

● Housing the Subjects of Tomorrow

The urban model of the town

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Byera Hadley
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Cover Image :
Diary entry of a site survey for the making of pilot settlements for the 1973 National Housing Development Plan. Emphasizing on the success of the use of shops in this settlement in organising a community, Doxiadis noted:
"These shops are very poor, but here, despite the fact that it is Friday, the whole life of the settlement appears to be contended".
Source: Doxiadis Archives, Athens.
Collected by Author.

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He was dedicated to architectural education, both as a part-time teacher in architectural drawing at the Sydney Technical College, and culminating in his appointment in 1914 as Lecturer-in-Charge at the College's Department of Architecture. Under his guidance, the College became acknowledged as one of the finest schools of architecture in the British Empire.

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HOUSING THE SUBJECTS OF TOMORROW:

The Urban Model Of the Town

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The goal of this project
was to examine
the urban model of the town
as an apparatus of governance
and a means for
securing the subjects of tomorrow.

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1

Introduction

The layout of a domestic unit is the diagram according to which the everyday life of a household unfolds. The many rooms of a home, their relations of proximity, their size, their equipment, their openings, the thicknesses of their walls and spaces that enable the passages in-between them accommodate certain habits of living. These habits organise the ways residents relate to themselves as individuals and to one another as members of the same dwelling unit. Gender roles, forms of authority, models of kinship and notions of intimacy are therefore inescapable from this diagram. When moving to a new home one often experiences a conflict between the habits of living she has been accustomed to, those that she aspires to have and those that are coded into the diagram of the new home. It is because of this conflict that a house hardly stays the same following its occupation.

For a great number of domestic units to be built en masse a system of relations has to be established between components that are otherwise heterogeneous: legislative institutions for example, knowledge structures, financial markets, building standards, construction systems and design methods. When initiated by the state, these relations are organised in such way that they would enable a project of governance. As Michel Feher notes in his 2015 lecture series in Goldsmiths University, governmental power begins from a representation of a human condition where the good propensities and the bad dispositions of a population are identified¹. According to this representation a project is formed with the goal to enhance the good inclinations and

eradicate the bad ones. As apparatuses of governance, state initiated projects of housing are tuned to modify the conduct of individuals according to a crafted set of values and ideologies. By moving into such domestic unit, one's act of living will inevitably be entangled with the workings of larger relations of power.

One of the questions according to which much of this research is organised is with ways in which the diagram of a domestic unit can become the site for different practices of power, ranging from the government of the conduct of individuals by a state to resistance against domination by residents. How are representations of a certain human condition and its corresponding project of governance translate into the diagram of a house?

The study develops through a close reading of the urban model of the town in the 1970s Iran. In architectural terms the town lies on the threshold of what constitutes a civilian settlement on one hand and a military kind on the other. Historically, and as Foucault notes in his analysis of governmental power, the diagram of the town was developed in Europe according to the diagram of military camps². Originally, the diagram of a camp was made in such way that it would inscribe in space and to the minutest details the everyday conducts of a group of soldiers and their hierarchical relations to one another. This would provide a condition where residents would act as members of a military unit at every moments of everyday of their lives, be it within or outside the space of a battle. Built instantly as a complete whole

and repeated across a region the military camp also provided the means for maintaining sovereignty over a vast territory. When adopted for the settlement of civilians, this diagram was modified to encode gender roles and class locations. Rather than a battalion, the social unit that was secured through the diagram of the town was a cohesive, efficient and civilian kind who's productive and reproductive labour served a sovereign ruler, a state or a colonial power. The town therefore can be considered an exemplar of apparatuses of housing.

In the 1960s and 70s, the urban model of the town was translated and brought to Iran as a 'Shahrak'. In literal terms name translated to English as a 'smallish city', but as an urban model it reserved a number of key differences from the urban model of a city. Cities were developed gradually through time, in patchworks, layered with different design strategies that were antagonistic and overrules one another. In contrast, shahraks were developed in a speedy manner, instantly, in their complete form and as cohesive and coherent units. They were often positioned outside urban centres but not necessarily accommodating a pastoral or agricultural mode of production. Their morphology corresponded to a blueprints as inert planning documents and hence their dynamics of development differed from those of the villages. The popularity of the Shahraks coincided with a contested period in Iran's history of urbanism where practices of sovereignty, policing and governance converged into the space of the urban³.

Until the 1960s, the Iranian nation was an imagined community, made of families, clans, tribes and Bonehs. Geographically spread and associated with local codes of conduct these social units were inaccessible from the policing of the state⁴. Historians, travellers and government officials had attempted to quantify these entities but no scientific framework or methodological consistency had been in place. With the launch of the first and second national censuses in 1963 and 1968 however, this imagined community was suddenly rendered as a quantifiable population that could be measured through gender, marital status, family size, class location, place of birth and place of dwelling. Parallel with this process, large scale cartographic projects were launched examining the national geography in scales that ranged from regions to homes and through categories that varied from climate to economy to cleanliness and to modesty⁵. The extensive surveying of the population on one hand and the territory on the other enabled a particular project of governance that regulated Individuals' behaviours. Patterns were evaluated in relation to the welfare of the population and certain trends were identified as problems⁶.

The regulation of individual lives was urgent. From 1957 onward, a wave of labour unrest had swept across the country⁷. A single textile factory in Esfahan had gone through fifty-two strikes within four years. Taxi drivers and construction workers in Tehran had unionised, as did the labourers of brick factories and oil-refinery complexes in other parts of the country. In order to control and undermine such movements, a new secret police, domestic security and intelligence



“The effect of this move in the future will be so great that I think the necessity of this order will be obvious to everyone... The next generations will live in an environment which I hope will be equal and comparable to the highest social standards anywhere on the planet... Your income should be such that you and your family are full. That you will have smart clothes. That you will have a nice house”

- Shah of Iran -



service was established named SAVAK8. The Army's domain of action was expanded: A Development Corps was created which used military equipment to install basic sanitation and portable water; A Literary Corps was formed made of men and women dressed in uniforms and mobilised to rural areas to teach the writing and reading of the official language; and a mobile Health Corps was created as the clinical wing of the army.

Financial aid was gathered from the likes of the World Bank and President Truman's Point IV program⁹, conferences were organised bringing in foreign experts in architecture, urban-planning and family planning¹⁰, new institutions were established such as the Plan Organisation and Ministry of Housing, welfare policies were expanded to rural areas and a top down White Revolution was launched expanding the domain of the state to the peripheries. The Shah had explained: “the effect of this move in the future will be so great that I think the necessity of this order will be obvious to everyone... The next generations will live in an environment which I hope will be equal and comparable to the highest social standards anywhere on the planet... Your income should be such that you and your family are full. That you will have smart clothes. That you will have a nice house”¹¹. The landscape in which the Shahrak became the standard model for urban development across the country was therefore painted by an urge for development, a growing consciousness about social rights and amplification of state security systems.

The study put forward in this report begins from 1970s Iran when the urban model of the new-town or Shahrak was introduced as a governmental project [The Shahrak and Government]. Integral to this section is a brief historical background about the archetype of the town tracing its development from the 13th century examples of the Bastides of Pyrénées to 19th century colonial model towns of Egypt.

The following section [The Architect and His Method], considers the approach of Iran's first National Housing Development Plan. Proposed by the office of Constantinos A. Doxiadis, an architect who is known for his close ties with the CIA, the original draft of the plan used housing as a means for restraining social unrest and preventing the likelihood of a social uprising. This drafted was altered. Following an exhaustive series of negotiations with the Iranian state, the office of Doxiadis was forced to adjust the development plan so that rather than targeting the working classes it would concern itself with the civil servants, the white color workers and in short the middle classes and instead of preventing an uprising it would fasten the process of modernisation.

The next section of the research [Homes of a New Nation] engages with the development plan at the scale of the domestic and considers the ways in which the internal diagram of the proposed house secured certain kinds of behaviours and social units. Following these sections, this report examines the way Doxiadis's Development Plan was realised.

For this section [An Example: The Shahraks of Dez],

an example of 13 Shahrak settlements are provide built in the south of Iran and in the territory of Dezfoul. A close reading of forms of life in this region is provided, before the implementation of the Shahrak project and following its materialisation. The concluding section [Projecting Forward] is an attempt to use the findings of the research and project into the contemporary condition of Australia and emergence of new kinds of inequalities.

On Methodology

In the summer of 2016 and in my first visit to the Doxiadis Archives at the Benaki Museum in Athens I had come across a strange situation. All the documents associated to the work of Doxiadis in Iran were tagged to be in Arabic. I had learned that Doxiadis often collaborated with local architects and hence the country files often included documents that were in the local language. What I couldn't figure out was why the once for Iran would be in Arabic instead of Farsi. Upon requesting the items, I realised that they were in farsi after all and hence asked for tags to be updated. The archive Giota Pavlidou had explained to me that no one had requested those items in the tens of years she has been working there, otherwise she would have corrected the mistake.

This simple story points to a larger problem: because of a host of political and ideological reasons, state initiated projects of housing in Iran have hardly been analysed systematically as apparatuses of governance, *Byera Hadley Travelling Scholarships Journal Series*

less so for those launched before the 1979 revolution.

The work presented here therefore opens up new lines of research both into the role of housing in projects of governance in Iran and the forgotten chapters in the lives of some of the most influential architects of the 1960s and 70s, such as Doxiadis. Through the funding provided by the BHTS I have been able to conduct a crucial set of trips to provinces of Tehran and Khuzestan in Iran and the city of Athens between 2015 and 2016. Given the limitations of secondary scholarship, and to construct my historical narrative I collected my evidences by digging through the Archive of the Plan and Budget Organisation in Tehran, the Doxiadis Archive in the Benaki Museum of Athens and the archive of the Municipality of Khuzestan as well as a set of interviews with the Iranian architect Iraj Etessam in Tehran who was the first to invite and collaborate with Doxiadis. For analysis of everyday life I have relied on resident stories, on accounts of the anthropologist Grace Goodell who had lived in Dezfould for a several months, on the archaeological work of the Iranian architect Isa Hojat and on narratives provided by documentary films. In my trip to the 13 Shahraks of Dezfoul, I learned that the shahraks were heavily destroyed during the war with Iraq in the 1980s and no trace of the original townships could be found. To examine the project therefore I had to rely on orthographic documentations of the region before the bombardment.

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The Shahrak & Governance

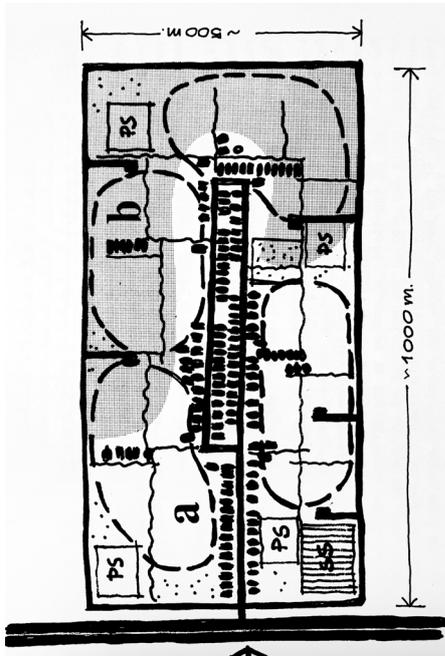
Following the nationalisation of oil in 1953, a new governmental department was invented in charge of managing the economic expenditures of the state under successive five year National Development Plans. Named the Plan Organisation (PO), the department had pushed for visible and large scale infrastructural projects such as dams and railways from early on¹². Such projects were costly in nature, even for a state with abundant oil revenues and soon had lead to recessions and social unrest across the country¹³. A changed had to take place to counter the threat of left wing mobilisation among the workers and students¹⁴. In this context, PO began to support Shah's newly launched top down White Revolution and his push for expansion of welfare organisations, land reforms, nationalisation of forests, literacy corps, sale of public factories, worker's profit sharing and empowerment of women.

In line with the expansion of welfare policies and from 1963, housing was given a distinct chapter in PO's development plans. A new ministry of Development and Housing [Wezarat-e Abadani va Maskan] was established together with a new Workers Welfare Bank providing low interest home loans¹⁵. Within a decade, in 1973, a five year National Housing Development plan was issued outlining a housing reform. The two-volume document laid out a project for the expansion of municipal borders, appropriation of barren lands and the building of new Shahraks¹⁶.

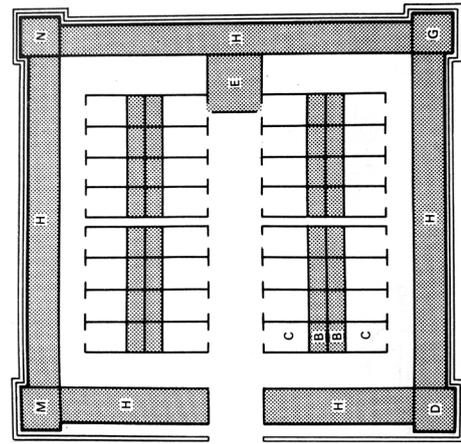
The diagram of the Shahrak was a rectangular shape with an area of 500,000 m² accommodating some 1000-2000 housing units. The settlement was offset

from any existing networks of circulation insuring isolation and autonomy. It was demarcated by a road that circled around its perimeter acting as a buffer. From this perimeter road a series of narrow cul-de-sacs branched inwards. The interior was divided into four residential quarters. Four primary schools and one large secondary school were placed in the corners. Four clusters of houses, each associated with a unique typology were arranged around a core. The Shahrak didn't include any monumental buildings. Rather than cinemas or institutions, it included a family planning clinic and a day care centre and rather than the lavishly green gardens it was equipped with small scale shops, represented by a series of small rectangles fit close to one another in the centre¹⁷.

The shahrak was described as a "coherent spatial unit with a well-defined topologically continuous boundary and with an equally well defined centre"¹⁸. It was to presuppose "beyond the functional inter-relation of the residents" and classify them according to "distinct hierarchical levels" and with "a certain degree of homogeneity"¹⁹. A clear separation was assumed between those who were to be houses and the diagram of the Shahrak as an inert structure, pre-existing, containing and giving a framework to their lives. This separation allowed the possibility for a disciplinary form of power to be unfolded onto the lives of the shahrak resident. When moved to the Shahrak, residents, regardless of their differences, were to act as members of a coherent, consistent and stable unit where every relation was prescribed and tuned towards a collection of objectives set by the state²⁰.



6 The urban model of the Shahrak and its social composition. National Housing Development Plan for Iran, 1973. (Doxiadis Archivs)



Model Towns in Egypt and Algeria designed according to the model of a military barrack. The model village was in the shape of a square with a central axis of circulation in its centre. Houses of peasants were organised in perpendicular order to these axis. The village head was

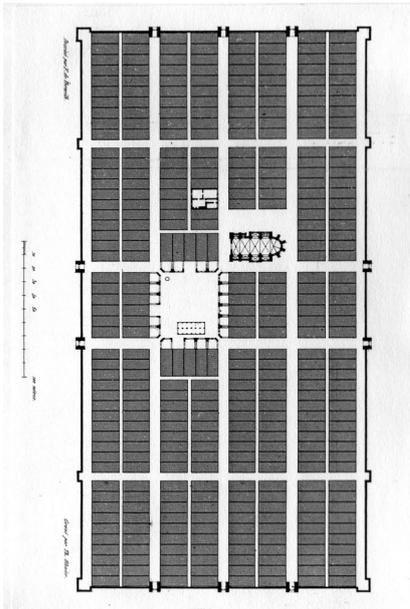
allocated with a larger house at the end of the central axis and stables and store rooms were arranged around the edges. The four corners of the settlement, included a mill, a mosque, a guest house and a guard house. Similar model villages were also built in Algeria by the French colonisers.

[Algeria Barrack] The 19th century 'New Order' in Egypt followed a similar logic to the one proposed by Shahraks of Iran's National Housing Development Plan²¹. Before the centralisation of colonial power at this point, the army was an occasional body, consisted of common men, sellers of pastry, boatmen, fishermen, coffee house keepers and others, who would come together at seasonal campaigns. The greater was the skills of each fighters, the more successful was the battalion. The new regime of power however required an entirely different kind of battalions, whose superiority was not so much dependent on fighters as individuals but on the significance of a strategic plan that coordinated and organised them as a distinct unit. Crucial to the making of such unit was the Barrack and its architecture. Its spatial diagram followed a logic of subdivision that separated and fixed men in place, but kept them steady in the performance of their duties and coordinated them as separate parts of a single unit²². Soldiers were to inhabit this diagram night and day, on permanent bases and apply themselves daily to its exercises. Within less than a few decades, this 'New Order' was expanded to the field of agriculture and the model of the barrack was translated into a 'model town', promising increased agricultural productivity in the Nile Delta²³.

[Bastide + Serlio] The spatial model of the Egyptian barrack or that of Nile Delta's model towns was adopted long before in few European countries, not only for the discipline of soldiers or coordinating the efficiency of peasants but as the means for retaining sovereign control over contested territories. *Byera Hadley Travelling Scholarships Journal Series*

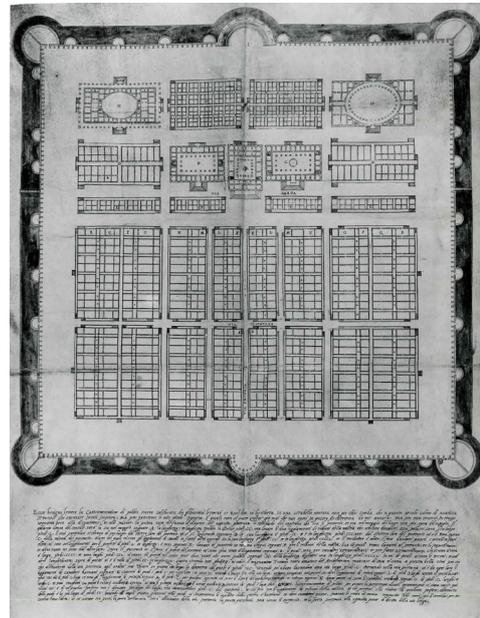
The bastides of Pyrenees for example were planted between 13th and 15th century at a time when the sovereignty over the region was disputed between counts of Toulouse, kings of France and the kings of England²⁴. These settlements were designed according to the model of a Roman military camp or a castrum²⁵ and as what Sebastian Serlio had described in his 8th book on Architecture, a "well-ordered" and "smallish" towns²⁶. Their diagram subdivided space into a grid of building blocks, each subdivided further into equally sized plots of land²⁷. Subdivisions inside the settlement corresponded to another set of subdivisions at a regional scale. Each household was assigned a plot of land inside for the building of its home and a plot of agricultural land outside the settlement for farming²⁸. Each bastide was built following a pareage or a treaty held between local land owners and a king according to which the town had to be developed in a speedy manner and its inhabitants were to be granted protection by a king in exchange for their military support at the time of a war²⁹. Through its spatial layout and its associated treaty, the bastide could accommodate a civilian occupation, turning peoples into objects of territorial strategies. In his studies of govern-mentality, and using similar examples, Foucault drew a parallel between the emergence of this urban model and the formation of the modern state in Europe³⁰.

The bastides of Pyrenees, the model towns of Nile Delta and Shahraks of Iran's National Development Plan, shared a similar logic. All were initiated by a sovereign power, be it a medieval king, a colonial ruler or a monarchic government. As enclosed units of



Urban diagram of Monpazier, a Bastide, 1284. Note how the church is in fact off centre and has little importance in comparison to the square. Also note the varying width of the

streets inscribing different kinds of circulation. source: Reps, John W. 1980. Town planning in Frontier America. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.



Serlio's ideal town was designed on the blue prints of a Roman Military Barrack. The tents for the the Hastiti, the Principes, the Triari and the Cavalry men of the army were translated into houses

for different classes of people. Empty spaces on the top corners were translated to civil spaces such as baths and amphitheatres. 7

space they were composed of scales of subdivision, each inscribing certain behaviours and relations between the households of the settlement. Residential quarters were arranged around commercial cores and the typology of houses reflected inhabitant's social and economic class locations.

Iran's National Housing Development Plan provided a precise description of the people who were to be housed in its proposed Shahrak model. A hierarchical list of three target groups was provided beginning with the civil servants³¹. A simple justification was provided: "The major cause of the housing shortage... as has been reported to us by local authorities repeatedly", the plan asserted with an underline was "in fact the civil servants, who are sent by the government to these cities and who comparatively speaking can afford to try to rent houses, thus increasing demand and limiting supply for the rest of the population... for every house that is built for a civil servant the house which he was already using will thus be emptied and will be available for the rest of the population..."³². According to this framework, housing provision was not about distribution of social benefits to a strata of the society that was economically disadvantaged, but rather about distributing the beneficiaries of the state throughout the country and into the peripheries. In other words, expansion of welfare was the means for the large scale distribution of civil employees and their families across the national territory³³.

The second target group for the Shahraks of the 1973 National Housing Development Plan were the

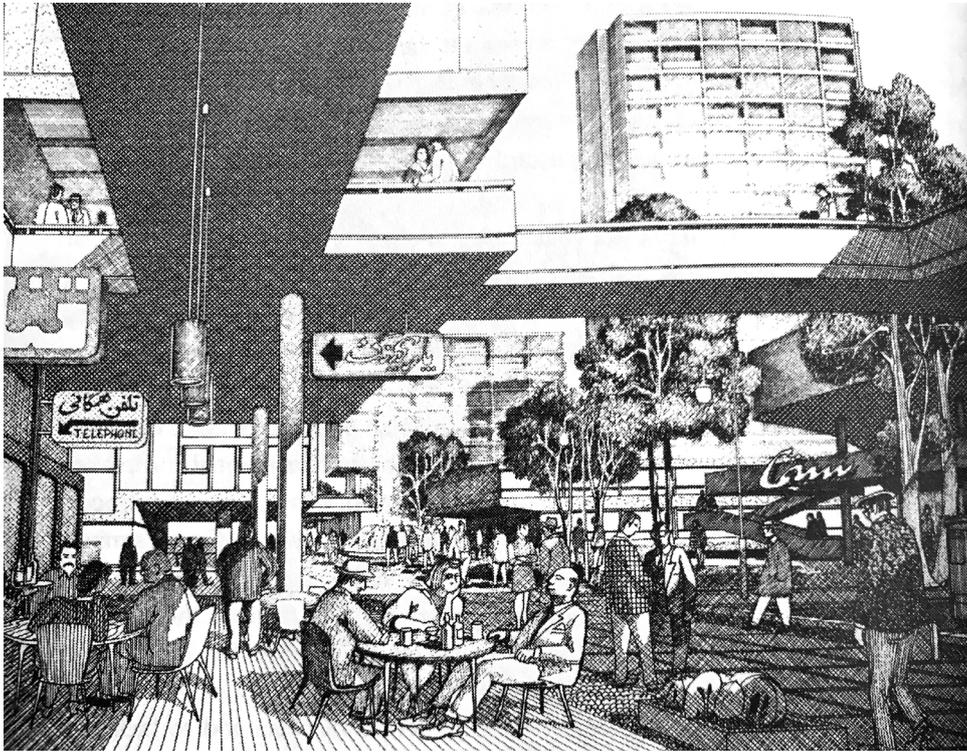
industrial workers, but not just any kind. By the 'industrial worker', the plan clarified, it was referring to the 'skilled and white collar workers' who were required to be brought to the industrial poles often far away from the city centres. For these people, the plan argued lack of housing was a "particularly strong disincentive"³⁴. These skilled workers had often studied in acclaimed universities in the capital or overseas. Many were foreign experts who were invited for the mission of educating the Iranians over the course of few years. Whereas the drive for the provision of housing to the first target group was the expansion of state infrastructure to the territorial margins, the drive for the housing of the second targeted group was fast paced development in remote areas.

The last target group were the low income population. Unlike the former two, the low income were not worthy of the welfare of the state. They didn't contribute to the expansion of the state infrastructure nor did they help towards fast paced development. What is more, they didn't have enough rent-paying capacity and hence, the private market was not interested in providing them housing accommodation. The document explained: "it is in their case that the development of slums or extremely unhealthy and unpleasant neighbourhoods takes place, and it is one of the important purposes of the government to undertake on a large scale the construction of housing for these people, in such a way that their neighbourhoods, although poor, may be tidy"³⁵. The most pressing problem therefore was the unpleasant and untidy nature of their existing homes.

Targeted to the civil servants, skilled workers and the low income population the Shahrak mobilised three objectives: (1) to help in the expansion of state infrastructure, (2) to support the fast paced development of industries and (3) the discipline of the dwellers of 'unruly and unpleasant' low income neighbourhoods. Its logic was that of imposing and expanding order, cohesion and stability across the national territory and well beyond the borders of the capital. To live in such shahrak was to become a spectacle of the Pahlavi state, representing it orders, enacting its norms and conforming to its discipline.

The concept for a National Housing Development Plan for Iran was originally introduced by Constantinos Apostolou Doxiadis after a three day meeting in the office of Plan Organisation (PO) during the month of August in 1971³⁶. Doxiadis was not a simple architect. He held strong ties with American organisations such as the CIA, who had recently helped the monarchic government to establish its own central intelligence agency named SAVAK³⁷. Moreover he was a theorist who presented his ideas in international forums and his own monthly journal named after a term that he had coined himself, Ekistics, or the science of humane settlements³⁸. According to the archived correspondences, within less than three weeks from the initial meeting, Doxiadis had proposed for two interlinked projects: a National Program for the Human Settlements of Iran and its pilot to be built in the city of Tehran³⁹.

10,000 people were to be housed in the pilot project in few 'stable communities'⁴⁰. The making of these communities was to be financed by private rather than public investors and it was guaranteed that the World Bank would provide a seed funding of \$13,000,000-20,000,000 under a 15-25 year loan⁴¹. The proposed urban model for these communities was an early version of what was later named a Shahrak, "a coherent spatial unit with a well-defined topologically continuous boundary and with an equally well defined centre"⁴². According to the theory of Ekistics, these communities would have been secure from constant change due to the rigid diagram of their plan. As time would pass they would grow dynamically in a contained manner and through



The new urban cores proposed for Tehran by Gruen were high density residential/commercial complexes autonomous from their context.
Source: Archive of Budget and Development Plan

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a process of aggregation⁴³. The towns were to have no supermarkets or monumental buildings, but they were equipped with rows of small shops, green areas, schools and health clinics⁴⁴.

To insure the Iranians about the success of his proposed model, Doxiadis had provided few examples of his earlier work: The Pakistani city of Korangi and a neighbourhood in Islamabad, the former housing refugees and the latter a low income population. Both projects were developed through a similar spatial and financial strategy. Doxiadis had also proposed a similar project years earlier in 1962 for the housing of 10,000 oil workers in Tehran⁴⁵. In all these examples, the settlement had the diagram of a gated community. The perimeter was always reserved for vehicular traffic and the interior for pedestrian circulation with the exception of few cul-de-sacs. Four groups of residential buildings were organised around a commercial/residential core or spine. In the case of the 1962 project, a central spine was considered composed of two story buildings where the shop owner lived above his store.

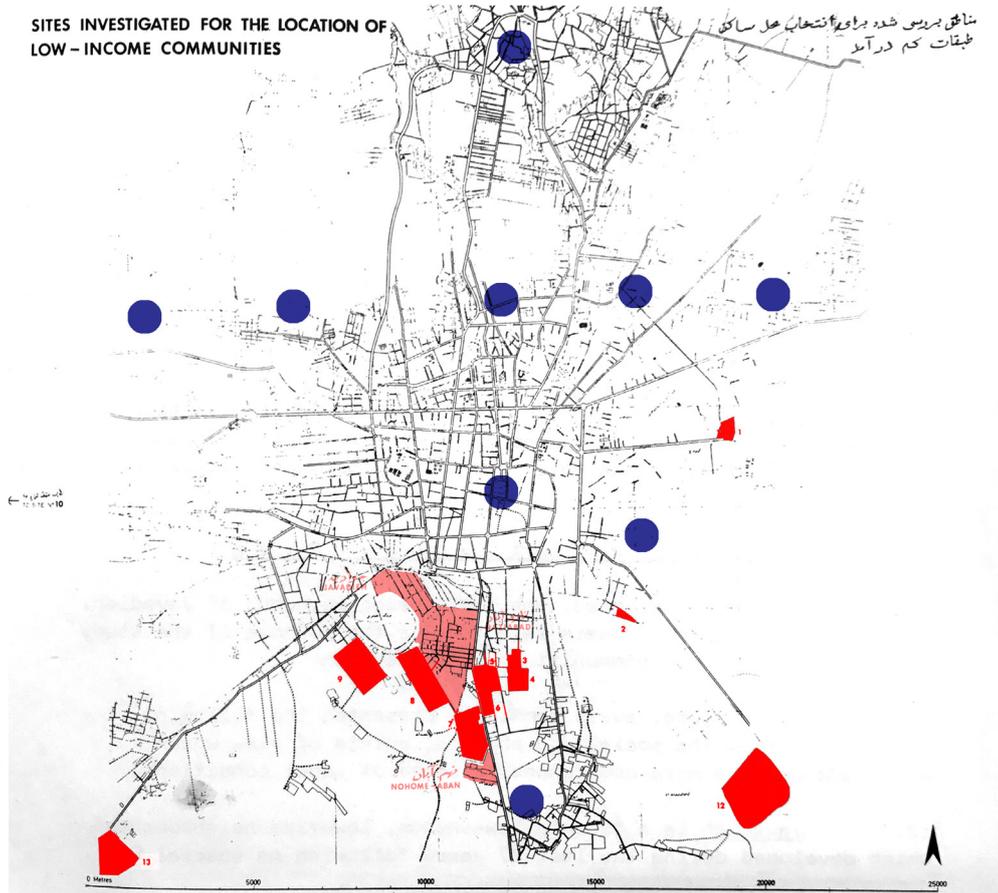
The making of gated communities around shops and stores and through mobilising private capital was common among many of the planning projects in Iran in that time. The 1968 Comprehensive Masterplan for the City of Tehran, a collaboration between the Los Angeles based office of Victor Gruen Associates and the Tehran based Aziz Farmanfarman Association, was an example of such projects⁴⁶. Gruen was known for his extensive work on the link between housing and consumer culture in the United States and

his theory for the way sprawl and blight could be abandoned through restructuring American suburbia around shopping malls⁴⁷. This strategy was the very means for the making of the consumer men and women, the key subjectivities that could help increase economic growth so much so that no investment would be required from the state⁴⁸.

The Tehran Master plan had a similar logic. It was a proposal for re-structuring the city through ten new urban cores positioned along the east-west and north-south axis and connected together via a network of highways⁴⁹. These cores were designed as high density and gated retail/residential environments. An example of the architect's rendering showed a busy café in the forefront decorated with suspended ceiling light fixture. On the left side of the café was a set of window shops and on the right a small garden with flower beds and a few trees. A number of sign boards with both Farsi and English writings were distributed in space: a large logo on the left hand corner read "confectionery" [Ghanadi], a sign in the middle pointed to a car park located outside the complex and a neon logo at the far end signifies a cinema. Raised above this podium of retail activities were elevated walk ways and above them were the residential towers ascending high into the sky. Nowhere in this rendering was a glimpse of the urban context in which the project was installed within.

Out of the ten urban cores proposed by Gruen few were realised, namely the Saman Apartments (1969), the Behjat Abad Apartments (1970), the Saei Apartments (1972) and the Ekbatan Complex

**SITES INVESTIGATED FOR THE LOCATION OF
LOW - INCOME COMMUNITIES**



This composite is a superimposition of three maps. The blue dots show the position of new urban cores proposed by Gruen. The light red indicates the sites where Doxiadis had conducted his extensive surveys. The full red marks the 13 sites that Doxiadis considered for his pilot project for the National Housing Development Plan. Produced by the author. Source: Doxiadis Archives and Architecte magazine.

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(1975)⁵⁰. One of the problematic aspects of Gruen's plan was that most of these complexes housed upper middle class and bourgeois families. Similar to the way Gruen's projects such as those in Detroit brought up a violent racial divide between the middle class white citizens and the inner city blacks, his urban cores in Tehran sharpened the wedge between the proletariats who lived in the southern parts of the city and the upper middle class families living in the secluded and modern apartment complexes⁵¹. In this dangerous landscape Doxiadis had urged the monarchic government to consider a project for the housing of the lower strata. Countering Gruen's plan for development along the east west axis and northern parts of Tehran, Doxiadis had suggested thirteen sites for his pilot project, all located in the southern parts and away from the city⁵².

[Mobilisation] In addition to mobilisation of private capital, Doxiadis's project required another form of mobilisation: Mobilisation of Experts⁵³. He dedicated half of the course of his contract to analyse and survey the existing conditions⁵⁴. For the original proposal, he had visited and examined each of his thirteen proposed sights personally in relation to their proximity to places of work such as railways and factories, their access to basic infrastructure and climatic conditions such as wind direction⁵⁵. Later, he was given permission to take more extensive surveys. In turn, he had engaged an entire team of historians, social and economic advisors, architects, economists, statisticians, geographers and computer programmers. Low income neighbourhoods of Nazi-abad, Javadieh and Nohom-e Aban were studied through aerial

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images⁵⁶. Soon a set questioners were designed and distributed across these sites. The leaflets included a total of 42 questions ranging from sex, age, occupation and individuals levels of income to the list of furniture and equipment that they possessed at their homes⁵⁷.

Doxiadis was soon given permission to expand his field of survey to the extents of the country. His team of experts had traveled from the northern city of Sari to Bandar Abbas near the Persian Gulf and from Mashhad in the east to Tabriz in the west. They had visited historic cities such as Esfahan and Kashan as well as industrial ones including Arak⁵⁸. The surveys were conducted in various scales. At the scale of the territory, the team had collected aerial surveys, mapped all the state lands surrounding the cities as well as the extents of the municipal borders and marked those feasible for the building of new Shahraks. The questioners that the team members carried gathered information about demographics as well as forms of life. A schematic plans of the common housing types in each region had to be drawn, distinct building elements had to be photographed and each were to be annotated with observations.

The findings of these surveys had been submitted to Iranian authorities over monthly reports and conclusions were drawn in collaboration with Iranian experts. In the report of Jan 1972 for example Doxiadis notes of a meeting with Dr. Tofigh from the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Tehran, with the help of whom the Tehran surveys had taken place. In this meeting Doxiadis was introduced to the idea



Diary entry of a site survey for the making of pilot settlements for the 1973 National Housing Development Plan. On the left are factory rooftops and smoke stacks. Doxiadis noted that the four story buildings were densely occupied and congested. Doxiadis criticised the reason for the

making of such high density residential complexes quiet heavily on the grounds that it was not economical given the cheap price and the abundance of free land, and that people were not educated enough to live in such dwellings. Source: Doxiadis Archives.

Diary entry of a site survey for the making of pilot settlements for the 1973 National Housing Development Plan. Emphasizing on the success of the use of shops in this settlement in organising a community,

Doxiadis noted: "These shops are very poor, but here, despite the fact that it is Friday, the whole life of the settlement appears to be contended". Source: Doxiadis Archives.

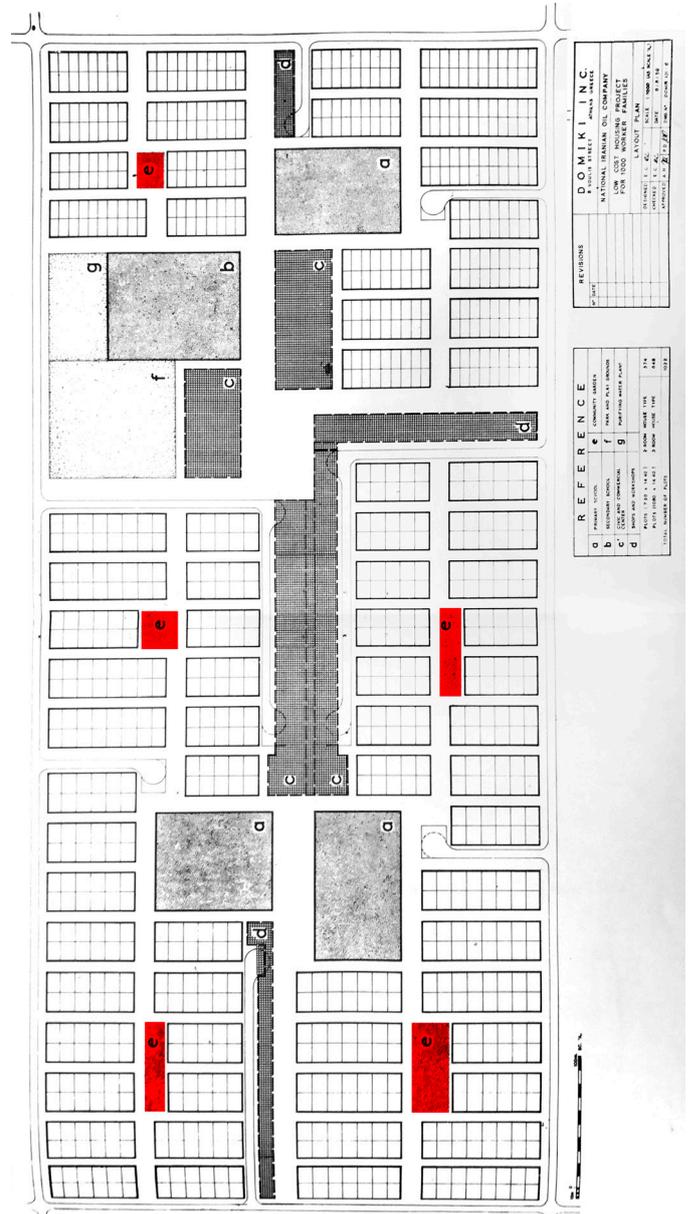




An Example of a community square in Baghdad.

houses that could easily be altered and expanded by the resident. Where the former opted for fast paced modernisation, the latter aimed for slow but controlled progression at the expense of accommodating some of the traditional habits. As a controlled environment, it provided the possibility for re-moulding the most intimate aspects of the lives of the residents according to the norms that were set by the state.

Iran's National Housing Development Plan went through numerous changes from its initial draft in September 1971 to its final issue in Jan 1973 and its translation to Farsi a month later⁶⁶. Through thousands of correspondence letters between the Tehran based office of Plan Organisation and the office of Doxiadis Associates in Athens, hundreds of field surveys across Iran and a dozen of monthly reports and meetings. The target groups that were to be settled changed from the lower strata of the population to the middle class civil servants and skilled workers. If not for these perversions, Doxiadis's technologies of scale and his project for mobilisation of experts could have changed the course of events in the years that followed and a history of a people's rejection, revolt and social uprising could have become one of containment, repression and conforming.



Proposed settlement for the housing of Oil Workers in Tehran by Doxiadis. Community squares are marked in red, and identified with the letter "e".

Source: Doxiadis Archives.

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4

Homes of a New Nation

In the words of Doxiadis, the National Housing Development Plan, was a “two-headed eagle”⁶⁷. On one hand it engaged with the local and age old traditions by showing city morphologies, floor plans of houses and close up photographs of building elements. Most materials were collected through the extensive field trips that he and his team had taken throughout Iran, most were assessed and most were annotated with observations. The development plan had explained that “people who were cut off from their tradition become unstable and displaced people in cultural and psychological sense”⁶⁸. In contradiction however it stated “if local tradition is taken as the sole principle and modern techniques are ignored the result may be a backward community”⁶⁹. This contradiction between tradition and modernity, between past and future was of the highest sensitivity at the scale of the home, were the everyday life would unfold.

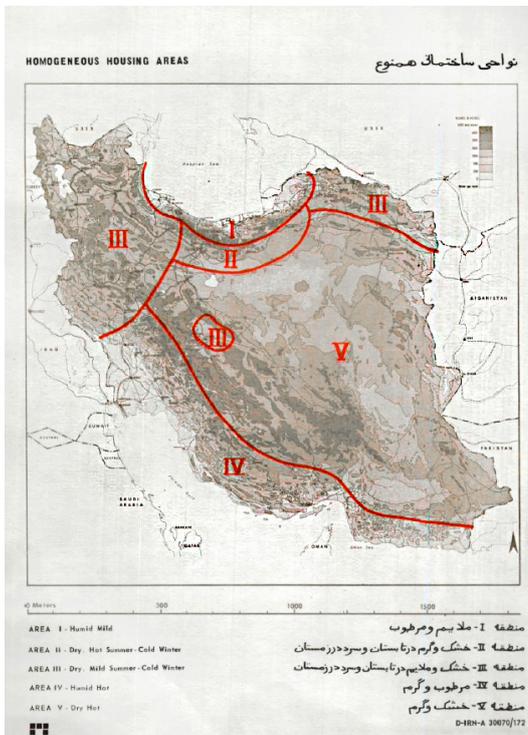
A selection of model houses were proposed. Most had a humble appearance, neither urban nor rural. Most were organised according to a module of 3x3m, most had only one or two stories height and most included a courtyard⁷⁰. The earlier drafts of the plan suggested that the reason for such arrangement was to enable the residents to add more rooms and expand their homes as they saw fit. The final copy however, noted that deviations from these models or interventions would lead to disorder. An emphasis was put on the way these models were to be copied⁷¹. Perversions from their diagram was only tolerable if they had to do with the colouring of walls or domestic furnishings⁷².

The proposed models were arranged and annotated according to two axis of variations, the vertical corresponded to climatic conditions and the horizontal axis related to levels of income⁷³. Each axis organised the typological variations in its own way. In relation to the axis of climate a map was provided showing the national boundaries of Iran, its road networks, large cities and topographical contours. A thick red marking divided this territory into five regions⁷⁴. Each of these climatic regions, it was supposed, “encouraged” the use of particular architectural elements⁷⁵. The hot and dry climate of the central regions for example encouraged the use of a courtyard and the humid and hot climate of the Persian Gulf encouraged the use of roofs as places for sleeping. This in turn “imposed” the adoption of certain equipment⁷⁶. For example the roof had to be enclosed by parapets to allow women to occupy the roof without being exposed to the strangers passing through the street. With this logic of encouragement and imposition, the urban morphology, the building elements and the equipment that were used in houses were direct consequences of environmental conditions.

With regards to the axis of income, four categories of houses were incorporated each for the dwelling of a particular salary range. Class A houses were allocated to the low income families, and Class B, C and D were allocated to the different kinds of civil servants⁷⁷. To calculate the allocations the rent paying capacity of the beneficiaries was balanced with the construction cost for the houses so that a capital recovery with an interest rate of %8 was possible⁷⁸. The rent paying capacity of the household was estimated at %17-%22

		LEVELS OF INCOME			
		A	B	C	D
CLIMATIC REGIONS	I				PROPOSED HOUSE TYPES U-D I 011
	II	PROPOSED HOUSE TYPES U-A II 011 	PROPOSED HOUSE TYPES U-B II 011 	PROPOSED HOUSE TYPES U-C II 011 	PROPOSED HOUSE TYPES U-D II 011
	III		PROPOSED HOUSE TYPES U-B III 011 	PROPOSED HOUSE TYPES U-C III 011 	
	IV	PROPOSED HOUSE TYPES U-A IV 011 	PROPOSED HOUSE TYPES U-B IV 011 	PROPOSED HOUSE TYPES U-C IV 011 	PROPOSED HOUSE TYPES U-D IV 011
	V		PROPOSED HOUSE TYPES U-B V 011 	PROPOSED HOUSE TYPES U-C V 011 	PROPOSED HOUSE TYPES U-D V 011

Matrix of Model Homes in the 1973 National Housing Development Plan.
 Layout: by the author.
 Source for individual drawings: Doxiadis Archives.



16 According to the axis of climate, five categories were considered corresponding to five geographic regions. Source: Archive of Plan and Budget Organisation, Tehran.

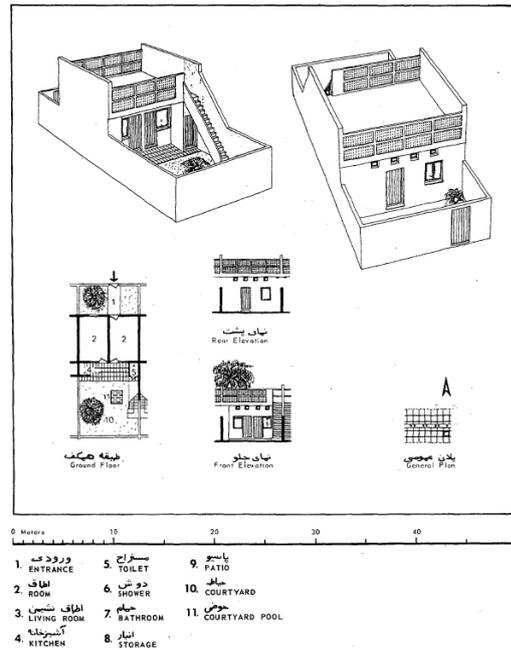
of their salary and the most expensive houses (4,500 Rials) were designed to be larger and almost double the price of the cheapest ones (2,800 Rials)⁷⁹. With this logic the size of the house and the number of its rooms had little to do with the size and complexity of the relationship between members of a household and more to do with the salary of their breadwinner. Why would a development plan propose a set of model houses according to a matrix of variations? And what the effect of such variations on subjects who were to occupy the houses? A closer reading is necessary.

For example, the model houses allocated to the fourth climatic category, the one stretching along the Persian Gulf, had inhabitable roofs and their façade treatment and density could hardly compare⁸⁰. The case was different on the inside. As level of income increased, the organisation of the plan varied in the arrangement of its openings and its spaces of passage⁸¹. The house of the lowest income group (Type IV-A) was a thoroughfare. The two rooms of the dwelling were linked to one another through a door. Entering the building required entering the first room and accessing the yard required passing through both. This arrangement allowed little privacy for the inhabitants of the rooms. In contrast, in the second house in hierarchy (type IV-B) no direct link existed between the rooms. The corridor acted as a buffer separating the different spaces. The courtyard and the 'auxiliary rooms' (the kitchen, the bathrooms and a storage pace) were clustered on one side of the corridor and the rooms for living on the other side.

PROPOSED HOUSE TYPES

U - A IV 011

نوع خانه‌ها
پیشنهادهای

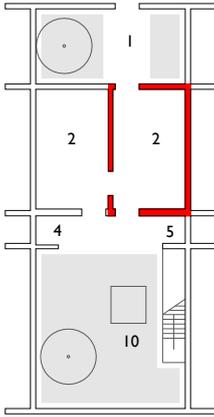


The proposed houses for the fourth climatic category had an inhabitable roof. Source: Archive of Plan and Budget Organisation, Tehran.

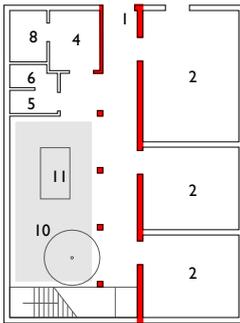
In the third house (type IV-C) the corridor was widened to the extent that it became the largest room within the plan. Acting as the most porous space in the house it opened to 3 bedrooms, a cluster of services rooms and both the front and back yards. In the house of the highest income (Type IV-D), the corridor included a vertical axis of circulation and allowed programs to be fully separated from one another. The private bedrooms were located upstairs and the more public rooms on the ground floor. The differences in the design of the space of passage in these houses shows that as levels of income increased, the houses were to accommodate more privacy between the members of their households: a thoroughfare would give its way to a corridor, then a living room and then it would take a vertical dimension.

In separating individuals from one another, the space for passage was also instrumental at scales that exceeded the domestic sphere. The specification sheet for each house included a small drawing describing the way it was to be repeated at the scale of the block. When duplicated the lower income types (IV-A & B), mirrored one another. Since the roof was a gendered space and the stair to the roof was on the mirroring edge, the women of the neighbouring units would be likely to come to know one another. In type IV-C, instead of the technique of mirroring, the technique of repetition was deployed. Here, the passage to the roof was always on the eastern side of the plot. In type IV-D (house of the highest income group), the path to the roof was incorporated within the interior organisation of the plan with no views

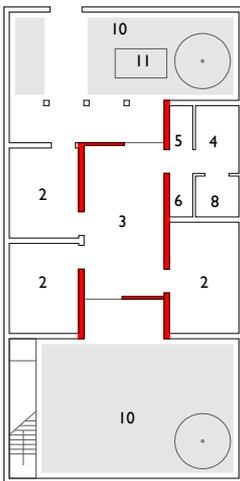
Income Level
A



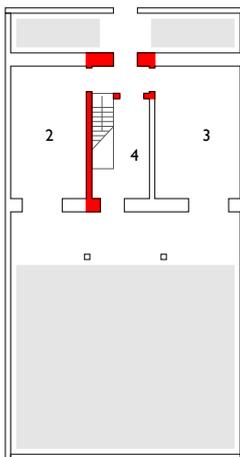
Income Level
B



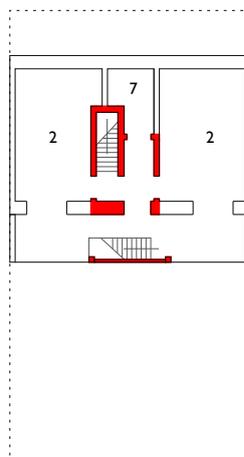
Income Level
C



Income Level
D



Ground Level



First Floor

Houses of the 4th climatic category. Shade of red highlights the spaces for passage. Reproduced by the author based on original drawings from the 1973 National Housing Development Plan of Iran. Reproduced by the author based on a the 1973 National Housing Development Plan, Doxiadis Archives.

outwards and isolated from the neighbouring units. The inhabitable roofs that seemed identical at face value therefore provided hierarchies of anonymity between the neighbours depending on their levels of income.

While visible in drawings, these spatial variations were also described and reasoned for in written text. For example, the differences in the design of the kitchen across the axis of income, was described in the following words: “the simple corner of a veranda which can satisfy the needs for cooking is gradually turned into a bigger space, then into a semi enclosed one and finally into a completely enclosed kitchen of a normal size”⁸². The same logic was continued for the variations in types of equipment: “the latrine should be considered an indispensable element of the house, including shower top within the same space... the slightly higher income houses as least one shower room should be added to the latrine and in still higher income groups a bathroom”⁸³. These written descriptions confirmed that the differences in the design of houses were to express and communicate economic hierarchies— Hierarchies that were to be experienced in the most intimate realm of one’s life.

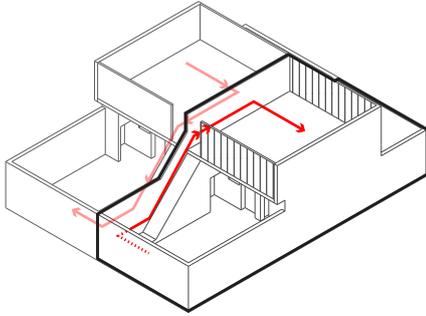
The examination of these model houses offers a new reading for the urban model of the Shahrak. It was argued earlier in this research that the Shahrak acted as an apparatus in its ability to separate the households from one another and reorganise their interactions around particular public spaces and public equipment e.g. the community square and its fountain or the small shops located at the core of the *Byera Hadley Travelling Scholarships Journal Series*

settlement. By introducing a matrix of model houses however, the development plan allowed the Shahrak to inscribe what was to be inaccessible from the space of the public and hidden behind the closed doors: the arrangement of interior walls for example, their folds, thicknesses and insets and the types of equipment that were to be enclosed by them. In doing so the norms of sociality that the Shahrak dictated traversed from the public realm to that of the private.

As levels of income increased so did the privacy between the individual members of the household, and as climatic conditions changed so did its signifying elements, the habitable roof for example or the wind catcher. Such hierarchies were carefully coordinated between the houses, representing violent economic disparities and harmonious variations in climatic conditions as two sides of the same coin. Regardless of their simple appearance, the houses were encoded with particular norms around privacy and sociality. Norms that were to regulate the daily lives of their residents⁸⁴. Perhaps it was in the 1973 National Housing Development Plan’s capacity to bring together violence and harmony, surveying and intervening and the public and the private that it was once described as a two-headed eagle.

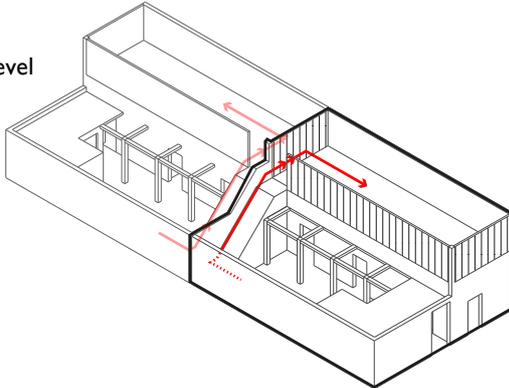
Income Level

A



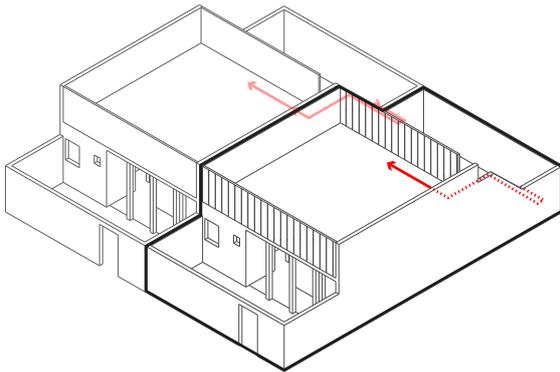
Income Level

B



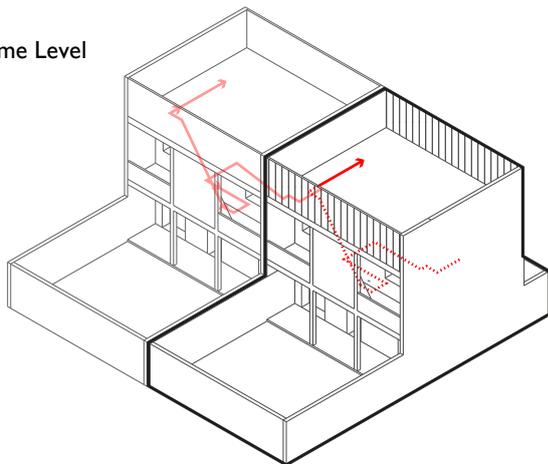
Income Level

C



Income Level

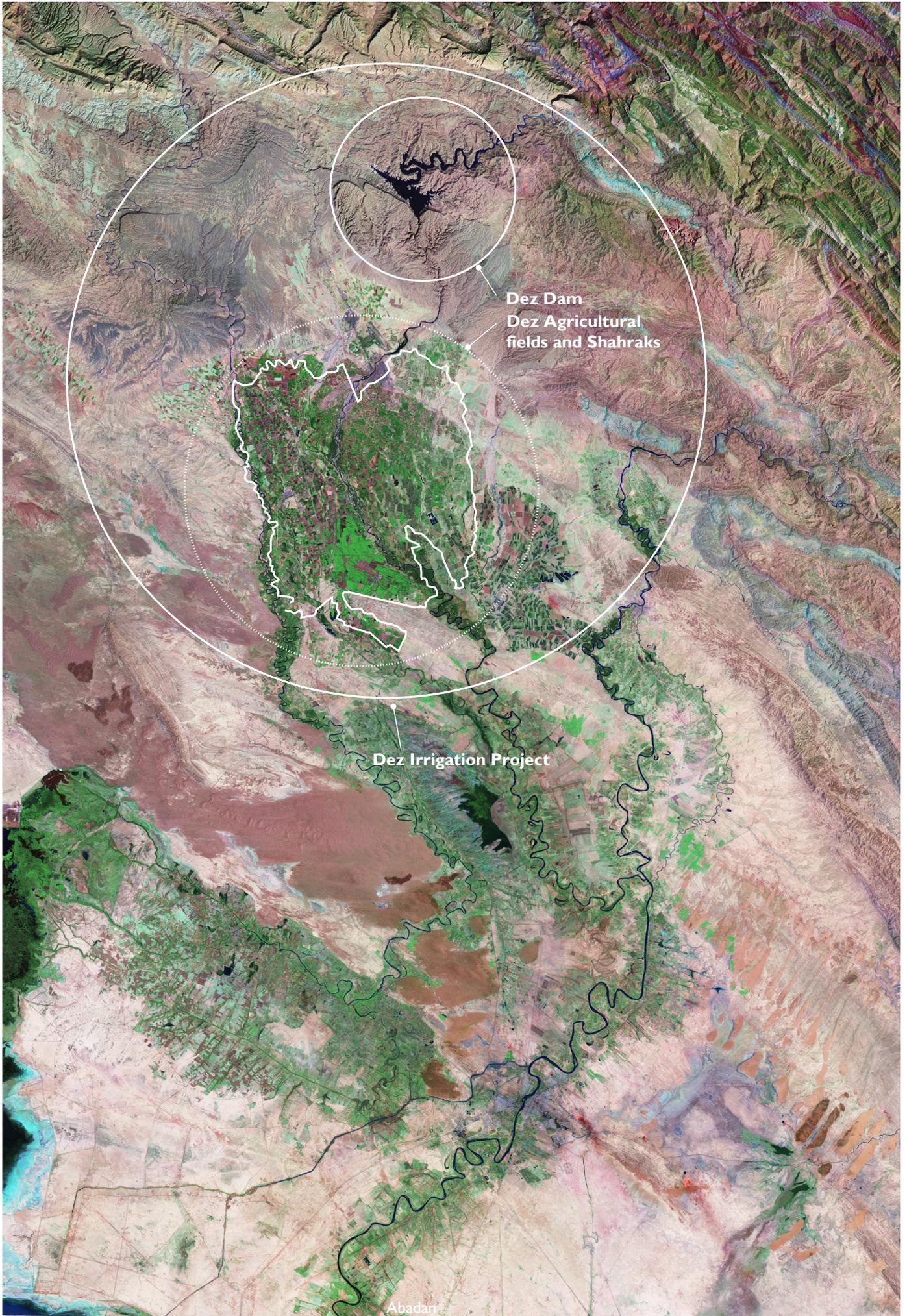
D



Houses of the 4th climatic category and space of passage outside the domestic realms.

Reproduced by the author based on original drawings from the 1973 National Housing Development Plan of Iran.

Reproduced by the author based on the 1973 National Housing Development Plan, Doxiadis Archives.



5

An Example: The Shahraks of Dez

Left: Location of the Dez Irrigation project. Note the intensity of agriculture in relation to its immediate desert landscape. Produced by the author based on a Landsat Sattelite image from 1986.

“Three predominant qualities marked the state’s policies toward the Shahrak” explained the anthropologist Grace Goodell, “fiat from on high, an obsession with neatness and a longing, once it had fixed life correctly, to make it stay exactly that way”⁸⁵. Goodell had spent three years of field work in Iran between 1972 and 1975. Her mission was to study forms of dwelling around a well-known development scheme named the Dez Irrigation Project. Design by David Lilienthal, the architect of the Tennessee Valley Authority and funded by the World Bank, the project was set up as the “blueprint” for transforming the rural territories of Iran⁸⁶. Thirteen Shahraks were built across the region of Dez, together with a new dam, a new network of canals and an entire new system for agricultural production⁸⁷.

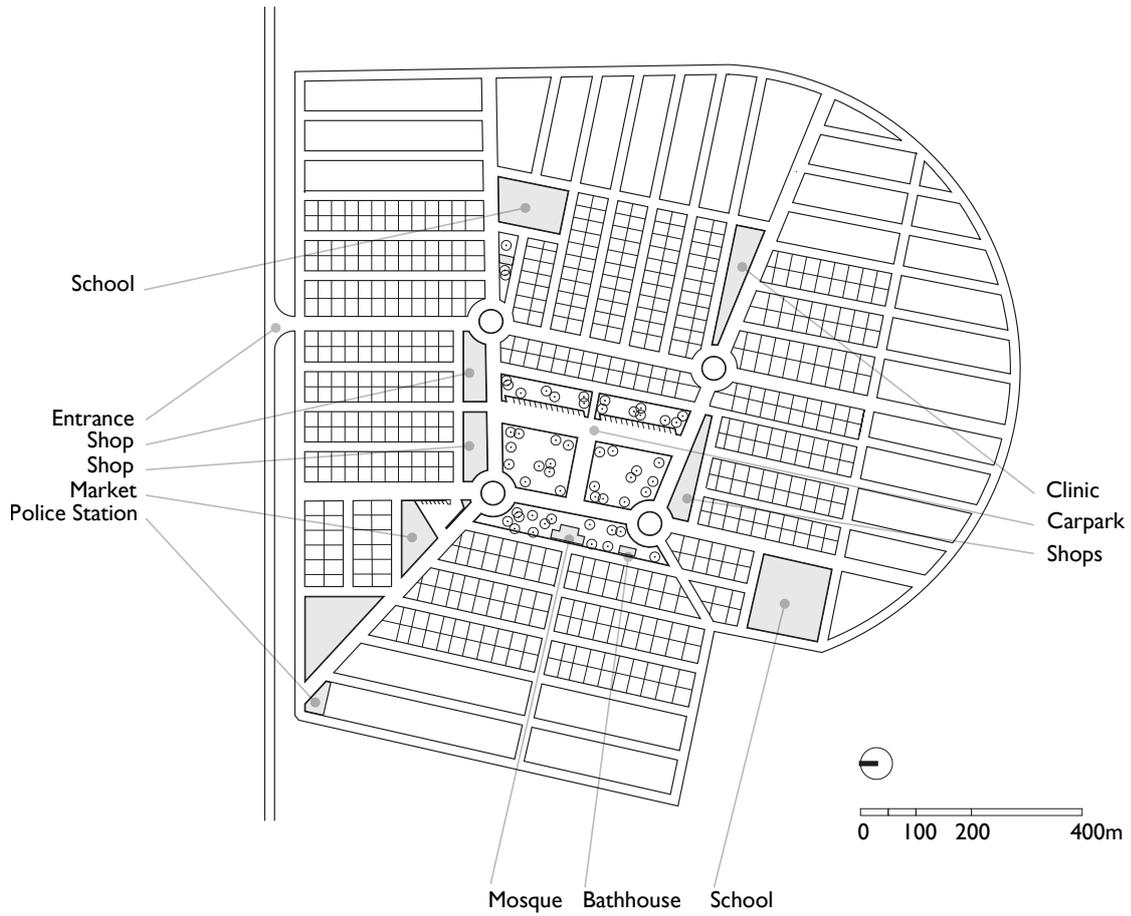
Goodell used a simple diagram to explain the Shahraks, noting “Each row of building had a number... individual buildings were also numbered according to the planners blueprint: taking each building unit in sequence, the four homes in it were numbered clockwise before going to the adjacent building unit. Houses 1, 2, 3 and four made up the first building unit, 5 through 8 the next and so forth”⁸⁸. Numbers were not assigned to roads and hence their purpose was not to facilitate navigation through the settlement. Rather they emphasize the role of the shahrak as a container. The numbering that was used originally by the architect and in the blue-print drawings was now inscribed in the space of the everyday life, containing the inhabitant in space via divisions and subdivisions.

[shahrak] Similar to the Shahrak of Doxiadis and that

of Esfahan Workers, each of the thirteen Shahraks of Dez, had a clear perimeter. They were offset from the main street and cordoned off by a road that circled around their perimeter. The residential blocks were arranged around a square shaped core including a car-park and a small patch of vegetation. Perimeter roads around the Shahrak and its core, the roundabouts and the car park area, in other words the spaces assigned to circulation of cars were instrumental in limiting pedestrian circulation and encouraging residents to stay in their homes⁸⁹.

Each Shahrak accommodated a total of 240 identical cross shaped residential buildings, each made of four L-shaped units. The four units looked outwards and away from one another into their individual plots of land with an area of 600 m². The wall separating the plots from the street was short enough to enable the regular inspection of the properties by the Shahrak authorities as they drove on the streets. Residents were told that their town was designed according to a higher scientific order and hence was not to be challenged by the resident’s age-old habits of dwelling⁹⁰. Prior to any alteration a permission had to be gained from the authorities and if new structures were to be built they were to be in brick, not adobe, wood or other local materials. Animals were forbidden out of a concern for neatness. Houses that were not maintained according to the regulations were marked in a map by inspectors and residents were fined accordingly.⁹¹

Before the launch of the Dez Irrigation Project and the building of its Shahraks, Dez was a seasonal wetland



A Deh Shahrak Layout. Reproduced by the author.

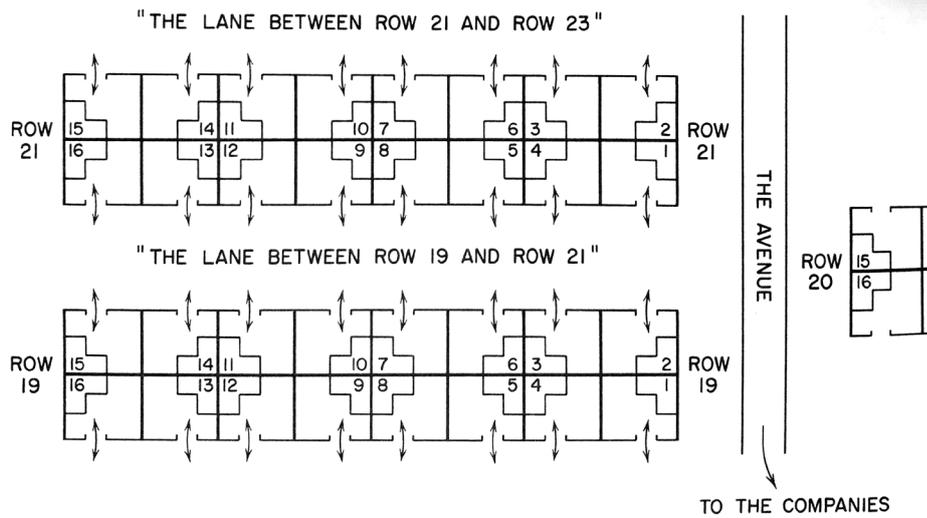


Diagram of block morphology by Goodell. Note the numbering system. Source: Goodell, Grace. 1986. The elementary structures of political life: rural development in Pahlavi Iran.

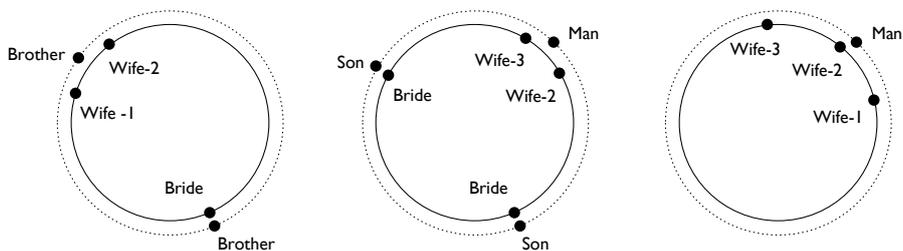


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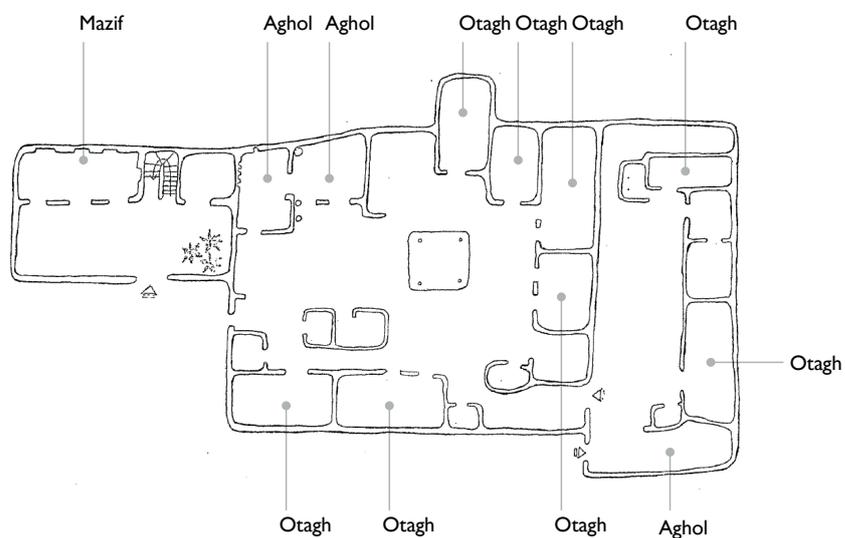
Two types of traditional Dez villages before the Dez Irrigation Project. Note their relationship to the wetlands. Source: Doxiadis Associates . 1957. IRAN V.1 - Diary (1957). Country File, Athens: Doxiadis Archives.

Three examples of common households in a traditional Dez village. Source: Hojat, Isa . Mafakher, Masoud. 1983. Typology of Rural settlements in Khuzestan, Volume 5. Tehran: Tehran University Press.

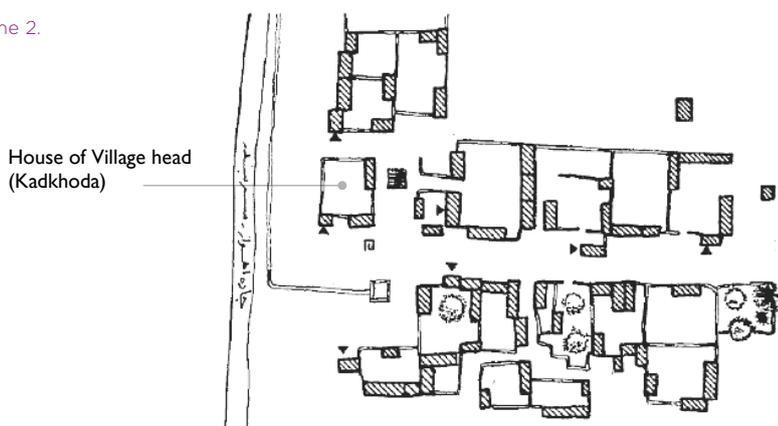


An example of a village house. Source: Hojat, Isa . Volume 2.

24



An example of a village. Source: Hojat, Isa . Volume 2.



and its people's forms of dwelling were contingent to changes in levels of water⁹². When water levels would increase, some village buildings would inevitably drown and hence it was common for people to resettle themselves on regular bases. The morphology of villages resembled the arrangement of bedouin communities and occupant's earlier and nomadic forms of life⁹³. Some were small including only two households and some were larger accommodating a population of one hundred. No clear borders were in place and buildings were clustered according to a make-shift logic. Those established close to a road included a coffee shop, helping the economic life of the village⁹⁴.

A village house was composed of a set of rooms clustered around a courtyard. These clusters varied in size and arrangement responding to the structure of the household's relations of kin. Isa Hojat, in his book on the typology of rural settlements in Khuzestan identifies three common household structures: the first and the simplest includes a man and his three wives, the second model includes a father, his two wives, his two sons and their corresponding wives and the third case of two brothers, one with two wives and another with one⁹⁵. While the arrangement of homes varied according to household structures, their elementary units named Mazif (or Lamardan), Otagh, Aghol, shared similar characteristics.

Each room accommodated the day to day activities of a typical subject. Mazif was usually located near the entrance and at times was shared between a few neighbouring households. Its ceiling height was the

highest, it had a view to the outside and its interior was often plastered in white. The room was used for ceremonies associated to rituals of passage such as marriage, birth and death. Outside the time of these rituals the room was traditionally used by men. Since they often worked in rain-fed agricultural fields which required little labour they had a lot of free time on their hands and spent most of it in their Mazif smoking Shisha and opium⁹⁶. The room named Otagh was often occupied by women. It had no windows and no interior finish. The room included an area for the storage of clothes, mattresses, bed sheets and suitcases as well as tea sets and equipment required for cooking. A matt or wool carpet often covered part of the room where people could sit or conjugation could take place⁹⁷. The third room, Aghol, was dedicated to the animals and acted as a stable or cote providing milk, and egg on daily bases⁹⁸.

The one Mazif, the few Otaghs and the Aghol were arranged around an enclosed area that could be named a courtyard. This space included an oven for baking bread, a vegetable garden growing food ingredients and a bed used as a place for work during the day and a place for sleep at night⁹⁹. With time, as birth, death and marriages would occur and the structure of a household would evolve, more rooms were added or removed from the cluster. But the separation between the three types of subjects that were accommodated in these rooms, the man, the woman and the animal were maintained. The houses never included mediating spaces such as living rooms, since it would threaten the parallel and un-subordinate nature of these realms. Lila Abu-Lughod's careful

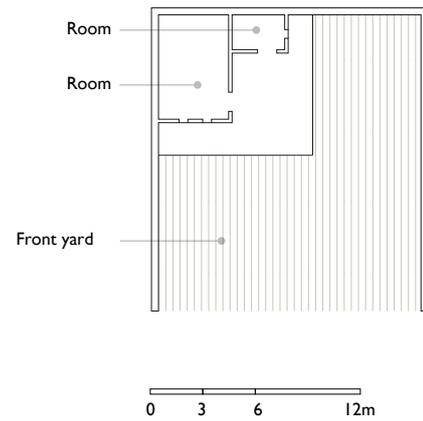
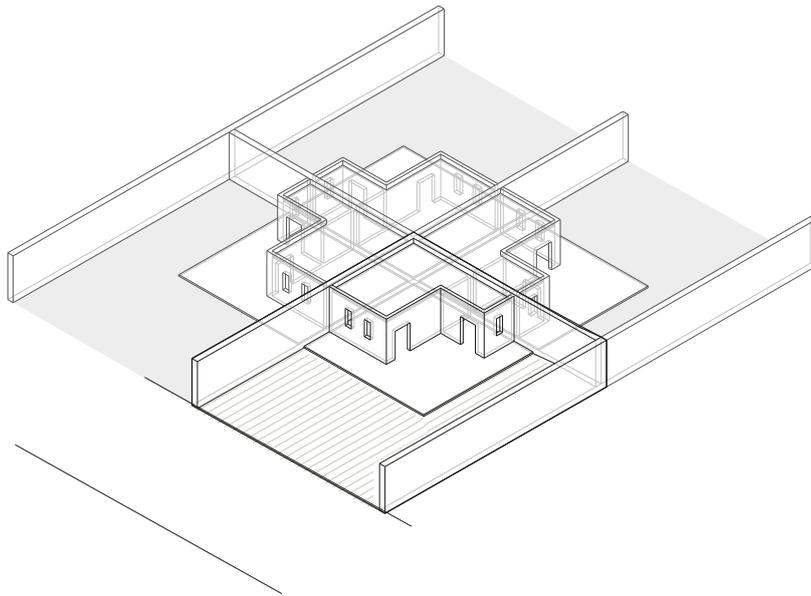


Diagram of a Shahrak house. Note the cross shaped walls in the axonometric diagram above and the two perpendicular rooms in the plan. Reproduced by the author.

analysis of similar communities in Egypt's western deserts, confirm that the basic day to day socialising was oriented around the same-sex groups, rather than the unit of the family¹⁰⁰. Love and respect between the marital partners could emerge but they were not necessary to the household as marriages were often arranged and polygamy was in practice¹⁰¹.

In moving from the village to the shahrak three interlinked norms that constructed the household as a unit were to be dismantled. First was with regards to polygamy, and homo-sociality which was maintained through the arrangement of the Otaghs and Mazifs. The L-shaped houses of Shahrak included only two rooms. When moving in, a village household with its complex relations of kin had to be broken into smaller groups and spread into different units. Some wealthy households had managed to bribe the authorities to secure proximity in the Shahrak, but even then, they were separated by a cross shaped divider wall, unable to see or communicate with one another¹⁰². The situation was more severe for the poorer families who could only afford one Shahrak unit. In one case the two rooms of a single shahrak unit accommodated three married brothers and their wives, their mother and their four children whereas before each and every woman had the right to a small but exclusive Otagh for her own¹⁰³.

To further break the homo-sociality and polygamy of villages, the Shahrak introduced an entirely new subject to the households: the child. Prior to the Dez Irrigation project, it was common for children to join their parent's Bonehs from the early age and help

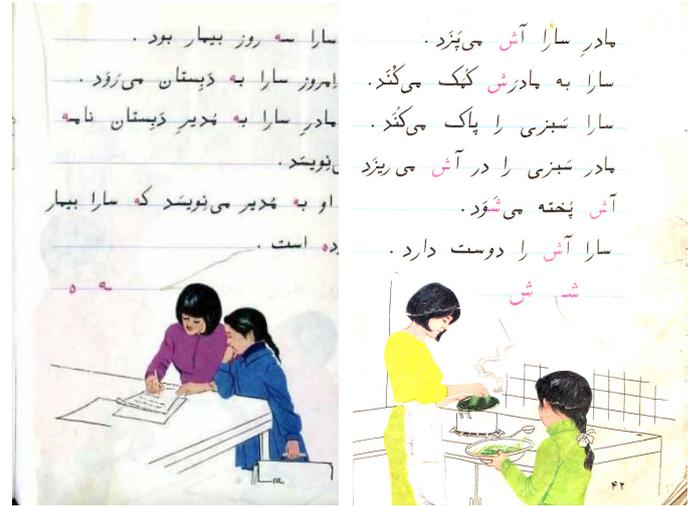
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with the economic stability of their household¹⁰⁴. Very few schools existed in the region and only a small portion of children studied up to the fifth grade. In the Shahrak however, school had become compulsory. In Goodell's words, the school was "an army camp on occupied territory"¹⁰⁵. Its teachers were members of the newly formed Women's Literacy Corps¹⁰⁶. Dressed in short skirts and military hats, these comrades fought for the making of the child and against all that constituted the rural mother: "the pregnant illiterate village woman who was doing her chores as she breast-fed one baby, tried to extricate her skirts from the clutches of another child and kept a worried eye on her two other children fighting and screaming nearby"¹⁰⁷.

Traditionally, A mother's responsibility of care was limited to the first two years after birth— a period in which she exercised her Quranic duty of suckling the child. A child's character was to be god given and in part due to heredity, therefore women did not see themselves responsible for moulding the characters of their children¹⁰⁸. In this framework child rearing was not considered an occupation but rather an activity among a much wider range including carpet weaving, sheep herding, and bringing water, cooking and paying social calls. All such activities were shared by other women in the household as well as the older children¹⁰⁹. Women were often mothers of many children, but this role did not require them to be devoted to their proper training. The role of mothering was balanced by women's significant involvement in the affairs of their extended kin and of the female community¹¹⁰. Such behaviours were to be eradicated



The first school of the first Dez Shahrak, the children and the comrades of the literacy corps. Source: Journal of David Lilienthal.



Few examples of first year school book. The selection are letters on "h" and "sh". Each describe particular gender roles for the mother and a particular idea of a family.

Source: Farsi book, 1973.

in the name of the new child.

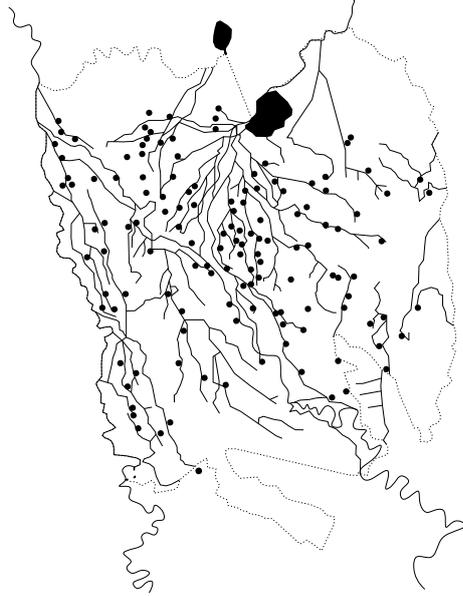
The school teachers of Shahraks taught the children to sleep in pyjamas at home and wear bell-bottom trousers during school excursions so they would look less of a peasant¹¹¹. They were taught to make paper dolls and streamers in celebrating the Pahlavi holidays and ask their parents for donations for the hungry people of Africa¹¹². The Farsi book for the first year students was in itself a means for producing certain perception of the subject of mother and father¹¹³. The lesson on letter B for Baba (Dad) would describe him as someone who distributes bread on a dinner table in literal terms¹¹⁴. In a lesson on the letter Z, the mother is portrays as someone who shops from the Bazaar¹¹⁵. In another lesson for letter H, the mother is describe to be literate who collaborated with the institution of the school in policing the progress of the children¹¹⁶.

The second norm that had to be broken was with regard to economic unity, a criterion to which the villagers themselves attached the greatest value¹¹⁷. Before the launch of the project it was customary for peasants, male and female, to cultivate the land by forming Platonic work groups named Boneh¹¹⁸. Each Boneh consisted of an organised group of five farmers who distributed the work among themselves. They offered their labour to the landlords, and in return received between %40-60 of the harvest, depending on the type of farming, the kinds of crops that were grown, and the degree to which the landlord had been involved in the production. With the Dez Irrigation project and its corresponding reforms in land law the many landlords of the region were replaced by large

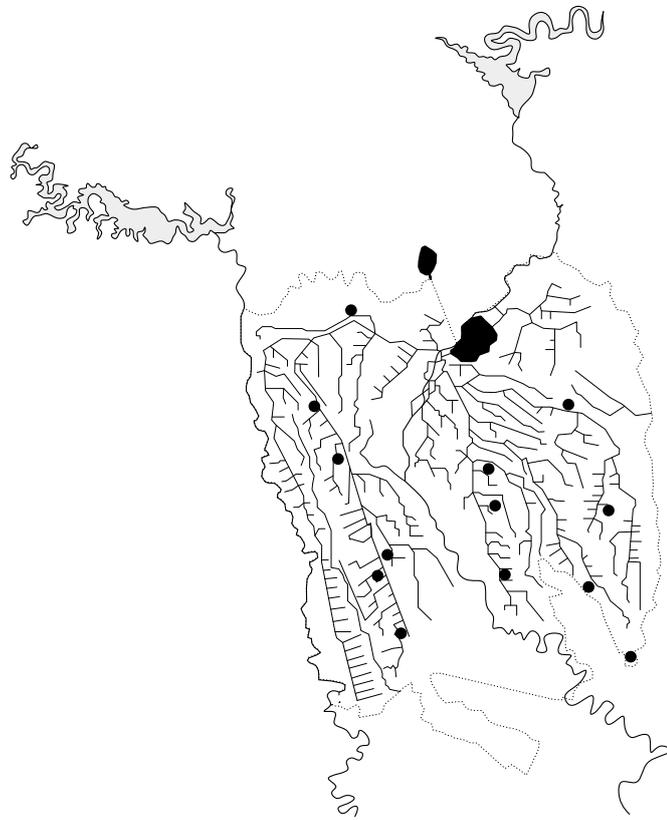
scale Agribusiness Corporations, seasonal rivers by irrigation canals and the local agricultural crops: date palms, wheat and rice by those demanded by a global market: Sugarcane, asparagus and Cotton¹¹⁹. The Bonehs and their demand for a share of harvest were in clash with the pragmatic comprehension of the new agribusinesses for efficiency.

Boneh was to be replaced by the entirely new system of wage labour. Some 600 permanent jobs and some 800 seasonal ones were created for 2,000 adult work seekers¹²⁰. The resulting job shortage effected the traditional relations of kin. Once belonging to the same Boneh, brothers and fathers now competed with one another. While the sustenance of a household required an average of \$2.30 per day, wage oscillated between \$2.20 per day in winter to \$3.75 in summer¹²¹. This unbalance required the workers to think about saving parts of their summer income for winter, a behaviour that was foreign to their traditional norms. Moreover, waged labour effected the relations of workers to land. Village workers would go through immense pain to see any crop in the field spoiled, even if it was beyond their control. Moving to the Shahrak and working for an agribusiness however, Goodell noted, they would take pleasure in deliberately ruining rows and rows of food, even if they could barely afford vegetables in their homes: "Agriculture had become a burden... not the staff of life"¹²².

The third village norm that was broken by the Shahraks of Dez was with regards to the Shia rituals that contextualised the household in relation to a larger community. Dez was a complex territory



28 Left: The area of the Dez Irrigation Project before the introduction of the project in 1958. 100 villages were spread through the region and along the seasonal rivers.



Right: The area of the Dez Irrigation Project after the introduction of the project in 1968. 13 new Shahraks were to replace the villages. A new Dam was built in the north and a series of new canals were introduced to take over traditional means of irrigation. Reproduced by the author.

accommodating a range of ethnic groups from Arab to Kurd to Lur and to Persian, each ethnic group in itself was composed of various tribes and each village accommodated few families that belonged to the same tribe. In this context, a particular Shia ritual associated to Ashura, played an important role. Ashura was held on the 10th of the month of Muharram in commemoration of the historic battle of Karbala where Hossein, the grandchild of Muhammed who had left Medina to seek asylum in Mecca and was martyred together with his household, his sons, brothers, sisters and their families.

[Bushehr film of ritual] Once a year and for 10 days leading to the day of the battle, a highly coordinated ritual would be performed between the many villages across the Dez territory¹²³. In each village and for the first nine days households offered rotating communal meals to the entire settlement. The poorer households offered tea and the richer ones provided dinner and lunch. On the tenth day, every single village would begin a triumphal procession across the landscape to a sacred site. Only a handful of such sacred sites existed each belonging to a particular ethnic group or tribe. During the procession, the community leader would be at the front carrying a highly elaborate and decorated banner that was often passed through generations. When arriving at the sacred site, all groups would self-organise into a concentric circles, beating their chest in the harmony with the beat of a preacher's poem. The ritual provided a strong sense of community belonging to the people who shared a region but lived in separate villages¹²⁴.

Moving to the Shahraks, the authorities had made sure that neighbours were foreign to one another, that they came from different villages and that they belonged to differing ethnic groups. A study showed for example that three Shahraks accommodated members of some 25 villages and a mix of all four ethnic backgrounds¹²⁵. The authorities considered this mixing of races essential to the project and one of the key means for introducing change to "people whose daily existence has never varied"¹²⁶. This had in turn broken the ritual. Since no common ground was shared between the residents they couldn't take turn in preparing the common meals or organising the procession. Young boys preferred to go to a friend's house instead and to watch the processions on TV, a new consumer product that had become popular among the shahrak dwellers. Goodell remarked that the TV portrayed Ashura as an advertisement of Shah's power and the success of his fast paced project for development. The performers of the rituals were pictured as an endless urban mass that flowed before the cameras in thousands mourning and beating themselves. A Voiceover explained "Here is the procession of Abadan, centre of Iran's inexhaustible oil fields ... Now we turn to the deeply religious Tabriz where eight new factories have just opened their doors... here are the crowds of believers in Esfahan, many of them workers in the country's new steel mill..."¹²⁷.

From the same religious values, around the same event of the Ashura and by the same people, two opposite types of subjectivities were produced. Through the enactment of the ritual of Ashura in the villages of Dez and in coming to circles, noted



A ritual related to the martyrdom of Shia personage Imam Hossein in south of Iran. Frames from a Documentary Film.
Selection and Layout: author.
Source: Naser Taghvayi, Arbain, 1970.

29

Goodell, the “robust believers celebrated their own social force, their community, confidently, ready, bare skinned and outward looking: their deliverance in nothing but their bare selves, their exultant strength in unison. Such almost jubilant confirmation was necessarily a collective emotion”¹²⁸. The Ashura of Shahrak in contrast was the exhibition of men in their “uniform national piety: tribe-less, village-less, without tent or mosque, but orderly, pious, and seemingly infinite”¹²⁹.

The spirituality that effected Foucault so profoundly in Iran had little to do with a commitment to Islam, less so with a devotion to an Islamic leader. Rather, as he elaborated in his work later, spirituality referred to a set of acts and practices through the enactment of which one could transform one’s self into a new subject¹³⁰. Up until the Iranian revolution, Foucault had only conceived of the subject as the passive product of the techniques of domination. It was only after his writings on Iran when he coined the term “political spirituality” and conceived the possibility for a subject’s transformation, for his constitution of himself, for his escape from the everyday life and for his revolt¹³¹.

The story of the Shahraks of Dez is not a story of individuals’ conforming to the norms of an interventionist state. Rather it is the story of the revolt of a people through their everyday practices of dwelling. Few examples are useful to unpack the nature of this revolt. A Dez shahrak, with the TV sets of its homes, the divider walls of its building blocks and its industrialised agricultural fields was

a continuum of apparatuses whose function was to regulate the life of their inhabitants according to particular set of norm. According to these norms for example and as described earlier, the subject of the child was introduced as someone who had to be looked after by a literate and caring mother and a complex of tutelary institutions such as schools and health clinics. The relationship between these guardians, the mother and the school teacher, was of important value and hence was to be associated with a well-defined set of behaviours. For example mothers were to support the teachers, comrades of the Literacy Corps, by taking turn in sending them lunch and inviting them to their own houses for dinners¹³². The intrusion of these comrades into women’s lives, for example the way they encouraged children to dress in a particular way in public and even at the privacy of their homes and the way children had begun to judge their parent’s behaviour, had agitated them. In response they had begun to turn the new norm around feeding the comrades into channels for revolt. Goodell reports that indeed women send food to school as they were expected to, but they made sure that the soup was cold by the time it would get there and that the cucumbers would be withered. They put extra salt in their stew and sprinkled little stones in the rice they had cooked¹³³. In time and through these small acts their solidarity had increased so much so that it had helped them to denounce their labour rights to wage and demand for its increase so that it would equal those of men¹³⁴.

The revolt of the Shahrak women extended to the space of their homes. Aware of the obsession of

the state with the neatness of the houses, and their regular inspections from the street¹³⁵, residents began collecting, storing and indeed exhibiting trash and obsolete objects in their yards: calves, old tires, oil rims, pieces of sheet metal, ladders and wheel barrows, broken toys and families' wash. Animals were bread (e.g. cows and chickens), vegetables were grown and outside ovens were built as well as woodsheds, storage areas and stalls. Some even covered the brick walls of their units with mud. From the point of view of the DIP authorities these forms of occupations were acts of disobedience and social unrest, threatening to break down the overall discipline of the new Dez territory. They had experimented with legal methods, charging fines and arresting the rebels, but it had not worked. At some point they had called on a ministry doctor to launch a health campaign against everything on the housing lots, arguing that "clutter" fostered schistosomiasis¹³⁶.

Regardless of the persistence of authorities for policing, discipline and punish, or perhaps because of it, the shahrak residents had continued their behaviour. By 1974, there was no option left for the authorities but to withdraw from the realm of houses. The original protocols that regulated the visibility of the units from the street were inverted. A new law was put in place that required the space of the yard to be fully enclosed. Hence, the residents were asked to heighten the perimeter wall that separated their house from the street. The new walls would block the exposure of the yards and mask the clutter that had accumulated inside them. To the authorities, this alteration was the only way possible to maintain a sense homogeneity

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in place and sustain the appearance of order and obedience¹³⁷. The new heightened wall reorganised the shahrak according to two separate realms: the public realm of legitimate regulation and the private realm of freedom from intrusion, personal autonomy and private choice¹³⁸.

6

Projecting Forward

What can be learned from the resistance of the Shahrak residents of Dez and from Iran's First National Housing Development Plan? What is the lesson for for the discipline of architecture and for Australia? Can housing be considered a means for re-imagining the inequalities that structure the contemporary cities of our country? Two lines of enquiry can be traced: a political one with regards to the role of projects of housing as apparatuses of governance and a social one with regards to the role of the urban model of the town.

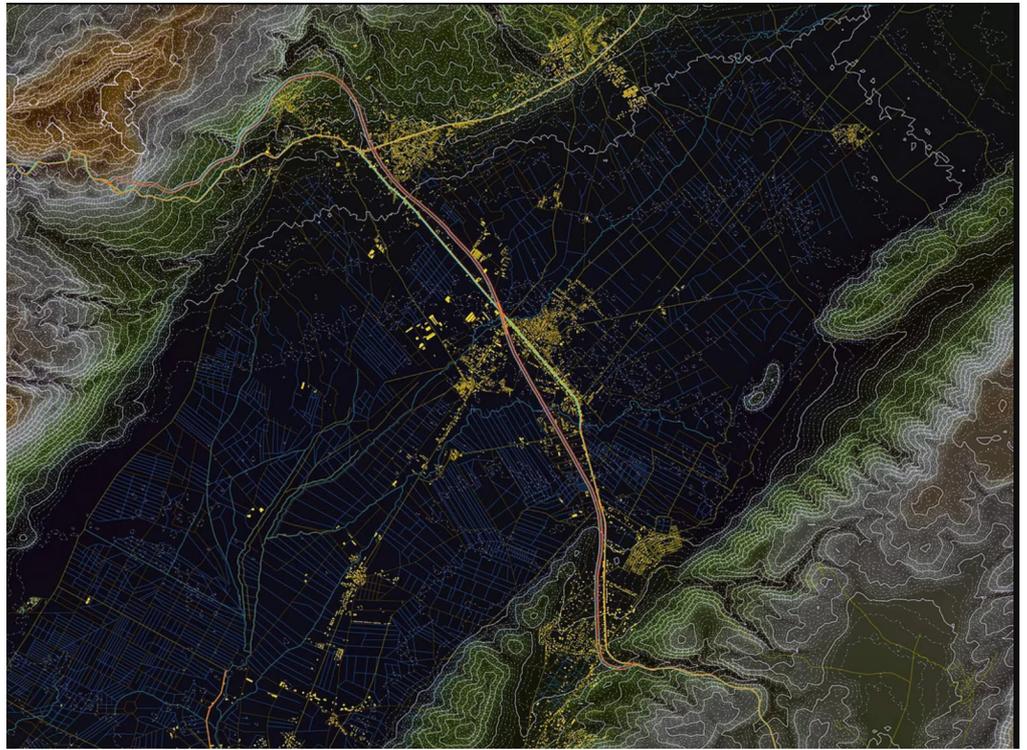
As discussed in the introduction, projects of governance begin from representation of human conditions. These representations show the good propensities and bad dispositions of subjects upon whom a project of governance is to be applied. The good behaviours are to be celebrated and the bad are to be eradicated. In Iran's First national housing development plan we have seen two kinds of representations. One provided by Doxiadis, the architect of the plan, who was concerned about a threat of social uprising. In his representation, the life of the families of the working classes, the domestic order of their homes and the structure of their settlements signifies "unruliness". He had attempted to provide a detail account of this image through several site visits to the many cities traversing Iran where his team would survey the life of the residents through the scales of the home, the neighbourhood and the territory. In response he had proposed a set of scalar technologies through which the life of the working classes could be governed. The Shahrak played a significant role in these technologies as it would encourage the practices that would have originally taken place in private and within the domestic realm of the houses to become public, visible

to the eye of the state and tuned with the agendas of its project of governance. State institutions such as the school, the mosque and the health centre were integral parts of each Shahrak. The state mobilised and stationed its agents in these institutions who would teach the new ways of dwelling to the residents and insure the eradication of old habits.

The representations that were produced by Doxiadis had many differences with those provided by the Monarchic Government of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi. For the state, the problem of Iran was the speed with which modernisation and development were to take place. The concern was with creating a new middle class of civil servants and white color workers who would support the Shah in his project of governance. Both representations, those produced by Doxiadis and those produced by the Monarchic State were partial. Neither managed to capture the people of Iran and it is perhaps to this problem that within less than a decade, a revolution had swapped across the country. Upon this observation, I would like to make the following suggestion. Perhaps, it is time to think of an alternative model for producing such representations. Models that instead of statistics begin from empirical evidence and anthropological accounts. Models that begin from the scale of the individual and the personal accounts of everyday life. Models in which a people produce their own representation. How could this play out, you might ask, with regards to contemporary inequalities that are evident in Australia. I will attempt to answer this by taking two of the most contested subjects in Australia: the refugee and the citizen.

Beginning from March 2011, an entire civil war was

Orthographic drawing of the Bekaa Valley, the road to Damascus. The gold marks the distribution of built fabric in the region.



waged in Syria. By April 2012, some 200,000 Syrians were considered displaced. By the end of 2013, around one and a half million Syrians had become refugees. By 2015, the Syrian Civil War became a crisis of the European Union, who saw the waves of Syrian migrants as threats to the welfare of its own citizens. At this point, Australia announced to welcome 12,000 Syrians as its refugees. This acceptance was however bound to a strict round of character checks, interviews and health examinations. The total number of those who were accepted by 2016 had barely reached 26 individuals. A thorough critique of Australia's approach to the refugee crisis is beyond the scope of this research. My enquiry however, is concerned with the basis and the representations upon which the housing of these peoples has been planned. If the status of refugee in itself provides the basis of this representation, housing will become an apparatus for organising inequalities. The alternative way, I would suggest, is for us to re-evaluate the term refugee, but not on its own. To re-imagine what constitutes a refugee one must also re-imagine what constitutes its counterpart, the citizen.

I can provide a more tangible explanation of what I'm proposing through an example: a project by my students at the Bartlett School Architecture on the problem of Syrian refugees in Lebanon. The studio was conducted in 2015 by Dr. Adrian Lahoud, Dr. Sam Jacoby and myself and the project was developed by students Jay Samek and Ken Zhao. Titled *From City to Camp/From Camp to City: Thresholds of Normalisation in the Bekaa Valley*, the proposal attempted to challenge the archaic conceptions around refugees and citizens by re-thinking the space of the camp and the city.

There are two dominant points of view about the
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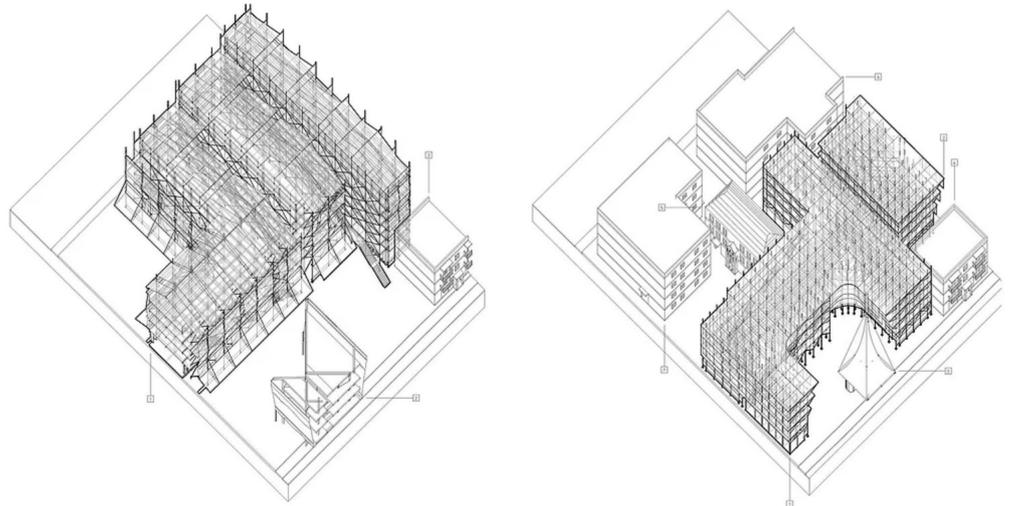
settlement of refugees in Palestine and Lebanon. The first view supports the idea of normalisation and the desire for a refugee to appear as the citizen. This view manifests itself in the field of architecture through the building of public spaces (for example the project in FAWAAR camp by Sandi Hilal and Alessandro Petti) or planting of trees. The second point of view is against normalisation. It argues that while this process erodes the status of the camp in spatial terms, this is not always reciprocal to the rights that refugees gain in comparison to citizens. Refugee rights, especially those associated to the right to return to a home country have their own spatial language. The building of public spaces and institutions are frowned upon. Using the most unpermanent and precarious materials is a means for their resistance against normalisation. It signifies their desire to return and dramatizes the inequalities that organise their location within a society.

Rather than choosing one or another, the project acknowledged the value of both these positions and in turn proposed a project that enables the two to co-exist. To rethink the camp, the project argued, one had to reimagine the idea of the city. The project began by engaging with the urban model of the camp, as a temporal diagram, as a place of dwelling isolated from cities and positioned in faraway peripheries and as a settlement developed instantly and in its complete form — characteristics that as discussed earlier, are common between the diagrams of the refugee camp and the military camp / new-town / Shahrak. The project critiques the disciplinary organisation of this model and instead adopted the logic of an infill where the vacant lands and properties within a city would be appropriated for construction. The project

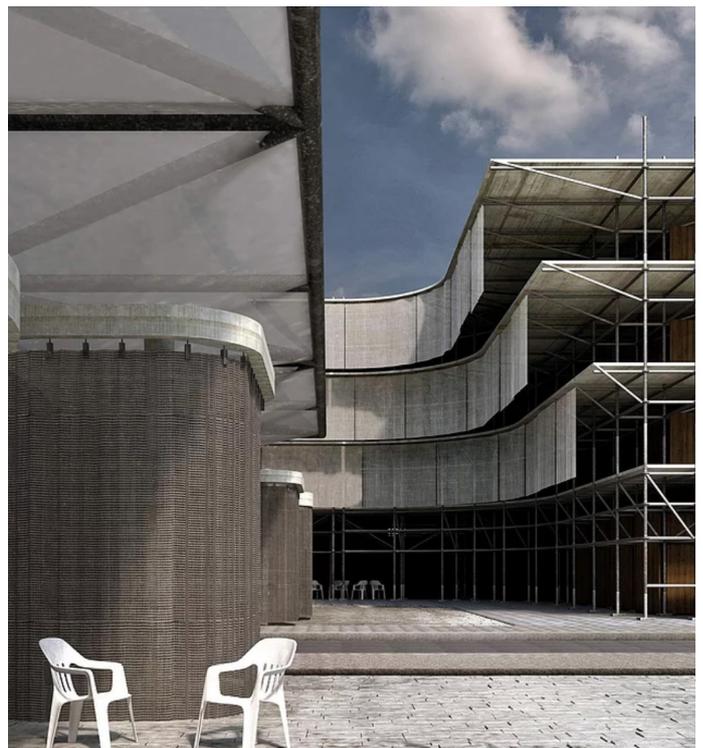


The new camp adopts the logic of and infill where the vacant lands and properties within a city would be appropriated for construction.

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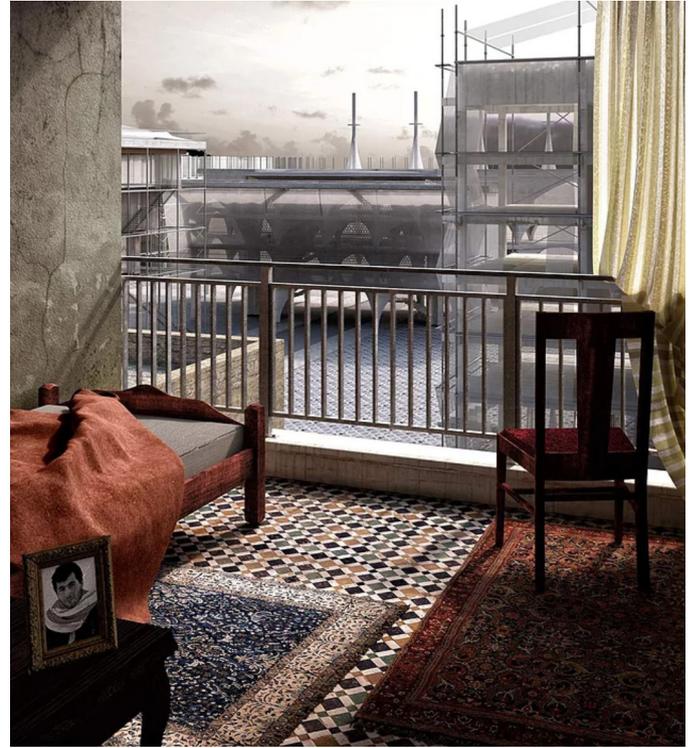
Axonometric drawing of the proposed typologies.



Cluster of a few camp buildings at the first stage of the project. Note the use of materials.



34 Perspective view of shared area in camp in the process of transformation.



Perspective view of a camp room in the process of transformation.

conveyed a new model of camp that was fragmented into hundreds of buildings, clustered into fragments and distributed in the Bekaa Valley and throughout its many cities along the road to Damascus.

The development was organised in a set of phases. For the first few years, the goal was the provision of shelter in the fastest time possible and hence, a simple modular system was considered that took advantage of local construction techniques. In the second phase, there was a shift in objectives towards a coexistence between all people of the valley, old and new, citizen and refugee. For this purpose, the project provided a possibility for more permanent forms of dwelling. Residents were provided with the means to remove walls, add new ones, and organise their space of dwelling in ways that it can help them adopt a way of life that they aspired to have. This gave birth to another strange kind of aesthetics evident in the renderings. In the third phase, the project went a step further and imagined the camp as a city equipped with shared facilities such as schools and education centres. Gradually and through the may phase of the project, the refugee camps of the Bekaa valley would become cities within cities. Thus from camp to city, from city to camp.

By providing this project as an example im not suggesting for its repetition in Australia. The rights and aspiration of the refugees in Australia are not exactly the same as those in Lebanon. This is also the case for the counterpart of each condition, the citizen. My attempt is to urge the discipline of Architecture in Australia to begin from the same set of questions.
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Who are the citizens of Australia and in turn, who are its refugees? What are their everyday habits, those that they are accustomed to and those that they aspire to adopt? What are their differences and what is it, if anything, that allows them to relate to one another? The final question is with regards to what constitutes a house, not only for the subject of the refugee, but also the citizen as the two are analogous and re-imagining one, requires reimagining the other.

7

About the Author Samaneh Moafi

Samaneh Moafi is an architect and researcher. She is currently a PhD candidate at the AA school of Architecture. Her PhD thesis examines mass-housing in modern and contemporary Iran and explores the possibility for its appropriation as an armature for collective resistance. From 2015 to 2017, Samaneh was a Research Fellow in Forensic Architecture working on environmental violence and climate change. She has taught design studios and workshops in universities such as the Royal College of Arts, Architectural Association, Bartlett School of Architecture and University of Technology in Sydney. Since she was a student, Samaneh has worked individually and in collaboration with a number of practices in Australia, Iran and UK across a wide range of scales including art, architecture and urban design.

The Byera Hadley Travelling Scholarship has been immensely influential in Samaneh's career both with regards to her academic research in the field of housing as well as the courses and design studios she has taught.

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8

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- 4 This argument is borrowed from Chatterjee in his account of the emergence of the concept of nation in modern India. Partha Chatterjee, "Beyond the Nation? Or within?" *Social Text* (Duke University Press, 1998) (56). 57-69.
- 5 The Study of Esfahan produced by the Organic office provides a telling example. Organic Consultancy, *Geography of Isfahan*. document, (Isfahan: Municipality of Isfahan, 1968).
- 6 Problematisation, or the construction of certain phenomenon as a problem in relation to political, moral, military, geopolitical and judiciary concerns is one of the key dimensions along which a historiography of the modern individual can be made. Nikolas Rose, *Governing the Soul: the Shaping of the private self*. (London: Free Association Books, 1999).
- 7 This point emphasis a rejection of a common reading among contemporary scholarships of the Pahlavi regime where the Iranian society is portrayed as detached from government institutions and the power of the monarchy. Ibid. 60-62.
- 8 Shah's reforms of the 60s were launched with the aim of preventing a social uprisings while sustaining as much of his established relations of domination as possible. A reform towards a new order that would merge monarchical traditions with modernity, Ali Ansari, "The Myth of the White Revolution: Mohammad Reza Shah, Modernisation and Consolidation of Power." *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (Jul., 2001), 1-24.
- 9 Given the role of foreign investment and expertise in this period the development pushes of the Pahlavi regime are often know as Dependent Development or pseudo-modernisation. Kevan Harris. *A Social Revolution: Politics and the Welfare State in Iran*. (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017), 66.
- 10 These Conferences were held with the support of the first lady, Farah Diba, who had in fact educated in Europe as an architect. Luis Kahn, Constantinos Doxiadis and Kenzo Tange were among the wide range of architects and planner who were invited to Iran for various international conferences. Hamed Khosravi, "Politics of Demonst(e)ration." *San Rocco 6: Collaboration*, (Spring 2013), 28-37.
- 11 Enghelab News Paper. "Address of the Shah to the heads of the Dehqan Congress." (Aug 1962).
- 12 The Plan Organisation was ran by Abol-Hassan Ebtehaj, an economist with a resume of working for the IMF. He is often remembered as Iran's first technocrat. He was bitterly opposed to great military expenditures in favour of infrastructural ones. It was for this precise reason that he was forced to leave seat in 1959. Ali Ansari. *Modern Iran: The Pahlavis and After*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2007),167-9.
- 13 Harris. *A Social Revolution*, 60.
- 14 Ibid. 16.
The 1960s reforms of the Pahlavi state have been criticised extensively by scholars of the political history of Iran. Ervand Abrahamian for example remarked that they were "designed to both compete with and pre-empt a Red Revolution from below". and Ali Ansari defined them as a "political myth" for legitimising the Pahlavi monarchy in the international forums as a modern state.
Ervan Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press,1982). 131.
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- 16 Doxiadis Associates. "IRAN V.10 - REPORTS DOX-IRN-A (1973)," Country Files, No. 24943, (Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives, Athens, 1973), 284.
It was only in the Iranian copy of the plan that this model was named 'Shahrak'. Constantinos Doxiadis. *Iran's Five Year National Housing Development Plan (1972-1977)*. (Tehran: Plan Organisation (PO), 1973).
- 17 Doxiadis Associates. "IRAN V.8 - REPORTS DOX-IRN-A, DOX-IRN-TN (1972)" Country Files, No. 24941, (Doxiadis Archives, Athens, 1972), 302.
- 18 Ibid. 115-118.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 A remark by Foucault clarifies the relation that is at stake here between disciplinary structures, individuals and masses. "Discipline is a mode of individualization of multiplicities rather than something that constructs an edifice of multiple elements on the basis of individuals who are worked on as, first of all, individuals." Michel Foucault. *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France*. Translated by Graham Bruchell. (New York: Picador, 2007). 26.
- 21 Timothy Mitchel. *Colonising Egypt*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991). 34-63.
- 22 Ibid. p 40.
- 23 A Similar reform, and a similar urban model had also been introduced to Algeria. The model village was in the shape of a square with a central axis of circulation in its centre. Houses of peasants were organised in perpendicular order to these axis. The village head was allocated with a larger house at the end of the central axis and stables and store rooms were arranged around the edges. The four corners of the settlement, included a mill, a mosque, a guest house and a guard house. Similar model villages were also built in Algeria by the French colonisers. Ibid. 44-48.
- 24 Adrian Randolph. "The Bastides of South France." *The Art Bulletin*, 77 (2), (Jun., 1995). 290-307.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Serlio expressed his frustration with the traditional cities with which the architects of his time had to work with in that they were irregular and accidental with conflicting social and spatial structures. In turn, he proposed what he described an ideal settlement: 'smallish city', 'well ordered' and in the form of a 'perfect square'. This ideal city was presented through a range of etchings in multiple scales. The most unique aspect of the settlement was that its spatial lay out was liberated from the regional styles and its contemporary expectation of residential units. Instead, it was developed from Polybius's illustrations of the Roman military camps in the battle against the Greeks between 167 and 200 BC. In this process, the hierarchical order of the Roman military uni which had been explicitly communicated through the order of space, the tribunes, the hastati and the triarii were transformed into hierarchies that were to compose a community of peoples. Sebastian Serlio. "Castrametation of the Romans." In *Sebastiano Serlio on Architecture*, Volume II, translated by Peter Hicks Vaughan Hart, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2001). 409-458.
- 27 Buildings were constructed using cheap materials such as wood which would have increased the speed of construction. Randolph. "The Bastides of South France." 290-307.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 On bio-power see: Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*, p 16.
Foucault uses the examples of the towns of Kristiania, Gothenburg and Richelieu. Similar to the bastides, these towns were developed instantly. Their spatial layout was according to the model of military camps with scales of subdivision. A central avenue acted as the main axis and communicated a sense of order and symmetry. Parallel and perpendicular to this axis a grid of roads were created. The tightness of this grid dictated the programming of the urban fabric, the tighter reserved for commercial activities and the wider for residential. The difference of social status and wealth were communicated through the architecture of buildings, altering between two and one story kinds. Ibid. 29-33.
Aureli argues that Foucault's analysis of the town as an apparatus of government was in fact based on Jean-Claude Perrot's analysis of bastides in his book on the *Genesis of a Modern City*. Aureli further argues that the bastides were the means of a king for the colonisation of its own territory and its own people. Pier Vittorio Aureli, *Territory, Governmentality and the Rise of the Town*. (Lecture at Architectural Association, London. 23 Nov 2016).
- 31 The report noted rather sarcastically that "Iran is not a country with extensive slums or very poor and underprivileged and apathetic lower classes". Ibid. 290.
- 32 Ibid. 285-7.
- 33 It is fair to argue that the 1973 housing project was for the fast paced expansion and growth of a middle class. This conclusion is consistent with the conclusions made by sociologists such as Kevan Harris in his study of the welfare policies of the Pahlavi regime and Asef Bayat in his work on the squatter movements of the 1979. Both these studies suggested that Shah's welfare reforms were not attending to the demands of those from the lower incomes in Iran and instead targeted at the civil service employees: teachers, doctors and army men. Harris, *A Social Revolution*. 1-23.
Asef Bayat. *Street Politics: Poor People's Movements in Iran*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 67-74.
- 34 Ibid. 290-293.
- 35 Ibid. 296.
- 36 Doxiadis Associates. "IRAN V.6 - REPORTS DOX-IRN-A, MONTHLY REPORTS MR-IRN-A (1970 - 1971)" Archival Document, No. 24939, (Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives, Athens, 1971), 283.
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- 37 For the relationship between Doxiadis and CIA see: Michelle Provoost. "New Towns on the Cold war Frontier: How modern urban planning was exported as an instrument in the battle for the developing world." *Crimson Architectural Historians*, (May, 2007), Accessed Aug 2017. <https://www.crimsonweb.org/spip.php?article47>.
- 38 Doxiadis had developed a theory under the name of Ekistics or the science of human settlements according to which cellular urban structure such as shahrak identified a community of people freed from a context in crisis. Constantinos Apostolou Doxiadis, *Two Headed Eagle: From the Past to the Future of Human Settlements*. (Athens: Lycabettus Press, 1972).
- 39 The proposal notes "we use the term human settlements as this is the only one comprising all aspects of housing, facilities (roads, water, sewer, electricity, gas, etc), environments, urbanisation, building industry, etc which are of concern to the government of Iran and as this is the term recently adopted by the United Nations for the Stockholm Conference on Environments". Ibid, 189.
- 40 Doxiadis Associates. "IRAN V.7 - REPORTS DOX-IRN-A (1972)." Country File, No. 24940, (Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives, Athens, 1972), 116.

- 41 He had explained that he could design the houses so that their cost would range between \$1,500-2,700. Since the income of the targeted group for the pilot project was \$80-100 per month, they would be able to purchase such houses within fifteen years by spending as little as %15 of their salary and hence the loan from the World Bank could be paid back in time. Doxiadis had added that the possibility existed for additional investments from few private international organisations and that the Greek government would also provide certain equipment and services free of charge. Ibid.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 The targeted group were residents of congested neighbourhoods. Houses were only one story high and included a courtyard. This combination allowed the residents to gradually expand their homes from two or three rooms to four or five rooms as their financial level would get better over time. Doxiadis Associates. "IRAN V.6 - REPORTS DOX-IRN-A, MONTHLY REPORTS MR-IRN-A (1970 - 1971)." Archival Document, No. 24939 (Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives, Athens, 1971). 303-340.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 The project was not realised. Doxiadis Associates. "IRAN V.2 - REPORTS DOX-NKA, DOMIR (1957 - 1959)." Country Reports, No.24935, (Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives, Athens, 1959) pp 125-184.
- 46 Victor Gruen and Aziz Farmanfarman. Comprehensive Master-plan for Tehran [Tarh-e Jame-e Tehran]. (Tehran: Sazman-e Barnameh va Budjeh,1968).
- 47 By the late 1960s, Gruen had redefined shopping as a "national pastime" for the Americans through his work on what constituted a retail environment in both spatial and economic terms. Jeffrey M. Hardwick, Mall Maker: Victor Gruen, Architect of an American Dream. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 4. Gruen strongly denied that his "planned" shopping centres could lead to "scattering" and sprawl. In defence of his strategies he notes "I believe that it will be necessary to inject in our sprawling metropolitan regions which are basically centre-less, new central facilities which would discourage sprawl and blight". Ibid. 156.
- 48 Gruen's Fort Worth project is a telling example. In introducing the project Gruen had told the story of three subjects, a business man passing through the complex appreciating the aesthetics, a retailers whose sale had been advanced by the project and at last but not least a housewife who had taken the bus downtown for a day of shopping and errands. In the story the woman explains that some of her new shopping activities were formerly done by the husband but now, thanks to the exceptional environment of the new downtown centre, she was able to take charge of those errands and as a result felt "an added sense of responsibility and accomplishment". The housewife's story showed the most vital engine of Gruen's Fort Worth project: Domestic Consumption. In Hardwicks words, Fort Worth was nothing but a "consumer mecca". Ibid.176-9.
- 49 Instead of the term "core" often used by Gruen, Khosravi uses the term "urban node" in his analysis of the Tehran Masterplan. Hamed Khosravi, Camp of Faith. PhD Thesis, (Delft: Delft University, 2014), 246-251.
- 50 Ibid. P.243.
- 51 For the role of Gruen's projects in increasing racial conflicts in American cities such as Detroit see: Hardwick. Mall Make. P.202-9. For their role in increasing social conflicts in Tehran see: Khosravi. Camp of Faith. P.244-246.
- 52 Doxiadis Associates. "IRAN V.7 - REPORTS DOX-IRN-A (1972)." Country File, No. 24940, (Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives, Athens, 1972), 7.
- 53 Doxiadis Associates. "IRAN V.6 - REPORTS DOX-IRN-A, MONTHLY REPORTS MR-IRN-A (1970 - 1971)." Archival Document, No. 24939, (Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives, Athens, 1971), 449.
- 54 Doxiadis's first engagement with Iran was in fact a field trip in 1957. It included a visit to new settlements built by the American Near East Foundation (NEF) in south of Tehran and a road trip across Khuzestan. Constantinos A. Doxiadis, Iran V.1 - Diaries (Nov - Dec 1957). Diary, (Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives, Athens, 1957).
- 55 Constantinos A. Doxiadis, "Diary Iran." Diary, No.24952, (Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives, Athens, 1971).
- 56 Khosravi locates the construction of these neighbourhoods in the history of leftist resistance in Iran. Hamed Khosravi, Amir Djalali and Francesco Marullo, Tehran - Life Within Walls: A City, Its Territory, and Forms of Dwelling. Edited by Hamed Khosravi. (Berlin: Hatje Cantz. 2017), 142-145.
- 57 For example the report on February 1972 noted that only %12 of women socialised with their neighbours, %81 of women spent their spare time doing housework, % 83.3 of the households had sewing machines, a number much higher than those owning a radio; and in effect most women considered making clothes for the members of their household as a form of housekeeping. Doxiadis Associates, "IRAN V.7 - REPORTS DOX-IRN-A (1972)." Country Reports, No. 24940, (Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives, Athens, 1972), 83-86.
- 58 The city files kept in the archives included touristic maps as well as clippings from publications such as Encyclopaedia Britannica, Landscape magazine, Cities on the move by A. Toynbee, Le Urbanisme Dans La Grece antique by R. Martin, "The art of Iran" by A. Godard and etc. for example see files on the city of Arak: Doxiadis Associates. "NATIONAL PROGRAMME FOR HOUSING AND RELATED FACILITIES FOR IRAN - ARAK." City File, No. 25210, (Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives, Athens, 1972).
- 59 Doxiadis Associates. "IRAN V.8 - REPORTS DOX-IRN-A, DOX-IRN-TN (1972)." Country File, No. 24941, (Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives, Athens, 1972), 461-473.
- 60 By that point, Doxiadis held offices in Athens, Baghdad, Karachi, Beirut, Addis Ababa, Khartoum and Washington.
- 61 Doxiadis Associates, "IRAN V.7 - REPORTS DOX-IRN-A (1972)." Country File, No. 24940, (Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives, Athens, 1972), 201-205.
- 62 Ibid.
- 63 Panayiota Pyla, "Gossip on the Doxiadis 'Gossip Square': Unpacking the Histories of an Unglamorous Public Space." Architectural Histories. (Dec 2013), 1-6.
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 Drawing upon Doxiadis's claim, it can be argued that despite their mis-interpretation and colonial approach to local cultures, something that Doxiadis himself had realised in the late 50s, these squares could have allowed for the "political engagement of voices that were typically left out of public sphere". Ibid. 5.
- 66 The final English copy kept in the archives shows numerous signs of conflict, frustration and sarcasm from the office of Doxiadis. In an example, the report noted that it had originally proposed for smaller dwelling units so that it could house more people with less costs but "Nevertheless, on consideration of the attitude of the Iranian people towards housing as well as after taking advice of the experts of the plan organisation who have a good grasp of such attitudes it was decided that for the wider cultural reasons...". Doxiadis Associates. "IRAN V.11 - REPORTS AND PROGRESS REPORTS DOX-IRN-A, MPR-IRN-A, R-IRN-A (1972 - 1973)." Country File, No. 24944, (Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives, Athens, 1973), 853. Elsewhere it notes: "we fail to understand why dwelling units of more than 200sqm of floor space are required". Ibid. 292.
- 67 Doxiadis used the metaphor of a two headed eagle quiet

frequently. A development plan such as the one for Iran had “to look to the past and the future, for they are a continuum and anyone looking in one direction gets confused. To do this we must develop the ability of the two-headed Byzantine eagle. We cannot return to being a Homeric man, always looking at the past, nor can we be a present-day man, who thinks of himself as looking only towards the future. We have to look back to the past and ahead to the future of human settlements, from their origins to their evolution, form their foundations to their rising structure”. Doxiadis, *Two Headed Eagle*. The book of *Two Headed Eagle* was translated into Farsi at the beginning of Doxiadis’s engagement in Iran by Dr. Iraj Etessam. Etessam had made a partnership with Doxiadis for his projects in Iran. He was a great admirer of Doxiadis and had presented his theories in few conferences in Iran the most notable of which had been the 1974 (2nd) Iranian International Congress of Architecture and Urban Planning in Shiraz. Iraj Etessam, personal interview by author. Doxiadis in Iran (3 Jan 2015).

68 Doxiadis Associates, “IRAN V.2 - REPORTS DOX-NKA, DOMIR (1957 - 1959).” Country File, No.24935, (Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives, Athens, 1959), 125.

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid. 308-349.

71 Ibid. p 340.

72 Doxiadis. Iran’s Five Year National Housing Development Plan. 414.

73 This categorisation denied many of the influential factors commonly noted by scholars of Iranian housing typologies, including cultural classes, rural versus urban forms of living and moral norms. Memarian for example examines the influence of 5 factors in his analysis of traditional Iranian typologies: environmental conditions, social classes, rural vs. urban forms of living, moral norms. See for example: Gholamhossein Memarian, *Learning about Iranian Residential typologies: The outward type.* (Tehran: Soroush-e Danesh, 2007). Gholamhossein Memarian, *Learning about Iranian Residential typologies: The inward type.* (Tehran: Soroush-e Danesh, 2008). This approach was also evident in the study of existing conditions that was provided in the National Housing Development Plan. The sample that were provided for the fifth climate for example was from an upper middle class and urban context. What was missing from the study here was that Households belonging to this context were quiet large and included extended families and in some cases servants. Moreover, the city from which the sample was taken was known as a capital of Islamic architecture in Iran where religious codes were deeply rooted in the cultural norms. These characteristics were inseparable from the morphology of the city: plot sizes were larger and houses were Introvert, protecting the households from the gaze of strangers. For the model houses of the National Housing Development Plan see: Doxiadis. Iran’s Five Year National Housing Development Plan. 354-413.

74 The concept of environment in Iran’s National Housing Development Plan was far from the one deployed by Gruen in his design of Tehran’s urban hubs, in that it took environment as a natural kind disassociated from the commercial and cultural values. It was also less advanced than the conception of habitat that were used in the colonial French contexts. By architects such as Candilis, Habitat was defined as “a cell of a socially organized body... when the content (man and his needs) and the container (the dwelling and its prolongation under environmental influence) are organically joined to their social and productive environment”.

V. Bodiansky, G. Candilis, B. Kennedy, P. Mas, S. Woods, “Contribution to the study of habitat.” *Contribution de L’Architecture d’aujourd’hui a la Charte de l’habitat*, (July 1953).

The listed regions were as follows: the southern edges of the Caspian Sea were identified with a Humid mild climate (I); the southern edges of the Alborz Mountain where the capital city of Tehran was located were describe to be Dry with hot summers and cold winters (II); the Zagros highlands were labelled Dry with mild summers and cold winters (III); the northern edges of the Persian Gulf were marked

with a Humid and Hot climate (IV); and the central regions were characterised to be Dry and Hot (V).

For more on the deployment of the concept habitat as a colonial instrument in Morocco see: Paul Ranibow, *The French Modern.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995). 37.

75 Doxiadis Associates, “IRAN V.10 - REPORTS DOX-IRN-A (1973).” Country File, No. 24943, (Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives, Athens, 1973), 328.

76 Ibid.

77 Ibid. 368-375.

78 Ibid. 327-330.

79 Ibid. 369.

80 This category is provided with the most number of examples in the document, hence it is more reliable to use it for close reading and for drawing conclusions. The most evident difference between the 4 types was the area of their floor plan, starting from a single level over a 90sqm plot of land (type A) to 2 stories over a 150sqm plot (type D).

81 Evans provides a similar study in the context of Europe on the use of the space of passage as a means for inscribing the relations of privacy between different members of a household. On the inclusion of a space in the organisation of 17th century houses for passage and circulation, Evans writes “With this came a recognizably modern definition of privacy, not as the answer to a perennial problem of ‘convenience; but quite possibly as a way of fostering a nascent psychology in which the self was for the first time felt to be, not just at risk in the presence of others, but actually disfigured by them.” He argued that this turn to the making of the private subject did not become popular until the 19th century. Robin Evans, “Figures, Doors and Passages.” In *Translations from drawing to building and other essays.* (London: Architectural Association, 1997), 50.

82 Doxiadis Associates. “IRAN V.10 - REPORTS DOX-IRN-A (1973).” Country File, No. 24943, (Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives, Athens, 1973), 347.

83 Ibid.

84 According to Foucault, one of the key consequences of development of bio-power was the growing importance of norms at the expense of the juridical system of law. Law refers to the sword, it is armed, its greatest arm is death and it acts on those who transgress it. Norms in contrast regulate life, their power is continues and corrective. Their role is not to bring death in the field of sovereignty but to “distribute the living in the domain of value and utility”. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality. Vol. I: An Introduction.* Translated by Robert Hurley. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 144.

85 Grace Goodell, *The elementary structures of political life: rural development in Pahlavi Iran.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 177.

86 It is Goodell who described the Shahrak as a “blueprint for transforming the rural Iran”. Ibid. p 161. But the Idea of the Dez Irrigation project as a model for introducing Industrial Agriculture to Iran was mentioned quiet regularly in the diary of Lilienthal and in his meetings with the Shah of Iran. David Lilienthal, *The journals of David E. Lilienthal. Vol.7 - 1968-1981.* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983).

87 Dezfoul was located near the borders of Iran with Iraq, between the Zagros Mountains and the oil fields of the Persian Gulf —a politically disputed region with one of the most complex mix of ethnic groups. The DIP project was initially launched in 1958, few years after the building of and perhaps in competition with the Kajaki Dam on Helmand River in Afganistan which was developed by the American based Morrison Knudsen Corporation (MK). The completion of the Kajaki Dam had a slower pace than that of the Dez Irrigation Project and was later interrupted by the occupation of Afganistan by the

- Soviet Union.
- 88 Ibid. 178.
- 89 Goodell explained that given the generous width of the roads, the cars, mostly belonging to the Shahrak authorities, drove fast. This had caused a number of near accidents especially with children playing on the streets. In one occasion a few men built a little mound across the road to curb the speed of the cars but the next day a ministry grader had removed it. The term authority requires further explanation: Shahraks did not correspond to the official definitions of a town given their smallness of their size (a population of 4,500), and therefore did not abide by the legislative structure that regulated them. Instead, the shahraks were managed by 'unofficial supervisors' chosen from the staff of the Dez Irrigation Project — some of whom were selected by the Shah himself. Goodell, *The elementary structures*, 178-9.
- 90 . "One engineer drove me out to a shahrak almost complete but not yet inhabited to photograph an untouched model town. "How beautiful, how beautiful!" he kept exclaiming, "see how it was and should be!". Ibid, 178.
- 91 Ibid, 180.
- 92 In Isa Hojat's words, "the wetlands were the condition of everything and everyone and everywhere".
Isa Hojat and Masoud Mafakher, *Typology of Rural settlements in Khuzestan*, Volume 1. (Tehran: Tehran University Press, 1983), 106.
- 93 Isa Hojat and Masoud Mafakher, *Typology of Rural settlements in Khuzestan*, Volume 5. (Tehran: Tehran University Press, 1983), 45
- 94 Ibid.
- 95 Hojat notes that these three examples could be considered as three stages of the life of the same household. Each man was usually married to two or three women. As the children grew up, the elder son married the wives of themselves and brought them to the household. As the parents died, brothers often continued living in the same area with their own wives. Ibid, 65.
- 96 Isa Hojat and Masoud Mafakher, *Typology of Rural settlements in Khuzestan*, Volume 2. (Tehran: Tehran University Press, 1983), 36-37.
- 97 Ibid. 33-34.
- 98 Ibid. 39-40.
- 99 Ibid. 30-32.
- 100 Lila Abu-Lughod, "A Community of Secrets: The Separate World of Bedouin Women." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, (Summer 1985): 637-657.
- 101 Ibid.
- 102 Goodell, *The elementary structures*, 188-190. This change had severe repercussions in medical terms as well. Patricia Rosenfield a hygienist who visited these Shahraks in 1973 describes that since the extended family in Iran had traditionally been the basic unit of social organization, performing economic, medical and religious functions, the blueprints of the shahraks are "a drastic innovation". She concluded that through the culture of the plan, the new residents would move to the erosion of self-confidence, confusion, loss of organizational skills, dependence and finally idolizing the king who would care for them. Patricia Rosenfield, *Development and verification of a Schistosomiasis transmission model: With data from Bilharziasis Control Project and Dez Pilot Irrigation Project, Iran*. PhD thesis, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1975), 82.
- 103 Moving to a Shahrak house had not only violated the household's traditional norms around gender and privacy but also
- the modern kinds that the Shahraks had claimed to be introducing. Goodell, *The elementary structures*, 189.
- 104 Ibid. 144-7
- 105 Ibid. 145.
- 106 Following the provisions of the 1968 Social Services Law a particular portion of Iran's female urban middle class were called to serve the corps for 18 months: Those who were, unmarried, eighteen to twenty five years of age, without dependents and most importantly those who had gained high-school or university degrees. As part of their service they had to pass six months of training in a Literacy barrack (e.g. Barrack of Heshmati in Tehran) and nine months of service in a Shahrak or rural village. Farian Sabahi, "Gender and the Army of Knowledge in Pahlavi Iran." In *Women, Religion and Culture in Iran*, ed. Sarah Ansari and Vanessa Martin, (London: Routledge, 2002): 99-127.
- 107 Quote from a corps woman. Ibid. 110.
- 108 Abu-Lughod, "A Community of Secrets", 637-657.
- 109 Ibid.
- 110 Ibid.
- 111 Goodell, *The elementary structures*, 145.
- 112 Ibid.
- 113 Issued following the 1943 law that made education compulsory for students between the age of 6 and 12, the Farsi books had a few key roles to play. To begin with, they provided a sense of national cohesiveness among the many ethnic and linguistic groups that made up the Iranian nation. It also installed a sense of pride in the children towards their rapidly modernising country. This analysis is provided by Chelkowski and Dabashi on the art of the revolution. What is missing from their argument is an attention to the kinds of subjectivities that required the making of the modern country: the modern mother and the modern father. Peter Chelkowski and Hamid Dabashi, *Staging a Revolution: The Art of Persuasion in the Islamic Republic of Iran*. (London: Booth-Clibborn Editions, 2000), 128-137.
- 114 The lesson for letter B reads: "Dad. Dad, Water! Bread! Bread! Dad, Bread! Dad gave bread. Dad gave water." n.a. Farsi Book, Year One. (Tehran: Ministry of Education, 1972). 14-16.
- 115 The Lesson for letter Z reads: "Sarah was in the bazaar. Mother was in the bazaar. Sarah and Mother were in the bazaar. Sarah and mother came back from the bazaar." Ibid, 28.
- 116 The lesson on the letter "h" for example reads: "Sarah was sick for three days. Today, Sarah will go to school. Sarah's mother will write a note to the school teacher. She writes that Sarah has been sick." Ibid, 51.
- 117 Mir-hosseini used the Farsi term sava nabodan (In English meaning not being separated) in describing the social and economic structure of an rural Iranian household. Cooking, drying grain and beans and the storage and distribution of food for example was a shared activity that had to be controlled collectively by women. Ziba Mir-Hosseini, "Impact of Wage Labour on Household Fission in Rural Iran." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 18 (3), (Autumn 1987), 155-161.
- 118 Cyrus Salmanzadeh, "Transformations in the Agrarian Structure in Southwestern Iran." *The Journal of Developing Areas*, 15 (2), (Jan 1981): 199-214.
- 119 The Shell-Cott Agribusiness, jointly held by Roya Dutch/Shell and Mitchell Cotts and the Iran-America Agribusiness ran by an emigrant Iranian to America Hashem Naraq were among the first agricultural corporations that had placed their foot in the Dez region. It was believed that foreign investors could introduce modern agricultural technologies into the region most rapidly and that given

the economies of scale, land consolidation under a single managerial corporation would enable higher return to production. A new Law was established parallel with the launch of DIP in 1968 on The Establishment of Companies for the Utilization of Land Downstream of the Dam. Under this law, the state purchased land from the local landlords and landowning peasants in order to release it to foreign agribusinesses.

Peasant cultivation in the areas was ceased. The land expropriated from the landowners and peasants at the expense of a nominal compensation, was then leased for 30 years to the new investment companies. That land was levelled and its villages gradually demolished in preparation for large-scale and mechanized farming. The region was often too dry during the hot seasons for agricultural activities and hence the winter crops (wheat and barley) were considered the main product. With the promise of the new DIP dam for providing water all through the year, and as new agribusinesses took hold of the farms in the region, the ambition was to be able to produce crops that can be exported to other countries. Hence new crops such as asparagus and sugar-cane were introduced to the regions. Cyrus Salmanzadeh, *Agricultural Change and Rural Society in Southern Iran*. (Cambridge: Middle East & North African Studies Press, 1980), 237. By 1973, a total of twelve agribusinesses were cultivating some 94,000 hectares in Iran — 1.1 percent of the country's total cultivated land. It was not until July 1979 and the advent of the Islamic revolution that a single peasant was allowed to farm the irrigated land farms of Dez under his own term. Ibid, 231.

120 Ibid, 238.

121 Woman could also be employed. In fact they made up %30 of the workforce in summer but their daily wage was set to be almost half of men's and as low as \$1 a day. Goodell, *The elementary structures*, 201.

122 Ibid. 205.

123 Ibid. 287-294.

124 Ibid, 291.

125 Salmanzadeh, *Agricultural Change*.

126 Ibid.

127 Goodell, *The elementary structures*, 287-294.

128 Ibid, 289.

129 Ibid, 294.

130 "we could call spirituality the search, practice, and experience through which the subject carries out the necessary transformation on himself in order to have access to truth ... we will call spirituality then the set of these researches, practices, and experiences which may be purifications, ascetic exercises, renunciations, conversions of looking, modifications of existence, etc., which are, not for knowledge but for the subject, for the subject's very being, the prince to be paid for access to the truth." Michel Foucault, *The Hermeneutics of the Subject: Lectures at the Collège de France 1981-1982*. Translated by Graham Bruchell, (New York: St Martins Press, 2005).

131 Much of my analysis of Foucault are indebted to the work of the sociologist Behrooz Ghamari-Tabrizi.

It is also important to consider that in Iran it was the revolutionary movement and man in revolt that Foucault wrote about. Not its post-revolutionary institutionalisation. For thorough analysis of the effects of the Islamic revolution on the entire framework of Foucault see: Behrooz Ghamari-Tabrizi, *Foucault in Iran: Islamic Revolution After the Enlightenment*. Minneapolis, (London: University Of Minnesota Press, 2016), 173-180.

132 On the correlation between norms and law see: Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*. Vol. I: An Introduction. Translated by Robert Hurley, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 144.

133 Goodell, *The elementary structures*, 144-147.

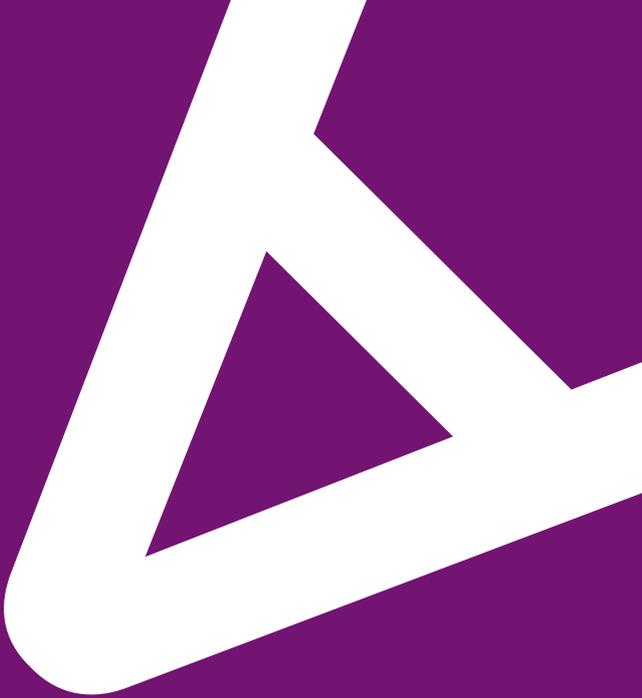
134 Ibid, 230-3.

135 It was in relation to such state initiated rural reforms in Iran that another anthropologist Reinhold Loeffler had noted: "One is amazed at the high level of centralization achieved within the last decade. The government now interferes practically in all levels of daily life. Land is contracted for cash by the government, fruits get sprayed, crops fertilized, animals fed, beehives set up, carpets woven, goods and babies born, populations controlled, all by the intervention of the government". Reinhold Loeffler, "Tribal order and the state: the political organization of Boir Ahmad." *Iranian Studies*, 11 (1/4), (1978): 145-171.

136 The doctor made one exception for the vegetable gardens and the livelihood of the household depended on the vegetable they grew at home. Goodell, *The elementary structures*, 177-181.

137 Ibid.

138 This division between private and public should be taken with a pinch of salt as it was later used as a justification for non-intervention. As Nikolas Rose reminds us, demarcation of the boundary between the public and the private has historically been central to the liberal political thought. In this process the household was freed from the detailed prescription of daily conduct and instead have become permeable to moralisation and normalisation from outside. Rose notes that the reconstruction of the working class family in the 19th century Europe did not occur through repression or charity but through promoting certain kinds of moral conduct. Nikolas Rose, *Governing the Soul: the Shaping of the private self*. (London: Free Association Books, 1999), 123-135.



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