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An Analysis of the Role of Social Class's Lifestyle in the Pattern of Housing Case Study: The Late Qajar and Early Pahlavi Houses in Ardabil*

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Abstract

Problem statement: Human beings shape the organization, and structure of their settlements, based on their lifestyle. On the other hand, in every environment, differences in social, economic, cultural, and symbolic capitals lead to the formation of different social classes and differences in the way of life. Accordingly, the search for how the pattern and structure of the houses of the upper and middle-classes of Ardabil in the late Qajar and early Pahlavi periods are shaped by the status of the social class of the inhabitants, is the main issue of research.

Aim: The importance and necessity of research in regard to different types of housing, especially middle-class houses, irradiation on part of Ardabil's architectural history, and attention to the role of Non-structural components (culture and society) in residential architecture. The purpose of the present study is to explain the effect of different capital combinations of the middle and the upper classes on lifestyle and to analyze how the structure of houses is influenced by the way of life in the case studies.

Research method: The research method is descriptive-analytical. After analyzing the spatial dimension of the houses, during a comparative review, the effect of lifestyle on the structure of houses based on capital ratios in the middle and the upper classes has been discussed. Required information is extracted through documentary studies, interviewing, observing, and field studies.

Conclusion: Findings of the study shows that physical and spatial differences in the houses of the upper and middle-classes of Ardabil in the late Qajar and early Pahlavi periods, has been influenced by the amount of their economic capital. Findings of the study shows that the people of Ardabil have been sharing each other with many components of social and cultural capitals. In the meantime, what made class differentiation was the kind of different approaches to these components. As the upper class often acted more deeply and in a sense of differentiation in the face of issues such as status, social relationships, taste, and so on. Physical-Spatial representation of these items can be seen in the entrance, facade, guestroom, service spaces, home furnishings, and the decorations of the upper and middle-class houses.

Keywords: *Lifestyle, Social classes, Middle-class, Housing pattern, Ardabil*

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Introduction and statement of the issue

Human settlements are always a reflection of the lifestyle of human groups. Many factors contribute to lifestyle. Rapoport considers the culture and lifestyle resulting from it to be the main factor in the formation of the physical forms of the houses, and it identifies other factors as modifying factors (Rapoport, 1969). Two of the modifying factors are economic and social factors. From Bourdieu's perspective, the position of a person in a social structure reflects the amount of he's cultural, social and economic capitals (Bourdieu, 1986). Therefore, the lifestyles of different classes are influenced by their class status. It can be said that in a constant environment, cultural, social, and economic differences lead to differences in the social classes and of course leads to differences in lifestyle and housing patterns. As studying the home helps to understand the differences and similarities among the structures of houses in a community, this study adopts this approach to the recognition of houses. Accordingly, the houses of the upper and middle-classes of Ardabil during the late Qajar and early Pahlavi periods are selected as case studies. Examining how the pattern and structure of houses are influenced by the status of the social class of residents, by analyzing the distinctions in the combination of capital and lifestyle, it has shaped the main issue of research. The research hypothesis is that the distinction between social classes in the late Qajar and early Pahlavi period in Ardabil has led to differences in lifestyle and patterns of the housing. In this regard, in discussing the class differentials in society and the role of various types of capitals in it, the views of Pierre Bourdieu have been used. And due to the importance of cultural capital in his view, Amos Rapoport's views on the relationship between culture and lifestyle and built environment have been used. The importance and necessity of research are regarding different types of housing, especially

middle-class houses, irradiation on part of Ardabil's architectural history, and attention to the role of Non-structural components (culture and society) in residential architecture.

Research questions

The present research seeks to answer the following questions;

1. What are the factors affecting the formation of different types of lifestyle?
2. How does lifestyle affect the structure and pattern of housing?
3. What have been the effect of the different lifestyles on the patterns and structures of housing of middle and the upper classes of Ardabil in the late Qajar and early Pahlavi?

Review of literature

In most studies on historical houses, houses of the upper classes of the society have been introduced as models of Iranian houses (Mohammad Hosseini, 2012; Armaghan, Soltanzadeh & Irani Behbahani, 2015; Arzhmand & Khani, 2013; Momeni & Naseri, 2016; Hojjat & Heidari, 2011). However, for a long time a considerable part of the urban texture has been shaped by the popular architecture of the middle and lower classes of society which have qualitative and semantic dimensions. Among the neglected middle-class housing Naseri et al, investigated the impact of the Muslim landlords's social status on the hierarchy of privacy in the entrances of Qajarid houses in Bushehr city (Naseri, Momeni, Kakizadeh & Vasiq, 2017). This research is one of the few Iranian studies that deal with the role of social distinctions in housing. Available studies in international context have been framed by the theories of Bourdieu and other sociologists have highlighted the instrumental role of architecture in identity and social status (Archer, 2015), some researchers have focused on the impact of social inequalities on the physical structure differences in contemporary cities (Savage, 2012), and others

have investigated the overwhelming of actions and cultural patterns of the upper classes on the tastes and artistic interests of the other social classes (Gartman, 2013). Most of these studies are about contemporary issues and they share theoretical concepts and foundations with the present research.

The theoretical foundations of research

For sociologists, the formation of social classes is affected by the distribution of capital in society (Grabb, 1995). According to Bourdieu, there are four types of capital in any field: A. Economic capital, that is, the wealth and money that each social actor possesses and includes incomes and other kinds of financial resources; B. Social capital refers to authorities and group relationships or social networks in which the individual is located; C. Cultural capital involves specific skills and the ways in which individuals differentiate themselves from others that have accumulated in the person during socialization; D. Symbolic capital involves the use of symbols to legitimize other capitals. Symbolic capital is a part of cultural capital (Fakouhi, 2003; Turner, 1998, 51). In Bourdieu's view, there is a kind of dialectical relationship between cultural, economic and social capitals, So that each of them reproduces another

(Ganji & Heidarian, 2015).

Most of Bourdieu's debates have focused on cultural capital and lifestyle (Bourdieu, 1984). Cultural attitudes, preferences, and behaviors are thought to be tastes that have led to social choices (Lamont & Lareau, 1988, 15). Bourdieu describes the tastes as a kind of awareness of class and social status and thus aesthetic spirit. In fact, each social class has its own tastes and any change in these tastes depends on the class conditions of individuals (Ganji & Heidarian, 2015). Tastes are transformed into "habitus" as a form of nature and personality. The similarities of the "habitus" have resulted in different lifestyles which embody set of systematic tastes and practices (Moayyed Hekmat, 2014). According to Bourdieu lifestyles is the systematic activities that stem from the taste of individuals and they are mostly objective and external (Bourdieu, 1986). Hence lifestyle includes habitus that exists among members of a social class with common capitals. Home is one of the most important features of an individual's lifestyle.

Studies on the relationship between culture and house form are also commonly categorized into three areas: lifestyle, mental aspects, and the ways peoples are integrated with the environment (Pourdeihimi, 2011). The way

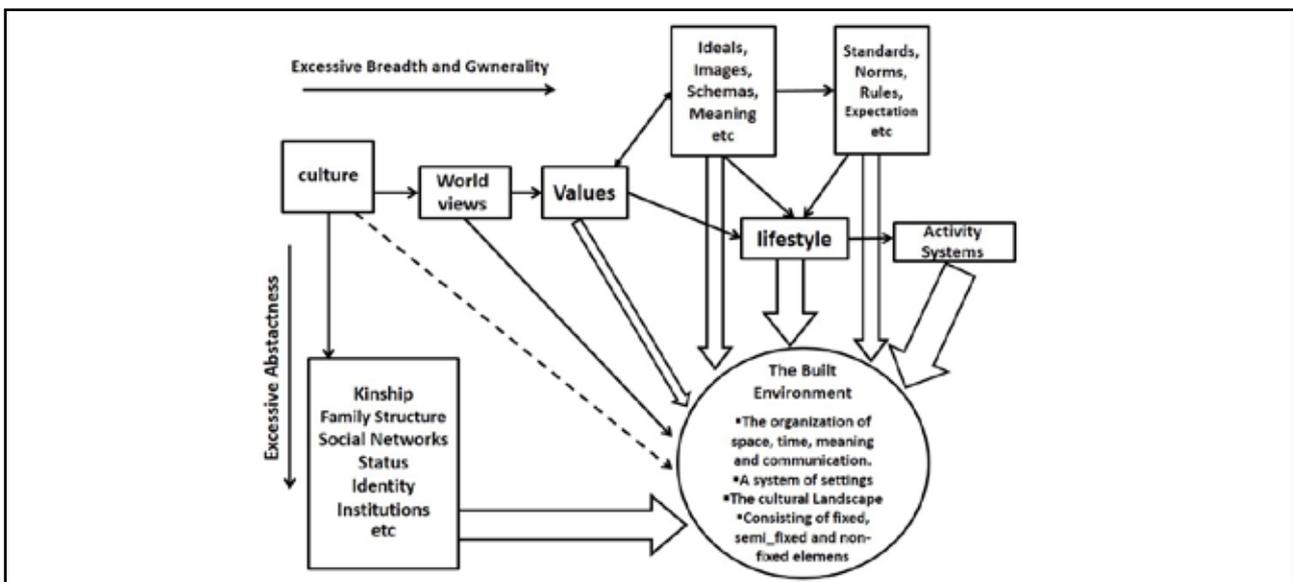


Fig. 1. Diagram of dismantling of culture; the relation of variables with together and with the built environment is shown. Source: Rapoport, 2003, 166.

of life is the only objective aspect of culture through which individual and group distinctions can be identified and thus the identity of individuals and groups can be understood (Afshari & Pourdeihimi, 2017). Rapoport considers the lifestyle as the most objective manifestation of culture which is reflected in activity systems (Fig.1). In this diagram social capital is included in the concept of culture.

The theoretical framework of research

According to the discussion, the structure of the social classes is composed of economic, social, cultural and symbolic capitals. The amount of economic capital in different categories as job, income, location, material capital, and consumer trends can be tracked. Social capital has social components such as relationships and social status, family structure, kinship relationships, and social identity. Symbolic and cultural capitals include basic and subjective assumptions, such as worldview, values, beliefs, and ideas. Such capitals emerge in the form of schemas

and meanings as patterns, norms, rules, and requirements that appear in the tastes of people, and eventually they manifested in the habitus. As well as being an objective expression of tastes habitus is also affected by the components of social and economic capital.

All of the components are reflected in the lifestyle. The lifestyle reflects the basic and subjective assumptions created through the experience of individuals living in particular economic, cultural and social conditions in a particular environment. Thus by analyzing the lifestyle, one can see how social class differential interact with the pattern of housing. In the graph of the theoretical framework of the research (Fig. 2) Relationships of lifestyle with economic, social, cultural and symbolic capitals and physical- spatial patterns of the house are shown.

Research methodology

The research method is descriptive-analytical. The social classes are the independent variables and the structure of houses are dependent

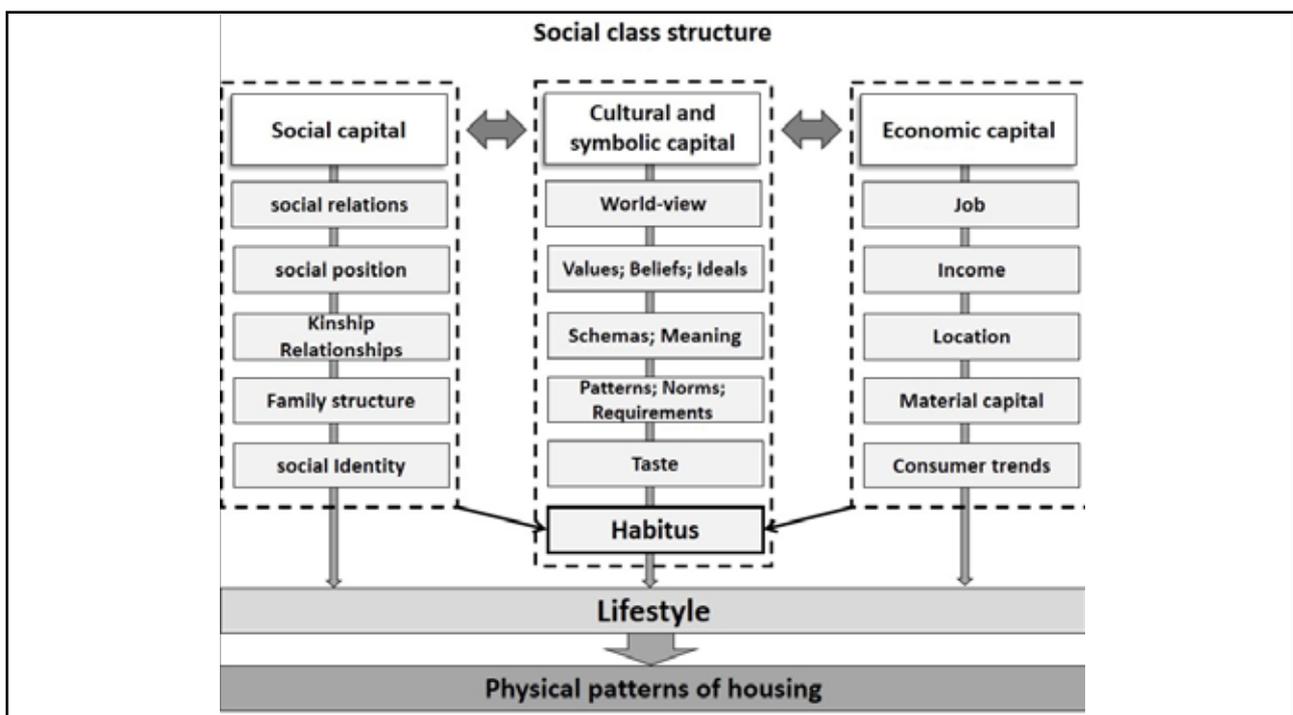


Fig. 2 Theoretical framework of research; the relationship of lifestyle with economic, social, cultural and symbolic capitals and physical- spatial patterns of the house. Source: authors.

variables. The concept of "lifestyle" as a mediator variable helps to explain this relationship. This issue has been investigated in the late Qajar and early Pahlavi houses in Ardabil. The reasons for choosing the houses of these periods are as follows 1. The material and spiritual evidence (houses, individuals, and memories), are available from that period; 2. Modernism and its manifestations haven't entered the society yet, then the society is traditional and homogeneous; 3. The houses of these periods (especially the middle-class houses) have disappeared. To this end, a number of houses have been selected as case studies. First, in a comparative study, the spatial characteristics of houses of the upper and middle-classes were analyzed in macro, middle, and small scales. Then the differences and similarities derived from the lifestyle of residents were discussed. In order to collect information, a semi-structured interview was conducted with the elderly of the city of Ardabil and those who lived in old houses or have memories of those days. Interviews were analyzed thematically and lifestyles and housing pattern were identified. Interviews have set based on the categories derived from theoretical research foundations (components of capitals in Fig. 2).

The data about the social, economic, and cultural conditions of the late Qajar and early Pahlavi periods of Ardabil was achieved through the logical reasoning of the documents. The data related to physical structure and spatial regulation of houses were gathered through different methods including field surveys, observation of examples, and review of relevant documents and drawings.

Case studies

In the late Qajar and early Pahlavi periods, the people of Ardabil were not economically and politically in a very favorable situation. The assault and plunder of the tribes, the outbreak of diseases such as typhoid and cholera, persistent

famine, along with sectarian conflict, and the consequences of World War I, portrays the general situation of the people of Ardabil in those days. This have been more evident in the middle-class livelihood who included the majority of the society, and the upper class have been less influenced by the conditions (Baba Safari, 1993). However "the existence of a homogeneous community in terms of the social, religious, and traditional context" was one of the social features of Ardabil during the aforementioned period. In the past, Ardabil used to have six main neighborhoods and a number of subsidiary neighborhoods (Khola). For the purpose of this study, ten historical houses were selected from different neighborhoods of historic area of the city (Table 1). Samples 1 to 5 are for the middle-class and samples from 6 to 10 belong to the upper classes.

Data analysis

• Macro-scale

- **Mass and Space Ratio:** The middle-class houses were made up of open and closed spaces and there was no semi-open space. Critical reasons for avoiding shadowing and controlling spaces in terms of heat could be explained by the lack of semi-open spaces in these houses. Unlike the middle-class houses, there were the semi-open spaces in some of the houses of the upper class. Presence of the porch or backwardness of the central part of the building made the beauty of the house more visible, have created the semi-open spaces. In middle-class houses, most of the main living spaces were built on the northern side of the yard and rarely on the south side, but in the houses of the upper class, there were also villa house (House no.9) which were contrary to the climatic principles and the tradition of house-building in the city of Ardabil. In most middle-class houses the size of closed spaces were clearly low compared to open spaces. The greater the open space of the house was due to

Table 1. Examined sample houses. Source: authors

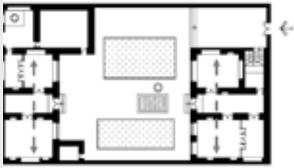
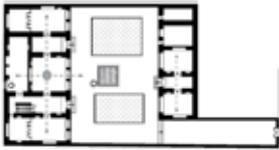
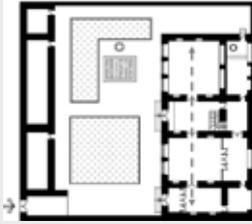
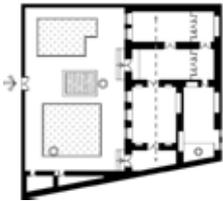
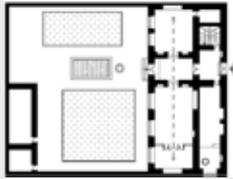
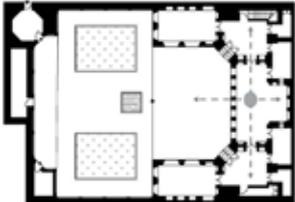
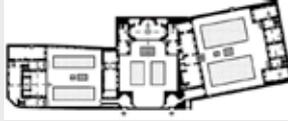
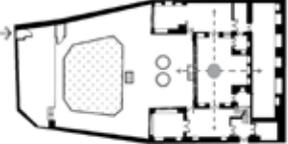
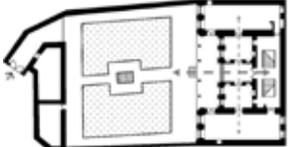
House Number	Description	Plan	Picture
House No.1	Old date: the late Qajar House owner's job: Carpet Weaving The house has No basements. The top room is located over the entrance hall.		 Vestibule in the house no. 1.
House No.2	Old date: the late Qajar House owner's job: retailer The house has No basements. The southern part was built for the crew. The top room is located over the vestibule and kitchen.		 Guest-room of the house no. 2.
House No.3	Old date: the late Qajar House owner's job: The small dealer The house has No basements. The southern part was the warehouse and the stable.		 Kitchen in house no. 3.
House No.4	Old date: First Pahlavi House owner's job: Bank employee The house has No basements. The kitchen is located behind the room and the eastern corridor		 View of the house no. 4.
House No.5	Old date: First Pahlavi House owner's job: Small dealer The house has No basements. There is a room over the vestibule		 View of the house no. 5.
House No.6	Old date: the late Qajar House owner's job: landowner The interior of the house is divided and destroyed. The house has a double class and the basement that the kitchen is in it		 View of the exterior of the house no. 6. View of the exterior of the house No. 6.

Table 1. (continued).

<p>House No.7</p>	<p>Old date: the late Qajar House owner's job: Dealer and landowner The Northern part was the later built on the Pahlavi era. All three parts have basements</p>		 <p>View of the central part of the house no. 7.</p>
<p>House No.8</p>	<p>Old date: the late Qajar House owner's job: Dealer and landowner The vestibule and the interior section of the house are divided and destroyed. The house has basements and 2 semicircles.</p>		 <p>View of the exterior of the house No. 8.</p>
<p>House No.9</p>	<p>Old date: First Pahlavi House owner's job: Dealer and statesman The house has two floors and is located on the inside of the courtyard behind the greenhouse</p>		 <p>View of the stairs in the house No. 9.</p>
<p>House No.10</p>	<p>Old date: First Pahlavi House owner's job: landowner The house is two-story and the relationship between the floors is provided through the middle stairs.</p>		 <p>View of the house No. 10.</p>

several factors; 1. The ability to carry out many daily activities such as the use of water wells and ponds, gardening, and maintenance of poultry and so on; 2. Financial imbalance or Non-compliance to construct unnecessary indoor spaces; and 3. To prevent the build-up of additional heating costs. In the house of the upper class, the outdoor area is more than closed space too, which was because the courtyard in the old houses was the main place of transportation and doing many activities.

- **Patterns of spaces:** In the middle-class houses, the room- vestibule pattern was available in all types of houses. The expansion of this pattern was linear and the size of its grains depended on land

area, adjacent spaces, family needs, and landlord financial placement (Fig. 3). The most commonly used composite pattern was two rooms and a vestibule. The vestibules defined the entrance paths of the house; entering from the courtyard into the indoor, and entering the kitchen and other spaces. The rooms were the main spaces of life and place of doing a lot of activities inside the house. In sum, simplicity and readability are in communication between spaces and axes of spaces, which means the simplicity and lack of chaos in behaviors within these houses.

House of the upper class in the Qajar period included external and internal sections. During



Fig. 3. Different patterns of the room- vestibules in middle-class houses in Ardabil. Source: authors.

the Pahlavi era, these two parts were merged. The outer part of the house of the upper class during the Qajar period, and Pahlavi houses followed the symmetrical pattern, centered on the cavity and the hall of reception. The reception room (Tanabi), in the Qajar period and the halls in Pahlavi era were the most beautiful rooms of the houses and they were the main reception area of the guest. The reception rooms usually had large windows that helped to enhance the beauty of the house. From the early days of the Pahlavi gradually the stairway between floors were also erected on the axis (Fig. 4). The interior spaces of the houses of the upper class, like the middle-class houses, were followed by a linear pattern.

• **Medium scale**

- **The Composition of spaces:** The most distinctive space combination of in the houses of the upper class in the Qajar era was the distinction between the outer and inner regions. Each of the domains had a separate courtyard and separate collection of spaces, and the two sections of the house were usually linked to each other through the entrance pins as a communicative joint (Houses no. 6, 7 & 8). The outer section was the official section and location of the social standing of the inhabitants of the home, and in its construction, it was used for high-quality materials and decorations. Indoor spaces were far less complicated and simpler. For this reason, they were generally not lasting and were destroyed (Houses no.6 ,7 & 8). In Pahlavi houses, interior and exterior

areas were integrated into one house (Houses no. 9 & 10). This can be pursued in the cultural and social trends of those days. In the middle-class houses, there was a tendency to privacy separation but it was not possible to build an outer section. Since the family structure in these houses was usually a patriarchal family, the separation of spaces was a separation of rooms for each family. In some houses, to emphasize the separation of privacy, two vestibules with separate entrance were made. These entrances during the ceremony led to the separation of men and women (Houses no. 2, 3 & 4).

- **Number and size of spaces:** The multiplicity of spaces in the houses of the upper class had three main causes: 1. these houses belonged to well-known people, which had many social connections. So, in these houses, there were many welcoming spaces in the form of exterior courtyards, reception rooms, and halls. 2. The number of home members was also high due to the availability of servants. 3. The financial leverage of the upper class allowed them to build larger and more spaces in the house.

There were social communications with relatives and neighbors among the middle-class too. But these people didn't have the desire, need, or the ability to display their place by building a hall or outer section. The guest room was used as a regular room on ordinary days. This was due to the fact that during the day because of the family's collaborative life, all the spaces of the

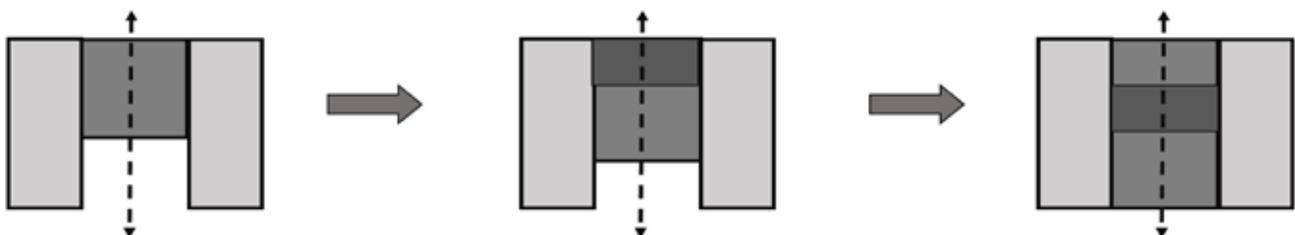


Fig. 4. Axial symmetry with the center of the hall, the guest room, and the stairs in the houses of the upper class in Ardabil. Source: authors

house were used in common. Only at night, these spaces could be of special interest to each family. On the other hand, in order to compensate for the lack of space for the members of the house, wooden partitions were used in the rooms. The smaller part, which was like a storage room, created a room for privacy. The presence of separators made room flexible, so that when needed a room was converted into two rooms (Fig. 5).

- **Service spaces:** Service spaces were such as kitchens, bread space, stables, and storage room. In the house of the upper class, there was a need for large and extensive service spaces. This was due to a large number of visitors and residents of the house and the importance of having resources, supplies and catering facilities in these homes. In these houses, large basements included spaces such as the kitchen and stores. Due to the high level of underground water in Ardabil, it was not possible to build a basement except with the materials and high-tech construction techniques; this was only possible for the upper class. Service activities were also mainly carried out by servants and in some houses, there were spaces for the lives of these people. In the middle-class houses, there were service spaces in the yards. The kitchen was built in the back of the rooms in the northern part of the building which had no lightning and acted like a protective layer and thermal insulation in Ardabil. Daily work was done by family members. The middle-class which was generally economically insignificant was content and self-sufficiency in the supply and consumption of resources; there were poultry storage areas in the courtyards, and vegetables and gardens were used to meet the needs of the family. In some houses, the workshop was also built in the courtyard (house no.1).

• **Small scale**

- **Materials and decorations:** Ardabil houses mainly used indigenous materials. Accordingly, in the houses of this area, the pillars were of stone, the

walls of clay, the roof of beams of wood, and the main facade of the house was brick with a stone plinth. Thick brick walls have a high thermal capacity and provide protection against exhaust temperatures. The windows and doors were wood, and the interior flooring was plaster. In the middle-class houses, the walls of the interior were simple and lacking in any decor. But, in the upper-class houses, there were decorative elements like stucco, Moqarnas, paintings, inscriptions,



Fig. 5. Two wooden separators in houses 2 and 4. Source: authors' archive.

and large colored glass windows, mainly in the reception room and the hall (Fig. 6). There were brick ornaments in the facades of the buildings, which were more prolific in the houses of the upper class (Fig. 7).

Discussion

The impact of various economic, social, cultural, and symbolic are reflected on the lifestyle and it shows how each individual or group are related to a particular social class. Therefore, it is possible to study the lifestyle in terms of the capital ratios of each class.

• Economic capital

Perhaps the most important difference between the upper and middle-classes in the present research is the amount of economic capital. As it was mentioned, middle and lower class people in the late Qajar and early Pahlavi years did not have a favorable situation in terms of livelihoods. The old middle-class included middle traders, craftsmen, workers, clerics, and small business owners, but the new middle-class included new employees and specialists (mainly in the public sector) (Hezarjoraibi, 2010), which in terms of income and material capital were modest. From this point of view, they tended to be content with self-sufficiency. The result of this in the lifestyle and house-building was the use of gardens and poultry farming, along with the simple combination of home spaces and the living of several families in limited house spaces with the use of separating walls, the simplicity of furniture and the lack of detailed decorations in the house. In contrast, the upper class in the early Pahlavi era like the late Qajar period consisted of state officials, landowners, elites, and successful businessmen (Nowzari, 2004), had substantial financial revenues.

The economic capital of these people has affected, for example, doing housework by the servants, the number and size of the spaces of the house, the exterior and interior complex, spacious

decorations for guest rooms, warehouses and spacious service spaces in the basements, and so on. Usually middle and low class was living in subsidiary neighborhoods. Considering the different levels of the middle-class, part of the middle-class lived in the main neighborhoods.

• Social capital

Considering the social and cultural similarities in society, many of the conceptual and theoretical



Fig. 6. Interior decoration in the house No. 7. Source: authors' archive.



Fig. 7. Brickwork on the facade of the house No. 9. Source: authors' archive.

aspects of social capital were almost the same in all classes of Ardabil in the late Qajar and early Pahlavi periods. It is possible to point out the importance of relationships, social status, kinship relationships, social identity, and family structure. What makes the difference between social classes to some extent was the different approaches from this perspective. The importance of preserving and displaying the status and social identity for the upper class was greater than that of the middle-class people. The consolidation of social status was accomplished through the expansion of social relations, the display of economic capital and financial power. In this regard, the exterior house and the hospitality boards have both been tasked with expanding social relations, and diversification of economic differentiation. By contrast, the middle-class had a sense of contentment. Hence, they were uncompromising in their social and kinship relationships and did not want to induce a sense of differentiation from other peers.

• Cultural and symbolic capital

Bourdieu proposes three subsectors for the cultural capital; 1. The internal cultural capital, which means sustainable mental and physical trends and potentials that have gradually become part of the existence of individuals; 2. The objectified cultural capital, which means all objects and cultural goods; and 3. Institutionalized cultural capital, which requires the presence of qualified and capable people to acquire a variety of educational and professional qualifications (Darini, Taban, Namdar Joyami & Bahonar, 2016). Thus, worldview, values, beliefs, ideas, mental schemas, meanings, and Norms can be considered as an internal cultural capital. Given the traditional and homogeneous texture of Ardabil in those days these mental concepts have largely been shared by the general public. At the level of tastes and habits that are considered as an inward cultural capital the distinction between classes is evident. In

this regard Bourdieu introduces three main realms of taste: 1. Legitimate tastes that are common among the upper class and its main characteristic is the aesthetic desire to defend the full priority of the form relative to function; 2. the average taste that is most common among the middle-class; and 3. the popular taste that is prevalent among the lower classes and the worker based on the tastes of necessity and "needs". The middle-class, on the one hand, is interested in establishing a gap between itself and the lower class and, on the other hand, it lacks the necessary cultural and educational experience to approach the legitimate taste (Momtaaz, 2005, 156). It cannot be denied that there has always been a tendency to resemble the upper class, at least among the upper and middle-class. For example, house number 2 is an example of an attempt to resemble the symmetrical pattern used in the house of the upper class. This has also been about habitus and behaviors.

Habitus is the result of taste and influenced by economic and social capital (Fig. 2). Therefore, in view of the differentiation of the upper class in the aforementioned cases, one can draw a distinction in the habitus too. "The ancient aristocracy of Iran, as influenced by western colonialism, imitated many European habitus" (*ibid*, 158). At houses 9 and 10 which belong to late Pahlavi era, imitation of the West can be seen in cases such as the removal of the inner courtyard, and the use of internal steps visible on the middle of the house. Among the furniture of Ardabil's upper-class houses, there was also furniture like Polish chairs, Russian tables, spring beds, watchdogs and so on ... (Baba Safari, 1993, 274).

Another distinction of this class is in the production of objective cultural capital. "Anyone who has more cultural, social, and economic capital will have more resources to participate in the game of "pure" and "lucid" aesthetics, while

individuals with limited capital stock do not have the choice to use the same limited resources in the creation of aesthetics" (Webster, 2018, 67). This can be seen in beautiful and luxurious decorations in the houses of the upper class, while it is absent in the middle-class houses.

Finally, the data from the analysis of the content of the interviews and field surveys were

reviewed. The results were arranged in a table based on the categories of economic, social, cultural and symbolic capitals (Tables 2, 3 & 4). The table attempts to express the level of capitals of the middle and the upper classes in Ardabil in the late Qajar and early Pahlavi years and the physical expression of the categories of capitals in their houses.

Table 2. The physical expression of the cultural and symbolic capital in the houses of the middle and the upper classes of Ardabil in the late Qajar and early Pahlavi periods. Source: authors.

Capital	Categories	Capital amount		Physical expression		
		middle-class	the upper class	middle-class	the upper class	
Cultural and symbolic capital	Worldview	The common worldview of people influenced by the religion of Islam and Shia religion		Urban homogeneous texture and the general similarity of buildings both in the middle and the upper-class buildings.		
	Values, Beliefs, Ideals	Rooted values and beliefs are mainly derived from culture, religion and historical experiences such as adherence to the maintenance of religious and customary rituals, confidentiality, respect for to the elders and guests and ...		House entrance hall (Qajar period); Two separate entrances from the courtyard to the house; To consider the largest and brightest room to the guest; Allocating rooms according to the family's hierarchy	Interior and exterior parts as women's and men's fields (Qajar period); the largest external room for the guest.	
	Mental schemas, meanings	Proper social status; being complete Muslims; Attention to the spiritual and religious aspect of the practice among all sectors of society		Permanent readiness of the home spaces for guests; Flexible spaces for different situations of life and religious ceremonies	The distinctive pattern of the house; the building of the courtyards, halls, and guest rooms for religious ceremonies;	
		Accept external conditions and compatibility with it.	Maintain social status			
	Patterns, Norms, Requirements	Conventional patterns of behavior, such as observing the norms and traditions of the community, maintaining optimal conditions in the cold; tolerating the transitory difficulty; anticipating the hard winter. No half-open space; Making the kitchen in the back of the rooms;		Orientation towards the southeast; Thick brick walls; Double-glazed windows.	Wide storage in basements	
	Tastes	Use of limited resources available	Requires more resources	limited brickworks at the entrance and the facade of the buildings		The objectified cultural capital such as interior decoration and facade, the use of expensive and decorative items at home.
Habitus	Until the arrival of modernism, the lifestyle and the way of doing things have continued from previous generations.	They were pioneering in influencing Western behavioral and spatial patterns	Homebuilding patterns in early Pahlavi with the least change over the late Qajar period		Removing the interior and creating stairs in the middle of the house during the Pahlavi era	

Table 3. The physical expression of the economic capital in the houses of the middle and the upper classes of Ardabil in the late Qajar and early Pahlavi periods. Source: authors.

Capital	Categories	Capital amount		Physical expression	
		middle-class	the upper class	middle-class	the upper class
Economic capital	Job	Small and medium business, retail, craftsmanship, government jobs and ... Trade is common in both classes, but there is a difference in the volume of business. The middle-classes were engaged in small businesses and the upper classes were busy with large business.	Land Management, Business, Government and High-Level State, Rulers of the tribes and ...	Those whose sources of incomes were retail dealing, tannery and carpet weaving, one or more workshop units or shops were built in the courtyard of the house.	The workplace was usually out of the house. But some work visits were done indoors. For this purpose, a special space was created at the entrance of the house.
	Income	Average or low-income relative to time and place conditions	High income through lucrative relationships and jobs	The simple arrangement of spaces with respect to the least in the number and size of spaces	Building a large number of spaces at the house with different functions
	Location	Main and subsidiary neighborhoods	Main neighborhoods and downtown	In spite of the high proportion of houses in the main neighborhoods moderate houses in these neighborhoods are also somewhat visible.	
	Material capital	Medium and little capital Material	Much financial capital due to financial and financial affairs	The inability to build a basement or the possibility of making only part of the spaces in the basement; Limiting the spaces in terms of dimensions and numbers; the lack of use of good materials and decorative ornaments	The possibility of building larger residential and service spaces; Using high-quality materials for building components such as doors and windows ...
	Consumer trends	Concerns about the shortcomings and the desire to satisfy, conserve the consumption of winter food and fuel and self-sufficiency in the production of certain materials.	The lack of concern about the lack of food, and the importance of the unmatched availability of supplies and catering facilities.	Additional spaces were not built due to construction costs and heating charges; creating large gardens and storage areas for poultry in the yard	The construction of spacious service spaces including kitchen and spacious basements warehouses, crèches and ...

Table 4. The physical expression of the social capital in the houses of the middle and the upper classes of Ardabil in the late Qajar and early Pahlavi periods. Source: authors.

Capital	Categories	Capital Amount		Physical Expression	
		middle-class	the upper class	middle-class	the upper class
Social capital	Social relationships	In traditional society, social relations played a significant role for the people of society among the upper classes and the middle-classes. However, the social relations of the upper class were much more important than the middle-classes due to their influence on society.		Using all the capacity of the house including the rooms and the courtyard in celebrations and parties.	Allocation of special spaces to accommodate guests such as guest rooms and hall
	Social position	No special social status	Famous people's reputation and social status	Simplicity and similarity of houses; No distinct entrances.	Entrance, guest rooms, and exterior home with beautiful views and fine decoration.
	Kinship relationships	Extensive kinship relationships among all strata of society and efforts to maintain and sustain it		Creating a vast yard for doing things collectively	Separation of the house into two parts of the interior and exterior which is a hall for men and interior for women's use.
	Family structure	Life is based on patriarchy in the wider family among the middle and the upper classes		Separating special rooms for each family using wooden separators in the rooms	Separation of the house into two male and female arenas during the Qajar period
	Social identity	Efforts to acquire social identity through the practice of the norms and traditions of society and the expansion of social, cultural and economic capital (most in the upper class)		Common patterns of houses in order to adhere to customary and accepted homeownership.	Distinctive patterns of houses with ordinary houses to emphasize the identity and social status of individuals

Conclusion

In response to the research questions of the study, the results of discussions and analysis indicate that the difference in the combination of economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capitals creates different types of lifestyle. The capitals help to shape people's lifestyle and affect their social and housing patterns. The capitals mutually reinforce each other. The upper class due to its large economic capital, was able to increase its social and cultural capitals, especially the objective cultural capitals. These cases had been shown in the furniture and decorations used in the houses as well as the quality of the guest rooms in the form of exterior houses, halls and so on. Houses of Ardabil's of the upper class had a central symmetry pattern centered around a guest room or hall with the facade and lively decorations that made the appearance more beautiful.

The U form of the buildings of the Qajar period inspired the sense of affection and acceptance for those who came home. This was to improve the social status and social influence of the of the houses owners. However, In the Pahlavi era, due to social and cultural changes, attentions to indoor have increased. This led to the integration of the interior and exterior of the house and the interior section was gradually removed from the structure of house. Also, the hall was removed from the main axis of the building and it was replaced by stairs. A common case was the existence of detailed service spaces in all the houses of the upper class and the plurality of spaces by the frequent entrances and presence of servants.

In contrast, the middle-class of the Ardabil community due to lack of capitals had satisfying, simplicity, and lack of discretion approach. This approach has been found in the lifestyle and consequently in the spatial structure of the houses in all three macro, middle, and small scales. These houses usually have at least decorations, with multiple combinations of linear repeats the biceps pattern of the atrium-room. The flexibility

of the house spaces for different times (day, night, various ceremonies, changes in the number of family members, etc.); climatic considerations such as orientation to the south, the creation of the kitchen behind the rooms; and the relatively high proportion of space to the masses, are the most important features of the middle-class houses. These cases should also be attributed to the shortage of capitals especially economic ones or the desire to satisfy the residents of these houses. Although some middle-class houses try to resemble the symmetrical pattern of houses of the upper class, the houses of the middle-class in the Pahlavi era did not differ much from the Qajar era.

The reason for this seems to be the later acquaintance of this class with the aspects of modernity. Based on the above-mentioned discussion, it can be concluded that the existence of a major difference in the types of capital, especially economic capital, between the middle and the upper classes of the city of Ardabil in the late Qajar and early Pahlavi periods have led to differences in the lifestyles and in the physical dimensions of houses. This suggests that the research hypothesis namely the existence of a relationship between differentiation in the social classes and differences in the lifestyle and patterns of housing is confirmed. The people of Ardabil shared a lot of components of social and cultural capitals. It is because they live in a common environment and had the same historical experiences, traditions, and religion. In the meantime caused class differentiation was the kind of different approach to these components. As the upper class usually acted more deeply and with the induction of a sense of distinction with issues like status, social relationships, taste, and so on. While the middle-classes were more satisfied with the use of resources, accepting existing conditions, trying to adapt to it and so on. The physical spatial representation of these thinking styles is also apparent in the physical structure of their houses in terms of differences in entrances, facade, guest space,

service spaces, home furnishings, decorations, etc. In the end, it should be noted that as there are diverse social classes in society, there are different types of lifestyles and different forms of housing. Hence studying housing in a community requires attention to all patterns in the community and their analysis in the context of its formation.

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