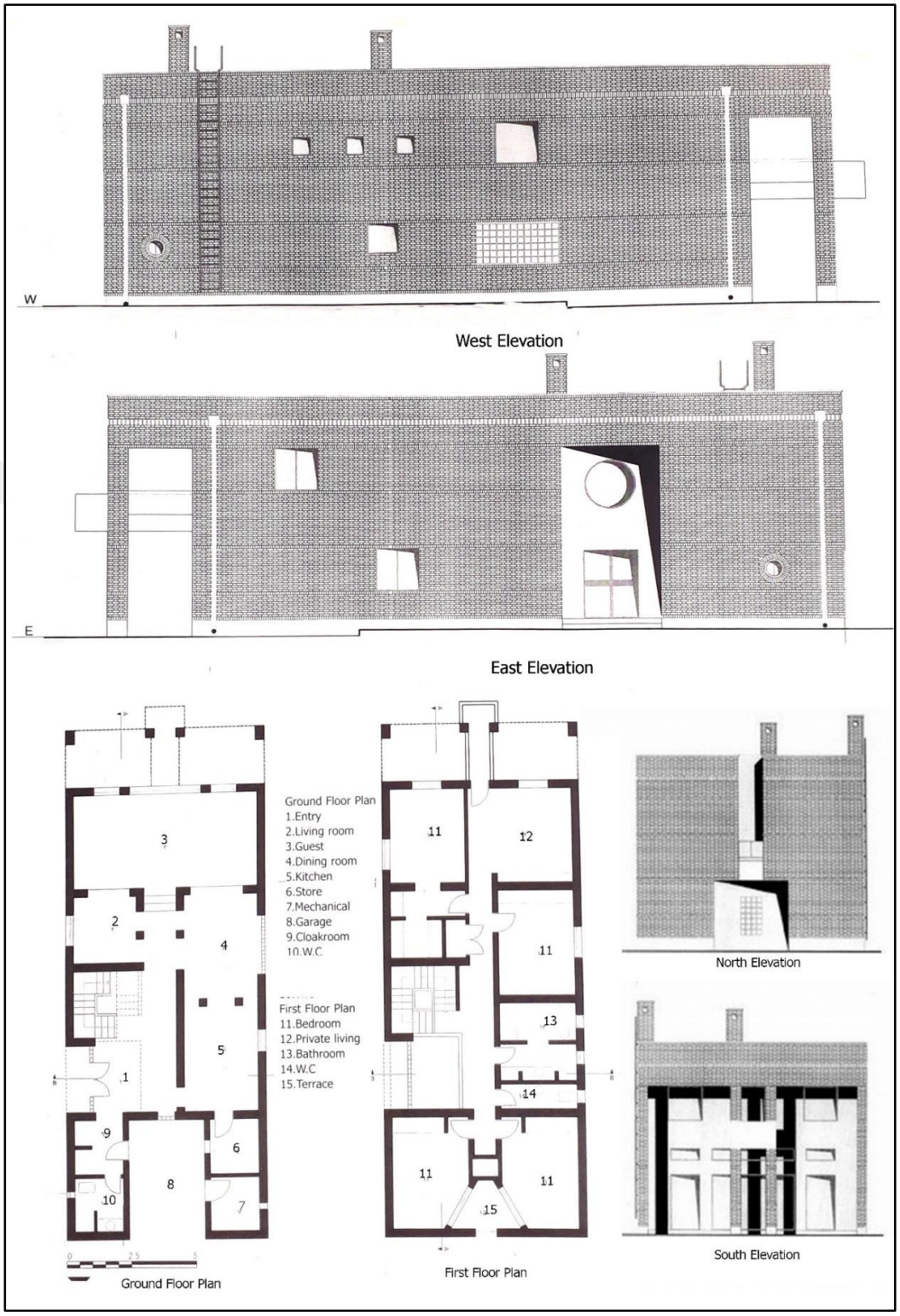


Figure 38. Plans and facades of "Two Houses for Two Friends". source: (Me'mar, 2001)

According to the jury, the goal of this project was to overcome the problems caused by building regulations in terms of light, privacy, and open space. According to the buildings' regulation, the houses in Iran, which are row houses prominently, must have the building on the north and the walled courtyard on the south side of the plot. The buildings are attached on each side to the adjacent building on the narrower lots.

The façade which looks to the street is treated through different ways either by regulations or by inhabitants to limit the visibility of domestic space. This façade in the Firouz' houses is solid surface which have no windows for being overlooked from the street. In order to solve the problem of light, the architect tried to increase an outdoor space over the amount permitted by regulation by recessing the boundaries of the buildings from west, east and north (Figure 39).

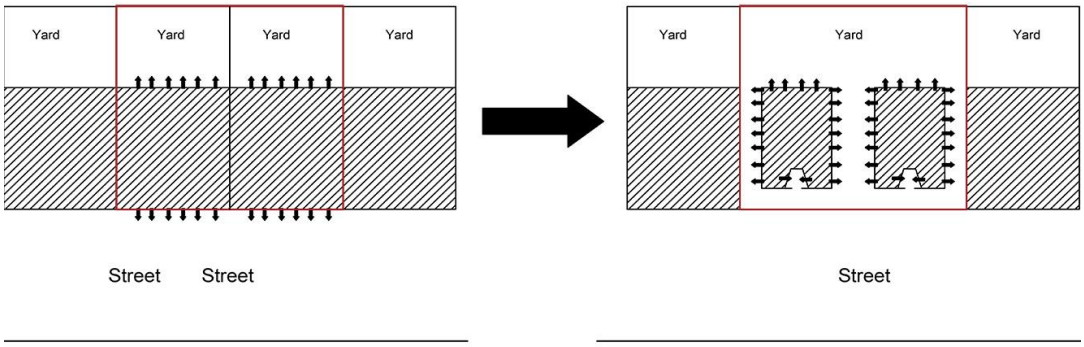


Figure 39. A diagram shows how Firouz Firouz tried to solve the problem of the visibility of domestic space by recessing other boundaries of building to create more open space for getting daylight, source: author

Moreover, removing the separating wall between two blocks has created a space which allows lighting from four sides of the building. Arguably, this project somehow is consistent with the principles of Iranian architecture. In traditional Iranian houses, there exists also a sharp contrast between the dynamism in interior spaces on the one hand, and the external immovability and simplicity on the other. In this project, the outstanding feature is its simplicity in the north façade which faces the street. In order to provide privacy and invisibility of family life, the architect relates windows to the street indirectly (Figure 40).



Figure 40. Views form "Two Houses for Two Friends" by Firouz Firouz, views of yard and south façade (above) and view of north façade (bottom). source: (Me'mar, 2001)

In the discourse of domestic architecture, as explained in chapter 1, after the Islamic revolution, the number of articles that dealt with the architecture of Iranian traditional houses increased in order to emphasize the design principles consistent with Islamic values[27]. The revival of some of the traditional principles in domestic architecture was particularly stressed in these articles. The number of conferences with the theme of Islamic architecture increased. By "traditional values", it was essentially the invisibility of the interior space that was meant. Architects were quick to take this religious argument and turn it to their own ends. Most of them started to condemn domestic architecture of the Pahlavi period. Ali Mansouri, in his article "*Hejab va Poushidegi dar Shahrsazi Irani-Eslami*" (Veil and Concealment in Iranian-Islamic Urbanism) criticized contemporary houses' extroverted-ness and argued about the importance of veil in Iranian traditional houses. He asserted that in a traditional house, the introverted plan layout, the separation of public-private domain, L-shaped entrances, and two different door knockers for male and female visitors all provided the invisibility of private space and protect female members from being seen by strangers. He particularly stressed that gender had an important role in the spatial

[27] For more see Fajri, M (2010); Hamzehnejad, M., & Sadrian, Z. (2015); Fazeli, N. (2008)

design of a traditional house. He wrote that in contemporary houses, the wrong location of an entrance door, open kitchen, open-plan layout, and balconies on the street side were all problems that threatened the privacy of intimacy of the private life and made the inside of a house visible.

CHAPTER 3

WOMEN AND DOMESTIC SPACE: THE AESTHETICS OF VISIBILITY AND INVISIBILITY

As stated in chapter 1, the main argument of this thesis is that the Islamic state through its Cultural Revolution created and prescribed the "aesthetics of invisibility" both on women's body and her domestic space. Accordingly, this chapter studies the connection between the invisibility of domestic space and the position of women in the society. Women are associated with the domestic space, in other words, the domestic space is seen "as an extension of woman's identity" especially that of the housewife as Meltem Gürel points out (Gürel, 2009). The association of women with the domestic has a long history. In addition to the association of the house to female body, the house is depicted with material feminine qualifications. Domestic space has always been considered as an intrinsic part of a woman's identity, that is to say, the appearance of the domestic space, its physical aspects, and its objects function as a reflection of her identity. Similarly, domestic space has often been considered as expressing and representing a woman's 'cultural capital' or (acquired) taste, which embodies the 'habitus' of the occupant as Bourdieu states (Gürel M. Ö., 2009). This chapter aims to uncover the relationship between women and domestic space through critical readings of contemporary mass media. In order to better elaborate mentioned invisibility regarding women and domestic space, it is assumed that studying these two before the Islamic revolution when their visible and modern identity was the modernization discourse of the time and later when they were targeted by the Islamic state and transformed under the framework of an Islamic identity, will be useful.

3.1 The Notion of Modern Woman and Domestic Space During Pahlavi Period

3.1.1. The Visibility of a Modern Woman and a Modern House

A shift in the perception of the European civilization, a modern house, and a modern woman was initially observed in Iranian travelers' writings during the nineteenth century. In travelers' accounts, it was explained that the *Farangi* (European) house "contrary to the spatially introverted layout of a typical house in Iran that has no opening to the outside world, had glass windows, looking to the streets" (Vahdat, 2017). In a similar way, as Vahid Vahdat (2017) cited in his book, Iranian travelers discussed especially the lack of strict segregation between public and private zones (dominant principal in Iranian traditional architecture) in a *farangi* house and they mentioned that the unveiled and extroverted architecture of *farangestan* (Europe) integrated and combined the interior space with the exterior space. As the imaginary *farangi* woman reflected the Islamic notion of "*huri* (the beautiful maidens that in Muslim belief live with the blessed in paradise), *farangi* architecture was similarly a representation of the Islamic paradise- and in this imaginary paradise, no separation of men and women, interior and exterior, private and public (*andaruni* and *biruni*) was acknowledged, even if it existed" (Vahdat, 2017, p. 83).

The same theme became also the subject of caricature in *Molla Nasreddin*[28], the popular satirical magazine of the time. The caricature shows Muslim women look with envy at the prison because at least it has windows and they wish their home was like the prison that has windows (Figure 41).

[28] *Molla Nasreddin* was a weekly periodical that was published between 1906 and 1930. Arguably, it was revolutionary magazine for its time as it propagated educational reform, shifts in women's position at the society, and Westernization. *Jalil Mammadguluzadeh* (1866-1932), a popular Azerbaijani writer and also novelist, was its editor-in-chief. The title of the magazine stemmed from the name of the naïve but clever mullah who was well-known throughout the Middle East for his stories. For more than two decades, *Molla Nasreddin* displayed "the world to its readers through the medium of cartoons and text." The contents of the magazine were written in simple language and understanding of the cartoons were very simple and easy, mostly clerics were the subject of the cartoons because they were seen by the authors of texts to be hostile to education and a secular society. (Khalilova, 2015)



Figure 41. The caricature depicts the Muslim women who look with an envy at the prison in the left hand, because unlike their own homes, the prison has windows. The caption reads: “Sister, I wish everybody had such a house with window and s/he could look out the street when s/he is bored”. source: (Khalilova, 2015)

As stated above, the comparative discourse on modern woman in Europe and in Iran was introduced and discussed mostly by Iranian travelers. However, a growing presence of Europeans and Americans in Iran accentuated such discourses (Amin, 2002). In fact, from the late nineteenth century until the Islamic revolution, envisioning of the modern Iranian woman was rather a public process that started in the printed press. The travelers’ explanation of their observation and experience provided the material in the formation of the discourse on modern women. Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi argues that the eroticized interpretation of European women by Iranian male travelers created “a desire for that ‘heaven on earth’ and its uninhibited and fairy-like residents who displayed their beauty and mingled with men” (Tavakoli-Targhi, 2001).

The early Iranian travelers explained Europe as *behesht-e roye zamin* (heaven on earth), *zadgahe -e zibayie* (the birth-place of beauty), and *sarzamine ziba khiz* (beauty cultivating land). The attraction of European women was explained as *huri manand* (beautiful maiden-like) and *fereshteh khuy* (fairy-mannered). Therefore, according to Tavakoli-Targhi, the “appearance of unveiled women in public parks, operas, dances, and masquerades impressed the Persian voy(ag)eurs who were unaccustomed to the public display of female beauty. For them, the only cultural equivalent to the public display of male-female intimacy was the imaginary Muslim heaven.” (Tavakoli-

Targhi, 2001). According to Karimi (2013), in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, the display of European women's pictures became a fascinating phenomenon in household interiors of the royal residences and upper-class people as seen in figure 42.



Figure 42. "Details of a ceiling and a wall in Shahshahani House in Isfahan, with framed oleographs of European women. Courtesy of Jassem Ghazbanpour". source: (Karimi, 2013)

Afsaneh Najmabadi states that in the initial writings of Iranian modernists, Iranian women were associated with backwardness. One of the most famous and popular satires of the time *Jafar Khan az Farang amadeh* (Jafar Khan has come back from Europe), was a play by Hasan Mugaddam in 1922. While Jafar Khan symbolizes superficial over-Europeanization, Zinat, his female cousin, is identified non-modernization. At that time and possibly until the late 1930s, as Najmabadi mentions,

backwardness and tradition were feminized, while "excess of modernity was a particular male quality" (Najmabadi, 2005).

European women were represented as models for Iranian women during the Pahlavi period[29]. Indeed, the changes on women's position in the society was regarded as one of the means to progress. The main idea was to transform the Iranian womanhood from the traditional woman to the modern one. Thus, the image of the traditional woman who was secluded, submissive, uneducated and covered was often criticized in the writings of the early twentieth century. Such a theme is also the subject of an illustration, in Molla Nasreddin, in which the Muslim women watch in shock while a female teacher educates the children (Figure 43).



Figure 43. The caricature depicts the Muslim women watch in shock as a female teacher educates the children. The caption reads: "Look sister, that woman can write like a man!". source: (Slavs and Tartars, 2011).

Over time, the notion of 'modern Iranian womanhood' changed with respect to four related subjects including "marriage and motherhood, women's education, women's employment, and women's civic participation in the society" (Amin, 2002, p. 48). *Faranguestan* was one of the periodicals that published various texts that encouraged

[29]Motivated to build a strong military and a central government, Reza Khan was "imbued with notions of Westernism". Westernism means that the politics was to be separated from the religion, but more significantly, the restriction of clerical authority. Reza Shah aimed to create a society with secular educational organizations similar to those in Europe; "unveiled women wearing European clothes and attending schools, teaching, and working outside the home…" (Sedghi, 2007)

women's progress. Throughout the first decades of the twentieth century, in a numerous articles, the principal argument of these articles was that women had to be educated since they were both teachers of children, and also companions of husbands (Najmabadi, 1998). Therefore, the primary debate with respect to women's education was that the educated women could be better mothers and companions. "Progress, prosperity, and the order of every home are dependent upon (a nation's) women… until women are educated, progress and civilization of the country are impossible" (Najmabadi, 1998). In 1924, for instance, Ahmad Farhad wrote a text in *Faranguestan* about 'The Education of the Woman' and he mentioned that "women should be thought good manners because every woman is like a school" (Farhad, 1924); or in another text entitled 'The Way to Rescue' Parviz Kazemi states that 'a woman's happiness brings with it a country's happiness. His text begins with these two questions;

> Do you know that a woman has a respectable position in improving social conducts? Have you ever thought that most of the happiness of a civilized man today is the result of equal participation of men and women in life? (Kazemi, 1924)

As Afsaneh Najmabadi (2005) argues, in Persian texts, the changes in meaning from pre-modern to modern normative ideas "reconfigured woman from 'house' (*manzel*) to 'manager of the house' (*mudabber-e manzel*)" (Najmabadi, 2005). So, women were subjected to the education of the scientific management of the household. Women's press was the first arena in which the subject of scientific management achieved its full progress. *Danish*[30] (Knowledge), the first women's journal published in 1910 and *Shukufeh* (Blossom), the second women's journal published in 1914, were both focused on the household management, the creation of a new type of mother and new matrimonial relationships. Many articles in the pages of *Shukufeh* recommended women to neglect all the nonsense that their parents (specially mothers) had told them about how to keep their marriage strong. "To became a woman of modernity was a

[30] The banner of this journal reads: "this is an ethical journal of the science of housekeeping, child rearing, husband keeping; useful for girls' and women's moral development. It will not say a word on national politics." for more see (Najmabadi, 1998)

learning process that demanded an unlearning, a de-constitution, of womanhood (Najmabadi, 2005)". During Reza Shah period (1925-41), the representation of the 'new' Iranian woman and the 'new' Iranian house in press continued in the same way. As Pamela Karimi states, modern Iranian womanhood, family, and house "were subject to a cult of rationalization", and they were frequently judged in comparison with their modern Euro-American counterparts. Such a theme is the subject of an illustration in *Khalq* (Masses), in the issue of 33 (1925), which compared an Iranian woman and household with a European modern woman and household. In the image of an Iranian family, which is an extensive household, the father is the only breadwinner, whereas in the European family which is nuclear one, the woman is a skilled housewife who is working as well. However, the subject of images are the comparison of Iranian and European families, the images show the differences of domestic spaces as well. While the Iranian family uses domestic space in a traditional way (sitting on the mattress around a *korsi*[31], primitive heating system), the European family benefits from desirable qualities of the new culture of living in functional and modern house (Figure 44).

[31] A *korsi* is a low table found in Iran, with a heater underneath it, and blankets thrown over it. It is a traditional item of furniture in Iranian culture. A family or other gathering sits on the floor around the *korsi* during winter.

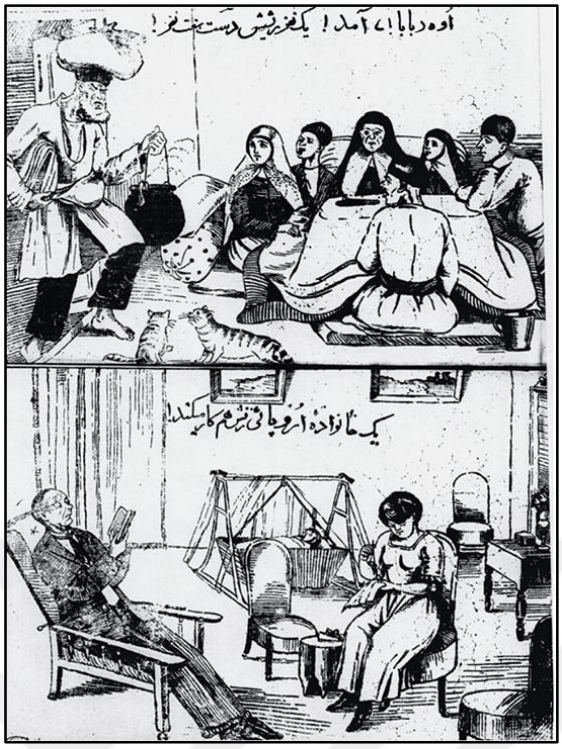


Figure 44. Khalq 33 (25 December 1925), 4. The comparison of Iranian and European households. Top caption: "Oh, Dad's back! one person whose beard is in the hands of seven people!" Bottom caption: "In a European family, his wife also works!". source: (Amin, 2002)

It was with the establishment of Iran Bethel[32], an American missionary school, in 1874, that the interior design and the household arts took an important part in the curriculum of some girls' school in Iran (Rostam-Kolayi, 2002). The course of "Household Arts" which was designed by Annie Woodman Stocking Boyce, Presbyterian missionary in Iran, contained issues related to "the proper design, layout, and furnishing of a home; plumbing, water gathering, and water purification; heating; lighting; washing clothes; cooking; and designing and sewing clothes" (Rostam-Kolayi, 2002). According to a report in 1916, Annie S. Boyce involved Iranian female students in Tehran in innovative in-class practices to evaluate their comprehension of their homes (Karimi P. , 2013). According to Boyce, cited by Karimi (2013), female

[32] The school of Iran Bethel was established in 1874, and its plan was to provide for girls the same curriculum and syllabus that was given in the schools of boys. Armenians' girls were educated in that school for a long time, however, in the early 20th century the number of Muslim female students went to that school increased. For more see (Zirinsky, 2002)

students, as an assignment, were asked to draw their favorite house plans. The outcome of the assignment revealed that Iranian students' dreamed houses were exactly similar to the existing houses of that period. The plans they drew were similar to Persian houses in which the kitchen located in the remote point of the dwelling far away from the living areas. The rooms specified as sleeping rooms were too small, and the reception rooms were large and important as in Iranian traditional houses. The Iranian girls were unable to think of anything beyond the existing forms and patterns in Iranian houses. Therefore, as Pamela Karimi (2013) points out, it was quite reasonable that missionaries felt the need to get involved in changing the Iranian cultural habits and lifestyle and to introduce alternative forms. Some of the concepts and ideas were taken from two earliest American books related to the home making and management, *Shelter and Clothing: A Textbook Of The Household Arts* (1913) and *Food and Households Management* (1914) by Helen Kinne and Anna M.Cooley (Karimi P. , 2013). Both books deal with interior organization, furniture choices, decoration, and household arts through the medium of photographs and texts. Particularly, *Shelter and Clothing* is more related to the question of home. It includes two parts; the first part addresses the house itself, domestic architecture, its organization, furnishing, decoration, sanitation, heating, ventilation, and lighting; the second part explains textile materials and how they are made.

Thus, the science of homemaking as one of the main themes developed and promoted in the curriculum of the public girls' schools, women's press, and in the "women's Awakening"[33] propaganda of the Reza Shah era. In addition to the journals of *Danish* (knowledge) and *Shukufeh,* the discourse in scientific home life received increasing indigenous support in another women's journal *Alam-e Nesvan* (women's world)

[33]The Women's Awakening (1936-41), as a government feminism project, brought about new opportunities in term of education, occupation, and employment for Iranian women provided that they leave their hejab in public space. Its strategies and propaganda in terms of woman question was unique in the history of Iran. The project propagated women's growing civic, social, and economic right in the society. According to Camron Michael Amin, only after the Women's Awakening program "Iranian feminists began to push for progress that was not linked to the service women provided men as wives and mothers"; Women's Awakening program was resulted in the upheaval of public demands for real gender equality. For more see (Amin, 2002)

during 1920-34 (Rostam-Kolayi, 2002). As the longest published Iranian women's journal of the early twentieth century, *Alam-e Nesvan* played the role of an educational guidebook for Iranian women, teaching them the modern methods of household management. This journal discussed about foreign women and it consisted biographical sketches of American and European women under the title of 'News on Women's Progress'. Articles highlighted internationally famous personalities like the British Queen Victoria, French scientist Maria Curie, and Turkish Minister of Education Halide Edip Adıvar (Rostam-Kolayi, 2002, p. 192)

In addition to the scientific household management, the press and the school curriculum contained issues related to hygiene and the importance of sports for women's health (Figure 45). Afsaneh Najmabadi (1998) states that the desirability of sport was connected to a critique of veiling when Badr al-Duja Kanom expressed her regret during her graduation from the American College for Girls, that due to the veiling Iranian women were excluded from engaging in sports, and as a result, most women became weak and unhealthy (Najmabadi, 1998).



Figure 45. The caption in the right hand reads "best model for Iranian girls, healthy mothers cultivate courageous youth". source: (Anonymous, 1924)

Indeed, the efforts of the press was instilling morality in a generation of modern women through introducing modern concepts which were led to the rejection of women's seclusion and making them visible in society through placing them along with educated men. As Camron Michael Amin states, women's entry into the society and their presence in public sphere was expected to advance moral standards (Amin,

2002). Unveiling of women in 1936 with a governmental edict[34] was the most significant step in the modernization process, which was brought the visibility of women in public realm. The veil was recognized as a sign of "backwardness", in the Westernization program of Reza Shah. Reza Shah Pahlavi and the members of his cabinet, in their public speeches, blamed the *hejab* as the cause of the oppression of women. They depicted the veiled women as uneducated and outmoded individuals that became as barriers to modernity (Milani, 2011) Pamela Karimi states that compulsory unveiling created a liberated and an enlightened woman figure who was assumed to live in a modern domestic space (Karimi, 2013). Unveiling which brought about the visibility of the female body helped women to participate in social activities and use public spaces more easily, particularly during Mohammad Reza Shah's period (Moradiyan-Rizi, 2015). Therefore, the decisions and measures taken by the Pahlavi state in terms of the woman identity led to the emergence of the "New Woman" in the way Hilde Heynen (2005) defines it, albeit in the western society. When Heynen discusses about the challenging "position of women as both subjects of modernity and caretakers of domesticity", she defines the "New Woman" as the one who enjoys a freedom that takes her to the social life, to the various cultural activities, and to the workforce. She continues that however the "New Woman" is responsible for her children and home after her marriage. The Iranian modern woman, who appeared in the Pahlavi period, was able to participate in public activities, to be educated, and to work outside, as seen in Figure 46, however, she did not completely leave the cult of domesticity but she went beyond it (Kashani-Sabet, 2011). Therefore, the "New Woman", at that time, appeared as a symbol of modern society and was confident and capable, aware of fashion, and curious about art and culture as Heynen (2005) argues.

[34] This act obligated Iranian women to abandon their veil in public spaces and attempted to propagate the female dress codes of European prevalent in that time.

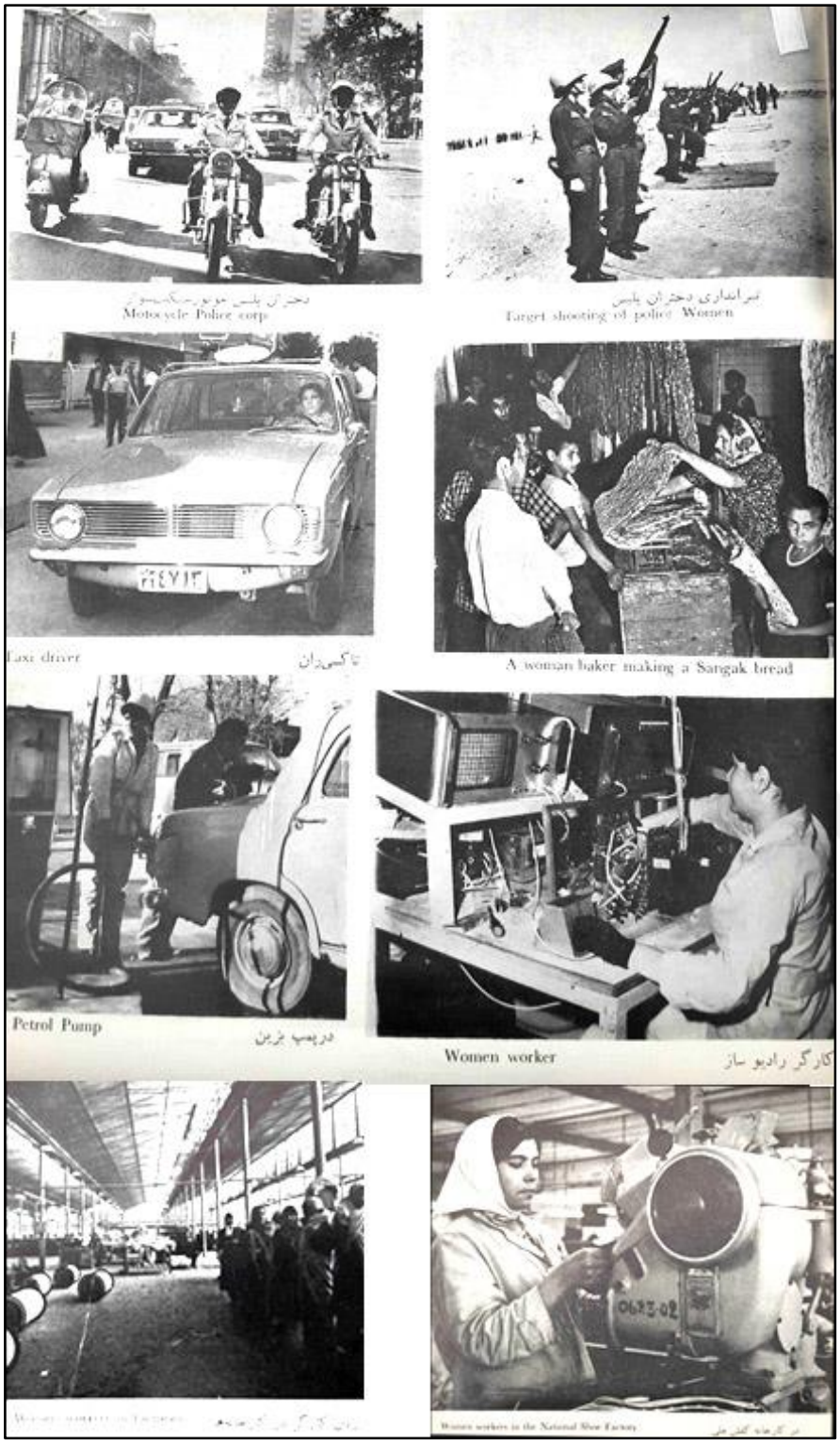


Figure 46. Women who took part in workforce during Pahlavi era, source: Persian women's costumes from the 19th century to the present day. source: (Zoka, 1957).

3.1.2. The Equivalence of Concepts Regarding Female Body and Domestic Space: Healthy and Good-looking Woman in parallel with Hygienic and Beautiful Domestic Space

According to Hilde Heynen, around the second half of the 19th century, the cult of domesticity in US led to the "feminization of culture" which was named such by Ann Douglas. She argues that in that period, the educated middle-class women whose number was growing day-by-day, became the dominant customers of cultural products including printed mass media and decorative objects because they had both time and opportunity to promulgate "a culture of reading and social activities". Therefore, literature related to the feminine virtues of sensibility, piety, and nurturing was championed and promulgated by women (Heynen H. , 2005).

In the context of Iran, as stated previously, it was in the Pahlavi period that formerly 'private' issues were brought into the public domain and women's magazines began to disseminate information about modern domestic space and modern woman (Khiabany G. , 2010). Hygienic domestic space and healthy woman with a clean look as the main elements of progress and modernization were subject matters of those publications.

Hygienic lifestyle and cleanliness was stressed by Badr al-Muluk Bamdad, a secular teacher and a writer, who wrote several books on the changes, which were brought about through the rationalization of the home. She wrote noteworthy textbooks, which were used in girls' schools. One of her books entitled "*Tadbir-e Manzel*" (literally means Home Management), was used primarily in high schools. The book included subjects as various as child rearing, sewing, table manners, sketches on displaying the proper arrangement of a dining table, the sketch of modern and functional kitchen, and the sketch of wash bowl and its stuffs (Figure 47). Bamdad attempted to canonize hygienic domestic space and rationalization of domestic work through such detailed

instructive scripts (Kashani-Sabet, 2011). Altering daily habits of life[35] was also one of themes that was advocated by Reza Shah as Asharaf Pahlavi, his daughter states. My father, Ashraf Pahlavi wrote, "leaned more toward the Western ways he associated with progress, and wanted us to learn Western habits" (Sedghi, 2007).

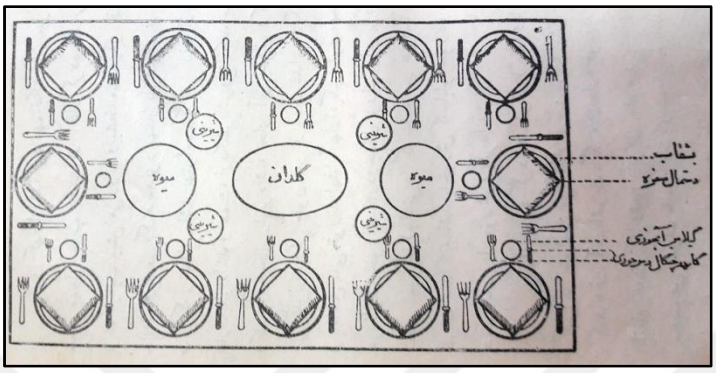


Figure 47. The sketch from "Tadbir-e Manzel" (literally means Home Management) which displays the proper arrangement of utensils on a dining table. source: (Bamdad, 1935)

In a modern house it was the kitchen that first underwent the greatest changes. Its formal aesthetics, spatial arrangement, hygiene was propagated in press. As the first example of a modern kitchen in the girls' school textbook, Badr al-Muluk Bamdad (1935) represented a sketch of a clean and tidy kitchen with walls and floor covered with tiles, a window to be sure of ventilation, a sink with both cold and hot running water, cooking stove, and eating utensils (figure 48). The use of primitive cupboards, sideboards, shelves and hooks were the initial modern and functional items kept dishes, utensils, and cookware away from the unclean floor. It was a neat and perfectly functional space fit for the modern urban woman. The presence of a window in the sketch was supposed to improve ventilation and bring daylight for the disinfection of kitchen. In fact, a new attitude toward hygiene and the furnishing led to criticisms of the customary usage of the kitchen of Iranian traditional houses. Bamdad in another image, figure 49, exemplified a convenient cupboard with a wash bowl, sponge and soap at its top. Indeed, this washstand was a suitable solution for the traditional houses

[35] From the 1920s onwards, Iranian elites started to change their eating habits and use knife and fork. Before that time, Iranian eating style "was done with the hands, with bread used as a utensil" (Chehabi, 2003).

where pluming arrangements were not adequate. Moreover, that washstand with a handy storage part beneath could be put everywhere quite easily.

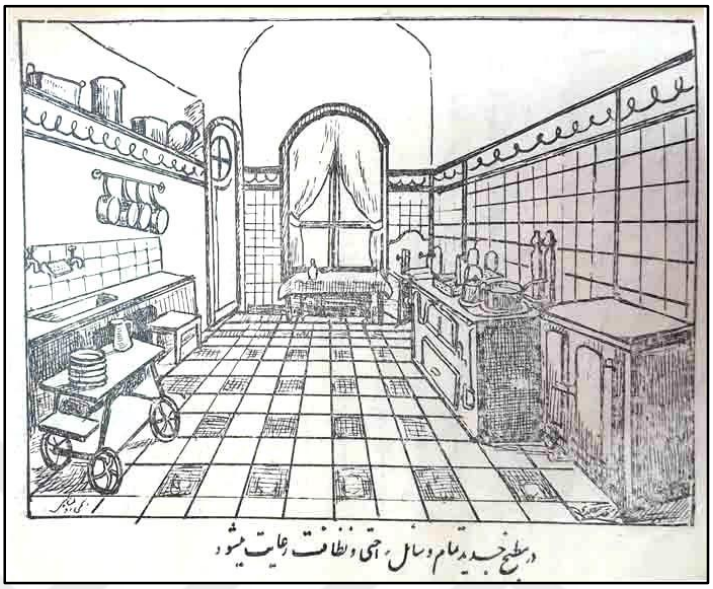


Figure 48. The caption reads: “In the new kitchen, all comfortable furniture and hygiene is taken into consideration”. source: (Bamdad, 1935)

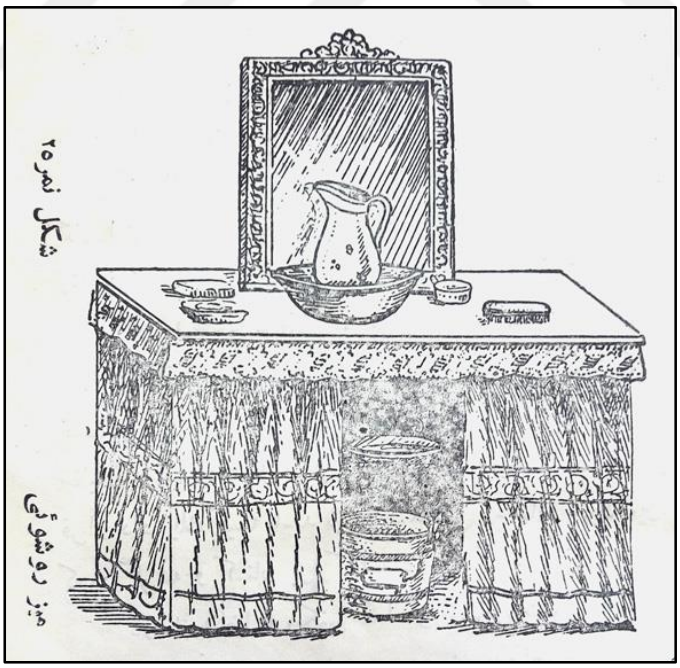


Figure 49. The sketch introduces wash bowl and its stuff to the readers. source: (Bamdad, 1935)

Therefore, like most of other countries, the domestic reform in Iran started and implemented through wet service spaces especially kitchen by its movement from its common location in the basement to the ground floor. After giving importance to its location, the rational arrangement of its furniture and equipment was taken into attention. Popular publications put more emphasis on characteristics of the modern house and what was recognized to be traditional in domestic architecture was left mostly overlooked. In a similar way, as discussed by Karimi (2013), new terms were introduced to Iranians through mass media regarding the name of rooms of a modern house which were functionally classified, namely, *otaq-e pazirayi* (guest room or entertaining salon), *Ashpazkhneh* (Kitchen), *otaq-e neshiman* (living room), *otaq-e khab* (bedroom), and *otaq-e nahar khori* (dining room). The magazine of *Zaban-Zanan* (Women Language), for example, in its different issues in 1944 and 1945, proposed ideas in terms of furniture and decoration, to be used in different rooms. Figure 50 exemplifies a reception room or salon discussed in the journal of *Zaban Zanan* (Women Language) regarding its furniture and decoration. Moreover, some issues of the journal in 1945 discussed about the bedroom, living room and their furniture arrangements.



Figure 50. The caption reads: "the gravure of this time relates to a salon in which its furniture while are beautiful they are luxurious and precious and overtime their industrial value will be added. In the next issue of the magazine we will discuss about the salon." source: (*Zaban Zanan* 7, 1944)

During the second Pahlavi period, the development of the modern interior space was continued and enhanced by growth of mass culture. Mass circulation publications began to illustrate both elite and mainstream interior spaces. Modern houses were developed in the service of a new vision for living, to fulfill the dream of a new world. *Ettela'ate Banovan* (Women Information) was another journal that provided suggestions regarding the furniture, color combinations, and materials to be used in these rooms. For example, it was suggested that using white color in walls and floors make the rooms larger and using colorful fabric for sofa lend charm to the rooms (Figure 51); or using of floral fabric in the walls, curtains or other furniture make the room happy (Figure 52).



Figure 51. Advertising for rooms decoration; Left. The caption reads; using white color in walls and floors make the rooms larger and using colorful fabric for sofa lend charm to the rooms; Right. the large canapés are fashion and they are good for the corner of the salon. source: (*Ettelā'āt-e Bānuvān*, 1975)

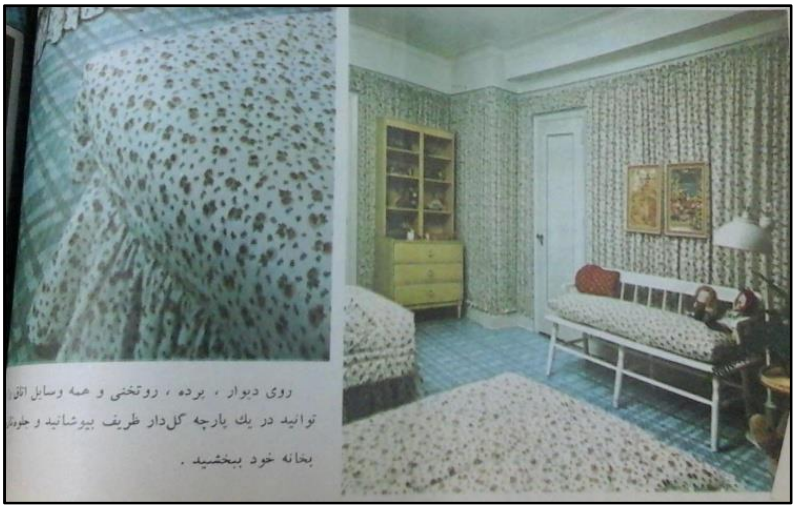


Figure 52. The caption reads; Using of floral fabric in the walls, curtains or other furniture make the room joyful. source: (*Ettelā'āt-e Bānuvān*, 1975)

Popular magazines[36] attempted to promote and import an idealized modern life into the domestic space. The modern middle class actively followed and promoted a new lifestyle, different from the traditional one. Modern middle class adopted Western culture due to numerous reasons including "their sense of the backwardness of the country, interest in improving Iranian society, and adoption of a Western lifestyle as a marker of their social status" (Rezvani-Naraghi, 2017). In 1960, the journal of *Shahdariha* (Municipalities) published an image in which the traditional life style with the new modern one was compared (Figure 53). The image illustrates the adoption of technological innovations and modern lifestyle in Iran. It shows how Iranians adopted technology especially transportation (airplane and automobile) and modern home amenities in their lives. The image also depicts the presence of women in the social arena which was accounted as one of the social values of the modern middle class. According Bianca Devos, the "middle-class Iranians were not just passively

[36] In Iran, magazines such as *Tehran Mossavvar* (Tehran Illustrated), *Khandaniha* (enjoyable readings), *Ettelā'āt-e Bānuvān* (women' s information, first published in 1957), *Zan-e Rouz* (Today's Woman, first published in 1964), *Ettelā'āt-e Haftegi* (Weekly Information), and many others, covered beauty contests,"celebrity news, portraits of royal families, cookery, health and beauty, housekeeping" (Khiabany G. , 2010).

modernized through state-enforced reforms, they themselves acted as pioneers promoting a progressive way of life, primarily by adopting a modern Western lifestyle. (Devos, 2014)"



Figure 53. A comparison of *no'w* (new) which implies modern lifestyle with the *Kohneh* (old) traditional life, source: (*Shahdariha*, 1960, no 38&39)

Clearly, women's publication aimed to publicize European and American domestic life style. For example, in a note that was published in *Etell'at-e Haftegi* (1949), Godsi-kia attempted to draw the readers' attention to the life of American women in their modern houses. The author discussed about functional arrangement of kitchen, clean floors of rooms, and also about the reforms in domestic self-efficiency and time-saving methods that were involved in the formation of the new modern house (Figure 54). Technology and the rationalization of domesticity were generally considered as the methodological requirements of a nation in its modernization program. It should be mentioned that throughout the world, domestic functions were modified into mechanized forms with the replacement of manual domestic works with the machinery home appliances and with an ongoing Taylorization of the domestic space, which became prevalent in the early decades of the twentieth century (Giedion, 1948).

Newspapers and magazine advertisements were a source of information about the advent and incorporation of new technologies into the lives of modern middle classes (Devos, 2014). As seen in figure 55, pictures and drawings of innovative equipment were arranged and presented to increase the efficiency and healthiness of housework in homes. Dishwashers, irons, vacuum cleaners and washing machines as the various forms of technology were presented in the women's magazines and on television. Technology, as a discourse, was constructed to present an ideal domestic life where the housewife spent less time on household labor, did it easier, and ultimately became happier.



زن کدبانوی امریکائی بیشتر اوقات خـودرا درآشپزخانه میگذرانـد. ضمنا
فرزندان خودرا نیز برموز آشپزی آشنا میکند .

Figure 54. The image taken from a letter of an Iranian lady from New York to her sisters, the caption reads: “A competent American woman, however, spends most of her time in the kitchen, she also familiarizes her children with cooking practices”. source: (Godsi-kia, 1949)



Figure 55. The caption reads: These inventions will make women’s life easier. source: (*Ettel ‘at-e Haftegi*, 1949)

These themes recalls Ross' book "Fast cars, clean bodies" in which he defines modernization as a "form of privatization of the industrial sphere, in the shape of household appliances" (Ross, 1996). According to Ross, modern home appliances conveyed the image of entire "cleanliness and newfound hygiene", and hence they were the physical embodiment purity and health (Ross, 1996).

Luxury commodities, similar to the other countries, were recognized as the symbols of social status by which the Iranian middle-class group distinguished themselves from the mass of ordinary people. Therefore, as Biance Devos (2014) argues, the ownership of modern technology was not only to create comfort and increase efficiency, it was also a matter of status and prestige. Modern home appliances were advertised as the ultimate dream of women. For example, as seen in figure 56, in the advertisement of Electric refrigerator, in *Tehran Mossavar (1950)*, the caption which is the feeling of a woman reads; "My Electrolux which works with both electricity and oil has made my friends envious."



Figure 56. The advertisement of Electric refrigerator. The caption reads: "My Electrolux which works with both electricity and oil has made my friends envious." source: (*Tehran Mosavvar* 366, 1951)

As illustrated above, popular magazines contained an imported feminine culture and they could be indicated as Iranian versions of the American life magazine which. According to Camron Amin, although not on the same scale, even in lesser scale, Iranian media displayed and publicized fashion and "health and beauty" products in a

similar way to the American media. Women's Awakening project[37] was facilitated this common worldwide culture during Pahlavi period. The image of modern Iranian womanhood, as seen in figure 57, was more affected by the fashions, manners, and the cosmetic products of the West (Amin, 2004). As Meltem Gürel wrote regarding modern Turkish women, "such promotions promising beautiful skin and shining hair, played a role in idealizing a feminine figure that was hygienic, well dressed, looked western, and symbolized modernity. Such a woman represented a healthy and attractive citizen of a progressive nation that cared of herself" (Gürel, 2009). According to Amin, "nowhere was the conflation of modernization and Westernization more apparent than in the conflation of health and beauty for Iranian women" (Amin, 2004). Therefore, aesthetic imagery and hygiene were the common features of a modern domestic space and modern woman that were publicized in the press of Pahlavi period.



Figure 57. Left, Aesthetic imagery of a modern woman characterized by health and an idealized "modern" appearance; Right. The caption reads: "The fashion and beauty salon of Paris has presented the two dresses above as the women`s simplest and modern spring dresses in the exhibition. These dresses are in gray and light green color which are appropriate for trip and recreation. Their beauty will be increased if you wear them with a hat". source: (*Ettela'at-e Haftegi* 505, 1951)

[37] The main aim of Women's Awakening project was to redefine the details of gender roles while maintaining the hierarchy that gave special privilege to men. Nevertheless, the new Iranian women and men accessed to and shared many opportunities: both of them were to be "educated, patriotic, athletic, martial, socially active, and economically productive" (Amin, 2004).

Later, in the Second Pahlavi period, the parallel between the home and the female body noticeably continued as well. The merging of the woman identity and domestic space was evident in the women' s magazines. Both the home and female body were subject to and depicted through a discourse of beautification where the woman frequently was a visual metaphor for domestic space (figure 58). Clearly, beautifying the self and domestic interior were main concerns of advertisements. Through notions of transformation, unveiling, visibility, and appearance women and the home were subject to beautification. Regarding the woman, rejection of traditional habits, following modern conducts, the use of modern dress and make-up were recognized as the ways of beatification. Modern furniture, materials, and the implication of modern technology and home appliance were indicated as the ways of beatification of the home. Different commercial advertisements advertisements implied that a house is like a woman who is fashionable, well-dressed and beautiful. For instance, in one of the issues of *Ettelaat-e Haftegi* (march 1951), while the purpose of the advertisement is to create market for dining tables of kitchen, the appearance of the chic woman at the top of the image attracts the readers' attention; or in the advertisement of floor carpet in *Ettelaate haftegi* (1974) (weekly news), the dressing of the rooms floor and the dressing of the woman are paralleled (Figure 59). These evidences displayed new attitudes in terms of the beauty of the woman body and domestic space. Their beautification was fulfilled through chic and healthy female body, and hygienic and modern domestic space.

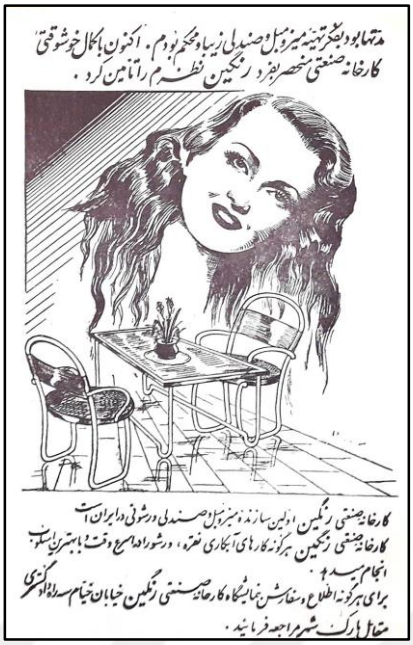
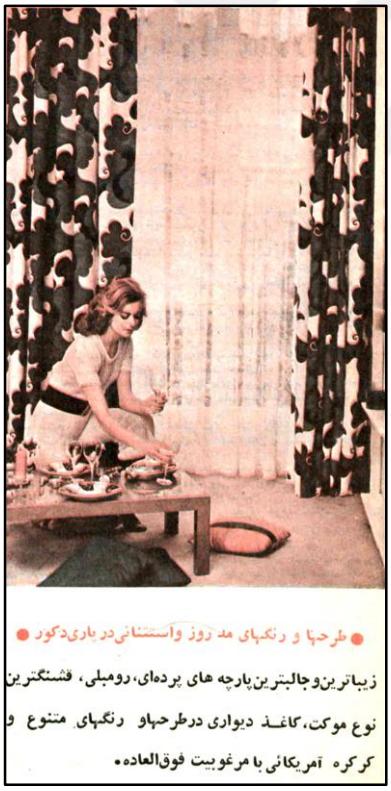


Figure 58. The parallel between the home and the female body, source: (*Ettelaat-e Haftegi*, 1951)



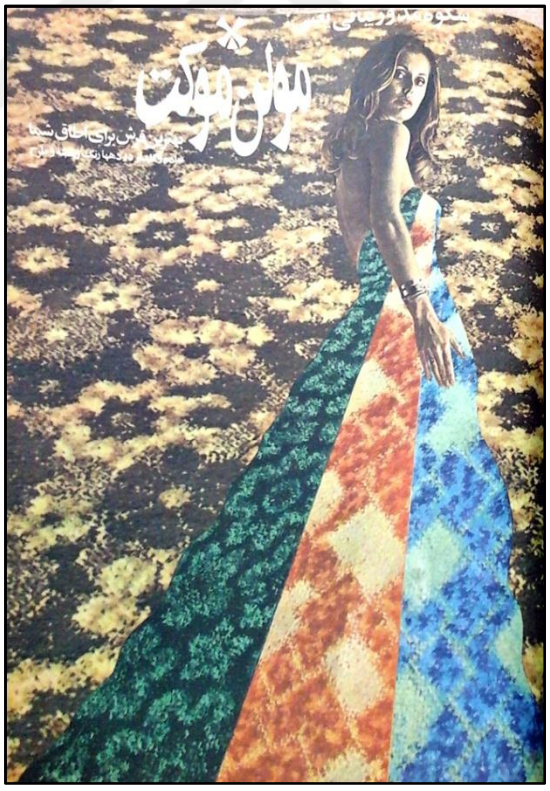


Figure 59. The advertisements parallel the dressing of stylish and beautiful woman with dressing of beautiful room, source: (*Ettelaate Haftegi* 1703, 1974)

Finally, in addition to beauty and hygiene, commercial advertisements of modern houses draw the readers' attention to the importance of outdoors' view, visibility and, transparency of domestic space. For instance, numerous issues of *Ettela'at Haftegi* and *Tehran Musavvar* during 1950s presented the advertisement of houses with captions that read: "From this beautiful house, pleasant scenery of *Niavaran, Aghdasiye, Shah Abad*, … and Tehran is visible. In order to spend your summer time, rent this house", or "Turn your house into a modern villa and before any modification talk to our architects" (Figure 60). In these commercial advertisement, the transparency of the house which was not common in traditional house, was envisioned to bring beauty to the domestic space. In another advertisement in *Tehran Mossaver*, however, the purpose was to create a market for interior furnishing and to advertise wooden window shutters, a broad window of a modern home in which an unveiled woman looks to the outside, the manner that was not common or acceptable in the traditional society of Iran, draw the reader's attention (Figure 61).



Figure 60. The caption in the left hand advertises the broader vistas of a modern house and it reads: "From this beautiful house, pleasant scenery of *Niavaran, Aghdasiye, Shah Abad*, ..., and Tehran is visible. In order to spend your summer time, rent this house"; or the advertisement in the right hand promote a modern house and it reads "Turn your house into a modern villa and before any modification talk to our architects". source: (*Ettela'at-e Haftegi*, Friday, June 1, 1951. No 512; *Ettela'at-e Haftegi*, 1974, no 1703)



Figure 61. The image while advertises wooden window shutters, it seeks to draw the reader's attention into a picture window. source: (*Tehran Mossaver*, 1950, no 365)

3.2 Reframing the Concepts of Re-Veiling and Invisibility in terms of Islamic Woman and her House after the Islamic Revolution

3.2.1 Women Veiling and Invisibility

As stated earlier, this dissertation argues that the 'aesthetics of invisibility' affected Iranian lives after Islamic revolution. Farzaneh Milani in her book "Words, not swords" relates the women seclusion to the aesthetic sensibility of Iranians. She argues

> An ideal woman kept a closed-in being that did not merge with the outside word... She conducted herself with quiet poise and in a dignified manner. She erects visible and invisible walls of separation around her by limiting her contact with the outside world… When in public, she blurs the outlines of her body (Milani, 2011).

However, it should be mentioned that the measures taken by the Islamic Republic in the name of cultural revolution based on Islamic teaching resulted in the invisibility

of women. The objectives of the cultural revolution were to demolish an imported 'western' culture, and to replace it with Islamic culture which its importance had been decreased during the Pahlavi regime. Therefore, the state attempted to oblige a whole range of organizations to implement and protect the Islamic culture of Iran. The Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution, founded in the early 1980, intended to create "broader settings and cultural policy" (Khiabany G. , 2010).

The redefinition of gender relations which brought about segregation between them in both public and private sphere was also involved in the process of invisibility. It led to the females' seclusion from some social activities and what Farzaneh Milani state about traditional Iranian woman got to the climax. A woman who covered her body, protected her honor and her family, controlled her desires, averted her gaze, measured her words, and remained in her proper place all were appreciated and emphasized by the state as the requirement of religion and morality. As Pierre Bourdieu states, the 'sense of honor' that results from the "form of bodily postures" (ways of standing, sitting, looking, speaking and walking) is "nothing other than the cultivated disposition, inscribed in the body schema and in the schemas of thought, which enables each agent to engender all the practices consistent with the logic of challenges and riposte" (Bourdieu, 1977).

Similar to Pahlavi state, one of main efforts of the Islamic government was to bring forward the woman question. As the emblems of Islamization, women's bodies and sexuality were brought to the fore by the Islamic state. Since the mid-19th century, Iranian governments and political movements have increasingly used the female body as a challenge for religious beliefs or nationalism, and as a symbol of "modernity or tradition, freedom or security, piety or progress" (Milani, 2011). By their own ideologies, all regimes have produced particular images of womanhood, and have sought to enforce their systems on the people.

In contrast with the ideology of Pahlavi period, the Islamic Republic of Iran introduced *hijab* and the invisibility of female body as a symbol of religious faithfulness, a sign

of purity and moral salvation. The veil has been turned into the most apparent mark of an Islamic utopia (Milani, 2011). Perhaps, no other symbol than *hijab* has had the strength to create the "otherness" of Islam in comparison with the West. The covered female body turned into the field of conflict to "the West and its modernity" and "it was used as a shield against heterosexual desire" (Moradiyan-Rizi, 2015). Veiled women were admired, and unveiled women were considered as dishonorable and indecent (Sedghi, 2007). Cultural Revolution was conceptualized as an attempt to form a new person with a new Islamic identity and ways of life in an Islamic society. The magazine of *Ettela'at-e Haftegi* (Weekly Information) in 1982 published a text with the title of "*Enghelab dar Zaminehaye Farhangi che Karde ast*?" (What has the revolution done in terms of cultural aspects?) The measures taken by Islamic government were represented in a simple way in a picture through putting together the cover of magazines in pre and post revolution period. The right side of the picture which is rejected by Islamic state shows cover of magazines during the Pahlavi period and include images that are inconsistent with the aims of Revolution (images of unveiled singers, actresses, western lifestyle, beauty contests, ...) The left side is the cover of magazines during revolutionary period and includes veiled woman, militated woman, gender segregation, clergies, revolution events, …). This picture, at first glance, shows two prevalent points, which are the omission of unveiled women images and their veiled presence in the military activities (Figure 62).



Figure 62. The caption reads: Enghelab dar Zaminehaye Farhangi che Karde ast?" (What has the revolution done in terms of cultural aspects?), source: (*Ettela'at-e Haftegi*, 1982)

As Reza Arjomand (2016) states, communicated by wall graffiti, billboards, and the media, a traditional Iranian stereotype came back to the foreground: the "woman represents the chastity of the society" (*Zan Namous-e Jame'eh ast*). As stated previously, media and propaganda posters around Iranian cities proclaimed that a veiled woman is similar to 'a pearl within a shell'. After such manifestos, re-veiling (*hejab*) became officially mandatory and in reality, it turned to be a national custom of women in Iran. Therefore, as Hamideh Sedghi argues the concealment of females' bodies and gender segregation became fundamental to "state-building and its identity as Islamic, anti-imperialist, and anti-Westernist" (Sedghi, 2007).

Regarding the advocacy of *Hejab*, Gholamali Haddad-Adel, an Iranian politician, wrote a short booklet entitled *Frahang-e Berahnegi va Berahnegi-e Farhangi* (the culture of nakedness and the cultural nakedness). He discussed that the culture of every society is determinant of its dress style. He juxtaposed a number of images from the dress style of post-Renaissance European societies and non-Western cultures, and then

discussed and compared them superficially. He related the dress style of each society to its mentality. He explained that Western's clothes are tight and short because for them, the material life took precedence. In one part of his book with the title of "the relationship between western dress and western culture", he claimed that this materialistic worldview began with the Renaissance which put human beings at the focal point of life and integrated mentality with humanistic values. In order to reinforce his argument, Haddad-Adel referred to the Michelangelo's statue of David and stated that the art in the West demonstrates the Westerners' fascination with the material life. Then he mentioned that Muslim cloths are long and loose because in an Islamic society, the body is not a symbol of perfection and veil or *hejab* turns it into a sacred part of human essence. (Haddad-Adel, 1989).

Another book that propagated veil is *Beauty of Concealment and Concealment of Beauty* by Zahra Rahnavard, an Iranian academic, artist and politician. In her book, Rahnavard declared that modern civilizations have alienated human beings from their divine essence (Rahnavard, 1986). According to her, the reason of this distancing is that modern civilizations have wrapped humans in numerous curtains: "the curtain of class, the curtain of shape, the curtain of status, the curtain of reputation, and the curtain of respectability" (Rahnavard, 1986). She states that "the prevalent ideological and economic systems of the west, be they capitalist or communist, have stolen the souls of humans and reduced them to mere economic entities, to spiritless bodies" (Siavoshi, 2004). Rahnavard argued that in the Western civilization the beauty of the body was the foundation for women's worth and virtue. As it is so, she continues, the beauty of the body must be visible to the public eyes and judgment (Rahnavard, 1986). Then, Rahnavard advocated the Islamic *hejab* as a solution of regaining the real essence of women. According to her, *hejab* provide a woman the detachment from the curtains of concealment created by modern civilizations and provide her "the possibility of uniting with the real beauty of her being and rediscovering her own self" (Rahnavard, 1986). For Rahnavard, a veiled woman is able to give away "the allure of

individualism, to become one with the rest of humanity, and to recapture her true self, a self with divine origin" (Siavoshi, 2004).

Therefore, through these types of books and other publicities, authorities advocated and aestheticized women's veil. In order to support their claims, they referred to Sharia law and attempted to persuade Iranians that beauty (the beauty of females' body) must be concealed.

Along with the print press, Iranian cinema[38], as a visual showcase of Iranian society dealt with the new practices of gender and sexuality (Moradiyan-Rizi, 2015). *Hejab* rules obliged female actors wear scarves or wigs. As Naficy (1995) states "aesthetics of veiling" in its visual style is apparent and inscribed in post-revolutionary cinema, for example, in *Kharej az Mahdudeh* (Off the limit*)*, a film by Rakhshan Bani Etemad. The body of the film is rich with possibilities for discussing social and women's issues in Iran. Boundaries whether they are legitimate, jurisdictional, physical (such as wall), or social (for example mandatory veil of women) regulate society. Indeed, an "aesthetics of veiling", according to Naficy, dominates: view is continuously blocked by the boundary-making elements and barriers, for example, fences, solid walls, and columns. These visual obstacles can be considered as metaphors for the veil, which indicates females, put them apart from the males, and supposedly keeps them out of the males' gaze (Naficy, 1995).

Therefore, the boundaries between man and women are maintained by the veiling. In this sense, the major focuses of the Islamic Iran the field of visual arts were the representation of woman and her heterosexual interactions. The modesty of woman was codified in dressing, looking, behaving, acting, and filming which can be traced

[38] After the revolution, women's dress style in foreign movies created a problem for television which was also the subject of purification. For example, on 4 may 1984, Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, speaker of the Majles, told his brother, who headed VVIR, that "it is advisable to prevent the screening of foreign movies showing unveiled women in a repulsive manner". Within a week, the board of managers of VVIR decided to shrink" the volume of foreign movies aired and to stop screening movies that contained repulsively unveiled women" (Naficy, 2012).

in the 1980s. These codes made new forms in the Iranian visual art in terms of gender representation and sexuality (Moradiyan-Rizi, 2015).

Consequently, Hamid Naficy (2012) states that veiling gave rise to the major changes in cinema. First, all types of spaces such as the bedroom were considered as public realm without the freedom of private space. It culminated in the representation of women in an unrealistic and distorted manner where they had to wear hijab even with their kin and in the private realm of homes; something that women does not do in their real life (Naficy, 2012). Several filmmakers have made most part of their stories outside in which the veiling of women is a natural action. In this way the "unrealism" of inside home where women wear veil in an intimate space with her family members can be removed. This practice was considered as a conscious decision by Hamid Naficy as it prevents the "unrealism and the social lie of showing women veiling themselves in their own homes" (Naficy, 2012). In the post-revolutionary cinema of Iran, this strategy has introduced the woman *flaneur* as a key and frequent character.

After Islamic revolution, the magazine of *Zan-e Rouz* [39](Today's Woman) which was one of the prominent magazines in the pre-revolutionary period and had been criticized by some clerics for promulgating un-Islamic values, was selected by Morteza Mottahari, an Islamic scholar, as an instrument for the propagation of the idea of the Islamic woman through a series of articles.

The contents of *Zan-e Rouz* transformed according to the Revolution's values. Some of its parts including health and housekeeping which did not trouble the Islamic values from the clerics' standpoints continued to be discussed but some other parts including beauty contests, images of royal families were removed and replaced by articles related to the Islamic lifestyle. However, women's body in performing exercises or in

[39] Before the Islamic revolution, *Zan-e Rouz*. It projected a modern image of the Iranian woman, health and beauty devoting space to fashions, clothes, and cosmetics. Its news pages were devoted to the royal family, foreign visitors especially famous women to Iran, and occasionally ran some serious articles on changes in family law (Khiabany, 2010). But after the Islamic revolution, Morteza Mottahari chose it as a forum in which to plead for the tolerant attitude of Islam toward women precisely because of its wide circulation and its popularity among younger, educated girls and women (Esfandiyari, 1997).

the advertisements of cosmetics for healthy skin emerged in a more abstract way (Figure 63). One of the important measures that was taken into account in women's press was the elimination of European and American women as models for Iranian women. The strange point is that the topic of fashion regarding women's dress and appearance was removed from the pages of periodicals, but after a decade, the similar pictures related to the fashion in terms of women's dress during the Pahlavi period appeared under the theme of sewing patterns.



Figure 63. The caption of left picture reads: Prevention and treatment of osteoporosis with exercise. source: (*Zan-e Rouz*, 1995, No, 1494)

3.2.2. The Social Space of Women after Islamic Revolution

After the Islamic revolution, the female portrayal represented in schoolbooks through content and illustrations restricts women to the domestic space of home and does not reveal the variation in their jobs and professions in outside world (Keddie & Matthee, 2002). Women' education[40] was considered by the government as a vital strategy for women's integration into the Islamization processes. At home, the role of mother was to instruct and transmit Islamic values to the child. In society, her role was fulfilled by schools and educational organizations. As Parvin Paidar (1995) argues, the woman was a linkage between family and society; she had to be both a mother and also an instructor for her children. Paidar cited Ayatollah Montazeri' thinking during his talk with a group of women that:

"The first and foremost school of life is the mother's lap. If we want to achieve a healthy and uncorrupted society which is committed to Islam, we must spare no effort in educating women… If you (women) want to be blesses by God's compassion, and if you want our future generations to be pious and uncontaminated by worldly diversions, you must create a movement of mass education amongst women" (Paidar, 1995).

In all media of the revolutionary period (1978-1990), with a few exceptions, the ideal woman is the perfect mother and housewife, one who takes the responsibility of the daily domestic chores[41], enjoys performing them, and is skilled at them (Mehran, 2002). The exceptions especially in children's schoolbooks are "rural and nomadic women, who help their husbands in agricultural tasks and animal husbandry, and some urban women who work in schools, hospitals, factories, and offices" (Mehran, 2002).

[40] According to Parvin Paidar, Educational institutions and their policies were not independent from the state. However, In the late 1980s, "the policy on women's entry to higher education became less restrictive. In May 1989 it was announced that restrictions on some disciplines were lifted. Consequently, in 2002, female literacy reached 82 percent from around 60 percent at the time of the revolution. women have also made their mark on Iranian politics and the institutions of civil society, from the majles (parliament) to professional associations, charities, etc." (Paidar, 1995)

[41] Women are often depicted as housewives and mothers engaged in traditional domestic tasks, for instance, cooking, cleaning, washing, sewing, and knitting (Mehran, 2002).

The message is that those women who work outside of the domestic space aim to help their husband. Moreover, the content of family magazines is largely dedicated to subjects including household management, solving of household conflicts, and child-rearing and marital skills. In advice columns and some short stories, women are praised "for being self-sacrificing and tolerant" (Shakerloo, 2007). In television and radio programs, experts were invited to discuss mostly on the subjects of child-rearing, food, and household management. There is not any remark about the women who works outside in order to improve the personal and professional position.

According to a research published in *Hamshahri* (Citizen), Iranian daily newspaper, in 1993, titled *The Introduction of Women in the Children's Schoolbooks in Pre and Post-Revolutionary Iran,* the percentage of cases where women work outside their home had reduced already 14 percent lower than the pre-revolution period. Moreover, 10 out of 18 jobs that were considered for the women in pre-revolutionary period were removed from the schoolbook of the post-revolutionary period. The majority of these removed jobs (parliamentary member, aerospace engineer, minister, politician, librarian, etc.) could play a decisive role in the social, economic and political status of women (Taleghani & et.al, 1993). This theme recalls Pierre Bourdieu's notion on the "reproduction of gendered dispositions and practices" in work experiences. As Bourdieu (2001) in his book 'Masculine Domination' argued, the old division structures between males and females seem to define the direction of changes in their relations because women "remain practically excluded from positions of authority and responsibility, particularly in industry, finance and politics" (Bourdieu, 2001).

Moreover, the Muslim woman is represented as a paradigm of sacrifice. Women are required to learn military skills in addition to nursing and first aid. When the Islamic country needs, they have to defend it. The protection of Quran and the defense of Islamic territories are educated as an obligation of for both men and women (Azam-Zanganeh, 2006). Take, for example, the series titles Women of Allah- photographs Nashat shot between 1993 and 1997. The photographs display veiled women holding guns while prerevolutionary texts are inscribed on their bodies. "They were a visual

exploration of what it means ideologically, philosophically, and even aesthetically to be a Muslim woman, a militant, and a martyr" (Azam-Zanganeh, 2006). Female students are also memorialized that Islam asks women to be simple and modest at all times. The boundaries set for women's activity in outside of the domestic space per se clarifies what is considered proper for women, namely, the shoulds and should-nots are so clear. Marzieh Meshkini's film, *The Day I Became a Woman* (2000), shows the role of habitus in the socialization of Iranian girls, which encompasses their familiarization and adaptation with the structure of society from a range of sources simultaneously. Whether in verbal products, physical objects such as houses, or in practices and activities such as rites, games, the Iranian girl is instructed and is subject to a systematic use of a number of rules and codes coherent in the practices (Bourdieu, 1990). The film is a story of gender socialization in Iran. It encompasses three episodes, one of them is about Hava, a little girl on her ninth birthday, which indicates her passage to maturity as a woman. Hava's personality is already shaped through the given symbolic patterns of the society. "Her symbolic place, as a woman, gives her a new and permanent subject position that will continue for the rest of her life", as the other two episodes of the film reveal (Erfani, 2012). Hava, on her ninth birthday, which is strictly celebrated as a transition and move to a new identity, as a woman, is told what a woman can demand or request for in life.

As Bourdieu (2001) argues, the experience of a 'sexually' structured social order and the obvious reminders instructed to them via different agencies brought about girls to "internalize, in the form of schemes of perception and appreciation not readily accessible to consciousness", the rules of the dominant idea that lead them to perceive the social order in such a view that it is normal or even natural, rejecting the jobs from which they have been excluded. Bourdieu continued that the consistency of habitus that is outcome of this is hence one of the most significant factors in the relative consistency in the order of the sexual division of work. (Bourdieu, 2001)

3.2.3. Gender Spatialization and Invisibility

After Islamic revolution, a number of texts in different newspapers of the time informed about the segregation of women and men in different social activities. Reza Arjmand (2017) stated that the discourse of gender-segregation in public life started in public beaches, sport, hairdressers, and then extended to other spaces and activities including public transportation, schools, and universities, etc. In public events such as exhibitions, political meetings, seminars, and lectures, women and men had to sit in different rows. In April 9, 1980, the newspaper of *Ettela'at* (Information) published a text titled "*Majales-e Arousi-e Zanane ve Mardane Bayad Joda az ham Bashand*" (In wedding parties, women and men have to be segregated") (Ettela'at, 1980). Even private events such as parties, wedding ceremonies and funerals, were subject to the discourse of segregation to prohibit the socialization of women and men (Arjmand, 2017). Therefore, as Hamid Naficy stated, every social realm was gendered and segregated through various barriers marking the ultimate separation of sexes and through walls, veils, and even words both genders were confined to their places (Naficy, 2012).

In domestic realm, gender segregation occurs during religious rituals, life cycle rites and wedding parties. The religious identity of women is represented through women-centered congregational events which have been accentuated and accelerated after the Islamic revolution. Unlike men, women's sociability and gatherings are mostly occurred at home and they are managed, advertised, and attended by women. These events, hence, turn the ordinary domestic space into a socialized place. In Iran, contrary to the men's rituals that are indicated as "explanatory paradigms for the society at large", women's rituals frequently seem as 'domestic' and unimportant, except to women themselves (Torab, 2007).

According to Azam Torab (2007), people normally define and use specific names for each ritual, rather than a more general tantamount *majles* (gathering). The type of a ritual whether it is a *jashn* (celebration) or *azadari* (mourning) determines these

distinctions. These events include group worship, prayer gatherings, preaching, ritual meals *(sofreh*[42]), and celebration of significant holidays determined in the religious calendar, *mowludi*[43], birth and death rites. One of the particular rituals in Iran is the periodic *rowzekhani*, in which people gather to commemorate a religious event especially in the months of Muharram[44] and Safar (Marefat, 1988). *Rowzehs* are usually open-house activities and a flag or banner on the exterior wall of the house announces the *rowzeh* (Figure 64). The participants consist of "relatives and friends but also passerby and followers of the preacher in charge of the meeting" (Kalinock, 2004). All women who attend in these domestic rituals are not familiar with each other and every one can attend without drawing much attention. As a result, Islamic teachings influence the structuring and use of women's socio-physical environments. It changes the function of a private house and make it public. The house in the post-revolutionary period provides a setting and the opportunity for women to perform their rituals, which happen usually in the largest room of the house which called guest room (*paziraie)* or open space of the house (yard).

[42] *Sofreh* , usually in fulfillment of a vow, is used for a ceremonial votive meal (*ghaza-e nazri*) given to honor a saint or pray for a certain outcome. See Shirazi, F. (june 2005). The *Sofreh*: comfort and community among women in Iran. Iranian studies. Volume 38, number 2.

[43] A religious gathering on the birthdays of members of the Prophet's family and on other feast days, which includes the signing of special poems, and sometimes drumming on the *daff* (frame drum) and dancing. See Kalinock, S. (December 2004). touching a sensitive topic: research on Shiite rituals of women in Tehran. Iranian studies, volume 37, number 4.

[44] The months of Muharram and Safar represent an especially scared period for many Shi''te adherence in Iran. Muharram is a commemorative rite dating back to the fifth century (Enayat 1982). This processional rite relives the martyrdom of Husayn, the Third Imam. The Safavid dynasty laid emphasis on the continued expression of these ceremonies with the introduction of ta'ziyah (or passion plays) coupled with the rawzakhani which combines sermons with poetic recitations, quranic verses and drama characterizing the sufferings and tragedy of holy martyrs.



Figure 64. Left: announcement of the rowzeh by a flag, source: author; Right: a view of religious ritual' performance. source: (www.jamejamsara.ir)

The emergence of 'women parks' in the late 1990s and early 2000s can be argued as the recent version of gender spatialization in Iran. In 2003, as Reza Arjmand (2017) states, the Iranian Ministry of Health published a report in which some of the health problems of women were partly attributed to veil (*hejab*). The Islamic dress code that women obliged to have in public space, the small apartments with windows veiled by thick curtains and draperies to comply the Islamic lifestyle, and a sedentary lifestyle, all decreased the possibility of being exposed to the sunlight and led to the development of some health problems for women. The research notified the health threats such as the deficiency of vitamin D among the next generation of Iranian women. As Arjmand (2017) points out, *hejab* which allows only a small area of the body to be exposed to sunlight, considerably reduces the extent of vitamin D intake. Such concerns were the initial points for voicing the necessity of creating outdoor sport facilities for women. Regarding these concerns, Tehran City Council agreed a bill in 2003 and obliged the responsible officials to respond the physical, mental and social security needs of women, to create recreational activities for them, to enable women to enjoy the advantages of direct exposure to daylight, though in keeping with

Islamic values (Arjmand, 2017). These issues resulted in the construction of women's parks in different cities of Iran. In the design of these parks, enclosure plays a pivotal role, namely, women's parks have to be enclosed and invisible from the street. Therefore, the planners are forced to wall the women's park and diminish visual connectivity with the outside of the park.

While permeability whether visual or physical is considered and discussed at length in urban design literature to be one of the main features of public parks, inhibiting permeability is the main recognizable characteristic of women's parks in Tabriz. Although, in the initial steps, authorities claimed that in these parks women would be unveiled and exposed to the sunlight, women maintain their veil inside some parks because the parks are controlled by male guardianship at their entrances (Figure 65). This issue fits with Pierre Bourdieu's (2009) work *Masculine Domination*, in which he argues about the "reproduction of the symbolic order" and the consistency and continuity of non-rational patterns of gender practices and male domination. To be accurate, such spatial division in both private and public space reveals that continuity of gender relations existed in the Iranian traditional society whether physically or symbolically.



Figure 65. Park-e Ana (Mother's Park), Tabriz. source: (author, 2018)

Consequently, culturally predefined codes or as Bourdieu argues, the regulating structures of persistent, and "transposable dispositions", which have become part of people's unconscious still rule women's live. It has become natural for people to "think, feel and act according to a predefined set of images, languages and social practices, without inquiring as to the whys and hows of certain practices as we embody these gendered actions", as Arjmand points out.

3.2.4. The Promotion of the Aesthetics of Invisibility and Simplicity in the Interior of Domestic Space

The shifts in domestic interiors started with the shifts in the depiction of women in home advertisements or images of domestic space in media. The prevalent change was the omission of the female image in the advertisements related to the domestic space. At this time, domestic beatification was no longer represented and expressed with feminine beautification even if it was thought as such by people. Especially during the first decade of the revolution, the images of unveiled women were cut or some parts

of unveiled women bodies were blacked out with magic markers in foreign magazines. These parts were the hair, uncovered arms, and legs of women. However, in some journals, it was attempted to put a headscarf, and a skirt on females' images via markers.

After Islamic Revolution, the house was equated with female body with different notions in comparison with pre-revolutionary period. The idea of traditional house with its principles was put forward by many architects and some scholars. In an Iranian journal of the arts, named *Faslnameh honar*, Mehdi Hojjat recognized a nice house as a nice Muslim woman who would not display her beauty in the public realm. This statement demonstrates a demand for redefining the body as a field upon which culture has made an impact to turn individuals into subjects, as Karimi (2013) mentions. As well as, the home is remapped as a venue that takes the control of space and explains the infrastructure of the community. As symbolic means, the female body and the domestic space are used for the reinterpretation of the gender positions, redefinition of the Muslim woman identity, and reconfiguration of new architectural expressions and spatial organization.

Sharg newspaper (2011) also had a text titled "How to have a house with a traditional architecture: beauty in Iranian style" that recalls its readers to think about the characteristics of traditional houses. In a similar manner, Abdollah Javadi-Amoli, an Iranian cleric, in his meeting with the members of Iran Construction Engineering Organization (IRCEO) argued that open kitchen is not Islamic (Javadi-Amoli, 2011). He stated that the typical open-plan kitchens for example, created difficulties for women as they had to keep their hijabs on when guests were over, making cooking uncomfortable. Open kitchen, though, is advocated by most Iranian women, it is yet rejected by religious families who believe that this type of kitchen limits a woman's ability to be unveiled. As seen in figure 66, some residents covered and separated their kitchen from dining room with a curtain. Accordingly, this treatment can be seen as simple representations of the social order in domestic space in which women were restricted.



Figure 66. A view of a veiled kitchen of a house built in post-revolutionary period. source: (author, 2017)

In a similar manner, female pictures were kept concealed from the eyes of visitors inside the homes. It may be the same all over the world that while households decorate their home with precious objects, they also hang their family pictures on the wall. This situation was different in Iran during the revolutionary period. As women's images were removed from printed press, their picture, except their childhood pictures, became out of display inside their own domestic space. The pictures which included women were usually hung in bedrooms. Therefore, everything that may represent the beauty of women started to be invisible inside the domestic space. This subject recalls Bourdieu's point in terms of the appropriation of objects by agents based on existed social order, and the associated oppositions where he states that the arrangement of the house can be symbolic of gendered relations.

Through a careful scrutinizing of the women's magazine, it is observed that discussions about religion, veil, and simplicity codified the aesthetic theory of domestic architecture. The interest in simplicity and invisibility was supported and intensified. To be accurate, veiling of female body affected home decoration and like female body, the beauty of furnishing became invisible during the first revolutionary period.

In women magazines, lace doilies, tablecloths, and covers were profoundly propagated for the decoration of houses (Figures 67-68). Some pages of magazines were dedicated to the instruction of such objects' production for housewives. It seems that the veil of women was mirrored in furniture through using lace doilies, cloths and curtains. Religious icons including Quran were wrapped with cloths, and lace doilies were used in display cabinets where precious objects and family photographs were displayed. The use of covers on furniture and lace doilies on shelves influenced the visual impression of furniture and objects by concealing what sit underneath or by half concealing and half displaying of them. In this sense, the visual and also tactile features of these cloths recall body veiling of the post-revolutionary woman. As a result, the interior of the post-revolutionary home represents a visual parallelism between the veiled female body and wrapped domestic space.



Figure 67. The propagation of lace doilies and covers for the decoration of houses in the women's magazines. source: (Left: *Zanan* ,1372, no 13; Right: *Khaneh ve khanevade*, 1999)



Figure 68. A view from the reception area of a house in which the majority of furniture were veiled. source: (author, 2017)

In the early years of the revolution, as (Sheibani, 2011) mentions, both revolutionary sensibilities and the Iran-Iraq war were glorified. People experienced new ideas of status hierarchy and "the poor and the traditionalist enjoyed a higher status than the rich and the modernist" (Paidar, 1995). That is to say that the life style and habits of the poor and the traditionalist was accepted as the revolutionary life style. Therefore, traditional cultural habits and simple life style were propagated in the media. Parvin Paidar (1995) argued that, the poor did no longer need to seek the life styles of the rich as they were now valued and "had status and power of their own as the 'real' victims of the Shah's regime" (Paidar, 1995). In the same way, some authors criticized luxurious life style. For example, Fereshteh Bahar wrote an article titled *khorafeie benam-e eshrafiyat* "The superstition of luxury-ness" in which she condemned the contemporary life style of people and she stated that the tendency toward a luxury life confused people and made them passive (Bahar, April 1992). She continued that 'Luxury' which created a competition between people became a source of social disorder. Bahar, thus, attacked on extravagant luxury, exemplified by sumptuous clothes and domestic furniture and she emphasized the values of simplicity of lifestyle and genuine humble piety.

Nonetheless, it should also be mentioned that some subjects and also images about scientific home management, the decoration of domestic environment, home

appliances, and the sanitary equipment of the bath and toilet were very similar to the pre-revolutionary period which were often adapted and imported from Western magazines. These well-designed appliances and furniture were attractive for the middle class who considered and adopted them as signs of good hygienic equipment (Figure 69). It was revealed that there was no objection to modernization as long as it did not harm Islamic values and desires for modernization, significantly, became more obvious after the eight-year war with Iraq in the sense of development.



Figure 69. Left. The caption reads: Twelve simple points for the house decoration, source: (*Zan-e Rouz*, 1994, No 1474); Right. The caption reads; The dining room should be simple, clean and bright to stimulate the appetite. In the picture above, a modern dining room with a very simple furniture can be seen which is very beautiful at the same time. Its interior design is appropriate for spring and summer seasons. source: (Zanan, 1992, No. 4)

In sum, this chapter investigated the relationship between women identity and her domestic space in Iran. As the women identity was influenced by different concepts in two different regimes of contemporary Iran, this dissertation studied both pre and

post-revolutionary periods. The chapter clarified that the Islamic state undermined the concepts of visibility and unveiling propagated in the Pahlavi period as the signs of progress of women and nation. It replaced them with simplicity, veiling, and invisibility based on Islamic teaching in general and gender-segregation in particular in terms of both women and domestic space. The house was conceptualized to be consistent with the "new character" defined by new state and the social order which was spelled out in considerable detail in the media. It was to encompass the large-scale women's gatherings that women were prohibited to do it in public spaces where they would be exposed to the males' gaze. In a similar way, women had to do sport or other recreational activities in enclosed and walled women-only parks. This situation recalls Beatriz Colomina's statement that architecture is primarily "a social mechanism, like dress or manners, a way of negotiating social institutions" (Colomina, 1994). The particular social strategy implemented in the context of Iran is the strategy of invisibility. Through different ways, as will be discussed in detail in chapter 4, houses closed themselves to the outside world and created the impossibility of any visual dialogue between the interior and exterior space. The houses didn't tell anything to the exterior about the private space. They use a mask which is part of new condition (Pakdaman, 1994).

CHAPTER 4

ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS AND PATTERNS OF INVISIBILITY IN THE DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE IN TABRIZ IN THE POST-REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

The previous chapters addressed the development of ideas, practices, and paradigm shifts in terms of domestic architecture via both professional publication and mass media through the twentieth century in Iran. In these chapters the opposing ideologies of the two different regimes influenced architectural discourses and everyday life of people in different ways which all were reflected in the residential architecture. As in the Pahlavi period, concepts of 'being modern', 'openness', 'visibility' were seen by the state as signs of nation's progress and they affected people's life and architecture of the domestic space; after the Islamic revolution, they were opposed by the new state as the causes of moral corruption which threatens Islamic values. Instead, the concepts of 'Islamic', 'simplicity', 'veiling', and 'invisibility' of life and domestic space were propagated, aestheticized morally, and mirrored in domestic architecture. However, it was also displayed that in practice, in both periods, the translation of the ideas into domestic architecture was not straightforward, but it was, to some extent, the modification of the traditional house forms.

The aim of this chapter is to highlight the embodiment of invisibility in the spatial and façade organization of houses through a case study in Tabriz. The reason for the selection of Tabriz as the context of the sample is that domestic architecture in this city has not been studied by researchers, in spite of being one of the historical and largest cities of Iran. This chapter is based on a field study carried out in the first modern residential district in Tabriz, that is, *Vali- asr* district. The selection of this area allowed the researcher to conduct an intensive study of a manageable-sized

locality. The maps and aerial photos of *Vali-asr* were acquired from The Ministry of Roads & Urban Development of East Azerbaijan and Tabriz Cartographic Center.

Based on the fieldwork, the drawings of 70 houses, which were constructed in *Vali-asr* district between 1980 and 2000 were collected. A number of houses built in the 1970s were also observed, drawn, and photographed by the author in order to better understand the transition process in the domestic architecture. The houses were one-to-three storey private houses that were designed mostly by architects for middle-upper income group. This study used diverse sources of information to investigate the elevations and spatial organization of houses. It should be noted that no extensive record of material on individual houses of the period defined for this study exists. The plans and drawings which were used in this study were acquired from a variety of sources. Firstly, the study employed a fieldwork, which included measured drawings of the exsiting buildings, observations, and physical surveys. Some of the houses, about 10 houses, were personally surveyed and their plans were drawn up by the author. The drawings and texts were supported by photographs, taken by the author. Moreover, the study benefitted from the personal archives of architects, civil engineers, and developers who practiced in the field of domestic architecture in Tabriz. The plans and elevations of 20 houses were accessed of those personal archives. Secondly, the fieldwork was complemented with the drawings and layouts of houses archived in Tabriz Municipality. It took about 4 months to access about 40 houses from the municipality. Moreover, a few number of architects, house developers, and civil engineers, who designed and constructed the houses during the 1980s and 1990s and also some officials in the Tabriz Municipality and Ministry of Roads & Urban Development of Tabriz who had information about housing of that period were interviewed.

This chapter has two sections. The first section introduces the urban context of the houses studied, and the second section examines the spatial and façade organization of domestic architecture by referring to the sample study, through which the question of the aesthetics of invisibility is investigated.

4.1 **The Context of the Study**

Insofar as a housing neighborhood is a part of the city, and the city forms the context for the neighborhood, it is difficult to understand housing without knowing the city. Hence, before starting the investigation and the analysis of the selected houses, it seems to be useful to introduce a brief history of the city of Tabriz and then, the *Vali-asr* district, where the selected houses are located. After a succinct discussion on the transformation of Iranian cities in general and Tabriz in particular, the formation process and the actors involved in the building construction of the *Vali-asr* district, i.e. the context of houses will be explained.

The socio-economic and socio-cultural transformations, which started in the late 19th century and increased during Pahlavi period made drastic alterations in the morphology of the cities (Gorji B. A., 1997). Throughout this period the irregular and unplanned urban fabric of cities was started to be transformed into a planned and regular urban areas. Gorji describes this transformation as "the creation of a formal pattern of streets at the intersections, or at the end of major streets, and important public buildings being symmetrically oriented around the square" (Gorji, 1997). Cities underwent rapid change, grew extremely, and when the Western planning methods was introduced to the country, the demand for master plans began to emerge (Karimi & Motamed, 2003). Indeed, comprehensive city planning was introduced in Iran within the term of the "Third National development plan" (1962-68), concurrently with the preparation of master plans for different cities. The High Council of urban planning was established in 1967, and its key role was to provide guidelines and standards for the preparation of master plans for different cities by private consulting companies, to formulate and present regulations for the implementation of the master plans. Consequently, a number of master plans were prepared and presented, mainly for the major cities (Gorji, 1997).

Iranian consultants were to cooperate with European or American colleagues and, in the absence of native equivalent, the city plans were prepared based on the regulations

and standards of foreign cities (Karimi & Motamed, 2003). Before the Islamic revolution, even in those cities which had master plans, the development of control measures were restricted to the broad and general land use decisions of these plans and also requirements for road networks, land use, set-backs, and building density or height (Gorji B. A., 1997). There was not any organized and coherent set of building regulations or zoning rules, and "no discretionary mechanism to control development impact" (Gorji B. A., 1997).

The transformation of Tabriz into a modern city began in the reign of Reza Shah, the founder of the Pahlavi dynasty (1925-1979). The aerial photographs of 1975 taken from Tabriz show the modernization of the urban fabric clearly. Geometrical street networks in the development of the city, the establishment of industrial plans, and the construction of the railway station were the major measures of the Pahlavi period. In 1964, the land reforms were implemented and Tabriz airport along with the new building of the railway station in the west of the city was constructed in 1965. These factors changed the fabric of Tabriz and gave way to new development areas around the city. The land reforms, mechanization in agriculture, and the development of transportation led to the migration from rural areas to the city. As a result, agricultural lands around the city went under construction (Naghsh-E-Moheet Conculting Engineers, ?). In 1966, Tabriz[45]was the second largest city in Iran and its expansion since then has been very fast. The growth of Tabriz was defined predominantly by industrial development and the establishing of a number of large industries of the country in this city. 1966 which concurred with the establishment of a car-manufacturing factory was a turning point in the industrialization process of Tabriz. "A tractor-manufacturing factory was set up one year later in 1967 and Tabriz Refinery and power station, factories and the like were established in later years" (Dallalpour Mohammadi, 1999).

45 Tabriz is now the fourth populated city in Iran. The size of a household in Tabriz ranges from one person to seven according to the census of 2007 (Hajizadeh & Shakouri, 2013). Regarding the whole population of Tabriz in 2007 (1,579,312) and the number of households at the same year (423917) the average size of a household would be about 3 to 4 persons (Hajizadeh & Shakouri, 2013).

The first master plan of Tabriz was prepared concurrently with the first comprehensive plans of Tehran, Isfahan, and Sanandaj. It was prepared by Iranian consulting engineers (Moghtader- Andref) in collaboration with Michel Ecochard, French urban planner, who was specialized in Eastern, North African and Islamic cities. During the 1950s and 1960s, Ecochard[46] developed master plans for Damascus, Beirut and other Lebanese cities, and for Tabriz. He also continued working in Iran by preparing city center plans for Mashhad in 1971 and for Tehran in 1978 (Emanuel, Sharp, Naylor, & Lerner, 1980, p. 226). Studies of Tabriz master plan begun in 1966 and the plan was approved in 1970 (Figure 70). The significant goal of the preparation of this plan was to delineate the boundaries of urban growth in the next 25 years.

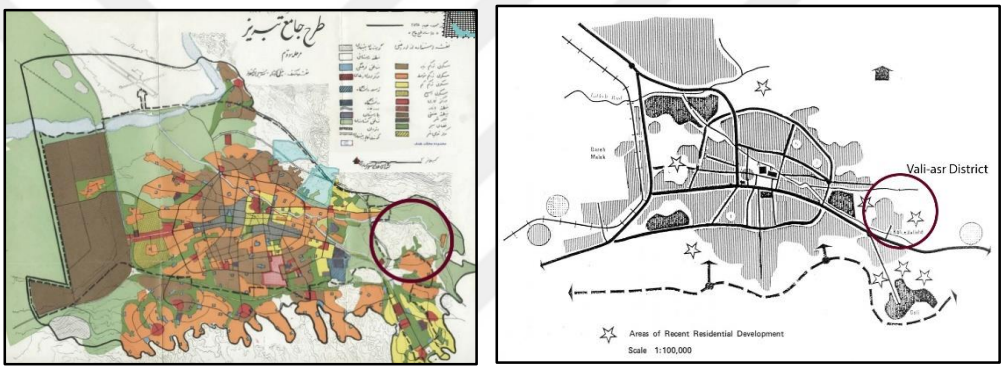


Figure 70. (Left) First master plan of Tabriz, 1970, source: Tabriz Municipality; (Right). Areas of recent residential areas indicated by star shape, source: (Dallalpour Mohammadi, 1999)

Transformations in the design of new houses took place in response to the changed patterns of urban life, social status, building regulations, technological innovations and so forth. During the late 1960s and 1970s, the rise of new high income and middle income groups led to the development of new towns and residential areas for higher income people. During this period, numerous residential developments were started either by private sector or government organizations, in the latter condition, generally for government employees (Gorji, 1997).

[46] In addition to urban planning, Ecochard was also involved in the design of mass housing production in the middle East and North African countries, for instance, he designed mass housing in Rabat Cite Yacoub Al-Mansour in Morocco during the 1940s (Elsheshtawy, 2008, pp103-104).

Vali-asr district, the renamed form of the *Vali-ahd* district after the Islamic revolution[47], is the first settlement area in Tabriz that was envisioned and designed as a modern district for upper and middle income groups (figure 71). It is also the first district that included urban infrastructure and public utilities, for example, sewage disposal system, piped drinking water, electrification and asphalted streets.

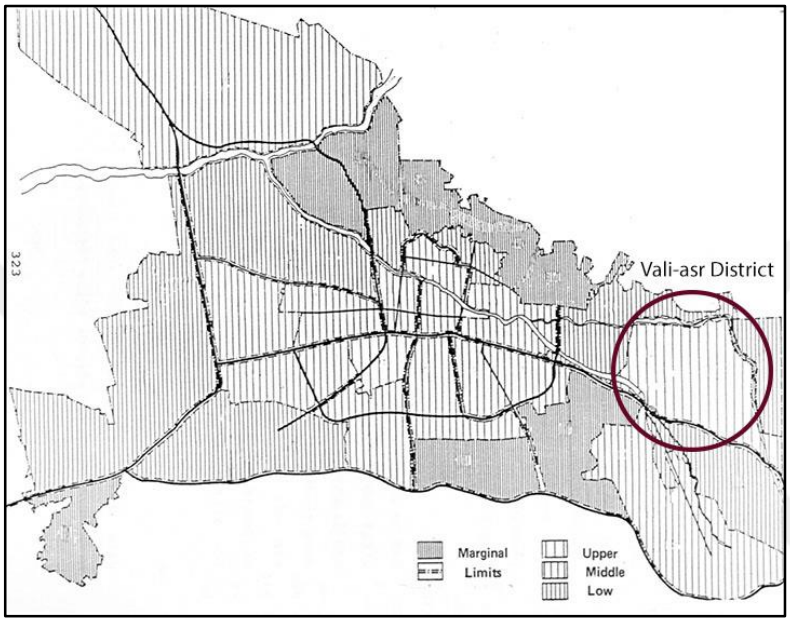


Figure 71. The indication of *Vali-asr* district for upper-class group in the distribution of Residential Areas in Tabriz in 1989 by Department of Housing and Urban Development. source. (Dallalpour Mohammadi, 1999)

Although, the plan of *Vali-asr* district was prepared in 1956; its construction process began a decade later. According to Mohamad Reza Dallalpour (1990), before the 1960s, because of the low rate of population growth, the physical development and expansion of Tabriz was limited. Although, in the 1970s, congestion and crowding in the central areas, insufficient facilities, air pollution, and increased mobility brought about an outward movement of middle and high-income groups. As a result, new

[47] The designation of the Islamic revolution on cities was executed through the devastation and annihilation of Pahlavi insignia, including the change of the names of institutions and streets that bore some connection with the Pahlavi monarchy, and the demolition of Reza shah statue. Annihilation was carried out by the erection of new monuments, altered street names and "a series of more temporary decorations, billboards, banners". For more information, see Manoukian, 2012

residential areas including *Kooy-e-Vali-asr (1969), Kooye-e Manzarieh (1972),* in the east and northwest of city were created (Dallalpour Mohammadi, 1999).

The land of this district was a part of a village named *Barenj*. Buying the lands of villagers, Morteza Khoie, the founder of this district, in a joint venture with municipality, aimed to create a modern and ideal district for upper-middle income group. Hence, the comprehensive plan of this region was prepared by Morteza Khoie's building company called *Firouz* Company. Through giving some parts of the lands that he bought to the Tabriz University and by founding student dormitory in this area, Morteza Khoie attempted to raise the social status of the district and attract academics and government officials to this district. This act helped the creation of socio-spatial segregation in the city. After the area was developed to a degree, the founder wanted future clients to fill some forms regarding to their socio-economic status. Everything proceeded according to the wishes of Morteza Khoie, the founder of the district, until the Islamic Revolution (1979) when *Ghanoon-e Zamin Shahri* (Urban Land Act)[48] was ratified by the new state. Through this new law, some parts of this district like *Kooye Vahadat* was expropriated by the government and distributed to the low-income people. As Jahangir Amuzegar (2001) points out, social revolutions unavoidably are led to "dis-appropriations" and transfer of wealth from the former rulers to those in the new regime. Soon after the Iranian Revolution, much of the wealth and property of associates and officials of the previous government was confiscated. One of the main aim of the new state was to redistribute the wealth and to deal with the urban land and housing condition. Therefore, between 1979 and 1987, the new government passed a series of laws that provided the state massive "power to confiscate and redistribute property, and thus directly involved the government in the provision of

[48] On 26 June 1979, the "Nationalization of Undeveloped Urban Land" was proclaimed by the "Revolutionary Council. According to this new act, any kind of contract or transfer of land was forbidden. Only those landholders who did not have an appropriate dwelling could retain a piece of land in order to build a house within three years. "The maximum area of such a plot was 1000 square meters in cities of more than 200,000 populations". This Act, somewhat, stopped land to be a commodity subject to recurrent contracts and profiteering, but it was unable to prevent a significant increase in land prices and a decline in building construction activities due to the war and inflation (Dallalpour Mohammadi, 1999).

land and housing" (Gheissari, 2009). In this sense, urban land transactions were forbidden. Land prices were prohibited and home-ownership was promoted, "the latter seen as the manifestation of the egalitarian notions of the revolution and the only solution to the acute housing problem" (Madanipour, 1998). In order to meet the intense demand of people for housing, Article 31 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran had acknowledged access to decent dwelling as every Iranian individual's right and the government's responsibility (Gheissari, 2009). The major measures of the post-revolutionary regime were monopolization, urban land release[49] , nationalization of urban land and redistribution of land ownership. The land distribution program started with the goal of enhancing home ownership for low-income people (Madanipour, 1998). This, however, caused the increase of migration into large cities, since a lot of people from across the country were attracted to large cities hoping free dwelling and free access to urban facilities.

Therefore, in 1982, the Urban Land Organization (ULO) was established in order to execute the Urban Land Law (ULL). The maximum area for the ownership of the *mavat* (undeveloped) land and the *bayer* (abandoned) land in one plot was 1000 square meters in cities (Keivani, Mattingly, & Majedi, 2008). In the same way, the large land parcels that came under the ownership of the state were subdivided into small ones in such a way that the width of the lots along the street decreased into 9 to 12 meter. Moreover, the state gave the responsibility of the design of houses to its revolutionary organizations which seem not to have sufficient experiences. That is to say that the Islamic state in its early years was suspicious to the large organizations that were closely connected the Pahlavi regime. This was a theme of an article in *Ettela'at-e Haftegi* (weekly news). In Figure 72, contractors were likened to the ghosts and the

[49] After the 1979, a number of urban land laws introduced and enacted through which the state became the owner of a significant amount of urban land. Consequently, urban land was divided into three main types which are: undeveloped or intact *(mavat*) land; abandoned, or unutilized (*bayer)* land; and, cultivated or developed (*dayer*) land. The opinion is that the God is the ultimate owner of land and only public's work on land indicates private ownership rights. Thus, the government could get undeveloped (*mavat*) land in order to redistribute it without compensation (Keivani, Mattingly, & Majedi, 2008).

caption reads “building contractors, the ghosts behind the curtain, earn their livelihoods through abusing of the apartment building” (Anonymous, 1981, p. 15). Consequently, the capital accumulation through large companies was stopped by the government, however, only in the early decade, and the small companies or housing co-operatives were encouraged to take charge of constructing the residential buildings.

The land distribution by state had significant consequences. First, the government became the largest supplier of urban land for housing, “its share increasing from less than 10 percent of land supplied to the residential market prior to the Revolution to more than 60 percent after the ULO was formed” (Gheissari, 2009). The remarkable thing is the number of the houses built during that period. The number of housing units in Iran in 1976 was 2.4 million; by 1986, approximately 2.3 million new houses had been built- the supply of dwelling had almost doubled in a few years. However, these new houses had been constructed mostly by private sector and not by the state, whose “investment in the housing market actually decreased from 5 percent in 1979 to 1.5 percent by 1992” (Gheissari, 2009). As it will be explained in the following paragraphs, some of the examples designed by that revolutionary organizations reveal that they may not be designed by architects, however, in some cases, there was a name of an architect in the drawing sheets.



Figure 72. The caption reads: Building contractors, the ghosts behind the curtain, earn their livelihoods through abusing of the apartment building. source: (*Ettela’at-e Haftegi*, 1981)

In sum, the spontaneous and unplanned occupation of urban land by the poor, the new immigrants, the homeless, and opportunists, during the chaotic years of the Revolution, the urban land laws which limited the land ownership and subdivided the land parcels into small ones, the eight year Iran-Iraq war along with Islamic codes emphasized by the state all affected to some extent residential architecture of the 1980s and 1990s.

It should be mentioned that despite the 'Urban Land Act', the expropriation of some parts of *Vali-asr* district, and the distribution of them among homeless families, it is still mainly occupied by the upper-middle income group. *Vali-asr* was planned according to the new urban regulations. In the district plan, most of the main streets were usually east-west and the lots located, hence, on a north-south axis (Figures 73-74). The new pattern based on geometrical grid network of roads gave order to the new house forms and layouts in the development of *Vali-asr*. In the new constructions, the floor layout common to the industrial cities took the place of the traditional dwelling plan. Therefore, the traditional courtyard house type with little exterior windows, and rooms facing the central courtyard rather than the street, were replaced with more open houses with many windows overlooking the street (Gorji B. , 1997). In the plan of the *Vali-Asr* district, the residential developments were planned to be composed of low and medium density housing areas. The regulations on the building density, height, ground coverage, orientation, and size of lots were determined in the plan. Figure 75 indicates some of the streets of the *Vali-asr* district that the houses selected for the study are located in.



Figure 73. The plan of Vali-asr district in Tabriz, (1969), the sample of houses were selected from this district, source: (Archive of the Ministry of Roads & Urban Development of East Azerbaijan)



Figure 74. Arieal photo of *Vali-asr* district taken in 1975, source: (Tabriz Cartographic Center)

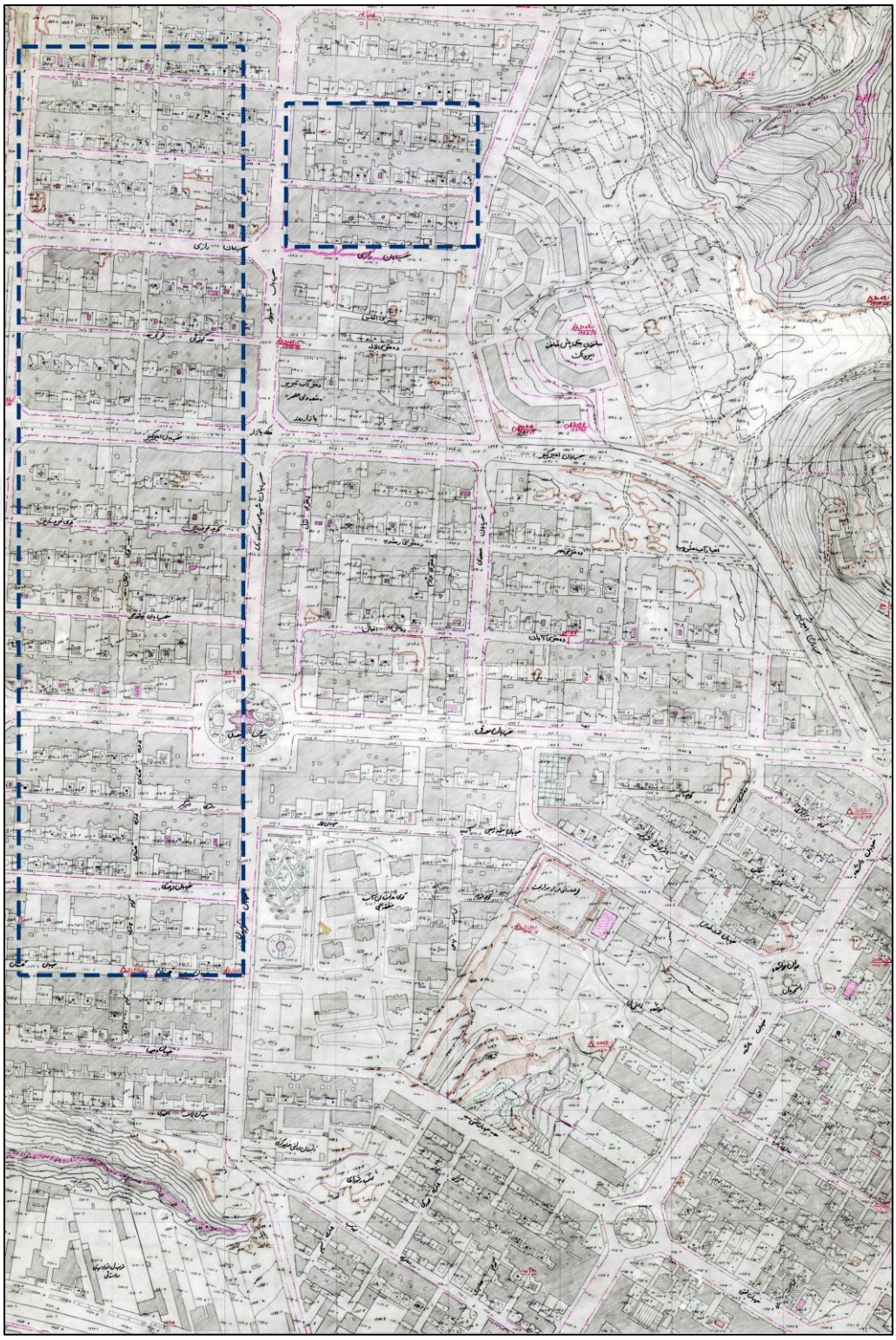


Figure 75. Those parts that most of the houses of this study were selected from them. source: (Tabriz Cartographic Center)

According to the building' regulation implemented almost in all cities in Iran, the houses were built on the north and the walled courtyards were located on the south side of the lot. The buildings were attached on their east and west sides to the adjacent buildings on the narrow lots. The 40 percent of the parcel area on the north part was determined according to the ground coverage ratio. That is to say that the regulation permitted that up to 40% of the ground area of the parcel could be built on and 60% of the ground area was to be left for open yard, as it is seen in the figure 76. Later on, in the 1960s, came the need to increase densities. Therefore, the regulation was changed and the ground coverage ratio was increased to 60%, yet the houses had to be located on the north of plots (Anonymous, 1990, p. 26).

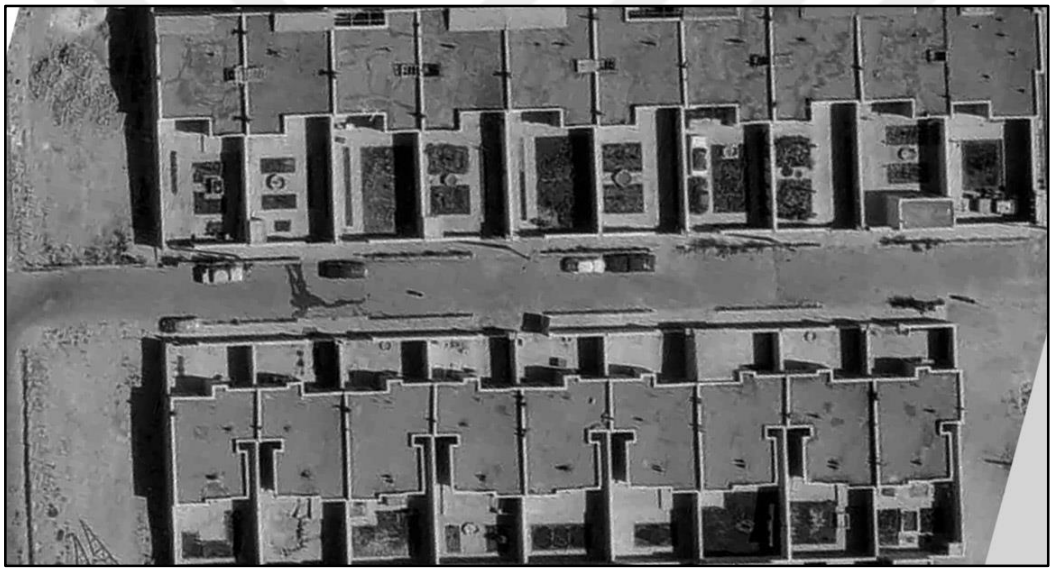


Figure 76. Aerial view of the placement of buildings on the north side of the plots and yards in the south sides, Tabriz, Vali-Asr district, source: (Tabriz Cartographic Center)

The logic behind the regulation which specified that the building should be on the northern side of the plot is "to provide sunshine both for the garden and for the building" (Shayesteh & Steadman, 2013). Therefore, the reason for placing the building mass on the north side of the plot is climatic, which was highlighted in the

book entitled Habitat Bill of Rights[50]. When the building is located on the north part of the lot, both yard and building are assumed to get more sunlight in winter and more shade in summer (Shayesteh & Steadman, 2013). In relation to this type of placement, Christopher Alexander in his book *'A Pattern Language'* devoted a chapter entitled 'South Facing Outdoors' where he argues:

"If the building is placed right, the building and its gardens will be happy places full of activity and laughter. If it is done wrong, then all the attention in the world, and the most beautiful details, will not prevent it from being a silent gloomy place. Thousands of acres of open space in every city are wasted because they are north of the buildings and never get sun." (Alexander, 1977) He states that open space is used provided that it is sunny and it is useless if is not sunny, in all climates even in desert. His survey of residential blocks affirms that inhabitants were living on and use only south-facing front yards or sunny parts of the yards and back yards which were facing north and shady were used mainly for storing junk. In Alexander's research, none of interviewees showed preferences for shady yards.

However, it is worth to mention that some Iranian authors who write on Architecture criticize this type of building placement. They argue that this placement leaves architects constrained by a predetermined plan layout and forms (Kalantari, p16). Moreover, they argue that placing buildings in the north side of the plots leads to the neglect of the street facades because, "one side is lined by building facades and the other side by the walls and fences of yards", as seen in figure 77 (Shayesteh & Steadman, 2013).

[50] "The Habitat Bill of Rights" attempted to highlight the qualitative themes related to the design of houses as a complement to other regulations which tried to determine quantitative issues including climatic issues about buildings (National Committee for Human Settlements, 1976).



Figure 77. Right: North houses (houses located at the north of the plot) in which solid walls are the connectors of the houses to the street. Left: Southern houses where the facades of the houses shape one of the street facades. source: (author, 2017)

In general, this type of building placement led to the formation of two types of urban dwelling. The most pertinent variables that could be used to classify the houses relate to the location of yard and the type of access from the street as a public space to the private space of each dwelling.

In the first type, one side of the building is along the street and access to the dwelling is directly from the street and the courtyard located at the back of the plot. This type is called *gate-e-ye jonoubi* (southern lot) and it has two facades one facing the street and the other looking to the yard. In the second type, the access from the street to the dwelling is through the yard, which is located in front of the parcel. The north side of the lot is built up and a wall defines the southern edge of the courtyard. This type, called *gate-e-ye shomali* (northern lot) has one façade looking to the yard (Figure 78).



Figure 78. Southern and Northern houses. source: (Tabriz Cartographic Center)

Arman Hashemi (2009) with referring to the two national development plans since the 1979 argued that, in Iran, more than 95 percent of houses have been constructed by the private sector. One-to-three story row houses were predominant types of housing in Iran until the emergence of the policy of 'selling density' in the late 1980s. The height of the building was counted according to the width of the street. In the building regulation it was indicated that the maximum height of the building can be the width of the street plus ¼ of the width of the street. However, from 1990 onwards, in order to have financial independence, municipalities declared the new policy of "selling excess density". From then on, people were permitted to build as much as they wished provided that their applications were approved (Hashemi A. , 2009). The negative outcomes of these unplanned decisions, which were incompatible with the urban regulations and standards were gradually disclosed by municipalities insomuch as in the 2002 the program of selling density was stopped (Hashemi A. , 2009).

4.2 The Evaluation of Architectural Elements and Patterns

This section attempts to present concrete examples for the theoretical argument discussed so far and through these examples, the intention is to demonstrate the patterns applied for the "aesthetics of invisibility" in domestic space. The main question of this chapter is how do plan type, spatial organization, boundaries, and architectural elements in facades represent and correspond to the "aesthetics of

invisibility" discussed in the theoretical framework. In addition to the architectural characteristics of the domestic space, this section provides details about a household daily life, activities, and social life inside the domestic space.

4.2.1. The Relationship of Houses with each other: Enclosed Yards and High Walls

The degree to which houses relate to each other and to the streets as public realm is particularly important because it clarifies and determine the degree of connectivity between private and public spaces. As discussed earlier, every house was surrounded commonly by two adjacent houses on the narrow rectangular plots and the yards were surrounded by high walls of brick or stone (Figure 79). The walls around the yard have heights about three meters that make it difficult to see the neighbors' house from within such enclosures. It is also common to use fences on top of the walls to keep away intruders. High walls hide the yard and the interior of a building from views (Figure 80). They provide much privacy and seclusion to the family members. The high walls, enclosing the front yard of the house, separate them from the street, thus, the traditional role of the yard is kept intact.

In contrast to the changes that some spaces undergo gradually over time, the basic use of some spaces like yards has remained consistent with functions, activities and use of space as revealed by author's observations. Courtyards are the main cores of social gathering in Iranian culture. They provide outdoor activity and privacy. Regarding traditional courtyards, Atefeh Zand Karimi and Bahareh Hosseini state that "from inside the courtyard, the building seems like a statue that has embraced and surrounds people, increasing the feeling of intimate bond between humanity and the space". (Zand-Karimi & Hosseini, 2012)

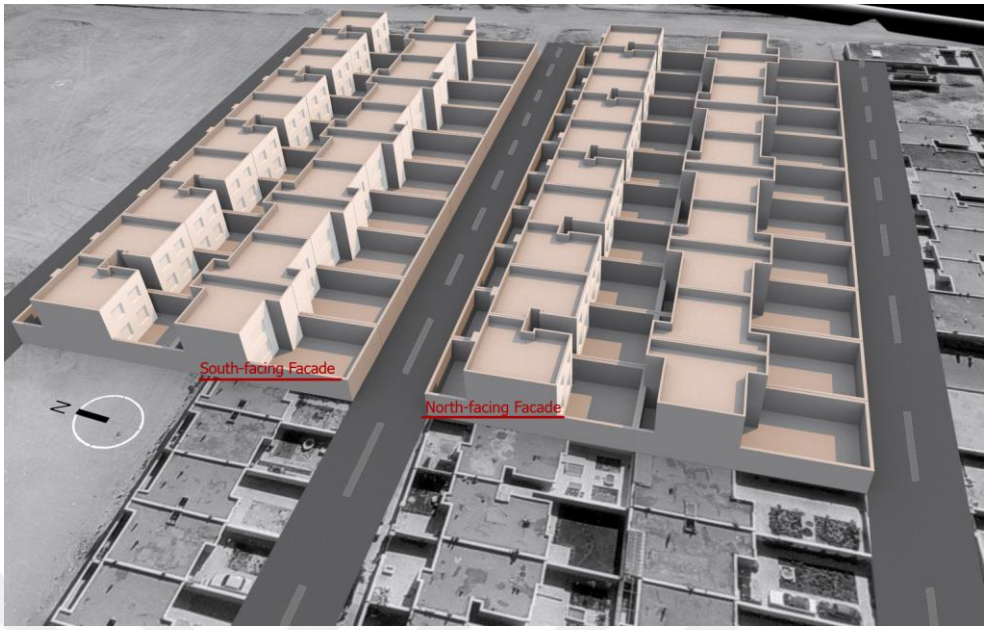


Figure 79. The walls around the yards separated buildings from each other and the street. source: (author, 2018)



Figure 80. Views of the walled enclosed yards of different houses. source: (author, 2017)

In the past, courtyards were conventionally used for everyday activities of households, for example, preparing meals, doing laundry, eating, washing dishes, receiving guests, resting as well as sleeping. In contemporary times, many household activities carried out by women has been observed within open courtyards. Consequently, courtyards are the most used spaces for female members.

Amos Rapoport, in his book *House Form and Culture* (1969, p. 46), states "If provision of shelter is the passive function of the house, then its positive purpose is the creation of an environment best suited to the way of life of a people—in other word, a social unit of space". Observations concerning space use within surveyed houses reveal that the dominant use of yards by women has remained constant over time. This is because activities related to the female such as food preparation, cooking and washing up still occur within the confines of open courtyards as in traditional times. Even a small yard is used for many functions such as garden, playground for children, working space for the housewife, and sometime as a sitting area.

Therefore, the tradition of erecting high brick or stonewalls between neighboring houses and the street, as seen in figure 81, hide the yard, outdoor activities of women and, in the northern lots, the interior of a building from view. It brings about visual privacy and seclusion. Mike Biddulph in his book "Introduction to Residential Layout" explains private gardens which are totally enclosed in order to provide privacy from neighboring homes. He discusses that screening the garden through walls, as seen in Figure 82, and hedges provide "external privacy" (Biddulph, 2007).



Figure 81. The walled yard acts as a private outdoor activity space for a housewife, Tabriz, source: (author, 2017)



Figure 82. Screening of the garden provide privacy from neighboring homes. source: (Biddulph, 2007)

4. 2. 2. Embodiment of Invisibility in the Interior Spatial Organization

Bourdieu's concept of habitus, the practice of everyday life, is influential in the way the domestic space is shaped. Habitus embraces two supplementary relations between the individual and the built space. The first one is that the spatial form is an apparatus by which people create an identity and express social relations; and the second one is the permanent capacity of building to maintain, retain, perpetuate and eternalize these identities and social relations as Archer (2005, p431) points out about Bourdieu's notion of habitus.

The spatial organization has always been one of the principal ways by which Iranian people tried to make their domestic life unseen. As explained in chapter 1, in the traditional houses, the invisibility of private life was provided through strict methods both in the interiors and exteriors. In the Pahlavi period, with the practices of modernist architects, it was transformed but still existed in a modified form, which was studied in chapter 2. Then, after the Islamic revolution through some treatments both in spatial organizations and in the elevations, the invisibility of domestic space was enforced as it will be explained in this chapter.

4.2.2.1 Introversion in the Central-Hall House Type in the Early 1980s

The most common plan type that emerged during Pahlavi period in parallel with the changes in urban pattern and continued for many decades even one decade after the Islamic revolution was the central-type house plan, with rooms placed around a central hall. It was, in fact, a modern house type in Iran introduced by Iranian architects during the urban modernization process to replace the traditional courtyard dwellings as explained in chapter 2. It should be mentioned that during the Pahlavi period, except a few architects who experimented a new type of interior scheme that consisted of designated living areas undivided by walls- i.e. the open plan, architects implemented central-hall house type for decades. It is observed that the central-hall house is as a modified form of an Iranian traditional house. Like in the traditional house in which

all rooms located around the central space (courtyard), in the central-type houses, the rooms have been organized around the central hall.

As seen in the samples of this study (see Appendix 1), in the central-hall houses, the plans have a geometrically central hall separated from the street by a transition space. The transition space in northern lots and southern lots is different. In northern lots, the yard functions as a transition space between the interior space of a house and the street, whereas in southern lots, the entrance space or the stairway act a transition space. Due to the ritual purity, Iranian people have to take off their shoes outside in the yard in front the entrance door in the northern houses (Figure 83); or in the stairway in the southern houses (Figure 84). In no way, shoes that are worn in the street are used inside of the house. Iranian people wear usually house slippers inside the domestic space; or in social gatherings and parties, female guests bring their clean shoes in their bag with themselves in order to use indoors.

Shoes are removed outside of the interior space because this practice maintains the carpets free of the outdoor dirt and other filths, and hence, they are "ritually clean to be prayed on, slept on, and having a meal spread set on them" (Koutlaki, 2010, p. 15). Some residents have not abandoned traditional life style and they are sitting with their legs folded on the floor during meal time. Therefore, the floors had to be clean. Stairs and stairway in individual houses are considered to be part of an interior space, and they are covered with carpets like rooms (Figure 85).



Figure 83. In northern houses, shoes are usually taken off in front of the door in the yard, the entrance space which is covered by carpet is clean. source: (author, 2017)



Figure 84. In southern houses in which the yard is at the back of the lot, shoes are taken off inside of the entrance space after the entrance door. source: (author, 2017)

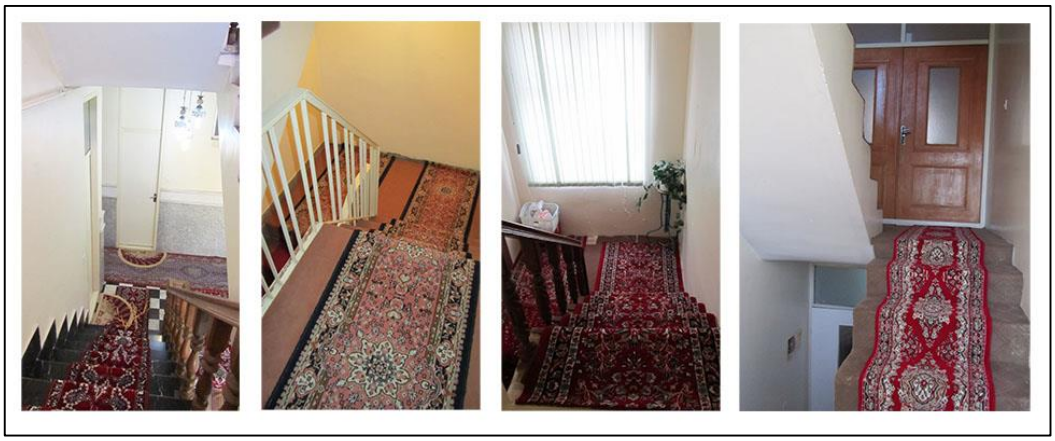


Figure 85. in individual houses, staircase is considered as an interior space, in which windows are covered with curtains and stairs are covered with carpets. source: (author, 2017)

The central-hall is an introverted space in principle, in other words, it is the nucleus of the enclosed part of a house. As figure 86 shows, in these types, the doors of all rooms are opened into the central hall and thus it serves also as a distribution space that gives access to other rooms. It is so placed that everyone who comes into the home or leave it normally pass through this room. Therefore, it functions as the heart of household life. In some examples, the central hall acts as a family sitting room beside its distributing function. The family eats there; they watch TV there. The factors that could make a hall the main living space are its size, form, and furniture. Indeed, it can be said that the central hall is like a covered traditional courtyard.

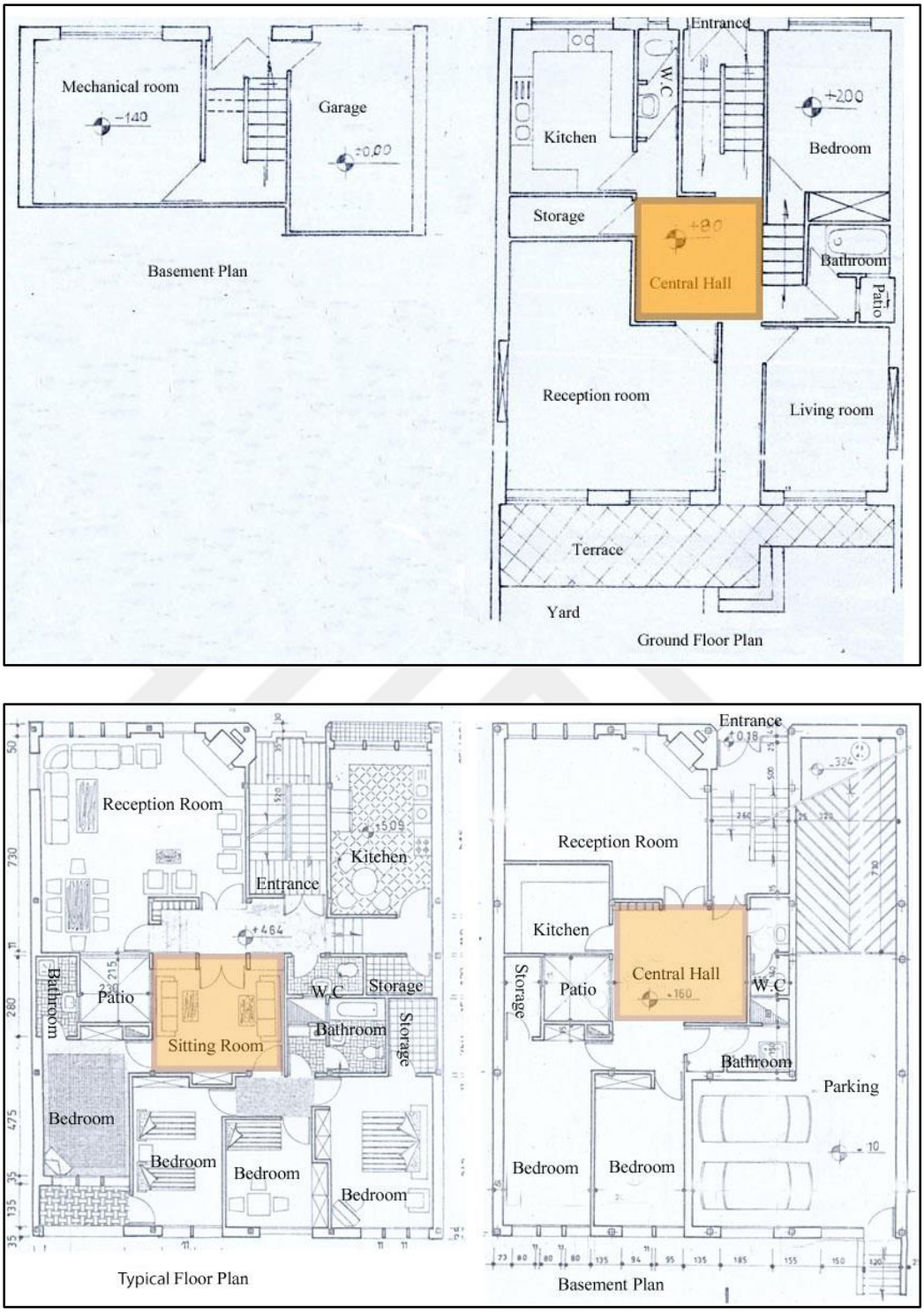


Figure 86. (above) The exemplary central-hall type house in the early 1980s; (bottom) The exemplary central-hall house in the late 1980s. source: (Tabriz municipality archive)

Regarding the location of spaces in the plan layouts, in the majority of houses, the spaces that are located on the south, facing the yard are the reception room and the living room or sometimes a bedroom (See Appendices A1- A2). To warm up living rooms in the daytime and accumulate heat for the nighttime was one of the reasons for the exposure of living rooms to the south. A number of the residents interviewed, reported that the living room fulfilled different functions including, sitting, sleeping, and dining. It can be argued that this provides a different type of 'flexibility' in an enclosed and introverted plan. As Awotona and Teymur point out for multifunctional spaces in the traditional courtyard houses, "The rooms that are configurationally identical can easily take on a new use without disturbing the principles of integration and segregation which dictate that some rooms act as foci for domestic life, whilst others are systematically separated out" (Awotona & Teymur, 1997). A similar observation can be made for the sample houses with central plan. The kitchen and private bedrooms are located usually in the northern part of the lots (Figure 87). In a majority of examples of central-hall type plans, the kitchen and bedrooms are similar to each other in size and shape. They are only distinguished through their furnishings (See Appendices A1- A2).

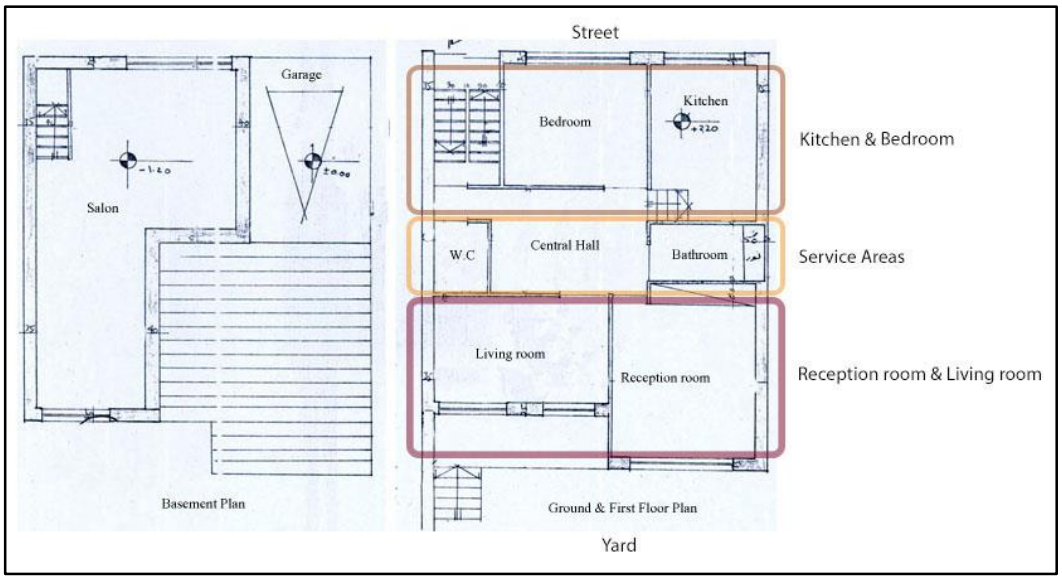


Figure 87. Zoning of spaces in the central-hall house types built in the 1980s, source: (Tabriz municipality archive)

Regarding the service spaces, without any doubt, all houses have one toilet in their yards that are not usually used by household members; or it is used by male guests during large gatherings. This practice confirms that the traditional spatial organization in which toilets located far away from the living spaces in the courtyards has not been abandoned completely (Figure 88). In the interiors, in some of the houses, toilets are located in the entrance hall separated from other interior spaces. However, in some other examples, service areas especially bathrooms are placed half-way between public and private rooms. Toilets usually have two separate rooms. The first space is where a washbasin is placed, and the second is where the closet is located. It is argued that the separated washbasin space acts as a buffer zone between the clean space of the house and ritually the impure space of toilet. "Ritual purity is linked to cleanliness: Blood, urine, feces, and semen make people and objects ritually unclean *(najes)*" (Koutlaki, 2010). Like toilets, bathrooms comprise two rooms: one is the actual bathing room which has a bathtub and a space where one washes, and the other is the dressing room where one can take the clothes off before entering the bath room (Figure 89).



Figure 88. In all examples, there is a toilet in the yard. source: (author, 2017)

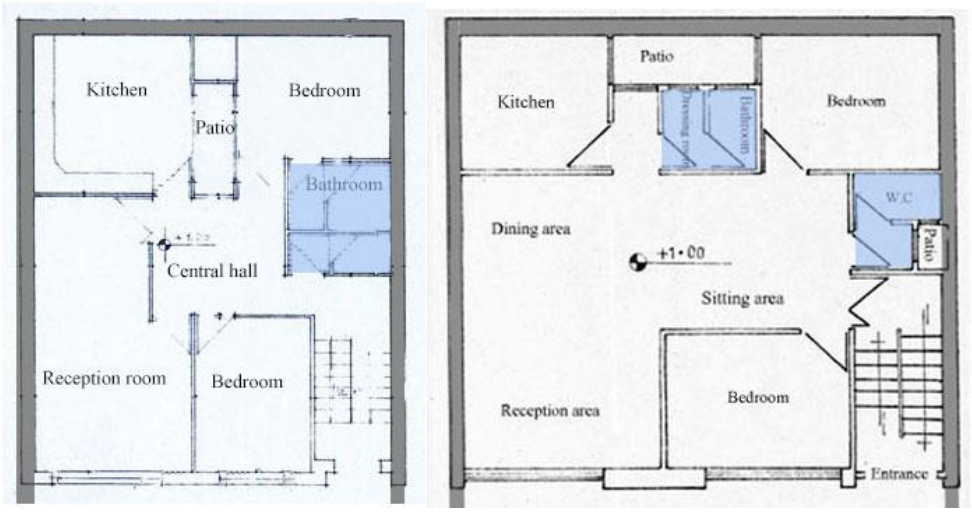


Figure 89. Zoning of service spaces in the central-hall house types built in the 1980s, source: (Tabriz municipality archive)

Another issue regarding the spatial organization is that almost all of the sample houses in the 1980s and 1990s had a basement which is a half level below the street and it contains normally a bathroom, a kitchen, a large multi-functional room, a storage room, and a mechanical room. The large room as an informal space had a variety of functions such as sitting, eating and sleeping. Especially during the summer, because of being cool, it was a pleasant space.

In southern lots, which have two facades, they get light from north, but in northern lots that have only south façade, the light is generally provided by the patio. The patio was a common element in the spatial organization of the house built in 1980s and early 1990s. It was used to take light into the inner spaces. According to some residents of those houses, modern houses were expected to have a patio inside at that time. During the 1980s, essentially the natural light was provided to indoor spaces. As Christopher Alexander states, "it is much more pleasant to be in a building lit by daylight than in one which is lit by artificial light" (Alexander, 1977). In order to illuminate all spaces especially central hall by the sun, the patio was taken into account in the design process of houses. The patio (*passio* in Persian), which was an inseparable element of houses of the 1980s emerged due to need for light and also as a decorative element. Therefore, the location of the *patio* in the plan was dependent on its role and function. In some

interiors surveyed, the *patio* was designed mostly for providing daylight to the bedrooms or living rooms. Indeed, the patio with its glass roof was the only way for directing natural light into some windowless rooms as a solution to the lack of direct sunlight. As mentioned before, the patio was necessary for the spaces deprived of natural light especially in the houses on northern plots (Figure 90). When introduced into the plans, the patio was an enclosed glass box that was adorned with plants and flowers (Karimi P. , 2013). Throughout the time, the glasses were removed by the residents and this elimination of walls brought a sense of spaciousness to the plan.

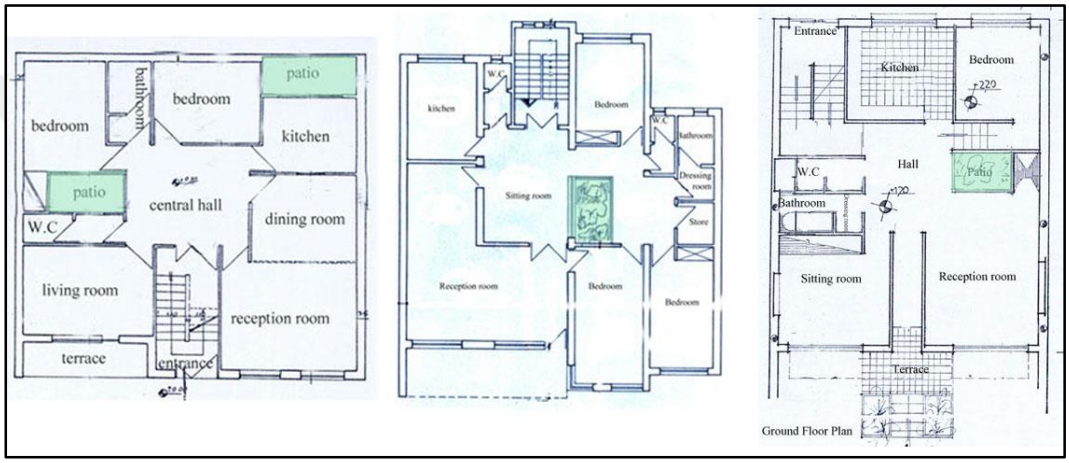


Figure 90. The patio is utilized to provide light to the inner spaces or to the spaces that are deprived of natural light in the houses of northern lots. source: (Tabriz municipality archive)

It is important to know that the separation of family life from non-family members has been an important concern in the spatial organization of Iranian dwellings. Some families tend to minimize the contact between their private life and the visitors outside the immediate household members. For them, it is a need to set aside a space for social events and rituals. This is normally met by the provision of a separate reception room where they could express themselves, apart from the household sitting room for the more private, familial life. Therefore, in the plan layout, the rooms accessible to guests are separated from those that were determined for the household members. The reception room, which is the most spacious and the largest room of the house and takes approximately 1/3 of the surface of the floor plan is intended to serve as the setting for important social events. It is normally closed and separated with wall or door from

other spaces and is always kept tidy for the reception of visitors[51]. It is normally placed parallel to the yard because it was usually intended to provide a direct view to the enclosed yard in any position. One of its walls has frequently large windows, large openings to the balconies or the yards. The design concept of placing the reception room alongside the yard was favored by home-owners. This placement besides providing direct daylight, offers utmost obtainable privacy from being overlooked by others from the street side. It was mostly "L-shaped" in plan (Figure 91). Regarding to the houses surveyed, all reception rooms were designed adjacent to the central hall or sitting rooms. The location of the central hall as the sitting room and that of the patio affected the shape of reception room. "L-shaped" reception rooms were more common than the rectangular ones in 1980s. This room was supposed to represent the identity of the household although it served more formal and public uses. The 'L-shape' reception room make it possible to segregate the female guests from male guests (Beiyzaie, 2010). In other words, 'L-shape' reception room has largely been consistent with the pattern of male-female segregation especially during religious or social events that take place in the domestic realm. During religious rituals and various types of gathering like birth, death and wedding occasions men and women occupy different parts of the house if it is possible. As Bourdieu points out, the spatial organization of human dwelling mirrors and reproduces social relations of a given society (Bourdieu, 1996).

In 'L-shape' guest rooms, one wing is dedicated to women and the other one to men. At meal times, two cloths (one for women and the other for men) are spread on the floor and women and men serve food separately. In those houses where the reception room is rectangular, two ways of sitting arrangement is used at meal times: in one way, two separate cloths for women and men are used in order to serve their meal. In the other way, only one cloth is used and the position of individuals around the cloth is defined. "The guest sits on the upper side of the cloth, the owner (man) is adjacent to

[51] The majority of households do not use reception room regularly; they keep it for guests and large-scale occasions including ceremonies, social gatherings, birth and funeral meetings.

the guest (man) and wife and daughters sit close to the host (woman). This has been referred to as ‘unseen privacy’ solution by Bromberger” (Memarian, 1998, p 98). This situation can be interpreted as the symbolic form of the translation of Iranians’ social relation symbolically in a small room, where there is no physical barrier for their separation.

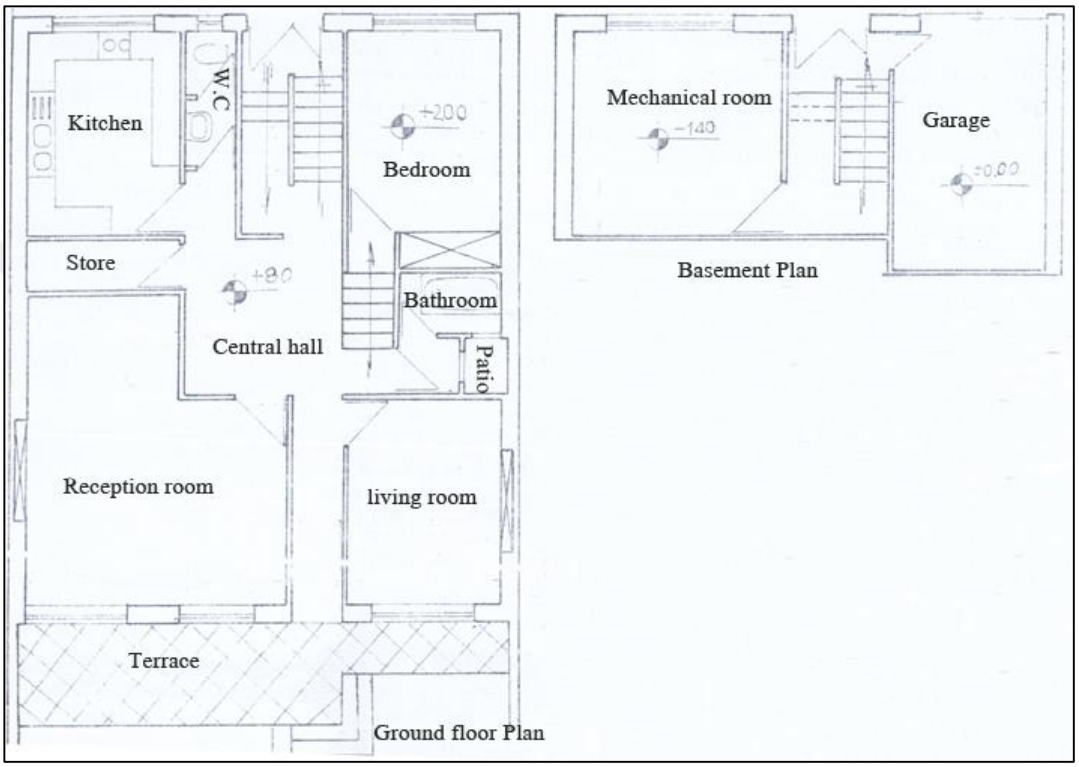


Figure 91. The majority of reception rooms in the central-hall house types are in L-shaped form. source; (Tabriz municipality archive)

Therefore, the given social relations in Iran, that is to say, the separation of private life from public life in general and the separation of women from men during social gatherings in particular, lead to the inscription of sharp demarcation lines and boundaries between private and public zones in central-hall houses. The interior spaces are more specialized regarding their functions. Therefore, the concepts of “private” (bedrooms and kitchen), semi-private (central hall and living room), and public (reception room) areas are easily observable.

However, as seen in figures 92 and 93, in some examples of this group, two bedrooms or the dining room and reception room are separated through sliding doors in order to be connected or joined to provide sufficient space during the large events. As such, in some of the late examples of this group, the kitchen and reception room are connected through a small fenestration or opening. According to Christopher Alexander, "a wall which is half-open, half-enclosed-as arch, a wall that is counter height with ornamented columns, a wall suggested by the reduction of the opening or the enlargement of the columns at the corners, a colonnade of columns in the wall, all these help to get the balance of enclosure and openness right; and in these places people feel comfortable as a result" (Alexander, 1977). The use of sliding doors between the rooms in a number of sample houses provide the desirable enclosure and openness for residents during special events. It brings about flexibility and comfort in the enclosed central-hall houses when a spacious room is needed, especially in the large social gatherings of women that occurs frequently. In the same manner, the use of small opening between kitchen and dining room in some of the sample houses provide comfort. Its small size prohibits housewives working on the kitchen to be viewed and disrupted by the male guests sitting in the dining room. Moreover, the route between the kitchen and dining room is shortened and the food is easily and directly accessed through that small fenestration.

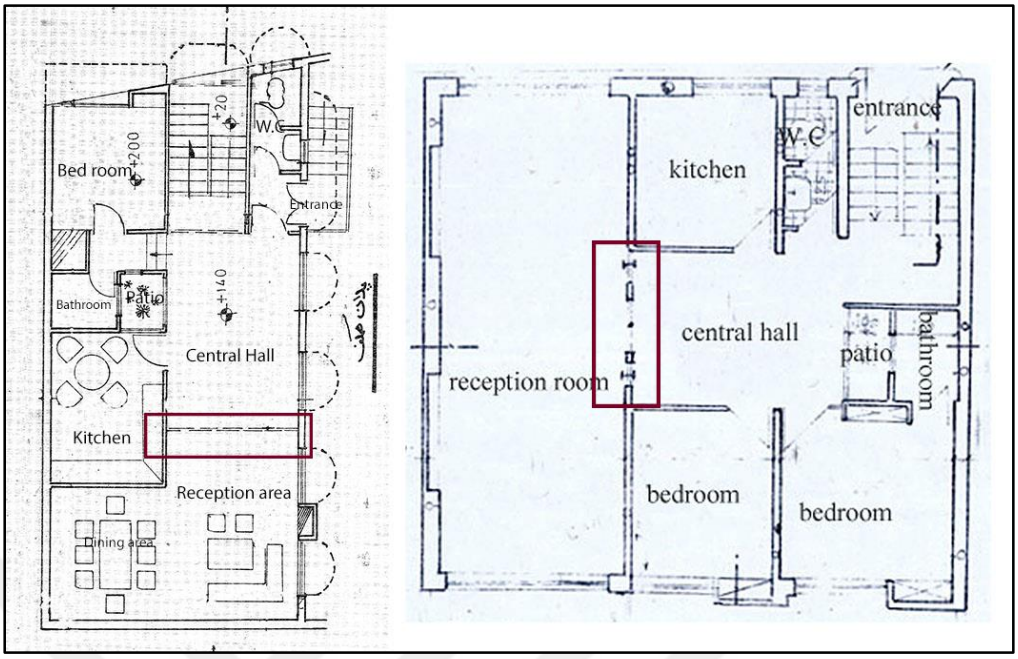


Figure 92. Central hall and reception room were separated through sliding doors, source: (Tabriz municipality archive)

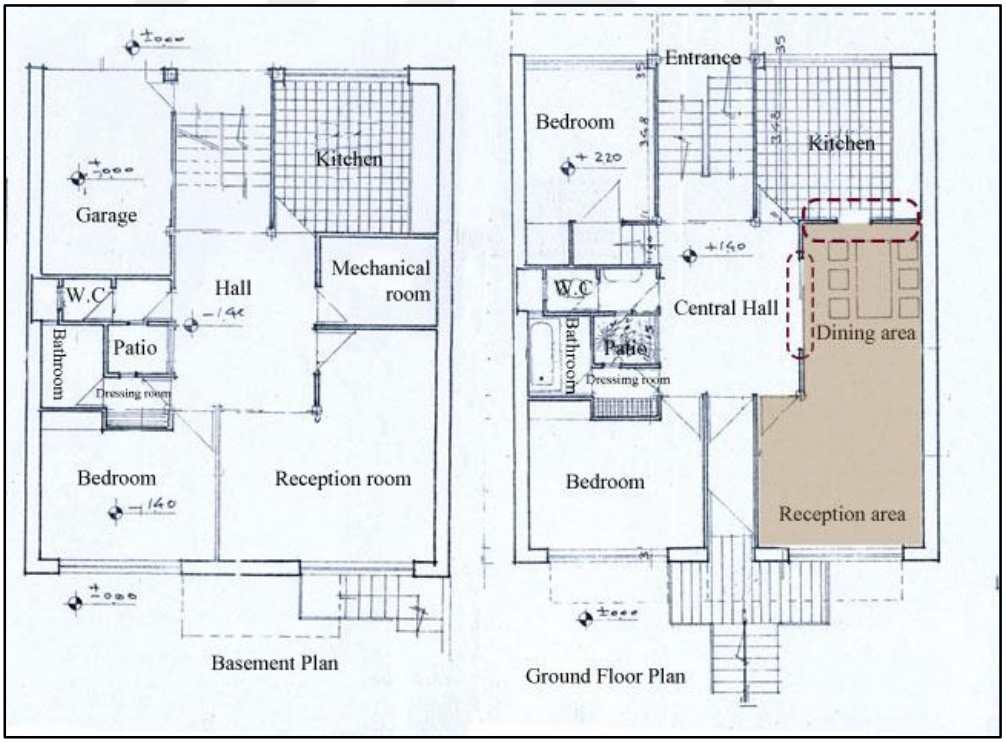


Figure 93. Dining area was connected to the kitchen through small fenestration and it was connected to the central hall through sliding door, source: (Tabriz municipality archive)

That is not to say that all central-hall houses followed similar plans. In two-storey houses, the organization of the plan is a little different. Many two-storey houses have the most "public" space on the main level, with more private rooms located above or below (basement). As illustrated in figure 94, the main floor of this house features a number of rooms for social functions, as well as the service area set apart from the public parts of the dwelling. Sleeping and bathing are placed to the second floor.

Indeed, it can be said that in this type of plans "going upstairs is a matter of entering a space that is private and reflective" as Morag Shiach points out. Privacy and reflectiveness are qualities supported by the association of bedrooms with the invisibility and isolation. As Shiach states this type of hierarchy in domestic spaces creates solitude and sense of security within the confined space of room (Shiach, 2005)

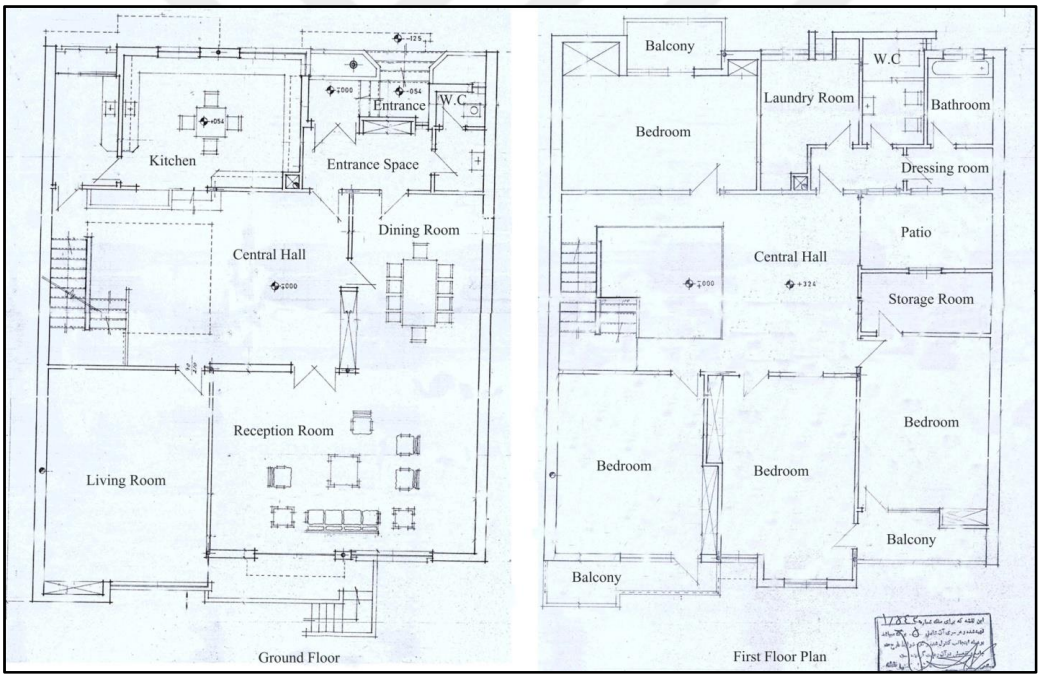


Figure 94. The public and private spaces are located in different levels of two storey houses in 1980s. source: (Tabriz Municipality Archive)

In sum, it can be said that, the shape of building lots, their sizes, and the building codes all dictated in some degree how floor plans of houses were to be organized, but the cultural and religious factors were also influential in the formation of the plan types

with central hall. This type of plan that was introduced by some Iranian modern architects in the early Pahlavi period, continued to be used for decades until the 1990s. Indeed, the house type with central-hall was appropriated as it was found convenient to the precepts of Islamic house with a minimum degree of opening to the outside world. The introverted-ness and 'turning inward' as dominant property of these houses led to the invisibility of the domestic space. The introverted character of the houses and the articulation of spaces around the central-hall bring about an increasing sense of seclusion, privacy and invisibility from the outside world. The orientation of spaces toward the central hall enhances women's freedom of movement within their domestic space while discarding the possibility of being viewed by strangers. As stated above, due to its location at the core of the house, the central-hall is the heart of the family life and residents do not feel any need to look outside and thus, turn their back to it. It was the most intimate room for the family members to gather, where most of activities take place. Through its placement at the center of the house, anyone who enters the house could also be seen easily. Therefore, comfort and tranquility are created by some contradictory situations, intimacy, invisibility, and control (Figure 95).

Regarding two storey houses, as Morag Shiach mentions, the separation of public area from the private area and placing the private spaces upstairs provide security that is "undamaged by compulsory interchange". The phrase "undamaged by compulsory interchange," strongly recalls the damage that might be created through "undesired and uncontrollable forms of social interaction and also celebrate the room as a protective barrier to such coercive sociability" (Shiach, 2005). In this condition, enclosure and separation of public/private zones leads to the domestic comfort and household members encounter "the untouched freedom" in "undisturbed spaces" in their house as Shiach points out about this type of public-private separation (Figure 96). With this type of plan layouts in two storey houses, the residents have more privacy in their private areas in one floor, where guests entertaining in another floor without disturbing the private family life.

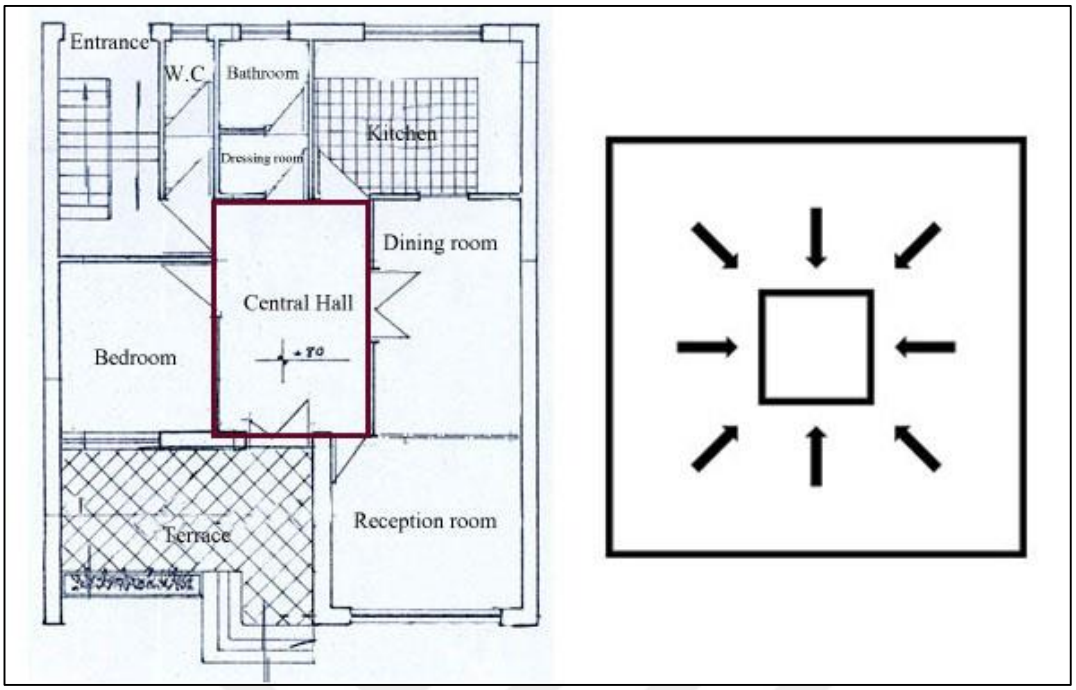


Figure 95. Due to its location at the core of the house, the central-hall has become the heart of the family life and caused the periphery of the house to be ignored. source: (Tabriz municipality archive)

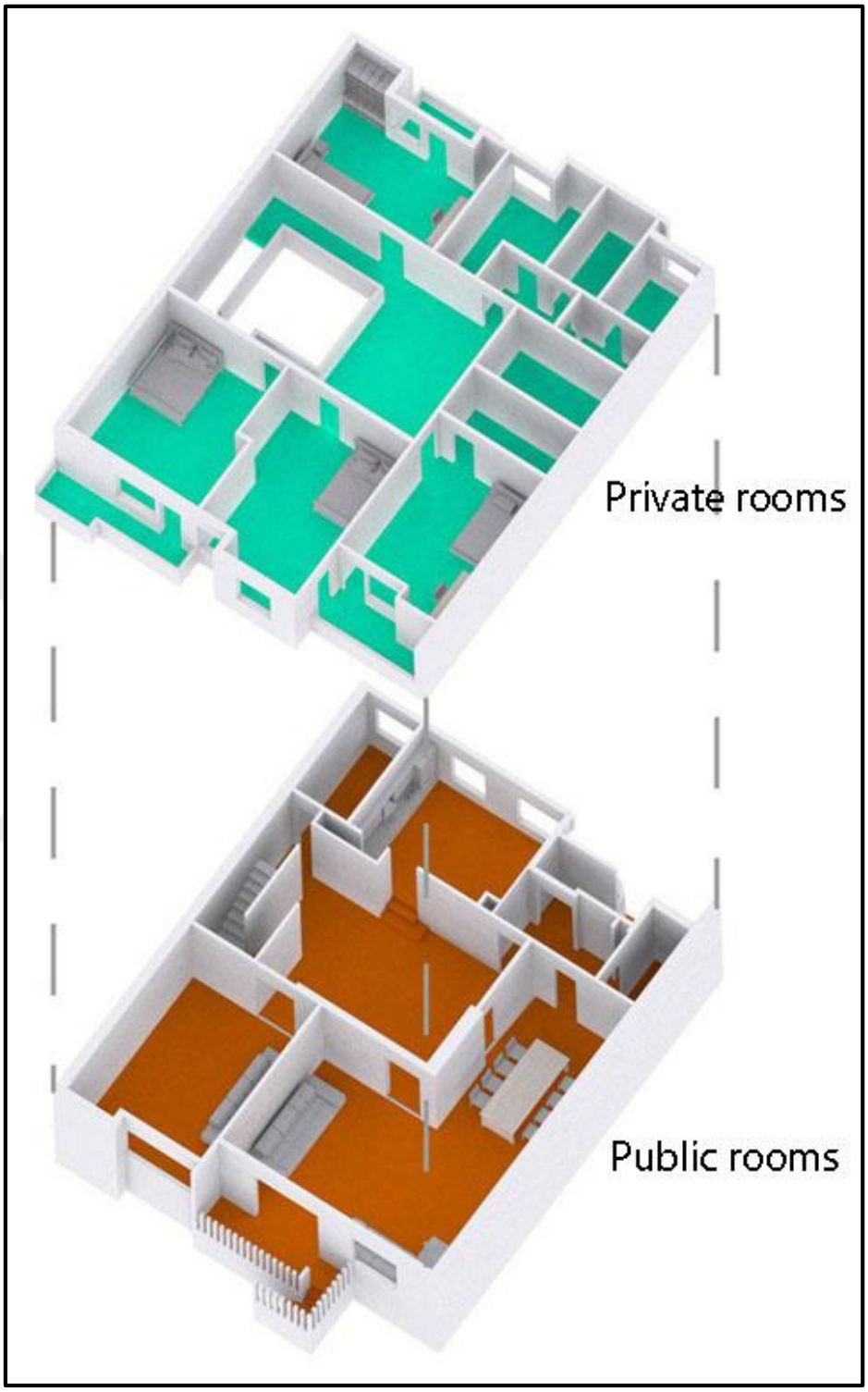


Figure 96. In the two storey houses, the separation of the public area from the private area occurs through locating them in two different floors; generally public spaces located at ground floor and private rooms at upper floor. source: (author, 2017)

4.2.2.2 Continuity of the Public-Private Duality in the Spatial Organization in the Early Open-Plans of the Late 1980s and Early 1990s

From the late 1980s onwards which concurred with the end of Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988), a striking change began to take place in the spatial organization of houses. In that period, the housing problem gave rise to an increasing demand for small and low-cost houses which led to the initiation of a massive building boom. The early open-plan type, which was particularly suitable for small dwellings spread quickly first in the apartment buildings and later in all types of houses. In that group of houses, the central hall was no longer existed functionally as a living space and removed from the plan layouts or it turned into a small circulation corridor. Indeed, the reception room, living room, and dining areas grouped either in one room or in two rooms that were divided symbolically with furniture and the corridors were kept in minimum. (Appendix B1-B2)

Regarding the reasons of why architects and the populace began to accept the open plan, Abdollah Molavi, an architect who practices in Tabriz, argues that when residential lots reduced and became smaller, the open-plan considered to bring more efficiency in the use of space. The open-plan was the accurate choice for turning a dark and narrow floor plan to a rather spacious interior that could adjust to a household's needs and demands.

In a similar way, Mohammad. M. Mahmoodi in an article "The Basics of Dwelling" presents a diagram to explain how the changes in the location of the kitchen and the lifestyle of people led to the open plan in Iranian houses. Traditionally, the isolated kitchen was an accepted pattern of any dwelling. The kitchen was located far away from the living spaces because of the smoke and dust created by the ovens and it was accessed only from the courtyard (Chehabi, 2003). When the modern houses replaced the traditional houses, the kitchen became the integral and vital feature of the interior. This arrangement became more popular after the introduction of butane gas to Iran, an

invention that made kitchens cleaner (Chehabi, 2003). In the early modern house layouts, the kitchen along with the bathroom was transferred from the courtyard to the basement.

According to Mahmoodi, after the relocation of the kitchen from the basement to the main floor, the dining room and the kitchen were integrated into one space. Then, in the next step, all the living areas (living room, dining room, and kitchen) were integrated because the wife of a household like her husband works outside and the kitchen was not her territory as in the past and all family members help in providing the meals. He also states that the technological advances were also effective in the creation of the open plan (Mahmoodi, 1994). Through the spread of central heating people were persuaded to embrace the open plan layout because it made possible and easier to heat larger spaces (Figure 97).

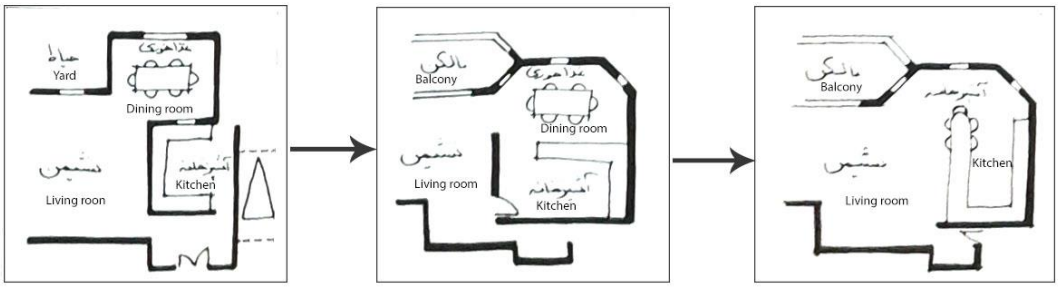


Figure 97. The formation of open plan in Iranian houses as a result of the changes in the location of the kitchen and the appearance of the new technology of heating. source: (Mahmoodi, 1994)

However, it should be mentioned that in the early open-plans of the 1990s, the public rooms (reception room, living room, and dining room) were connected whereas kitchens, bedrooms, and bathrooms maintained their distinct and isolated identities (Figure 98). Most of the changes in the plans happened when the solid separating walls between rooms disappeared or folding doors were used to separate the reception room (traditionally kept for the guests) from the living room or the central hall. Meanwhile, the kitchen, the females' work space, was still marginalized and separated from the main living rooms by a door. The kitchen in these houses adhered to its traditional role, namely, cooking and food preparation. No male visitor was allowed to enter the

kitchen. Therefore, women could cook without being viewed by male guests and they were invisible. The only way that the kitchen communicated with the reception room in some exemplary houses was through a small opening as seen in figure 99. This practice can be interpreted as an initial and the preliminary step for removing boundaries between the kitchen and the dining room. However, this small opening was only for comfort and feasibility in carrying food for the dining room rather than to be a connector between housewife's work space and public reception room.

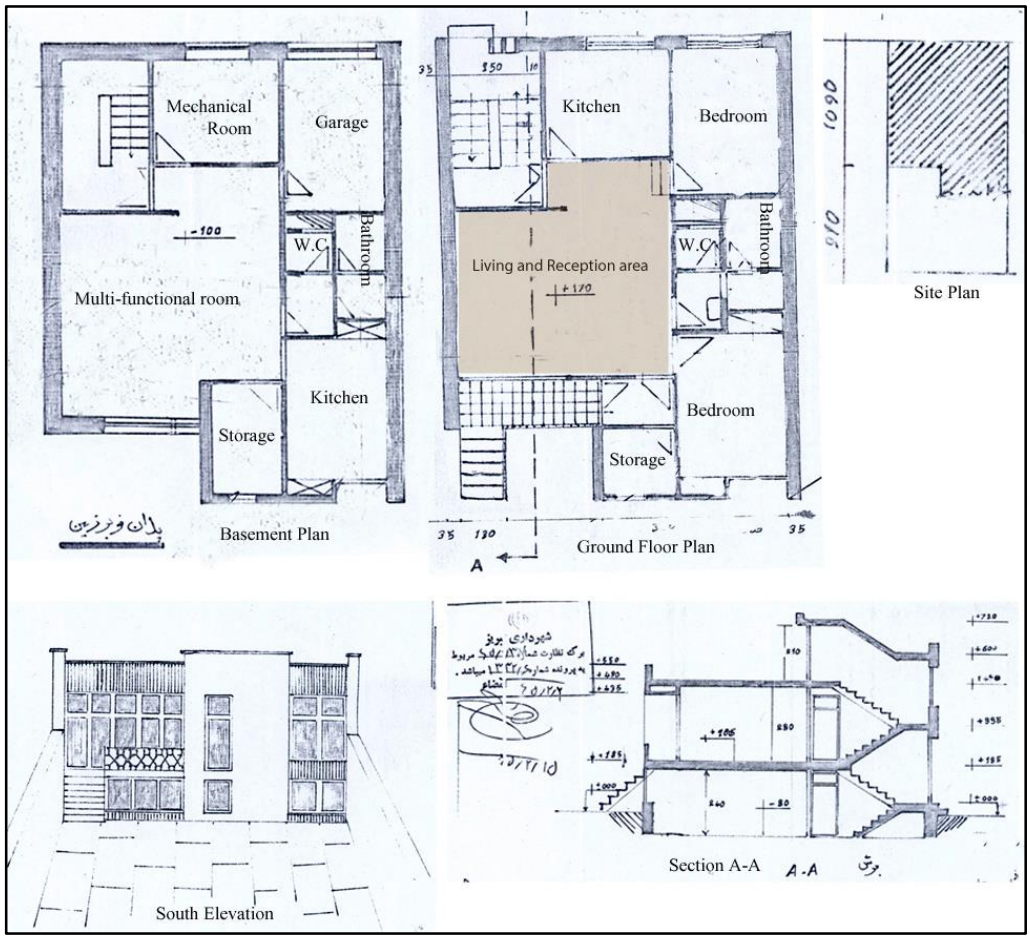


Figure 98. An early open-plan house built in the 1980s; the public rooms (reception room, living room, and dining room) were linked while the kitchen, the bedrooms, and the bathroom retained their separate identities. source: (Tabriz municipality archive)



Figure 99. The small opening was the only way for the connection of the kitchen and reception room of a house built in 1980. source: (Author, 2017)

Moreover, while the reception room as a public area permitted free circulation, the private bedrooms and bathrooms were separated with partitions which led to the creation of a sharp contrast between the free plan of the living-dining spaces and private half of the house. In some examples, bedrooms and bathroom were separated from the reception and living areas with a level difference. They were located in the raised part of the house which is 30 or 50 cm higher than the reception part. Sometimes, the private (bedrooms) and the public (living rooms) areas were positioned at the same level but have been separated through arched columns (Figures 100-101). Indeed, it can be said that the bedrooms were set apart from the household traffic (daily use) and were hidden. This kind of spatial disposition conforms with what Christopher Alexander argued: "The kind of space which most easily supports both differentiation of activities and the transition between different activities has less enclosure than a solid room, and more enclosure-far more-than a space inside an open plan" (Alexander, 1977). Bedrooms started to be more private spaces in the open-plan houses than in the central-hall type houses. In other words, individual privacy got more importance from the 1990s and bedrooms became more specified through their furniture and decoration. The flexibility that existed in the bedrooms of the central-hall type houses was lost and the function of rooms could not be changed easily as it was in the central-hall type houses. Both master bedrooms and children bedrooms were identified through the personal staffs. Children's rooms became full of toys that

made the room to be inflexible and unsuitable for other functions for example, living room. Like central-hall type of houses, in the early open-plan type houses, service areas including toilets and bathroom included two separate rooms. The ritual purity, discussed for the central-hall plans, was followed in the open-plans as well.



Figure 100. Level change as the separating agent of private and public zones in the houses of 1980s. source: (Author, 2017)



Figure 101. Private (bedrooms) and the public (living rooms) areas were positioned at the same level but have been separated through arched columns. source: (Author, 2017)

Therefore, it can be observed that the separations previously drawn to distinguish the public rooms of the dwelling (sitting room, reception room, and dining room) from the rest of the house were eliminated and a freer and open interior space became common. The former pattern of smaller rooms with clearly specified functions were replaced with the larger and all-encompassing spaces and open areas that served various activities of everyday domestic life. In some cases, walls and solid partitions were eliminated, in others reduced to archways that maintained symbolically the functional distinction though allowing more flexibility to the interior spaces (Figure 102). The boundaries of interior spaces have become definitely more permeable, and the rigidities of the previous interior plans of central-hall house types diminished.



Figure 102. Archways and columns were used in the early open plans to maintain symbolically the functional distinction, source: (Author, 2017)

One prevalent point related to the early open-plan houses is that while the spaces are lit enough as a result of the breaking down the wall between public rooms, the patio still exists. It was usually located in the reception room. One corner of the reception room or the middle of one long side was considered for it. The location of the *passio* was effective in defining the shape of the reception room's shape to be "L-shaped," or "U-shaped" (Figure 103).

It can be said that in this type of houses, the presence of patio was kept just for its aesthetic aspect. According to some residents of houses, the attributes of the patio such as its material, light, color, and its plants engage the senses and awake the body towards sensual experiences. It is the brightest pool of light in the room. The stained glass of the patio's roof allows the sun to create diverse visions unique to the specific moments of daytime and direct the eyes upwards (Figure 104). The aesthetic experience that it gives to individual is not only visual but also olfactory which comes from the plants that are placed there. Seen in that way, the patio gives life to the house and gives to it a lightness that is rightly architectural. While the patio is generally considered for the visual aesthetics and directing daylight into interiors, a wide range of other sensory experiences are awaked by its components, plants, its roof material, its light, and color. Making the interiors pleasant and fresh, plants instantly change the

atmosphere of the room. Indoor plants are the indispensable decorative elements in Iranian houses which are put in the *patio* or in the focal point of living room. Therefore, the existence and popularity of patio in the south lots is beyond its simplistic functional implications. It contains the characteristics of outdoor environment. Patio promised women a secluded outdoor living area in the introverted domestic space. It at the center of the houses provided women a space that could contribute to the interior decoration

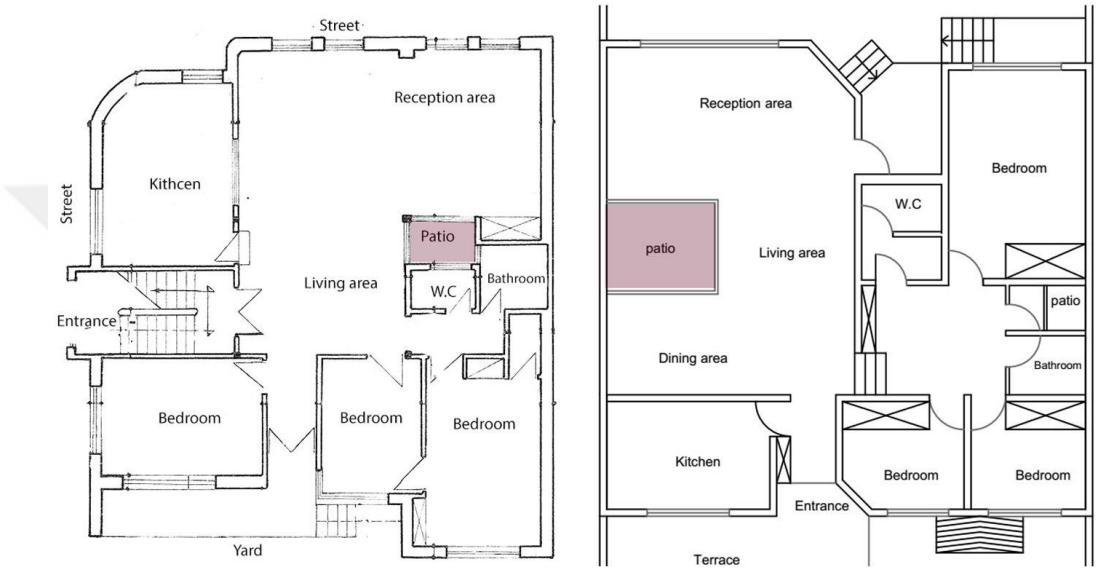


Figure 103. The location of the patio was effective in creating the shape of the reception room to be "L-shaped" (Left) or "U-shaped" (Right). source: (Left, Mr Soltani's Archive; Right, Author, 2017)



Figure 104. The use of patio in early open-plan house for the aesthetic purpose since all rooms are enough lit. source: (Author, 2017)

Another issue in the early open-plan house types was the creation of a transition space between street and the entrance door. It was one of the ways for making inside out of display in the houses studied. That is to say, the interior and the street were connected through the transition space. A transition space provided a filter. As stated earlier, regarding the different type of houses, transition space in northern houses and southern houses was different. In northern houses, the yard between the building and street acted as a filter and transition space. In southern houses, transition space was a corridor or entry space between the front door and another door, which was opened to the living room. In other words, a closed space, mostly in the form of a square or rectangle was between the passageway on the one side and the interior spaces on the other side. Though modern in its form, these types of entries and entrance spaces, were consistent with Islamic values. They provided privacy for the inside of the house and also helped

family not to be disturbed when someone came to the door. In sum, putting an entrance space between the hall and the exterior door of a house would considerably reduce overlooking the interior of the domestic space by passer-by or visitors when entrance door is opened (Figures 105).

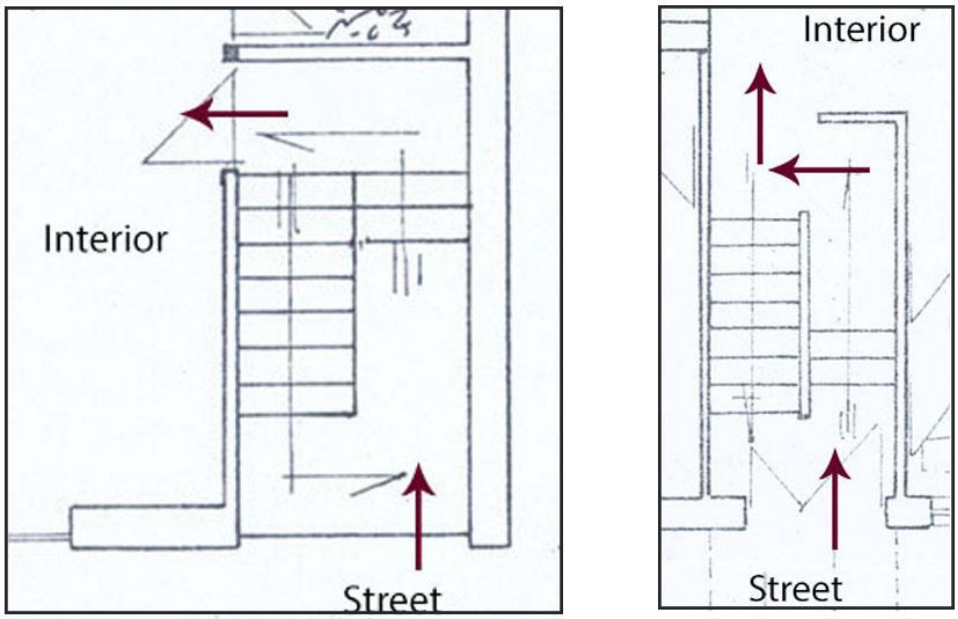


Figure 105. Transition space between street and the entrance door. source: (Tabriz municipality archive)

4.2.2.3 Late Open- Plans Types of Houses from the Late 1990s: Hindering the Visual Connectivity with the Outside

In the post-war decade, which was called by authorities the "construction decade", the residential construction began to develop for exchange. From the late 1990s onwards, with the increase of land prices, developers considered its profitability and hence, housing construction became commodified (Madanipour, 1998).

During the 1990s, new types of open plan began to evolve in which the kitchen stopped to be a separate room only for food preparation and it was connected to the living areas. The new open kitchen called *ashpazkhaney-e open* became the heart of the domestic space. Hence the boundaries between the kitchen and other living spaces were eliminated. It can be argued that what Peter Corrigan (1997) points out in terms

of the open-plan is valid for this type of sample houses: “Instead of being a unit classified into sub-units each with a specific function, the contemporary home turns living, dining and cooking areas into a continuous semi-differentiated space” (Corrigan, 1997). Cooking is no longer an isolated activity, and the open kitchen with a counter, in which one can prepare food facing the living room, became more common from the 1990s onwards. In a research titled “the apartment and kitchen in Iran” some Iranian women interviewees approved the modern open kitchen design, which is placed directly toward the living spaces in order to permit them to do their daily activities without being cut off from other living quarters and the conversation taking place among the rest of the family members (Azad, 2013).

As the kitchen flowed into the dining room, and living room into the reception room, these distinct spaces merged into an interrelated gathering space. As the name indicates, the “open plan” let the spaces flow into each other with minimum obstacles or no barriers at all. The use of the *pilotis* in the ground floor has become widespread in the residential buildings in 1990s. The ground floor was mostly used as the parking space (Figures 106).



Figure 106. Open plan houses built in the 1990s in which the ground floor dedicated to the Parking space. source: (Mr Rafezi's Archive)

Therefore, fluidity and flexibility was introduced to the interior spaces of houses from the late years of the 1990s (See Appendix C1-C2). As Morag Shiach (2005) discusses about modern domestic interiors, the interior spaces transformed from rigid and dark spaces into the fluid and light ones. These alterations gave rise to the appearance of new types of spaces and different ways of looking to the domestic space; novelties that

had never been seen in the previous house types, emerged in the design of these apartment houses.

Some critics argue that the open-plan house/apartment is inconsistent with the Islamic values. They argue that in such living arrangements, the house subordinates all goals, particularly privacy to its vision. In this manner, the privacy of the kitchen is discussed more.

In spite of such claims of the critics, in this research, based on the samples studies, it is argued that this type of plan also follows some rules or codes that provide a visual privacy. While the open-plan is a reverse form of central-hall plan in the sense that its seemingly openness and spatial flexibility continuously directs the one toward the periphery of the domestic space, the type of spatial organization and also the given 'habitus' in terms of behavior codes of the individuals hinder the subject to have access and connectivity with the outside world as the examples studied reveal. Although, the kitchen as a private space of women was no longer separated by physical barriers, it maintained its traditional nature as a female space. The openness of the plan did not lead to the freedom between women and men relationship during parties or gatherings. The notion of Islamic identity based on Islamic teaching established the grounds for the behavior code and social order between genders in the domestic space. Sex segregation existed between women and men, although, it was not as strict as in the previous decade. No male guests were entered to the kitchen or other private rooms. They had to be only in reception part of the house, that is to say, their space was separated symbolically. During social gatherings, the open-plan symbolically was divided, women sit with each other in one side of the house near the kitchen and men occupied the other side, which was the more formal area of the house. Women were veiled and maintained modesty in their behavior. Moreover, a living area, which was separated from the reception area through its comfortable furniture or household dining area placed between the kitchen and reception area (Figure 107). The open reception-living-dining room did not include any private decorative elements. For example, women's pictures were never hanged on the walls.

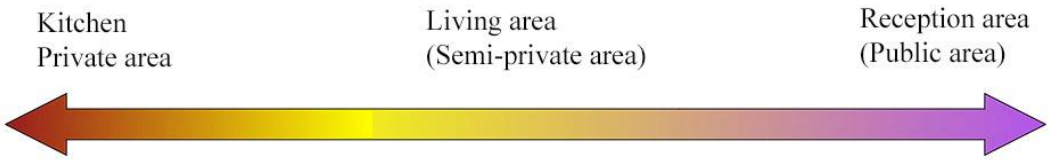


Figure 107. In the majority of open plan houses, the living area which is identified through its furniture in between the kitchen and reception area. source: (Author, 2018)

In contrary to the central-hall type houses, in which rooms (except reception rooms) were similar in shape and size, in the open plans of the sample of study, it can be observed that differentiated spaces began to emerge and they can be identified easily. Master bedrooms and children's room started to be defined and identified. Master bedrooms are distinguished through their access to the bathroom.

As seen in the Figures 108-109, in both the early and the late open-plan houses, the spatial organization of the street side is similar to the previous central-hall type of houses. Indeed, often one bedroom, kitchen, and stairway, or two bedrooms with the stairway were located on the street side. In a similar manner, all living and sitting areas where social gatherings take place were located on the south side, which faced the yard of the dwelling. Therefore, the street side is hindered by the rooms that are less active and the stairway, and this situation leads to the dis-connectivity between living areas and the street. All the spaces that are more active and where occupants spend most of their time were put away from the street and the view from these spaces is always toward the yards or balconies on the yard side. As mentioned earlier, in the central-hall type of houses and in the early open-plans, the kitchen was used only for cooking and it was placed on the street side. But when in later open-plan type of houses, the boundaries between the kitchen and other areas were removed and the kitchen became a more active space used by all family members, it was moved to the south side facing the courtyard in the majority of cases. This supports the observation that in Iranian houses the spaces that are busier and eventful are mostly located in the south side (looking the yard) and the other silent spaces are placed in the north side of the house.

Another issue is that became prevalent after the Islamic revolution, in spite of the fact that there is not any written regulation that prevents the constructing of the balcony on the street side, the majority of the houses with a few exceptions, have not semi-private spaces such as balconies in the street elevation although they existed in pre-revolutionary period. Even in the small number of houses that have balcony in the street side, the balcony is not used and in some cases it was covered by some elements. It seems that the behavior code and the dressing code that the Islamic state indicated for people, especially for women, as explained in chapter three, led to the uselessness and elimination of balconies. When a woman goes on the balcony, she should be veiled, she should not look at and talk with *na-mahrams* (non-family members) outside, and she should follow Islamic principles in her behaviors. All these behavior codes, which throughout the time are added to women habits, affect their bodily movement, practice, and use of the domestic space; in the case of balcony, they prefer not to use such semi-open spaces.

Moreover, the use of *pilotis* at the ground floor, which became popular at this period, was a clear departure and withdrawal from an emphasis on the street and visual connectivity with the outside world which was predominant in the early modernization (Madanipour, 1998, p 243)



Figure 108. In the early open plans (1980s), the street side is hindered by rooms that are less active and the stairway. source: (Author, 2017)

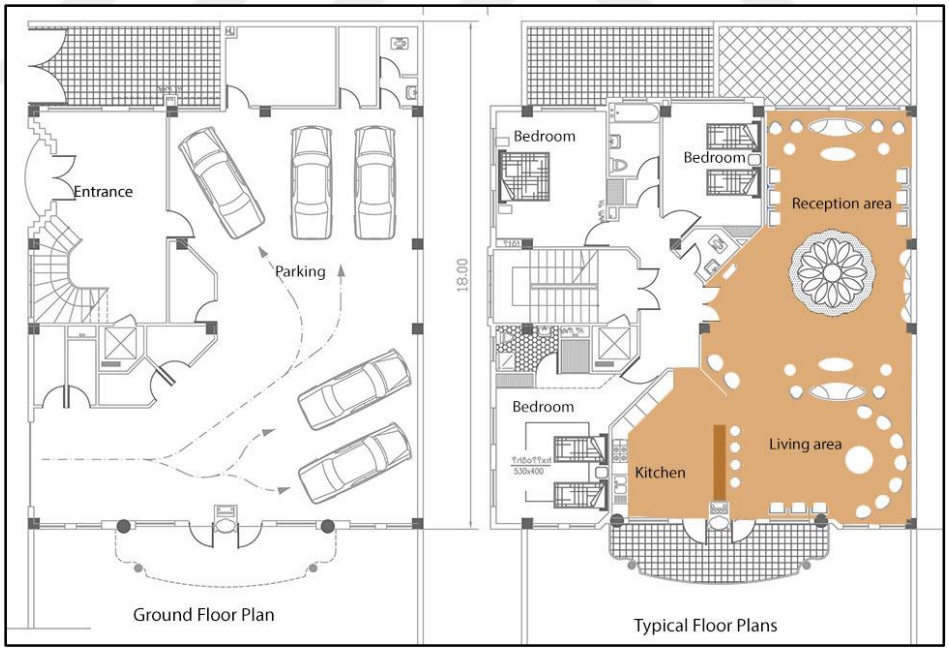


Figure 109. In the majority of the late open plans, as the kitchen became more active space, it was moved to the south side of the house facing the yard. source: (Author, 2017)

In sum, in the open-plan types of houses, like central-hall houses, the spatial organization led one to turn her/his back on the outside world of the street, overlook and immerse oneself in the inside of the house. Moreover, furniture was arranged against the window in such a way that one strongly feels that one cannot see the outside world. In this situation, the sense of privacy in general and invisibility in particular, and the traditional distinction between private and public were provided.

4.2.3. Embodiment of the "Invisibility" in the Façade Organization

The façade of a house acts as a border between the private and public space. It is treated in different ways in different societies (Van Der Horst & Messing, 2006). Whereas some people consider it as a 'front-stage', on which they express and display themselves to the outside world, others cover their windows with different materials, curtains, or give less attention to the attractiveness of the facade. Openings with their nature of creating a porous boundary between the house and the outside are significant medium of communication and interaction (Van Der Horst & Messing, 2006).

This part aims to investigate how houses' elevations were treated in the post-revolutionary period in order to be consistent with the Islamic values emphasized by the state. How the facades corresponded to the invisibility of interiors will be investigated in this section.

4.2.3.1 Façades in the pre-revolutionary period (1970s)

In the 1970s and the early 1980s, spatial layering and sequences such as solid and void composition of walls, entrances, windows, and balconies were important themes that were taken into account in the elevations of houses (Figure 110). The setbacks, recessions, and projections create lights and shades. They are an obvious and clear ways of giving richness to the aesthetics of a modern façade. Therefore, rather than being a surface, the façade of a building has three-dimensional depth. It attracts the observer because the composition, elements, and materials correspond to one another. The parts are expected to be harmonious so that they can be named as successful examples of domestic architecture, (a necessity which will disappear in the post-

revolutionary period). The vertical and horizontal elements were used in balance. The vertical lines of the volume and windows were in harmony with horizontal surfaces, lines, and windows. The details of the façades of the buildings enable the viewers to mentally discover the surface. The recessions and setbacks display surface depth, producing spaces that occupy the observer.



Figure 110. An exemplary house built during the 1970s, Karimkhan street, Vali-asr, Tabriz. source: (Author, 2017)

An examination of the elevations of houses built in 1970s reveals that the design principles that were introduced by modern architects in the early Pahlavi period were followed in the elevations of the 1970s. One of the eye-catching elements were the corner windows which were used in abundance to represent both modern approaches and also the new technological skills in the facades (Figures 111-112). Some residents said that corner window with their dominant visual presence, gave them the sense of being the dwellers of a ‘modern’ house. However, it was an indication of modern façade, but its usage was not modern as they were often covered with thick curtains to prohibit visual communication with the street.



Figure 111. Spatial layering and sequences were significant design features the facades of houses in the 1970s, a house in Tabriz, Vali-asr District. source: (Author, 2017)



Figure 112. The use of corner windows in the house built in the 1970s, Kahnamouyie-e gharbi street, Vali-asr District, Tabriz. source: (Author, 2017)

Figure 113 is an exemplary house (built in the late 1970s or early 1980s), which suggested the visual novelty of this period in Tabriz with its new architectural form, material, and composition. Its façade displays a sense of self-confidence through its detachment from the surrounding buildings, simplicity devoid of any ornamentation, mono material, and mono color. However, the windows used in the façades are simple but they have been thoughtfully shaped and placed based on the composition in the

façade instead of the function. The recessed openings in the facade create shades that catch the observers' eye.



Figure 113. A view of a house built in the late 1970s or early 1980s, Tabriz, Homayoon street, *Vali-asr* District. source: (Author, 2017)

As it is illustrated in Figures 114-115, the majority of south houses built in the 1970s and the early 1980s that have a semi-private space before the entrance of the building. These semi-private spaces, which first appeared in the houses of Pahlavi period, continued for two decades, and disappeared overtime. This space is visible from a street and is protected by the low property wall. It is often separated with metal fences from the street. These fences mostly are white and have plain design. This semi-private space is owned by the household. Normally in most of the houses, 1/3rd of this space is reserved to a ramp toward the garage. The rest of the floor is landscaped with trees and plants.

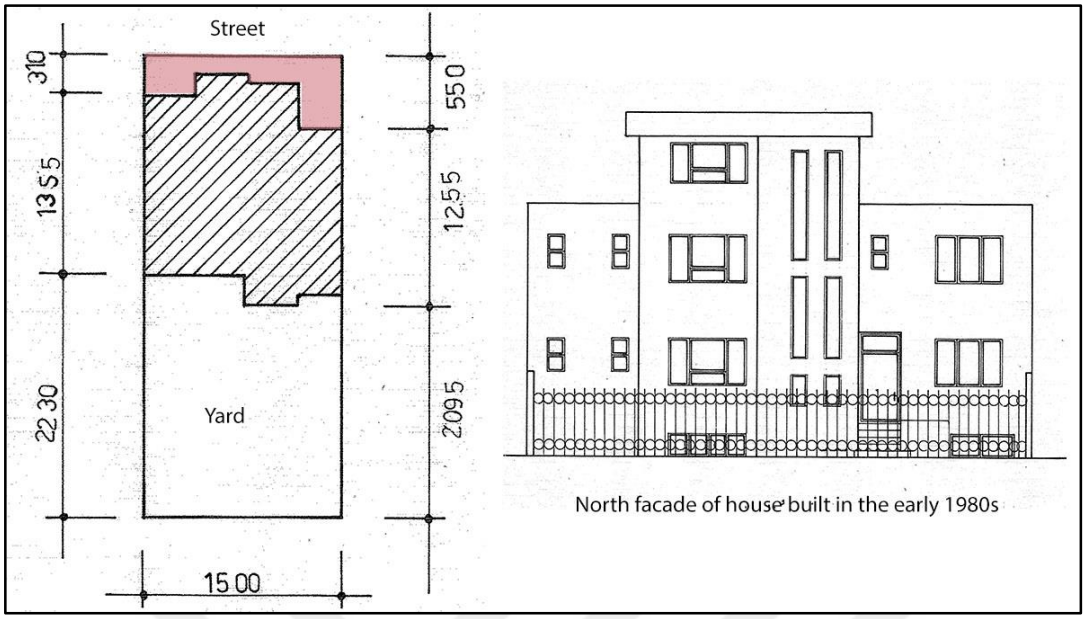


Figure 114. A house in which semi-private space in front of the building acts as a transition space, Vali-asr District in Tabriz. source: (Mr Soltani's Archive)



Figure 115. The semi-private space in front of houses appeared in Second Pahlavi period and continued until early 1980s. source: (Author, 2017)

Regarding the emergence of this semi-private space, there are two different stories. In an interview with some architects of that period, some believe that it was created for the sake of aesthetics. Rather than opening out directly onto the street, some houses of the 1980s had a small front garden which was indicated by iron railings. Some other stated that it was created in order to prevent the demolition of the main building in case the street is to be widened in the future. Given that half century have passed since their emergence, there is no sign of widening the street rather the buildings have been stretched to the street's edge and these semi-spaces were removed. From the late 1980s onwards, this type of semi-private space has not been considered in the house designs and the main façade of the buildings have been stretched to the street's edge. This semi-private space functions as a small transition space, a modified *hashti* (vestibule in traditional houses) between the public street and the private domestic space. It provides an intimate atmosphere to the dwelling and it also creates a warm, welcoming and comfortable experience for visitors. As Mike Biddulph states, when the building is put back from the street, "the viewing time that a passer-by might have for looking" into a house usually increases (Biddulph, 2007). Therefore, the presence of this type of semi-private space in front the south houses of the 1970s and early 1980s, as a transition space, prohibits the direct view of the passer-by to the interiors.

As mentioned, such semi-private space is specific to the south houses. In the northern houses of the 1970s and also the following decades, the yard acts as a transition space between the street and the building as seen in Figure 116. Access from the street to the dwelling is through the yard located in front of the parcel. Indeed, there are two entrances in these houses, the entrance to the yard and the entrance to the inside of the building. The yard is between the house and the main entrance from the street. Its entrance is independent from the house and it is designed as a separate volume in the passageway. The north side of the lot is built upon and a wall defines the southern edge of the courtyard. This type of house has one façade looking to the yard (Figure 117).

Entrance as the connection point between the private space of home and the public space of street has an important role. It creates pause space and is the proper place for expressing identity and specific ideas (Nejad-Ebrahimi, Pirbabaei, & Shahiri-Mehrabad, 2015). Its design embraces various socio-cultural meanings. First of all, it is supposed to provide the privacy of the interior spaces. Secondly, Guests' welcome or farewell as the traditions of the ancient Persians happens in the entries of the house. Moreover, neighbor women gatherings in the entries focus to the other social function of it (Barzegar, 2008). The space of the threshold is thickly layered with traditions and memories.[52] The components of an entrance are fixed together to provide a suitable resort for the movement from the inside out and from the outside in.

In the majority of the entrances of northern houses, there is a space between the passage and the entrance that is created by the recession of the entrance from the main wall of the building. This space is located in the pathway owned by the house. The depth of the recession is between 10 and 100 cm. When the recession of the entrance reaches its maximum, one or two platforms are built 50 cm above the ground level to be used as a flower box (Figure 118). The yard is after the entrance where the main elevation of the building faces this yard. The houses have high blind walls for security and invisibility. After the yard, there is usually a terrace in front of the main entrance into the building. This terrace is normally decorated with elaborate elements such as columns, pilasters, portal arch, and flower boxes. It is used as a living or sleeping space by the residents in the summer.

[52] As a tradition, upon travel, a tray which includes a Quran and a bowel of water is prepared by the family. Someone holds the Quran and the traveler kisses it, touches it to his/her eyes three times, and then goes under it. Symbolically, this custom protects the traveler. At the moment of departure, another person spills a bowel of water behind the traveler. Symbolically, pouring the water behind a person means that he/she will travel safely, and will come back safely and soon as following water.



Figure 116. In northern lots, the yard in the front acts as a transition space. source: (Author, 2017)

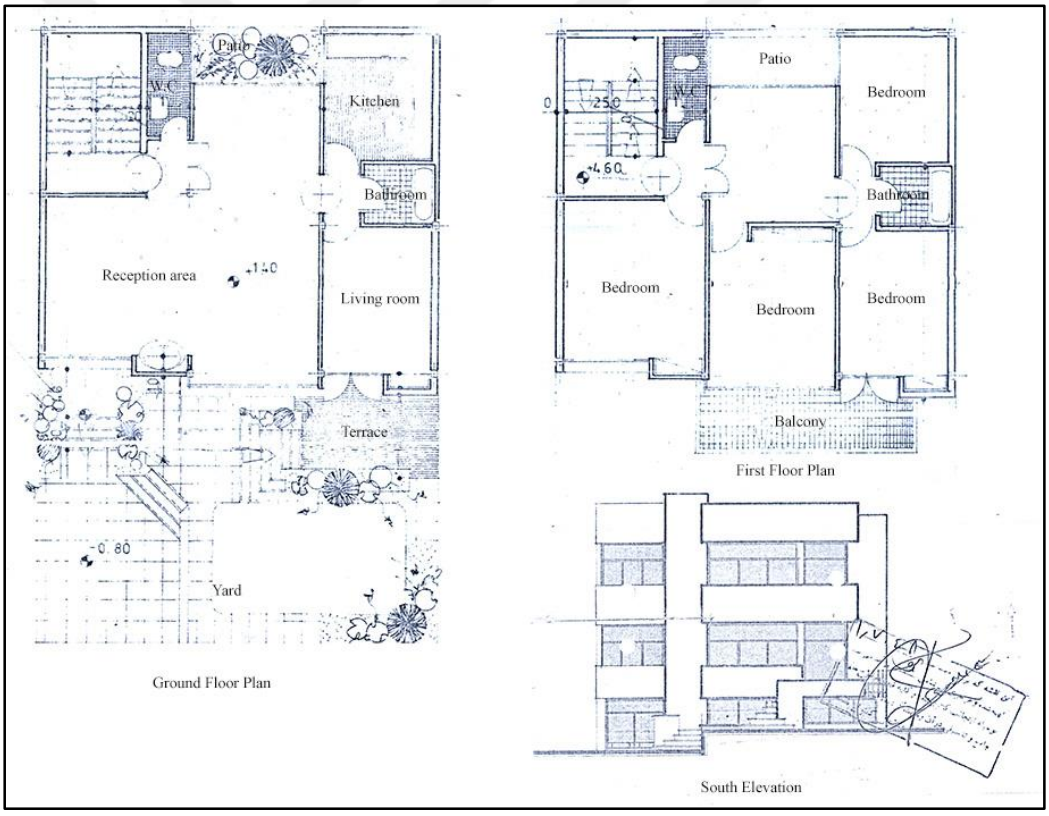


Figure 117. The drawings of a northern house (the late1980s) in which the yard acts a transition zone. source: (Tabriz Municipality's Archive)



Figure 118. (Left) The entrance door to the yard of a northern house; (Right) A view from the terrace of a northern house, source: (Author, 2017)

As seen in Figure 119, in the elevations of some exemplary houses (southern houses) built in the late 1970s and early 1980s, entrance spaces were designed in such a way that interiors were invisible to the outside world. For example, some houses were elevated above the eye level of a person passing a street. Therefore, the entrance space was a defined area which was raised by a number of steps and set back from the street, prohibit to some extent the direct visibility of the interior spaces. In some other examples, the entrance space was designed both in the raised and zigzag form. Thus, a change of view or deviation led to the invisibility of the domestic interior for a person who was standing on the door step of the open door (Figures 120-121). In the majority of houses in 1980s, the layering of the exterior surfaces was influential in the invisibility of domestic interiors. The transition from outdoor space to the inside of house was possible through change in levels, surfaces, and sometime directions which gave the inhabitants the possibility to control the view from the outside.



Figure 119. The Raised, Recessed, and Indirect Entrance space of Houses built in the early 1980s, Tabriz, Vali-asr District, source: (Author, 2017)

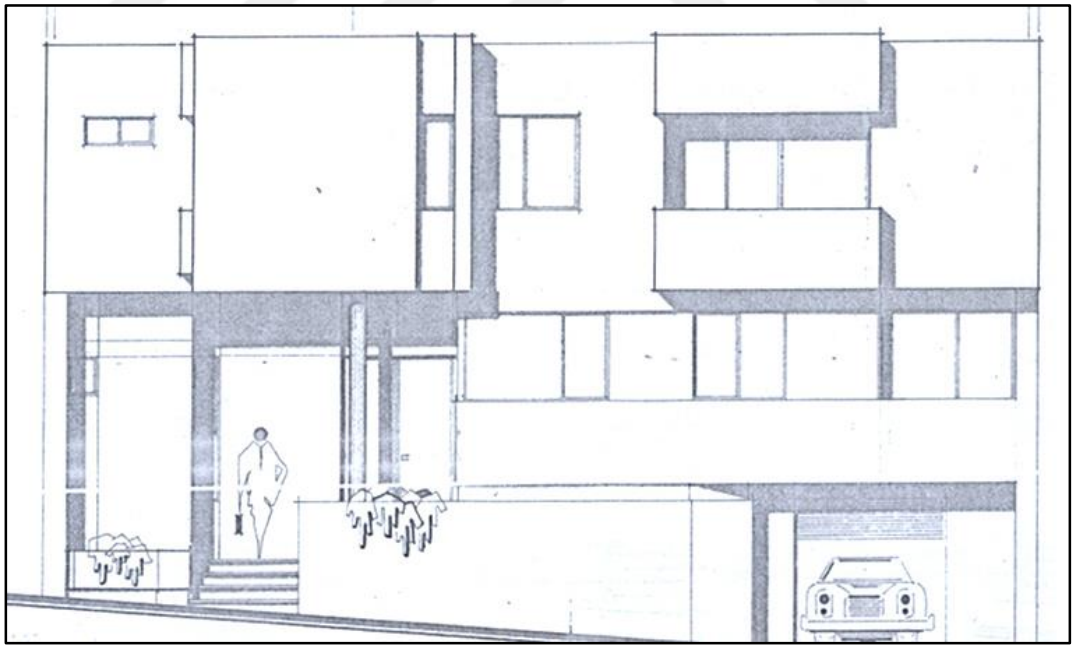


Figure 120. The Raised, Recessed, and Indirect Entrance space of Houses built in the late 1970s. source: (Tabriz Municipality's Archive)

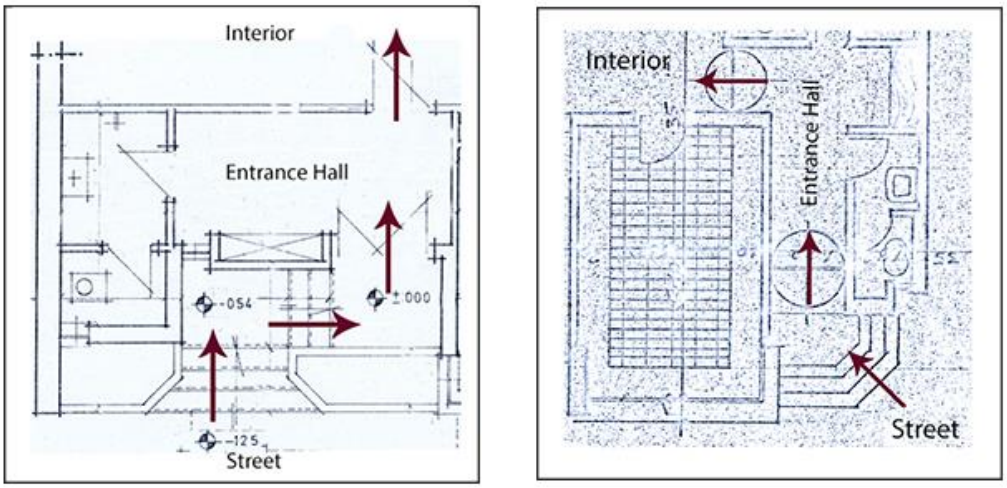


Figure 121. Entrance spaces of houses built in the early 1980s; Creating a change of view or deviation prohibit a person standing on the door step of the open door to see the interior of the house. source: (Tabriz Municipality's Archive)

However, it should be mentioned that the invisibility of the domestic interior through entrance door was considered by inhabitants to be a requirement for the privacy of domestic space. In addition to the sense of privacy, the design and physical characteristics of entrance spaces in the houses of 1970s and early 1980s, apparently welcomed the guests. For instance, in some houses, as seen in figures 129, when the house was viewed from the street or sidewalk on which it faced toward, part of the façade above the entrance was projected and the front door was little stepped back. Emphasis through projection, shadowy recession, and in some cases, creating the flower box on each side of entrance space seems to distinguish the house entrance and to convey a mute welcome for visitors and guests (Figure 122). The construction of platforms in the entrance space trace back to the Iranian traditional house in which these platforms were used by tired and old pedestrians. These platforms were called "*Pirneshin*"[53]. According to Alexander, "all proper entries have somewhere between

[53] The term "*Pir-neshin*" in Persian includes two parts: "*Pir*" which means the elder and "*Neshin*" which means sitting; so the meaning of the term is literally the sitting place of elders. Moreover, the platforms are common places for talking, resting, and waiting (Nayyeri-Fallah, Khalili, & Mohamad-Rasdi, 2015).

the passageway and the main door somewhere the level is changed, the height varies or you have to pass under a tree branch" (Alexander, 2002, p. 223).



Figure 122. The difference in layer (projection and recession) and level (raised) make the entrance of the house to be distinguished and welcome the visitors and guests, Tabriz, Vali-asr District. source: (Author, 2017)



Figure 123. Examples of entrances in 1980s. source: (Author, 2017)

4.2.3.2. Facades in the post-revolutionary period (1980s-1990s)

When the sample houses are examined, it can be observed that during the first decade of the Islamic revolution, which was coincided with 8 year Iran-Iraq war, the facades of the houses were undergone a change in comparison with pre-revolutionary decades. The facades became more simple and empty of any attention as if they were ignored or forgotten.

The poor design quality of elevations was reinforced and accelerated with the advent and the lasting trauma of Iran-Iraq war at the same period. The Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988) occurred when Iran was immersed in chaos due to the revolution. The war gave rise to the drop of the Iranian economy, and consequently, living standards decreased intensely. It affected almost all the income of the country and led to the expansion of cities without any plans and regulations (Arjmand, 2017). Figure 124 illustrate some of the elevations during the 1980s. It is observed that the majority of the houses were designed and built in a way that have no distinguishable features and were subject to carelessness, insensibility, or coldness. Arguably, sensitivity to the details in the elevations had been disappeared among the builders of that time and the components and elements of elevations lost their influential role in the composition of façade. Buildings exemplified features of depersonalization and monotony. Seen in that way, they reduced merely to the functional spaces which hurt the eye and soul. This role reduction is displayed in the entrances, openings, and balconies. Simplification eliminated or decreased the spatial differentiation in elevations.

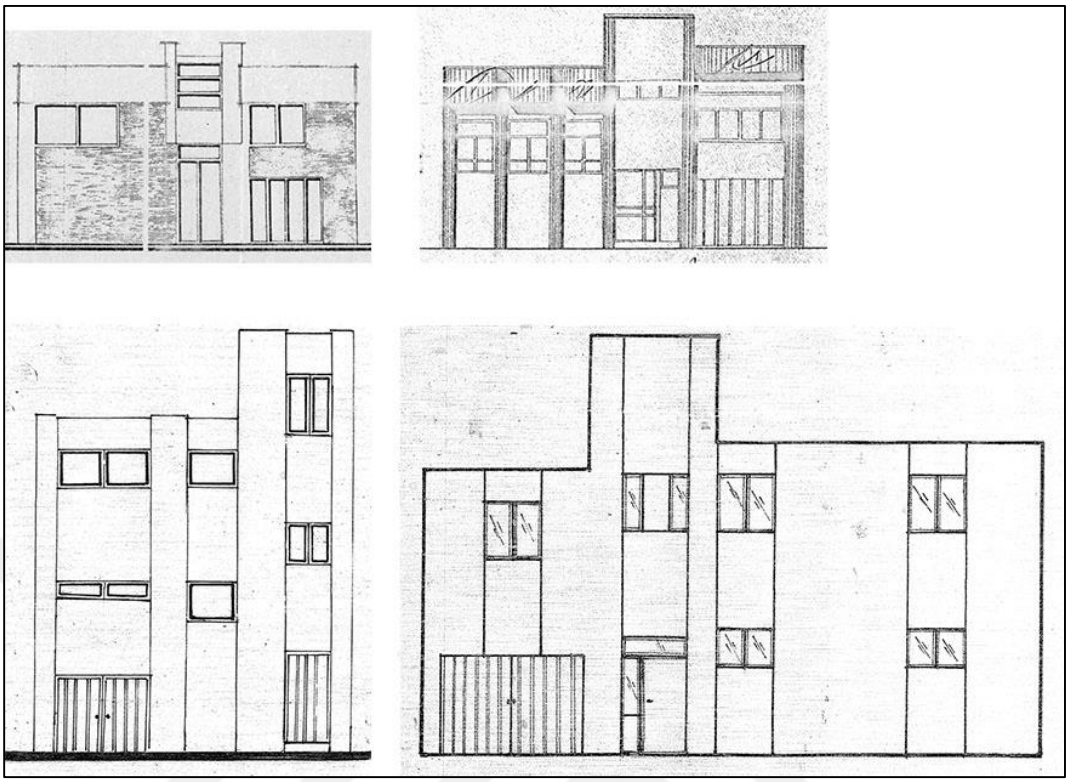


Figure 124. The street elevations of four different houses that were built during 1980s in *Vali-asr* District of Tabriz. source: (Tabriz Municipality's Archive)

Moreover, the majority of the buildings were texture-less, mono-material, and poorly detailed which led to the lifeless quality of them. Large areas of the elevations were left blank which act like that they were hindering barriers and prohibited any communication between the inside of the house and its exterior. The over-simple and carelessness elevations prevented streets to be liveliness and gave rise to their emptiness. Surfaces were mistreated and were abandoned featureless or with no detail that give a sense of unfinished. Moreover, materials were used regardless of their characteristics, that is to say, their peculiarities, possibilities, and limitations. It is apparent that builders rarely considered materials beyond their common usages and may be uninterested or unaware of their characteristics (Figure 125). These characteristics of facades remind what Arnold Berleant argues about "*aesthetic deprivation*" in which the viewer's capacity for sensory experience is destroyed due to the deprivation. He states that deprivation can be hurtful and create aesthetic harm

“either through the loss of the capacity for perceptual satisfaction or by withholding aesthetic occasions” (Berleant, 2010).



Figure 125. The majority of buildings in the first decade of revolution were mono-material, deprived of any detail, and featureless. *Vali-asr* district, Tabriz. source: (Author, 2017)

The use of ornament was rare and in some houses it was limited to brick patterns, inscriptions and engravings. The decorative details of the façades such as brick patterns and cornices were mass-produced. Prefabricated decorative elements were used in the facades through mix and match method easily. Little craftsmanship existed on the decorative details of buildings. In some cases, the decorated bricks were used

to create different patterns of cornices as illustrated in figure 133. The amount of decoration in the entrances was influenced by the financial status of the owner. Occupants usually installed over the entrance door a plaque inscribed with a verse from the Quran or sacred words such as "*Besmellah", "Va en yakaad", "Enna fattahna", "Mashaa'allah*", etc.



Figure 126. Examples of prefabricated decorative bricks used in facades in the early 1980s, Valiasr district, Tabriz. source: (Author, 2017)

- **Minimum Connection with the Outside in the Facades Facing the Street**

However, it may seem strange, in Iran, windows and openings are critical when the "invisibility" of domestic space is concerned. In the post-revolutionary period, especially in the 1980s, the design and the shape of windows changed and they became different from the windows of the previous periods. To be accurate, both the number and the area of windows decreased and the majority of houses included small square windows.

Probably, the long eight-year war was not effect-less in their forms. During the war, in order to protect themselves and to avoid the implosion of cracked windowpanes, residents stuck adhesive tape on glasses. Moreover, the windows were covered with dark blankets or black garbage plastic bags. These ways camouflaged the interiors

because the display of domestic space through the windows was explicitly hazardous and threatening at the moments of an attack. It seems that creating an environment with small and opaque openings provided psychological protection and well-being during the war period. That is to say that people probably attempted to achieve the sense of safety through immersing themselves in a dark private domestic space. Beatriz Colomina (2007) in her book "Domesticity at War" explains how war can affect and change the domestic environment through its psychological effects as well as through its technologies. By explaining the project of Jay Swayze,[54] "underground homes and gardens", Colomina explains that "security form natural or man-made hazards" was one of the noticeable advantages that Swayze's underground homes could provide during the hard wartime. She also cites that Jay Swayze carried out a research "to learn how much value people placed actually upon windows." The result of the research was that even though windows might be psychologically significant, they were, indeed, seldom looked through. By its specific characteristics, the 'underground home' offered "greater security-peace of mind- the ultimate in true privacy!" Colomina, moreover, cites a statement from the publicity brochure in terms of the underground home in wartime that "A few feet underground can give a man an island unto himself; a place where he controls his own world-a world of total ease and comfort, of security, safety and above all, privacy." (Colomina, 2007)

In addition to war, the design of windows in the elevations were influenced by the Islamic life style inscribed by the state and also the building regulations of post-revolutionary period. It can be said as for the women's body, Islamic ideals (simplicity and invisibility) were represented in the exterior of houses. In the same manner, the beautification of houses was only considered in the interiors and the exteriors remained bare. A majority of elevations were designed in such a way that there is no sign of presenting domesticity to the outside world and the communication with the

[54] Jay Swayze was a Texas military instructor and home builder. He was commissioned by Texas City Council to build secure dwellings and "fallout shelters" as the result of Cuban Missile Crisis (Yoneda, 2014).

street is eliminated. Consequently, the opaque facades were rather disintegrated from the open plans.

It seems that in the 1980s and early 1990s, the function of the rooms determined the position and the form of windows. In some houses, the windows were not required for the prospect but for the light. It was difficult to look from windows to the lively views of outdoor because the regulation for the windows limits their function. After the Islamic revolution, in the new building regulations, windows "were to be built higher than a limit" in the street looking elevations from which the neighboring courtyards in the front could be viewed (Madanipour, 1998). Windows were to be put above the 1.80 m from the floor, thus, the window sills were above eye level requiring a number of steps to permit viewing outside; or up to the 1.80 m of the window were to be the opaque glass in order to prevent overlooking into the neighboring houses (Figures 127-128).



Figure 127. Bay window with opaque glass in the stairwell of a house built in 1982 and destroyed in 2016. source: (Author, 2016)



Figure 128. Windows should be put above the 1.80 m from the floor or up to the 1.80 m of the window should be the opaque glass. source: (Author, 2016)

In sum, it is argued that the building regulations related to windows correspond to the invisibility notion promoted by the Islamic government. Vision into the domestic interiors from the sidewalk and vice versa is considerately controlled. When the passer-by looks towards the house from the street, his/her line of sight confronts with the opaque window. If the inhabitant stands close to the window, only her/his head is indistinctly visible from the opaque glass. When one sits near the window, he/she is fully hidden from the outsiders' view (figures 129-130). Not only are the windows small and opaque but also they are covered with thick curtains to hinder visual access to the interior of houses. The communication with the street is prevented and the inhabitant is disconnected from the street. Therefore, the window in the houses is only a source of light, not a frame for a view. The eye is turned toward the interior. The exterior of the house, in some examples, acts as merely a veil that conceals the interior space. It is noteworthy to mention that except some examples designed by modern architects, the display of interiors through windows in the houses in urban context was not common in the pre-revolutionary period either. Figure 131 shows some houses that were built before Islamic revolution. During that time there was not any regulation

like post-revolutionary period to hide domestic space. Keeping domestic space hidden through windows stemmed from the occupant's desires.

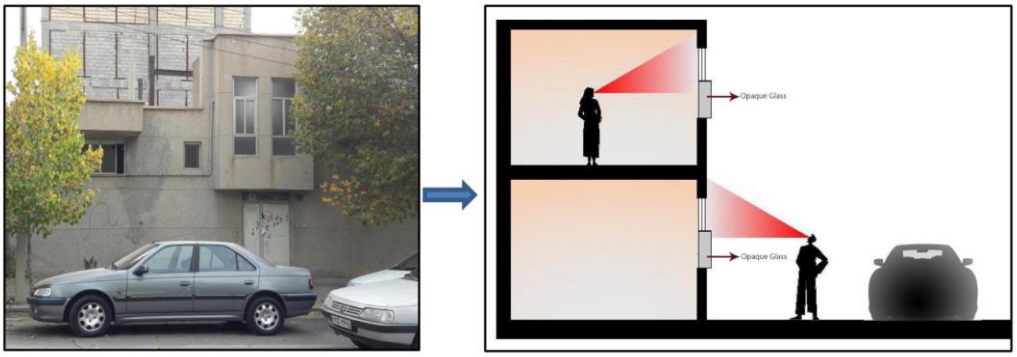


Figure 129. Opaque windows up to 1.80 m hinder visual access both to the exterior and the interior of houses. source: (Author, 2018)

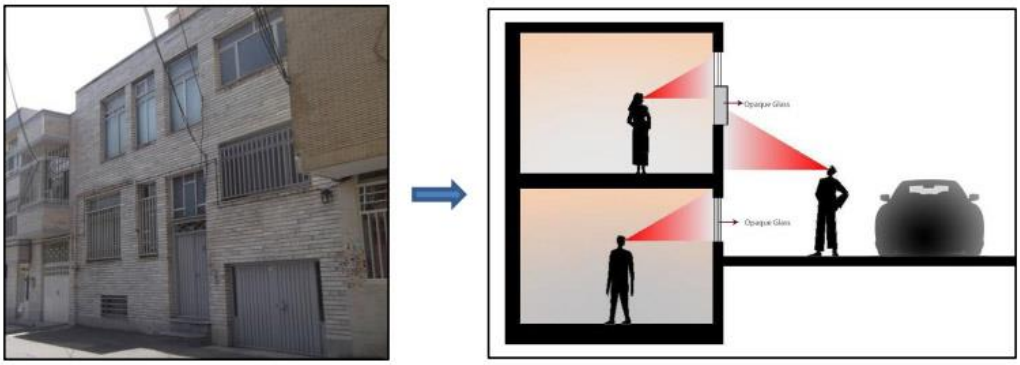


Figure 130. The window of the basement is with Opaque glass and the the windows of the first floor are above the eye level or are opaque. source: (Author, 2018)



Figure 131. Keeping domestic space hidden through the windows was also common in Pre-revolutionary period. source: (Author, 2017)

Another important issue regarding the window openings is that the number, size and the area of windows in an elevation of houses which looks the private yard is more and larger than the windows of a façade which faces the street as it is illustrated in figures 132 and 133. Furthermore, the yard-looking windows are transparent and do not follow the regulation of height as explained for the street-front facades. To be accurate, they can be put in every height according to the preferences of the inhabitants. In this situation, occupants are more attracted and use the spaces near the yard because that side is more lit, delightful and pleasant. Therefore, the street side of the house become silent and less active.

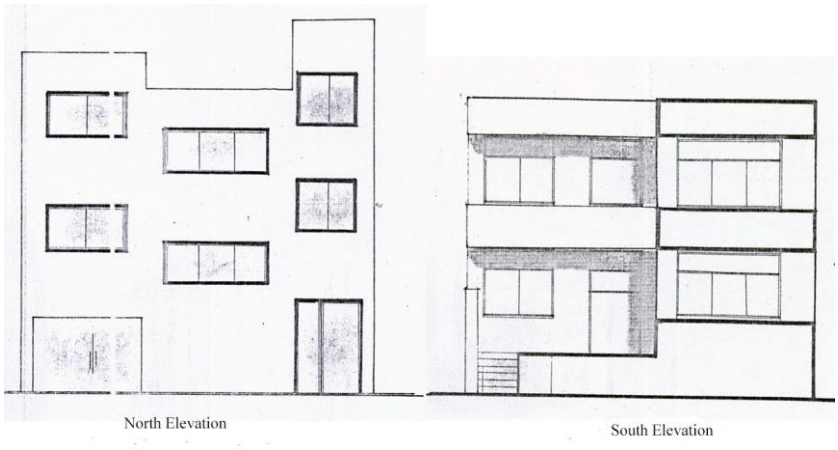


Figure 132. The comparison of openings in two facades of a house: left (street-face façade) right (the façade looks to the yard). source: (Tabriz Municipality's Archive)

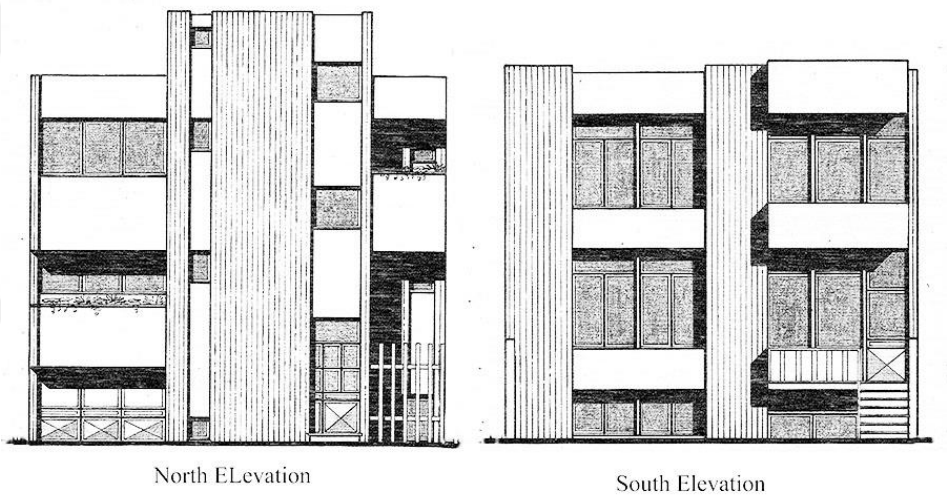


Figure 133. The comparison of openings in two facades of a house: left (street-face façade) right (the façade looks to the yard). source; (Mr Soltani's Archive)

After the continuation of simplicity and monotony in the elevations of houses for a decade, the elevations started to be taken into consideration slowly by home owners and architects from the early 1990s onwards i.e. in the post-war period. It was concurrent with the development of land and property for exchange by residential development organizations in the late 1990s. As Ali Madanipour (1998) points out, a building in addition to its use value (a place to live in) can have an exchange value, that is to say, it functions as a commodity for buying, selling, and also a generator of rent. The acceleration of land values, prices and the extra commodification of property,

led to the maximization of the number and the area of floors in the building projects. Therefore, private investment profoundly concentrated on housing, due to "its immediate utility and its profit-making nature" (Madanipour, 1998). To be accurate, in an economy in which urban land prices have permanently been increasing, investment in land and property has been considered as one of the most assured methods of investment. Figure 134 exemplifies the replacement of a one-story house built in 1980s with the mid-rise apartment building in 1990s, that is to say, the first building was destroyed only 10 years after its construction.

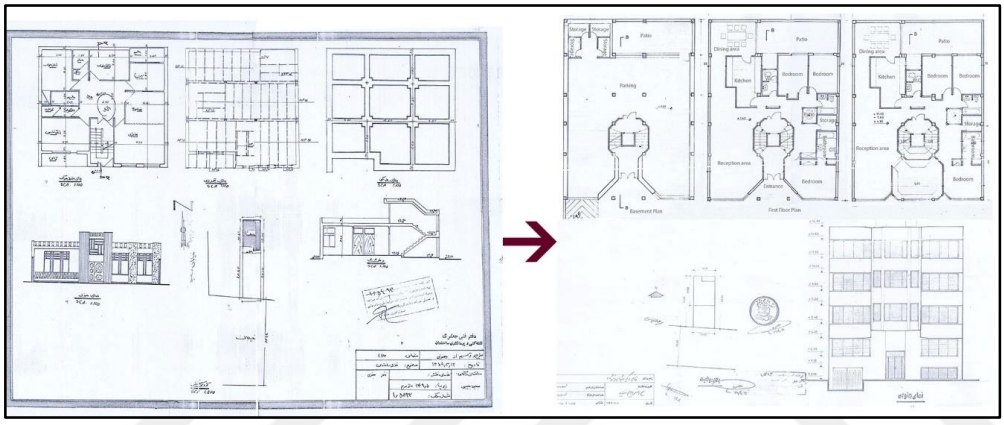


Figure 134. The replacement of a one-storey house built in 1980 (left) with a four storey house in 1990s (right); Valiasr District of Tabriz. source: (Tabriz Municipality's Archive)

According to the sample of study, the changes in the elevations started with some alterations in the shape of the openings. Windows of the houses became larger when compared with the houses built in the war period houses. In the simplest and low cost elevations, arches were used above the windows or the entrance door. The windows that had arches were called by builders as *panjarey-e rumi* (Roman-style window). In terms of materials, brick and marble stone were mostly used in the early 1990s. In some elevations, pilasters and cornices were used as ornamentation. There is a tendency to return to surface textures and historical elements such as classical columns, porches, and arches. Figure 135 exemplify elevations of four houses built in the late 1980s in which historical elements were used.

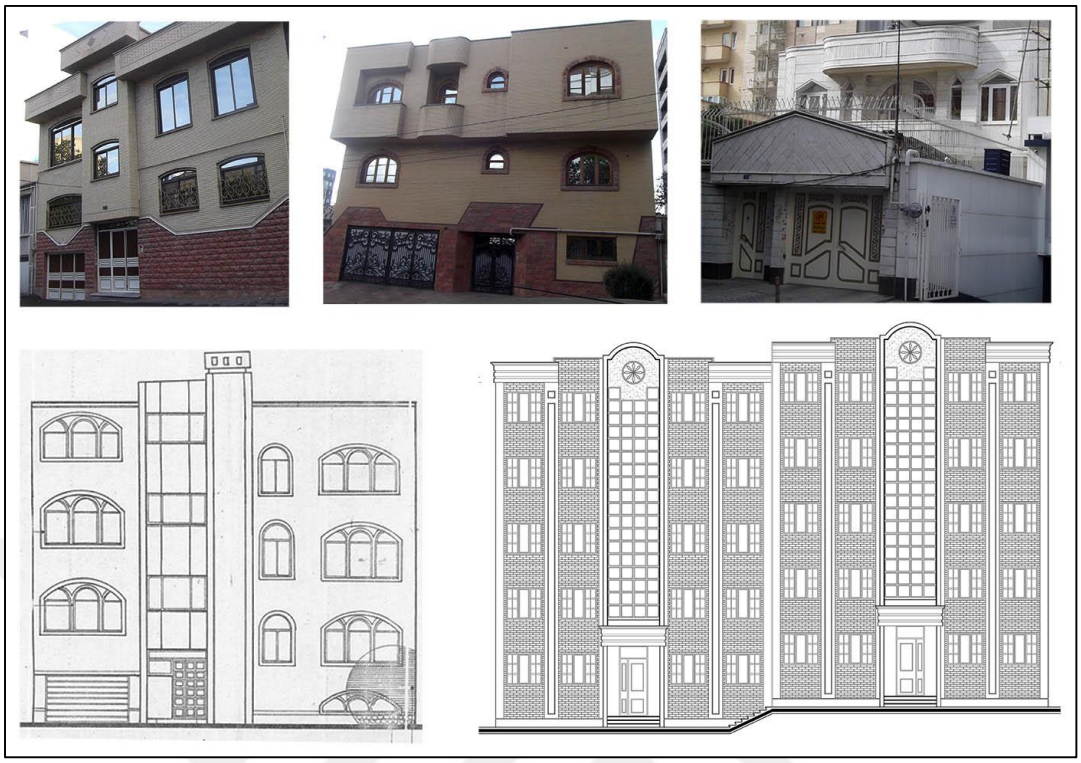


Figure 135. The changes in the elevations in the late 1980s was started with using historical elements such as classical columns, and arches above windows. Vali-asr District. source: (above, Author, 2017; bottom, Tabriz Municipality's Archive)

After a while, the term *rumi* (Roman-style) emerged and became widespread on the elevations and they were called as *nemaye rumi* (Roman-style facade). The vast majority of the houses was built by those who were known as *besaz befroush* (the person who builds and sells), and these people tried to build luxurious and sometimes their work led to the exaggeration in terms of the forms and the materials they used in the elevations. The emphasis of house developers was mostly on entrance spaces and balconies in order to attract home-buyers (Figure 136).

In many cases, moulded architraves were used as decoration elements in the entrance and windows. In some cases, windows were decorated by and cased in the colorful surfaces. The effect of this treatment was considered to be the same as a decorated frame had on an unadorned wall while emphasizing the importance of the window. These types of ornaments and details particular around the windows and entrance spaces were preferred by people. It is noteworthy to mention that *rumi* style facades

existed already in a few two-story single-family houses of the pre-revolutionary period. Figures 137-138 shows two houses from the 1970s in which there was a return to the old patterns that they were imitative and very superficial. Elements such as windows, pilasters, cornices, arcs, columns, and other ornamentation were used repetitively in order to bring enrichment to facades, however, superficial. Obviously, the architects of these houses attempted to stress on the importance of the street fronts by pouring better and attractive materials, colors and more complicated design on them.

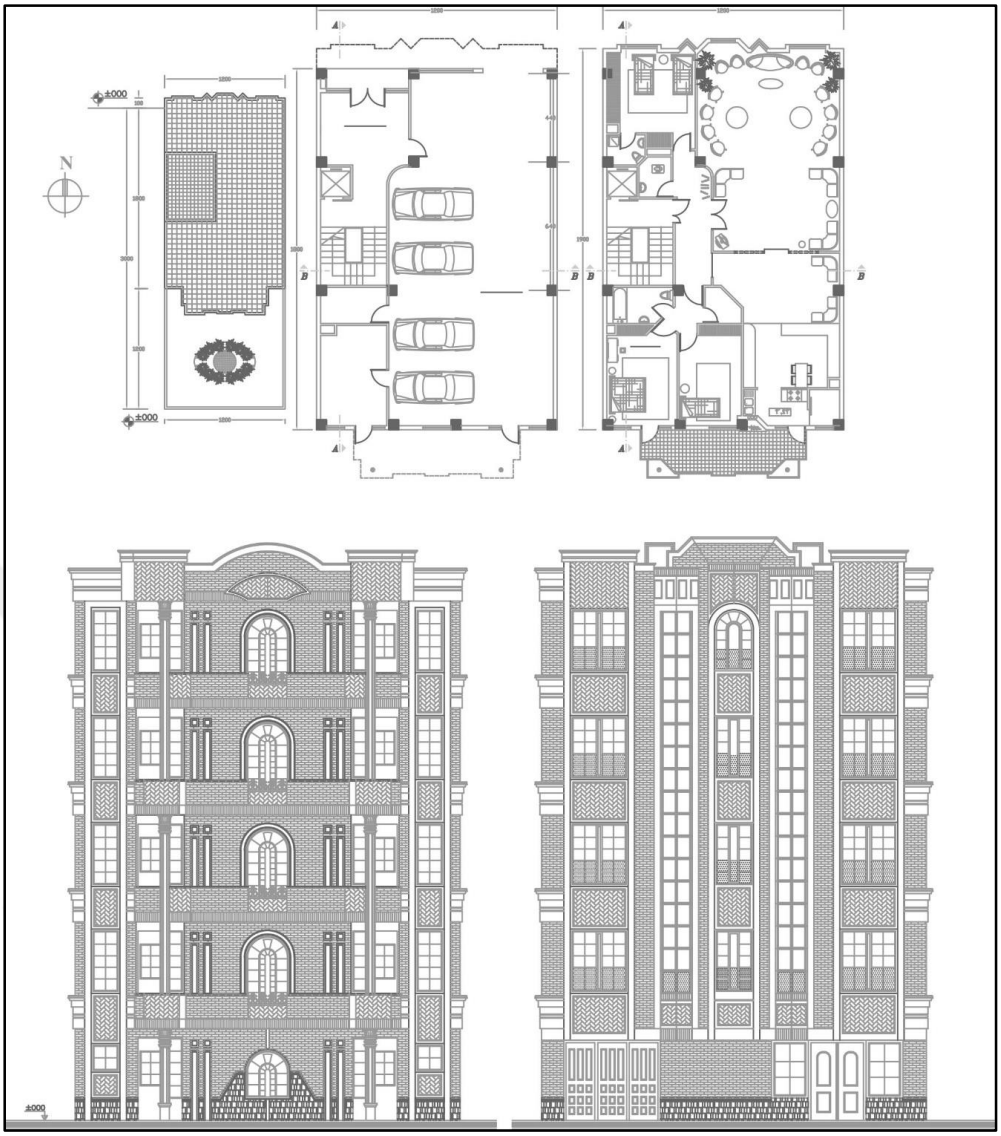


Figure 136. The drawing of a house built in the 1990s, Vali-asr District. source: (Tabriz Municipality's Archive)



Figure 137. The imitative use of old classical elements in facades of a house built in the 1970s, *Vali-asr* District, Tabriz. source: (Author, 2017)



Figure 138. A house built in the 1970s with *rumi* style facade, *Vali-asr* District, Tabriz. source: (Author, 2017)

During the late 1990s in Tabriz, most of the houses were built by the developers who adopted the "build-and-sell" method and were inspired by popular culture and ordinary tastes. In the facades of that period, colorful stones in arbitrary shapes and sometimes accidentally were used. The composition of surfaces on the facades was mostly irregular, and incompatible materials were used extensively (Figure 139). Consequently, these buildings do not have any relation with the modern purity that prevailed in the residential architecture of the 1970s. As a result, an image-oriented architecture emerged and was commodified. From an architectural point of view, however, disorder, chaos, chance, indeterminacy dominate these elevations.



Figure 139. Stone cladding in different colors was used in arbitrary shapes and sometimes accidentally. source: (Author, 2017)

Babak Shokoufi, an Iranian architect, in his two texts “Visual Anarchism the Outcome of Liberalism Minus Culture” and “Living Inside the Birthday Cake” criticizes this type of facades. He properly states that when architect fails to confuse the city body with the kindergarten corridor, the result is the the same as you can see.

As it is seen in figure 140, inconsistency of the windows, is the first point that attract the attention of the viewer. These examples show unsuccessful attempts of architects for the representation of new and unprecedented façade designs in which anything goes and nothing is off-limits (Shokoufi, 2002). Babak Shokoufi’ s criticism recalls Arnold Bearlent’s notion of “negative aesthetics”. According to Berleant (2010), sensory experience is not at all times positive or pleasant, and when it hurts someone’s feeling or causes anxiety, the aesthetic takes the one to the negative realm. Therefore, something is aesthetically negative “when, in the primacy of perceptual experience, the experience as a whole is in some sense unsatisfying, distressing, or harmful” (Berleant, 2010).



Figure 140. Examples of facades that were criticized by Babak Shokoufi. source: (Shokoufi, 2002)

As stated earlier, since the late 1990s, instead of being a living place, ground floor was used as pilotis and parking space in the houses and apartment buildings. As Ali Madanipour states, the negligence of street-level facades gave rise to a strong departure from an emphasis on the street which was emphasized in the early modernization of Iran (Madanipour, 1998). This pattern has become widespread since it has solved the visual privacy problem of ground floor (Figures 141-142).

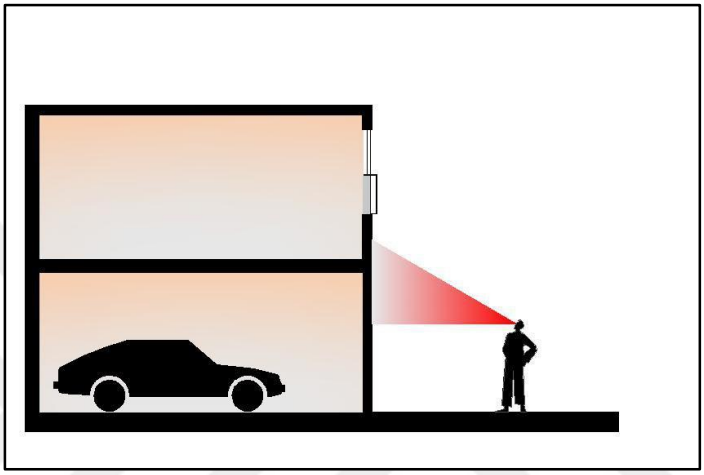


Figure 141. The pattern of dedicating the ground floor to the parking solve the visual privacy of the interior space. source: (Author, 2018)



Figure 142. The use of ground floor as parking space provides invisibility of the domestic interior, Tabriz, Vali-asr District. source: (Author, 2017)

Moreover, as mentioned earlier, balconies that gave richness to the façades of the houses built in the previous decades, were omitted from the facades which look to the street (Figure 143). After the Islamic revolution, however, there is not any written regulation that prevents the constructing of the balcony in the street side, a majority of houses, except a few examples, have not such semi-open spaces in the street elevation. Even in the small number of houses that have balcony in the street side, the balcony is useless and in some cases it was covered by some elements (Figure 144). It seems that the behavior code and the dressing code that the Islamic state indicated for people especially for women led to the uselessness and elimination of balconies. In the early years of Revolution, women were not allowed to appear in balconies without a proper veil defined by the state. They were built only on the elevations that face the building's yard. Furthermore, in some examples, balconies are so narrow and inadequate spaces that movement is difficult within them. Such conditions lead to a bodily experience which is confined, physically intolerable, and repressive. Regarding this kind of spaces, Arnold Berleant (2010) argues that these spaces are likely to be neglected by disuse as they are lifeless and no one wants to be there.

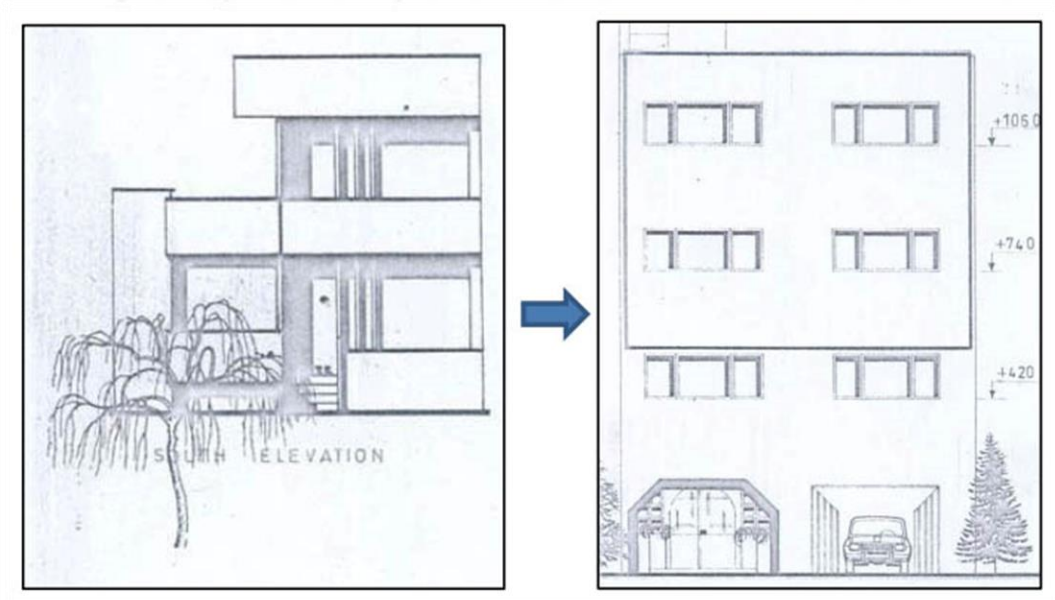


Figure 143. A house built in 1970s was replaced with a four story house in 1990s. Balconies, projections, recessions were omitted in the later façade. source: (Tabriz Municipality's Archive)



Figure 144. The balcony is useless and in some cases it was covered by some elements, Vali-asr District, Tabriz. source: (Author, 2017)

In sum, due to the different conditions of country and diverse intentions of housing developers in the three subsequent decades, façades were treated differently. During the 1970s, house had more use value than exchange value. Therefore, residential façade was considered to be an important part of the houses, thus, what was thought to be an influential in the enrichment and beautification of facades such as composition, recession, projection, material and etc., were regarded by developers and builders. In the 1980s, the revolutionary time, which concurred with eight-year war with Iraq, facades lost their importance like many other subjects and they were subject to deprivation, carelessness, over-simplicity, and featurelessness. In that period, as stated before, the concepts of appearance and visual beauty were undermined in all aspects of life based on Islamic teaching and also the conditions that war brought with itself. In the 1990s, when housing construction was accounted as an important way of investment and profitability, the facades gained their importance. However, the facades were treated superficially in order to bring immediate profit. Developer looked to western classical elements superficially and imitated them in order to bring a kind of novelty to their works and attract clients.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis studied the influence of socio-cultural transformation of Iran on the residential architecture. It explored how the ideology of a state can penetrate into the private life of people, change their way of life and social relations, and influence the design of domestic space through studying two different regimes in Iran. Indeed, the thesis explored how the changes in the individuals' identity, particularly women's identity and gender-relations were spatialized. How the organization of plans and facades of houses corresponded to the mentioned transformations, were displayed.

The study investigated the development and changing ideas, thoughts, and practices in terms of the domestic space in Iran throughout the twentieth century. Through tracing architectural publications and journals, it was revealed that architectural discourses were to some extent consistent with the ideologies of the two different regimes in the twentieth century. In the first Pahlavi period (1925-1941), as the state considered the tradition as a sign of backwardness and as a barrier for the nation's progress, Iranian modernist architects considered the traditional domestic space as incompatible with the modern way of life that was propagated in that period. The new notions including hygiene, rationality, transparency and function in the domestic space were emphasized by architects. However, as it was mentioned, these thoughts of architects were affected by the prevalent discourses of the time worldwide regarding the reforms on domestic space and the modern house. Architects who were mostly educated in Europe adopted some principles of the European modern house and attempted to translate them into the context of Iran. It was displayed that the significant change that occurred in domestic architecture was the introduction of the principle of openness and extroversion to the houses. As explained earlier, traditional houses of Iran had no facades and the entrance door was the only opening that the house could

communicate with the street. In the Pahlavi period, architects designed extroverted house types that had broad windows and balconies toward the street. Visibility was brought to the Iranian houses and the street became visible from the interior of the houses and vice versa during the Pahlavi period. In the last decade of the Pahlavi period, however, concurrent with worldwide discourse on critical regionalism, the discourses of 'authentic culture' and 'identity' took the attention of Iranian architects. Different congresses and exhibitions were held in order to discuss about the Iranian identity and local culture. Architects of the 1970s, paid attention to the local architectural features and Iranians' life styles in their designs. Kamran Diba's housing complex in Shushtar was exemplary of this approach. After the Islamic revolution, this discourse of identity was changed a little and replaced with the Islamic Identity. The contents of architectural publications and the curriculum of the schools of architecture were subject to some shifts and they changed in favor of the Islamic values. The architecture student excursions to historical cities organized by universities multiplied in order to familiarize the students with the traditional structures and buildings. In the domestic architecture, traditional principles including introversion and the separation of public-private spaces in the interiors were emphasized by architects once again. Some codes were added to building regulations in order to hinder the connection between the domestic space as private space and the street as the public space. All these changes by architects, architectural journals, conferences, exhibitions, and building codes gave rise to the appearance of sharp boundaries between the inside and the outside in domestic architecture in particular in the post-revolutionary period. Since the transformation of domestic architecture is not solely influenced by architects and professionals, that is to say, the individuals' social space and habitus are also influential in the spatial organization of domestic space, this thesis dealt with these issues in chapter 3 by emphasizing the relationship between women and domestic space.

The argument was that woman identity was reflected in the domestic space and affected its architecture. In other words, the woman identity and domestic architecture

were interrelated in the history of Iran like in many other countries. In the twentieth century Iran, the woman identity was subject to different ideologies. This thesis basically adopted Bourdieu's arguments related to 'social space', and 'physical space' in order to understand how and in what ways the 'social space', which was shaped and structured by different ideologies of the two opposite regimes, were translated into the domestic space as a type of physical space. The study also benefited from the theories related to the gender and space and the domestication and spatialization of gender in Islamic and non-Islamic contexts. Through investigating the printed and the visual media, the woman identity was shaped in Iran. In the Pahlavi period, unveiling of women along with their education, their presence in the public realm were considered to be signs of being a modern woman as propagated by the Pahlavi state. The ideal and imagination of the Pahlavi regime about the modern woman was the European woman who cares about her beauty, education, health, social life and also her domestic space. The beautification of the woman body and domestic space were represented in the media of Pahlavi period in parallel. In the mass media, a beautiful and healthy woman was located in the commercial advertisements of the modern home appliances and furniture. With the emergence of Islamic revolution, most of the social values underwent a fundamental transformation. Many of social activities were considered by the new Islamic state as immoral, corrupted, and un-Islamic. For the post-revolutionary period, this thesis proposed the concept of the 'aesthetics of invisibility' for evaluating the domestic space. The study highlighted that 'invisibility' have been aestheticized morally and it was represented in different cultural contexts, for instance, architecture and visual media. The redefinition of gender relation and women's veiling were dominant factors that brought the invisibility to the women's life and their domestic space. Veiling and the concealment of the beauty of the woman body was valued based on moral beauty. They were considered to protect the society from moral corruption in accordance to Islamic teaching. Different metaphors and slogans were used in order to aestheticize the ideal woman of the Islamic state who was a veiled, simple, secluded in her domestic space as a mother of her children, and finally a militant woman. It was revealed that the segregation of men and women in social

events accentuated the seclusion and the invisibility of women. The domestic space was subject to the new Islamic identity of women. As it was explained in chapter 3, the veiling was mirrored in the decoration of domestic spaces. Using covers and draperies became widespread in that time. Curtains were used in interiors in order to separate the open-kitchen and living rooms. Reception rooms were designed large in order to house large gatherings of women who did not hold their large gatherings in the public spaces. In some cities, certain parks were designed only for women that led to accelerated gender segregation in the public spaces and the invisibility of women. The women parks can be interpreted as large *andaruni* (private) in the public realm of the city.

In order to verify this conceptual discussion, the case study was conducted on selected houses in *Vali-asr* District in Tabriz. The organization of plans and elevations of houses, which were built between 1978-2000 were investigated and their transformation were discussed throughout the two decades. The structure of social space and habitus of Iranians, which were discussed in the chapter 1 and chapter 3 demonstrated themselves in the furnishing of houses (chapter 3), the shape of spatial differentiation, appropriated spaces in the plan layouts, and in the organization of the elevations (particularly street elevations) of the houses studied (chapter 4). In other words, residents' practices, social life, and their Islamic beliefs including ritual purity, gender segregation, women's veiling and visual privacy were particularly influential concepts in the organization of interior spaces and elevations. They led to the creation of central hall in the houses of 1980s and the placement of the daily living rooms in the courtyard side away from the street in the houses of 1990s that conformed with the notions of introverted-ness of Iranians (discussed in chapter 1) and the separation and invisibility of the private life from the public world. In all plans studied, the existence of a transition space whether in the shape of a yard in the northern houses or in the form of an entrance space in the southern houses led to the dis-connectivity of interior spaces with the street. The presence of a transition space was also consistent with the belief of a ritual purity in which outside (street) was considered to be ritually unclean

and shoes had to be taken off outside of the interiors. The walled courtyards brought about an opportunity for housewives to do their daily activities without being disrupted visually by the neighbors or outsiders. The dedication of a separate closed room for guests and its L-shape form in the majority of houses of the 1980s allowed for the separation of females and males during large gatherings in a way that women sat in one wing of L-shape room and men in the other wing. In the early open-plan houses (late 1980s and early 1990s), in which living and reception rooms were mixed together, the kitchen and bedrooms were still considered as private rooms and they were separated sharply through physical barriers or level difference in the plan layouts. During the large gatherings, women were separated from men through occupation of different parts of the house or different floors in two or three storey individual houses. Moreover, the kitchen was separated from other spaces through a door. In some examples of early open plans, there was a small fenestration or opening in one of walls of the kitchen that related it with the dining room; male guests should not enter the kitchen because it was considered as the private space of women and only female guest could enter it in order to help the housewife of the family.

In the late open plan houses of the years between 1995 and 2000, kitchens were integrated to other public rooms of the houses. In spite of the openness of the plan, the public-private segregation was implemented symbolically or the usage of some physical barriers like curtain when there was a non-family male guests, as illustrated in chapter 3. In the open plan layouts, this separation occurred in a way that male guests occupied the more formal furnished part of the reception area and female guests occupied the less formal furnished area which was usually the living area near the kitchen. The observation of houses showed that, however, the plan was open, the practice of life was not as open as the plan layout was. The furnishing and decoration of reception areas as the open part of house rarely gave any information from the private life of the household, for example, no female pictures were hanged in the reception areas, but men's pictures could be hanged everywhere. It was observed that private spaces of the houses including bedrooms were separated from open living-

dining-receptions areas through a hall which was called as a filter by Iranians. Moreover, in these open plans, all active rooms in terms of daily life, were placed in a way that they were faced the courtyard. The street side was occupied by the stairway and less active rooms. Moreover, dedication of ground floors for the parking space, the height and opaque glass of the windows of elevations facing the street, and elimination of balconies from the street elevations all hindered the connectivity of domestic space with the street and led to the invisibility of domestic space. It was explored in chapter 4, the number of houses that had balcony on the street side was rare or even those houses that had balconies facing the street was useless. The strict behavior and dress code that the Islamic state had defined for people, especially for women in the early years of the revolution prohibited the use of balconies or such open spaces in the street side.

Consequently, as the study revealed that the residential architecture in this district was designed in the post-revolutionary period in such a way that one had to turn her/his back on the exterior life, and immersed oneself in the private space of the house. This thesis highlighted that the changes in the domestic architecture cannot be thought of as separate from the shifts in the social values as well as the social relations in a society. It was revealed that the changes in the Iranian society and the practice of everyday life based on Islamic teachings were influential in the spatial organization and elevations of houses. The social relations had been mirrored in the domestic space. It was explored that the domestic space as a type of physical space had been "the crystallized reproduction of the social space" as Bourdieu (1999) pointed out. The findings of the study attested that the two opposing concepts of visibility and invisibility had been at the center of the architectural discourses around domestic space in Iran in Pahlavi period and in post-revolutionary period respectively. These two concepts, which were based on the ideologies of the two regimes, took aesthetic masks. The 'aesthetics of invisibility' dominated the residential architecture of two decades of post-revolutionary Iran as it shadowed many aspects of Iranian's life, specially women's life.

Due to the scope of the dissertation, every research has its own limitations that can be a subject matter of future studies. The present research concentrated on the influence of socio-cultural transformation of Iran on individual houses in Tabriz between the years 1980s and 1990s. In order to be manageable, the research focused on individual houses and, hence, large scale housing including mass housing, were not studied in the thesis. Further researches can investigate the architecture of mass housing of that period in order to provide more complementary information on residential architecture of the years between 1980 and 2000.

The concept of "aesthetics of invisibility" proposed in this research is applicable to other fields that their subject areas are in relation with everyday life of Iranian people during the 1980s and 1990s. It is supposed that the consideration of the "aesthetics of invisibility" in different fields including art, may be complementary to the results of this thesis.

The time period studied in this dissertation (1980s and 1990s), were critical decades in the history of Iran, which were totally different both from previous decades and after 2000. This period was concurrent with the beginning of Islamic state, Iran-Iraq war, and the construction period after the war. In this period, Islamic ideologies promoted by the state were at their climax in terms of their acceptance by people. As it was clarified in this thesis, people's private and social life, were consistent with the ideology of Islamic state.

However, as some Iranian scholars believe, the life style, expectation, and taste of Iranian people has changed extremely after the reform period in Iran concurrent with the presidency of Mohammad Khatami. From 2000s onwards, the dominance of Islamic codes on people's life has gradually decreased. That is to say, the position of women and their private and social life has changed. The propagation of technology and global culture through the Internet and satellite TV was not without effect in the transformation of Iranian's lifestyles. Indeed, the shifts in lifestyles and people's taste have affected their contemporary domestic space design. Therefore, investigation of

residential architecture of Iran after 2000 could verify the idea of domestic space as a translated form of socio-cultural values of a society. It will demonstrate how the relaxation and the elimination of strict rules in everyday life of people could reflect in their domestic architecture.

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APPENDICES

A. The plans and Elevations of Central-hall House Types Built between 1978-1990

A. 1. The plans and elevations of central-hall type houses in the southern lots

Central-hall type houses in **southern lot**, that is to say, they have two elevations; one facing the street, and the other one facing the courtyard

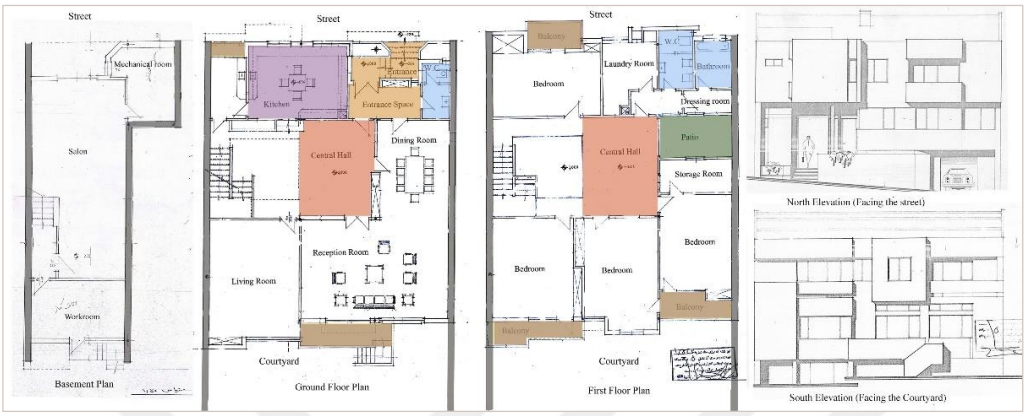
House A. 1



This two-storey house with a basement was built in the 1979 (during the revolution). It followed a design principles of the Pahlavi period. It was observed during its destroying process by the author and the basement could not be visited as it was full of barriers that prohibited entering. According to its owner, the basement like many other basements of the period included a large multifunctional room, mechanical room, and storage. In the plan layout, all room located around a central hall. It was an exemplary house of the transition period which included balconies and large openings towards the street. However, the windows of the street elevation (north elevation) are opaque and balconies of the street elevation are smaller and narrower than the elevation which faces the courtyard (south elevation).

Central-hall type houses in **southern lot**, that is to say, they have two elevations; one facing the street, and the other one facing the courtyard

House A. 2



This two-storey house with a basement was built in the 1980. It has a twisted entrance space that prohibits the visibility of the interior spaces from the entrance door. Windows and balconies of the street elevation are smaller and narrower than the elevation which faces the courtyard (south elevation).

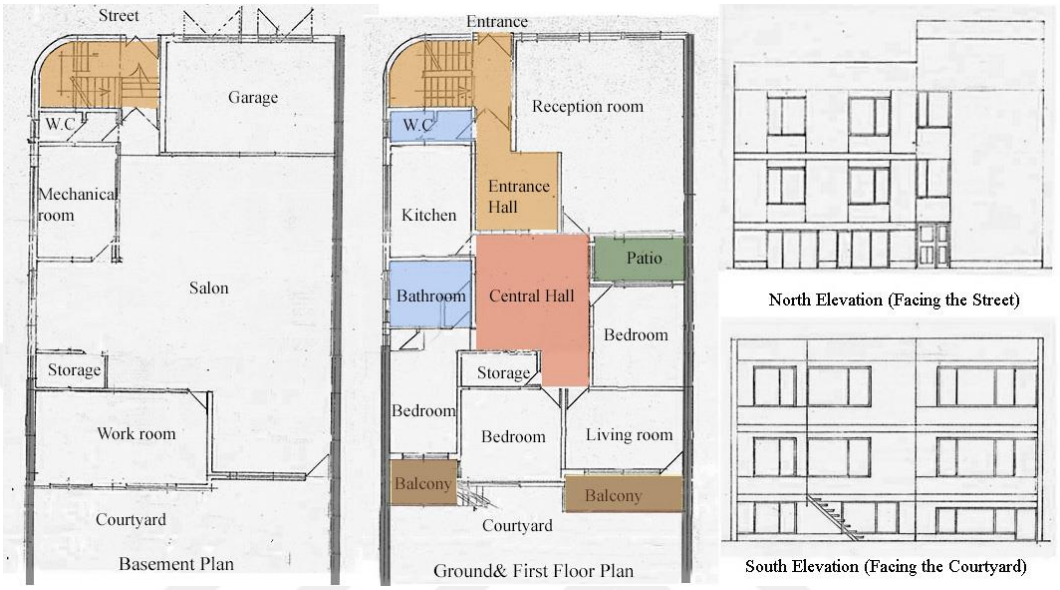
House A. 3



This house which was designed by H. Soltani in 1982, had a semi-private space (front yard) in front of the building which acted as a transition space. This type of semi-private space appeared in the north elevation of southern houses during the Pahlavi period, repeated in the early years of the Islamic period, and then disappeared in the following years.

Central-hall type houses in the **southern lots**, that is to say, they have two elevations; one facing the street, and the other one facing the courtyard

House A. 4



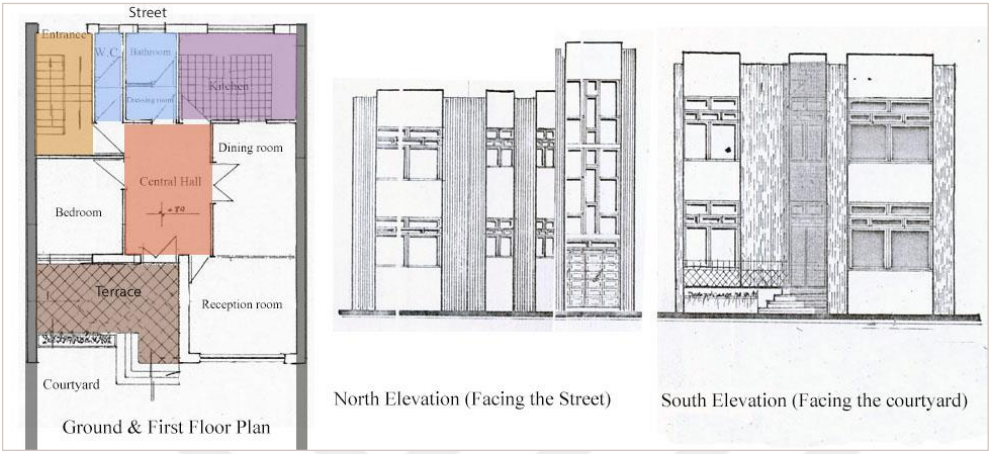
House A. 5



This house designed by Sh. Mohammadi in 1982. The balconies located in the south elevation which faces the courtyard.

Central-hall type houses in the **southern lots**, that is to say, they have two elevations; one facing the street, and the other one facing the courtyard

House A. 6



This house was designed in 1984. The openness in the south elevation which faces the courtyard is more than the north elevation which faces the street.

House A. 7



This house was designed in 1985. It is observed that north elevation is more poor than the south elevation in terms of openness. This type of plan layout and elevation was repeated in some other houses.

Central-hall type houses in **southern lot**, that is to say, they have two elevations; one facing the street, and the other one facing the courtyard

House A. 8



This house was designed by *Komiteh-ye Naghshehaye Shakhtemani* (The committee of buildings' drawings). It has typical central-hall plan that was prevalent in 1980s.

House A. 9



Typical central-hall house type which was designed in 1985.

Central-hall type houses in **southern lot**, that is to say, they have two elevations; one facing the street, and the other one facing the courtyard

House A. 10



This two-storey house which was built in 1985, has typical central hall and the openness in its street elevation is less than its south elevation which faces the courtyard.

House A. 11



This two-storey house with a basement was designed by M. Mashinchi in 1985.

Central-hall type houses in **southern lot**, that is to say, they have two elevations; one facing the street, and the other one facing the courtyard

House A. 12



This house designed by H. Soltani in 1983 has three elevations due to its location at the corner of the street. Its street elevations (west and north) are more closed than the courtyard elevation.

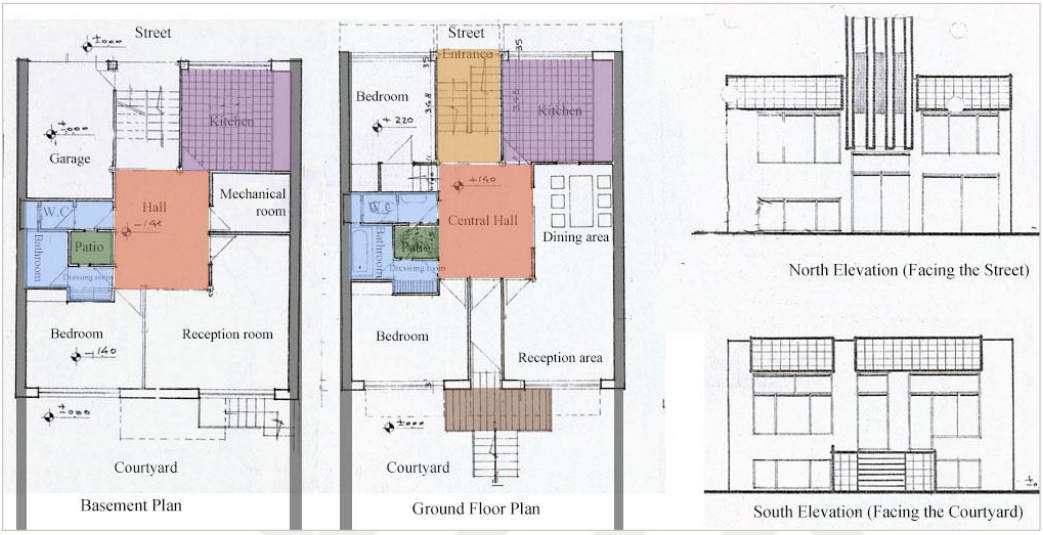
House A. 13



This house was designed by *Komiteh-ye Naghshehaye Shakhtemani* (The committee of buildings' drawings) in the 1980s. This type of plan layout and elevation has been repreated in many other houses of the 1980s.

Central-hall type houses in **southern lot**, that is to say, they have two elevations; one facing the street, and the other one facing the courtyard

House A. 14



This house was designed by *Komiteh-ye Naghshehaye Shakhtemani* (The committee of buildings' drawings) in the 1986.

House A. 15

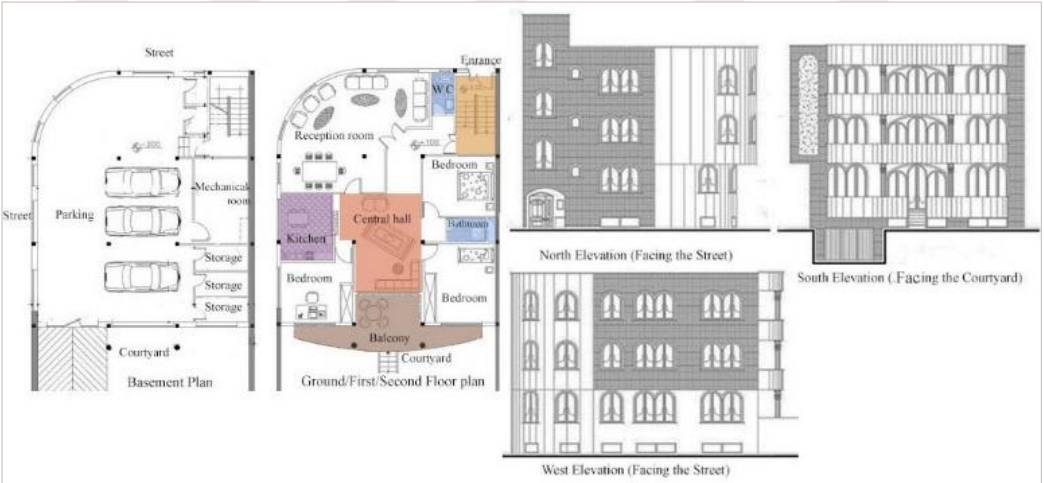


Central-hall type houses in **southern lot**, that is to say, they have two elevations; one facing the street, and the other one facing the courtyard

House A. 16



House A. 17



Central-hall type houses in **southern lot**, that is to say, they have two elevations; one facing the street, and the other one facing the courtyard

House A. 18

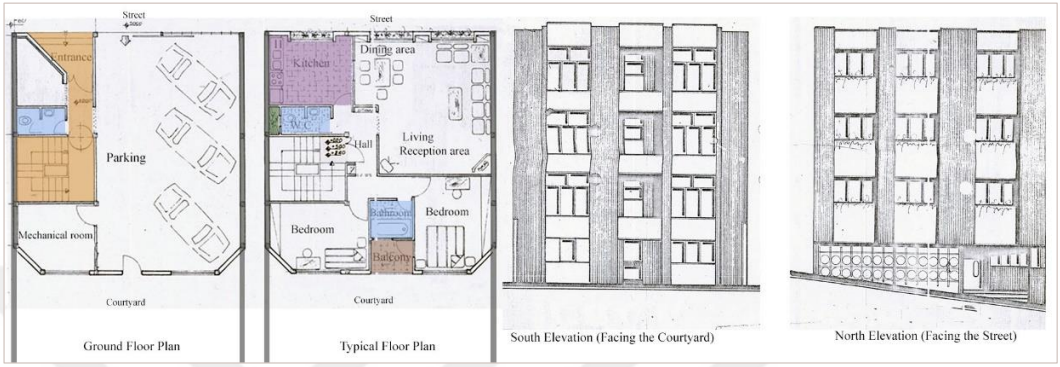


House A. 19



Central-hall type houses in **southern lot**, that is to say, they have two elevations; one facing the street, and the other one facing the courtyard

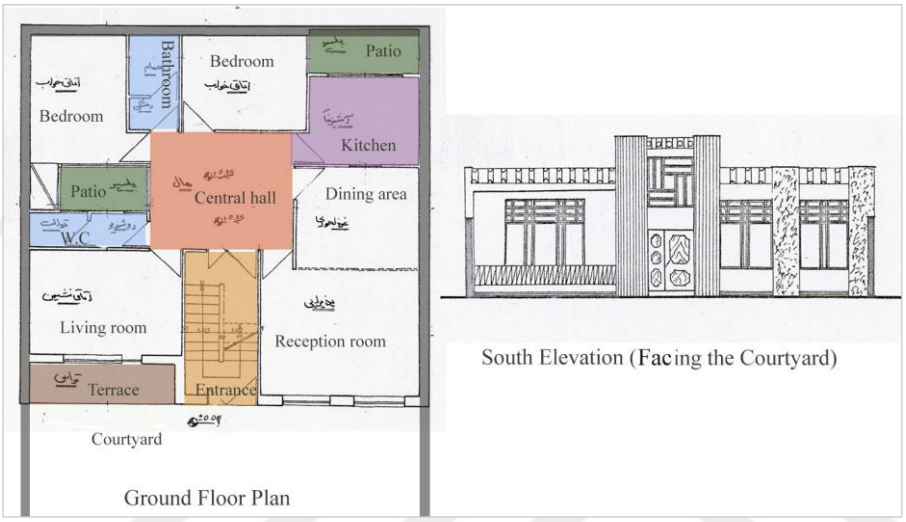
House A. 20



A.2. The Plans and Elevations of Central-Hall Type Houses in the Northern Lots

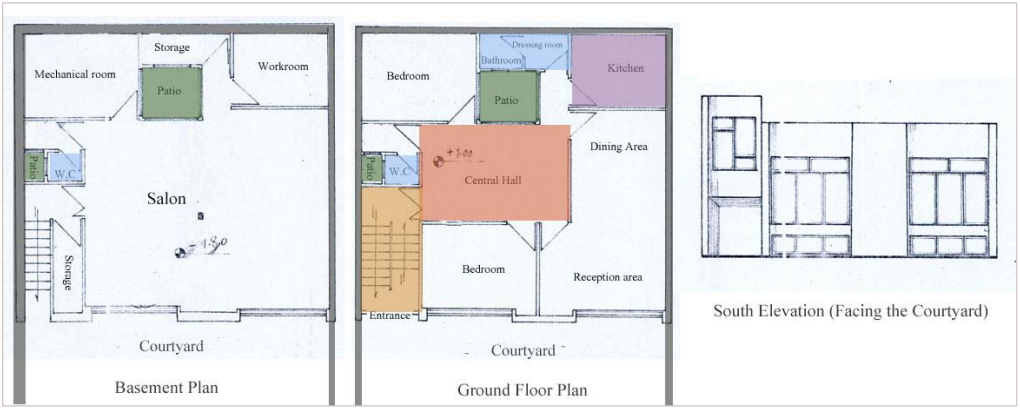
Central-hall type houses in the **northern lots**, that is to say, they have south elevation that looks the courtyard. Exceptional cases are those house that located at the edge of street which have two elevations.

House A. 21



This house was designed by Jafari in the 1980. The courtyard is between the street and the interior spaces. It acts as a buffer zone between the outside and the inside. Its elevation faces the courtyard.

House A. 22



Typical Central-hall House, which had only one elevation looking to the courtyard.

Central-hall type houses in **northern lot**, that is to say, they have south elevation that looks the courtyard. Exceptional cases are those house that located at the edge of street which have two elevations.

House A. 23



House A. 24

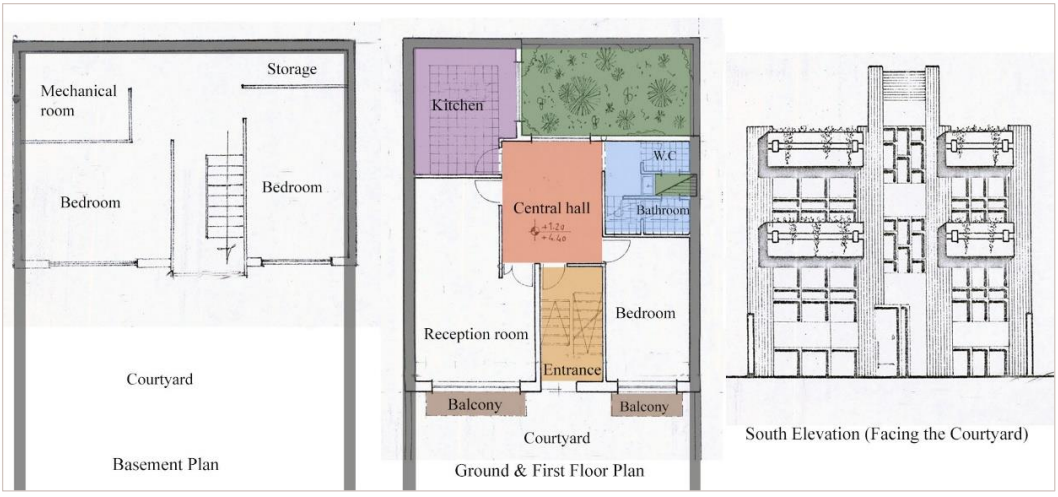


Central-hall type houses in **northern lot**, that is to say, they have south elevation that looks the courtyard. Exceptional cases are those house that located at the edge of street which have two elevations.

House A. 25

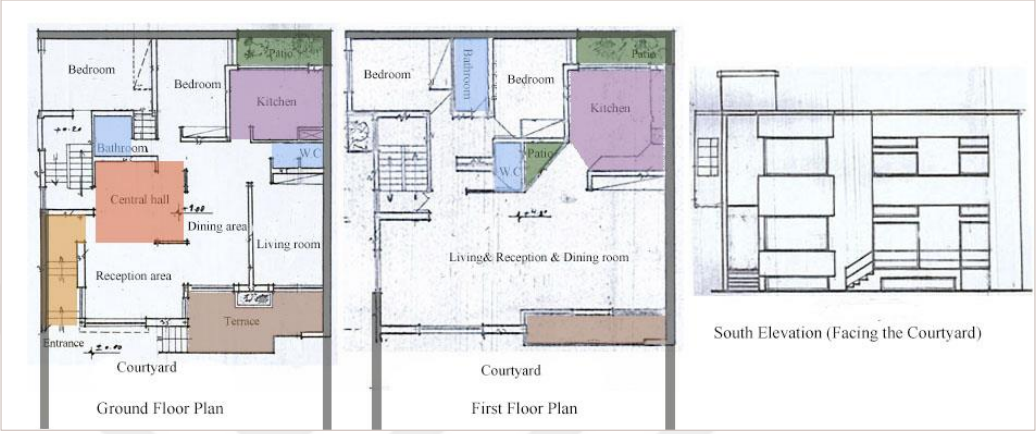


House A. 26



Central-hall type houses in **northern lot**, that is to say, they have south elevation that looks the courtyard. Exceptional cases are those house that located at the edge of street which have two elevations.

House A. 27



This two storey house has hybrid type of plan; The first plan is central-hall type and the sencod floor plan is the early open plan layout in which living room, dining room, and reception room are mixed together while the kithcen is separated by door from other spaces.

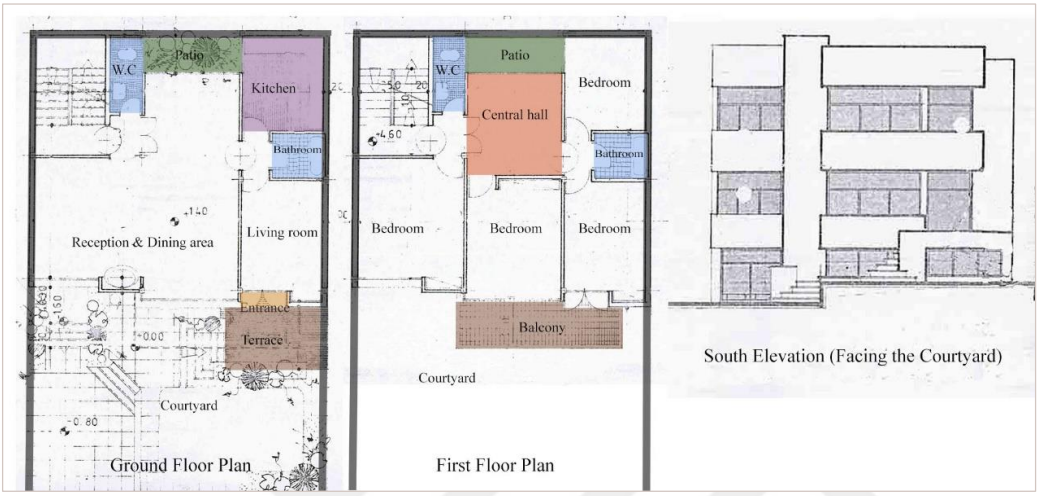
House A. 28



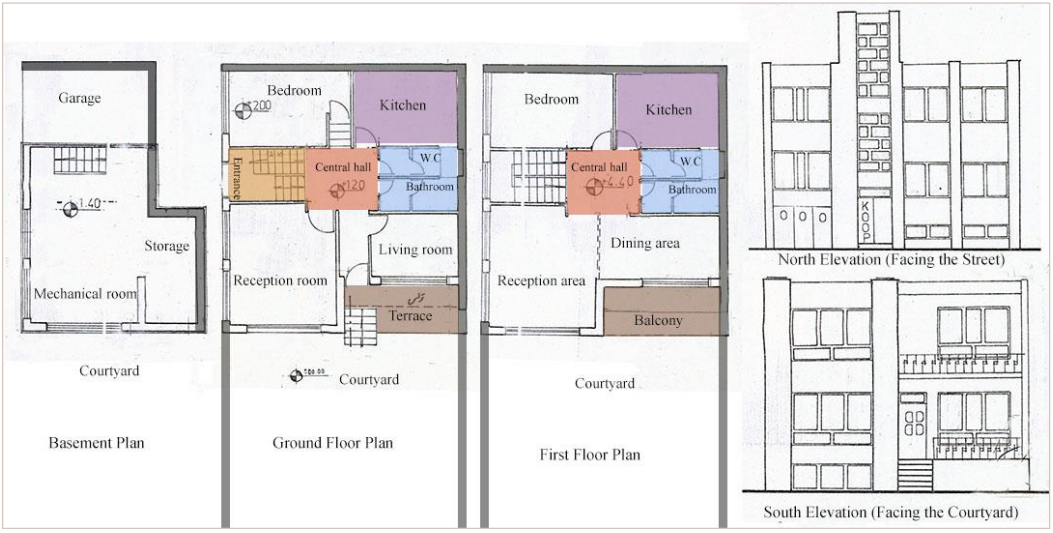
This two-storey house with a basement located at the corner of the street that led to have two elevations unlike usual northern houses which have one elevation.

Central-hall type houses in **northern lot**, that is to say, they have south elevation that looks the courtyard. Exceptional cases are those house that located at the edge of street which have two elevations.

House A. 29



House A. 30

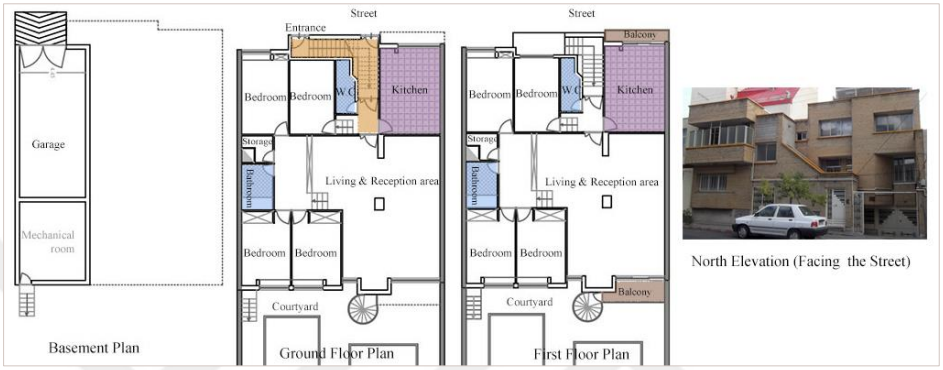


B. The Plans and Elevations of Early Open Plan Houses Built in the Late 1980s and Early 1990s

B. 1. Early Open Houses in the Southern Lots

Early open plan houses in the **southern lots** built in the late 1980s and early 1990s

House B. 1



This house is one the early open plans in which the living room, reception room, dining room are mixed together as a public area and permit free circulation while the private bedrooms and bathrooms were separated from the private part of the house with partitions and level difference.

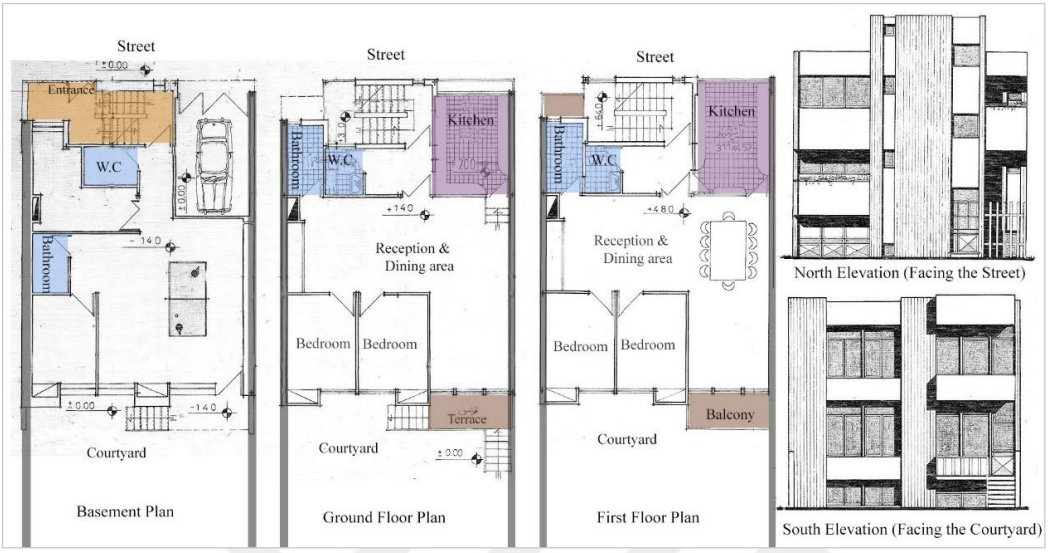
House B. 2



This early open plan house was designed in the 1991 by H. Soltani. This house due to its location at the corner of the street has three elevations unlike normal southern houses which have two houses.

Early open plan houses in the **southern lots** built in the late 1980s and early 1990s

House B. 3



This two storey house with a basement was designed in the 1994. It is entered through a twisted entrance space which bring about the invisibility of the interior spaces. Moreover, its street façade has small windows in comparison with the courtyard elevation.

House B. 4



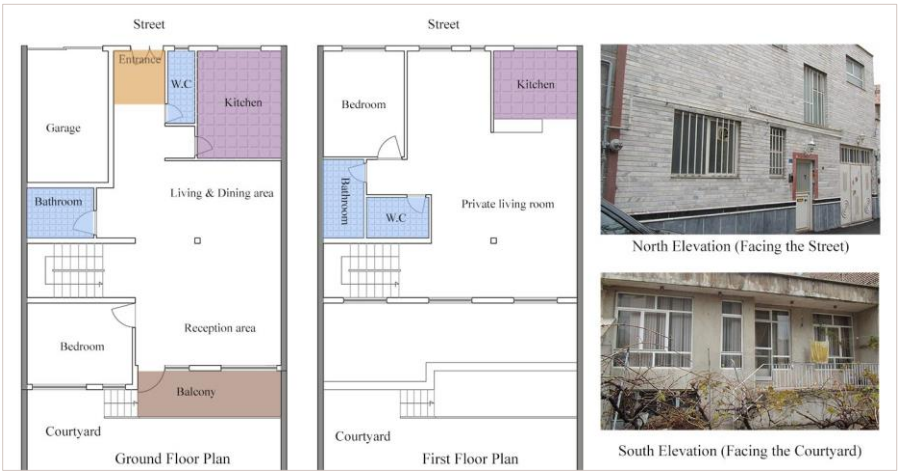
Early open plan houses in the **southern lots** built in the late 1980s and early 1990s

House B. 5



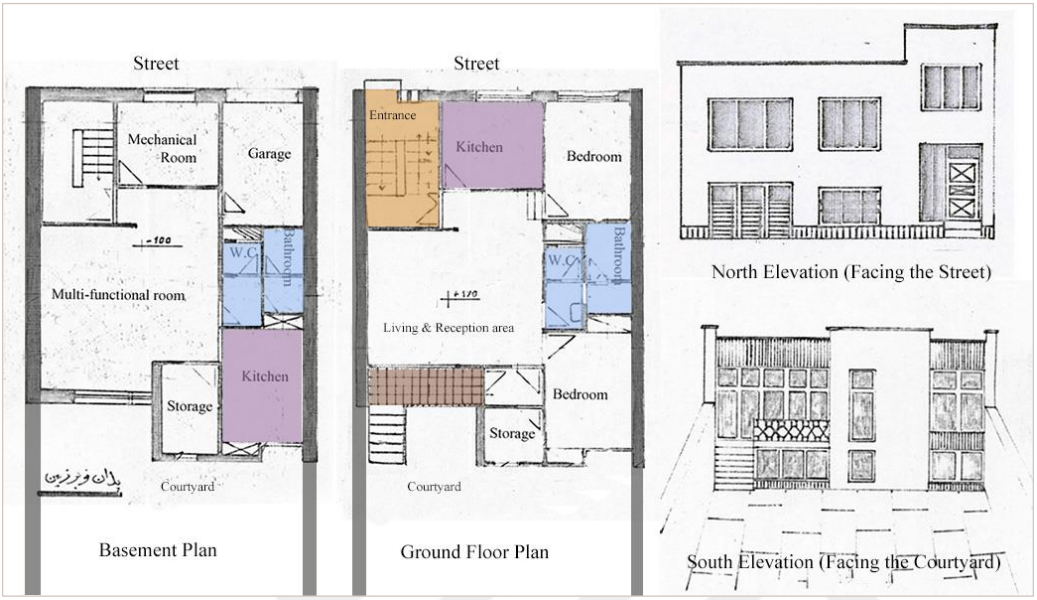
In this house, the windows are only for the getting daylight. Because of their height, the windows of the street elevation do not permit looking outside.

House B. 6



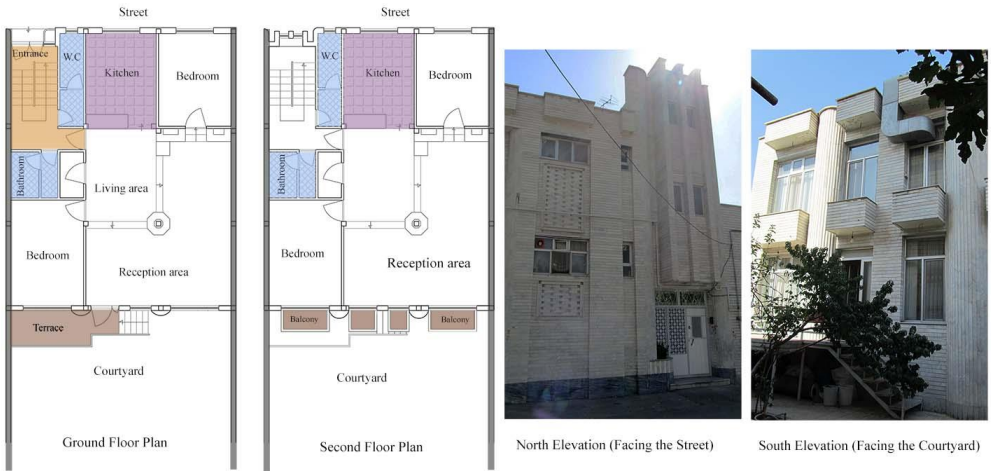
Early open plan houses in the **southern lots** built in the late 1980s and early 1990s

House B. 7



This houses which was designed by J. Salek Zamankhani in 1986 can be called the early open layout in which central hall has been eliminated and living room integrated into the reception room.

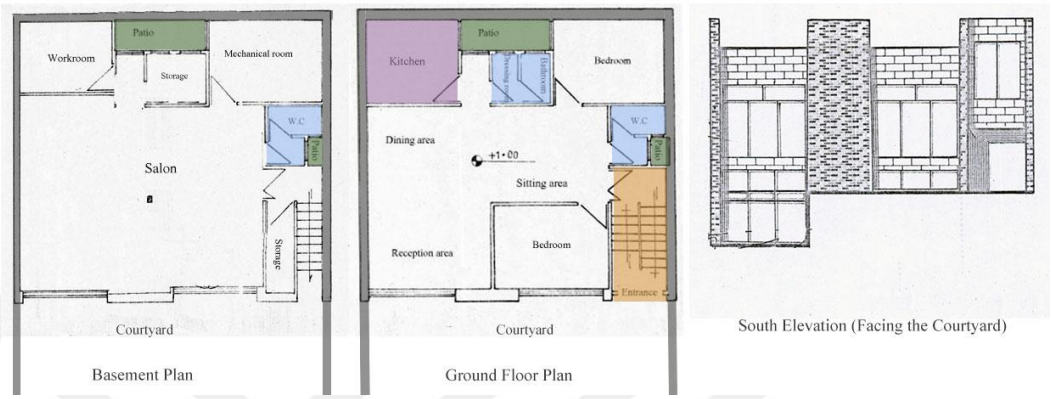
House B. 8



B.2. Early Open Houses in the Northern Lots

Early open plan houses in the northern lots built in the late 1980s and early 1990s

House B. 9



House B. 10

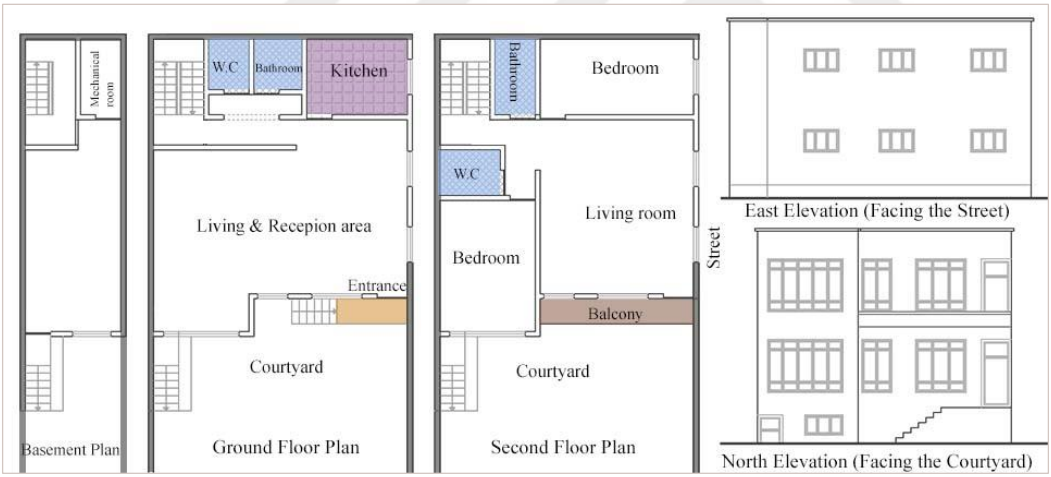


Early open plan houses in the northern lots built in the late 1980s and early 1990s

House B. 11



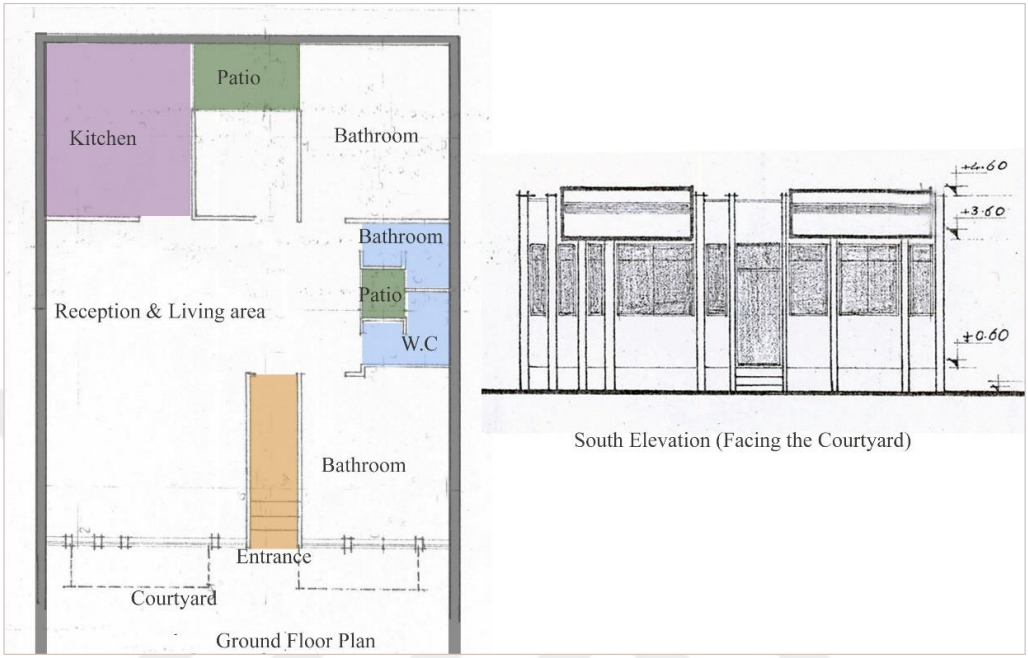
House B. 12



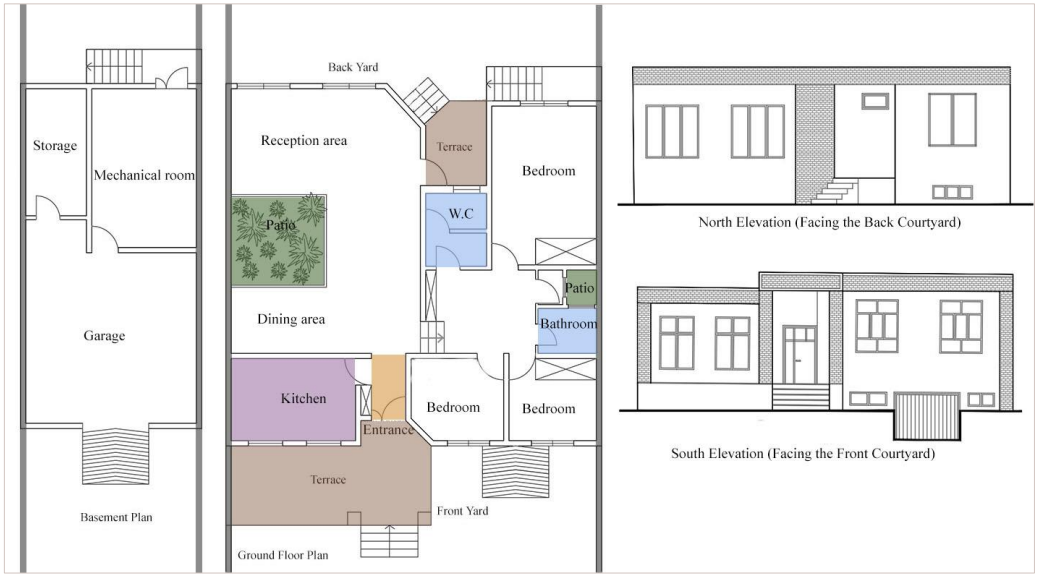
As it is seen, the east elevation of this house which faces the street has smaller windows than the north elevation which faces the courtyard. Therefore, interior space is invisible from the street.

Early open plan houses in the northern lots built in the late 1980s and early 1990s

House B. 13



House B. 14

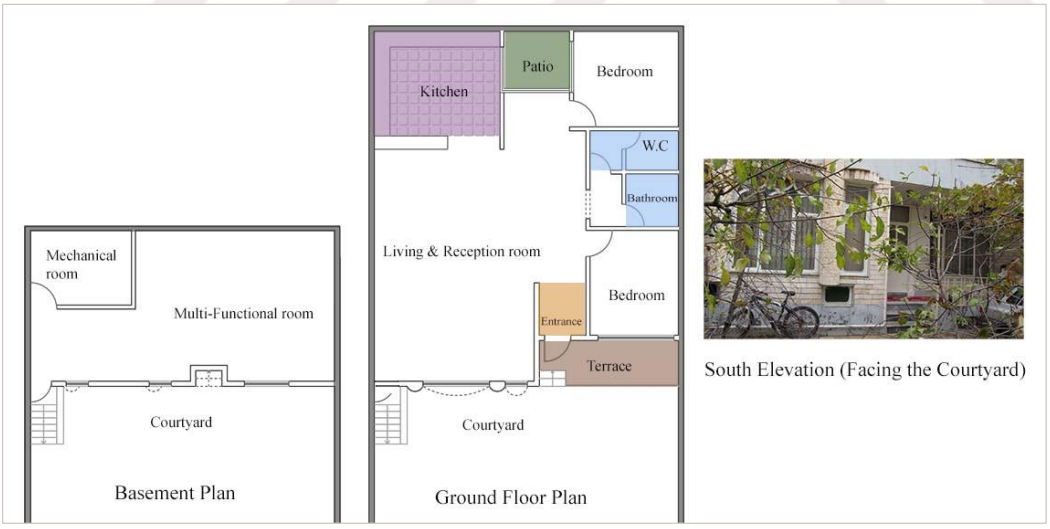


Early open plan houses in the northern lots built in the late 1980s and early 1990s

House B. 15



House B. 16



C. The Plans and Elevations of the Late Open Plan Houses Built between 1995-2000

C. 1. Late Open Houses in the Southern Lots

Late open plan houses in the southern houses built between 1995-2000

House C.1



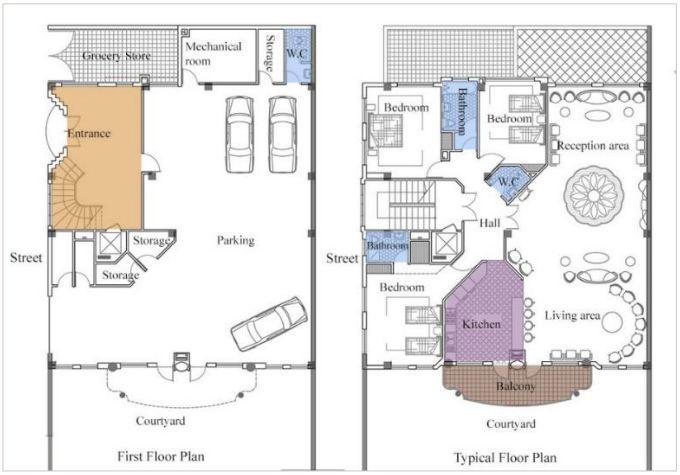
This house is an example of the "construction decade" (post-war period) in which multi-storey apartment buildings were prevalent. However, in that time, a majority of the apartment buildings were occupied by members of a family. However, the openness of the plan allows free circulation in the public area of the house, the street elevation do not permit a connectivity with the outside world.

Late open plan houses in the southern houses built between 1995-2000

House C.2



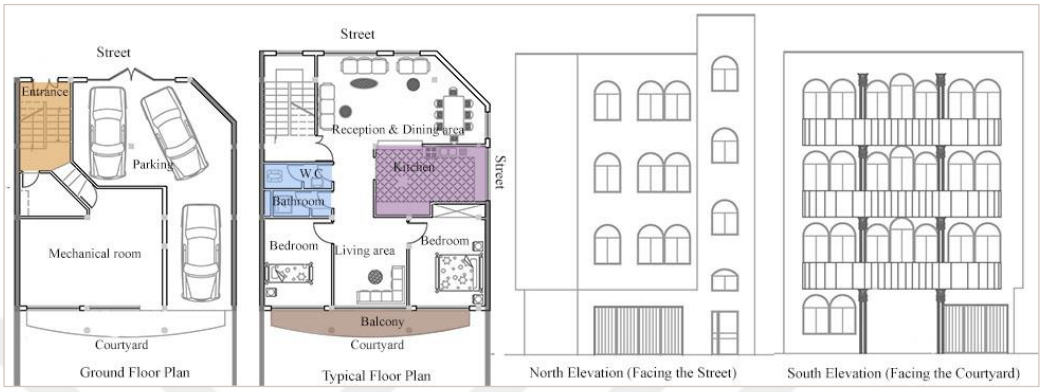
House C.3



In this open-plan house, the private bedrooms were completely separated from public area of the house through a hall as a filter. Its elevations are missed.

Late open plan layout in the southern houses built between 1995-2000

House C.4



House C.5



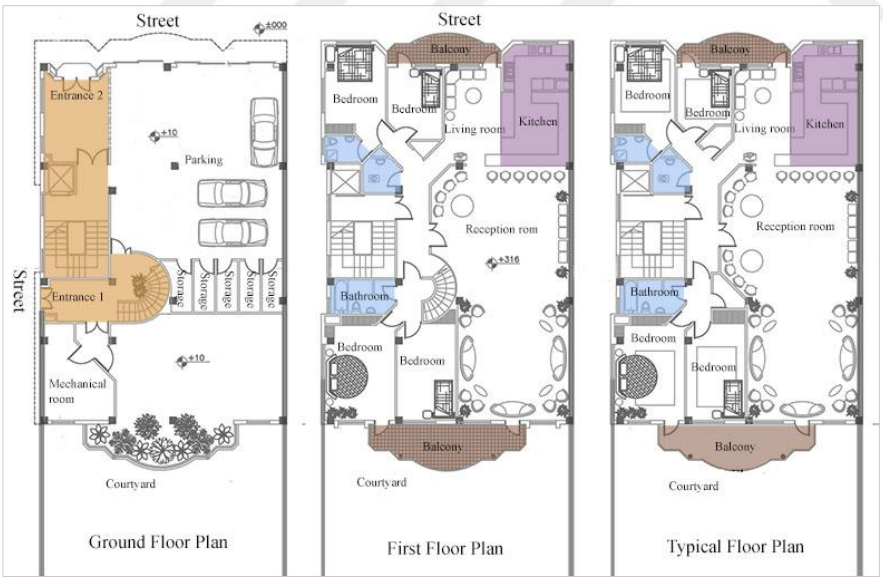
In this house, the private bedrooms were located away from the public part of the house and separated through an archway.

Late open plan layout in the southern houses built between 1995-2000

House C.6



House C.7



However, this house has an open plan, its private rooms are completely separated through a hall which called filter by Iranians.

Late open plan layout in the southern houses built between 1995-2000

House C.8



The private and public duality in this open plan house which was built in 1995 exists. The existence of folding partition between living area and reception area provides an opportunity of separation of these two areas when it is needed. Moreover, private bedroom are separated from public parts of the house through a hall.

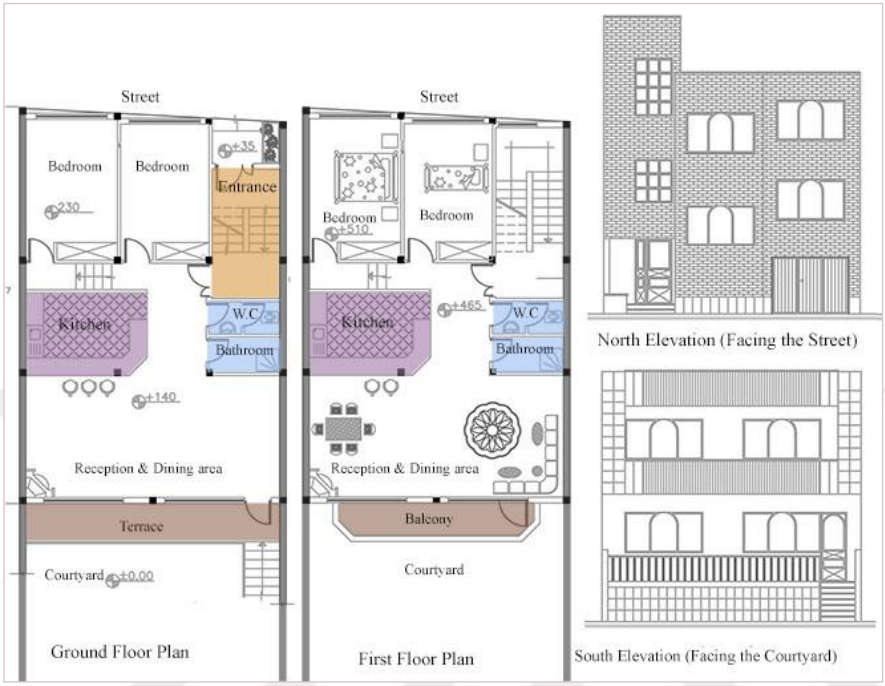
House C.9



This house was designed in 2000. It can be considered as the early luxury open plans that has specific functional spaces. However, in this plan private areas including living room and bedrooms are completely separated from the reception area.

Late open plan layout in the southern houses built between 1995-2000

House C.10



House C.11



In this three storey house that was built in the late 1990s, living area symbolically separated the kitchen from the reception area.

C. 2. Late Open Houses in the Northern Lots

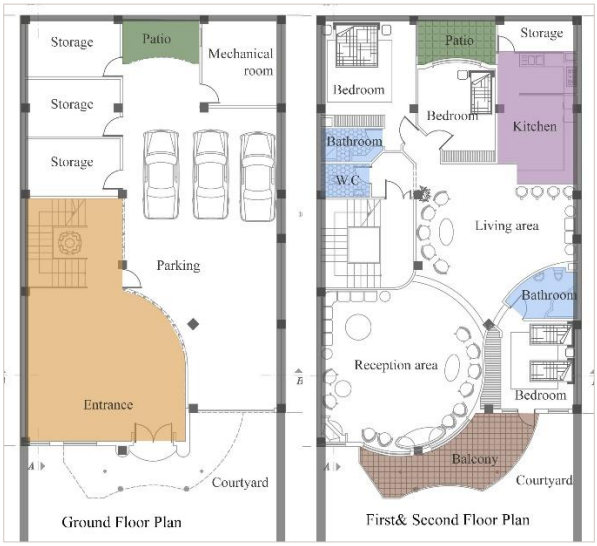
Late open plan layout in the northern houses built between 1995-2000

House C.12



In this house that was designed in 1997, reception area placed at the corner of the house that only relates with kitchen and other private areas are out of display.

House C.13



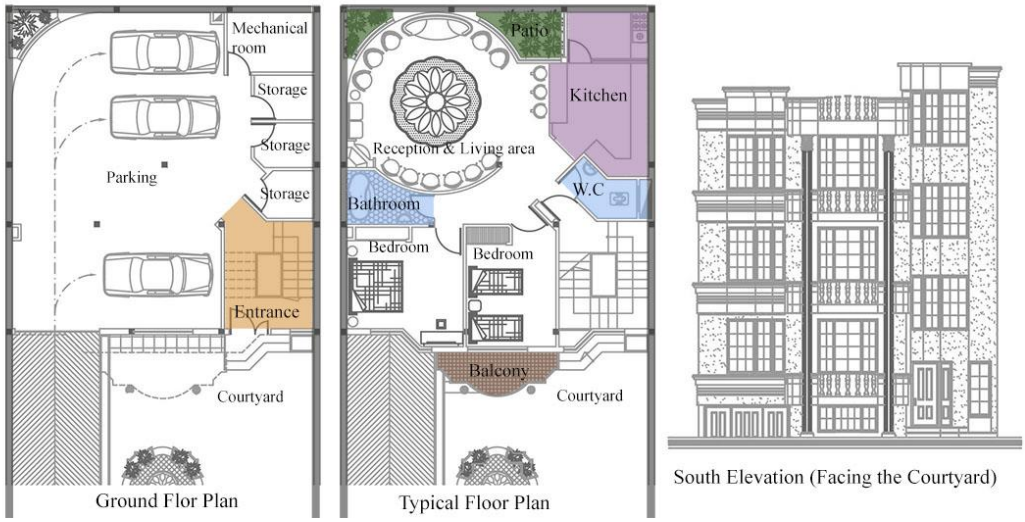
Late open plan layout in the northern houses built between 1995-2000

House C.14



This three-storey house has a large patio in its north part in order to provide the light for the room that lack natural light.

House C.15



In this northern house which has one elevation facing the courtyard, the living, repection, and kitchen take their light through a patio designed in the north part of the lot.

CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name	: Golabi, Maryam
Nationality	: Iranian
Date and Place of Birth	: 28 December 1978, Miandoab
Phone	: +90 5350385417
E-mail	: mrym78@gmail.com

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
PhD	METU, Department of Architecture	2018
MS	Islamic Azad University of Tabriz	2006
BS	Islamic Azad University of Tabriz	2003
High School	Tohid High School, Tabriz	1997

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2013-2016	Islamic Azad University of Urmia	Part time Instructor
2007-2008	Islamic Azad University of Miandoab	Part time Instructor

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English, Advanced Turkish

PUBLICATIONS

1. Golabi, M. (2010). Nationalizing of Architecture along with the Formation of the Concept of "Modern" in Iran, In: (Cankaya University) The First Scientific Conference of Iranian Students and Alumni, Ankara, Turkey

2. Golabi, M. (2010). Görme Bozukluğu Olan Kişilerin Bakışından Şehir Deneyimi. dosya 23. Tmmob Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi. p. 61 (Abstract)

3. Golabi, M. & Soleimani, M. (2013) Taziyeh: The Socio-Political Aspects of a Theatrical Performance, Symposia Iranica, First Biennial Iranian Studies Graduate Conference, University of St Andrews, Scotland