

Cities, Heritage and Transformation

Fatemeh Rostami

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# Inside Outside

The Hidden Voices of Historic-Old-New  
Yazd

 Silk Cities

 Springer

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Fatemeh Farnaz Arefian, Bartlett Development Planning Unit, Silk Cities,  
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*To Yazd and its Unique Residents*





# Preface

With her sweet local Yazdi accent, the lady immediately answered:

*“This is my place! This is my home!”*

It was in 2007 as I was driving through the city of Yazd, I noticed a lady sitting outside her house, doubtless waiting for somebody to drive her to a certain place as there were no nearby public transport facilities. I stopped to help and while on the way to her destination, I asked ‘why don't you move to a better and more convenient place to live?’ It was then that I received the above response. The geographer Yi-Fu Tuan (1977, p.3), in a similar manner, states ‘there is no place like home’.<sup>1</sup> As the 11th century Iranian poet Ferdowsi defines home and place as such:

بناهاي آباد گردد خراب      ز باران و از تابش آفتاب  
بي افکندم از نظم کاخي بلند      که از باد و باران نيابد گزند<sup>1</sup>

*“The homes that are the dwellings of today  
Will sink beneath shower and sunshine to decay  
But storm and rain shall never mar  
What I have built-the place of my poetry”.*<sup>2</sup>

But what is the difference between this ordinary definition of place and those of scholars? At the time, when I met this lady, I had no academic knowledge of urban design, nor the notion of place and placemaking. However, the lady’s statement evoked a storm of questions, which set my mind as to how the locals define their living places. This initial inspiration had an important effect on the development of my Ph.D. research knowledge about local identities and transformations of traditional Iranian cities on which this book is built.

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<sup>1</sup> Tuan, Y-F. (1977) *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014.

<sup>2</sup> Lalani, F. (2010) ‘A Thousand Years of Firdawsi’s Shahnam is Celebrated’, Available at: A thousand years of Firdawsi’s Shahnama is celebrated | the.Ismaili (Accessed: 27 September 2023).

Iranian urban scholars and designers argue that traditional Iranian cities are losing their local identities while facing modern urban problems. I will discuss this issue further in the opening chapter of this book. However, in this treatise, my major interest is to enquire into whether local residents' opinions are of similar views as there is a deficiency in citizen participation in Iranian urban studies. But what is really meant by the notion of 'citizen participation' in the realm of urban studies? Is it just about engaging the locals with urban design studies and projects? Or is it about to truly understand locals' wishes and needs? In this book, I attempt to introduce a new methodology to Iranian urban studies through which local 'hidden voices' can be considered in understanding their city's local identity and transformations.

The methodology that I am suggesting is based on a combination of four inductive social methodologies—case study, grounded theory, ethnographic, narrative—to study the social fabric of a city at different levels (city, district, neighbourhood, community, and individual levels). In the introductory chapter, I will give a thorough meaning of each adopted methodology. So, based on the defined methodology, the core of this book is about the simple everyday language of place as defined by local residents. In addition, to help the visualization of the study, I used types of 'shoe' to symbolize urban transformations. Here, one may ask why shoe? In Iran, shoe is generally used to communicate outside the home within the city. Hence, the 'shoe' would be a fitting symbol subject for Iranian urban studies.

In this book, my focus would be on the city of Yazd to examine the proposed methodology. In reviewing the proposal of this book, the editor of Springer, Dr. Farnaz Arefian pointed out 'every case study is a learning opportunity for all nations'. But why Yazd? In comparison with other Iranian cities, Yazd has a unique diverse urban morphology comprising of the Historic, Old, and New Fabrics developed during different eras (Fig. 1). In the concluding chapter, I will argue that this diverse urban transformation can be referred as 'poetry', 'poetry-prose', and 'prose' development. But the uniqueness of Yazd is that its older areas are still alive and occupied by native residents as its Historic Fabric was inscribed by UNESCO in 2017 where locals still live.<sup>3</sup> This urban quality provided me opportunities to live amongst different urban developments (Historic-Old-New) in order to examine the city's transformation from their inhabitants' attitudes.

In Yazd, through three field trips (2016, 2018, and 2023), I lived amongst three selected communities to undertake this study: the Fahadan neighbourhood of the Historic Fabric, which is mainly occupied by Muslim people; the Nersi/Nasr-Abad neighbourhood of the Old Fabric, which is known as one of the Zoroastrian neighbourhoods; and the Safaieh district of the New Fabric, which has been developed through mixed communities (Fig. 1). Here, it should be mentioned that Yazd is also occupied by other communities such as the Jewry community as the native scholar Ali Modarres (2006, p.XVIII) also pointed out 'I cannot think of Yazd without distinct memories of Jews and Zoroastrians'.<sup>4</sup> However, the current

<sup>3</sup> Historic City of Yazd—UNESCO World Heritage Centre.

<sup>4</sup> Modarres, A. (2006) *Modernizing Yazd: Selective Historical Memory and the Fate of Vernacular Architecture*. California: Mazda Publishers, Inc.

majority of residents of Yazd are respectively Muslim and Zoroastrian whose traditions and beliefs have had significant effects on the physical and social fabrics of the city. Therefore, these two communities were studied accompanied with locally trained architects, professionals, and tourists. Then, through coding and triangulation of the gathered data, I provided a diagram illustrating the notion of place defined by its inhabitants' significances (Diagram 1).

In April 2018, during a second fieldtrip to Yazd, I organized a public seminar to hear local voices about findings. In Chap. 8, I will present a detailed outcome of the seminar. In September 2019, I also organized a public exhibition at the World Zoroastrian House in London to share my findings with outsiders. As a further investigation, in May 2023, I revisited Yazd in order to study the aftermath of the COVID pandemic, which will be discussed throughout the neighbourhood chapters (Chapts. 4–6). Moreover, in March 2024, together with the Director of Matter Architecture Mr. Roland Karthaus, we presented my research findings of Yazd as well as an actual urban design project completed by Matter Architecture in London at an international conference organized by Silk Cities to share our works within a professional community.

At this juncture, I may say that of all comments received from both locals and outsiders what really affected me to rethink the notion of 'citizen participation' was a moment experienced at the London exhibition: I distinctly remember, after presenting my findings, a lady approached me and while having tears in her eyes said:

*"We finally saw a real project."*

But what did she really mean by a "real project"? Remarkably, this lady is not a citizen of Yazd but actually resides in London. So, how could she be aware that this research could be a "real project"? My reply to the question is that I was simply presenting the hidden voices belonging to the locals. As in the words of one of my participants in Yazd:

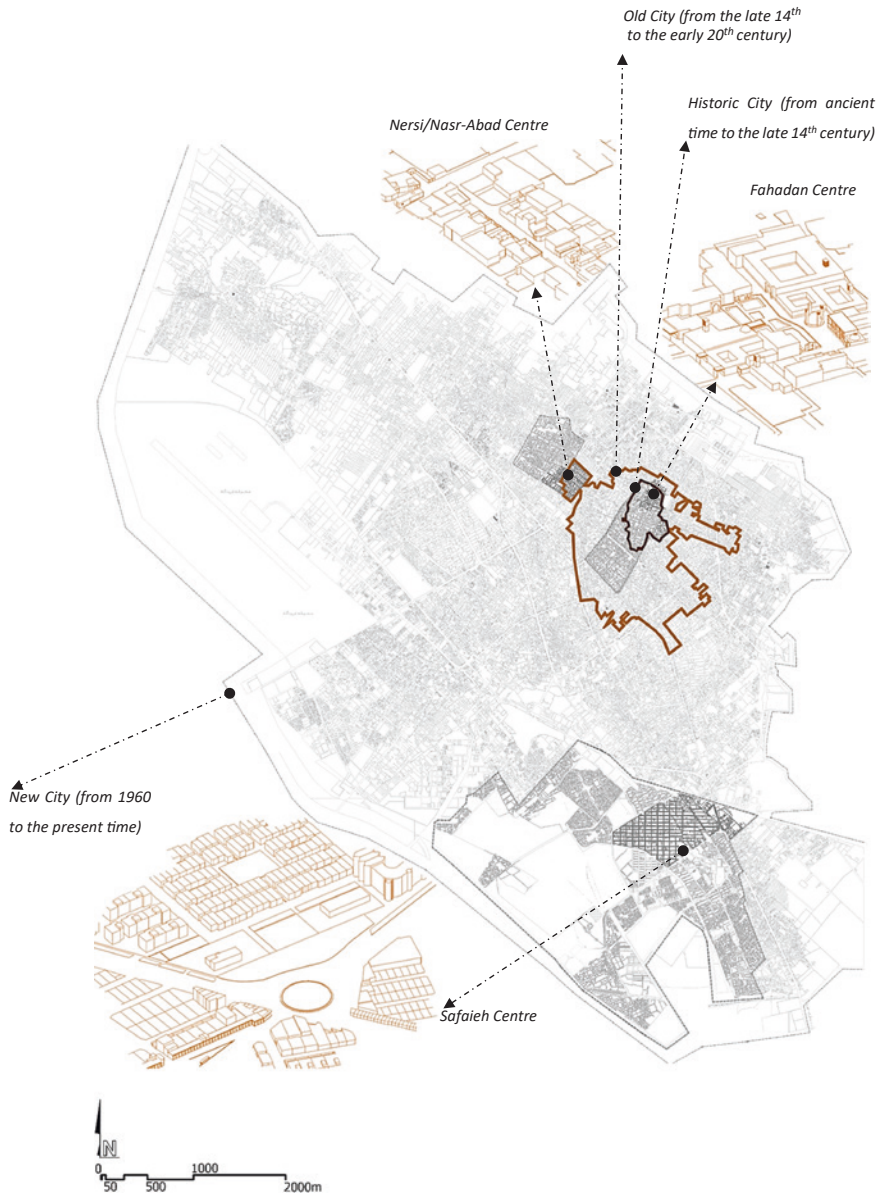
*"This is a real project ... your project will be like a book; a speaking volume on behalf of people".<sup>5</sup>*

In this book, based on my findings in Yazd presented in Chaps. 3–8, I will argue that what we as urban scholars and professionals think of a city may not always be in parallel with locals' views of their city. There are significant hidden voices under the skin of a city. These unseen matters may not be of our interest nor of any importance to us, but would be of consequence to the locals in helping their city to be active and alive. These significances can only be uncovered if we truly engage with the place as well as with the locals so that they can trust us to share their true voices about their living places.

It is my hope that this book will introduce a new viewpoint to local Iranian municipalities, urban designers and researchers in that urban studies are not simply about analysing the physical fabrics of cities, nor personal observations and interests,

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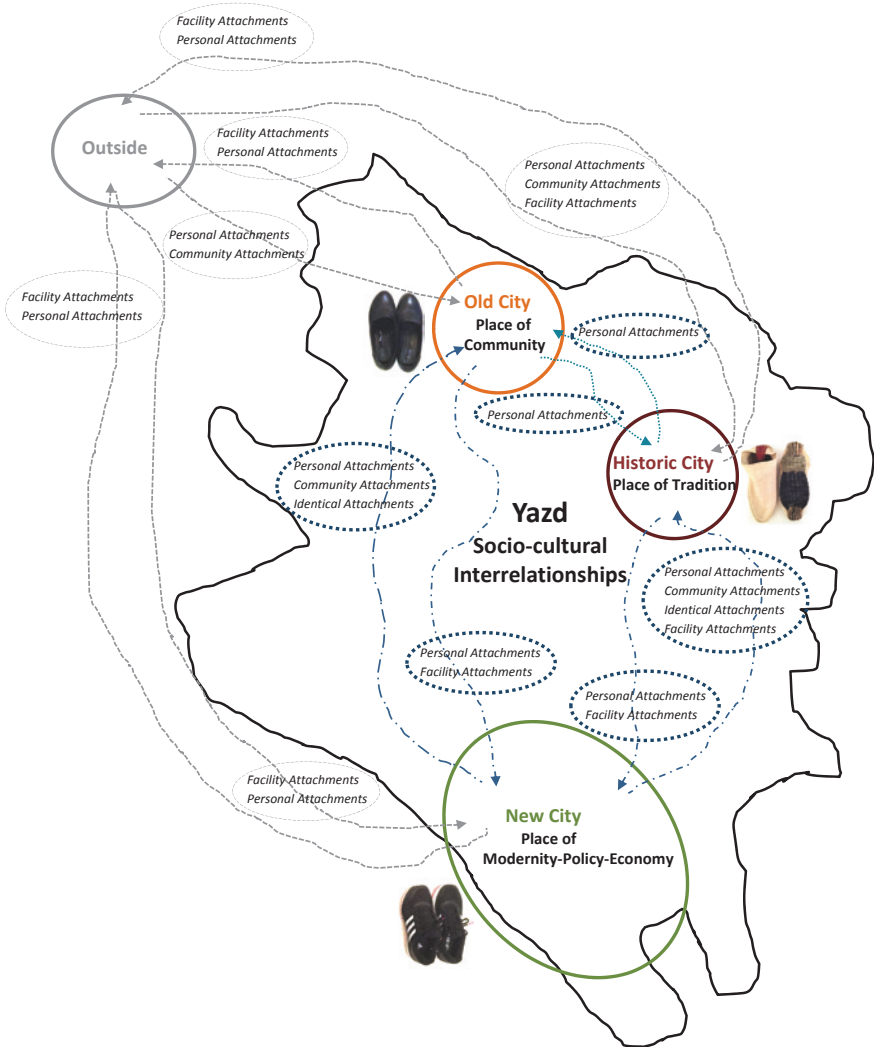
<sup>5</sup> Fieldwork conversation with a 50–60-year-old retired male medical technician, who lives in the Historic Fabric of Yazd—March 2016.



**Fig. 1** Diverse Urban Fabric of Yazd. *Figure by the Author. Map Source:* Municipality of Yazd. The boundaries of the Historic and Old cities have been sourced from Modarres (2006) and Armanshahr (2012, 2017a, b). And the ink used in the perspectives represents the colour of the urban fabric of Yazd located in desert

nor citizen participations, but also to truly engage with locals in order to uncover unseen matters affecting their city life and its transformation. This sincere engagement with locals, nevertheless, requires a combination of different approaches to analyse the city’s social fabric at different levels, which I attempted to examine in Yazd.

I also hope that the simple language of this writing becomes an interesting bridge for non-academic readers to willingly read an urban studies book, which may enhance their knowledge relevant to the importance of citizen participation in urban design projects.



**Diagram 1** Overall Case Study Findings. *Diagram by the Author*

# Acknowledgments

*Inside Outside* is a revision of my Ph.D. thesis. This book would not have come into existence without the true support, knowledge, and affection of numerous communities and individuals. My sincere thanks to everyone for being with me throughout this enjoyable and at the same time a painful and laborious journey. In poetic language, the 13th century Iranian poet Saadi describes the support I received:

که در آفرینش ز یک گوهرند  
دگر عضوها را نماند قرار

بني آدم اعضاي يکديگرند  
چو عضوي به درد آورد روزگار

*Human beings are the limbs of each other  
If a limb suffers from pain*

*In the creation of one essence  
The other limbs cannot remain at  
peace*

In Yazd, the place which inspired me to undertake this research, I cannot thank enough the residents of Yazd, who had no obligation to participate, yet they supported me in all respects. It is impossible for me to acknowledge everyone participated in this work as more than 400 people participated, most of whom are unknown. Here, I can just thank three communities of Yazd with whom I lived while undertaking my ethnographic investigations. In Fahadan, my profound thanks to Mr. Sattar-Zadeh (Osta) and his wife (Bibi) and their children and relatives, Mr. Heydar-Zadeh, Mr. Giamat, Masumeh Khanoom, Fatemeh Khanoom, Mr. Gabileh, Mr. Taslim, Mrs. Gohari, Mr. Dehghan, Mr. Zangili, and their families. In Nersi/Nasr-Abad, I warmly thank Mr. Felfeli and his wife Afsaneh Khanoom, Mr. Belivan, Mr. Moradian, Adokht Khanoom, Iran Khanoom, Mr. Khabiri, and their families. In Safaieh, my appreciation to Mr. Taheri, Mr. Omid, Mrs. Alhamdi, Mr. Azadi, Mr. Abdollahi, and their families. Here, I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to Mr. Falahatian, Mr. Maserrat for their continuous and sincere support.

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“Parents are like air. We do not see them but they are with us in every moment of our lives to support us. We truly recognize their support when they are not with us anymore”, said by one of my Iranian tutors, whose parents had passed away accidentally many years ago. It is impossible for us to thank our parents in words. Here, I can only express my love and respect to my unparalleled mother for being with me throughout this exercise. As well, my deep feelings and thanks to my son, sisters and brothers, and their related families for their significant help and support, in particular, after we unexpectedly lost our father. At this point, I was only able to financially undertake this research, due to my late father’s legacy and the work he did during his lifetime. In memory of my father, I express my profound love.



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# Chapter 1

## A New Urban Methodology for Iranian Urban Studies



**Abstract** The significance of considering local hidden voices in urban design projects is the central theme of this book. With the manifestation and influence of critical attacks on modern urban developments occurring during the 1960s, there have been ongoing worldwide discussions concerning the context of living place, defining the city as an image of memory and meaning (Lynch, 1960), social interaction and close social relationships (Jacobs, 1961), identity and orientation (Norberg-Schulz, 1980) amongst many other definitions, which signify the importance of the social fabric in making urban places. The disconnection existing between modern city designers and citizens seems to be the key problem in modern urban developments. As Jane Jacobs (1961, p. 15) examined an ordinary citizen's statement, "nobody cared what we wanted when they built this place", which illustrates this common practice. This issue of 'sensory deprivation', however, has 'larger causes' and 'deeper historical origins' (Sennett, 1994, p. 16). Traditional Iranian cities, as examples, have been influenced by modern urban developments [A traditional city 'simply refers to the pattern of development that human civilization has built in for millennia' (Price, 2013, p. 1)]. In this book, along with general historical investigations, I attempt to discover this urban transformation through the involvement with ordinary citizens' life stories and daily activities in order to design a new urban methodology for Iranian urban studies. This book, therefore, is a social study of traditional Iranian cities using Yazd as a specific case study: how people move about the city; what manner of social relationships and facilities they engage in as opposed to those they would wish to have; what their memories tell about their living places; why some people enjoy living in the older fabrics while others prefer to live in the newer fabrics; and if there exist any interconnections between these areas. In this opening chapter, I will discuss the lack of contemporary citizen's participations in Iran, and why Yazd was chosen for this study. Then, I will explain the designed methodology followed by using 'shoe' as a symbol of social and urban transformations.

**Keywords** Citizen participation · Urban methodology · Grounded theory · Case study · Ethnographic · Narrative

## 1.1 Iranian Contemporary Developments and Lack of Citizen Participation

Iran is of various climatic conditions and ethnicities (Figs. 3.2 and 3.3). Like most Middle Eastern countries, the initial formation of traditional Iranian cities, ‘where the vernacular forms of dwelling and settlements were shaped primarily by socio-cultural concerns and the surrounding natural environments’ (Alsayed, 2008, p. 256), differ from one to another. However, these local differences are now melding into one because of their modern urban developments. This has now become an ongoing argument in that these traditional cities are facing modern urban problems while losing local identities due to the absence of efficient and accepted methods of analysing (Ebrahimpour-Masoumi, 2011; Modares, 2006; Mohammadi, 2010; Noghsan-Mohammadi, 2001; Shirazi, 2018). Therefore, some research has been done studying the physical forms of cities. But there is a deficiency in social investigations within the morphological analysis.

It is argued that ‘citizen participation in Iran is both old and new’ (Shirazi, 2017, p. 327). It is old as it dates back to ancient times when the ‘whole’ city or ‘the large scale will emerge, organically, from the cooperation of the individual acts of construction’ (Alexander et al., 1987, p. 37). In other words, ‘informal modes of people involvement’ which are still practiced in Iran (Shirazi, 2017, p. 327). I learned about this olden practice some 15 years ago while completing my bachelor degree in architectural engineering in Yazd: during an informal meeting, which I had with a locally trained architect, the architect explained that how he was involved with his clients from the moment he made a contract with them to the time the project was completed:

*Morality was important in architecture...for example, in the past, there were three methods of making a door frame: the difficult one was the cheapest one, but the easiest one was the expensive one...if our client was poor, we chose the difficult one to help our client...<sup>1</sup>*

However, the ‘formal participatory method’ is relatively new in Iran dating back to the 1960s (Shirazi, 2017, p. 327). In 2000, the research done by the Centre of Studies for Urban Planning indicated that the percentage of modern citizen participation in Iranian urban policies is very low in comparison to those democratic nations, which stands to reason where Iranian urban planning issues are concerned (Mohammadi, 2010). But it seems that during recent years, ‘participation’ has become an ‘interesting’ subject in both the ‘scientific field as well as practice and rhetoric’ (Dienel, 2017, p. 1). In *Citizen’ Participation in Urban Planning and Development in Iran* (ibid), the authors have described some examples of participatory projects in Iran. Reviewing these case studies show that these projects were mainly practiced through organized meetings, workshops, and exhibitions.

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<sup>1</sup> Informal meeting with an over 80-year-old locally trained architect, Yazd 2006.



But my question here is open to doubt in that have these local participants really expressed their main concerns through those organized events, particularly in Iran, where ‘the concept of participation’ is not totally in parallel with that of an ‘international sphere’ (Shirazi, 2017, p. 330). As an example, during an interview I had with a native resident of Yazd, when the participant was pointing out certain issues existing in their neighbourhoods, he paused for a moment and while giving me an honest look said:

*There are things that cannot be told.*<sup>2</sup>

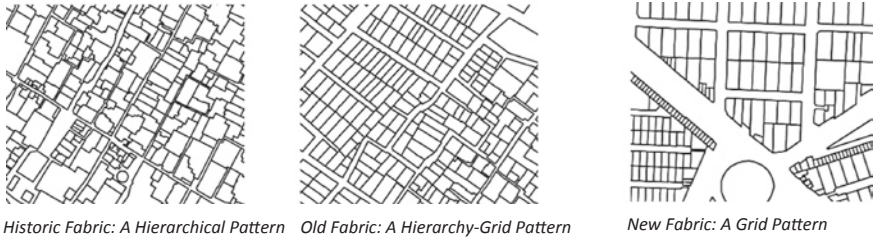
In this book, my attempt is to uncover these hidden voices affecting locals and their city’s life as a whole. While undertaking this study, I learned that these unseen matters may be of a political, personal and community matter, which may be revealed if we truly engage with the place as well as locals’ everyday life and stories. Hence, based on this view, I designed my research methodology, which was examined in Yazd.

## 1.2 Why Yazd?

Choosing Yazd as a case study was of both personal interest and academic reasons. In terms of academic reasons, the city has a diverse urban morphology developed during different eras (Figs. 1.1, 3.14, and 3.19). Through strolling or driving, one can observe different urban forms developed during different times: Starting at the city’s north end, the Historic Fabric (ancient times to the late fourteenth century) of narrow covered alleyways accompanied with single storey adobe traditional houses with wind-tower (*badgir*) and courtyards. Passing through this part, the city takes on another form, the Old Fabric (from 1960 to the beginning of the twentieth century) with wider streets and usually of one-three storey adobe and brick buildings. Then, arriving at the south end of the city, one has the feeling of being in a new city yet one is within the confines of the city; the New Fabric (from the beginning of the twentieth century to the present time) showing wholly dissimilar characteristics exhibiting wider streets adjoining some garden houses and high-rise apartment buildings. In Chap. 3, I will review the historical documents of urban development in Yazd. However, what is specific to Yazd is that the older areas are still alive and inhabited by local people. This urban quality allowed me to live with and to study the inhabitants of both traditional and newer developments of the city. Furthermore, becoming urbane after living in the city for a 5-year term as a student (2005–2010) was beneficial in saving time to understand the local culture and urban fabric of Yazd.

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<sup>2</sup>Interview with a 58-year-old disabled male shopkeeper, who lives in Fahadan, May 2023.



**Fig. 1.1** The diverse street patterns of Yazd. *Map Source* Municipality of Yazd

In terms of personal interest, Yazd and its people had significant effects on my view in understanding the notion of place and placemaking from the locals' attitudes. These initial inspirations, which researchers bring to their research consciously or unconsciously, define philosophical assumptions (see following Section). I first visited Yazd in 2005 when as an undergraduate, I began to live and to study in the city for about five years. Being a resident of the capital city of Tehran, which is of a totally different urban form, Yazd was new to me in all respects: while being in Yazd, I felt as though I live in the past yet I am for the present time in a place where I could also learn about other communities, particularly, Zoroastrian people with whom I have never had in the least social life experiences. But what really inspired me to undertake this research, was the statement of a native resident of Yazd living in the Historic Fabric despite the lack of modern urban facilities (see Preface).

### 1.3 Research Methodology

The urban methodology, which I designed to examine in Yazd, is derived from both ontological and epistemological assumptions.<sup>3</sup> Ontology examines 'the nature of reality' and its 'characteristics', which is based on the 'actual words of individuals' (Creswell & Poth, 2018, p. 20); as the present book is based on the participants' views of Yazd and their living places. On the other hand, this book stems from epistemology to get 'as close as possible' to the residents of Yazd through working and living amongst them in order to develop 'knowledge' (ibid, p. 21). These assumptions are mostly used throughout the interpretive frameworks, which 'guide the practice of research' (ibid, p. 22).

<sup>3</sup>Methodology of research is 'the science of finding out' (Babbaie, 1986, p. 6) or 'strategies of inquiries' (Saunders et al., 2007, p. 141), which determine how data should be 'collected', 'generated', and 'analysed' (USC Libraries, 2023). In research design, research methodologies are built on philosophical assumptions, which speak of researchers' views (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

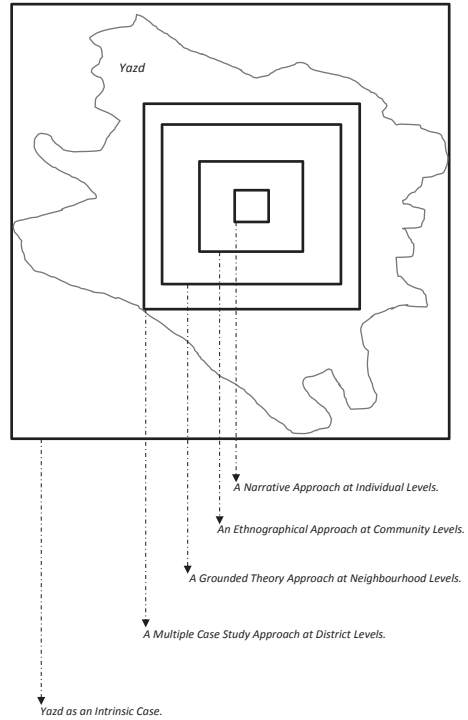
The interpretive frameworks of this book are social constructivism and pragmatism. In the social constructivism view, the knowledge claimed mainly relies on the participants' views of the circumstance and status (Charmaz, 2014). In this view, the intent is to interpret the 'meanings' that the residents of Yazd have about the world; 'the world in which they live and work' (Creswell & Poth, 2018, p. 24). Nevertheless, this view is in contrast to postpositivism, which starts with theory (Charmaz, 2014; Creswell & Poth, 2018). This book is also based on pragmatism. In this view, the focus is on the 'useful outcome' (Creswell & Poth, 2018, pp. 26–27) to solve the research problem (Rossman & Wilson, 1985). To do so, in this book, through 'triangulation' which 'entails using more than one method or source of data in studying of social phenomena' (Bryman, 2016, p. 386), 'multiple methods' were used for data collection in order to reach the 'best answer' for the research questions (Creswell & Poth, 2018, p. 27). Based on the adopted interpretive frameworks, I chose four inductive social methodologies to design my urban methodology.

## 1.4 Four Adopted Inductive Social Methodologies

The designed urban methodology examined in Yazd is based on the combination of four inductive social methodologies namely: Case Study, Grounded Theory, Ethnography, and Narrative approaches (Diagrams 1.1 and 1.2). These methodologies are embedded in one another to analyse the social fabric of an urban place at different levels: city, district, neighbourhood, community, and individual levels. As seen in the following diagram, while Case Study and Grounded Theory approaches were used to analyse the social fabrics of Yazd at city, district, and neighbourhood levels, through Ethnographic and Narrative approaches, the selected communities as well as individuals' life stories were studied.

As this book may be of interest to both non-academics and architectural school students, who may not be familiar with social research methodologies, I thought that it would be beneficial to these readers to review each adopted methodology in detail. However, for those professionals, who are familiar with these methodologies, a summary of the designed methodology is given in the conclusion of this chapter.

**Diagram 1.1** Four adopted inductive social methodologies. Diagram by the Author



### 1.4.1 Case Study

A case study is an inquiry into real-life events. Case studies are used as a strategy of research when the researcher has a brief idea about a ‘contemporary’ event questioning ‘how’ or ‘why’ the phenomena is taking place within real-life (Yin, 2014). These cases or real-life events may be situations, individuals, groups, organisations, or whatever the researchers are interested in (Robson, 2011). In this book, the case study is considered as a methodology which ‘may be an object of study as well as a product of the inquiry’ (Creswell & Poth, 2018, pp. 96).

#### A. Types and Approaches

Different approaches to case studies are defined through the bounded case as well as the intent of research (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Regarding the purpose, there are three types of case studies: ‘single instrument’ case study; ‘collective or multiple’ case study; and the ‘intrinsic’ case study (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Yin, 2009). In this book, the city of Yazd is chosen as an ‘intrinsic’ case study because of its unique diverse urban fabric. On the other hand, Yazd is considered as a single embedded case, ‘where within a single case, attention is also given to a subunit or subunits’ (Yin, 2009, p. 50); the selected districts and neighbourhoods within

the Historic, Old, and the New Fabrics of Yazd. Hence, case study methodology is used to analyse the case at the city, district, and neighbourhood levels.

### *B. Data Collection Activities and Sources*

In case study research, there is no specific time for the collection of data as it may begin before a field trip to study backgrounds and other cases (Stake, 1995, p. 49). For data collection, there are multiple sources (Yin, 2009, pp. 90–126) to report a case description and case themes (Creswell & Poth, 2018, pp. 96–97) and to ‘triangulate’ data (Yin, 2009). In this book, prior to the field trips, urban historical documents as well as previous research were reviewed to learn how Iranian cities have developed over time with the focus on Yazd to understand why this city has such a diverse urban form compared to other traditional cities in the country. Then, three field trips to Yazd were scheduled to explore its social fabric through various activities.

### *C. Data Analysis Methods*

Analysing a case study comprises ‘a detailed description of the case and its setting’ (Creswell & Poth, 2018, p. 206) to give ‘meaning to first impressions as well as to final compilation’ (Stake, 1995, p. 71). To reach new meaning, data can be analysed through ‘direct interpretation’, ‘naturalistic generalisations’ (Stake, 1995, pp. 74–90), ‘cross-case synthesis’ (Yin, 2014), and ‘a detailed view of aspects of the case’ (Creswell & Poth, 2018, pp. 206–207). In this book, a detailed description and cross-case synthesis are used to illustrate the ‘facts’ as well as the ‘similarities’ and ‘differences’ between the selected cases (ibid).

### *D. Writing Methods*

For writing a case study ‘there is no standard format’ (Merriam, 1988, p. 193). Writing ‘can be organised any way that contributes to the reader’s understanding of the case’ (Stake, 1995, p. 122) as the overall aim is to shape ‘the large structure of the written narrative’ (Creswell & Poth, 2018, p. 246). In this book, a chronological description is given to the history of Yazd followed by detailed reports of real-life events.

## **1.4.2 Grounded Theory**

Grounded theory is used by various disciplines. It is a ‘general methodology for developing theory that is grounded in data systematically gathered and analysed’ (Strauss & Corbin, 1994, p. 273). This inductive approach does not begin with literature reviews as the theory is derived from participants’ viewpoints of situations (Cameron & Price, 2009, pp. 409–412). Otherwise stated, ‘this theory development is not ‘off the shelf’ but rather is ‘grounded’ in data from participants who have experienced the process’ (Strauss & Corbin, 1998 in Creswell & Poth, 2018, p. 82). It is believed that the developed theory ‘might help explain practice or

provide a framework for future research' (Creswell & Poth, 2018, p. 82). In this book, in each selected area, a theory is generated through participants' storied lives and day-to-day activities, which explains how the place works.

#### *A. Types and Approaches*

There are two popular approaches to grounded theory; systematic and constructive procedures (Creswell & Poth, 2018). In the systematic approach, the significant concepts are 'categories, codes, and coding and the systematic procedures directed by the constant comparison of data from the field with emerging categories' (Creswell & Poth, 2018, p. 84) while the constructive approach is comprised of 'systematic, yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analysing data to develop theories from the data themselves' (Charmaz, 2014, p. 1). This book uses a flexible constructive approach to analyse Yazd at the neighbourhood level.

#### *B. Data Collection Activities and Sources*

In grounded theory, both qualitative and quantitative data are collected through various sources and activities. Although grounded theory is used for gathering 'rich qualitative data' (Charmaz, 2014), it 'can be used in connection with different kinds of data' (Bryman, 2012, p. 387) which have been collected from various sources; 'anything that may shed light on questions under study' (Corbin & Strauss, 1990p. 5). 'Intensive interviewing' is the 'common tool' for data collection (Charmaz, 2014) while questionnaires can be another tool to gather 'elicited texts' (Charmaz, 2014, p. 60). In Yazd, intensive interviewing and distributing questionnaires were used to collect data.

#### *C. Data Analysis Methods*

In grounded theory, data collection and data analysis are coincident. Otherwise stated, 'the data analysis begins as soon as the first bit of data is collected' (Corbin & Strauss 1990p. 6). Two main tools for analysing data are 'coding' and 'memo-writing' (Charmaz, 2014). In this book, in each selected neighbourhood, in the stage of 'initial coding' and 'memo-writing', open codes were identified through naming data 'word-by-word' and 'line by line'. Then, through 'focus coding', the significant open codes were categorized, and the collecting of data was halted when categories were saturated. Finally, 'theoretical coding', which is a 'sophisticated' level of coding, 'theory' is defined to illustrate how each neighbourhood is dominated (Diagrams 4.9, 5.6, and 6.5).

#### *D. Writing Methods*

In grounded theory, a repetitive way of writing is set in visual and written documents. In an 'iterative process', a theory is presented through any 'grounded theory narrative' (Creswell & Poth, 2018, p. 84) meaning 'going back and forth between the sections and rethink, revise, and sometimes recast and rewrite' (Charmaz, 2014, p. 285). In this book, diagrams were used as visual documents. Likewise, similar findings of each selected area are repeated and compared to obtain a holistic result for the city as a whole.