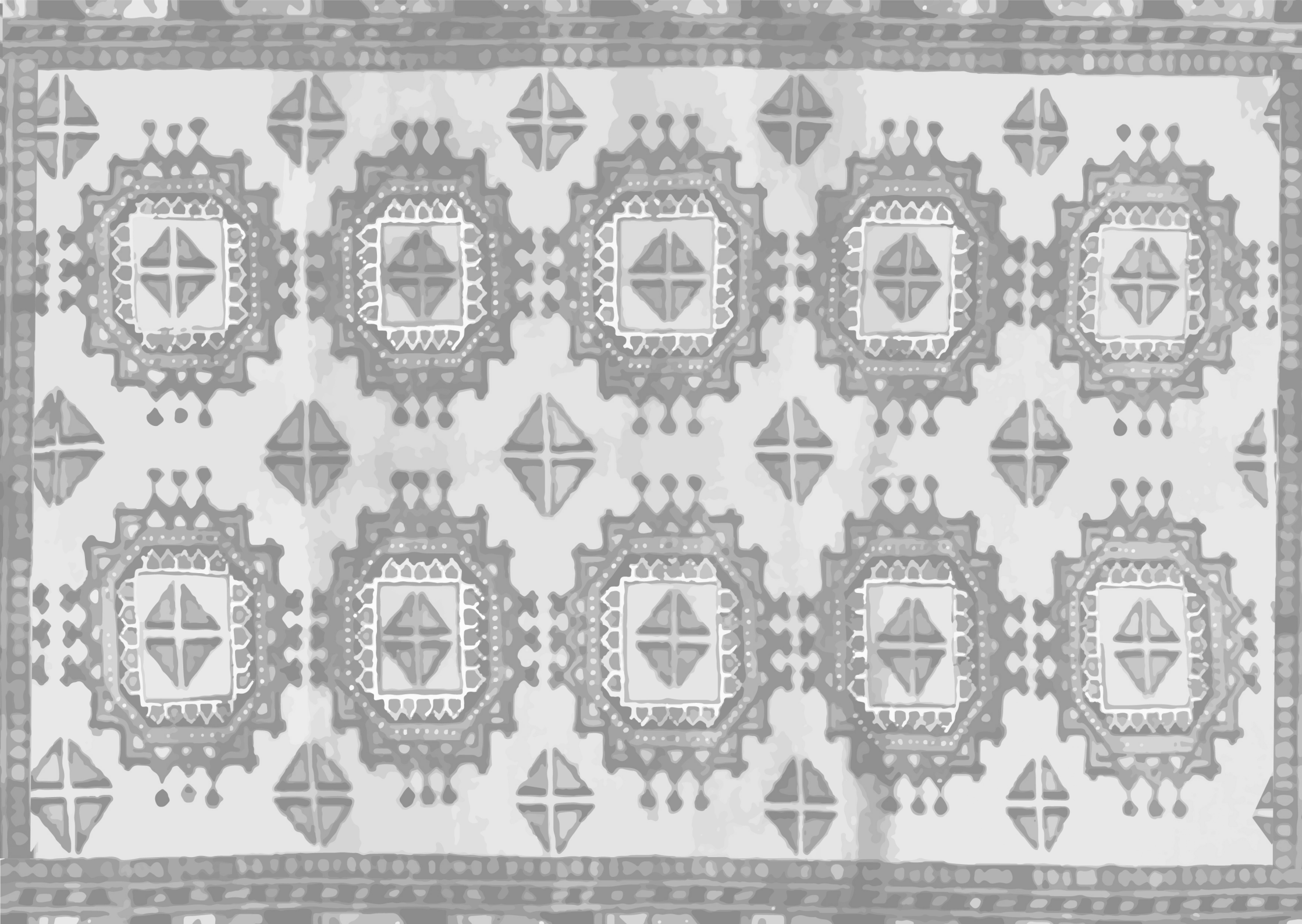# New Emerging Peripheries
## In central districts of Iran
### Case: Saryazd Village

## Rafael Danialy

# New Emerging Peripheries
## In central districts of Iran
## Case: Saryazd Village

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# Index

## Introduction

### Abstract

This dissertation is mainly drew on the new discourse of "Suburban-ization" recently narrated by some of the urban political ecology (UPE) scholars as an inevitable phenomenon in the future of urban landscape to be better studied, defined, and addressed for further pursuance of the mentioned by more socially and ecologically sustainable policies and approaches.

However, getting more in-depth into the Urban/Suburban and Urban/Rural notions in the context of Iran brings out some currently novel dynamics and phenomena such as rural/urban immigration, informal foreign immigration, urbanization in Iran and other similar matters. These are investigated in order to be better defined in terms of their incentives and backgrounds. Thus, within every chapter, there would be a brief chronicle and an explanation regarding the recent dynamics of the studied subject.

Yet deriving from the exigency of the immigration phenomena within the more peripheral parts of central districts in Iran, this thesis proposal focuses on the recent flows of informal immigration within the east-ern borders (Mainly from Afghanistan after the Taliban invasion 2021) and follows this phenomena outside of the borders of the country as well. This creates a more accurate image of the main impetuses behind these onerous exoduses and helps realize some possible alternative solutions for the immigrants.

Subsequently, the thesis looks toward the notion of suburbanization as an inevitable worlding process that might offer new pathways toward more sustainable extension and development of the bigger cities in Iran (if correctly addressed). Big cities might not offer a very convenient urban lifestyle due to their internal problems and overpopulation, and forming a middle ground for the upcoming local and foreign immigrants, can help them obtain plausibly better living conditions and further de-velop these areas which bear great potential to grow. In other words, this proposal is redefining two of the commonly perceived threatening notions (suburbanization and foreign immigration) into opportunities both for the native and for the immigrant populations.

Ultimately for a more practical case study, a village named "Saryazd" in the central district of Iran is chosen to further investigate the possi-bilities and impossibilities of this proposal. Also examined is whether a more contemporary sort of territorial projection that meets the more recent necessities based on the studied dynamics can be of use.

This dissertation bears both a top-down (Urbanisation I) and bottom-up (Urbanisation II) approach. This means that the main narrative starts from the larger scale, partially studying the history of urbanization in Iran and addressing subrubing and decentralization as a possible pro-posal toward an urban development in Iran that is more ecologically and socially sustainable. However, when it comes to decision-mak-ing and projection, it follows a more objective prospect by basing the design and planning on the very needs and necessities of the actual communities living in these zones. The latter is realized by personal presence and field research in the mentioned areas.

**Keywords:** Suburbanization, Ethnoburbs, Informal Immigration, Global South, Sustainable Development

**Thesis Brief & Structure**

As mentioned in the Abstract, there are mainly two subjects that this dissertation focuses on: firstly, urbanization/suburbanization in Iran, and secondly, immigration inside and outside of the country.

Although the relevancy of the two matters might seem less than obvious on the first hearing, when one reviews the history of urbanization in Iran, it can be seen that foreign immigration in the last 40-50 years has been one of the significant contributors to population growth in the country. A population growth that has led to further urbanization of different regions. Concurrently, further urbanization of different parts has resulted in capital and industry agglomerations that have attracted yet more rural populations into the urban areas and have caused the current overpopulation of the bigger cities in the contemporary context of Iran.

Aside from the history of foreign—and especially Afghan—immigration in Iran, and its consequences on the rapid urbanization of different parts of the country, when it comes to the current situation in the periphery of the big cities in mostly central parts of Iran, one can observe that the recent Taliban invasion in Afghanistan has had a significant impact on the living of people residing in these zones. The enormous flow of Afghan immigrants that are mostly informally entering Iran from the eastern land borders, and their obligation

to be transited through the country by routes that are not strictly controlled is merely one face of the problem. The other face shows the lack of opportunities and economical possibilities in the more peripheric parts of big cities caused by vacancy and deprivation of these zones in the peripheries of Iran, that has led to some new phenomena, such as human trafficking and smuggling. These dynamics are noteworthy in that they not only stress the risk of imperilment for both local and immigrant communities, but they also beg for deeper scrutiny on part of the very motivations behind such conscious risk-taking from the both sides.

The thesis then holds two main chapters that are dedicated to the aforementioned subjects—Urbanization in Iran and Afghan Immigration—respectively. The third chapter would mostly be focusing on a practical proposal that is derived from the findings of the first two chapters, together with the notions regarding the suburban studies in the academic sphere.

The first chapter starts with a brief history of mass Urbanization in Iran; it acknowledges different motives and events that have been accelerating the pace of this phenomenon, and consecutively, the different consequences and formations that have been resulted from this high-pace and haphazard urbanization process within certain cities. Subsequently, the research comes to recognize the current struggles of quotidian urban life in the big cities of Iran, and

to also realize the fact that, moreoften than not, there might not be any possible solution to solve these problems that remain inside the congested and overpopulated city cores: the cores in which there seems to exist no room for any change or enhancement.

Nevertheless, the main focus of this thesis proposal is not only to study the primary grounds underneath the rapid urbanization of the different regions, but also to purpose a possible path for further enhancement of the urban areas in a more sustainable way, as population growth is inevitable in such contexts.

According to the prevailing urbanization and political geography scholarship, a new perspective toward ex-urban, or the periphery, is recognized, which regards this new phenomenon as an opportunity toward further sustainable development of the urban landscape. Taking into account the density and congestion of the current urban cores within the big cities on one hand, and the internal problems and living quality on the other, this might sound like the only compelling path to still extend the boundaries for further efficacious development of the country's regions.

As for a more evident case study, and also for the final practical proposal of this dissertation, the city of Yazd is chosen for investigation to enhance familiarity with different geographical, historical, and cultural aspects in this zone of Iran. This case study has also been used to timeline different events that have taken place in the scale of the whole country, and to see what their outcomes in a smaller scale like a city or a region can be.

Accordingly, a brief introduction about the geographical status of this city is given, and a study is carried out to timeline different alterations that have taken place within the urban pattern of the old town. The main causes of these alterations, and their effects on the everyday life of the inhabitants are studied. These effects can also be seen according to the way they can evolve the future expansion and development of the city itself.

Further on, the typical architecture of this region is briefly analyzed in order to create both a better perspective of the existing variety and preciousness of the local architecture, and also a better understanding of the native culture of this region and how it is represented in architectural form.

Lastly, there would be a conclusion section in the end of the chapter—as for the other chapters—which will underline the investigated notions contemplated that helped orient the final thesis proposal. The main objective behind composing such concluding summaries was to make a lucid and concise explication of the otherwise rather far-reaching and multivarious data and analyses, both for the author's and the reader's sake.

The principal methodology applied to carry out different analyses and observations within this chapter has been "Desk Research," and the majority of the resources in use were secondary sources like scholarly books and articles, essay journals, and others of the sort. However, for some stats and figures, the dissertation has consulted government documents and reports, as well as newspaper reports, which can be considered as primary sources.

The second chapter begins with the history of Afghan immigration to Iran. The reason behind tracing these lines of events is to emphasize the fact that Afghan immigration is not a recent phenomenon formed in recent years, but to rather claim that there are more than 40 years of history behind these displacements that are based on both geographical and cultural vicinity. The history of the Afghan immigrant population in Iran constitutes a significant part of the contemporary history of Iran and also the present-day situation would have been a different reality without the presence of these people in different social and economic environments.

Furthermore, the current day situation of this group of people is described to state that, despite the long history of the immigration phenomenon, there are still many legal and identificatory problems existing. Plus, despite the cultural and religious vicinity between the two countries, there might be still some tensions between the local and immigrant societies. Unfortunately, it can be said that the differences between the two groups is rooted in illiteracy and misinformation.

The listed issues, together with the present economic situation of Iran—due to various recent sanctions and preexisting survival struggles even for the local society— have turned Iran from a final destination to a mere terminal:a place to stop by on the way to reach Europe or other countries that show better grounds for growth.

Pursuing these incidents, the author has spent a considerable portion of his research time in the peripheric parts of Iran's central districts and also in a refugee camp located at Oulx (border of Italy and France), where there is an eye-catchingflow of mixed migration (usually the new coming immigrants try to traverse Italy and reach France). This effort has been made to obtain a better understanding of the needs, motivations, and endeavors of these unofficial immigrants, and also to see if this thesis proposal can help stop these time-consuming, hazardous, and costly crossings. The ability to speak Persian has helped the author to collaborate with other members of the refuge as a mediator and has put the writer in a closer position toward the arriving immigrants to hear about their stories and experiences. Nevertheless, this information, due to its lack of precision and the circumstances in which these people arrive at this refuge, is not meant to be used as any reusable material or official

legal evidence, nor is it comprehensive enough to be subject to a generalization on immigrants' beliefs, backgrounds, situations, and wills.

Resultingly, this research experience fruited three engaging findings: Firstly, the fact that not all of these immigrants are escaping a death-and-life situation while leaving their country, rather, a common objective is just "seeking a better life." A better life means free access to educational systems and different educational levels, a proper job with a reasonable salary, access to healthcare, etc. Secondly, the fact that part of the immigrants arriving is consisted of Iranians who usually come from poor cities or bigger cities' peripheries, with no possibility to attain some of the normal conditions of a dignified life; people who almost shared the same motivation with the Afghan immigrants. Ultimately and thirdly, the fact that both of these groups claimed that if they had the aforementioned conditions, and could obtain a brighter future where they had lived, they would have never gone through these risky trials and errors to pass the borders, and some even admitted that if they were informed in advance about the actual circumstances of these voyages, they would have never started it from the beginning.

This chapter follows two research methodologies, "Desk Research" and "Primary Research", and therefore obtains a "Mixed Research Methodology," since the first source of the gathered information is

reached through fieldwork methodologies—such as direct observation and interviews—and the remaining sources in use are secondary sources—like scholarly books and articles, essay journals, and etc.

The findings that are partially mentioned from both chapters and their conclusions have facilitated the laying of a better ground for the considered hypothesis: a proposal that is not only thought and studied by academic desk research, but is also based on real life observations.

The third chapter begins with an introduction to the notion of "Suburbanization" and its current scholarship as a universal discourse that is assaying to demonstrate a different perusal of the former narratives based on society's collective experience. In this fashion, the new narrative recognizes "Suburbanization" as a crucial part of "Urbanization" in its rhetoric, and shifts the focal points from the urban core to the suburbia, while claiming that "The history of urbanization has always been suburbanization. The expansion outward of historical city cores from the religious-state-commercial-residential center, the extension of cities in the wider sense, has always been characterized by spatial and functional diffusion." (Keil 2017)

Subsequently, based on the new described persecutive toward suburbia, together with the different aspects mentioned in the previous chapters, a hypothesis is proposed which suggests to further direct

these emplacements toward some of the same villages that were left abandoned due to the high pace of rural-urban immigration and urbanization processes in Iran back in the time. The reasoning behind this orientation relies on the potential behind these locations to accommodate the incoming population, as well as their offering of more sustainable ways of living and economical activities, both for the native and the immigrant population. Referring to notions such as "Ethnoburbs" or "Globurbs," this dissertation endeavors to propose new ways of cohabitation in the periphery which tends to be favorable for both sides.

To create a substantial backbone in furtherance of the thesis proposal, a comparative study has been done, firstly, between different findings of the former carried out investigations with the contemporary notions of "Suburbanization" discourse, and secondly, within the context of the thesis proposal to investigate the different dynamics in the proposed economical activities in order to fasten the possibility of growth and accommodation of such communities in Iran, in economical domains like tourism industry and etc.

Ultimately, a practical case study is purposed in one of the villages called Saryazd, which is situated in the central zone of Iran, in the province of Yazd, in the periphery of Yazd and Mehriz cities. This village is chosen as an example of many other villages in this zone, that show great potential to grow and accommodate the incoming

immigrants, but presently remain vacant and abandoned as an unofficial transit village.

A brief history of the village and its climate and geographical aspects is described in the beginning. Later on, some maps related to the formation of the village and its connection with other villages and roads are demonstrated.

Saryazd bears a great amount of architectural patrimony, somehow restored and showing a good state of stability. However, the major part of these heritages consists of abandoned places which are in need of conservation and restoration if they are to escape demolishment. Although this thesis proposal does not follow a restoration/conversation scheme, the mentioned heritage is precisely outlined mainly for three reasons: Firstly, to be safeguarded in case of the arrival of new inhabitants which might not be aware of the existence and value of these outstanding heritages; Secondly, as a study to go deeper in the typology of construction and architecture in this zone in order to purpose a more context-oriented type of architecture and not appear irregular to the context while simultaneously bearing a more contemporary design approach; and thirdly, to notice the tourism potential the village bears in accordance to the existence of this amount of architectural and cultural heritage for further economical revenue of the inhabitants to sustain a better life.

The design approach begins with examining the necessities in the

framework of this village, both based on the existing circumstance, and also on the further requisites that might emerge with arrival of the incoming immigrants.

Accordingly, several necessities are found to be addressed in terms of architectural functions which can be listed as such: accommodation for the incoming immigrants, accommodation for tourists, cultural and educational centers, and primary healthcare services.

Nonetheless, this proposal is not aiming to suggest a general master plan or development plan for this village. Because, according to the unpredictability of the immigrant flows and the discussed notions in terms of permanent/temporarily stay of the immigrants, foreign policy and relations between Iran and Afghanistan, and other circumstances, not only it would be hard to recognize a firm ground to plan or schedule a particular pattern or scheme, but also this approach might cause a deprivation of individuals' choice to further obtain a natural pattern of growth according to their individual needs.

Thus, this thesis proposal adopts a "Toolkit" planning strategy to suggest possible ways of development by setting standards and algorithms correspondent to growth, in case of its happening, and as for the architectural sphere, it offers some possible non-rigid architectural compositions for different functions to be followed as modules of construction.
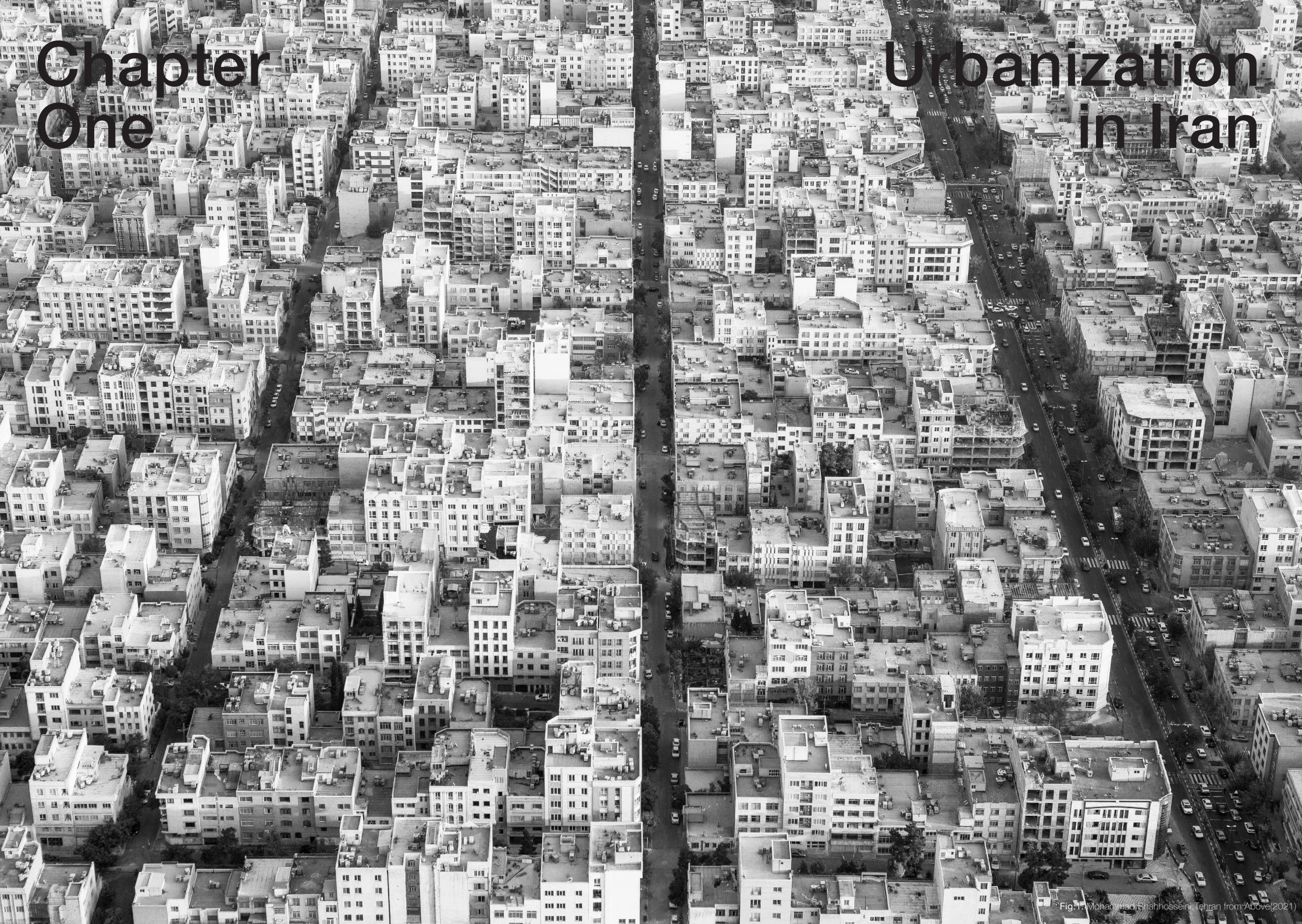
# Chapter
One

# Urbanization
in Iran

## Urbanisation in Iran

There has been an ongoing process of urbanisation in Iran which started from more than five decades ago. However the amount of rural-urban immigration has not followed a steady pattern and it has intensified by certain events including the Land Reform Act of the 1960s, the rapid changes in urban society from the early 1970s onward, the Islamic Revolution, the Iran-Iraq conflict and the dominant approach to rural development. The first census conducted in Iran shows that less than one-third of the population (31.4 %) lived in urban areas. In 1981, urban and rural areas had an equal share of the population, with the urban population continuing to grow larger in the subsequent years. In 2011, over 70% of the country's population resided in urban regions which turned out to 75.87% by 2020. During the period 1956-2011, the urban population of Iran increased about 9 times. (Mahmoudian 2016)

The mentioned external and internal events together with the existing circumstances in different periods have resulted in different notions and causes toward further rapid urbanization of the context which are going to be briefly discussed here:

### Population Growth
The natural population growth rate together with the pursuit of industrial-oriented development policies in Iran both before and after the 1979 Revolution had have the most considerable impact on urbanization process in Iran.

One of the enacted strategies by the Iranian government for moving toward a more liberal and industrial country, was the **land reform programs** started by Pahlavi regime early 1960s. "By this policy the large landowners were only allowed to own one village. They had to sell the rest of their land to the state which in turn was to sell it to the landless farmers at a significantly lower price. The state also granted farmers cheap loans when they formed agricultural co-operatives." (Kristen, Blake 2009) The industrial oriented policies and general improvement in living standard and health condition directly or indirectly affected the growth in country's population (lower mortality rate, higher fertility rate) and have been followed significantly still after the global rise in oil prices and resultantly rise in Iranian share of oil revenues. (Hosseini and Hajilou, 2018) By 1967 the population growth rate became a concern for country's economy and the government announced a population policy aimed to moderate the growth rate. (Aghajanian 1991)



Fig.2. Land Reform act in Iran, Historydocuments website (2019)



Fig.3. Land Reform act in Iran, Historydocuments website (2019)

The 1979 Islamic revolution however was a turning point in the social history of Iran. The newly established government denounced the former fertility control policies and further promoted population growth and fertility inconsistency with Islamic principles and the new Islamic Nation's need for growth and development. (Aghajanian 1991)

The mentioned policies together with foreign immigration from Afghanistan and Iraq dramatically accelerated the population growth as the size of the population rose from 33.7 million in 1976 to 49.4 ten years later. This means an average annual rate of growth of 3.8 percent during ten years, which is one of the highest world rates for national population growth.

The population growth began to continue till the current day as there were no specific policies implemented by the government to control the fertility rate which directly affected and affects the rapid urbanization in Iran.

### Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988) as an accelerator

The conflict which happened between the two countries right after the Islamic revolution in Iran had some major impacts on Urbanization process in Iran both after and during the war as to mention briefly these impacts can be listed as: "1- Local people moved from war-stricken regions to others, especially to cities 2- Young men moved from rural areas to towns and then to cities according to the lack of opportunities in the more rural areas 3- Foreign migrants moved from countries as Afghanistan and Iraq to Iran." (Fanni 2006) The third is more deeply discussed in the second chapter (History of Afghan Immigration in Iran)

### Concentration of social, cultural, educational and welfare facilities in bigger cities

One of the principal issues regarding urban strategic planning and urban management causing rapid irregular urbanization has been the government's policies toward concentration of facilities in big cities which started already in the Pahlavi period. A centralization that happened in cities such as Tehran, Mashhad, Esfahan, Tabriz, Shiraz, Ahwaz, Qom and Kermanshah; by implementing most of the different essential facilities in the mentioned, they turned into attracting spots for mass rural-urban immigration; yet the distribution of the immigrant population hasn't been the same and some cities like Tehran or Mashhad have had bigger shares than others. Other than that the first flows of rural-urban immigration aimed for a better living quality or other motivations were followed by subsequent flows which also led to investment and capital agglomerations within the context of bigger cities.



Fig.4. A man and child flee the scene of a 1982 bombing raid in Dezful, Iran. Photograph: Seifollah Samadian Photograph (The Guardian 2014 online)

Fig.5. Rural-Urban Immigration in Iran, (Shafaqna news agency (Online 2021))



Fig.6. Rural-Urban Immigration in Iran, (IRNA agency (Online 202))

Eventually the later agglomerations came to be a concerning dilemma for the port-revolution government as the overconcentration of productive activities and economic forces in big cities led to a big gap between different cities in the economic field. Accordingly the "Decentralization" policy was introduced (Fanni 2006). A decentralization that was not inclusive to the extents of the country but remaining inside the border of main big cities such as Tehran and Isfahan, displacing the big industries and factories to the periphery aiming for a more deconcentrated distribution of population. However the new policies did not reduce the pace of rural-urban immigration but just shifted its place to the more suburban parts of big cities causing urban sprawl and informal housings in this areas because of cheaper price of land for the incoming immigrants. (KanŌ, 1996)

**The high pace of uncontrolled rural-urban immigration in Iran and it's consequences**

1- One of the main challenges facing the villages that were left abandoned by their inhabitants and mostly younger populations is the lack of development. This has led to some facing absolute destruction and loss of a big part of their architectural and cultural heritages. However, the situation for the ones (primarily women and the elderly) remaining in these areas is extremely arduous.

Most of the inhabitants of these regions are dealing with lack of proper and sufficient economic and welfare amenities (Mahmoudian and Ghasemi-Ardehaee,1992).

2- As a result of the high pace of these immigrations and the unpreparedness of the context in bigger cities in terms of appropriate infrastructure and strategic urban planning to accommodate the huge flows of immigration, the mentioned has resulted in urban sprawl and informal settlements that very often lack principle standards of living. Nevertheless as the flow has been continuously growing these agglomerations of nonstandard urbanization have further become inseparable major parts of megalopolises in which the inhabitants still suffer from the unfavorable aftereffects such as : Air, soil and water pollution, environmental degradation, lack of proper welfare amenities , unstandardized housing and etc.

3- The high pace of rural-urban immigration and lack of strategic urban and architectural planning, not only have caused various hygienic and infrastructural issues in big cities but also have rendered their image and appearance into unordered, dense, and crowded unbecoming places of living which in some cases even the historical cores and valuable architectural heritages did not remain unaffected and got intervened or demol-

ished in a nonstandard fashion. Furthermore, in terms of architectural qualities, most of the constructed buildings bear little value. Even considering the constructions that were not built by means of real-estate and private land grabbing or informal primary settlements by the immigrants; A big part of the later constructions made by architects are just banal and superficial imitations of the western more modern typology mixed with various uncontextual styles such as European classic or neoclassical (Habibi and De Meulder 2015) which neither offer the primary qualities of the imitated source nor are of any consistency with the existing pattern of traditional architecture or rather taking any advantage of the precedent common values and the vernacular construction science based on the society's living experience.

4- The rapid urbanization processes without any accord on the necessary principles of urban sustainability within development led to "urban primacy, regional inequalities, centralization of political and economic power within cities and intra-urban ecological segregation and environmental crisis" (Fanni 2006, Drakakis-Smith 1995) One example of this is the way that some of the informal settlements, as well as their residents, contributed to the creation of new segregated communities. Although, this process of separa-
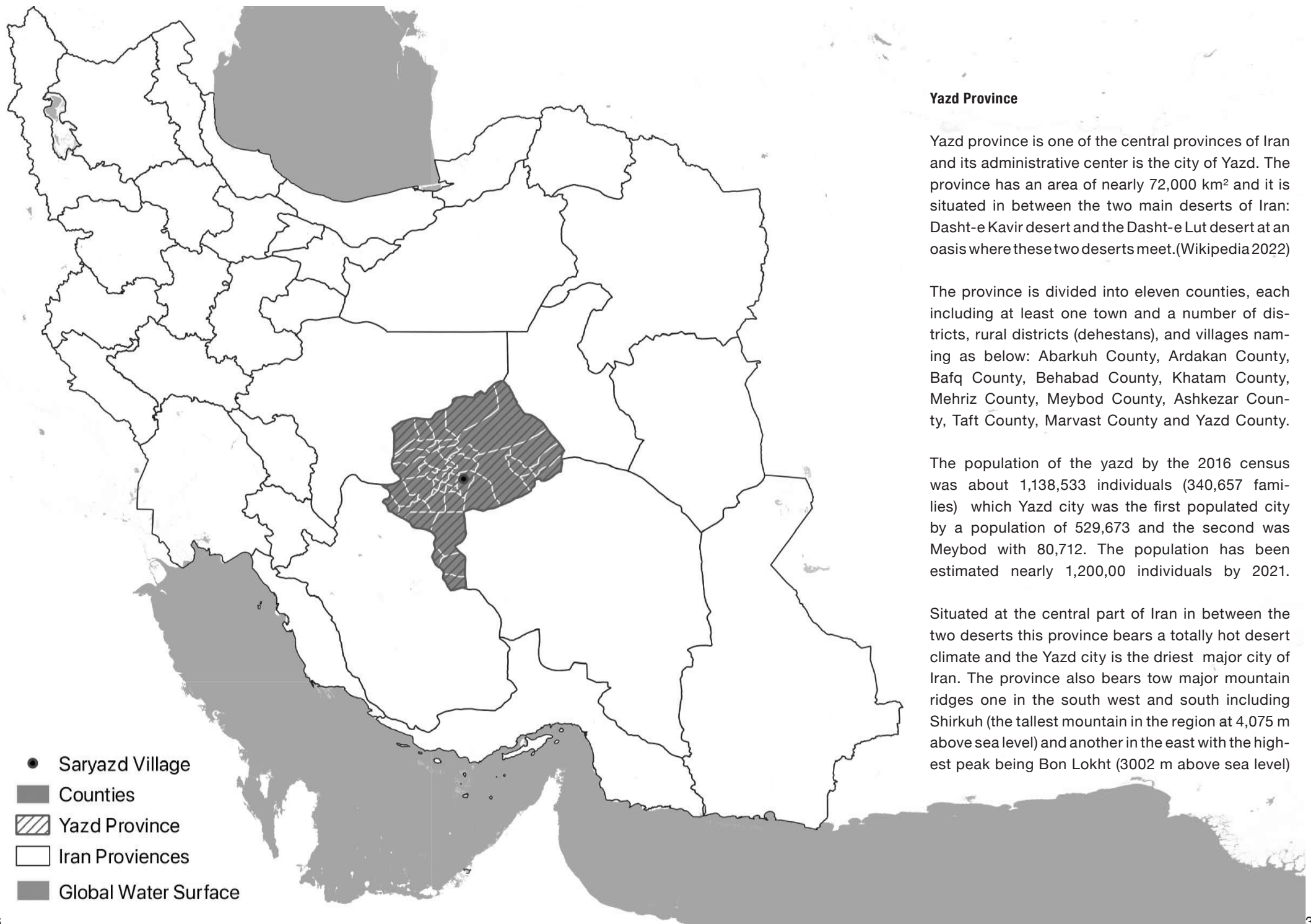
tion was already underway before the immigrants arrived based on the social and cultural hierarchy within the big cities, which was still more intensified by the creation of more peripheral neighborhoods through the informal settlements made by immigrants.
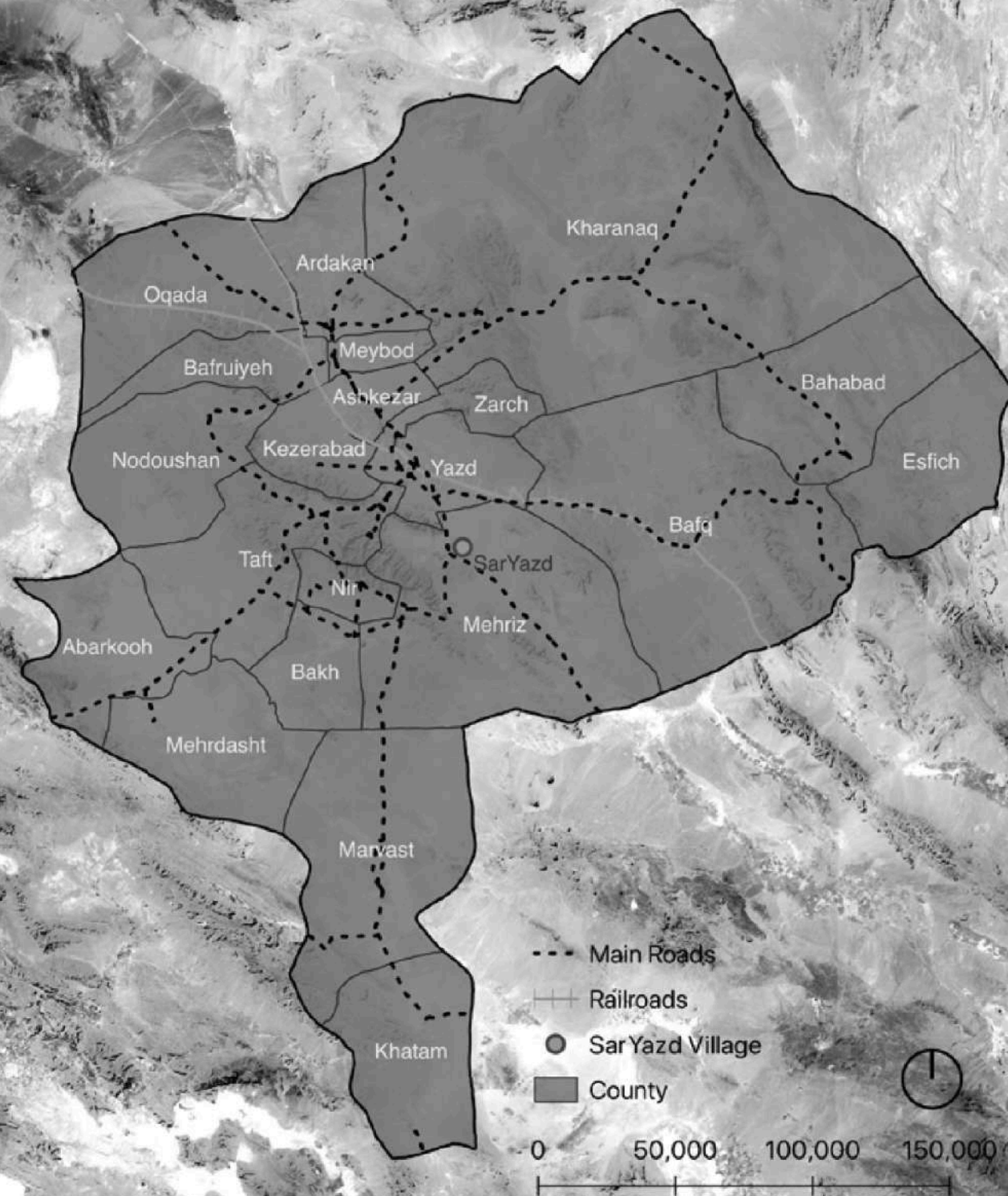
Nevertheless, there is no conclusive evidence that the rural-urban immigration flows have been substantially reduced, as the big cities still obtain a significant portion of capital and facility concentrations in the country. On the other hand, no significant improvement or changes are observed in either the context of more rural parts or in the current circumstances of the upcoming city immigrants. This will result in an increase in the gap between rural and urban areas. Consequently, it is necessary for the government to tackle this existing gap, as it will improve quality of life in rural areas and increase job opportunity, thus encouraging the population not to migrate to the cities. And also some policies should formulate the decentralize planning in Tehran and any other metropolitan city to absorb the population in smaller cities. (Darvishzadeh et al 2014)

As for a more concrete case study and to better introduce the context of the thesis proposal, following is the urban history and different characteristics of the City of Yazd, dicussed in the next section.

YAZD

**Legend:**

- ● Saryazd Village
- Counties
- Yazd Province
- Iran Proviences
- Global Water Surface

## Yazd Province

Yazd province is one of the central provinces of Iran and its administrative center is the city of Yazd. The province has an area of nearly 72,000 km² and it is situated in between the two main deserts of Iran: Dasht-e Kavir desert and the Dasht-e Lut desert at an oasis where these two deserts meet.(Wikipedia 2022)

The province is divided into eleven counties, each including at least one town and a number of districts, rural districts (dehestans), and villages naming as below: Abarkuh County, Ardakan County, Bafq County, Behabad County, Khatam County, Mehriz County, Meybod County, Ashkezar County, Taft County, Marvast County and Yazd County.

The population of the yazd by the 2016 census was about 1,138,533 individuals (340,657 families) which Yazd city was the first populated city by a population of 529,673 and the second was Meybod with 80,712. The population has been estimated nearly 1,200,00 individuals by 2021.

Situated at the central part of Iran in between the two deserts this province bears a totally hot desert climate and the Yazd city is the driest major city of Iran. The province also bears tow major mountain ridges one in the south west and south including Shirkuh (the tallest mountain in the region at 4,075 m above sea level) and another in the east with the highest peak being Bon Lokht (3002 m above sea level)

**Yazd Province**

Bearing a hot and arid climate and very low precipitation this province has one of the lowest amounts of agricultural water sources and supplies within the country, however agriculture was and still is a considerable part of the gross domestic product of the region and also the country.

In terms of mineral resources this province is the second most rich province of Iran after Kerman, which a high percentage these resources are not still excavated and utilized.

The most common products of the industrial units of the city are textiles, ceramic tiles and machine-made carpets. The industrial units of Yazd province are mainly concentrated in the industrial towns of Yazd, Meybod and Ardakan.

Traditionally the two industries of weaving and confectionery have been the most famous ones from the former times and some even have gained fame outside of the borders of the country.

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## Yazd City

The city of windcatchers, qanats and earthen architecture, Yazd is a city bearing a considerable part of Persian architectural and cultural history. Situated in the deserts of Iran close to the Spice and Silk Roads, it demonstrates a living testimony of creative and wise use of limited natural resources in the hot desert climate for survival. It is one the only cities of Iran that its historical texture has been nominated as a national monument in 2005, which provides legal protection according to the Law for Protection of National Heritage (1930) and the Law for Establishing Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization (1979). The property is also subject to laws and standards for the protection of historic cities.(UNESCO, 2022)

This city regarding its authenticity and the intelligent way of facing the harsh climate of the zone with different techniques is considered as a national heritage as its mentioned by UNESCO organization (2017): "Yazd is an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement which is representative of the interaction of man and nature in a desert environment that results from the optimal use and clever management of the limited resources that are available in such an arid setting by the qanat system and the use of earth in constructing buildings with sunken courtyards and underground spaces. Besides creating pleasant micro-climate, it uses minimum amounts of materials, which provides inspiration for new architecture facing the sustainability challenges today."

The principal construction material of this city is earth. Which is the most available construction material in this region and

Furthermore the other interesting aspect about the city is the existence of various religions including Islam, Judaism and Zoroastrianism in the same context each bearing its own culture and its own types of architecture. That is to say walking in different zones and neighborhoods of Yazd you can find mosques, fire temples, synagogues and mausoleums each built with different styles according to its use and the belief that is nourishing these buildings. Moreover one can evidence a simultaneous coexistence of believers of these different religions throughout ages together no matter which was the majority or the one in power.

### History of Yazd City
Some claim the city dates back to the Medes period (5th Century CE) when it was called "Issatis" or "Ysatis", others believe that the name "Yazd" retrieves its roots to the 14th Sasanid mon-

arch "Yazdgerd I", some say the city's development was under the intention of Alexander to build a prison in this part of Iran and named it "Kasah" (Which means prison in Greek) (Afshar 1966, also Khademzadeh 2004 ) and etc. While there are different narratives about the formation of this city and region, the significant aspect is its bold and archaic value within history and thus why it has been mentioned in different local or international antique literature such as Masalek and Mamalek (957 AD), Souratolarz (977 AD) and the Travels of Marco Polo (1272).

According to the history of the city, there has been various dynasties ruling this territory which one more another less have had different contributions toward the city's typical architecture and urban development and its inhabitants culture and lifestyle.

Historically, Yazd has been the link between Fārs and Khorāsān and between Persian Iraq and Kermān and it was situated at the intersection of the trade routes from central Asia and India so that its geopolitical situation has been very important and thus why one can find numerous castles and caravanserais and an evolution of this type of architecture in this region and its vicinities. It also served as a provincial capital and earned the title of Dār al-ibada (Home of Piety), because of its many re-

ligious buildings. Some of the city's inhabitants are Zoroastrians whose ancestors had fled toward Yazd and Kermān when the Muslim Arabs conquered Iran. Yazd is now the last center of Zoroastrianism in Iran.(Britannica 2019)

### History of Urban Development

According to one of the previous narratives regarding the formation of the city some believe that this city came into existence as a fortified Sasanid city with walls around it and four main gates (Rahbarianyazd, 2022)

By the fall of Sasanid empire and the conquest of Iran by Arabs (651 CE), a Muslim population came to settle in this city and expanded the city borders by new neighborhoods mostly southwards. (Kateb 1966) During this period the grid pattern of the city changed to be more irregular as an Islamic influence and its organic pattern began to enrich by construction of new facilities such as Jame Mosque and Bazaar which fitted well in the Islamic lifestyle. A new hierarchal urban pattern was formed between the private, semi-public and public spaces which was realized by the role of alleys differentiating the access from a dwelling to the mosque and bazaar (Rahbarianyazd, 2022)

The historical texture or the enclosed part of the city has been developed by different dynas-
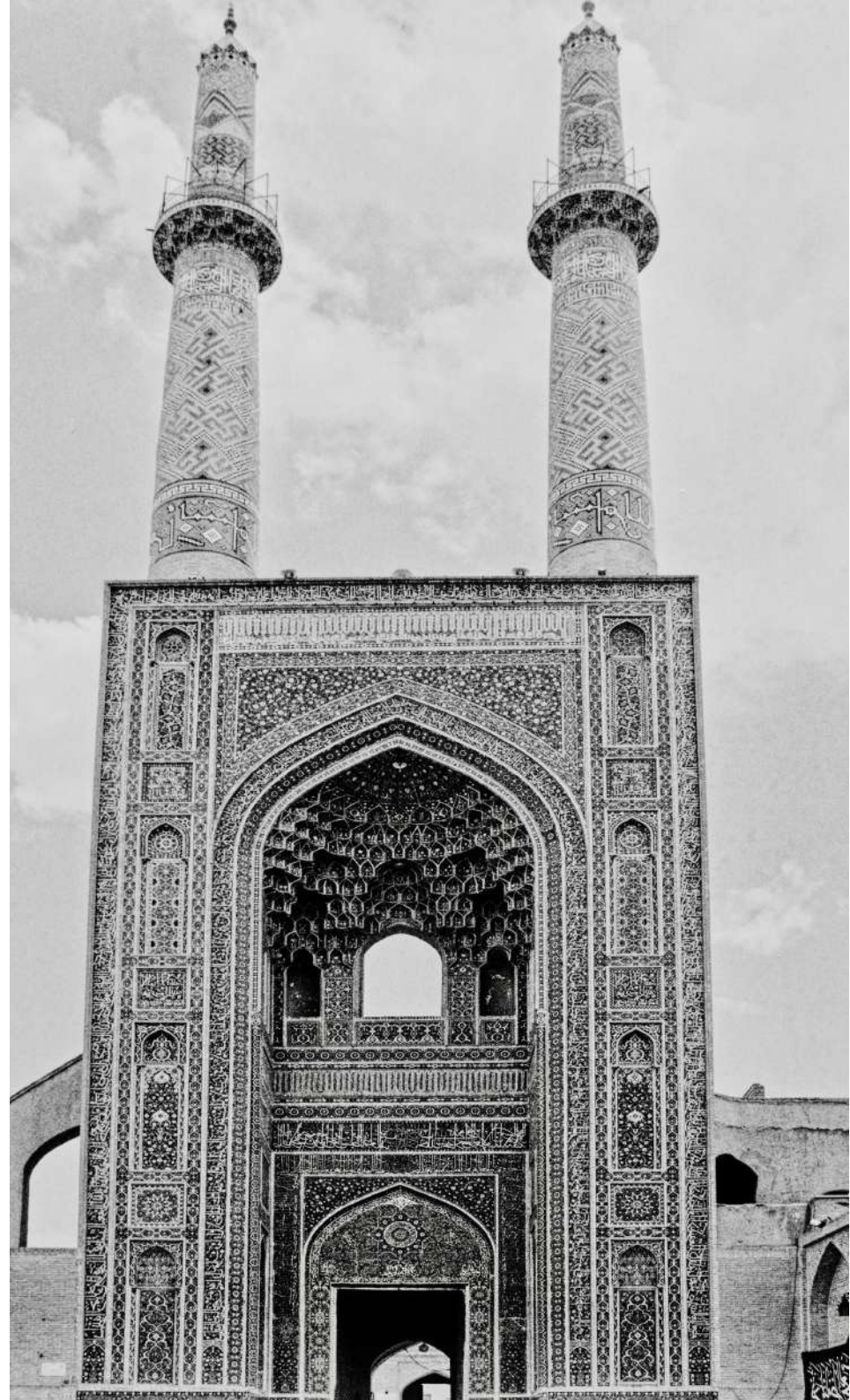
Fig.9. Amir-Chakmagh complex: the mosque and water basin, Photo by M.A.Ataei Daryaei

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Fig.10. Satellite Image of Jame mosque and its neighborhood, Google Earth



Fig.11. Jame mosque photo taken by the author

ties until the end of fourteenth century. However the first significant expansion of the historical core and urban development in the city happened by eleventh century AD as the first new massive castles, walls and gates around the city were built.

"During the Atabakan Period, due to the transformation of the local centrality around Masjed-e Jame, the south side became the core axis of the development of the city." (Rahbarianyazd, 2022)

Later on during the Muzaffarid dynasty the city started to grow in south and south-west direction and near the Masjed Jame some new buildings, including a bazaar, called Charsouq-e-Shahi, water reservoir and school were built, a new wall with seven gates was also built as for fortifying the city. (Kateb 1966) There are three different reasons considered by the Iranian historian Masserat (1997) for the this direction: firstly the sand wind blows from the north was disturbing the inhabitants; second, suitable land for building was readily available and found in the south and south-west; and third, water underground flows from the south and south-west towards the city. By the beginning of 15th century (Timurid period) the famous Amir-Chakmagh complex containing the mosque ,bazaar and the water reservoir were constructed



Fig.12. The district between Shah Tahmasb and Amir-Chakmagh Square, Google Earth

around a big square at the southeast of the city which gradually shifted the center of the city from the Jame mosque to the new complex. (Khademzadeh 2004)

The city follows a unique urban development pattern as in comparison with other Islamic Iranian cities like Isfahan (the city developed around the main city mosque). Yazd's main Bazaar was established in vicinity of the southern gates abutting the city fortifications and connecting the main city mosque (Jame´ mosque) to the Amir-Chakmagh mosque. As a reason of the cities location intersecting different trade roads and also the presence of inhabitants the bazaar grew rapidly in the city. (Khademzadeh 2004, Noghsan Mohammadi 2001)

In contrast with many other Iranian cities which were significantly developed by the Safavid period (1501-1773 AD), Yazd remained intact for the most part and only some new buildings were added. (Khademzadeh 2004)

A new complex called Shah Tahmasb was built at the south west of the city walls by 1790 including service spaces and a square. As the square was considered the model to integrate the vital functions of administrative, economic and religious center of a city. (Pourjafar et al., 2014) The Shah Tahmasb Square and Amir-Chak-

magh square were connected via a dense trading district, this new intervention was a keystone in the city's development toward west and south-west with creation of new neighborhoods. However the city center remained the same place which was the Amir-Chakmagh complex and mosque. (Khademzadeh 2004)

By the Zand and Qajar periods the city continued to expand southwards, the new Khan complex was added including a square, school, public bath and Bazaar. By 1815 a great wall was constructed enclosing the city but it rather didn't happen to be a barrier limiting the city's expansion towards the south and south-west. (Khademzadeh 2004)

Yet at the end of Qajar period followed by the Pahlavi period there was a movement started in Iran to force modernize the country imitating the western patterns of urban planning and lifestyle. (Habibi & De Meulder, 2015) The major structural changes in Iranian cities started by the first days of 1920. (Habibi 2009) Reza Shah was the first king to employ European urban planners to re-plan Iranian cities by a more modern fashion without any respect toward historical growth patterns or observance of indigenous cultural values (Ehlers & Floor, 1993). As a result of new modernist urban approaches toward the struc-

ture and planning (such as the introduction of new streets) and low infrastructural capacities in the city to bear these transformations, the city was undergone various changes in its old fabric. (Rahbarianyazd 2022) The major focus of urban planning in this period was on the proportions and connections of pathways and streets. "The streets were made broader, longer and straighter passing with some other new streets criss-crossing them through the pre-existing zone of plots. These interventions created a grid like pattern that was superimposed to the city." (Rahbarianyazd 2022)

The new grid effect was mostly implanted in the more dense areas to facilitate the traffic and vehicle transportation near the bazaar area, transformed the city's so called introvert urban texture to a more extrovert one in the urban layout and became a dominant element of city planning in the development and expansion of Iranian cities by this period. (Rahbarianyazd 2022) Two of the most evident aftereffects of these modern interventions were the Imam (constructed by 1931) and Qiam (constructed by 1943) streets (last figure) in Yazd manifesting westernization in the bigger frame of the city. The two were also in high contrast with the general texture of the zone and turned the two squares

(Amir-Chakmagh and Shah Tahmasb square) from solely pedestrian to roundabouts with vehicular traffic. (Rahbarianyazd 2022)

However in case of architectural style there was a new nationalistic movement formed to revive the ancient Persia's greatness by use of ancient Persian figures, symbols and ornaments by an architectural language which was in one way or another also congenial with German political views of the time. (Bani-Masoud 2020, Rahbarianyazd 2022)

The other significant aspect affecting the urban sprawl in Iran was the urbanisation processes and the immigration from more rural parts to cities. This immigration already started at Safavid period by abasement of the rural communities and considering them the lower class. After the 1921 coup and the change of government, new capitalistic policies toward city governing came to appear and by the 1929 development plans implemented by the government, most of the country's oil revenue was invested on the further development of the cities marginalizing the rural parts. (Aghaeezadeh et al 2012) The later caused an acceleration in population of the cities and therefore a rapid urbanization in the Pahlavi period. The rapid urbanization also affected the planning and development

of the city, new expansions with the western modern style bearing broad roads passing through the old urban fabric took place. Relevantly by Iran's program to promote industrialization by the middle of 20th century, (Torbat 2010) between 1945 and 1975 several industries such as weaving and spinning factories were built outside the city's borders which created an industrial belt around the city. However the new direction of the city's expansion by the formation of the new industries was coinciding the cemeteries which formerly were located outside of the city's core and these cemeteries came to be an integral part of the urban fabric. These new relocations caused hygienic problems and leaded to abandonment of some of the cemeteries and creation of new ones. (Rahbarianyazd 2022) Accordingly the processes of suburbanization by creation of middle class housing mostly in the peripheries or the parts that were outside of the main city core started in Yazd. (Habibi & De Meulder, 2015) The two new hubs created out of residential purposes were called Safaiyeh at south and Ariashr (Azadshahr) at south-west, the planning model for these two hubs was inspired by the "Ebenezer Howard's Garden cities" as satellite urban planning frameworks. (Rahbarianyazd 2022) The afro-mentioned neighborhoods not only did change the

urban planning and organization in the more recent part of the city but also it changed the housing type from more introverted courtyard houses toward buildings with one exterior yard which might have been considered more extrovert in comparison with the former housing morphologies. (Masoumi 2011, Rahbarianyazd 2022).

Safaiyeh district was constructed with a grid like network of streets and houses with private gardens, hotels and other more novel facilities began to gain a good reputation among the society, soon became popular and turned out to one of the rich neighborhoods offering a good air quality and a pleasant environment. (Rahbarianyazd 2022) This district is still considered as one of the higher class neighborhoods in Yazd and have preserved its good reputation among the people so that it can be considered as one of the successful examples of architects and real-estate developers contribution toward the so called forced modernization and the local society who accepted these new implementations as more novel ways of living worth to experience.

By 1960s an airport, and a railway station for transporting people and goods were constructed which caused faster land utilization in the south and west part of the city because of the easier access according to new

transportation service and the increase in urban population. Additionally "With the beginning of the land reforms in the 1960's the process of urban growth overall in Iran, including Yazd, accelerated, and the city expanded to such an extent that, between 1956 and 1981 it increased in size from 710 ha to 1800 ha, and some of the villages. Also, the peripheral areas which, for decades, had been on the out-skirts of the city, such as Maryam-Abad, for example, became an integral part of the city" (Rah-barianyazd 2022, Masoumi 2011)

There were several attempts to provide master-plans for the city of Yazd manging better the rapid urban population growth and the urbanization processes. Starting from 1966 the first master plan of Yazd was enacted Estimating the population growth rate of 2.5% and the population density of 100 persons per ha, this plan calcu-lated that the city would occu-py some 1750 ha of land in 1992. However in 1987, the impervious area amounted to 3079 ha in that year (Municipality of Yazd, 2005). Evidently the predicted numbers were not matching the actual amount of expansion which leaded to the urban sprawl phenomena. (Zanganeh Shahraki et al., 2011)

By 1979 and the new Islamic rev-olution things began to change in different domains. Firstly another movement started toward more

contextualizing architecture and urban planning by avoiding the use of modern western imitation, retrieving Islamic Iranian histor-ical patterns of housing and ur-ban planning to face the new era in the country, which the move-ment was not so successful in achieving its promising goals as social democracy and happened to cause more social segregation. (Rahbarianyazd 2022, Ivani 2009)

From 1980 to 1990 especially during and specially as the af-termath of the war between Iran and Iraq (1980-1988) there was a drastic population growth and consequently urbanization hap-pening in different regions of Iran which the main reasons can be concluded as below (Fanni 2006):

•Local people moved from war-stricken regions to oth-ers, especially to cities;

•Young men moved from rural ar-eas to towns and then to cities;

•Foreign immigrants moved from countries such as Af-ghanistan and Iraq to Iran.

The new abrupt local and for-eign immigration wave on one side and the unprepared state of the government after war, its lack of experience to face such phenomena and lack of funda-mental infrastructure leaded to an urban crisis (uncontrolled ex-

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pansion of cities based on no firm structure) in the bigger scale that called an urgency to revise some of the former unsuccessful master plans to reuse them. As a result the first master plan of the city of Yazd was revised. By the new revision the city was divided to different zones each related to a different sector. The zones were varied as trade, cultural, educational and light industries zones. However neither the revised masterplan was very useful according to socioeconomic dynamics and political problems. (Rahbarianyazd 2022)

By 1987 the university of Yazd was constructed in the south west part of the city which leaded to further attraction of newer populations and popularity of this district. Consequently by 1990 two new neighborhoods (Imam-Shahr and Shahrak-e-Daneshgah) were added to the southwest and northwest of the city following the diagrammatic model of Clarence Perry's Neighborhood Unit. "In this model, the houses were located in the outer ring (instead of gardens) and green public space was designated in the middle." This model later became one of the fashionable methods of neighborhood planning in Yazd (Rahbarianyazd 2022). Following the same style the first so called "Gated Communities" were built in the south of the city, later on several social housing projects

were constructed in the south side as well for lower income families, in order to decrease level of social segregation in the urban structure. (Rahbarianyazd 2022)

Between 1985 and 1995 as an act of reducing different types of pollution created by factories and transportation systems within the city, the transportation hubs and factories that were located inside the city's actual boundaries were repositioned outside of the city boundaries mostly west-ward which resulted in formation of a new urban nuclei and depopulation of the old city's urban fabric and further some decays in the historical urban core. (Rahbarianyazd 2022)

Another master plan was issued in 1993. Addressing a large quantity of vacant spaces inside the city, "this plan offered not to expand and develop the city in the fringes but to follow the so-called infill development approach." By the new master plan also some new strategies in order to renovate and restore the old historical part of the city was determined. "Nevertheless, the boundaries envisaged in the master plan were contravened again in the following years." (Zanganeh Shahraki et al., 2011, Rahbarianyazd 2022)

Eventually in 2004 a private investor renovated and restored a residential complex in the historical texture and turned it into a



Fig.14.Imam-Shahr neighborhood, Google Earth

hotel. The project was successful enough to put the focus back on the value of the earthen traditional architecture in the zone by a manner that it created a fashion for the local investors to act alike. This event became a turning point in the general perception over the architectural patrimony of the city and led to private-public contributions and collaborations to revitalize the historical core, preserve the old texture and avoid uncontextual discordant interventions to take place in this zone. (Rahbarianyazd 2022)

Another master plan for the city was enacted by 2005 the predicted urban area of city for 2020 was set at 13,415 ha. However, already by 2009 this figure has been surpassed. (Zanganeh Shahraki et al., 2011)

This city regarding its authenticity and the intelligent way of facing the harsh climate of the zone with different techniques was considered as a national heritage by UNESCO organization in 2017 and accordingly a detailed plan for the whole city was created. (Rahbarianyazd 2022)

# Chapter Summary

Undoubtedly, Yazd is one of the most outstanding ancient cities in Iran: both from a historical point of view, and from a cultural and architectural perspective regarding its patrimony. Apparently, the city dates back to more than a thousand years ago, and its urban pattern has been subject to constant modifications. The urbanization processes, along with the growth of local and or foreign urban populations caused by various circumstances, have affected the city's different socio-economical dynamics and also its expansion model. Concurrently, the tendency of the local planners toward the western modern modes of urban planning and architecture, and especially the blind imitation of these patterns, anticipated the forced and non-contextual modernization of Iran, and resulted mostly in incongruous interventions in the city; processes which did not bear the same ecological sustainability, and were disrespectful toward the city's identity and authenticity. However, occasionally, there can be seen some successful proposals that contextualize the modern western method and fuse it with the Iranian traditional architecture.

After considering the brief urban history as mentioned, it can be seen that the domains are so diverse and unique in accordance with their respective and various periods. This variety and idiosyncrasy makes it difficult for one to come to a general conclusion about the history of a city. Nevertheless, it would be useful to highlight some of the interesting findings within this timeline of events; findings which have helped towards a better reasoning for arriving at the final thesis statement:

1- The geopolitical situation of the city—it being located in between two of the most famous ancient trade roads (the Silk Road and the Spice Route)—bears witness to the existence and importance of this city from ancient times. Nevertheless, this peculiar trait has led the city to accommodate foreign incomers in the passage, and has crucially affected the architecture and urban organization of the city and the process of its expansion.

2- The traditional way of earthen construction within this city has created a unique urban and architectural pattern of its kind, which can be one of the most sustainable ways of building in this zone, with regards to the climate and the available vernacular materials. Furthermore, the flexibility and formability of the used materials have helped the locals to create outstanding examples of the formal structure that pay tribute to the history and identity of this zone, and also symbolize the existing social beliefs. However, there have been fewer endeavors to shift the architectural domain in a more contemporary fashion that meets both of the following: the local identity and use of the traditional vernacular materials, as well as more novel forms of living and architecture which might be a better reflection of the existing society's lifestyle.

3- The urban expansion of the city of Yazd has always emerged as a subsequence of growth in population and capital. Taking in mind the very first core of the city, the later additions have been always taking place in outlying positions nearer or further from the center; but by any means, this expansion has always happened with a sort of diffusion. A diffusion that by the new urbanization paradigm can be also considered as suburbanization. However, these extensions vary by the urban models they follow. Generally, the earlier ones adhere to more homogeneous models compatible with the city's main urban and architectural tissue, whilst the most recent ones have been under the influence of various events such as war, the revolution or the blindfold imitation of western modernism. Not only these extensions have made incongruousness within the overall image of the city, they have also created problems such as housing, water supply, traffic jams, and struggles attacking the social welfare, security, health, and more for the citizens.

4- Apparently considering the history of mass urban planning or master-planning in this city, the projections of master-plans have been usually defeated by the surge of urbanization and by the high number of immigrants in need of inexpensive habitation. The uncontrollability of population growth rates— a potential problem for anywhere else in the world as well—and the need of this population for accommodation, has resulted in selective and formless affordable constructions over the territory, consequently bringing about urban sprawl. Nevertheless, it is not guaranteed that the main problem is only the policy that addresses the unpredictable expansion of a city as such.

Fig.15. Nikola Tichowsky (1999). Snapshots of the living of Afghan refugees in Iran.

## Iran and Afghanistan

Iran and Afghanistan are two neighboring countries (bearing a 936 km border) that share many similarities regarding the common history they have had as a consequence of their geopolitical vicinity.

The official languages in Afghanistan are Dari and Pashto by which a great population of Afghanis speaks or understands Dari, whereas the official language in Iran is Persian (Farsi). Dari and Farsi are two accents of the same language, they're mutually intelligible, have mostly the same grammar, and the formal forms are almost identical, other than regional accents.

Afghanistan's current population is approximately 99.7 percent Muslim (84.7–89.7 percent Sunni and 10–15 percent Shi'a, including Ismailis), with non-Muslims (Hindus, Sikhs, Baha'is, Christians, Buddhists, Zoroastrians, and others) comprising the remaining 0.3 percent and the official religion of the country is Islam (Religion in Afghanistan - Wikipedia, 2021), while Iran's current population is approximately 98 percent Muslim (89 percent Shi'a, 9 percent Sunni), with non-Muslims (Zoroastrian, Jewish, Christian, and Baha'i) comprising the remaining 2 percent and the official religion of the country is Islam. (Iran Religion Facts & Stats, 2021)
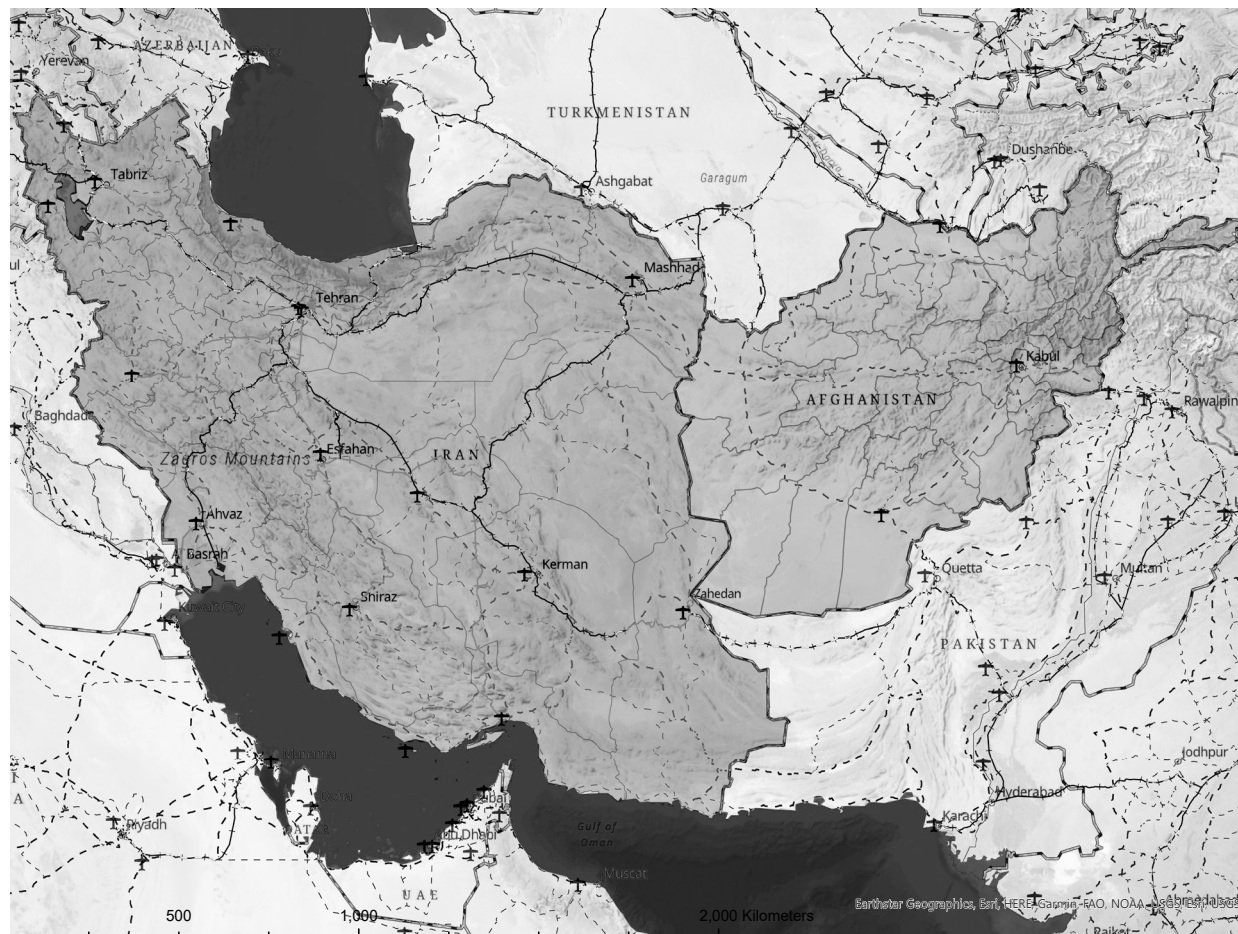


Bearing in mind the mentioned prospects and the related statistics together with the historical and cultural ties, one might assume if the two countries bear the very same modes of living, which might sound true in the general cultural sphere but probably caused by the different sets of incidents in the contemporary political history, the two countries render two different images from the current day living conditions. As if the economical and social developments in Iran caused by the start of industrialization, expansion of urbanization, nomadic settlement, and education prevalence altered the current living conditions as Iranians partially tended to follow more civic lifestyles, Afghanistan bore the tribal one for the most part. (Ch. Pahlevan 1988)

Probably the other notable aspect is also the availability of natural resources and bearing the suitable infrastructures for excavation and extraction of these resources; which the mentioned is a crucial initiative for further economical developments and industrialization in this geography and respectively Iran's accessibility to petroleum and other natural resources as well as the availability of suitable technology to take benefit of these assets has been playing an important role in Iran's contemporary Economy in comparison with Afghanistan. (Janzadeh, 2002)

## History of Afghan Immigration in Iran

According to the lastly mentioned factors together with the sudden and undesirable crises that took place within different periods in Afghanistan, there have been notable waves of Afghan immigration toward Iran mostly within the last 40 years. Even though Iran might have not been the safest ground to land on, but supposedly it has offered the Afghan migrants a more convenient living for the time being. Thus some 3.6 million Afghans reside in Iran, although only 780,000 are recognized as refugees (documented), and by that Iran would be the second-largest refugee-hosting country in the world after Turkey if all Afghans were recognized as refugees. (NRC, 2021)

The history of Afghan immigration in Iran belongs to decades ago as the first registered records date back to 1850 Hazareh people which migrated to Iran in 5000 families and were settled in Jam and Bakharz (Mousavi, 1997). Likewise in the period of Abdur Rahman Khan's dominion (1880-1901) which Hazareh shi'ites came to be discriminated and harassed, 15000 families (around 168000 individuals) were settled in Torbat-e-Jam constituting 90 percent of the local population. Later on by accession of Reza Shah in Iran, the Hazareh people have come to be officially recognized as an ethnic group named as "Khavari" and they could obtain Iranian nationality. (Khavari, 2003).

However the most considerable Afghan migration waves in case of the number of people have occurred within around the last 40 years which started by the 1978 "Saur Revolution" in Afghanistan as the process by which the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan overthrew General Mohammed Daoud Khan on 27–28 April 1978, who had himself taken power in the 1973 Afghan coup d'état and established an autocratic one-party system in the country and yet followed by 1979 Soviet military intervention that leaded to a 9 year war between Soviet Union and insurgent Afghan fractions such as "Mujahideen".



Fig.16. Afghan Worker in Iran, Jamaluddin Sajjadi.

## Iran Policies toward Afghan Immigration

**• 1980-1992 Free Access to Afghan Immigrants Policy**

This period was just after the 1979 revolution that took place in Iran and as a consequence the new established government was much more concerned with the internal incidents such as civil strives, riots and the following Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988), furthermore the new government has not had the time to decide any certain policy toward migrants because of its novelty and inexperience (Safaeefar, 1992). On the other hand the new revolutionary government in Iran was the harbinger of new Islamic justice in the zone and it's status quo was "Supporting the Oppressed", as a proof the government was mentioning the coming Afghan migrants as the Muslim brothers of Iranian nationals and they were considering sheltering these refugees as a religious duty. (Nasresfahani, 2018)

During these years Afghan immigrants were allowed to freely pass the borders and find shelter in Iranian cities and rural areas as well as joining the local labor market to have an income. This policy sounded in some way particular of its kind as the common policy of the neighboring countries like Pakistan was to shelter these refugees at the refugee camps usually located in the borders and not really letting them entering the more central parts. (Nasresfahani, 2018)

However the ingression of the Afghan neighbors has been considered beneficial for Iran back in those days due to lack of manpower caused by the war and also organizing and teaching these groups of people would have been of further interest for Iranian foreign policies and future influence inside Afghanistan (Milani, 2006), its yet important to highlight the fact that providing the suitable facilities and living conditions for the new immigrant population was not an easy task to be done in the war and crisis period withstanding also the Iranian war refugees.



Fig.17,18,19. Nikola Tachowsky. (1999). Snapshots of the living of Afghan refugees in Iran.
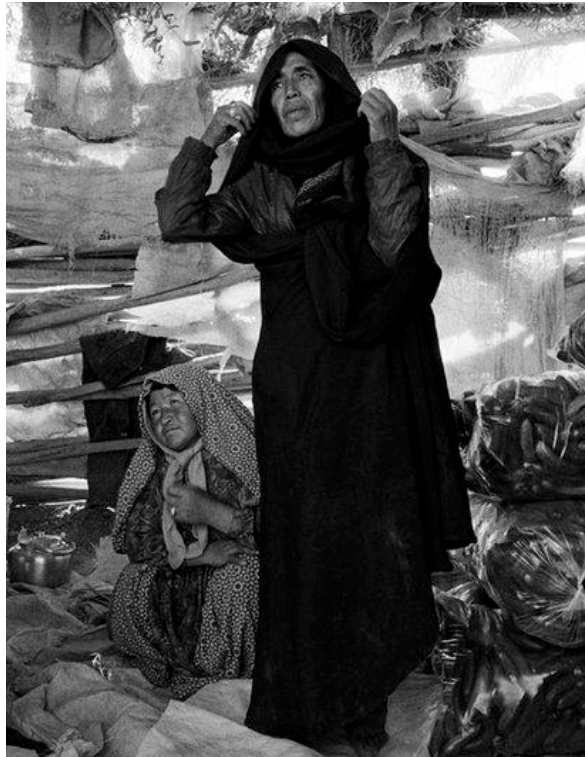
Fig.20.21 Nikola Tachowsky (1999).Snapshots of the living of Afghan refugees in Iran.

• **1980-1992 Free Access to Afghan Immigrants Policy**

Due to administrative problems in registering the status of Afghan citizens and the problems that gradually became apparent In 1982, a nationwide project to identify Afghan citizens in Iran was implemented. A separate ID card - called the "white card" - was issued. Separately, a file was created for each person, which was kept in the regional governorate. Holding these identity cards Afghan citizens could have used some public services in Iran, including receiving coupons, permission to subscribe to schools, access to health care and employment permits are all subject to the card. The cards bore a validation of one year and had to be renovated every year. Within two years the "White Card" was replaced with a new identity document so-called the "Blue Card". (Nasresfahani, 2018)

However these acts of recognition of Afghan immigrants as official citizens in Iran and providing them identity documents, some primitive rights to education, and access to healthcare did not last for so long and did not cover all the existing and incoming population, but it made a good evolution in the general educational level of a part of the Afghan immigrant society and for some new generations to come, also probably it changed some of their perceptions toward women and women's education which might have not been probable in Afghanistan back at the time.(Mahmoudian 2008)

• **1992-2008      Refugees      Repatriate      Policy**

At first years of 1990s the number of  immigrants was constantly increasing though this time was not only the Afghan refugees that were entering Iran but caused by the different crises and wars in western parts there were also Iraqi refugees that were entering Iran through western borders. Accordingly by the years of 1990-91 the number of Afghan and Iraqi refugees passed 4 million people.(Nasresfahani, 2018) and that was not so favorable for the new government trying to resolve the country's post-war problems with structural adjustment policies aiming to reduce governments spendings.

Parallelly the soviet army forces left Afghanistan at 1989 and within three years later the Mohammad Najibullah left-wing government was overthrown and the "Mujahideen" took over the state in Afghanistan. Consequently the Iranian government that was more in accordance with the new government, puts forward a new policy which is in favor of repatriation of the Afghan refugees and signs a treaty with Afghan government of the time (1992) to facilitate refugees return. A year later the Iranian parliament ratifies a new bill so called "Repatriation of Afghan refugees to their homeland" and shortly after it begins to be proceed by the government's administrative agencies. As a result by 2006 the government announced the former Id cards that had a validation of one year were not going to be renovated anymore and immigrants without these cards could not profit many of the public facilities and were literally considered as unofficial immigrants.

This strategy seems to work partially at the beginning as by the 1993 summer-fall period 600,000 Afghan refugees return back to their country, but still there is a part of Afghan people which are not much wiling to return as the situation in Afghanistan is not yet very stable (Caused by locals conflicts among different Afghan groups) and also because they already have established a life and a source of income in Iran, they find it risky to relocate to a less stable place with a weaker economy. (Nasresfahani, 2018)



Fig.22. Soldiers in January 1980 in Gardez, Afghanistan, a month after the Soviet Union invasion, Alain Mingam/Gamma-Rapho, via Getty Images.
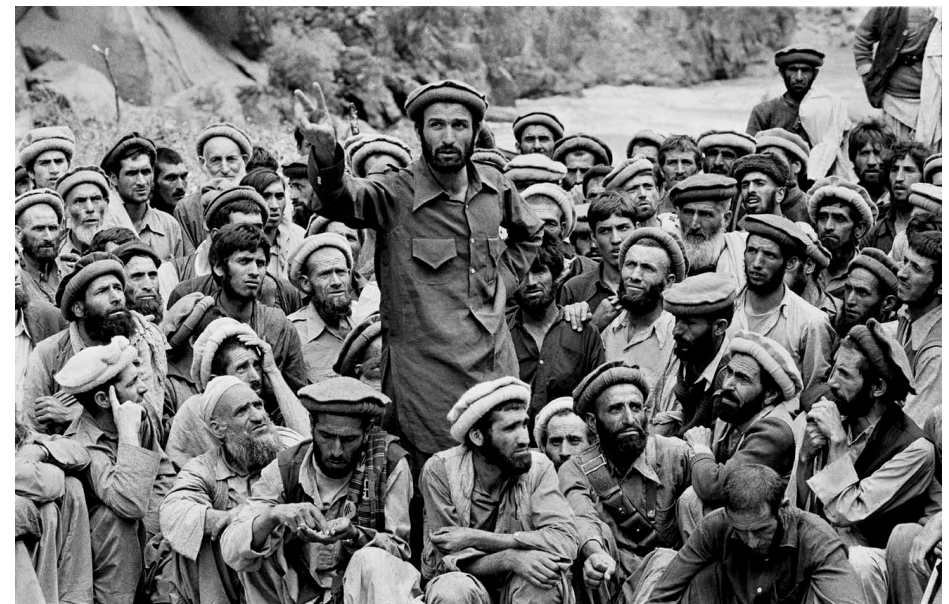


Fig.23. Mujahideen Leader Speaks to Fighters, Afghanistan,  Steve McCurry (1980), via (1stdibs.com).

**Fig.24.** An Afghan refugee working to dig a part of Tehran's sewage system, The Job That No One Wants - Middle East Images, Adis Easagholian (2022),

- **2008 New Refugee organization policies**

By the repatriate policy enacted by the Iranian government a considerable number of Afghan immigrants returned back to Afghanistan, however for the ones remaining, there were harsher policies and laws realized everyday which leaded to some public manifestations in Afghanistan. The new acts of Iranian government put under question the public relations of the both countries as the Afghan government was not contented by the new Iranian policies.

Blemishment of the Iranian international relationships in one side and economic downturn happening in the country on account of it's dependency on cheap labor, offered by the Afghan immigrants on the other side, obliged the Iranian government to revise it's foreign policies toward these people by 2008. (Nasresfahani, 2018)

The new refugee organization policies were about establishing rules to exploit the cheap labor force in the Iranian economy while minimizing economic and security costs, the new policies were generally intended to affect 6 main domains listed as: 1- Controlling the number of refugees and immigrants entering Iran 2- Refugees' Identification 3- Bearing control in accommodation and movement of the refugees 4- Lowering the sustentation costs of the refugees 5- Controlling the Afghan labor force in the labor market 6- Reducing the number of refugees. (Nasresfahani, 2018)

However in case of identity documents, immigrants entering Iran after 2003 were considered illegal immigrants and if arrested they were deported back to Afghanistan, by 2010 there was a new policy considered by the government which all the so called illegal immigrants could have registered to obtain a short term passport and visa, and by this policy already a big part of the immigrants could obtain identity documents which rendered them legal citizens in one way but put some limits on their possibility to work or go to school in some specific regions. (Nasresfahani, 2018)

Fig.25. Migrant Smuggling or "AfghanKeshi" near the borders of Iran. Afghan Voice Agency Report (2018) (https://avapress.com/fa/130309/)

Fig.26. Afghans ride in a truck with people smugglers in Nimruz, a remote province in southwestern Afghanistan. They will cross into Pakistan's Baluchistan before entering Iran. Joël van Houdt (2012) The Guardian. 2021. The Afghan diaspora – in pic

Fig.27. Gulbadeen was injured by a landmine when his truck tried to cross into Pakistan. He waits for a bus to Herat province near his home. Joël van Houdt (2012) The Guardian. 2021. The Afghan diaspora – in pic

## Afghan Immigration in Iran after the Taliban Takeover 2021

Howbeit the Afghan immigration toward Iran has continuously endured within the last couple of decades, the Taliban Takeover which happened recently (2021) has been a critical point in case of the number and flow of immigrants. According to the NRC some 4000-5000 Afghan immigrants are fleeing into Iran each day via informal border crossings, according to locally reported figures. Regarding the preliminary estimates by the Government of Iran, up to 500,000 Afghans have arrived in Iran in 2021. (UNHCR 2021)

The new enormous flow of Afghans on one side and the endeavors of the Iranian government to control this immigration flow in the borders or inside the country on the other side has lead to establishment of new laws and policies putting more pressure on the existing and arriving Afghan immigrants and consequently has created or augmented some dynamics within the country.

One of the phenomenas that has concurrently existed with Afghan informal immigration in Iran was "People Smuggling" or "Afghan-Keshi" taking place mostly at the central and border regions of the country which has been exacerbated by the new event. The immigrants whom try to enter Iran have certain destinations rather to stay in the country or pass it and try to reach Europe. For instance usually they try to go to bigger cities in Iran such as Tehran with more job opportunities bearing an income or in case of trying to reach Europe they try to get to Turkey. Arriving to these final destinations means although that they need to pass the borders, they need to pass the security checkpoints from one city to another. Not bearing any official document puts them in risk of getting caught and deported back to Afghanistan. That is where mostly the local smugglers come to help them, the fact is that near these checkpoints there are villages or side roads or rather routes through desert that are under less control because of their enormity. The locals or the people having experience in smuggling are more

acquainted with these paths and since some of these zones are considered deprived areas of the country with lack of job opportunities or low-income occupations, a good number of the younger inhabitants participate in these risky activities. (Rasouli 2020)

"What Can I Do, If I don't smuggle? How Can I sustain my family? I will do everything and anything when I am in need." replies to me the 19-year-old Baluch smuggler I met in Saryazd village. He explains to me that he has already been caught couple of times, beaten by the guards, spent couple of months in hospital because of the injuries and he was almost very close to death, but as long as he has no other alternative to afford a decent living he continues to smuggle.

Generally, there are certain spots before the main checkpoints that are recognized by both the immigrants and smugglers, they meet at these points and usually, the passengers are loaded in 10-15 individuals within a motor vehicle that transits them to the other city. (Abbaszadeh et al 2019) If the destination is not so far often motorcycles are used carrying 3-5 passengers. At times one has to pass 10 checkpoints to arrive at the demanded final destination (for instance Turkey, take a look at the map on the next page). In some cities by the routes, there are some safe houses where the immigrants can spend the night before going to the next city. Sometimes they get jailed in these safe houses till their family sends the smugglers the cost of transit. Often there is a deal between the smuggler and the passenger that the cost has to be paid with the first income of the immigrant to the final destination.

The risk is high for both the passengers and the smugglers, from time to time happens that a car gets shot by the guards because it doesn't pull over when the police announces and because these drivers move at very high velocities (200 km/h), accidents happen that lead to an explosion of the car and death of all who have been inside. (BBC 2022) Likewise resulted in the high speed and the veers these drivers make to escape police the car crashes and most likely all the passengers get killed.



Fig.28. A motor vehicle (Peugeot 405, the typical motor vehicle used) loaded by the immigrants stopped by the local police. ISNA News Agency 2019.



Fig.29. A motor vehicle (Peugeot 405, the typical motor vehicle used) loaded by the immigrants. ISNA News Agency 2019.



Fig.30. A motor vehicle (Peugeot 405, the typical motor vehicle used) loaded by the immigrants shot by the guards and exploded near Yazd city. ISNA News Agency 2019.

## Iran is not the Final Destination

Iran has been one of the popular destinations for Afghan immigrants within the last decades because of cultural similarities, common language, prevalent beliefs, vicinity to Afghanistan, being more stable and secure and most probably because of a better economy and the opportunity to obtain a higher income. Nevertheless due to economical down-term caused by the sanctions, the new COVID-19 pandemic and the existing discriminations and laws against refugees without official identity documents many Afghan refugees with means have left Iran in recent years for Europe, and for many Iran is not the final destination anymore.(Aman 2022)

Currently a considerable number of arriving immigrants try to pass Iran by different means and leave through the Iranian-Turkish borders, some might stay in Turkey for a period to work and gain some money for the rest of the trip till they arrive in Europe. However it is noteworthy to mention that there are also Iranian citizens trying to leave the country for Europe as refugees and might go through the same routes. Probably the motives are the same: Economical pressure (low income, few job opportunities, etc.), limited access to healthcare or education facilities and etc., which is more often happening in the peripheral parts of Iran that are not yet as well developed as the big industrial cities, keeping in mind that these circumstances have formerly caused the rural-urban migrations within the country and the immigration has transfred outward because of the recent internal problems and living conditions in the country.

**Traveling on Foot:** Moving from one city to the other or passing the borders on foot, which is one the most common means of transportation in these voyages, as the cost is low and sometimes less risky to get caught. These passages can happen in mountains, rivers, forests or on flat lands, there are different levels of difficulty according to chosen route and some routes according to the climate or season can be quite risky and dangerous to take. Taking walking routes also depend on the finacial situation and physical state of the immigrant.

**Safe-House:** These are temporary accommodation for the immigrants in the way to unofficially stay for a night or two and follow up the trip next day, these places can sometimes turn into prisons as the smugglers can take them as hostages till their families send the cost of the trip and transit.

**Motor Vehicle Transit:** SUV, Sedan or Motorcycles transiting immigrants through secondary roads not to face the checkpoints or police controls, usually passengers are overloaded in these vehicles.

**Taxi:** SUV or Sedans transiting immigrants usually through secondary roads not to face the checkpoints, this is one of the expensive ways of transit and popular in the Balkan route.



Fig.31. One of the current popular paths to cross Iran for Afghan immigrants (2022), Drawn by author according to the inquires made both in Iran questioning immigrants and smugglers and also investigations made in OUIx refuge asking the arriving immigrants, these paths might change from time to time according to new obstacles or police control and concentration. Evidently there are other paths and ways of traversing Iran however the current seem to be the most popular. The means of travel can be different according to the financial situation of the immigrant and the amount of police control. Most common ways are walking and motor vehicle transport in short distances with several stops. How ever there immigrants whom afford to pay a car (so called taxi) to transit them directly from their point of arrival in Iran or further cities to longer distance such as Tehran (the capital) and further cities.

Afghan Migration Routes and Touristic Cities in Iran

**Legend:**

Local Touristic Cities

Local_Tour as percent of total
- ◎ 10%
- ➤ Migrant_Route
- ✈ World Airports

World Roads
- — — Highway
- — · — Major road
- Local road
- Ferry
- ┼┼┼ World Railroads
- ▨ International Tourism

**Labeled countries:** ARMENIA, AZERBAIJAN, TURKMENISTAN, TAJIKISTAN, IRAQ, PAKISTAN, UAE, QATAR, KUWAIT

**Labeled cities (Iran and region):** Yerevan, Doğubayazıt, Van, Maku, Baku, Tabriz, Astara, Urmia, Mahabad, Bandar Anzali, Chalus, Amol, Sari, Qazvin, Karaj, Mashhad, Sanandaj, Hamedan, Qom, Kermanshah, Ilam, Khorramabad, Isfahan, Birjand, Yazd, Shush, Ahvaz, Yasuj, Kerman, Shiraz, Abadan, Ahvaz, Zabol, Zarang, Zaranj, Char Borjak, Zahedan, Saravan, Bandar Abbas, Kish, Chabahar, Baghdad, Kuwait City, Manama, Doha, Dubai, Abu Dhabi

**Afghanistan cities:** Sheberghan, Mazar-i-Sharif, Balkh, Konduz, Baghlan, Pol-i-Khomri, Maymana, Kalainow (Qual-e-ye-now), Chagcheran, Bamian, Kabul, Jalalabad, Herat, Ghazni, Terincot (Tarin Kowt), Farah, Qalat, Lashkargha, Kandahar, Chaman, Quetta, Rawalpindi, Multan, Hyderabad, Karachi, Jodhpur

Mashkel, Raja

Earthstar Geographics, Esri, HERE, Garmin, FAO, NGA, USGS

## Chapter Summary PT I

Afghan immigration in Iran has a history dating back to more than four decades and the circumstances behind the formation of this phenomena vary according to different periods and events that have taken place within both countries. Nevertheless, by the current day, there are an approximated 3.6 million Afghan people residing in Iran and they are ineluctably forming and sharing part of the Iranian's present-day society. Subsequently, by summarizing the brief timeline mentioned before, it would be helpful to underline certain aspects that can aid in the further laying of the groundwork for the thesis statement:

1- Iran has been a popular destination for Afghan immigrants and refugees throughout the years. This has been so not only due to geographical vicinity, but also because of cultural similarities such as language, religion, beliefs, history and the like.

2- There has been several attempts by the Iranian government and also the society to push back these immigrants or rather make them leave the country by tough policies of repatriation. However, these policies never worked out, and not only due to the unfeasibility the deportation of such a numerous community shows, but also due to the fact that Iranian economy has been very dependent on the Afghan labor force ever since the outset of the immigration.

3- The Iranian public has had different confrontations with the Afghan immigration phenomenon impelled by various factors. For instance, once at the beginning of the Iranian Islamic revolution and the emergence of collective mottoes promoting brotherhood among Muslims and equality and freedom among human beings, their attitude was more receptive and welcoming. On the other hand, in times of economic crisis and the growth of unemployment rate, the immigrants were considered "The Other" who were stealing jobs from the local and offered lower prices for labor, and so they were met with low tolerance. It can be said therefore that there is no doubt that Af-

ghan immigrants have experienced racial and cultural discrimination in Iran, but that often the causes behind these discriminations were not based on racial antagonism but on general economic pressures.

4- The major part of Afghan immigrants in Iran still bear identity document problems which put them in a fragile position in case of labor, educational and sometimes even sanitary rights.

5- Despite the expulsion that most Afghan immigrants have experienced in Iran, it can be claimed that Iran has been a safe harbor throughout these years for Afghan refugees, especially considering Afghanistan's history of conflicts. This claim is not trying to overlook the discriminations or the lack of basic rights that these people face, but is to simply point to the moderate-level amenities of education, occupation, and sanitation that they could benefit from while residing in Iran, and the integration that is evidenced in the second generations of these immigrants in terms of their educational level, or their perception of women's rights and other similar matters.

the ones who
MAKE        IT

## Rifugio Fraternità Massi

As a part of field research regarding my thesis I spent some time in one of the refuges located near the border of Italy and France, at a village called Oulx in piedmont, Italy.

I was working as a volunteer mediator to help the refugees translating from Dari or Persian to Italian or English, as some of these refugees arrive after long walks and hard journeys to this destinations, they might have some health or physical problems, I could have helped them to explain their problems in a better way to medical teams working there like "MEDU" or "Medici per i Diritti Umani", for the rest I could also help the operators to prepare a comfortable atmosphere for these people arriving from a tiring journey trying to leave and pass the border to France the next day.

My endeavors to help these people have put me also in a closer position toward them to hear some of their stories, know the difficulties they have been through and the reasons they have left their countries. Although the information I could have gained by my conversations with the immigrants are not inaccessible or confidential as there has been already a considerable amount of scholarship about this subject in different disciplines; my presence in this ambient and real time observations have helped me more to highlight some of the notable aspects of the immigration dynamics that supposedly can explain my reasonings over this thesis proposal in a more comprehensive way.

The "Fraternità Massi Refuge" was created with the aim of dealing with the migrant emergency exclusively from a humanitarian point of view, a free and anonymous reception service and a point of reference for these people who face the harsh cold and the snowy mountains to pass the border. The center has also become an open space for volunteering in the valley and an observatory of the migratory dynamics affecting the territory. (Fondazione Talità onlus 2022)

The refuge is located at "Oulx" which is a comune (municipality) in the Metropolitan City of Turin in the Italian region Piedmont, located about 70 kilometers west of Turin, in the Susa Valley on the border with France. This area is one of the most frequented routes for immigrants who arrive to Italy via different ways and they are wishing to leave the country to France to reach their final destination. The complex provides immigrants a daily accommodation to spend the night, some meals to eat during the day, medications and check ups and some appropriate clothes and shoes to ensure the minimum risk of death for the people passing the mountains and forest in snow and harsh situations.

## Stories and Observations

Logically the people arriving to the refuge are not much likely to share their personal information and experiences as they are still in the way and they want to avoid any risk that might put them in danger of not reaching their final destination, as they might consider sharing this information can be illegal and used against them. Thus why I have to mention that some of the gained information might not be precise and my intention over these investigations have been more to outline a general image of the current situation rather than detailed mapping of all the dynamics existing in these journeys.

Secondly I have to note that the major part of immigrants which I could have been in contact with, were coming from countries like Iran and Afghanistan as they share the same language and it has been possible for me to communicate better with them and base a common ground to discuss things.

That is to say the materials provided by these investigations are far from official evidence or accountable literature to come to a general idea or a conclusion over the complex dynamics of immigration, the reasons behind it and etc. Rather my conclusions are just another individual perusal of general observations and events happening in a very small part of these long journeys and are not comprehensive enough to be generalized.

The immigrants arriving at Oulx have been already in this journey for a minimum of 4-6 months to maximum of couple of years. As passing the precedent borders depends on different circumstances (weather, season, age, economical situation and most of all luck). The majority which arrives wishes to pass the Italian-French border to get to France and after that depending on the right or wrong perceptions they have from other countries and/or if they have siblings in these final destinations, some will stay in France, some will continue their journey to other countries such as Germany or United Kingdom. There is also a certain percentage which have been already living for years in these final destinations but as there was an urgency for them to exit the country (as an example to help their families which are staying outside), when they are attempting to return they face problems as they might not obtain the required documents to travel freely through the European borders and because they have had a former experiences to pass these borders through these routes, they will try again as it might be the only way that they already know the circumstances more or less.  However the certain thing to say is that major part of these immigrants are not much likely to take asylum in Italy since they mention  they might not find a job or salaries are lower in comparison with other European countries. The part that stays in Italy will reside in bigger cities with more job opportunities like Milan or Rome as they pass through these cities to cross the country and arrive to the French borders.

Oulx is one of the paths for immigrants to pass the French borders unofficially and it has become popular according to the blockage or difficulties of the other routes such as Vetimiglia. The usual path from Oulx to France is via Claviere, The immigrants take a bus from Oulx to Cesana or directly to Claviere, then they have to spend approximately about 5-6 hours hiking in the forest and mountains along the paths that start from Claviere, famous ski center in the French mountains, toward Briançon the closest city in France near the border. This route is quite dangerous in the winter because of the heavy snow and ice and the freezing cold. Some immigrants that are not well aware of the route get lost or stuck in the way, some get rescued by the Italian red cross mountain rescue (Croce Rossa Italiana), others however lose their lives in search of a better future and their bodies will only be found in the spring. That is one of the reasons some people living in these areas can not stay indifferent to what is just happening near them and they help these immigrants to pass and not to die. There are also anonymous groups of people and students how might risk legal sentences to accompany these people passing through the borders as the immigrants are not always young individuals  who can risk these passages but it happens that you encounter a pregnant lady or a family with underage children, which makes the situation much riskier. Over the French borders there are locals so called "Marauders" who come to search these people in the forests and take them to the Briançon refuge with the same motivation and risk.

Fig.35. An example of the technical clothes and shoes given to the immigrant to pass the forest in winter Photo taken by Piero Gorza



Fig.36. The "MEDU" group currently active in the Rifugio Massi Photo taken by Piero Gorza



Fig.37. Casa Cantoniera (one of the autonomous places helping the arriving refugees) Photo taken by Piero Gorza

Fig.38. Immigrants getting on the bus to Claviere Photo taken by Piero Gorza



Fig.41. Immigrants walking on the road in winter to reach the French borders Photo taken by Piero Gorza



Fig.39. Immigrants walking in the forests to reach the French borders Photo taken by Piero Gorza



Fig.40. The French borders Photo taken by Piero Gorza



Fig.42. Immigrants walking in the forests in heavy snow and ice to reach the French borders Photo taken by Piero Gorza

"When you arrive to Italy, the rest gonna be easy", they mention, If you have not been shot in the borders of Afghanistan with Iran, you haven't been stuck behind the wall or deported by the Turkish government by the Iranian-Turkish borders, You could have arrived to Greece by the dangerous water ways and the villages in which villagers will report your passage to police to arrest you, You have been lucky enough to choose the right "Game" (attempts to informally pass the Balkan routes and cross the EU borders – by walking through forests, crossing rivers, climbing border fences, jumping trains, hiding in trucks or procuring taxi services via smugglers (Minca and Collins, 2021)) and you could have survived not to get arrested or killed or deported, you will be very happy that you arrive in Italy, because the rest is going to be easy, the risk of getting killed is less, they will not beat you or steal your belongings if they arrest you, you will not spend a lot of money just for an unsuccessful attempt, or the police will not seize your phone in which you have all the necessary data for the journey. Once you arrive in Italy maybe not today or not even tomorrow but you will pass for sure and reach your final destination.

Even though this perception might sound wrong as according to the final destinations there are still risky and dangerous routes waiting for these immigrants (For example in case of approaching United Kingdom they have to reach Calais and pass the English Channel nearby, every now and then the boats sink and all of the passengers within die) and most probably they are not very much aware of it because they have not been through these routes yet and the information they have is provided by former immigrants and/or they are too enthusiastic already reaching Italy that somehow the rest of the way might seem easier than what they have been through.

The fact is that maybe they might be treated a bit more human in comparison to the precedent borders but the danger or risk to get hurt or die is still high.

Said all that, it is important to mention that these voyages are costly both in terms of money spent by the voyagers and also the time they expend in this long , sometimes never-ending trips, more than that the highest cost that one might pay is his life over a trial of another "Game" passing a border to the other.

The amount of money spent by each voyager is different from one to the other as their basic circumstances are not the same, some might be richer and try the more expensive "Games" such as paying "Taxis" (human smugglers using motor vehicles to transit) or paying a fake European Passport, some obtain lower wages and are ought to try the more difficult ways, walking in the forests or passing the rivers or mountains, hiding under the trucks or inside the trains, jumping over bridges to catch the trains, climbing walls and fences, but after all they say it just depends on luck, one might try the cheapest games and pass, the other might be caught in a Taxi but probably the risks are not the same. (Based on interviews with immigrants, also Minca and Collins, 2021) That is also how "The Game" comes to be interpreted as an endless game between the state authorities using different controlling tactics to keep the immigrant in forced mobility (Tazzioli, 2020) and in the other side the endeavors by immigrants and smugglers to challenge these ways of disciplinary techniques for managing migration and somehow manifesting their ability to find new ways or "New holes in the wall" (Zhang, Sanchez and Achilli, 2018)

After all, these methods of irregular immigration have created a whole economical dynamic in themselves, from migrants in further steps or the ones that have already reached the final destination selling their experiences, contacts, maps and information to the other migrants in need, to the smugglers transiting this people unofficially with various costs and modes of transportation, further to the governments engaging different agencies helping them for a better control over the borders or hiring more forces, Irregular immigration has created labor, revenues and an economic circulation that is helping neither the both sides.

Talking with the Afghan immigrants arriving at the refuge in Oulx, the minimum cost that they mention for coming all the way from Afghanistan to Italy has been around 4000 euros up till a maximum of 6000-6500 euros per person which can turnout to bigger amounts of money when we consider a family. Sometimes you can see a family spent all of their savings obtained by complete disposition of their belongings in the homeland just to be able to buy the right games to pass the required borders and sometimes there are some which remain without any funds to continue the road in a middle destination, in the "limbo".

The other important aspect of these journeys is the time that passengers spend in the way to arrive at their final destination, it can vary between 6 months to couple of years based on the circumstances. Taking into account that a considerable number of these immigrants (Nearly 80%) are aged less than 35 years old and almost one third of the whole immigrants are even aged less than 18 years old (Asylum statistics - Eurostat,

2020) and usually there are not much possibility in the camps or safe-houses for this young society to study or follow an academic career since they usually do not know the language of the countries that have to pass as to be able to attend schools and rather being on the move means one can not have a firm seat in a classroom for a year, other than that in some parts these classrooms don't even exist, all leads up to the stats that "only six in 10 refugee children attend primary school – compared to nine in 10 globally – and only around two in 10 refugees get a secondary education, compared to the world average of more than eight in 10. The trend is even clearer in higher education, where only three in every 100 refugee children are able to pursue their learning, compared with the world average of 37 in 100 (UNHCR 2019).

Nevertheless what is outstandingly evident in these voyages is the fact that these experiences have their own influence on the voyagers, discussing with immigrants or the people working in different camps or associations in close contact with them, almost everybody concedes that some of these harsh situations or the communal living in the camps can create a better understanding, unity and sympathy among different immigrants from different parts of the world or even between the immigrants and the smugglers (Achilli,

2018). While it is true that many of these children or youngsters experience situations that might be abnormal in comparison with their coetaneous living experiences, and can create some further traumas in their lives, this is also true that there are certain things they learn which might be useful for them in their future life, like a new language or how to survive in difficult situations or etc. Like when Piero Gorza (Anthropologist and referent of MEDU, an active member of the Massi Refuge) mentioned to me: "La Cammina è oramai una vita" meaning: The Walk (referring to the voyages) is now almost like a life/lifestyle. This sentence underlines the fact that these immigrants don't just travel or pass from one country to the other, but they live these passages and trips from one border to the other with different experiences. Last but not list is the after arrival processes and the eligibility to seek asylum in the final destination and rather if you can obtain it, the time it takes and under which circumstances one would have a successful case. The processes to obtain asylum can sometimes last for years and by these years the immigrants are not permitted to carry on a normal living as it is mentioned: "People seeking asylum are not allowed to work and can only apply for permission to work if they have been waiting for an initial decision for more than 12

months, and would then only be allowed to work in an occupation listed in the 'Shortage Occupation List', which is comprised of highly skilled occupations. This effectively means that the vast majority of people seeking asylum cannot enter employment to support themselves." (Refugeecouncil,2022), likewise: "The backlog has a devastating impact on the mental health and wellbeing of people who are forced to live in limbo not knowing when their asylum case will be decided. During this time, most people seeking asylum live on just over £5 a day, are not permitted to work, and are accommodated and supported in a system that was never designed to be used over the long term." (Refugeecouncil,2022)

# The Games & Their Means

Nimrouz → Saravan → Zahedan → Kerman → Yazd → Esfahan → Kashan → Qom → Tehran

Qotur → Khoy → Marand → Tabriz → Mianeh → Zanjan → Qazvin → Karaj

Qotur — Van — Istanbul — Border of Edirne → Kastanies

Çanakkale

Athens — Komotini → Thessaloniki

North Macedonia

Athens — Igoumenitsa → Albania → Montenegro → Bosnia and Herzegovina — Coratia (Rijeka)

Patras → Italy

Van — Istanbul — Italy

Serbia

North Macedonia

Slovenia

Fig.43. Schematic map of popular games and their means, based on making inquiries from the arriving immigrants, Drawn by the Author

**Safe-House:** These are temporary accommodation for the immigrants in the way to unofficially stay for a night or two and follow up the trip next day, these places can sometimes turn into prisons as the smugglers can take them as hostages till their families send the cost of the trip and transit.

**Traveling on Foot:** Moving from one city to the other or passing the borders on foot, which is one the most common means of transportation in these voyages, as the cost is low and sometimes less risky to get caught. These passages can happen in mountains, rivers, forests or on flat lands, there are different levels of difficulty according to chosen route and some routes according to the climate or season can be quite risky and dangerous to take. Taking walking routes also depend on the finacial situation and physical state of the immigrant.

**Jungle:** Trying to cross the borders passing through the forsets by very primitive tools and tents, depending on the season and climate this way can be also very risky.

**Taxi:** SUV or Sedans transiting immigrants usually through secondary roads not to face the checkpoints, this is one of the expensive ways of transit and popular in the Balkan route.

**Motor Vehicle Transit:** SUV, Sedan or Motorcycles transiting immigrants through secondary roads not to face the checkpoints or police controls, usually passengers are overloaded in these vehicles.

**Truck:** Hiding inside the container of a truck or under it. The second case is one of the most dangerous ways of transit.

**Normal Bus:** Travelling with normal between city buses, usually this way of transport is used within the borders of a country from one city to another when the risk of document control is low.

**Normal Train:** Travelling with normal between city trains, usually this way of transport is used within the borders of a country from one city to another when the risk of document control is low.

**Informal Train Travel:** Hiding inside trains, or jumping inside wagons from bridges on the way. Some also buy tickets and dress elegantly in order no to be suspect of travel document control.

**Motor boat:** Usually inflatable motor boats used for short distance informal water transport, like passing a river or a short distance in a sea, the risk of this transport can be also high according to the climate and atmospheric conditions, very often these boats get sunk and most of passengers get killed.

**Fast Ship:** Hiding inside a fast ship or buying a ticket with a fake id, the is also one of the expensive and rare modes of transport for immigrants.

**Cargo Ship:** Hiding inside a truck or container of a cargo ship, this is one of the common ways of long distance water transit (Some people try it directly from Turkey ot Italy), however by this mode of transit one has to stay couple of days even sometimes a week inside a dark closed space with low amount of food and water.

**Fake ID:** Some immigrants pay forgers high amounts of money to obtain fake ids with which they can travel freely within the European territory, this is one of the riskiest and most expensive ways of informal immigration.

**Nationality of origin (in %) in the S.E.E. region**

- Afghanistan 26.1%
- Pakistan 21.9%
- Bangladesh 16.5%
- Syria 10.1%
- Others / Unknown 10.1%
- Iraq 3.7%
- Iran 3.6%
- Morocco 2.5%
- India 1.5%
- Algeria 1.3%
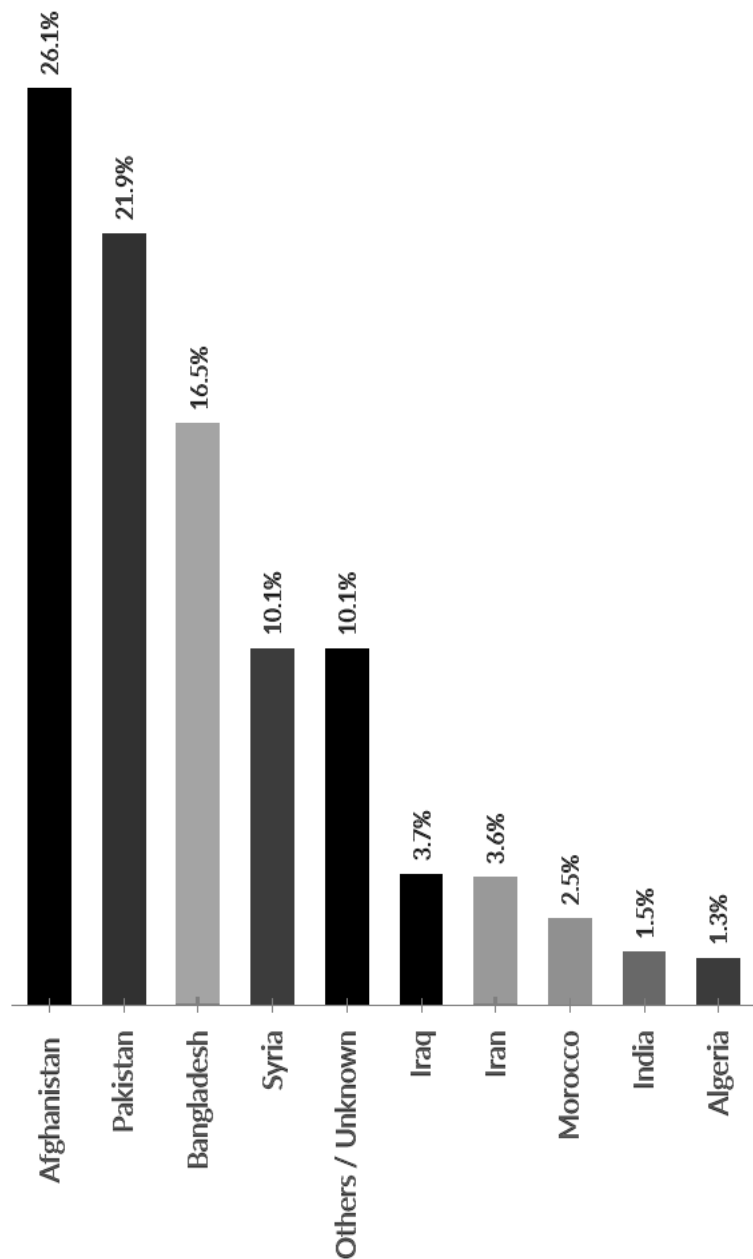
Fig.44. Nationality of origin (in %) in the S.E.E. region, UNHCR 2021



Fig.. Map of UNHCR presence & mixed movements in 2021, UNHCR 2021

## Map of UNHCR presence & mixed movements in 2021

Estimated total of MM in 2021 : 16,416

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA 9,723

SERBIA 6,225

MONTENEGRO 2,064

473

MACEDONIA 11,625

ALBANIA 5,036

**UNHCR Office**
- UNHCR Country Office
- UNHCR Chargé de Mission
- UNHCR Field Unit
- Site
- Asylum Seeker Centre
- Asylum Seeker location
- Reception/Transit Centre
- Refugee Urban location
- National capital
- International Boundary

Main entering flow
Pushback & inverse flow

This dashboard contains data and information collected by the UNHCR in the South Eastern Europe (S.E.E.) based on several databases for the moment reporting on Western Balkan countries. Data sources also include Public Information focal points at UNHCR country offices in the region. Relevant information was also collected through Border Protection Monitoring (BPM), as well as from Asylum monthly statistics, as provided by official sources in each country. The information presented in the dashboard can change, in line with the latest updates made available by the authorities in charge, as the official figures are released at the end of each month. Mixed Movement (MM) are considered as "new arrivals". Arrivals in the region are not registered by UNHCR. Partners gathering information for the BPM are receiving information on the MM through direct contact/communication. UNHCR aims to collect, at regional level, accurate information, from agreed and official sources. Asylum procedures in the region differ. In order to compare them, if a country is not applying an intention procedure before, the applications are considered as intentions as well.
*Security Council Resolution 1244 (1999) / ** for North Macedonia, data on arrivals are not official government data, they are UNHCR estimation based on different sources and do not imply official endorsement by UNHCR.*

Fig.45. The border between Bosnia and Croatia has seen many confrontations between the police and migrants. Mentioned by BBC 2020('God will forgive me or not': Inside the world of a people smuggler), Ref Getty images



Fig.46. A young Afghan tries to get himself in the axle of a truck that is headed for Italy through the Greek harbour of Patras. Hiding in the axle of a truck is about as dangerous as it gets. Get it wrong, and it can end up costing you your legs, (huckmag.com) 2015



Fig.47. A rubber dinghy crosses to the Greek island of Lesbos at night - a favoured route to enter Europe. Mentioned by BBC 2020('God will forgive me or not': Inside the world of a people smuggler), Ref Getty images

Fig.48. Turkey accelerates security wall construction along Iranian border amid migrants' flow. Photo AFP/File



Fig.49. An Afghan refugee is escorted out of The Jungle in Calais by French police officers on the day the camp is shut down. Joël van Houdt (2016) The Guardian. 2021. The Afghan diaspora – in pic



Fig.50. An Afghan refugee stands with his belongings by his tent, which has been set alight, in The Jungle. He was one of an estimated 8,000 refugees and migrants staying in the camp and trying to reach the UK. Joël van Houdt (2016) The Guardian. 2021. The Afghan diaspora – in pic

## Conversation with the two young Afghans

As for a more realistic understanding over the afro-mentioned issues I have translated a registered conversation with two Afghan underage immigrants (brothers) whom arrived to the refuge on the third day I was there. The names used in this conversation are not real names and its worth to mention these dialogues according to their lack of precision and the circumstances in which this people arrive at this refuge, are not meant to be used as a material or official evidences nor are comprehensive enough to be subject for a generalization over immigrants beliefs, backgrounds, situations and wills.

**Me**: So you won't go to Switzerland because you cannot leave the country for five years?

**Mohammad**: No I cannot.

**Me**: How about France?

**Mohammad**: France is good, you can find a job and get asylum

**Me**: My friend asks that you already told us that you are 20 years old, but how can you prove that you are under 18 if you want to declare to the police? Do you have any documents?

**Mohammad**: Its by chance, I risk, I had friends that were even 26, they cannot exactly recognize from the face how old are you as long as you don't have any official document

**Mohammad's Brother**: Did you come here by airplane?

**Me**: I came here as a student, that is how I got the visa

**Me**: Why don't you stay in Italy?

**Mohammad**: Italy, I can stay in Italy, but I don't like it.

**Me**: Why? Why don't you like Italy?

**Mohammad**: I just don't like Italy.

**Me**: I just want to know about the information before you arrive to Europe, from whom you get this information, like which are the better countries to immigrate and what is the reason and if this information is right or wrong.

**Mohammad**: For example, my relatives are in Germany or my friends are in Switzerland, I ask them how is the situation.

**Me**: But if you don't have anyone in Italy how do you know if how is the situation in Italy?

**Mohammad**: I have friends also in Italy, they are in the camps.

**Me**: So that the paths you take they are usually paths that taken already by your friends and relatives lately?

**Mohammad**: Yes.

Me: Where are the top destinations for the immigrants right now?

**Mohammad**: Mostly its Great Britain.

**Me**: Why?

**Mohammad**: You can find a job and they give you enough money, it is not only important to make it to the country, it is important to arrive where you can help your family

**Me**: Which is the second destination after Great Britain?

**Mohammad**: The second can be Switzerland, some go there, Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, there are also many that stay in Italy.

**Me**: They stay in Italy because they can find a job?

**Mohammad**: No, because they can get the asylum easier.

**Me**: What are the easiest countries to get Asylum?

**Mohammad**: Italy and France, usually you can get in one year

**Me**: But in that one year that you are waiting to get asylum do they let you to study in France or Italy?

**Mohammad**: Why won't they?

**Me**: So you can start to study as soon as you arrive?

**Mohammad**: They will do an interview with you as soon as you arrive, they will ask you about your profession, your former studies, they will ask you what have you been doing back in your country, after you introduce yourself and explain your former profession, probably you can choose rather to study, work or learn the language.

**Me**: So you are going to Germany, how is it there to get asylum?

**Mohammad**: It is harder, it usually takes seven years to get asylum in Germany, but it depends, if you will be considered as a good case, you won't make mistakes and you make a good interview you can take it sooner.

**Me**: So it means you cannot go out of Germany for seven years?

**Mohammad**: You can go out of Germany, but you cannot go back to Afghanistan.

**Me**: Which is the best country to take asylum in if you want to get back to Afghanistan as soon as possible? What is the shortest procedure?

**Mohammad**: Usually its Italy or France, depending on your case even there are sometimes people that they can get an Afghan passport with a visa after one or two months.

**Me**: My friend asks if any of you can speak German as you are heading there

**Mohammad**: No, I don't know German but I will take language courses in Germany

**Me**: So, do you want to study or

work when you arrive in Germany?

Mohammad: No, I want to first take the German language courses, and then I will try to study, I can also work in the meantime that I'm studying as I have to work as I have to help my family and maintain myself.

Me: Which city do you want to go in Germany?

Mohammad: No, I want to first take the German language courses, and then I will try to study, I can also work in the meantime that I'm studying as I have to work as I have to help my family and maintain myself.

Me: Which city do you want to go in Germany?

Mohammad: Hamburg

Me: Because there is a big community of Iranians and Afghans in Hamburg?

Mohammad's Brother: Yes, Iranians, Afghans, Turks…

Me: Do you want some chocolate? My friend offers you…

Mohammad: OK, thanks

Me: Is the situation getting harder for the people trying to immigrate from Afghanistan today?

Mohammad: Yes, the situation is getting much harder

Mohammad's Brother: Specially in Croatia, the European union has told them not to let the refugees stay, they tease you in the camps, they send you back to the countries already you have passed

Mohammad: Every border you pass, if they catch you at the border they will send you back to the

country you have been last there, for example if the Italian police catch you they will ask you where are you entering from, you will say Slovenia, they will deport you back to Slovenia

Mohammad's Brother: If they catch in Croatia, they will ask you where are you coming from, you would say Bosnia, they will deport you back to Bosnia, they don't know or care how is the situation in Bosnia, what you have been through to get yourself to the border, they will just send you back.

Me: Let's say what is roughly the percentage of the Afghan people, leaving Afghanistan today to reach where you are in Italy after six months?

Mohammad: It is very hard, they won't make it, it is only by chance, roughly it would be 30 percent but I doubt. Because they deport a lot, turkey deports, Greece deports, Iran Deports,

Me: But Turkey deport you back to Iran or back to Afghanistan?

Mohammad: Back to Iran

Me: So they won't send you back to the first level, they just send you back to the country you are already coming from, no matter your nationality?

Mohammad: Yes, But Iran will deport us to Afghanistan

Me: What if you enter Iran via Pakistan? They will deport you back again to Afghanistan or Pakistan as Iran has a border in common with both?

Mohammad: They will ask you where are you coming from, they will send back the ones from Pakistan to Pakistan and Afghanistan to Afghanistan

Me: So are there also Pakistani refugees trying to enter Iran?

Mohammad: Yes, all of the Pakistani refugees trying to reach Europe will have to pass in Iran

Me: So they won't come to Iran to stay or work, they will just try to enter to Pass and arrive in Turkey?

Mohammad: Some will stay in Turkey to work, usually not so many stay in Iran anymore, the ones they stay to go to Tehran usually

Me: Why do they not like to stay in Iran?

Mohammad: Because you earn a low salary

Me: Would you stay in Iran if you could obtain a reasonable salary?

Mohammad: For me myself I don't know; I'm going to Germany mostly to study

Me: You could have not studied in Iran?

Mohammad: No, because you have to get a scholarship from Afghanistan, my choice is to study in Germany, like you that you have chosen to study in Italy, it is a choice

Me: In general, how is Iran as a country to you?

Mohammad: We don't have very good memories of Iran, they teased us

Me: Has it always been like this, or it is getting worse through the years?

Mohammad: It is getting worse throughout the years, now it is much worse, they beat us, in the borders they sometimes shoot us

Mohammad's Brother: If you can get yourself to the city there are also good people, they will help you

Me: So is there a difference between how the local people treat you versus how the police or government treats you?

Mohammad's Brother: The people usually treat us good

Mohammad: It is the police that usually makes troubles for us and is not good to us

Mohammad's Brother: Wow the chocolate is too bitter, I don't like it (The chocolate was a pure fondant 98 percent)

Margherita: I know, it is too bitter, nobody likes it but I love it, because it is pure chocolate

Me: So the Major part of Afghan people are escaping because of Taliban or because of their economic situation?

Mohammad: Well you can find a job, there are a few opportunities, but you can only earn enough to buy some bread and other things that is it. You cannot save any money for your future

Me: Now that Taliban is governing Afghanistan the economic situation of the people has been worsen?

Mohammad: It has been worsening yes, it has come to zero

Me: How does it come that the new government has worsen the economic situation in Afghanistan?

Mohammad: The new government is new, not accepted yet in an international level, there are no

helps, the commerce and trading is firm ..., for example Afghanistan produces and sends it to different parts of the world, but know they cannot export anymore, because the government is not official yet, it has not been recognized, we don't have any president yet

**Me**: But the body of society has no problem with Taliban in power?

**Mohammad**: No, I don't think so, we don't have any problem with Taliban, important is that now the situation is calm in Afghanistan, there is no war

**Me**: What about the human rights, the women's liberty, the availability for women to study for example?

**Mohammad**: They gave us our rights, now women are permitted to study, if you have the correct Hijab you can study

**Me**: You don't have any problem with the fact that Taliban is a radically religious government?

**Mohammad**: It is good that it's a religious government, we like their government

**Me**: So there are only financial problems as a motivation for you to leave the country?

**Mohammad**: yeah, it is mostly the financial problems, there are no wars anymore for example, no killing, no rubbery

**Me**: Would you have liked to join Taliban and be a part of them?

**Mohammad**: If I could yes, I did not have the possibility to do it, as my father was working for the state, and soon after the Taliban empowerment they came after us to find us and arrest us, my father was a Capitan

**Me**: You did not agree with your father; you would have liked to join Taliban?

**Mohammad's Brother**: No we agreed also with our father, both of the governments are the same, they both would like to have the same concept of governing

**Mohammad**: Both of the governments are the same there is only some arguments about who has to be in power, they were not happy with Ashraf Ghani's collaboration with foreign forces to govern the country

**Me**: You agree with a religious governance?

**Mohammad's Brother**: Is that you don't like the Islam religion?

**Me**: I consider religion, any religion separate from politics and governance, I think one of the problems that we have in Iran, is that religion is mixed with politics, because they will lose their meanings each, religion is religion, politics are politics. You cannot miss use religion for your political aims

**Mohammad's Brother**: We don't want our women to have a presence in public without hijab, or chador, we don't want them with pants or … in public

**Me**: Why women should not be able to have a choice of how they can appear in public?

**Mohammad**: Because it's a command by Islam

**Me**: Why does Islam command this?

**Mohammad's Brother**: It has come in the Islamic books; they have told women to have a special dress code

**Me**: But what is the reason behind it?

**Mohammad**: Because woman's body is all enticing

**Me**: Why instead of woman covering themselves, men won't cover themselves, or man wouldn't control their gaze? The wrong thing about what you say is that for example I cannot say to my friend that has a white skin and a white face, you have to cover your face because looking at your white face makes me uncomfortable, you cannot put obligations on others because if your own comfort, even if there is something that makes me uncomfortable, it is me who will try to avoid it.

**Mohammad**: Because the right thing to is what is written inside Quran, what is written in Quran has to happen, and that is how an Islamic government function

**Me**: But don't you think if everyone of us with a certain nationality or religion trying to keep saying what my religion is commanding me is the right thing to do, and there is no other idea or vision superior to this, we can hardly coexist? I mean if we have the same mentality what is the reason that we come here to help you? For example; me as a Jew, with my religious beliefs instead of coming here helping you I can go to Israel and help the Israeli army and the other Jewish people, or Margherita instead can go help other Christian or follow the idea of the major part of society to be against immigrants. So you don't think even if we have a great concept of living as religion we have to still be open to others and other ways of living?

**Me**: My friend Margherita asks if you think she should cover herself with hijab too? Can a Christian lady with her own beliefs, be free not to use Hijab in Afghanistan?

**Mohammad's Brother**: By the last government they could, not anymore

**Mohammad**: Every government has its own rules to be respected, these are the current rules of our government now.

**Me**: Do you think every rule has to be enforced? Even if these rules are wrong or against human beings?

**Mohammad**: Rules cannot be ever wrong

**Me**: For example; decades ago, in Germany there was a law to arrest Jews, put them in concentration camps and kill them, do you think it is a right rule?

**Mohammad's Brother**: Maybe it was a right law by the time and for that specific country, it was not a good law for the people or Jews, but it was a good law for the country and its government

**Me**: For example, passing the borders unofficially as an immigrant without documents is also against the law of various countries that you pass, do you agree if these countries make you suffer or torture and kill you because you are passing their borders unofficially?

**Mohammad's Brother**: Yes

**Mohammad**: Yes

**Mohammad**: But there are differences between governments and laws, here there is democracy and liberty, everyone can act and be how they like to be

**Me**: Why don't you want democracy for your own country?

**Mohammad**: We don't like democratic governments

**Me**: If you don't like it, then why do you go to democratic countries and you like to benefit from the difference of their rules from you own government?

**Mohammad**: Even when go to democratic countries, it is not that we will have the same lifestyle as the people there, we are still respecting our rules, we are in our communities, we are not mixed with locals, we don't try to act like them or look like them or go in public with their customs (for women)

**Me**: I try to say when you go to democratic country as an immigrant, you can get asylum find a job or have some minimum rights, or me as a person staying in that country can come and help you, but it is not the same in non-democratic country, for example as you mentioned in some countries you can get killed in the border by police because probably there is not much of democracy in these countries, why don't you want this for your own

**Mohammad**: We don't want democracy, we want Islamic government, our people do not want democracy, they respect Islamic government. Even women want the Islamic government, there is nobody that wouldn't want it. Afghanistan is Islamic, there is no democracy.

**Me**: What percent of the people in Afghanistan want democracy and what is the percent of the people who don't want it?

**Mohammad**: I don't like democracy myself, I don't know what is the percentage but maybe a few want democracy, but I don't, I'm Afghan and I don't like democratic government, I like Islamic and religious government.

**Me**: Do you like to have some coffee?

**Mohammad's Brother**: No thanks, we just had some apple.

**Me**: Which were the cities that you passed to go through Iran

**Mohammad**: We came to Bam city (Kerman), then we found a smuggler that brought us directly to Tehran, it was a good new car

**Me**: Did you spend a lot for that?

**Mohammad**: In Iran you usually spend 120 US Dollars to enter, and then you will spend nearly 1200 $ for passing the border with turkey by a 11-12h drive. Then 1800-1900 Euros to arrive to Greece, then from Greece to Serbia you pay around 700 €, then you spend nearly 2000-3000 € to get to Italy

**Me**: In total how much have you paid till you arrive here?

**Mohammad**: We were two, we paid nearly 8000€ till Italy

**Me**: Is 8000€ an average price for two to arrive in Italy or is it the minimum

**Mohammad**: With 8000€ you can get to Italy if you are two.

**Mohammad's Brother**: Haven't you met Iranian people here? Haven't you asked them?

**Me**: It is only my third day here, the Iranian people that were here, left when I arrived

**Mohammad's Brother**: Ah OK, the ways are the same for everyone, no matter Afghan, Iranian, Arab, …

**Me**: Does this way of traveling, the hardship you see and living in camps together make unity and solidarity among different ethnicities to help each other and be closer to each other?

**Mohammad**: Yes, people try to respect each other, and treat each other nicer, you cannot disrespect others

**Me**: Have you ever been subject to racism in the journey you have been through because of your nationality, from the police or other immigrants?

**Mohammad's Brother**: No

**Mohammad**: No never, there was no miss treatment, they just deported us.

**Me**: Nobody has beaten you?

**Mohammad**: No

**Me**: Have you seen anybody getting beaten?

**Mohammad**: Yes, the Croatian and Slovenian Police beats immigrants, they take your phone, money, shoes and clothes, and they won't give it back to you

**Me**: But can you get back these things once again?

**Mohammad**: No, from whom do you want to get it back

**Me**: Have you ever seen if anyone in the middle journey gets tired and regretful of the journey that he or she has started so aims to return to his or her own country?

**Mohammad**: No, you cannot, if you have come so far you cannot go back.

**Mohammad's Brother**: It is a very hard journey and way

**Me**: If you have been back in Afghanistan now, would you have intended to the same journey now with the acknowledgment that you have about the way?

**Mohammad's Brother**: Me, Me no, Never

**Mohammad**: Me, If I was ought to do it, or I was obligated to do it because of avoiding a danger I would have come, otherwise no

**Me**: So what you thought about this trip before you commit it was much easier than what you experienced in real?

**Mohammad**: Yes

**Me**: Do you want to go outside and sit on the grass in the Refuge's yard under the sun?

**Mohammad**: OK

**Me**: What was the hardest part of your journey?

**Mohammad**: It was Greece, the border of Greece, because they have tough laws for immigrants

**Me**: What was hard about it?

**Mohammad**: They beat you, they make you take your clothes off, also they put you in quarantine for one day without anything to eat or drink, in a place that the toilet even doesn't function and it smells

**Me**: How do you feel now that you have arrived in Italy?

**Mohammad**: I feel very happy

**Me**: It means when the immigrants arrive here, they know that they will be safe and sound and the it would not be as hard again?

**Mohammad**: Yes, we are happy now because we can pass easily

as under 18-years-olds, we can go wherever we want, no deporting anymore

**Me**: You have scars on your hands, do you have pain, how did this happen to you?

**Mohammad**: I don't have pain, it is because we passed the jungle to arrive to the border, there were thorns and tree branches that we had to push away by our hands

**Mohammad**: There is only one thorn still stuck in my hand

**Me**: Do you need to see the doctor? Do you need if I give you some band aids?

**Mohammad**: No I will fix it myself there is no need

**Me**: My friend asks if you could have taken any Photos or videos of the violations happened in Greece?

**Mohammad**: No when they arrest you they take your phone and everything

**Me**: So how do you pass the Greece borders if they are so hard?

**Mohammad**: There is water in between Turkey and Greece, there are ships they bring you to the other side, some swim, some get drown

**Me**: How about the border between Greece and Serbia, how do you pass it?

**Mohammad**: This border is not as hard as the prior one

**Me**: So the hardest is from turkey to Greece?

**Mohammad**: Yes, there is water, police going around and control,

different obstacles to pass...

**Me**: Where do you catch you usually by this border? In the water or on the land?

**Mohammad**: When you arrive to the land through water, you still need to walk for six days

**Me**: How about the Iranian border, is it hard?

**Mohammad**: No, Iranian border is not as hard in comparison to the other ones

**Me**: Because the smugglers help you?

**Mohammad**: Yes

**Me**: Does it happen if these smugglers have accidents because of the high speed they have?

**Mohammad**: Yes, often, some years ago a car with all the passengers and the driver got fire, and all were burnt

**Me**: Are they allowed to shoot the cars also?

**Mohammad**: No, usually they don't shoot the cars, they just stop them

**Me**: Where do they shoot then, as you mentioned before that in Iran there is the risk to get shot?

**Mohammad**: Usually in the borders where there are the mountains, they lurk and they will shoot when they see people passing the border

**Me**: Are there people getting killed?

**Mohammad**: Yes, a lot, but Iran is still not a hard border to pass, cause when you pass they won't deport you again

**Me**: Where is the most dangerous border to pass in case of getting killed?

**Mohammad**: Bulgaria, because the police beats you with clubs and they don't really care where they hit you, they will beat you, doesn't matter if it hits your head or any other place, they also have dogs that they attack

**Me**: My friend asks if at the points you go there is police already waiting for you?

**Mohammad**: No, there are small villages that we have to pass through, the locals will see that you are passing, they report you to the police, that where they have seen you, and in which direction you are going, then the police recognizes where to wait us

**Me**: My friend says that if you want to help other people in the journey, its better when you arrive somewhere safe to write this and announce the things you have seen

**Mohammad**: OK

**Me**: Do the police care about who they beat, like do they notice children or women

**Mohammad**: yes, but for women they have a special police that indemnify them

**Me**: Would you advice any other people to come to Europe the same way you did?

**Mohammad**: I will tell him about the way and where he has to pass, but I will not advise them to do so, if they don't have any urgent obligation

**Me**: Did you have an urgent obligation to leave your country?

**Mohammad**: Because of my father that he was a captain, my own family is not in Afghanistan anymore because Taliban was looking for them they relocated to Pakistan

**Me**: Are they safe now in Pakistan?

**Mohammad**: Yes, it is safe for them there

**Me**: But your family did not have any problem with the Taliban government?

**Mohammad**: No, but Taliban had problems with us, they were looking for us to arrest, they came to our house

**Me**: Your father working in the government was totally ok with Taliban's government and he accepts it?

**Mohammad**: I was working in the government too, is not a question of acceptance, is that Taliban was unpredictable cause they were putting bombs or carrying in them, they did not let the former government too work in peace

**Me**: What was the reason that Taliban did not respect the former government of Afghanistan?

**Mohammad**: Because they said the government is too much dependent on US, and it was also a question of power

**Mohammad**: When can we have lunch?

**Me**: Soon, but just remember that your bus will depart exactly in one hour

**Mohammad**: OK then I will go to make a call before the lunch is ready

## Chapter Summary PT II

Albeit the current dynamics of irregular immigration are too extraordinarily convoluted to enable one to arrive at a determined position toward this global phenomenon or recommend a strategy, there might be some facets that are worth underlining as some kind of conclusion:

1- The irregular immigration—especially as the seeking of an asylum—has become a global phenomenon which bears more danger as time goes by and to the point of impossibility. This is due to the new immigration control strategies taken up by the governments in charge, and consequently, the peculiar economy this process brings into creation.

2- The process of irregular immigration is rather costly and time-consuming for the individuals who wish to follow these paths and reach their final destinations. Sometimes, these temporal or financial losses can cause long-term and irreversible casualties to this people, all the while that there might exist better remedies for both sides to invest the effort in.

3- All the attempts made by the immigrants to reach a specific destination still does not mean that the voyage is over. Even after their arrival, there are still complicated and time-consum-ing procedures to go through till one can obtain an asylum or citizenship. Unfortunately too, it is not set in stone that the response toward their asylum request would be positive. Based on my stay at the Massi refuge, and also on my discussions and investigations among the Iranian or Afghan immigrants, an individual remark that I would like to underline here is that not all of these immigrants are escaping a death-and-life situation when leaving their country. Rather, a considerable objective is merely seeking a better life; a better life means: free access to the educational system and different educational levels, a proper job with reasonable salary, and access to healthcare and other basic needs of survival. For instance, I can recall that a noticeable part of the Iranian immigrants usually came from poor cities or bigger cities' peripheries with no hope for attaining some normal conditions of a dignified life. They kept telling me that they would have never gone through this journey if they could have had a peaceful living where they lived.

A part of them were not even well-aware of the journey they had to go through and often regretted why they started it in the first place. Because once you start, it would be some-how impossible to return and not continue, since you remember that you have already invested a fundamental part of your funds and lost an important period of your life. And also, some claim that they have been hesitant to return as they were scared of others' judgment or rebuking over an unsuccessful trial. And lastly, one cannot always return by will if they do not have the sufficient funds to pay a travel back to their home country, they will just remain in the last country they could have arrived to. As an instance, if an Iranian immigrant gets deported in the border of Greece and Albania, they would not be deported back to Iran, but back to Greece, the last country that they were coming from.

Subsequently, there are certain questions that I'd like to inquire regarding the issues that have been discussed lately:

1- Is putting more barriers, more sternly controlled borders, or other similar and recent immigration policies practiced by different governments the most effective and constructive political strategy in favor of both sides?

2- Considering the enormous flow of funds and investment created by this phenome-non and the considerable time and effort spent by both sides, is it most economical and efficient to spend these resources in this fashion?

3- Would it not be more logical to aid these people in obtaining not all but at least some of the fundamental rights that they were seeking, the rights that might be the motivation behind their grueling voyages in their own countries or in any other possible ground in vicinity?

# Chapter Three

# Suburbing is the new Urbing

## The New Suburbanization Discourse

*"We have arrived in the suburban century or, better, in a post-sub-urban century where peripheral growth is the norm but that growth is vastly different from the kind of suburbanization we encountered in the second half of the twentieth century in North America, Australia and Europe. This is the age of the urban periphery." Keil 2017)*

The new discourse on suburbanization is a recent study that attempts to provide a new narrative toward this debate in contrast with the dominant narrative of it as a deviation from Urbanization. These studies attempt to shift the perspective from the traditional city/urban core perspective toward the "suburb" itself as a new phenomenon that will be an inevitable part of the process of the making of future cities. The scholars claim that in some ways, the history of urbanization has always been characterized by the outward diffusion of urban space and function from the religious-state-commercial-residential center (Keil 2017). However, the focus has been primarily on the "extension" factor, and not on the phenomenon itself or on obtaining a better and more profound understanding of it and its diverse dynamics.

The debate starts by reviewing the existing literature in the field, and also the related events attempting to address the underlying causes of some former perspectives in this domain. For instance, one of the mentioned narratives regards the notion of suburbanization by evidencing the varied incidents throughout the history of suburbs, mostly in the North American context, which while not the only unrivaled narration existing within the global suburbanization debate, seems to be the most dominant. Therefore, suburbanization in the global north is typically associated with the American "Picket Fence" single-family housing model in the periphery, which is intertwined with the other two paradigms of the time: the Post-Fordist economy and Globalization. Accordingly, the two events led to an economic privatization and witnessed a worldwide process of Neo-liberalization to come. An economic neo-liberalization that can find its spatial

form within the borders of suburbs while its final product can be considered a "Vulgar" type of urban development, that from time to time, emerges in phenomena such as supersized homes and strongly-guarded security zones. (Keil 2017)

Apparently, the term "Suburb" contains a considerable amount of social collective memory with it, which shifts its meaning in coordination with time and space. In other words, the population's perception of suburbia in India or Nepal, is different from that of Canada or the States, and it is also distinct from that of Egypt or Libya (Humphreys 2016). The perception is also dependent on time; for instance, different generations of people living in western parts of Europe have different perceptions of the same term. In addition, this diversity in meaning based on context and time is not only true in case of a general collective perception, but it also holds true when it comes to scholarship. There might be different meanings behind usages of the term, and also many other articulations of it, such as "Urban", "Metropolitan", and others, each within its different context. Subsequently, some scholars in the field of Urban studies have argued that the current terms and concepts existing in the discourse might not be comprehensive enough to address different types of urban life and urban ecosystems. Respectively, a more contemporary language that is more precise about the slight nuances between these terms in their respective contexts would be more appropriate (Humphreys 2016). That is while some try to re-investigate the existing notions and yet suggest newer perspectives regarding the same terminologies.

*"Much of what we will witness over the twenty-first century in terms of human settlement will take place in those areas in the world that have traditionally not been the location for the building of cities and the building of theories. This is perhaps the most important point. Non-central worlding practices now include strategic suburbanizations as part of a multilogue of inter-referencing in the Global South itself." (Roy 2011, 2015) (Mentioned by Keil 2017)*

The debate continues to place more emphasis on the notion that suburbanization is an inevitable form of growth within the global south and north, based on the fact that the urban cores of cities in the current day have transformed into static centers of capital and urban life, with almost zero tendencies toward any substantial transformations in different domains. Even in terms of urban morphology and architecture, these congested cores have turned into a "rarefied monoculture of condominium—dwelling creatives that operate in safe, sterile, predictable environments" (Keil 2017), not much likely to foresee any fundamental alternations in their current functioning systems in the first place.

Secondly, the fact that the newer generations or incoming immigrants often would not have the opportunity to afford the land prices or the cost of living in these regions has turned Ex-Urban into a sort of future of human settlement in developed or underdevelopment contexts. Immigrants are pushed toward the peripheries per force, it is where they might obtain better options and more freedom in choice on one side and the existence of the industries and varied agglomerations of economic activities in the periphery that fastens more opportunities to find occupations as sources of income on the other side. A future settlement that is yet very complex and controversial in its dynamics and inner relations.

As mentioned in the recent literature, "Suburban" is a term that carries a variety of various semantic connotations depending on its historical and contextual background, connotations often leading collective perceptions in its regard. The adverse perceptions that might be rooted in the modern history of suburbanization, industrialization, and capitalism, which have caused unfavorable marginalization from the urban core find their conformation in non-standard dwellings, ghost towns, dormitory cities, or slums.

These recognitions, however, are not always rooted in the history of this notion but in its reality, a reality that is often reflected by gated marginal communities, social conflicts between the native and the immigrant or immigrant and immigrant, poor facilities and conditions, and the like. Yet the debate remains as to whether these alleged unfavorable images are the outright reality of suburbs.

The importance of suburbs as a contemporary form of urban growth, coupled with the fact that it is one of the more common growth patterns, makes it crucial to obtain a wider perspective on the reality of this notion in a more comprehensive manner. It is true that suburbs might often come with a problematic history, but it is not said that their complex dynamics would stay the same and not evolve (Keil 2017), or rather to underestimate or ignore the role of these capital and population agglomerations as current productive and dynamic poles of cities bearing the higher economic growth in some cases (Ekers et. al. 2012).

*"Suburbanization is now a pervasive, open-ended, negotiated process of settlement in which neither success nor failure in the above register may be relevant categories of analysis and understanding. Instead, those suburbs that will now house and employ most of the globe's population will forever be different from the cities of the past, neither melt healthily into those, nor stand apart in pathological manner." (Keil 2017)*

The mentioned discourses do not construct a framework over the notion of suburbanization, for instance, they won't suggest if there shall be an ongoing process of marginalizing or gentrification in the future making of suburban; neither they foresee suburbs as the new promised lands for the future of human settlement, rather by these debates the only aim might be to further investigate this paradigm and its potentials.

Contrary to the perspective which posits successful suburbanization as the delivery of suburbs into the city, in other words when the suburbs would be able to become a part of urban tissue (Lefebvre 2014), the later viewpoint does not deny that the suburb could potentially become a part of urban in the future, but it does not look to it as a salvation. On the contrary, the assertion is that the city/urban context, caused by its density and congestion, as well as its history and inner relations, follows a much slower rhythm of changes and transformations, which renders it almost static in comparison with the context of the new suburbia.

To this extent the debate attempts to demonstrate the suburb as an elastic territory that has both its own negative and positive tendencies and deconstructs the former solely problematic and negative prospect that looked toward suburbanization as poor marginal settlements that are extensions of cities and are usually badly constructed and home to different social conflicts and crime.

Accordingly, the focus of this discourse is more on the future of suburbanization as one of the inevitable ways of further extension or development on a global scale and/or the new post-suburban era that we are going to face, and less on typical problematic past and present situations.

One of the other critiques of suburbanization that this perspective tries to reassess is the criticism of the unsustainablity of suburbs, which is usually based on considering suburbanization to be a form of urban sprawl, which is against density. Yet the question that remains to be asked is whether or not the only remedy toward more sustainable development is to focus on density and whether these strategies can be appropriate both for developed and developing countries (Angel et al 2010) (Mentioned by keil 2017)? Another consideration of this critique is whether the future of suburbanization will always follow the same unsustainable forms and morphologies that have existed throughout its history.

Another notion to be emphasized is that suburbs are the current probable loci of globalization and social mixité. As mentioned recently, one of the main reasons for suburbanization is its affordability for members of the medium to lower socioeconomic classes, along with the existence of economic opportunities. This means that suburbs are attracting and have attracted a considerable amount of population with different demographic, cultural, and or ethnic backgrounds who are going to reside in the same place. This phenomenon of cultural coexistence of multiethnic communities in the suburbs is also known as "Ethnoburbs" or "Globurbs". The mentioned suggests that the suburban everyday living is more about diversities than monotonous urban living.

*"The global suburb is –perhaps– less about dichotomous splits and more about multifarious connectivity, although often 'the social relations of global suburbs reinforce many of the same inequalities as in the traditionally segregated city' (Maher 2004: 804). They just do so differently. Suburbanization used to be a process of distance-making: classes, ethnicities, race, and so on. Now there is a partial reversal going on: Suburbanization turns into a process of adventurous mixing and reshuffling of the urban, while the city (as much as it still exists as a recognizable unit) becomes the rarefied monoculture of condominium-dwelling creatives that operate in safe, sterile, predictable environments."*
*(Keil 2017)*

This citation highlights the fact that globalization processes in the periphery often started with a sort of marginalization based on racial, economic, or cultural inequalities and differences. However, in the current era, the situation is changing.

This perspective looks toward suburbanization as a new paradigm that its great diversity is more about exploring new ways of coexistence and cohabitation rather than the former reasoning that considered the difference and diversity in backgrounds as the particular logic behind cultural and social conflicts, segregation, and gated communities.

There is no doubt about the fact that some of these negative consequences will stay intact with the making of suburbanization or still the initiative behind the formation of such settlements might lie in different inequalities, but it is also to consider that the dynamic context and the high contrast existing within this living pattern might be a ground for further adventurous experiments and experiences which turn into newer notions of urbanization, political economy, and urban-regional governance.

*"The suburbs are not just the future city but we can learn from the suburbs and their study something more general, the suburbs are, in fact, a composite of all urban forms as they age into a post-suburban complex." (Keil 2017)*

## Hypothesis

Based on the previous chapters and their conclusions, here the author is trying to propose a hypothesis that can be considered as a heuristic solution (according to the vast complexity of the situation) to the recent refugee crisis happening within the borders of Iran aiming for an outcome that will also improve the local living conditions in these zones.

We recognized in the first chapter that rapid uncontrolled urbanization has led to the overpopulation of the big cities in Iran. An overpopulation that because of lack of proper urban management and strategic planning has resulted in the general image of big cities becoming unordered, dense, crowded, and unbecoming places of living that bear different problems in terms of infrastructure, hygiene, traffic management, and so on.

More than that one of the significant consequences of rural-urban uncontrolled immigration has been the abandonment of valuable villages which has led to some facing absolute destruction and loss of a big part of their architectural and cultural heritages. However, the situation for the ones (primarily women and the elderly) remaining in these areas is extremely difficult. Most of the inhabitants of these regions are dealing with lack of proper and sufficient economic and welfare amenities.

However, the population continues to grow in Iran, which in turn causes further urbanization of various different regions. A process of urbanization that both occurs inside and outside of the borders of the big cities, sometimes as suburbanization and the other times resulting in denser urban cores. Denser urban cores which are not auspicious of more ecological and economically sustainable growth but on the contrary are adding further dilemmas to existing ones in the big cities. As some of this cities still do not obtain the capacity of the incoming population in terms of infrastructure, facilities and etc.

Fig.53. A series of aerial photos of less seen historical districts of Iran, Iran: Aerial Survey Flights | The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (2022)
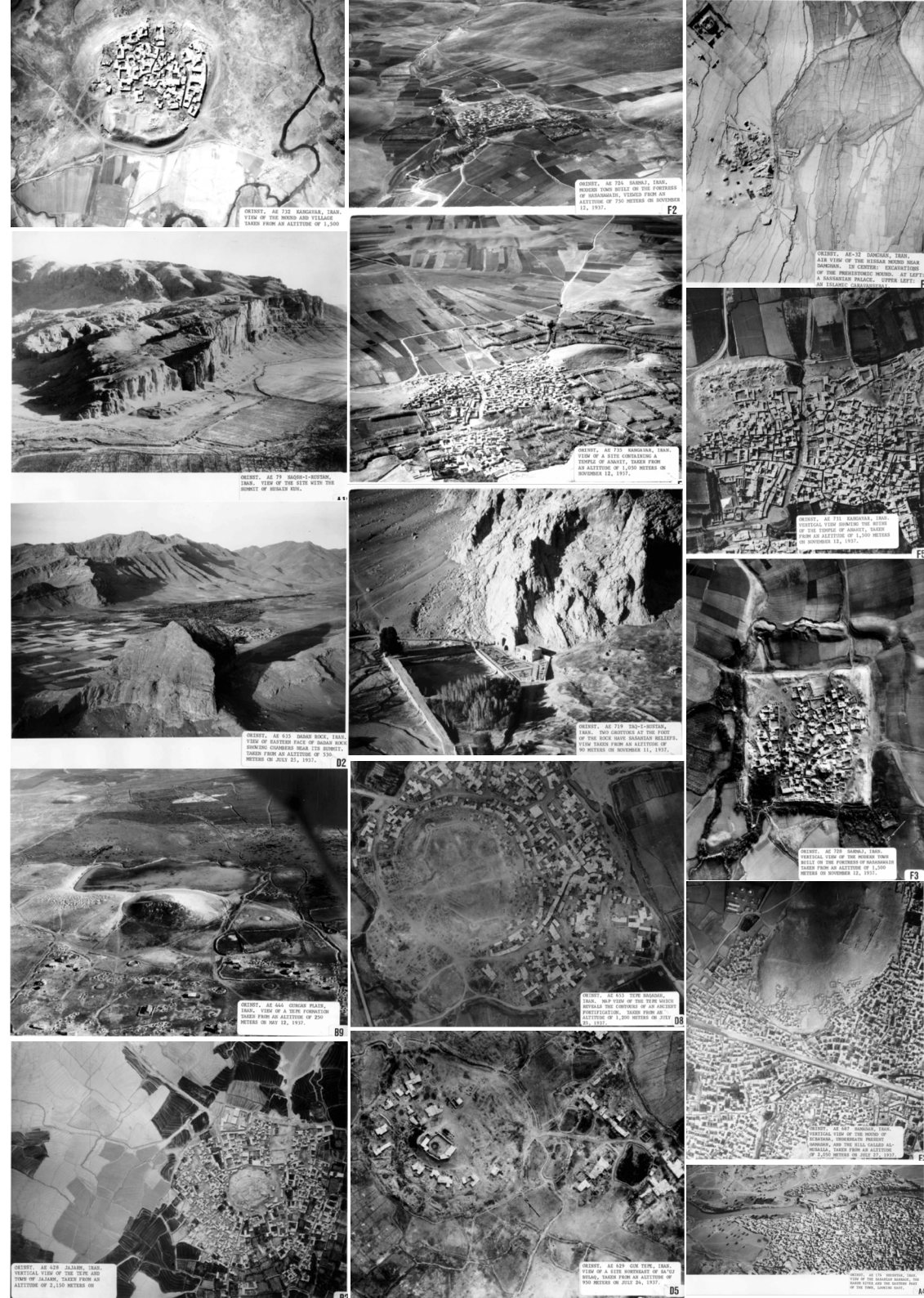
In the second chapter, we became aware of the new enormous flows of Afghan immigrants currently on the eastern borders of Iran, caused by the new Taliban invasion. We also found out that Afghan immigration in Iran has had a history of over 40 years, and these dislocations have occurred for a variety of reasons. The motivations have been different based on the time and the situation in both countries, from wars and rebellions inside Afghanistan to Iran and Iraq war, the flow of immigration has been contentious. However more than the events that have taken place, there have been some similar grounds between the two that had made Iran a favorable destination for Afghan immigrants mostly looking for a calmer life and a better economic situation. Similarities such as cultural vicinities, religion and language.

Nevertheless despite the long history of Afghan immigration in Iran and the dependency of the country to these immigrants, it is still evidenced that the majority of this group of people deal with official issues such as missing formal identity documents and certain violations of human rights. The mentioned together with the fact that the current situation in Iran has been exacerbated by the recent sanctions and different political and economic events, has transformed Iran from an emerging destination to more of a transit country as for arriving to Europe.

Subsequently a voyage starts that the only travelers of it are not Afghan immigrants but also Iranians who find their self in unacceptable living conditions and try to leave the country to reach a brighter future and a better living. It is important to note that a big part of these Iranian immigrants are usually coming from poor cities or bigger cities' peripheries with no possibility to attain some of the normal conditions of a dignified life.

Even-though the impetus behind these voyages are quite under-standable, it is not unwise to say that they are quite risky and getting more riskier everyday because of the new immigration control strategies chosen by the governments in charge and consequently the economy that it has created in itself by the both sides.

These voyages are hazardous, time and money consuming, and there is still no guarantee of obtaining a better living or asylum in case of a successful arrival. Immigrants spend an average of two or three years and a considerable amount of money (about 4000-5000 euros per person) to pass through different countries and it is not only the time and money that they do invest but sometimes their lives and mental health.

On the other side of these trial and error games, there are the governments that are trying to control their borders to further decrease the flow of these immigrations by investing in different immigration control policies or hiring different agendas. However, these attempts of putting more pressure on the borders have their own consequences as every day the smugglers or the informal immigrants try to find new ways to pass over these obstacles, and finding new ways or knowing them becomes a source of income for the people involved. Thus how these attempts or better to say "Games" get riskier and turn into a never-ending loop of trial and error by both sides resulting in a huge investment of money and effort.

Conclusively this dissertation is purportedly attempting to find further possible grounds that have the potential to host these immigrants along with giving them the possibility of better living conditions on the first sight and rethinking ways to invest the mentioned time, money and effort by them and also the international governments in a more productive manner. A proposal that will not only help the existing immigration crisis but also will further help building a base to prevent these hazardous events.

In the third chapter, we realized that urban sprawl and/or suburbanization is an inevitable global phenomenon that will form a considerable part of the future Urban landscape. The two main factors behind these kind of settlements were the contentious population growth which was resulting in further urbanization of different regions and the land price affordability together with more job opportunities in the periphery due to existence of industries and etc. for the newer incoming or existing generations.

Bringing the debate to a more local scale, the proliferation of urban sprawl has been a continuous process in making of cities in Iran as well which in some cases the growth rate of the cities has been more than the population growth rate of the same cities (central districts of Iran). (Ebrahimpour Masoumi 2012)

Accordingly suburbanization turns into an emerging phenomenon in context of Iran by the current era which seeks to be better defined, studied and addressed in order to gain a more favorable and productive outcome and avoid further negative experiences.

What this dissertation is putting forward as a proposal is further direction of these emplacements toward some of the same villages that were left abandoned according to the high pace of rural-urban immigration and urbanization process in Iran back in the time. The reasoning behind this orientation is the potential behind these locations to accommodate the incoming population as well as offering them more sustainable ways of living and economical activities.

Additionally these villages often bear a significant amount of cultural and architectural patrimony which not only can be sources of economical income (E.g. tourism activities) but also can postulate a sense of identity to the place which is rooted in the collective memory and culture of the inhabitants. The mentioned might also result in a better sense of belonging to the place.

The other important aspect that should be underlined in this context is the current flow of immigrants temporarily staying in or passing through these villages as safe places over the informal transits routes to cross Iran (Look at the schematic map provided in the following page), which the main reasons behind choosing these spots are the fact that they are deserted places with lesser risk of police control and the existence of the locals to aid the immigrants for informally passing these regions.

In light of the recently mentioned ideas and findings, in these districts which formerly suffered from lack of young inhabitants, in case appropriate strategies are implemented, a revitalization process can be expected based on the influx of new immigrants. Concomitantly the immigrants can settle down in these places to further avoid the risky and time and money consuming voyages ahead of them. Subsequently these villages can turn into new settlements that are integrating both the native and settler society.

However, to ensure the establishment of such ethnoburbs, it is crucial to have available the necessary economic resources to sustain community members' livelihoods, as well as the implementation of some primary facilities and investments as initiatives both for the incoming immigrants and locals.

One of the envisaged resources considered by this proposal has been tourism. Accordingly a schematic map has been provided that underlines the general routes that immigrants might go through to traverse Iran (desk research, interviews and personal observation) backgrounding the most touristic areas and cities in the country (primary research by interviews from different agencies accompanied with desk research) where an intersection of the two can be evidenced in the central districts of the country. This suggests that in the probable locations of high informal immigration traffic, there has been a significant capacity for local and international tourism which might fasten further economical activities in these districts by this domain. (Take a look at the map in the next page)

Afghan Migration Routes and Touristic Cities in Iran

**Legend:**
- Local Touristic Cities
- Local_Tour as percent of total
  - 10%
- Migrant_Route
- World Airports
- World Roads
  - Highway
  - Major road
  - Local road
  - Ferry
- World Railroads
- International Tourism

Map labels (countries): ARMENIA, AZERBAIJAN, TURKMENISTAN, TAJIKISTAN, IRAQ, PAKISTAN, QATAR, UAE

Cities in Iran: Doğubayazıt, Maku, Van, Tabriz, Urmia, Mahabad, Astara, Bandar Anzali, Chalus, Amol, Sari, Mashhad, Qazvin, Karaj, Qom, Sanandaj, Hamedan, Kermanshah, Ilam, Khorramabad, Isfahan, Birjand, Shush, Ahvaz, Yazd, Yasuj, Shiraz, Abadan, Kerman, Zabol, Zarani, Zahedan, Bandar Abbas, Kish, Chabahar, Saravan

Cities in Afghanistan: Sheberghan, Mazar-i-Sharif, Balkh, Konduz, Baghlan, Pol-i-Khomri, Maymana, Kalainow (Qual-e-ye-now), Bamian, Kabul, Jalalabad, Herat, Chagcheran, Ghazni, Terincot (Tarin Kowt), Farah, Qalat, Lashkargha, Kandahar, Chaman, Char Borjak, Zarang, Quetta

Other cities: Yerevan, Baku, Ashgabat, Dushanbe, Mosul, Baghdad, Kuwait City, Manama, Doha, Abu Dhabi, Muscat, Rawalpindi, Multan, Lahore, Hyderabad, Karachi, Jodhpur, Mashkel, Raja

Data attribution: Earthstar Geographics, Esri, HERE, Garmin, FAO, NOAA, USGS

As for a more specific research about the dynamics of tourism in this area, a case study has been chosen for carrying out a comparative study. The studied location is called "Fahadan" neighborhood (Rezaei 2017) which is located at the historic center of Yazd city. This area has been one of the most attractive parts of the city according to its outstanding architectural heritage for the foreign tourism and travel industry within Iran. The study has followed different methods to gain information from direct observations, participant observations and in depth interviews to recognize the consequence of ongoing tourism development in the zone. The interviews were conducted in October 2016, the period during which tourists grow in number due to the clement weather and the occurrence of mourning rituals in Muharram. The main questions that have been asked has been the following elements:

- The duration of residence in the area and/or the extent of familiarity with the historical area.
- Knowledge about recent changes in the area.
- Residents' perception of tourism.

Despite the fact that findings of this research can be controversial as they have been more based on the collective perception of the residents in this area and are less focused on some more specific domains such as urban sociological studies, they are in one way or another approved by other scholars studying the same area (Rastegar 2010, Rastegar, Zarezadeh and Gretzel, 2020). The mentioned point out both the positive consequences of tourism in this particular zone and later by the scale of city (which are going to be listed below) and also the negative ones:

1- Improvement in the physical and environmental quality of the old urban area due to the initiatives taken by the government and the private sector;

2- Positive social and cultural changes in residents because of communication with foreign tourists.
3- Increasing community awareness and pride toward its cultural and national heritage.

One of the other consequences that is not mentioned within this study but in the one by (Rastegar, Zarezadeh and Gretzel, 2020), is creation of new jobs for the locals, triggered by the WHS (World's Heritage Site) inscription by 2017. Jobs which were employed mostly by women as its mentioned "Tourism development provided opportunities for women who had previously stayed at home or worked in low paid jobs. Many more women are now working as chefs, shopkeepers or make handicrafts." as men already had paid jobs which were occupied with.

However, the significant impacts of tourism in this zone have been favorable for the residents, and have caused regeneration and revitalization of the urban fabric, some scholars claim that the policies chosen my investors and government have been more in consideration of tourist satisfaction and less toward the local community's preference which in longterm can result in museumification of the area, displacement of the native residents and commodification of heritage, resulting in a potential loss of authenticity. (Rezaei 2017)

Researchers claim to avoid the unfavorable consequences of tourism in such zones, the residents as one of the major stakeholders, have to be more involved in the decision making processes and the new interventions or activities regarding economical revenues have to be more respecting the local populations identity and culture. (Rastegar 2010) which is an important notion to be underlined regarding further investments in tourism domain in such contexts.

The other important aspect to be mentioned is that the role of the tourism industry as a source of income in this zone is limited, due to the fact that it is a seasonal activity, as well as the foreign relations of the country and the approval of this zone as a travel destination. Subsequently some alternative sources of income has to be introduced for the incoming residents to make them able to sustain their lives.

In addition to the significant amount of architectural and cultural heritages existing in these villages, some of these villages used to be fundamental parts of the province in production of crops and livestock. A production decrease has been observed, which can be directly attributed to the rural-urban immigration processes, as well as some natural phenomena, such as drought, within the zone which in the contrary did not lead to adjustment of the old methods of agricultural with more sustainable and newer modes of cultivation, but the techniques remained the same.

As an instance, my personal observation in the village of Saryazd was the case that the water supply has been rationed, and each farmer is allocated a share of the water (there is a public well and the shares are subsided based on the time each farmer utilizes the well) according to the amount of money that he or she pays. This makes it difficult for the ones with lower production and revenue to obtain enough water for their cultivation activities. This is while with the same amount of water using different watering systems (such as drip irrigation), the majority of the farmers can obtain their agricultural activities.

As mentioned before, these villages bear their specific cultural heritages, cultural heritages which find their representation in the traditional handicrafts and local products that were produced when the majority of locals were still residing in these contexts. To men-

tion some, one of the important crafts produced locally were tiles and ceramics which were and still are quite fashionable and famous in this zone because of the appropriate soil resources, other crafts have been rug and carpet hooking, pastry and etc. Regrettably by further industrialization of these zones and the rural-urban immigration most of these artifacts are rarely getting produced anymore or if they do, they are produced in mass quantities by the factories and do not obtain the same authenticity and value.

Howbeit these industries are creating permanent jobs in the periphery they would not put under question the preservation of these traditional handicrafts as significant tangible cultural heritages. More than that these artifacts have a great potential to be studied better for further innovations that might provide a better balance between the industry and local craftsmen.

According to the later mentioned potentials as sources of economic income for the inhabitants, one can say the potentials exist, yet for a better proficiency both for the new coming inhabitants which might not bear the same cultural background and competences to get directly involved with such activities and also for further innovations and adjustment of the classical methods that might not fit with the current circumstances and environment, existence of educational centers are crucial.

In order to let these ethnoburbs and settle immigrants come into presence, some key amenities should be established to not only attract different communities, but also for the residents to remain in these contexts even in case of future economical integration and further develop these places. (Alba et al., 1999)

In such order to lay a better foundation for the people living in these places, as well as those who will inhabit them in the future, some pri-

mary initiatives and investments should be considered. Investments that are not aimed for transforming these territories into value based property and land as a part of urban development policies by government or other organizations (Roy 2015), but aimed for providing a better living condition for the residing communities to integrate.

However, retrieving the proper sources of investment for the mentioned proposal might not stay inside the methodological framework of this dissertation. There have been couple of findings investigated by this research which might not sound inappropriate to be reemphasized as so:

1- The significant funds that are spent on controlling the informal immigration by international governments at the borders, as well as the money that immigrants spend in order to further turn over these obstacles or pass through them can be spent in alternative ways as the mentioned, which is beneficial for the both sides.

2- A part of the support that the Iranian government is receiving from the international organizations such as UNHCR can be granted toward such policies within the frameworks that are already established (for example: Solutions Strategy for Afghan Refugees (SSAR)). (UNHCR 2022)

3- New fund raising programs can be established both in global and local levels by better demonstrating the current circumstances of these people and the promising outcome of such programs both for the country and the society.

4- New policies can be set to encourage further public and private investment in these regions, firstly to better preserve the cultural patrimony that is in danger of being demolished and secondly for further partial revenue generation considering the inhabitants.

In the next section, a more in-depth case study will be carried out in one of the villages in this zone called as "Saryazd Village" in order to investigate different dynamics and possibilities in more detail.

SARYAZD
VILLAGE
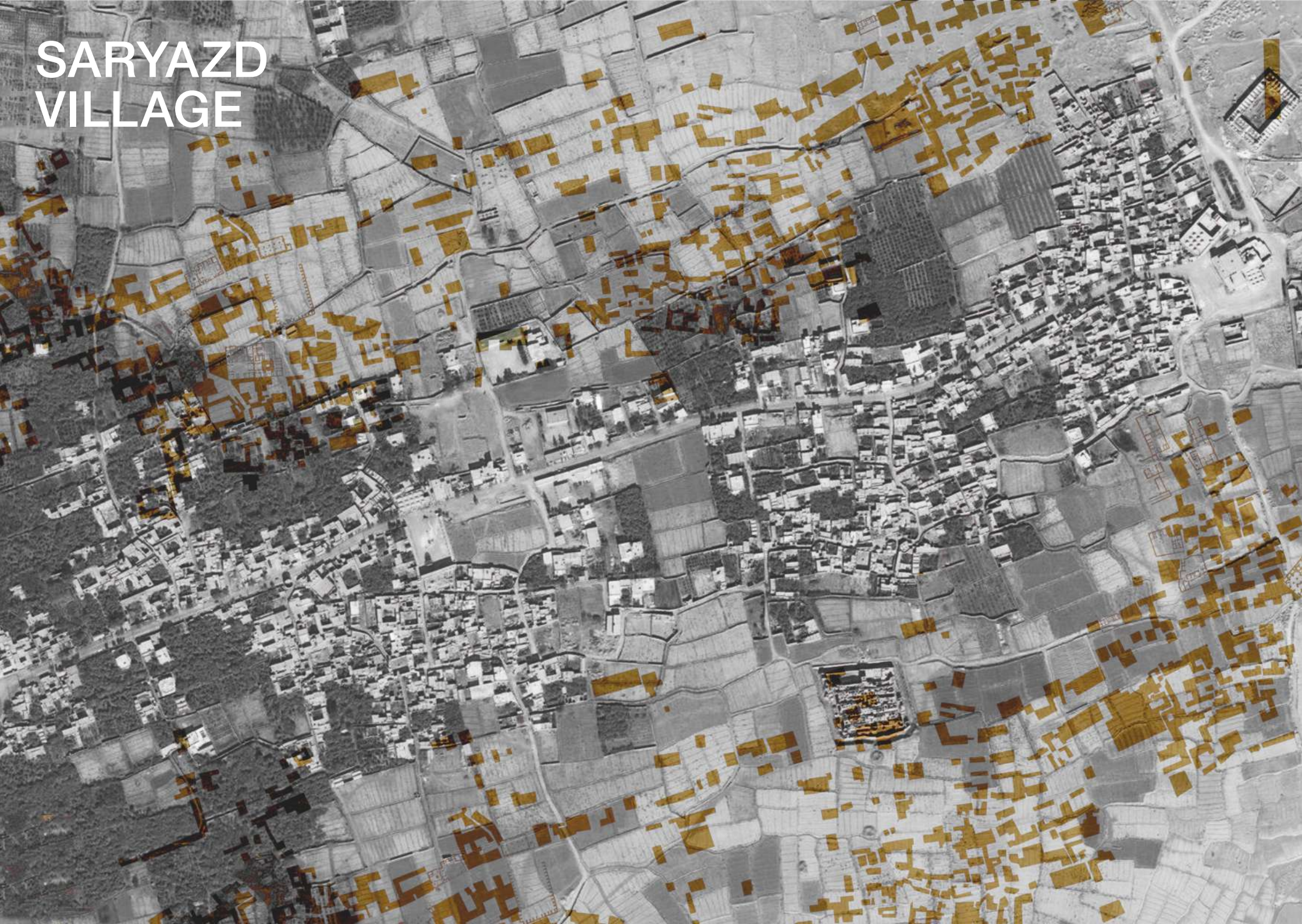
**Saryazd Village**

The village is located at central Part of Iran, about 25km from southern part of Yazd (capital of the province) and 5 km from Mehriz (nearest city in the county), bearing a population of roughly 421 individuals, in 141 families by the 2006 census. The village's situation is also nearby the ancient road between Yazd and Kerman which has had a major impact on the formation of this village.

500 m

Fig.54.Saryazd village from 500m, source: Behrah.com

The studied area can be considered as one of the most ancient settlements in the central desert region of Iran. From prehistoric petroglyphs of the "Arnan" mountain to Pre-Ashkani constructions in "Qarbal-biz" to Zoroastrian temples and funerary towers belonging to pre/pro-Islamic periods, all evidence the ancient history of settlement and the strategic value of this area in ancient times. (Riahi Moghaddam 2012)

200 m

Fig.55. Saryazd village from 200m, source: Behrah.com

Some acclaim that the village dates back to Pre-Islamic period in which by the invasion of Arabs in Iran, inhabitants of this village (Which was called "Farafar") and two other (Fahraj and Khavidak) unite against the foray and don't convert to Islam. However there are a few remnants of "Farafar" settlements, two villages are situated at its indicated position one is Saryazd and the other is called "Harofteh".(Riahi Moghaddam 2012)

## Development Pattern

The village follows a linear development pattern and its recent expansions have been mostly toward the main highways passing near-by (Santo Road), there is a main road crossing the vil-lage and dividing it into two parts (Southern-Northern), The main road branches into secondary streets and alleys that find their way in more congested housing tissues, some are only pedestrian as the existing length makes vehicular transportation im-possible, although most of the newly built secondary streets are wide enough for one car to pass at the time.

The current general pattern as described above is out-lined as the main road in the middle followed by lo-cal dwellings and different buildings in the both sides followed by fields, farmlands and gardens, further followed by barren lands and desert.

The village used to have a green and vivid physiog-nomy which is reduced by constant years of drought and lack of water resources.



1 First Development Phase
2 Second Development Phase
3 Third Development Phase
4 Fourth Development Phase

Fig.57.Saryazd village Development phases, source: Riahi Moghaddam (2088), Redrawn by Author
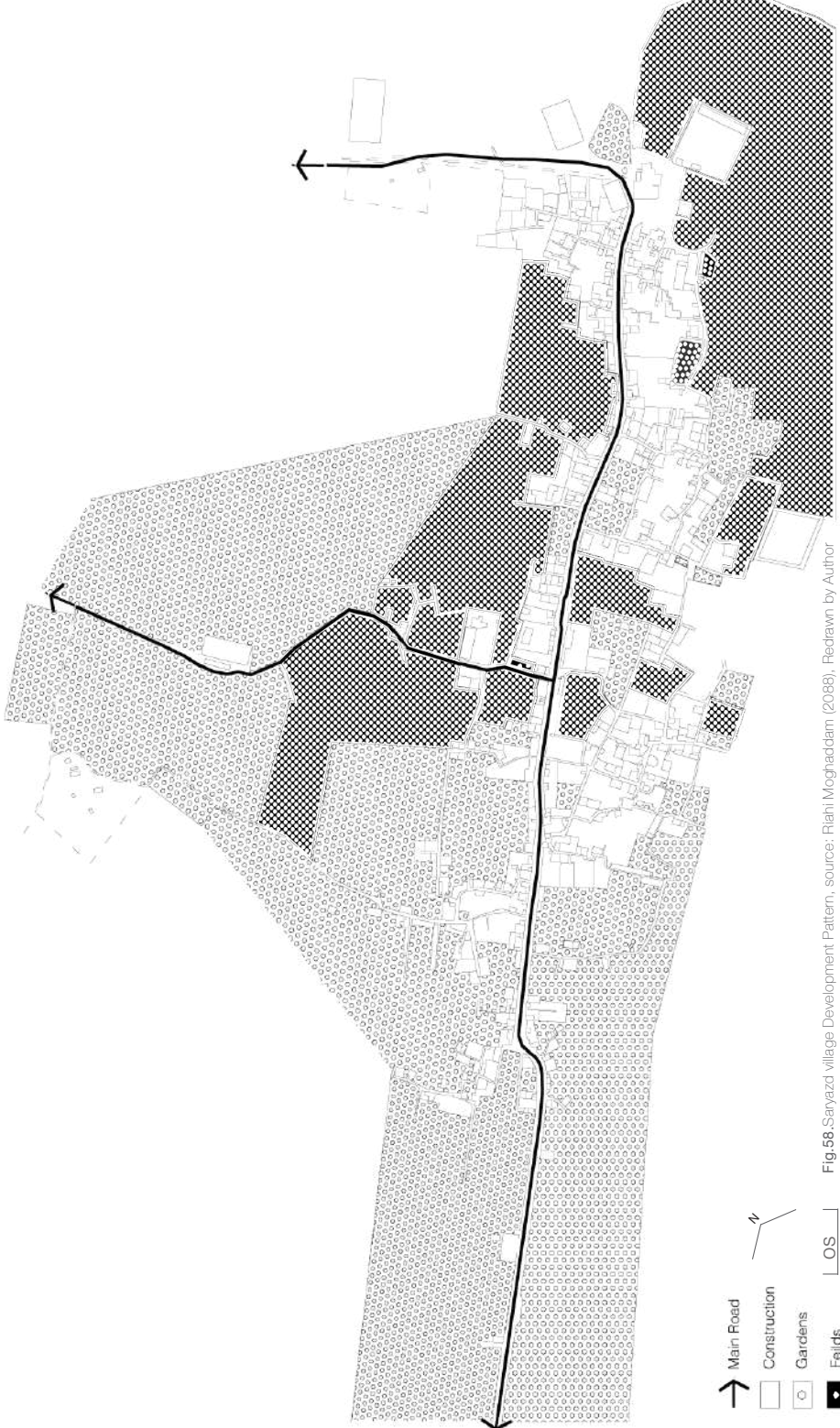


Fig.58.Saryazd village Development Pattern, source: Riahi Moghaddam (2088), Redrawn by Author

Main Road
Construction
Gardens
Feilds
OS

## Development Factors

Despite the village's long history and lack of evidences to obtain a clear idea about the exact reasons behind formation of the village, there might be couple of major factors affecting the development and extension of this zone further explained:

### Ancient roads passing the village

One of the principal factors toward formation of this village is its situation in correlation with famous ancient trade and transportation routes, such as the spice road, Yazd-Kerman road and Rey-Kerman ancient main road. Rey-Kerman ancient road was a great caravan route that passed from Rey region to Qom, Kashan, Natanz, Ardestan, Naein, Oqada, Meybod and from there to Yazd, Kerman and continued to eastern borders of Iran, which led to the formation of service facilities, exchange centers and road complexes such as mills, castles, caravanserais, water storages, printing houses, Yakhchals (an ancient type of ice house that functions as an evaporative cooler.(Wikipedia 2020)), etc. in these regions. (Maher et al 2013) Saryazd village is the first stop by the Yazd-Kerman ancient road, the caravans taking this road used to pass Fahraj and Harofteh villages and make their first stop in Saryazd as an accommodating spot to repose. (Riahi Moghaddam 2012) That might be the reason for the two existing caravanserais in the village. One is called "New Rabat" which dates back to Safavid Dynasty and the other which is called "Old Rabat" dates back to Muzaffarid period. Further the caravanserais after Saryazd are "zeyn-al-din" as the second one, "Kermanshahan" as the third one and "Shemsh" as the fourth one before reaching Kerman. (Riahi Moghaddam 2008)

Being located near the principal trade and transportation routes together with the importance of this situation in the bigger scale as one of the most central ancient parts of the country, have caused plenty of invasions and ravages by different tribes and dynasties such as Mongols or Mazdakians in this zone. Thus why **security** becomes an important aspect in the structure of formation of these villages along the route and also why Saryazd and other villages of the kind often have a fortress to be utilized in times of danger. However in case of Saryazd the fortress not only plays a significant role as a safe place but also it has a probable contribution toward further development of the village and some of the neighborhoods (Mian (middle) neighborhood) in its vicinity. The greatness of this fortress is also an evidence of the popularity of this area in ancient times. (Riahi Moghaddam 2012)
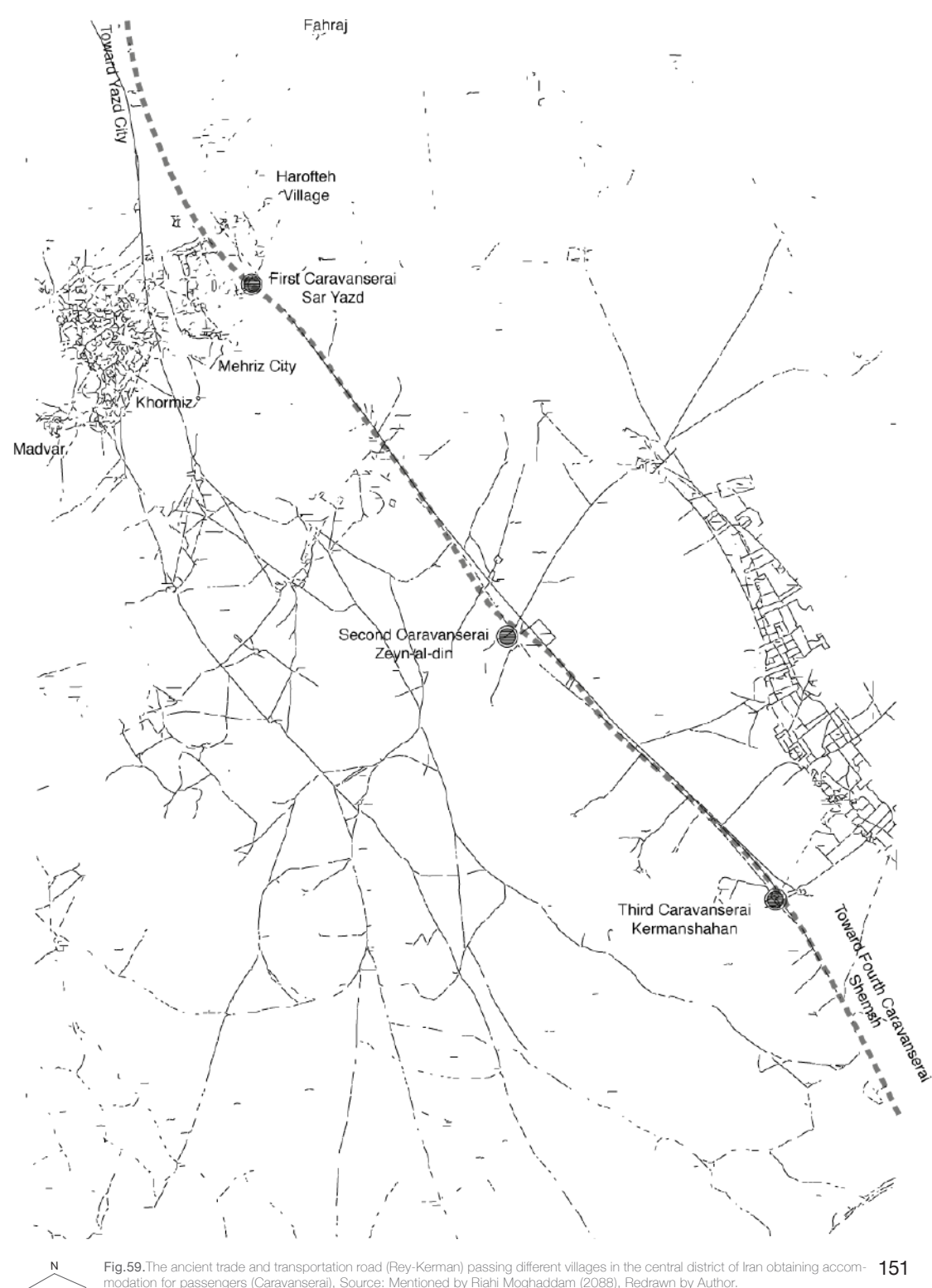


Fig.59.The ancient trade and transportation road (Rey-Kerman) passing different villages in the central district of Iran obtaining accommodation for passengers (Caravanserai), Source: Mentioned by Riahi Moghaddam (2088), Redrawn by Author.

Legend:
- Down Neighbourhood (Sofla)
- Middle Neighbourhood
- Up Neighbourhood (Olia)
- Up Neighbourhood's Subdivions

**Fig.60.**Saryazd village Neighborhoods, Source: Riahi Moghaddam (2088), Redrawn by Author

1:1000

Old Rabat

New Rabat

Main Mosque

Chapar-khaneh

Saryazd
Fortress

## Water Resources

According to investigations, the main factor in the formation and developments in Saryazd village like other settlements have been water resources. As water is essential both for the everyday living of the inhabitants and yet for further activities such as agriculture and etc. The village's main water supply was a permanent spring named "Madvar" which is not permanent anymore, has turned seasonal and its water is not conducted to Saryazd anymore. Some claim that the existing main road which is dividing the village into two was formerly where the rivulet emanated from Madvar spring passing the village toward Fahraj village crossed. (Madvar is a mountain located at the southern part of Mehriz city) (Riahi Moghaddam 2012)

Later on because of lack of water capacity of the spring or other reasons the water was not coming to Saryazd anymore which turned out to be a reason for the locals to dig aqueducts (Qanats) to provide the necessary water for agriculture and daily use. Access to the water for the inhabitants was provided by the water reservoirs (Abanbar) usually located in the main road of the village or rather some houses had direct access to subterranean water by the wells inducted usually within their yard by the entry.
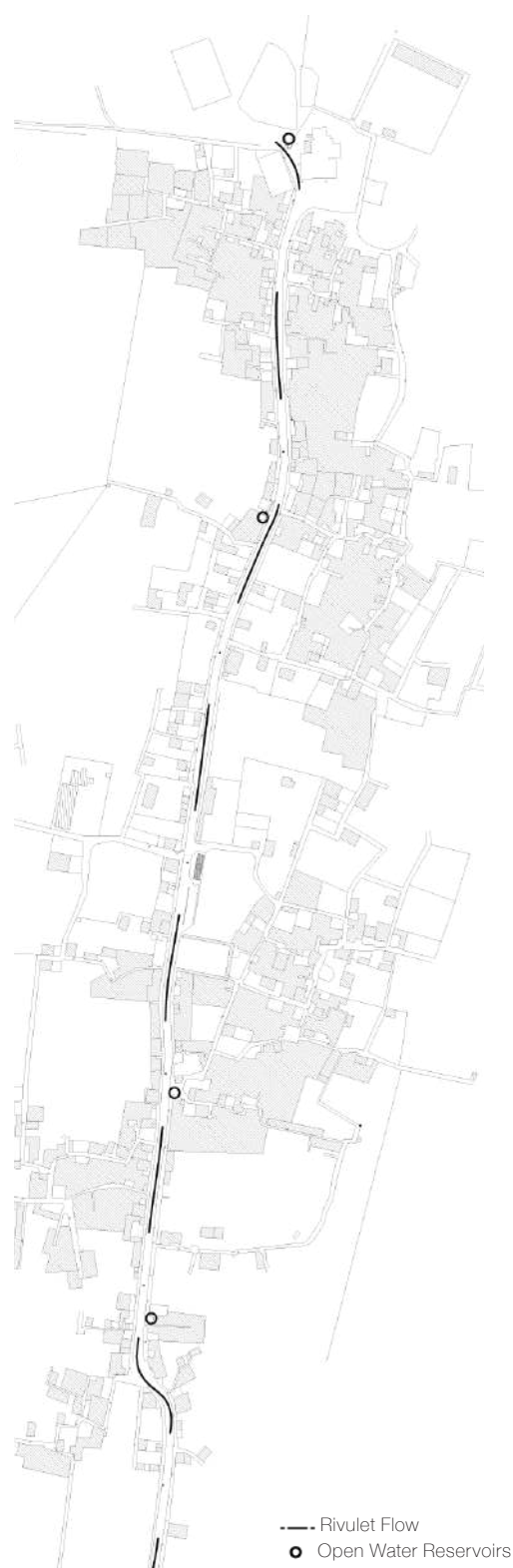
## Defensive and Protection systems

As mentioned in the previous section, the village is located in close proximity to several significant ancient trade and transportation routes. This is one of the reasons for the existence of various caravanserais within the village, which served as hostels for travelers.

More than that being located in such a strategic geography with high traffic of goods and passengers has caused the village to confront forays or conquests from different groups or tribes on a regular basis.

This is one of the reasons behind the existence of the big ancient fortress in the village. Accordingly, this fortress was the safest place to be in case of onslaughts, and in these times, most of the village's population would have normally taken shelter within the fortress to be safe from the enemy. However the fortress was also later on utilized as a safe box for the passengers to leave their precious goods or for the villagers to keep their purveyances and food supply.

Subsequently, the distance from the fortress has also been a significant locus in the development of the primary core of the village. As apparent, the historical core starts from the vicinity of this fortress and it goes on to other directions to create the recent neighbourhoods. (Riahi Moghaddam 2008)

- - - Rivulet Flow
o  Open Water Reservoirs

Safavid & Pre-Safavid Construction

Safavid - Qajar Construction

Qajar Construction

Qajar - Pahlavi Construction

Pro-Islamic Revolution Construction

Fig.62.Saryazd village Construction History Schematic map, Source: Riahi Moghaddam (2088), Redrawn by Author

## Construction History

The studied area can be considered as one of the most ancient settlements in the central desert region of Iran. From prehistoric petroglyphs of the "Arnan" mountain to Pre-Ashkani constructions in "Qarbalbiz" to Zoroastrian temples and funerary towers belonging to pre/pro-Islamic periods, all evidence the ancient history of settlement and the strategic value of this area in ancient times. (Riahi Moghaddam 2012)

Some acclaim that the village dates back to Pre-Islamic period in which by the invasion of Arabs in Iran, inhabitants of this village (Which was called "Farafar") and two other (Fahraj and Khavidak) unite against the foray and don't convert to Islam. However there are a few remnants of "Farafar" settlements, two villages are situated at its indicated position one is Saryazd and the other is called "Harofteh".(Riahi Moghaddam 2012)

There is a lot of diversity in terms of construction periods and architectural patterns in Saryazd village. The oldest residential spaces that have been studied and researched preliminarily are thought to be from the Ilkhani period. The available spaces have been altered through interventions at different periods, but by examining the type of building materials used, the construction method and the form, it is possible to make some inferences about the original state. Based on surveys and studies, there are few examples remaining from the Safavid period, as constructions belonging to this period are often destroyed. Most of the valuable buildings in the village are from the Zandiyeh and Qajar periods.

Based on the surveys done in this village, the primary inhabitation core is likely near the caravanserai (Between Farafar gate and old Caravanserai) area, with mostly residential constructions. There have been inhabitants living here, and their continued existence in this part of the village has been going on until the first Pahlavi period. According to the pottery obtained from the residential spaces of this part of the village, the primary nucleus can be attributed to pre-Islamic times and its development to the Seljuk and Ilkhani periods (4th to 9th centuries AH). The most significant and prosperous time in the history of the village has been during the Safavid period, as demonstrated by the abundance and variety of pottery we have obtained. (Riahi Moghaddam 2012)

# HISTORICAL TISSUE

**Historical Tissue**

Regarding the history that was mentioned lately, it is evident that this village in particular and this region of the country in general is one the most ancient settlements in Iran.

A location that has been one of the key spots in the intersection of different trade roads which has rendered its geopolitical importance higher for different dynasties to rule over the country. Thus one can observe different architectural styles that represent the various dynasties and historical periods existing within the historical texture of this village.

However due to the recent depopulation of the more rural districts in this zone (Rural-Urban Immigrations) and also the negligence and inattention of the local government and organizations in charge of preservation, a significant amount of this valuable architecture patrimonies are decade and some even lost or in danger of loss (Take a look at the map in the next page).

Some recent restorations attempts can be evidenced in some parts. There has been one of the village's residents whom has got a permission from the government to privatize some of the significant historical buildings (such as the fortress, the caravanserais, chapar-khaneh, sanam-bar mansion and etc.) further planning some touristic long-term plans for private revenue. Nevertheless the interventions attempts made are a bit controversial in case of the universal standards to treat these types of old construction.

Newly Built

In need of Preservation

In need of Restoration

In need of Demolition

N

1:10,000
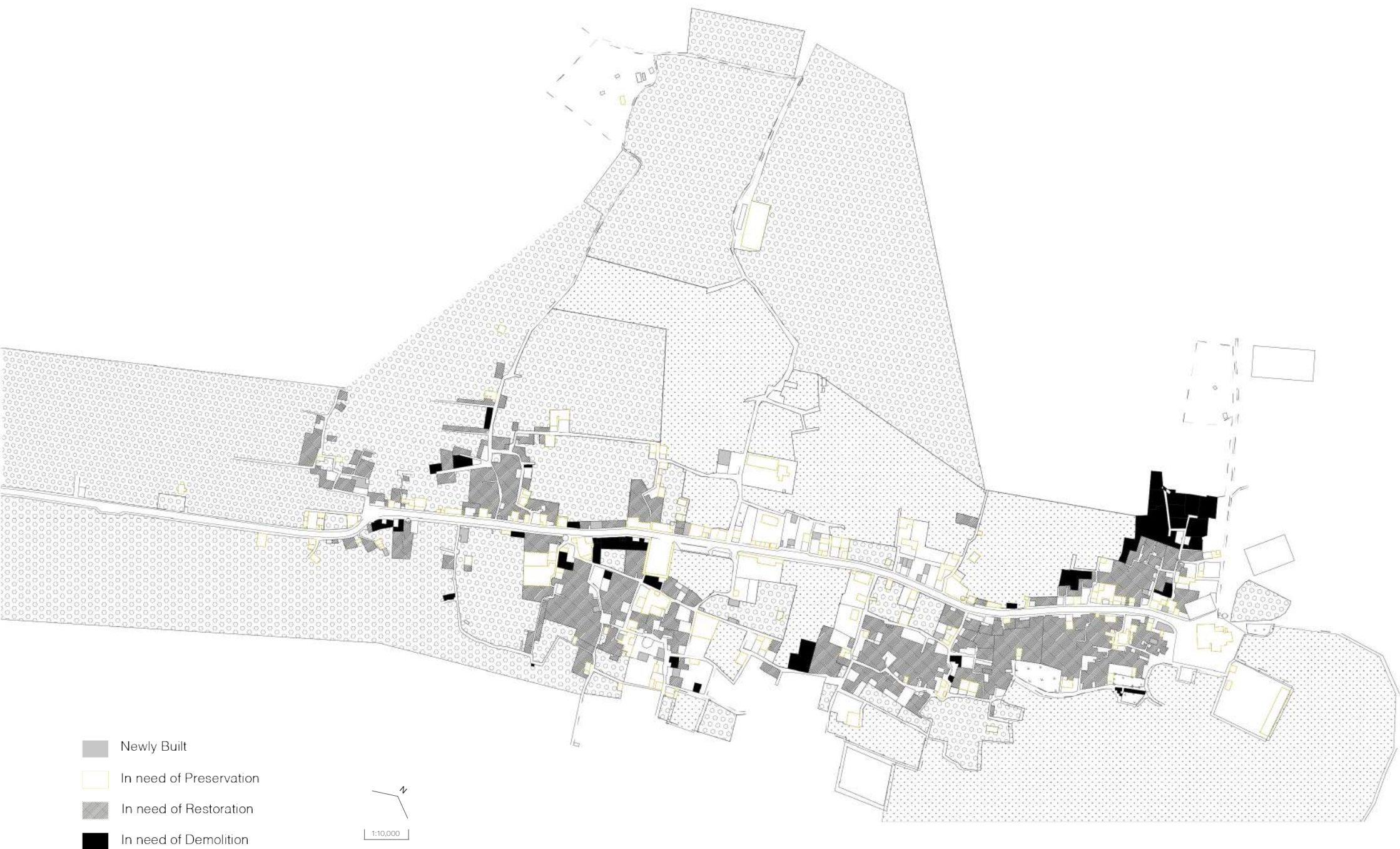
Fig.64.Saryazd village Buildings status map, Source: Riahi Moghaddam (2008), Redrawn by Author

According to the demonstrated map a considerable percentage of the historical constructions in this village are in need of urgent restoration. There is a small fraction that might not bear the minimum stability required and conditions to be restored and thus the demolition strategy is mentioned. Nevertheless demolition can also find its way in new ways of intervention that might still preserve some parts of these construction that rely with their identity.

On the other hand, the structural integrity of many of the historical buildings is quite good, they just need better preservation. Some new constructions can also be identified, which usually are not very much in harmony with the older buildings.

It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to propose a general or specific restoration or preservation strategy for this village and rather it is not the main aim of this proposal to enter the mentioned level of details. However the author attempts to more precisely clarify the existence of the historically valuable buildings in the following pages main because of three below mentioned reasons:

Firstly, as this proposal is aiming for coexisting strategies in which the inhabitants bear different cultural backgrounds and accordingly different expressions of cultural or historical heritage. It would be necessary to safeguard the existing patrimonies avoiding the risk of any probable loss, decay or demolishment. As there have been some cases in which not taking the necessary preventative measures have resulted in the loss of cultural heritage or the demolition of it by the new incoming inhabitants. (Rastegar, Zarezadeh and Gretzel, 2022)

Secondly the existence of varied and significant heritage sites highlights the potential for increased economic activity by local residents through tourism. This is auspicious for further economical stability and sustainability of the residing communities.

Thirdly, as this dissertation is going to propose some architectural projections for the basic needs of the incoming residents in more architecturally contemporary language. It would be crucial to study the existing architecture of the context yet to respect the existing context in terms of new construction and be more in harmony with the local modes of architecture, yet to profit from the existing vernacular and ecologically sustainable construction techniques which the locals have profited from more than thousands of years living in one of the most desertic and arid areas of the country.

Valuable Residential Architecture

Residential Architecture

Farming

Arboretum

1:4000

Fig.65.Saryazd Village Historical Tissue, Source: Riahi Moghaddam (2008), Redrawn by Author

**Legend:**

Valuable Residential Architecture

Residential Architecture

Farming

Arboretum

1:4000

Fig.66.Saryazd Village Historical Tissue, Source: Riahi Moghaddam (2008), Redrawn by Author

## Residential Architecture Texture

The position of the houses in the site are varied based on different factors including climate, duration of sun radiation, wind directions, and type of soil of the location. Due to the several interventions in the residential tissue of the village there is no particular pattern or orientation that the residential architecture is following.

However in general there are two main types of orientation and positioning existing. The first group of houses are the ones that they are built in direction of Northeast-Southwest (Roun-e- Rasteh) which are mainly existing in the Bala (up) neighborhood. The second group of houses have a Northwest-Southeast (Roun-e-Esfahan) orientation which mostly are newer constructions located in the Payeen (Down) neighborhood.

The type of housing architecture is usually based on traditional Persian house model (better explained in the next page) with a courtyard in the middle dividing the house into 1-4 parts. The houses can be divided into different parts according to the need of the property owner. The usual middle class (farmer) houses are made up of one or two units, one on each side of the courtyard. This is while the upper class houses often tend to have three or four parts with the courtyard in the middle. There is also a rare type of housing which consists of one mansion in the middle of a garden or a farmyard.  (Riahi Moghaddam 2012)

## Architectural Vernacularity

The courtyard housing model is the typical architectural model used in this village, which is likely a result of the village's location in a region with very hot summers and very cold winters. As this formation is an introvert formation that minimizes the heat and energy conduction with outside. (Better explained in the next page)

The usual material used for construction is rammed earth and adobe bricks which is coming form the construction sight as the existing soil is very convenient to provide the building and construction materials. Most of these old houses were man made constructions which offer a devastating architectural morphologies according to the flexibility and plasticity of the construction materials.

The structural techniques are based on arches and thick load-bearing walls, which help to reduce heat conductivity. The thick walls on the outer side of the buildings and the narrow alleys between the houses create pleasant temperatures by the shading and wind flow that exist within the housing texture of the village both in summer and winter. There are some particular architectural elements (such as windcatchers or nakhl) in this zone which might have cultural or climatic motivations behind them which are going to be studied later on.



Fig. 67. Different formations of building orientations according to the climate and north, Source: Riahi Moghaddam (2012), Redrawn by Author
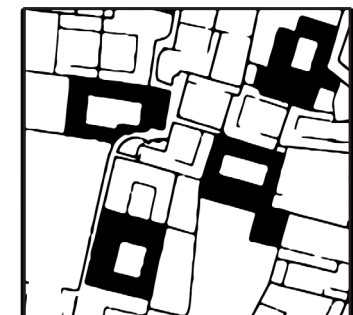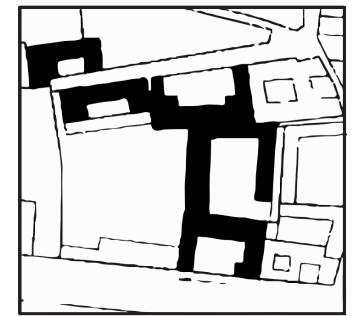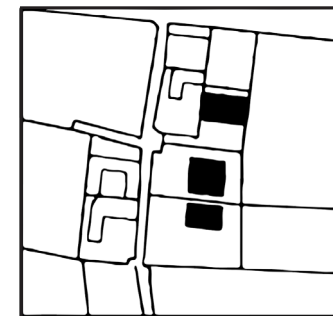
## Traditional Persian House

The Traditional Persian House is a remarkable represender of not only Persian architecture but also the Persian culture and habits during 17th to 20th century. Although the primary traces of this kind of architecture and the origin of some of the existing elements in the regular pattern of this kind of housing dates back to thousand years ago; The mentioned period is considered as if within this era this entity gets flourished and publicly recognized with the influence of Islamic culture as the main type for housing in the context of Iran.

These houses are well thought in terms of climatic aspects as one can note the different architectural strategies that have been considered to adapt diverse micro-climates within Iran. Moreover interior circulation, consisting spaces and the relation within them, the type of facade, openings and etc, are a perfect mirror of the Iranian society, their beliefs and the existing social stereotypes.

Climate-wise the choice of materials used in the construction of these houses are vernacular materials found within the vicinity of the site of construction that accordingly can provide the most sustainable and responsive choice according to the climate of the context. Furthermore the organization of the spaces as a courtyard house divides the living spaces in 4 different fronts that can be chosen by the user to occupy in relation with the season and the temperature appertaining to the
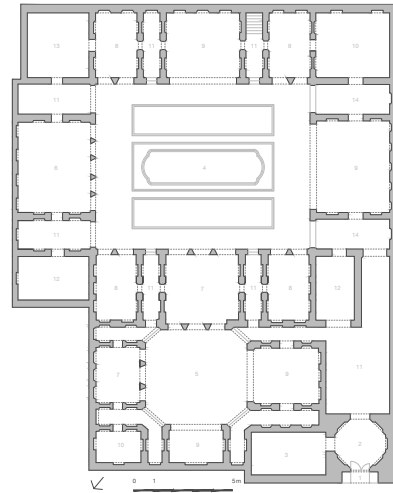
position of the sun in the sky.

The other interesting aspect that is thought in these houses is the position and the placement of the house on the ground. The level of construction (Hight from the ground) is meant to be one of the key elements to change when it comes to consisting spaces, differentiating the privacy of the space and its climatic features. As its evident the more the house is deepen in the ground, the more it is isolated from the outside temperature and climatic conditions. Thus why its seen in certain type of these houses belonging to different regions the so called Winter-Summer staying rooms, are dug deeper in the ground. Yet when it comes to privacy hight is an important feature to create sight over or under spaces upon each other and the relation between public, private and semi-private are quite well determined by playing with their hight.



**C:**Closed S p a c e

**O :** O p e n S p a c e

**S/O:**Semi O p e n S p a c e

Accessibility
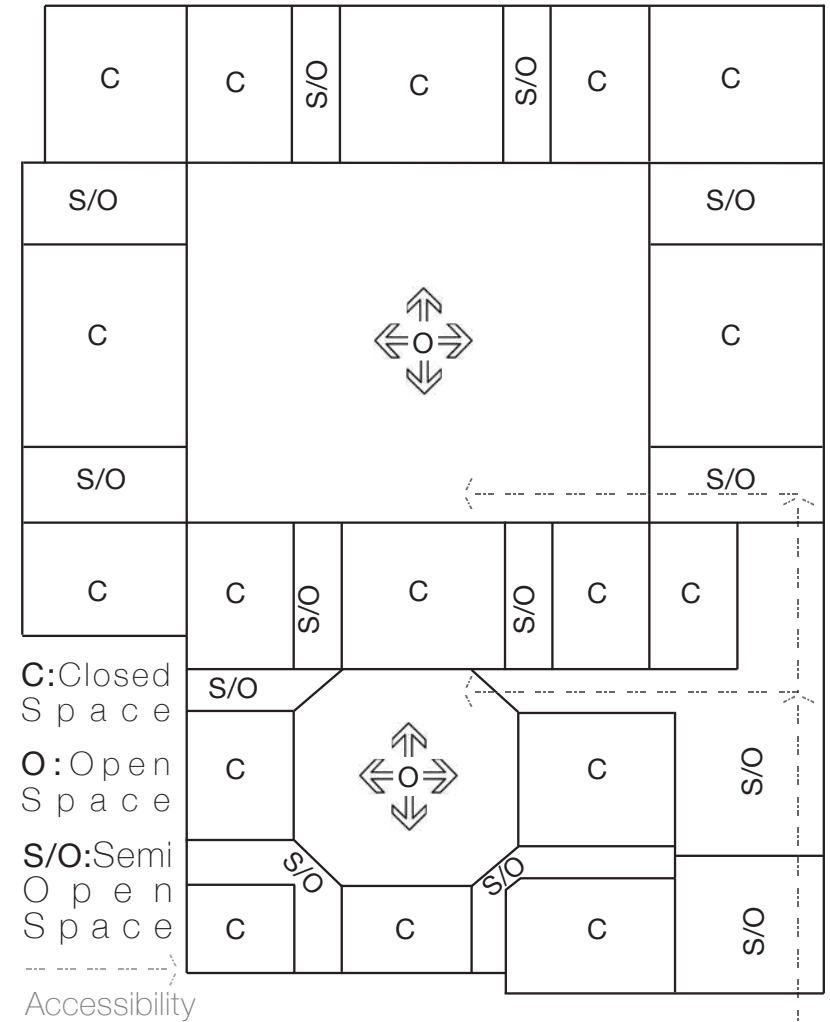
Traditional Persian houses are consisted of a vast variety of spaces in terms of dimensions, uses and open or closeness . The usual pattern is a rather big open space in the middle and closed or semi-open spaces surrounding the open space (Courtyard), which helps the complex in ventilation and create amusing scenes by the way light is entered in different spaces rendering some more exposed and brighter than the other. The pattern of the use of spaces are usually placing the main space in the center of the surrounding spaces around the courtyard and the servicing or secondary spaces are often located in the corners and angles.
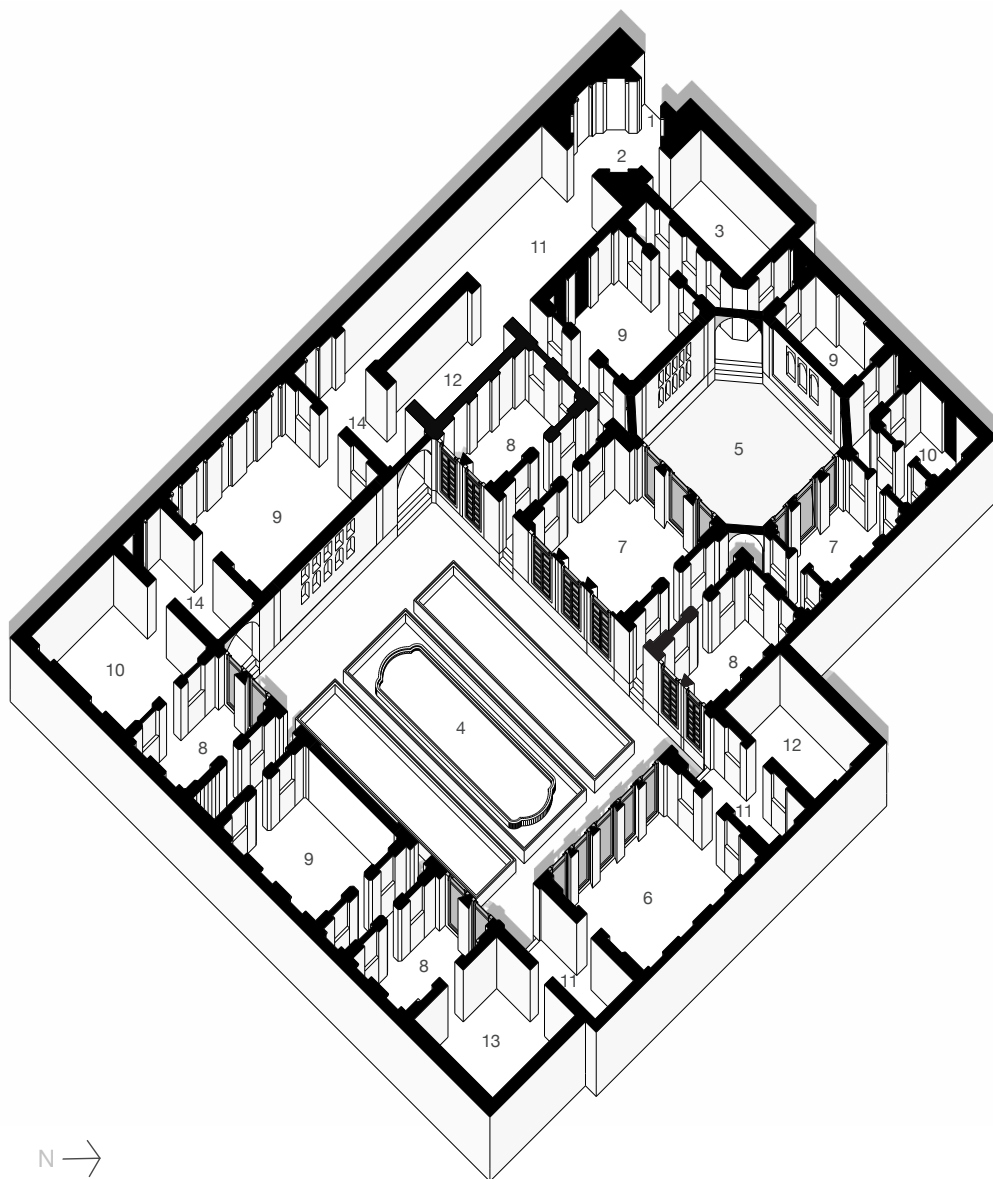
Fig.68. Sectioned 45-45-45 Axonometric Grand Floor Plan of valuable house number 3 in The Historical Texture Drawn by the Author

N →

LEGEND

1- Entrance

2- Vestibule

3- Stable

4- Main Courtyard (Andaruni)

5- Secondary Courtyard (Biruni)

6- Panjdari

7- Sedari

8- Dodari

9- Talar

10- Room

11- Corridor

12- Store

13- Kitchen

14- Takhtgah

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### Traditional Persian House Formation and components

As mentioned the traditional Persian house is consisted of a good variety of spaces which each can have a different function, as well some are flexible enough to be utilized by different purposes as for different times of the year or varied occasions.

Generally speaking "The Persian House comprises the elements of the central courtyard ('Hayat'), the entry (consisted of the gate ('Dargah'), vestibule ('Hashti') and corridor ('Dalan')), the main room which has an aperture with five divisions ('Panj-dari'), a secondary room which has an aperture with three divisions ('Seh-dari'), a room with the vertical sliding sash ('Orosi'), 'Eivan', the wind tower ('Baad-geer') and its room ('Talar') which is usually used in warm regions, a kind of roof which is used for sleeping in warm season ('Mahtabi or 'Bahar-khab'), the corridor ('Mard-gard'), the main hall ('Takht-gah'), the pool room ('Houz-khaneh' and 'Sardab') which is usually in the basement, the corner upper room ('Bala-khaneh Goosh-var'), the storage room ('Pastoo' and 'Sandoq-khaneh') and the 'Tenabi'" (Alkhansari, 2015)

Following we are going more in depth about some of the mentioned spaces (Most likely to be found in the studied houses in the village), their uses, formal structure and typology together with some social facts, general beliefs and stereotypes behind the formation of some of them, the dis-

cussed spaces are as following:

### Entrance

Entry is consisted of two parts the entrance gate and the vestibule('Hashti').

**Entrance Gate:** The entrance gate is the main gate to enter the house, it is usually set back from the main street to respect the passengers' right with two stone-benches in the sides as for providing the pedestrians a place to rest. The entrance gate also consists of an overdoor as an ornament and a door with two jambs with two different door knockers, one for men and the other for women. The men's door knocker had a rectangular shape and the women's door knocker had an empty cylinder shape. Each door knocker made different sounds when one knocked the door. The feminine door knocker made higher-pitched sound and the masculine one created a deeper, lower-pitched, bass sound for the inhabitants to recognize the gender of the visitor by the sound.

**Vestibule:** ('Hashti') was the intermediate space between the outside and the inside. It was considered as the bordering space between the public and private, a space that the rhythm changed from city to the house. The name "Hashti" in Persian comes from number eight or the octagon, as the usual shape of this space is like an octagon with stone-benches or niches on each side to provide a place for the visitors to rest or wait. "Hashti" was also considered

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as one of the main junction boxes at house guiding the people where to go. It was usually connected by a corridor named as "Dalan" to the main and secondary courtyard.

### Stable
This was a place for the inhabitants or guests that were commuting by means of pack animals to let their animals to rest in this space.

### Rooms
Most of the rooms have an opening toward the courtyard giving them a green and vivid panorama. The rooms are named according to the number of their openings:

**Dodari:** a room with two openings that was usually used by an individual and was common in the qajar period.

**Sedari:** a room with three openings that was usually used for sleeping, some also claim that the name "Sedari" is related to the proportion of space rather than the number of openings, as these rooms are sometimes made by a 3/5 division over the length of th side facing the courtyard to the other. (Hashemian 2019)

**Panjdari:** a room with five openings that was usually used as a living room, the lounge or the dining room.

**Haftdari:** a room with seven openings that was usually used as a living room, the lounge or the dining room. This room comes from the evolution of panjdari later on.
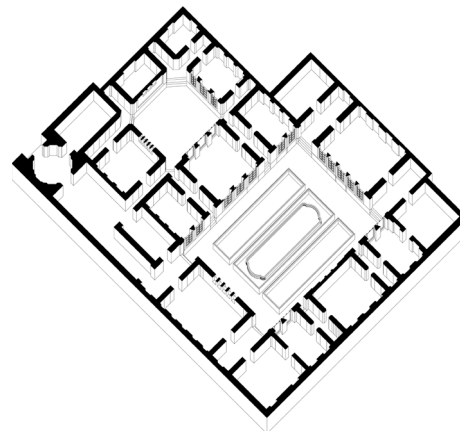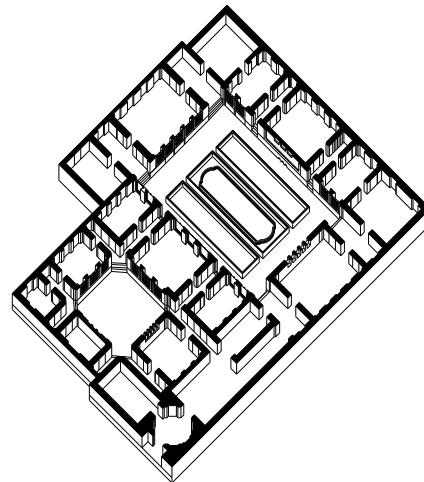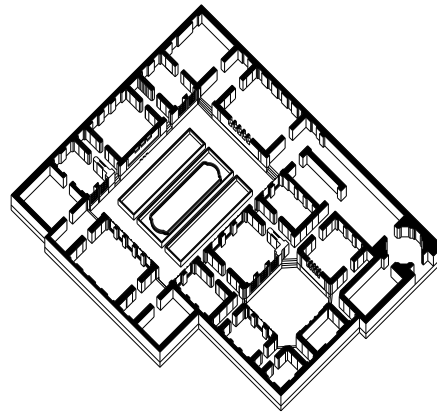
### Talar
One of the large rooms that was used for guests; if "Talar" had no openings toward the courtyard it was also called as "Tanabi". The light inside Tanabi was usually coming from the rooftop and this room bore a mild temperature in the very cold or hot seasons as it did not have any openings for direct thermal transmission with the outside.(Ghobadian 2009) The traditional Persian house is often consisted of two Talars, one in the northern side for the winter time exposed to the obliqued rays of sun and one in the southern side located in the shade for the summer time. The Talar that is located in the southern side usually contains a windcatcher ('Badgir') on the top which helps the ventilation and keep the room coll in the summer. The use of different sides of the house according to different seasons was one of the brilliant ways of sustainable climatic adaptation in Persian traditional architecture.

### Dalan
The principal bridges or connectors from on space to the other or from one zone to the other (e.g. public to private) are called Dalan or corridors in English. In some cases it is seen that Dalan has a curvy or angled pathway to avoid direct sight from one zone to the other and give more privacy to the spaces. (Nilforoushan 2008) Dalan is usually a narrow covered space and it takes its light from the ceiling. **Takhtgah** is the same type of Corridor that is usually located at the sides of a room or Talar and bear a staircase at the end. **Mardgard** is the corridor usually used by men connecting the private and public zones.

### Eyvan
An open space in front of a room or talar facing the courtyard.

### Courtyard
For the most part the courtyard is the formal backbone of the traditional Persian house often with a rectangular shape other spaces surround it according to their priority and accessibility which respectively form the main complex. The courtyard is not only a primary format for the house to be developed in the lower scale but also if we look at the urban scale, the cities with this type of housing bear an urban texture that seems like a fluid (Soft and flexible geometry) regulated and structured by these rectangular courtyards (Alkhansari, 2015) (Fig.).



Fig.69. Satellite Image of one of the central zones of City of Yazd, Google Earth

"Courtyard plays the role of an inward-looking garden that the spaces around it look onto. Usually an oblong rectangular pool occupies the center of the courtyard flanked by various trees and flowers." (Alkhansari, 2015)

It provides a direct connection between the habitants and nature. The formation of the house by a central courtyard gives the Traditional Persian House an architectural inwardness or the so called architectural introversity. The introversion of these houses are more emphasized by the clear division that exist between private and public, Some Courtyards also work as a public platform to welcome outsiders or friends as its directly connected to the entry. The private spaces around are usually positioned higher than the courtyard level to have an overview on it and not be directly visible to outsiders.

As its noted previously the spaces in the traditional Persian house are multi-functional, which goes the same with the courtyard. It is one of the places of most interaction between the habitants in the house as a result of its position and its contribution role, where the public events take place, the children play, some houseworks are getting done (like laundry), and etc. Generally the Traditional Persian House obtain two types of courtyards, on is called "Biruni" and the other is called "andaruni" which we will discuss the both here:

**Secondary Courtyard (Biruni):** This yard is usually directly connected to the entrance or the vestibule ('Hashti') and it's the male public domain of the house for the outsiders or the "Na-Mahram" (not kin) so that single male family and friends could be received there without interrupting the fe-

male inhabitants. (Ziaee 2018)
**Main Courtyard (Andaruni):** In contrast with 'Biruni', 'Andaruni' is the private open space in the house which is usually dedicated to the female members. It is meant to be the safe place for women to be protected from the gaze of the stranger man (Na-Mahram) and the prevailing domain for women to socialize in contrast with men who usually exit the house and their socialization is often happened in the urban or exterior context. (Ziaee 2018)

As previously mentioned the formation of spaces in the traditional Persian house were not only based on climatic or architectonic aspects but they were rather rooted deep inside beliefs and the culture of Society. Also these two type of yard derive from the patriarchal social stereotype of the male working outside and the female staying inside and taking care of the households and housework.

There are two main outlooks among the scholars on this subject of gendered space, some consider the privacy provided for women as an act of protection of the female members of the house from the uneducated outsiders giving them more comfort (Pirnia 1993). Whilst the other claim this is an objective overview toward the female inhabitants that is relatively deriving from peoples' religious beliefs (Islam was the prevalent religion), culture and the general social perception of womens' place in the society. (Ziaee 2018, Amir-Ebrahimi 2006)
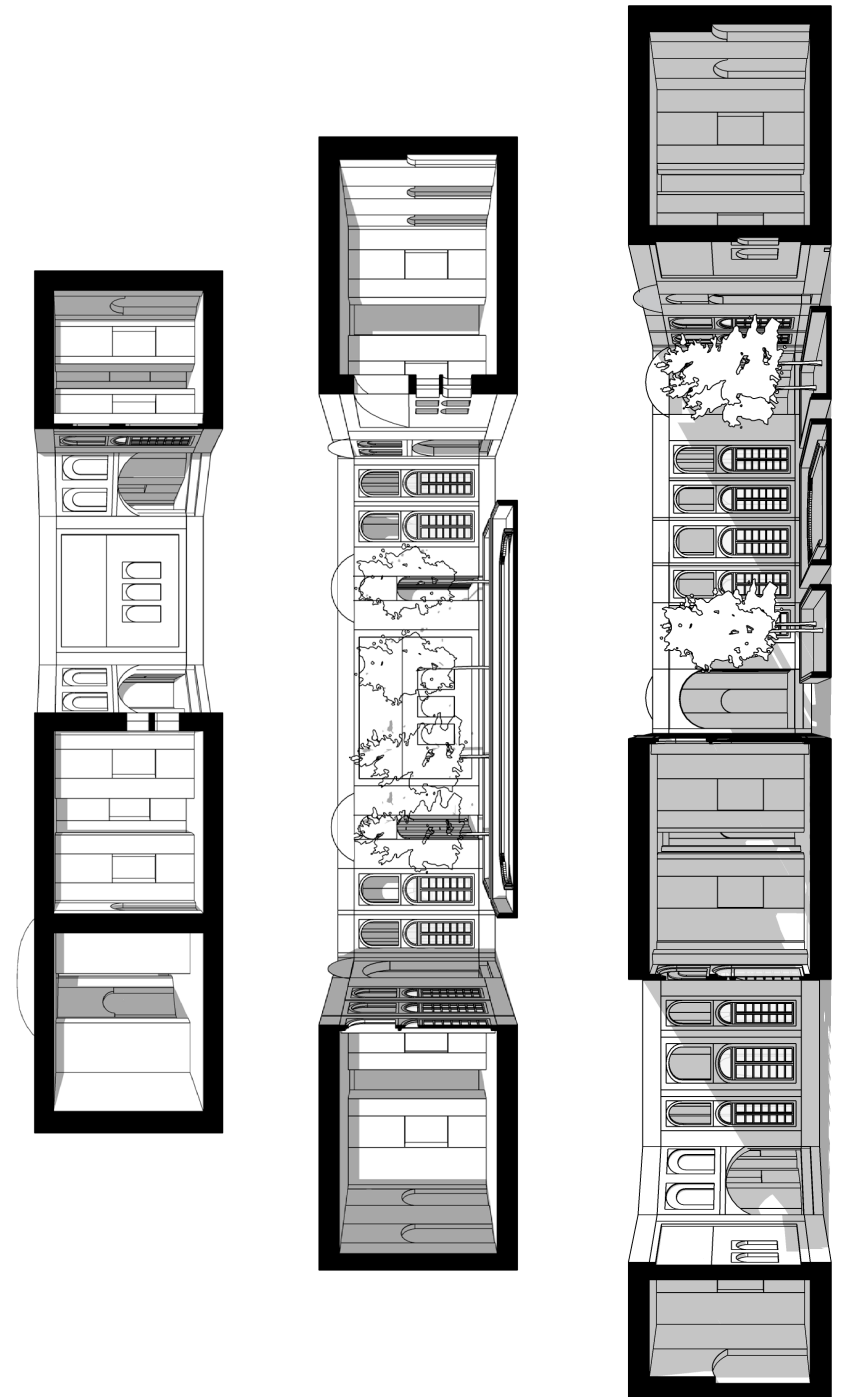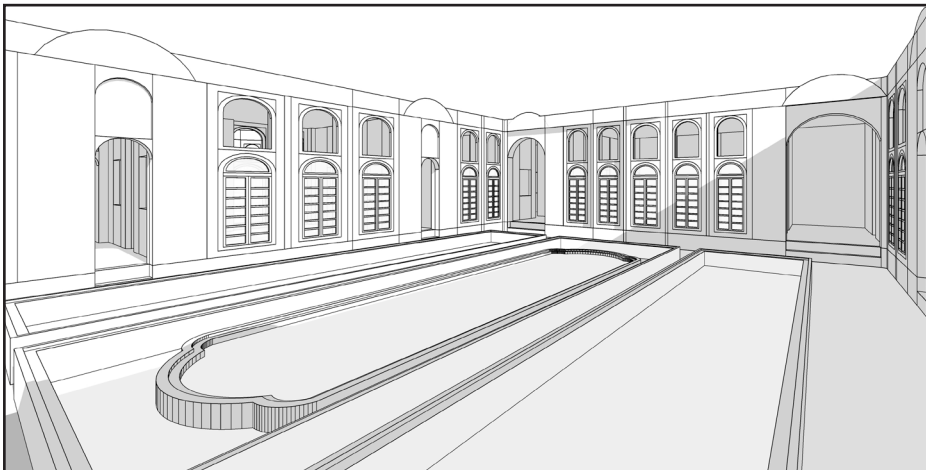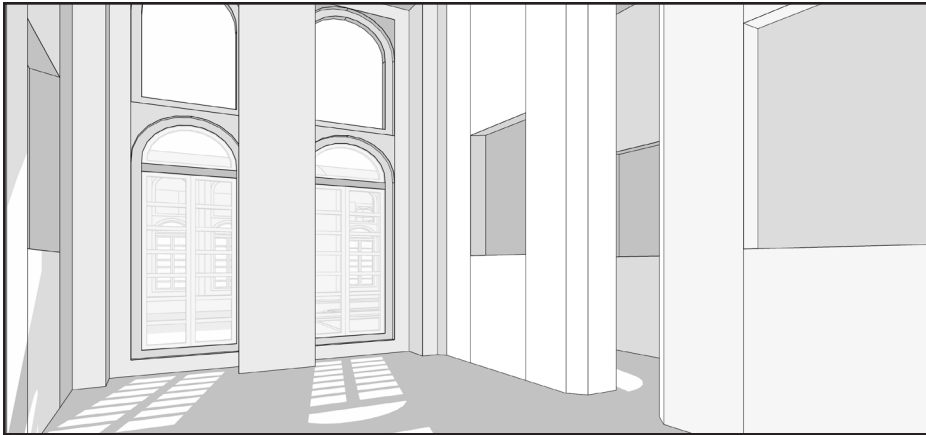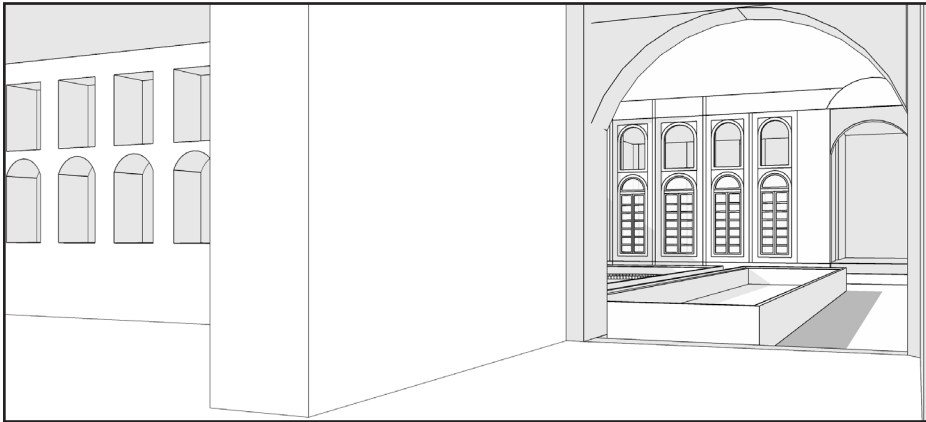
## Gender in Traditional Persian House

Albeit the argument supporting the fact that "Andaruni" could have been a place for women to be protected from the uneducated outsider, it wouldn't go so far to say that the traditional Persian house was a type of habitat that was clearly and patriarchally divided and formatted by gender:

"Not only was the house divided into two but everything inside the "Andaruni" and "Biruni" was divided into twos. Each of the two sections was built around a garden, each garden was clearly divided into two. As you entered there was a right-hand side and a left-hand side, each morning the other... the total isolation of the more public "outside" from the "inside" part of the house was one rule of division in two that no one dared to violate. There was no opening not even a window that joined the 'Andaruni' and the "Biruni""(Mottahedeh 2004) (Mentioned by Arjamnd 2017) Even the entrance door as mentioned before had two jambs and two door knockers(one for female one for male)

Evidentially the traditional Persian house is shaped over a dichotomy between male and female, but these divisions might not be of the kind set by both sides rather its a superimposed division set by the in power male affected by his religious beliefs or the social stereotypes. Even if we perceive the intention behind this exertion as a quality of recognition of women as a subject that merits an specif-

ic space in the house to be protected, the question still remains whether if the women themselves aimed to have this isolation as means of being protected from the strangers' gaze or safe from the presumed harassment. This act of one sided division as the public is for the male and the private is for the female puts the male in a subjective position to the object that is the female, Although a part of this dichotomy and perception is rooted in the common religion (Islam) and gender might not be a quality to religiousness, thus one can argue the separations might have been set by the male but probably accepted also by the female as a norm of the religious society.

The other controversial aspect about this concept of space is its holisticness. The discrimination between the outside stranger man's gaze and his uneducatedness with the insider kin, as long as the second is considered as a stranger outside of his house, makes it conspiratorial and illusive that the same protective insider would do the inadmissible as an outsider to the unprotected other female. Even if one might argue that these regulations were mostly set for the single(Not married) male, the question still remains that why this isolation or control is not implemented in the male's domain rather than the female's and whether if to which degree can the marriage affect the person's social behavior.

# Valuable
# House
# Number 1



Fig.71.72. Valuable house number 1 in The Historical Texture, Riahi Moghaddam (2008)
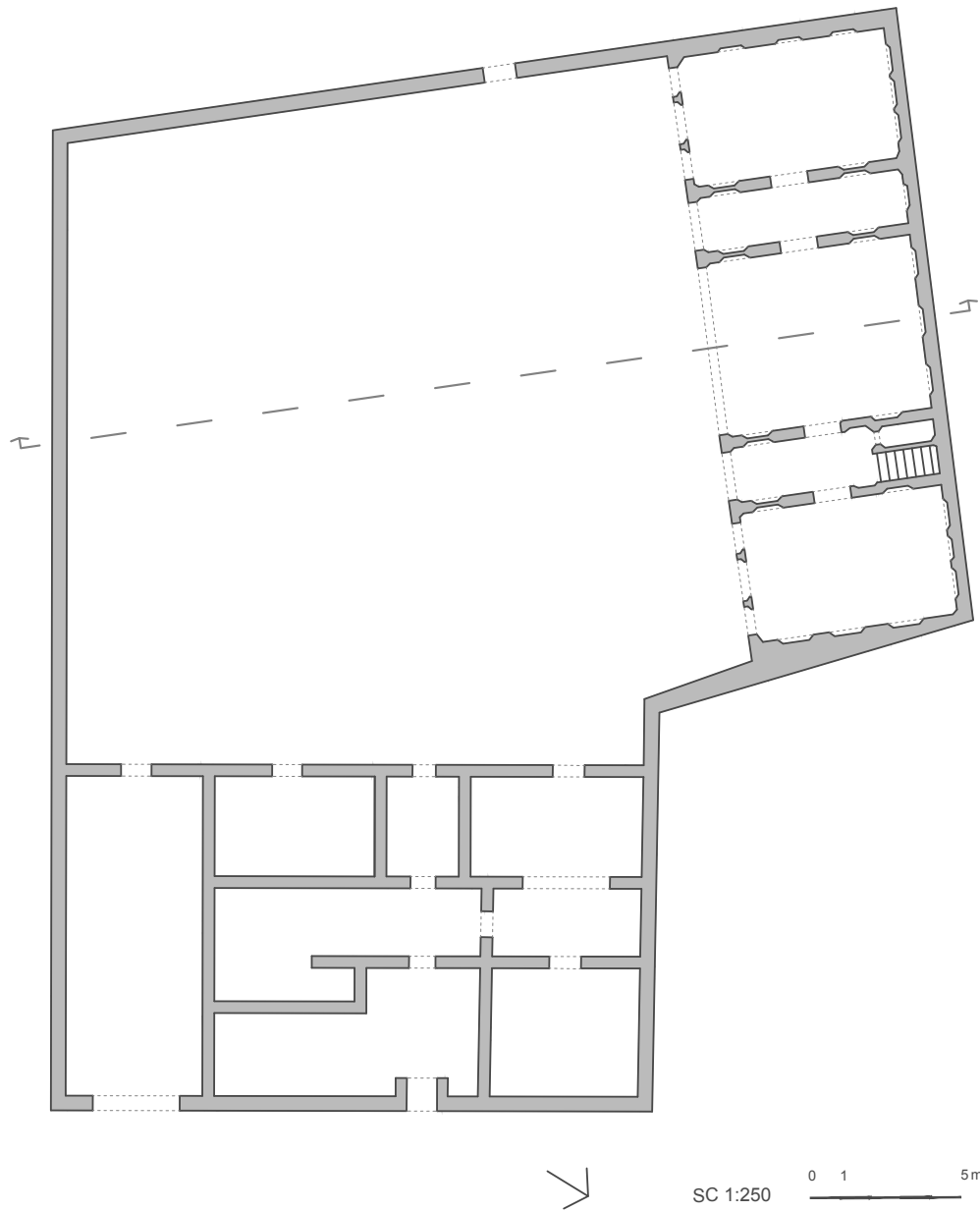
SC 1:250
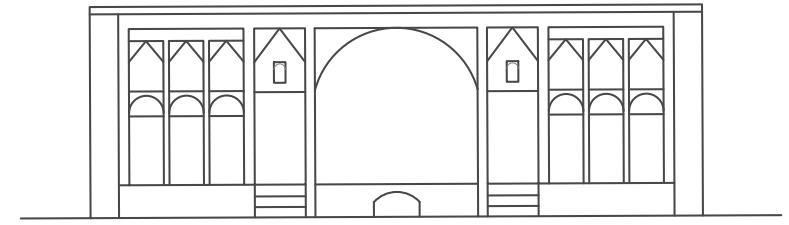
**Fig.74.** Interior facade of the eastern side of the courtyard, Valuable House number 1 in The Historical Texture, Riahi Moghaddam (2008), Redrawn by the Author



SC 1:250
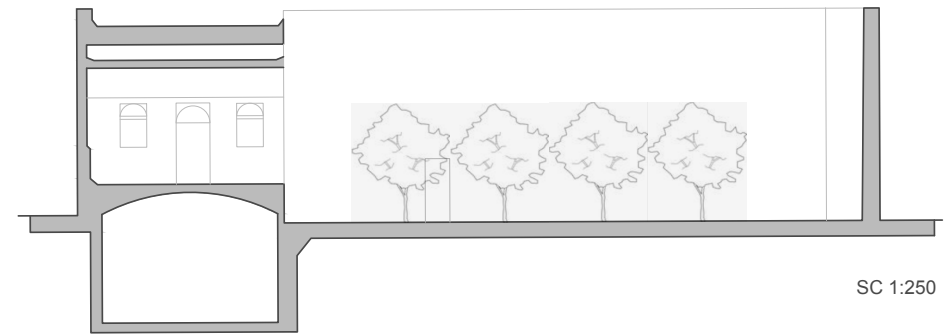
**Fig.75.** Vertical Section, Valuable House number 1 in The Historical Texture, Riahi Moghaddam (2008), Redrawn by the Author

SC 1:250

0   1        5 m

**Fig.73.** Grand Floor Plan of valuable house number 1 in The Historical Texture, Riahi Moghaddam (2008), Redrawn by the Author

# Valuable House Number 2





**Fig.76.77.** Valuable house number 2 in The Historical Texture,Ri-ahi Moghaddam (2008)

SC 1:200

0  1        5m

LEGEND

1- Entrance

2- Stable

3- Courtyard

4- Talar

5- Room

6- Corridor

7- Store

8- Kitchen

9- Well

SC 1:200

0  1      5m

# Valuable House Number 3

Fig.81. Section of valuable house number 3 in The Historical Texture, Riahi Moghaddam (2008), Redrawn by the Author
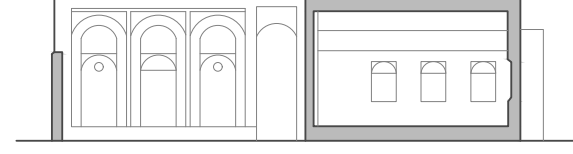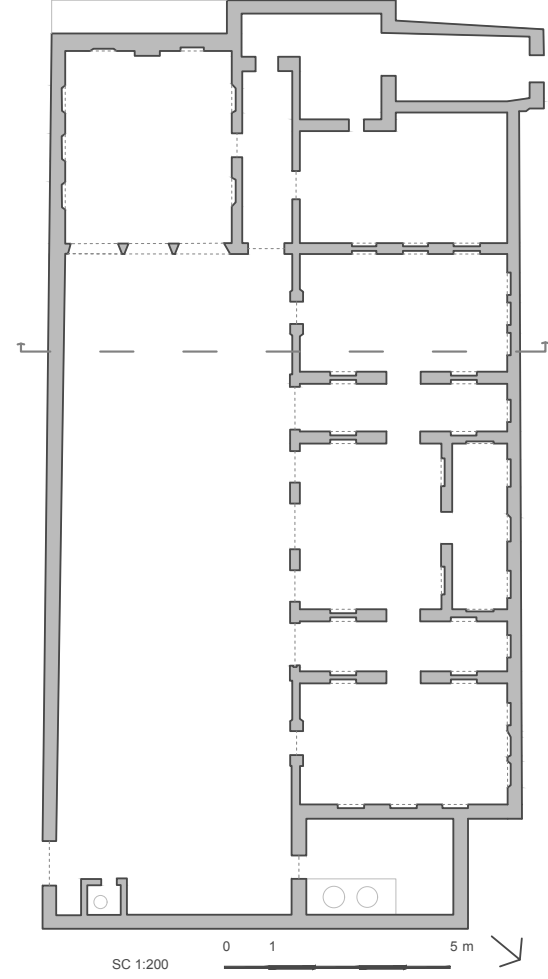
Fig.82. Grand Floor Plan of valuable house number 3 in The Historical Texture, Riahi Moghaddam (2008), Redrawn by the Author

SC 1:200

0    1                    5 m

# Valuable
# House
# Number 4
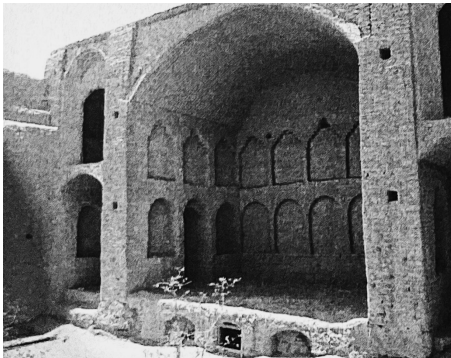




Fig.83.84. Valuable house number 2 in The Historical Texture,Ri-ahi Moghaddam (2008)
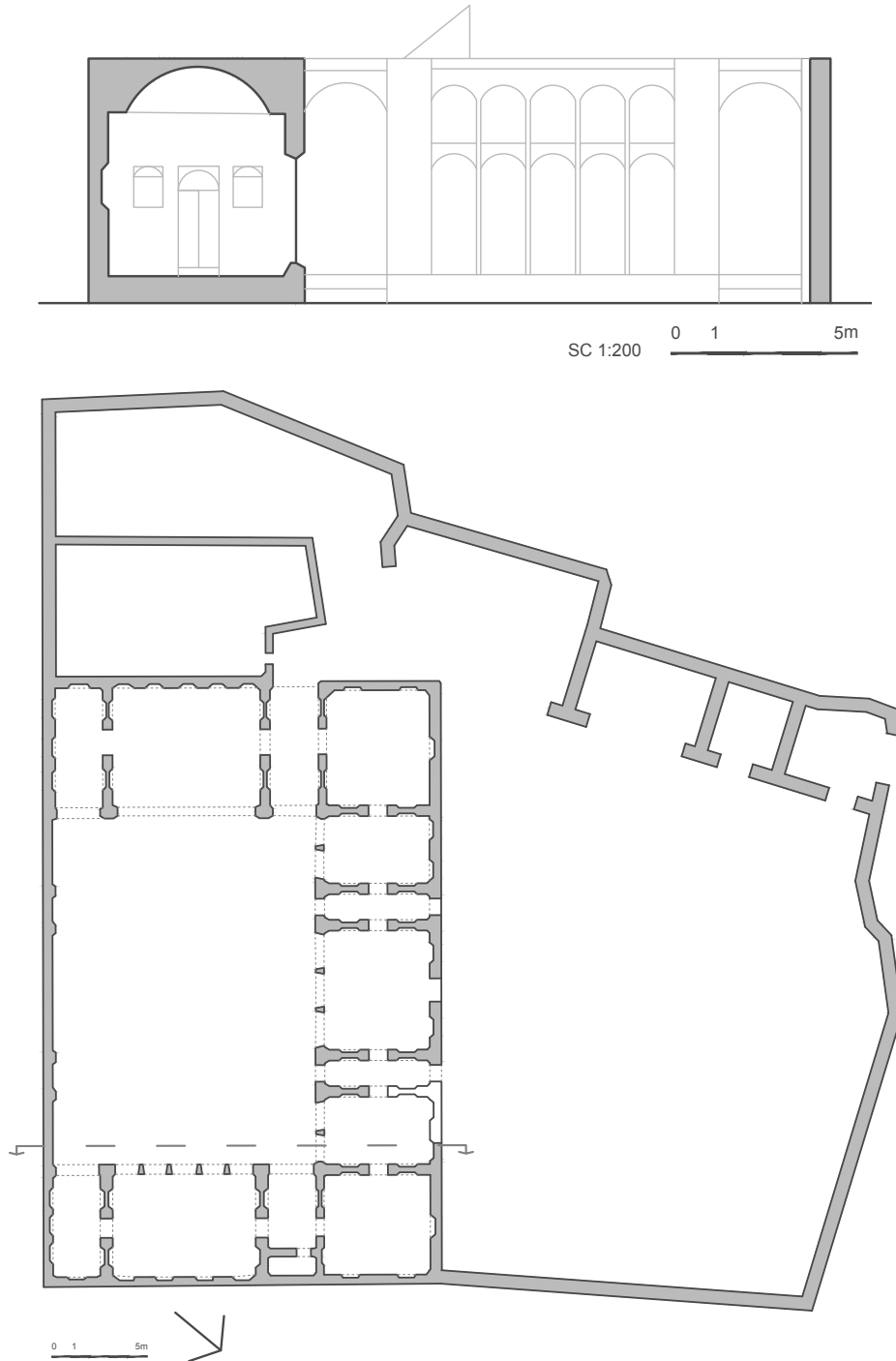
Fig.85. Section of valuable house number 4 in The Historical Texture, Riahi Moghaddam (2008), Redrawn by the Author

SC 1:200

0   1      5m



Fig.86.Grand Floor Plan of valuable house number 4 in The Historical Texture, Riahi Moghaddam (2008), Redrawn by the Author

0   1    5m



SC 1:200

0   1     5m
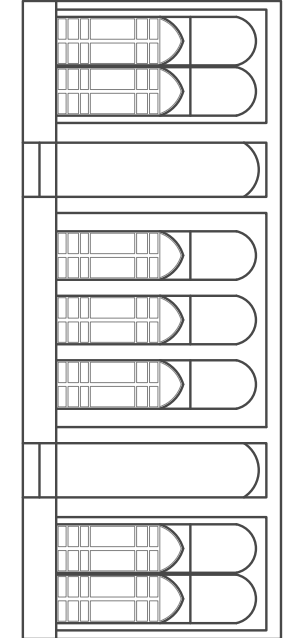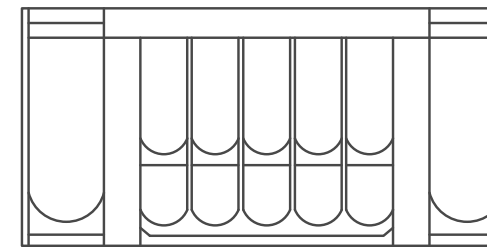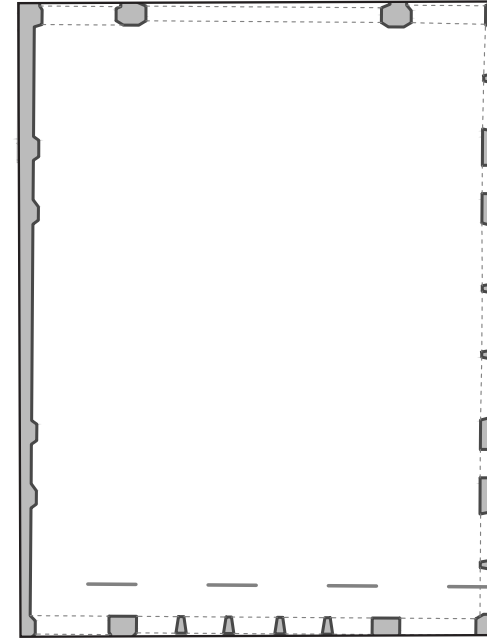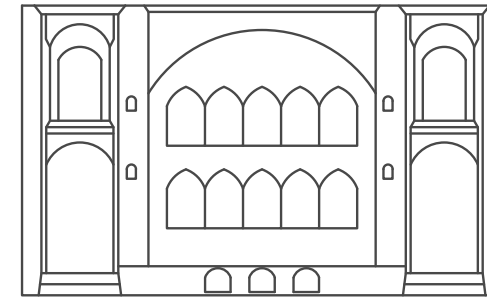
Fig.87. Interior views from the main courtyard at the valuable house number 4 in The Historical Texture,Riahi Moghaddam (2008), Redrawn by the Author.

# Valuable House Number 5

According to the proportions used in this building, one can assume that this building might be one of the only Ilkhanate constructions remaining in this village. (Riahi Moghaddam 2008)
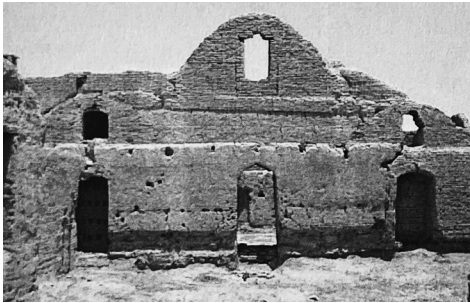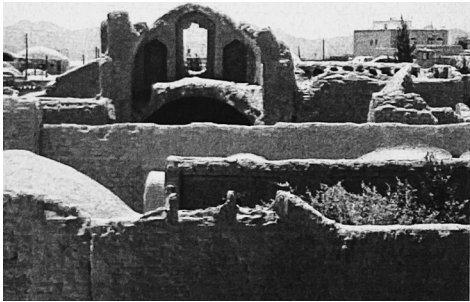






Fig.88.89.90. Valuable house number 5 in The Historical Texture,Riahi Moghaddam (2008)

# Valuable House Number 6
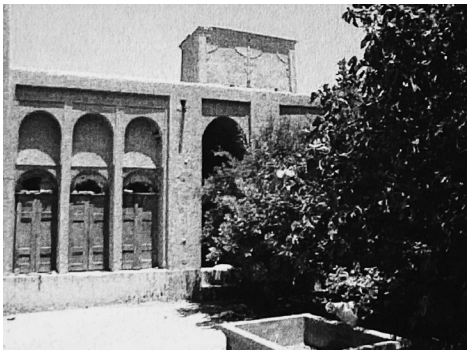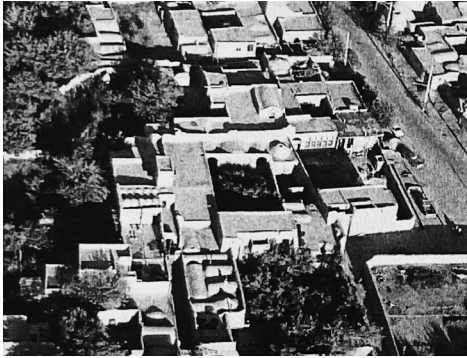






**Fig.91.92.93.** Valuable house number 6 in The Historical Texture,Riahi Moghaddam (2008)

# Valuable Houses Number7,8,9
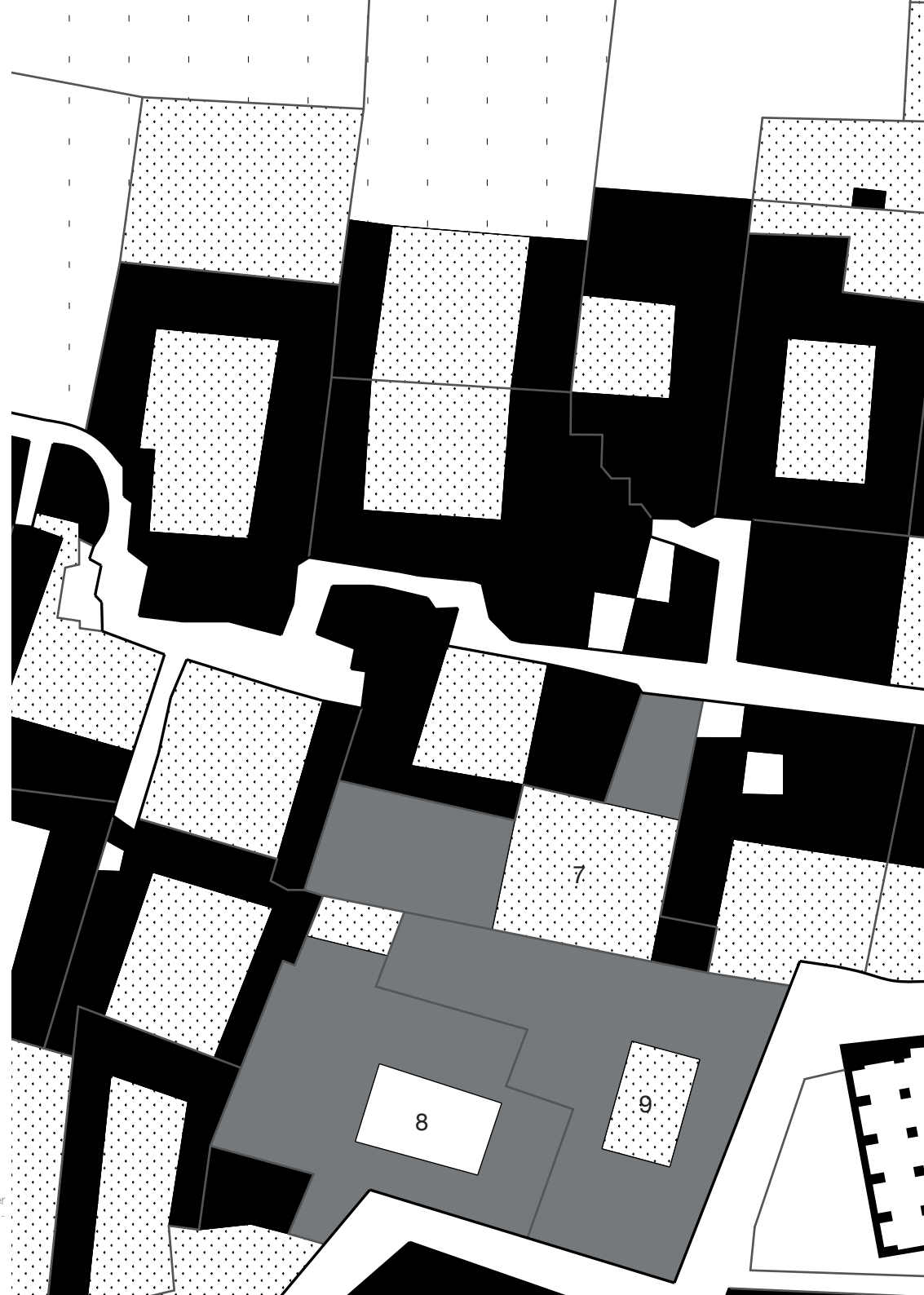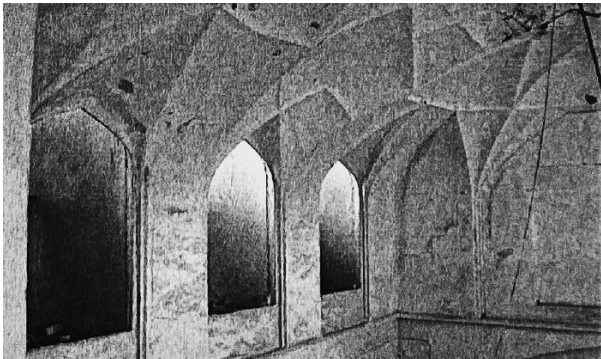
Fig.94.95.96. Valuable house number 7,8,9 in The Historical Texture,Riahi Moghaddam (2008)
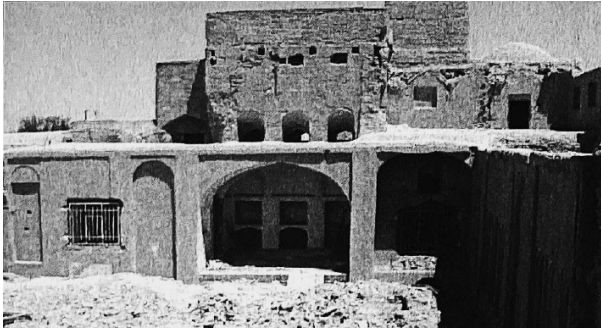
7

8

9
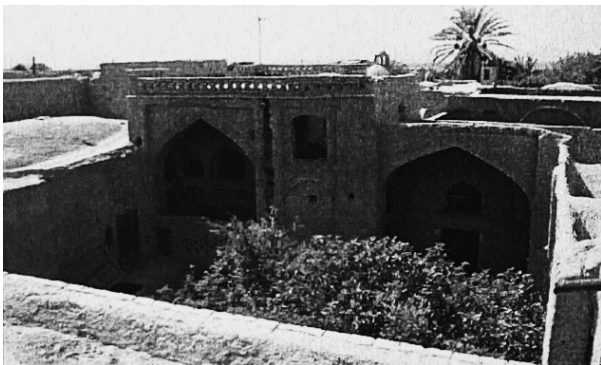
# Valuable Houses Number7,8,9



# Valuable House Number 10
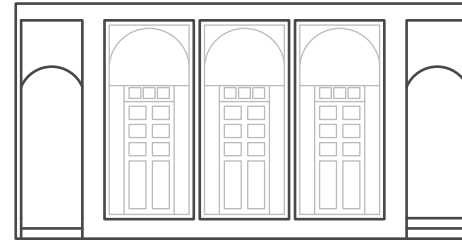
Fig.103.104. Grand Floor Plan and Section of valuable house number 10 in The Historical Texture, Riahi Moghaddam (2008), Redrawn by the Author

0    1                                              5 m

205

# Valuable House Number 11
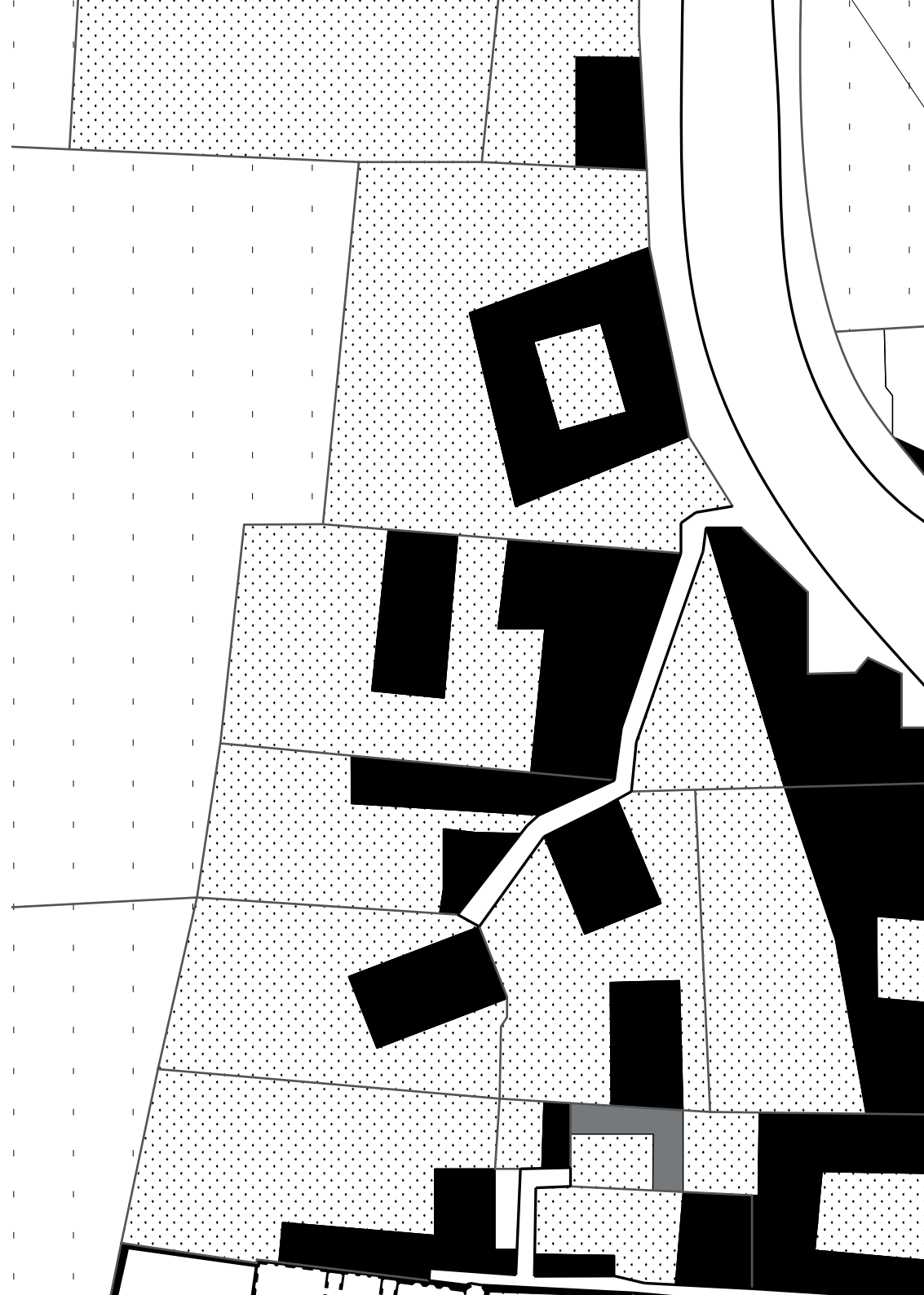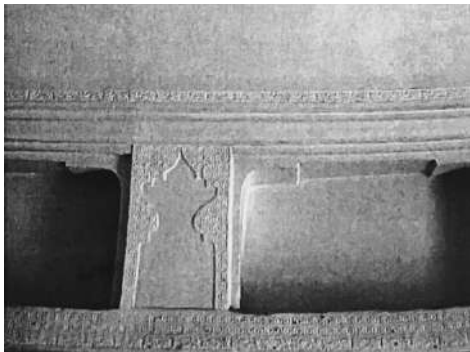






Fig.105.106.107. Valuable house number 11 in The Historical Texture,Riahi Moghaddam (2008)

# Valuable House Number 12
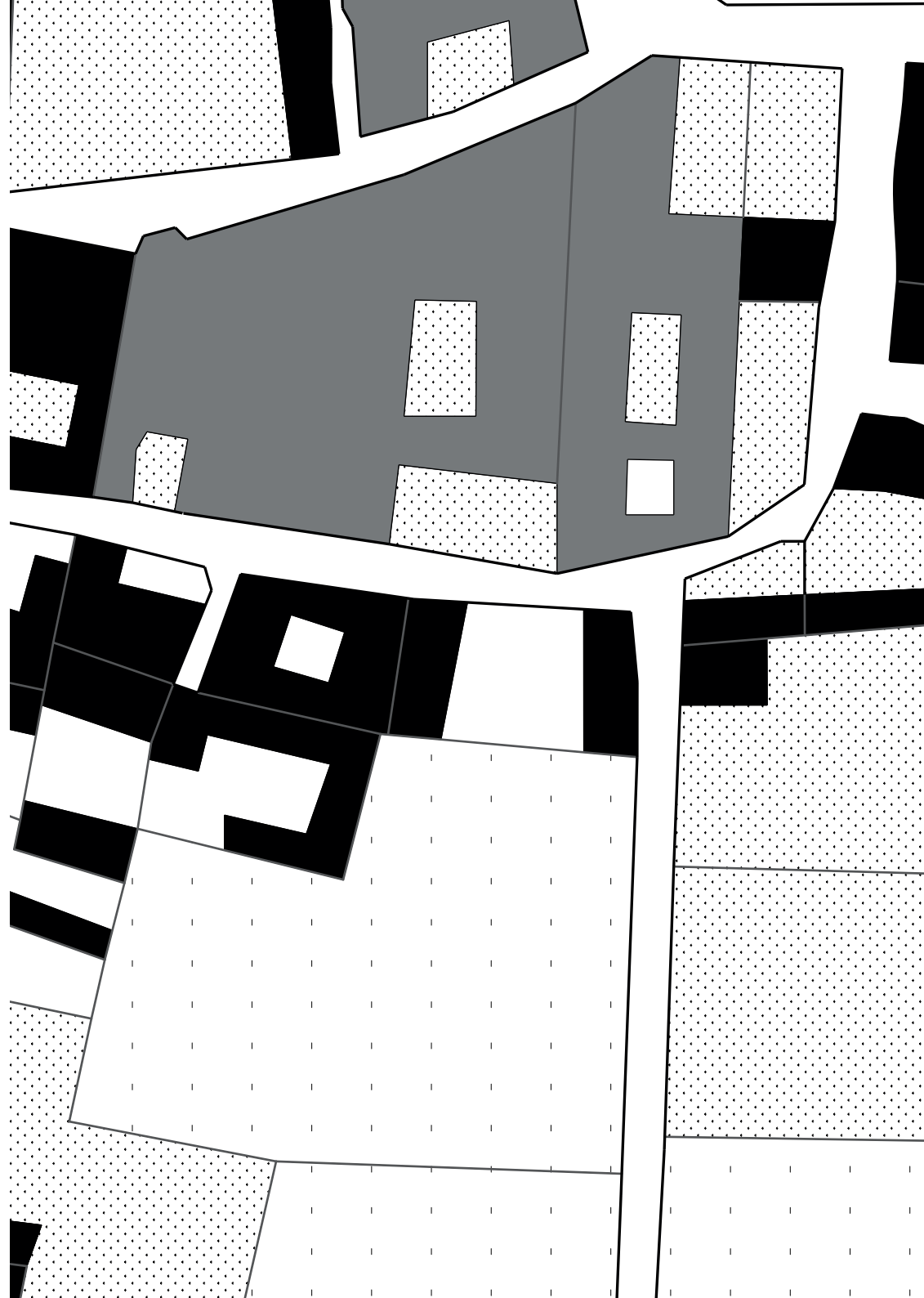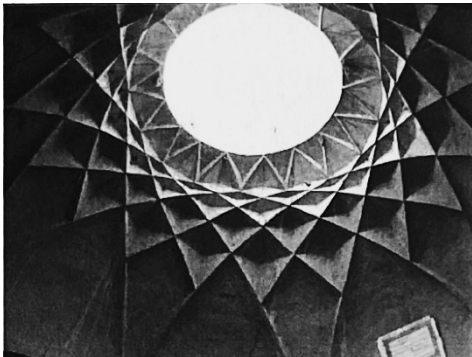






**Fig.108.109.110** Valuable house number 12 in The Historical Texture,Riahi Moghaddam (2008)

# Valuable House Number 13







**Fig.111.112.113.** Valuable house number 13 in The Historical Texture,Riahi Moghaddam (2008)
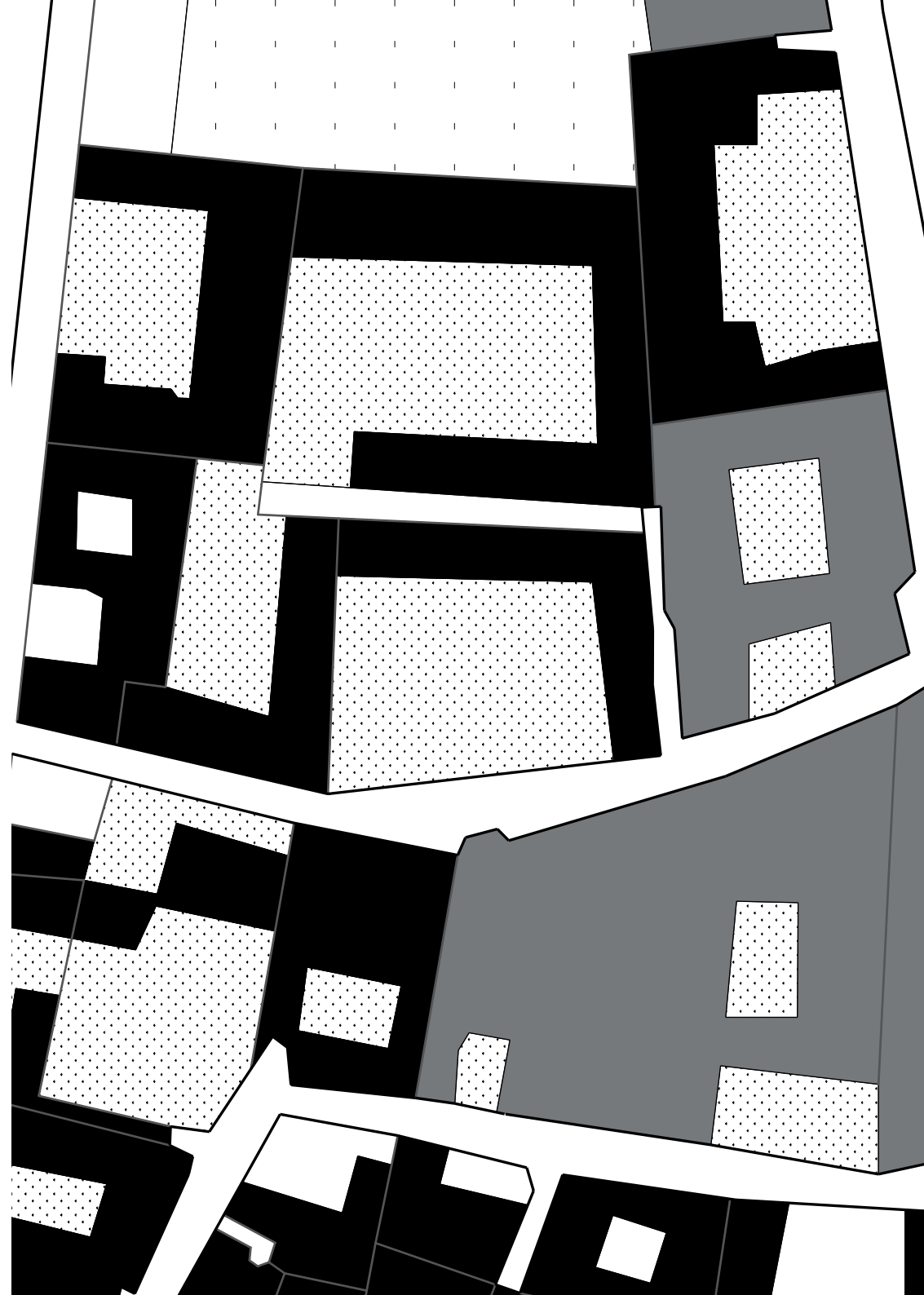
# Valuable House Number 14
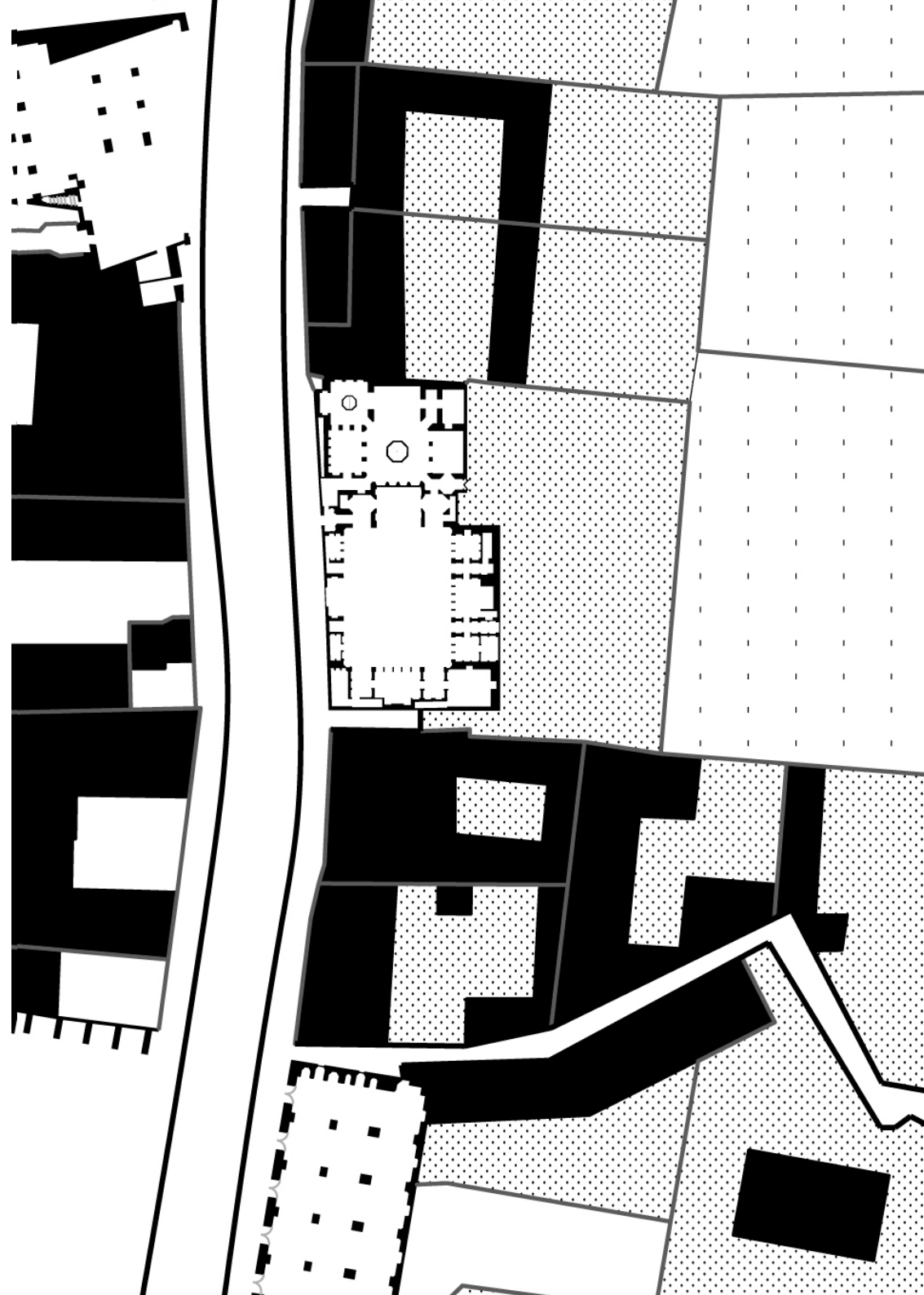






**Fig.114.115.116.** Valuable house number 14 in The Historical Texture,Riahi Moghaddam (2008)

LEGEND

1- Entrance

2- Vestibule

3- Main Courtyard (Andaruni)

4- Secondary Courtyard (Biruni)

5- Panjdari

6- Sedari

7- Talar

8- Guestroom

9- Room

10- Corridor

11- Store

12- Kitchen

11- Takhtgah

12- Store

13- Kitchen

14- Springhouse

15- Lounge

0   1           5 m

SC 1:125

SC 1:100

SC 1:100

# Valuable Houses
# Number 15&16

These two houses are built with a relevantly identical spatial arrangement one next to the other. In a certain period the two were used as schools for the village (Riahi 2008). One was functioning as boys school and the other for girls. Yet they demonstrate an interesting reuse strategy for these houses according to the contextual and cultural needs and norms.
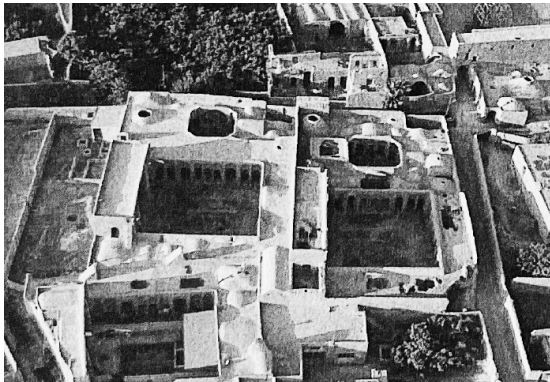




**Fig.119.120.** Valuable house number 15&16 in The Historical Texture,Riahi Moghaddam (2008)
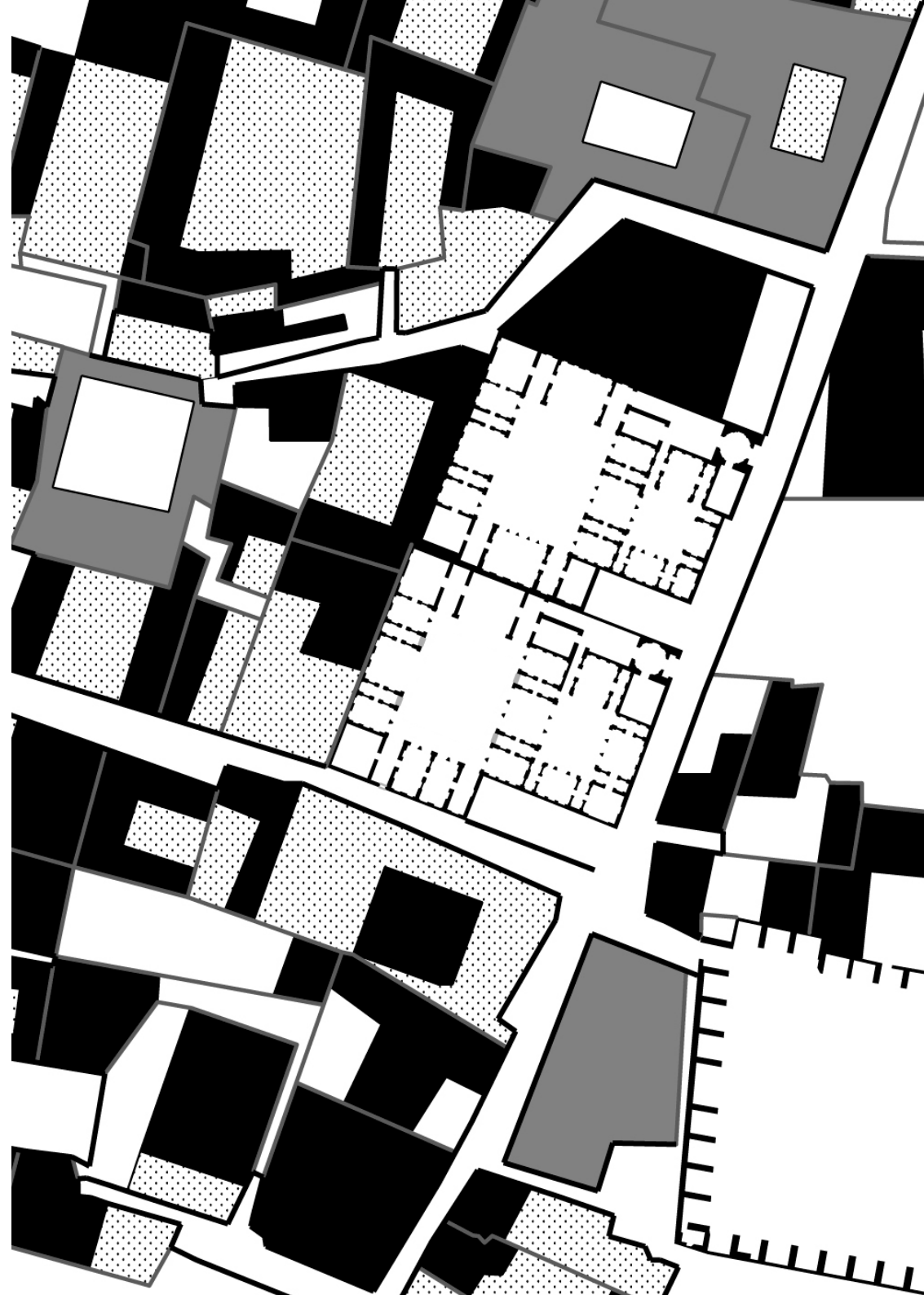
# Valuable Houses Number 15
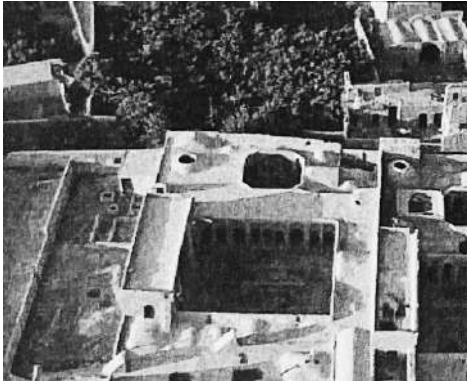






**Fig.121.122.123.** Valuable house number 15 in The Historical Texture,Riahi Moghadd-am (2008)



LEGEND

1- Entrance

2- Vestibule

3- Stable

4- Main Courtyard (Andaruni)

5- Secondary Courtyard (Biruni)

6- Panjdari

7- Sedari

8- Dodari

9- Talar

10- Room

11- Corridor

12- Store

13- Kitchen

14- Takhtgah

SC 1:200

0    1              5 m
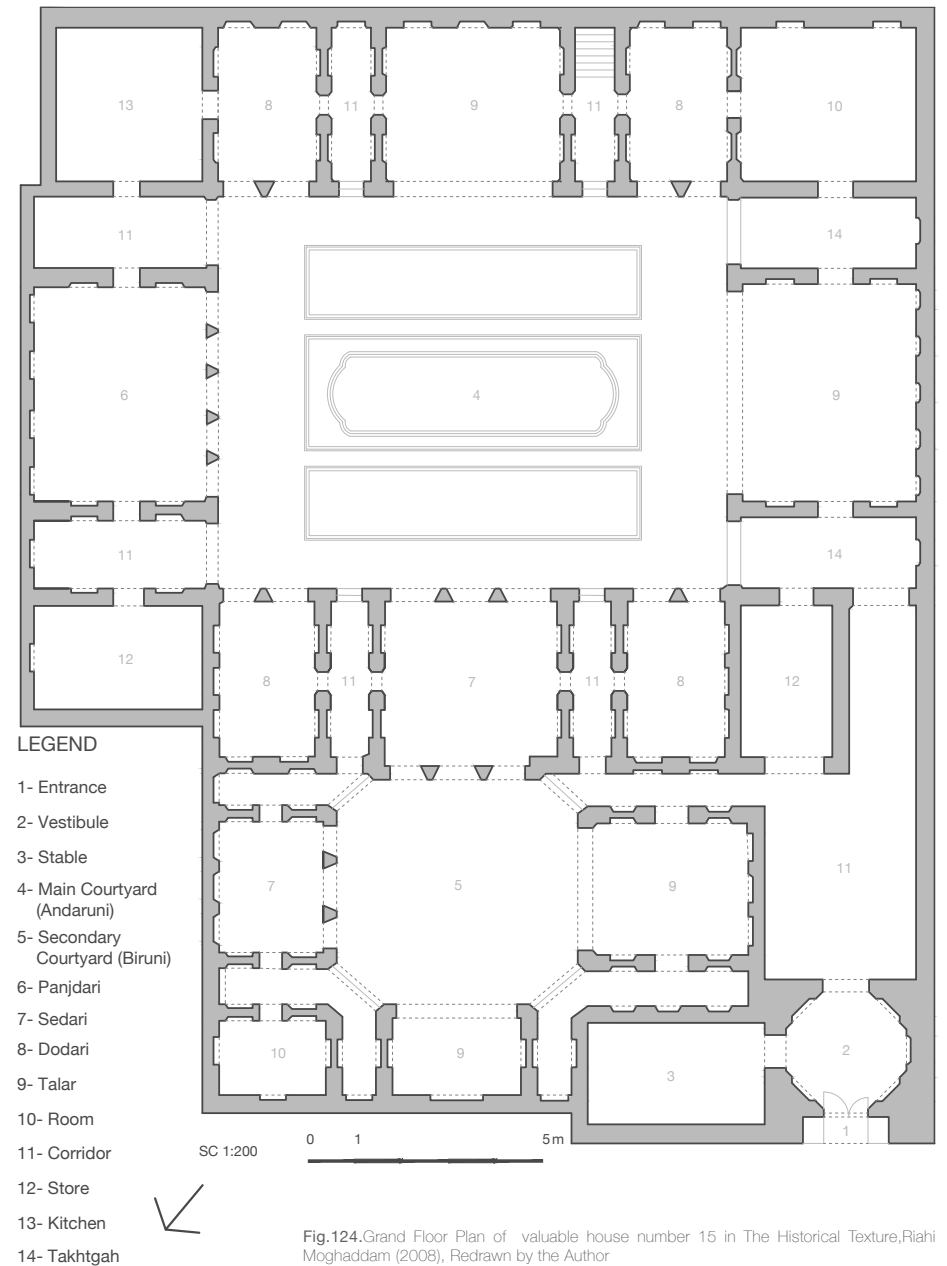
**Fig.124.**Grand Floor Plan of  valuable house number 15 in The Historical Texture,Riahi Moghaddam (2008), Redrawn by the Author

# Valuable Houses Number 16
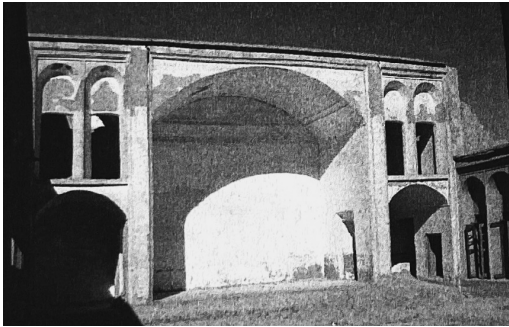






Fig.125.126.127. Valuable house number 16 in The Historical Texture,Riahi Moghaddam (2008)
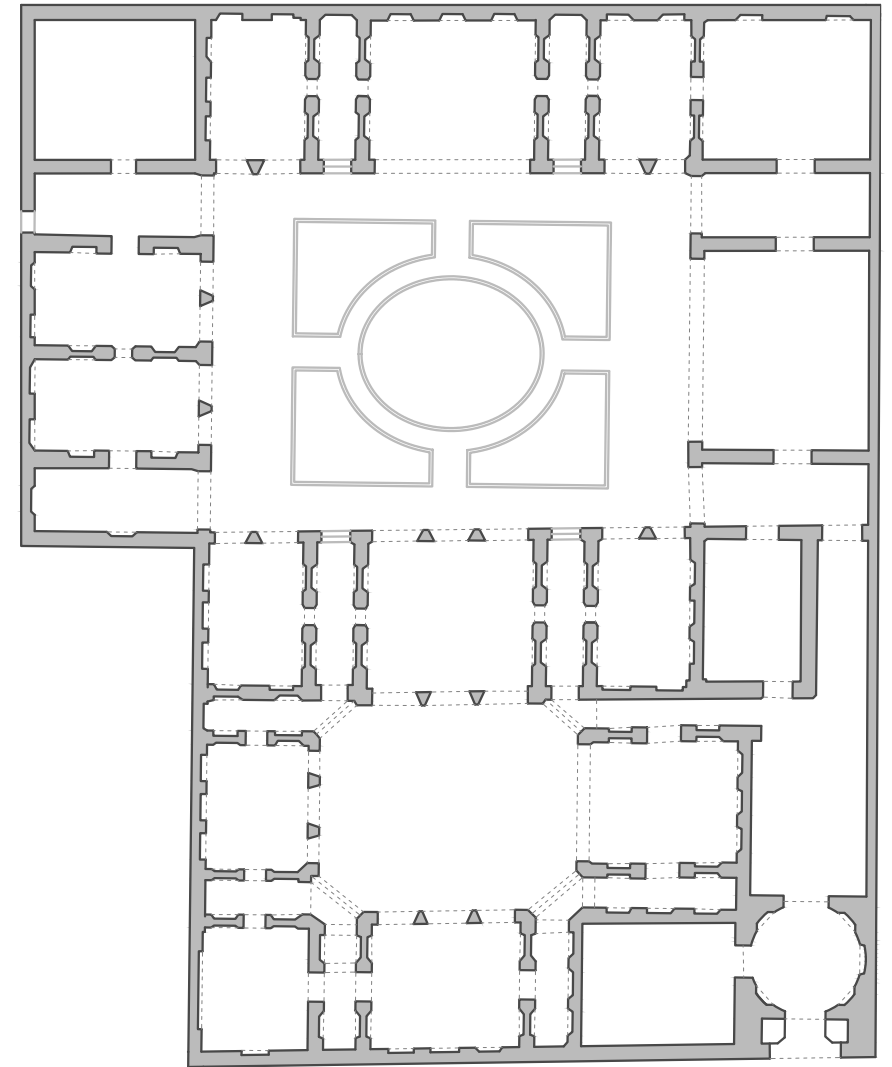


SC 1:125

0    1                    5 m

Fig.128.Grand Floor Plan of valuable house number 16 in The Historical Texture,Riahi Moghaddam (2008), Redrawn by the Author
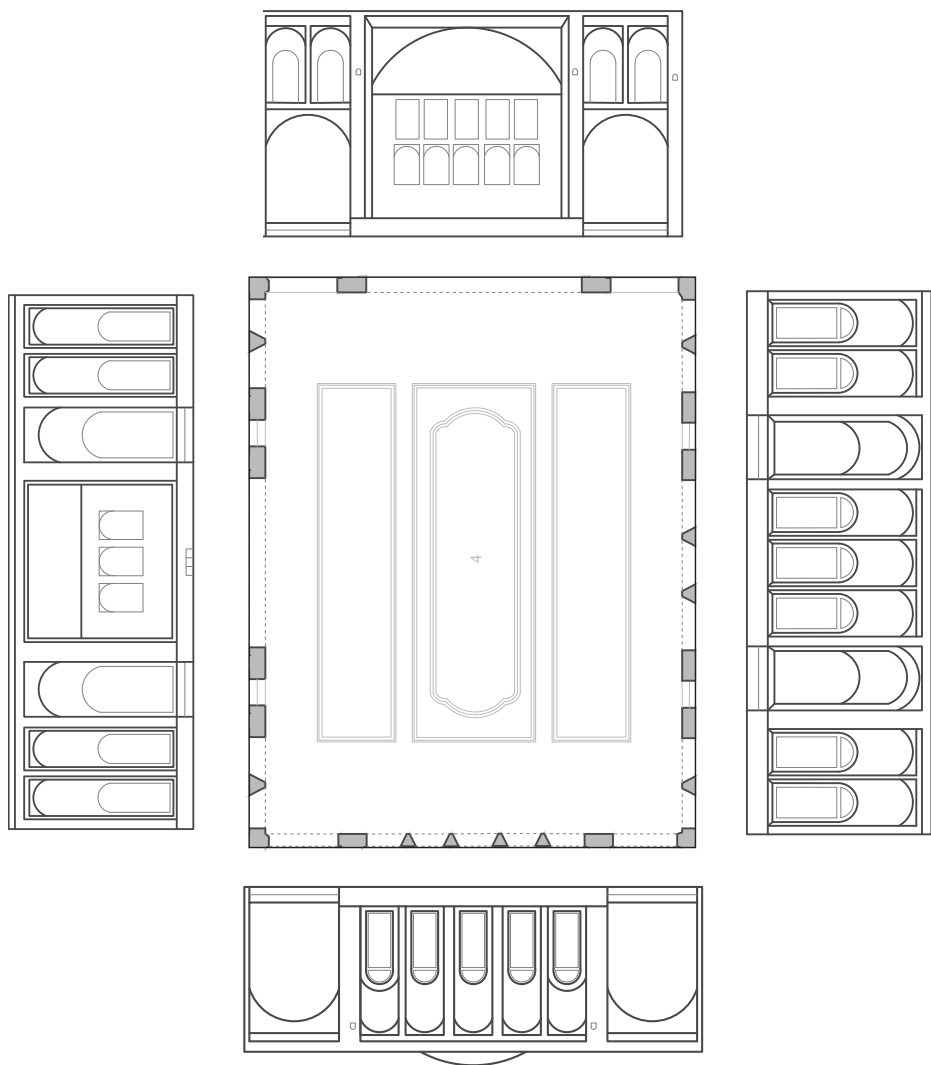
**Fig.129.** Interior views from the main courtyard at the valuable house number 15 in The Historical Texture,Riahi Moghaddam (2008), Redrawn by the Author.
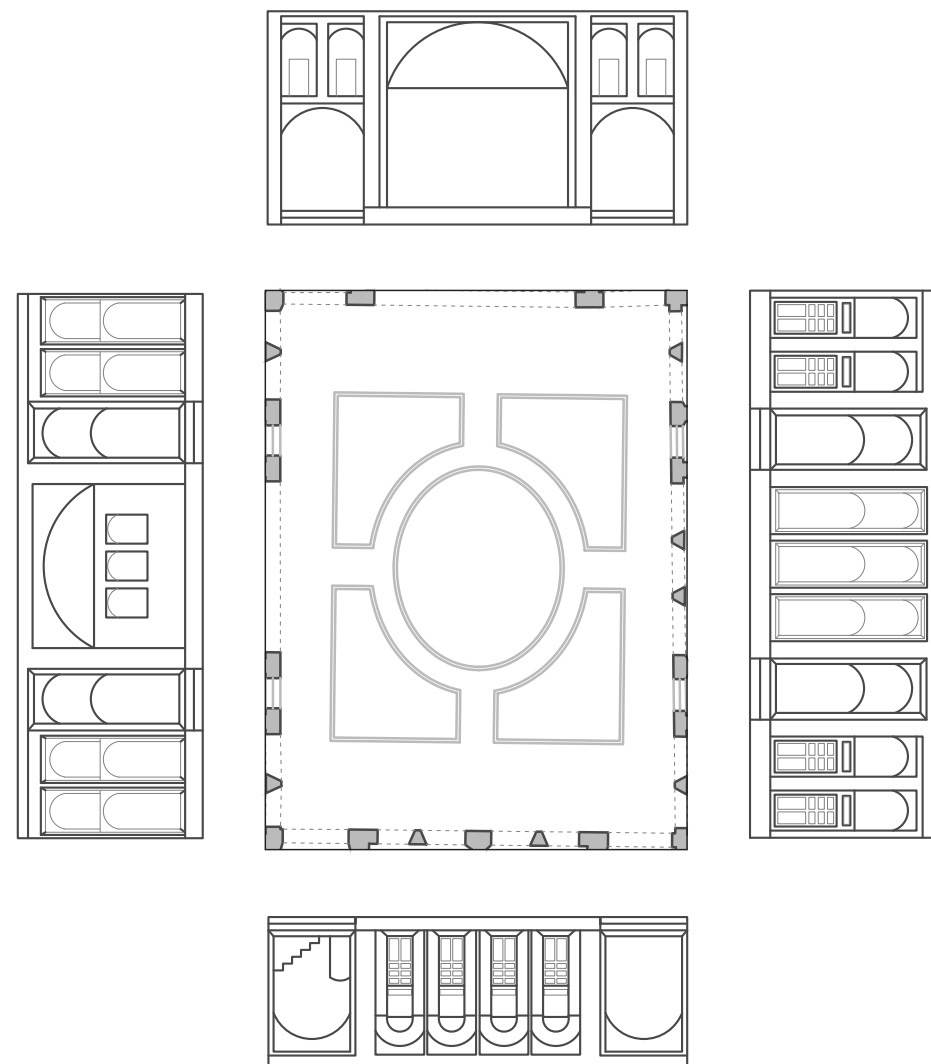


**Fig.130.** Interior views from the main courtyard at the valuable house number 16 in The Historical Texture,Riahi Moghaddam (2008), Redrawn by the Author.

Valuable
Houses
Same scale
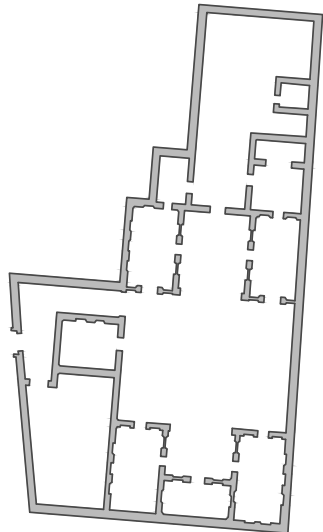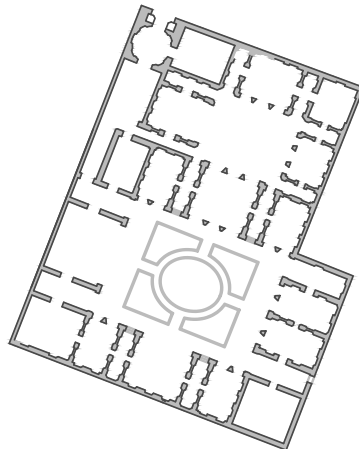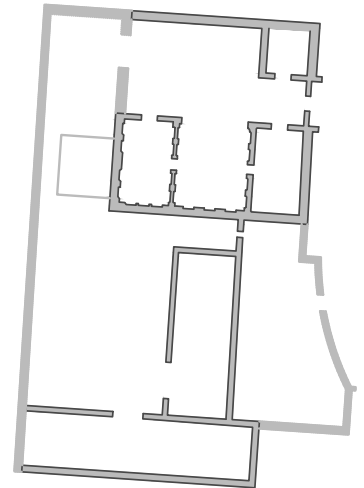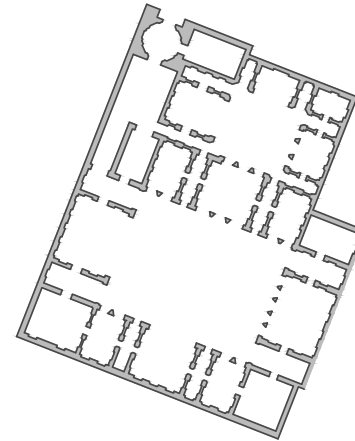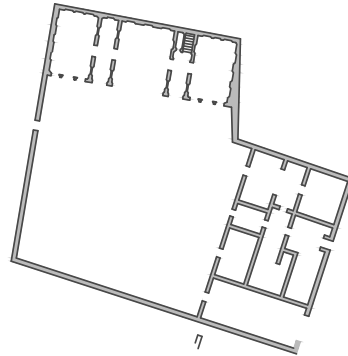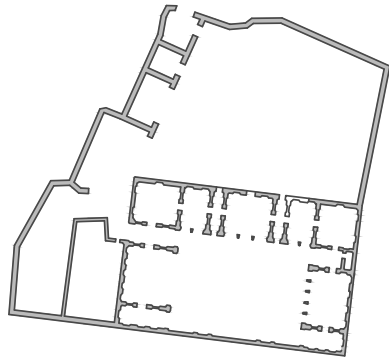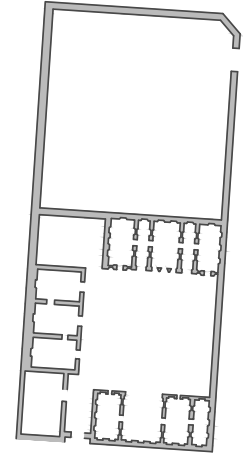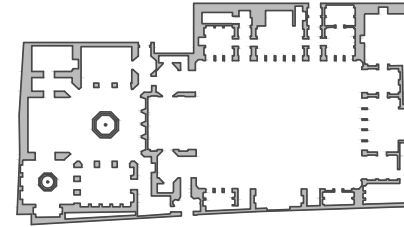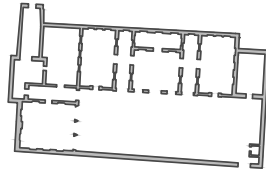
SC: 1/1000

SC: 1/1000

## Religious Architecture

Architecture of religious places has been a significant part of Iranian architectural history and its paradigm both after and before the Muslim conquest but most notably after Islamization of Iran it was flourished in various types of spaces along with different styles and ways of construction. To this extent there are distinguished examples of Iranian precedent religious architecture that are still unique of their kind and were of high influence in the pattern of Islamic architecture.

The importance of these places toward the society is obvious not only by the remarkable masterpieces that exist in different geographies throughout the country but also by their bold presence in larger or smaller urban or rural contexts. Accordingly there are urban or rural patterns that naturally shape around these elements or even sometimes these entities are used as main elements or axises to plan or develop a city or a village.

Despite the fact that these places over the years have changed their functionality as places not only for praying and praising the god to more multi-functional spaces including schools or hospitals, when it comes to smaller scales such as villages or more deprived rural contexts where lack of essential facilities such as a hospitals or elementary schools can be evidenced , incongruously exaggeration in presence of these places won't make it conducive for a balanced integration of the rural community. The incentive behind these kind

of urban organizations or patterns can be rooted in the beliefs of the settler or native society in the past times but when it comes to contemporary constructions in these places the involvement of higher level institutions as to finance these projects considering the long term development of these rural parts can be notable.

What we try to claim is not outright avoidance in creation or construction of such places in the poor rural districts but a better analysis and consideration of lacks and necessities in the mentioned : regarding the future potential of their development and integration. It is not to say peoples' religious beliefs or their spiritual side of life in general is of less importance in comparison with their other needs, but vise versa, the fact that the latter shouldn't be underestimated providing a balanced intellectual and infrastructural basis for these contexts to grow.

### Religious Places
Religious places, their architecture and symbolic elements and recurrence is dependent on different factors. Such places can be only built for special events or religious ceremonies occupied only in a certain period of the year (which in this case they are usually multi-functional) or they can be places of daily ritual. These places can contain other facilities like Seminary, monasteries and etc., Or they can be singular places only for praying. The common Muslim religious places are: Mosques, "Imamzadeh" and "Hussainiya"
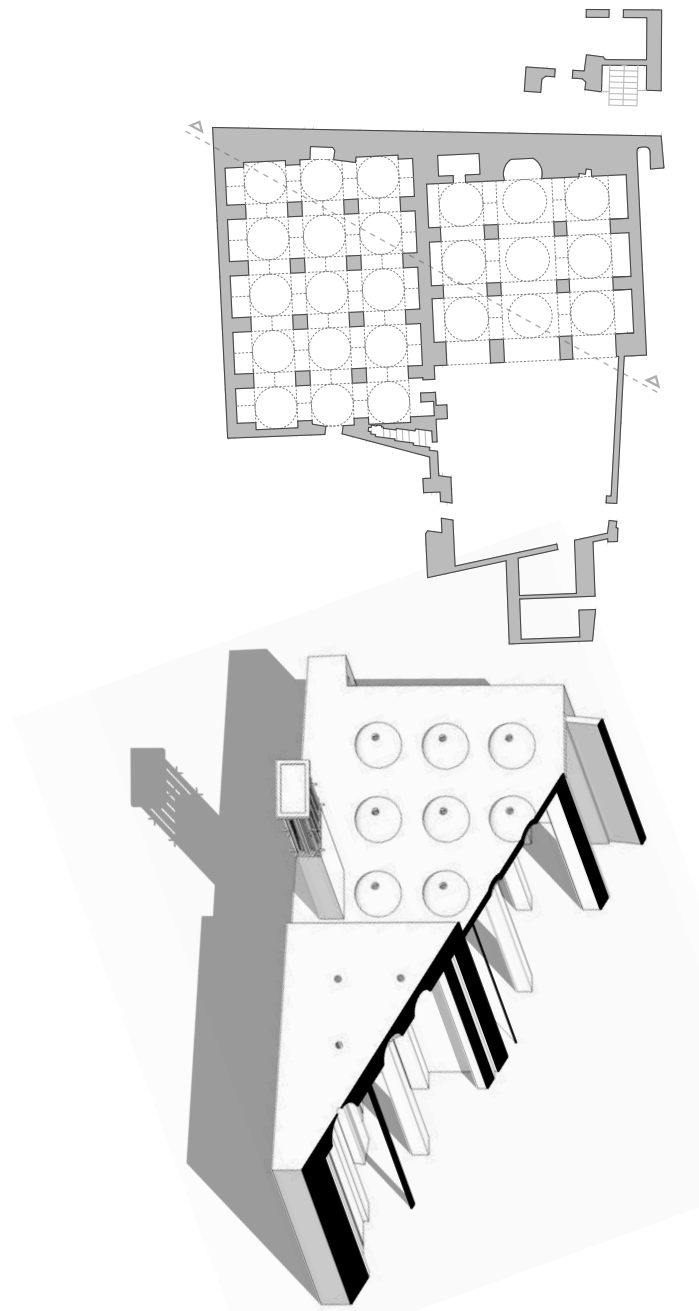
## Mosques

Mosques are the places of daily rituals and prayers for Muslims. The architecture of mosques have been one of the apexes of Islamic art and architecture.

Similar to religious places in other cultures, there has been always a great value comprehended by the society for such places and thus why at times one can recognize some contrast between the local residential architecture and these places in terms of ornaments, proportions and etc. Although this doesn't mean that the architecture of mosques and its structure have been by some means inserted or separated from the residential architecture, but on the contrary the evolution of housing techniques has resulted in the evolution of sacred architecture.(Pirnia 1992) That is to say many of the elements seen today in the architecture of mosques were not the principal ones which existed in the first mosque built by the prophet of Islam. Elements like domes, minarets and etc., were added to mosques once as means to provide a more comfortable ambient for the people who come to pray like a dome, once as manifestation of the identity and culture of the society that the mosque is built by as ornamentals and so forth.

Coming back to the first argument minding the contrast gaping the local architecture and the mosque, clearly the contrast is not in the main type of architecture and it's elements rather it is about the fact that a mosque is the manifestation of the values, identity and the cul-

ture of the local society and thus it stands in a way or another different from the ordinary architecture of the context. People seem to praise it more and fund it to obtain ornaments and forms of architecture which are extraordinary.

**Mosques' role in the urban sphere**

Mosques rather than a commonplace for people to worship god, played other roles within the urban life of a community. These places as the common spots for the members of the society to join each other over the same act brought solidarity within the community members and were one of the very interactional public spaces in the smaller or bigger urban scale. Its true that spaces inside mosques are also divided by gender as (Nyhagen, 2019) mentions: "Women's participation is thus conditioned upon the availability of a gender segregated physical space, with a separate room for women, distinct from the main prayer room, and with a separate mosque entrance too. Mosques that are open to women typically afford them physical spaces that are inferior in quality and size compared to men's"

However segregated spaces and gender barriers within spaces might not be an architectural concept that is very appreciated by the modern nonreligious society, still its true that many of these divisions and barriers derive directly from the religious traditions and the basic types of mosques' architecture. Secondly what the author tries to magnify is the role of mosque as one of the first ur-

ban public spaces that is inclusive toward women. To make it more clear regarding the former explanations given in the housing section about the divisions existing in traditional Persian houses to avoid women having any contact with the outside stranger and the "outside" in general and rendering the man as the urban protagonist which is the only member bearing the right to have contact with the outside as he is the one working out of the house, doing the shopping and he is harmless of the stranger's gaze, "Mosques" might have been one of the first and only public urban spaces inviting women to collectively get outside of the house as for a common aim: to do their prayers.

In addition apparently one of the specific features of the mosques to let women indulge their presence in the public sphere, was the existence of divided gendered spaces for this group in the contrary to most of the everyday urban areas that lacking these partitions, were not giving the women equal rights to enjoy them and women's absence was noticeable.

**Hussainiya**

Also known as an Ashurkhana, Imambargah, or Imambara is a congregational symbolic space for Moḥarram ceremonies commemorating the martyrdom of Ḥosayn (the third of the Twelve Imams and the grandson of the Islamic prophet Muhammad) and to accommodate visiting participants. (Iranica, 2022) Although according to the men-

tioned description these places might have a periodical use, but it is worth to mention that they are the second popular religious spaces after the mosques and their type of architecture and elements let them to be flexible enough to bear a multi functional use during the year.
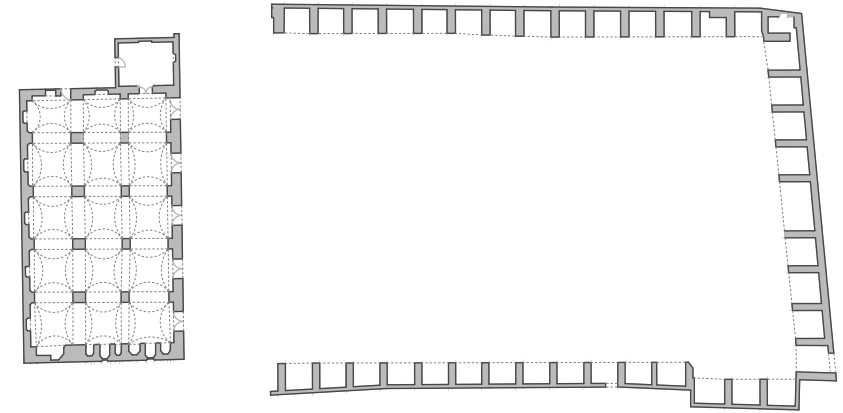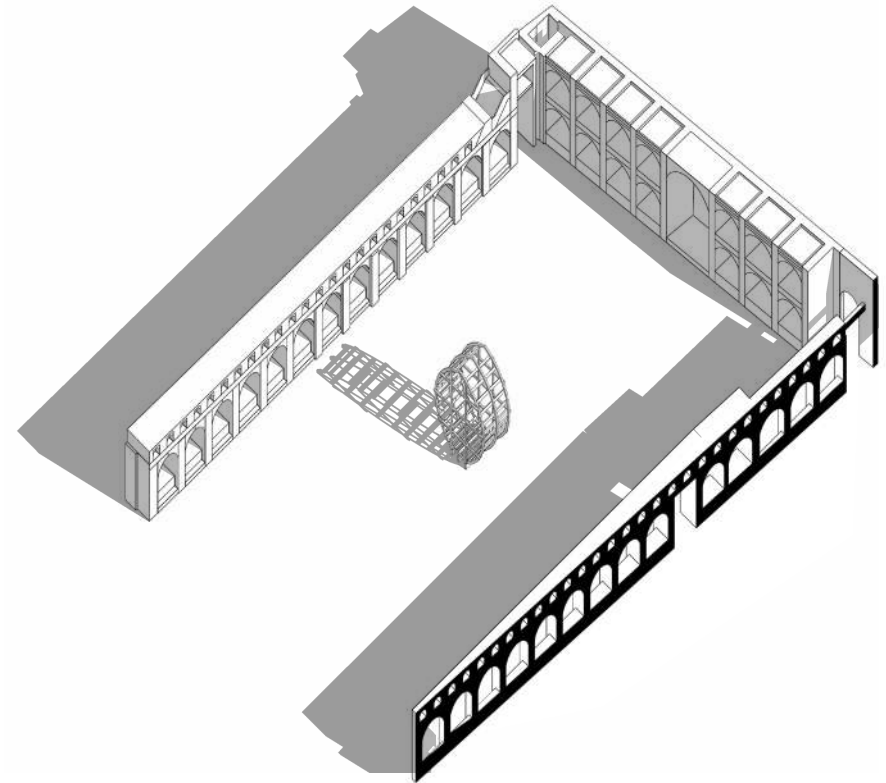
One of the interesting aspects about these spaces is that they are one of the important open public spaces in interaction with the city. They influence the urban texture by the open free public space that they offer and they get formed within the urban network by the pattern of inhabitants flows.(Ghouchani and Taji 2019)

**Abanbar**
The term āb-anbār is common throughout Iran as a designation for roofed underground cisterns. The āb-anbār was one of the constructions developed in Iran as part of a water management system in areas reliant on

permanent (springs, qanāts) or on seasonal (rain) water. A settlement's capacity for storing water ensured its survival over the hot, dry season when even the permanent water supply would diminish. Water was brought to the cisterns by special channels leading from the main qanāt or holding tanks and was controlled by sluice gates. (Iranica, 2022)

These constructions in the arid central part of Iran usually contain a dome shaped roof on the top of the pool and some wind catchers in the sides  or in the center for ventilation and also cooling down the water. The temperature inside these ventilated storage chambers is so mild that it can be a comfortable resting place also in the hot summer months.

The reason that these structures are mentioned in this part is that usually you can find Abanbars near the hussainiya in the sary-azd village and that is probably to place these structures near places with public functions to be accessible to the public.
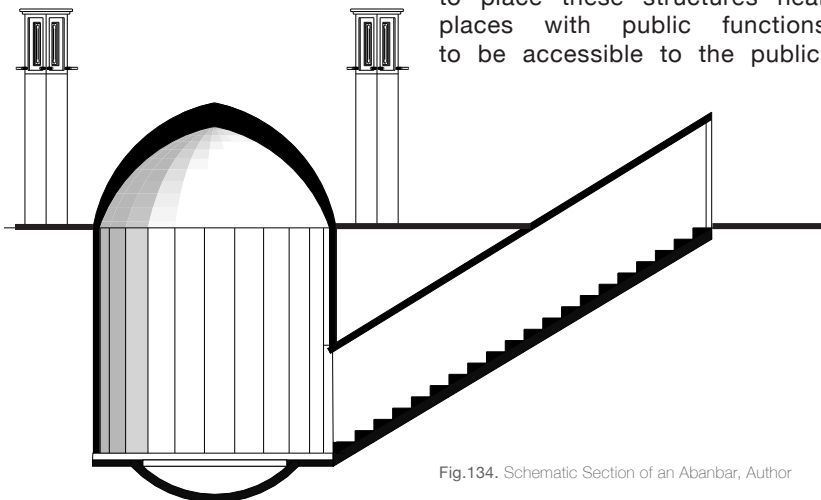


Fig.134. Schematic Section of an Abanbar, Author
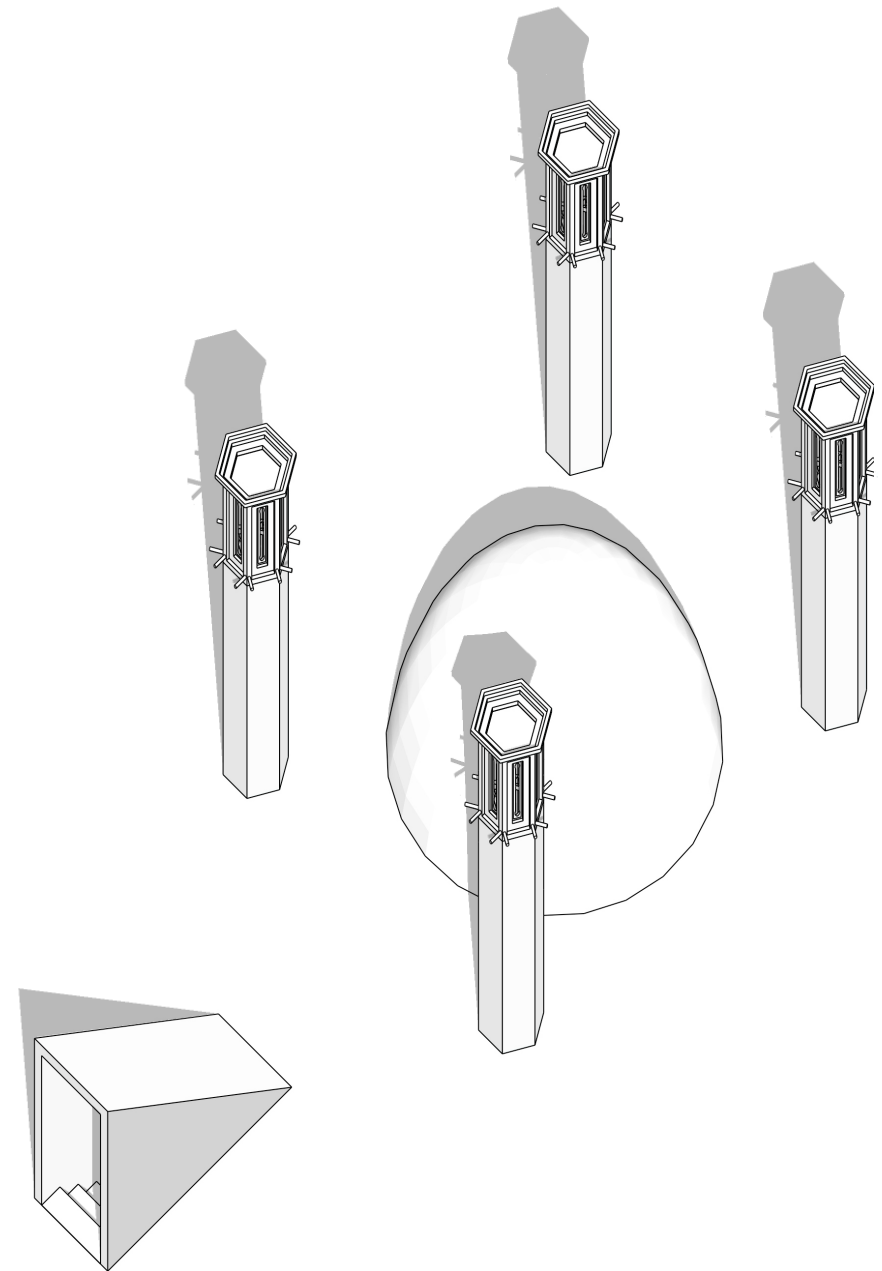


Fig.135. Schematic Axonometric of an Abanbar

## Typical Architectural Components and Symbolic Elements

As every context or culture bears it's architectural elements and symbols, also this village contains architectural elements that are not only belonging to this village in particular but are derived from the culture, religion and the living experience of the people living in this geographical zone for more than thousand years. These elements are important to review as beyond the initial function that they have, they have become collective identifiers of this style of architecture in the country; as if one facing these elements unconscious of the zone or context, can still make an assumption about the zone. Thus we are going to briefly discuss some of these elements existing in this village down below:

### Badgir

In English wind-tower or literal translation "windcatcher" is traditional structure helping the passive air-conditioning in buildings usually located at arid or dry zones of Iran or other parts of the world. (Iranica, 2022) One can find windcatchers in different forms and various number of sides according to the permanent climate and wind direction of the zone. Generally these structures work by channeling prevailing winds trapped in vents above the roofs of buildings down to cool and ventilate the rooms below. These elements are one of the most symbolic elements in this zone as Yazd is called City of windcatchers.
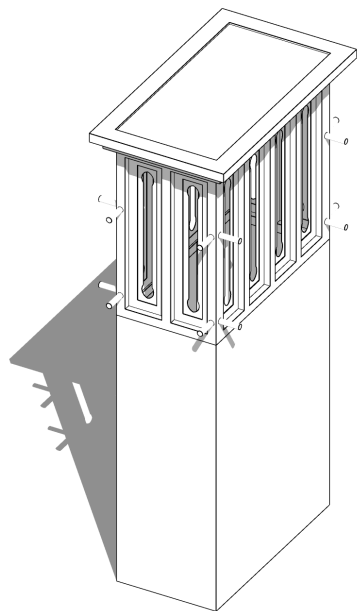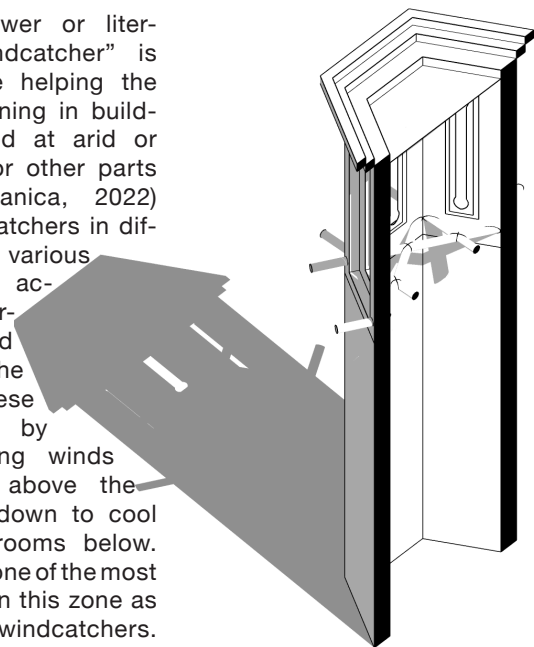
### Nakhl

One of the principal objects related to the mourning rituals commemorating the suffering and martyrdom of Imam Ḥosayn. It is described as a wooden structure resembling a bridal pavilion and decorated with colorful silk shawls, precious fabric, mirrors, lanterns, etc.; Flowers and green branches are also added for ornamentation. The nakhl (or naḵl-e tābut) is so called because of its resemblance to the date palm tree (naḵl), which has a tall, slender, straight trunk. (Iranica, 2022)

As ritual objects for the "Ashura" (ʾĀšurāʾ), nakhls are built from wood in various sizes, from simple constructions that can be carried by two persons to colossal structures about three stories high that have to be supported by hundreds of men. In Yazd and the surrounding towns and villages, a nakhl is often referred to as a naql "conveying, carrying, transferring." This large wooden structure is carried on the day of Ashura from one place to another. (Iranica, 2022)

Naḵhl-gardāni is the ritual ceremony of carrying the nakhl, as a symbolic representation of the Imam's coffin,in the procession of the Ashura (i.e., 10 Moḥarram, the date of the martyrdom) (Iranica, 2022)
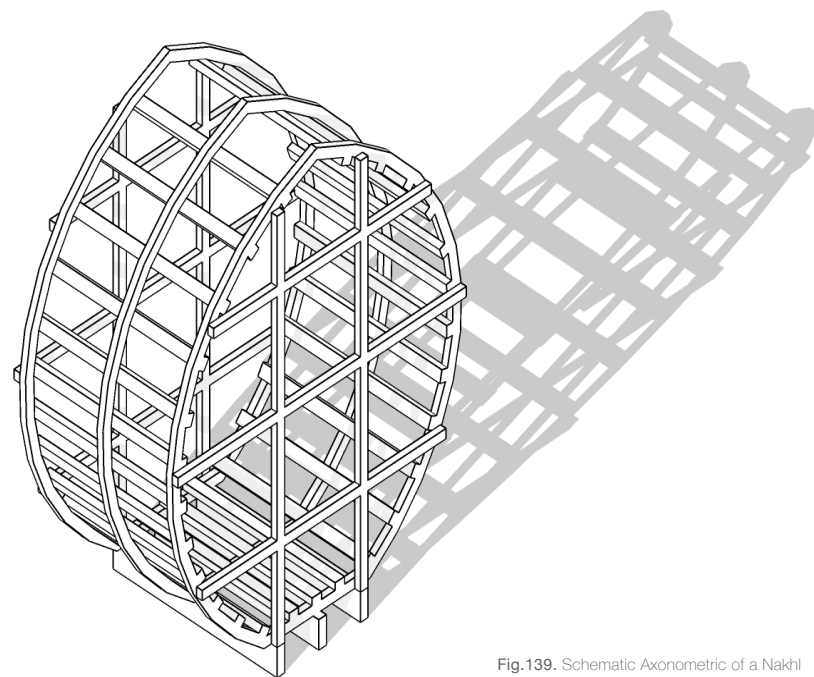
Fig.139. Schematic Axonometric of a Nakhl

## Vaults and Domes

Another similarity found in the constructions of this zone are the vaults and cupolas used in the buildings' roofing. This type of roofing in addition to it's structural characteristics and the fact that it makes it easier in constructional terms to cover wider openings by some simple techniques, contributes to the regulation of environmental conditions. Apparently in the more hot and arid areas this sort of roofing helps the building to obtain higher ceilings, the hight inside the room helps the convection phenomena which is to say that the hotter air rises to the top because its lighter and the cooler air will replace it, these domes are usually constructed with an opening (oculus) on the top or some vents and openings on the sides to ease the hot air evacuation. This is how these cupolas contribute to milder the house temperature in hot seasons, this phenomenon is called natural vertical ventilation. The other climatic aspect about these domes is the lower absorption of heat in the hot seasons, as they are rounded and angled there would be always a side of them placed in the shade and not absorbing the heat, the cool side will contribute to the general external temperature of the building components (Ghobadian 2009). The smooth and curvy surface of these cupolas are also more aerodynamic and therefore there is less erosion of materials in case of winds. last bu not least is worth to mention that domes are three dimensional structures that are more resistant to some of the statical forces.
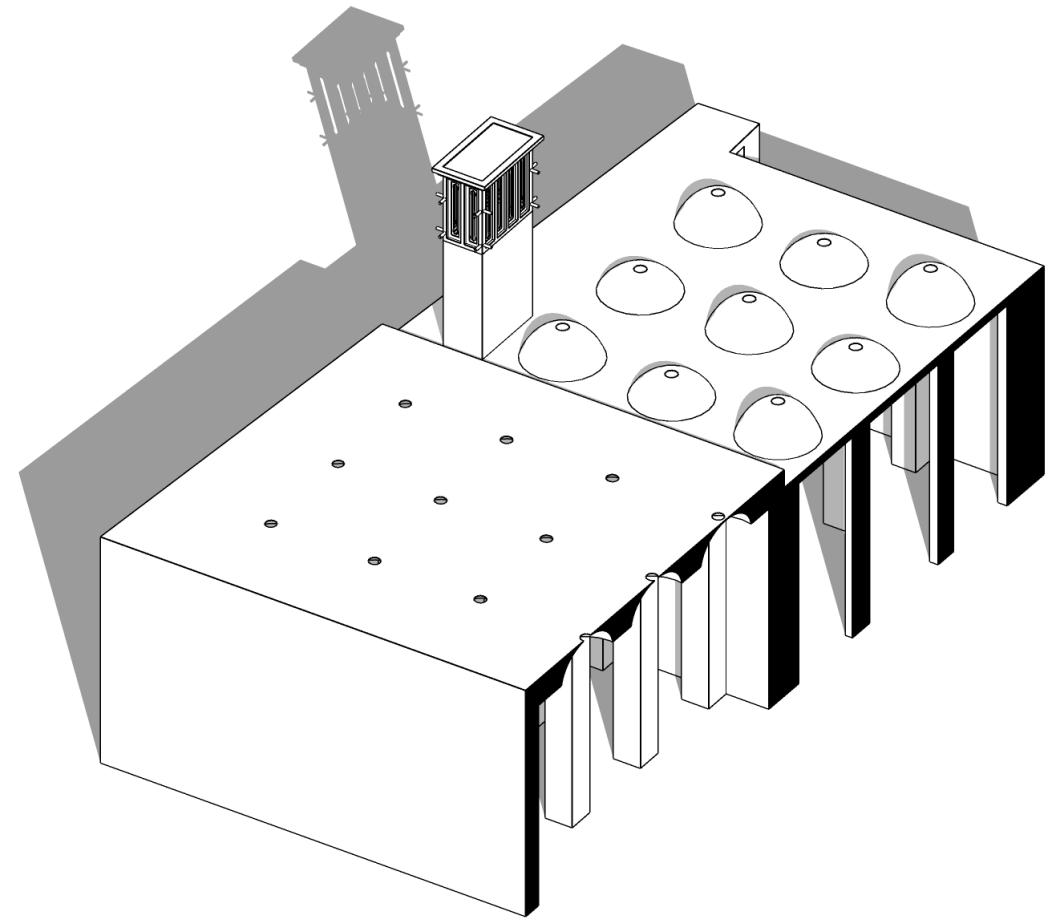


**Fig.140.** Sectioned Perspective of the Paye Borj Mosque, drawn by the author.

# B a l a
# D i s t r i c t
# A b a n b a r
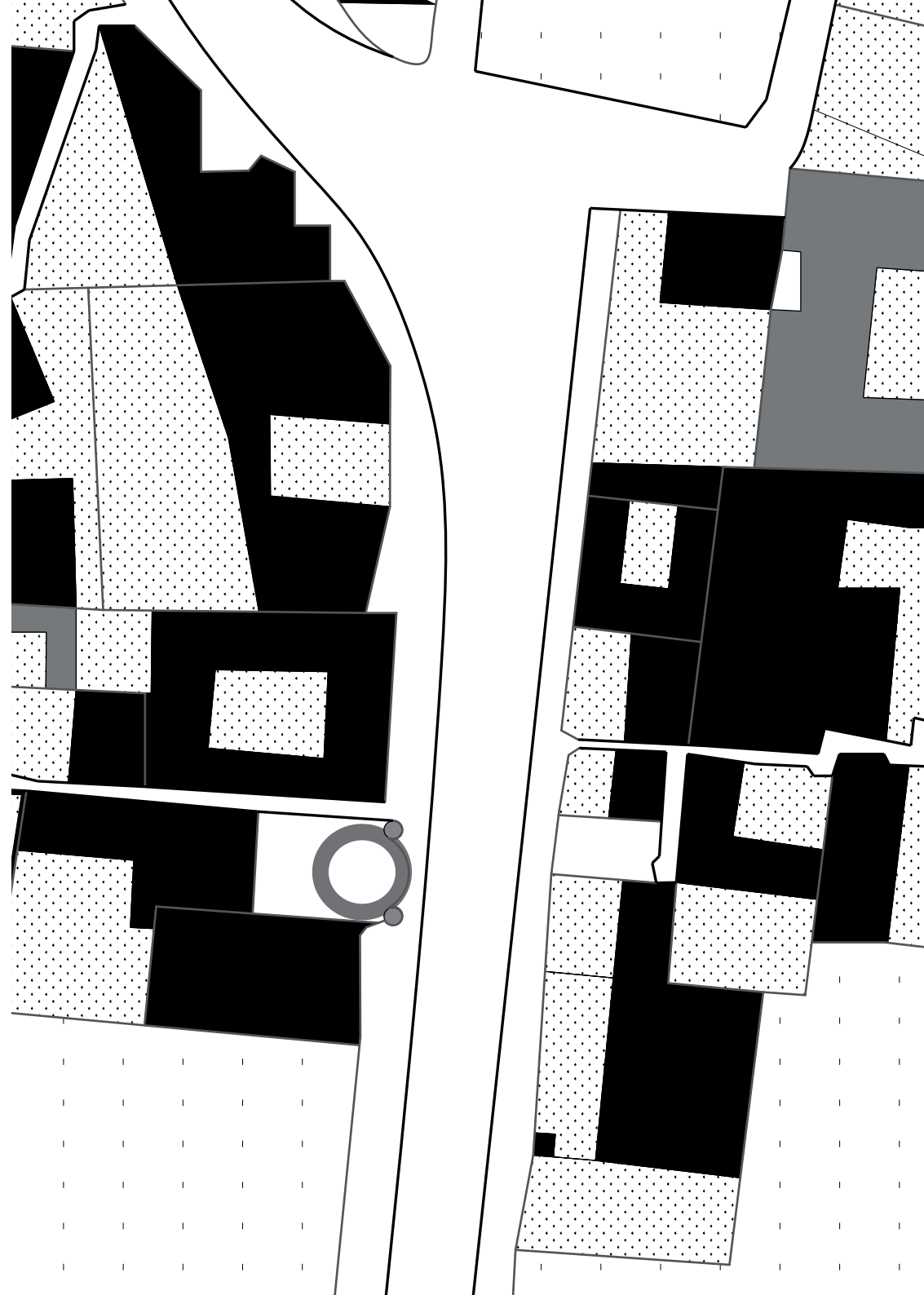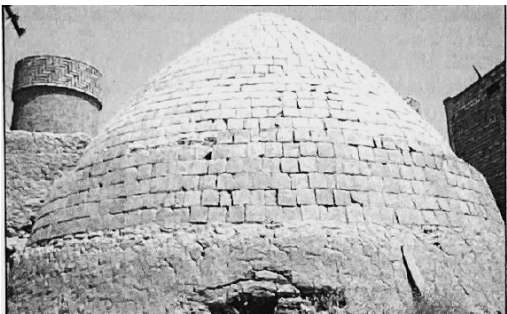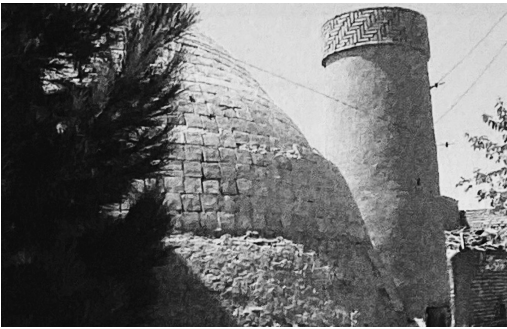






Fig.141.142.143. Valuable house number 3&4 in The Historical Texture,Riahi Moghaddam (2008)

# A s a d a n
# D i s t r i c t
# Hussainiya





Fig.144.145. Valuable house number 3&4 in The Historical Texture,Riahi Moghaddam (2008)
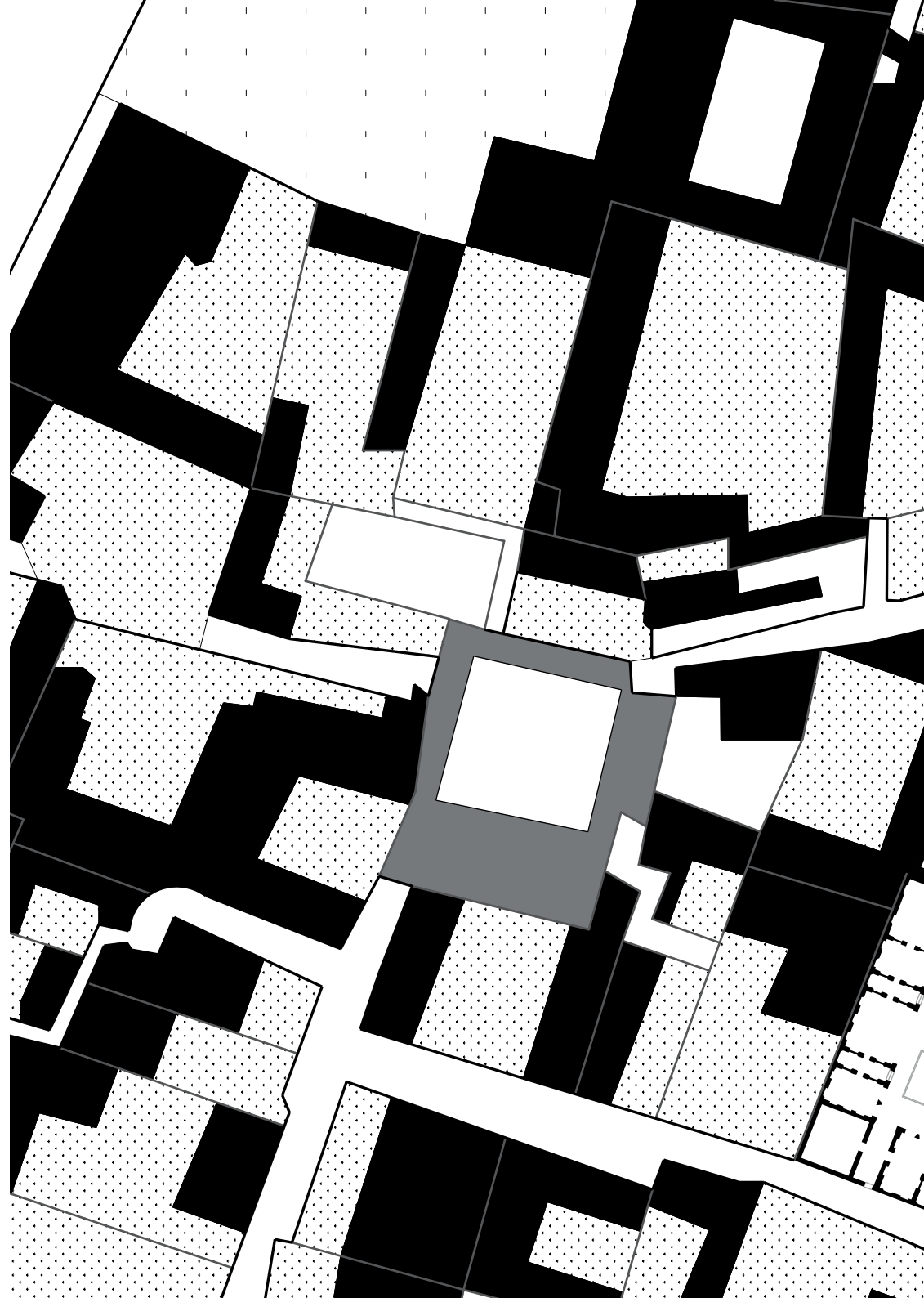
# Middle District Abanbar & Hussainiya
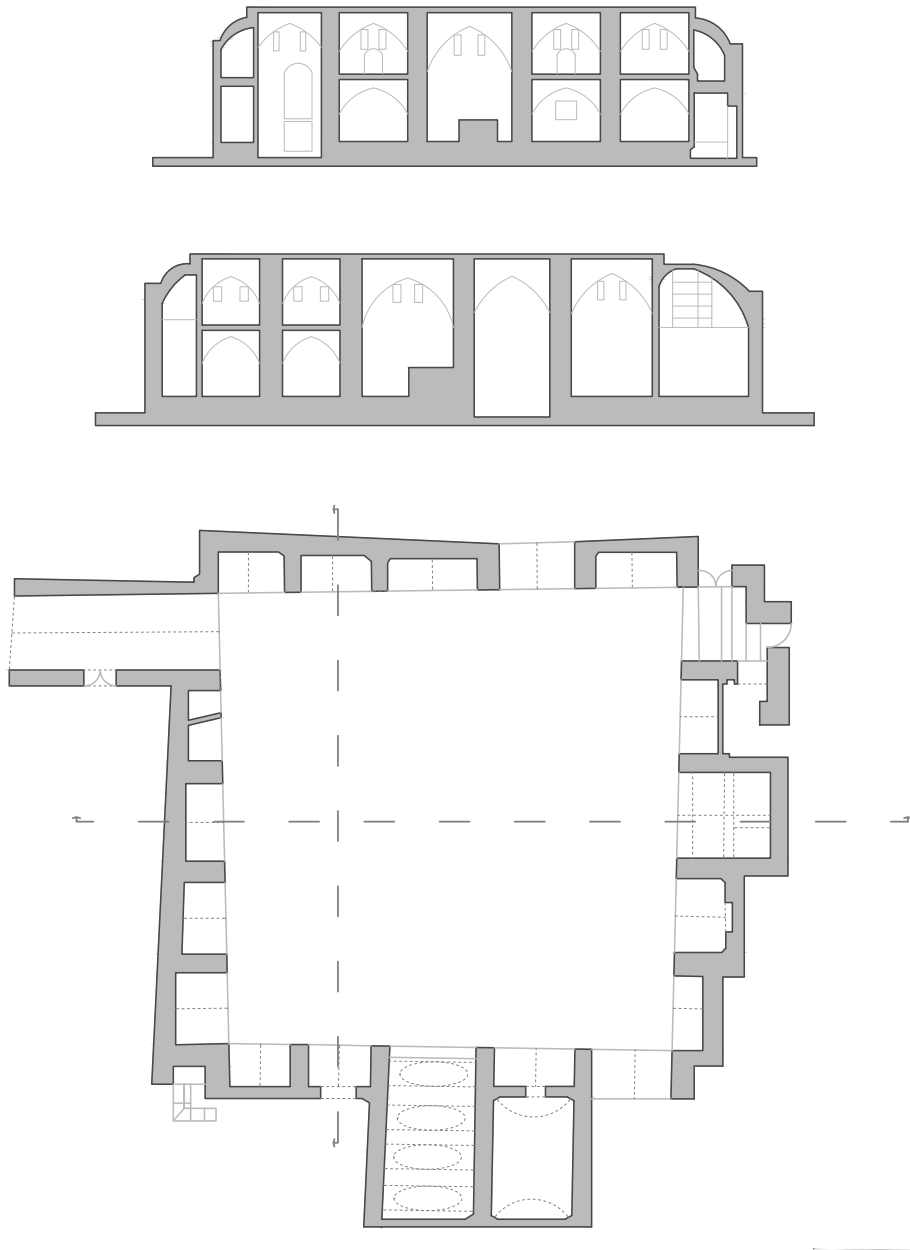


Fig.146.Grand Floor Plan and Section of Asadan district Hussainiya, Mentioned by Riahi Moghaddam (2008) Ref. Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization of Mehriz Province,  Redrawn by the Author

Fig.147.148. Valuable house number 3&4 in The Historical Texture,Riahi Moghaddam (2008)
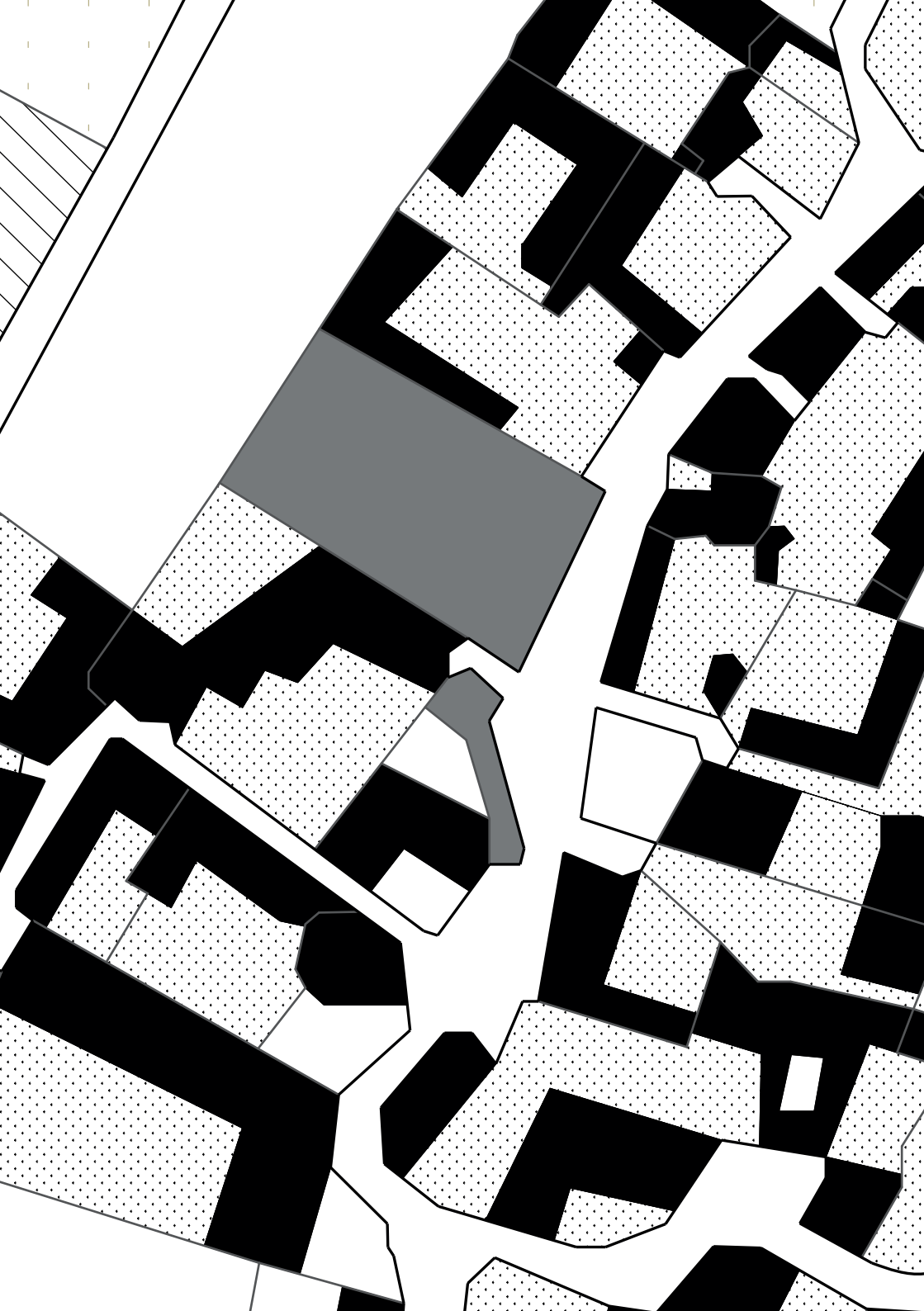
# Paye Nakhl Hussainiya &Abanbar
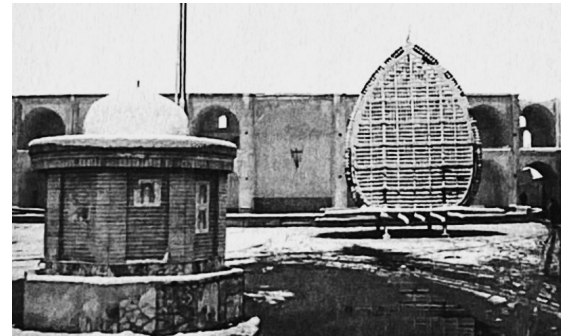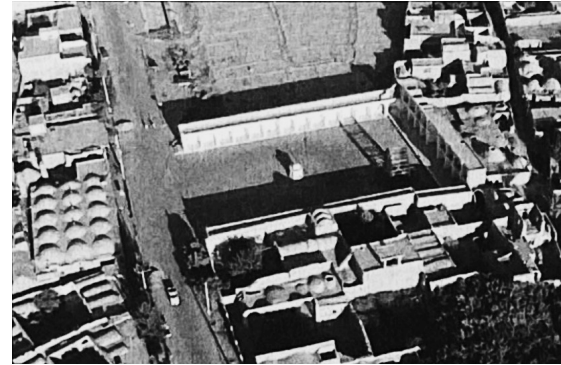






Fig.149.150.151. Paye Nakhl Hussainiya, Riahi Moghaddam (2008)

# Paye Nakhl
# Hussainiya
# &Abanbar





Fig.152.153. Paye Nakhl Abanbar, Riahi Moghaddam (2008)

# Paye Borj Mosque &Abanbar

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# Paye Borj Mosque &Abanbar





Fig.159. Paye Borj Abanbar, Author

Fig.160. Paye Borj Abanbar, Ri-ahi Moghaddam (2008)
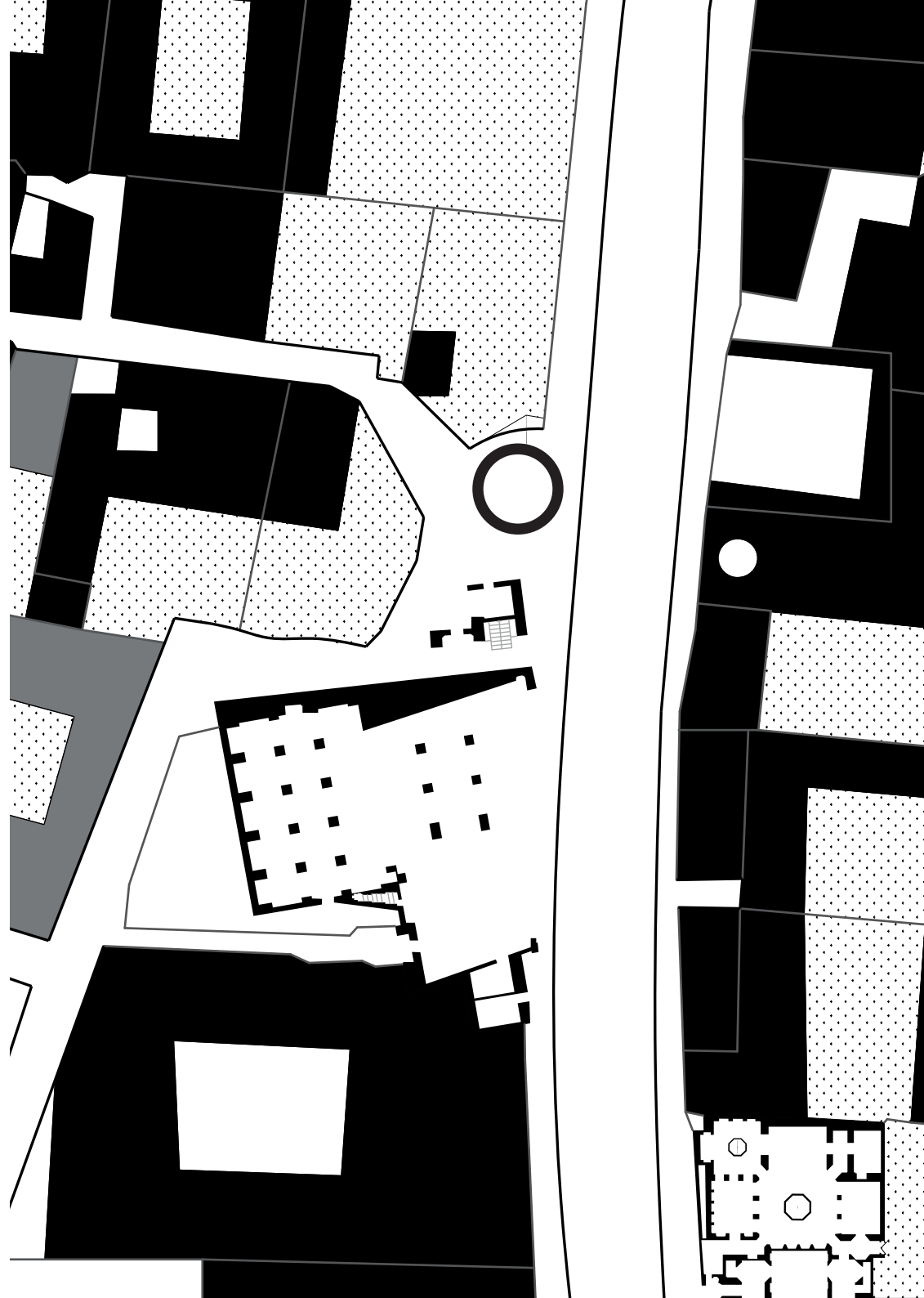
# Saryazd Jameh Mosque
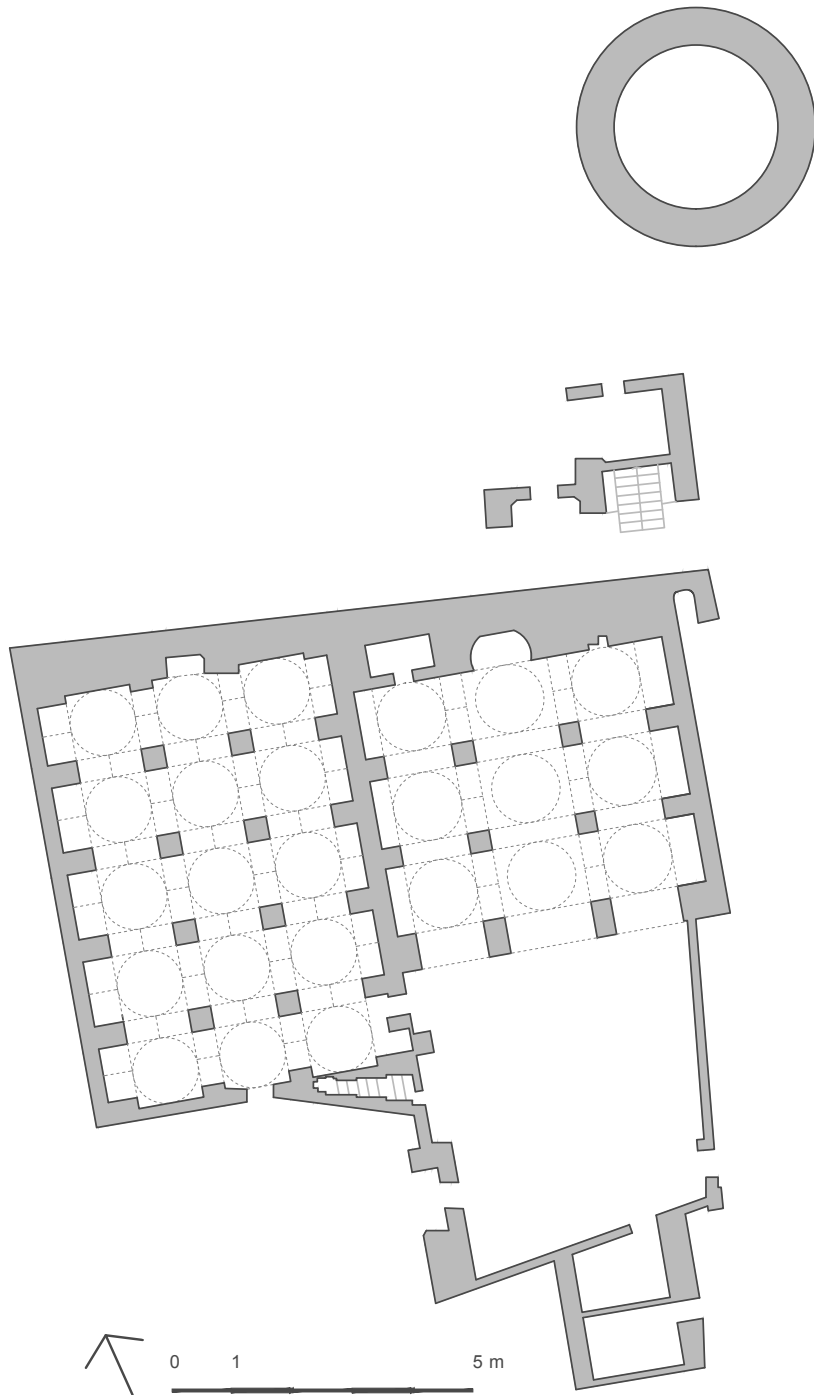
Fig.161.162.163 Main Mosque, source unfound

0    1                        5 m
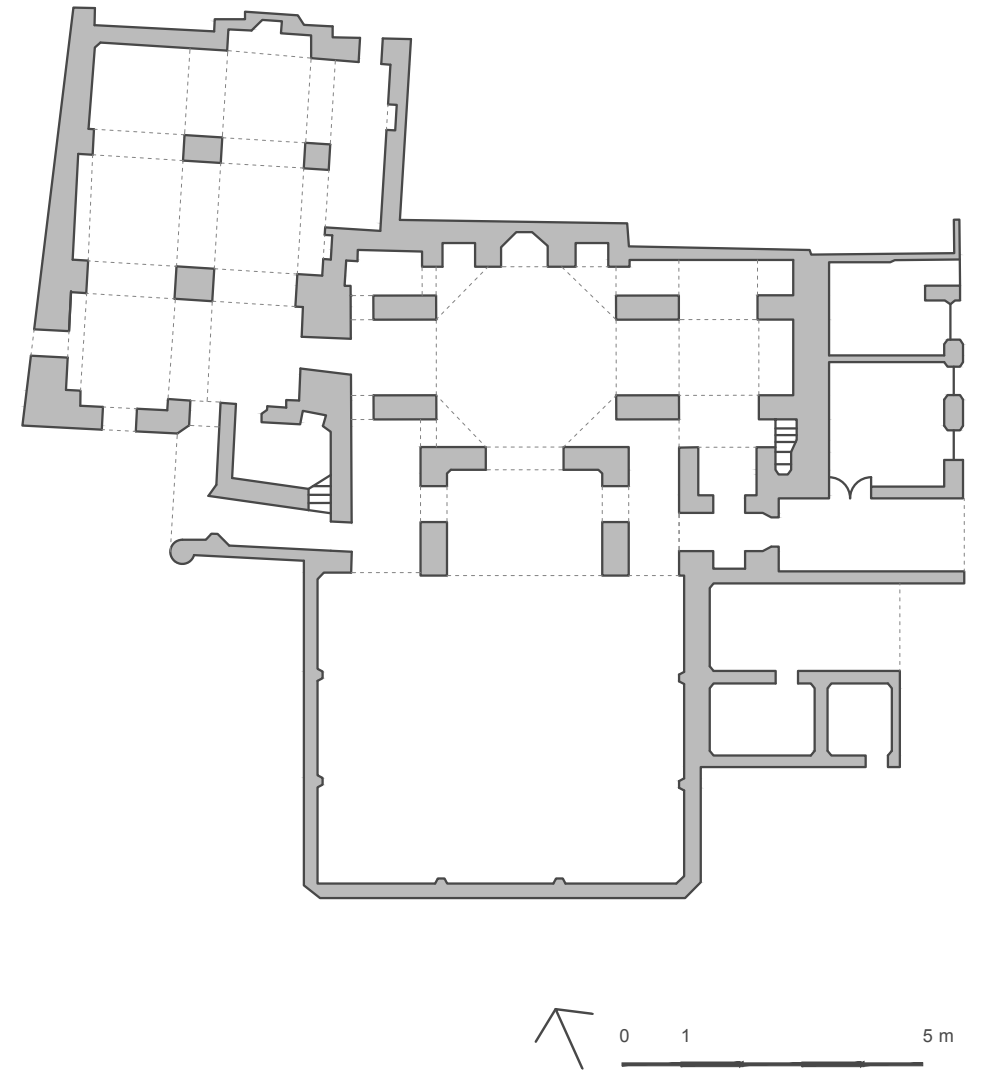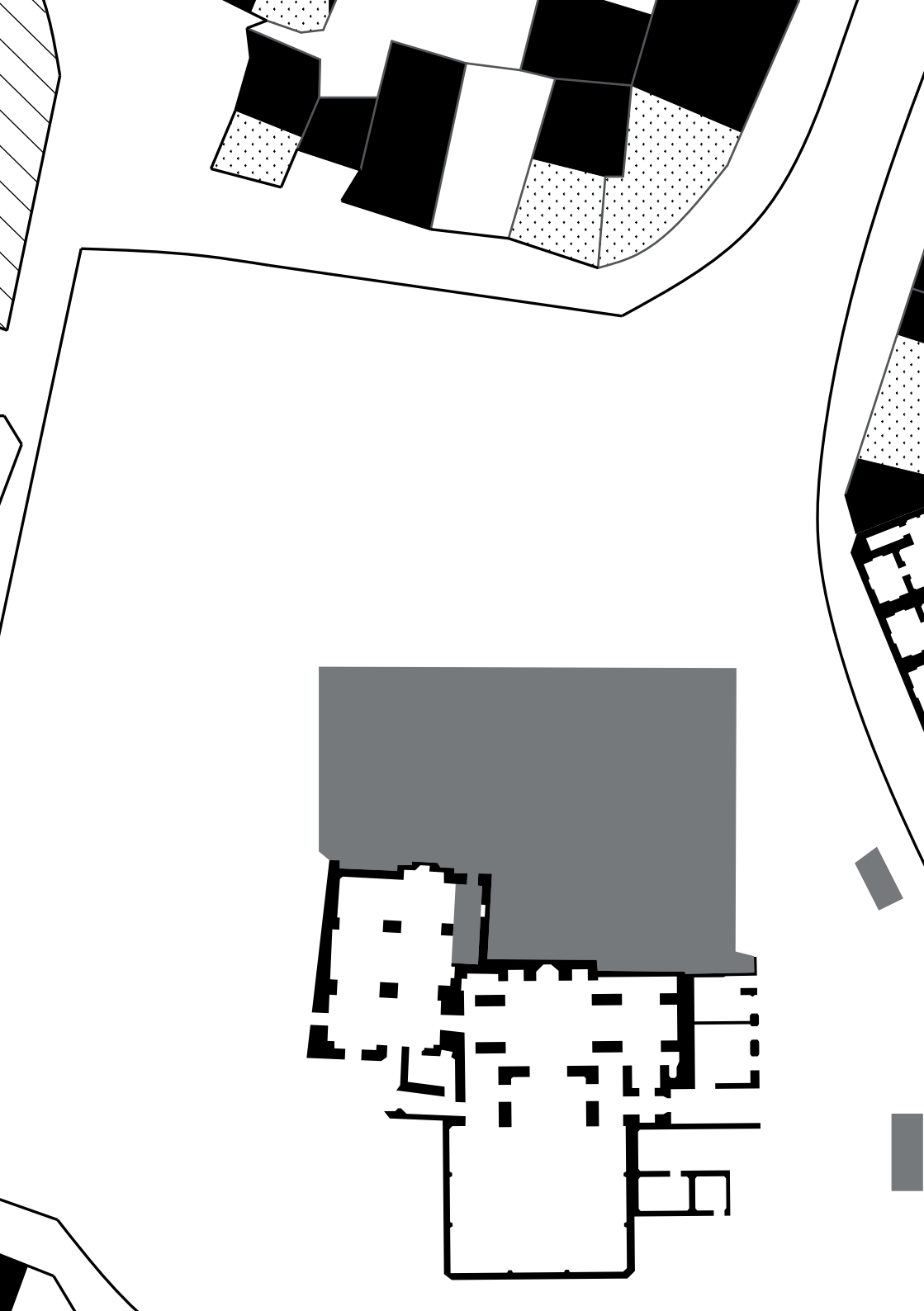
**Fig.164.** Grand Floor Plan of SarYazd Jameh Mosque, Mentioned by Riahi Moghaddam (2008), Ref. Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization of Yazd Province, Redrawn by the Author (The Plan and sections are redrawn from low quality photos of the existing plan thus are not much precise)

0    1    5 m
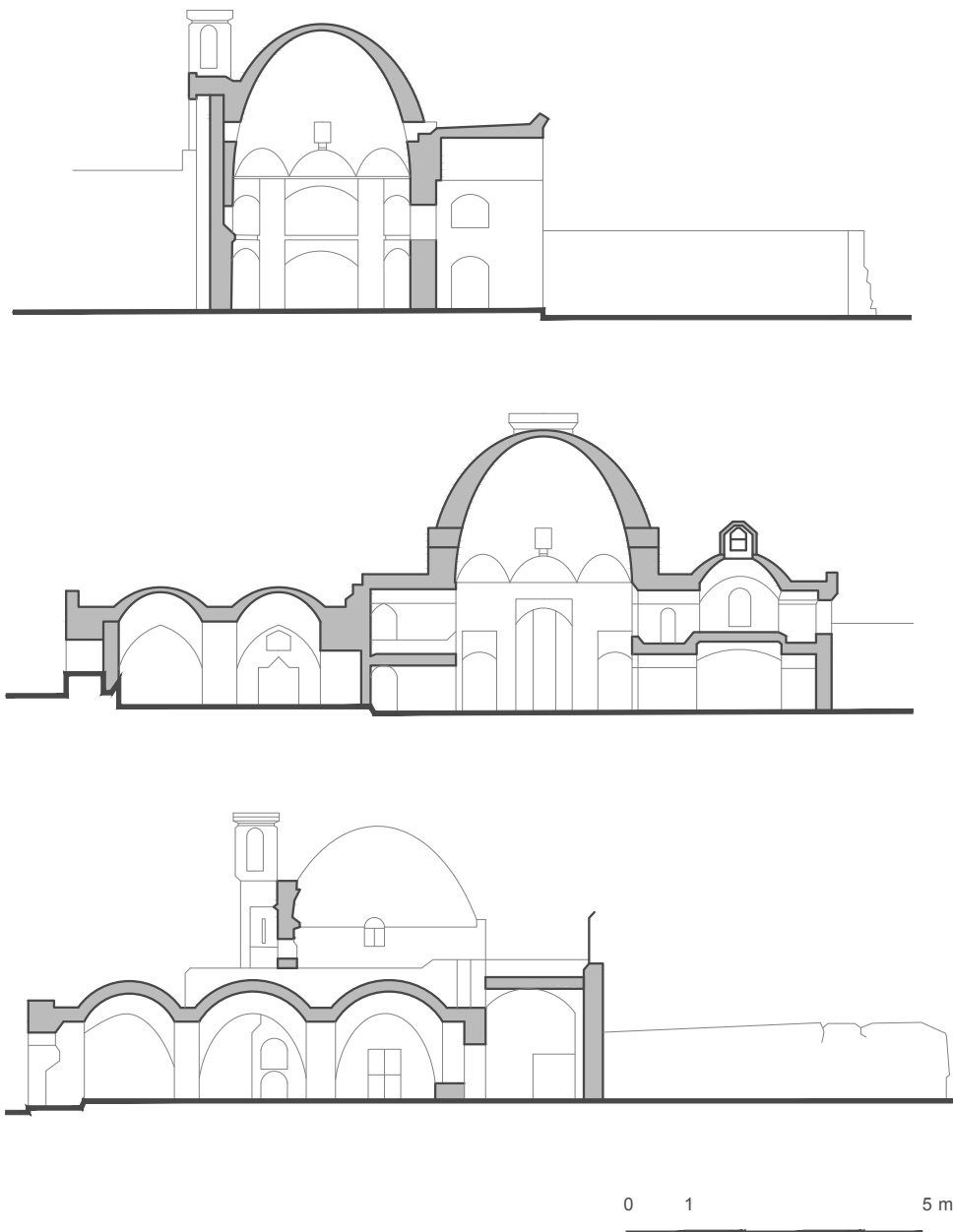
**Fig.165.** Grand Floor Plan of SarYazd Jameh Mosque, Mentioned by Riahi Moghaddam (2008), Ref. Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization of Yazd Province, Redrawn by the Author (The Plan and sections are redrawn from low quality photos of the existing plan thus are not much precise)

# NEW RABAT



**New Rabat**

There was not much found about the exact history of this mansion, yet according to the construction style and the used materials, it can be assumed that it was built by the Safavid dynasty (16th century).

This Caravanserai consists of a small yard by the entry containing a big covered stable at its southern side. Moreover, this Rabat in comparison with the others of the same province seems to be uniquely different as the typical caravanserais in this zone are often consisted of a yard bearing stables and porches in each of their four sides while this one contains only one at its southern side.

There are 5 porches made with symmetry on each side of this Rabat while in the façade (entry) there are 7 porches seen. This Caravanserai is recently functioning as a guesthouse in this village and seems to accommodate a considerable number of tourists every year.

**Fig.166.** Grand Floor Plan of New Rabat, Ref. Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization of Yazd Province, Redrawn by the Author

0 1 2 3 4 5     10 m



**Fig.167.** Section of New Rabat, Ref. Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization of Yazd Province, Redrawn by the Author

0 1 2 3 4 5     10 m
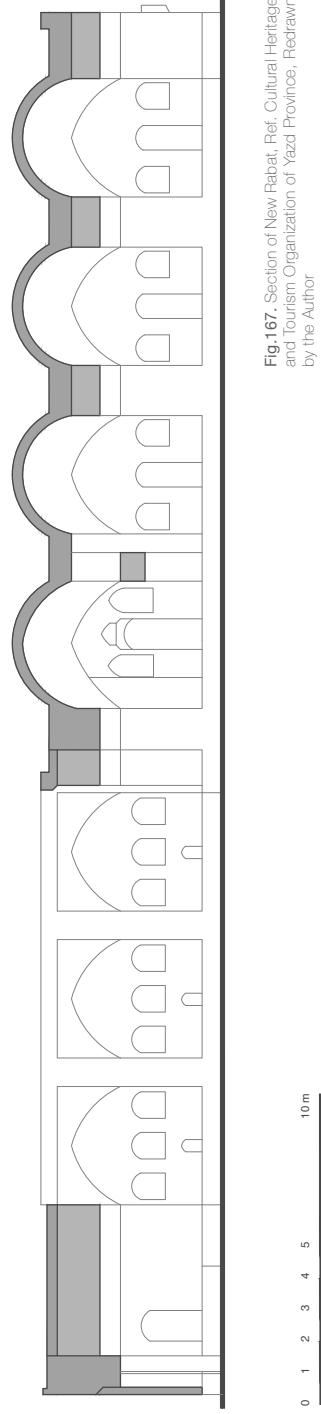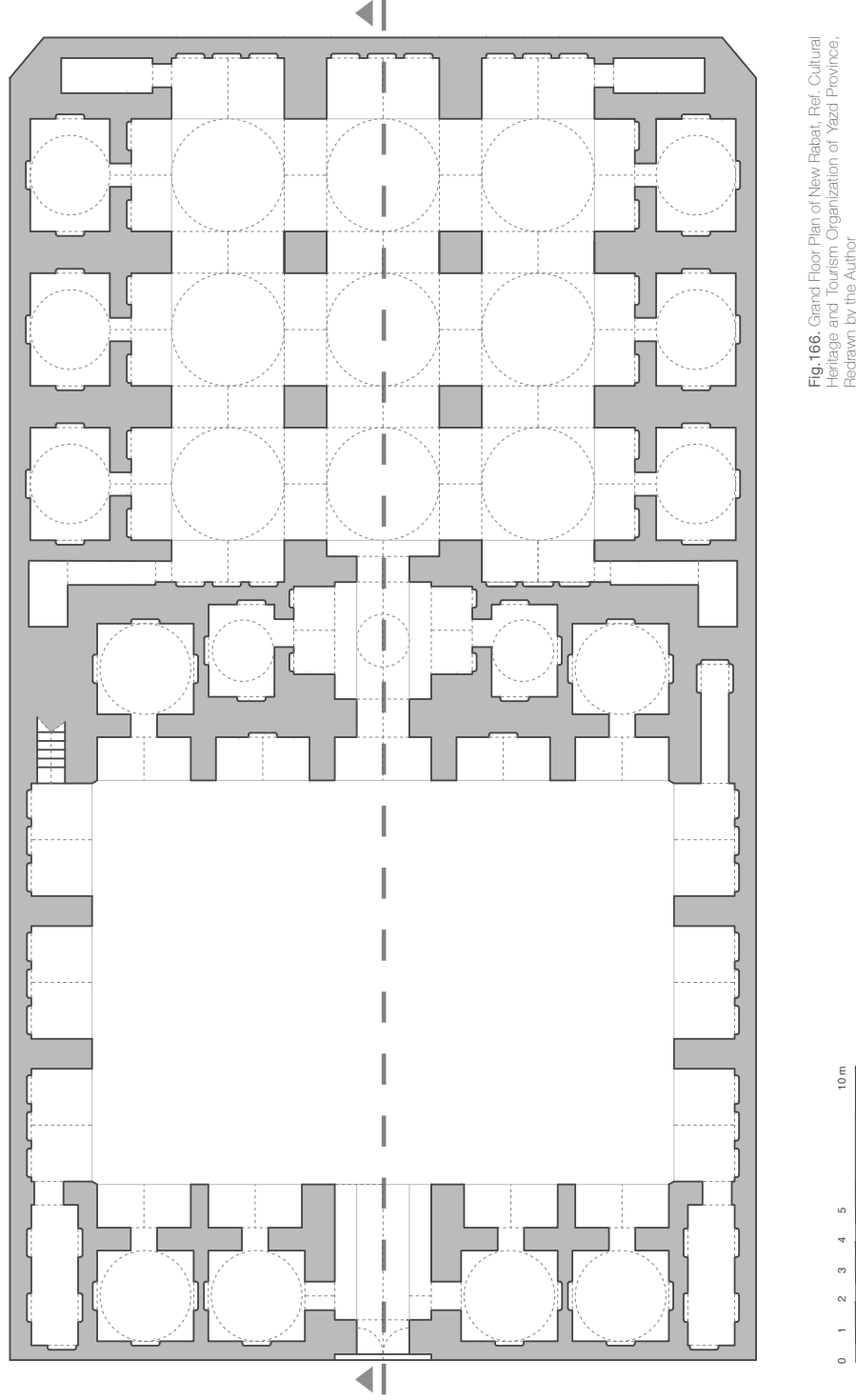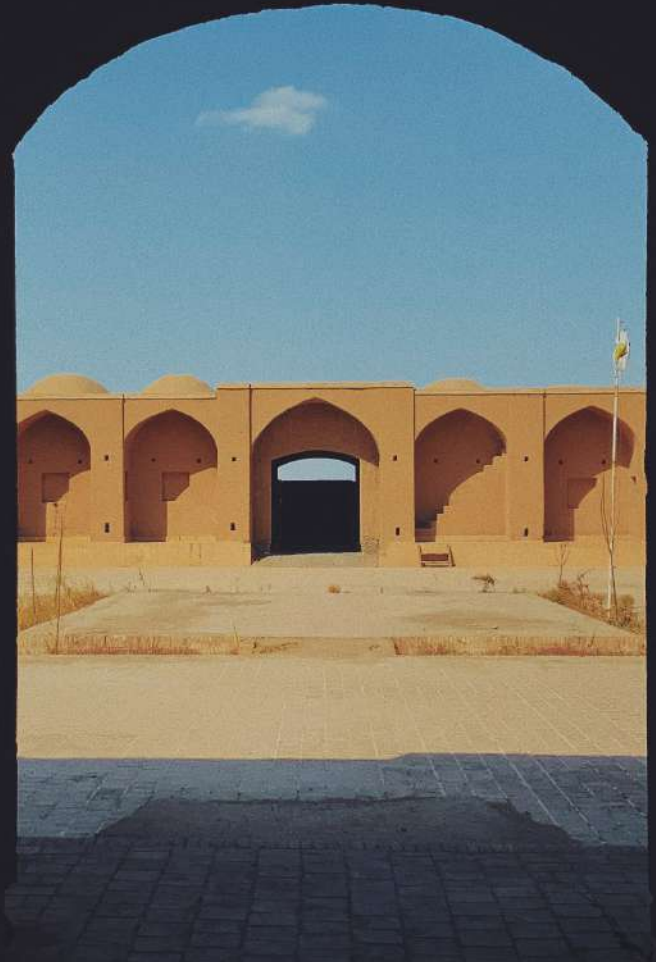
## Old Rabat

According to recent investigations, the construction of this building dates back to the Muzaffarid dynasty (14th century) although that some acclaim it might date back to the Seljuk period and since it was built of mud bricks, it is also called the mud-brick Rabat.

This mansion used to serve as a place for the Caravans passing nearby to repose.

The Rabat contains a yard measuring 25 meters wide and 25 meters long enclosed and surrounded by terraces that lead to storerooms standing 60 centimeters above the yard itself. At the corner of this yard, there is a stable embed for the passengers' animals. Based on the climatic conditions of the zone (torrid weather) and the vernacular architecture already existing from the past, the constructing walls, pillars, and ceilings are built quite thick and as they are made by mud-bricks the amount of heat transferred between inside and outside areas is quite low.

The building is supposed to be relatively tall for its age. One of the other interesting aspects of this building is the lancet arches used to span the openings by the terraces.
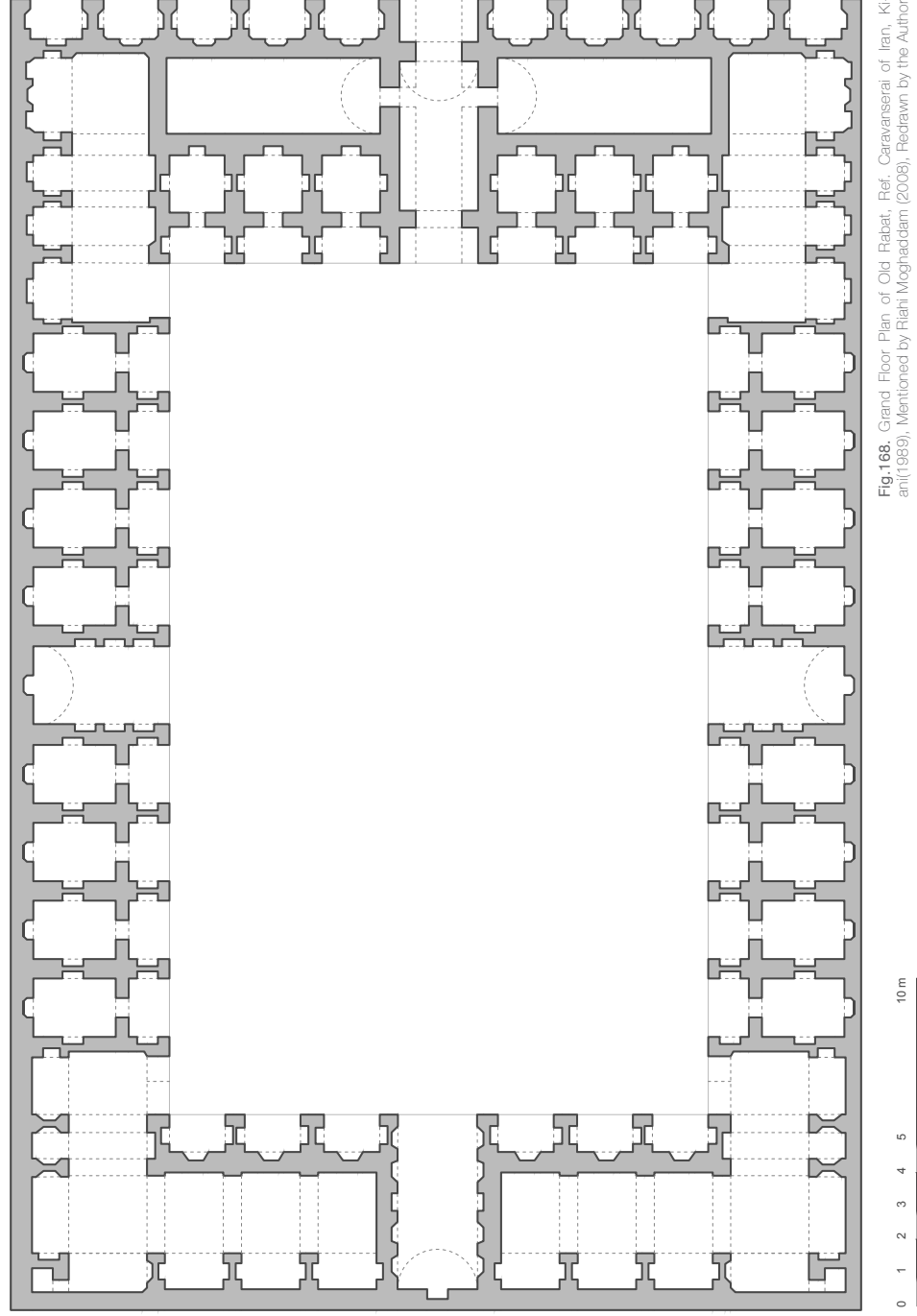
Fig.168. Grand Floor Plan of Old Rabat, Ref. Caravanserai of Iran, Kiani(1989), Mentioned by Riahi Moghaddam (2008), Redrawn by the Author
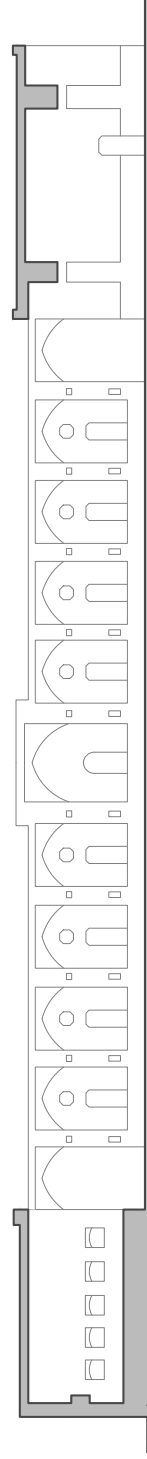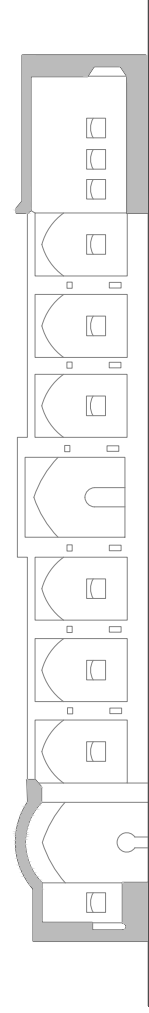
Fig.169. Sections of Old Rabat, Ref. Caravanserai of Iran, Kiani(1989), Mentioned by Riahi Moghaddam(2008), Redrawn by the Author

0  1  2  3  4  5                    10 m

# SANAMBAR MANSION



**Sanambar Historical Mansion**

This mansion is a fortress-like construction that was built with adobe and mud bricks. According to what people quote from their ancestors and family, Sanambar used to be like a field that had qanats (underground aqueducts) and a pool in the middle so that the water coming from the qanat was discharged inside the pool and used for agricultural purposes.

Back in the time, this zone used to be verdant and lush but by the constant droughts that had been through, the qanat has dried and the mansion and the constructions nearby have been gradually deteriorated and demolished.

There is a famous tale also about this mansion which the locals say if it was built by the king of the time for his Indian beloved. (Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization of Yazd Province)
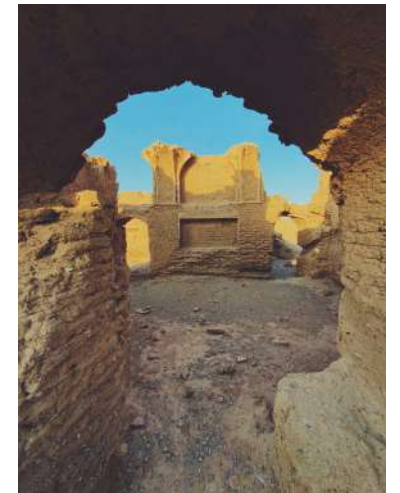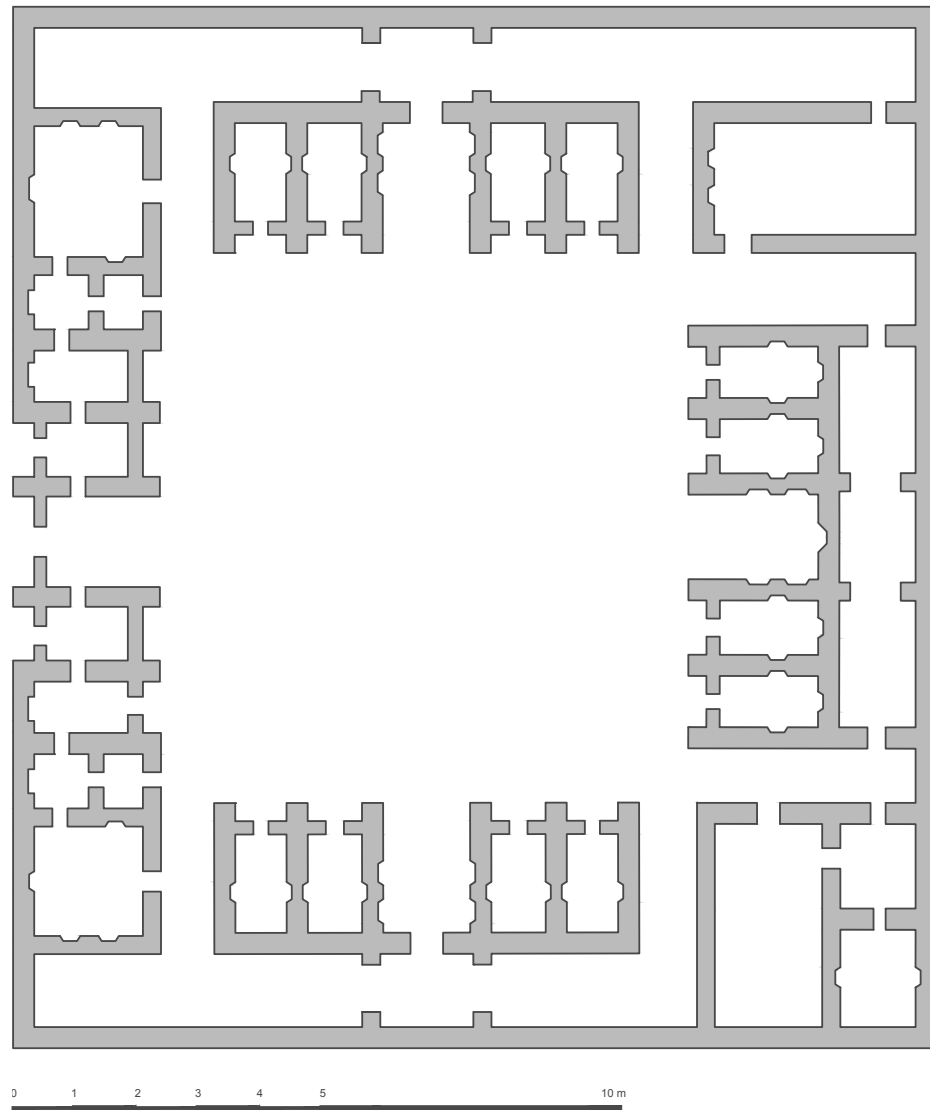
**Fig.170.** Schematic Grand Floor Plan of Sanambar Mansion, Riahi Moghaddam (2008), Redrawn by the Author (According to scarcity of information about this mansion this schematic plan is once surveyed and sketched by Sasha Riahi Moghaddam (2008) and redrawn from the sketches by the author)

Currently there is a new caravanserai is built new the Sanambar mansion which would take a part in accommodating tourists near this building.

## SARYAZD FORTRESS

Saryazd fortress is located in the southern part of Saryazd village in a place that used to be surrounded by lush and green fields. This construction dates back to the end of the Muzaffarid dynasty (14th century) however there is earthenware found in the fortress belonging to the 7th or 8th century. Nevertheless, plenty of interventions have taken place in Safavid and Qajar periods.

The fortress is 92-meter-long, 65-meter-wide on the northern side, and 75-meter-wide in the southern side, it is surrounded by a 7.5-meter width and 2-meter depth moat. The fortress mainly consists of three siege walls, there are vestiges of the first siege wall remaining outside of the moat made by rammed earth which its current height is 50 cm.

The secondary siege wall is located inside the moat composed of 6 rows of rammed earth (Each around 50-60 cm) and one row of adobe among every two rows of rammed earth, also there are apertures distancing one meter from each other under the 5th row made by mud bricks. It appears as if the fortress walls used to be taller and their height has been decreased by the time passing.

Currently, the tallest wall of the fortress is about 4 meters and three phases of construction in its composition can be evidenced. Underneath the Fortress's northern wall there is a 33 cm diameter conduit (clay water pipe) which was utilized to excreting the wastewater out of the fortress or filling the moat.

The third siege wall or the internal curtain wall is as well made of rammed earth placed on a stone foundation, it consists of four turrets in the four corners and one turret between each two. The turrets bear a serrated pattern on the top edge and the walls are surrounded by rectangular or triangular arrowslits for safeguarding and archery in case of an assail. (Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization of Yazd Province)

# Grand Floor Plan Legend

**1** Moat
**2-** Drawbridge
**3-** Outer Bailey
**4-** Water Reservoir
**5-** Gatehouse
**6-** Aisle (Main Corridor)
**7-** Fortress's Well
**8-** Control Turret
**9-** Fortified Tower (LightHouse Turret)
**10-** Defensive Turrets
**11-** Middle Turrets
**12-** External Little Tower
**13-** Kitchen

Primary Walls
Central Core

Secondary Walls
Secondary Core

Remaining of Tertiary Walls
Moat

Scale Bar 1:2000

0    1    2         5 m

A—A

B—B
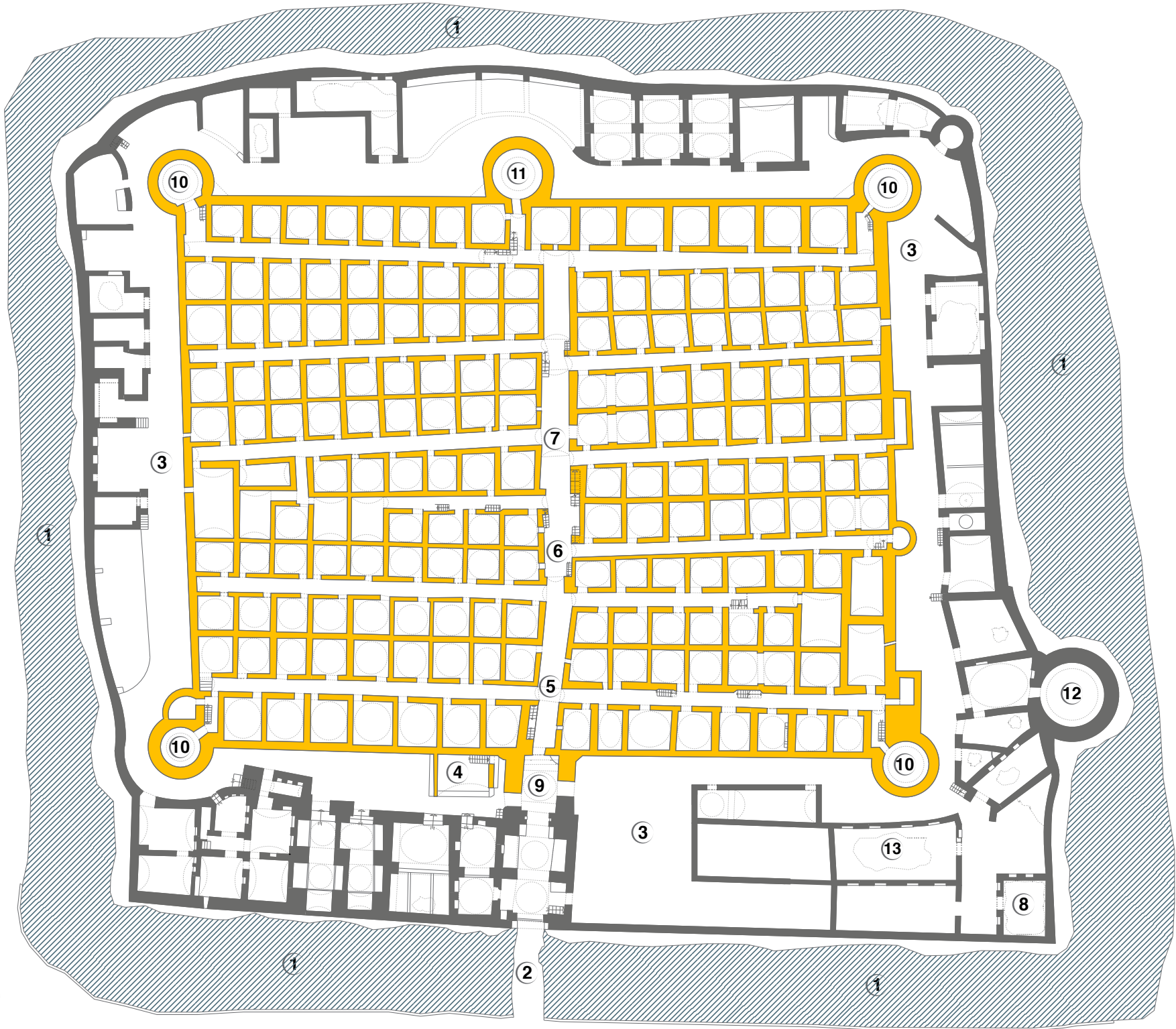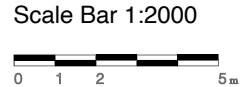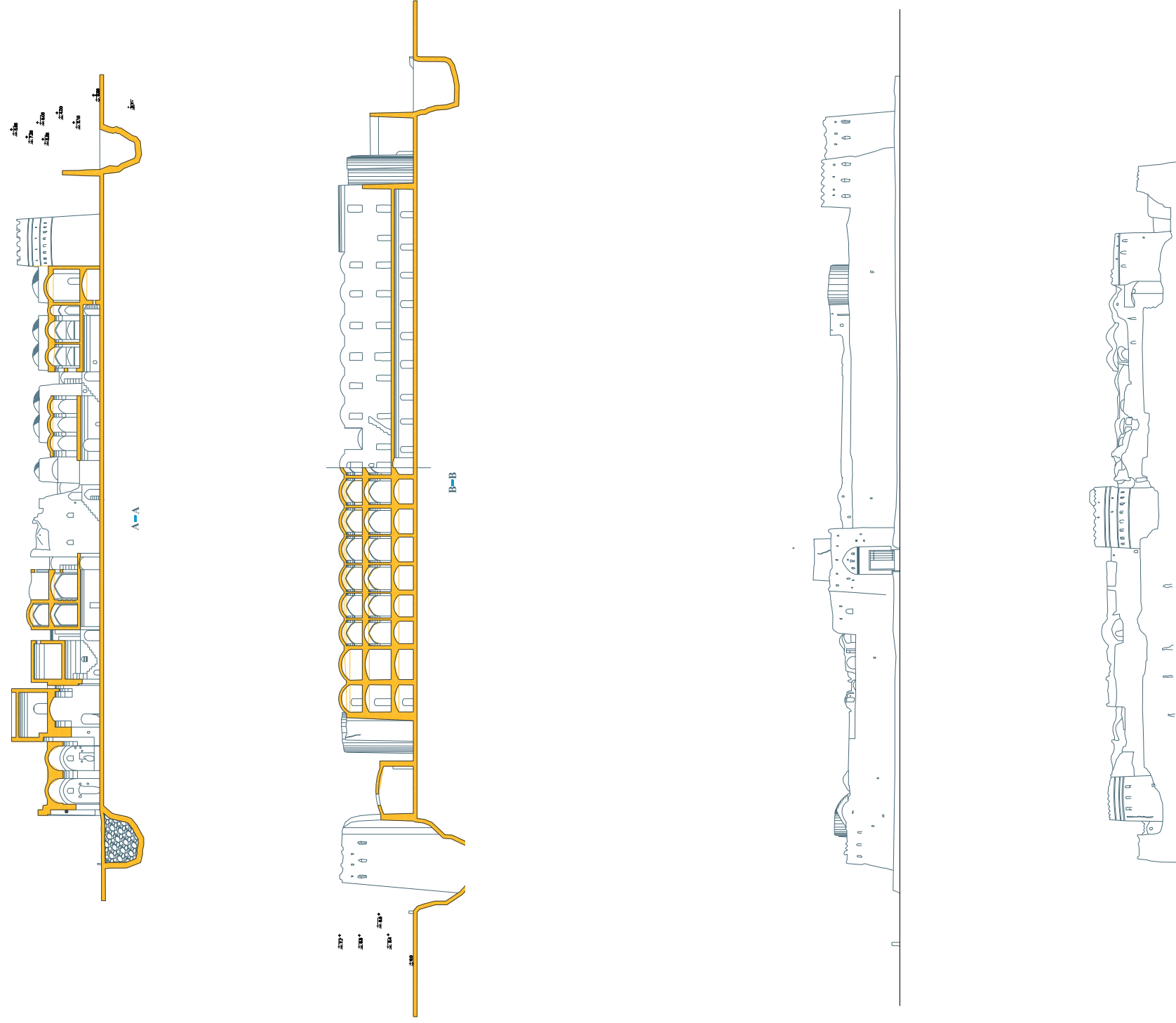
Fig.171. Saryazd fortress sections and main plan, redrawn from the original document provided by redrawn from the sketches by Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization of Yazd Province)

The rectangular-based circular turrets in the corners and the square turrets in between are placed half inside the siege walls and half outside. The internal diameter of the turrets is about 5 meters and their height is about 8 meters from the built surface.

By a general glance considering the position of the turrets and their form in the fortress's siege walls composition, one can say that these elements are not meant to be built symmetrically most probably caused by later interventions to the fortress.

The square-shaped turret located in the middle of the southern side bears exquisite mud-brick ornaments in rhomboid and ogival forms, the mentioned turret contains three small openings which the middle one has been covered later on. The guardians used to live in the round turrets (corner turrets). Right beside the turret located on the southeastern side, there is a kitchen with a masonry oven for baking bread.

The fortress's entrance is by the rectangular-shaped turret located in the middle of the northern side which bears two platforms on the sides for people to rest and it's serrated as well on the crown. Its ceiling is held by a groin vault and bears crescent shape openings on the head of the main gate measuring around 50x100 cm.

The wooden gate is about 2 meters in width and there are plenty of iron plates and doornails installed on it. The fortress contains a drawbridge consisted of thick wooden lumbers laying on the moat connecting the entrance gate with the outside. Nowadays there is a fixed bridge connecting the two sides with 2.5 meters of width.

Amid the second and third defensive walls which widths 14,3 meters, there are big rectangular spaces covered with domes or barrel vaults that used to serve servants habitation, caserne, stables, stalls, and corrals. These rooms often bear a wooden door fasten with a wooden latch. (Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization of Yazd Province)

In one of the small rooms in the main core of the fortress, there is a deep well providing the water for the consumption of inhabitants, also there are several wells in between the second and third defensive walls.

Right by the entrance of the fortress, there is a vestibule (Hashti) constructed by a groin vault. At the right side of the entrance, some stairs are leading to the small roofless room on the top of the gate's cornice held by wooden studs resting on the walls and there are two bulges seen on the room's floor which are the domes of the rooms downstairs. There are two large stables made for quadrupeds by the sides of the vestibule, subsequently, next to this space there is a 3-meter width corridor covered with three squinch vaults.

Passing through the aforementioned corridor and its thick wooden door we will arrive at the main northern-southern axial aisle on the ground floor level which semi symmetrically bears six narrow (Around 1-1.5 meters of width) corridors made with depressed barrel vaults on each side, these corridors lead to different rooms on both sides which located on the ground floor they are not getting much of daylight and there is no shaft in these rooms helping the light enter, which makes these corridors or generally the whole level except for the main open aisle, very dark and obscure.

Within these rooms, there are often large earthenware jars found indicating the fact that these rooms were spaces for supply victual. At the end or middle of the corridors, stairs are leading to the first floor of the fortress. The aisle on the ground floor is partly covered like an awning and partly open. Apart from the stairs located in the secondary corridors, there are four main stairs in the middle of the aisle that connect the ground floor to the first floor. On the northern side of the first floor, there is a covered corridor of 120 cm in width which leads to rooms assumed to be considered as the servicing spaces, containing functions such as spaces for baking bread, making bread dough, and providing alimentary; the oth-

er rooms by the sides of central corridors seem to have the same function as stores for food or jewelry, intermittently there are small repositories found in the walls by different shapes as it's said that these containers were meant to work as safe boxes keeping safe precious stuff of the caravans passing by them, like a bank. Further, there are adobe stairs arbitrarily placed on the first floor connecting it to the second floor. The second floor seems to be the manor (noble) part of the fortress considering the ornaments made with thatch and other materials. The only windcatcher of the fortress whose mud-bricklaying is based on a special pattern to decrease the main weight of the tower is located on the third floor.



The way that this fortress is thought and constructed or either arrived at this formation by the several interventions that it had experienced throughout different periods, is quite interesting. The fortress and its 468 rooms and spaces for different services can somehow resemble a small-scaled city that is built on a semi-grid pattern, with one main aisle in the middle core of the construction and secondary paths that diverge from it. However, the most interesting aspect about this small-scaled city is the fact that there are connections as stairs or paths between different levels, which make this construction (Fortress) a three-dimensional structure within which different parts are not only linked together by the usual same level streets and alleys but there are plenty of mid-level joints that make this construction a complex that is working in three dimensions. (Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization of Yazd Province)

# VILLAGE ACTUALITIES

Fig.172. Saryazd village, mentioned by Riahi Moghaddam (2008)

## Village's Spatial Distribution and Infrastructure

According to the survey conducted by Riahi Moghaddam (2008) the village occupies an area of approximately 620618 meters squared, which nearly 70 percent of the mentioned area is devoted to the residential texture. The majority of the older houses are built by adobe and rammed earth. However the materials used for the more recent housing construction have been bricks, cement and metal beams. Roughly 70 percent of the houses ceilings' are based on archs and vaults techniques and 95 percent of the houses are made in one level only which results in an uninterrupted and low skyline over the village.

The village bears water piping systems providing drinkable tap water and portable water in the houses which was implemented back in 1973 and also it is connected to the Iran's national electricity transmission grid from 1978 providing the needed electricity supplies and power. There is the possibility of improvement in the services and infrastructure system, which would be easily addressed.

Based on Riahi Moghaddam's survey by 2008 below we are going to list the existing facilities and services within the village, however, the current activity of these facilities cannot be approved based on the rapid pace of changes within the village, still it is important to know if there is some room dedicated to some necessary functions and if the primary infrastructure exists to further reactivate in case of non-activity:

**Residential**: By 2008 the village was containing 135 residential units with permanent inhabitants, 193 vacant units (demolished or abandoned) and 181 temporary units ( seasonal or temporary stay of inhabitants)

**Educational**: The village bears one elementary school, 2 full-time high schools (1 for boys and 1 for girls) and one big military school.

**Commercial**: There 9 active commercial units in total existing in the village with various activities such as : hostel, bakery, grocery store, smithery, building supply store and library.

**Healthcare**: There is only one small healthcare center existing in the village, however in the nearest city Mehriz there are well equipped hospitals.

**Religious**: This village because of its old history and the religious mentality of the inhabitants bears 13 mosques and hussainiyas.

**Historical baths**: There are three historical baths existing within the village which two of them are out of use.

**Industrial**: There are several industrial districts in vicinity and even within the texture of the village which are discussed later.

**Farming**: Nearly 14 percent of the villages surface is used with farming activities, this number might not be very precise according to the recent issues.

**Livestock**: 0.4 percent of the whole surface of the village is occupied by livestock activities.

**Fertile land**: 0.8 percent of the surface of the village are covered with fertile lands, however the soil is fertile in most parts of this village or fertile soil can be found in vicinity.

Some of the architectural heritages such as caravanserai and fortress have got restored by a private investor and are used for tourism activities.

Residential
Commercial
Religious + Water Reservoir
Educational
HealthCare
Manufactories
Historical Places Restored
Livestock
Cemetery
Arid
Arboretum
Farming
Current Range

**Fig.173.** Space distribution schematic map, Riahi Moghaddam (2008), Redrawn by the Author

## Village's Spatial Distribution and Infrastructure

## Accessibility

In case of accessibilities and street network it can be evidenced that the village has more or less maintained its organic pattern of narrow alleys and congested winding streets in more ancient parts, which does not allow the passenger moving through this tissue to have a clear idea or prediction of the end of the pathway, but it does trigger the sense of curiosity to discover new perspectives in different parts and neighborhoods.

One of the only interventions that has been made in the historical texture of the village was to widen the main distributive road crossing in the middle of the village and dividing it to two (Saryazd road) which has caused destruction of some ancient houses which were never restored again. The new road bears two rills in the sides and some green sidewalks and pavements. (Riahi Moghaddam 2008)



Main Road-Main Axis of Village

Primary Paths, Mostly accessible by Vehicles

Secondary Paths, Mostly Pedestrian

Slope Direction
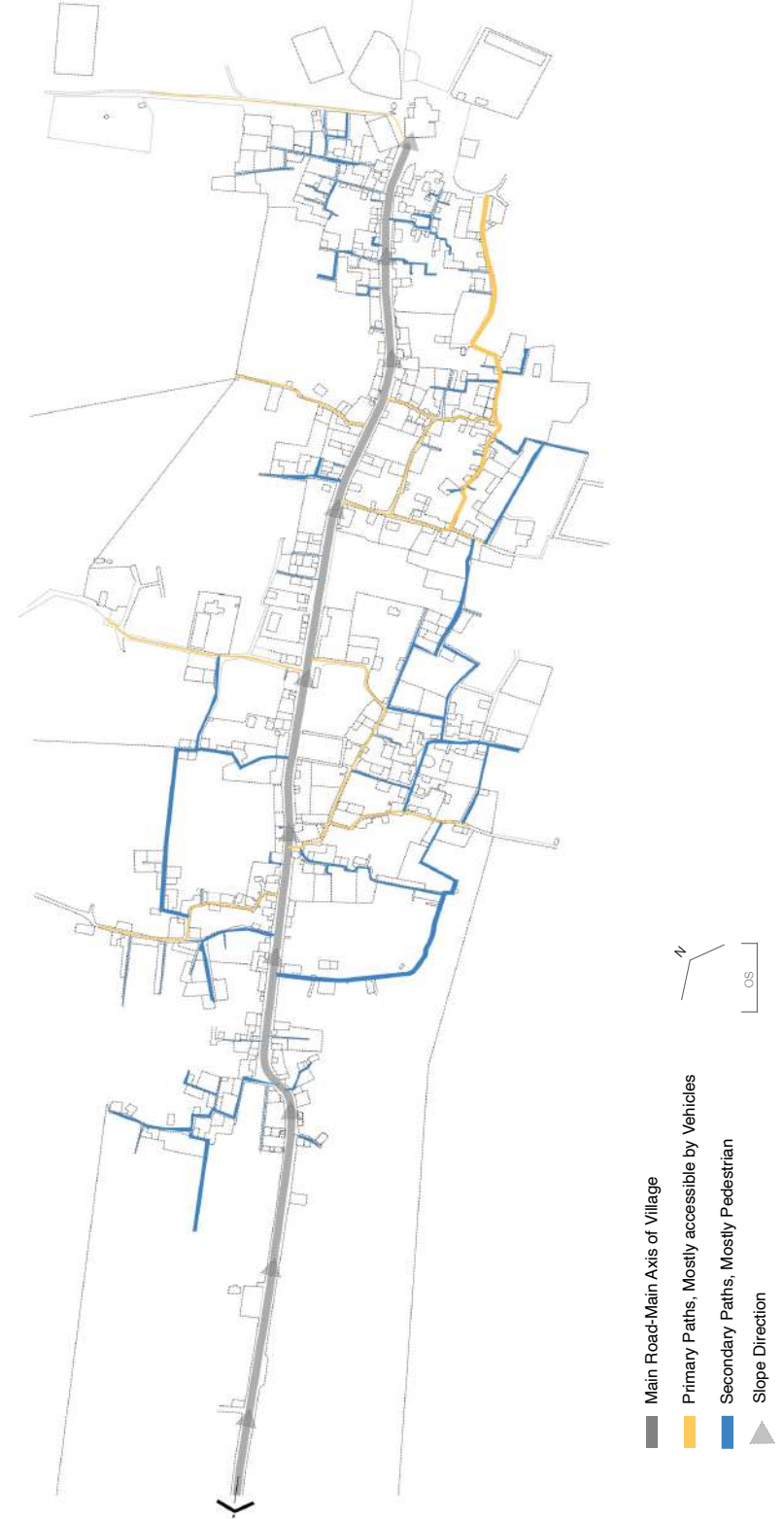
Fig.174.Saryazd Village Accessibilities, Source: Riahi Moghaddam (2008), Redrawn by Author
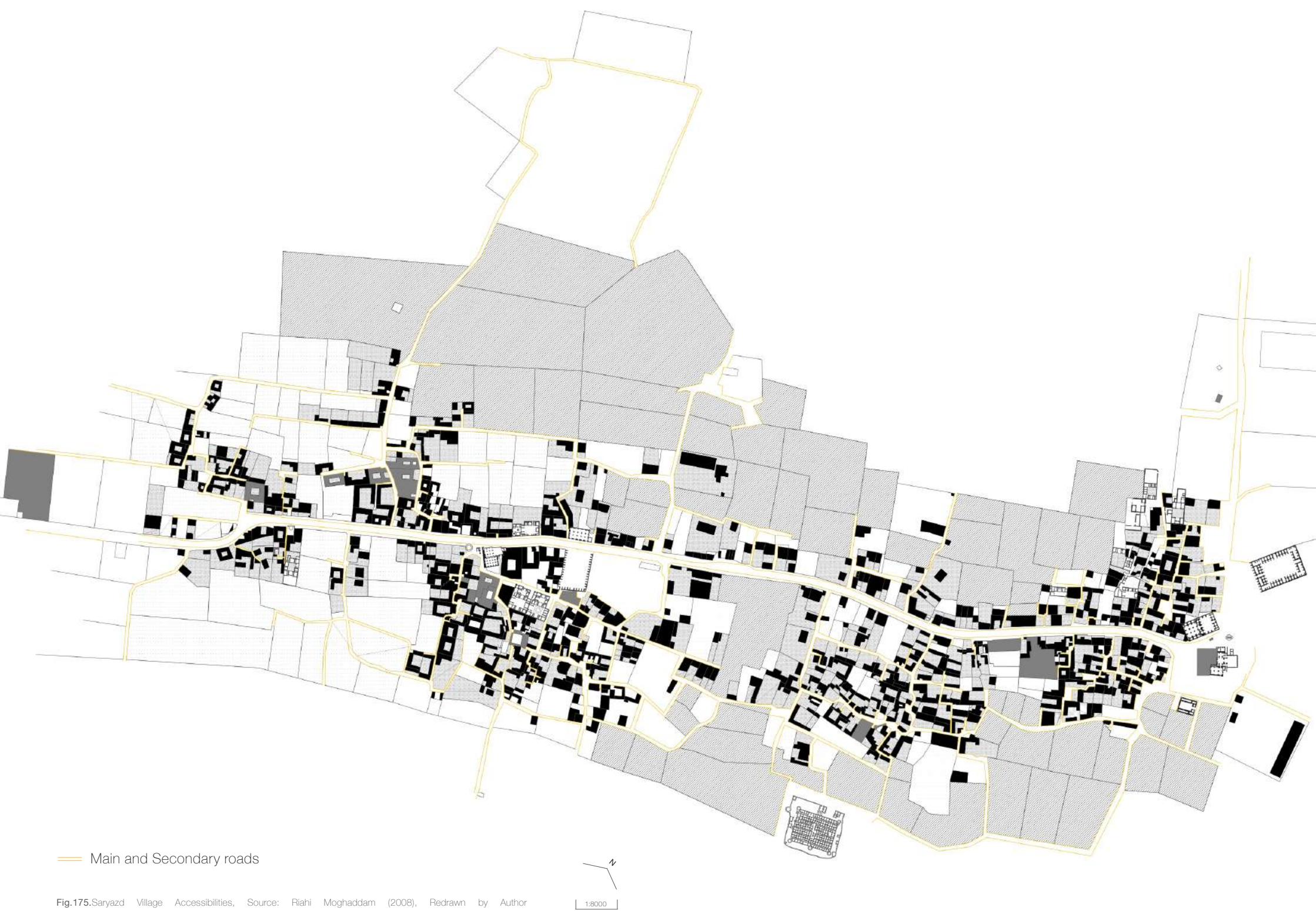
Main and Secondary roads

N

Fig.175.Saryazd Village Accessibilities, Source: Riahi Moghaddam (2008), Redrawn by Author

1:8000

## Accessibilities (Village Vicinities)

Saryazd village is located approximately 5 kilometers from Mehriz city (bearing tremendous architectural and cultural heritages) and about 25 kilometers from Yazd city (The biggest city in province and the capital).

The accessibility to bigger cities from the village is possible both with public transportation such as train or minibuses and also the village is well connected to the between city highway.

The area surrounding the village is quite industrial, as it is located outside of the urban core. Several industries including tile companies, ceramic factories, different stone manufacturers and excavation companies are located in this area, along with several industrial parks.

In the case of larger facilities such as universities and hospitals, the village is well-located as the two nearby major cities provide all of the necessary facilities. Moreover, the village itself obtains most of the crucial facilities for the needs of its inhabitants and its almost self-sufficient in that case.

Industrial Park

Mehriz City

Saryazd Village

Tile and Ceramic Factories

Fig..Satellite image by google earth

4 KM

Saryazd Village

Yazd City

Mehriz City

Main Roads and Highways

Fig.177.Satellite Image by Google earth

10 KM

Oqada

Ardakan

Kharanaq

Meybod

Bafruiyeh

Ashkezar

Zarch

Bahabad

Nodoushan

Kezerabad

Yazd

Esfich

Taft

Bafq

SarYazd

Nir

Mehriz

Abarkooh

Bakh

Mehrdasht

Marvast

- - - Main Roads

Railroads

Sar Yazd Village

County

Khatam

0    50,000    100,000    150,000

## Economical Activities

According to the survey conducted by Riahi Moghaddam (2008) the village's inhabitants are occupied with several different economical activities, however the dynamics behind these activities are not very stable according to the country's general circumstances and recent climate changes and supply shortages. Here we are going to discuss the different activities and some probable solutions toward revitalizing some:

**Farming and Agriculture**: Cultivation was one of the main and primary activities conducted in this village. Where there has been the right resources such as water supplies and fertile lands, agricultural activities often could have been evidenced. The agricultural products have been varied, from producing foods or forages for the livestocks to fruits production such as pistachios, pomegranates (second most produced fruit), apricots, berries and peaches (Pistachios were one the principal and most famous products from this village) and also wheat farmlands. (Riahi Moghaddam 2008)

However the recent drought has had a negative impact on the village's agricultural production, as many farmers have been forced to leave in search of other places to farm and the water supply has been rationed, so that each farmer is allocated a share of the water (there is a public well and the shares are subsided based on the time each farmer utilizes the well) according to the amount of money that he or she pays. This makes it difficult for the ones with lower production and revenue to obtain enough water for their cultivation activities. This is while with the same amount of water using different watering systems (such as drip irrigation), the majority of the farmers can obtain their agricultural activities. Unfortunately the organizations responsible have not made a sincere effort to improve the situation. Probable investment in general education system or formation of new educational centers for changing the classical methods of cultivation and replace them with newer can be a solution.



**Fig.178.** Wheat farmland in Saryazd village, Author 2021

**Livestock**: Livestock activities are one of the other ecological activities existing within the community, however this activity is still conducted by the old methodologies and it is considered one of the minor ecological activities. Typically, families keep some ships and cows within their yards or farms, but as for a larger livestock with reasonable productivity, there is only one existing in the village. (Riahi Moghaddam 2008)

**Industry and Services**: As it is evident in the previous maps, the village is located in an industrial zone and its also in vicinity of to major cities in the province. The existence of various different factories and industries has created jobs for the residents in such abundance that a major part of the population is employed in jobs related to industry. A small percentage of the female workers in the village are occupied with jobs involving artisanal crafts like carpet weaving and other activities. To name some of the different services and industrial activities done by the residents the following can be mentioned (Riahi Moghaddam 2008):

Cannery Industries
Towel weaving
Fancoil and radiator industry
Greenhouse cucumber and mushroom production
Tiles Factory
Ceramics Factory

**Tourism**: Tourism has been one of the recent economic activities added to the village by private investors. It seems that the village has the right conditions to profit from this activity. Realized in the previous sectors this village has a considerable amount of architectural and cultural ancient patrimony that every year attracts a reasonable amount of tourists (mostly locals) to visit this location. There are some efforts by some private investors to further restore

and renovate some of the other historical sites and turn them to accommodations or touristic sites for public visitors. Currently the only touristic accommodation existing within the village is the new Rabat that obtains a low capacity to host the demanded number of travelers. This is also one of the reasons why the touristic agencies or industries are investing less on this village (lack of essential infrastructure to accommodate visitors) and the major tourism is mostly local populations that come to this village for a day trip as a site visit and leave by the night or the other day.

**Marginal Activities**: As mentioned in the second chapter according to the new influxes of Afghan immigration and further control of the borders, the immigrant population has been forced to find new ways to avoid passing through bigger cities, where there is a greater risk of being arrested. Subsequently they try to pass through more deserted and less populated areas which are usually these villages or periphery of the big cities, this is where the locals come to help them by clandestinely passing them through secondary roads without checkpoints. This activity is becoming more popular in such villages according to its income and also lack of other opportunities. However the mentioned is very hazardous both for the passengers and the traffickers based on the reasons mentioned before.

# Design
# Proposal

## Principal Design Proposal

The new population in this village, as stated in the hypothesis of this dissertation, would have some needs which could be met with some principal amenities. By establishing key amenities, we can not only attract different communities, but also encourage residents to remain in these contexts, promoting further economic integration and development.

## New Inhabitations

According to the investigations which were carried out, we determined that a considerable part of the residential tissue in the village is composed of old and valuable houses, which firstly do not obtain the structural and physical condition and stability to host new families (As they are in need of restoration and also preservation) and secondly if new settlers have different conceptions of architectural or cultural heritage, they might not take the necessary precautions to preserve these valuable heritages.

Following this, the dissertation will present some housing design methodologies, which are based primarily on the architecture and urban morphology of the context and the construction can be completed using sustainable vernacular materials that exist within the site, such as adobe and rammed earth. This won't require high-tech building techniques, but can be completed by the incoming residents themselves.

In the case of a proposed masterplan for further development of this village, this dissertation is not following a master plan approach firstly because the prediction toward the very number of people whom would be settling in these areas is very difficult and secondly such approaches can sometimes change the natural growth pattern of these zones and turn them to inert and banal agglomeration of external people, what is proposed here is a toolkit approach which can be followed as a scheme with some sets of rules.

## Design Process

### Contextual Findings from the Historical Texture

1- Studying the historical tissue of the village found that most of the houses are traditional Persian courtyard houses. These houses are characterized by their thick walls and the congested urban pattern with narrow streets and houses being built one next to the other, they create a comfortable ambient in the different seasons for the locals by creating shadows in the streets and wind tunnels in the summer and less heat loss in winter by the buildings' large walls and roofs and their Thermal inertia.
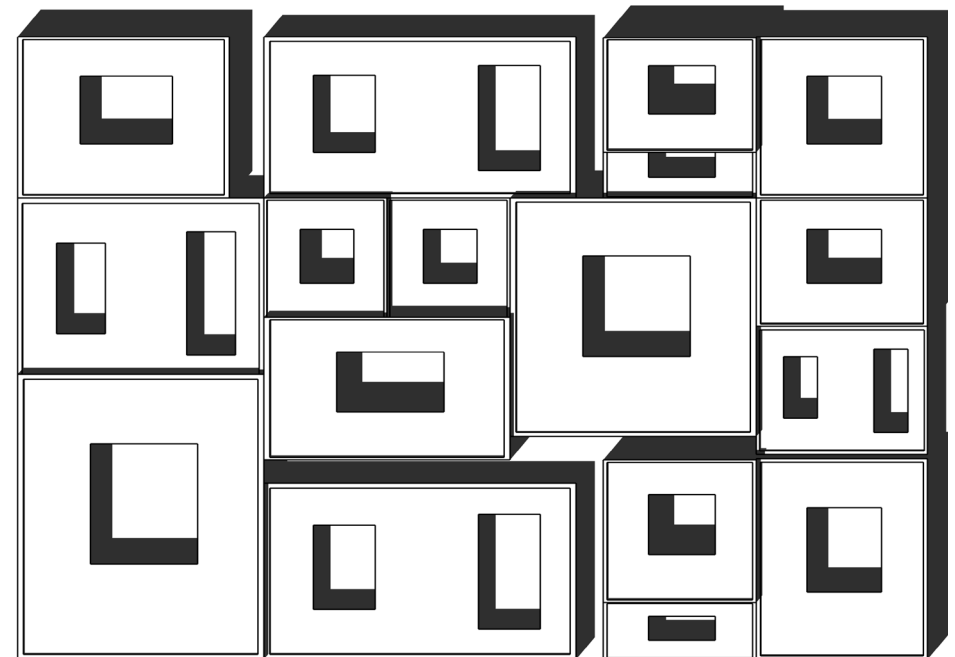
## Contextual Findings from the Historical Texture

2- Studying the historical tissue of the village, we came to discover that most of the public spaces typically envisioned within villages serve religious purposes, or the motivation behind their creation is often religious in nature. However smaller or more disperse public spaces within the neighborhoods without religious purposes are rarely seen. These public spaces according to the culture and religion of the context obtain clear barriers between men and women even in event of ceremonies and have a good example of gendered public space.
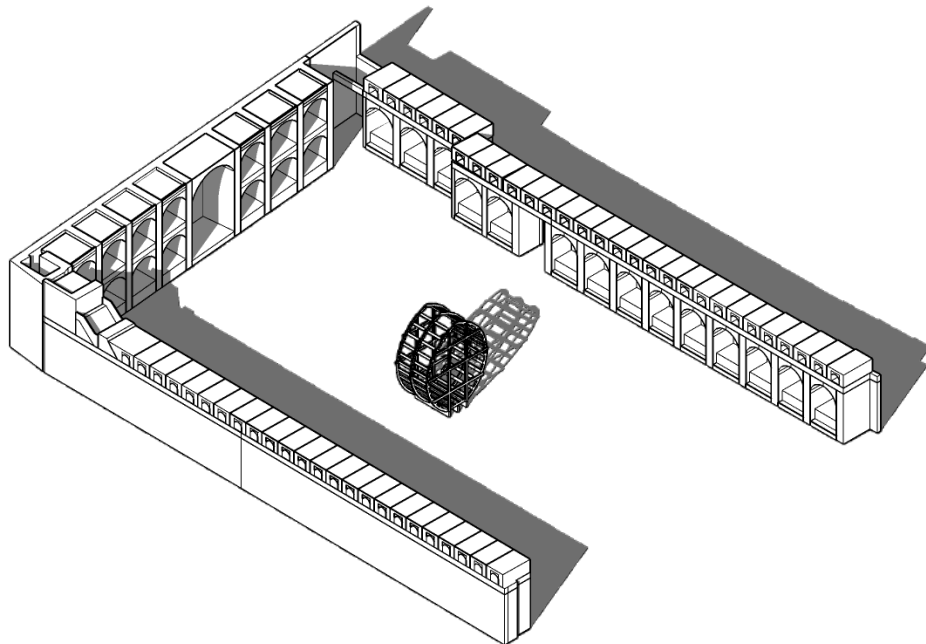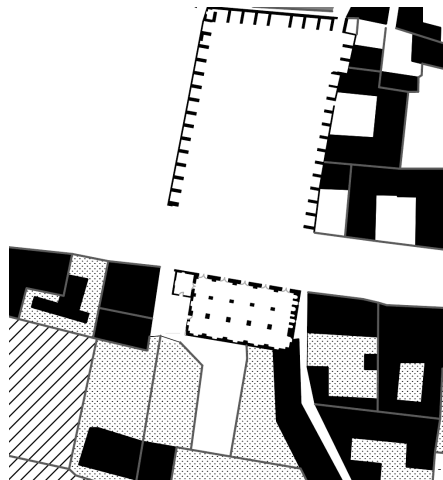
## Contextual Findings from the Historical Texture

3- Reviewing the architecture and construction methods of the old fortress we came to realize firstly the stability and endurance of the local masonry materials based on archs and vaults techniques and secondly a new typology of a small city, a city that is working not only in two dimensions and on the surface of the streets but a three dimensional city that the connections and constructions are built and working in all the three axises. Despite the fact that this construction has been built in such fashion according to security necessities, it is still outstanding as an urban or architectural concept
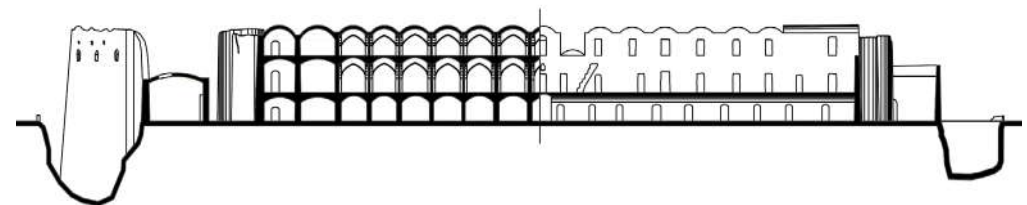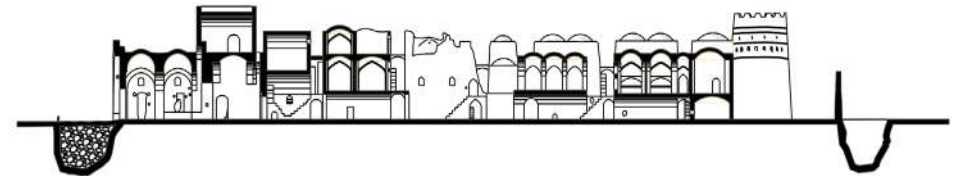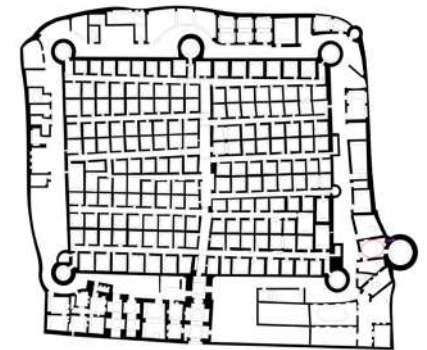
4- Upon studying the traditional Persian house we realized that it is very well divided into several distinct areas, each serving a different purpose. All of these spaces surround one or more courtyards. There are usually two courtyards, which divide the house into two sections: private (for the women) and public (for the men). The main walls are made of masonry construction materials such as adobe bricks and rammed earth which provide a good isolation and the ceilings are often held by archs.
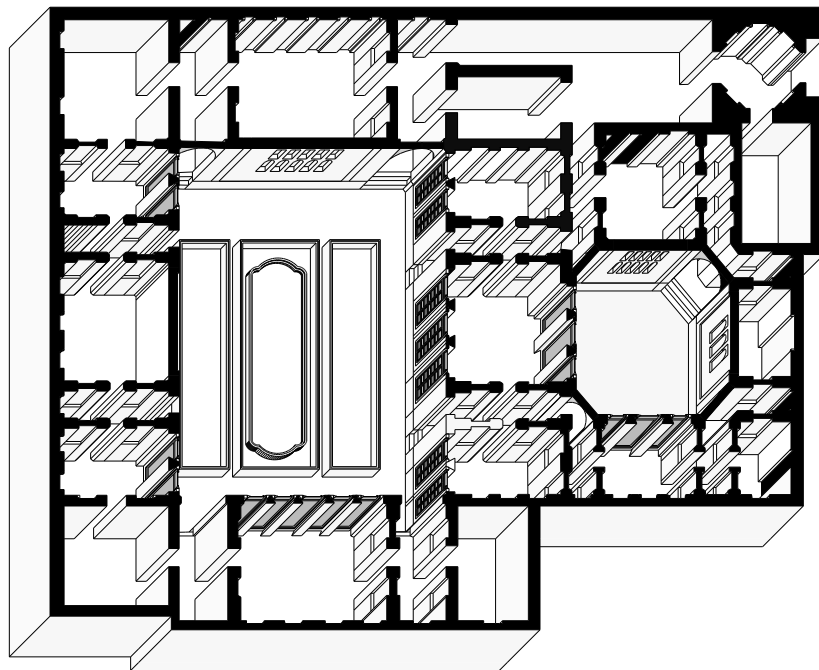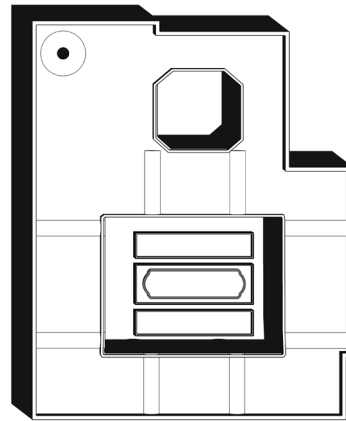
5- One of the most outstanding architectural inventions in this zone is the use of windcatchers, which help houses maintain a cooler temperature in the hot summers in the desert. These structures work by channeling wind into the rooms below, where it is then able to cool and ventilate them. These sustainable natural air conditioning systems work in three different conditions to lower the temperature. Firstly by night flushing (increasing the flow at night, when the outside air is cooler), secondly by drawing air over water reservoirs or pools located below them and passing it to the house and thirdly by the simple airflow that they create bringing in the fresh cool air in and passing the old warm air out.
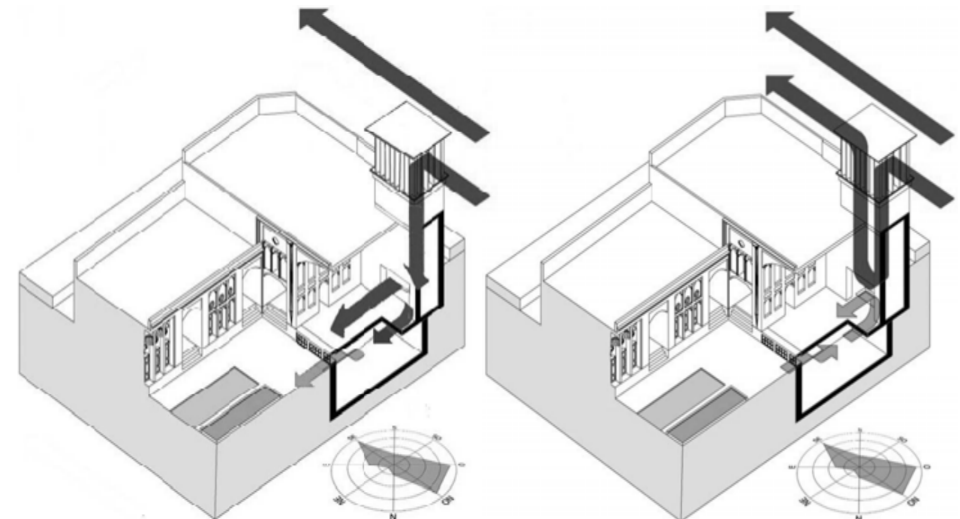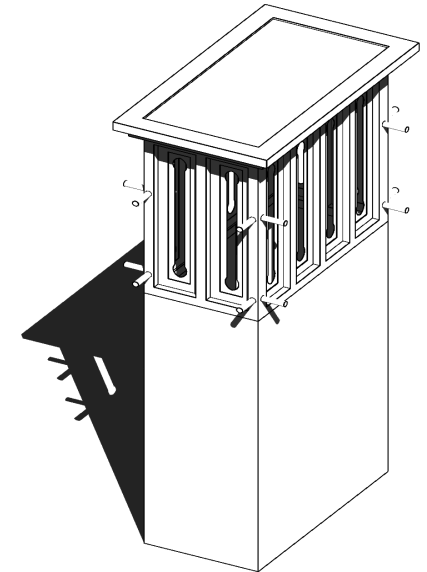
**Fig.179.**Windcatcher functional section, Mahmoudi Zarandi 2009

## Re-framing the traditional Persian house

The formation of the traditional Persian house is a privately nested formation as the openings are usually inward (toward the courtyard) and the walls serve as barriers between inside and outside, so that the inner spaces are truly private, isolated areas that obtain literally no connection with the outside world. However, the cultural values of society have changed over time, and also the definition of privacy has altered its limits. More than that these houses were meant to be for big families which can afford such big constructions and the spatial distribution is rather large.

Accordingly, what the author proposes is to divide these morphologies into smaller units, which yet obtain the same typology but are comprised of smaller and more individual spaces. Furthermore, in that case, the former courtyard becomes a common ground between units, as it would be a sort of public space.
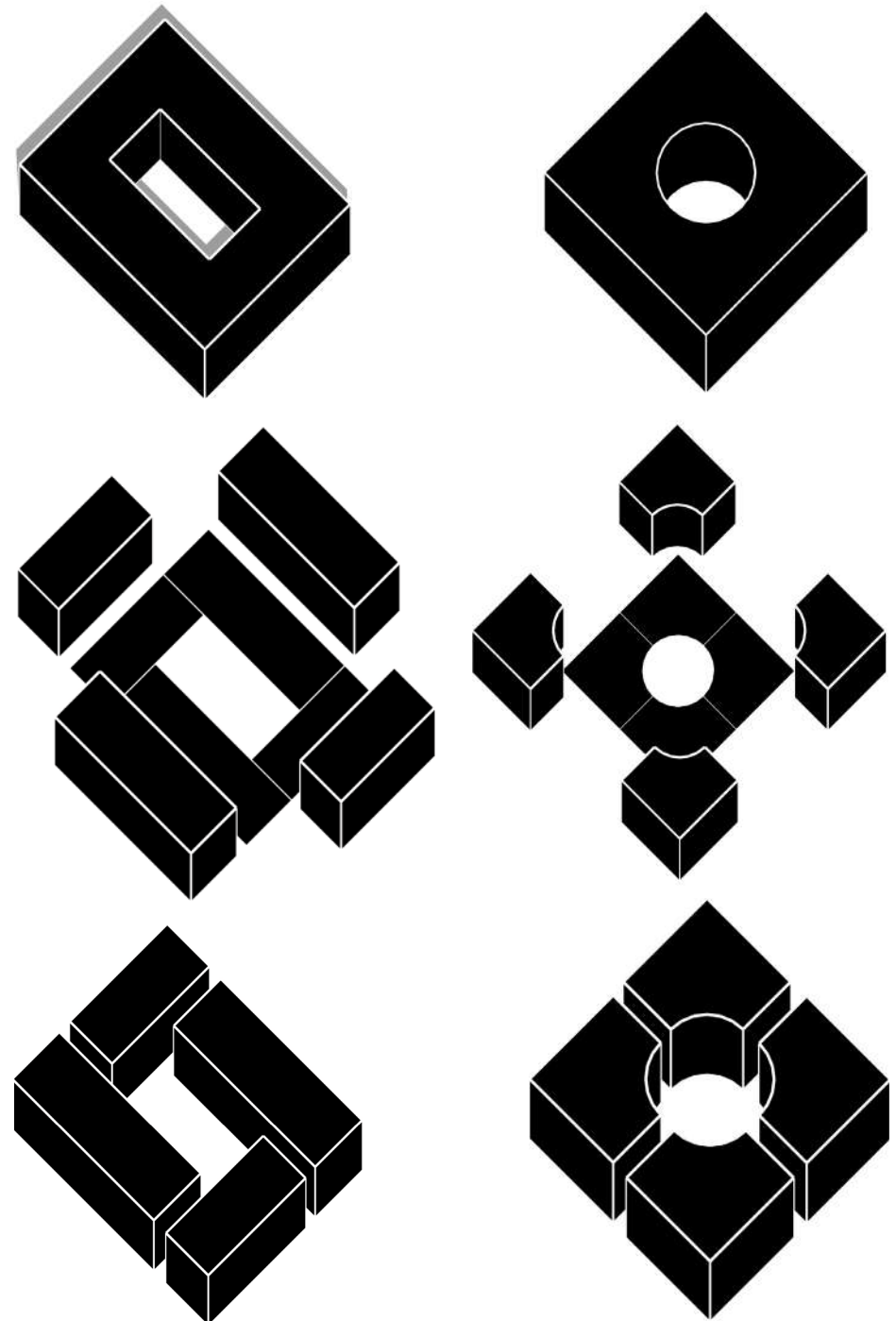
**Re-framing the traditional Persian house**

The mentioned concept is not far from the actuality of living in some of these houses as the families are not numerous anymore, the rooms surrounding these courtyards are rented by different families living in the same house. The divisions are made in 4, based on a traditional form called "Chalipa" and the former morphology of the house (4 parts), however changing the morphology of the house will result in also a new transformation in the congested housing tissue. One of the reasons behind the congestion of the housing tissue was to build houses close together bearing common thicker walls and higher thermal inertia.

Thus, in the newer tissue, we have joined the units from different houses together along their longer sides to obtain the same results and not alter the former tissue very much.
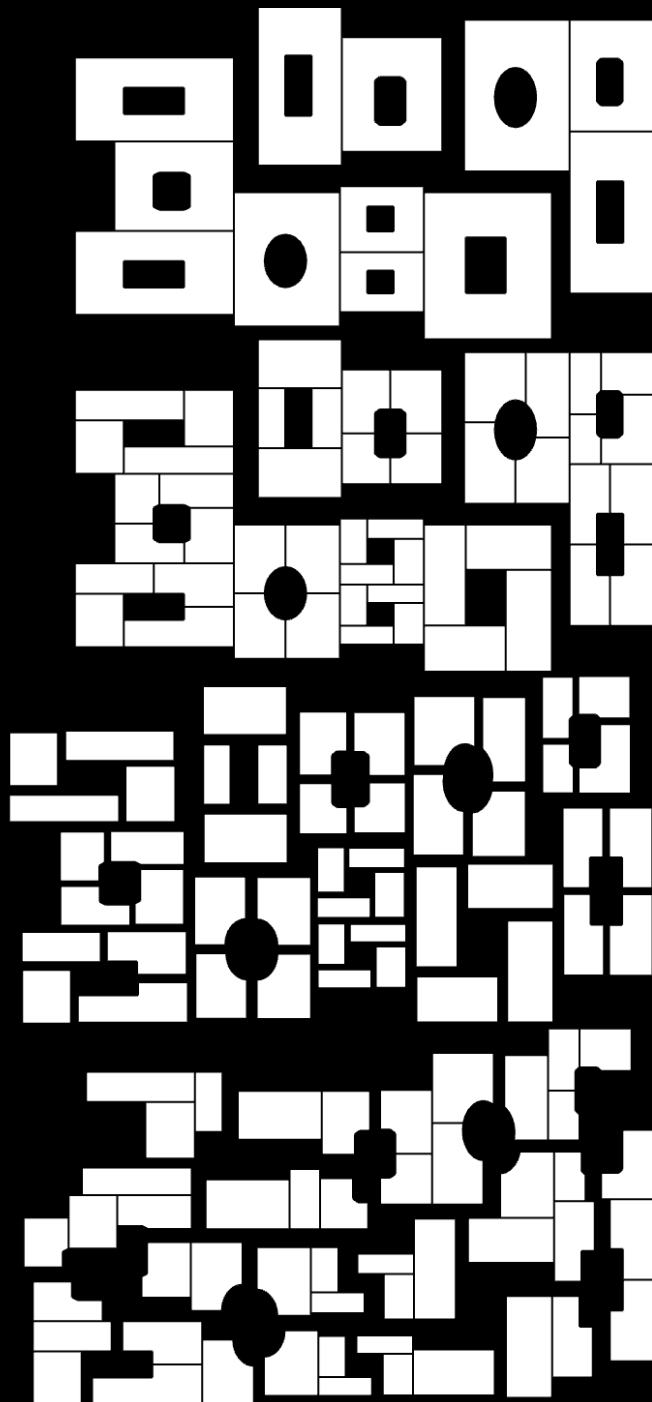
As is illustrated in the diagram, the new interventions have resulted in some interesting new events in the fabric. The former introvert courtyards have turned into new public spaces, and there are more accessibilities within the fabric that may be closer to the urban standards in case of emergency situations. In the meantime, the new tissue is not in high contrast with the former fabric nor is it a very formal grid-like pattern for some new inhabitations in the periphery that has no contextual or historical trace of identity or place in it.

This pattern can be followed over some basic urban rules according to the distance of the buildings in case of pedestrian or vehicle accessibilities and safety aspects, also further some modules of a probable architecture typology in accordance with the pattern will be proposed.
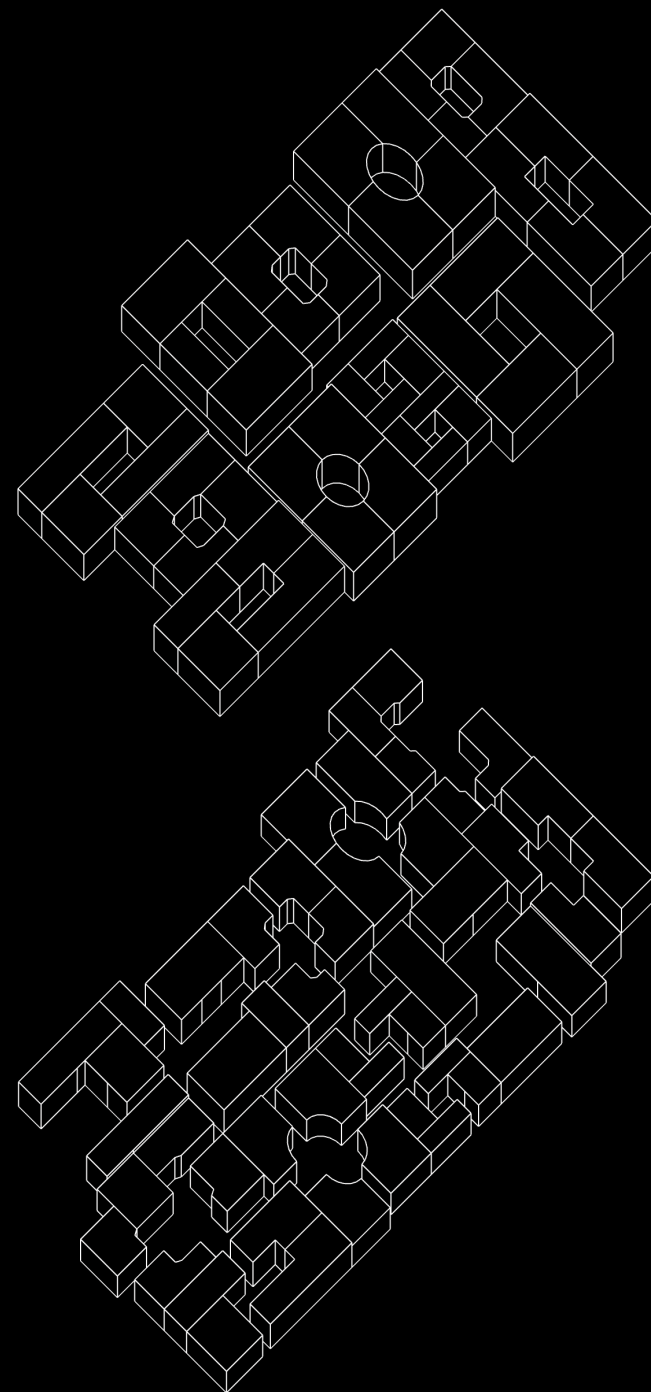
**Re-framing the traditional Persian house**

Creating and implementing more public or interactional spaces can be thought also in the body of traditional architecture. As is seen in the first diagram the typical section of the houses and pedestrian walkways are rendering solid narrow passages with fewer intervals for the passenger to make a pause or a short stay.

Therefore, an intervention has been made to the architectural form of the buildings following the buttresses line and morphology between the existing buildings for structural stability reasons. This is creating shaded areas between the buildings which can turn into more public spaces for passengers to rest, interact, or just sit. On the other side, it can also function as the traditional windcatcher bringing the fresh air into the building in hot summers and creating more thermal inertia between the living space and outside.



Buttress

Wind Flow
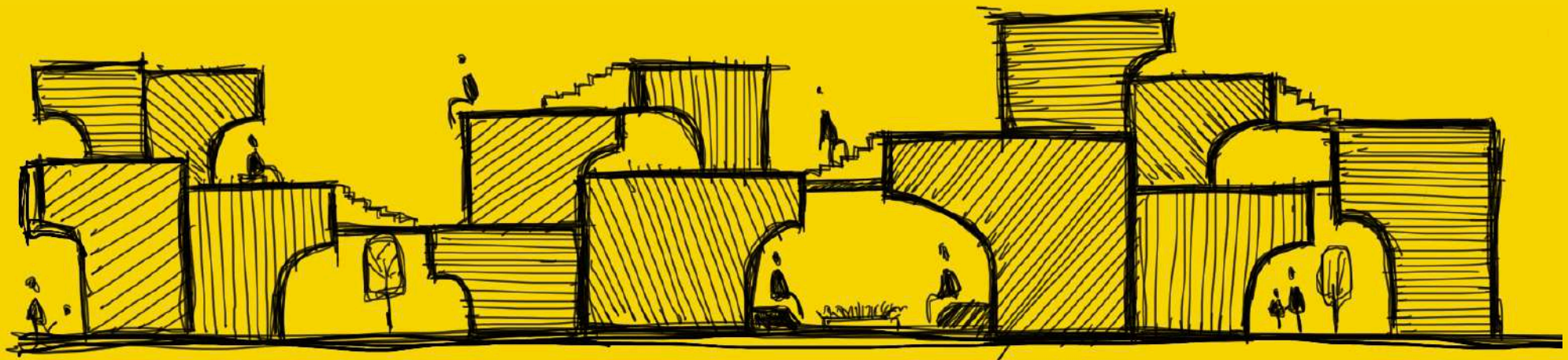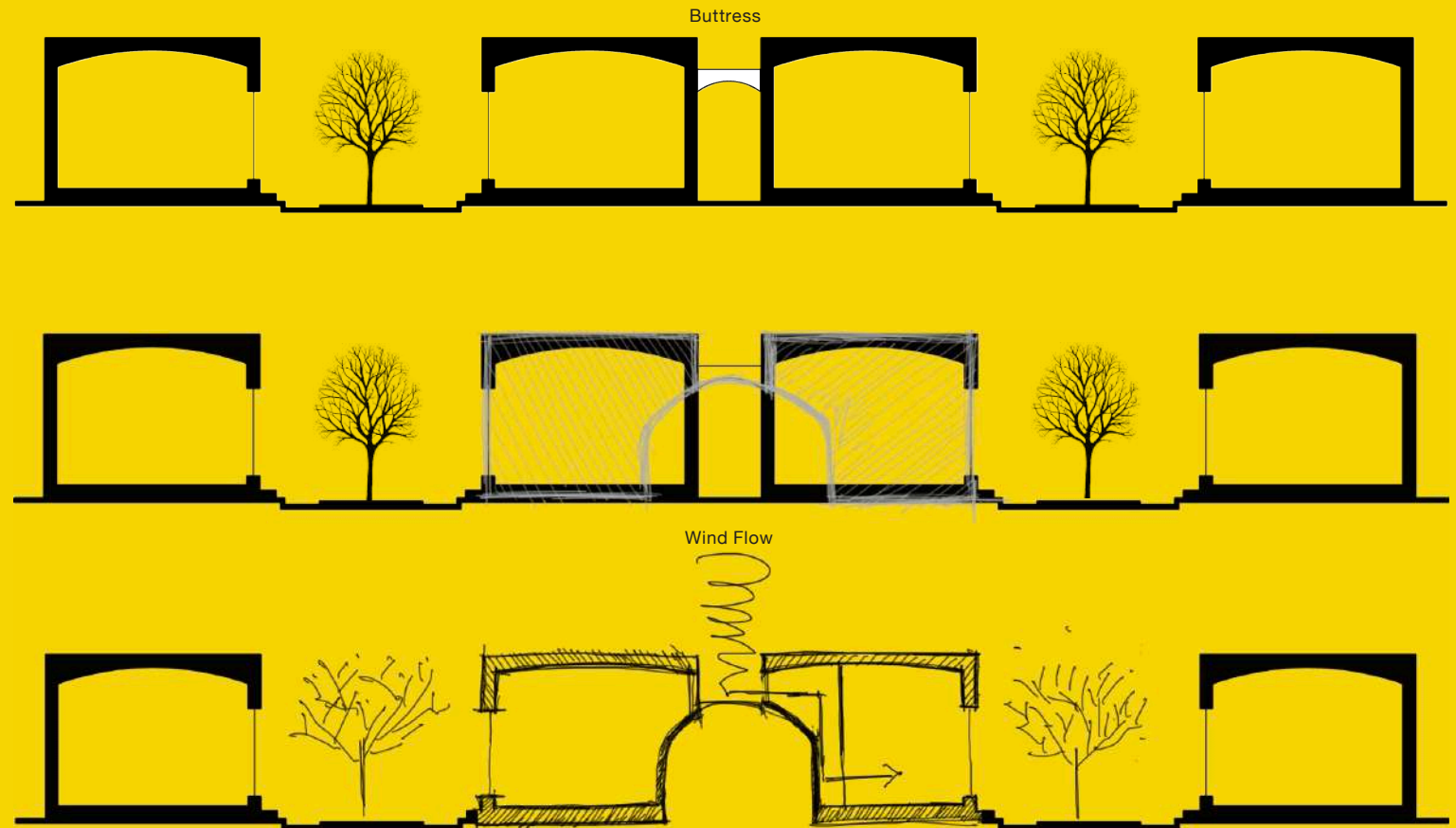
## Re-framing the traditional Persian house

Experimental results have been obtained from the application of the mentioned intervention to a basic fraction of the newly divided morphology (Split Courtyard House), resulting in promising outcomes.

Accordingly the added half vault can function as a place to implement windcatchers at its two ends and the rest can function as a shader for the building as well as the passengers in the street. The windcatchers have different surfaces to catch the wind and conduct air according to the prevailing wind flows of the region. The same principle can be applied to the design of houses based on their orientation and the wind flows of the village and the position of the half vault.

Afterward, the combination of the new formal intervention is also creating significant combinations within the urban texture, which will be discussed afterward.
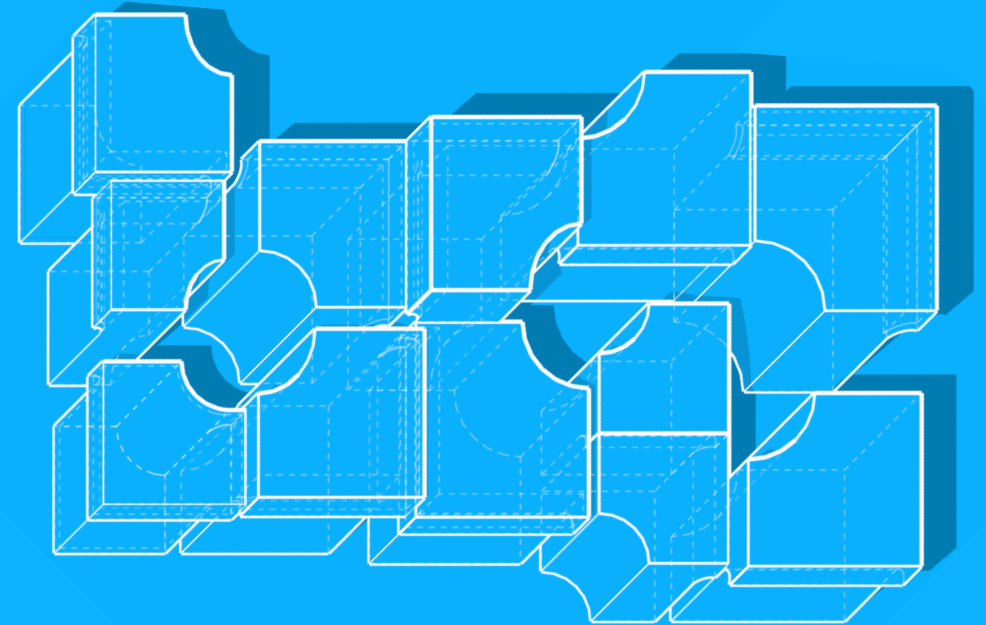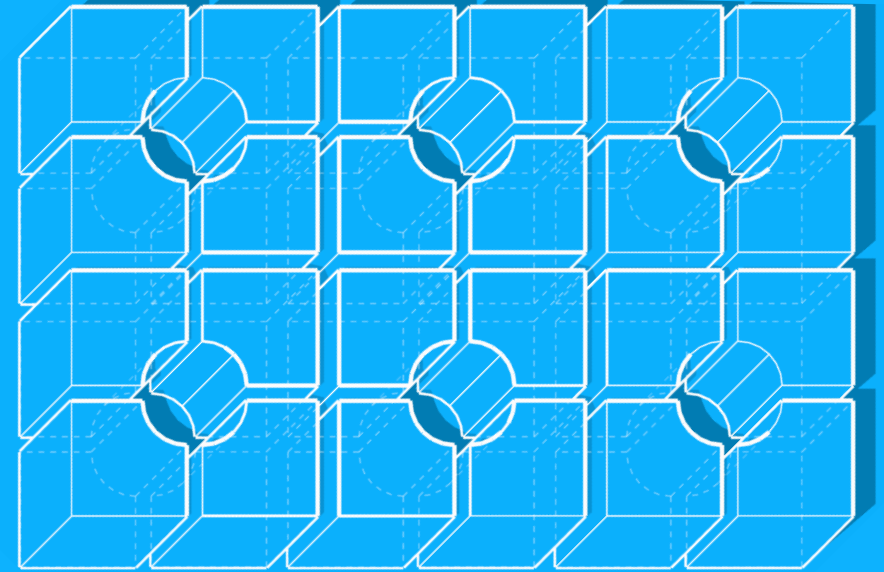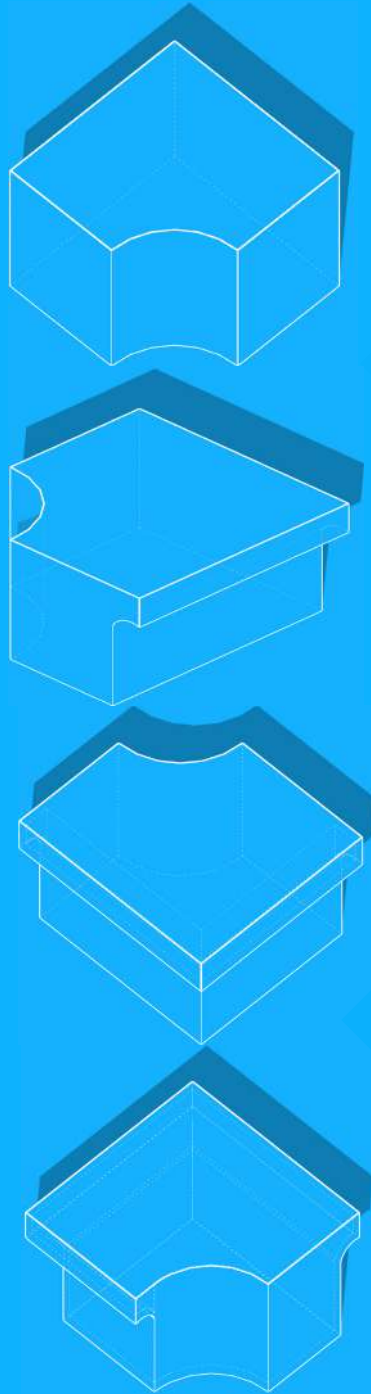
## Re-framing the traditional Persian house

The second concept for the formation of these units together was inspired by the architecture of the fortress. As mentioned before "The fortress is like a city that is working not only in two dimensions and on the surface of the streets but a three dimensional city that the connections and constructions are built and working in all the three axises", thus we added a new level to the houses to arrange some new streets and accessibilities in different levels. However according to structural considerations, the added constructions on the higher floors were considered to be built by lighter materials such as wood and fabrics functioning as rooftop terraces and gathering points for the inhabitants. These structures follow the same form of the houses only with different materials and usually in smaller dimensions.

Bedroom

W.C.

Wind
Catcher

Stair
Case

Kitchen

Livingroom

Wind
Catcher

The First Module Plan
Single Family House

The First Module Plan
House with one bedroom
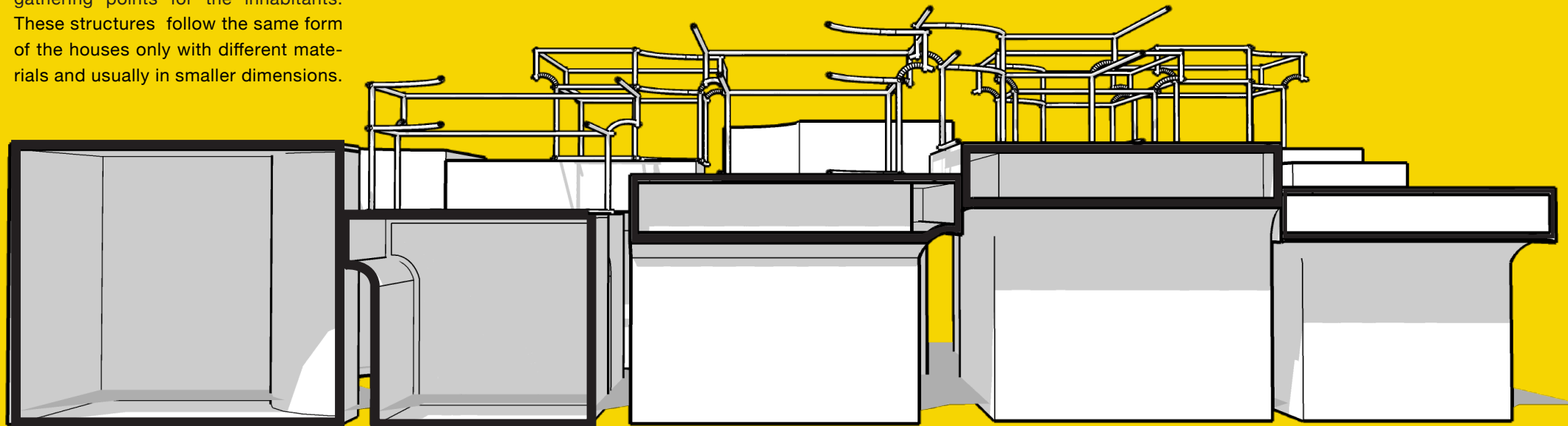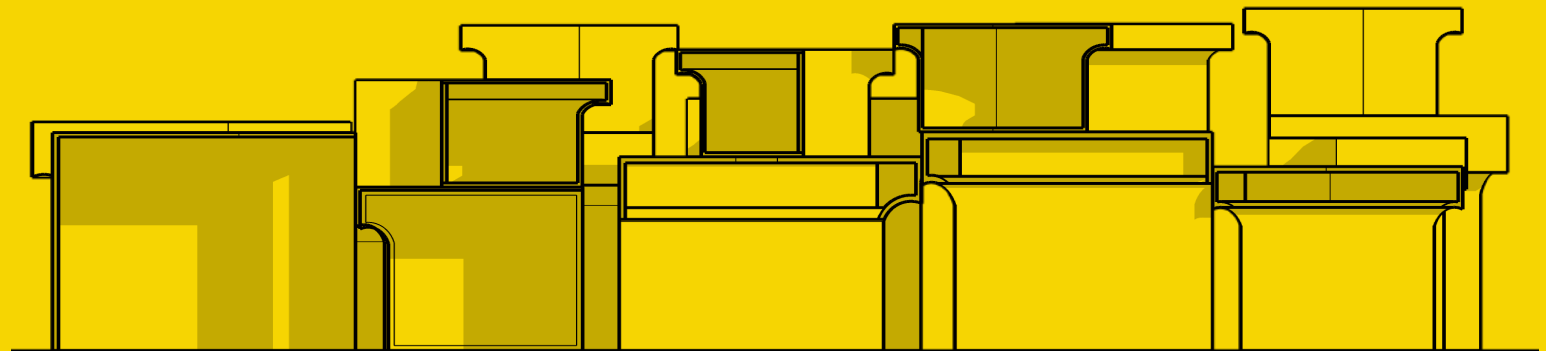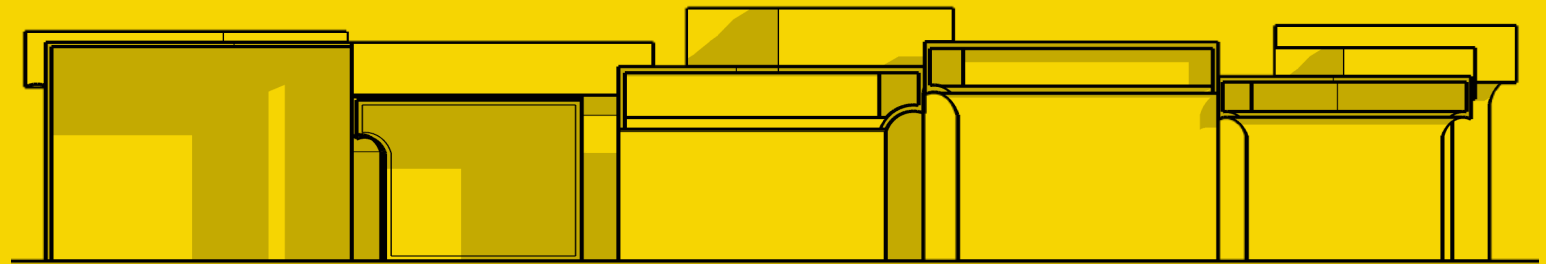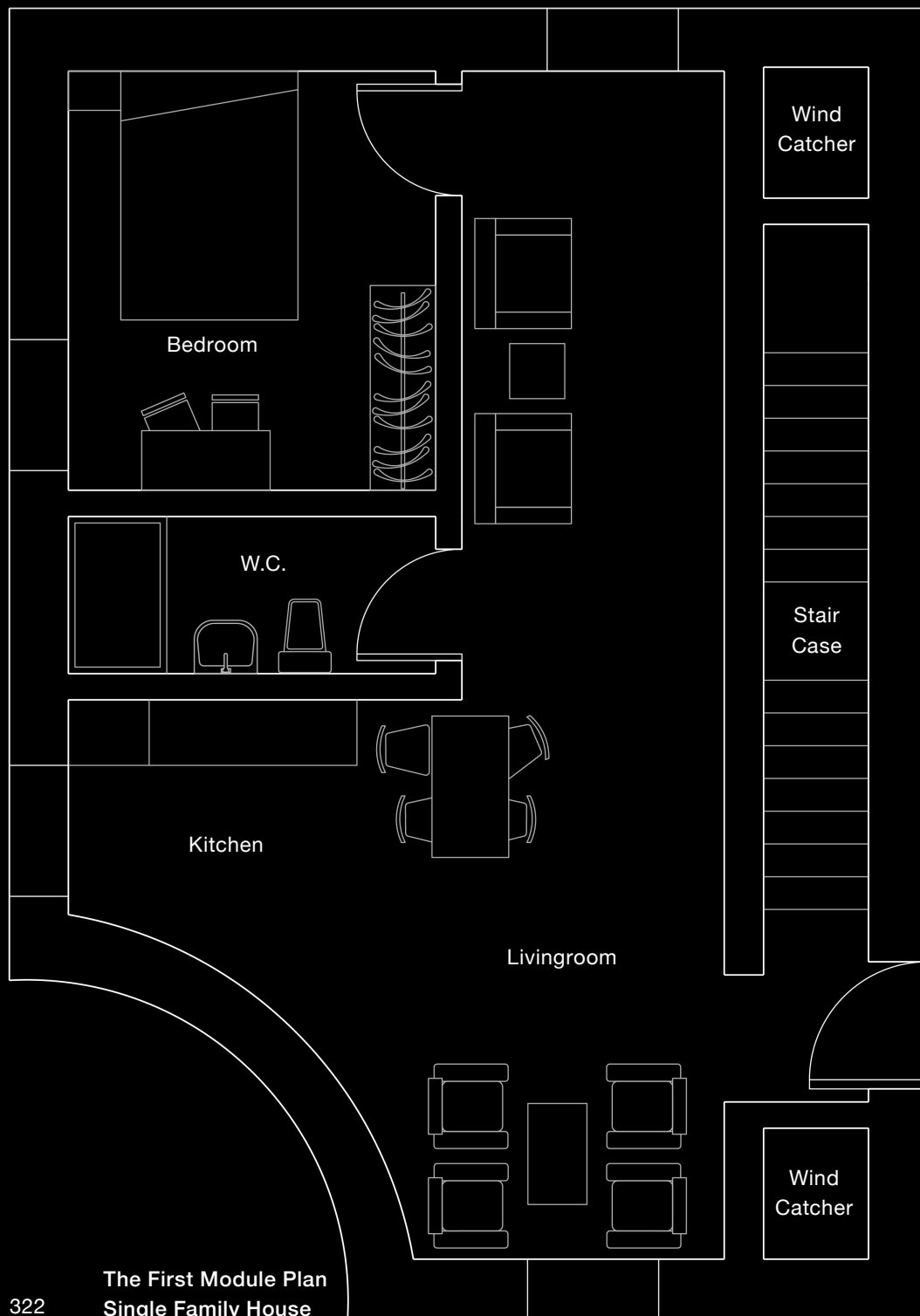
## The House Components

**Canopy:** As mentioned previously some light structures where added on the roof for the residents gatherings or sleeping during the hot summer nights. These canopies follow the same formal aspects of the houses.

**Staircase:** A solid adobe staircase has been added to the interval between the outside and inside spaces providing access to the roof or second floor and also making a higher thermal inertia by the side of the house which might be more in contact with the outside.

**Windcatchers:** As previously mentioned the windcatchers have found their places at the end of the vaults. Each house according to its volume and orientation toward wind flows can obtain one or two of these windcatchers.

Given the componenets some priamary types has been built varying in size and number of floors (one or two levels)
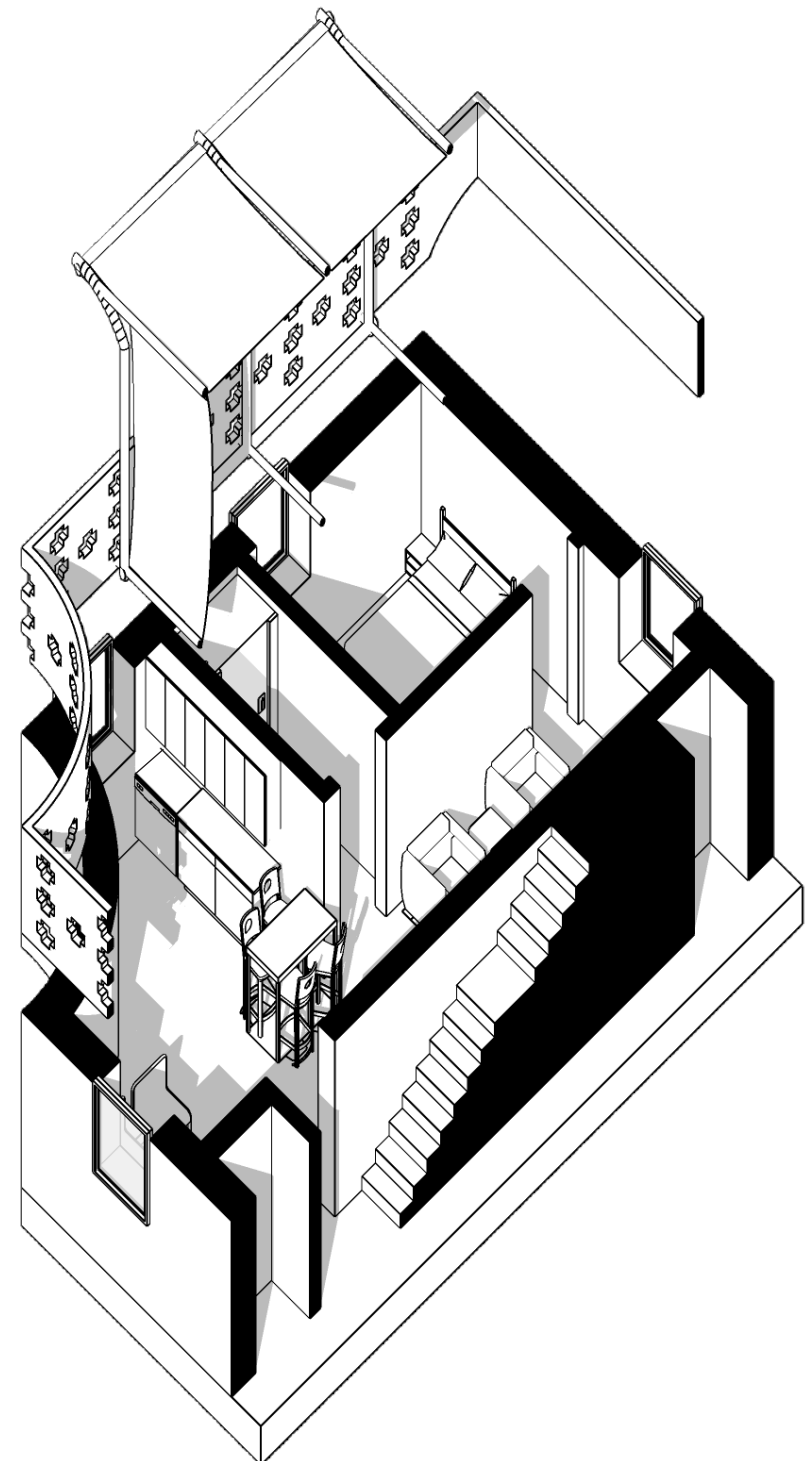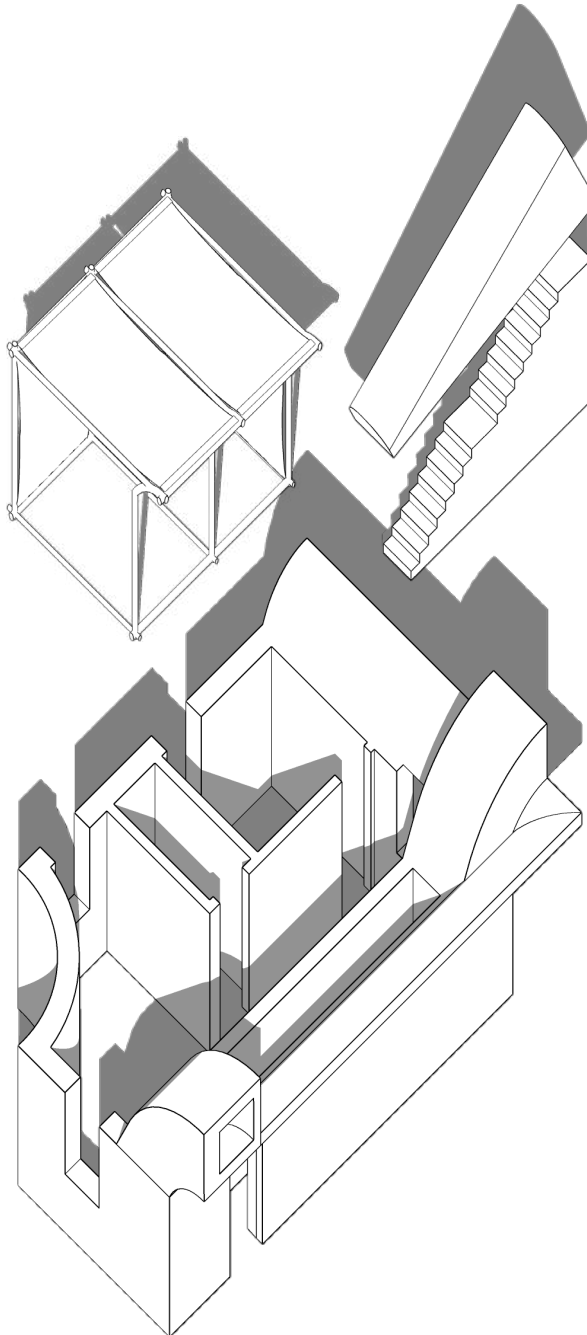
# FIRST
## TYPE
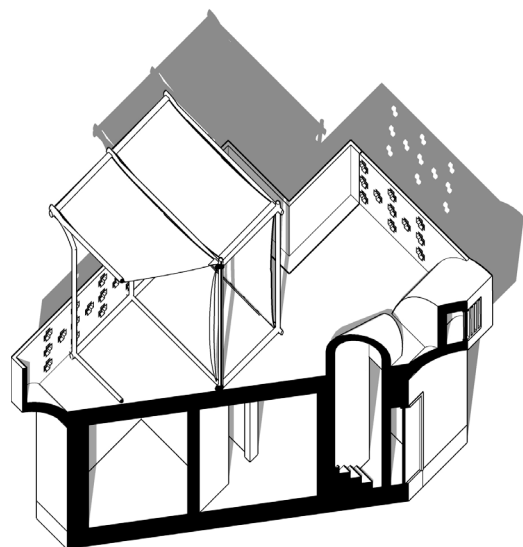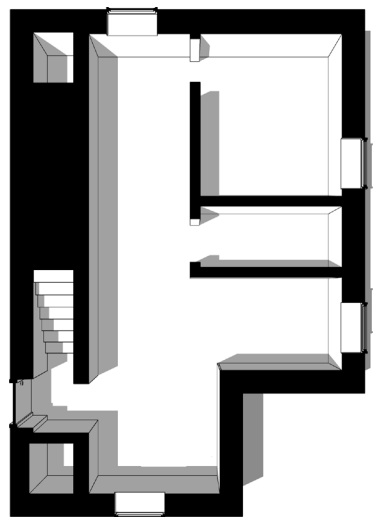


# THIRD
## TYPE
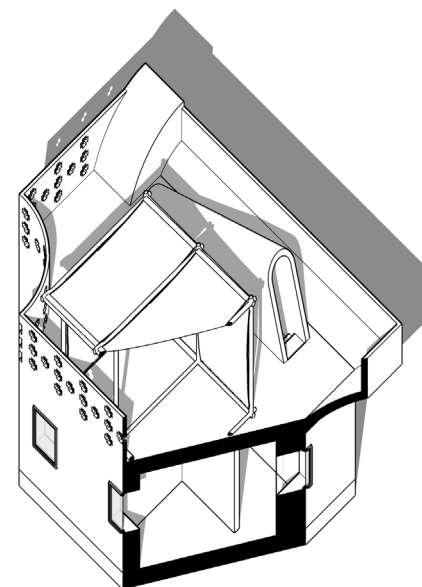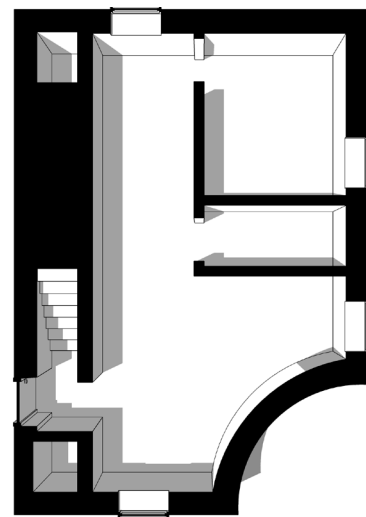


# SECOND
## TYPE
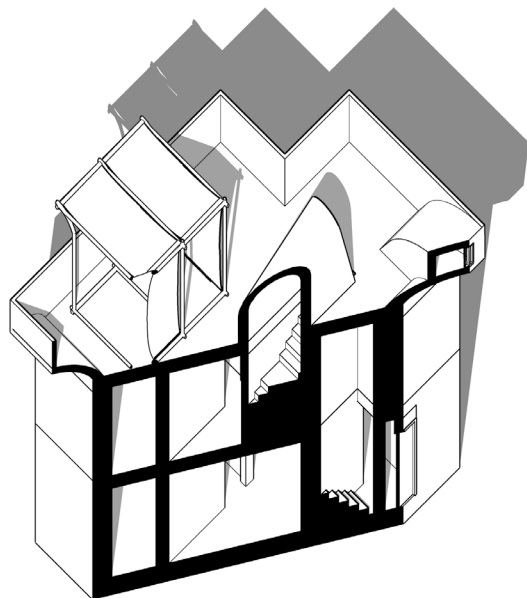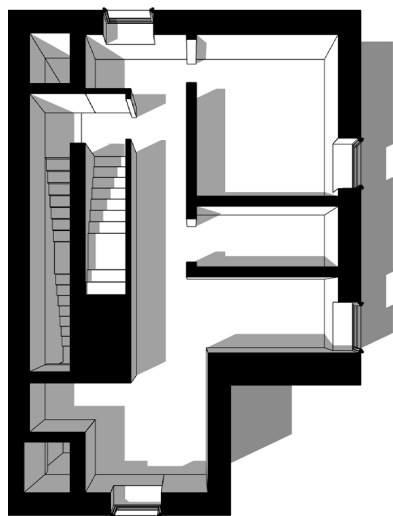


# FOURTH
## TYPE
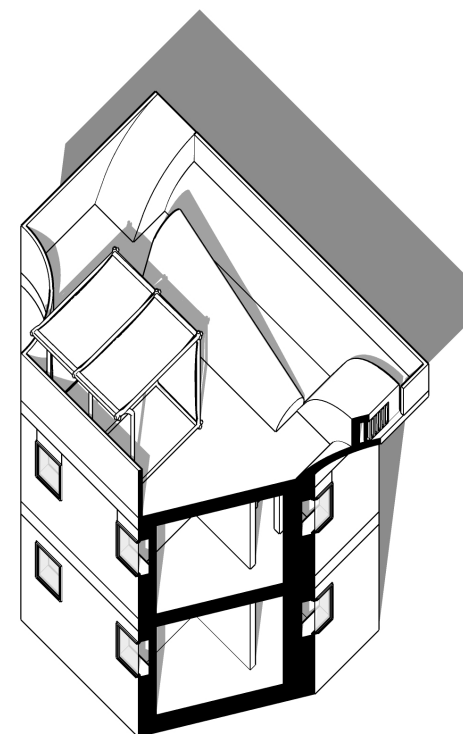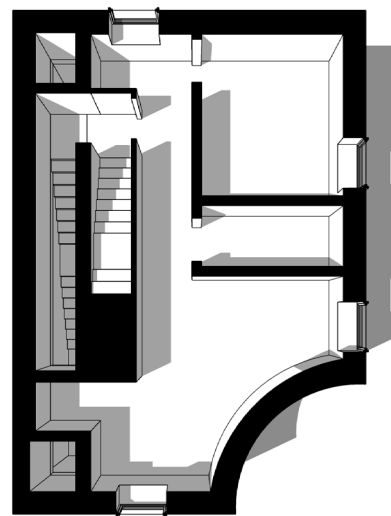
# FIFTH TYPE
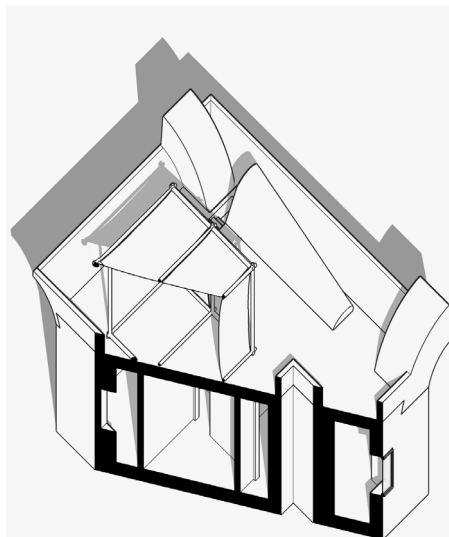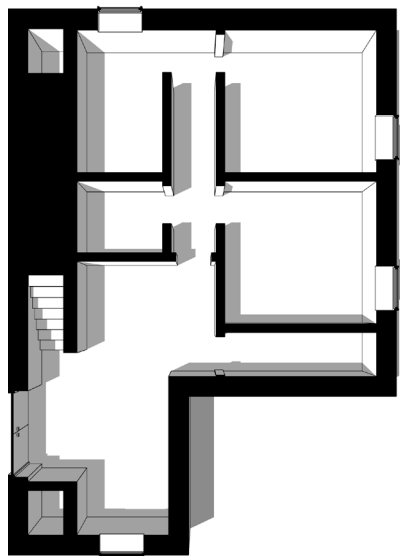


# SEVENTH TYPE
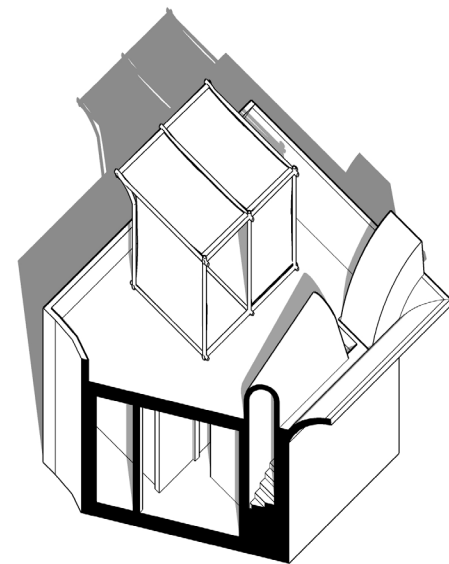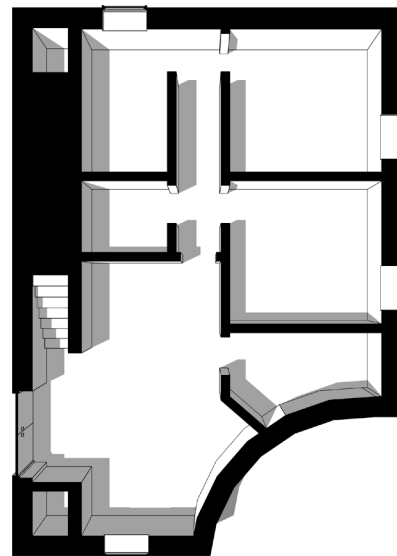


# SIXTH TYPE
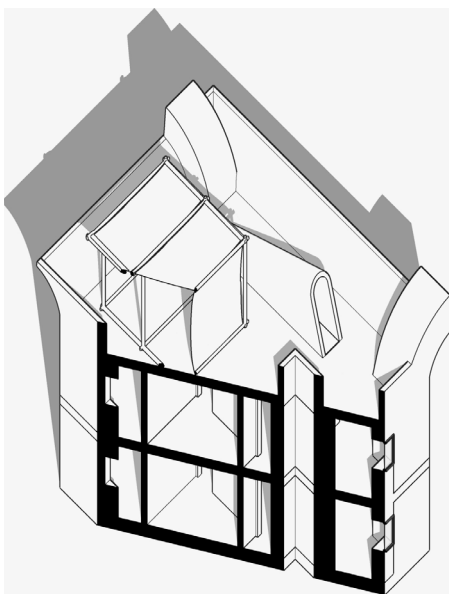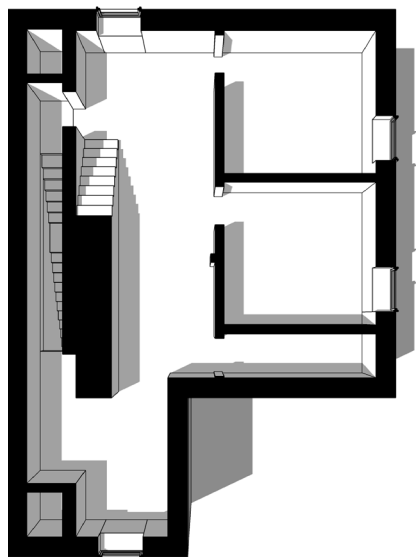


# EIGHTH TYPE
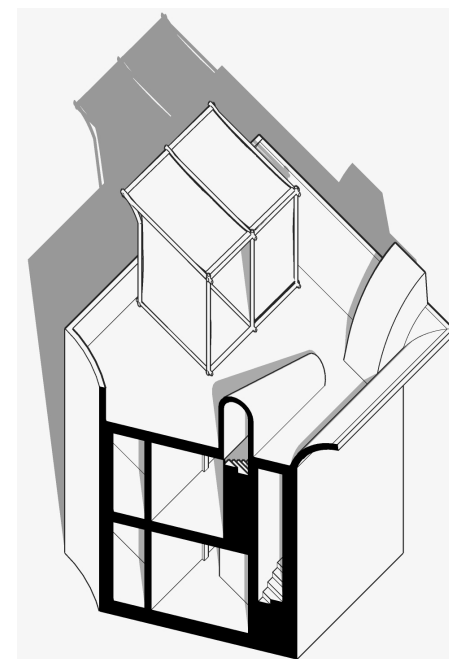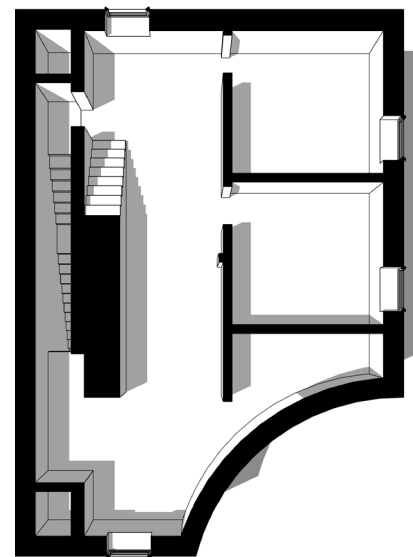
### A Possible Configuration

To render a more realistic image of the formation and assemblage of different types together a location has been chosen for the expansion of the village. The chosen site is at the eastern end of the village in vicinity of restored architectural heritages and farmlands, which might seem a reasonable area for further expansion of this village.
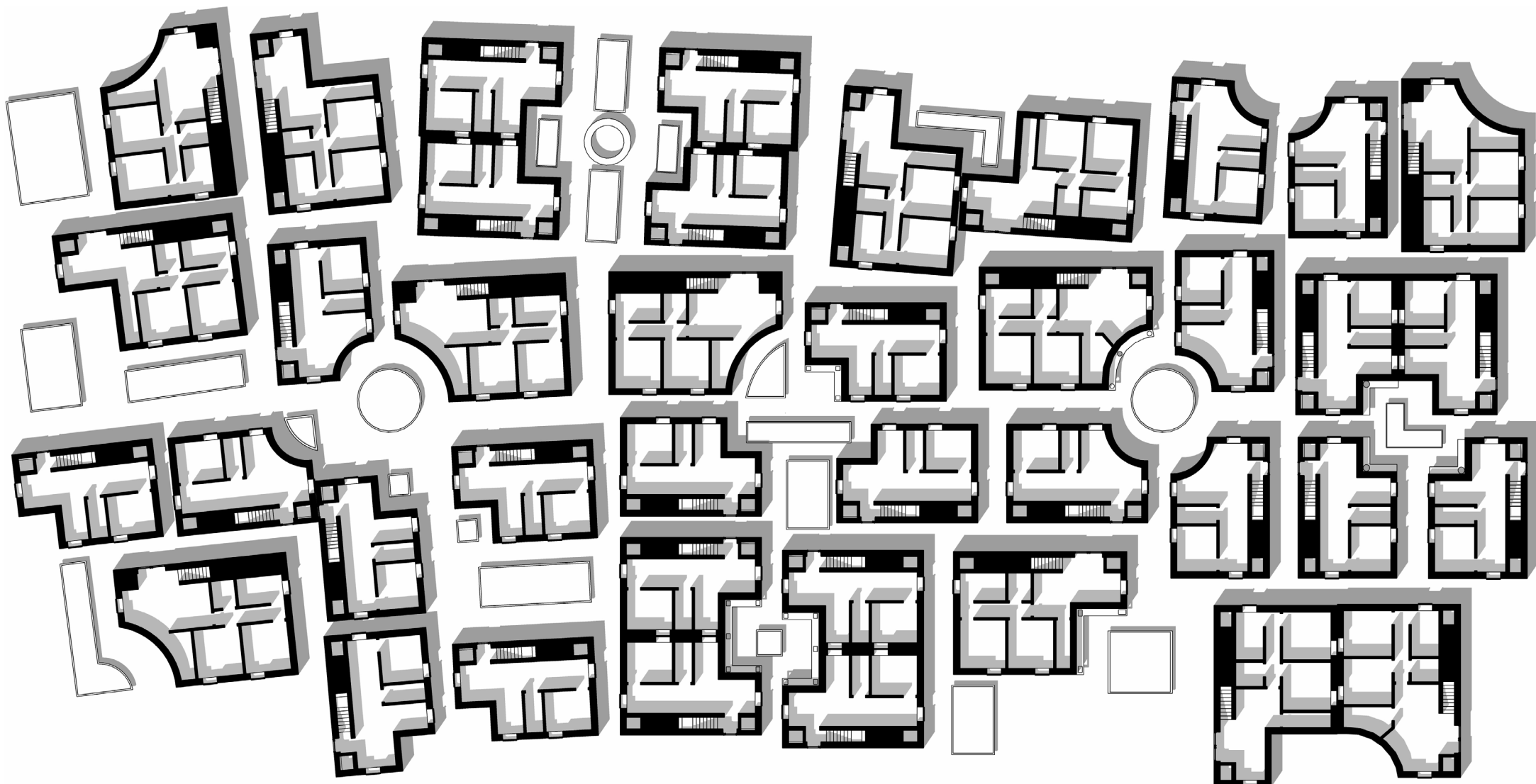
## A Possible Configuration

According to the later findings some rules have been utilized to arrange and assemble different units together, The minimum of the street width has been considered 1.6 m for pedestrian streets and 4m for the main streets. Most of the considered streets are for pedestrian use except some streets, mostly on the outer border of the inhabitation which serve emergency situations. The maximum hight considered for two level buildings has been 9 meters and the minimum hight considered for one level buildings has been 4.5 meters. The buildings are placed 50 centimeters below the ground for climatic considerations.

## A Possible Configuration

The new assemblage that was formed respecting the previously mentioned rules have resulted in outstanding architectural and urban qualities. The houses' form and their components are creating some new public spaces that are very much similar to the former courtyards meanwhile they offer a public use and enhance the quality of the neighborhoods. The size of this public spaces are also in proportion with the houses and the number of residents making them more cozy places for the inhabitants to share their time together. The roads and alleys often follow a natural pattern how ever they are coherent enough for the passenger not to get lost. The whole assemblage is in harmony with the former constructions and the historical tissue because of the materials used and form and function of the buildings.
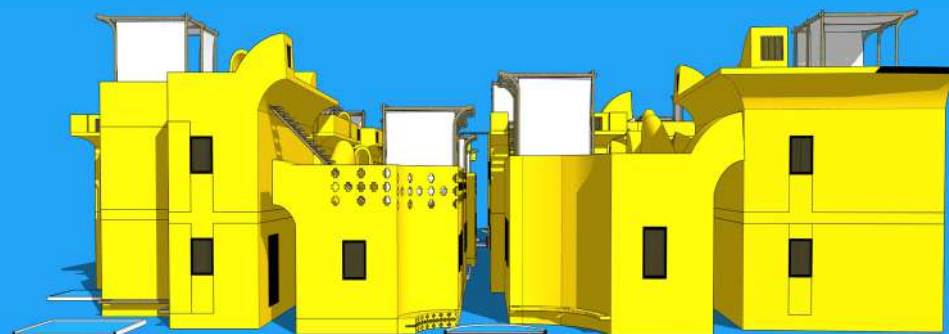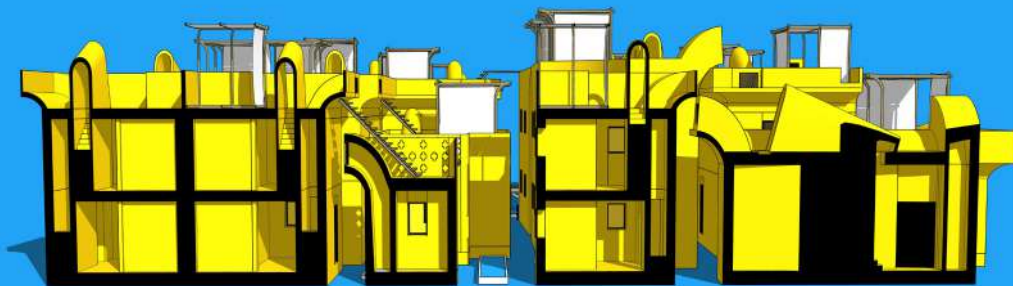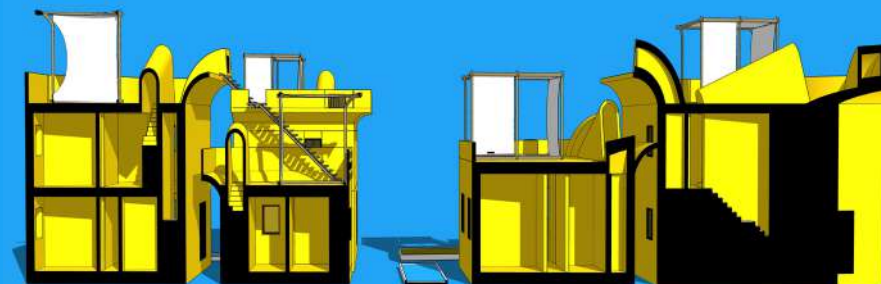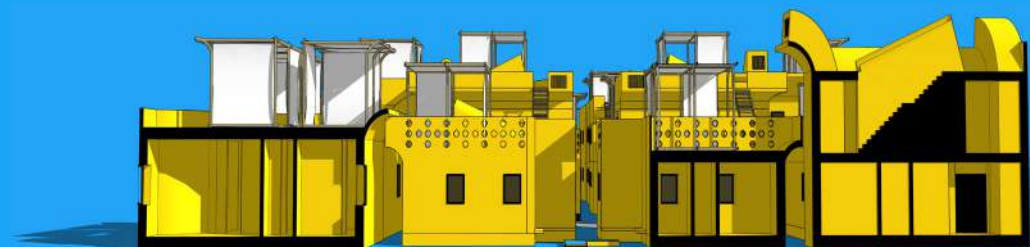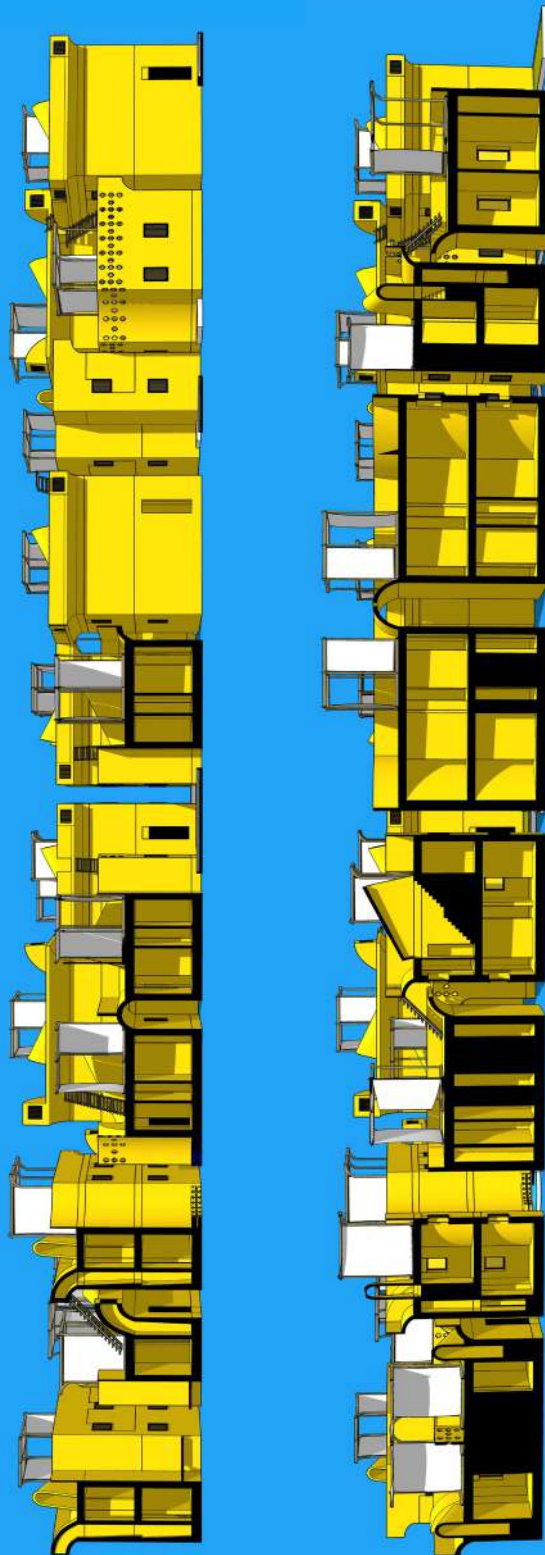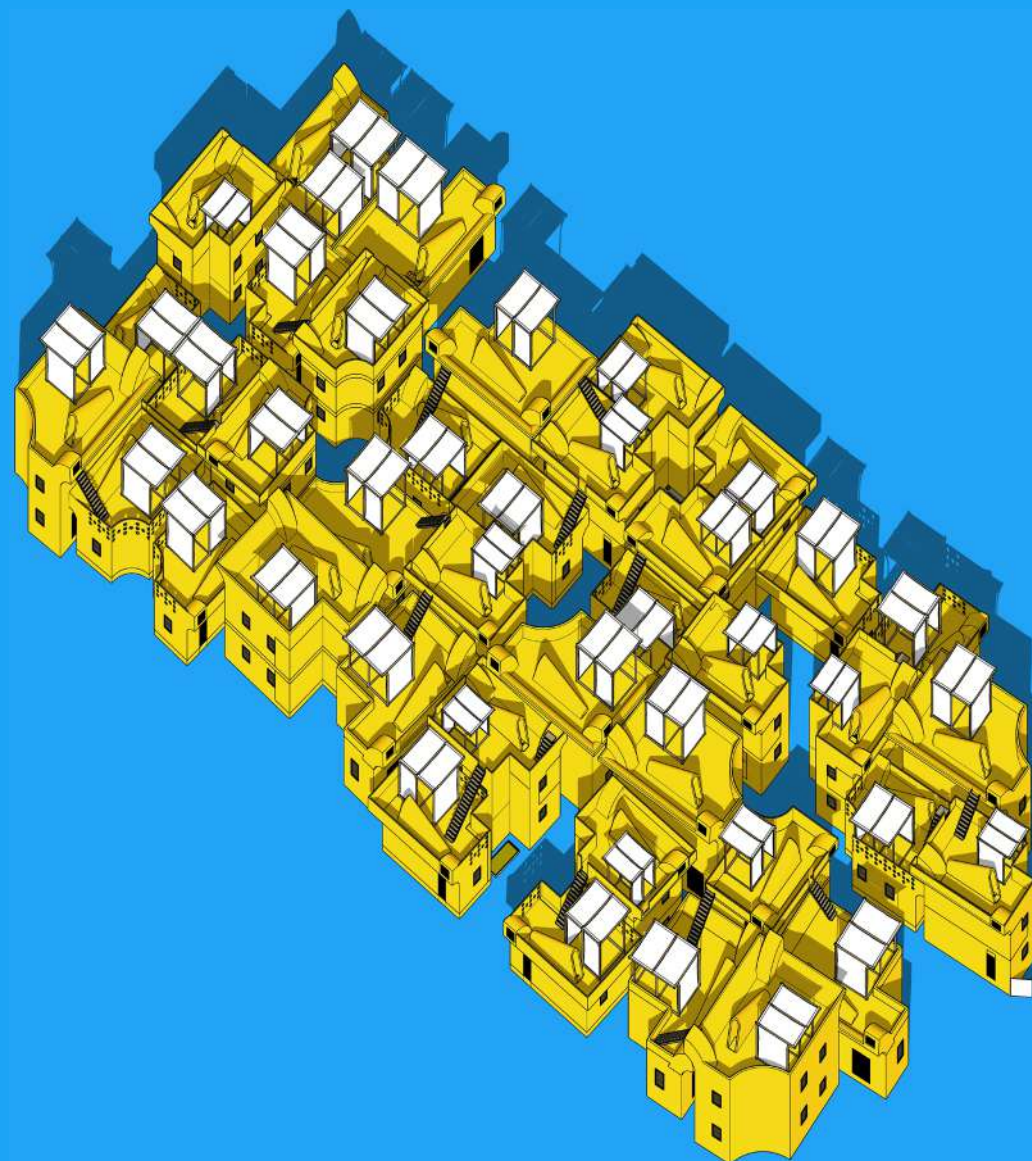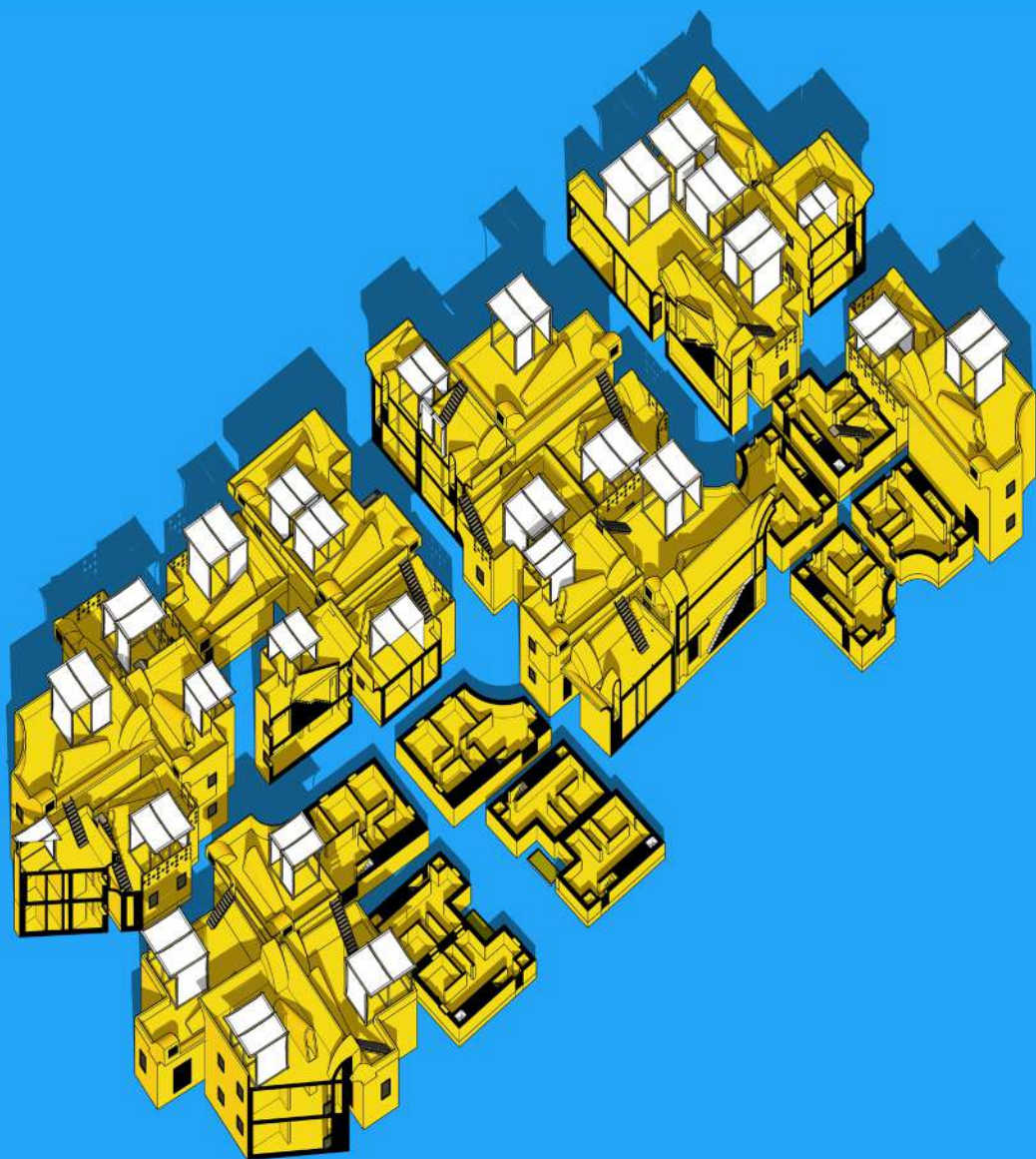
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