

**PRIVACY, GENDER, AND SPACE:
DOMESTIC SPACE AND WOMEN'S PRIVACY IN YAZD**

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Declaration

I hereby declare that the thesis is my original work and it has been written by me in its entirety. I have duly acknowledged all the sources of information which have been used in the thesis.

This thesis has also not been submitted for any degree in any university previously.

MOHAMMAD NOURI

1 Aug 2015

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To My lovely wife, Marzieh

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Summary

This qualitative study was designed to explore and describe factors that relate to the privacy of women in the context of present-day houses in Yazd, considering its Islamic culture. Fifteen female participants were interviewed in-depth on the topics of privacy and gender in their houses. The interviews were analyzed using a grounded theory approach and supplemented with observations, sketches, and photographic analysis.

Findings of this study revealed that privacy, being of great importance for women in Yazd, is very complex in its essence, functions, durability, and boundaries. However, any invasion on privacy can raise different negative consequences including nervousness, incapability, learned helplessness, social withdrawal, and distraction. Findings also support current theories of privacy in many ways. However, considering the importance of religion and gender for the subjects, this study proposes incorporating the concepts of “religious privacy” and “gendered privacy” in the theories in order to build a more comprehensive theory of privacy for Islamic countries.

Keywords

Privacy, Gender role, Houses, Islam, Culture, Grounded theory

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Glossary

Environmental terms

Environment:

- The organization of space, time, meaning, and communication;
- A system of settings within which systems of activities (including their latent aspects) take place;

Environmental psychology: An interdisciplinary field focused on the interplay between humans and their surroundings ([Gifford, 1987](#)).

House: a building that serves as a living for one or a few families.

A building for human habitation; esp. a building that is the ordinary dwelling-place of a family.

A dwelling unit in which a family or families reside ([Rapoport, 2000](#)). Thus, in this study, different types of dwellings will merely be called the house.

Satisfaction: “absence of complaint, when opportunity for complaint is provided.” ([Schorr, 1970, p. 323](#)).

Privacy terms

Privacy: Selective control of access to the self or to one’s group ([Altman, 1975](#)).

Achieved privacy: the actual level of contact at a specific time.

Desired privacy: the level of contact considered comfortable.

Privacy regulation: the process of regulating privacy using social, behavioral, or environmental mechanisms.

Privacy need: the collective needs for privacy based on the different functions, types, and conditions of privacy. It can be explained by the distance of achieved privacy from the desired; and would show the amount of dissatisfaction.

Public space of the house: the space in the house where non-family members or guests are restricted and limited to ([Abdul Rahim, 2007](#)). In the context of the houses in Yazd, the public space is limited to the living room or the guest area, toilets, and sometimes yards.

Private space of the house: the space in the house meant for family members such as bedrooms, bathroom, balcony, kitchen, dining, and family area.

Territoriality: the process of establishing and controlling a territory.

Islamic terms

Although Islamic terms used in this study are mainly Arabic, their usage, definition, and pronunciation may be different in Farsi.

Quran, the Holy (قرآن مجید): The sacred Book of Islam, containing the revelations made by Allah (God) to Prophet Mohammad (SAWW) over the last 23 years of his life. The principal authority for Islamic law.

Hadith (حدیث): Compilations of traditions relating to the life and sayings of the Prophet Mohammad (SAWW), his daughter (PBUH), and his 12 successors -12 Imams- (PBUT), regarded as authoritative sources for Islam (mainly Shiite) for all matters not explicitly addressed in the Holy Quran.

Shari'a (شریعه): The Islamic law code governing the members of the Islamic faith, derived from the religious precepts of Islam, particularly the Quran and the Hadith.

Fiqh (فقه): Islamic jurisprudence. While sharia is divine law, fiqh is the understanding of shari'a expanded and developed by interpretation by Islamic jurists.

Shiite (شیعه): One of the two main branches of Islam. The other one is Sunni. Despite minor differences in these two branches, lots of common believes and practices exist between them. The concept of Hijab and privacy is among the commonality. Ninety nine percent of Iranians are Muslim, while 91 percent of them are Shiite.

'Orf (عرف): A society's customs, or conventions. 'Orf has some inspirations on eliciting Sharia law. Thus, same issue, like hijab, may be interpreted differently in different societies.

Hijab (حجاب): Appropriate mode of clothing for a Muslim woman that does not only mean to cover the head. All parts of women, except their hands and faces, must be covered. Various styles of dress with different names exist around the Islamic world. The 'Encyclopedia of Islam' identifies over a hundred terms for dress parts, many of which are used for veiling ([Martin et al., 2010](#)).

The term Hijab literally refers to a spatial curtain that divides or provides privacy. One literal meaning of Hijab is cover (noun).

Another definition for Hijab, mostly used by Sufis, is metaphysical, where it refers to the veil which separates human or the world from God. For instance, [Hafez Shirazi](#) said: Hafez!

You yourself are your own Hijab; from the midst, arise; and attain unto the Beloved.

Jilbab (جلباب): A full-length and loose-fit outer garment worn in public by believers Muslim women. They believe that this style of clothing fulfills the Quranic demand for Hijab and better protect them. Jilbab is the term used in the Holy Quran.

Chādor (چادر): An Iranian style of Jilbab. Black chādors are worn outdoor and in formal gatherings; while colored chādors, usually white and patterned, are for indoor gatherings and neighborhood activities, which is considered as informal.

Khimār (خمارة): literally means something that covers, and is what is used to cover the head; headscarf.

Mantle: A loose garment for women to be worn over other garments. Recently, in Iran, the use of mantle is being greatly increased. They are in different colors and countless styles. Its name in Farsi, Manteau, represents its origin, France, from which it has come.

Mahram (محرم): The trilateral H-R-M is common to Arabic words denoting forbidden that means an object is sacred or accursed. Mahram is whom he is forbidden to marry with ([The Holy Quran, 4:22-23](#)), including father, brother, half-brother, son, uncle, father-in-law, son-in-law, mother's husband, nephew, a man from whom she has been nursed and the children of this man, a man who has been nursed from the same woman as she, sister's husband while still married, stepson (if the marriage to his father had been consummated). This concept applies only for people after the age of puberty.

Current usage of the term mostly covers above-mentioned people¹ who the practice of the dress code and Hijab is not necessary in their presence.

Another meaning of mahram is an intimate person to whom secrets can be told and private issues can be revealed and who s/he can enter the private areas.

Nāmahram (نا محرم): Not mahram. Allowed to marry with, thus Hijab should be practiced in their presence.

Mahramiat: The concept of mahram and nāmahram. Of mahram and nāmahram.

¹ Sister's husband is an exception. Although he is mahram, to whom marriage is forbidden, Hijab should be practiced in his presence. That is why forbiddance is not permanent. One can marry his wife's sister after divorce to his wife.

Space

Gender

Privacy

1 Introduction

مرزبان را مشتری جزگوش نیست

محرّم این هوش جزیهوش نیست

“Anyone who becomes aware of these **divine secrets**, becomes unconscious of everything else.

It is only the ear which hears that can understand this language” ([Rumi, 2002](#)).

The main focus of this study is privacy. Debates on privacy problems can be heard everywhere in talks, novels, newspaper articles, and trials. Different groups may have different needs for and attitudes toward privacy. In Muslim societies, the issue of privacy is more accentuated. For instance, people in Yazd believe that their privacy at home is not as supported as it should be. Women, playing an important role in Iranian families, face more problems regarding privacy. Our primary understanding of privacy made the existent rules and criteria inefficient. Therefore, in this study, the relationship between architecture and privacy, which may have influence on achievement of privacy for women, will be examined. Religion and culture will be considered as the context of the study and two underlying layers that exist in the social context and influence three main areas of this study (privacy, gender, space). Although religion and culture are not going to be studied as deep as those three themes, they should be considered carefully, and their influences must be examined.

In this chapter, existent trends in literature will be briefly reviewed and the limitation and gap in the studies will be highlighted. Afterward, purpose of this study will be indicated and finally significance and scope will be explored.

1.1 Background

Privacy issues now permeate many facets of our individual and family lives, our social and cultural milieu, and our politics. [Westin \(2003\)](#) stated that privacy is a quality of life topic worth thoughtful advocacy, the best scholarship, and continuing attention of us all.

Meanwhile, lack of privacy in houses causes some problems mainly in mental health and social interaction between members, and its impact on social role and efficiency of people outdoor is evident ([Lang, 1987](#)).

Several studies have shown that privacy is of great importance in Middle Eastern culture (For instance see: Vaziritabar's ([1990](#)) research in Iran, Eltayeb's ([1990](#)) study in Sudan, El-Rafey's ([1992](#)) work in Egypt, Shraim's ([2000](#)) study in Saudi Arabia, and Al-Kodmany's ([1999](#)) work in Syria).

Furthermore, understanding the concept of privacy is fundamental to perceive environment-behavior relationship. Several studies pointed out association between privacy and satisfaction with the physical environment ([Ferguson, 1983](#); [Sundstrom, 1986](#)). [Sundstrom \(1986\)](#) addressed 290 empirical studies that examined physical environment in offices and factories, 54 of them examined privacy issues. [Hashim, Mohamad Ali, and Asnarulkhadi \(2009\)](#) emphasized that privacy as one of the cultural elements plays a key role for enhancing the living environment.

In addition, [Mehrabian and Russell \(1974\)](#) showed two pressing social problems in modern built environment. The first is loneliness and social alienation of the residents and the second relates to stresses of crowding and the necessity for privacy. They stated that these social problems are perpetuated by the design of cities, buildings, and even the interior of buildings. Recent research indicated that when physical environment does not have efficiency to support privacy, tensions and stresses in the environment would be increased and some redeeming actions, like social mechanisms, would occur ([Harris, McBride, Ross, & Curtis, 2002](#)).

Meanwhile, modern designs tend to create large open spaces and pay less attention to dividing rooms in order to provide personal privacy ([Harris, Werner, Brown, & Ingebritsen, 1995](#)). As [Sofsky \(2008, p. 72\)](#) stated, "the culture of openness, which would like to lift all private barriers, is a brutal intrusion on the personal sphere."

In Islamic societies, religion plays a significant role in shaping the home and the environment. An important feature of the Islamic culture is the segregation of women from men other than *mahrms*. This aspect has given rise to the separation of domains for men and women, both in the home and public buildings like schools and mosques. There are several verses in the Holy Quran, the main source of Islamic contexts, in which the concept

of segregation and privacy per se is clearly pointed out (for instance see: The Holy Quran 24: 27, 28, 30-31, 58).

Yazd, located in the central part of Iran, is a well-known city not only for its treasured traditional architecture but also for its religious people. People around the country reminisce Yazd for beautiful private alleys and houses, as well as people greeting each other in the street when they go to mosque, and especially for the majority of women in black Chādors.

Contemporary houses of Yazd, contrary to traditional houses¹, are built with minimum barriers and there is no distinction between private and public zones.



Figure 1. Large open spaces with no barriers

Likewise, all windows and doors are directly open into the public streets or public zones of the residential complexes. When the door is open, everything is conspicuous from the outside. Likewise, family conversations can be overheard by the neighbors or passersby. Kitchens are also partially or entirely open to the living rooms and guest areas.

¹ Examining traditional houses and their principles and configuration is out of the scope of this study.



Figure 2. Facade of a contemporary house in Yazd



Figure 3. Entrance of an apartment. Parts of the kitchen and living room are conspicuous from behind the door.



Figure 4. Contemporary open-plan houses of Yazd provide free access and view for everyone even nāmahram guests.



Figure 5. Open kitchens disclose every activity to the guests.

Moreover, working in Yazd as an architect for a decade, the researcher has faced many clients who had complaints about their lost privacy. These are some examples of such complaints:

- *“We always have the curtains blinded. I don’t feel comfortable ...”*
- *“I can’t let my children play at home ...” [due to the disturbing noise for adjacent houses].*
- *“I don’t like my kitchen, it’s too revealing ...”*
- *“Is it a house or a caravanserai?”*

These are the quotes people, especially women, use often regarding the issue of privacy.



Figure 6. Curtain is added to the main entrance to protect privacy from the outside.



Figure 7. Curtains are added by users to protect privacy inside the house.

Despite the fact that need for privacy is general, different groups may perceive it differently. Among them, gender makes a significant difference. With the first-hand experience of having lived in Yazd, the researcher has seen some of above-mentioned problems in everyday life of many women regarding the privacy at houses. Women spend lots of their time at home and it is the most among the family members. They have very

important role in children nurturing, and maintaining the morale of the family, and have to do almost all household chores; and this pattern seems to be applied everywhere in the world. For instance, [Ahrentzen, Levinet, and Michelson \(1989\)](#) posited that fully-employed mothers in Toronto are more involved in housekeeping and child-care activities than fathers, and they spend more time with other family members.

Particularly in Iran, at the parties, women have so many tasks to do, while at the same time, they must wear their Hijab and keep their modesty even in the kitchen (see Figure 5). They should also shelter themselves from male gazes that urge them to be reluctant to participate in conversations or to play an active role in parties¹. [Sartre \(1956\)](#) stated that “when the self is exposed to other people and becomes an object subject to their gaze, the body appears at that moment as a ‘body-for-others’” as one of the participants in Milanes’ ([2011](#)) study declared that “I am already something other, in that I feel myself becoming an object for the gaze of others”. [Sartre \(1956\)](#) argued that in this way one would credit him/herself as shameful self.

That is why the consequent emotion of embarrassment due to unwanted exposure led most of the women to initiate escape and avoidance tactics to remove themselves from exposure ([Robbins & Parlavecchio, 2006](#)). They also try to regulate their privacy by leaving out the outside. For instance, by closing window or by using thick blinds over windows. [Al-Kodmany \(1999\)](#) stated that women in Damascus have to cover the window, erect fences, or abandon outdoor spaces to protect their privacy. He posited that women regard privacy at home as extremely important and when visual privacy is not adequate, they under-use the space.

These social interactions and processes, which a person should be involved in, result in the development of that person's identity and sense of self ([Keating-Lefler, 2001](#)).

Overall, mentioned backgrounds and problems triggered Iranian statutory organizations to codify and legislate some rules to support privacy for the whole family especially women

¹ Although it is not their responsibilities to hide themselves, rather it is men’s responsibility to lower their gazes; based on field works of this study, they feel uncomfortable and sometimes lose their confidence when they feel themselves under the gaze of men.

in the buildings¹. However, majority of these rules and memes for privacy protection are pertained to clothing, and we are short of rules and criteria in architecture. In addition, they all are legislated to protect privacy from the outside and have nothing for the interior of the house. More importantly, these rules are somehow from a top-down eye rather than a bottom-up approach (normative versus grounded theories), which scarcely took women's attitudes, needs, and problems into account.

Afterwards, researches related to privacy are highly diverse in perspective. Most importantly, reviews of the literature have uncovered a gap in knowledge about environmental configurations that support privacy regulation in housing. In present day studies, architecture has been given minimal attention by privacy researchers. For instance, organizations dealing with privacy issues, listed in 'Encyclopedia of privacy' ([Staples, 2007](#)), are all involved in technology, internet, or media, and not environment. Likewise, although the US is notable for the quantity as well as quality of its privacy law, much of them is designed to promote informational privacy ([Allen, 2007](#)). Even in environmental research, majority of studies on privacy are conducted in public spaces such as open urban spaces and workplaces. For instance, [Harris et al. \(1995\)](#) demonstrated studies in which the correlation of privacy and environmental characteristics is examined. However, they are outdated and most of them are conducted in neighborhood scale. [Rapoport \(2000\)](#) asserted the need for theory in housing. He argued that numerous information of empirical research in this area are disconnected and, as a result, counterproductive.

On the other hand, although most cultures recognize the right of individuals to withhold certain parts of their personal information from others, privacy is not a universal concept as the term is generally agreed in the West; and until recent times, it remained virtually unknown in some cultures. A number of studies have pointed out the culturally specific nature of privacy ([Altman, 1977](#); [Gauvain & Altman, 1982](#); [Harris et al., 1995](#); [Kaya & Weber, 2003](#); [Newell, 1998](#); [Shraim, 2000](#); [Tentokali & Howell, 1988](#)). That is cultural beliefs and practices play an important role in individuals' need and their perception of the desired level of privacy. Since, most of the inquiries on privacy originated in the West and most of

¹ For instance, windowsill should be at least 170 cm from the first floor upward. Therefore, people inside the house have no view towards others' houses; or distance between two facing apartment blocks should be kept at least 21 meters.

the studies addressing privacy were either conducted in Western context or carried out by Westerners, these models have rarely used Islamic cultural phenomena and there is limited knowledge about privacy in Islamic culture ([Shraim, 2000](#)).

To illustrate, as [Harris et al. \(1995\)](#) stated, although the need for privacy is considered universal, the reasons people seek it and the mechanisms they employ to regulate it vary from culture to culture. For instance, through different facets of privacy, not being seen was the least important facet for subjects in countries like the USA or Ireland ([Newell, 1998](#)); however it is assumed that in Iran, not being seen might be of greatest importance for women. For example, informational privacy might be important for an American patient woman due to her autonomy, while an Iranian woman might claim for health informational privacy for the sake of her religious obligation, reputation, or modesty ([Allen, 2007](#)). Furthermore, in their study in Malaysia, [Hashim and Abdul Rahim \(2010\)](#) found that the meanings of privacy to people were influenced by their cultural norms and religious belief. When we talk about privacy, not everyone comprehends the same concept and feels the same. Particularly, in different cultures, privacy may convey different meaning and have different functions. We should hesitate to impute our own or some other individuals or groups' needs and attitudes to other people or groups; unless we are sure there are enough similarities in their background, culture, needs, and attitudes that makes it applicable. Considerable scholarly articles exist on Islamic history and its textual traditions; however, the usual forms of Muslim religious life have not been vigorously studied. Popular Islam represents a wide range of observances and practices among its various communities and sects in different societies. Textual and local socio-cultural considerations shaped these varieties. The diversity of observed Islam in the various communities is illustrated in different studies, while research among Muslim women are still rare ([Ghadijally, 2003](#)). Although majority of Iranians are Muslim, they are different from other Muslim societies even their adjacent countries in many ways, especially in gender role. For instance, unlike Saudi Arabia ([Shraim, 2000](#)), Iranian houses are not a male dominated territory, and segregation between genders is not fully employed in houses. Therefore, lack of empirical studies on gendered privacy (its meaning, functions, and borders) in Iran, especially done by insiders, is more obviously conspicuous.

In addition, [Saruwono, Zulkiflin, and Mohammad \(2012\)](#) argued that in organizing the spaces within the house, the main principle for Muslims is the adherence in separation between men and women. Therefore, the living space should provide a separate area for men and women guests who are not close relatives. This code has a strong influence on the design of the organization and layout of space of dwellings in Muslim communities. Dissimilarly, although Iranians prefer to have extra space for segregation in formal gatherings and big ceremonies, majority of gatherings and parties are held mixed, where men and women are sit in the same room and even next to each other. In the same way, both [Shraim \(2000\)](#) and [Al-Kodmany \(1999\)](#) studied privacy in Islamic context. However, they focused only on visual aspect of privacy. Besides, their studies are based on Arab culture, which gives the priority to men and demands for strict separation between men and women. Whereas, as [O'reilly and Salest \(1987\)](#) indicated, privacy is not primarily a visual phenomenon, and previous research in a variety of settings suggests that noise, smells, and the expectation of privacy also affect perceived and actual privacy.

To date, there is limited contextual research on the cultural, social, religious, and psychological variables regarding the definition and function of privacy in housing in Iran. In the English language, the word privacy is a catchall concept that incorporates a multitude of meanings and evokes a wide range of human emotions ([Laufer & Wolfe, 1977](#)). Nevertheless, the word 'privacy' is regarded as untranslatable. Farsi, like many other languages (e.g. Russian and Japanese) lacks a specific word for privacy; and there are different words and phrases that partially overlap the meanings of privacy. These terms, neither completely different nor totally the same, are often mistaken and misplaced.

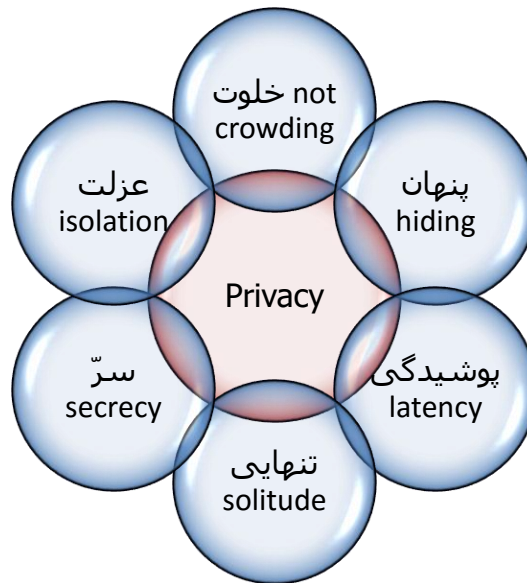


Figure 8. Different yet similar concepts for privacy in Farsi

1.2 Aim and Objectives

The purpose of this study is to examine privacy and its influencing factors from users' viewpoint in the context of houses in Yazd.

Subsequent objectives are set in order to achieve the main aim of the study:

1. To determine definitions and functions of privacy from women perspective.
2. To explore different types of privacy and their importance for women.
3. To examine mechanisms women use to achieve their desired privacy.
4. To identify and document architectural characteristics that can influence privacy achievement in housing.

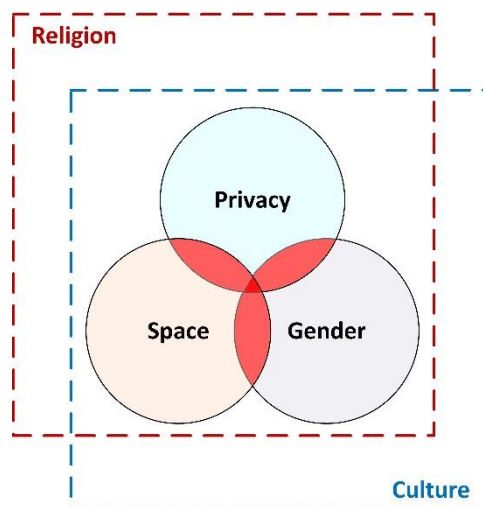


Figure 9. The inter-relationship of concepts to be covered in the study

These can lead us toward building up a new theoretical understanding of architectural characteristics that are influenced by social and cultural aspects of Iranian's life and reciprocally influence environmental behavior, namely privacy regulation. Moreover, considering the importance of religious rules and beliefs in Muslim societies, this study proposes to add concept of *Mahramiat* to the privacy paradigm in order to build a more comprehensive and substantive theory for Islamic countries.

According to above-mentioned aims and objectives, following results are expected.

1.3 Significance and Benefits of the Research

The findings from this study have implementation for both architects and environmental psychologists.

It is also predicted that this study have addition to research methodology literature in architectural studies especially for grounded theory method, which is not widely employed by architecture students and scholars. Another implementation of the study is to clear out how the informants understand privacy in relation to physical environment in the context of Yazdi houses.

In its wider context, this study would contribute to both theory and practice in the fields of architecture, environmental psychology, and gender studies by drawing on the overlapping discourses of privacy, architecture, culture, and gender. However, the focus is more on theory than practice.

In short, this study proposes an improvement of privacy paradigm in Islamic societies.

- It is expected that the concept of privacy and its boundaries in Iranian culture would be apparent.
- It is expected that different mechanisms for privacy regulation and their importance would be elucidated.
- It is expected that characteristics of physical environment that influence privacy would be discovered.
- It is expected that socio-cultural elements influencing privacy and consequently environmental behavior would be revealed.

Since the literature demonstrated a strong correlation between privacy and well-being, it is likely that implementation of findings of this study enhance women's satisfaction with

their physical environment, i.e. their homes, by helping them to regulate their privacy more appropriately.

1.4 Research Questions

In order to investigate aforementioned problems and gaps in the knowledge and to achieve the aim of the study, following research questions are shaped, which will be answered using grounded theory method while employing interviewing technique:

- What does privacy mean for Yazdi women? How important is privacy for them? What are the boundaries of privacy in their point of view? Which faces of privacy are more important for or preferred by them?
- To what extent is privacy for women supported in contemporary houses of Yazd?
- What are the social mechanisms vis-à-vis environmental mechanisms for regulating privacy in houses of Yazd? Which factors help achieving privacy and which factors hinder it?
- Which architectural elements are more frequently used for privacy regulation? Which ones are more preferred and/or appropriate?
- What is the role of religion and culture in privacy regulation mechanisms?

1.5 Scope

This study deals with privacy in the context of environmental psychology and behavioral studies.

In addition, due to harsh climate of Yazd, open spaces of houses are left vacant in most of the time. Therefore, open spaces of houses are intentionally excluded from the study. Moreover, since traditional houses are not being built nowadays and not so many families live in them, examining them and their principles and configuration is out of the scope of this study.

The mentioned limitations should not be seen as problems or difficulties for the research. The foreseen limitations, before the researcher enters the field, determine if s/he is eligible and qualified enough to do this particular research. They also indicate the techniques that the researcher should employ to minimize the risk of directional findings and problems in the process.

1.6 Dissertation Structure

The structure of the dissertation has been organized in five chapters. Chapter 1. provides an overall idea of the research. As this chapter progresses, it discusses the background of the problem, the gap in research, and purpose for the study. The main research questions are also discussed. Finally, this chapter provides the delineations of the study with an overview of the subsequent chapters.

The aim of Chapter 2. is to understand the research setting through investigating the present theory and practice of privacy and space with a gendered lens. Chapter 3. explains the methods of conducting the empirical study to evaluate the theme from the end-users viewpoint. It also describes the design and construction of the research, which includes sample selection and methods of collecting and analyzing the data.

Consequently, the experiment analysis and results are shown in Chapter 4. The main theme of this chapter is to demonstrate the effectiveness of the proposed model. Some minor findings are also presented. Finally, the dissertation ends with Chapter 5. This chapter summarizes the key findings of the study. It draws the major conclusions of the study and illustrates the methodology and interpretation guidelines for housing design based on the research findings. It also includes future research directions suggested by the study.

2 Literature Review

*“The den was Sophie's top **secret hiding place**. It was where she went when she was terribly angry, terribly miserable, or terribly happy. Today she was simply confused.”*

Sophie's World: A Novel About the History of Philosophy ([Gaarder, 1996, p. 5](#))

In this chapter, existent theories and trends in the literature will be reviewed regarding three main areas of this study, i.e. privacy, gender, and space. Established theories and empirical studies which are more relevant to the cultural context would be highlighted.

Firstly, different dimensions of privacy will be discussed from different angles, for instance, various definitions, functions, and theories. Next, gender role and its influence on privacy perception and application will be discussed. Lastly, the focus would be on houses and existent literature regarding privacy in domestic spaces will be reviewed. In every section, the relationship between these three main concepts will be examined as well. Religion and culture will be considered as the context of the study and two underlying layers.

2.1 Privacy

Several studies have pointed out the importance of privacy and its impact on human well-being. [Blatt and Wild \(1976\)](#) stated that lack of privacy can cause mental disorders such as schizophrenia. In addition, according to [Altman \(1975\)](#), poor boundary definition may lead to psychological problem. Likewise, [Altman and Chemers \(1980\)](#) asserted that successful management of privacy is the core of psychological well-being of people. Similarly, [Newell \(1994\)](#) stated that a condition of privacy protects the general biological and psychological health and well-being of individual from threats. In the same way, [Berardo \(1974\)](#) believed that privacy is important for the development of personality.

The correlation of privacy and satisfaction is also highlighted in the literature. [Cassidy \(2003\)](#) posited that satisfaction with privacy is correlated with job and workplace satisfaction and job performance. Similarly, [Sundstrom, Burt, and Kamp \(1980\)](#) showed that privacy is correlated with job satisfaction and workspace satisfaction. Moreover, [Kupritz \(1998\)](#) argued that the lack of privacy was impeding worker performance.

2.1.1 Definitions of Privacy

It could be hazardous to present one all-encompassing definition due to the complexity of privacy. Likewise, [Proshansky, Ittelson, and Rivlin \(1970b\)](#) suggested that “privacy is not a simple, unidimensional concept with an easily identifiable class of empirical referents”. Therefore, a definition should contain an unchanging core to be widely accepted, as suggested by [Margulis \(1977\)](#), yet be fluid enough to accommodate different cultures.

Several scholars in various disciplines tried to represent a comprehensive definition of privacy that comprises different faces and functions of this complex phenomenon. For instance, lawyers define privacy as a “right to be alone”. In philosophers’ viewpoint, privacy is “inaccessibility to others’ senses and surveillance devices”, and Policy makers emphasize on “control over personal information” ([Allen, 2007](#)). There are so many other definitions like Confidentiality, Modesty, Secrecy, and Autonomy in different texts. Here in this study, definitions from environmental psychology viewpoint will be elaborated more.

Although to many people, privacy means being apart and restricting access to their information, as [Gifford \(1987\)](#) claimed, it is a process of optimizing social interaction and information transfer (not merely restricting them). He subsequently defined privacy as a sense of freedom:

1. Individual cognitive freedom: the opportunity to do what pleases us and to pay attention to whatever is liked.
2. Social cognitive freedom: freedom from the expectation of others.

Based on [Newell \(1995\)](#)’s definition, privacy is “a voluntary and temporary condition of separation from the public domain”. She posits that this definition takes care of both the aspect of necessary ownership and responsibility in making choices, and the interactive and changeable nature of such a condition with regard to separation from the public domain.

[Laufer, Proshansky, and Wolfe \(1973\)](#) stated that three main aspects of privacy are:

1. Freedom of choice
2. Control over access (of others to thoughts and behavior)
3. Control over stimulation from the environment (it can be either social or physical environment)

[Proshansky, Ittelson, and Rivlin \(1970a\)](#) Indicated that privacy helps to maximize behavioral options and freedom of choice of individuals, and thereby permits control over a person or

groups' social activities. They stated that controlling the space is a key vehicle to the maintenance of behavioral options. They argued privacy is "both expression and the embodiment of the self and ego" (p. 206). They believed that "privacy is freedom of choice to remove constraints and limitations on behavior" ([Proshansky et al., 1970b, p. 178](#)).

[Bates \(1964\)](#) defined privacy as retreat from people. Similarly, [Bok \(1982\)](#) believed that privacy is the condition of being protected from unwanted access. Either physical access, attention, or personal information.

[Goffman \(1959\)](#); [Kelvin \(1973\)](#); and [Westin \(1967\)](#) characterized privacy as control over information. Likewise, [Altman \(1975\)](#) defined privacy as a "selective control of access to the self or to one's group". The key concept here is the achievement of an appropriate balance between accessibility and separation.

Further, findings of a research on privacy in England ("[Perceptions of Privacy and Density in Housing,](#)" 2003) showed that privacy within the home and the immediate neighborhood was defined in terms of freedoms and protection in four main areas:

1. Sound transfer (the most important problem identified); noise from next door, being overheard
1. Space; not enough room space, encroachment by others
2. Sight; being overlooked
3. Security; not feeling safe

In summary, it is observed that some early studies ([Bates, 1964](#); [Bok, 1982](#)) emphasized on "closing off" side of the definition (protection, retreat); while most studies, using terms such as control, voluntary, optimization, regulation, and a like, illustrated the dialectic feature of privacy. Therefore, privacy should not be considered as opposite of communication, it is rather prerequisite to confidential communication ([Sundstrom, 1986](#)). Table 1 summarizes the aforementioned definitions. As can be seen, only a few studies ([Laufer et al., 1973](#); [Proshansky et al., 1970a](#)) defined privacy as a function of the physical environment or as a condition of the person ([Gifford, 1987](#); [Laufer et al., 1973](#); [Proshansky et al., 1970a](#)). Otherwise, privacy is mostly defined as a social phenomenon. Similarly, three main themes in the definitions can be elicited: 1) restriction and protection, 2) control and optimization, and 3) freedom.

Table 1. A summary of privacy definitions in the literature

Concept	Setting	Reference
Freedom of	Expectation	(Gifford, 1987; Laufer et al., 1973; Proshansky et al., 1970a)
	Choice	
Control on/over	Access	(Altman, 1975; Goffman, 1959; Kelvin, 1973; Laufer et al., 1973; Laufer & Wolfe, 1977; Marshall, 1974; Newell, 1992; Proshansky et al., 1970a; Westin, 1967)
	Information	
	Interaction	
	Stimulation	
	Environment	
Optimization of	Information	(Gifford, 1987)
	Interaction	
Protection from	Attention	(Bok, 1982)
	Access	
Restriction of	Interaction	(Bates, 1964; Newell, 1992)

However, this study tries to examine the extent end-users' definition of privacy (i.e. Yazdi women's) is in accordance with scholars' viewpoint in existing literature and theories.

2.1.2 Theories on Privacy

Although there are several theories on privacy (for instance, see: [Archea, 1977](#); [Laufer et al., 1973](#); [Proshansky et al., 1970a](#)), one of the earliest theories on privacy, proposed by [Goffman \(1959\)](#), is "presentation of self". He divides the home into two regions. The front area is a zone in which "individual tries to exhibit a satisfactory performance." While, the back area is a place in which the "individual is relieved of the necessity of paying attention to the audience's reaction." Likewise, as [Pastalan \(1970\)](#) stated, one of the major benefits of privacy is the relief from monitoring one's own behavior from behaving the way others expect her/him to behave.

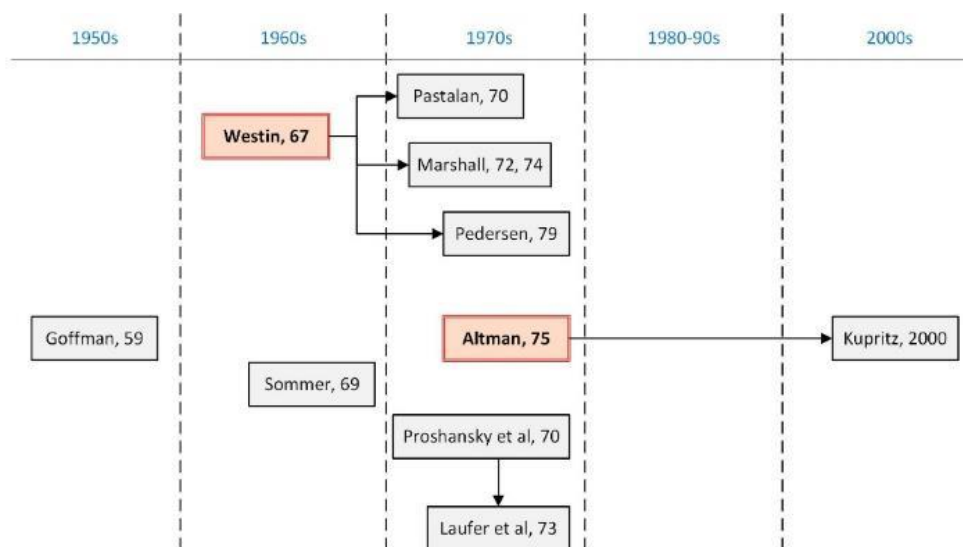


Figure 10. The timeline of major privacy theories

Furthermore, [Margulis \(2011\)](#) nominated theories of [Westin \(1967\)](#) and [Altman \(1975\)](#) as “two best articulated and best supported theories of privacy”.

This review of the literature will include these two theoretical frameworks of privacy, because they have stood the test of time. They both have paved the way for other scholars and studies on privacy; and, as [Margulis \(2011\)](#) advocated, both figure prominently in major reviews of privacy in the 1970s ([Margulis, 1977](#)), 1980s ([Sundstrom, 1986](#)), and 1990s ([Newell, 1995](#)).

2.1.2.1 Westin’s theory

[Westin \(1967\)](#)’s theory of privacy addresses how people protect themselves by temporarily limiting access of others to themselves ([Margulis, 2011](#)). He argued privacy is the claim of individuals, groups, or institutions to determine for themselves when, how, and to what extent information about them is communicated to others. Moreover, to him, privacy is the voluntary and temporary withdrawal of a person from the general society through physical or psychological means.

[Westin \(1967\)](#) proposed that privacy, in concert with other needs, helps us to adjust emotionally to day-to-day interpersonal interactions. For Westin, privacy is both a dynamic process (i.e., over time, we regulate privacy so it is sufficient for serving momentary needs and role requirements) and a non-monotonic function (i.e., people can have too little, sufficient, or too much privacy). For Westin, privacy is neither self-sufficient nor an end in itself, but a means for achieving the overall end of self-realization.

Westin postulates four states of privacy. Solitude is being free from observation by others. Intimacy refers to small group seclusion for members to achieve a close, relaxed, frank relationship. Anonymity refers to freedom from identification and from surveillance in public places and for public acts. Reserve is based on a desire to limit disclosures to others; it requires others to recognize and respect that desire. The states are the means by which the functions (purposes or ends) of privacy are achieved. They are, in effect, the “hows” of privacy.

Westin also posited four functions (purposes) of privacy. They are, in effect, the “whys” of privacy. Personal autonomy refers to the desire to avoid being manipulated, dominated, or exposed by others. Emotional release refers to release from the tensions of social life such

as role demands, emotional states, minor deviances, and the management of losses and of bodily functions. Privacy, whether alone or with supportive others, provides the “time out” from social demands, hence opportunities for emotional release. Self-evaluation refers to integrating experience into meaningful patterns and exerting individuality on events. It includes processing information, supporting the planning process (e.g., the timing of disclosures), integrating experiences, and allowing moral and religious contemplation. The final function, Limited and protected communication, has two facets: limited communication sets interpersonal boundaries; protected communication provides for sharing personal information with trusted others.

Nevertheless, possibly because Westin is a political scientist and lawyer, and not a behavioral scientist, following questions remain unanswered. Do Westin’s four functions flow into one another? Do they co-occur or overlap in time or do they occur independently? Do specific dimensions of privacy underlie Westin’s states? Are privacy factors organized hierarchically? Can the functions be understood as traits? Moreover, Westin’s theory has later been extended by [Pastalan \(1970\)](#), [Marshall \(1972, 1974\)](#) and [Pedersen \(1979\)](#).

2.1.2.2 Altman’s theory

The most prominent theory on privacy, **Privacy Regulation Theory**, was developed by Altman in 1975 ([Gifford, 1987](#); [Johnson, 1990](#)). [Margulis \(1977\)](#) believed this theory is the best in many ways. [Altman \(1975, p. 18\)](#) defined privacy as “a selective control of access to the self or to one’s group.”

According to [Altman \(1975\)](#)’s theory, privacy is a 3-dimensionanl process:

1. Boundary control process (input and output)

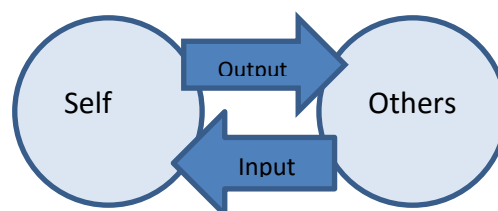


Figure 11. Privacy is control of input (incoming stimulus) and output (outgoing information)

2. Multi-mechanism process (behavioral (verbal and non-verbal), environmental (clothing, personal space, territory), and sociocultural)
3. Optimization process (desired vs. achieved)

According to Altman, the goal of privacy regulation is to achieve the optimum level of privacy. At the optimum level, one can experience the desired solitude when s/he wants to be alone or enjoys the desired social contact when s/he wants to be with people. The distance between achieved and desired level of privacy defines the amount of sense of solitude or crowding or in other words, the amount of dissatisfaction.

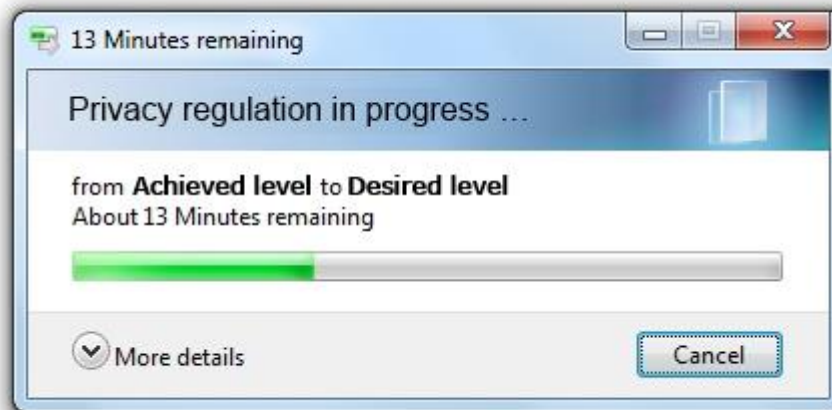


Figure 12. The more the distance between desired and achieved privacy the more discomfort and stress come out

When an individual wants something more than what is currently available, s/he feels lonely or isolated. Loneliness is “A feeling of deprivation produced by dissatisfaction with existing social relations” (Brehm & Kassin, 1993, p. 208). Loneliness is associated with social anxiety and depression. On the other hand, if our actual level of privacy is smaller than the desired one, we will feel annoyed or crowded.

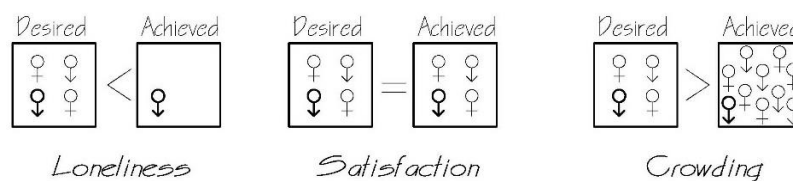


Figure 13. Relationship between desired and achieved levels of privacy

Altman’s theory challenged our traditional belief on privacy which was rather personal. He proposed that it was intrinsically a social process. It was a psychological process involved people’s interaction, their social world and environment. Traditionally, privacy was regarded as a state of social withdrawal (i.e., avoiding people). However, according to Altman, it refers to both openness and closeness of self to others (i.e., seeking and avoiding social interaction).

However, debates still continue on “whether privacy is fundamentally a self-defined concept or an objectively definable one” ([Gifford, 1987](#)); or whether privacy is to be viewed from an individual or societal perspective. Other questions to be answered are what is the optimum level of privacy; and who should determine that; philosophers, psychologists, sociologist or so. We also might ask whether it is only one’s desire that matter or there is a ‘standard’ or ‘normal’ level. For instance, is it good for one’s psychological health if s/he wants more and more isolation and alienation and it is provided for her/him?

[Altman \(1975\)](#) was the first theorized that privacy is cultural universal. He indicates that the need for privacy per se is universal, but how that privacy is regulated and how the need is met differs from culture to culture and from environment to environment.

Although privacy is culturally universal ([Altman, 1975](#); [Westin, 2003](#)), a number of studies have pointed out the culturally specific nature of privacy ([Altman, 1977](#); [Gauvain & Altman, 1982](#); [Harris et al., 1995](#); [Kaya & Weber, 2003](#); [Newell, 1998](#); [Shraim, 2000](#); [Tentokali & Howell, 1988](#)). What counts as a privacy intrusion and why privacy is important varies considerably from place to place. As customs, tradition, religions, and resources vary, so, too, will attitudes about privacy. For instance, informational privacy might be important for an American patient woman due to her autonomy, while an Iranian woman might claim for health informational privacy for the sake of her religious obligation, reputation, or modesty ([Allen, 2007](#)). Moreover, as [Gharaei, Rafieian, and Jalalkamali \(2012\)](#) argued, even in Iran, women’s preferences of privacy differs from the north of the country to the center (Yazd). [Mehrabian and Russell \(1974\)](#) stated that human’s emotional response (in this case, privacy perception) is influenced by the environment and her/his personality; and behavioral response (in this case, privacy regulation) is one of the results of one’s emotional response.

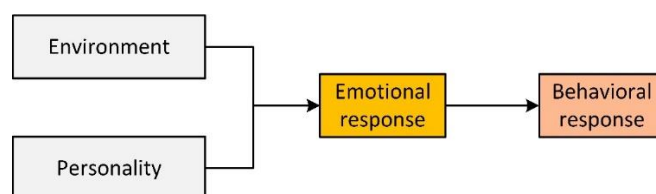


Figure 14. Human perception and response to stimuli

Environment consists of physical and social settings; and one of the main characteristics of personality is gender ([Brehm & Kassin, 1993](#)). As already discussed, [Altman \(1975\)](#) suggested that our perception of privacy can be equal, more than, or less than our desire. If achieved privacy is less or more than desired, some sense of discomfort or dissatisfaction

would be motivated and as a result, some regulatory mechanisms should be employed. Similarly, [Kupritz \(2000b\)](#) extending Altman’s theory, proposed a framework for privacy regulation and pointed out that three main regulatory mechanisms for privacy are environmental, behavioral, and social mechanisms.

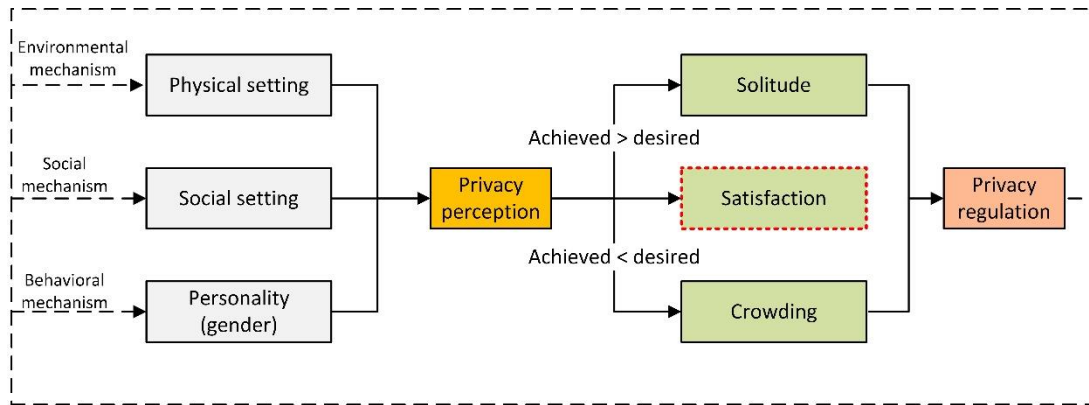


Figure 15. Theoretical framework of privacy regulation mechanisms

“It is increasingly obvious that simple relationship between the physical environment and behavior cannot be expected to be found” ([Marshall, 1970](#)). Effects tend to be mediated when personality and social characteristics, which in turn affect environmental perception and use, emerge.

Considering all these issues, the focus of this study is on the mutual influence of privacy and the physical setting according to Altman’s theory of privacy. However, since religion plays an important role in Muslim societies and is one of the main privacy regulation interfaces in these countries ([Abdulaal, 1987](#); [Alhemaidi, 1996](#); [Saruwono et al., 2012](#); [Shraim, 2000](#); [Vaziritabar, 1990](#)); limitations of existent theories in Islamic societies, which undermine its usage and application, becomes clear. Therefore, this study tends to propose a more comprehensive and substantive theory for these societies, namely Yazd, that would be more applicable.

2.1.3 Faces of Privacy

Unlike communal believe, privacy is not a single characteristic of human behavior and it has many facets. [Pedersen \(1982\)](#) illustrated the usefulness of distinction between faces of privacy.

Westin’s ([1967](#)) work was the first in delineating privacy faces ([Pedersen, 1979](#)). He proposed four major faces for privacy:

1. Solitude; person is alone and free from observation by others. Distance/ physical barrier.
2. Intimacy; a group maximizes interpersonal relationships by minimizing outside surveillance. Or, "Intrusion control and separation of two or more people to achieve shared goal(s)."
3. Anonymity; person is surrounded by others but does not expect to be recognized. It is a desire to go unnoticed in a crowd and not wishing to be the center of group attention.
4. Reserve; person withholds personal aspects of himself from others. It indicates unwillingness to be with and talk with others, especially strangers.

[Marshall \(1972, 1974\)](#) in analyzing a pool of 86 privacy items added two more faces to Westin's ([1967](#)) work:

5. Seclusion; living out of sight and sound
6. Not neighboring; not desiring much contact with neighbors.

[Pedersen \(1979\)](#) extended Westin's study and divided intimacy into two clusters:

- 2.1. Intimacy with family; being alone with members of one's own family
- 2.2. Intimacy with friends; being alone with friends.

He also added one more face, which is very close in the meaning to the seclusion introduced by [Marshall \(1972\)](#).

5. Isolation; a desire to be alone and away from others. Isolation can also reflect an unsolicited condition. When an individual wants more interaction than what is currently available. In this term, isolation entails 1) social isolation: a person wants, but does not have network of friends; and 2) emotional isolation: the person wants, but does not have a single intense relationship.

In addition, [Pedersen \(1982\)](#) posited that one face of privacy does not necessarily go with another face. A privacy profile may be expected to be unique for any particular person. He subsequently validated his earlier findings on 1979, and confirmed the independence of the six faces of privacy.

[Rustemli and Kokdemir \(1993\)](#) also confirmed Pedersen's ([1979](#)) findings in a non-Western culture, namely Turkey. Their findings on preference for intimate relationships with friends

rather than with family members provide evidence for Pedersen's suggestion that there are two types of intimacy.

[Gifford \(1987\)](#) added freedom (from constraints and from expectations) as the fifth face to Westin's model.

To conclude, faces of privacy in Westin, Marshal, Pedersen, and Gifford's studies can be combined in order to outline a more comprehensive model:

1. solitude (isolation, seclusion, not neighboring)
2. intimacy (with family and with friends)
3. anonymity
4. reserve
5. freedom

[Proshansky et al. \(1970b\)](#) believed that solitude and anonymity are individual state of privacy, while intimacy and reserve are group state of privacy. They suggested that both intimacy and reserve involve the whole group as the unit of analysis, and privacy will be achieved only if all members of the group agree.

The value placed on different faces of privacy can vary across the time due to the changes in technology, culture, and gender roles ([Allen, 2007](#)). Thereafter, related questions are whether or not there is any pattern connecting cultural differences, or geographical areas, with various faces of privacy? Do some groups (such as women) employ one face (e.g. anonymity) more than other faces?

Subsequently, several studies have been conducted to measure different faces of privacy and their relationship or their importance in people's point of view. For instance, in a survey, respondents were asked to rate the importance of "different aspects of privacy" to them ([Westin, 2003](#)). Findings showed that intimacy was rated by the American public by far as the most "extremely important" of the four states of privacy, at 81%. Solitude was second at 66%, reserve at 55% and anonymity at 47%. Similarly, [Stewart-Pollack and Menconi \(2005\)](#) stated that most often required faces of privacy in homes are solitude and intimacy.

2.1.4 Functions of Privacy

After discussing the definition and faces of privacy, we should bring up “what does privacy protect?”

It is customary to follow Westin’s ([1967](#)) listing of four functions of privacy in discussing the uses of privacy and the needs that privacy regulation serves:

1. Personal autonomy or independence
2. Self-evaluation or identity
3. Emotional release or excitement
4. Limited and protected communication or reserved talking

[Altman \(1974\)](#) claimed that privacy serves as:

1. Control of interpersonal interaction
2. The interface of the self and the social world (How individuals establish plans, roles, and strategies for dealing with others)
3. Development and nature of self-identity

[Bates \(1964\)](#) argued that privacy may be required within which self-esteem can be restored. Similarly, [Newell \(1994\)](#) mentioned self-esteem and self-evaluation as two outcomes of privacy. Moreover, [Young \(1966\)](#) indicated that individuality does not exist without privacy.

Given that the social interactions and processes, which a person is involved in, result in the development of that person's identity and sense of self ([Keating-Lefler, 2001](#)), one can agree with [Altman \(1975\)](#) who stated that the main psychological function of privacy is to maintain self-identity; and all functions introduced by [Westin \(1967\)](#) are in the service of this function.

[Pastalan \(1970\)](#) believed that one of the major benefits of privacy is the relief from monitoring one’s own behavior from behaving the way others expect her/him to behave.

[Pedersen \(1999\)](#) proposed five privacy functions as:

1. Autonomy
2. Confiding
3. Rejuvenation
4. Contemplation
5. Creativity

[Katyal \(2002\)](#) suggested privacy for better interaction. Similarly, [Mansor \(2008\)](#) believed that privacy is a way that help us to interact more comfortably. In addition, [Kupritz \(2000b\)](#) proposed three main functions of privacy as:

1. Optimal social contact and avoid crowding
2. Mental concentration (no distraction, interruption, noise)
3. Autonomy and conversational privacy

Beside theoretical studies, several empirical studies have also been conducted to examine functions of privacy from people’s point of view. For instance, in a cross-cultural study, [Newell \(1998\)](#) disclosed that not being disturbed was the most important element of privacy and grief, fatigue, and need to focus were the latter.

Table 2 summarizes the aforementioned functions of privacy. As can be seen, all privacy functions can be clustered into five main themes in both personal and social levels.

Finally, it can be concluded that when we talk about privacy, we consider a person in a constant interrelationship with her/his surroundings, either social or physical.

Table 2. A summary of privacy functions in the literature

Concept	Setting	Reference
Interaction	Communication	(Altman, 1974; Katyal, 2002; Westin, 1967)
	Expectation	
Autonomy	Independence	(Kupritz, 2000a; Westin, 1967)
Self-identity	Self-evaluation	(Altman, 1974; Bates, 1964; Kupritz, 2000; Newell, 1994; Pedersen, 1999)
	Excitement	
	Contemplation	
	Concentration	
	Grief	
	Self-esteem	
Confiding	Secrecy	(Pedersen, 1999)
Not being disturbed	Fatigue	(Newell, 1998)

Although [Newell \(1998\)](#) suggested that there is striking commonalities in the reason to seek privacy in different cultures, [Al-Kodmany \(1999\)](#) pointed out cultural, religious, personal, and psychological differences for seeking privacy. Therefore, this study tries to examine if there is any notion of differences between men and women; and between Islamic and other societies regarding the functions of privacy.

2.1.5 Regulation Mechanisms

People may use different mechanisms to protect their privacy. These mechanisms can vary from person to person and across cultures. For instance, Harris, Brown, and Werner's (1996) study indicated that a set of optimal mechanisms for one context may not be optimal in another one. From a cultural perspective, differences in amounts of desired privacy is not as crucial as the mechanisms by which people achieve these levels of privacy (Rustemli & Kokdemir, 1993).

Mechanisms for privacy regulation has been extensively documented in literature (e.g. see: Altman (1975) and Altman and Chemers (1980)). Gifford (1987) suggested that to accomplish our privacy goals, we should balance our own desire, other's desire, and the physical environment. Similarly, Laufer and Wolfe (1977) described it in their theory as three dimensions of privacy; environmental, interpersonal, and self-ego dimensions. Drawn upon several researches, Kupritz (2000b) grouped these mechanisms into three categories; environmental, social, and behavioral mechanisms.

Environmental mechanisms are the acts of regulating privacy by using physical elements¹ of the environment. I.e. clothing, personal space, and territoriality (Margulis, 1977). Archa (1977) believed that physical environment regardless of the person who populate it affects privacy to a large degree. It can be due to it provides resources for regulating interpersonal accessibility, and for signaling desires for more or less social interaction. For instance, Lewis (1970) illustrated ways in which poor families, living in conditions of high density, use the physical environment as a boundary control mechanism for limiting access to one's self or group. Altman (1976) believed that naturally many societies rely on environmental mechanisms.

Social mechanisms governed by the cultural institution through accepted practices, mores, rules, and roles in a behavior setting. They regulate privacy through the structuring of activities in space and time (Johnson, 1990). Some social mechanisms are norms² of social interaction, clothe changing, sleeping, and incest taboo (Patterson & Chiswick, 1981).

¹ Elements in the environment can be objects (human, buildings, plants) or stimulus (noise, heat, weather)

² Social norms are behavioral patterns that are expected to be displayed in a specific social situation (Brehm & Kassin, 1993).

Behavioral mechanisms refers to behavioral patterns in a physical setting according to cultural norms, which includes verbal and non-verbal behavior.

Furthermore, [Altman \(1975\)](#) indicated that there is a dynamic and responsive mechanism that can be named as “integrated system of mechanisms”, which is a combination of environmental, social, and behavioral mechanisms. He believed that when a mechanism does not work, it is replaced or supported by another mechanism/s. For instance, if closing the door does not help, we may ask the invader to leave the room.

Figure 16. shows the correlation of different mechanisms and their elements. [Hall \(1966\)](#) stated that using these mechanisms depend upon cultural contexting patterns. For instance, Germans, a “low context” culture, primarily rely on environmental mechanisms to regulate privacy as reflected in thick walls and double doors. Dissimilarly, Japanese, a “high context” culture, traditionally rely on behavioral mechanisms, such as thin sliding partitions used as acoustical screens, to regulate privacy.

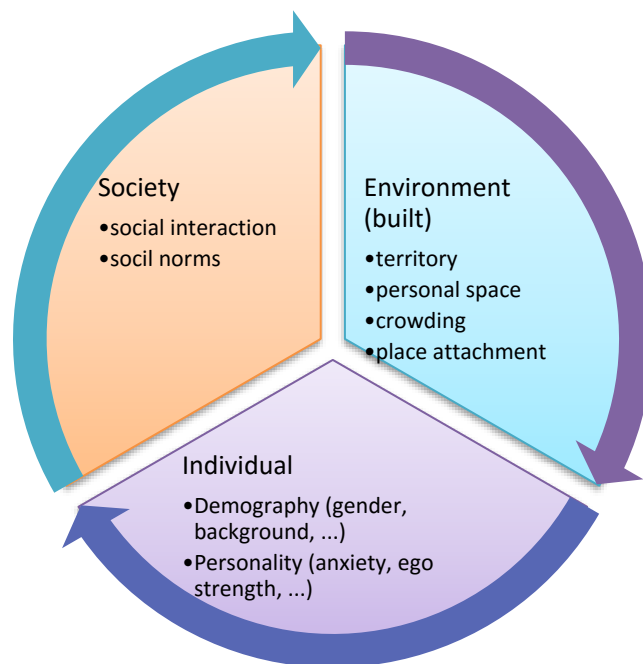


Figure 16. Integrated system of privacy regulation mechanisms

In Chapter 5., these mechanisms and their importance, interrelationship, and communality for women in Yazd will be discussed.

2.1.6 Privacy in Islam

It is apparent that cultural factors play a significant role in what individuals desire and expect of privacy. Several studies have shown that privacy is of great importance in Middle Eastern culture (For instance see: Vaziritabar's (1990) research in Iran, Eltayeb's (1990) study in Sudan, El-Rafey's (1992) work in Egypt, Shraim's (2000) study in Saudi Arabia, and Al-Kodmany's (1999) work in Syria). Likewise, [Hashim, Rahim, Rashid, and Yahaya \(2006\)](#) stated that religious beliefs affect privacy regulation mechanisms.

In the Holy Quran, there are four main restrictions regarding privacy support:

- Entering others' house
- Entering parents' room
- Entering females' domain
- Prying into others' secrets

Islam requires believers not to enter a house before asking for permission:

O ye who believe, enter not houses other than your own, until ye have asked permission and saluted those in them: that is best for you, in order that ye may heed. If ye find no one in the house, enter not until permission is given to you; if ye are asked to go back, go back: that makes for greater purity for yourselves and God Knows well all that ye do ([The Holy Quran, 24: 27,28](#)).

This verse preserves the right for family privacy and prevents encroachment, and because of this verse, the house is considered as sanctuary in Muslim world. Moreover, parent's privacy is respected in Islam:

O Ye who believe! let those whom your right hands own and those of you who have not attained puberty ask leave of you three times before the dawn prayer, and when ye lay aside your garments noontime, and after the night-prayer: three at times of privacy for you. No fault there is upon you or upon them beyond these times going round upon you, some of you upon some others. In this wise Allah expoundeth unto you the commandments; and Allah is Knowing, Wise ([The Holy Quran, 24: 58](#)).

As can be seen, even underage children should ask for permission for entering parents' room. This verse clearly points out the intimacy needed for couples at least three times a day.

In order to illustrate the importance of women's privacy in Islam; we should start with the clarification of Hijab and dress code, which was always a controversial topic.

The Quran instructs the male believers (Muslims) to talk to wives of Prophet Mohammad (SAWW) from behind a Hijab:

And when ye ask of them [the wives of the Prophet] anything, ask it of them from behind the Hijab (curtain) ([The Holy Quran, 33: 53](#)).

The term Hijab or veil is used in this verse does not refer to an article of clothing for women or men; rather it refers to a spatial curtain that divides or provides privacy.

In practice, Hijab refers to both the head covering traditionally worn by Muslim women and modest Muslim styles of dress in general. The word for a headscarf or veil used in the Quran is *Khimār* and not Hijab. According to Islamic scholarship, Hijab is given the wider meaning of modesty, privacy, and morality.

Some verses in Quran speak clearly about clothing:

Say to the believing men that they should lower their gaze and guard their modesty... And say to the believing women that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts and do not display their ornaments except what appears thereof, and let them wear their head-coverings over their bosoms, and not display their ornaments except to their husbands or their fathers, or the fathers of their husbands, or their sons, or the sons of their husbands, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or those whom their right hands possess, or the male servants not having need (of women), or the children who have not attained knowledge of what is hidden of women; and let them not strike their feet so that what they hide of their ornaments may be known; and turn to Allah all of you, O believers! so that you may be successful ([The Holy Quran, 24: 30-31](#)).

As can be seen, men are preceding for being responsible of keeping modesty.

Those who harass believing men and believing women undeservedly, bear (on themselves) a calumny and a grievous sin. O Prophet! Enjoin your wives, your daughters, and the wives of true believers that they should cast their Jalabib [outer garments] over their persons (when abroad): That is most convenient, that they may be distinguished and not be harassed, and Allah is Oft Forgiving, Most Merciful ([The Holy Quran, 33: 58-59](#)).

According to this verse, Muslim women are asked to draw their *Jilbab* over them (when they go out), as a measure to announce themselves as modest, so that they are not harassed¹.

Interpretation of these verses is the reason behind the vast difference between what Muslim women wear in different countries. It has been interpreted as simply dressing modestly to wearing an outfit that covers the entire body and face. For instance, in Saudi Arabia Muslim women are required to cover themselves completely by wearing an *Abaya* and a *Boshiya* (veil). In Iran, women are not required to cover their face and the color or type of the cloth is unrestricted.

The general restriction for female clothing accepted by all *Fiqh* is that cloth:

- should not be so tight to describe the woman body or sexy parts, and
- should not be so transparent to make the under cloth visible.

Based on these verses, Muslim men never barge in, always request permission, and announce their presence before entering a house or female domains. Nowadays, The Hijab can also act as a safeguard against being regarded as sexual objects ([Mir-Hosseini, 2007](#)). Currently, the Hijab can also represent opposition to and rejection of Western imperialism and racism ([Kabbani, 1989](#); [Rozario, 1998](#); also cf. [Siddiqui, 1991](#)).

Moreover, the holy Quran brings up the issue of informational privacy by asking believers not to pry.

O Ye who believe! ... Do not pry into others' secrets ([The Holy Quran, 49: 12](#))

To summarize, Islam protects privacy for three groups the most:

1. privacy for the whole family from the outsiders (interfamily)
2. privacy for the couple from the children (in-family)
3. privacy for women to be respected and not harassed by men

It also should be noted that Islam considers privacy as a bi-directional concept, which includes both the defender and the invader. It asks defender to take care of their own privacy and at the same time, demands the invader to respect others' privacy. It also involves various social units.

¹ Current studies also reveal that clothing can cause decline in credibility by activating stereotype ([Brehm & Kassin, 1993](#)).

Given that different interpretation of *Shari'a* and different societies' *'Orf*, what Muslims practice are not the same. Therefore, more studies have yet to be done in different Muslim societies.

2.2 Gender



Figure 17. Modesty, 1986, Ciment fondu, paint, lacquer, 119x 45 x 33 cm. Part of NUS museum collection

There have been, and continues to be, so many debates on differences and similarities of men and women in different fields.

In research, gender is often treated as a variable instead of an analytic construct. When treated as a variable, as [Franck \(1986\)](#) argued, gender is simply analogous to sex differences. When treated as an analytic construct, it becomes a means for interpreting social roles and relationships ascribed to or assumed by women and men.

The origin of gender differences is considered to be socialization. As people grow up, they do not only internalize gender roles, but they respond to changing norms in society as well.

Children categorize themselves by gender very early in life. A part of this is said to be learning how to display and perform gendered identities as feminine or masculine. Children monitor their own and others' gendered behavior. Boys learn to manipulate the social and physical environment through physical strength, while girls learn to present themselves as objects to be viewed. Gender-segregated children's activities indicates that gender differences in behavior reflect an essential nature of female and male behavior ([Brehm & Kassin, 1993](#)).

"Sexism¹ begins with the fact that sex is probably the most conspicuous social category we use to identify ourselves and others" ([Brehm & Kassin, 1993](#)). What activates gender stereotype are 1) perceiver and how s/he looks at gender differences 2) the target and how s/he behaves, and 3) the situation ([Brehm & Kassin, 1993](#)). [Hills \(2003\)](#) indicated various issues of gender discrimination in early modern Europe. Similarly, gender discrimination in today's media and society is elaborated in different texts ([Matrix, 1984](#)).

Gender refers to constructed ideas about appropriate behaviors and roles for males and females. The role theory, in which individuals are passive learners, limits individuals' construction of their gender identities with influences of socialization processes. However, the active interpretation of individuals of what they learn in socialization processes shapes their ideas of gender ([Toker, 2004](#)). Since the house is an important setting for enacting power relationships between women and men, gender is constructed and practiced within houses ([Toker, 2004](#)).

2.2.1 Gender and Privacy

There are enough evidences to ensure us that differences between genders exist in goals for seeking privacy, and in techniques people use in order to achieve their desired level of privacy. For instance, [Etzioni \(1999\)](#) examined men and women sensitivity to privacy. His findings show that American women are much more concerned about privacy issues than men are. Similarly, [Terry \(2006\)](#) suggested that men and women differ in the factors associated with privacy concerns.

[Kazmierczak \(1988\)](#) found differences between male and female in their attitude toward privacy in different physical environments. [Gifford \(1987\)](#) posited that men and women tend

¹ Discrimination based on a person's gender.

to react differently to high density (men respond more negatively). He believed that the gender exhibit this effect as early as nine years old.

[Demirbas and Demirkan \(2000\)](#) found that women and men have different preferences for two forms of intimacy; with friends and with family. Likewise, [Gifford \(1987\)](#) indicated that appropriateness of [personal] distance partly depends on the gender of invader.

[Newell \(1995\)](#) posited that there are differences between the genders in reasons why persons seek privacy. Males seek privacy for goal-oriented reasons to a larger extent than females. Men also take more positive actions to obtain privacy and are more successful in obtaining it when they require it. The finding that women are less likely to obtain privacy when they require it may be connected with learned cultural factors. Thus, more research on the learned aspects of privacy management and cultural influences would be useful. Why do women show less aptitude for obtaining privacy?

In addition, physical and psychological differences between men and women make women's need for privacy more salient and more important. For instance, they need private space and private time during breastfeeding to impede offence and embarrassment to themselves and to others. [Mahon-Daly and Andrews \(2002\)](#) showed that being in public has negative effect on breastfeeding frequency due to women feel uncomfortable and ashamed of having their breast seen.

[Al-Kodmany \(1999\)](#) found that visual privacy at home from outsiders is very important for the majority of women in Damascus. Women who live in the modern houses, in order to increase the achieved privacy, often modify and change the original design of their homes. Overall, critics argue that in the twentieth century the distinctions between public and private are becoming eroded due to the impact of mass media, centralized government structures, and women's increased labor force participation, among other trends ([Ahrentzen et al., 1989](#)).

2.2.2 Gender and Space

The social and cultural processes that inform gendered identities also profoundly promote a gendered sense of places by ascribing physical and emotional responses to specific locations. These eventually usher in conspicuously engendered constructions of space ([Paul, 2011](#)).

In prehistoric era, gender role is so clear that relations between genders can be understood from the distribution of artifacts. For instance, in Andean houses, women are firmly connected with preparation and storage of food ([Hastorf, 1996](#)).

[Toker \(2004\)](#) stated that spatial organization and spatial characteristics of houses affect and are affected by gender ideologies. Moreover, [Howe \(2003\)](#) stated that segregation on the bases of gender was a universal concern. For instance, in fifteen-century Italy, hospitals were founded “where the main building was divided into male and female quarters with no opportunity for men to approach women or the women to approach the men” (p. 63).

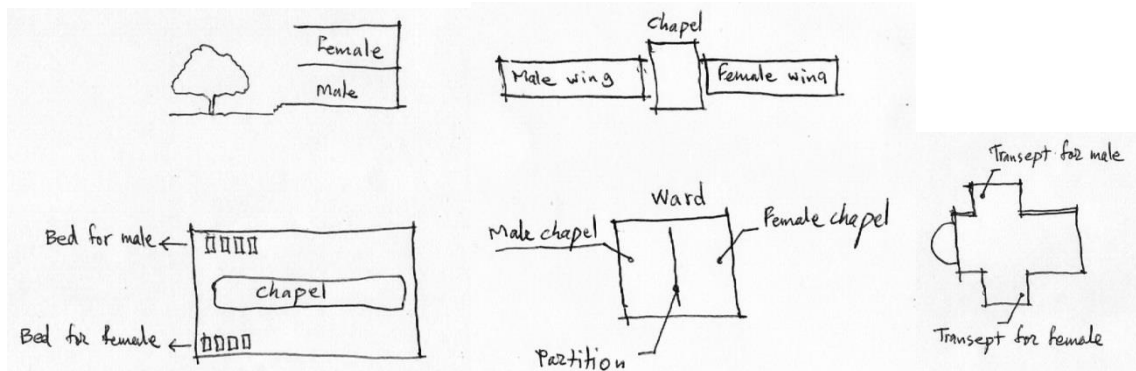


Figure 18. Various methods of gender segregation in medieval infirmaries. Depicted based on [Howe’s \(2003\)](#) explanation.

Implying existence of gendered space, [Howe \(2003\)](#) believed that “renaissance architects’ plans advanced the prerequisite of gendered space for communal order” (p. 75). For instance, one of the most famous architects of renaissance, Leon Battista Alberti, envisioned women’s space as architecturally differentiated. His prescription ensured that male space was visible, accessible, and archetypal; while female space was internal and guarded. In his works, the palace [house] privileged the head male occupant, relegated women to secondary space ([cited in: Howe, 2003](#)). The crucial element in Alberti’s plans for houses was the hierarchal division of spaces into private, semi-private, and public zones with rooms at the courtyard for female members of the family to be treated as dedicated to chastity and religion and under supervision of the matron ([Howe, 2003](#)).

[Sofsky \(2008\)](#) showed how the concept of segregation is embedded in nineteen-century European bourgeois houses. He mentions that reception rooms were separated from the family refuge. Family photos had no place in parlor. The parents’ bedroom was strictly off limits to strangers. Visitors were stopped and evaluated at the foyer, behind the front door.

Indeed, on the other hand, poor people had nothing more than a room for everything even for livestock.

Even in modern-day societies, city spaces are being increasingly masculinized and seem to restrict women's use of public spaces in rearticulated socially coded ways, largely within the domain of domesticity. Physical intimidation is the most widely used means of keeping women out of masculine public spaces ([Paul, 2011](#)). Until recently, in Western Europe and North America, solitude has been associated with men and women were only granted solitude for prayer ([J. M. Smith, 2001](#)).

Despite the practice of gender division in design and construction of the buildings, only recently, have researchers begun to focus on gender division of residential space ([Ahrentzen et al., 1989](#)). Much of these research has been directed or explained by the concept of "separate spheres". In this conceptualization, societies and space are divided into public and private spheres. Women are identified with private space, best exemplified by the domicile, and men with public space, the sphere of labor and politics. This conceptual orientation is not only prominent in academic circles but also popular ones. Kron's ([1983](#)) book, "Home-Psych", for example, has a chapter describing women's greater expression in and attachment to interior residential space, with men relegated to interests in the neighborhood, community, work, and outdoors.

The gender division of labor in the home has been, and continues to be, a prominent topic in empirical and theoretical studies ([Oakley, 1974](#); [Zaretsky, 1976](#)). Finding shows that when husband and wife assume both labor and domestic roles, women are still generally responsible for domestic and family activities in the home. This social relationship, in which working wives still maintain responsibility for the work of the home, will be reflected in women's greater use of space pertaining to these responsibilities. Among fully employed married men and women, gender reflects different use of the home. Fully employed mothers compared to fathers spend more time in rooms with other family members; they are also more involved in housekeeping and child-care activities in those rooms ([Ahrentzen et al., 1989](#)). However, differences between women of different employment status and different marital status are also seen for different amounts of time spent at home and different proportions of time at home spent in the kitchen, bedroom, and bathroom ([Ahrentzen et al., 1989](#)).

Although in early 20th century, both veiled (as were the majority) and unveiled women in Egypt reduced their domestic seclusion, they still uphold norms of gender segregation ([Badran, 1995, p. 48](#)).

[Saegert and Winkel \(1980\)](#) posited that “In the final decision making, women’s real needs, desires, and aspiration are not taken as seriously as male-dominated ideas about the “appropriate” house for the family.” He believed “Cities and buildings are designed by men even in spheres where women are important. While most domestic labor is still performed by women, house design still reflects men’s ideas rather than women’s experience.” He recommended that to overcome the oppression of women, they should be consulted in the design and layout of housing. Thus, questions of their preference will be highlighted.

Overall, although many research (some shown above) suggested that space and place are gendered, [Massey \(1994\)](#) believed that the ways which they are gendered vary between cultures and over time. Therefore, this study focuses on women’s understanding of the appropriate level of privacy inside their houses in a specific context, namely Yazd.

2.2.3 Gender and Religion

Certain criteria and rules exist in different religions regarding gender role. One of the most controversial debate was always dress code, and the way religions needed their followers to dress. Although Hijab is not widely practiced in modern societies, except some Muslim societies, there are certain rules asking female believers to cover their head or their body in different religion and societies.

For example, married Christian women in medieval Europe had to wear headscarves. In the same way, observant married Jewish women are required to cover their hair, using scarves; in compliance with the code of modesty. Russian Orthodox Church also commands the use of scarves for all married women inside the church. Likewise, certain Hindu sects wear headscarves for religious reasons too ([Rapoport, 1969](#)). Likewise, the male head of the family make all key decisions in Hindu Joint family. “Traditional Hindu households segregate within the dwelling to secure the women from male kin” ([Tentokali & Howell, 1988](#)).

Gender role in Islam will be more deeply discussed in following accounts. In Islam, mothers are considered as the most important part of the family. A Hadith of the Prophet (SAWW) says:

“Mother’s right is as twice as father’s” ([Ghapanchi, 1995](#)).

In another famous account, Prophet Mohammad (SAWW) described the high status of mothers:

A man asked the Prophet: “Whom should I honor most?” The Prophet replied: “Your mother”. “And who comes next?” asked the man. The Prophet replied: “Your mother”. “And who comes next?” asked the man. The Prophet replied: “Your mother!” “And who comes next?” asked the man. The Prophet replied: “Your father” ([Kolaini, Section: Kindness to parents, Hadith 5 and 9](#)).

However, what is written in the epigraph is not exactly the same as what is practiced. While a woman (mother) is considered the most important member of the family, not all the authority and power belongs to her. In majority of Muslim societies, women do not have access to their right. Similarly, they are not treated as it is mentioned in the books, and equal to men. Discussion on this issue is never-ending.

[Drew \(1997\)](#) argued that Iran is among the most controversial countries examined in *“international encyclopedia of sexuality”*. She believed that the pattern of segregation (between men and women) makes opportunity for sexual harassment rare. Thus, many Iranian women maintain that wearing *Chādor* is not repressive, but in fact protects them from sexual harassment when they go out in public.

Within many Western discourses about Third World women, the standards of First World women have often been used as the superior norms against which Third World and non-Western women are measured. Often, Western cultural ideals are imposed on women coming from very different religious and cultural traditions. Various examples of disempowered women are used to prove the general thesis that women as a group are “powerless” ([Mohanty, 1988, p. 57](#)). Women become identified as an oppressed group prior to the process of analysis. For instance, those Western discourses that represent the hijab as simply symbolic of Muslim women’s subjugation miss both the particularity of such a phenomenon as well as the multiple levels of meanings that it may have for different Muslim women ([Shaikh & Safi, 2003](#)). To illustrate, during the British colonial occupation of Egypt many Muslim women adopted the hijab as a symbol of their resistance to colonial definitions ([Ahmed, 1992, p. 164](#)). The same story occurred in Iran before Islamic revolution in 1979 ([Mir-Hosseini, 2007](#)).

In a study in Iran, gender was perceived as the first factor that influenced interpersonal distancing behavior, which is one of the privacy regulation mechanisms. After that, social relationship was influential (acquaintanceship and intimacy affect the distance between individuals). The interaction's goal and architecture of the room was the other effective factors ([Mortazavi, 1989](#)). [Mortazavi \(1989\)](#) also found that women are more affected by gender than men are.

2.3 Space

Physical environments are mostly designed to facilitate rudimentary needs. This perspective, which is dictated usually by economic and engineering consideration, is far from satisfactory from the standpoint of the residents' emotional and social needs such as esteem, belonging, aesthetic, and actualization.

[Barrett \(1992\)](#) believed that privacy is related to physical characteristics of the environment and is a predictor of satisfaction. Similarly, [Phelps et al. \(2008\)](#) stated that environment affects people's well-being.

interactions and exchanges with the physical environment is necessary for human to satisfy her/his needs ([Proshansky et al., 1970a](#)). There are plenty of studies on the mutual influence of architectural settings and culture, behavior, and psychological well-being of human. In this section, some of the studies will be reviewed.

[Ross \(1977\)](#) argued that people overestimate the role of personality in behavior and the role of the situation is underestimated. He entitled it as the "fundamental attribution error". However, according to Maslow's ([1943](#)) theory, the environment becomes salient for satisfaction merely when it becomes inadequate. [Evans, Wells, and Moch \(2003\)](#) stated that despite people invest more financial, temporal, and psychological resources in their homes than in any other material entity, research on housing is remarkably underdeveloped.

Physical environment and well-being. [Mares, Young, Mcguire, and Rosenheck \(2002\)](#) declared that there is a relationship between residential environment and quality of life. Their study examined objective characteristics of the home. Findings of a study revealed the influence of office type on workers' job satisfaction and health status ([Danielsson & Bodin, 2008](#)). [Wright and Kloos \(2007\)](#) stated that the more favorable ratings of housing

environments the better well-being outcomes. Their study showed that different levels of housing environments have different effects on individuals' well-being.

Physical environment and psychological status. [Wells and Harris \(2007\)](#) stated that changes in housing quality influence psychological distress. Their study indicated that social withdrawal mediates the relation between housing quality and mental health. [Harris et al. \(2002\)](#) stated that the physical environment plays a significant role in hospital experience. Their study reveals the source of environmental satisfaction. [Brehm and Kassin \(1993\)](#) stated that architecture can induce some daily hassles and pressure. In a study, people living in more crowded homes reported higher levels of psychological distress ([Stewart-Pollack & Menconi, 2005](#)) . [Evans, Lepore, and Schroeder \(1996\)](#) found that residents of homes with greater architectural depth¹ are less likely to socially withdraw or to be psychologically distressed than residents in homes with relatively low depth. [Newell \(1994\)](#) summarized a body of work in which effects of physical and social environment on self-regulation and psychic balance are expressed. [Mehrabian and Russell \(1974\)](#) posited that spatial arrangement of residences affects the formation of social group and the frequency of social interaction. [Evans, Lercher, and Kofler \(2002\)](#) stated that the mental health sequel of residential crowding is changed by the type of housing. Their study showed that floorplans with greater separation between different spaces buffer the crowding-distress relationship. [Evans et al. \(2002\)](#) believed that the relations between psychological well-being and residential density could be moderated by housing type. They found that children who live in multiple-family dwellings react more strongly to high-density conditions than those living in either single-family or row houses. They also indicated that design variables, parallel to person variables, could operate as moderators of psychosocial processes.

Physical environment and performance. [Rivlin and Weinstein \(1984\)](#) stated that physical characteristics of a setting could influence both the behavior of its users and the educational program. Their study considers as well noises, seating position, spatial cognition and so on. [Szapocznik et al. \(2006\)](#) posited that significant relationship exists between diversity of use of the built environment and children's grades. [Sommer \(1970\)](#) believed that properly designed environment could eliminate or minimize the distraction

¹ the number of spaces one must pass through to get from one room in the house to another

in study areas. [Holahan and Susan \(1973\)](#) indicated the strong relationship between physical environment and social interaction patterns.

Overall, housing is the most common form of building in the world ([Serageldin, 1990](#)). “The problem of housing is likely to become the prime issue confronting most countries in the third world” (p. 23). In these countries, technical methods have been used for high volume of construction without particular regard to social and cultural factors. Professionals, who draw dwelling in these countries, are often lacking in consciousness of the social habits and cultural identity of the residents ([Zulficar, 1990](#)). [Hashim et al. \(2009\)](#) believed that this is because culture, compared to economy and policy, is not seen to be an important element in design of houses.

2.3.1 Space and Privacy

In terms of environmental correlates, a number of authors have examined environmental configurations that support privacy regulation either inside or outside the home ([Altman & Chemers, 1980](#); [Brown & Altman, 1983](#); [Brown & Werner, 1985](#)). Architecture can reinforce the essential value of privacy by creating public spaces that encourage social interaction ([Katyal, 2002](#)). [Allen \(2007\)](#) argued that the home is the heart of the private life and a domain culturally marked for the highest expectations for physical privacy. [Harris et al. \(1996\)](#) stated that home settings that allow for easy regulation of privacy foster greater levels of place attachment. [Robson \(2008\)](#) showed that there is a significant relationship between architectural features and stressfulness circumstances. She indicated that the more stressful situation is the more privacy is needed.

Researches not only demonstrated that distinctions between the public and private spaces of the home exist in different cultures, but also suggested that such distinctions are vital for retaining the cultural values of the people studied ([Rechavi, 2009](#)). Studies revealed rooms or spaces within the home that are designated for hosting, and are separate from spaces that are used for the private needs of the household ([Alexander et al., 1977](#); [Gauvain, Altman, & Fahim, 1983](#); [Omata, 1995](#)).

[Patterson and Chiswick \(1981\)](#) stated that in communities, which physical environment cannot provide privacy efficiently, there are some social behaviors that are used to obtain desired privacy. Their study provided some social mechanisms for maintaining privacy and

behavioral examples such as norms of social interaction. Likewise, [Patterson and Chiswick \(1981\)](#) found that where the physical environment limits privacy regulation, social mechanisms facilitate it. In addition, [Marshall \(1970\)](#) argued that when physical distancing becomes impossible, people make use of psychological distancing mechanisms. Although the architectural and social features of the environment are interrelated, in an examination of study places, [Sommer \(1970\)](#) found that of the 223 desirable features mentioned by students, 63% involved social factors, while merely 37% involved physical factors. He declared that this difference might be occurred because people are more sensitive to other humans surrounding them than physical objects around them. On the contrary, [Abu-Ghazze \(1996\)](#) claimed that physical partitions are the primary mechanisms which people in Saudi Arabia use to regulate their privacy.

[Harris et al. \(1995\)](#) stated that effective privacy regulation is related to place attachment and this attachment is related to a subjective sense of well-being. [Sundstrom et al. \(1980\)](#) and [Sundstrom, Town, Brown, Forman, and Mcgee \(1982\)](#) through a series of field studies conducted, determined the physical enclosure is correlated with privacy. [Rapoport \(1969\)](#) outlined that privacy is among five different aspects of culture that affect building form the most¹. [Kupritz \(1998\)](#) identified design features that the users perceive as regulating privacy.

The relationship between privacy and degree of enclosure is assessed, to a certain extent, by [Sundstrom et al. \(1980\)](#). [Barrett \(1992\)](#) argued that physical attributes of the space associate with privacy. She found that age and occupation had moderate relationship with privacy, but when other physical space variables were added, the relationship tended to disappear.

[Sundstrom et al. \(1982\)](#) argued that satisfaction with privacy is a function of how much environment lets us to be alone. [Sazally, Omar, Hamdan, and Bajunid \(2012\)](#) found that privacy was a reason for modification for nearly half of Malay terrace houses occupants.

[R. H. Smith, Downer, Lynch, and Winter \(1969\)](#) stated that “the spatial dimensions and arrangement of the dwelling may affect privacy of individuals and family interaction.

¹ These aspects are: some basic needs, family, position of women, privacy, and social intercourse. This study deals with two of these factors and, as will be discussed, social intercourse is itself influenced by appropriateness of privacy regulation.

Likewise, [Al-Kodmany \(1999\)](#) observed correlations between achieved privacy and the use of space for women in Damascus.

Moreover, [Stewart-Pollack and Menconi \(2005\)](#) counted for physical characteristics of the built environment that promote residential privacy including: the opportunity for prospect and refuge, complexity, order, and mystery. These characteristics are linked to and support privacy because they contribute to the rejuvenating effects of privacy as well as to refocusing our attention.

Lastly, [Swearer \(2008\)](#) saw privacy as a place-rooted condition. Therefore, changing perspective from person-centered privacy issues to place-centered privacy issues, a question remains whether certain places support a condition of privacy better than others ([Newell, 1995](#)). It is also of interest to understand what the elements of the environment are which contribute to a satisfactory condition of privacy.

2.3.2 Space and Culture

In Islamic societies, religion plays a significant role in shaping the home and the environment. An important feature of the Islamic culture is the segregation of women from men other than *mahrms*. This aspect has given rise to the separation of domains for men and women, both in the home and the neighborhood. [Karimi \(2009\)](#) stated that Iranian architecture, particularly houses, is influenced by factors like religion, gender role, economy, education, and imported culture. [Drew \(1997\)](#) believed that to study a Muslim community, one should consider religious doctrine, culture, and history of that society. Figure 19. shows an aerial photo of Yazd, in which courtyards and wind-catchers by which the city is well known can be seen.



Figure 19. Traditional fabric of Yazd. Courtesy of documents' center of college of art and architecture, Yazd University.

Traditional Yazdi houses, like other Islamic cities, were built to ensure maximum privacy, closing off the outside world as completely as possible with solid walls on the property line, and few or no windows at street level (see Figure 20).

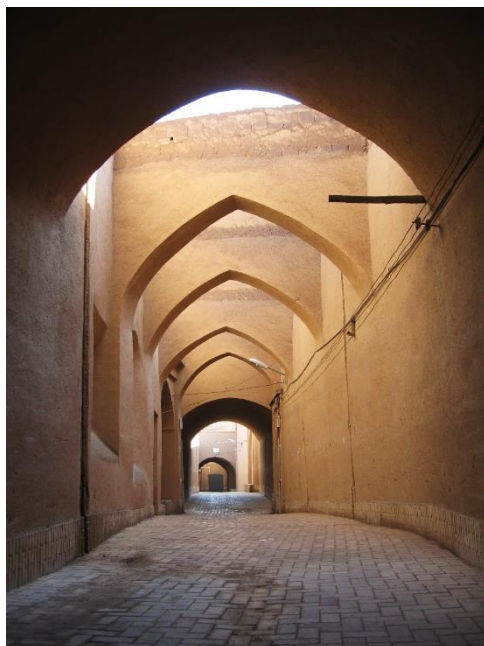


Figure 20. Solid walls with no window toward the outside world. Courtesy of documents' center of college of art and architecture, Yazd University.

In traditional Persian residential architecture, two clearly separated domains exist; 1) the andaruni (inner), a part of the house in which the private quarters are established and women are free to move about without being seen by an outsider (nāmahram); and 2) the biruni (outer), which serves guests. The only men allowed in the andaruni are those directly related to the women who may include boys under the age of puberty and mahrams. Guests are allowed in under special circumstances. It should be noted that women were entitled to see the stranger while he was not permitted to see them, showing that visual segregation was a one-way concern. Figures 22. to 25. exhibit some photos of a traditional house in Yazd.

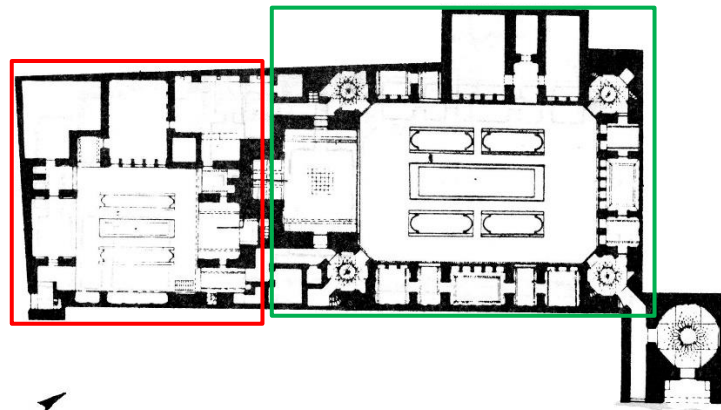


Figure 21. Ground floor plan of Mortaz house. Inner (right) and outer (left) zones. Courtesy of documents' center of college of art and architecture, Yazd University.



Figure 22. Inner yard of Mortaz house. All openings are toward the interior yard. Courtesy of documents' center of college of art and architecture, Yazd University.



Figure 23. Outer yard of Mortaz house. Courtesy of documents' center of college of art and architecture, Yazd University.

As can be seen, inner parts –e.g. inner yard- are much bigger and nicer than the outer parts, which are used only in occasions and parties.

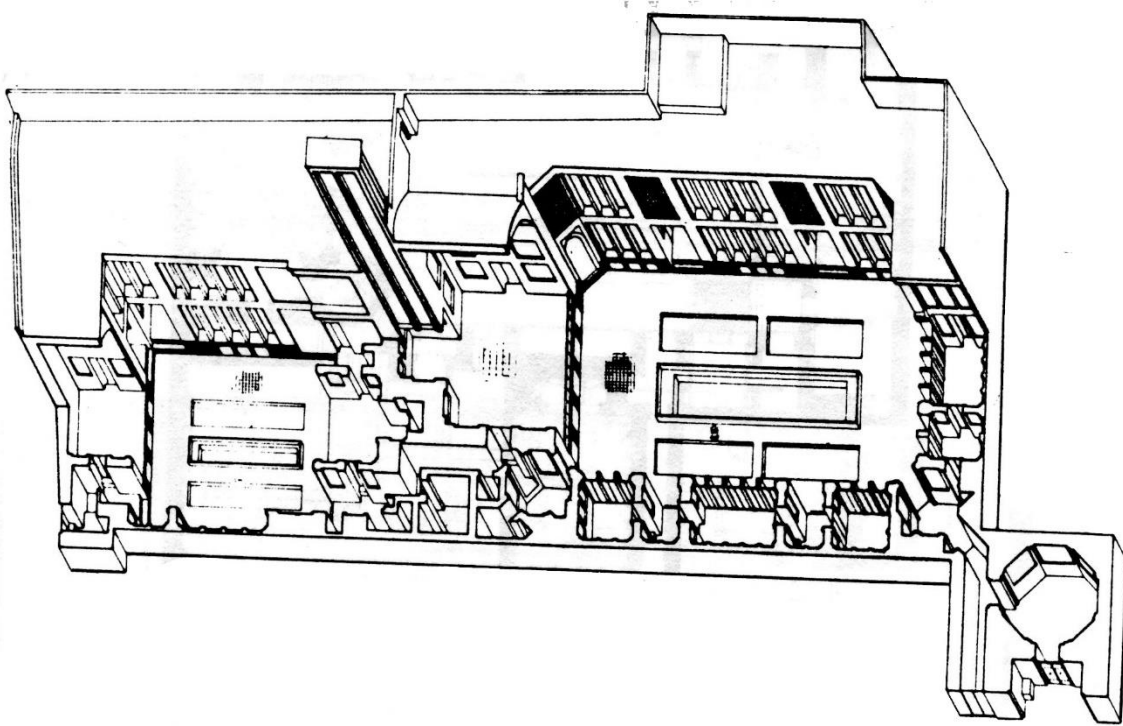


Figure 24. Isometric of Mortaz house. Courtesy of documents' center of college of art and architecture, Yazd University.

The houses were designed in a way that direct view of the inside is not possible from the main entrance or the street. Courtyards are likewise sheltered from outside view of people on the street through the entrance by applying a vestibule and a swirl in entering pathway. The door was often inset in a curve in the wall, and there is another wall on the inside, in front of the door. Figure 25. displays typical entrance and vestibule in traditional houses.

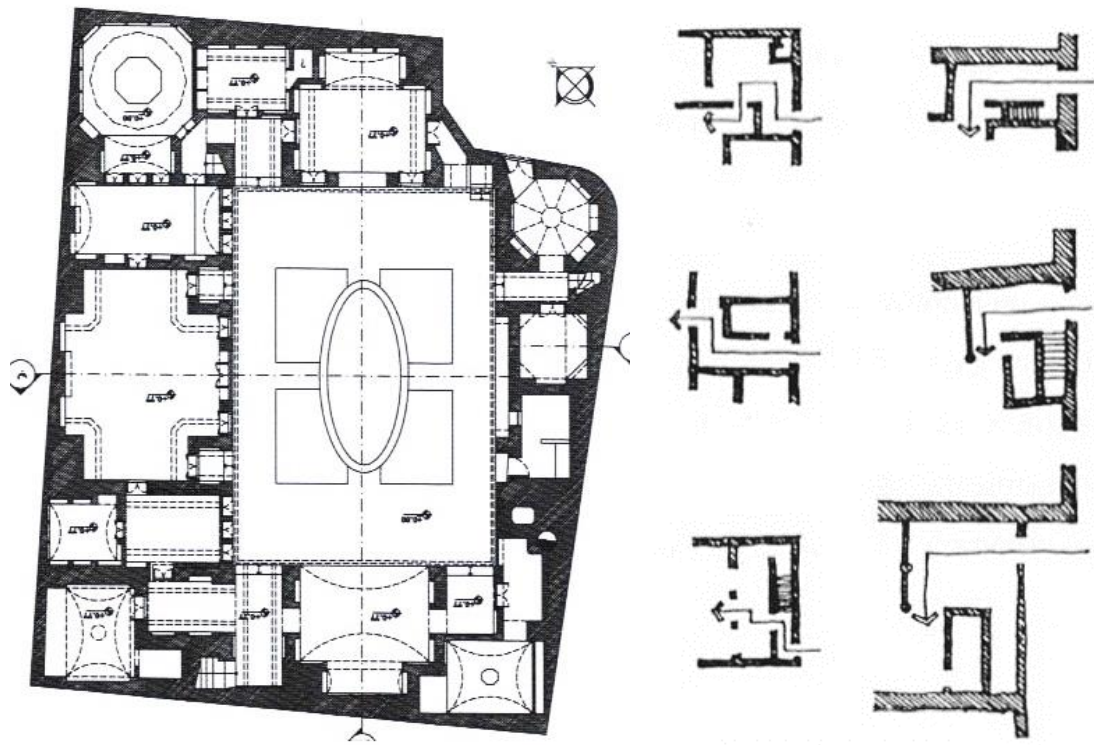


Figure 25. Indirect access without view in traditional houses. Courtesy of documents' center of college of art and architecture, Yazd University.

On the contrary, contemporary houses in Yazd are not satisfying enough regarding privacy issues (see Ch. 1.). It can be explained as drastic changes in the early 20's century in cities of the third world countries especially for middle-class in different aspects of their lives. Needless to say that these changes had enormous effects on architecture as well. From that moment until today, "the only thing that is constant is the change". Given the current direction of social development, culture and architecture are changing toward the more liberal ones, and actions that once required privacy to protect the individual may now be performed openly. Therefore, this study tends to review and clarify people current needs and attitudes in current conditions and situations.

3 Methodology

مرد با نامهرمان چون بندی است
صد هزاران ترجمان خنر و زدل

همزبانی خویشی و پیوندی است
غیر نطق و غیر ایما و سجل

*“Having the same tongue is kinship and affinity,
With those with whom no **intimacy** exists, a man is in prison.
Without speech, without oath, without register,
A hundred thousand interpreters from the heart arise.” (Rumi, 2002)*

In this Chapter, the selected method for conducting the study is presented. Firstly, it is discussed how respondents are selected. Then, the means to collect the information from them is reviewed and constraints and limitation of adopted method are elaborated. Finally, it will describe how the collected data are analyzed.

After evaluating the limitations and strengths of different research approaches, this study selected the grounded theory model as the research approach. The main reason is that, as [Creswell \(2013\)](#); and [Pidgeon and Henwood \(2003\)](#) argued, the intent of a grounded theory study is to emerge and generate theories about the phenomenon from the context. Likewise, this study tends to address women’s privacy and its relationship with built environment, especially houses, from their point of view.

The purpose of grounded theory is to explain the everyday experience of those involved but must also be sufficiently abstract and comprehensive to be applicable to other situations where the phenomena are experienced ([Strauss & Corbin, 1990](#)).

In grounded theory, as [Corbin and Strauss \(2008\)](#) claimed, the researcher reviews a few literature in the beginning of the study, and tries to elicit the theory from the context. S/he would refer to the literature after doing the field works, and will compare his/her findings with the existing theories. In the following, more details will be provided regarding the methods that is used during this research.

3.1 Sampling

The population of this study is women in contemporary houses of Yazd. Houses include apartments and detached multi-story houses. These are the most common types of

housing in Yazd. Women include a span of young adult to elderly female members of the family.

Since reaching the whole population is impossible, a manageable representative subset of the population, aka sample, should be selected. Sampling methods can be either *random*¹ or *non-random*². For generating theory, as [Glaser and Strauss \(1967\)](#) discussed, **theoretical sampling** is the process of data collection whereby “the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analysis his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges.” As a result, the focus is on selecting information-rich cases for in-depth study.

In this study, in order to avoid claims that theory is grounded in atypical cases; and to highlight what is average or normal, ‘typical cases’ are chosen; with no restrictions in location or size of the house, and social, educational, or economic level for human subjects. [Pidgeon and Henwood \(2003\)](#) believed that typical cases are among the most important examples of strategies for qualitative research where the aim is to extend theory iteratively through analysis-sampling cycles.

However, subjects to be selected for the study should meet the specific criteria outlined by the researcher ([Patton, 1990](#)) and have basic characteristics such as followings.

- S/he must be able to understand the topic and the questions.
- S/he must be willing enough in order to try to remember and express her/his ideas.
- S/he must be willing enough to honestly represent information. In fact, s/he must trust in researcher ([Delavar, 1995](#)).

For instance, an interview was finished in half an hour after the researcher realized that the subject has perceived the questions intrusive, and she was reluctant to reveal right and proper answers (She was a bit anxious. She was looking around and there were many pauses in her responses). In another case, was the subject over fifty years old, the researcher recognized that she is fairly illiterate and does not comprehend the concepts; therefore, the author stopped and finished the interview.

Sampling in grounded theory ceases once saturation has occurred. No two participants ever report the same story with exactly the same description of whatever happened. However,

¹ E.g.: random sampling, systematic sampling, stratified sampling, cluster sampling

² E.g.: convenience sampling, purposive sampling, snowball sampling

“researchers do not look for the sameness or replication of instances, but of the characteristics of instances. That is what analysis is all about” ([Bryant & Charmaz, 2007](#)).

Will be there any exceptions? Yes, some (there always are exceptions), but the cultural pattern is what the researcher is looking for. The interviewee’s responses can be exceedingly unlike at a concrete/descriptive level, but at a more abstract, thematic level, they can reveal an underlying theme. Once the researcher is convinced that s/he understands what s/he sees, can identify it in many forms, and it appears culturally consistent, then the category may be considered saturated and sampling may cease ([Bryant & Charmaz, 2007](#)). Effective sampling strategies -in this case, theoretical sampling-, which change during the process of data collection and analysis, enable the researcher to complete the task with minimal waste, and without entering any conceptual blind alleys, to produce an excellent grounded theory ([Bryant & Charmaz, 2007](#)).

While quantitative methods generally work with few variables in many cases; qualitative methods try to manipulate many variables in few cases ([Creswell, 2013](#)).

Qualitative methods permit the researcher to study issues in depth and produce a wealth of detailed data with a small number of subjects ([Hyde, 2000](#)). It can be because the researcher's goal is not to establish the frequency that a phenomenon occurs; rather it is to expand and to generalize theories. A field researcher instead of being worried of the percentage of individuals in the population, can claim that “What I have found true of the people in this study is likely to be true of any people placed in this situation” ([Kidder & Judd, 1986](#)).

3.2 Data Collection

The case for this study is Yazd, a city with a long historical background with rich architectural and cultural fabric; and subjects are houses and families.

Islamic cities, similar in many ways, have differences, which shape their identity. Yazd is neither exactly the same as other cities nor very special. If a case, which is selected for a study, is too unique, not only the generalization of the results would be problematic, but also utilization of the method and techniques.

The characteristic that made Yazd a specific (not too specific) city in Iran and nominated it as a case study for this research is that besides being modern in many ways, Yazd sustained

its tradition and identity in both architecture and culture. For instance, although Yazdi people are completely religious and traditionalist in clothing and customs, they usually vote for reformists. Yazd earned the title of Dār al-ibada (Home of worship), owing to its religious people and many religious buildings.

Moreover, choosing Yazd for the case of this research had other advantages included:

1. Having access to the data for this sensitive topic. Many of the questions asked dealt with sensitive topics. The researcher would have missed much had he been completely unknown to all of the subjects he interviewed. The way the author recruited subjects was useful for two reasons; first, only those subjects who were most willing to discuss the issue were interviewed, and, second, knowing the researcher prior to the interviews gave them a level of comfort necessary to talk about some seriously private (and potentially embarrassing) topics.
2. Having general knowledge about the case. Familiarity of the researcher with the context could help the researcher to better comprehend and as a result interpret the events, behaviors, and conditions ([Charmaz, 2014](#)). The relative strengths of insider/outsider status in the interview process has been much discussed in the methodological literature. Foley's ([1995](#)) decision to interview the people from his hometown was partially premised on his belief that sharing the same cultural history would allow him to understand and better represent what his respondents had to say. (See also the classic account of [Rabinow \(2007\)](#) and the strong theoretical discussion in [Collins \(2002\)](#)).

Likewise, modern-tradition conflict, as one of the main roots of the problem in Yazd, can also be seen in many Muslim societies.

Different ways are used for collecting the data in this study to be in line with the theoretical sampling procedure of grounded theory.

First, the layout and plan of houses have been documented through photos and sketches in which furniture's position is explicated and position of doors and windows are drawn. Then, in order to find the meanings of the research concepts from the subject's point of view, unstructured in-depth interview were conducted. These interviews, the primary source of data in this study, have been conducted in participants' own house.

Because of collecting data from these different ways (interviews supplemented by observation, sketches, and digital photographs), the outcome(s) are expected to be supported sufficiently.

3.2.1 Photographs

After entering the subject's house, the first thing done, as soon as the greeting was finished, was to ask for a 'tour' of the house. Then with the permission from the occupant, some photos of the whole floor was taken from different angles in order to capture an overall image of the house, so the researcher could bring in some new questions based on the layout or observed objects. Chapter 4. provides examples of these photographs.

3.2.2 Sketches

Also prior to the interview, a sketch of the floor was made. During the interview or after that, some important objects, mentioned by the interviewee, were delineated on the plan. These photos and sketches were a good realistic source of data to refer to later in analysis process, especially for forgotten and/or unobserved objects.

3.2.3 Observation

Although observation is an appropriate technique to be used in grounded theory studies in order to study behavior, observation almost would have the investigator to violate subject's privacy ([Gifford, 1987](#)). On the other hand, the presence of the observer may also influence people in their environment. When subjects know they are being observed, they may alter their performance or behavior ([Brehm & Kassin, 1993](#)). Consequently, the researcher/observer may receive a 'distorted' picture of reality. To prevent this effect, the observer tries not to alert the subjects that they are being observed.

In consequence, whereas this study dealt with houses, a primary territory, in which the presence of the researcher without having the subject noticed is impossible; field observation to observe normal behavior was not of help. However, furniture, clothing, pictures on walls, ornament and decoration, and the places for guests can be visible and worthy to observe. They can help to analyze the interviews.

3.2.4 Interviews

An interview is a conversation between two or more people, while one person asks others a number of questions and the others give answers. The research interview tries to find the meanings of the research concepts from the subject's point of view. Interview is often more exploratory in nature compared to other methods of data collection, and allows for more flexibility. Since, in this study, interview is the primary source of data, in the following write up, more detailed description will be provided.

Despite that the interview requires more planning, and more care about the interviewee, interview provides several important advantages over other data collection methods that lead us to select it as the main method of data collection.

- **Richness of Information:** The depth of detail is the main advantage of Interviewing. In addition to what an interviewee says, other social cues such as voice, intonation, body language of the interviewee and the like can provide the interviewer numerous types of information, other than the verbal description.
- **Possibility of Probing:** Interviewer has the opportunity to ask follow up questions. As [Brehm and Kassin \(1993, p. 24\)](#) state, interviewees remember more when they are asked particular questions rather than cumulative ones.
- **The 'Why' question:** Asking 'why' questions enables the interviewer not only to observe interviewee's behavior but also to successively understand the underling meaning of that behavior (in the interviewee's own words).
- **Ease of Expression:** Interviewees can express their opinions and/or impressions easier in an informal conversation rather than a formal one like a written survey. It is especially more suitable for sensitive topics, since many people are hesitant to reveal sensitive information in formal investigations.
- **Information Discovery:** The interviewer can discover important information, which may not seem relevant before the interview and thus now has the advantage of asking the interviewee to go further into the new topic.

3.2.4.1 Types of interview

Interviews can be categorized into two main types based on the imposed structure, namely, structured and unstructured. Structured interviews are closed, and fixed-response. In

contrast, unstructured interviews are informal, and conversational. A structured interview is similar to a questionnaire and can be converted into a questionnaire or vice versa. In contrast, in unstructured interviews, there is no standard predetermined question. In addition, in order to remain as adaptable as possible to the interviewee's priorities, the interviewer uses his/her knowledge and creativity to lead the interview ([Becker & Geer, 1957](#)). Unstructured interview enables the interviewer to ask further questions beyond what s/he already had planned. In addition, it enables him/her to clarify meaning of the responses s/he receives.

[Delavar \(1995\)](#) believed that the structured interview is more applicable for testing specific hypothesis, as this type of interview is unchangeable; whereas unstructured interview is more appropriate for exploratory, more complex, or more detailed studies. Therefore, approach of this study seems to be closer to unstructured Interviews, in which the interviewer has a guideline¹ for the questions to be asked and a framework² of themes to be explored, in order to ensure nothing is omitted. The specific topic of the research should be carefully considered beforehand, but the order and the deepness of the questions can be outlined throughout the interview process, and thus, different interviewees might be asked in different ways, using different questions.

Finally, although most grounded theorists theorize about how the world is, rather than how respondents see it ([Strauss & Corbin, 1990](#)), this study, discusses how respondents see the

¹ The guideline is the sequence and order of questions to be asked. It started from "warming up questions" for developing rapport. i.e. general information and demographic questions. Then "essential questions" that are central focus of the study have been asked. It started from 'simple questions' and gradually 'sensitive and difficult questions' were asked. After that, "extra questions" were asked. i.e. asking essential questions in another way seeking for more details and clarification. They include probing, promoting, and follow-up questions for elaboration. Questions like: 'Could you tell me more?' 'What happened next?' 'Did it?' 'How Come?' 'And...' 'What other reasons?'. Finally, "closure questions" which included cool-off and diffusing questions were planned to be asked. It should be noted that "off the record questions", which is questions asked after the interview is formally finished and the recorder went off, are very important as the interviewee could reveal more authentic answers and expressions.

² The framework for the themes was a list of themes in a hierarchy system (categories and sub-categories) to be explored. The themes were emerged during the interview process or analysis process. They have also been added, removed, or modified through comparison to the literature. They included behaviors (overt/physical or covert/intellectual), events, activities, strategies, states, relationships, conditions, consequences, context, and so on for the analysis phase. Another list of themes included privacy, definitions, functions, mechanisms, gender role, satisfaction, information sharing, interpersonal interaction, and so on have been shaped during categorization phase.

concept rather than how the concept is in real world. However, the informants are not considered as an insider expert, and their understanding of what causes what is not simply considered as truth. To this end, both their response and the researcher's observation and interpretation of the situation are taken into account.

3.2.5 Data Collection Challenges

Interview is selected as the main method of data collection to gain several advantages over other methods. However, various challenges are faced that should be addressed. Here, these challenges will be discussed under three main categories, namely, privacy invasion, behavioral biases, and unintended data distortion. For each of these challenges, methods are proposed to minimize their undesired effects. It should be noted that these proposed methods are not the only solutions, nor the best solution to the facing challenges.

3.2.5.1 Privacy Invasion

In the very first step, one should note that observing privacy is opposite to concept of privacy itself. As [Berardo \(1974, p. 64\)](#) argued "study of privacy would be itself an invasion of privacy". [Al-Kodmany \(1999\)](#) stated that 65 percent of subjects were unwilling to participate in his study. He argued that it is because they could interpret it as an invasion of privacy. To minimize the feeling of intrusion, the purposive snowball sampling has been used for selecting subjects. i.e. mainly based on familiarity of the researcher and the subject as well as recommendation by others.

3.2.5.2 Behavioral-Related Biases

- **Interviewer Effect:** One of the main challenges in the proposed data collection was the possibility of the interviewee being affected by the behavior of the interviewer, aka the 'interviewer effect'. This effect can be due to interviewer's social class, ethnicity, or even race ([Delavar, 1995](#)). The more difference in social class of interviewer and interviewee the less likely to get accurate and right answers especially for sensitive or threatening questions ([Schuman & Converse, 1971](#)). In order to minimize this bias, firstly the interviewees' social class was limited to the middle class, as it is the largest demographic group that should be assessed.

Secondly, formal and professional-looking attire and equipment were not used to decrease the dissimilarity of the interviewer and interviewee.

- **Experimenter Expectancy Effects:** The experimenter's expectation might affect her/his behavior (voice, gesture, confirmation) and consequently affect interviewee's responses ([Brehm & Kassin, 1993](#)). To avoid these effects the interviewer should limit the amount of information presented to the interviewee as much as possible. This information can be behavioral, verbal, or para-verbal. For example, the interviewer can hide the original goals of the interview in the introduction. For instance, if the subject is told that this study deals with privacy for women, it is more likely that privacy issues in the home would be accentuated and given more importance comparing to other issues. The interviewer should avoid affirmative behavior and gestures such as completing interviewee's sentences, and nodding (or in cases affirmative smiling). In addition to these protocols, an additional pre-check (before analysis) on each recorded material was done, searching for signs of "Experimenter Expectancy Effects."
- **Interviewees Self-verification Effect:** Interviewees may provide biased answers in seek of a good impression ([Brehm & Kassin, 1993](#)). For instance, projective answering (e.g. assigning undesirable adjectives to external sources, and not self) is a commonly known sign of self-verification effect. to avoid this effect, one online and one offline practice have been used. The online practice was to use "why" questions occasionally during the interview, to compare interviewee's answers with observed facts. In addition, an offline check on the recorded materials was done, searching for signs of self-verification effect biases (e.g. see: interview with Miss. Es101 in Chapter 4.)
- Conformity causes people to change not only their behavior but also their mind to be consistent with group norms ([Brehm & Kassin, 1993](#)). People conform because either they want to be correct or they fear the negative consequence of being divergent. Subjects may try to represent answers that they might assume would please or satisfy the interviewer.

3.2.5.3 Unintended Data Distortions

In addition to interviewee's conscious biases, the interviewee might add some unintended biases, mainly caused due to imperfect memory, misunderstanding, or even mood changes.

- Misunderstanding (e.g. the case, the situation, or questions)
- Lack of proper information (e.g. the area of the house or the year of construction)
- Errors in remembering:
 - Time interval: the more time passes the more the event and its details are going to be forgotten
 - Importance of the topic: the more important the topic is for the subject the more accurate s/he remembers it.
 - Memory distortion: sad, painful, and embarrassing events might be unintentionally forgotten or distorted. [Brehm and Kassin \(1993\)](#) declared that vivid memories endure more compared to dull memories.
- Mistakes: as [Delavar \(1995\)](#) stated, a large number of interviewees make mistakes in very preliminary information, such as their children's age.
- Personal differences: different people may focus on and consequently memorize different aspects of the same event based on their attitudes, motivations, positions, and experiences.
- Diverse psychological mood: one's idea about a topic may change based on the time. For example, one's idea about the desired level of privacy at the present moment, today, or recently might be different from what s/he has believed in the morning, yesterday, or last month.

3.3 Data Analysis

The focus of this study is more on interview analysis with the help of sketches, photos and observed objects, which intends to emerge theories from the context. After that, studying previous researches and archives would help to compare the findings to the existing theories and body of knowledge.

Data collected through an interview could be among a spectrum from very scientific valuable information to incorrect, improper, or invaluable information ([Nelson, Bechtol, & Johnson, 1977](#)). Therefore, this is the researcher's responsibility to analyze, categorize,

describe, interpret, and make sense of them. Given that qualitative research is an interpretive inquiry, tending to discover the meaning of events to the individuals who experience them, the researcher is the one who s/he interprets those meanings. In line with this, the researcher is considered an integral part of the research and acts as the “human instrument” ([Britten, 1995](#); [Hoepfl, 1997](#); [Lincoln & Guba, 1985](#); [Morrow, 2005](#); [Seidman, 2012](#)).S/he tries to observe, describe, and interpret the setting as it is.

The qualitative researcher should be able to: interact with the situation; simultaneously collect information at multiple levels; perceive the situation holistically; be sensitive to the data, process them, and give meaning to them; provide immediate feedback and ask for verification of data; make appropriate decisions in the field; and explore atypical and unexpected responses ([Lincoln & Guba, 1985](#)).

Besides, all cultural meanings are created by using symbols. All the words the informant uses in responding to the questions in an interview are symbols. The range of things that can become symbols goes far beyond speech sounds. A shiver runs down the spine can be perceived and can become a symbol of fear or excitement. The way the informant dresses is also a symbol, as are her facial expressions and hand movements. “A symbol is any object or element that refers to something. All symbols involve three elements: the symbol itself, one or more referents, and a relationship between the symbol and referent. This triad is the basis- for all symbolic meaning” ([Spradley, 1979](#)). The symbol consists of anything we can experience or perceive.

The symbols dealt with in analysis not only were the folk terms used by the informant, but also included their very actions, (silent, laugh, pause), used artifacts, photos on the wall, and the like.

3.3.1 Coding

Coding is an interpretive technique that both organizes the data and provides a means to introduce the interpretations of it into certain quantitative methods. The analyst demarcates segments within the data and labels them with a ‘code’, a word or short phrase that is the gist of that segment or it introduces concepts that the researcher considers of relevance to the research objectives.

Data can be pre-coded (process of assigning codes to expected answers), field-coded (process of assigning codes during fieldwork), or post-coded (process of assigning codes after fieldwork). The above are not necessarily mutually exclusive. If more than one person are going to code the data, there should be clear guidelines for coders so that codes are consistent.

Coding process can be divided into two steps: 1) basic coding in order to distinguish overall themes, and 2) a more in depth, interpretive coding in which more specific patterns and trends can be interpreted.

3.3.2 Categorization

Once coding is completed, they should be clustered in categories based on similarities in function, time, meaning, setting, and the like.

Categories that are emerged frequently (from different interviews) would be selected for further analysis. Categories that appear to relate to other categories and have explanatory value also should be selected. Subsequent interviews should be conducted and analyzed using the categories previously selected. As analysis of subsequent interviews reveals additional categories, previously analyzed interviews should be re-analyzed, using the new categories. Relevance of categories may change as the study progress, and should some categories found not to have explanatory value would be omitted from further analysis.

Overall, in this study, the emergent codes were clustered regarding similarities in meaning and function and put them into categories. After that, categories were reviewed and rectified several times. Later, the organization changed due to comparison to and combination with codes and categories from other parts of the interview and other interviews. As a result, some categories were merged together, and some were divided into two or more parts.

In the following chapter, firstly, application of method described in this chapter especially for this very study will be discussed. Then it will indicated how the collected data are analyzed.

4 Analysis and Results

ای بسا دو ترک چون یگا مکان
ہمدلی از ہمزبانی بہترست

ای بسا ہندو و ترک ہمزبان
پس زبان محرمی خود دیگرست

*“There are many Hindus and Turks with the same tongue,
And oh, many a pair of Turks, strangers to each other.
Hence the tongue of **intimacy** is something else,
It is better to be of one heart than of one tongue.” (Rumi, 2002)*

This chapter begins with some brief demographic information about the subjects, after which descriptions of several participants and their personal characteristics will be presented. Next, in order to illustrate the coding process, excerpts of some interviews, together with their corresponding codes and memos, will be presented. Lastly, the emergent codes are clustered, according to similarities in meaning and function, and some interpretation will be given to pave the ground for eliciting theory. A discussion on the findings of the study will be presented in the main body of Chapter 5.

Whereas the selected approach for the study was grounded theory, the focus of this study is more on interview analyses, which intends to derive a theory from the context. Interviews are analyzed and the results are discussed to figure out how respondents view the concept, as opposed to how the concept is like in reality or how the author believes it should be. The author tried to let them speak freely in an effort to represent their accounts faithfully; therefore, their statements were merely re-organized and re-structured.

Even though every action of the interviewee can be considered meaningful (e.g. a pause or a smile), not all the words that s/he uses might be significant, as sometimes they might be borrowed from the interviewer’s questions. In the same way, not all responses may be correct and trustworthy¹ (see Chapter 3).

Although many words and expressions in the interviewee’s statements and in the author’s codes need explanation and clarification, only a few of them are explained. This is because

¹ “people’s actual behavior is often found to diverge from verbally stated norms” (Brehm & Kassin, 1993, p. 154).

some words and expressions would require too much commentary and interpretation to be translated into English; therefore, only the general concepts are explained in more detail.

Within an interview, the researchers may disregard some text (as not helpful or irrelevant), use some portions of the text for verification of other interviews, use some of the text or stories in the data as adding to the descriptions provided by other participants, or adding new data that is different and will start a new category. However, something else is important. All of the stories are not equal, some are better illustrations, or better descriptions than others, and researchers will tend to use those stories as examples more often than other stories ([Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson, & Spiers, 2008](#)). This is not a bias—it is a fact that all data are not equal, and some will be favored over others; some will be useful; others useless, and, in some, the usefulness may not be immediately apparent. Hence, the author purposely sampled from the data, selecting and sorting, prioritizing or back-staging, as he crafted the analysis ([Bryant & Charmaz, 2007](#)).

As the research progressed, the codes repeated themselves more frequently (sometimes in different terms) and not many new codes were elicited; insofar as after analyzing the last two interviews (with Mo115, and UI99), the author found that almost none of the codes were new. Thus, he decided to stop the interviews.

When the interviewees were asked if their responses would have been different had they been interviewed by a woman, all of them replied “no”. However, some interviewees spoke freely about sexual issues, whereas for some interviewees, even talking about a nightdress was difficult. For example, despite Mrs. Ms110’s high awareness and sensitivity towards sexual issues, she could not talk about child surveillance for probable incest easily and directly. It could be explained as differences in their personalities and backgrounds, as well as the amount of trust in the researcher.

4.1 Demographics

Table 3 provides brief demographic information about the women who participated in this study. In addition to these interviews, six interviews were canceled by the interviewees in advance. Three interviews were stopped at the very beginning or in the middle due to aforementioned problems (not useful data was provided, it was perceived as intrusive,

etc.). Two interviews were not analyzed due to having many signs of errors and biases. The fieldwork started on Aug. 2012 and lasted until Oct. 2014. However, it should not be considered as a continuous fieldwork; whereas, after each interview, it had to be analyzed and compared with the preceding interviews and existent literature in order to enable the researcher to revise the questions (some were eliminated, some emphasized, some amended and asked in another way).

Qualitative studies walk a fine line between adequately and honestly representing those interviewed, and providing anonymity and confidentiality (Hurst, 2008). The author was more concerned with the latter because of the sensitivity of the topic and the discussed issues. Although a study like this depends upon a great deal of very personal information, a great concern for the writing phase was how to avoid including too much personal information. The author was also concerned that excluding some information might materially misrepresent some of the subjects, but it has the much greater advantage of protecting them. Where necessary, detailed personal information was given. As a result, pseudonyms are used to protect the identity and privacy of the interviewees and subjects. A cryptography was developed to generate pseudonyms for subsequent references.

Table 3. Demography of participants

No	Pseudonym	Age	Marital Status	Kin Role	Profession	Date of the interview
1	Mz114	33	Married	Spouse	Lecturer	Aug. 12
2	Fe116	36	Married	Mother, Spouse	Teacher	Dec. 12
3	Es101	22	Single	Sister, Daughter	Student	Apr. 13
4	Ms110	37	Married	Mother, Spouse	Housewife	Aug. 13
5	Zr104	28	Married	Mother, Spouse	Housewife	Aug. 13
6	Si107	61	Married	Mother, Spouse	Housewife	Aug. 13
7	Mn104	~40	Married	Mother, Spouse	Employee	Oct. 13
8	My114	~30	Single	Sister, Daughter	Employee	Oct. 13
9	Sd100	~50	Married	Mother, Spouse	Housewife	Feb. 14
10	Fn114	23	Single	Daughter	Employee	Feb. 14
11	Ha106	28	Married	Mother, Spouse	Employee	Mar. 14
12	Te121	52	Married	Mother, Spouse	Housewife	Jun. 14
13	Fl122	24	Single	Daughter	Student	Aug. 14
14	Mo115	29	Married	Mother, Spouse	Housewife	Aug. 14
15	UI99	26	Married	Spouse	Student	Oct. 14

4.2 Interview with Mz114

4.2.1 Introduction

Mrs. 'Mz114', a 33-year-old lecturer, was not originally from Yazd, and moved to Yazd after being accepted into Yazd University as a student 14 years ago. She lives with her husband (Mr. M.), who is also a lecturer. Their house, which is on the second floor, is located in a lower-class neighborhood. It includes a kitchen, a sitting room, a living room, a bath, a toilet, a balcony, and two bedrooms (see Figure 26). They had been living here for 5 years.

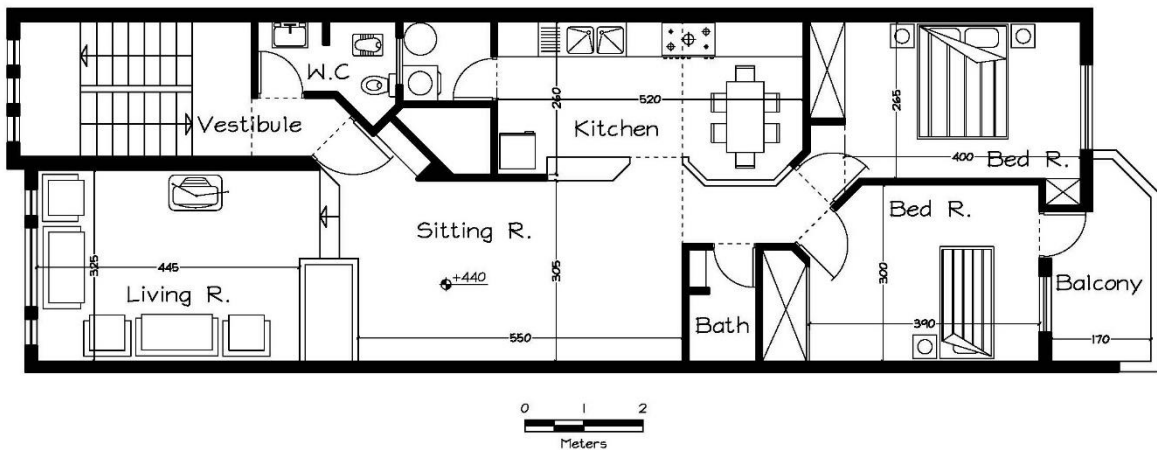


Figure 26. Plan of Mrs. Mz114's house

Figure 27 shows the façade of the house. As can be seen, the lower part of the window is fixed to block the view towards opposite houses.



Figure 27. Façade of Mrs. Mz114's house

This dialogue, being the author's first interview, was conducted in a formal atmosphere. The subject looked a little excited and surprised, which could be due to either the author's gender, his formal attire for conducting the interview, or the professional-looking camera and voice recording equipment.

4.2.2 Coding

This section presents the first level of analysis, which is named 'coding', 'open coding' or 'level 1 coding'. It provides an excerpt of the interview, within which some segments are highlighted and labeled as a 'code'. It also offers some memos to describe the situation or the code. Table 4 illustrates an example of these excerpts, codes, and memos for the interview with Mz114.

Table 4. Excerpts of codebook for interview with Mz114

No.	Text Transcription	Code	Memo
-----	--------------------	------	------

1	<i>.. In today houses, there are good interactions among members. Everybody can see each other. [although,] Mothers are always in the kitchen. They can control their children;</i>	In-family Interaction. Visual access. Task. Kitchen. Surveillance. Control	
2	<i>The problem is when nāmahram relatives come inside.</i>	Existent of problem. Religious privacy. Party	
3	<i>It's difficult to have your hijab and do your household chores, especially in summer, stove is always on, it is unbearable.</i>	Problem. Difficulty. Hijab. Task. Clothing. Heat. Beyond tolerance	Environmental condition. Conflict
4	<i>When you wash dishes, your hands will be naked; it's the second, um another problem.</i>	Task. Religious. Visual. Problem	
5	<i>.. You know, women like to be free [relax], if the place makes it [let them be free].</i>	Freedom of posing and clothing. Physical environment	Is it right for privacy or just an interest? Priority of mechanisms
6	<i>[However], boys (less than 10 years old) come to women zone; and, some views exist from men zone to women's zone.</i>	Age. Zoning. Visual privacy. Gender	Existent of segregated zoning
7	<i>I'd rather it if there is another place for guests.</i>	Physical environment. Host-guest segregation	Zoning
8	How do you avoid invasion or respond to that?		
9	<i>There are many different ways. For instance, waiting until someone else rescue us. Second, having an excuse for doing a task or job, men do this easier for sure. Or, concluding the topic or debate. Finally, saying that "I fed up with this topic", however, it can cause discomfort. In</i>	Different mechanisms. Tolerance. Others (social mechanism). Indirect manner. Task. Gender. Easiness. Closedness.	Verbal behavior can cause discomfort. Easiness, sequence, and costs of mechanisms.

	<i>addition, being laconic [reserve] always works.</i>	Verbal behavior. Discomfort. Laconic. Reserve.	Interaction avoidance
10	All these actions occur in reaction to interactional invasion, while other invasions may happen.		
11	<i>Yes. For visual privacy, for instance, I try to arrange the furniture, leave the space; and clothing can help as well.</i>	Visual. Furniture arrangement. Leaving the space. clothing	
12	Overall, how do you regulate your privacy at home?		
13	<i>Firstly, by arrangement of the interior space, then by distancing, and distracting, finally, if none of them works by leaving the space, and moving to private zones i.e. bedroom.</i>	Architecture. Furniture. Spatial configuration. Distancing. Distracting. Behavior. Reserve. Zoning.	
14	.. So, who do you think must take care of [religious] privacy?		
15	<i>Uuuuum, men must take care more, so women feel freer.</i>	Men's responsibility. Freedom (def.)	Hesitant
16	To what extend this privacy is needed?		
17	<i>Actually, in religious belief, it's necessary. A man and a woman cannot be in the same place alone.</i>	Religious necessity. Gender segregation in private. Physical environment	
18	Is being alone (with another man) part of privacy?		
19	<i>Nope, but it [being alone] affects mind and makes it serious.</i>	State of mind. Importance	
20	My question was about seeing each other, especially for women.		

21	<i>As you know, when a nāmahram came to Fatemeh Zahra (PBHU)'s house, and he was blind, Fatemeh Zahra (PBHU) hid behind the curtain. When she was told that he is blind; he was blind actually, "but I was not" she replied, "so I did it for myself".</i>	Religion (nāmahram). Hiding. Curtain. Beyond visual. Women's responsibility	
22	What will happen if a woman does not care about hijab?		
23	<i>She will do sin though. Because Quran says - I think in Hojorat [chapter 49]- "tell the women wear their hijab" or such a thing. If we want to obey our religion, we have to care.</i>	Religion (sin, obedience, obligation). Hijab. Women's responsibility	
24	Ok. Any other reason [beside religion]?		
25	<i>it makes high security and immunity for them, and doesn't let every man to talk to you ...</i>	Security. Protection. Closedness. Interaction	Clothing as a sign of desired privacy. Talking as a trigger of interaction
26	Talk?		
27	<i>And abuse you, I mean ...</i>	Protection. Sexuality. Gradual concept	
28	You mean when a man talks to you he wants to abuse you?		
29	<i>Some of them [laugh]. Majority.</i>	Gender. Pessimism	Why pessimism? Can be due to last experiences
30	And you think hijab can help?		
31	<i>Aha.</i>	Hijab	
32	But you can make your fortress by your behavior.		
33	<i>Yes, we can [nodding]. Not me, women.</i>		
34	Yes, excuse me, women.		

35	<i>It [hijab] is part of virtue. It's not just for yourself it's for society.</i>	Virtue (religion). Society's health	social concern
36	How can hijab help society?		
37	<i>Um ... to me um ... when a girl have hijab, men can easily control their eyes. [pause]</i>	Women's responsibility. Visual. Hijab. Control of eyes. Gender	Uncertainty
38	So?		
39	<i>And [they] don't provoke men. Therefore, both feel comfortable.</i>	Provocativeness. Society's health. Comfort	
40	Men can control their eyes as well, why do you think women must take care?		
41	<i>[laugh] they [men] will fall [laugh, looking at watch]</i>		
42	thank you ...		

Although Mrs. Mz114 believed that “man is conqueror to the environment”, her accounts show that she depended more on the space to protect her privacy rather than her own behavior (e.g. rows 5 and 13). Moreover, it can be seen that when it came to questions about gender and religion, the interviewee replied with a known cliché and diverted the answer to the male gender (row 15). After that, she took a religious stance from row 17 onwards, and related some religious lessons she had learnt before.

In row 33, the interviewee felt uncomfortable with the interviewer's usage of 'YOU', because it could also refer to herself in addition to women in general, although she herself had previously started to use this word (e.g. rows 25 and 27).

In row 37, the subject seemed a bit confused in her behavior and her answer. Her answers here were exactly the opposite to her first reply in row 15. This explains why her answer in row 15 can be considered a cliché. At that moment, the interviewer felt that she was bored of continuing the conversation, with her subsequent replies confirming that. Thus, the interviewer decided to finish the interview.

4.2.3 Categorization

In this section, the second phase of analysis, which is named ‘Categorization’, ‘axial coding’ or ‘level 2 coding’, is presented. Here, the codes are tried to cluster in categories, according to similarities in meaning and function. Table 5 illustrates the categories for selected parts of the interview with Mz114 that was presented in the previous section.

Besides the interview, memos and interpretations were also derived from the interviewer’s observation, together with photo and sketch analyses.

Table 5. Categories for presented codes for Mz114 case

Category	Subcategory	Code	Memo
Space	Living room	Higher level	
	Bedroom	Private zone	
		= study room	
	Kitchen	Very well designed	Blocks view from guest area, provides visual connection to family area
		Open	
		Heart of the house	Very much referred to
	Toilet	Position	Outside the unit
	Bathroom	Position	Related to bedrooms
	Balcony	Hanging clothes	The most private position
	Main entrance	Separation	Man-woman. Insider-outsider
	Patio	Blocking view	Semi-buffer
	Window	High windowsill	Block the view
Curtain	Beauty. Control for light	Not for privacy	
Zoning	Segregation	Host-guest. Man-woman	
Gender	Gender role	Pessimism to men	
		Responsibility	
	Gender privacy	Segregation	
Privacy	Types	Interactional	Guests Fed up with long discussions
		Physical	Distancing
		Visual	Not being seen
		Auditory	Input-output Preserved
		Informational	Evil eye A look that is believed to have the

				power of inflicting harm
			Secrets	
		Religious	Nāmahram	
			Hijab	
			No photo	
		Decisional	Authority	
	Definitions	Control	Interruption	
		Authority	Choice	Arrangement
		Mahramiat	Nāmahram-mahram	
	Importance		Too important	Specially for religious privacy
	Function s	Freedom	Choice. Decision	Posing. Clothing
		Tranquility	Relaxation	
		Protection	Security. Protection. Secrecy. Distancing. Avoiding harm.	Masking. Clothing. Evil eye. Hijab
		Mahramiat	Religion. Gender. Hijab	
		Autonomy and Control	Interactional	Increasing in-family
			Visual	Gaze
			Doing task ¹	Studying
			Time management	Spending time for her favorites
	Surveillance		On others	
		Openness and closedness	Dialectic	
	Faces	Solitude	Taking rest	
		Reserve	Being laconic	
		Freedom	Choice	
		Intimacy	With family members	does not occur
	Mechani sms	Environmental	Furniture. Arrangement	
		Behavioral	Verbal	
			Adaptation	Habit
			Time management	
		Social	Excuses	
	Invasion		Interruption	
	Consequences		Harassment. Personal and social harms	
Social	Units	Individual	Her own privacy	Hijab. Authority
		Pair	Family secrets	
		Group	Women privacy	Mahram
	Social status		Education	
	Norms		Respect	

¹ Activities which she does or prefers to do in private

ETC	Time	Period	Before marriage
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As can be seen, the kitchen was the most frequently mentioned space in the interviewee responses. She believed that her kitchen was designed very well, as it blocked views from the guest area, and at the same time, offers a view of the sitting and family area (see Figure 28). She also assumed that the position of the toilet (out of the unit) and bathroom (close to bedrooms) are good enough. Moreover, Mz114 liked the zoning that provides host-guest and men-women segregation. Lastly, she considered the balcony as the most private space, suitable for hanging [underwear] clothes.



Figure 28. View towards the kitchen from the guest area (left) and sitting area (right)

In order to protect her religious privacy, i.e. to avoid being seen by Nāmahrams, Mz114 did not mount any photo of herself on the wall, even in the bedroom. She asserted that it bothers her a lot when a [Nāmahram] man stares at her or even her photo.

As introduced in chapter 2, privacy is a dialectic process that involves both closing and opening of the boundaries. In this case, the interviewee preferred to close the boundaries rather than open them. It could be because of her job and busy schedule. Even when she had spare time, she spent the time performing tasks rather than for leisure or relaxation. The subject employed anticipatory mechanisms (e.g. being laconic and having hijab) to prevent interactional invasion or reduce the chance of its occurrence. In addition to anticipatory mechanisms, she used different reactionary mechanisms as well, such as verbal behavior, and social norms.

Mrs. Mz114 declared that she would change the arrangement of furniture every two or three months, for innovation and versatility. She believed that this was a sign of her

authority in the home. Another example was that she would always make the decisions on when and with whom they should interact.

Regarding the different types of privacy, religion was the most important issue for this subject. Following that, she wanted control over her interactions. The low importance of the other types could be explained as being almost protected for her, so she did not consider them as seriously.

It was apparent from various parts of the interview that Mz114 was clearly task-oriented, as she considered interruption in her tasks as the main invasion of her privacy. It could be either a talk initiated by her husband, a guest, a phone call, or the like.

Overall, the analysis shows that her desire for privacy was not far from what she had achieved.

Furthermore, very few ornaments and pictures could be seen in the house. Almost no display items for showing off were present. It could be because the subject had already gained her reputation due to her academic standing, and did not require any further improvement through showing off her material items. Her appearance (wearing simple dress, using no makeup) also supported this conclusion.

Besides, the analysis showed that the interviewee cared about privacy according to different social levels. At the individual level, she tried to protect her own privacy by using a hijab, acquiring authority, managing her time, and so on. At the pair level, since she and her husband had no children, she had no problem with intimacy with her husband. Likewise, when she was alone at home while her husband goes to work, she could have private talks with her mother or her friends. At the group level, she placed women's privacy at the highest rank (Mahramiat) and tried to hide family secrets. She also preferred to increase the interaction within and between families, but decrease the interaction with the Nāmahrams.

Finally, the findings reveal that people may desire different levels of privacy at different stages of their lives. This finding is consistent with the life-cycle dimension of privacy introduced by [Laufer et al. \(1973\)](#). For example, in this case, the hijab and Mahramiat were not as important to Mz114 before, as they were after her marriage. She believed that this was because her husband was a believer, and he helped her find her way. It also indicates how others' ideas can influence one's definition and preference for privacy.

4.3 Interview with Ms110

4.3.1 Introduction

Mrs. 'Ms110', a 37-year-old housewife, lives with her husband (Mr. A.) and her children N. (13-year-old girl) and M. (18-year-old boy). Their house, located in a low-class neighborhood, includes a kitchen, a sitting room, a living room, a bath, a toilet, and no bedroom (see Figure 29. Plan of Mrs. Ms110's house). There is a mezzanine used as a sewing room. They have been living here since their marriage 23 years ago. At that point of time, in addition to the family, the house was also occupied by her brother-in-law's family, as well as her mother-in-law. After her mother-in-law passed away, they divided the house into two parts, for each brother's family.

The structure of this dialogue was informal, and the interviewee employed simple wording. She had a strong Yazdi accent.

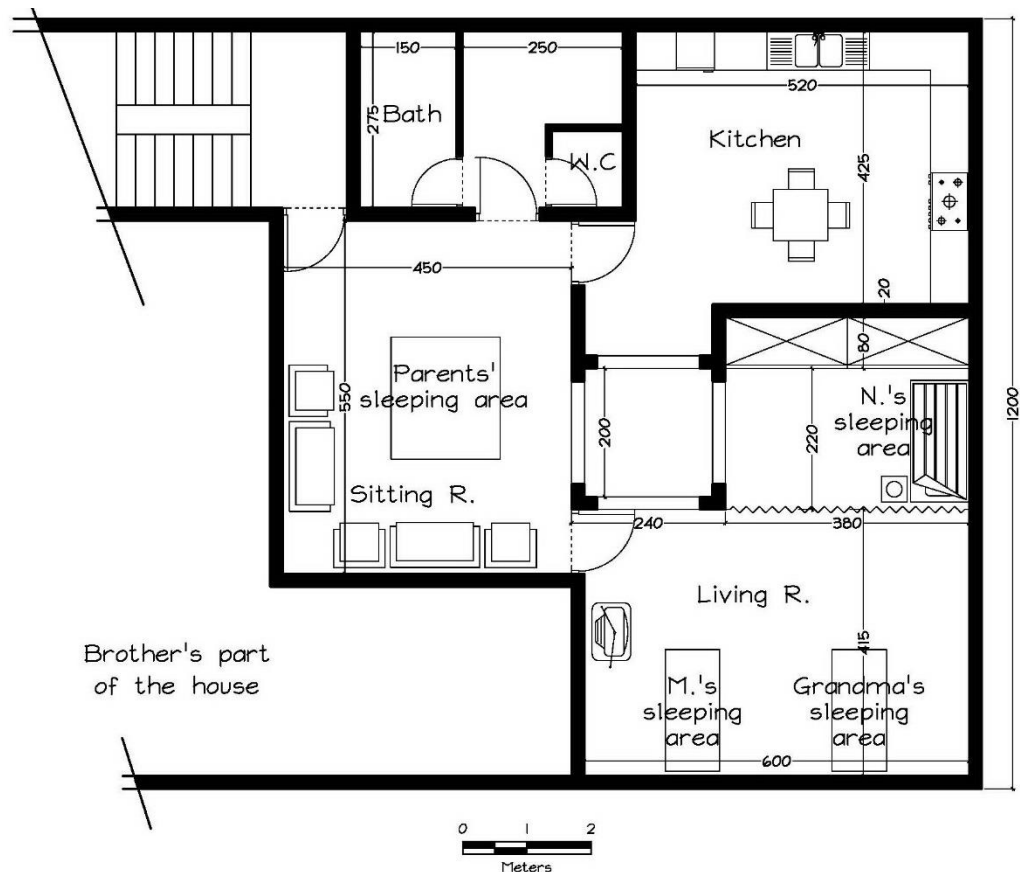


Figure 29. Plan of Mrs. Ms110's house

Figure 30. shows a view of the living room with curtain and a bed due to shortage of space.



Figure 30. A view of the living room

4.3.2 Coding

It should be noted that some interpretations were based on other parts of the interview, which are not presented here, or they were based on photo and sketch analysis. Table 6 demonstrates an excerpt of the interview with Ms110.

Table 6. Excerpts of codebook for interview with Ms110

No.	Text Transcription	Code	Memo
1	Your mother doesn't live with you, does she?		
2	<i>Just feasts. [but] since she became alone [widow], [she] some nights comes and sleeps here.</i>		
3	How often?		
4	<i>15 days here continuously, for some months, and 15 days not.</i>	Continuity	Any influence on privacy?
5	It happens that she stays here for 15 continues days?		
6	<i>Maybe. However, it just happened rarely.</i>		
7	Then, where do you sleep?		

8	<i>N. on her bed, M. here [living room] [there is no bed] and their grandma here. Me and A. [her husband] in Sitting room [see Figure 29]</i>	Boy and girl in the same room. Living room and sitting room as bedroom.	In the way to toilet and kitchen. It can invade their privacy.
9	The door is closed. [Hesitantly]		
10	<i>No, door is closed or open. It depends.</i>	Grandma as a spectator	
11	If she [grandma] is not, your children sleep here, and you..?		
12	<i>We there, which the door is 100 percent open.</i>	Surveillance on children, violation on parent's privacy	
13	So, um, is it always like that?		
14	<i>Yes, THAT'S it.</i>	Sensitivity to surveillance	
15	And the door is always open.		My curiosity on parents' privacy
16	<i>The door is always open.</i>		
17	So, if you and A. want to talk at home, where do you?		
18	<i>We should wait until they sleep, or A., in case he wants to say something, speaks quietly. So, nonetheless M. doesn't care about these kind of things, even from beginning [he was baby], but N. says "what are you talking, whispering? Speak louder, so we can understand what the topic is." [Laughing]</i>	Behavioral device. Acoustic privacy. Different people, gender, and age have different attitudes. Curiosity. Right to know	Her daughter's action is unusual
19	[Laughing]		Conformity Why?
20	<i>Nix, never we can talk like that [secrecy]. Except that, children are not home.</i>	Lack of privacy (intimacy) forever. Lack of secrecy	
21	And, when are not they [home]?		

22	<i>Never [they're always home]. Or, for example early morning, if A. has time to stay late until they go to school, and it happens rarely. Or, when they are home, and A. is home as well, [A.] follows me to my sewing room [she works as a tailor at home in mezzanine], and says "M. has done this N. is ...". I tell him something.</i>	Lack of intimacy but not solitude. Physical device.	It is because children are not home in the morning, but her husband is not home either. The environment provides privacy.
23	[I tried to say something]		
24	<i>Or I call [phone] him.</i>	Tele communication	
25	Oh yes, phone		
26	<i>Yes, I call him, and tell him 'last night, [when] you were not home, this and that happened. M. and N. did this and that.'</i>	Intimacy	For consulting regarding children's issues.
27	You consult this way.		
28	Yes.		
29	You said 'when they sleep', but when do they? Nowadays, everybody watches movies lately ...		
30	<i>Everyone watches movie, they all are tired, most of the time, if their dad doesn't go to sleep sooner than them, ha ha, I should hush 'your dad is asleep'.</i>	Conforming (to me). Sensitivity	
31	It means that you have problems talking to each other.		
32	<i>So much. So much. [Pause]</i>	Negative experience and feeling	Achieved privacy much less than desired privacy.
33	Have you ever thought about solving the problem?		
34	<i>Unfortunately, ... um, since the day ...[speaks off the topic]</i>	Helplessness. No easy clear solution.	Looking for origin of the problem in past decisions.

			Remembering bad memories.
35	Despite this issue, a couple may want to be alone sometimes, regardless talking, what about that? Whispering is possible [to support acoustic privacy] but... [I implied sexual intercourse]		
36	<i>It's difficult. Too much. It's condition is extremely difficult.</i>	Lack of intimacy. Constant stressful state	
37	Then, um, particularly when your mom is here [what happens]?		
38	<i>That's, just, ha ha, well</i>		
39	It's impossible.?		
40	<i>[Laughing, meaning yes]</i>		
41	Then, is it when, just, Excuse me, [never mind, she replied] but, is it tolerable to wait for two weeks?		I am entering a sensitive topic. Her mom sometime stays for two weeks.
42	<i>Um, well,</i>	Hesitance	
43	Can A. stand it?		
44	<i>For, um, you know, because we are accustomed to this. Since I got married. Nowadays the couples don't live with their husband's mother.</i>	Hesitance. Habit. Time (It was a custom in the past). Kin role of invador.	Unwillingness or not having clear answer? Wife's mother is ok then?
45	<i>They [new married couple] don't share the house. But WE [did], for 8 years, with my mother-in-law -God bless her [it's a custom to say that after recalling a dead]- and A.'s brother and his wife, in such a circumstance, even worse; whereas, the</i>	Sharing. Exact memory. Namahram. Physical environment. Time. Events	Exact memory might indicate the influence and importance of the event. The hierarchy and

	<i>kitchen, toilet, and bath were merely one [shared]. We had Ramadan¹,</i>		importance of space for privacy
46	<i>Before Ramadan, after Ramadan, my mother-in-law [was sleeping] in the middle of the hall. That was routine.</i>	Sexual intercourse. Difficulty of the situation. Surveillance. Informational privacy. Longevity and continuity of the condition	Others' info of one's intercourse time
47	We had such a permanent difficult condition. Now, no way, um, they [A. and his brother] -God bless them [sarcastically]- ha, ha, don't think of, [laughing]	Longevity and continuity. Difficulty. Authority	Lack of privacy causes discomfort and dissatisfaction. Changes need men confirmation.
48	<i>... I see, but they were adult, you know, no one wants their children to understand that.. [implying intercourse]</i>		
49	It's so difficult, we had [and have] lots of problems, but, well, we have no choice.	Helplessness	
50	<i>How is this issue being solved? Because, for instance, the door is open as well.</i>		
51	The problem, only if, for instance, the door is closed sometimes, so we feel safe; we are sure that they're asleep. They didn't sleep during the day, are tired, and had exercise. We ponder carefully, we become sure, so close the door, then...	Mental engagement. Personal control. Physical environment	
52	<i>At mid-night, you close the door.</i>		
53	There isn't any other choice.	Helplessness	
54	<i>So, what time is this? 3, 4 in the morning?</i>		

¹ During Ramadan, sexual intercourse is confined between evening Adhan (call for payer) and morning Adhan; and the couple must do the ablution before morning Adhan.

55	Yes, that's it.		It's not a proper time.
56	<i>You're sure they're asleep?</i>		
57	We're sure they're asleep, and we're sure we are not [Laughing a bit long].	Time	
58	<i>Yes, sometimes one may fall sleep himself [at that time]. After that, what happens to something like going to bath [taking shower]?</i>		It alerts others that this person had intercourse and has to do ablution.
59	That kind of stuffs, just, must be done before [while] they're still asleep [pause]. We bathe, it's to be finished.	Informational privacy. Time. Private activities	
60	<i>You [can't] leave it for morning, you know, your children are almost adult ..</i>		
61	They're adult, and M. understands everything clearly, the circumstance is very difficult.	Age. Others' understanding. Difficulty	
62	<i>[Inaudible]</i>		
63	[Inaudible] [We spoke simultaneously] [the phone rings]		
64	<i>Please answer the phone, if you like to.</i>		
65	Ok, I will. [I stopped recording, and she answered the phone.		

For this interviewee, privacy was very important. Mrs. Ms110 had made strong and continuous efforts to protect her own privacy as well as her clients'. She had spent a lot of money and engaged in persistent debates with her husband to achieve her desired level of privacy. She emphasized her strong stance on privacy by responding using words and expressions like 'too much', 'definitely', and 'not pleasant at all' very frequently.

In row 45, the interviewee talked about sharing the house with her mother-in-law and brother-in-law; and how this violated their privacy. It should be noted that in Iran, it is believed that the relationship between a bride and her mother-in-law would sour quickly, sometimes even turning into the biggest problem of married life.

It can be seen that when achieving privacy is too difficult, some costly mechanisms would be used (e.g. coming back from work to have intimacy with a spouse). In addition, it was found that the interviewee wanted surveillance on others, but could not tolerate it when it was directed upon herself. It indicates that the input of data and information was considered okay, but the output was not.

4.3.3 Categorization

Table 7 illustrates the categories for selected parts of the interview with Ms110 that was presented in the previous section.

Table 7. Categories for presented codes for Ms110 case

Category	Subcategory		Code	Memo
Space	Living room		Female guests. Sleeping. Studying	
	Hall		Integration of activities. Male guests	eating lunch, watching TV, short rest
	Bedroom		Not available	
	Kitchen		Position	No view from living room
			Not open	Guests
	Toilet		In public zone	
	Bathroom		In public zone	
	Main entrance		No view from the outside	
	Patio		Light	
	Window		Not available	
	Curtain		Dividing	
	Zoning		Segregation	Man-woman
Function		Proximity of activities		
Gender	Sensation and awareness		Sixth sense	
	Age		Adulthood	Boy's voice
	Gender role		Women privacy	
	Segregation		Women zone and activity	
	Responsibility		Women	
Privacy	Types	Interactional	Separated room	For women
			Decrease	Because of children (hijab, satellite)
			Eating on the same table	
			Cooperation	
			Selective	Specific group
		Physical	Being touched	Strong objection

		Visual	Being seen	
			Changing cloth	For clients
		Auditory	Noisy activities	Washing dishes
			Private talking	In person. On phone
			Entertainment	Movie, music, sports watching
		Informational	Evil eye	
			Secrets	Not settled
			Reputation	Food shortage. Imperfections
			Phone number	For her son not hers
		Security	Security	Preserved
	Protection		Clothing and hijab	
	Religious	Nāmahram. Mixture of both genders. Hijab. Self-collected		
	Decisional	Authority		
	Definitions	Control	Surveillance	Children
		Authority	For change	
		Mahramiat	Nāmahram-mahram	
		Freedom	Of behavior	Posing. Clothing
	Importance		Longtime planning	Prevision for future
			Hate. Not pleasant at all	Open kitchen
			Too much. Definitely. Too important	Especially for religious privacy
			Maintaining privacy	Not letting others know
			Spending money, following up	Building new room
			Strong and continuous effort for achieving	Saying repeatedly until making debate
			Ridiculous	Being seen by everybody (totally openness)
	Functions	Reserved talking	Consultation	In person. On the phone
		Autonomy		
		Protection	Evil eye	
			Secrets	
Gender			Men	
Screening			Auditory	
Secrecy	Masking. Concealment. Confidentiality			

		Tranquility	Releasing stress	Clients. Sexual relationship
			Satisfaction	
			Relief	Carnal and emotional relief
		Self-evaluation	Contemplation	Sadness
		Mahramiat	Religion	Hijab
			Gender	Nāmahram
		Autonomy and Control	Children's upbringing	Children's behavior
			Interaction	Decreasing inter-family and increasing in-family
			Making decision	
			Input vs. output	
	Openness vs. closedness		Dialectic	
	Faces	Solitude	Talking. Planning	
		Intimacy	Talk. Sexual Intercourse	Not settled
	Mechanisms			
		Environmental	Door. Room. Curtain	
		Behavioral	Scowling. Dignity	
			Time management	Night. Work hour
			Adaptation	No choice. Indifference. Habit. Patience
		Social	Asking. Inquiry. Announcement	
Combination		Environmental and behavioral	Fitting cloth	
	Social, environmental, and behavioral	Private talk		
Invasion	Commitment. Being seen. Abrupt presence of Nāmahram. Comprehending their sexual relationship	Passing by. Hearing		
Consequences	Nervousness. Evil eye. Incest. Acceptance. Incapability. Stress			
Social	Units	Individual	Self-collected	
		Pair	Intimacy with husband	Lack of.
		Group	Women gathering. Religious ceremonies	
	Social status	Reputation		
	Norms	Announcement		

ETC	Economy		
	Personality	Warm. Affectionate	

This interviewee also preferred closedness to openness. For instance, increases in interaction were not favored, but decreases in parties and guests were positively mentioned. It could be due to appropriateness of the amount of interaction for her.

Mrs. Ms110 believed that as children grow up, the need for parents' privacy increases, while the need for surveillance on children decreases. It can be concluded that children's maturity can cause an increase in the need for employing closing faces of privacy in the house, i.e. making rules, dividing the house, building a room, or using curtains.

Moreover, among various types of privacy, religious privacy was the most important type for this subject. She appreciated segregation between men and women, as well as separated entrances and services, and protected zones for women that were present in her friend's house. In the same way, since inter-family interaction does not occur very often, the repetition of the hijab in her account can be interpreted as being important to her. Lastly, the subject stated that she was willing to interact only with specific groups that had minimum requirements of hijab wear and morality.

Overall, the analysis shows that what Mrs. Ms110 desired for privacy was far from what she had achieved.

4.4 Interview with Es101

4.4.1 Introduction

Miss 'Es101', a 22-year-old student, had recently affianced. Her fiancé is an architect from Yazd, who was her senior in the university. She lives in an upper-class neighborhood in an 80m² apartment with her parents and her sister (Miss A.). Their apartment had a living room, a kitchen, a balcony, a bathroom, a toilet, and two bedrooms (see Figure 32). One of the bedrooms belonged to the parents, and the other was occupied by the girls. Her 18-year-old sister was preparing to enter a very important event for Iranian high school students: the university entrance exam. Miss Es101's father is a white-collar worker, and his wife is a housewife.

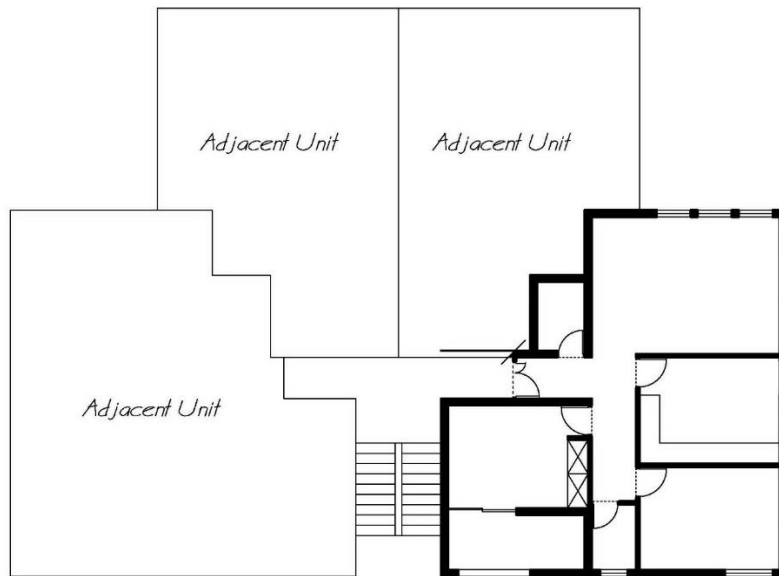


Figure 31. Miss Es101's apartment with its adjacent units in the block

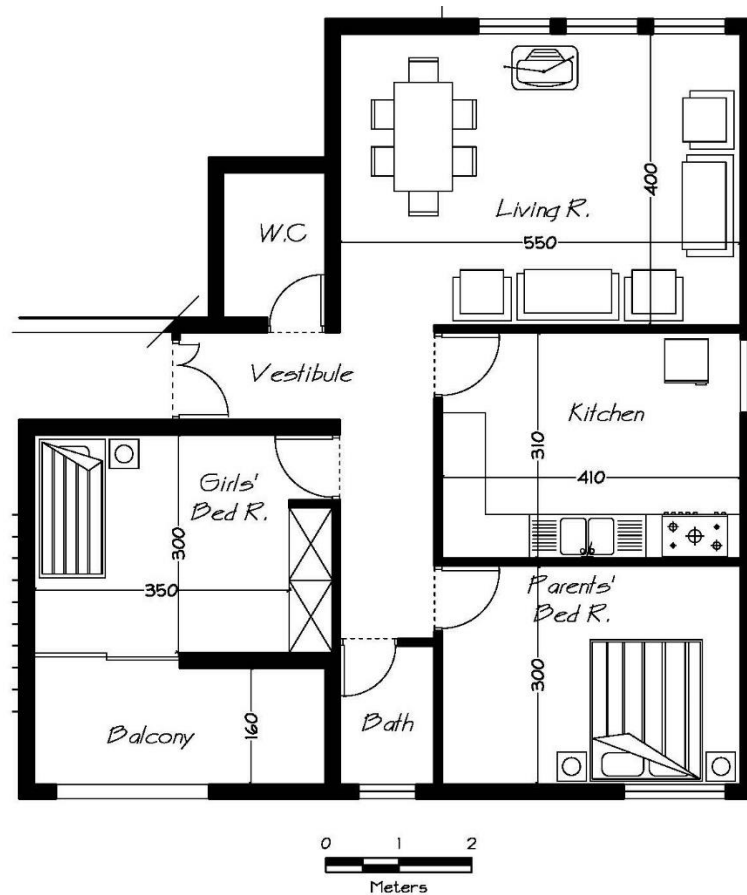


Figure 32. The layout of Miss Es101's apartment

The structure of the dialogue was formal, and she employed words carefully and politely. She had no Yazdi accent.



Figure 33. The girls' bedroom

4.4.2 Coding

In the analysis of Miss Es101's interview, one thing that was clear was her use of 'projective techniques'. For instance, she attributed their living in an apartment, which was not considered appropriate for upper-class people, to the safety problem of houses (row 2). However, soon after, she mentioned that safety might not be the main problem in Yazd (row 4); thus, it seems that her actual reason was more to do with the economy (row 5) rather than safety. Likewise, she often diverted the point to her sister's, putting responsibility onto her, therefore hiding the source of the problem (e.g. row 11). An excerpt of the interview with Es101 is presented in Table 8.

Table 8. Excerpts of codebook for interview with Es101

No.	Text Transcription	Code	Memo
1	Why did you choose an apartment [for living]?		
2	<i>Because, security of detached houses are not as high as apartments.</i>	Security	
3	<i>And, we didn't want [a] house with the landlord. We didn't want independent house as well, [because] we were [would be] too lonely, and for trips [when we went on a trip] the house was left vacant.</i>	Intrusion. Supervision. Not neighboring. Seeking for relationship. Security	

4	<i>Once we had come from Tehran, we used to lock the door, then we found Yazd a secure city and don't lock [it] anymore.</i>	Social class. Prestige. Habit. Practice. Security. Adaptation.	
5	<i>This unit is very cramped, but the larger the unit the more the rental.</i>	Size (of the house). Economy	
6	Are the windows ok?		
7	<i>I don't feel unsecure [to draw the curtain, but] A. does, very much. She draws the curtains at night before going to bed. I am not accustomed to draw the curtains. However it [drawing the curtain] might be forgotten. Mom is as sensitive as A. They consider [to be seen] having no scarf. It's not the matter for dad [being seen himself] nor for the house.</i>	Security. Personality. Age. Screening. Time. Night. Temporality. Habit. Neglect. Forgetfulness. Sensitivity. Control. Visibility. Hijab. Gender. Not informational	
8	When do you need privacy the most?		
9	<i>... Everything that needs concentration, I go to the room. Thinking or design inception.</i>	Concentration. Space. Task. Pondering	
10	Which room?		
11	<i>A room in which A. is not. Because she would be distracted. I sit quietly, she continuously asks questions or narrates.</i>	Isolation. Distraction. Silence. Continuity. Invasion. Enquiry. Interaction. Voice	
12	Is there any specific invasion on your privacy?		
13	<i>When I'm studying, juice, tea, milk, everything comes to the room by mom [unhappy].</i>	Task. Study. Invasion. Unhappy.	
14	Where is the most private place in the house?		

15	<i>I talk on the phone with H. [her fiancé] in balcony. That place is the most private one in the house.</i>	Intimacy. Space. Informational. Auditory	
16	How do others manage to regulate their privacy?		
17	<i>For instance, when my grandma passed away, mom wanted to be alone, but we didn't let her [to be alone]. She let it go until everybody slept, then she had her own solitude.</i>	Unfortunate events. Loneliness. Invasion [§] . Patience. Time. Solitude. Isolation	
18	Where does H. sleep?		
19	<i>He sleeps in the living room. There is no other choice [space].</i>	Space-task relationship. Constraint. Religion. 'orf.	Space shortage
20	How about guests?		
21	<i>Guests [from other cities] sleep in the living room, if they don't mind [being seen]. And put the luggage in our [girls] bedroom. We, then, go to parents' bedroom. Otherwise, for whom the Hijab and segregation between men and women is important, ladies [sleep] in our bedroom, and men in the living room. Some [guests] don't care [about Hijab], sleep here or there [everywhere].</i>	Space. Visual. Neglect. Space shortage. Sharing room. Segregation. Hijab. Women privacy. Gender. Personality. Indifference	No store.
22	Is the room big enough for both of you?		
23	<i>Not at all. For instance, first semester was a calamity. I had to work on assignments at night in parents' bedroom. Because the desk was there. I was so considerate, but it was noisy, opening and closing the door, put and take, and so on. And the light had to be on.</i>	Difficulty. Problem. Others' territory. Invasion. Time. Task. Concern. Noise. Disturbance. Light.	

24	How is the relationship with your neighbors?		
25	<i>My mom likes the affiliation. One comes from Mecca, one dies, [then] neighbors go and visit her. But it's just for ladies. Neither men nor children. Sometimes they sit in the open spaces and chit chats. It's not bothering.</i>	Willingness. Interest. Events. Visiting. Gender. Space. Task. Not disturbing	
26	Since you live in a residential complex, is there any interference?		
27	<i>We had such an intruder neighbors. Fortunately, they had left [the complex]. This old woman doesn't interfere. She sometimes ask questions of when and where, but she intends to seek for some help, because she needs that.</i>	Interference. Inquiry. Reason. Justification	
28	<i>Once, we, my classmates and I, occupied her house for a team work for an assignment. Because we had to work together, and I didn't have any other choice. She went to her son's house. She is a lonely old woman, and she is very kind.</i>	Sharing space. Task. Group. Constraint. Leaving the space. Loneliness. Age. Gender. Personality	

Reviewing the interview reveals that the interviewee was aware of their social status and implicitly tried to depict it in her statements. For instance, she mentioned that they could not stand living with a property owner (row 3), implying that she came from a status of middle to upper socio-economic class.

The correlation between the tasks to be done and the need for privacy is emphasized in row 9. In row 15, the subject implied that protecting informational privacy did not have an easy solution. Moreover, the roles of religion and gender as a determinant factor were highlighted in rows 7 and 21.

Her fiancé had to sleep in the living room, because according to the laws of sharia, any intimate relationship before espousal is forbidden, and there was no other room for him. However, some families are more concerned with what others may say ('orf) than violating

sharia laws. The problem became more crucial when relatives came to visit them from another city, and they had to look throughout the house for a space to sleep.

4.4.3 Categorization

Table 9 shows categories for the interview with Es101. Although the subject expressed a negative feeling towards the actions of her mother (she took them as a violation to her privacy), she somehow interpreted her invasion on others' privacy as "keeping her mother company" or "taking care of her younger sister". However, the interviewee appeared to be thoughtful of others' privacy in some situations. She felt bad for invading her parents' privacy or comfort (row 23).

Table 9. Categories for presented codes for Es101 case

Category	Subcategory	Code	Memo
Space	Living room	Integration of activities	Sleeping. Eating. Lunch. Seating together. Studying. Watching TV
		no view toward private parts	
	Bedroom	Door	Must be kept open
		Sharing	
	Corridor	Private	
		Buffer	
	Kitchen	Eating breakfast	
		Not open	No direct access to living room
	Toilet	In public zone	
		No direct view	
	Bathroom	Private enough	End of the corridor
	Balcony	The most private space	
	Main entrance	Blocked view	
		In the middle of unit	
	Window	Low windowsill	View from and towards outside
		Reticular wall	to limit the view
		Noise	
Curtain	Increasing the privacy		
	Night	Due to inner light	
Zoning	Public-private		

	Function	Multi-function	Every function can occur in every space	
	Size	Cramped		
Gender	Gender role	Men- women		
	Sensitivity	Very sensitive	Personality	
		Indifferent		
Age	High school girl			
Privacy	Types	Interactional	Seeking relationship. Events	
		Visual	Being seen. Visibility	
		Auditory	Silence. Phone talk. Noise	
		Informational	Reputation. Phone call. Interference. Inquiry	
		Religious	Hijab. Mahram	
		Decisional	No authority	
	Definitions	Protection	Informational	
		Independence		
	Importance	Difficulty. Problem. Concern. Constraint		
	Functions	Self-evaluation	Pondering. Contemplation	
		Protection	Security. Secrecy. Gender	
		Tranquility	Calmness. Interest. Entertainment	Silence. Watching movie
		Territoriality		
		Mahramiat	Hijab. Men	
		Control	Independence	
	Doing task		Studying. Reading	
	Faces	Solitude	Loneliness	
		Reserve	Avoiding talks	
		Isolation	Concentration	
		Intimacy	Private talks	
		Neighboring	Relationship	
	Mechanisms	Environmental	Leaving the space	
		Behavioral	Time management	Night. Temporality
			Adaptation	Habit. Patience. Justification. Neglect. Constraint
	Social	Politeness		
	Invasion	Intrusion. Surveillance. Inquiry. Interference. Continuity	Reason	
	Consequences	Bewilderment. Disturbance. Undecided. Nervousness		

Social	Units	Individual	Isolation	
		Pair	Intimacy	Talk
		Group	Cooperation	Friends
	Social status		Prestige. Reputation	
	Norms		Announcement	Men should ask for permission
ETC	Economy		Choices	
	Others' territory			
	Personality		Different people	

As can be seen, the subject talked more about the shortage of space rather than the dimensions, relationships, or structure of it. This can be inferred as her need for more space; specifically a space to protect her own privacy.

The analysis shows that patience can be a behavioral mechanism for individuals to regulate their privacy, either via adaptation to external stimuli or decreasing one's expectations.

It was found that the family's relationships with their neighbors was so good that they could use their neighbor's house, and she left the house for them (row 28). One of the reasons for such a strong relationship can be the other person's behavior; when one thinks there is no interference from the other party, one would feel better and be more likely to continue the relationship. In this case, since the interviewee could see some positive reasoning behind the invasion (row 27), she tended to justify it. Moreover, unlike many accounts in the media and in public folklore about interfering, bothering, and backbiting women in the neighborhood, they had a positive view toward associating with their neighbors.

4.5 Interview with Ha106

4.5.1 Introduction

Mrs. 'Ha106', a 26-year-old employee, lives with her husband (Mr. M.) and her 2-year-old son (S.). Their house, located in a high-class neighborhood, includes a kitchen, a living room, a bath and toilet, two bedrooms, and a large balcony (see Figure 34. Plan of Mrs. Ha106's house). Their house was on the second floor, while the first floor was occupied by her husband's parents. They had been living here since their marriage 6 years ago.

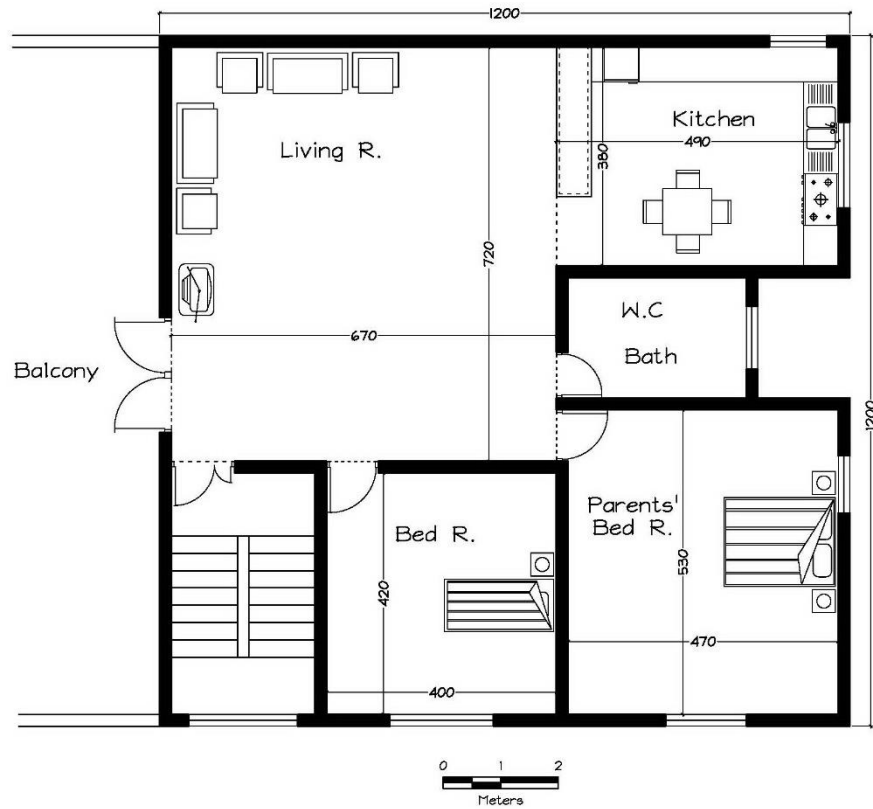


Figure 34. Plan of Mrs. Ha106's house



Figure 35. A view of living room and kitchen

4.5.2 Coding

An excerpt of the interview with Ha106 is presented in Table 10.

Table 10. Excerpts of codebook for interview with Ha106

No.	Text Transcription	Code	Memo
1	<i>When M. is home, I prefer to be together all the time. It's so delightful. Talking about work, life, or family, drinking juice, watching movie.</i>	Preference. Togetherness. Time. Delight.	Longevity
2	<i>He [M.] wants his own privacy. He wants to be with himself once a day. On this coach, or in the bedroom. He lets me know. And I simply accept it.</i>	Other's privacy. Place. Furniture. Utterance (verbal). Acceptance.	
3	<i>But me, he is as privy to me as I don't think I need it [aloneness].</i>	Privy. Intimacy. Need.	
4	<i>Since we both are working in the morning, in the afternoon, we need to be together. Because we don't see each other. We have something to do, we wouldn't be idle.</i>	Time. Togetherness. Interaction. Task.	
5	<i>When they [parents-in-law] offered either an apartment or the second floor of their house, I opted for the second. Because, firstly I am afraid of the dark and being alone. Secondly, I grew up in a houseful family. I had a good sense of crowd. Since the house is equipped with security alarm, I move to some parts [of the house] easily.</i>	Authority. Fear. Dark. Aloneness. Habit (background). Sensation. Crowd. Equipment. Security. Movement (using spaces)	Showing respect to bride. Burglary has happened when she was a child. Interaction. Togetherness.
6	<i>... I'm very intimate with my mother-in-law. Very relax. We don't stick our nose in other's life. She doesn't ask unnecessary questions. Because she was lettered (she was a teacher). She also has had a good rapport with her mother-in-law.</i>	Intimacy. Interference. Enquiry. Education. Experience.	
7	<i>I've never been afraid of mother-in-law; because, firstly, I knew that I'm adaptable and very considerate. Secondly, unlike common believe, I didn't have a negative</i>	Afraid. Personality. Adaptability. Respect (to others' privacy).	Common believe

	<i>mental image</i> of mother-in-law. In our family (my mother taught us), she is your husband's mother (just like your mother)	Mental image. Background.	
8	I myself ask her opinion, and after years, she shares her thoughts [of our life] with me.	Asking opinion. Sharing ideas.	
9	... Usually I don't initiate parties, but I can tolerate lengthy parties, while he [M.] cannot.	Initiation. Tolerance. Party. Personality.	
10	I'm very talkative and noisy in girl parties (my friends), but in family parties , I talk less.	Passion. Gender. Situation.	
11	Unlike I like to be with others, sometimes I really need solitude . Before marriage, I used to go walking alone in old alleys [in traditional fabric]. Or I used to go to 'Jāmeḥ mosque' not only for prayer or devotion, but to sit, talk to myself, review and revise schedules, and think about important things that need time.	Interest. Interaction. Need. Solitude. Time. Habit. Walking. Physical environment. Memories. Pondering	A beautiful 12 th -century mosque and a masterpiece in architecture, which is the most famous building of Yazd all around the country.
12	After marriage, sometimes in office, or since it is easy for me to keep awake, between 2 to 4 am. Once in 2 or 3 weeks. On the table in the kitchen with a warm light. I write. Most of the time, when I'm alone, I talk to myself, try to recede from diurnal, think about important issues, and get rid of banal thoughts. It is usually accompanied with writing.	Place. Time. Night. Place. Atmosphere. Activities (during seclusion)	
13	After marriage, it was very hard to abandon my solitude, because I used to be alone very often. But now, I got used to it.	Difficulty. Solitude. Habit.	
14	My husband doesn't push me [for hijab or behavior]. We knew each other [before	Authority. Acceptance. Beliefs.	

	<i>marriage]. So, he has accepted me with all my beliefs.</i>		
15	<i>We unplug the phone for rest. I don't have to answer my cellphone in the afternoon.</i>	Vocal. Blocking (the invasion). Authority. Time.	
16	<i>TV has influenced Yazdi women a lot. Unlike the homogeneity outside, they are very heterogeneous inside. Since Yazd has been enclosed, people's culture fluctuates with the smallest stimuli from the outside [TV, satellite]. I see it very often in our relatives.</i>		Not directly related to the topic.
17	<i>Most often, it is social customs that [Yazdi] women follow. In overall, not only me. Lots of women have religious belief. But, they deliberately lay some parts of it away, because they want more power and authority. So, they are more afraid of breaking [social] norms [that cause] others to speak about them. It's not their own or religious belief.</i>	Dominance. Social norms ('Orf). Religion. Authority. Fear. Conformity.	Does it mean that men do not follow social norms as much as women? Not following own desire.
18	<i>They follow norms in [building] their houses as well. For instance, many believe that if the kitchen is not open, it is not [considered] fashionable and chic. It's just because of fashion.</i>	Social norms. Physical environment. Fashion.	
19	<i>Bedrooms doors always remain open.</i>	Openness. Physical environment.	Bedrooms doors in the living room.
20	<i>Because we trust our guests (family friends, either women or their husbands). Everybody who enters our house is 100 percent reliable and intimate.</i>	Trust. Gender. Reliance. Intimacy (with family and friends)	

21	<i>One reason is that we don't have unexpected guest. We behaved in a way that, um, for instance, we didn't go anywhere unexpected, so nobody comes unexpected. We didn't say 'No', just by [our] behavior. So, no issue have raised so far.</i>	Expectation. Behavior. To inform. Indirect manner.	
22	<i>But, situations which I may think about them are if bedrooms are messy or it's my son's sleeping time. My house is 90 percent tidy. The rest 10 percent, I convince myself that I'm educated, I have something more important to do.</i>	Tidiness. Time. Sleeping. Self- satisfaction. Importance.	

The interviewee asserted that in case of a change, they had in mind to add a corridor to open all three doors (bedrooms and toilet) in it. However, they did not want it for the sake of privacy; rather, they wanted more walls to hang pictures and to “lean on” during parties. The interviewee stated that an open kitchen was “okay” for her. However, in case of a change, she preferred having an enclosed space as well, in order to better arrange the open areas and add an extra stove, fridge, and washing machine. She wanted her open areas very neat and clean.

4.5.3 Categorization

Table 11 illustrates categories for selected parts of the interview with Ha106. The interviewee stated that she tried to show her identity by hanging photos and pictures on the wall. “Every picture illustrates parts of my identity from different angles” (Ha106). She had the authority to change the decorations and to arrange the furniture.

Table 11. Categories for presented codes for Ha106 case

Category	Subcategory	Code	Memo
Space	Living room	Well decorated	
		No zoning	
	Bedroom	Notable meaning	
		Linked to living room	
	Kitchen	Open. No hidden place	
	Toilet	In public zone	
Bathroom	In public zone		

	Atmosphere		Warm light. Retro and vintage effect. Spiritual	Old alleys. Mosque
	Main entrance		Hierarchy. Levels (filter). Buffer (for noise).	Sitting. Putting things.
	Window		Enough light	
			No view from and toward adjacent houses	
	Curtain		Decorative	
	Function		Specific place	
	Doors		Always open	
	Equipment		CCTV	
	Furniture		Arrangement	Behind the vase
			Orientation	Toward the yard
Convenience			Coach	
Features		Corner. Hiding opportunity. Cool. Shade		
Gender	Responsibility		Men	
	Gender role		Reputation	
	Segregation		In some parties	
Privacy	Types	Interactional	Asking and sharing ideas	Opening process
			Togetherness	
		Physical	The most important	Keeping distance
		Visual	Untidiness	
		Auditory	Noise	
		Informational	Reputation	Tidiness
			Others' saying and judgement	
	Gender	Comfort in feminine parties	Interaction	
	Decisional	Authority		
	Definitions	Control		
		Authority	Changing decoration	
		Freedom	Of behavior and choice	
	Functions	Limited communication	Avoiding social Impairment	
			Consultation	
		Protection	Security. Secrecy	Thief
			Others' saying and judgement	
		Tranquility	Delight	
		Self-evaluation	Pondering. Thinking	Talking to herself.
		Autonomy and Control	Over input	Noise. View
	Personal autonomy			
		Doing task	Studying. Specific activity (sleeping).	

				Writing. Talking. Revising
		Freedom	Of fear	Dark. Thief
	Faces	Solitude		
		Reserve	Dignity. Behavior	
		Intimacy	with husband, family, friends, and relatives respectively	
	Mechanisms	Behavioral	Modesty. Serenity. Dignity. Formal dress. Unplugging the phone.	Almost always nonverbal
			Time management	Phone calls. Specific time. Day (for others) and night (for self). Morning (work) and evening (togetherness).
			Adaptation	Tolerance. Choice. Habit
		Environmental	Specific space	
		Social	Not unexpected guest	
		Interference	Giving idea and opinion	
	Invasion	Inquiry	Asking extra and not related questions	
		Initiation		Open and close
		Duration	Longevity of activity or situation	Long discussion. Lengthy parties
		Frequency	Very often. Twice a week	
		Consequences	Distraction. Confusion. Disturbance	
Social	Units	Individual	Self	
		Pair	Intimacy with husband	
		Group	Social consideration. Not unexpected guest	
	Social status	Tidiness		
	Norms	Clothing. Modesty		
Context	Time	Before and after marriage		
	Personality	Passion. Mood. Sensation		
	Experience	Background	Good feeling of mother-in-law's interference. Bad feeling of being alone (fear)	
	Identity	Hanging photos on the wall		

	Situation	Time. Condition.	
	Goal	Task-oriented	

Despite the bedroom doors being in the living room and always remaining open, it did not violate the subject's privacy. This was because she perceived order and cleanness as being more important than 'hiding things'; and she had the room always clean and neat.

Analysis shows that the interviewee had self-confidence, as she preferred to use behavioral mechanisms to other mechanisms. Moreover, she assumed that behavioral mechanisms were more effective and worked better. For instance, she efficiently managed her time to achieve her desired level of privacy. In addition, she easily adapted herself to new situations to screen any bothering stimuli.

The interviewee also preferred the opening side of privacy to the closing side. One main reason could be that when she was a child, a break-in happened in her house. As a result, she became afraid of the dark and being alone.

On her bedroom wall, the subject hung a photo of herself, dressed in her wedding gown and not wearing a hijab. Since the bedroom door was always open, even during parties (according to her), it can imply that she did not care much about wearing the hijab, at least for her photo¹. Nonetheless, she dressed very well, and often tried to wear her hijab in public. It supports the idea that she wears the hijab to preserve the family's status and reputation, than due to her personal beliefs.

The subject believed that men do not follow social norms as much as women do. This is consistent with the findings of Mortazavi's (1991) study, which indicated that women are more expected to comply with social and religious rules.

Overall, the analysis shows that what Mrs. Ha106 desired for privacy is not far from what she had achieved.

4.6 Interview with FI122

4.6.1 Introduction

In Iran, whether women believe in wearing the hijab or not, they have to wear it in public. There is no such requirement in the home. However, when a stranger enters their homes,

¹ It is found that women remove the hijab easier for their photo. It is very conspicuous in social networks' profile pictures.

they might behave differently. They would usually wear the hijab to maintain their reputation or occupation. For this reason, also their answer might not be restricted to personal beliefs. Yet, Iranian women abroad (e.g. in Singapore) can be divided into two groups regarding the wearing of the hijab: 1) the ones who practice wearing the hijab, and 2) the ones who do not. To the researcher, both groups seem reasonable. The former group believes that wearing hijab is a divine rule and they should submit to it, while the latter group does not think so. However, a few women can be seen as being in between both belief systems, and it would be interesting to find out what this group believes in.

Therefore, it was assumed that interviewing one member of this group could provide some new insights. Thus, the researcher decided to talk to Miss FI122, who was a post-graduate student in Singapore, and who wore a midway-scarf.

The interview took place in a coffee shop. The conversation was semi-formal (like a chat) over a cup of coffee, and the topic was not confined to privacy. The researcher did not let her know that this was part of a research; accordingly, neither the interview was recorded nor notes were taken. Her responses were transcribed from memory as soon as the researcher arrived at his office.

4.6.2 Coding

An excerpt of the interview with FI122 is presented in Table 12. In row 4, the interviewee explained how a mid-scarf on her head and shoulders would show others that she was a [modest] Muslim, and she could not be treated as ‘that kind of girl’ (in her words). For instance, she gave an example of a party she attended, and how her attire protected her (row 8).

Table 12. Excerpts of codebook for interview with FI122

No.	Text Transcription	Code	Memo
1	Why are you wearing this scarf?		
2	<i>I don't care much about religion. The only thing of importance to me is Ethic. This scarf has nothing with hijab. It's for my protection.</i>	No religion. No hijab. Ethic. Protection	
3	How does it protect you?		

4	<i>Once, I had gone to a party. At the end, they disclosed wine, and drank until they got drunk. They approached a friend of mine who was wearing a more revealing cloth.</i>	Invasion. Clothing.	
5	Maybe, it was because she was closer [more acquainted] to them. I mean it is easier to approach someone you are more familiar with.		
6	<i>No. Our level of acquaintanceship [with them] was the same. They asked me to drink. They might have thought ‘we can make her drunk, then [pause]’ you know.</i>	Acquaintanceship.	Not a single man, THEY. No talk on private! topics.
7	Is it just Iranians who know the signal of scarf, that do not approach you easily?		
8	<i>No, Indians, Singaporean. They notice this [scarf] and then ask me if I am a Muslim. I reply yes. Then they ask if I pray or fast. I again reply yes. Then, they retreat [laugh]. They realize that I’m not [pause, smile] that kind of girls.</i>	Universal meaning of hijab. Alarm. Religion. Practice. Protection.	
9	Have you ever been harassed? With this clothing, I mean. Somebody gazes at you um [pause]?		
10	<i>Indeed. But, I don’t care. I lower my gaze, don’t look at them. Well, when I don’t see them, I’m not harassed [bothered].</i>	Visual privacy. Certainty. Neglect.	
11	Have your friends with less clothing ever been harassed here [in Singapore]?		
12	Gaze? It is natural [normal, routine]	Gaze. Routine.	
13	You said you have chosen this clothing for protection. Why not more or less?		
14	<i>I said that I don’t believe in Hijab. So, more [than this] is unnecessary. After I removed</i>	Bad feeling. Habit. Gradual. Endless.	

	<i>my Chādor, I was feeling very bad. It was so difficult to go out. But, gradually I got used to it. So, I think if I remove this scarf, it's going to be in an endless way. It's not clear when and where one will stop.</i>		
15	<i>On the other hand, I'm wearing this way for five years. If it hadn't worked [helped] I would have changed it.</i>	Habit. Change.	

In row 2, the interviewee stated that she did not care about religion, but it is revealed later that she in fact does practice her religion, as she fasts and prays. Therefore, her first statement should be interpreted as her not following all the rules of the religion, but only those she considered reasonable.

The subject's last statement initiated an argument. At the end, she asked the researcher if he thought that she was right in her opinion. Having the researcher's agreement, she became visibly happy, which seemed rather strange. It could be concluded that after she removed her Chādor, she was in an internal conflict with herself¹, and needed others' confirmation² of her 'philosophical point of view' (in her words).

4.6.3 Categorization

Table 13 illustrates the categories for selected parts of the interview with FI122.

Table 13. Categories for presented codes for FI122 case

Category	Subcategory		Code	Memo
Gender	Sensation		Men pessimism	
	Gender role		Freedom	
Privacy	Types	Interactional	Acquaintanceship	
		Visual	Gaze	
		Informational	Email	
	Definitions	Control	Over interaction	
		Freedom	Of behavior	
Importance		Certainty		

¹ **Self-clarification** involves individuals that "think about and focus attention on themselves in preparation of [revealing] themselves to others" (Milanes, 2011, p. 56).

² **Social validation** transpires when individuals open up and reveal themselves to others in the hope of obtaining advice and feedback on the "appropriateness or correctness of their beliefs or behaviors" (Milanes, 2011, p. 57).

	Functions	Protection	Men	
		Control	Doing task	
	Faces	Solitude		
		Freedom		
	Mechanisms	Social	Signals	
		Behavioral	Modification	Clothing. Change
			Adaptation	Neglect. Habit. Spectrum
	Invasion	Approach		
		Gaze		
		Frequency		Routine
Consequences		Bad feeling		
Social	Norms		Signals	
ETC	Ethic			
	Personality			

Unlike Ms110, in this case, the hijab and Mahramiat were more important to her in the past, when she was based in Iran as a college student. She believed that her current beliefs were due to new insights gained from her studies.

5 Discussion and Conclusion

دست غیب آمد و بر سینه نامحرم زد

مدعی خواست که آید به تماشای راز

*“False seeker sought to witness the **secrets** of the world*

Hidden hand came and kept away his undeserving plea” (Hafez Shirazi)

The purpose of this study was to develop a substantive theory and a model on privacy for women in the context of present-day houses of Yazd in view of its Islamic culture. The research explored if and how privacy could have implications on the housing design, and the ways in which women made use of spaces available to them. The results of this study were based on the analysis of interviews undertaken in subjects' houses. The previous chapter laid out the empirical findings. This chapter discusses and draws a conclusion from the results of the study. It highlights the main problems and their related aspects in design, which were found to be significant to women's privacy. Next, it discusses the architectural elements that influence this achievement. Lastly, some guidelines are proposed to promote women's privacy in domestic spaces in Yazd.

5.1 Privacy

In the analysis of the data, many notions of privacy were found which show the importance of privacy to the subjects. Likewise, many negative consequences have been addressed in their responses to the lack of privacy. Some of the mentioned consequences are: nervousness, incapability, stress, harassment, evil eye, personal and social harms, bewilderedness, confusion, acceptance, learned helplessness, social withdrawal, and distraction.

5.1.1 Definitions and Functions of Privacy

One of the main objectives of this study was to understand the definition and function of privacy from women's perspective. However, it is clear that directly approaching subjects on this matter is not necessarily the best way. To achieve this goal, instead of relying on their response to such direct questions, we can elicit the concept from the analysis and

interpretation of the whole interview. For instance, when the subject views something as an invasion on her privacy, we can thus conclude what exactly privacy means to her and what function she expects privacy to serve.

Analysis of the interviews¹ revealed that the concept of privacy (like so many other things) is not entirely clear for every individual. In other words, privacy and its boundaries are not defined only by an individual but they are also outlined by the people around her/him (family, friends, and society). Therefore, others' approval or critique can push the boundaries forward or backward and make privacy a dynamic concept. For instance, Mrs. Ms110 declared that before marriage, she was not very sensitive to Hijab; but her husband's advice has made her more considerate and mindful of this method of dressing. As a result, she is now more passionate about Hijab, compared to her husband.

Moreover, it is found that women, view the essence of privacy differently. For instance, depending on the situation, women can perceive privacy as a value, a need, a preference, an expectation, an interest, a right², and a means to achieve another goal. This essence is shaped based on their background and experience, their will, and also, the current situation or condition that they are in. Thus, various definitions of privacy are elicited.

To illustrate, if a woman interacts with a man, privacy becomes gendered and religious (Mahramiat) and serves as a form of protection for her. If it is time to sleep, privacy is then perceived as a type of control (over a stimulus) and helps to prevent disturbance. During a wife's intimate moments with her husband, privacy becomes a restriction and serves to prohibit others' access. When a woman is performing personal tasks and indulging in her favorite activities, privacy is defined as a freedom of choice and it provides autonomy to her. Lastly, in parties, privacy is optimization of interaction and it serves to protect (from the evil eye), to distance (from interferers and men), to confide, and to supervise (children).

¹ E.g. the interviewee's statements of their need for others' confirmation for desired privacy, their demand for researcher's agreement, and their question of his idea.

² Only a small number of respondents indicated in a few statements that privacy is their right. Can this be because in Iran, privacy is not well recognized as a right for the people? Or is it because women are generally subservient to men in Iran? Future studies would be needed to address these questions.

5.1.1.1 Dynamism of Functions

It is also found that for some functions of privacy, assurance of **durability** and **persistence** of privacy is of great importance; while for some functions, having **full control** of its boundary (no entrance or invasion) is more important; and for some functions, some small intrusion would be acceptable. For instance, for issues pertaining to the Hijab and the removal of the chador or scarf, it is necessary to ensure that no man would suddenly enter the room. For parents to have sexual relations, it is imperative to have full control of privacy (from everyone) and the durability and persistence of privacy are of great importance. On the other hand, during private conversations, especially when talking on the phone, or during times of contemplation, a long duration without disturbance is considered as privacy, but the presence of others who interrupt for a short talk or visit is acceptable. Moreover, security was frequently indicated, though interviewees mentioned that it is not a big problem in Yazd. It can be explained as its violation has serious consequences.

5.1.2 Types of Privacy

It should be noted that the different types of privacy introduced in this study have meanings and functions which overlap each other; and no clear border can be drawn between them.

To illustrate, although every interaction consists of visual and auditory communications, by visual privacy the author merely means 'seeing others' and 'being seen by them'; which may or may not indicate that there is any communication between the parties involved. Likewise, religious privacy only includes statements that directly indicate religion as the reason, e.g. being seen by a Nāmāhram. Similarly, gendered privacy indicates issues in which the invader's gender is the main factor.

Different women prioritize the types of privacy differently depending on their background, interest, preference, and also, the current situation and time.

5.1.2.1 Interactional privacy

The analysis of the interviews shows that women are less likely to perceive an action as an invasion on their privacy if the interaction (phone call, talk, party) is initiated by themselves.

However, there are also times when someone may initiate the communication, but finds it unpleasant and intrusive after a while, and therefore, would try to end the conversation. Repeated failure in establishing good relationships with others compels subjects to be less willing to initiate interactions¹.

In general, women seek selective but deep interaction. i.e. a woman can have no interaction with some group but have a deep interaction with another group. This classification is mostly influenced by cultural and religious factors. For example, certain types of women may choose to interact with people who are educated, whereas some women may choose associate with people who are sensitive to the hijab.

5.1.2.2 Physical privacy

Physical privacy could be defined as protecting one's body from others. This may be a matter of religious belief, personal dignity, cultural sensitivity, modesty, or safety. Physical privacy can be one of the most serious types of privacy, and there are some laws which are established to prohibit the violation of this type of privacy.

Being touch by a nāmahram was one of the most disturbing invasion of privacy for most of the subjects. It can be explained as physical contact between nāmahrams is forbidden by sharia. Furthermore, gestures like shaking hands and giving hugs are not culturally accepted in Iran. Additionally, another possible reason for this distress is that touching is a clear sign of men's desire to harass women. For instance, an interviewee indicated:

"If I'm touched by a man, e.g. in bus, I'll be too sad that for 2-3 days my body will be shaking [due to extreme objection and sadness]" (Mrs. Zr104)

Another subject stated that maintaining a distance from men is the most important thing she does in public. For the distance to be considered as an invasion of privacy, its relation to both the relationship between the people and their gender should be taken into account. The first aspect is in accordance with the results of Rustemli's (1988) study, which indicate that if the invader is a friend, standing near a person or being very close to her/him would bring forth a positive feeling. Whereas, if the invader is a stranger, negative feelings would be aroused.

¹ This phenomenon is called 'Learned helplessness', that is "the phenomenon in which experience with an uncomfortable event creates passive behavior towards a subsequent threat to well-being" (Brehm & Kassin, 1993, p. 648).

However, since this study mainly deals with privacy at home, which is mostly protected from strangers, the occurrence of physical harassment is rare, and therefore, the notion for this type of privacy is uncommon. For studies on women's privacy outdoors, it is recommended that physical privacy be considered more seriously.

5.1.2.3 Visual privacy

At the individual scale, voyeurism was the most common type of privacy invasion for women in Yazd. The subjects were unhappy being overlooked by men and they sometimes prefer to put an end to this type of interaction.

The ability to look inside their houses from the outside via the main entrance was also an important factor for family privacy, whereby people preferred houses in which such views were blocked, and onlookers are not able to look into their house. Otherwise, they would be dissatisfied with the level of privacy afforded to them, and in some cases, curtains, which are deemed outdated and unattractive, are hung to obstruct the view from outside. Nevertheless, the view from outside through windows was mostly blocked due to existing rules and criteria where windowsills are generally placed high (higher than 170 cm), obstructing the view from opposite houses. Therefore, reports of this type of privacy invasion were uncommon.

5.1.2.4 Informational privacy

Privacy invasion from an informational perspective consists of two aspects: input and output. Fundamentally, input is deemed as an interference (the giving of ideas and opinions) and the output of data is regarded as an inquiry (asking questions and probing). The analysis shows that informational privacy was of great importance to Yazdi women. They are mainly afraid of harms caused by the evil eye, interference especially from relatives (e.g. mother-in-law), and dishonor (e.g. family problems). They want different aspects of their lives to stay hidden from others and they often teach their children to exercise discretion when communicating with others.

Nevertheless, the sensitivity and objection surrounding an invasion can be reduced when the invader's personal particulars (her/his gender, age, personality, etc.), the way the question is asked, and the reason behind the invasion are taken into account. When one does not perceive a conversation as intrusive and interfering, and sees some positive

reasoning behind the inquiry, s/he justifies the invasion and feels relaxed in the interaction. Thus, that person is more likely willing to continue the conversation and share or accept ideas. In addition, despite many accounts (in media and in public folklore) about interfering, bothering, and backbiting women in the neighborhood, not even one notion of this nature is seen in this study. This can be explained by families being more secluded from the neighbors nowadays and therefore, having fewer relationships.

It is also found that interviewees preferred to conduct surveillance on others, but could not tolerate it when it was directed upon themselves. This indicates that the input of data and information was considered okay, but the output was not. For instance, an interviewee justified her invasion on her mother's privacy as a positive action, because she regarded it as a means of preventing sad isolation.

The subjects classified others' supervision as an interference, but their interest in others is considered a surveillance. Similarly, others' presence is seen as an interruption while their presence is viewed as keeping others company.

Almost everyone was found to have this mindset. For instance, a mother justifies her surveillance on her children (Ms110), an older sister on the younger (Es101), a brother on his sister (My114), and so on as their protection. Even a younger sibling can conduct surveillance on an older sister and claim it as her right for protection (Fe116), or a daughter could exercise some supervision on her parents and regard it as a right for a family member (Zr104).

5.1.2.5 Auditory privacy

Regarding auditory privacy, the data of this study indicate that disturbing noises in apartments were usually attributed to kids playing in open spaces and vehicular noises (especially motorcycles) in row houses. Being overheard was not considered a big problem, as subjects could exercise some form of control by managing their behavior, i.e. lowering their voice.

Given that privacy is an input-output process, zoning is not an effective solution to mitigate auditory invasion. Positioning public spaces on the outer border increases the chance of being overheard (output of data), because in crowded situations, people generally tend to speak in louder voices. Likewise, establishing private spaces on the outer borders increases

the likelihood of being disturbed by noise from the outside, especially during activities such as sleeping and contemplation, which require a calm atmosphere.

Nevertheless, to a large extent, the problem of auditory invasion could be solved by installing or changing the windows to double-glazed, sound-proof windows, which is considered inexpensive and reasonably priced. This is especially recommended for units in the ground floor or units close to the street or boulevard.

5.1.2.6 Gendered privacy

Despite recent changes in gender roles in Iran, gender discrimination still exists in different social units, primarily in women themselves. Most of the subjects of this study indicated that women are responsible for taking care of their virtue and purity, either due to religious beliefs or because of their own preferences, as well as in the interest of their family's reputation or society's well-being. Although according to the Holy Quran, men take precedence over the responsibility of protecting the modesty, centuries of patriarchy in the region has established an unwritten rule, which implies that in order to protect the society's safety, women should be confined in either their activities, clothing, or even their rights.

This idea is still being propagated by some clergies and even in some parts of the government. For instance, speeches and billboards portraying women's clothing and the hijab are widespread and prevalent ([Mir-Hosseini, 2007](#)), and serious actions are taken by the police on those who do not conform, but almost nothing is mentioned about street harassment, which can be a common occurrence in the society. To conclude, in the opinion of the society and government, and perhaps every individual, the responsibility of protecting one's virtue and sanctity relies solely on the woman herself.

Our findings have yielded a significant correlation between invasion and the invader's gender, indicating negative effects when women's privacy is invaded by men. Women generally object to men coming into close proximity to them and do not even condone standing next to them. In parties, they either prefer to keep their distance, or choose to separate their zone from men.

In addition, in most of the interviews, a widespread of pessimism about men and the need for self-guarding among the women were seen. This outlook is predominantly initiated by the advice and warnings given to them from their close acquaintances (mainly mothers and

husbands) rather than from their own experience¹. Men's gaze, which is an ordinary daily occurrence for most women, fuels this pessimism. It is worthy to note that their pessimism is not limited to a specific group of men.

5.1.2.7 Religious privacy

Our data indicate that although the majority of Yazdi women are religious, they do not follow the rules similarly. In most cases, religion, defining the generalities and borders, was one of the main reasons to seek privacy. In some cases, religion encompasses every detail of their lives and becomes the most important reason for them to seek privacy. Only a minority of the studied women do not consider religion at all.

The role of clothing, specifically the hijab, in support of privacy and as a sign (sometimes as the first sign) of desired privacy was frequently mentioned in the interviews. Using clothing as a behavioral mechanism to regulate privacy is in accordance with Altman's (1975) theory. However, Altman's theory does not include the hijab, whereas in this context, the hijab was very well established and recognized as the first layer of protection of a woman's privacy. Women wisely defined and expressed their desired level of interaction in different occasions by selecting different types of clothing and changing their hijab. Responses to the interviews showed that men clearly understand this signal. It is also believed that women in chador are more respected.

However, some other behavioral mechanisms like behaving in a dignified manner (Mz114) or practicing other religious duties (Te121) could reinforce the hijab as a protection layer and increase its influence in supporting privacy. It can be explained as the hijab itself is a symbol of being 'a true Muslim'; therefore, additional signs of being pious may decrease the probability of invasion.

5.1.2.8 Mahramiat

Our analysis revealed that the two main reasons for Yazdi women to seek privacy are religious beliefs and gender roles (protection from men for both individual and social health

¹ None of the interviewees reported any bad experience other than verbal harassment or gaze; however, in my opinion, if they had experienced anything worse, they would not have easily shared it with a researcher.

and well-being). These factors encompass many aspects of the interviewees' lives and subsequently cover most of the needs for other types of privacy.

Although some subjects believed strongly in privacy due to its role in supporting their religious beliefs; in general, privacy serves both religious and nonreligious people. Likewise, although the hijab is a true sign of religion, it is widely accepted and practiced as a protection layer too. The author calls this combination of gendered and religious viewpoints '*Mahramiat*'.

Actually, privacy is a gradual concept that varies from very little (very crowded) to too much privacy (complete isolation) in different times and conditions. A clear and rigid border between public and private cannot be identified, as regions like semi-private or semi-public are named in the literature. Similarly, the distinction between semi-private and semi-public is not rigid. Conversely, mahramiat is a two-choice concept with nothing in between. A man can be either a mahram or nāmahram to a woman; and that woman is in the same mahram or nāmahram position to that man.

For cases like seeing a woman's hair and body or touching her, this rigid border exists and works, but in other cases like talking and gathering, the insider-outsider boundary is the division which is usually applied. For instance, a stranger and a brother-in-law, or an elderly and a young man, are similar in a sense that they are all nāmahram; however, in practice, the amount of interaction, trust, and intimacy is completely different for each of them. This may be due to different reasons, such as the concern of probable harassment or the fear of causing a scandal, which in general, is less likely to happen with a family member or an elderly. This indicates that inside the religious concept of privacy, there is a gendered cultural core, which is not widely discussed in the literature.

Accordingly, although mahrams are usually considered insiders, one can be a mahram but be considered as an outsider or vice versa. For instance, a young woman may feel uncomfortable talking to her old uncle (her mahram) due to their age difference, but feel comfortable talking to her brother-in-law. Likewise, even though one's sister-in-law is a nāmahram, she can go to the most private areas of the home; yet, his aunt might not go further than the living room.

Even members of a family are in different levels of privacy to each other. For instance, a mother is very close and privy to her daughter, but a father might not be. Similarly,

regarding privacy issues, friends are not considered the same, and are not treated alike. For this study's respondents, they were most intimate with their husbands, and after their husbands, are their children. Subsequently, female members followed by other members of the family were considered to be next in terms of closeness and intimacy. Next comes relatives (female, mahram male, and nāmahram male respectively) and lastly, friends. Figure 36 shows a diagram of intimacy levels.

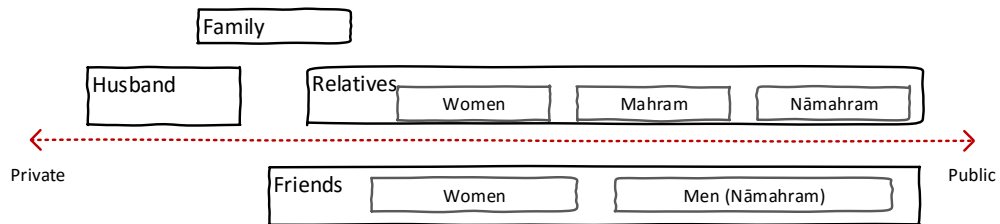


Figure 36. Levels of intimacy for women in Yazd

Levels of intimacy also depend on the topic of conversation and more importantly, they are versatile and flexible, and change through time. For instance, for interference, relatives should be kept further than friends as their interference can cause trouble in family's life. Similarly, for matters pertaining to a love affair, a college friend is usually the closest confidant and is more privy compared to family members. However, after marriage, this friend may not remain as privy as s/he was in the past.

The boundary between mahram and nāmahram is rigid and unchangeable, but between insiders and outsiders, it is not very clear and is subject to change based on relationships and behaviors as time passes. Figure 37 shows the possible differences generated by these two dichotomies. As can be seen, four districts are distinguished for possible interaction between a man and a woman. To a woman, a man can be either:

- A. An Outsider and Nāmahram (e.g. friend, coworker, cousin),
- B. An Insider and Nāmahram (e.g. brother-in-law, friend),
- C. An Outsider and Mahram (e.g. uncle), or
- D. An Insider and Mahram (e.g. brother).

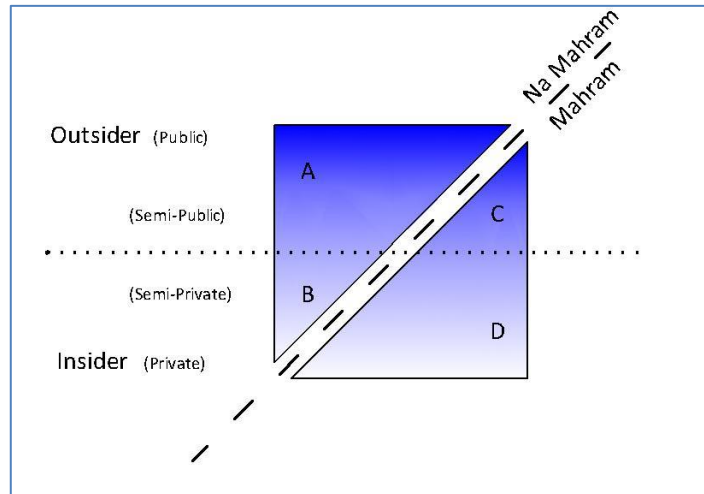


Figure 37. Insider-outsider concept vs. mahram-nāmahram concept

This model helps us to expand the duality of the division of public-private zoning into four zones which can provide us with more flexibility and possibilities.

For instance, for the kitchen, one can propose that it should be open to zones C. and D. (for mahrams) and be closed to zones A. and B. (for nāmahrams). However, bedrooms and bathrooms, can be recommended to be open to zones B. and D. (for insiders) and closed to zones A. and C. (for outsider). Figure 38. illustrates how this model of privacy can influence the architecture of a house.

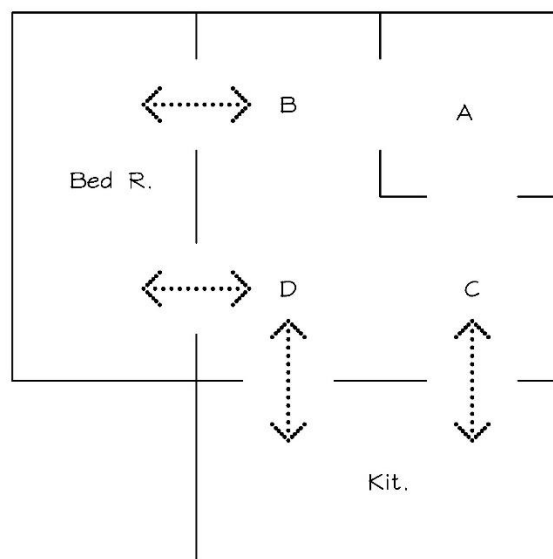


Figure 38. Spatial organization based on the proposed model of privacy

Consequently, this model enables us to add to the privacy paradigm for Islamic societies in order to build a more comprehensive and substantive theory.

Overall, the findings of this study suggest that providing mahramiat for women in Yazd is beneficial. Even if a person is unwilling to be afforded privacy for religious reasons, the probability that she will need gendered privacy to protect herself from men is high. In retrospect, the widespread pessimism about men that was found supports this argument.

5.1.3 Regulation Mechanisms

Another objective of this study was to examine how Yazdi women regulate their privacy, i.e. the mechanisms they used to achieve their desired privacy.

Although different and mutual mechanisms can be employed for privacy regulation, these mechanisms have different levels of importance, easiness, cost, sequence, and priority. For instance, an interviewee mentioned that she had undergone a type of deprivation and had paid a lot of money to establish an environmental mechanism (building another room); because she assumed it was more reliable and effective in protecting women's privacy than social and behavioral mechanisms. In another case, when available space was insufficient to accommodate parents (environmental mechanism), using other mechanisms to mitigate the pressure was not effective. On the contrary, another interviewee could not understand – and even blamed – who they believe in the hijab, and put her trust solely in environmental (curtain) and social (men's announcement¹) mechanisms, but not behavioral ones (wearing their hijab even in a women's zone).

Based on the analysis of the interviews, two main categories can be identified as regulation mechanisms, anticipatory and reactionary. Anticipatory mechanisms take effect before an invasion of privacy occurs. They are employed to prevent an invasion before it becomes inevitable. They can be more costly but are more effective and less harmful. Wearing the hijab, closing the door, using curtains, securing locks, behaving modestly and with serenity, wearing modest and formal dresses, unplugging the phone, and being laconic are some examples of anticipatory mechanisms.

If anticipatory mechanisms are not employed or if they are not effective enough, invasion ensues. For instance, a man may approach the subject, or some noise from the outside may

¹ In Iran, especially in Yazd, men must announce their presence and request permission before entering a space in that a woman may be present in. However, to what extent this socio-religious custom is practiced depends on education, family, religious beliefs, and the intimacy of the relationship.

disturb her. Consequently, the subject may either react to the invasion (e.g. by asking the invader to leave) or adapt herself to that (e.g. by tolerating the noise). Figure 39 shows a diagram of regulation mechanisms which are used to achieve privacy.

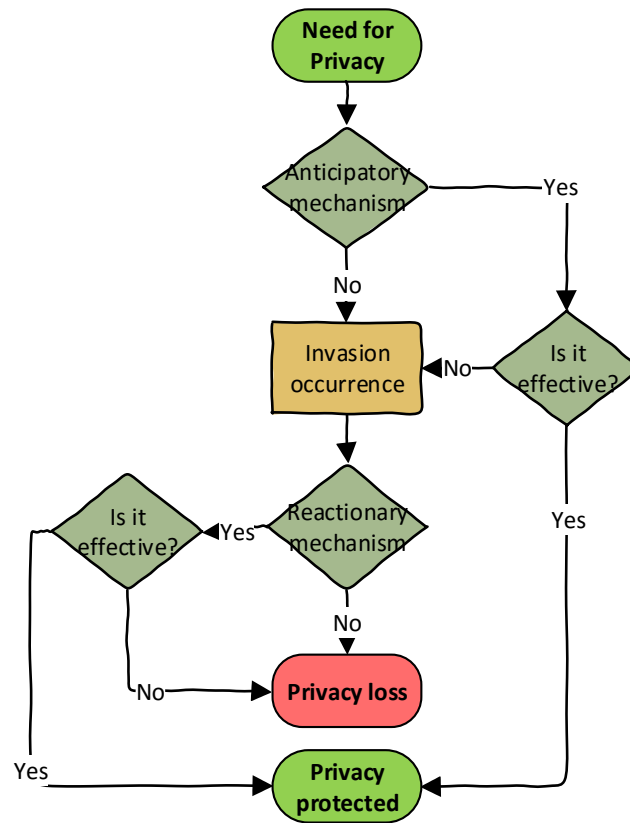


Figure 39. Regulation mechanisms

It was also found that in cases where anticipatory mechanisms worked well, only a few reactions were reported and complaints were uncommon. It seems that women preferred anticipatory mechanisms to reactional ones, as they found anticipatory mechanisms more effective. The interviewees also believed that men could use reactionary mechanisms more easily and with less negative feedback. This finding is in accordance with the findings of Mortazavi's (1991) study. The subjects explained that this is because women in Yazd, compared to other cities, are more restricted and subservient. They also indicated that generally, they are the victims and are sometimes blamed for an invasion which occurred. For instance, although it is not a common belief, some people believe that women are responsible for the harassment and molestation which transpire, as they could have been

provocative. This finding supports Badran's (1995) statement about women in Egypt, that women were perceived as a threat to society due to the chaos they could unleash.

Moreover, since privacy acquisition efforts, being noticed by others, can cause discomfort and also, attract interest from others and increase the possibilities for invasion¹, the subjects preferred mechanisms, which are 'not visible' or 'not alerting', i.e. customary and normal mechanisms. Examples of these mechanisms include men announcing their presence (social), using curtains to obstruct views (environmental), and having proper time management (behavioral).

5.1.3.1 Concealment and Disclosure

Our findings also show that women are very conscious of the image they portray to others, as they frequently talked about what others may think about them. For instance, an interviewee stated:

"The more beautiful you look, the more impressive you can be" (Fn114)

They pay a lot of attention to their attire as well as the decoration, cleanliness, and tidiness of the public spaces. Moreover, referring to the open kitchen, an interviewee humorously indicated:

"When you have beautiful fashionable appliances, why not to show them" (Mz114)

In a similar way, the disclosure of information occurred as a form of interpersonal exchange, due to the need to develop relationships. This finding is in accordance with Milanese's (2011) argument.

On the other hand, the subjects also reported their need and desire for concealment and secrecy. They wanted different aspects of their lives to remain a secret. Thus, it can be concluded that people disclose and engage in impression management by selectively revealing certain pieces of information to influence others. In the preparation of revealing themselves to others, people are inclined to think about and focus attention on themselves. In other words, women often try to balance between their need for privacy and their desire for disclosure and communication with others. This finding supports Altman's (1975) theory that "privacy is a dialectic process involving both a closing off of the self and an opening of the self to others."

¹ Curiosity, when someone has something to hide, others may want to find it.

To illustrate, [Marcus \(1971\)](#) argued that the living room is located in a zone which is usually visible to guests, so it represents the conscious and unconscious efforts to show the dignity and respectability of the family.

In the context of this study, making the kitchen partially or totally open to the guests' area is another example of this trade-off between the need for privacy and the desire to display assets. For example, privacy is required for the women, because the kitchen is a zone where many activities are performed, but on the other hand, there is also a desire to flaunt new fashionable appliances. The concept of an open kitchen has always been among the most debated topic regarding privacy in houses in Islamic societies.

Our data indicate that women prefer to have a semi-open kitchen that has partially obstructed view and access, protecting them from interferers (Mn104), voyeurs (Mz114), evil eyes (Zr104), disturbances to and from the living room (Ms110), and hides the dirt and mess from guests (Ha106); but at the same time provides sufficient line of sight and access to allow unrestricted communication with family and mahrams (Fn114), enable supervision of their children (Sd100), have a better view of the surroundings (Fe116), provide a more spacious feeling (Te121), and have more access to daylight (Es101).

Overall, results of this study does not support Gifford's ([1987](#)) findings that the closing side of privacy is more accentuated than opening side, since both sides have been found to be of equal importance with no preferences seen.

5.1.3.2 Modification and Adaptation

When an environment does not support privacy, people have two choices. One is to modify the environment in order to bring the environment into congruence with their desire or needs, also known as modification. This is an increase in one's achieved privacy. However, modification can rarely occur in social norms or roles.

The second choice is to acquiesce and consequently, change their activities or expectations in order to adjust themselves to the physical and social environment, also known as adaptation. That is a decrease in one's desires for privacy. Adaptation can lead to the assumption that the present level of privacy is the desired level. This has both advantages and disadvantages, especially for poor families whose physical environment is not capable of supporting their psychological needs. This means that although they might compromise

their wills and desires, adaptation, which is mostly intrinsic, can lessen the psychological distress caused by privacy loss.

Based on the analysis of the women's accounts, the following concepts make up the spectrum of adaptation:

- Neglect: rejecting existence of invasion, mostly in terms of visual invasion (e.g. forgetfulness)
- Justification and projection: making excuses and implicating others
- Patience: tolerating the stimuli and waiting for support or the right time. Postponing the change.
- Acceptance: unwillingness to act to change the situation, while still experiencing the pain and discomfort caused by the situation.
- Habit: Being in continuous contact with a stimulus reduces the disturbing effects of the stimulus and makes it normal. It means that a task can be done without planning and without consuming too much energy and cost. Habit is created through repetitions. It affects needs and is able to stimulate interest. Being accustomed to a particular mechanism results in unwillingness to use other mechanisms.
- Will: a habit can turn into a will as a result of repetition throughout a long period of time. An individual can even forget that a situation was not her choice. Conformity is an example of this phenomenon.

To illustrate, one of the mechanisms for adapting to the social environment is to conform. [Brehm and Kassin \(1993\)](#) defined conformity as “the tendency for people to change their behavior to be consistent with group norms” (p. 436). In cultures where interpersonal harmony is of great value, like traditional communities in Iran, people have a greater tendency to conform. There is a Persian proverb equivalent to ‘When in Rome, do as Romans do’ which asks people to conform to society’s norms so that they would not be embarrassed. Conformity may inure people to adapt themselves to the environment rather than to modify it, and this would ultimately result in learned helplessness. Findings of this study also support arguments in the literature that women are more likely to conform ([Brehm & Kassin, 1993](#); [Mortazavi, 1991](#)) than men are.

In the above spectrum, it was found that patience is the only virtue which can bring forth a change which could improve the situation¹. Because the subject knows that this issue is not her choice, she has not accepted it (just tolerated it), she does not seek reason/s out of the real situation², and she does not condemn others or follow their wills.

Patience is a treasured concept in Islamic contexts, but the interviewees believe that this notion has suffered a decline in this day and age. Particularly, in Yazd, a city known as the “city of contentment”, patience has a specific role in people’s behavior and life. It has religious and cultural roots and in some cases, it is valued more than the efforts which are put into changing a situation.

5.2 Social

5.2.1 Social status

Our analysis shows that upper-class women regulate their privacy more easily and appropriately because they have more authority. Likewise, since they assume that if they want more privacy, they would be able to achieve it; they are more satisfied with the achieved privacy.

It is also found that the higher the social status (education, wealth) the less the need to conform and follow social norms. This finding is in contrast to Al-Kodmany’s (1995) finding that representation of the socio-cultural status was articulated through expressions of wealth. However, Al-Kodmany’s conclusions can be true for those who do not have enough self-confidence in other aspects of their lives, e.g. education or nobility.

5.2.2 Social support

As others can invade one’s privacy, they can also help her/him protect and regulate her/his privacy. A very clear example of this is others’ presence when one seeks to connect, consult, or chat with another person, like the presence of an acquaintance when one is alone with an unfamiliar person, or, in Islamic context, the presence of others when a woman and a

¹ E.g. waiting for a proper time, for money, or for being recognized by a mother-in-law

² E.g. see these accounts from interviewees: “Mom is cleaning so reads to know what it is”; “she asks because she needs help”; “were there a problem, it would have been changed”.

nāmahram man are alone in a room¹. The interviewees indicated that they prefer to be accompanied when a stranger or nāmahram is present or when talking to a nāmahram.

5.3 Space

Findings indicate that in any situation, women have been able to find or create private realms of their own, and it can differ for different members of the family. It consists of a span of a tailor room for a subject who had nowhere else to find privacy, a bedroom, a couch, a kitchen table, or a corner in the living room; which can vary based on the financial status of the family, the number of members in that family, gender role, and the like. This can be inferred as a sign of importance of privacy for women.

However, in cases where the physical environment does not provide adequate support, the regulation of privacy is accompanied by trouble, costs, and in some cases, conflicts between family members. For instance, a woman is obliged to sacrifice her sleep, or a subject had to sit in a kitchen chair, which can be quite uncomfortable if she sat there for a long period of time.

From the findings of this study, it is highly recommended for architects to think about and create particular spaces for each and every one of the family members.

It was also observed that in most of the cases, the living room was a place for 'solitude' and 'intimacy' and functioned as a private space. It is consistent with previous findings ([Rechavi, 2009](#); [Saruwono et al., 2012](#)) which stated that when architectural limitation occurs, people tend to utilize the living room as their private area.

Our data indicate that for subjects with lower financial status, the function of a particular space is very important. It might be due to the lack of sufficient space and absence of certain facilities to respond to expected needs.

In interviews with this group, the quantity of facilities was mentioned more frequently than quality of spaces. For instance, a large space was considered good, despite it having neither daylight nor view. Similarly, a workroom was considered favorable because of its role in providing financial support to the family. Likewise, the decorative facade of an open kitchen, in contrast to its function, was mentioned in a more negative manner.

¹ According to a hadith, when a nāmahram woman and man are alone in a room, the Devil will be the third.

“Open [kitchen] is good for viewer, but bad for user.” (Ms110)

For instance, in some cases, where even a locker was not provided to protect the diary notes or letters written by a young girl who may want to hide what she wrote from her siblings.

As a result, those who preferred more privacy suggested versatile mechanisms, such as limiting access to the kitchen and using curtains, to respond to both major physical and psychological needs, function and privacy. To illustrate, multi-purpose furnished spaces that could support several functions were found to protect privacy better than single function spaces. E.g., using backrests when sitting on the floor can provide spaces for eating as well as sleeping, in contrast to using wing chairs, which leave no space for other activities.

Overall, Table 14 summarizes the elements in space that are found to promote or demote privacy for Yazdi women.

Table 14. Influencing architectural elements for privacy

Promoting elements	Demoting elements
Spatial Organization	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Entrance in the middle of the unit between public and private zones • Entering into a dividing space (corridor, vestibule) • Living room separated from private spaces • Dividing corridor, connecting spaces and being a buffer • Hierarchy of zones: Public (living room), semi-public (kitchen, toilet), semi-private (bedroom), private (parents’ bedroom, bathroom, balcony) • Flexibility of activities, different activities in different spaces 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Too much openness • Not defined zones, or mixture of zones • Specified activities for each space
Furniture	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Blocking the view toward private zone • Curtains as occlusion for view • Multi-purpose furnishing • CCTV 	
Openings	

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Receding main entrance • Swirl in entrance • Meshwork in front of windows • High windowsill • Double-glazed windows 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low windowsill • View from outside
Kitchen	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Close • No direct access from living room • Moderate access to bedrooms • Access from private parts without being seen by guests • Connected to main entrance • Including a completely hidden space 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Entirely open • View from outside • No hidden space • Noise toward and from sitting area
Toilet	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Providing two toilets or locating it between public and private zones • No direct view from public rooms • Master toilet for parents • Bathroom in private zone 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Located in the public or private zone, difficult to use when guests are present • Connected to living room
Bedrooms	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents' bedroom separated from child's bedroom • Using long corridor to make the end more private • Connected to a balcony • Direct access from main entrance • No view from public zone • Locating on another floor • Guest bedroom 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sharing bedroom

5.4 Limitations and Recommendations

Like all other research, this study has certain limitations. One potential limitation is that due to the small number of cases, the findings have to be interpreted cautiously. However, this is not uncommon for qualitative studies, especially for grounded theories.

Another limitation of this study involves the sampling process. Since this study dealt with women's privacy, in order to build a good rapport and acquire authentic information, the author could only approach women who knew the researcher and had established a level of trust with him. Therefore, the generalization of findings needs careful and meticulous attention.

Another limitation is that the interviews are generally carried out on a small scale, and therefore, it is hard to generalize the results. For example, due to specific properties of the interviews, if the same interview were to be re-conducted, similar results may not be obtained. However, the goal of the study was focused on acquiring a deeper understanding based on detailed knowledge of the particulars, and its nuances in each context. Moreover, even a single case, if studied with sufficient depth and insight, can possibly provide the basis for a theoretical explanation ([Kidder & Judd, 1986](#)).

Although, in definition, sample should be representative, in this case representativeness was not the criteria, because this study did not aim to generalize the findings. To illustrate, the overall concept of generalizability¹ and its related requirement of large samples is antithetical to the many of the goals and potential contributions of qualitative research. Qualitative research instead emphasizes interpretation and understanding in lieu of generalizability ([Guba & Lincoln, 1994](#)). Therefore, since the goal of this study was to explore the person-place relationship in particular environments, a small sample seemed useful because a qualitative research design seeks to discover theory and relationships instead of testing them ([Anfara & Mertz, 2006, p. xx](#)). In qualitative research, there is an emphasis on understanding how things work in their own particular settings, which is why smaller sample sizes are useful.

Overall, using a broader sample of the population, this study suggests a survey to test the findings of this study. Moreover, it is also important to have an understanding of men's opinion about women's privacy.

The following considerations are suggested for future work addressing the aforementioned limitations of the study.

1. Comparing results from the laypeople's interview with the architects' interview to see the discrepancy between them.
2. Comparing the two opinions mentioned above to existing layouts of the houses to see the disparity between theory and reality.

Additionally, an important area to explore in future research is how women's desire for privacy can be incorporated in architectural designs.

¹ The ability to make similar conclusions outside of the group under study.

5.4.1 Lessons learned

In this section, some methodological lessons learned while conducting this study will be briefly presented. It was assumed that these advices would help other researchers who wants to conduct these kinds of study in such a context.

- Select attires which are more casual and avoid professional-looking equipment, in order to appear less formal and divergent.
- Ask for a tour of the whole floor and take photos from different angles before the interview. This helps to capture a more complete view of the house, so new questions can be raised based on the layout of the house or observed objects.
- Do the sketches at the end, because it portrays a professional image of the researcher.
- Be alert and vigilant. Try to elicit new question(s) based on the interviewee's responses. Bear in mind that every re/action may be significant.
- Do not ask unnecessary questions.
- Ask important questions several times in different ways or emphasize it. Interviewees tend to think, doubt, or remember more intensely when they are asked a question several times.
- Ask particular questions rather than general ones.
- Do not interrupt. Do not help the interviewee or complete their sentence. Motivate them and let them talk.
- Do not rely only on the recorder, but also depend on your memory. Missing some information during the interview is probable. It can be due to the recorder crashing or the information being overlooked.
- Review the questions and add or remove some questions after each interview.
- Be careful about ethics:
 - The topic - Do not ask questions that may upset the interviewee.
 - The atmosphere - Do not make it too sincere and intimate.
 - Recorded files - Protect the files with password.
 - Publication - Use pseudonyms; do not provide too much information and photos; otherwise, subjects may be recognized.

5.5 Summary

Privacy is much more mysterious dynamic phenomenon than it is presented in the literature. Results of this study revealed that privacy, being of great importance for women in Yazd, is very comprehensive and complex in its essence, definition, functions, durability, boundaries, and its acquiring mechanisms. Even its importance can be compromised through the time. However, any invasion on privacy can raise different negative consequences including but not limited to nervousness, incapability, stress, bewilderedness, learned helplessness, social withdrawal, distraction, and lack of authority. This study concerned women's privacy in a contemporary Islamic society. The main objective was to determine different definition and faces of privacy and their importance and priority for women. One of the main goal of this study was to elicit main influencing concepts and variables on privacy and to examine their interrelationship.

According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), a theory in addition to providing an understanding of a certain phenomenon should enable researchers to predict events and hence provide guidelines for actions. Therefore, this study tried to develop a substantive theory and a model about privacy for women in Yazd based on its Islamic culture. It tended to not only show what women think about their privacy but also provide insights as to what can be done to improve privacy for them by architects. It explained the major functions and the difficulties associated in achieving those functions.

These could lead us toward building up a new theoretical understanding of architectural characteristics that are influenced by cultural aspects of people's life and reciprocally influence environmental behavior. Moreover, taking the importance of religious rules and beliefs in Muslim societies into account, this study proposed to replace the dichotomy of public and private with the concept of Mahramiat and add it to the privacy paradigm in order to build a more comprehensive and substantive theory for Islamic countries. The proposed model of privacy can particularly be applied in spatial organization. This model enables us to understand perceived privacy and privacy invasion as well as to predict the types of situations that can potentially create privacy or invasion experiences. Indeed, these findings need to be tested and verified among a bigger sample in the population to be recognized as a theory.

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