

**Identity of Place, Considering Place as Assemblage
in the Case of Mortafa Housing Complex, Iran**

Nima Talebian

Submitted to the
Institute of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
Architecture

Eastern Mediterranean University
May 2017
Gazimağusa, North Cyprus

Approval of the Institute of Graduate Studies and Research

Prof. Dr. Mustafa Tümer

I certify that this thesis satisfies the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Ph.D. in Architecture.

Prof. Dr. Naciye Doratlı
Chair, Department of Architecture

We certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate in scope and quality as a thesis for the degree of Ph.D. in Architecture.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Beril Ozmen
Supervisor

Examining Committee

1. Prof. Dr. Semra Aydınlı

2. Prof. Dr. Şebnem Önal Hoşkara

3. Prof. Dr. Hıfsiye Pulhan

4. Assoc. Prof. Dr. Beril Özmen

5. Assoc.Prof. Dr. Türkan Uluşu Uraz

ABSTRACT

Approaching the concept of 'place' as an assemblage of people, constituents, links and relations, this study is focused on one of the most symbolic high-rise mass housing complexes in Iran, 'Mortafa Housing' and its multilayered context, in order to propose a way for revealing the 'identity of place', while the concepts of 'identity' is also considered as an ongoing assemblage. Scholars have tried to investigate the identity of built environment, considering it as an outcome or process. However, the new conception of 'place identity' as a multi-folded assemblage is beyond the dialectic oppositions and able to merge the binaries such as fixed/changing, process/entity, tangible/intangible or material/immaterial. The complicated notion of place identity as a multi-layered and multi-scale assemblage, which is always in the process of 'becoming', cannot be reduced to the mere physical features or visual characteristics of place. Instead, the research tries to emphasize on a holistic and ontological understanding of place identity, which can only be discussed through the linkages, relations and connections in different layers, scales and dimensions of place. By comparing the becoming processes of the case and its context, 'place identity as assemblage' provides a better understanding of the case, its contexts and possible challenges in between. Therefore, the transformation of Mortafa housing identity is explored throughout its long lifetime and based on a triangular mixed methodology of phenomenology, discourse analysis and spatial analysis. Final findings of the research are divided to methodological remarks, theoretical findings and case study results. The most important finding is the new approach towards 'identity of place', which is more close to people's perception, experience, and expression.

Keywords: Place, Identity, Place Identity, Assemblage Theory, Mass Housing

ÖZ

Yer kavramına insan, bileşen, bağlantı ve ilişkilerin bir araya getirildiği ‘asamblaj’ / ‘tekilliklerin kümelenmesi’ olarak yaklaşan bu çalışma, İran'daki sembolik yüksek katlı konut komplekslerinden biri olan "Mortafa Konutları" ve bu konutların çok katmanlı bağlamına odaklanarak 'Yerin Kimliği' üzerine yapılacak araştırmalara farklı bir yol önermekte, ve aynı zamanda 'kimlik' kavramının da süreç içerisinde ortaya çıkan bir ‘asamblaj’ olarak kabul edildiği vurgulamaktadır. Önceki çalışmalarda araştırmacılar yapılı çevrede kimlik arayışını bir sonuç veya süreç olarak düşünmekteydiler. Halbuki, "yer kimliği" kavramını ‘çok katmanlı bir topluluk’ olarak ele alan bu yeni anlayış, diyalektik karşıtlıkların ötesinde ve sabit/değişen, süreç/varlık, somut/soyut, maddi/manevi gibi ikilemleri birleştirebilmektedir. Bu karmaşık yer kimliği kavramı, daimi bir oluşum sürecindedir ve mekanın salt fiziksel özellikleri veya görsel niteliklerine indirgenemez. Böylece, bu araştırma, yer kimliğinin bütüncül ve ontolojik yapısının anlaşılabilmesi için, ilişki ve bağlantılar aracılığıyla, yalnızca yerin farklı katmanları, ölçekleri ve boyutlarında tartışılabileceğini vurgulamaktadır. Asamblaj olarak kabul edilen yer kimliği, seçilen örneklemin oluşum süreçleri ve bağlamı ile karşılaştırıldığında, ortaya çıkacak olası zorlukları daha iyi anlamayı sağlamaktadır. Bu nedenle, Mortafa konutlarındaki kimlik dönüşümü, kompleksin uzun ömrü boyunca araştırılmış; fenomenoloji, söylem analizi ve mekansal analiz olarak saptanan üçlü karma bir metodolojiye dayanarak incelenmiştir. Araştırma bulguları ise yöntem ile ilgili yorumlar, kuramsal bulgular ve örneklem analiz sonuçları olarak ayrılarak özetlenmiştir. Bu tezde vurgulanan en önemli husus, insanların algı, deneyim ve ifade biçimlerine yakından dokunabilecek ve okuyabilecek bir 'yer kimliği' üzerine yeni bir yaklaşımın önerilmesi ve bu konunun tartışmaya açık olarak gözler önüne serilmesidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yer, Kimlik, Yer Kimliği, Asamblaj Teorisi, Toplu Konut

To Sima

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This publication was made possible due to the support of my dear supervisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Beril Özmen and monitoring members; Prof. Dr. Şebnem Önal Hoşkara, Prof. Dr. Hıfsiye Pulhan and Assoc. prof. Dr. Aytanga Dener. Invaluable support was given by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Türkan Ulusu Uraz and Prof. Dr. Yonca Hürol who guided me throughout the writing of my published article and Prof. Dr. Semra Aydınli, my external jury member, who read, listened, and offered excellent criticism and inputs.

I am thankful to my dear wife, classmate, and friend, Sima Nabizadeh, the scholar without whom I was unable to finish this research, and my dear son, Sam, for his presence and patience.

Many thanks to Kasra, the little brother with bigger hopes in life, the only one who knows what happened in these eight years, and was there for us.

I am grateful to my father, Ahmad Talebian, whose voice was always encouraging, and my mother, Fataneh Arfaei, who still believes in me, and my sister, Naghmeh, who is always in my mind. Words are unable to express the depth of my gratitude.

Many thanks to Sima's parents, Mohammad and Rezvan who have supported us in all the possible ways, and her kind-hearted sister, Soraya and beloved brothers Navid and Reza. Special thanks to my dear friend and partner, Mehdi Atashi, who kept our business running in Iran during our absence and encouraged us to put an end to our research.

TABLE OF CONTENT

ABSTRACT	iii
ÖZ	iv
DEDICATION	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	x
1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Key Concepts	1
1.2 Research Questions	6
1.3 Introducing the Case: Mortafa Housing Complex	8
1.4 Problem Statement and the Context of Study: Challenges of a Long-Standing Suburban High-Rise Mass housing in Iran	10
1.5 Aims and Objectives	16
1.6 Methodology	17
1.7 The Structure of the Thesis	19
2 REVIEWS AND DISCUSSIONS ON IDENTITY	21
2.1 Formation and Transformation of Identity.....	23
2.2 Theory of ‘Identity as Assemblage’	24
2.3 Identity in Various Disciplines	28
2.3.1 Identity in Philosophy	29
2.3.2 Identity in psychology and sociology	31
2.3.3 Object’s identity in design based disciplines	33
2.3.4 Identity in built environmental studies and geography.....	34
2.3.5 Identity in the field of architecture.....	38

3	REVIEWS AND DISCUSSIONS ON PLACE	42
3.1	Phenomenology of Place.....	42
3.2	‘Post-Phenomenology’ and Recent Theories on Place	45
3.3	Deleuzian Approach to Place.....	49
3.4	Theory of ‘Place as Assemblage’	56
3.5	Identity of Place; A Post-phenomenological Reading	60
4	RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	63
4.1	Triangular Methodology	63
4.1.1	Phenomenological reading: individuals’ experience of inhabitants.....	67
4.1.2	Discourse analysis: socially constructed aspects of a housing complex...	69
4.1.3	Spatial analysis: mapping the network of socio-spatially structured form	71
4.2	Singular Case Study Method.....	72
4.3	The Selection of the Case.....	72
5	IDENTITY OF PLACE, CONSIDERING ‘MORTAFA HOUSING COMPLEX’ AS ASSEMBLAGE	75
5.1	Presenting the Case	75
5.2	Formation and Transformation of High-rise Buildings in Iran.....	78
5.3	Social Beliefs and the Early Signs of Place Identity Formation (1974-1978)....	84
5.4	Place Identity and Political Forces of ‘Becoming’: Iran’s Islamic Revolution (1978) ..	87
5.5	From High-Rise and Luxury Apartments to a Farm; Place Identity and Unexpected Forces of ‘Becoming’ (1979-1980)	88
5.6	Iran-Iraq War and the Social Influences on the ‘Becoming’ of the Complex (1980-1988).....	90
5.7	New Ideologies; Changes in Meanings, Activities and Physical Appearance.....	92
5.9	Urban Growth, Place Identity and Spatial Forces of Changes (2000-2014)..	101

5.10 From Luxury to Low-Income; Place Identity and the Value of Apartments	107
6 CONCLUSION	110
6.1 Methodological Remarks	110
6.2 Theoretical Findings.....	114
6.3 Case Study Results	119
REFERENCES.....	122

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Diagram for the key concepts and the research questions.....	7
Figure 2. Urban view of the complex in the city’s skyline, 2010. Source: Author.	8
Figure 3. Plasco building in Tehran’s skyline (1960) and after being collapsed in 2017 ..	10
Figure 4. Controlled demolition of Pruitt–Igoe mass housing (1972). Source: Wikipedia	12
Figure 5. Diagram for possible conflicts between the suburban mass housing complexes and their context. Source: Author	14
Figure 6. The research design: Diagram for the linkage between Research questions, Case study and Problem statement. Source: Author	15
Figure 7. Diagram for approaches to ‘identity’ in built environmental studies. Source: Author.....	35
Figure 8. Chart for various approaches to identity in the field of architecture. Source: Author.....	39
Figure 9. Diagrams for Dovey’s (2010) methodological proposal.	64
Figure 10. Techniques and target groups in each methodology: Source: Author.....	65
Figure 11. Theoretical Framework, Methodology and Techniques of the Study. Source: Author.	66
Figure 12. Demographic descriptions of residents participated in the interviews. Source: Author	68
Figure 13. Demographic description of non-habitant participants. Source: Author ..	70
Figure 14. 'Mortafa Housing' - The location of the case in different scales. Source: Author	76
Figure 15. Mortafa Housing - Urban views to the complex. Source: Author	76
Figure 16. Mortafa Housing Complex - Views to the project. Source: Author	77

Figure 17. Mortafa Housing Complex - Gated boundary and security building. Source: Author	77
Figure 18. Multi-layered diagram showing the relation between the formation of two high rise waves in Iran and socio-political forces and events. Source: Author	81
Figure 19. Diagram for Iran’s population growth, housing shortage and other upper-scale forces affecting high-rise waves. Source: Author	83
Figure 20. View of the project located in the distance from the city (1978). Source: Private archive; Navid Contractor Company.	85
Figure 21. Keyhan Newspaper Front Page Headline (19.12.1979): ‘Do not buy a house; we will make everybody a house-owner’. Source: Keyhan Newspaper archive.....	88
Figure 22. Schematic time-event map for the main socio-political forces. Source: Author .	91
Figure 23. Mortafa Housing Complex – Above: Original Plan of the Complex Before the changes (1974), Below: Current plan of the complex after the changes (2012) Source: Ali Adibi Consulting Engineering Company.....	94
Figure 24. Combination of Blocks and Commercial Building in Between	95
Figure 25. Schematic plan, the new centre of the complex. Source: Author.....	96
Figure 26. Mortafa Housing Complex. Facade of the blocks and shades. Source: Author ..	97
Figure 27. The combination of one bedroom and two bedroom units. Source: Ali Adibi Consulting Engineering Company.	99
Figure 28. Three-bedroom unit (left) and Typical Floor Plan (right). Source: Ali Adibi Consulting Engineering Company.	99
Figure 29. Mortafa Housing Complex - Courtyard and greenery. Source: Author....	100
Figure 30. Schematic Map; mapping the urban growth of the city, the location of Mortafa Housing complex throughout the last four decades and the three high-rise zones of the city. Source: Author.....	103

Figure 31. Schematic Map: a) mapping four decades of vertical and horizontal urban growth in the district. b): Map for anticipated city skyline in 2025 and the location of the Mortafa Housing complex in the central high-rise zone. Source: Author. 104

Figure 32. Mortafa Housing Complex - Current position, draining gardens surrounding the project - Picture is captured from Google Map..... 105

Figure 33. High-rise zone 2: Mortafa Housing complex surrounded by lands dedicated for infill high-rise developments. Source: Author. 106

Figure 34. Mapping the high-rise zone 2: lands dedicated for infill high-rise developments surrounding the Mortafa Housing complex. Source: Author..... 106

Figure 35. Mortafa Housing Complex - Current View to the Project..... 107

Figure 36. a) Schematic Map: the reduction of the value of the Mortafa Housing apartments compared with a detached house in the district (A) over the last four decades. B) Predicting an apartment’s value in 2025. Source: Author..... 109

Figure 37. Schematic diagram showing the linkage between Relph’s three main elements of the place identity and Dovey’s theory of place as an assemblage of spatial, social and individual relations..... 113

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Key Concepts

New theories on place and identity are considering the both concepts as assemblage. By merging place and identity, a new concept of 'place identity' appears. This research tries to explore the concept of 'place identity' while the both concepts are considered as assemblages. Therefore, theoretical discussions on three key concepts of 'identity', 'place' and 'place identity' are the starting points of this study.

- On Place

What could possibly be more present and obvious than 'Place'? Place is the context of every experience. We can hide from everything but places; wherever we look, we see and perceive them; we exist in a place and walk through places. Roads are lines connecting places. Spaces become accustomed through the recognition of places. Not only do we experience them from morning till night, but also our every dream occurs in a specific place. Just as we unconsciously come to know ourselves, we are aware of places. Places guide our lifestyles and our way of life affects places. We build and destroy places; we differ them by enhancing our values, we remember and forget them, they are with us, they make our existence possible on the earth. The Earth is 'the place' for human beings; home is 'the place' for every individual. A homeless has a place to live on the street, although he/she cannot dwell in it, he/she cannot count as 'placeless'. Thus, making places needs time, relation and events; it is a process of involving with life and existence, both physically and mentally.

Some hold the belief that the modern lifestyle has decreased the placeness of place. Many spend more time in their cars than their living rooms. Traffic is turning into a daily event in our actual life. Homes are turning into ‘sleeping places’, ‘car seats’ are turning into meaningful places. Sitting on our car seats, we communicate with others via phones and the internet while we are spending hours in non-places (highways, traffics and parking lots). Airports, metro stations, tram seats, bus stops and many other (ex-)meaningless places have definitely turned into real meaningful places for many citizens of metropolises. For many, even local streets are only roads and there is no time to experience and bestow meaning upon them. Nowadays, and due to the speed of consumption culture, time is hard to make, things and us are all on the way, coffees are mostly ‘to go’.

As a result of the interwoven relations between man, computers and the internet, laptops, phones, games and other virtual spaces are the contexts of many daily events. ‘Facebookism’ is against ‘face to face-ism’. If as Relph (1976) beliefs, meanings, values, events and relations differentiate space from place, then one can declare that ‘actual places’ are turning into ‘spaces’, while cyber spaces are being transformed into ‘actual places’.

The proliferation of secondary (instead of face-to-face) contacts, thanks to the emergence of cyberspace, has weakened the communal ties and bonds that were once considered the main characteristics of place-bound communities. (Arefi, 1999, p.181)

To sum, the relation between man, time and space has been changed fundamentally, we need to pause the life, stop our daily routines, and re-think ‘places’. Contemporary theories on place provide a better understanding of the concept, which is more near to our daily experience of place.

Based on the Deleuzian ontology of ‘becoming-in-the-world’, Dovey (2010) has proposed a novel post-phenomenological theory of ‘place as assemblage’; a dynamic conception of place, in which place is not considered as a static product, but as an ongoing dynamic process. Places are not frozen in time, both buildings and their multilayered contexts are in the state of constant ‘becoming’. These changes happen gradually due to various forces and at different levels. ‘Place’ is, therefore, considered as an assemblage, which is (1) individually experienced, (2) socially constructed and (3) spatially structured. This novel conception of place has been considered as the research’s approach toward place.

- On Identity

The concept of identity has recently gained significant attention among researchers in design based disciplines, such as urban design and architecture. By the words of Butina-Watson and Bentley (2007):

Our own practical work in urban design confirms this: the concept of identity enables design issues to be debated in social and political terms, in ways which people seem to recognize as relevant to their own everyday lives. (p.3).

Puar (2005) has used the phrase ‘messiness of identity’, which simply deliver the vagueness of the concept, and also the need for more clarifying theories. The significant role of ‘time’ and ‘change’ has always been in the centre of debates on identity. The ‘past’, become important since the present identity of any phenomenon is formed through the process of ‘identity formation’. As Jonathan Rutherford discuss, “identity marks the conjuncture of our past with the social, cultural and economic relations we live within” (1990, p. 19). According to Datler et al (2008, p.480), “the concept of identity is able to draw attention to the relation of structure and agency, to the relation of the individual and

the social.” Consequently, identity can be considered as a multi-layered, multi-dimensional and multi-scale concept, instead of the fixed or planar network.

While identity is forming through the time and it is in a continuous process of ‘becoming’, at the same time, it can be considered as an outcome of the overlapped forces and relations. Therefore, there has always been a duality between the ‘product’ or ‘process’ notion of identity. The recent theories on identity are discussing the concept as an on-going process, however the public’s understanding still considers identity as fixed and stable.

As demonstrated by Tracy and Trethewey (2005) much popular press literature and everyday conversations continue to speak of the self as a stable, unitary, true entity (Zingsheim, 2011, p.27)

This study proposes a new approach, which denies the mentioned oppositional binary, and it is based on the ‘two-fold’ notion, in which the identity is always both outcome and process at the same time. There is no beginning and neither an end for an identity formation. It is always in process, however, we can understand that as an outcome in every little piece of time.

Based on the Deleuze and Guattari’s (1987) philosophy and similar to Dovey’s (2010) proposal for considering place as assemblage, there are also recent theories suggesting to consider ‘identity’ as assemblage (Puar, 2005; Zingsheim, 2011). Therefore, the concept of identity can be read as a relational, fluid and dynamic process, always in becoming. This new conception of identity, which enables it to encompass ‘time’, ‘change’ and ‘multiplicity’, has been considered as the research’s approach towards identity.

- On Identity of Place

Each case has its own story and should be analyzed and decisioned based on its unique characteristics. The key for avoiding general decisions and focusing on particularities of place is 'identity'. However, identity of place is not an easy understanding concept, especially by considering both place and identity as assemblages.

The concept of 'place identity' is considered as a key-concept in this study, since it has a potential to encompass different layers of a specific place and complicated network of relations between the buildings and their contexts. Moreover, each case has its own history of formation and transformation, considering the identity as a temporal assemblage, which is always in the state of becoming, the role of time and the process of place transformation can be explored more in depth. Analyzing the identity of place should be also started with investigating the history of place in which the place started its 'being' and through the process of 'becoming' it is transformed to the present place as we perceive.

The research approach towards 'place identity' is established based on theories of 'place as assemblage' by Dovey (2010) and 'identity as assemblage' by Puar (2005). The complicated notion of place identity as a multi-layered, multi-scale and multi-dimensional assemblage is not reduced to the mere physical features or visual characteristics of place, instead, the research tries to emphasize on holistic and ontological understanding of place identity, which can only be discussed through the linkages, relations and connections in different layers, scales and dimensions of place.

1.2 Research Questions

To consider both place and identity as assemblages pave the path to rethink the concept of ‘identity of place’. If places are in the state of constant becoming, and if the identity is changing constantly, then how we can approach the identity of place? If places are processes, instead of fixed entities, is it still valid to search for place’s identity? And finally, how a research on ‘place identity’ can provide a holistic knowledge of place in order to uncover the hidden conflicts and upcoming challenges between the place and its context?

Any place or building, with any scale and function could be the subject of a study on ‘place identity’. However, in order to answer the research questions, the new conception of ‘place identity’ is explored in the case of one of the most well-known and symbolic high-rise mass housing projects in Iran, ‘Mortafa Housing’. Regarding to its location, long lifetime, symbolic urban character and complicated network of relations, ‘Mortafa Housing’ has a potential of being the subject of study on assemblage notion of place and place identity. Followings is the brief introduction to the case study.

Figure 2 is a schematic diagram which explains the relation between theoretical standpoint of the study and the research questions. Two key-concepts of place and identity has been considered as the starting points of the research. The concepts are combined to make a third key-concept of the research; ‘Place Identity’. As it is shown, the nature, usage and benefits of the third concept are raising questions, which has been considered as the research questions of the present study. By selecting a case and exploring the concept of place identity in the case of a particular place, the research tries to answer the questions in practice.

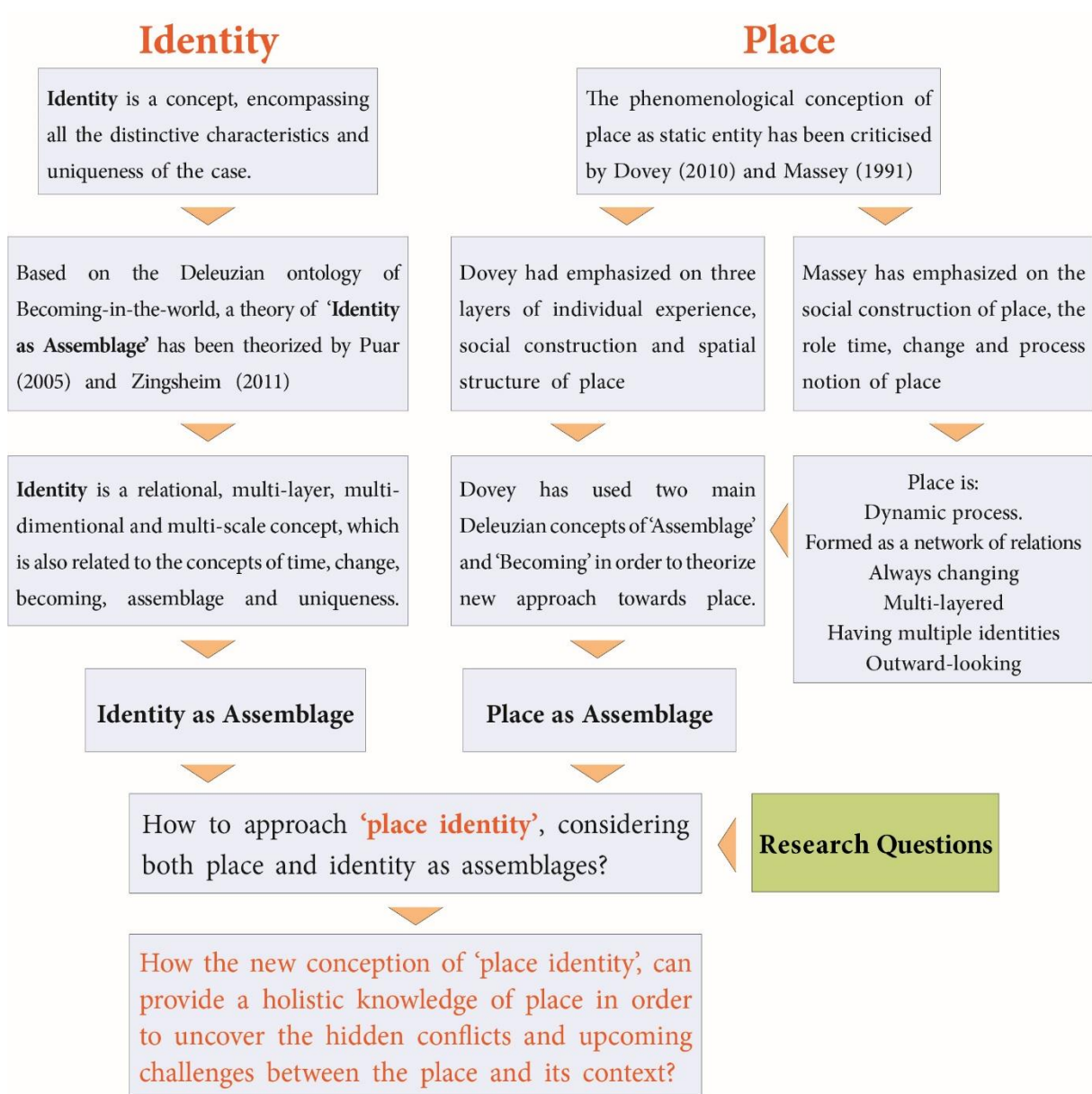


Figure 1. Diagram for the key concepts and the research questions.

1.3 Introducing the Case: Mortafa Housing Complex

Back in 1970's, a newborn wave of high-rise building was propagated by Iran's state as a symbol of Modernization. The wave was on the verge of spreading out of Tehran and affecting other big cities' skylines, when it became disrupted by the Islamic Revolution (1978) and Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988).

'Mortafa Housing Complex', is the first and the only high-rise national project representing the drive for modernization under the rule of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi out of the capital. Visited twice by the Shah during its construction period, Mortafa Housing Complex was the largest residential project in the east of Iran, located in Mashhad, the second largest city in Iran. But as many other similar projects, the construction of Mortafa Housing complex had been also interrupted by the revolution and remained uncompleted for years. For decades, the complex was a focal point of the city's skyline, known as a symbol of modernity, apartment lifestyle and mass production.



Figure 2. Urban view of the complex in the city's skyline, 2010. Source: Author.

While the complex has been built in the empty suburban lands of the earlier time, it is located today in the central high-rise zone of the city and has been transformed into a long standing building inhabited by seniors, single mothers and low-income families. The former suburban context has changed noticeably, and the complex is located on what is now prime real estate in the city centre, although the complex does not now fit into its new context, either socially or physically. Eventually, the contrast between the case and its context will create serious problems in respect of the future developments of the district. The management committee is unable to finance the renovation of the physical appearance of the complex. The flats have been sold to non-related individuals, the senior residents are strongly attached to their homes, and there is no way to convince the residents to consider demolishing the blocks and building a new complex. The state or municipality is also unable to take action to renovate or demolish the complex.

To sum, on-going processes of 'becomings' have changed many aspects of the case, its context and also the social status of the inhabitants. As a result, being 'high-rise', 'suburban' and 'luxurious housing', which were known as the main characteristics of 'place identity', have changed through the long life time of the Mortafa housing complex.

The new conception of place identity, which considers both place and identity as assemblages of relations, linkages and forces aims to provide a better understanding of the place, in order to predict the upcoming challenges between the case, its context and inhabitants. Following is the problem statement regarding the case, which also clarify the context of study.

1.4 Problem Statement and the Context of Study: Challenges of a Long-Standing Suburban High-Rise Mass housing in Iran

On 19 January 2017, Plasco Building, the most well-known high-rise landmark of Tehran, built in 1962, collapsed after tolerating the fire for 3 hours and caused the death of 22 people, including 16 firefighters who battled the blaze. Plasco; once known as the symbol of national pride, became a national tragedy, a disaster, and a shocking alert about the safety condition of other high-rise buildings in Iran.

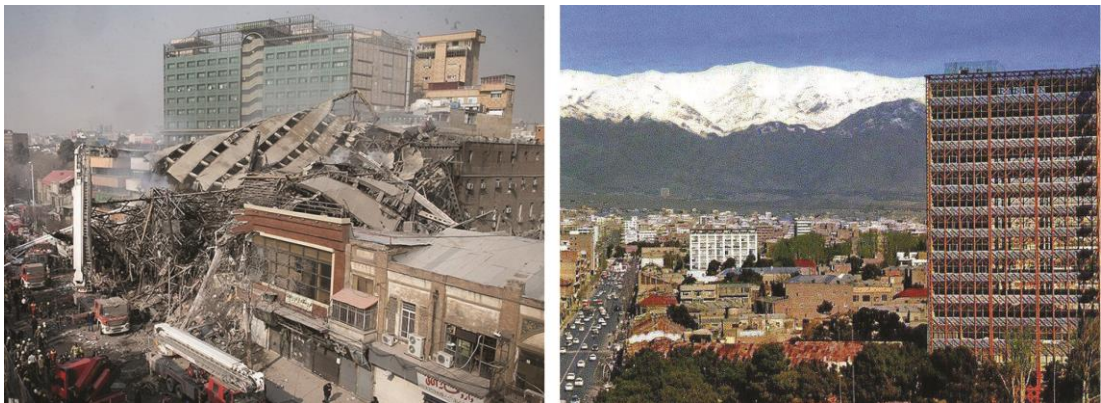


Figure 3. Plasco building in Tehran's skyline (1960) and after being collapsed in 2017

However, the battle between the fire and the structure is not the only conflict threatening the high-rise buildings. There are more complicated and multi-layered challenges such as the hidden relations between the buildings and their social and physical contexts, which are all in the state of constant becomings. To consider places as fixed entities means to neglect the power of becomings. These challenges became more complicated in the case of symbolic high-rise buildings with long lifetime, especially high-rise housings, having a strong attachment to the context and public's memory.

Considering place as assemblage, provides a better understanding of these hidden networks of relations, sources of various forces and reasons behind them. Place as a process of becoming, also provides a foundation for deeper readings of place and enables the decision makers to predict the forthcoming conflicts between the place and its context.

Different process of becomings (social, urban context, etc.) are not always leading the assemblages to stable conditions, occasionally the challenges between various forces in different layers are that much paradoxical that ends the assemblage life as it is known to us, or in another word, changes its identity completely, so it transforms to different assemblage. Pruitt-Igoe (Figure 4), 33 blocks of high-rise apartment buildings which has been built in 1955 in the U.S. city of St. Louis, Missouri and demolished in 1972, is the most well-known example of these strong and destructive hidden changes and transformations. This time, the buildings were exploded purposely, controlled demolition, which has been interpreted as the failure of International school of architecture and cited as an imputed failure by popular media and also scholarly publications (Montgomery, 1985). One example of external multi-layered forces affecting the becoming process of Pruitt-Igoe is reflected in public press and popular discourse, studied by scholars such as Henderson (1995). Calling the Pruitt-Igoe complex as “public housing’s Vietnam” (McGuire, 1976, p. 7) shows the interwoven nature of socio-cultural and political external forces. An example of the internal forces of becoming is best explained by Heathcott (2012) in the case of Pruitt-Igoe:

Increased vacancy rates in housing projects led to a rapid spiral of decline: fewer tenants meant less rental income, which resulted in less operating and maintenance funds, which led to physical deterioration, which in turn pushed more tenants out. In the last days of Pruitt-Igoe, drug sellers and crime networks

from other parts of St. Louis began to carve up the nearly empty project. (Heathcott, 2012, p. 372)



Figure 4. Controlled demolition of Pruitt-Igoe mass housing (1972). Source: Wikipedia

Today, high-rise housing projects are forming the urban morphology of suburbs in metropolises, especially in developing countries, which are struggling with housing shortages. Not only are social housing and low-income complexes built in the suburban areas, but a considerable number of luxurious gated housing estates are also built on the outskirts of the cities. Over time, projects and their social / physical contexts start to change, as the borders of cities expand and the suburban housings are merged with and become parts of the main cities, whilst residents experience judgmental social challenges and rapid changes of spatial structures. Problems arise when the paradox between the complex and the context becomes so critical that it requires actions such as renovating the physical appearance, gentrification, re-functioning or even demolishing the complex.

The example of Pruitt-Igoe declares that the destiny of residential high-rise buildings is more unpredictable in compare with other types. ‘People’ are not mere users in

residential cases, they are 'inhabitants', and inhabitants create complicated networks of relations; connections, communities, informal institution, bonding, attachments and identities. Usually, changing the function of a housing complex is not an option, due to the inflexible structure and spatial organization of a residential complexes. In both material and immaterial aspects, non-residential buildings are more flexible and modifiable than residential ones. Renovation requires a considerable budget and gentrification has its socio-cultural contradictions. Since the apartments are sold to different individuals, in most cases, even the demolishing of the complex seems impossible. This decisional dead-end is the result of considering places as fixed entities and neglecting the 'becoming' notion of mass-housing complexes throughout the decades of their life-time.

Another difference between suburban mass housing projects and other types of high-rise buildings, such as office buildings located in the downtown, is the nature and speed of changes in suburbs. Cities are growing faster in their borders and digest the suburban developments, posing fundamental changes to the atmosphere. Since mass housing projects are normally planned for long lifetimes, the process of becoming changes many aspects of the context; the atmosphere, land use, land value, social status, class levels, transportation routes and even the vehicles. Therefore, the mentioned conflicts between the building and its context are more possible in the case of suburban mass-housings, and if the conflicts happen, it is more complicated to find a solution.

Figure 5, explains the differences between high-rise suburban housing complexes in compare with other types of high-rise buildings. These differences are the reasons for critical relations between the suburban housings and their contexts, which can cause various conflict in between.

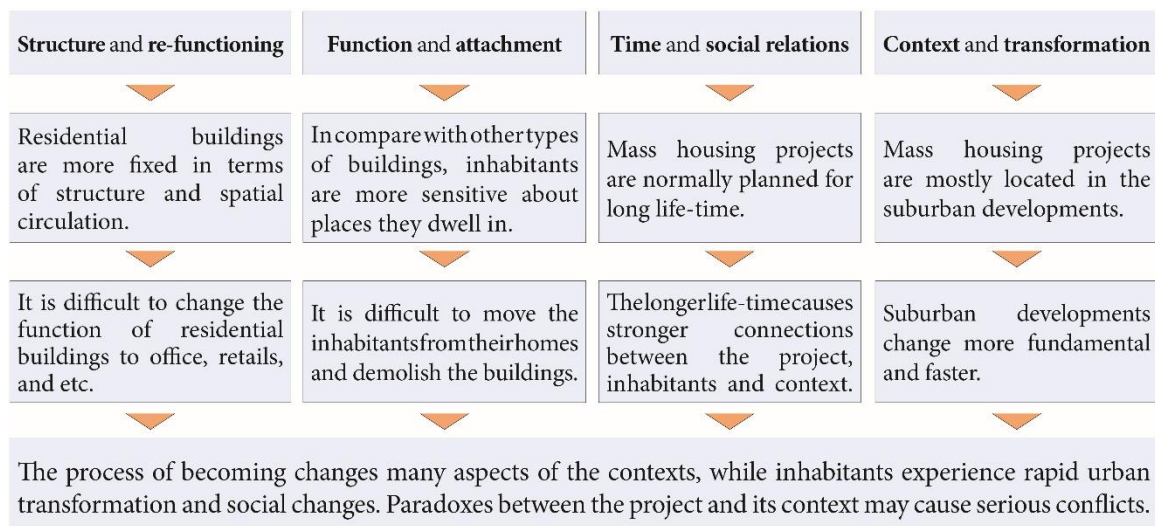


Figure 5. Diagram for possible conflicts between the suburban mass housing complexes and their context. Source: Author

Similar to the role of place identity in the present study, Dovey (2010) has emphasized on ‘sense of place’, as a concept encompassing the unique characteristics of places. “What is generally true of the sense of place is that each place is different – places are cases (p.8).” He also explains how the case studies can be both empirical in practice and theoretical by providing a basis for a better understanding of theories:

Case studies are a testing ground for theory, but not in the normal sense that the test proves or refutes a theory. Rather the theory proves more or less useful in making sense of place. A lot of this research is ‘empirical’ in that it is strongly based in evidence – mapping, observing, interviewing, analysing. But this is empirical research in the older sense of examining what is available to the senses rather than only what is measurable. (Dovey, 2010, p.8)

Figure 6 is a schematic diagram of the research design. It shows the inter-relations between the theoretical standpoint, key concepts, research question, problem statement and the case study.

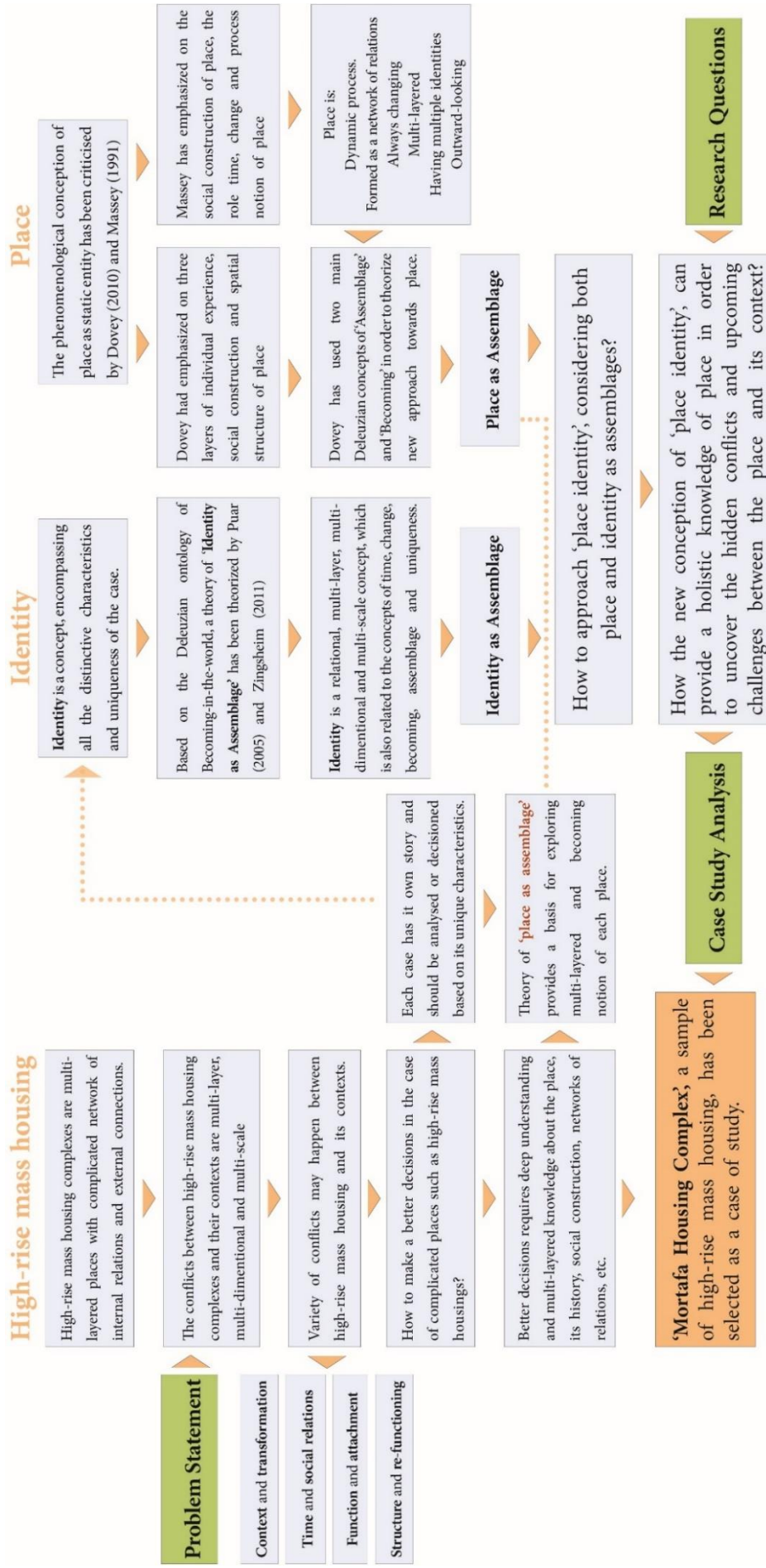


Figure 6. The research design: Diagram for the linkage between Research questions, Case study and Problem statement. Source: Author

1.5 Aims and Objectives

Considering both place and identity as assemblages, this study aims to propose a new conception of ‘place identity’ as a key-concept providing context-dependent knowledge for better understanding of place and predicting upcoming conflicts between the place and its context. The mentioned approach tries to propose a framework, which appreciates all phenomenological, discursive and spatial aspects of place and is more applicable in architectural studies.

Although the concept of ‘place’ has been investigated in its general meaning, a housing complex has been selected as a specific example of a meaningful and valuable place for the case study analysis. The main objective of this research is to propose a new approach to ‘identity of place’ as it is perceived, experienced and expressed by insiders. Although the case study research tries to establish a theoretical framework in which the qualitative aspects of housing environment could be discussed more deeply, this research is not aiming to generalize the statistical results, but it seeks to provide a conceptual framework and detailed information about the specific context with particular circumstances.

Considering the importance of theoretical discussions and complementary case study analysis, the research objectives can be divided into theoretical and case study objectives as below:

- Theoretical Objectives

- To investigate the meanings, definitions and roots of the term ‘identity’.
- To compare the meanings and usages of ‘identity’ in different fields of philosophy, sociology, psychology and design-based disciplines such as urban design and architecture.

- To compare the ‘phenomenology of place’ as the most accepted approach to place with the recently explored theory of ‘place as assemblage’ based on ‘assemblage theory’ of Deleuze.
- To determine the theoretical approach of study towards ‘identity of place’ and the role of people’s perception and expression.

- Case Study Objectives

- To understand the way in which people define, use and understand the term identity in their daily language, in order to compare the people’s understanding with academic taken as grant definitions of ‘identity’.
- To examine if people are able to expand the usage of ‘identity’ in order to apply it to non-human beings such as ‘buildings’ and ‘places’.
- To understand public’s perception of place, in terms of its static/fixed or dynamic/changing notion, in order to compare the phenomenological approach to place with the Deleuzian theory of ‘place as assemblage’.
- To understand the way in which people perceive, experience and express the ‘identity of place’.

1.6 Methodology

The mixed method deployed in this study attempts to develop Dovey’s (2008, 2009, 2010) proposed method for case study analysis, offering a combination of ‘phenomenology’, ‘social discourse analysis’ and ‘spatial analysis’. The phenomenological analysis aims to understand the individual’s understanding of identity in the case of their housing complex and in the context of individual’s everyday life. As a data collection method, semi-structured interviews have been conducted with current and former residents. Social discourse analysis is focused on the macro scale forces such as socio-political powers and meanings attached to the complex and was conducted through the study of narratives, interviews with other

agents familiar with the complex, historic accounts, archive materials, news, other research on the case study and architectural drawings. The spatial analysis aims to map the effects of both the micro and macro scale forces on the spatial formation and physical aspects of the case study. 'Mapping', has been used as a technique for analysis and illustrating the various effects of both internal and external forces on the spatial formation of the complex. The mixed methodology selected for this study provides a holistic approach toward the identity of place by proposing a method for exploring the concept, while the both concepts of place and identity are considered as assemblages.

A further methodological significance of the research is the focus on the time-events and considering the long period of identity formation process. As is discussed in the fifth chapter, the research is started by investigating the context, even before the construction of the complex and it tries to consider the future of the complex and its context.

Therefore, the main result of the case study analysis is not only in-detailed explanation and in-depth knowledge of 'place identity' as an ongoing dynamic process, but also the methodological approach toward place identity, as a forward-looking concept, which enables us to reveal and predict the forthcoming hidden conflicts between the case and its context.

1.7 The Structure of the Thesis

The structure of the thesis is designed in six main chapters. **Chapter one** starts with a brief sketch on three key concepts of the research, 'place', 'identity' and 'place identity' clarifying the theoretical standpoint of the research. Subsequently, the research question, problem statements and the context of study are explained. The chapter continues with introducing the case study in brief and the deployed methodology.

Chapter two explains the theoretical approach of the research towards the concept of identity, the etymology of the term, formation and transformation of identity and reviews on identity theories, specifically theory of 'identity as assemblage' by Puar (2005). The section continues with comparing various usages of identity in philosophy, humanism and design-based disciplines such as architecture and urban design.

Chapter three is dedicated to discussions on Place. Theories on 'phenomenology of place', 'post-phenomenological' approaches and also the recent theory of 'place as assemblage' by Kim Dovey (2010) is investigated and compared in order to form the research approach toward place.

Since the deployed Methodology of the research is based on the theoretical discussions on both concepts of place and identity, **Chapter Four** explains the deployed mixed methodology, after clarifying the theoretical standpoint in previous chapters. The triangular mixed methodology of phenomenology, discourse analysis and spatial analysis are explained as it is proposed by Dovey (2010) and developed through the present study. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) and Mapping are also explained as innovative techniques of the research. The chapter also explains the

reasons for choosing the case study method and the significance of the selected case, ‘Mortafa Housing’.

Chapter Five contains the comprehensive study of place identity in the case of Mortafa housing complex, located in the city of Mashhad, Iran. By considering both identity and place as assemblage, the chapter explores the lengthy process of place identity formation, the role of different actors, socio-political forces, critical events and particular sequences of time-event. The chapter is divided to subheadings based on to the main recognizable time-event sequences affected the process of place identity formation. The story of the place identity formation is supported by visual documents such as schematic diagrams and maps and also historical accounts and direct quotations of interviewees.

Chapter Six explains the final findings of the research which is divided into three interrelated sub headings; Methodological remarks, Theoretical findings and Case study results. Methodological remarks, explains how the deployed techniques, participants’ selection and data exploration can develop Dovey’s (2010) proposed methodology into a more pragmatic system of case-dependent survey. Theoretical findings are derived from the review of the literature on place, identity, place identity, and the comparison between the phenomenological and Deleuzian approaches toward the concepts of place and identity. Case study results is focused on the (trans)formation of place identity in the case of Mortafa housing complex, explaining the specifics of the case, its context and relations in between.

Chapter 2

REVIEWS AND DISCUSSIONS ON IDENTITY

No matter what the phenomenon is, ‘anybody’, ‘anything’ or ‘anyplace’ gain its own identity. In another word; nothing is without identity. Identities can change and transform from one to another, from strong to weak, or from well-defined to hazy, but anyhow, nothing is identity-less. In the process of ‘identity formation’ society, culture, nature and individual’s personalities are dynamic contexts. New social and group identities are rooted in existed identities of minorities, jointed, united and transformed through the time and formed as structured identical labels. No matter the field of study is philosophy, sociology or built environmental studies, while discussing the formation of identity, ‘time’, ‘place’ and the matter of ‘change’ become pivotal issues.

Since 1960’s fundamental changes have happened in theoretical approaches toward qualitative research, however, the term identity is still taken as granted by the same old meanings and general definitions of dictionaries. The lack of people-based and experience-centred research on identity can be mentioned as a reason for indistinctness of the concept, especially in the context of built environmental studies.

Exploring obscure and indistinct concepts such as identity, it may be helpful to differentiate an academic understanding of the word, its definitions in the dictionaries and its usages in the daily language of the public. Although the meaning of identity seems obvious, we will face uncountable answers if we ask for it. Based on the words of American philosopher and historian, Arthur O. Lovejoy about the word *romantic*,

Gleason (1983, p. 14) concludes that identity has also “come to mean so many things that, by itself, it means nothing.” He also mentioned another reason for the vagueness of identity, “its very obviousness seems to defy elucidation: identity is what a thing is! How is one supposed to go beyond that in explaining it?” (Gleason, 1983, p. 910).

What is identity? Is it something we have, or we make, or something we have to find? Is it fixed, rigid or changeable? Even if we found it, how can we keep it? If time pass by, which is truly passing, and if the ‘winds of change’ changing everything, which certainly it does, then how can we evaluate the changing notion of identity? Dealing with multi-usage and ambiguous concepts such as ‘Identity’, placing the concept into historical perspective will be a practical method to understand current misinterpretation. By the words of Erikson (1968, p.15), “to review the concept of identity means to sketch its history”.

The etymology of the word ‘identity’ can lead us to the original meanings of it, from where we can understand dictionaries definitions more clearly. Online Etymology Dictionary (Identity, 2013) explains the history of the formation of the concept ‘identity’ as below:

c.1600, "sameness, oneness," from Middle French *identité* (14c.), from Late Latin (5c.) *identitatem* (nominative *identitas*) "sameness," from *ident-*, comb. form of Latin *idem* (neuter) "the same"; abstracted from *identidem* "over and over," from phrase *idem et idem*.

According to Van Meijl (2010, p.65) ‘sameness’ and ‘continuity’ are the most important characteristics of identity derived from the etymology of the word and have been emphasized by Erikson (1956). What is clear from the etymology of the concept is the fact that besides from ‘sameness’ as the main meaning, ‘time’ and ‘continuity’ are hidden in the phrase ‘*idem et idem*’ which means ‘over and over’. Oxford English

Dictionary can be another relevant dictionary in which identity is described as “The sameness of a person or thing at all times or in all circumstances; the condition or fact that a person or thing is itself and not something else” (2nd edition, 1989). Therefore ‘identity’ is not exactly ‘sameness’ but it should be considered as ‘sameness over and over’ or by the better words; ‘being/becoming the same through time’.

2.1 Formation and Transformation of Identity

The majority of studies on identity have discussed the matter of time and considered the identity as an unstable and dynamic phenomenon (Hauge 2007; Zarzar 2004; Lin 2002; Correa 1983; Holland 1995). Zarzar (2004) has discussed the notion of Identity “not as a static system or closed system, but as impregnated by the local culture, changing over time and allowing critically evaluated influences from outside” (p. 2). By the words of John Holland (1995), identity seems to be “a complex network, a kind of network that expands every time one variable changes, until it either collapse or continues to adopt as a kind of complex adaptive system” (Holland 1995, cited in Zarzar, 2008, p. 61). Clifford (1998, p.334) has rhetorically asked “What if identity is conceived not as a boundary to be maintained but as a nexus of relations and transactions actively engaging a subject?”. Hauge (2007) also emphasizes on the process notion of identity formation which is guided by different principles according to culture, and within the culture, these principles will vary over time and situation. According to Sani (2009, p. 43), “Being a process indicates that identity is not a fixed entity which can be lost or found. To a certain extent, we can talk of understanding, revealing, reproducing, and improvement of identity”. By the poetic words of Hummon (1989); ‘Leaves falling from trees, hair, from the head, both implicated identity in the changes of the natural world’ (Hummon, 1989).

Therefore, identity can be considered as a network, a process or an outcome of a process, all at the same time. Hall (1992, 1996) has emphasized on both ‘production’ and ‘process’ nature of identity. He suggests considering identity as a process, in order to take into account, the reality of diverse and ever-changing social experiences. While he has also clarified the concept of identity as a ‘production’ which is never completed and is always in process (Hall 1990, p.222).

2.2 Theory of ‘Identity as Assemblage’

Discussions on the concept of identity have evolved twice within the past century. First, throughout the Post-Structuralists effort to unchain identity from its original context of psychology and re-identifying the concept within the social-political discourse as a non-fixed and ever changing phenomenon. Second, new theories of identity, as a result of re-reading and expanding post-structural thoughts, trying to theorize the ways through which the hybrid notion of identity is constantly transforming. Today, various conceptions of identity are wide-spreading as a slippery key-concept in all disciplines, including built environmental studies, design fields and architecture. However, the popularity of the concept or its wide range of usages cannot ignore the limitations of existing theories on identity. In contrast, diverse interpretations of the concept in various disciplines depict the need for inter-disciplinary theories of identity.

Based on the Deleuzian concepts of ‘assemblage’ and his ontology of ‘becoming-in-the-word’, the theory of ‘identity as assemblage’ has been theorized by Puar (2005) and discussed more in depth by Zingsheim’s (2011). According to Puar (2005, p.128) “assemblage, in its debt to ontology and its spousal of what cannot be known, seen, or heard, or has yet to be known, seen, or heard, allows for becoming/s beyond being/s.” “Due to this composition, assemblages are always characterized by an inherent

instability” (Zingsheim, 2011, p. 26). “Assemblages allows us to attune to intensities, emotions, energies, affectivity, textures as they inhabit events, spatiality, and corporealities” (Puar, 2005, p. 128). Deleuzian concepts of rhizomatic growth, multiplicity and becoming, are the keys to a better understanding of how the assemblage construct acts. Assemblage is more about the combination and collage, a shift from ‘either/or’ towards ‘and’ as the collections of things with multiple relations and connections.

Identity as assemblage declines the presumed oppositional binaries such as process/outcome, static/changing, self/other and provides an insight toward the unstable and mobile process of identity (trans)formation. Therefore, instead of an essentialist “I”, as a fixed and stable core, assemblage theory has a potential to re-modify identity as a spatial, temporal and mobile concept, constantly changing from stage to stage, finding new horizons and paths of linkage, lines of flight.

According to Zingsheim (2011, p.29) “From an affirmative poststructuralist position, identity is characterized by motion and instability, yet –pragmatically- we must act as if we were stable.” This is the main challenge for the recent theories on identity; to solve a paradox or to propose a model to explain the dual notion of identity, which is simultaneously stable and changing. This is the reason for scholars’ recent attention to the assemblage theory, since it has a potential to propose a two-folded notion for identity. “The assembled identity exists for a period of time, but can always be reconfigured” (Zingsheim, 2011, p.30).

The main significance of 'identity as assemblage' can only be understood after a brief sketch of the progress achieved by the 'intersectionality', which was based on the Post-structural way of re-thinking presumed fixed entities, such as identity.

The theory of identity as intersectional (Crenshaw, 1991), mostly referred as 'intersectionality', considers identity as the intersection of multiple social identities, overlapped and merged to create a whole, which is acting not only as the mere combination of parts but as a complicated non-estimating system of network. The theory clarified many of the fundamental debates on the notion of identity; the plurality of identities, the changing and process notion of identity and also the socio-political aspects of identity. The theory is known as a big step towards a new understanding of identity and a milestone for all coming after theories. However, intersectionality has been also critiqued by scholars (Puar 2005; Zingsheim 2011; Staunas, 2003; Vakulenko 2007; Prins 2006) for privileging names/labels/categories over individual's role in the process of identity formation, and also considering social categories of subjectivities -such as race, gender and sexuality- fixed and stable over time and space (Zingsheim, 2011). Puar (2005) comparison between 'intersectionality' as the most accepted recent theory of identity and 'identity as assemblage' shows why the latter should be appreciated as an all-inclusive identity theory:

The Deleuzian assemblage, as a series of dispersed but mutually implicated networks, draw together enunciation and dissolution, causality and effect. As opposed to an intersectional model of identity, which presumes components - race, class, gender, sexuality, nation, age, religion- are separable analytics and can be thus disassembled, an assemblage is more attuned to interwoven forces that merge and dissipate time, space, and body against linearity, coherency, and permanency. Intersectionality demands the knowing, naming, and thus stabilizing of identity across space and time, generating narratives of progress that deny the fictive and performative of identification... Intersectionality privileges naming, visibility, epistemology, representation, and meaning, while assemblage underscores feeling, tactility, ontology, affect and information (Puar, 2005, pp. 127-128).

In the same manner, a theory of ‘mutational identity’ (Zingsheim’s, 2011) tries to develop assemblage understanding of identity, by considering the assemblage (trans)formation as an ‘evolutionary’ process, and therefore, ‘mutation’ as a non-estimating accidental shift, changing the direction of assemblage evolution. Zingsheim’s (2011) theory of ‘mutational identity’ is based on the three other recent theories on identity; intersectional theory (Crenshaw, 1991), crystalline theory (Tracy & Trethewey, 2005), and the theory of assemblage identities (Puar, 2005), all accepting a dynamic notion of the concept. The theory is positively expanding the assemblage notion of identity one step further with the possibility of the evolutionary notion of mutational identity. Therefore, evolution as a slowly in-progress status and mutation as a rapid change or shift in the process are playing the main roles in a theory of ‘mutational identity’. Worth to mention that mutation, is not considered as only a biological change in a DNA sequence, but as a metaphor for any unexpected shift, changing the routine process of formation.

For instance, linking the main keywords of the research, (place, identity and place identity); while place identity was in its smooth and slow process of evolution in the case of Manhattan’s identity, 9/11 can be symbolized as an example of rapid, unexpected force -as a mutational attack, metaphorically- changing the destiny of the city and the direction of its ‘place identity’ formation. Although the final outcome of this mutational attack appeared as an explosion of material -tangible/physical- and also eruption of the visuals and news, there existed a complex network of rhizomatic relations between the social, religious, economic and political hidden forces. By considering both place and identity as assemblages, there may be a potential for a better understanding of place identity, the story of its formation, hidden agents, actors and forces.

To sum, merging ‘identity as assemblage’ with a theory of ‘mutational identity’, identity can be explained as an ever-changing process, evolving through a smooth process of evolution, which is time by time affected by the rapid forces of mutation, shifting, upgrading, damaging, destabilizing and finally remodifying a new stage within which the identity process restarts its smooth process of evolution.

2.3 Identity in Various Disciplines

Meanings, characteristics and formation of identity, all are depended to the variety of usages in different contexts. As stated by Brubaker and Cooper (2000, p. 6) “[the meaning of identity] depends on the context of its use and the theoretical tradition from which the use in question derives. The term is richly – indeed for an analytical concept, hopelessly - ambiguous”. According to Walker (2007), there are many theories trying to describe the construction of identity and the issue became more complex considering that different disciplines have their own definitions for identity and also their own terms for discussing it. He added that even within disciplines, the discussion of identity and its components might be contested.

General understanding of ‘Identity’ is not confusing; in contrast, it is as simple as it could be. It is all about ‘sameness’ and ‘distinctiveness’. We can easily distinguish our self from others. We know our characteristics and what makes us distinct from others. We are also aware of similarities between ourselves and groups we belong to; labels such as nationality, gender and religion. However, this simple awareness had been the subject of arguments between the philosophers for centuries. While in philosophical and psychological approaches the concept of identity is referred to human beings, in design-based approaches the identity of other kinds of phenomena -such as space, place, buildings and built environment - becomes critical. Through the following

subheadings, different usages and meanings of identity are discussed based on the fields of studies.

2.3.1 Identity in Philosophy

According to Gleason (1983) Identity has a technical meaning in algebra and logic and has been associated with the perennial mind-body problem in philosophy since the time of John Locke. Gleason (1983), has mentioned Robert Langbaum's assertion who declared that identity had not been discussed in psychological connotations until the empiricist philosophers called into question "*the unity of the self*". He concludes that identity had come into use as a popular social science term in the 1950's, when Erikson coined the expression 'identity crisis' and tried more than anyone else to popularize identity (pp.911-914). Considering Gleason's discussion, it seems reliable to believe that Identity is a concept extracted from philosophy, dragged into the psychology and sociology and recently being at the focus in design-based disciplines such as architecture and urban design. Scholars in each discipline have tried to clarify the concept in their own fields of studies.

Cambridge dictionary of philosophy (1995), defines Identity - from Latin: *identitas* (sameness) - as the relation each thing bears just to itself. Similarly, in Rutledge dictionary of philosophy (1976) is explained that 'identity' is the relation between a thing and itself. Here comes the matter of *changing* and *not changing* during the time, and Rutledge dictionary continues that Hume used *time* in the definition of identity, saying that identity statements acknowledge that an object existing at one time is the same as itself existing at another, e.g. 'This chair is the same as the one here yesterday.'

In some other philosophical texts, the 'relation' is not only between a thing and itself, and it can be considered between two separated things. According to Stanford

Encyclopedia of Philosophy (2004), 'to say that things are identical is to say that they are the same. "Identity" and "sameness" mean the same; their meanings are identical, however, they have more than one meaning.'

As it is mentioned above, 'the identity of thing' is the starting point of discussions about the identity in philosophy and it had been at the centre of philosophical statements since Aristotle until John Locke's discussion on identity and essence of things. This discussion is continued until modern and postmodern approaches to the concept of identity. For Locke, identity involves isolation of a particular object rather than describing what the object is like. According to him "... One thing cannot have two beginnings of existence, nor two things one beginning." (Locke, 1690 in Yaffe, 2007) Locke's approach to identity is more near to the concept of 'essence' than 'characteristics'. "When we see anything to be in any place in any instant of time, we are sure that it is that very thing, and not another which at that same time exists in another place" (Locke, 1690, in Hosseini, 2013 p.26). For Locke, identity is numerical sameness of physical substance and in philosophy of mathematics, 'identity' is 'equality'.

Here comes up the distinction between 'qualitative' and 'numerical' identity (or sameness). Things with qualitative identity share properties so that things can be more or less qualitatively identical. The example can be Poodles and Great Danes which are qualitatively identical because they share the property of being a dog. On the other hand, 'Numerical identity' requires absolute qualitative identity, and can only hold between a thing and itself (Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, 2004). Clarifying the concept of 'identity of things' Ewa Domanska (2006) explain that similar to human identity,

the identity of things is changeable rather than stable; manifold and diffused rather than unified and homogeneous.

To sum up, there is a clear distinction between the philosophical approach to the concept of identity and the more well-known notion of identity in psychology and social sciences. The sociological notion of identity has to do with a person's self-conception, social presentation, and more generally, characteristics which make them unique, or qualitatively different from others. Here, differentiation, distinction and uniqueness become the significant keywords. Following is the discussion on the concept of identity in the mentioned fields.

2.3.2 Identity in psychology and sociology

According to Robins (2005, in Bennett et al., 2005, p. 172-175), as a result of social and cultural transformations through globalization, the question of identity and identity crisis has become increasingly significant over the last decade. The notion of the concept identity is more lucid in psychology and sociology. First of all, the concept of identity is not as abstract and obscure as it means in philosophy and also not as fixed and rigid as it is in mathematical philosophy. Secondly, it is obvious that in psychology the reference for identity is not 'things', and 'numbers', but 'human beings'. However, even within these fields there are differences in definitions and usages of the concept. Fearon (1999, p.4) listed fourteen different meanings for 'identity' which have been cited by a large number of scholars. Generally, approaches toward identity can be divided into two main categories:

1- Psychologists most commonly use the term identity to describe 'personal identity'; something can be felt or sensed only by the person, himself. Erik H. Erikson is a key figure in the formation of the concept in the field of psychology. For Erikson (1956),

two elements of interiority and continuity seem essential. He states that identity is located in the deep psychic structure of the individual and although it is shaped and modified by the interaction between the individual and the social circumstances, he considered identity as it is at bottom an ‘accrued confidence’ in the ‘inner sameness and continuity’ of one's own being. Weinreich (1986) argues that a psychological identity relates to ‘self-image’ (by means of a person's mental model of him or herself). Therefore, ‘self’ and ‘self-image’ are considering as variables in the two point of the relation.

2- Sociologists often use the term emphasizing on ‘social identity’, or the collection of social group memberships that define the individual, where the role of external forces is more important than the internal feelings. The sociologists mostly considered identity as a product of the interaction between the individual and society. In this point of view identity is “rather a process; continuously created and re-created in each social situation that individual enters” (Gleason, 1983, p. 918). For Tajfel (2010) social identity is a part of the individual’s self-concept.

According to Gleason (1983), these two approaches differ most significantly on whether identity is to be considered as an internal concept which persists through change or as a flexible concept changes continuously during the life time of the phenomenon. He categorized the approaches in two categories, and he concludes;

For *Eriksonians / primordialists*, identity is deep, internal, and permanent; for *interactionists / optionalists*, identity is shallow, external, and evanescent. It is bad enough that, in many contexts of usage, one cannot tell which of these very different interpretations is intended. (Gleason, 1983, p. 920).

Exploring the term identity, Robins (2005, in Bennett, et al, 2005, p. 172-175), discusses the same mentioned approaches by different terminology: ‘essentialist’ and

‘anti-essentialist’: for the essentialist thoughts, identity is a natural and eternal quality within an individual, something that a person essentially has and therefore tolerate throughout one’s lifetime without any change. For anti-essentialist thoughts, identity is a social construct, changing through one’s life according to experiences and contexts. In this point of view, human beings deserve the ability to choose and reconfigure their identities during their life to fit in with a certain context based on circumstances. (Robins, in Bennett et al., 2005, p. 172-175)

It is also possible to compare these two approaches based on the original meanings of identity. As explained, ‘similarity’ and ‘distinctive characteristic’ are the two main meanings derived from the etymology of the concept. Sociologists who believe in the socially-constructed notion of identity, dealing with ‘group identity’, ‘national identity’ or even ‘local identity’, are emphasizing on the ‘similarities’ between the individual and other larger communities which he/she has a sense of belonging. On the other hand, psychologists who have put the stress on ‘personal identity’ are trying to clarify the ‘distinctive characteristics’ by which the individual differentiate his own self from others.

2.3.3 Object’s identity in design based disciplines

Disciplines involved with design and production are strongly engaged with object’s identity. After the popularity of the term ‘identity’ in sociology and psychology in mid-century, artists and designers have also become attracted to the concept and converted it to a keyword in various fields of art. The identity of things became important in industrial design, furniture design, graphic design and any other field in which the character of thing is meaningful.

Similar to philosophical approach, in design-based disciplines, the concept of identity can be referred to the physical essence and essentials of any object. The identity of thing is the collection of all its essential and distinctive characteristics which make the thing unique, whether these characteristics are physical or not physical. These characteristics shape the ‘thinghood’ of a thing. They can be a part of thing’s function and usage, like dialling a number for cell phones or aesthetical aspects such as a shape and colour of a thing. Any cell phone can be a cell phone but they are designed differently in terms of applications, shape, characteristics and design. ‘Thing’s identity’ affects its appearance and the way thing presents itself and therefore, it can raise or reduce the desire to possess the thing. That is why thing’s identity became an important issue in product branding. For instance, ‘Apple’, ‘IKEA’ and ‘BMW’ are working on their product’s identity, which makes them recognizable for the users as a distinct object from the similar ones.

2.3.4 Identity in built environmental studies and geography

Except human being’s identity, the identity of ‘place’ and ‘space’ became a subject of studies in built environmental research. Many researchers are focusing on the aspects of identity in architecture and urban design. However, the results of this research depict that the relation between place and human being’s identity is more discussed than the identity of the place, itself. Two different approaches to the concept of identity in built environmental studies are shown in below:

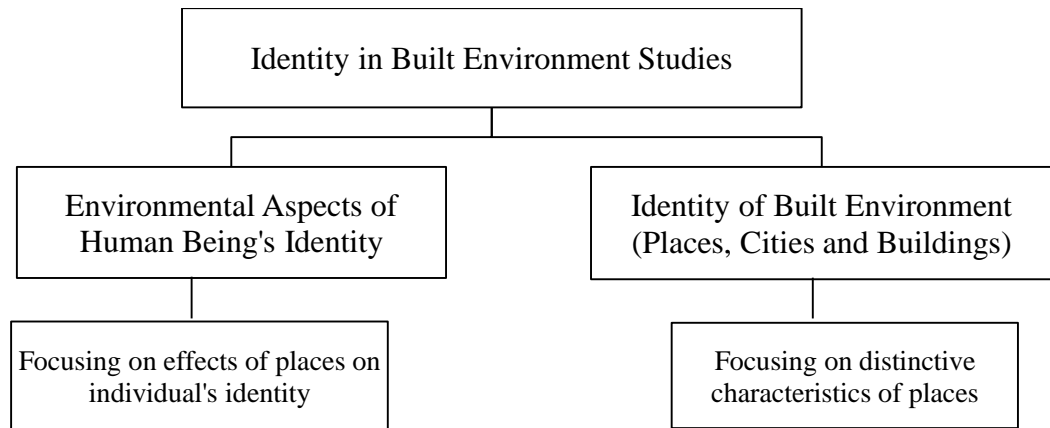


Figure 7. Diagram for approaches to 'identity' in built environmental studies. Source: Author

In the various design fields, there are differences in the reference of identity. While in the geography 'any place' can be discussed in terms of its identity, in urban planning and urban design the identity refers to cities, neighborhoods and all urban places such as streets and squares. In architectural studies, the identity of architecture as a general concept or for a specific building in particular, can be considered as the references of identity as well. Following paragraphs are some examples for describing identity in the mentioned fields.

Norberg Schulz has divided the aspects of place to 'space' and 'character' or by another words 'tangible' and 'intangible' (Schulz, 1980, p. 11). In a more clarifying way, Relph (1976) mentioned three main elements of 'place identity' as 'physical appearance', 'activities/events' and 'meanings/symbols'. Based on Relph's opinion, even if many factors change due to the culture, context and time, there are still common characteristics, rooted in the essence and the nature of dwelling in a certain place. These characteristics make the inhabitants recognize their housing, and also make a differentiation between the specific housing complex and other types of urban buildings and even other similar housing complexes. These characteristics can be

related to form, proportion, material, colour, and all other tangible and intangible aspects of the housing complex. For instance, materials and colours of residential environment will be different in Istanbul and Barcelona, but the fact that ‘colour’ and ‘material’ are parts of ‘Housing Identity’ in both cities is undeniable. As stated by Relph (1976), there are many intangible factors like memories, history, events and meanings which are involved with the ‘identity construction’ of housing environment.

Charles Correa, the famed Indian architect, started his article ‘*Quest for Identity*’, emphasizing the ‘process’ notion of identity:

What is identity? Firstly, it is a process, and not a ‘found’ object. It may be likened to the trail left by civilization as it moves through history. The trail is the culture, or identity, of that civilization... Secondly, being a process, identity cannot be fabricated. We develop our identity by tackling what we perceive to be our real problems... Thirdly, identity is not a self-conscious thing. (Correa, 1983)

It is clear that Correa’s statement argues the general understanding of people’s identity depend on various trials through generations and he believes that the process of gaining identity is not a self-conscious phenomenon, and more related to the realities of the time. Similar to this approach, we can refer to Al-Naim’s definition for identity:

Identity as a concept has social and physical connotations. It constitutes a collection of cues recognized by a group of people at a specific time and place. People and places, however, are exposed to change over time. In that sense, identity may change and people may resist this change because they want to feel that they maintain a certain level of continuity. (Al-Naim, 2008)

Although Al-Naim mentioned place beside people’s recognition of cues collected in his definition, there is not so much attention to the tangible identity of architecture itself. The focus is on the relation between cultural, social or personal aspects of human identities and built environment. It is also interesting that resistance of change

accompanies with some doses of continuity as a contradiction. For Yuswadi Saliya (1986), identity has an entirely different meaning:

I must confess that I am surprised by all this fuss and noise about identity, especially its connections with architecture. I believe that it is a mistake to take identity as a point of entry for discussing architecture. Architecture should first and foremost be considered as part of the man who makes and use it, while identity, to my mind, is just its byproduct (Saliya,1986).

It is clear that for Saliya the concept of identity is not considered as the independent identity of places or buildings, but as a product of the interaction between men and environment.

Oktay (2002) started her article '*The quest for urban identity in the changing context of the city*' by definition for identity in Webster's Dictionary; "The distinguishing character or condition of person or thing". As it is apparent, she has emphasized on the word 'thing' not 'person', considering 'urban environment' as a 'thing', trying to define the notion and identifiable elements of 'urban identity'. According to Oktay (2006), since cities are constantly changing, their urban identity is created through the interactions between natural, social and built elements.

Like individuals, cities should have character and distinctions; like individuals, this flavor is made up of numerous characteristics or identifiable elements ... Many advantages can be gained by discovering and reinforcing a city's own identity. Small differences may be magnified, special events may be commemorated, designers may seek to set their stamps on projects, and many other motives may encourage efforts to undertake the quest for urban identity... How to give the area its own physical identity, and how to make it a place with its own character, distinct from that of other places, is the first aesthetic problem in the design of the district (Oktay, 2002).

Zarzar (2008), has applied the concept of identity to people, objects and cities, emphasizing on the role of change in the process of identity (trans)formation:

We identify characteristics in people, series of objects, buildings, cities and so forth, classify these elements and compare them all the time. So, for us, if a city

loses its current identity, it is simultaneously creating a new one. Change in the direct environment over time is thus part of the creation of a new identity.” (Zarzar 2008, p.62)

To sum, except people, cities, objects and other entities have been mentioned as sources for identity, However, regarding built environment studies, the majority of the research is focused on the relation between the human being’s identity and large scale places such as cities.

2.3.5 Identity in the field of architecture

Limited sources are discussing the relation between identity and architecture. Chris Abel in his pioneering book ‘*Architecture and Identity*’ (1997) named a chapter ‘Architecture as Identity’ which contains discussions about the regionalism, globalization and the important role of architecture as a symbol of identity. In addition, Peter Herrle and Stephanous Schmitz, collected articles related to the architecture and identity in their book, ‘*Architecture and Identity*’ (2008), which are mostly related to architecture and the structure of national/local identities in various contexts. In both references, ‘regionalism’, ‘globalization’, ‘localization’, ‘traditions’ and ‘vernacular architecture’ are the key words discussed in relation with ‘architectural identity’. However, the concept of identity has been discussed in the field of architecture in various ways. Zarzar (2007) proposed a way for modelling identity in the context of architecture by differentiating multiple sources of identity in her essay “*Identity in the Work of Tadao Ando*”. She discerns architect’s identity from place’s identity, as well as the identity of the users and the identity of the building itself, emphasizing on the complicated relation between these identities. As listed below, different answers to “Whose Identity?” will lead us to different approaches:

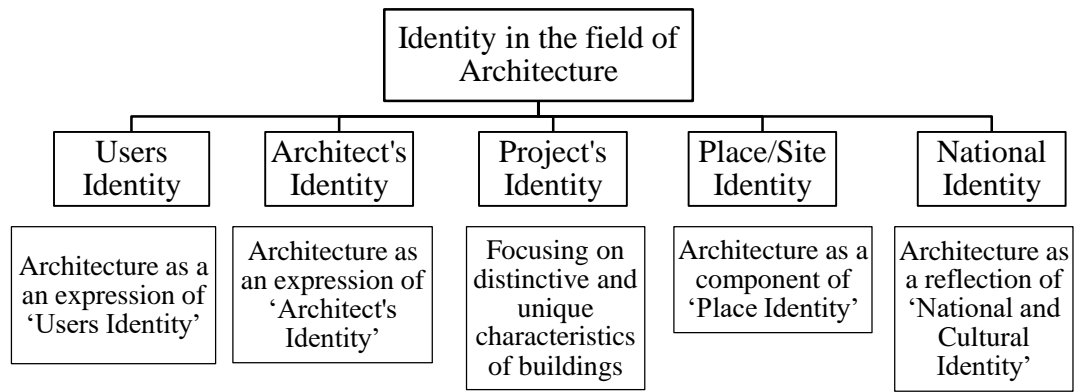


Figure 8. Chart for various approaches to identity in the field of architecture. Source: Author

According to Zarzar (2008) “We may refer to the identity of the architect when we recognize his/her designs as a kind of brand.” Apparently, this is not applicable in the case of any architect. ‘Superstars’ such as Zaha Hadid, Frank Gehry, Santiago Calatrava and Daniel Libeskind have got their own professional identities through their distinctive, iconic architecture. We can easily distinguish Frank Gehry’s projects due to its form or material. Similar are bridges designed by Calatrava or museums designed by Libeskind. The most exaggerated example is a series of houses designed by Daniel Libeskind and named as ‘*Libeskind signature Series House*’. One can easily order one of these prefabricated homes, as easy as ordering a product to e-Bay website and receive it in a while. In this case, the identity of the project is all deep-seated in the identity of the architect.

By the words of Baper and Hassan (2010, 2012) who have studied deeply on the architectural identity in the city of Erbil, the term architectural identity is mostly used as a general synonym for project’s identity:

Architectural identity is a group of the expressive qualities of spatial organization as well as the activities and events taking place in the area... The concept of identity is crystallized in the architecture through the form and its characteristics (Baper and Hassan 2010).

Project's identity can be described as whatever makes a project distinct from other similar projects. The function of the project and its physical appearance are two main general means of distinction. Apparently, project's identity is interrelated with its design style, even in some examples such as 'Gothic church' or 'Bauhaus building', the identity of the building is all created by their style. As explained, there may also be a link between the architect and project's identity. An example can be the relation between 'Bilbao Guggenheim Museum' and 'Frank Gehry'. In this case, the architect's identity owes a lot to the project's identity and labelled with it. In the very same example if we consider 'Bilbao City' as a context of the project we can start another discussion about 'Context Identity' and 'Project's Identity', another twofold and interrelations.

For many, especially young architects who have not been in Spain in their lifetime, today, Bilbao is the place where 'Guggenheim Museum' is placed. We have heard a lot, seen pictures and discussed a lot about Guggenheim museum and the name 'Bilbao' is attached to 'Guggenheim' as the name 'Paris' is linked to 'Eiffel'. Here comes the relation between the identity of place/context and the identity of the project. Relph (1976) mentioned three main elements of place identity as 'physical appearance', 'meaning and symbol' and 'activity and function'. Therefore, the identity of place is affected by physical and functional aspects of buildings surrounded or located in the place. In any urban place, architecture acts as the most powerful factor in shaping the urban character. In a larger scale, considering cities as a place, city's identity has a distinct relation with its iconic buildings. According to Zarzar (2008) "We may also talk about reinforcing the identity of the place while creating an identity of the building or of the institution that this building may house."

Any place, no matter if it is natural, rural or urban, can be identified through the identity of an architectural element. Clarifying example is the role of an old bridge across the Neretva River which was destroyed during the civil war between Croats and Bosniak Muslims in 1993. Butina & Bentley, (2007) have discussed the role of the bridge in both local people's identity and the identity of the place as a remainder of certain events and memories.

Most of the research considering architecture as a media or language are mainly focused on the reflection of national and cultural identity in architecture; notable one can be Mahgoub (2006, 2007) and Al-Naim (1998, 2008) focusing on the relation between 'Cultural Identity' and architecture in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. In the mentioned examples the reference for identity is the common sense of 'national identity' shared by the nation and emphasized by the states. In this term 'National Identity' should be maintained with the help of architecture. According to Saleh (1998) "Project identity is a reflection of national, regional, and cultural attributes of symbolic significance." He also mentioned that the 'identity of a project' is created by architect or decision maker, trying to conserve tradition and ignore the popular architectural styles (Saleh, 1998).

Along with the theoretical discussions on identity, the chapter has also discussed the different usages of identity in various fields, and it is concluded with the concept of 'identity of place' in the context of architectural studies. The main aim of the chapter is to provide a basis for discussing an assemblage conception of identity in the case of places in built environment studies. The following chapter explores the concept of place through the review on the Heideggerian reading of place, known as 'phenomenology of place' and the new Deleuzian conception of 'place as an assemblage', explored by Dovey (2010)

Chapter 3

REVIEWS AND DISCUSSIONS ON PLACE

There are two main contemporary approaches which have tried to clarify the concept of place. The first, which is grounded in an attempt by geographers in late 70's, is a phenomenological approach based on Heidegger's ontological perspectives. The more recent approach is based on Assemblage Theory by Deleuze and Guattari (1987) which have been explored by Kim Dovey (2010). The following section is a brief sketch of the mentioned approaches in order to clarify the research approach to the concept of 'place'.

3.1 Phenomenology of Place

Place theory in architecture gained currency and popularity from the 1970s-90s largely through the propagation of Heideggerian phenomenology, particularly the work of Frampton on 'critical regionalism' and Norberg Schulz on the notion of a 'genius loci'. (Dovey, 2002, P. 45)

Phenomenology is the qualitative inquiry of 'obvious but unquestioned' phenomena such as place. In order to uncover the obviousness, one should be liberated from any cliché or definition, whether in the experience of everyday life or based on conceptual explanations, even the scientific ones (Seamon & Sowers, 2008).

Phenomenology is the interpretive study of human experience. The aim is to examine and to clarify human situations, events, meanings, and experiences as they are known in everyday life but typically unnoticed beneath the level of conscious awareness" (Seamon & Sowers, 2008, P. 44).

Giorgi (1989), also has emphasized on searching for 'essence' and 'structure' through the 'subjective experience' of 'subject's life world'. "[phenomenology] is not

interested in an ‘objective reality’ or what a phenomenon might be ‘in itself’, but how it is *experienced* by someone”. (Giorgi 1989, in Hauge, 2009, p. 46)

Clearly in the phenomenological approach, ‘place’ is considered as an entity, more than just a mere location; besides, it is still hard to assert a comprehensive definition for place. According to Spiegelberg (1982), there are as many phenomenological methods as there are phenomenologists; therefore, we should expect to face various definitions for any blurry concept, such as place. From the efforts to clarify the concept of place, Edward Relph (1970, 1976), Yi-Fu Tuan (1974; 1977), Pred (1984) and David Seamon (1979) can be mentioned as the main key figures.

While reviewing the phenomenological literature on place, three discussions become essential to consider; the theoretical context of concept (which is mostly geography), the relation between space and place (which is highlighted by the majority of scholars), and the characteristics of place (as mentioned by the phenomenologists).

- Place by geographers and architects

It is essential to consider the theoretical contexts based on which the concept of place has been mostly discussed. The Phenomenology of place has been mostly conceptualized by humanistic geographers and has been investigated by architects. In the words of Seamon and Sowers (2008), the concept of ‘Place’ is the most important core by which ‘Geography’ is distinguished from other disciplines. “Geographers must sooner or later ask, however, is ‘What exactly is place?’ Is it merely a synonym for location, or a unique ensemble of nature and culture, or could it be something more?” (Seamon and Sowers, 2008, p. 43). The concept has been discussed and formulated mostly by ‘humanistic geographers’ such as Yi-Fu Tuan (1974) and Edward Relph (1970, 1976). From two different approaches, the concept of ‘Place’ has been

discussed by scholars in the fields of geography, architecture and urban planning. Tuan (1977, p. 3) also stated that “Geographers study places. Planners would like to evoke a sense of place.” Therefore, definitions on place are mostly stated by geographers while discussions on the spatial quality of place, sense of place, place attachments and place making has been the main focus of architectural research. Definitions and meanings defined by scholars in the context of geography have become the most reliable references for researchers in the fields of architecture and urban planning since the 70’s. One of the most outstanding texts on the phenomenology of place written by architects is perhaps *Genius Loci*, by Christian Norberg-Schulz (1980).

- ‘Space’ and ‘Place’

The spatial relations between space and place which explore the facts that places are located in spaces or they are parts of space structured the fundamental basis for definitions of phenomenological place. Tuan (1977,) started his discussion on place by exploring the relation between place and space. According to him, these two concepts are dependent on one-another for their definition. Tuan (1977)’s comparison between space and place seems more poetic than Relph’s approach; “Place is security, space is freedom” (p. 3), “if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause... Each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place” (p. 6).

Relph (1976), in his pioneering book, *Place and Placelessness*, has discussed various aspects of ‘space’ and ‘place’. Aside from geography and philosophy, he has also discussed the terms in the fields of architecture and urban planning. He believes that the architectural crisis of “not being interested in the notion and importance of place” is the result of geographers’ failure in exploring the concept of place (Relph, 1976, p. 3).

Still, the most cited definition for place is Relph's Phenomenological approach which is cited by many scholars in various fields of studies, (e.g., Cresswell, 2004, Casey, 2008; Seamon, 2013, 2014; Malpas, 1999; Carmona and Tiesdell, 2007; Najafi and Shariff, 2011). Relph has emphasized the importance of meanings and values which are created by individuals or groups. Meanings, values and experiences transform space into place (Relph, 1976). From this perspective, places are human constructs located within our subjective minds but based on and attached to the objective physical environment. Without the existence of human beings and any kind of involvement, space will stay abstract, boundless and alone.

3.2 'Post-Phenomenology' and Recent Theories on Place

'Post-phenomenology' has been introduced by Ihde (1993, 1995, 2003), as a new trend in philosophy. Post-phenomenological thoughts have not yet been directly involved with the concept of place, but as much as it is explored within the context of geography, it is apparent that a new approach toward place is going to be established, which tries to be free of the mentioned limitations, reductions and the idealism of classic phenomenology and also reduction of place to mere social construction in post-structural thoughts.

Don Ihde is the most well-known philosopher who has accepted and expanded the term 'post-phenomenology'.

Today we live amidst the "posts." It is a postindustrial era, a postnuclear period, and there is postfeminism, postanalytic philosophy, and above all, postmodernism—so why not postphenomenology? All these "posts" are, perhaps, something like a technological society's substitute for previous metaphorical forests, within which one could get lost (Ihde, 1993, p.1).

Although Davis (2013) stated that the post-structuralist might precisely be called 'post-phenomenologists', Protevi, (2003) draws a clear line between Deleuze and Derrida;

According to him Derrida's approach can be interpreted as post-phenomenological, but Deleuze's approach is 'historical-libidinal materialism'. Protevi (1992) categorizes the 'Post 1968 French philosophy' in two categories:

1. Post-phenomenological

- A. Levinas: ethical infinite alterity: face of the other
- B. Derrida: *différance*: differing and deferring; remainder, cinders
- C. Irigaray: feminine imaginary: duality, fluidity; ethics of sexual difference

2. Post-structuralist

- A: Foucault
- B: Deleuze/Guattari: *A Thousand Plateaus* (1980)

However, for many scholars (notable ones can be Alliez, 1997; Dovey, 2010) Deleuze is a significant post-phenomenologist who attempted to criticize the aspects of phenomenology.

Except for Protevi (1992, 2003) and Ihde (1993) and a few other scholars, the term 'post-phenomenology' has never had the chance to be broadly accepted by scholars. According to the dates, while the key theoretical texts of post-structuralism, such as Barthes (1967, 1973) and Derrida (1966, also published in 1993) have been published in the 60's, the most important phenomenological theories on 'place' were published in late 70's such as Tuan (1974) and Relph (1976) and Seamon (1979, 1980), and therefore considering 'place' as a focus, the post-structural movement cannot be interpreted as post-phenomenology, for the latter was established a decade later.

'Phenomenology' was also criticizing the rigidity of structures in structuralism but post-structuralist commentators, such as Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze and Roland Barthes have criticized phenomenology in the same way that they

were against structuralism. While structuralists believed in a structural understanding of human culture based on binary oppositions and self-sufficiency of structures, post-structuralists emphasize instability in human science, criticizing the abstraction and modelling approaches in investigations (Poster, 1989).

Post-structuralist philosophers have never formed a self-conscious group, and some have not even accepted the term 'post-structuralist', but all have criticized phenomenology and structuralism. Both phenomenology and Structuralism sought a more secure foundation for knowledge, in phenomenology, this foundation would be the experience itself; in structuralism, knowledge is founded on the "structures" that make experience possible. Post-structuralism, in turn, rejects the ideas of founding knowledge based on pure experience or systematic structures. This impossibility was not interpreted as failure or loss, but a cause for "celebration and liberation." (Colebrook 2001, P.2)

'Place' itself was not the subject of debates for structuralists, nor for post-structuralist; but later in the 70's it gained the attention of scholars in different fields, mostly geography. Meanwhile, the post-structuralists' arguments were mostly in the context of literature; and therefore, the 'text' and its meanings became the focus of arguments. Barthes (1967) announced the death of the author, and he stated that any text has various meanings and the meaning perceived by the reader gains priority over the author's meaning.

While Barthes became the key theorist in the context of literature and Umberto Eco was influencing the movements in art, Derrida's 'deconstruction' was highly changing architectural theories and the understanding of place. Derrida's statements were

translated into the context of architecture, mostly through Peter Eisenman's projects and other early deconstructionists. For Derrida, place was interpreted as a text, having various meanings for observers and being independent of the creator or designer but highly dependent on its 'context'. The meaning of place is only understandable through the process of deconstructing.

Gill Deleuze has also criticized both structuralist's and phenomenologist's points of views. Criticizing Heideggerian ontology, he proposes to replace the term "being" with "becoming" (Dovey, 2010 p.6). He found the phenomenologist's approach idealistic and in search of rigid essences. He also criticized the fixity and unity of linguistic structures in structuralism.

Meanwhile, the importance of Deleuze's philosophy in the context of architecture was shadowed by the popularity of *Derrida/Eisenman* and *Postmodernism/Deconstruction*. The earliest effects of Deleuzian theories in architecture appeared in late 80's through 'folding architecture'. 'Architecture' was the most suitable context for Deleuze's terms such as 'Smooth Surface', 'the Fold', 'Rhizomes' and 'Striated Space'. While the concept of 'place' was not the focus of theorists, the importance of space and spatiality of these terms was undeniable.

Manuel De Landa (2006) published his assemblage theory in sociology based on Deleuze's philosophy; the book is titled as "*A New Philosophy of Society: Assemblage Theory and Social Complexity*". Clarifying Deleuze's theory of assemblage, De Landa (2006) expanded it in the context of sociology as a new ontology for social theorists. His pioneered book became a key source for Kim Dovey, Australian theorist and critic of architecture, who is known to be focused on the concept of 'Place'.

Kim Dovey established a theory of ‘place as assemblage’ based on Deleuze and Guattari’s ‘*A Thousand Plateaus*’ (1987) and De Landa’s theory of assemblage (2006). Deleuze did not discuss the notion of place, particularly, and nor has De Landa.

The author believes that the mentioned view is the most recent approach to place. Considering the post-structural basis of Deleuzian philosophy (anti-Heideggerian/anti-phenomenological), and also Kim Dovey’s objection of phenomenological aspects of place, it is relatively safe to declare that the Dovey’s theory titled as ‘*place as assemblage*’, has the potential to encompass post-phenomenological critiques on place, and can be known as the basis for theorizing ‘post-phenomenology of place’. Before discussing the theory of ‘place as assemblage’, the Deleuzian approach toward place is explored under the below titles.

3.3 Deleuzian Approach to Place

How and why should the phenomenological approach to place be criticized? From what point does it seem dubious? Considering the main characteristics of place in the context of phenomenology; ‘being a specific part of space’, ‘being filled by meanings’, ‘being interconnected with society’ they all seem definite and indubitable. However, the problem is hidden again in a fact and obvious term; ‘*being*’.

The phenomenological assumption of ‘being’ is rooted in Heidegger’s essentialist philosophy which was in search of purity, authenticity and certainty. Anti-Heideggerian and post-phenomenologist are replacing ‘being’ with ‘becoming’ as a less-certain and less-fixed way of existence. However, within the context of architecture, the main debate was not on ‘being’ itself, but on the way of ‘being’. Heideggerian needs to believe that ‘being is grounded in place’ and therefore ‘being is spatial’, they also have to accept the ontological approach to ‘dwelling’. According to

Heidegger both 'being' and 'dwelling' are grounded in place. (Dovey, 2010, Cresswell, 2004)

One of the most valuable efforts on re-theorizing the concept of place was Kim Dovey's '*Dialectics of Place: Authenticity, Identity, Difference*' (2002). Dovey explains the critical issues on the phenomenology of place and he criticizes Heideggerian essentialism and reductionism. Eight years after, in 2010 one of the most recent approaches to the concept of 'place' has been explored by him in his new published book; "Becoming Places". Although Dovey have discussed aspects of place and power in his pioneered book '*Framing Places: Mediating power in built form*' first published in 1999, (reprinted in 2008), but '*Becoming places*' seems to be the final results of his efforts on re-theorizing the concept of 'place'. While Deleuze and De Landa have not discussed the architectural aspects of 'place', Dovey's efforts are the key entry point connecting the gap between Deleuzian philosophy and design-based disciplines; architecture and urban design.

The author believes that since the 'assemblage theory of place' has been theorized and published recently we will hear and read more from Dovey's approach in future. That is why this approach is accepted as a most recent theory and will be investigated for clarification of theoretical foundations of this research.

According to Dovey (2010) although it is obvious that all places are in a state of continuous change still most of the scholars have discussed the concept of place as a static phenomenon. Therefore, place-based concepts such as 'sense of place', 'place character' and 'place identity' are also considered as relatively stable concepts by which one can identify and differentiate places. As Dovey stated, he is interested in

“various ways in which places come to being” and “an immanent theory of place that is not abstracted from its instances in everyday life, nor deferred to presumed deeper or higher source.” (Dovey, 2010 p.3) He placed his approach in contrast with a phenomenological explanation of place, and he is highly criticizing ‘foundational’ phenomenologists, especially Heidegger’s approach to ‘being in the world’. Following are the main discussions and the explanation of the theory of ‘place as assemblage’.

- Space and Place

Same as many phenomenological texts on place, Dovey also started his discussion by explaining the relation between ‘space’ and ‘place’. According to him the main distinction between space and place is that place has power to connect sociality with spatiality and this “intensity gives place its potency and its primacy” (Dovey, 2010, p.3). Even in the everyday language, the meaning differs when we say ‘this is a great place’ from ‘this is a great space’. When we say some place is great, we refer to its social-spatial aspects, but when we talk about a great space we are more considering physical dimensions and form. Although this approach seems similar to the phenomenological approaches, Dovey believes that ‘space’ and ‘place’ have been analyzed abstracted from everyday life and distinguished in academic literature “in the ways that best suits the theories” (Dovey, 2010, p.4).

By referring to Casey (1998) Dovey explains the main stages of change in the assumption of place. Starting from place as ‘*topos*’, deep rooted in Greek philosophy as an ontological ground which is inseparable from being and existence; *to exist is to exist in place*. According to Casey, this approach had been transformed through Western philosophy in the way that the concept of place became an abstract ‘location’ or ‘site’ of something. Therefore, ‘scientific empiricism’ has privileged an objective and abstract conception of space as a framework for the particularities of place.

Under the enlightenment and modernity, space became identified as the primary and abstract context within which place was seen as a secondary and derivative (Casey, 1998, cited in Dovey, 2010, p.4).

In the last development, Heidegger's 'spatial ontology of being in the world' revived the ontology of place. Referring to Malpas, Dovey states that "Both of these conceptions of place –as ontological ground and as mere location- are abstractions in relation to the experience or sense of place in everyday life" (Malpas 2008, cited in Dovey, 2010, p.4)

Besides criticizing ontological approaches to place, Dovey also deals with structuralist and post-structuralist approaches such as place as a form of mythology (Barthes 1975, first published in 1973) place as a form of constructed subjectivity (Foucault 1979) or as a text (Derrida 1974). He believes that these views have problematized the ways 'identity' enmeshed with 'place'. He has also mentioned the deconstructive method while discussing the 'sense of place';

The effectiveness of deconstructive method generally relies upon a reduction of place to text that bypasses the question of ontology and strips the sense of place of some of its most fertile complications, most importantly its connection to ontological security. (Dovey, 2010, p.4)

- 'Sense of Place'

Dovey discusses Deleuze's (1987) approach to the concept of sense; 'sensation' is complex and irreducible entity at the surface of things which operates prior to cognition and meaning. The source of sensation cannot exist inside objects; it is an event by which the material and expressive poles of the assemblage are connected. He mentioned 'materiality' and 'meaning' as two sides of the sense of place.

Dovey explains the distinction between extensive and intensive ‘multiplicity’ has been emphasized by Deleuze and Guattari (1987, p.33); While extensive multiplicities are unaffected by new additions like a bag of jelly, intensive ones are changing by new ingredients, like soup, which has an overall flavor. Dovey concludes that a house, neighborhood and city are kind of intensive multiplicities; because the sense of the whole will change when different inhabitants move in or new buildings are added. A ‘place as assemblage’ should be accepted as an ‘intensive multiplicity’ without a pre-existing whole. (Dovey, 2010, p.27)

Therefore, Dovey criticizes the essentialism and ontological approaches to the concepts ‘genius loci’ and ‘spirit of place’, which is laid on Heideggerian view of the place as the primordial ground of being and Norberg Schulz’s assumptions. In this view a sense of place is accepted as profoundly and unchangeable concept which is “rooted in stabilized modes of dwelling (homeland and history)” (Dovey, 2010, p.4). According to Dovey ‘genius loci’ is an abstract ideal reduced to essence, which ignores social construction of place identity. In contrast, Dovey prefers an open and progressive approach to a sense of place as it is clarified in anti-essentialist and anti-Heideggerian theory of place by Massey. According to Massey (1992) all notions of place resulting from Heidegger ontology are problematic and regressive:

Such views to place have been evident in a whole range of settings – in the emergence of certain kinds of nationalism, in the marketing of places ... in the new urban enclosures and...by those defending their communities against yuppification... All of these have been attempts to fix the meaning of places, to enclose and defend them: they construct singular, fixed and static identities for places and they interpret places as bounded enclosed spaces defined through counter-position against the other who is outside (Massey, 1992, p.12, cited in Dovey 2010, p.5).

Massey explains her approach by exemplifying a 'Kilburn' street in London. She declares that the street has its own character which comes from connections, relations and interactions instead of original sources or enclosing boundaries. Therefore there is no single sense of place shared by everyone. According to her people have multiple identities and so do places (Massey 1993, p.65). By the words of Dovey, Massey's place identity is 'provisional', 'unfixed' and 'multiple' and the sense of place is 'progressive', 'outward looking', 'defined by multiple identities' and most importantly *"its character comes from connections and interactions rather than original sources and enclosing boundaries"* (Dovey 2010, p.5). He also declares that Massey's approach to a sense of place is *"primarily global rather than local, forged out of its connections with other places rather than local contingencies, privileging routes than roots"* (Dovey 2010, p.5).

According to Dovey, considering place as assemblage will lead us to understand the 'sense of place' as an "everyday experience instead of an essentialized 'genius loci' or a myth". (Dovey 2010, p.30).

- Spatiality and sociality

On the relation between spatial and social aspects of space, Dovey (2010) mentioned two statements by Lefebvre (1991: 26) who pointed out that space is both a means of production and a product of it, and Massey (1993) who stated: while space is socially constructed, the social is spatially constructed. Dovey laid emphasis on the need for approaches that cut across the sociality/spatiality divide. He also continues debating spatiality and sociality of space and explains the Deleuzian approach on 'becoming in the word'. According to Dovey to choose between place as pre-given entity or as socially constructed phenomenon is more like a 'conundrum':

If place and space are socially constructed then where did this construction take a place? If the social is spatially constructed then what evidence do we have of this pre-given place that is not socially constructed? (Dovey, 2010, p.6)

Dovey's answer is to rely on two theories which ignore this conceptual binary; the first is a Deleuzian notion of 'becoming' in the word in contrast with Heideggerian ontology of being, and the second is Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' which replace a division of subjectivity-objectivity or people-environment with a one embodied world.

This implies a break with static, fixed, closed and dangerously essentialist notion of place, but preserves a provisional ontology of place as becoming: there is always, already and only becoming in the world. (Dovey 2010)

According to Dovey 'place as assemblage' sketches Deleuzian approach to the framework within which place is accepted as a territorialized assemblage, defined by connections rather than essences (De Landa 2006). Dovey has used 'Assemblage' and 'Habitus' as two conceptual toolkits by which he explores the concept of place. In both frameworks, spatiality and sociality are amalgamated, and there is no division between subject and object and also immanent to the experiences of everyday life rather than transcendent abstractions. According to Dovey, the key guide for establishing a theory of 'place as assemblage' is De Landa (2006), whose construction of a Deleuzian theory of assemblage is a theory of society rather than of place.

- **'Desire' and 'Power.'**

Dovey explains that to understand the assemblage theory first, we need to clarify the concepts of 'power' and 'desire'. Comparing Heideggerian and Deleuzian views, Colebrook (2002: 66) makes a clear distinction between these approaches; "world as a collection of beings who then have desires" in contrast with "life as a flows of becoming or desire, which then produce relative points of stability".

According to Dovey in this approach, desire is the basis of power, and all places we experience are products of positive and productive desire: “Streets, door, corridors and freeways are products of desire to connect between places... A primacy product of these flows of desire are assemblages.” (Dovey 2010, p. 15)

3.4 Theory of ‘Place as Assemblage’

Dovey enters to explain assemblage theory based on De Landa (2006) who believes the concept of assemblage is a key Deleuzian concept which offers an empirical philosophy but devoid of reductionism and essentialism. Experience and sensation are the priorities but without the phenomenological idealism. It also tries to emphasize the social construction of reality but not by reducing it to discourse. Followings are the main statements clarifying the notion of assemblage:

- Assemblage is a whole ‘whose properties emerge from the interactions between parts’ (De Landa 2006: 5).
- Assemblage is not a ‘thing’ or a collection of parts; it is a ‘state of affairs’.
- Assemblage is also not an organized system such as a branch of a tree or an organization such as a bank.
- Assemblage parts are contingent rather than necessary; they are aggregated, mixed and composed; as in ‘machine’ they can be taken out and used in another assemblage (De Landa 2006: 9).

Similar to Massey, Dovey also makes an example of the street to explain it as an assemblage. Due to the importance of example, the whole paragraph is cited below:

For instance, a street is not a thing nor is it just a collection of discrete things. The buildings, trees, cars, sidewalks, goods, people, signs, etc. all come together to become the street, but it is also the connections between them that makes it an assemblage or a place. It is the relation of the buildings-sidewalk-roadway; the flows of traffic, people and goods the interconnections of public to private space, and of this street to city, that make its ‘street’ and distinguish it from other place assemblages such as parks, plazas, freeways, shopping malls, and market places... the assemblage is also dynamic - trees and people grow and die, buildings are constructed and demolished. It is the flows of life, traffic, goods and money that give the street its intensity and its sense of place. All places are assemblages. (Dovey, 2010, p. 16).

To confirm that the theory is applicable in different scales, Dovey makes an example of his study room which is an assemblage of stuffs such as books and furniture framed by walls, but at the same time it connects him to outside via telephone/internet, to neighborhood via window and to the rest of the house via stairs. The study room is micro scale assemblage of spatial boundaries and also meanings which is more distinguished by the intensity of experience. By changing any of its elements, it will transform to another place while it is still the same assemblage. In another scales, he mentions neighborhood as an assemblage of houses, shops, parks, amenities and city as an assemblage of people, networks and social hierarchies. In all these examples places are considered as assemblages in a state of continuous changes. This approach is in contradiction with a Heideggerian approach to place, grounded in the ontology of 'being' rather than becoming. (Dovey, 2010)

Indicated by Dovey, organic tree-like concept of place, which organizes spatial meanings around an essentialized stem is rooted in a human desire for a sense of stable home and distinctive identity, however identifying place as a stable entity with stabilized identity and singular type of inactive dwelling is narrow and insular approach. Although place as an assemblage stabilizes dwelling, it also includes connections, movement and uncountable ways of becoming.

- Materiality and Expression in 'Place as Assemblage'

Dovey explains that how the theory of assemblage helps us to solve a problem of division between materiality and expression in architectural theory. According to him meanings and senses are not found in the material and also cannot be simply added, they are integral to the assemblage and the relation between them is not dialectic; assemblages are always at once both material and expressive. Dovey concludes that the distinct concept of 'sense of place' cannot be reduced to an essence or social

construction he describes it as “a phenomenon that connects or spans this materiality/expression dimension.” (Dovey, 2010: 17)

According to Dovey, there should be no privileging between ‘wing’ and ‘root’ nor the denial of the materiality of place; the aim is not to choose between an architecture of roots or wings but to accept that it is always both.

- Territories and Boundaries in ‘Place as Assemblage’

Considering assemblage as a an unfixed and changeable whole, the subject of territory become a critical issue. How can we define the territory of a place as assemblage?

According to Deleuze and Guattari (1987) assemblages are basically territorial, and at the first stage, we need to discover what territoriality they envelop. However, in order to understand the Deleuzian approach to territory first, we need to consider the processes of ‘de-territorialization’ and ‘re-territorialization’.

As Dovey explores the Deleuzian approach; “territories are subject to de-territorialization -the movement by which territories are eroded... de-territorialized elements are recombined into new assemblages through a process of re-territorialization”. Returning to the example of the street, Dovey explores that every public space is interconnected and relatively de-territorialized with other urban paths and places in various shapes and different scales:

Public territories such as parking spots, café tables and public benches are claimed and vacated; shops and businesses open and close; private housing may overlook from the sides. Territorialization is a synthetic process that enables wholes to form from parts, identities from differences. (Dovey, 2010: 18)

- Folding and 'Two Fold' in 'Place as Assemblage'

As stated by Dovey, other prerequisite key concepts for understanding the nature of assemblage explored by Deleuze (1987) are 'Folding' and 'Two Fold'; concepts for rethinking dual and dialectic oppositions. As stated before, to accept assemblage is to accept that the points of stability are in continuous process of changing or by the better words 'Morphing'. The concept of 'Folding' changes the focus from things/points to the relations/movements in between:

Conceptual oppositions such as smooth/striated, network/hierarchy and rhizome/tree are parts of a much larger cluster of conceptual oppositions that loosely align with the twofold concept of becoming/being and difference/identity. These concepts are binary in the sense that they are twofold, they come in pairs. However, they co-exist in a mixture rather than a dialectic relation; they morph or fold into the other rather than respond to it. In this sense being emerges from becoming and identities from differences. (Dovey, 2010, p.22)

As explored by Dovey the problem arises by privileging one side –normally the stable side- and place the other as an antonym like 'home and journey' or 'identity and difference'. Besides, for Deleuzian identity and difference are two-fold concepts, morphing to each other and creating each other. Dovey concludes *"privileging of stable identities is a central tent of Western metaphysics that need to be overturned."* (Dovey, 2010: 22)

Dovey explores this conclusion to return to the main subject of his book; place and space. As stated by him conceptual oppositions like "points of stability and lines of flight" or "wings and roots" have been the basis of a desire to put 'space' and 'place' in the same opposition. Dovey is criticizing Tuan (1974, 1977), Relph (1976) and other phenomenologists' approach who consider space as freedom/movement and place as

a pause in movement. In contrast, Dovey ignores the idea of ‘place as a part of space’ and prefer to consider place as assemblage mix.

As it is clear from above, Dovey’s idea is to move from conceptions of place as ‘stabilized being’ toward ‘places of becoming’. That is why the housing complex is accepted as an assemblage in this research, Buildings by themselves are nothing more than designed material but adding people and life to them and considering the effects of aging, events and memories they become an assemblage. In this case, the fact that the people move in and out or changes in the physical appearance are only the changes of the components of the housing project, but the place will remain as a housing complex until they change the function of the buildings and make them something new. Even in that case many parameters of the housing identity will not disappear and will still be parts of the new built environment.

3.5 Identity of Place; A Post-phenomenological Reading

Theories of identity as assemblage, (Puar, 2005) and place as assemblage (Dovey, 2010) has been discussed in the second and third chapters in order to pave the path for post-phenomenological discussions on ‘identity of place’.

As explained, placing Deleuze’s concept of ‘becoming’ in contrast with Heideggerian ‘being’, Dovey, Massey and other post-phenomenological theorists have invited us to think about ‘place’ in a more Deleuzian way. The two paradoxical, but still interrelated ontologies reveal two different approaches towards place, and therefore, lead us to two contradictory theories on ‘identity of place’. The one which is based on the static notion of place and its unchangeable characteristics of identity, and the one which ignores any unchangeable phenomenon and considers both place and identity as assemblages.

Although Dovey's theory of 'place as assemblage' and Massey's theory of 'global sense of place' have opened new paths for discussing place as an open, extroverted concept, which is always in the process of becoming and also appreciate the social construction of place, still, post-phenomenological identity of place remains blurry. Various aspects of the post-phenomenological conception of 'identity of place' can only be clarified through the further multidisciplinary studies on the concept, considering individual, social and physical aspects of place. However, the two main characteristics of post phenomenological reading of 'identity of place' can be mentioned as below.

By the words of Massey (1993: 65) '... If it is now recognized that people have multiple identities, then the same point can be made in relation to places.' Therefore, the main characteristic of the post-phenomenological identity is that it should be considered as 'multiple', not singular. Moreover, these multiple identities are in the state of constant 'changing', 'becoming' and 'mutations'. They are hybrid, overlapped and open to the upcoming possibilities, they also can become paradoxical, affecting and transforming each other, but at the end there also exist stages of relational stability for place identity, -at least a feeling of temporal stability- as it is also needed for the conception of the 'self' for human beings.

To sum, the post-phenomenological conception of 'identity of place' is itself an assemblage, a process in the state of constant becomings, which cannot be reduced to any phrase such as 'Genius Loci', any model, figure or schematic map or to mere physical characteristics of place. The best way to express an identity of place, is to narrate its story, the story which is gathered based on individuals' narratives of place

experience, social relations and spatial formation of place, story of the whole assemblage and network of relations and connections.

Considering the identity of place as the main focus of the present research, it is still vague that how the identity of a specific place should be explored and analysed, in the fields of architecture and urban planning. Case study analysis of the present study is an attempt to explore the new conception of identity of place in a more practical, architectural context. Of course, the novel conception of the identity of place will be modified and improved through the furthered case study analysis, in different scales and by various methodologies.

Based on the interrelated connection between the theoretical discussions and the methodology of the research, the following chapter explains the deployed methodology and techniques. After explaining the methods, the case study analysis is presented under the title of 'Identity of place, considering 'Mortafa housing complex' as assemblage.

Chapter 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter explains the relation between the theoretical approach of the research and the structure of the deployed triangular mixed methodology. It also explains techniques, target groups and the frameworks for conducting the interviews. The chapter ends with the reasons for choosing a singular case study analysis, and the criteria for the selection of the Mortafa housing Complex as the case of study.

4.1 Triangular Methodology

The deployed methodology is inspired by Dovey (2008, 2010) and tries to expand his proposed method for analysing case studies by considering places as assemblages (see also Dovey, Woodcock and Wood, 2009; Waghorn, 2011; Pafka, 2013).

Different methods, including interviews, observation, morphological mapping, discourse analysis and spatial syntax analysis, will prove useful in different contexts. In methodological terms, research on place is interdisciplinary and spans the humanities and social sciences (Dovey, 2010, p.8).

Dovey (2008, 2009, 2010) has mentioned three layers of investigation; places are at once ‘phenomenologically experienced’, ‘discursively constructed’ and also ‘spatially structured’. Therefore, a holistic analysis of any kind of place and its identity formation requires a combination of three interrelated methodologies; ‘phenomenology’, ‘discourse analysis’ and ‘spatial analysis’ (Dovey, 2010).

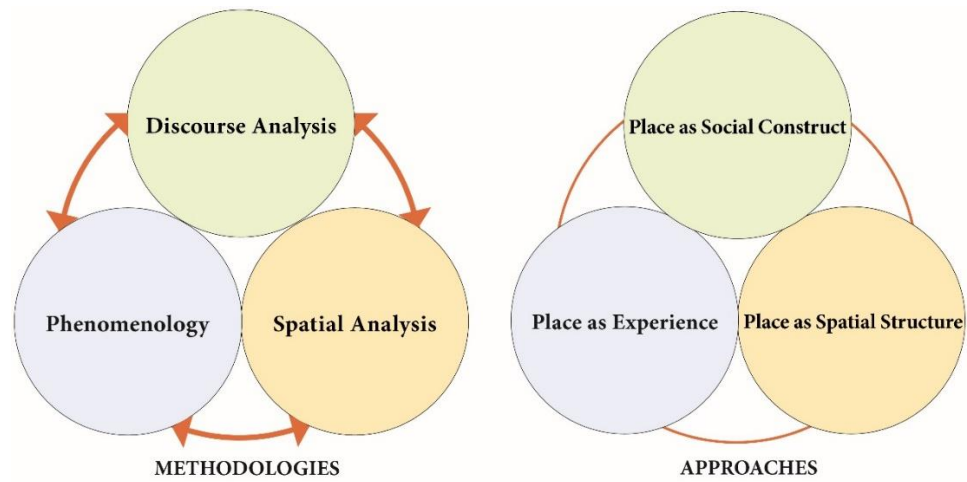


Figure 9. Diagrams for Dovey's (2010) methodological proposal. **Left:** Inter-related and nonlinear relations in triangular methodology for exploring 'place as assemblage'. **Right:** Complementary approaches for the holistic understanding of place. Source: Author.

The mixed-method proposed by Dovey avoids the decomposition of 'place' into its individual, social and spatial components by appreciating 'place' as a wholly merged assemblage of links and relations. It is understood from Dovey's explanation that there should be a hierarchical order; the first phase; introverted phenomenological analyses of 'place as an experienced', paves the way for deeper research on the extroverted and social construction of 'place as social construct'. Finally, the results of the aforementioned methodological phases, make it possible to work out the whole spatial construction of 'place as an assemblage'; a network of relations between individual, social and physical components of 'place'.

Figure 10 illustrates the various methods combined and used for each methodological phase of the research.

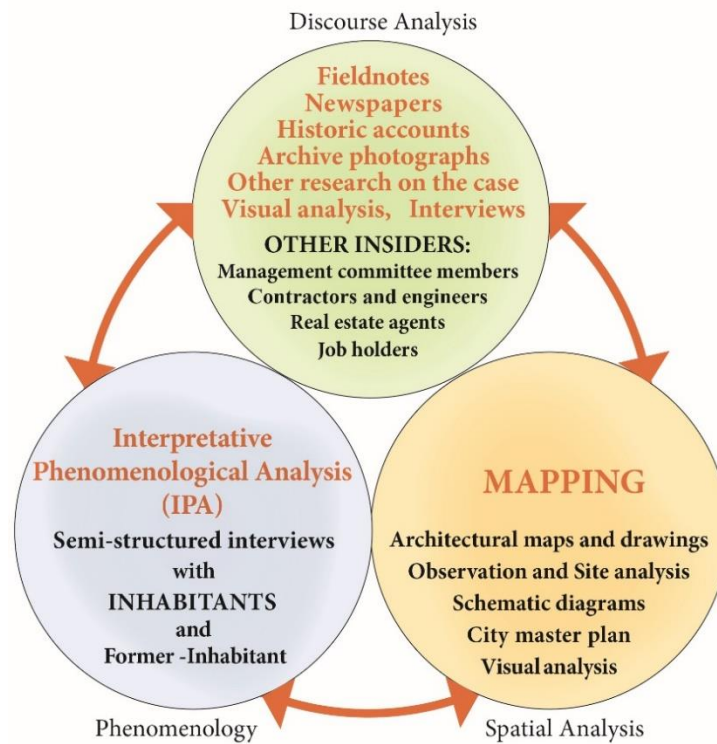


Figure 10. Techniques and target groups in each methodology: Source: Author.

It is worth to mentioning that, while this hierarchy of methods (phenomenological - social discourse analysis - spatial analysis) makes the phases seem separable methodologically, in practice, various relations rise, merge and intertwine amongst the three phases, and there should be two-ways interactions and backward/forward movements, similar to a constant dialogue between the inter-related phases.

Figure 11, illustrates the both theoretical and methodological structure designed for the research. Three different theoretical approaches are coloured differently. Following headings explain the way in which the three methodologies applied to the case study.

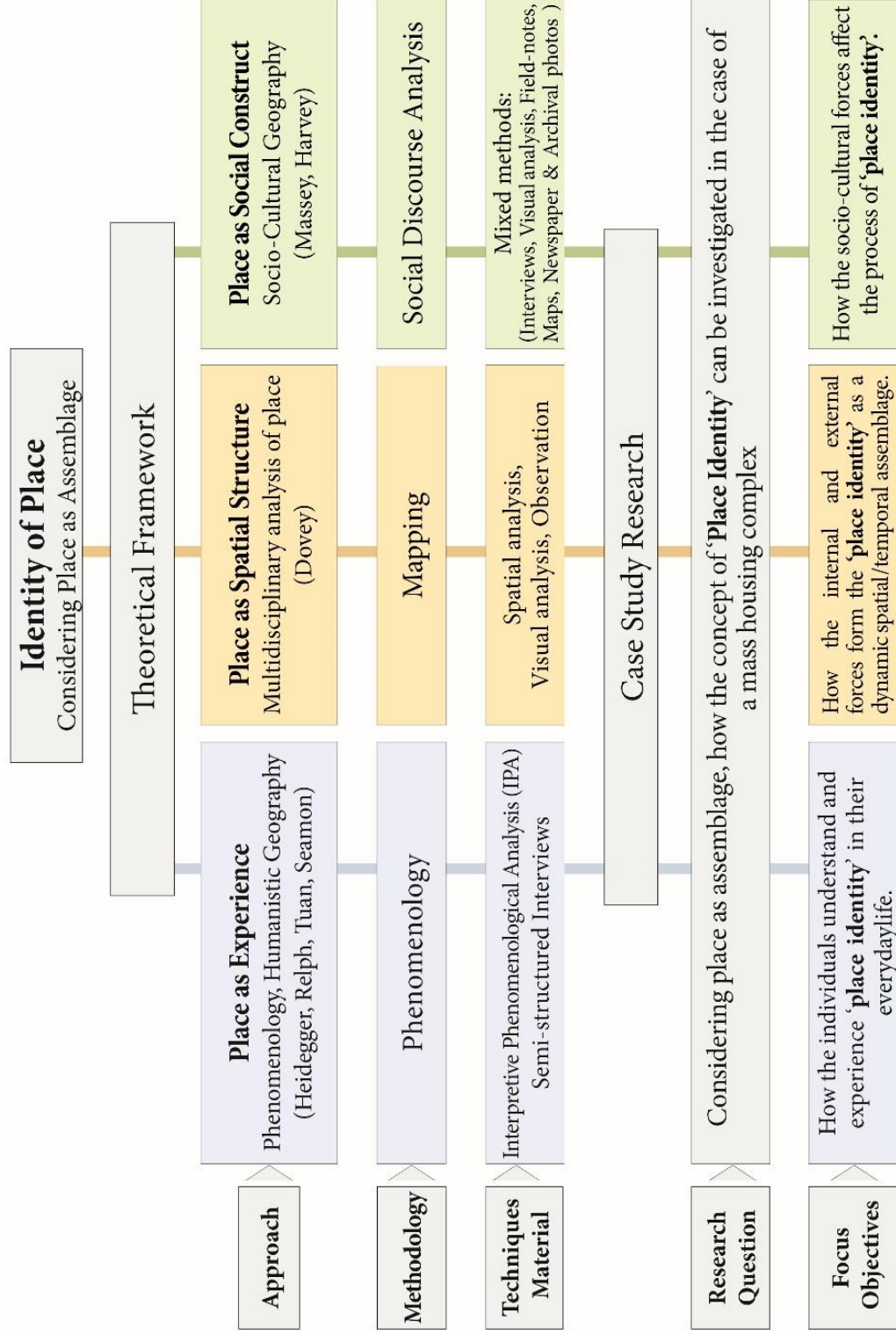


Figure 11. Theoretical Framework, Methodology and Techniques of the Study. Source: Author.

4.1.1 Phenomenological reading: individuals' experience of inhabitants

In order to capture an individual's experience of 'place' in their real everyday life, in-depth interviews were conducted and analyzed based on Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). Instead of producing an objective statement of the object or event itself, Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) aims to investigate detailed examination of the participant's lifeworld and how individuals are making sense of their personal and social world. The approach is phenomenological and connected to hermeneutics and theories of interpretation since it attempts to explore personal experience and is concerned with an 'insider's perspective', perception or account of an object or event. Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) emphasizes on the dynamic notion of the research process and an active role for the researcher (Osborn and Smith, 2008).

Thus, a two-stage interpretation process, or a double hermeneutic, is involved. The participants are trying to make sense of their world; the researcher is trying to make sense of the participants trying to make sense of their world. (p.53) There is no attempt to test a predetermined hypothesis of the researcher; rather, the aim is to explore, flexibly and in detail, an area of concern (Osborn and Smith, 2008, p.55.).

According to Seamon (2000, p.166), participants should not only have an experience of the subject but also they should be able to express their feelings clearly, and it is, even more, better if they are interested in the subject of study.

Since the subject of the present study is complicated for the public to be discussed by random selection of participants, both purposive and snowball sampling techniques were used for the pilot study on interviewees, to identify as many different perspectives as possible. The final selection of the participants was based on participants' length of residency, age, gender and their block number.

Interviews were initiated with 13 current residents of the complex, who then also introduced the authors to 5 former residents. A total number of 18 interviews were conducted in order to understand how the individuals understand and experience ‘place identity’ in their everyday life and also the extent to which people are aware of ‘dynamic’ or ‘stable’ notion of identity in the case of their housing complex. They were also asked to discuss the forces which they felt affected the identity of their housing complex and the way in which residents have reacted against these forces. The demographic descriptions of those residents who have participated in the interpretative interviews are shown in Figure 12.

Participants	Number	Age (years)	Length of Residency (years)	Gender F/M	Marital Status	Block Number	Floor Number	Housing Status	Choice of residency
Resident (R)	13	70	25	F	M	5	2	own	voluntary
		45	23	F	Single Mother	7	4	own	voluntary
		40	25	F	S	3	2	own	voluntary
		20	20	M	S	7	4	own	non-voluntary
		40	10	F	Single Mother	10	7	rent	voluntary
		35	7	F	M	9	9	rent	non-voluntary
		39	4	M	S	10	4	rent	non-voluntary
		72	12	M	M	4	9	rent	voluntary
		65	4	F	M	10	4	rent	voluntary
		75	31	F	M	2	5	own	voluntary
		68	29	M	M	6	10	rent	voluntary
		71	33	F	M	1	8	own	voluntary
		55	18	F	Single Mother	1	1	rent	non-voluntary
Former Resident (FR)	5	36	11	F	M	9	6	own	voluntary
		37	15	F	M	5	2	rent	non-voluntary
		65	25	M	M	8	3	own	voluntary
		29	3	F	S	11	9	rent	voluntary
		22	11	M	S	4	3	rent	non-voluntary
Total	18	<30: 3 30-60: 8 60<: 7	<10: 5 10-20: 6 20<: 8	F: 12 M: 6	S: 5 M: 10 SM: 3			rent: 10 own: 8	voluntary: 12 non-voluntary: 6

Figure 12. Demographic descriptions of residents participated in the interviews.
Source: Author

Semi-structured interview is applicable data collection method for Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) since the respondent have the opportunity of narrating their own story and the interviewer is free to inquire interesting topics that

arise. This manner also facilitates to discuss novel topics and more flexibility of coverage as well.

4.1.2 Discourse analysis: socially constructed aspects of a housing complex

Based on Massey's (1991) theory of, 'A global sense of place', which appreciates the socially constructed aspects of place formation, discursive analysis attempts to understand how the identity of the housing complex is formed and transformed under the effects of extroverted links, forces, connections and relations. Changes in the social status of the residents, political forces posed by the state, changes decided by the management committee and also the transformation of the public mental image, have been the main focuses of discursive analysis. Therefore, aside from inhabitants, there are other sources of data collection, such as various 'insiders' involved in the process of place identity formation, which should be participated in the study.

Narratives and memories of residents derived from first phase interviews along with new interviews with other insiders, and documentations such as archive photographs, historic accounts, news along with other research on the case study, were investigated as raw materials for social discourse analysis.

Current and former residents were asked to nominate other agents/actors who had been involved - or were highly familiar with the process of complex formation. A total number of 10 interviews have been conducted with other agents involved in the process:

- 1: Real estate agents, who can provide a detailed and valuable information about the social transformation of residents and the periodical changes in the value of the apartments and the land.

2: Contractors and engineers, who have been involved with the complex from its inception provide essential knowledge about the urban context before the existence of the complex, and initial decisions made by investors, designers and policy makers at the beginning.

3: Job holders who work inside the complex, who are observing the ‘becoming’ process of the complex, day by day, from different perspectives, although they are not actually resident in the complex.

4: Management committee members, who are not only aware of the current problems and the socio-cultural status of the residents, but also are actively involved with the ‘becoming’ process of the complex through their administrative decisions.

The subjects of these semi structured interviews were varied based on the role of the participants and his/her familiarity with the complex.

Figure 13 shows the demographic description of participants, explaining their role, the length of time they have been familiar with the complex and whether or not they are residents of the complex.

Participants	Number	Description	Length of Involvement	Residency
Job Holders	4	Barber	25	Former Resident
		Security Guard	30	Non Resident
		Grocer	28	Resident
		Architect	5	Non Resident
Project Contractors	3	Civil Engineer	40	Non Resident
		Mechanical Engineer	38	Non Resident
		Project Manager	40	Non Resident
Real Estate Agents	2	Located inside the complex	25	Resident
		Located nearby the complex	20	Non Resident
Management Committee Member	1	The head of Committee (2012-2014)	2	Non Resident

Figure 13. Demographic description of non-habitant participants. Source: Author

4.1.3 Spatial analysis: mapping the network of socio-spatially structured form

The third phase of the methodology approaches 'place' as a network of socio-spatially structured and ordered form. Instead of reducing identity of place to a text or searching for an essence, Dovey (2010) proposes 'mapping' as a key method for extracting connectivities, rather than stable territories. Therefore, in the present study, 'mapping' is chosen as an innovative method for revealing the hidden relations and potentials of the identity of the mass housing complex.

Like 'assemblage', 'mapping' is discussed by Deleuze and Guattari (1987), not as a method for describing a fixed entity, but as a rhizomatic and pragmatic attempt to unfold the process of formation-transformation-reformation of 'place'. According to Deleuze and Guattari (1987:12-13), in contrast to 'tracing', which is a passive abstraction of what is already known, 'mapping' is an active, systematic, analytical and creative act, in search of a hidden network of interactions between forces in time; it is not backward looking, but it tries to understand how the place might act and change in the future (Corner, 1999; Dovey, 2010). Rather than only describing how things are, 'mapping' is in search of how things work, act, evolve and transform. As stated by Corner (1999:228), 'Mapping entails processes of gathering, working, reworking, assembling, relating, revealing, sifting and speculating'. According to Vaughan et al. (2011:268), "A simple term such as "map", which can be both a verb and a noun, is understood quite differently by an artist, an architect, a geographer or digital visualizer". Mapping acts instrumentally, and enables us to focus on both the micro and macro scales (Waghorn, 2011). Therefore, it is a suitable technique for analyzing the temporal process of 'becoming' and relations between the spatial configurations and socio-cultural forces of place.

The 'becoming' notion of mass-housing identity is too slippery to be mapped. In the case of the Mortafa Housing complex, mapping is used in the search to uncover unseen realities and unfolding unimagined potentials. It is concerned with more than just what appears on the surface and moves beyond what already exists. Along with the Architectural maps of the complex and the morphological changes of the urban context, a variety of materials derived from the phenomenological and social discourse analysis -plans, diagrams, notes, pictures, visualized narratives, historic accounts and memories- have been merged in order to map the various aspects of identity of mass housing complex.

4.2 Singular Case Study Method

According to Yin (2003), case study method is used when the relation between the phenomenon and its context is so complicated which is impossible to separate them analytically, and the case cannot be understood by other types of research such as experiments, histories and surveys. There are researches on 'sense of place', 'place attachment' and 'sense of belonging', trying to compare the concepts in two or more case studies. Basing on Yin's definition (2009, p. 156) these 'Cross-case syntheses', are chosen as an analytic technique that applies to the analysis of two or more case. By identifying similarities and differences between the cases, we seek to provide further insight into the reasons and sources of similarities or differences. In the case of the present study, which is trying to investigate the unclear concept of place identity, the need for comparison between several cases is postponed to the further researches, and a singular case study method has been chosen.

4.3 The Selection of the Case

Considering place as assemblage, any place or building, with any scale and function can be the subject of a similar study on place identity. As emphasized by De Landa

(2006) and Dovey (2010), all places can be considered as assemblages, and there is no micro or macro privilege related to the scale of assemblage. However, there is a link between the scale of place, actors in the network and the complexity of the whole assemblage. Places in larger scales, such as cities, are more complex than a room to be analyzed as an assemblage.

‘Mortafa Housing complex’ was chosen as the case study, for the purpose of this study due to its complicated social network, legibility, longevity, interesting history, iconic urban characteristics, scale, and the potential for uncovering unexpected forces of becoming and identity formation. Within all these criteria, legibility and social network are the main decisive factors:

- **Legibility:** Considering place as an assemblage, the unity and legibility of the whole became an important issue. Both Massey (1994) and Dovey (2010) have explained their theories on place by making an example of streets. In compare with streets and urban neighbourhoods, housing complexes are more territorized and recognizable regarding their physical boundaries, designed features and architectural style. These characteristics differentiate a housing complex from its’ context and unify a housing complex as a whole united territorized place. However, applying the concept of place to a whole housing complex should not lead to the reduction of complex to an abstract whole.

- **Social network:** As stated by Massey (1994) and Dovey (2010), phenomenological understanding of place is not comprehensive since the social, political and other large-scale aspects of place are not considered within the process of place experience. In the case of housing complexes, there are strong networks of relations between individuals,

families and social groups of inhabitants. To sum, residential complexes are more independent types of neighbourhoods, more legible in terms of form and boundaries and proper for investigating the network of various socio-cultural and physical relations.

Chapter 5

IDENTITY OF PLACE, CONSIDERING ‘MORTAFA’ HOUSING COMPLEX AS ASSEMBLAGE

5.1 Presenting the Case

Over the past four decades, Iran has faced a critical challenge due to the rapid growth of population, dramatic shortage of housing and therefore, an upsurge in the construction of suburban mass-housing projects. Mashhad is the second largest city of Iran and the religious capital of the country, known as the second religious city of the Islamic world, hosting more than 20 million pilgrims a year (Hosseini & Zainal, 2012). The city’s suburban area has a large amount of mass-housing, multifamily housing and disorganized urban developments, becoming physically attached to the cities, nonetheless, remaining socio-culturally detached.

‘Mortafa Housing’ is one of the most significant national projects, visited twice by Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, during its construction period (1974-79) before the Islamic revolution (1978). It is the first high-rise (11 stories) complex, located in the city of Mashhad. Designed as a 550-unit luxury and gated complex in the empty suburban land of the city. The complex is named after its high-rise blocks; ‘Mortafa’ means high-rise in the local language. The project investor is ‘Astan Quds Razavi’, Iran’s most well-known private and religious establishment. Figures 14 and 15 show the location of the complex within the urban context and also urban views to the project, showing the complex within the skyline of the city.



Figure 14. 'Mortafa Housing' - The location of the case in different scales. Source: Author



Figure 15. Mortafa Housing - Urban views to the complex. Source: Author

Figure16 and 17 are some views of the complex from different angles showing the rich landscape and aged trees surrounding the complex and also the gated boundaries of the complex.



Figure 16. Mortafa Housing Complex - Views to the project. Source: Author



Figure 17. Mortafa Housing Complex - Gated boundary and security building. Source: Author

The following is the findings of three phases of methodological analysis carried out on the place identity of Mortafa Housing complex, which starts on the very first days of its construction, continues through the four decades of its lifetime and ends with the current status of the complex and possible upcoming forces. Since the interrelated results of the three aforementioned methodological phases are complementary, it is impossible to study the results separately. Therefore, while each of the following titles can be seen as pieces of a larger puzzle – puzzle of place identity-, they present the merged results of the three methodological phases. Putting together all the pieces, the identity of the complex is described through a story of identity formation and transformation.

5.2 Formation and Transformation of High-rise Buildings in Iran

The main identifying characteristic of Mortafa housing complex is being known as the highest building in the city for more than two decades. Therefore, the study on the multilayered identity of this place has been started by the research on the history of the high-rise buildings in Iran and the position of the case in this timeline.

The first generation of the high-rise buildings are usually interpreted as signs for new eras; the era of development, modernization and urban growth. High-rise buildings are the most vivid signs of making the public aware of the mentioned transformation, that is why they are not only supported by the states but also propagated as symbols of economic, social and even political reforms. The first generation of high-rise buildings soon became the landmarks of the cities, citizens shared the pride of having them nearby and became more sensitive to their existence, identity and destiny. Through their long lifetime and due to the transformations of their context and other unpredictable forces, these landmarks face various challenges. Historically, the waves of the high-rise buildings were started with office buildings, hotels and mixed-used

complexes, mostly in downtowns and city centres, where the land value is the determining factor. Decades later, this building type became the main typology for solving the problem of the housing shortage, rural immigration and dense suburbs.

Figure 18 is a multi-layered diagram showing the relation between the formation of two high rise waves in Iran and socio-political forces and events. It also depicts the similarities and differences between the two waves, types of buildings, their heights and date of construction by mapping the ten most iconic landmark buildings in Iran.

The first four high-rise buildings -KhanShaghaghi tower (10 floors), Alami Building, Plasco Tower (16 floors) and Aluminium Tower (13 floors)- cannot be considered as a distinctive wave, since they were the individual experience of the private sector by a large distance from each other. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, Plasco building was the most famous building from this period, which was fired and collapsed in 2017.

The first recognizable wave is started by the construction of the Kar Bank Building (19 floors) in 1963, which remained as the highest building of Iran for seven years, the first governmental high-rise building propagated by the state as a symbol of modernization. However, the main characteristic of the first wave is the construction of luxurious high-rise residential towers, mostly in the late 70's. Although these towers were mostly designed by American companies as residences for foreigners, diplomats, and missionaries, there were some towers such as Saman Residential Tower, designed by Iranian architects and sold to higher-class citizens of the capital. The construction of the majority of the residential high-rise buildings of the first wave was interrupted

by the Islamic Revolution of Iran, which is another characteristic, distinguishing the first wave from the second.

The case study of the present research, 'Mortafa Housing Complex', is the only project out of the capital, which can be categorized in the first wave, based on its similarities: being the first high-rise building in the city of Mashhad, propagated by the state, designed as luxury apartments for high-class, and interrupted by the revolution.

As it is derived from the figure 18, the Islamic Revolution, the war between Iran and Iraq and the post-war decade of revitalizing, are the three forces bringing out the gap of two decades between the first and the second wave of high-rise buildings. As a result, the high-rise towers of the first wave have dominated the skyline of the cities for more than 20 years, remained as the landmarks much longer than former high-rise buildings and appreciated by the locals as the symbols of modernization. Consequently, these buildings played a strong role in the identity formation of the cities and the mental image of the town in citizen's mind.

The second wave of high-rise buildings in Iran has started after the dramatic population growth in 1980's, uncontrolled migration of rural to the large cities and housing shortage. Similar to the international experience after the world war II, multifamily high-rise mass housing considered as the only solution for the lack of shelter for middle and lower class. Consequently, the nature of the second wave of high-rise buildings in Iran differs from the first wave in all aspects; function, location, standards, target group, space quality, building technology, and even ideological approach of the state.

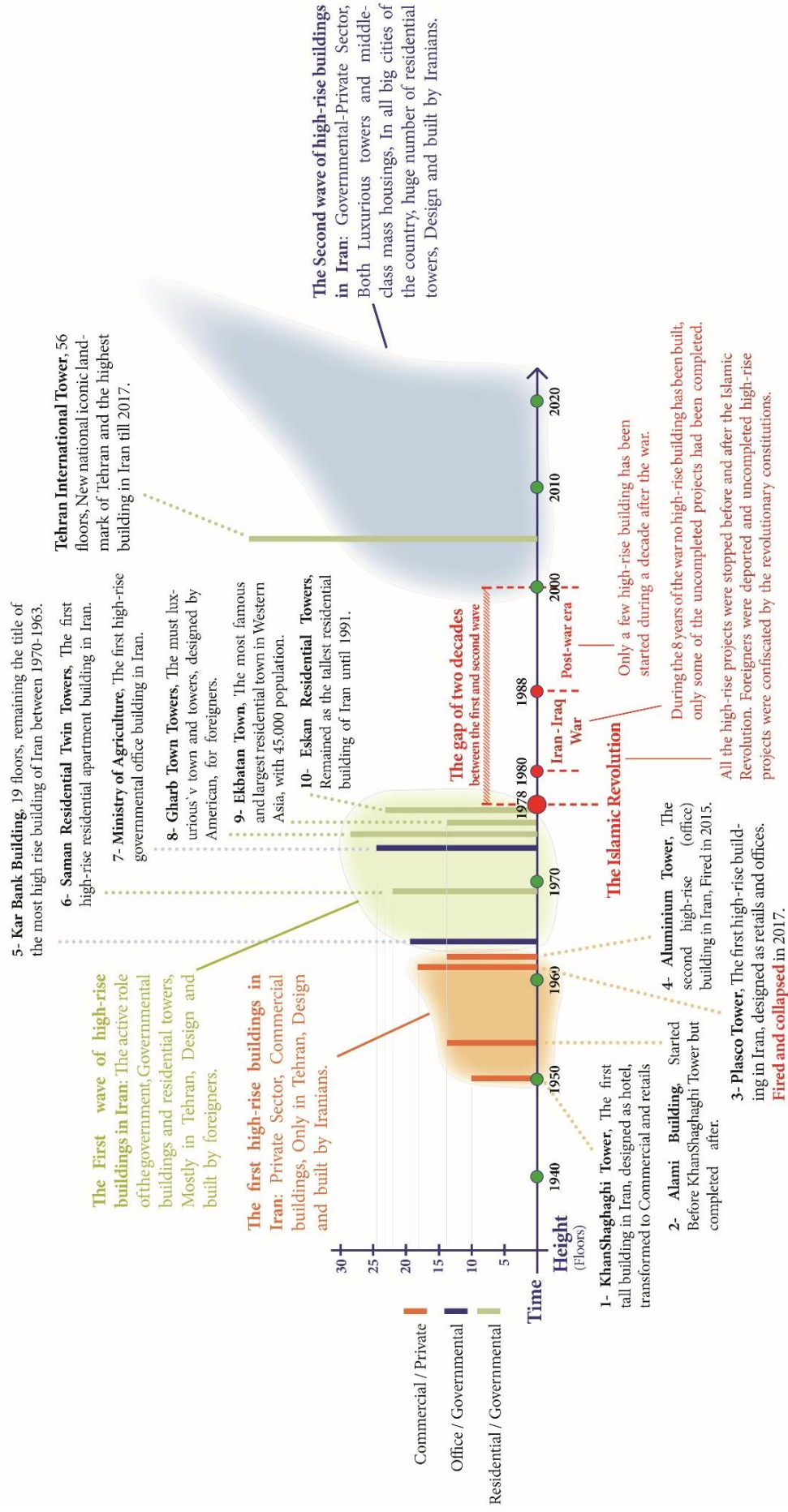


Figure 18. Multi-layered diagram showing the relation between the formation of two high rise waves in Iran and socio-political forces and events. Source: Author

Figure 19 is also a diagram focused on Iran's population growth, housing shortage and other upper-scale forces affecting high-rise building waves. As it is apparent from the diagram, following the war, higher fertility rate became the state's demand, and therefore Iranian families were strongly encouraged to have more children. Almost 20 years later, when the newborns of 1980's were supposed to build up their own families, the housing shortage reached the top level, as is shown in the diagram.

Regarding residential buildings; the first wave, which was limited to the luxe apartments and upper-class level of the society started in late 60's. The second ongoing wave, which is experiencing dramatic growth, is formed mostly by residential mass-housings for middle and lower class. While the first wave of high-rise buildings was propagated by the state and appreciated as a symbol of Western modernity before the Islamic Revolution, the second wave has gained the governments supports only in the case of suburban mass housing complexes, not the residential towers representing the gap between the poor and the rich. Thus, high-rise buildings in Iran were disparaged as symbols of the Western lifestyle after the Islamic Revolution, and also as a result of the two decades gap between the first and the second waves.

Today, new developing areas surrounding the city of Mashhad are filled with uncountable high-rise buildings of the second wave, copy-pasted typologies and repetitious facades. However, 'Mortafa Housing complex is still known as the most safe and comfortable housing complex, located near to the centre of the city.

To sum, being assigned to the first generation of Iran's high-rise buildings is the most important characteristic of place identity in the case of 'Mortafa Housing' complex, distinguishing the complex from all other high-rise buildings from the second wave.

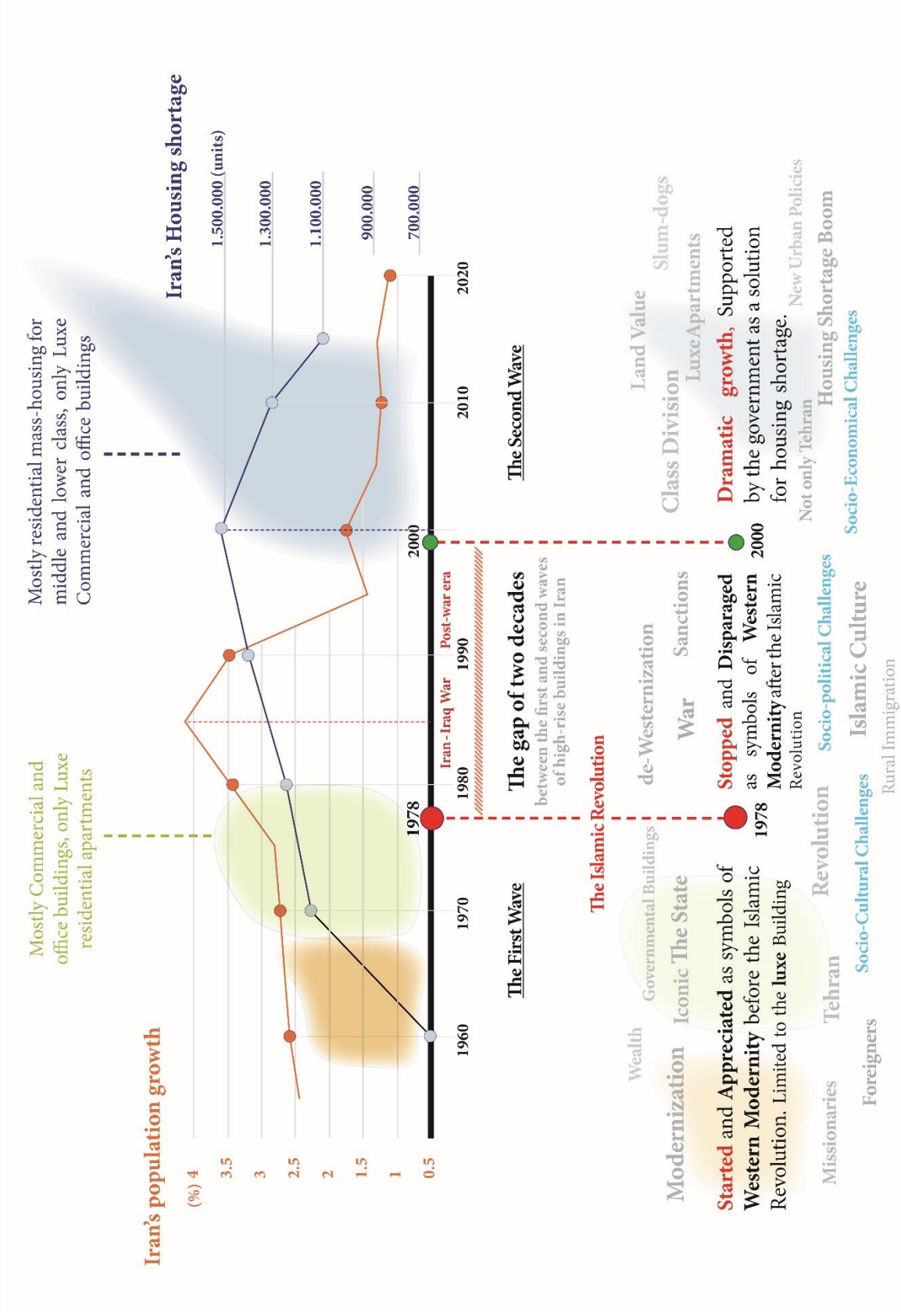


Figure 19. Diagram for Iran's population growth, housing shortage and other upper-scale forces affecting high-rise waves. Source: Author

5.3 Social Beliefs and the Early Signs of Place Identity Formation (1974-1978)

The ‘becoming notion of place’ has been monitored by citizens from the very first days of the project. According to a few senior residents, who remember the construction period of the complex in 1974-1980, for a few months, the high steel structure of the project can be considered as the first physical elements of place identity, an attractive symbol of a new era. Locals started to name the complex as *Mortafa*, which means High-rise in the Persian language. There appears the earliest relation between the physical (tangible) and social (intangible) aspects of the place identity; While no one was clearly aware of the truth about the huge structure, which was becoming a myth, everybody was talking about it, voicing that something is happening or changing in the western suburb of the city.

“... The structure was so high that it could be seen by almost everybody, the average height of buildings was not more than two storeys at that time. Although the structure was at some distance from the city, you could see it from every street. I don’t know if its name was originally ‘Mortafa’ [means ‘high-rise’ in the Persian language] or they named it because everybody was calling it as Mortafa.” (Senior resident)

Figure 20 is an archive’s picture from the construction period, explicitly showing the scale of the project and the vast empty lands around it. As it is shown, the project was built in distance from the former boundaries of the city.



Figure 20. View of the project located in the distance from the city (1978). Source: Private archive; Navid Contractor Company.

Both the discourse analysis and interviews with the residents demonstrate that the very first impression of the majority of the locals towards this high-rise construction could be described as excited, proud and full of admiration. The structure was also a sign, defining and clarifying the direction of the city's development in the future, which affected the land price of the district, and made a relation between physical, social and economical aspects of place identity.

As is derived from the research, the starting moment of the construction was the beginning of the surge in land prices around the site. Not only did the whole area start

to 'become' different physically, but also locals became socially involved in this transformation. Therefore, while the project's visual image was only a few high columns of steel, the basic requirements for the formation of a public mental image and place identity started to form through the narratives and rumours:

“... There were rumours about the company and the contractors; no one believed that Iranians were capable of such a high project. I believed that it was a German work of art. They had designed several buildings in this city when I was a kid. There were even debates about the future residents of the complex; some people said that Americans or Germans were going to live there.” (Real-estate agent)

While the project's main client, 'Astan Quds Razavi' represented the well-known religious establishment of the city, the locals tried to make the project mysterious and mythical by emphasizing and exaggerating about the role of foreigners in it, as a symbol of Westernization and Modernity. Surprisingly, a review of the local newspaper shows that the rumours were not limited to that particular time; recently, in 2013, the head of the management committee of the complex claimed that the project was designed by an Italian and a French company. He also stated that beneath the high-rise blocks there is a large hidden survival shelter for natural disasters and war bombings, capable of hosting all the residents (Karami, 2013). This statement has been rejected by the project's mechanical engineer, who has been interviewed for the present study:

“... There was no war at the time and no one special was supposed to live there. This was speculation...”

This false information has been published in the city's newspaper, '*Shahrara*' and shows the lack of accurate information about the history of the complex, even among the current management committee members. The results of the present study show that in reality, the complex was designed by *Dr. Ali Adibi Consulting Engineering Company*, which is an Iranian firm based in Tehran and it was built by

two main Iranian civil consulting engineering companies of that time; *Navid* and *Mahsaz*. Anyhow, being the subject of local's discussions as the main construction projects of the city and to be known as a symbol of modern lifestyle are other characteristics of place identity attached to Mortafa housing complex.

5.4 Place Identity and Political Forces of 'Becoming': Iran's Islamic Revolution (1978)

In 1978, the whole country was caught up in the revolutionary atmosphere. As stated by Sepehrdoust (2013), two years after the Islamic revolution and due to the high rate of inflation, the housing market transformed into the most valuable investment in Iran. Meanwhile, the anti-imperialist revolution aimed to change the public's view of modernity and all signs of Westernization, including wearing ties, sitting on sofas and, of course, living a consumer/luxury life. Therefore, the high-rise apartments of Mortafa complex, with their shining red facades, disparaged by fundamentalists and became an unsolicited symbol of the Western lifestyle.

The mentioned shift in the public's belief was supported by the state and was strengthened by promises of land ownership, which encouraged the lower-income classes to raise their voice according to their new civil rights. As a result, a large number of rural and poor people occupied the Mortafa Housing complex project illegally, dwelled in the luxury, but unfinished apartments, and transforming the gardens into their farmyards, while the country was suffering from the chaos and anarchy of the post-revolutionary era. Figure 21 is the front page image of Iran's best-known newspaper, promising free homes for all Iranians.



Figure 21. Keyhan Newspaper Front Page Headline (19.12.1979): ‘Do not buy a house; we will make everybody a house-owner’. Source: Keyhan Newspaper archive.

The results of the study show the impact of the ideological shift of the state on the place identity of the complex; a relation between macro-scale political forces and micro-scale transformation of place identity.

5.5 From High-Rise and Luxury Apartments to a Farm; Place Identity and Unexpected Forces of ‘Becoming’ (1979-1980)

There are many local narratives about the occupation of the Mortafa Housing complex by poor and rural people. Most of the participants in the present study narrated stories about how the illegal occupiers were using the elevators to transport their sheep and goats upstairs to keep them on their balconies, and how the large luxury bathrooms were transformed into barns. This is the significant point in the history of the project, and it changed the planned and estimated ‘place-identity’ of the project towards an unpredictable future.

“... I heard that the whole complex and its garden had ‘become’ a large farm! Rural people started to ruin everything; while the contractors were trying to push them out, they took out all the installations inside the units, whatever they could take for themselves or easily sell on the market.” (Senior resident, age 75, residency: 31 years).

Some of the interviewees believe that the complex was illegally occupied for two years, while the study shows that it took less than one year for the project's owner to evacuate the complex with the help of the military. It did, however, take more than a year for the contractors to clean up the mess and damage, renovating the units and finalizing the uncompleted parts.

The majority of the units were pre-sold, and finally, in 1980, the first owners were given permission to move into their units. Although the complex was located at some distance from the city, and although it was not completed as a luxury complex as was the initial plan, the value of the apartments was still far more than that of the detached houses in the city. In addition, the public image of the project changed due to the rapid socio-cultural changes which took place following the Islamic revolution. Meanwhile, due to the dramatic inflation rate of Iran's currency- the Rial, people were not in a position to predict their own financial status. The result of the study shows that many apartments remained empty because the investors and initial owners were unable to sell or rent their units. In return, empty apartments decreased the public's desire of dwelling apart from the city in half-empty blocks. Once again, 'place identity' of the complex, was under the effects of socio-economical forces.

Along with the socio-economical concerns, safety became the main concern after the war started between Iran and Iraq in 1980 and the large cities of Iran were bombed by Iraq's air force.

5.6 Iran-Iraq War and the Social Influences on the ‘Becoming’ of the Complex (1980-1988)

As a result of countless air raids during the Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988), people were reluctant to take the risk of living in high-rise apartments, which were at some distance from the city and an easy target for Iraq’s air force. Also, they were hesitant to show their wealth by living in a luxury complex, while the war was ongoing. Although Mashhad was not bombed by Iraq’s air force, nevertheless, the value of the apartments gradually decreased on account of the reasons above, many of the owners, who moved out, were forced to leave them empty. The results show that it took a decade for the first residents of the complex to resume their normal lives, this only happened when the two socio-cultural and physical changes occurred; Firstly, the price of the units decreased so much that the middle-classes were able to buy them. Secondly, the physical borders of the city developed and extended so much that the complex became part of the city.

Figure 22 (next page) is a schematic time-event map, illustrating the main socio-political forces and events, which affected the ‘becoming process’ and ‘place identity’ of the Mortafa Housing complex over the last four decades.

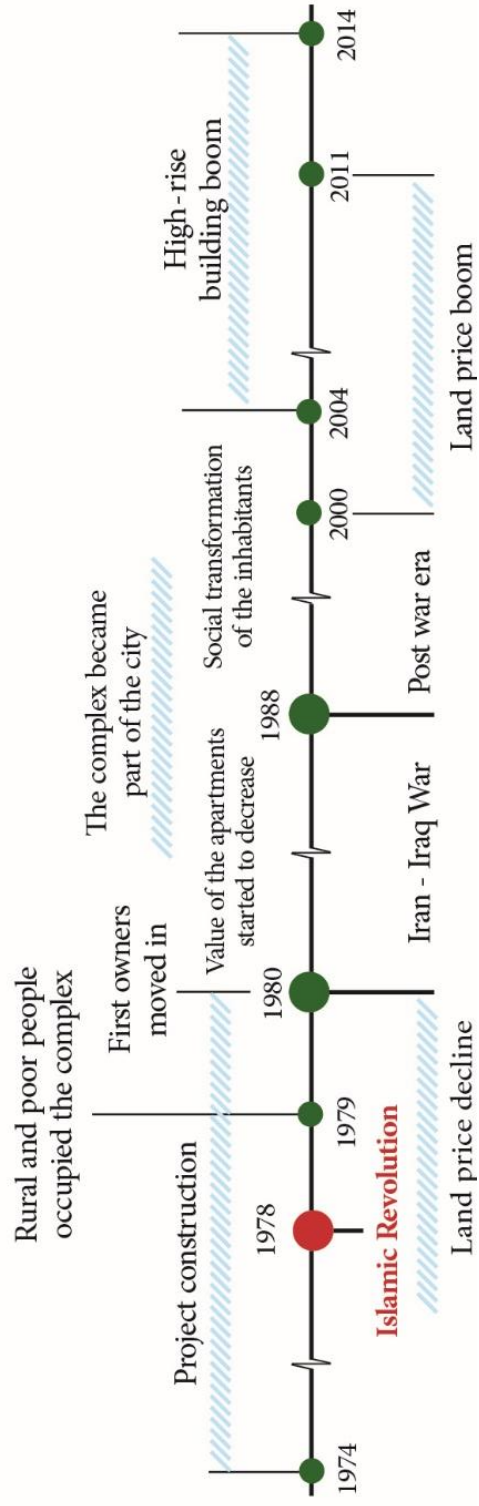


Figure 22. Schematic time-event map for the main socio-political forces. Source: Author

5.7 New Ideologies; Changes in Meanings, Activities and Physical Appearance

As previously explained, the Islamic revolution and the war were the two main forces, reshaping Iranian's social, economic and political status. All the large scale projects in the country were affected by the ideological changes and the lack of finance. The second phase of the Mortafa Housing complex, which was as large as the first phase, was cancelled and changes were posed in the original plans, by the state and the new Islamic culture. Since these changes affected the meanings, activities and physical characteristics of the place, they should be considered in analysing the place identity formation of the Mortafa Housing complex. Moreover, analysis of the forces which brought about the aforementioned changes will unfold the assemblage notion of 'place' and clarify the inter-relationship between the socio-cultural, political and physical aspects of the place.

The main change was the removal of the public spaces from the original plans since they were hosting activities which were assumed to not be in keeping with the Islamic culture. Places such as open gathering spaces, swimming pools, open solarium, ice skating, gym, open bar and even lobbies of the blocks, all erased from the original plans. As is shown in figure 23, a mosque has been added to one of the block's hallway and the leisure zone, located in the northern part of the complex -which could act as a neighbourhood centre, was also completely removed. The blocks' hallways were also amended as commercial spaces in order to increase the earnings of the complex. Not only the mentioned modifications in programmes and activities affected the place identity of the complex, but also the residents' reaction towards the posed changes influenced the process of place identity formation.

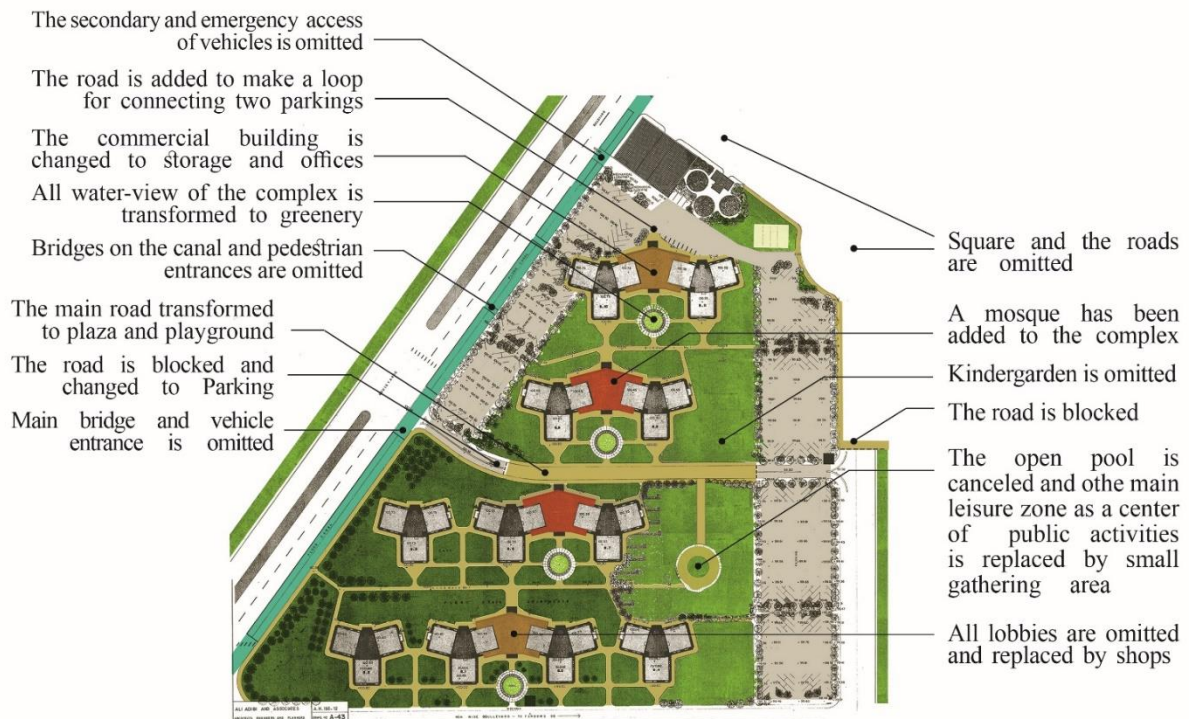
Figure 23 (Below) is mapping the changes posed to the original plan and changes brought about by the reaction of the residents. As is shown, erasing the public open spaces from the original plans did not eliminate the need for social interactions. Therefore the complex was suffering from a centre of public activities. People started to remodify the usage of the open spaces and create a place for their daily social activities. Finally, public behaviours of the residents forced the management committee to block the main road between the northern and southern parts of the complex. The central driving road was transformed into a pedestrian road, which also acted as a semi-private gathering node. Inescapably, the vehicular link between the eastern and western parts of the complex was relocated to the northern edge of the complex.

Finally, the residents succeeded in transforming the central road into their neighbourhood centre. The present study shows that this area has become the most sustainable and active heart of the complex over the period of more than two decades. Children can be found playing on the road, riding bicycles and skating, elders like to sit on the benches facing the road in the afternoons, and young couples are usually jogging there in the mornings. This informal road-plaza has been described as ‘the most memorable’, ‘unforgettable’ and ‘enjoyable’ place of the complex by former residents, who were interviewed for this study.

Gradually, these changes have effected the characteristics and usage of spaces, depicting the role of the people’s interactions with space in the (trans)formation of place identity of the complex. Figure 23 compares the original site plan designed for the complex and the current site plan. Changes posed to the complex are explained in brief.



Original Plan - 1974



Current Plan - 2012

Figure 23. Mortafa Housing Complex – Above: Original Plan of the Complex Before the changes (1974), Below: Current plan of the complex after the changes (2012)
Source: Ali Adibi Consulting Engineering Company.

Transformation of the spatial configuration of the complex led to changes in the value of the commercial zones and their success. As is shown in figure 24, commercial zones are one story buildings designed as conjunctions between two residential blocks.



Figure 24. Combination of Blocks and Commercial Building in Between

As the vehicle road transformed into the activity centre of the complex, the aforementioned behaviour of the residents created other changes in the function and meaning of the places spatially connected to the road. As is shown in figure 25, there are four commercial zones in the complex. The two in the middle support the central road-plaza spatially. While the other zones have lost their value and have been altered several times by new tenants, these two zones in the middle have achieved their maximum capacity of economic and cultural sustainability. Shops, such as two daily markets, a grocery store, a taxi station, a barbershop and a real estate agency, all of which face the 'road-plaza' have survived for more than 25 years; some have not even changed since the complex was constructed.

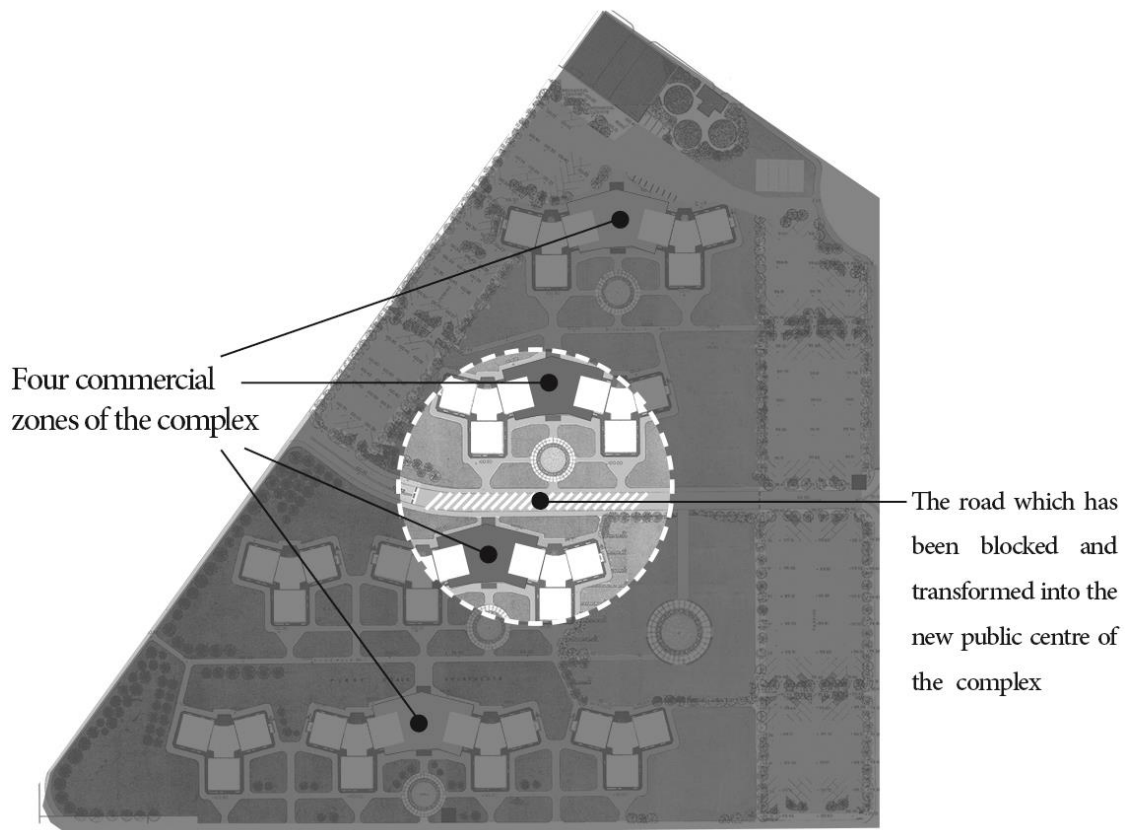


Figure 25. Schematic plan, the new centre of the complex. Source: Author

While the behaviour of the residents posed some physical changes to the complex, there was also some resistance. In an interview with the local newspaper, the lack of adequate finance was identified by the committee members as the main obstacle in respect of renovating the mechanical heating systems and the block's facades (Askari, 2011; Ghasemi, 2010). There is a strong debate among residents; senior residents remembered the bright red colour of the facade as providing the 'identity' of the complex and they believe that the material, colour and texture of the facades are the main characteristics, which should be kept as they have been during the last 35 years. On the other hand, the majority of the new residents disagree and believe that the renovation will re-identify the complex in a positive way.

Figure 26 (right), shows the urban view of the blocks and figure 26 (left) is a close up from the shades, which have used to have bright red colours as the main characteristics of the facades, and now are unpleasant damaged elements of façades, which had lost their colours as well.



Figure 26. Mortafa Housing Complex. Facade of the blocks and shades. Source: Author

The degree of ‘mobility’ is a strong indicator of the residents’ feeling about their housing complex. According to Korteweg (1987), ‘mobility’ can be interpreted as both the reason and the result of the main problems assigned to high-rise housing complexes. ‘A high mobility rate can affect the social climate, the physical characteristics, and the management of housing’ (Korteweg, 1987:29). Conversely, the low rate of mobility cannot always be a sign of a high level of user satisfaction. In the case of the Mortafa Housing complex, a high rate of place-attachment and a low rate of mobility has altered the social structure of the complex into housing for seniors, and therefore affected the place identity of the complex.

The majority of the participants confirmed that they prefer to stay in the complex for, at least, another five years, despite the fact that they are displeased of the old mechanical heating system, the poor communal services, etc. The results of a similar study on four housing complexes in the city of Mashhad have demonstrated the highest level of social participation, place attachment, sense of belonging and feeling of security in the case of the Mortafa Housing complex (Mahdavinejad & Rashti, 2013). The main reasons for strong place attachment and low rate of mobility in the case of Mortafa housing complex can be listed as below:

1- Social network: Residents are pleased with their communal life, place identity and their social bond with their neighbours and job-holders. In the words of Hargreaves (2004), “the sense of belonging to a group or community may not refer to the geographic features of place at all, instead, common interests can provide a foundation on which association and identity are established” (Dunham, 1986, cited in Hargreaves 2004:50). Various types of informal communities have been established throughout the long life time of the complex and created a network of strong relations between the individuals, groups and communities.

2- Location: The complex is now located in the heart of the city and connected to the main axes; residents prefer to live in an old apartment in city centres rather than move into a newer or bigger house in the suburbs.

3- Rental fees: Today, the complex is more than 40 years old. Obviously, the rental fee of the apartments is much less than the average rent in the surrounding area, and this is one of the main factors encouraging the inhabitants to stay in the complex.

4- Internal mobility: A typical plan for every floor includes five units, and in each floor, there is one three-bedroom, two one-bedroom and two two-bedroom units. plan types ranging from 1 to 3 bedrooms offer the opportunity of moving to smaller or bigger units within the complex, without changing the neighbourhood and losing the social relations and communities. Therefore, as was explained by the real estate managers who were interviewed for this study, the rate of internal mobility in Mortafa Housing complex is much higher than in similar mass-housing projects nearby. Figures 27 and 28 show the typical floor plan and the combination of five units in each level.



Figure 27. The combination of one bedroom and two bedroom units. Source: Ali Adibi Consulting Engineering Company.



Figure 28. Three-bedroom unit (left) and Typical Floor Plan (right). Source: Ali Adibi Consulting Engineering Company.

5- Safety, calmness and the rich green areas are further reasons for a well-developed sense of neighbourhood and strong place-attachment. Many of the participants mentioned the rich greenery and the views to the fruit gardens surrounding the complex as the main reason for their place attachment. Figure 29 shows the rich greenery of the yard and old, tall trees.



Figure 29. Mortafa Housing Complex - Courtyard and greenery. Source: Author

The strong sense of place attachment is usually viewed as a positive sense, however, in the case of the Mortafa housing complex, some disadvantages were mentioned by the newer residents. Residents who have recently moved into the complex declare that the majority of the neighbours have simply become used to the serious problems, such as an ageing facades, dirty garbage repositories, deformed pedestrian roads, the lack of playing equipment for children, the cooling and heating problems and the unsafe elevators. The newer residents stated that they feel unable to make changes since the senior residents are relatively used to the long-lasting challenges of the complex, hesitating any major change. Following statements of participants show the hidden conflict between the various types of inhabitants:

“... It is becoming a nursing home. I don’t mean that in a bad way, but we should face the reality of what is happening. They have different needs, but so do we.” (Student, age: 35, residency: 7 years)

“... Of course, the older people are more comfortable in this complex. I mean the social services are awful here, but who can live with this kind of garden in this part of the city? In our age, we need the sunshine and the flowers more than before.” (Job holder (Barber), age: 50, tenant for 20 years)

“... I have been in this complex for thirty years; I know many people who have grown old here. We know each other, and we visit each other every evening. We are like families to each other.” (Senior resident, age 71, residency: 33 years)

“... We cannot force the children to play in restricted zones; I know that they are shouting and making a noise but what else can we do? They [elders] should be glad to see the children playing.” (Single Mother, age 45, residency: 23 years)

In the case of Mortafa housing complex, a low rate of mobility and a strong sense of place attachment has transformed the age-class of inhabitants into a senior-friendly housing, more suited for retired and the elderly. Real-estate managers confirmed that there are many requests by elders for renting the flats. The social status of the inhabitants is in direct relation to the formation of place identity. Therefore the mentioned transformation has changed the social aspect of the place identity.

5.9 Urban Growth, Place Identity and Spatial Forces of Changes (2000-2014)

There were two main characteristics forming the identity of place in the case of Mortafa Housing complex: ‘being high-rise’ and ‘being luxurious’. Through the last two decades, the two mentioned characteristics of the complex have noticeably changed, due to the new boom of high-rise building development in the district and also problems raised by the ageing complex.

High-rise buildings are only high-rise in comparison with their surroundings. When the nearby built environment becomes higher, then the height of the building is decreased in the eye of the observer. This is exactly what has happened to the Mortafa Housing complex. While the context was becoming higher every year, the eleven-storey blocks of the Mortafa Housing complex seemed to become shorter. Finally, and due to the recent growth of high-rise buildings in the city, the Mortafa Housing complex has lost its title as the tallest building in the city. The location of further high-rise zones nearby the complex in the city's master plan depicts that these further developments will ultimately dwarf the complex.

Figure 30 maps the speed and direction of the city's urban growth over the last four decades. As is shown in the map, the project was originally constructed out of the city borders. Over time, the city of Mashhad has spread from the old city centre around the *Imam Reza Shrine* towards the North-East. Between 1985 and 1995, the city has been growing dramatically, while some vast empty land and gardens were kept for future infill developments. As a result, the Mortafa Housing complex is now located in the new centre of the city, which is also a centre of future infill mega urban projects. The figure also shows the three high-rise zones of the city's master plan and the location of the complex in the middle zone.

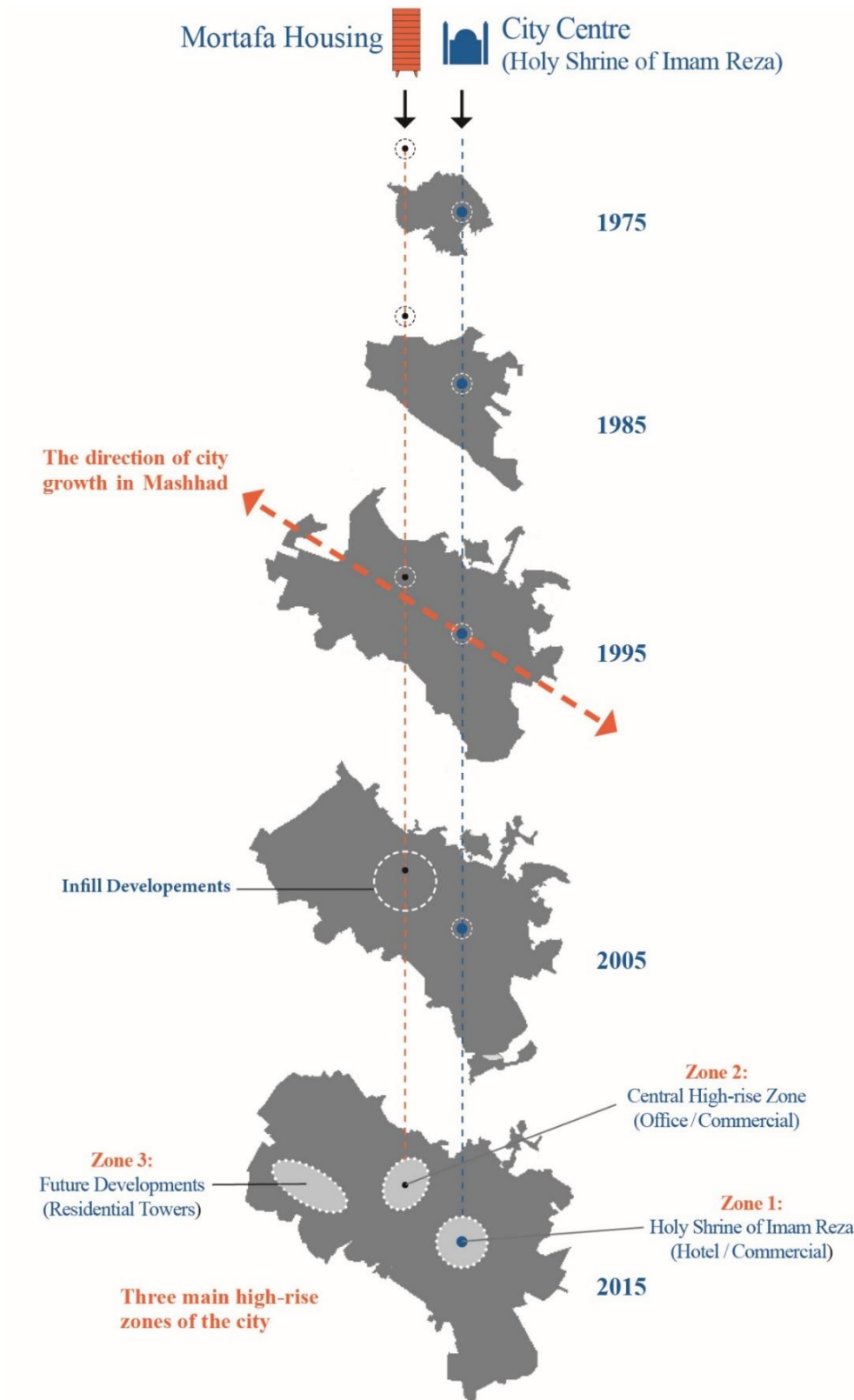


Figure 30. Schematic Map; mapping the urban growth of the city, the location of Mortafa Housing complex throughout the last four decades and the three high-rise zones of the city. Source: Author.

Figure 31(a) is a schematic sectional map, comparing the height of the Mortafa Housing complex with the average height of the city's buildings in the past four decades. It also illustrates the city's urban growth towards the complex. Figure 31(b) shows the future of the city's skyline in 2025 and the location of the Mortafa Housing complex within the central high-rise zone of the city.

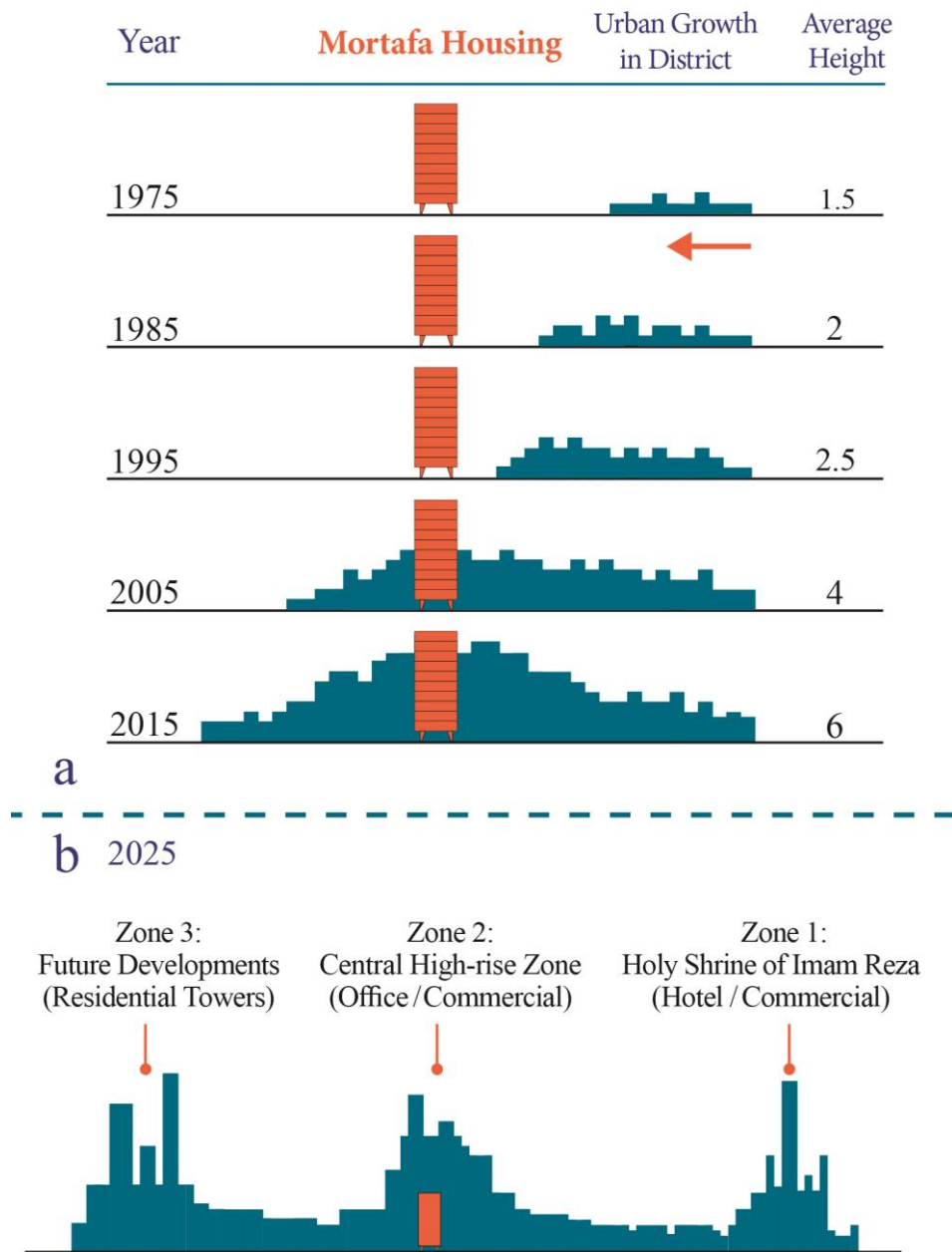


Figure 31. Schematic Map: a) mapping four decades of vertical and horizontal urban growth in the district. b): Map for anticipated city skyline in 2025 and the location of the Mortafa Housing complex in the central high-rise zone. Source: Author.

Aside from the contemporary high-rise buildings and empty land nearby, large gardens surrounding the complex have been drained, and valuable old trees have been pulled out in the last few years in order to prepare the land ready for future high-rise constructions. Figure 32 clearly shows the process of draining the surrounding gardens.



Figure 32. Mortafa Housing Complex - Current position, draining gardens surrounding the project - Picture is captured from Google Map

While the pleasant view of the large fruit gardens and the cool-and-clean atmosphere have been mentioned as the main characteristics of the complex by the majority of participants; there are serious worries about the mega-structure constructions in the district, socio-spatial changes and the direction of the future 'becomings'. Figures 33 and 34 are the maps showing the way the complex is surrounded by empty land, which are the infill sites for the construction of the highest towers of the city.

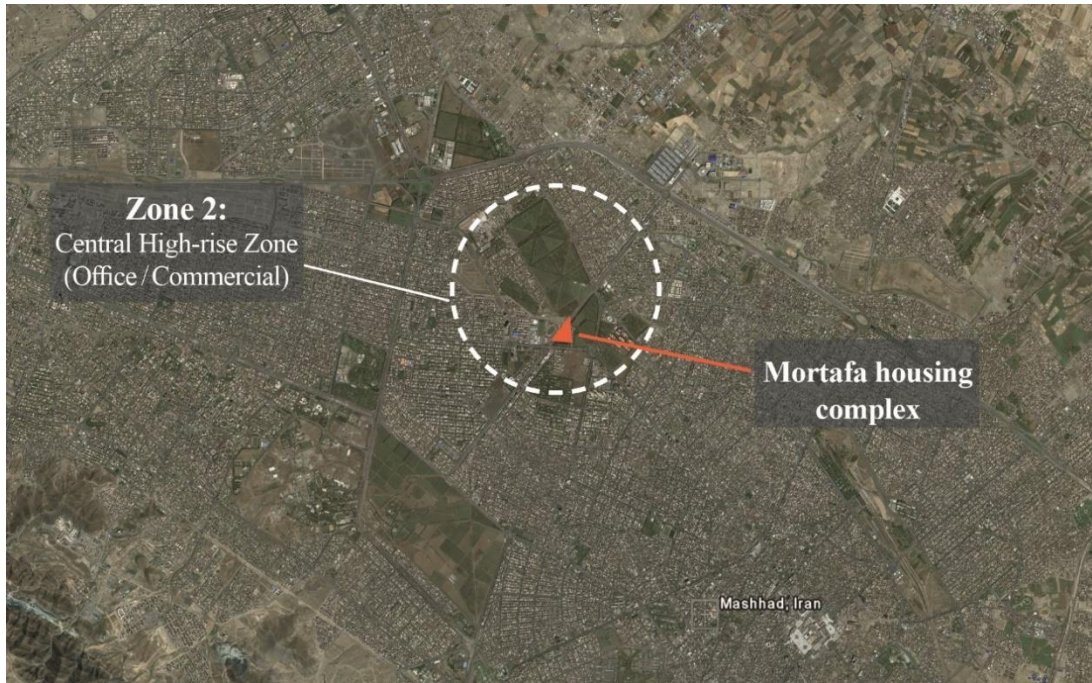


Figure 33. High-rise zone 2: Mortafa Housing complex surrounded by lands dedicated for infill high-rise developments. Source: Author.

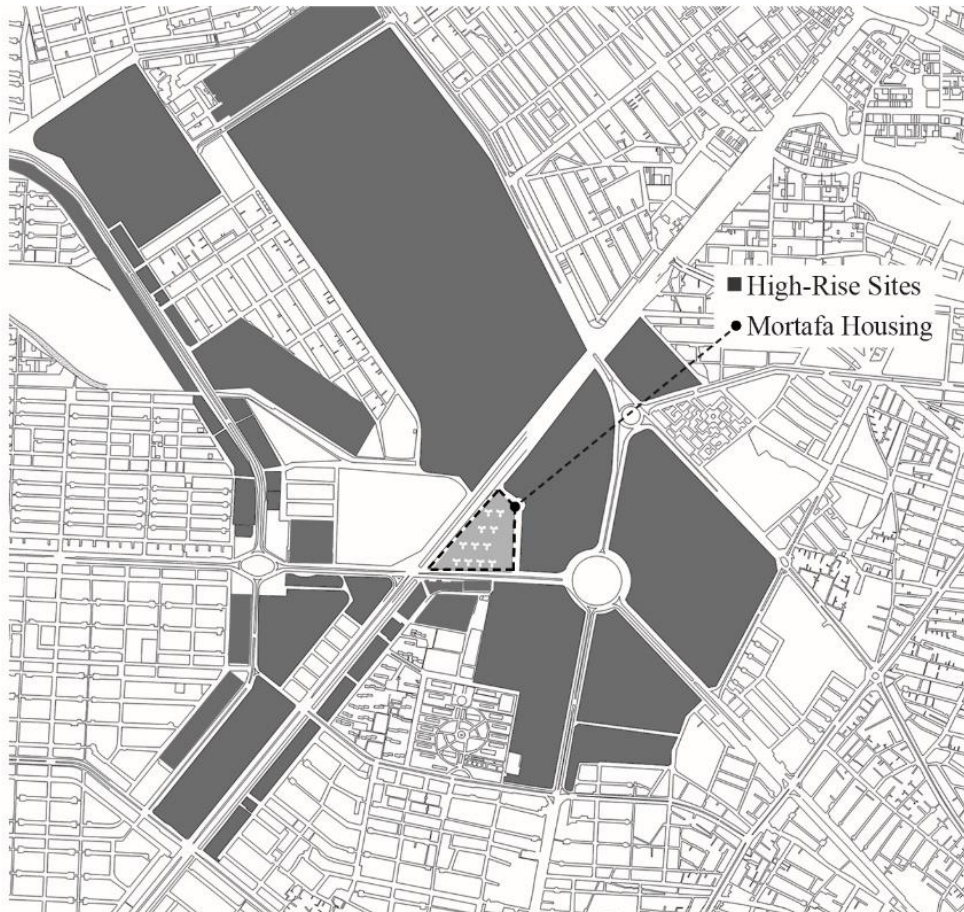


Figure 34. Mapping the high-rise zone 2: lands dedicated for infill high-rise developments surrounding the Mortafa Housing complex. Source: Author.



Figure 35. Mortafa Housing Complex - Current View to the Project

Figure 35 is the view of the Mortafa housing complex, taken from one of the vast empty lands surrounding the complex, which is a site for the third generation of high-rise buildings in Mashhad.

5.10 From Luxury to Low-Income; Place Identity and the Value of Apartments

The shift from high to low-income housing is the most vivid social transformation in the complex. This process is still ongoing, and it is accelerating. The social class of the residents has a direct relationship with the value of the apartments and the physical characteristics of the complex. Although a large number of the units has been renovated over the past three decades, the whole complex has lost much of its physical and social value. Luxury flats from the 70's cannot be described as 'luxury' today, not only because the flats have become old and out-dated, but also because of the social transformation of their residents.

Figure 36(a) is a schematic map which compares the value of a double bedroom (112 m²) apartment from the Mortafa Housing complex with a detached house (250 m²) in

the proximity of the complex over the past four decades. While the unit's value was equal to the value of two detached houses in the 70's, today, one single detached house is worth almost as much as three apartments, which means the value of the flats in the complex has dropped six times. In the words of a real estate agent, who has retained his office inside the complex for 25 years:

Ten years from now, there will be no free land around the complex; this will increase the land prices, but the Mortafa Housing complex will be 50 years old in 2025, and therefore, the apartment's value will decrease dramatically.

Figure 36(b), shows the real estate agents' predictions for the same value comparison in 2025.

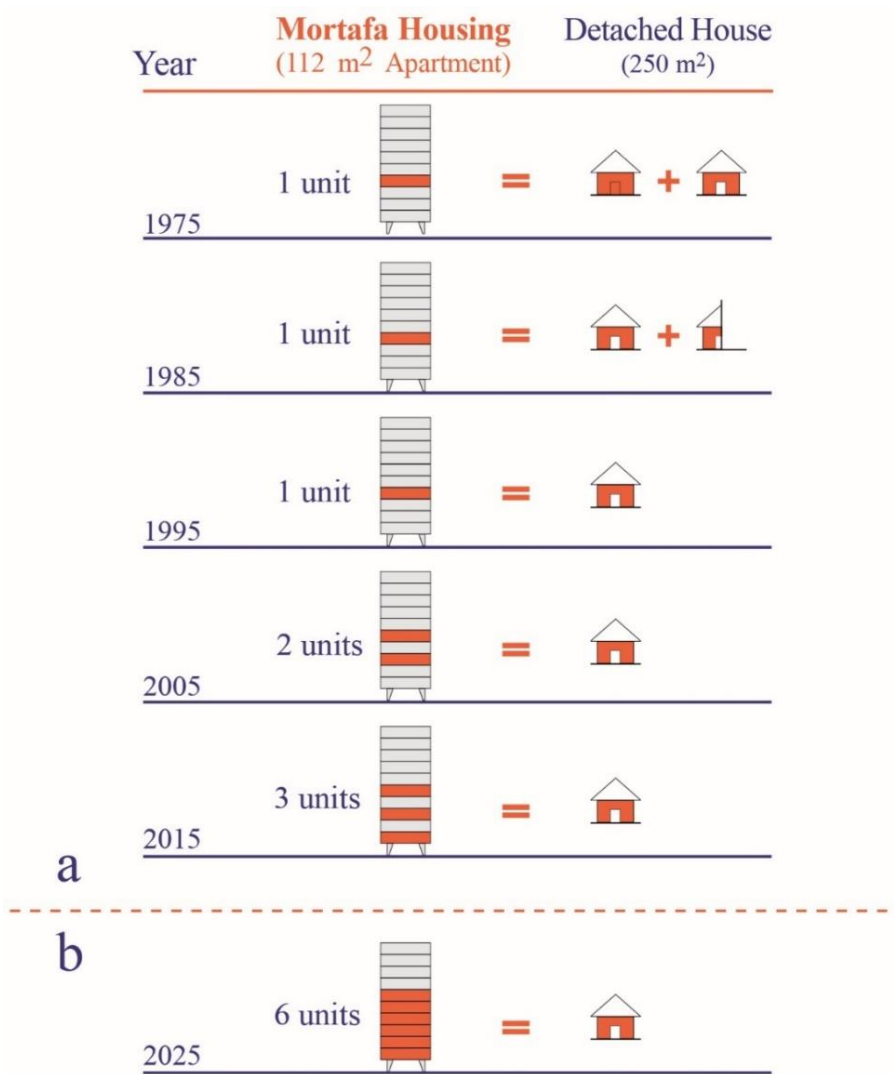


Figure 36. a) Schematic Map: the reduction of the value of the Mortafa Housing apartments compared with a detached house in the district (A) over the last four decades. B) Predicting an apartment's value in 2025. Source: Author.

As a result, the three main characteristics of the complex, (being high-rise, suburban and luxury), which formed and sustained the former identity of the complex, have now changed on account of the aforementioned forces of 'becoming'. Through the process of 'becoming', there is no control over the power of 'Time', which changes all tangible and intangible aspects of a place as an assemblage.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

Based on the Deleuzian ontology of ‘becoming-in-the-world’ and Dovey’s theory of ‘place as assemblage’, the becoming notion of ‘place identity’ is explored in this study, while the both concepts of place and identity has been considered as assemblages.

Findings of the research can be separated into three interrelated sub headings, methodological remarks, theoretical findings and case study results. Methodological remarks, explains how the deployed techniques, participants’ selection and data exploration can develop Dovey’s (2010) proposed methodology into a more pragmatic system of case-dependent survey. Theoretical findings are derived from the review of the literature on place, identity, place identity, and the comparison between the phenomenological and Deleuzian approaches toward the concepts of place and identity. Case study results are focused on the (trans)formation of place identity in the case of Mortafa housing complex, explaining the specifics of the case, its context and relations in between.

6.1 Methodological Remarks

One of the significance of the present research is the methodological attempt for improving researches on place identity. Trying to develop Dovey’s mixed-methodology of ‘phenomenology’, ‘discourse analysis’ and ‘spatial analysis’, the study proposes a nonlinear case-dependent design of data collection techniques, which is focused on the process of place identity formation and the impacts of multi-layered

becomings. Therefore, in order to map the hidden socio-political forces and their effects on the spatial structure of 'place', data from the phenomenological phase of the study has been followed through the links to the larger scale of a discourse analysis and vice versa. 'Mapping' has been used and designed as an innovative technique in order to encompass and illustrate multi-scalar results derived from the three aforementioned methodological phases. Regarding methodology, there are three main methodological remarks of study:

1- Considering identity as assemblage, it is impossible to explore it as a mere outcome. Assemblage notion of identity is in the state of constant becoming and therefore place identity is understandable only in a long sequence of time. In the case of architectural research on place identity, the present study suggests considering the most extended possible period for exploring the identity of place; starting from the context even before the existence of the project, and forward looking approach, searching for upcoming forces and the future of place identity.

2- Considering both place and identity as assemblage, place identity cannot be reduced to abstract models, schematic figures or phrases. Each place has its own unique characteristics and its story of identity formation; the research is proposing to approach place identity as a text-based story. While scientific modelling ends in schematic figures (models) and searching for essences ends with phrases, such as 'Genius loci', the becoming notion of place identity can only be expressed through the narrative, a short story, describing the process, its actors and its forces. A story of the phenomenon's life, described by the people involved in the process, real actors and figures of the story. The story which is freed from any kind of reduction and

abstraction, explaining the details of the process and focusing on different layers of place identity.

3- Approaching from various perspectives provides a better understanding of ambiguous concepts. Within the complicated network of relations forming the assemblage of place, there are various types of actors, especially, insiders affecting the process of place identity formation. Increasing the number and types of these participants will expand the horizons of the research. Different types of participants provided a wide range of information from various aspects of place. Current and former inhabitants, management committee members, real estate agents nearby the complex, job holders, designer and contractors, each have discussed their own experiences of place. These personal narratives were considered as small pieces of a larger puzzle, with links in-between, hidden and unhidden relations.

As proposed by Dovey (2010), the concept of 'place' should be considered as a three-folded assemblage, which is individually experienced, socially constructed and spatially structured. Figure 37 (next page) is a schematic diagram showing the linkage between Relph's (1976) three main elements of the place identity (physical appearance, activities, meanings) and Dovey's (2010) theory of place as an assemblage of spatial, social and individual relations.

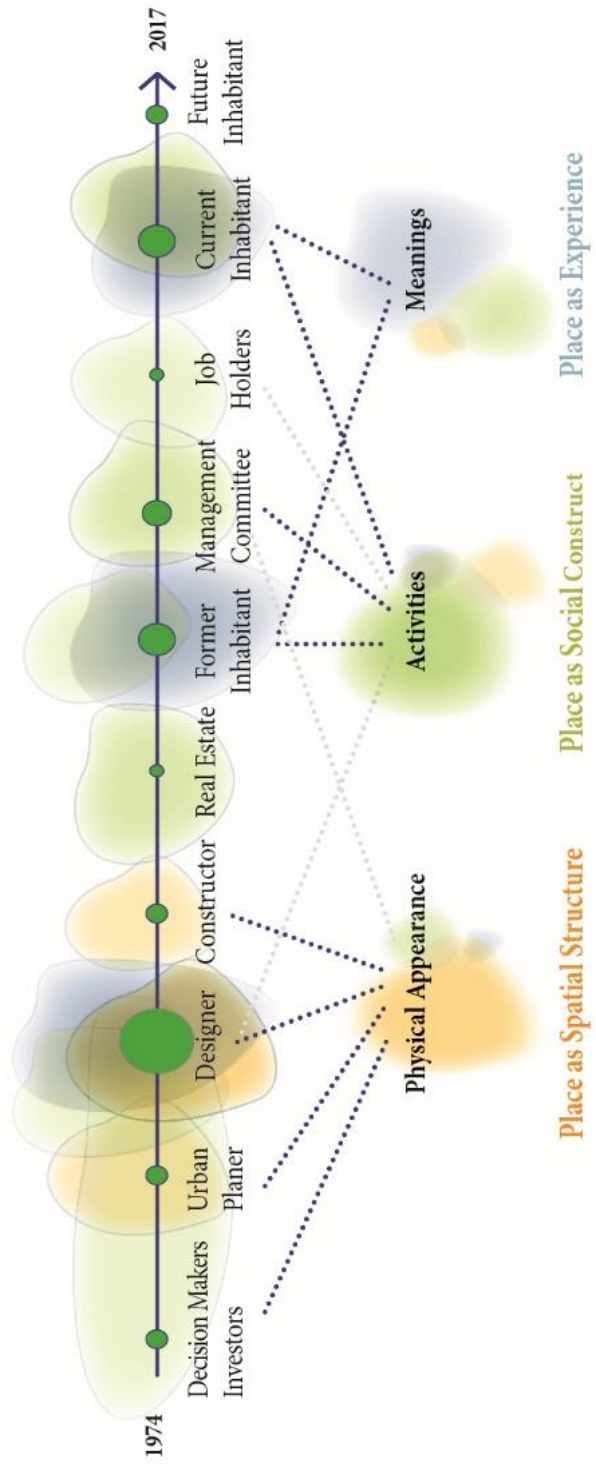


Figure 37. Schematic diagram showing the linkage between Relph's three main elements of the place identity and Dovey's theory of place as an assemblage of spatial, social and individual relations.

The diagram also shows selected participants and their role in the process of place identity (trans)formation. The story of ‘identity formation’ enable us to understand the role of each agent/actors involved in the formation of place identity through the lifetime of the project. As is shown in the diagram, there appears a complicated network of relations between the actors and the components of place identity.

It is worth mentioning that any type of two or even three-dimensional diagram is incapable of expressing the reality of the complex network of relations in the formation of place and its identity. Any diagram is reducing the subject to a limited number of actors and linkages; however schematic diagrams might be useful for a better understanding of the phenomenon and possible relations.

6.2 Theoretical Findings

A: The lost aspects of ‘identity’ in translation

The concept of ‘identity’ is one of the most ambiguous and blurry terms which is hard to define. This issue became more complicated when the term should be translated from non-English vernacular speech to academic English language. The literature review of the present study is started with the etymology of the term ‘identity’. The results show that the meaning of ‘identity’ in the Latin/English literature is more close to ‘sameness’ of a thing with itself, through its lifetime, and by considering the role of ‘time’ and ‘change’, identity is more flexible, changeable than essence. This meaning is different from the Arabic/Persian synonym; ‘Howiat’, which refers to ‘fixed’ and ‘stable’ particularities, close to ‘spirit’ and ‘essence’. Meanwhile, ‘howiat’ and ‘identity’ both are also referred to the main distinctive characteristics of a phenomenon, whether they are unique, fixed and essential or common, changing and temporal. The importance of vocabulary and language as an interpretative discursive structure is also mentioned by Zingsheim (2011):

Concerning identity, I contend the current language, specifically the terms we have to discuss identity, is inadequate to represent our experiences of ourselves. This remains the largest exigency for developing new theories and models of identity and the need to further complicate available discourses to describe and explain our conceptions of self in ways that resonate with the embodied experiences of individuals. We need a vocabulary that more adequately and accurately symbolizes the ways we as individuals and collectives experience ourselves (Zingsheim, 2011, p.27).

Different meanings and usages of identity in various disciplines are reviewed through the second chapter of the present research. Following subheading discusses the need for inter-disciplinary based terminology for exploring place identity in architectural studies.

B: Quest for Architectural Theories on ‘Place.’

It is almost four decades since the place-related keywords such as ‘sense of place’, ‘place attachment’ and ‘identity of place’ have been investigated by architects based on the geographical terminology of humanistic geographers in mid-seventies, in which ‘place’ is a meaningful portion of a larger concept of ‘space’.

Humanistic understanding of place which is based on the philosophical standpoint of phenomenology is discussing ‘place’ in a wide ontological perspective. This view is followed, discussed and criticized in the context of sociology, which considers place in the same large and general scales of ‘settlements’ and ‘cities’. Even in the field of urban design ‘place’ is considered as public and common places such as city, street, square and neighborhood. There are similar grounds in the philosophical, geographical, social and urban design understandings of place; for instance, the focus is mostly on ‘human being’ in general, and ‘place’ as a context of social life. Therefore, the same terminology has been used in the mention disciplines without any confusion.

However, there are considerable differences between 'place' in the mentioned large-scale fields as a socially constructed locale and 'place' in the field of architecture. Although it is mentioned by many scholars that the scale of 'place' is various from a room to a city and even the whole earth, but the scales discussed by philosophers and geographers are mostly large scales such as 'being and dwelling' for Heidegger or 'country', 'region' and 'city' for Relph (1976), Tuan (1974). The smallest scale discussed by many scholars such as Massey (1993) and Dovey (2010) is street which is again the place of common and public activities and life.

Except 'scale', there are other differences between the architectural understandings of place and philosophical/social mentioned views. Place is mostly used as an abstract concept in philosophy or sociology, without any particular name, characteristics or specific architectural feature. Even within the phenomenological texts, which are supposed to be tied with the real experiences of individuals, the subjects of 'home' and 'dwelling' are used as general concepts. This study shows that the inhabitants' understanding of their home differs even between the members of the same family. Inhabitants are not experiencing their real homes as stable/fixed places or unstable/changing process, even if we define the place in one of these two styles. Based on their personal lives, memories and feelings, individuals' build their relation with built environment, and their experiences of place are varied. This explains why the phenomenology of place has been criticized by Deleuzian theorists for 'generalization' and 'idealism'.

As explained, the concept of identity also has different meanings in philosophy, sociology and built environmental studies. Therefore, 'place identity' as a combination of two hybrid concepts, needs more clarification, and further researches can explore

the need for an inter-disciplinary understanding of the concept within the context of architectural studies.

C: In-Between the Phenomenological and Deleuzian Understanding of Place

Scholars believe that there are fundamental paradoxes between the main accepted theories on place. Phenomenological standpoint toward place is criticized by post-phenomenologists and Deleuzian theorist in terms of its rigid and stable consideration of place. In this view, place is considered as a final outcome of the powers forming the place. Deleuzian theorists such as Dovey (2010) believe that the Deleuze's theory of 'assemblage' which is based on the 'becoming' notion of every phenomenon is highly in contrast with Heidegger's ontology of 'being in the world'. 'Place as assemblage' is considering place as an ongoing process of continuous changes, without any final and fixed outcome.

However, the results of the study describe that people are experiencing place via the complicated network of personal logic, senses, memories, desire and it is impossible to generalize one approach to all observers. One group may experience place as a fixed and stable entity which is under the threat of change is more interested in the physical aspects and unchanging 'spirit' of place. Another group, which is more involved with the spatial qualities and atmosphere of place may be more interested in the dynamic notion of place and changing 'identity' of place.

Referring to the results of an interview with a young couple who were newcomers to the housing complex, they expressed that they have not felt any change since they have moved in, while they have been living there for two months. Besides, the old man who has lived in the case study for almost four decades believes that the complex is on the

continuous change in every second. This issue is not only differing through the length of residency; it is also depended to the age of the observer. The results of study depict that children, mid-age residents and seniors are all experiencing the changes of place in different ways.

D: A New Approach towards the ‘Identity of Place.’

The results of the present study show that there are differences between theories on ‘identity of place’, and people’s understanding of the concept. The main difference is based on the ‘speed of changes’ occurred in the place. By the words of Zingsheim (2011, p.28), “in other (cliché) words, the only thing that stays the same is change. The rate of change may vary, but the process is constantly in motion- as are we”. However, according to the interviewee’s responds, both ‘being’ and ‘becoming’ are extreme and absolute conditions, which are not definitely sensible in the context of everyday life. The ‘fixed nature of place’ which is static and rigid in the Heideggerian ontology of ‘being’, and ‘place as a process’ as it is explained in the Deleuzian theory of ‘becoming’ are relational and depended on the people’s understanding of the speed of changes in place.

The last theoretical finding of the research is a proposal for a new approach towards ‘identity of place’, which is people oriented and more close to the experience of place in its everyday life context. This approach criticizes the duality of ‘being’ and ‘becoming’ of place and proposes the two-folded concept of ‘being-becoming’ which is open to both stable characteristics and dynamic notion of place. The concept of identity has also been theorized as assemblage, a twofold complex which neither is a fixed object, nor a process, but both at the same time. “Identity becomes process and a product of forming, disassembling, organizing, destabilizing, arranging,

disarticulating, and always putting in motion” (Chen, 1989, cited in Zingsheim, 2011, p.26).

In this view, three concepts of ‘Identity’, ‘Place’ and ‘Identity of Place’ should be all considered similar to a ‘river’, which is always the same river in essence, but it is constantly changing in each and every second. While they are all processual ‘becomings’ of formation and transformation, they are also stable ‘beings’ at every small sequence of time; a sequence of experience.

6.3 Case Study Results

This study explores the formation and transformations of the identity of specific mass housing complex; ‘Mortafa Housing’, in its lengthy lifetime period. The Mortafa Housing complex has been analyzed as an example of the first generation of Iran’s detached large scale mass-housing projects, which are now struggling to be integrated, accepted and adopted by their new contexts. Decisions about the future of such complexes will become more valid by considering ‘places as assemblages’ as being in a state of constant change, and conducting a similar analysis on the ‘becoming’ processes of both complexes and their context.

Chapter five explains that how the Mortafa housing complex has transformed from a suburban, luxurious and modern complex to a long standing block of apartments in the centre of the city for people on low incomes. By unfolding the network of interactions between rhizomatic forces over time, ‘mapping’ provides a knowledge base, which supports understanding of the paradoxes between the complex and its context in the past, and how it might behave in the face of upcoming forces and new challenges in future. Examples of the interwoven forces affecting the ‘becoming’ process of the Mortafa Housing complex can be mentioned as below

- Political forces such as the Islamic revolution (1978) and the Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988).
- Socio-cultural changes, such as the transformation in the social class of the residents from high to low-incomes and also in the advancing age of the residents as seniors and elderly.
- The physical transformation of the context from a suburban district to city centre and from a low to high-rise district.
- Physical changes of the project, such as old and damaged facades.
- Changes of activities and environmental behaviour, which are the results of both the external forces and the resistance of residents to the posed forces.
- Transformation of meanings, feelings and senses of place, as a result of the changes in the public's mental image of the complex and the socio-cultural transformation of the residents.

The main result of the case study research is uncovering the fact that the processes of 'becoming' are on-going in paradoxical directions between the Mortafa housing complex and its context. Regarding the theory of 'mutational identity' by Zingsheim (2011), three stages of mutations can be mentioned in the case of Mortafa housing complex identity, which have affected the process of place identity formation of the complex. The Islamic Revolution of Iran has changed the socio-cultural and ideological beliefs of the public dramatically. The occupation of the complex by rural and poor can be mentioned as the second stage of mutation, changing the destiny of the complex and affecting its presumed place identity. Finally, the war between Iran and Iraq and its effects on public's view toward high-rise buildings and living in the suburbs can be the third mutational attack. Each of the mentioned forces had caused various changes in the meaning of place, its physical appearance and activities.

The study shows that there may be another stage of rapid change in the place identity of the complex, considering the paradoxical directions of becomings between the case and its context. In all aspects (economic, social, cultural and political,) there are considerable conflicts growing in between the case and its contexts, and also the physical characteristics of the complex would not compete with the future developments planned for the district. Therefore, it is predictable that the complex will face a decisional dead-end in the early future, and it seems necessary to map the current situation and possible decisions, especially regarding inhabitants and their concerns.

Further research can be carried out in respect of seeking practical ways of decreasing the paradoxes between the two assemblages of mass-housing complex and its constantly changing context, leading the processes of 'becomings' towards more sustainable set ups, or proposing strategies for overcoming or avoiding any possible stalemates in future.

REFERENCES

- Abel, C., & Foster, N., (2012). *Architecture and identity*, (London: Routledge).
- Alliez, E., (1997). Questionnaire on Deleuze. *Theory, culture & society*, 14(2), 81-87.
- Al-Naim, M. A., (2008). Identity in Transitional Context: Open-Ended Local Architecture in Saudi Arabia.
- Arefi, M., (1999). Non-place and placelessness as narratives of loss: Rethinking the notion of place. *Journal of urban design*, 4(2), 179-193.
- Askari, M., (2011). *Lack of sympathy; the main problem in Mortafa Housing complex*. Shahrara; Newspaper for People of Mashhad, 15 February, page 11.
- Audi, R., (2015). The Cambridge dictionary of philosophy.
- Baper, S., & Hassan, A., (2010). The Influence of Modernity on Kurdish Architectural Identity. *American Journal of Engineering and Applied Sciences*, 3(1), 552-559.
- Baper, S. Y., & Hassan, A. S., (2012). Factors affecting the continuity of architectural identity. *American Transactions on Engineering & Applied Sciences*, 1(3), 227-236.
- Barthes, R., (1967). *Elements of Semiology*, trans. Annette Lavers and Colin Smith (New York: Hill and Wang, 1968), 14. Barthes, R. (1975). *The Pleasure of the Text*. 1973. Trans. Richard Miller. New York: Hill and Wang.

- Bennett, T., Grossberg, L., Morris, M. & Williams, R. (Eds.) (2005). *New keywords: a revised vocabulary of culture and society*. Malden, Mass. Blackwell Pub. P. 172-175
- Brubaker, R., & Cooper, F., (2000). Beyond “identity”. *Theory and Society*, 29(1), 1-47.
- Butina-Watson, G., & Bentley, I. (2007). *Identity by design*. Routledge.
- Carmona, M., & Tiesdell, S., (Eds.). (2007). *Urban design reader*. Routledge.
- Casey, E. S., (1998). *The fate of place: A philosophical history*, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Chen, K. H., (1989). Deterritorializing “critical” studies in “mass” communication: Toward a theory of “minor” discourse. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 13(2), 43-61.
- Clifford, J., (1988). *The predicament of culture*. Harvard University Press.
- Colebrook, C., (2001). *Gilles Deleuze*. Routledge.
- Corner, J., (1999). The agency of mapping: speculation, critique and invention, in Cosgrove, D., (Ed) *Mappings*, pp. 213-252 (London: Reaktion Books).
- Correa, C., (1983). 'Quest for Identity', In Proceedings of the Seminar: *Exploring Architecture in Islamic Cultures I: Architecture and Identity*, the Aga Khan Award for Architecture, Geneva, Switzerland.

- Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of colour. *Stanford law review*, 1241-1299.
- Cresswell, T., (2004). *Place: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell).
- Datler, G., Wallace, C. and Spanning, R., (2008). What leads Young people to identify with Europe? An exploration of “exposure” to Europe and resources for identification among young Europeans, *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, Vol. 9, No. 4, pp. 480-498.
- Davis, C. (2013). *Levinas: an introduction*. John Wiley & Sons.
- De Landa, M., (2006). *A new philosophy of society: Assemblage theory and social complexity* (London: Continuum).
- Deleuze, G. & Guattari, F., (1987). *A thousand plateaus* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota).
- Derrida, J., (1974) *Of Grammatology*, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Derrida, J., (1993). First published in 1966). Structure, sign, and play in the discourse of the human sciences. *A postmodern reader*, 223-242.
- Domańska, E. (2006). The return to things. *Archaeologia Polona*, 44(2), 171-185.
- Dovey, K., (2002). Dialectics of place: authenticity, identity, difference. *De-Placing Difference: Architecture, Culture and Imaginative Geography*, 45-52.

- Dovey, K., (2008). *Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge).
- Dovey, K., (2010). *Becoming Places: Urbanism/architecture/identity/power* (London: Routledge).
- Dovey, K., Woodcock, I. & Wood, S., (2009). A test of character: Regulating place-identity in inner-city Melbourne. *Urban Studies*, 46(12), pp. 2595-2615.
- Dovey, K., & Pafka, E. (2014). The urban density assemblage: Modelling multiple measures. *Urban Design International*, 19(1), 66-76.
- Dunham H. W., (1986). *The Community Today: Place or Process?* Journal of Community Psychology Representation.
- Herrle, P., & Wegerhoff, E. (Eds.). (2008). *Architecture and identity* (Vol. 9). LIT Verlag Münster.
- Hosseini, S., (2013). *Hume's Functionalistic Theory of the Self* (Doctoral dissertation, Université d'Ottawa/University of Ottawa).
- Ihde, D., (1993). *Philosophy of technology: An introduction*. Paragon House: New York.
- Ihde, D., (1995). *Postphenomenology: Essays in the postmodern context*. Northwestern University Press: Evanston, IL.
- Ihde, D. (2003). *Postphenomenology—again?* Centre for STS Studies, Working Paper No. 3.

- Erikson, E. H., (1956). The problem of ego identity. *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association*, 4(1), 56-121.
- Erikson, E. H., (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis*. New York: Norton.
- Fearon, J. D., (1999). What is identity (as we now use the word). *Unpublished manuscript, Stanford University, Stanford, Calif.*
- Foucault, M., (1979). *Discipline and Punish*, New York: Vintage.
- Ghasemi, M., (2010). High-rise problems; Listening to the voice of the first apartment residents of the city. *Shahrara; Newspaper for People of Mashhad*, September 28, page11.
- Giorgi, A., (1989). One type of analysis of descriptive data: Procedures involved in following a scientific phenomenological method. *Methods*, 1, 39-61.
- Gleason, P., (1983). Identifying identity: a semantic history. *The journal of American history*, 910-931.
- Hall, S., (1990). 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', in Rutherford, J. (ed.) *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Hall, S., (1992). The question of cultural identity. *Modernity and its futures*, 274-316.
- Hall S., and DU Gay, P. (Ed) (1996). *'Questions of Cultural Identity'*, London, Sage Publications, p. 113.

- Hauge, Å. L., (2007). Identity and place: a critical comparison of three identity theories. *Architectural science review*, 50(1), 44-51.
- Hauge, Å. L., (2009). Housing and Identity: The meaning of housing in communicating identity and its influence on self-perception. (Doctoral dissertation). .
- Hargreaves A., (2004). *Building communities of place: Habitual movement around significant places*. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 19(1), 49-65.
- Heathcott, H., (2012). The Strange Career of Public Housing, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 78(4), pp. 360-375.
- Henderson, S A., (1995). Tarred with exceptional image: public housing and popular discourse, *American Studies* 36(1) pp.31-52
- Holland, J., (1995). *Hidden order: How adaptation builds complexity*. Reading, Massachusetts, Perseus Books.
- Hosseini R. S., & Zainal A., (2012). *Religious tourism: Shiite shrine a powerful tool for regional development for Mashhad City, Iran*. In Proceedings of the Current Issues in Hospitality and Tourism Research and Innovations: Proceedings of the International Hospitality and Tourism Conference (pp. 561-565).
- Hummon D., (1989). 'House, Home, and Identity in Contemporary American Culture', In *Housing, Culture, and Design: A Comparative Perspective*, 207-228, Setha Low and Erve Chambers, eds. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

- Karami, Sh., (2013). *The highest memories from forty years old apartments*. Shahrara; Newspaper for People of Mashhad, September 2, page 11
- Korteweg, P., (1987). Changes in high-rise housing: The role of high-rise housing complexes in local housing markets. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 2(1), 29-51.
- Lefebvre, H., (1991). *The production of space* (Vol. 142), (Oxford: Blackwell).
- Mahdavinejad, M. & Rashti, R. R. (2013). The Situation of Social Capital in New Settlements of Developing Countries Case Study: Golbahar, Mashhad, Iran, *International Journal of Social Science Research*, 1(2), pp. 98-110.
- Mahghoub, Y., (2006). '*Architecture and the Expression of Cultural Identity in Kuwait*', Paper presented at the 1st International Symposium on Environment, Behavior and Society, February 9-11, 2006, Sydney, Australia.
- Mahghoub, Y., (2007). '*Hyper identity; The Case of Kuwait Architecture*', *International Journal of Architectural Research*, vol.1 no.1, 70-85
- Malpas, J., (1999). *Place and Experience: A philosophical topography*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Massey, D., (1991). A global sense of place, *Marxism Today*, June, pp. 24–29.
- Massey, D., (1992). Politics and space/time, *New Left Review*, 196, pp. 65-85.

Massey, D., (1994). *Place, space and gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota).

Massey, D., (1993). Power-geometry and a progressive sense of place. *Mapping the futures: Local cultures, global change, 1*, 59-69.

McGuire, J., (1976). The decline and fall of Pruitt-Igoe: Public housing's Vietnam. National Observer, p. 7.

Montgomery, R. (1985). Pruitt-Igoe: policy failure or societal symptom. *The metropolitan midwest: Policy problems and prospects for change*, pp.229-243.

Najafi, M., & Shariff, M. K. B. M. (2011). The concept of place and sense of place in architectural studies. *International Journal of Human and Social Sciences*, 6(3), 187-193.

Norberg-Schulz, C., (1980). *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli).

Oktay, D. (2002). The quest for urban identity in the changing context of the city: Northern Cyprus. *Cities*, 19(4), 261-271.

Oktay, D. (2006). 'How can urban context maintain urban identity and sustainability? Evaluations of Taormina (Sicily) and Kyrenia (North Cyprus)', <http://www.webjournal.unior.it> - (II) 2006

- Osborn, M., & Smith, J. A. (2008). The fearfulness of chronic pain and the centrality of the therapeutic relationship in containing it: an interpretative phenomenological analysis. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 5(4), 276-288.
- Pafka, E., (2013). Places as Intersecting Flows: Mapping Urban Morphologies, Functional Constellations and Pedestrian Rhythms, in *4th Global Conference: Space and Place*, September 9-12 Oxford, Mansfield College.
- Poster., M. (1989). *Critical Theory and Poststructuralism*. New York: Cornell.
- Pred, A. R., (1984). Place as Historically Contingent Process: Structuration and the Time-Geography of Becoming Places, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 74(2), pp. 279-297.
- Prins, B. (2006). Narrative accounts of origins: a blind spot in the intersectional approach?. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 13(3), 277-290.
- Protevi, J. (1992). Repeating the Parricide: Levinas and the Question of Closure. *Journal of the British Society for Phenomenology*, 23(1), 21-32.
- Protevi, J., (2003). 'Love', in *Between Deleuze and Derrida*, Patton, P., & Protevi, J. (Eds.). (2003). . Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Proudfoot, M., & Lacey, A. R. (2009). *The Routledge dictionary of philosophy*. Routledge.

- Puar, J. K. (2005). Queer times, queer assemblages. *Social text*, 23(3-4 84-85), pp. 121-139.
- Relph, E., (1970). An Inquiry into the Relations between Phenomenology and Geography, *Canadian Geographer*, (14), pp. 193-201.
- Relph, E., (1976). *Place and Placelessness* (London: Pion).
- Robins, K., (2005). Identity, in *New keywords: a revised vocabulary of culture and society*. Bennett, T., Grossberg, L., Morris, M. & Williams, R. (Eds.) (2005). Malden, Mass. Blackwell Pub
- Rutherford, J., (ed.) (1990). *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Saleh, M. A. E.. (1998). Place identity: The visual image of Saudi Arabian cities. *Habitat international*, 22(2), 149-164.
- Sani, R. M. S.. (2009). *An Inquiry into Iranian Architecture Manifestation of Identity, Symbolism, and Power in the Safavid's Public Buildings* (Doctoral dissertation, Eastern Mediterranean University (EMU)).
- Seamon, D., (1979). *A geography of the lifeworld: Movement, rest and encounter*, St. Martin's Press, New York.
- Seamon, D., (1980). Body-subject, time-space routines, and place-ballets. *The human experience of space and place*, 148-165.

- Seamon, D., (2000). A way of seeing people and place. In *Theoretical perspectives in environment-behavior research* (pp. 157-178). Springer US.
- Seamon, D., & Sowers, J. (2008). Place and placelessness (1976): Edward Relph. *Key texts in human geography*, 45-52.
- Seamon, D., (2013). Lived bodies, place, and phenomenology: implications for human rights and environmental justice. *Human Rights and the Environment*, 4(2) 143-166.
- Seamon, D., (2014a). Place as Organized Complexity: Understanding and making places holistically. *Unpublished Draft of Book Chapter*. Kansas, Kansas State University.
- Sepehrdoust H. (2013). *The impact of migrant labor force on housing construction of Iran*. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 28(1), 67-78.
- Spiegelberg, H. (1982). The phenomenological moment. *The Hague, Netherlands*.
- Staunæs, D., (2003). Where have all the subjects gone? Bringing together the concepts of intersectionality and subjectification. *NORA: Nordic journal of women's studies*, 11(2), 101-110.
- Tajfel, H. (Ed.), (2010). *Social identity and intergroup relations*. Cambridge University Press.
- Tracy, S. J., & Trethewey, A.. (2005). Fracturing the real-self ↔ fake-self dichotomy: Moving toward “crystallized” organizational discourses and identities. *Communication Theory*, 15, 168-195.

- Tuan, YF., (1974). *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes and Values* (NJ: Prentice Hall).
- Tuan, Y., (1977). *Space and place: The perspective of experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).
- Vakulenko, A., (2007). Islamic Headscarves' and the European Convention On Human Rights: an Intersectional Perspective. *Social & Legal Studies*, 16(2), 183-199.
- Van Meijl, T., (2010). Anthropological perspectives on identity: From sameness to difference. *The Sage handbook of identities*, 65
- Weinreich, P., (1986). The operationalisation of identity theory in racial and ethnic relations. *Theories of race and ethnic relations*, 299-320.
- Waghorn, K., (2011). Place as Assemblage: Montreal Garden Mapping, in Caquard, S., Vaughan, L & Cartwright, W. (Eds) *Mapping Environmental Issues in the City*, pp. 197-208 (Berlin: Springer).
- Walker, R. C., (2007). An alternative construction of identity: A study of place based identity and its implications. *American Communication Journal*, 9(3), 1-17.
- Yaffe, G., (2007). Locke on ideas of identity and diversity.
- Yin, R. K., (2003). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Thousands Oaks. Sage.
- Young, LC and Wilkinson, IR (1989). *The role of trust and co-operation in*

marketing channels: a preliminary study. European Journal of Marketing, 23(2), 109-122.

Saliya, Y., (1986). 'Notes on the Architectural Identity in the Cultural Context'. Mimar19: Architecture in Development, London, Concept Median Ltd. pp. 32-33

Zarzar, K. M., (2004). 'Design Precedents and Identity', 7th Generative Art Conference GA2004

Zarzar, K. M., (2007). Identity in the work of Tadao Ando. In *10th Generative Art Conference GA2007*.

Zarzar, K. M., (2008). The Question of Identity in Design. *Understanding Meaningful Environments: Architectural Precedents and the Question of Identity in Creative Design, 4, 61.*

Zingsheim, J., (2011). Developing mutational identity theory: Evolution, multiplicity, embodiment, and agency. *Cultural Studies? Critical Methodologies, 11(1), 24-37.*