



The Emergence of Shopping Centers and the Synchronic Continuity of the Tajrish Traditional Bazaar : A Comparative Study of the Tajrish Traditional Bazaar and the Ghaem and Tandiis Modern Shopping Centers (Tehran) and their Relationship

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Synchronic Continuity of the Tajrish Traditional
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their Relationship**

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Dedicated to

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My father and mother who have always been the most powerful encouragers of my life

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GENERALITIES OF RESEARCH

Introduction

Iran is a country of thousands of years; some of its cities have the same age as it. During this period, it has often attended various conflicts and challenges. Its location between the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf, presents a multitude of changes and invasions. The international and regional externalities and the various internal factors in turn led to successive conflicts in the history of this country. Iran is a country with different climates and cultures and has engaged in international conflicts either consciously or unconsciously.

In addition to the many destructive elements, there are also cultural and social elements that contribute to the cultural and social sustainability of Iran. These cultural elements and social relationships are formed as part of a set of institutions which have an abstract spatial incarnation. These spatial and material representations are an inseparable part of social and cultural relations. It is unthinkable that institutions and social relationships can survive without these physical spaces. This is why the life and death of the physical space is involved in the life and death of social relations and cultural meanings.

The bazaar is one of the institutions that have an irreplaceable function in conserving the cultural identity of Iran. "Bazaar" is one of the main segments of Iranian cities and has thereby formed a social institution relative to other institutions in cities. This social institution has always been in relation with two other important social institutions of the Iranian and eastern history, religion & politics (Azadarmaki, 2012)¹. The emergence of these three institutions in the central parts of the Iranian historical cities is an index for this issue, whereas these three institutions have always been the moderation of power in Iran. The "Bazaar", is somewhat different from the Market in the Iranian city. It is not merely an economic connection, but its social and cultural functions have the same importance as its economical connections. Some believe the bazaar is a representation of the identity of a social location, because it contains different functions in one complex, functions such as trades markets, mosques, schools, hammams and etc which each have numerous social functions.

The Iranian Bazaar has a very long history and according to historical evidences the bazaar has always been a main element in forming Iranian cities. The Iranian bazaar is the symbol of urban life and the clearest emblem of habitancy in Iranian ecosystems. It has always had a great significance in city and many city developments and expansions were based on the bazaar location and figure (Ashraf, 1974)². It was the backbone of the city formation and indicated as the main route which joint the outer port of the city to the high priority core of the city - the central square and the grand mosque- and as for that, substantial paths always directly or indirectly led to the bazaar, in addition in some cases the bazaar would continue to connect one city port to the other.

The spatial presence of the bazaar in the heart of an Iranian city and close to other historical monuments reveals the primordial status of the bazaar in city. A city without a bazaar is not an Iranian city. With its physical spatial dimension, the bazaar is the most beautiful

¹ AZADARMAKI, Taghi (1391, 2012) Nazariyey-e Jameye-e Irani: Elm Press (in Persian) [Theories of the Iranian society]

² ASHRAF, Ahmad (1353/1974) Vijegi haye Tarikhiyeh Shahrneshini dar Iran Doreyeh Eslami: Name Olum Ejtemayee Journal, no.4(in Persian)[The historical urban features in Iran in the Islamic period]

architectural space that has ever lived. These achievements are still alive in most historical cities. During the two contemporary Iranian Revolutions in 1906 and 1979; the bazaar has played a key role, however recently this social center in Iran has met a serious danger that arises both in social, economic and cultural relations and also in its spatial and material matters. If things go on as they are, the bazaar will find itself increasingly weakened. The consequences in the Iranian society are much more effective than simply changing the functions of a district.

As time passed the bazaar became more considerable, in a stage that any new addition to the city, obeyed the orientation of the city bazaar. As Tavasoli states, at the beginning many of the cities were places where weekly bazaars were setup and slowly over time, small communities and districts were established (Tavasoli, 2002:22)³ and with the growth of societies and exchanges, they changed their appearances from temporary structures to permanent structures and from uncovered architectural constructions to formed architectures; the other reason why bazaars were formed gradually is that most of the Iranian cities were developed villages and only a few amount of cities in Iran were built based on a primary design (Pahlavanzadeh: 158)⁴.

The bazaar has always been a very iconic segment of the city, however its very primitive purposes were trade work and productive aims, yet afterwards it attained other cultural and social functions, functions which all in a way reproduce the city structure. The bazaars has been the life pulse of urban, social and economic life; including definitions such as power, government and credit, as Khaksari mentions: "in fact the assembly of economic, social, religious and cultural centers under a tent called the bazaar is a phenomenon which has always occurred in the Iranian city formation" (Khaksari, 1385:76). The term bazaar has always stood along authenticity and identity for Iranian people; it has been a means of political values, due to the specific roles it had in changing political situations and revolutions with the help of people.

³ TAVASOLI, Mahmud (1381/2002) Eghlimeh Garm O Khoshk: Payam No Press, Tehran (in Persian) [Dry and Arid Climate]

⁴ PAHLAVAN ZADEH, Leila (1389/2010) Az Bazaar haye Diruz ta Mojtama haye Tejariye Emruz: Danesh Nama Journal (in Persian) [From the previous bazaars to the today commercial centers]

Gradually with the arrival of a modern event entitled the street, the relation between the bazaar and social urban spaces disappeared. One of the great events in the Qajar⁵ period was the construction of passages and streets for the passage of carriages and later on cars. These streets disconnected previous paths and local routes which used to be main passages containing stories and memories which in many cases led to evolutions and changes. Nevertheless the street left modernity and its necessities behind, things which made the traditional human attempt to react modern and live on its values.

After the occurrence of modernity in towns, cities never again found the chance to experience the traditional old day life, however many tried to revitalize the old social and cultural life yet the human being was changing rapidly and nothing could stop him from experiencing the pleasure of modernity. Bazaars were never again referred to as past, modern and richer people started changing their residences and consequently their shopping areas. They had now achieved a new lifestyle which meant dressing differently, eating variously and shopping from modern eras. This meant the decrease in the boom of the traditional bazaar and gradually its decline. Today the bazaar is still one the very most important public city monuments, however it has lost many of its former functions and values, yet it still stands high in city, holding a great reputation.

Today due to modernity and its attractions such as fashion, the desire to shop and consume decorative products has increased among all groups of people leading to more referrals to particular shopping spaces and purchasing centers which are more significant than others, particularly the more moderns comparing to the old and traditional bazaars. Recent changes in the design and decoration of the shops in the traditional bazaar and their continuous reconstructions and renewals are all a sign of this issue that the bazaar will face a big danger, if not taken care of. It was at this stage where many modern shopping centers where emerged and allocated particular social groups with specific tastes and ages to themselves. Modern shopping centers which were the result of the modern age and modern man, attempted to replace traditional bazaars in many cases by attracting more clients yet these two completely different

5 They were a group of Turks who ruled in Iran from 1795-1925. They governed Iran before the Pahlavi era.

architectural and cultural spaces created a coexistence with each other in our case study here in Tajrish.

Hence in this thesis our case study is the Tajrish traditional bazaar in the northern part of Tehran in the Shemiran district which has a long history with many urban historical elements partly inactive today. This traditional bazaar sits near two modern shopping centers known as the most stylish and modern shopping centers in Tehran during the last 10 years. This can be one of the most important reasons for selecting such a site, the adjacency of the two modern and traditional shops and knowing how the traditional Tajrish bazaar has conserved its traditional atmosphere and still tries to increase its potentials even through figurative elements as days pass. Therefore this site has been chosen to be studied mainly through the concept of consumer society in means of theoretical approaches derived from George Ritzer and Jean Baudrillard.

At the end there will be a comparison among these two spaces, the "Ghaem" modern shopping center and the "Tajrish" traditional bazaar. Some special criteria will be considered in this part which will lead to an evaluation of the two spaces. Some of these criteria are:

- Types of people who refer to each space(including social class, age and fashion)
- The variety and kind of occupations in each space
- Types of products presented in each space
- Differentiation in architectural features inside each space
- The city elements dependent to each space

The invasion and succession in cities is a phenomenon that affects the functions of the bazaar. Heavy traffic in downtown areas, air pollution in cities, the transformation of the structure of economic activities, the flow of immigrants on the market, the transfer of certain functions of the bazaar to commercial companies and etc all have created problems for the bazaar.

In the present decades, "bazaar" has faced a new and distinguishable rival in Iran. Everyday "Shopping Centers" are spreading over regions in Iranian cities. They are as a symbol of the extension of consumerism and the occurrence of a consumer society and globalization. These places represent youth subcultures and cultural challenges against the hegemony at

national level. Will the bazaar tolerate and survive these changes, or has it already been eliminated from the urban cycle?

Status of Problem

Although in the modern world there are many modern elements and spaces which lead to the determination of the traditional elements of life, however traditional elements and its components still exist and continue life in conflict and interaction with the modern world. Doesn't the present situation state that traditional bazaars will collapse and modern shopping centers will become inclusive in near future? Don't the conditions indicate that modern bazaars are in contrast with traditional bazaars leading to a decrease in the amount of customers in traditional bazaars and increase of referrals to modern shopping centers? Is this not an emblem of the contrast inside the Iranian bazaar: traditional men in traditional bazaars and modern men and women in modern shops, which will end to a contrast in traditional economy and modern economy in Iran's future? Don't the conditions head towards a new economical behavior, a combination of traditional bazaars and modern ones and the intercommunion of these two spaces?

The Tajrish district located in the Shemiran area, a northern zone in Tehran with a good standard of climate and life is understood as a suitable case for this issue. This site used to be allocated to the kings and governmental powers in the Pahlavi period (1920-1978) and always known as a place which held high standards of life including natural matters. Today Tajrish is an important trade affair center in the north sector of Tehran which has allocated many superior social classes to itself. It holds the important and old Tajrish traditional bazaar, which has been the core of the area from the past, so have the two Ghaem and Tandiis modern shopping centers. Therefore the existence of Ghaem modern shopping center and Tajrish traditional bazaar together in one place and the modernization of some borders of the traditional Tajrish bazaar due to its adjacency with the Ghaem modern shopping center is a suitable example.

In this zone the two different modern and traditional atmospheres stand aside with a notable coexistence. Is this current situation not an expression of the combination of tradition and modernity? Isn't the coexistence of traditional bazaars and modern shopping centers alongside each other an indication of the mixture of tradition and modernity considering social and economical behaviors? To have a better understanding of this issue additional discussion is needed, whereas the present thesis will focus more on this issue. In this thesis I will attempt to point out to the situation of the traditional bazaar and modern shopping center in Tajrish, meanwhile I will explain their connections and show how these two spaces may be in a conflict with each other and in some cases have a compound orientation and propensity finishing in the current situation of the Iranian bazaar today. In particular we can point to the current Tajrish bazaar which is a composition of the traditional and modern bazaars and even the Grand traditional bazaar of Tehran where modern shops have invested aside the traditional bazaar, customers referring to them, shop regardless the contrast among these two spaces. This research will not concern the regeneration or rehabilitation of the traditional bazaar nor will it focus on its contemporization, whereas its focal concern will be on the coexistence of the traditional bazaar and the modern shopping center in the Tajrish district in the north side of Tehran.

The Main Question of the Thesis

The question to what may have caused the downturn of the traditional bazaar is a very important problem; hence attempting to achieve the response needs studies on social, economical and architectural aspects. The purpose of this thesis is to achieve the answer to this main question:

*What are the shopping center features in comparison with the traditional bazaar and have these distinctions in Tajrish resulted to a substitutional relationship or a coexistence relationship?*⁶

The Minor Questions of the Thesis

According to our main question, many other minor questions may be proposed. Finding the answer to these questions may help facilitate responding to the main question. The minor questions are:

1. Why does the Tajrish traditional bazaar, due to the emersion of popular attractive shopping centers in the Tajrish site, still continue to live?
2. How is the relation among the emersion of shopping centers with the Tajrish traditional bazaar?

⁶ Definition of main expressions and terms: Some of the main terms often referred to in this thesis are traditional architecture, modern movement, shopping centers, Bazaar and Bazaari which will briefly be explained.

Traditional Architecture: Traditional architecture is what relates to the identity of a particular place depending on its atmosphere, constructional materials, local forms and social and cultural interactions

Modernization: modernization, in sociology is the transformation from a traditional, rural, agrarian society to a secular, urban, industrial society.

Shopping Centers: Buildings that contain multiple retail stores and often contain commercial and recreational spaces.

Bazaar: An urban historical structure known as the heart of the Iranian town. The Iranian traditional bazaar is a covered street, or series of streets and alleys, lined with small shops and equipped by services or products.

Bazaari: Merchants, artisans and workers in the bazaar are called bazaaris.

The Hypothesis of the Thesis

Based on the above question, the following hypothesis, as the focus of this thesis, is proposed:

- It seems that the emersion of modern shopping centers in Tajrish has created a coexistence relationship with the Tajrish traditional bazaar and the two have reinforced each other rather than attenuating one another.
- The Tajrish traditional bazaar compared to the modern shopping centers has continued its life and existence because of its various cultural, social and economical functions.
- The relationship among the traditional bazaar and the modern shopping center in Tajrish district is mutually reinforcing.

In the following proposal our perception of "Bazaar & Shopping Centers" are the three following dimensions; however the main focus is architectural features.

1. Architectural □ Esthetic Features

2. Social □ Cultural Features

3. Economical □ Political Features

With the decline of certain functions and dimensions of the bazaar, new spaces will replace them in big Iranian cities, assuming certain functions of the bazaar. Shopping malls are one of these new spaces. They have certain considerations of the bazaar containing particular functions, maybe not in a grand scale and for the whole city but at least in a local scale. Shopping centers have the following advantages:

1. The possibility of local access
2. A modern consumerist space, evoking world culture
3. A pleasant space for the youth culture

Even though shopping centers have many advantages, they cause problems in the level of esthetics and culture leading to cultural issues. They also indirectly affect the bazaar as a

historical capital. The analysis of the situation that occurred in major Iranian cities in general and in Tehran, a metropolis of 8 million (13 million with the suburbs), requires the study of sociological theories of the metropolis on one hand and historical studies of the Iranian city on the other. The study of this space in all of its own dimensions is a prerequisite.

Stages of Works :

1. Study on social, cultural and economical dimensions of bazaar
2. Study on social, cultural and economical dimensions of shopping center
3. Study on architectural dimensions of the traditional bazaar
4. Study on the architectural dimensions of shopping centers
5. A comparative study among these two spaces

Importance & Necessity of the Thesis

The Iranian traditional bazaars were the main segments of the Iranian city considered as the backbone of the city formations. They were one of the most historical architectural spaces which linked many other important architectural monuments, and acted as a whole system. On the other hand modern shopping centers are a sign of modernity and the icon of commencing the modern period of history. They are also very important urban structures therefore modern shopping centers are performing the same role as traditional bazaars for the modern city system. This reveals the significance of these two traditional and modern spaces, the traditional bazaar and the modern shopping center, the connection they have with each other in the city and how they behave, parallel or destructing one another.

Traditional bazaars operate systematically with other important architectural spaces such as schools, mosques, holy shrines, water storages, and many other main or minor Iranian architectural elements connected with this system. This is the reason why the destruction in the traditional bazaar leads to a loss in the Iranian cultural heritage. This loss results to rusty urban fabrics and social damages in the location of the traditional bazaar, leaving a deep gap in the Iranian city. Since Iranian traditional bazaars were a significant element in the cultural and social system of the city, they also had various social, economical and religious functions. The Tajrish traditional bazaar is an example of one of the discussed elements in the Tajrish district, one of the most famous upper zones of Tehran, the capital city of Iran.

The traditional bazaar and modern shopping centers are two important urban spaces; they are significant in the urban landscape, in public transport, in new constructions and even in the formation of ancient urban fabrics. Therefore they are not only specified as trade affair centers but also known as principal social systems which create a high priority stand for studying these architectural spaces. The relationship among the formation of modern shopping centers and the traditional bazaars is a very important issue, whereas modern shopping centers themselves have achieved significant key roles in the Iranian city.

The vast development of modern shopping centers in the world and especially in Iran affected traditional bazaars and their cities and led to many changes. These changes differ from

place to place, some modern shopping centers entirely replaced traditional bazaars and some coexisted aside these spaces. The Tajrish traditional bazaar is an example of the second case where there is a change in the replacement sphere of shopping centers to coexistence spheres. Here in the Tajrish zone, modern shopping centers have not replaced the traditional bazaar; they have resisted therefore these two spaces stand aside and coexist today.

The Tajrish district is one of the most important locations in Tehran due to the upper social class it holds, its geographical location in the north side of Tehran and its holy shrine. It is one of the most modern zones of the Iranian society and the Tehran city, considered as the chosen site in this essay, has a high potential as the adjacency of its traditional bazaar with two well known modern shopping centers the Ghaem and Tandiis shopping malls. Its traditional bazaar is the core of Tajrish district and the backbone of the zone formation and the most considerable active system in Tajrish which stands aside other important architectural monuments such as the mosques, the hammam, the Takiyeh and most significant of all, the Imamzadeh Saleh shrine on one hand and adjacent to the Ghaem shopping center and near the Tandiis modern shopping center on the other hand.

In the present study on the Ghaem modern shopping center situation adjacent to the traditional Tajrish bazaar, there are some evidences that indicate the reality of this coexistence which is the close relationship of investors in these two different spaces or investors who have invested in the two modern and traditional places at the same time and also the similar commodities which both of the two centers present. Therefore the unique condition of this area, the adjacency of two different modern and traditional spaces, promoted and incited the arrival of the following paper.

Purpose of the Thesis

The purpose of this research is to achieve the answer to this problem, are the two architectural spaces, the traditional and the modern atmosphere, manifested in the traditional Tajrish bazaar and the modern shopping center, eliminating or reinforcing one another. Tajrish, this peculiar situation has created the objective to know and respond to the three main following questions as the purposes of the research:

1. Achieving the relationship among the traditional bazaar and the modern shopping centers in Tajrish.
2. Responding to why the traditional bazaar due to the emersion of attractive modern shopping centers continued to live.
3. Knowing about the features of the modern shopping centers in Tajrish (the Tandiis and Ghaem shopping centers) and the traditional bazaar.

In the first question it will be necessary to know about the relationship among the traditional site (the Tajrish traditional bazaar) and the modern site (the Ghaem and Tandiis shopping centers). Are there any relationships or does each and every space functioning separately? Are there investors or shopkeepers who may have connections with the two sites? Are these spaces in a link with each other and have they eliminated each other or reinforced one another?

In the second question we will focus on the two Tandiis and Ghaem modern shopping centers which have been constructed in the same zone as the traditional Tajrish bazaar, one attached to the bazaar (the Ghaem shopping center) and the other situated further but still located in the same site).

And for the last objective, some architectural features such as light, colors, materials, access, proportions, spaces, furniture, and etc in the two traditional and modern spaces will be studied. Meanwhile focusing on the social and cultural differences is another issue which will be compared in these two named spaces, issues

such as types of people who refer to these spaces, their social class, and their intension of referring, the commodities they purchase and etc.

Literature Review

Introduction

The following Literature review can be discussed in two main parts, the national and the international review. Recently the transformations in the Iranian bazaar have been important subjects for various specialists. The following thesis has this advantage comparing to other works done on the bazaar that it is a thesis with an architectural point of view, reconsidering social and cultural factors, regarding the great movement called modernity and its consequences in a zone where these two paradoxical phenomenons coexist.

There are at least three approaches on the Iranian Bazaar issue:

1. Economical Approach to bazaar
2. Social-Political Approach to bazaar
3. Architectural Approach to bazaar

Our main focus of approach, as an architect, is practically the architectural approach. Inevitably when we address this issue, the influence of other mentioned aspects will be read and reconsidered, however our basis concerns will be on architectural ideas and affections. The narrations on the purposed objectives are briefly explained as follows.

In the economical approach, the bazaar is seen as the pulse to economical issues in city. It is counted as the great heart beat of economical problems and successes therefore it is of great importance. Mostly economists are included in this category of point of view where they look at bazaar from productive and distributive points. In the social-political approach which politicians mainly speak, bazaar is a political and social institution which is considered in Grand National programming even today. The bazaar has always been the main reason for revolutions and significant developments in the Iranian city; therefore when there is a discussion on the political matters in Iran, the bazaar has a very high stand. And for the architectural approach, among most books written by architects on the architecture of the bazaar, mostly all have studied and written on the bazaar architectural segments, where the architectural form and design of the bazaar has

been described. The task of each segment of the bazaar, its functions, the artistic and functional values of decorative elements in the bazaar and the used forms and materials are among the top percentage of these works.

In these works detailing on the categorization of arches, the structure of the bazaar foundation, the light, the colors and dimensions and proportions have been achieved, all including materialistic or physical views on the bazaar as architectural necessity, even in many cases using descriptive words to reflect the bazaar atmosphere.

Mohammad Karim Pirnia one of the well known traditional architects in Iran has also studied this issue in the book *Iranian Islamic Architecture* by allocating one particular chapter to this matter. He describes the Iranian characteristic as being faithful and honest people which do not search profit in business, and it is this internal characteristic that creates an opportunity for the customer to see all guilds alongside each other in one particular place in the bazaar (the Raasteh), giving them the freedom to compare and choose. In this book, Pirnia writes about the etymology of the word bazaar and presents different kinds of bazaar in Iran due to various climates. He also indicates the bazaar elements and describes each of the elements to show their functions and differences.

In the book *Iranian Architecture* written by Yusuf Kiani, the author has mentioned the Iranian Bazaar besides many other Iranian monuments such as mosques, bridges and schools and discusses its segments and components. Azita Rajabi has widely pointed to the bazaar physical and functional groupings. The different type of bazaars, bazaar architectural elements, and most important of all the expansion of bazaar from B.C to after Islam and after Islam to the Iranian Revolution in Iran and today is one the other features of this book. Nevertheless many of the topics studied in this book have also been presented in Husain Soltanzadeh's book called the *Iranian Bazaars* where he categorizes the Iranian Bazaar to its main and minor elements. In *Urban Spaces in the historical texture of Iran* he also points to the Iranian bazaar. In this book he studies the variety of bazaars as permanent bazaars, periodical bazaars, urban bazaars and small bazaars and their correspondence with passages.

Many others have seen the bazaar from an urban point of view; narrating the bazaar's significant urban and social position in the city before and after Islam. These groups often urban

planners or architects who have urban concerns have always stated the bazaar as the main icon of the city where all city developments were relevant to the bazaar form and status.

Here the bazaar has been seen as not a whole but a part of the whole city structure, where in most cases according to Mohsen Habibi has been the core for the city morphology and its existence. Therefore particularly the bazaar and the other city icons such as the grand mosque, the Hammam (bath), the schools, etc created a structure named the city, which is the interest for urban designers. This has been revised in the book "The Skeletal of Tehran city" by Maliheh Hamidi.

Recently due to the important position bazaar has achieved for the Cultural Heritage Organization in Iran, many researchers have focused their etudes on the regeneration and reconstruction of the bazaar. In this field of study many scientific expressions have come to general use in order to recreate the bazaar identity, even in facade reconstructions and primary repairs. Mohsen Habibi is one of the main founders of this era, he has written the book "Urban Renovation" where he has listed all common expressions used to refer to the regeneration of historical monuments. There is also a main chapter as the international theorists of urban regeneration where Viollet le Duc, John Ruskin, Camillo Sitte, Camillo Boito, Luca Beltrami and many other theories of regeneration is described.

As descriptive methods, the sense of identity and collective memories is another eligible topic that interests many architects. In these cases topics relating to the nostalgia of the traditional city and historical districts which in many occasions have been transformed to old and rusty city fabrics, are debated, besides subjects such as recreating the sense of belonging to districts with regards to their previous historical elements mainly the bazaar, is another approach. Jahanshah Pakzad and his book "The theory principles and urban design process" and Amir Mansouri and his research team "The city Spatial System" are all recently documentations on this topic.

The thesis named "Designing the Bazaar with a new approach" written by Majiid Rostami⁷ at the University of Tehran in 2009, Department of Architecture has got to the issue of

⁷ ROSTAMI, Majid(2009) Tarahiye Bazaar ba Negareshi No: University of Tehran(in Persian)[Designing the Bazaar with a new approach]

bazaars with the aim of creating a new urban space which holds the architecture of Iranian traditional bazaar. In this project Rostami describes the basic definitions of the Iranian bazaar, its process of development and the status of bazaar in a traditional site. He has an architectural approach in the project whereas he studies the public and private zones of a bazaar and defines the meaning of space. He uses interviews and studies case studies as his method in obtaining the feedbacks, plus interviews with Mansur Falamaki, Sheikh Zienediin and Faroukh Zanvari some of the most well known architects on this issue in Iran. He glances at some case studies related to his topic as in Milan, Munich, Japan and Birmingham- sites adjacent to historical sites- to achieve results for designing a bazaar in Kermanshah a city in the western borders of Iran. Rostami as an urbanist has a wider and vaster point of view than an architect. As results of this study he obtains principles on form and spatial points such as creating spaces for circulation, bringing urban spaces inside the bazaar, using traditional geometry in design, obeying the traditional and old skyline and many more which may be a matter of respect to the Iranian architecture, important in designing a bazaar in Kermanshah. This project in many aspects seems similar to our present essay whereas they are in particular both attempting to reveal the differences in the old traditional bazaar and adapting a new bazaar with a modern space in a traditional site.

The Master Project □A study on the patterns of the development of commercial spaces and a comparison between the old and new commercial spaces, case study in Jahrom□has been done in 1995 in the University of Tehran and studies the role of new built streets passing through the bazaars as the reason of the bazaar functionality decrease. Reza Shahedi ⁸ investigates to find a pattern for the development of commercial spaces along the street side. His approach is to see the impact of urbanization in the traditional bazaar with this main hypothesis: □the significance and the distance of houses to the traditional bazaar and the importance of streets□ Recently in Jahrom due to population growth, many access problems have been caused, therefore new stores

⁸ SHAHEDI, Reza (1373/1994) Barresi Olguye Tose□ Fazahaye Tejari va Moghayeseye beineh Fazahaye Tejari Jadiid ba Fazahaye Tejariyeh Ghadiim(Bazaar), nemuneh Shahreh Jahrom : University of Tehran(in Persian) [A study on the development pattern of commercial spaces and a comparison among new commercial spaces and old commercial spaces(the bazaar), case study Jahrom city]

have been constructed along the streets with a better access for the Jahromi residences to prepare rapid needs which are better in sight and easier accessed.

In this research Shahedi uses the explorative □ comparative method to compare stores inside the traditional bazaar and the new constructed stores alongside the street and reveals these issues in Jahrom a city in Fars, with the help of questionnaires and sampling, Shahedi finds these as the reason of the confrontment of the new street side built stores and the traditional stores inside the bazaar. In order to show these evidences, he presents some charts and maps at the end of this research, indicating the present situation of purchase in Jahrom. Questions concerning the facility to access the traditional bazaar, ways of getting to the traditional bazaar, number of times referring to the bazaar per week, retail and wholesale shops and reasons of referring to the bazaar are some of the questions mentioned in the questionnaires. As feedbacks he understands more than 87% of the Jahromi residences live very far from the traditional bazaar and 47.17% are obliged to use taxis as transport to get to the traditional bazaar. As conclusion he says bazaars have always attempted to near themselves to the streets and this event has taken place in Jahrom after the expansion of paths. Plus due to the population growth and the weakness of traditional bazaars in responding to needs, stores alongside streets have begun to pop up.

Homa Shirdast⁹ a Master candidate in the branch of Technology of architecture in the University of Tehran has done her final project on the □ usage of new materials in the commercial recreational complex in Qazvin ¹⁰ with a glance on traditional Iranian bazaars □ Her research however is merely a study on new materials and she does not look forward to answering a particular question. She concentrates on the appearance of new materials in constructing a commercial center in the 3rd zone of Qazvin her hometown. She begins with a study on the history of Qazvin and the history of Iranian bazaars and finalizes her thesis in studying the history of modern shopping centers in the world. Her work is limited to a study on documentary sources and ends in an etude on a built center in Qazvin. Her approach is descriptive and does

⁹ SHIRDAST, Homa (1388/2009) Karborde Masaleh Jadiid dar Mojtame□ Tejari Tafrihiy□ Qazvin: University of Tehran (in Persian) [The Function of New Materials in Qazvin Commercial-Recreational Complex]

¹⁰ A city on the west part of Tehran

not attempt to respond to an identified question in this project. This thesis could have been relevant to our study only if the question would be specified and answered.

Another relevant research done in 2009 in the University of Tehran, fine arts faculty is by Katayoun Zarif Khoram Del¹¹ with this topic "Urban Recreation, conserving yesterday's values and considering today's necessities with a case study on the Sangelaj¹² district". The purpose of the thesis is to design inside this district while preserving the remained values from the past regarding today needs utilizing urban recreational concepts. It is attempted to regenerate this historical sector of city with a comprehensive and general approach in design and to ameliorate the standard of living for its residences. The thesis begins with a study on the subject urban recreation and the regeneration of historical urban districts along a focus on a few international experiences on this issue. The value which Zarif points out to as the values of a historical fabric in this research are divided into 6 categories, they are as follows:

1. Esthetical Values
2. Various architectural Values
3. Various functional Values
4. Source Values
5. The continuity of cultural memory Values, Heritage Value
6. Economical and Commercial Values

As a result of this work she mentions the following points as the necessities of today in historical districts: resolving the functional and physical issues of decrement, inappropriate accesses, urban services and facilities, the efficiency of urban substructures, the sanitary of environment and the need for open spaces. This study could be very helpful to the following thesis due to its approach towards ancient values of a historical fabric and the aim of retaining them.

¹¹ ZARIF KHORAM DEL, Katayoun(1388/2009) Bazafariniyeh Shahri, Hefzeh Arzesh haye Diruz va Tavajoh be Niyaz hayeh Emruz, Nemuneh Mahaleyeh Sangelaj: University of Tehran[Urban Regeneration, preserving old values and considering today's needs, case study Sangelaj District]

¹² One of the eldest districts in the south part of Tehran near the Grand bazaar which used to be the core of the Tehran development

Another thesis which also has a concern on the contemporizing of the urban fabric is the thesis done by Nader Afzalan¹³ Masters level in the branch of urban programming at the University of Tehran in 2007 with a case study on the Bushehr bazaar¹⁴. This research reveals this issue that the traditional Bazaar of Bushehr which was very dynamic in the Qajar period in Iran, has had a downturn due to recent changes and is facing a deterioration with the absence of its social life, falling away from the economical stream. He says all developments until today done in Bushehr are physical changes and no functional developments have happened. The purpose of this study was to find strategies to resuscitate the Bushehr bazaar and coordinate it with its adjacent fabric and today's needs which is to contemporize it with the help of new urban definitions and most important of all to create a new life in this space, enlivening it and changing it to an active urban space. The definition of contemporizing in this project is to reproduce the economical life in the urban area which can often happen via absorbing public investment and by encouraging people to continue their trade affairs. The answer to this question "to which needs must contemporizing happen" he refers to Mohsen Habibi's words which says contemporizing is to respond to new urban connections or to redefine former connections in ancient cities. The above study has used qualitative methods to achieve its objectives. This project is similar to our study since both are concerning new changes happening to the traditional bazaar however in this case the traditional bazaar has been deteriorated whereas in our study the traditional bazaar is still alive and active albeit all its changes.

Alireza Afshar and Gholamreza Khaluyee Naieeni in the University of Tehran commenced their Masters project with this subject "Regenerating and reordering the old fabric of Naieen¹⁵ and linking the old and new fabric" The ancient fabric of Naieen and its bazaar have become abandoned years ago therefore this research attempts to create a suitable space in city in order to link the old bazaar to the new city by designing a city square. The present paper concerns the historical and traditional fabric in Naieen; meanwhile collecting information on how bazaars have been formed in Iranian cities and proposes some strategies for the revival of

¹³ AFZALAN, Nader (1386/2007) Tadviin Rahkar haye Barnameh Rizi va Tarahi Shahri barayeh Moaser Sazi Majmoe'ee Shahri Bazaar Bushehr: University of Tehran (in Persian)[Putting Urban Programming Strategies to contemporize the Bushehr Bazaar Urban Complex]

¹⁴ Bushehr is a city located on the borders of Persian Gulf in the south parts of Iran in a dry climate

¹⁵ A small and ancient city near Esfahan in the central parts of Iran

the Naieen bazaar. The object of this paper is to preserve the dynamism of the bazaar which needs to connect the city to the old bazaar by designing a square among the two important spaces. As a result Afshar¹⁶ and Khaluyee Naieeni have achieved that the most important problem is the transformation of functional and social structures and the evolution of the city physical structure. The suggestive design in this project is to design a square in front of the Imamzadeh up to the city grand mosque with a scale of 1/2000 and 1/500.

The thesis □A survey on the spatial role of bazaar in the structure of Iranian cities- with the methodology of spatial arrangements□a Master project in the Elm O Sanat University is an outcome of Abbas Azari¹⁷ in 2009. In this research, methods such as documentary and field studies for the theoretic section and spatial arrangement, GIS and SPSS software has been utilized, considering the position and role of the bazaar in the structure of three cities, Esfahan, Tabriz and Kerman regarding the connection among the bazaar and the urban system from the past until today. This project has been led by an urban planner with a systematic view on city and since each city has elements, hierarchies, system and organizational principles therefore he regards the bazaar as the main structural element and the most important social and spatial substructure in city.

After revising the spatial arrangement theory he studies the typology of bazaar and analyzes the mentioned cities and as a result he points to the decrease value of bazaar in Iranian cities. As feedback he presents charts and maps with the help of SPSS software and gives a positive response to this hypothesis: □with the development of cities and their changes, the role of bazaar in the city structure decreases□ As conclusion he proposes urbanism suggestions to reinforce the bazaar's functionality in the city. The dominant approach in this thesis is urbanism therefore it does not have a strong relevance to our present study. However other branches of

¹⁶ AFSHAR, Alireza & Qolamreza Naeeni(1377/1998) Ehya va Samandehi□ Bafteh Tarikhiye Naeen: University of Tehran(in Persian)[Regenerating and Rehabilitant the Historical Fabric of Naeen]

¹⁷ AZARI, Abbas(1388/2009) Barresiye Naghshe Fazayee Bazaar dar Sakhtareh Shahr haye Irani , nemuneh: Tehran, Tabriiz, Kerman, Esfahan: Elm o Sanat University[A study on the Bazaar's Spatial Role in the Structure of Iranian cities case study Tehran, Tabriiz, Kerman, Esfahan]

architecture can benefit the results of the research, including Abbas Azari's suggestions at the end of the survey regarding the city as a pervasive whole, is remarkable.

Fatemeh Rohani in Elm O Sanat University has also worked on the Hamadan bazaar and the rearranging its axes yet she utilizes merely a descriptive approach in achieving her objective, therefore her thesis cannot be referable either.

There are other researches; students in architecture have focused on with similar subjects, either in the Masters or PhD domain, with the following issues:

1. An understanding & study on traditional Iranian bazaars by Soraya Birashk in 1971, University of Tehran
2. A design for a complex of bazaars in Abadan by Naser Khamisi in 1984, Elmo Sanat University
3. The physical and spatial reorganization of the ancient Shiraz bazaar by Ebrahiim Mojri in 1992, University of Tehran
4. The rehabilitation of the urban fabric of the Tehran bazaar by Hassan Rafat and Amir Rostami in 1994, University of Tehran
5. A step towards the cohesion of the ancient backbone- the Hamadan Bazaar by Farhad Farzaneh in 1998, University of Tehran
6. The reordering of the bazaar environs the Imam Khomeini square in Orumieh by Rahiim Eradati in 1998, Shahiud Beheshti University
7. The square as the urban space- the epiphany of social relationships and the civil life- in the Marvi Bazaar in Tehran by Shiva Asadollahi in 2000, University if Tehran
8. Designing and reorganizing the west side of the Zanzan bazaar by Rahmat Nazari in 2000, Elmo Sanat University
9. The virtual center of trade in Tehran bazaar by Arash Neshati in 2001, Shahiud Beheshti University
10. Designing a cultural complex in the Arak bazaar by Abdolaziim Mohammadi in 2001, Shahiud Beheshti University
11. The regeneration and reorganization of the urban fabric around the bazaar(case study the Nabi mosque in Qazviin) by Matineh Keshavarz in 2005, University of Tehran

12. The role of holy places in the identification of districts -case study the Bashegh bazaar in Orumieh- by Ali Mohammad Saadati in 2007, Shahiud Beheshti University
13. The design of rehabilitating and renewing the ancient fabric of the bazaar in Rasht by Nasreddin Elyaszadeh in 2008, Shahiud Beheshti University
14. The connection between the old and new fabric in the Tabriz bazaar by Babak Jalilinia in 2009, University of Tehran
15. The link in the discrete axis of the bazaar in Semnan by Shafagh Khazayian in 2009, University of Tehran
16. An investigation on the methods of reducing damages in bazaar against earthquake and fire by Jila Hosseininejad in 2009, Shahiud Beheshti University
17. An investigation on the methods of reducing damages in the Qazvin bazaar against earthquake by Haleh Nabavi Razavi in 2009, Shahiud Beheshti University

□*The Grand Bazaar of Istanbul and its environment: forms, functions and transformations, the Hans built between XVIII and XIX*□ written by Mathilde Demirçivi (Pinon)¹⁸, □has a historical view on the issue of the Hans. Hans which are architectural structures related to trade and housing, developed throughout the Islamic world is consisted of an inner courtyard surrounded by a portico that gave access to rooms. In Istanbul, this kind of buildings is mostly located in the main commercial area of the historical Grand Bazaar. The evolution of the Han is linked to the development of the city. This study focuses on the Han built between the early 18th century and the mid 19th century. During this period, there was an increasing exchange between the Ottoman and Western worlds. In the field of architecture, the western influence was at first noticed in the decorative elements and later in the architectural typology, a trend that is also valid for the Han. In addition, one can observe further changes linked to the evolution of the ottoman architecture itself. Consequently, the architectural model of the traditional Han gradually changed through time and by the middle of the 19th century, a type of Han very similar to western buildings could be seen. Various changes in the cityscape of Istanbul, particularly after great fires and earthquakes led to the disappearance or restructuring of many Han. This work is based on research of a wide range of documents such as Ottoman archival documents, historical graphics, plans, restoration projects and photographs. This thesis studies the changes Hans have had throughout time and the historical alterations it has faced, therefore it is relevant to the historical sectors of our study.

18 With the direction of Jean Pierre Van Staevel in 2009 in Paris 4, □Ecole doctorale Histoire de l'art et archéologie

□*Big grocery retailers, small retailers: which competition?*□ is a thesis by Audrey Pagot directed by Henri Temple in 2011 in the domain of law and criminal science in Montpellier. It quotes the French lecturer Jean-Marc MOUSSERON wrote that □law is the tool bringing economic choices into being; these economic choices themselves follow fundamental political ones□ Pagot says it is by pursuing political choices such as the increase of the purchasing power or the reduction of consumer price that economic law protects and controls big retailers' action. By prohibiting the refusal to sell, the price discrimination practice and the minimum prices' resale practice, that the French government tried indeed to protect the competition from grocery retailers. However as a consequence of this protection, small independent retailers lost their competitiveness. The French government tried to protect them by introducing anticompetitive legal barriers. The government either protects the competition of grocery retailers to the detriment of traditional retailers or protects the small traditional retailers to the detriment of the competition. It seems that only a legislative action aiming to protect consumers will bring about a satisfyingly regulated retail market for the benefit of both the competition of grocery retailers and small retailers. This thesis has a strong economical approach dominated in the stages of study and a different regard towards the retails and traditional commerce comparing to our essay.

A thesis at the department of Sciences de l'Homme et de la Société under the direction of Pierre Signoles in 2009 □*New centers and recompositions socio-spatial in the Grand Sanaa (Yemen)*□ by Roman Stadnicki, on geography at Tours, is about the city of Sanaa which has had a fast-growing urban expansion allowing unprecedented territorial dynamics which are today mainly staged on the scene of suburban spaces, and even on the fringes of the agglomeration. There is the emergence of suburban centralities that become specific in their capacity to polarize economic activities and to build as key-spaces of social life. This essay analyses the construction processes and the practice of these emerging centralities, the setting up of which alters the general structure of the Greater Sanaā, as well as identity relations between the urban community and its own space. Originated in private initiatives and urban practices, these new centers currently redefine the actors' strategies as a whole. What's more, new frameworks of urbanity seem to arise: this research is devoted to the specification of their foundations. This paper has similar aspects to the present work where it follows the relationship among the new and old community.

□*Live on an urban regeneration space: the example of urban regeneration of Nantes's Island and his shopkeepers*□¹⁹ a doctorate thesis written by Marion Guerry, set in the field of urban sociology, explores the conditions favoring a modification of the social order in the urban space. How do new structures impose themselves thus transforming the social reality into a new one? (The urban space having a material and a social content interacting with each other at the same time) This work intends to demonstrate that urban action is an instrument which creates a new social order, because this process implies a control on the aspect of spaces by trying to correct their potential imbalances and defects. Following the example of an urban regeneration, this work sociologically observes and analyses the propositions made to change the urban space and the effects it has on the social reality. The interest of this research is to observe a process at the same time it is being developed. The aim of the study is to show how the space that has been conceived and thought beforehand meets the space where one lives. This work basically focuses on space with the sociological sector more powerful than the urbanism therefore it is not relevant to our objectives and besides it focuses mostly on space and not its architectural elements such as the commerce.

The thesis by Caroline Costil²⁰ named □*Small trade and the city : boutiques and tradesmen and customers in space in the years 1930 to 1960*□ in Saint Etienne is a project in modern and contemporary history which has a historical point of view towards the trades issue. It sees trade as a fundamental issue of the urban life concerning the society and economy as well as law, politics, architecture, urbanism and culture. In the paper Caroline Costil believes it is necessary to know how to build the integration of commerce and the boutiques in the city and produce urbanism. In the essay three themes are emerged: the nature of the small commerce and its perceptions through the structure and regulation in history especially during the difficult period of gingham and the Second World War, the separation among formal and informal economy and the strategies of the small commerce changing face with the arrival of grand shops in the years 1960. This paper is also relevant to our study due to the aspect it has in integrating the commerce and city boutiques and may give suitable approaches.

19 Under the direction of Sylvette Deneffe, defended in 28-09-2009 at Tours, Sciences de l'Homme et de la Société

20 Thesis in Modern and Contemporary History, directed by Jacqueline Bayon, at Saint Etienne being prepared from 17-10-2005

The thesis « *Attrattività o repulsione dei commerci etnici, Il caso del centro storico di Palermo* » (*Ethnic commercial presences*) by Antonino Panzarella²¹, a thesis in the urbanism field, is the result of the phenomenon of globalization in the historical centers, which emerges a series of questions related to the current urban transformation including spatial, economical and social. The "ethnic trade" are able to generate, attraction and repulsion, here the historical center of Palermo (Italy), analyzes these multiple factors. The articulated work is on the analysis of the significances and "locatable" perceptions of the ethnic trade, from Italian and French literatures which see implied different disciplinary figures, the exploration of the urban transformations caused by the phenomenon at the spatial level on Italian cases (Palermo, Florence) and French (Chateau Rouge, Paris), analysis of the framework of reference of the policies related to the administration of the trade in the historical centers and individuation of preeminent sets of themes of the current debate in Italy and France. At the end of this course, where the topic of the ethnic trade is approached under various "points of view" which have repercussions on urban space, the thesis proposes one construction of a "dynamic system of analysis", at the service of the town planner able to make "appreciable" the differential characteristics of these particularities "kinds" of trade compared to the trade autochthones; at the same time, the analysis wants to be a means to make emerge the gravitational "potentialities" that these trade express, in the optics of an employment in the strategies of valorization and reclassification of historical center and the commercial systems which it contain. This thesis searches for the system of historical affaires with the case study in France and Italy which can be similar to some chapters of the present study where historical commerce is studied.

« *The technical assistant's role in the commercial and urban development of French town centers : a study of the stakeholders in commerce and their spatial strategy* », written by Jean-Marc Hamon in Paris Est²² in the field of Spatial planning and urbanism says "In 1995, the CNRS research group on commercial activities and the geographic commission on commercial activities drafted a European conference report entitled "Who are the new stakeholders in

²¹ With the direction de Patrizia Ingallina et Carla Quartarone, defended in 18-04-2008 in Paris-Est, departement of Economy, Gestion et Espace

²² With the direction of Alain Metton, defended at 29-06-2010

commerce and what is their spatial strategy?□ This report which was written by experts, points out five major aspects which the stakeholders themselves had expressed. In this thesis the relevance of the five conclusions are picked up, studied and questioned after 15 years which will help clarify the issues which will be develop in thesis.

1. Is keeping and developing commercial sites more and more dependent on the stakeholders' strategy?
2. Are real estate agents and big commercial groups the ones with the most influence?
3. Is the role of government institutions becoming more difficult as they arbitrate more?
4. Do consumers also intervene by making conscious and cogent choices?
5. Have recent developments polarized the commercial sites into winners and losers?

The title of this thesis therefore reflects continuity with studies that were started back in the 1970s when big retailing groups emerged and brought about a commercial revolution for all retailers. In 2010, following the revolution in information and communication technologies certain permanence in the stakeholders' spatial and social strategies is witnessed? Research in commercial geography has already looked into the stakeholders' role but the present thesis believes it is focusing on a particular feature of the town centre and will see how essential the Technical Assistant is for Commerce. In our thesis stakeholders are also an important factor but we will not merely focus on this matter, therefore this thesis which is justified on this issue cannot be of a great help for our study.

Many researches and studies have been done on the traditional bazaar in Iran yet the bazaar development via the entrance of modernity and the bazaar change has not been vastly discussed by architects. Many sociologists and politicians may have referred to this matter but not from an architectural point of view. Architects have studied this issue either to design a part of the traditional bazaar, regenerate or revive it or merely study it as a case of traditional

architecture yet none of these studies specifically focused on the bazaar and its adjacency with a modern shopping center or the continuity of the traditional aside modernity therefore in this thesis the role of modernity as the modern shopping center phenomenon along the Iranian traditional bazaar and the importance of its social, cultural and human in the Tajrish district will be studied and discussed.

CHAPTER ONE

Theoretical Approach

Introduction:

In this part consumption is regarded as a key concept of our theoretical approach, a concept with which consumers endow their experience of life in modern spaces such as shopping centers; atmospheres where life is not simply manifested at the physical level of spaces but it is an emotional experience as well as an architectural one.

It seems that the first means of consumption is an economical activity which responds to our needs yet scholars in the twentieth century mostly emphasized on the cultural form of consumption and considered the cultural dimension of consumption as the most important component of the new society. In the book "Cultural Consumption and everyday life" John Storey says: "Cultural consumption makes our lives, arranges our needs and desires and provides

the essentials of our imagination and dreams meanwhile showing social differentiations□ (Kazemi, 2009:41)²³.

The Relation between Change in Urban Space and Emersion of Consumptive Culture

Steven & Malcolm Milles in the book □Consuming cities□state that consumption is good. It is good because it offers us the freedom to choose. But at the same time, at an ideological level, it becomes universalized to the extent that we are unable to collectivize our unrest about the ineffectiveness and injustice of that system. In fact, we barely express such unrest at all, precisely because the consumer society gives us the freedom and the opportunity to express our individuality through consumption" (Miles, 2004:7)²⁴ Therefore consumption allows us to be individuals yet remain part of a group.

They also say consumption is important in constructing modern shopping centers due to the significance they have as one of the main venues in which consumption takes place. □Shopping centers are more than simply an arena. They are a state of mind and organized attitudes and sentiments that inhere in these spaces; therefore they are not merely a physical structure or an artificial construction, but the people who compose it□ Miles says consuming cities are cities which have close physical but distant social contact (Miles, 2004:8).

Besides Miles points to this issue that what matters about a product is not so much its utility value or the location, in which it is found, but it's symbolic value and how we as consumers interpret that product on a symbolic level. In our culture we increasingly appear to find the quality of a product not in its use value or how we consume it as a physical and a

23 KAZEMI, Abbas (1384/2005) *Zendegiye Ruzmareh dar Markazeh Khariid*: University of Tehran Press (in Persian) [Daily life in shopping center]

²⁴ MILLES, Steven & Malcolm (2004) □Consuming Cities□ Palgrave Macmillan Press

geographical entity, but in the meanings and status that we attach to that product symbolically. He adds "consumers do not have an insatiable desire to consume, but rather they seek to experience in reality what they have already experienced in their imaginations (Miles, 2004:10-12).

Because of the close relation between the new city space (especially the shopping center) and consumption, it is needed to describe the role of consumption deeper. For this work it is necessary to review the theories of the three most important thinkers in this issue Baudrillard, Ritzer and Bocock. This review is necessary for understanding what is taking place in the Iranian city.

Consumer Society

Baudrillard has very much considered the emersion of the consumptive society in his thoughts. He has been mostly affected by the theories of Marx and different branches of the Neo Marxi theory. He believes the productive powers rule the consumptive world and systemize it. In his categorization he states consumption as a language. He sees the consumption of objects a language where in the area of this language each consumptive object has a symbol related to it. He believes such a consumptive pattern is more often described through differences rather than utilities. "We consume in order to be different from others therefore these differences are described via what we consume and the way we consume it" (The Micro post modern theories, 407). Besides Marx and Baudrillard name consumptive status as consumptive instruments. These instruments make consumption possible just as a factory makes production possible, a shopping center can also make consumption possible (The Micro post modern theories, 422).

Baudrillard uses the idea of "means of consumption" as a parallel to the Marxian concept of the means of production (Ibid: 83). Baudrillard recognizes the importance of that the shopping center does to time and space (Giddens, 1984, Harvey 1989). In terms of time the mall are "completely indifferent to seasonal changes" creating a perpetual springtime" one need not to be the slave of time. The mall like every other city street is accessible seven days a week, day or night" (Baudrillard, in Poster, 1988:34). The mall also eliminates space restrictions by offering

for sale a wide array of goods from virtually any place in the world. Baudrillard concludes, "Here we are at the heart of consumption as the total organization of everyday life, as a complete homogenization" perpetual shopping" the super shopping center, brings together all the gods or demons of consumption (Baudrillard, in Poster, 1988:34-35) (Ibid:84).

Baudrillard believes just as exchange value is not a substantial aspect of the product, but a form that expresses a social relation, so use value can no longer be viewed as an innate function of the object but as a social determination. In an environment of commodities and exchange value, man is no more himself than he is exchange value and commodity (Baudrillard, 1981:136)²⁵.

Also Baudrillard codes Marx where he says: "production not only produces goods it produces people to consume them and the corresponding needs" It is necessary to grasp that what produces the commodity system in its general form is the concept of need itself as constitutive of the very structure of the individual- that is the historical concept of a social being who in the rupture of symbolic exchange, autonomizes himself and rationalizes his desire, his relation to others and to objects in terms of needs, utility, satisfaction and use value (Ibid: 136).

He sees consumption as a way of relationship. He believes when we use something particular we are somewhat saying to what group we belong to and what groups we do not belong to others and others will understand what we say because they are also familiar with the codes and the meaning of these symbols " An important issue Baudrillard points to, is that consumption has no relationship with what we assume as reality. For example when we buy a double burger at MacDonald's, we are mostly consuming the symbols and not the food. Therefore we are not consuming the reality of food but consuming the unreality of its codes and symbols which describe it (The Micro post modern theories, 410-411). He claims "in a society which is controlled over symbols and codes, we are often in a relationship with consumptive objects and the environment presenting these objects rather than the people around. Therefore the

²⁵ BAUDRILLARD, Jean (1981) "For a critique of the political economy of the sign" Telos Press, USA

relationship with objects and the environment, replaces human relationships (Ibid).

Jean Baudrillard has an opinion mentioning that we are moving from a society which production is dominating to a society with a consumptive core . Capitalism is ensuring that people are participating in the consumptive society actively and that people become regular and active consumers of their goods. This continues to a stage where we think going to a modern shopping center is as necessary as replacing several utilities on a car in a production line. It is important to seduce consumers in buying things that are not necessary and not needed, things they might even go under debts to buy (Ibid: 413).

He says: "The older and more traditional consumptive instruments are all materialistic and hold physical interactions among clients and workers. Although these places are materialistic, they also have many un materialistic impacts such as the sense of community" places such as mega malls, super stores, Disneyland, leisure centers and many more are all materialistic structures as well as being fantasy worlds(phantasmagoria). These worlds have turned to be more fantasized and spectacular during the past 50 years, which has led to an increase in consumption (Ibid: 423).

In the book *The Micro post modern theories*; Jean Baudrillard adds: "Creative destruction is a process in which old structures are destroyed to create way for newer structures, structures which act more effectively. The Tajrish district has also been influenced by recent demolitions and reconstructions, whereas it has been revolutionized and new spaces such as the Tandis modern shopping center has been created as a result of these changes. This recreation has effected and altered the traditional Tajrish bazaar in some aspects as well as the placement of the Ghaem modern shopping center alongside the Tajrish traditional bazaar has. However as Baudrillard says in the book "The Micro post modern theories" this change takes place so rapidly that many new consumptive instruments are treated by newer means of consumptions before being used (Ibid:423).

Perhaps the major way in which consumers are constrained is through class. Pierre Bourdieu argues that classes express and assert themselves through consumption or through cultural capital which they convert to social power. However, many authors have suggested that

Bourdieu's (1984) analysis neglects social groups with limited power resources (Swartz, 1997; Evans, 2002). In other words, regardless of the availability of consumption, we still do not live in an equal society and the availability to consume does not mean the same thing to people who live in different social echelons. The freedoms to be had from consumption are perhaps less straightforward than Bourdieu implies (Baudrillard, 1981:177).

Another significant thinker in this area of study is George Ritzer which has also mentioned many words on this issue. The Globalization of nothing is similar to Macdonalidization is an expression which belongs to Weber and George Ritzer has greatly discussed on this matter. Therefore in this research we will also have a brief glance on Ritzer's ideas on consumption to clarify some other aspects of our study.

Shopping Center as an Instrument of Consumption and its role of Transition to a Consumer Society

In this book, George Ritzer uses many of Karl Marx's theories in new aspects and in some cases also develops them differently, some of the more referable theories mostly familiar to our study are as follows:

Like most modern theorists, Marx focused mainly on production and had a productivity bias. In the recent years production has grown increasingly less important in the United States, whereas consumption has grown in importance. In such a society, it makes sense to shift our focus from the means of production to the means of consumption. Ritzer says (Ritzer, 2001:110)²⁶.

Three basic and interrelated theoretical perspectives inform Ritzer's analysis. The first is the approach of Karl Marx and neo-Marxian theory (including the early work of Jean

²⁶ RITZER, George (2001) *Explorations in the Sociology of Consumption* Sage publications, London

Baudrillard). Marxian and neo-Marxian theory are the origins of the concept means of consumption. The theory highlights the fact that the success of modern capitalism and the means of consumption are highly dependent on the control and exploitation of the consumer. The second perspective is Max Weber's work on rationalization, enchantment and disenchantment. Rationalization helps to transform the means of consumption into highly efficient selling machines, thereby enhances their ability to control and exploit customers. Rationalization tends to lead to disenchantment and therefore to cold, inhuman settings that are increasingly less likely to attract consumers. The work of Rosalind Williams and Michael Miller demonstrates that the early French department stores were both highly rationalized and enchanted "fantasy worlds". The third theoretical orientation is post modern social theory especially ideas drawn from the later theories of Baudrillard. These ideas of the post modern theorists are especially helpful in explaining how the new means of consumption overcome the problems associated with disenchantment and attain the reenchantment needed to continue to lure, control and exploit ever-increasing numbers of consumers (Ritzer, 2001:109).

In order for the consumers to be controlled and exploited, they must be attracted and continually return to the means of consumption. Enchantment and rationalization help to bring large numbers of consumers to these settings, but their attractiveness to consumers is continually threatened by these prospects of disenchantment (Ibid: 109).

In Ritzer's "Explorations in the Sociology of Consumption" book, Marx differentiates between subsistence and luxury consumption. On the one hand are the "necessary means of consumption" or those "that enter the consumption of the working class" (Marx, 1884/1981:479). On the other are the "luxury means of consumption which enter the consumption only of the capitalist class, i.e. can be exchanged only for the expenditure of surplus value which does not accrue to the workers (Ritzer, 2001:110).

There is a logical problem in the way Marx uses the concept of the means of consumption, especially in comparison to the paired notion of means of production. The means of production occupy an intermediate position between workers and products; they are the means that make possible both the production of commodities and the control and exploitation of the workers. In contrast the way Marx uses the idea, the means of consumption; they are those things

(either subsistence or luxury) that are consumed. In other words there is no distinction in Marx's work between consumer goods and what Ritzer terms the means of consumption. Ritzer distinguishes the means of consumption from that which is consumed. Fast food restaurants are different from the hamburgers we eat in them. The means of consumption will be seen as playing the same mediating role in consumption that the means of production play in Marx's theory of production, just as the means of production are those entities that make it possible for the proletariat to produce commodities and to be controlled and exploited as workers, the means of consumption are defined as those things that make it possible for people to acquire goods and services and for the same people to be controlled and exploited as consumers (Ritzer, 2001:110).

In twentieth century capitalism, the focus shifted increasingly from production to consumption, resulting in a parallel shift from control and exploitation of workers to that of consumers. Consumers could no longer be allowed to decide on their own whether to consume, how much or what to consume and how much to spend on consumption. In 1991 Gane says that capitalism has created a controllable and exploitable "consuming mass" to complement the control and exploitation of the "producing mass" (Ibid: 112).

There is an implicit recognition by Benjamin of the fact that the essence of capitalism was already beginning to shift from production to consumption. Therefore if a revolution was to be mounted, it had to be in the world of consumption and consumerism and not as Marx believed in the realm of production among the proletariat (Ibid: 120).

According to Schor in 1998, the new means of consumption are set up to lead people to consume more than they intend and perhaps more than they can afford (Ibid:112). Such as Ritzer says advertisements are designed to lure people into buying things they might not otherwise consume. Based on Ritzer's words in the book *The Explorations in the Sociology of Consumption*, consumers must give the capitalist their "consumption time" in exchange for access to the means of consumption. Consumers are then able to get the goods and services only by placing themselves in a context in which they are likely to buy more, to pay higher prices and to spend more money than they intend (Ritzer, 2001:113).

The key to this issue is individual fantasies just as Campbell pointed out fantasies can be far more important and rewarding than reality. In fact, he argued that disappointment inevitably

occurs when people are able to fulfill their fantasies especially with a variety of consumer goods and services. Each time they venture forth into the marketplace, people delude themselves into believing that this time it is going to be different, the material reality is going to live up to the fantasy. These fantasies, rather than material realities, are crucial to an understanding of modern consumerism because they can never be fulfilled and are continually generating new "needs" especially for consumer goods and services. Although Weber saw the spirit of modern capitalism leading to rationalized, disenchanted capitalism, for Campbell the spirit of modern consumerism leads to romantic, enchanted capitalism. Weber's capitalism is a coldly efficient word virtually devoid of magic, and Campbell's "romantic capitalism" is a world of dreams and fantasies (Ibid: 117).

William Leach (1993:15) describes the turn of the twentieth century means of consumption as the "sometimes dreamlike, sometimes nightmarish world of modern merchandising" More contemporaneously the modern mall for example is both a dream world filled with a cornucopia of goods and services as well as a modern nightmare for most of us since while we might be able to afford to buy a few of those offerings, most of them remain beyond our reach(Ibid:122).

While Benjamin thinks of the means of consumption as phantasmagoria, Rosalind Williams sees them as enchanted "dream worlds" She has focused on such things as the use of décor to lure customers to the early French department stores and to "imbue the store's merchandise with glamour, romance and therefore consumer appeal"(Williams, 1982:70-1). The stores were in the business of enchanting and seducing their fantasies by either purchasing goods or merely imagining what it would be like to own them. In other words, stores strove mightily to be enchanted worlds (Ibid: 123).

Ritzer claims Fantasies draw people into the new means of consumption, and those fantasies can be realized in order to further draw people in and to reinforce the cage. The cage quality of the new means of consumption can itself be a fantasy- the fantasy of being locked into one of those cages with ready access to all its goods and services. In fact Campbell(1998:227) concluded his work with just such an image : "Modern individuals inhabit not just an "iron cage"

of economic necessity but a castle of romantic dreams striving through their conduct to turn the one into the other□(Ibid:).

When we consume objects, we are consuming signs and in this process we are defining ourselves. Thus categories of objects are seen as producing categories of persons□ In other words people are what they consume are differentiated from other types of people on the basis of consumed objects. What we consume is not so much objects but signs. Consumption is a systematic act of the manipulation of signs. In the Poster book Baudrillard says in order to become object of consumption, the object must become sign. In consuming certain objects we are signifying that we are similar to those who also consume those objects and that we are different from those who consume other objects. It is the code then that controls what we do and do not consume (Ritzer, 1997:80)²⁷. The traditional bazaar in Iran and modern shopping centers culturally differentiate to a great deal. The objects and signs proposed and consumed in the traditional Tajrish bazaar for example is in many aspects different from the ones in the modern Tandis shopping center, an issue which is directly relevant to the types of people who consume these spaces and objects, as Ritzer claims people are what they consume. Also there are some particular objects which can particularly be found in the traditional bazaar and not in the modern space, unless it has become very fantasized and decorative. Therefore the ones who still intend to consume these objects are obliged to refer to the traditional bazaar.

To the layperson the world of consumption seems to be quite free. If we have the money we seem to be free to buy whatever we want. But in fact we are free to consume only marginally different objects and signs. In consumption we all feel quite unique but in fact we closely resemble everyone else in our social group, members of that group consume much the same thing. So it is clear we are not nearly as free as we think we are (Ibid: 80). Subcultures often consists of the study of symbolism including clothing, music and other affectations by members of subcultures, and the ways the members of the dominant culture interpret these symbols. Dick Hebdige claims members of a subculture often signal their membership through a distinctive and symbolic use of style, which includes fashions and mannerisms (Hebdige, 1979). In Iran young

²⁷ RITZER, George (1997) Postmodern social theory, McGraw Hill Companies

ones are an example of this subculture which has their own music, fashion and lifestyle and many of them are manifested in modern shopping centers. Baudrillard says (in Poster, 1988:29) we are living the period of the objects. These objects no longer have meaning because of their usefulness, their utility, nor do they acquire meaning any longer from concrete relationships to or different from other objects. This collection or network of objects comes to have a meaning and logic of its own. The objects are signs (they have sign value rather than use or exchange value) and the consumption of those object- signs constitutes a language we can seek to understand. Commodities are purchased as an expression and mark of style, prestige, luxury, power and so on (Ritzer, 1997: 81).

As Eva Illouz (1997:13) put it we are dealing with a world in which economy has been transmuted into culture and culture into the transient and disposable world of goods (Ritzer, 2001: 24).

And about the post modern world, Ritzer adds: In the postmodern world, objects and commodities are signs; in using and consuming them we are using or consuming signs. Thus, in using or consuming fast-food restaurants and their products, we are making statements about ourselves. Of course, those statements are controlled and kept in a narrow range by the code (Ritzer, 1997: 349). As he mentions in this book, one of the problems with exchanges between customers and employees in superstores (among other new means of consumption) is that they have lost their symbolic qualities, not only for economic exchange but also for social exchanges between customers and employees in these settings. One of the ways of responding to this is by reestablishing symbolic exchange among and between workers and customers. Not just money and goods would be exchanged but also things like emotions, feelings, experiences knowledge, insight and so on (Ritzer, 1997:237).

Modern shopping centers are appraised as consumptive instruments which encourage the young moderns to buy modern objects and consume either modern spaces like the coffee shops or simply the modern shopping center area via strolling inside it. In many cases the modern shopping center either the Tandiis or the Ghaem shopping center obliges customers to purchase products they do not functionally need or consume. Therefore the Iranian young ones fall into a fantasy as Campbell said by consuming modern objects presented in the named shopping centers

very far from the reality they are situated in. The most significant icon that performs the role to lure the customer in these shopping centers is window shops which attract customers to enter the shops and participate in the circuit of consumption. The development and place gradation of modern shopping centers in Tehran are eventually increasing due to the increase of interest of Iranian young to modernity. Bocock is a fine synthesis of the mentioned theories which are very much related to our discussion.

A Theoretical Modulation of Proponent Theories of Consumption

As Robert Bocock says in the book *Consumption*, if we want to avoid a merely economical and unilateral approach we must pay much importance to the cultural values and symbols (Bocock, 2002:52)²⁸. In the late 20 century in the west consumption, is looked as a social and cultural process which includes cultural symbols and semiotics and not just as an economical and beneficial procedure (Ibid:3).

Being a consumer of the capitalist products needs a good understanding of special cultural symbols and semiotics □ Whereas in modern consumption there is nothing natural, consumption is something acquired which some people become socialized. The modern capitalism is dependent to a group of symbols which are understandable for consumers. These symbols cannot be easily forced to the consumers by capitalist companies, they must adapt themselves with the consumers□lifestyles in order to be efficacious □ However in many cases the desire to consume is not apparently seen among the groups□life but placed in the pre-conscious levels (Ibid: 80-81).

In the book *Consumption* by Bocock there is a quotation from John Fiske which states that: □goods are not merely economical objectives they are materials in which thinking and speaking can be done by□(Ibid: 143). Pierre Bourdieu and Jean Baudrillard also have a special

²⁸ - BOCOCC, Robert (1381/2002) Masraf: Shirazeh Press, Tehran [*Consumption*] translated by Khosro Sabri

focus on consumption, they mostly emphasized on the structure of symbols and semiotics in modern consumption.

In this book, the Consumption, as Baudrillard mentions in the Selected Writings, consumption is looked as an issue mostly dependent on wills and not necessities (Ibid:4) and it is seen as one of the most important features of post modern capitalism in the late twentieth century.

Bourdieu wanted to combine the concept of social status and the usage different status groups have from special consumptive patterns as a way of differentiating lifestyles from each other with this idea that consumption consists of symbols, signs, ideas and values (Ibid:96).

Jean Baudrillard also believed the whole consumption is about consuming iconic symbols, whereas these icons or signs do not express meanings a bunch of pre-existing meanings, yet meanings are produced in the system of signs and symbols being attracted by consumers. Therefore he does not believe that the process of consumption depends on needs based on life conditions, but as a procedure in which the buyer of a good tries to create and conserve a sense of identity via presenting the bought products. Baudrillard mentions people attempt to recreate the sense of identity of who to be by consuming special commodities (Ibid: 100-101).

Baudrillard claims consumption should not be seen as a materialistic procedure, because it is the idea which is being consumed and not the object (Bocock, 1993:102). Bocock says there is no stop for consumption for such a theory, because consumption is a mental experience which has no physical end or stop and in such a theory consumption is always based on a lack and a desire to something which is not in hand, therefore the modern and post modern consumers will never be satisfied and the more they consume, the more they are willing to consume (Ibid: 102).

Bocock states the consumption procedure is a social, cultural and symbolic process of activities that classical liberalism or materialistic Marxists believe it is not completely economical and must be seen as a procedure which is related to the play of signs and not the satisfying of material needs (Ibid:111).

The role of desires are very much significant in modern consumption because the social and cultural relationships which preserves the economical modern capitalism system will destroy without consumers who are becoming sociable via satisfying their desires by modern experiences and commodities(Ibid:112).

Depending on the "confrontation" forms of cultural attitudes, mall walkers is what Zimmel calls these group of strollers, they can be supported or even welcome that is if they dress as the styles presented in the window shops in the malls (Bocock, 2002:161).

Objects in the Tandiis or Ghaem shopping center as Fiske says are not just economically observed commodities yet they are symbols which hold meanings, which is consumers are actually consuming the hidden semiotics of the objects by purchasing and consuming some objects. It is in many cases where customers are interested in having or allocating this particular semiotics to themselves that they have the interest to buy objects although they neither need nor belong to those commodities. Therefore this un endless mental experience which Bocock states will lead to a ever alive modern Tandiis and Ghaem shopping center which appears more and more attractive to young in Tehran. Also mall walkers in Tandiis and Ghaem shopping center are an epiphany of modernity a gesture which is not so much accepted and found in the traditional Tajrish bazaar. This itself is an appearance of generational differences in the Tajrish traditional bazaar and the Tandiis or Ghaem modern shopping center, spaces which hold different generations and genders. For example in Tajrish traditional bazaar there are less women shopkeepers whereas in the Tandiis or Ghaem shopping center the proportion among women and man are relatively more alike, which creates different cultural attitudes.

Generational & Gender differences in the Traditional Bazaar and Modern Shopping Centers

It was at this time of modern capitalism when the relation among production and consumption became strongly based on gender: production a duty of man and consumption a duty of woman. In the modern time, men spent time working outside and afterwards went to war and women did the shopping, so there was a gender division among men and women, men produced and fought and women took care of children and consumed. At the post modern times, there was a turn in this division, where men also became consumers just as women were. So in

the late twentieth century in the important western capitalist countries, men became consumers (Bocock, 2002:143-144). Such event is taking place in the recent shopping attitude in Iran, shopping centers have become feminine spaces where mostly women appear to chat, shop, stroll and become objects for men to gaze at. Therefore women are still acting as consumers and men as producers. From 1950, consumption has entered the unconscious sense of identity in men and women and especially in men it has become an importance in their identities (Bocock, 1993:158). Bocock has mentioned this issue particularly about the men consumers whereas in Iran this event has taken place for men consumers and men shopkeepers. In the traditional bazaar men behave masculine but in modern shopping center they play the role of both men and women in manners such as chatting, their clothing and other social attitudes.

The studies in Australia and United States have shown unemployed, adults and poor people visit the shopping centers at least once a week and their purpose is not just purchasing products, but strolling, gazing, being seen and protecting themselves from the unpleasant climate outdoors. Young ones instead of buying goods spend time looking around and occupying space, a desire which has no use. They very much enjoy walking up and down and disturbing the "real" customers. The cathedral of consumption has faced an experience of cultural opposition (Ibid: 160). This is also a reality in many metropolitans in Iran, where a high percentage of citizens intend to enter shopping centers merely for minor objectives rather than shopping, such as strolling, passing their time and recreational aims. Also in order to release themselves from the dominant culture, many subcultures refer to shopping centers.

Young groups use special consumptive patterns as a way of signifying borders among familiar and unfamiliar members of a group and the older members of a social formation use special consumptive patterns to identify the lifestyle of a social status (Bocock, 2002:119). In the book *Consumption*, Bocock states human beings are symbol producing creatures and symbol consuming (Ibid:125). Consumption is a procedure in which children may also enter the western culture and the system of symbolic meanings. Different foods, cloths, games and drinks are some of their first experiences of consumption. It is through consuming that they become sociable in their primitive stages of growth (Ibid: 127).

Shopping centers such as the Tandis shopping center are cultural transformation centers especially for the young generation which is a reason why the traditional solicitude arises. The traditional space as the bazaar in this essay holds traditional people, traditional products, traditional manners and attitudes and traditional architecture which includes form, colors, material, light, sounds, odors and relevant spaces like the mosque, religious schools, hammams, etc. Versus will be the modern shopping center which reveals modernity, modern acts and behaviors, modern clothing indicating fashion, modern snacks entertainment, modern relationships covering uncomplimentary relationships and modern architecture consisting of the physical form, objects, furniture, odors, music, colors and light effects.

The Relationship among Tradition and Modernity

The bazaar is a space appointed to tradition and shopping centers appointed to modernity therefore in order to achieve the relationship among these two spaces, considered as the epiphany of the traditional world and the modern world, we must study the two issues of modernity and tradition. There are three presumptions and relationships among tradition and modernism and their social worlds. The first belongs to the modernists, the second to the traditionalists and the third is a synthesis of the two approaches. The three will be discussed as follows:

First Approach: Modernism is the origin of tradition's destruction

This approach which is mostly known as radical modernity includes many main western thinkers from the 19th -20th second half century. Their hypothesis is that modernity defines a new intellectual and cultural space which is the base for social, political and economical system called the capitalism or industrialization which is not possible without the collapse of the ancient traditional system. They believe modernity does not have the possibility of adapting itself with the ancient system. The appearance of huge revolutions, increase in population or industrialization and urbanization are some of the ways which lead to the collapse of ancient systems and it is with the occurrence of each of the named situations which tradition confronts a collapse and new systems will be replaced. In the new social, political and economical system there is integration with the core of capitalism and economical capitalist system

(Ramsaran, 2003).²⁹ In this aspect we face "Fordism" as a phenomenon in the American world at the start of the 20th century. Fordism refers to an economical and industrial system in which capitalism has centralization and labor, production and the increase of profit is the principle. Here the hierarchy of work and rationality is the dominant tool.

One of the main proposed intellectual systems is the Marxi system. In the historical evolution Marx believes capitalism has been shaped after feudalism in which despite economical and social inequality there are two important social forces, labor and capitalism and it is the relation among the two which forms the basis of realization of the capitalism system. Marx claims despite capitalism as the emanation of modernity, the traditional system will collapse in many of its forms and traditional systems will have the least possibility of presence and life in the modern system. On the other hand, the base of the capitalism society is to homogenize cultural and social aspects to "create big markets" The existence of big markets provides the opportunity for trade affairs and the survival of capitalism. It is the huge market which supplies the context of the effectiveness of political systems despite big and important central governments (Inglehart and Welzel, 2009)³⁰.

From Marx and Engels's point of view, the transition from feudalism to capitalism is a transition from production based on need to a production based on interest, where production by labor is not for personal consumption but for a higher sell and capitalism interest. Marx says the more labor produces the less he owns the product and the more he will undergo the dominance of his product as interest, this matter will continue to a limit where labor is obliged to buy commodities which he himself produces which Marx believes will lead to an alienation.

In the book "Communist Manifest" he points to this issue that capitalism has no choice rather than destructing tradition for its survival. It is with the formation of capitalism that modern governments act to develop intellectual and social spaces. It is via the development of

²⁹ RAMSARAN, Dave (2003) "Globalization: A Critical Framework for Understanding Contemporary Social Processes" Globalization

³⁰ INGELHART, Ronald and Christian Welzel (2009) Development and Democracy: What We Know about Modernization Today, *Foreign Affairs*

the society's space that capitalism controls all individuals and finally establishes grand markets to sell its produced products. From Marx's point of view if the social sector of the society exists with its local self sufficient bazaars, a great part of the society still denies to utilize new products and therefore the capitalism's force will decrease and so will the consumption market and as a result capitalism will confront problems. In order to prevent such a problem the traditional sector must be removed from the society and its modern sector must be developed. These groups are radicals who consider tradition and culture as an obstacle for modernity and capitalism therefore they find no way rather than destructing tradition and the society's culture in order to form capitalism.

The discussed conceptual domain focuses on the role of modernism and modernization in destructing tradition and its elements, mentioned by the radical modernists. In particular classical thinkers such as Marx and Durkheim have such a concept. They claimed modernism holds such a strong power that its appearance will neglect traditions and culture. Therefore traditional bazaars will face stagnant against international markets and the modern world will dominate the totality of the traditional world resulting to a homogeneous capitalist world. Marx also believes modernity and capitalism will decline due to a new stage.

For Marx, modernity is evil, it "crushes our souls" he says. Marx believes that modernity is a creation of man, therefore man can reverse it. Marx also states modernity is alienating but for a different reason, for him, modernity adds more space in between the proletariat and the means of production and according to Nietzsche, modern industrial, and the bourgeois society, made man decadent and feeble because it made him a victim of the excessive development of the rational faculties at the expense of human will and instinct.

On the other hand Habermas (1984) contends that modernity "rebels" against tradition and has valorized highly charged aesthetic experiences of novelty, dynamism, singularity and intense presence. With increased innovation in technology and science, modernity has itself eroded any strong sense of foundationalism and ontological security for both society and the self. Further, Habermas claims that the project of modernity was "unfinished" and contained unrealized capacity for emancipatory potential (Powell, 2003:36)³¹. There is a slight difference in

³¹ POWELL, Jason (2003) "The Challenge of Modernity: Habermas and Critical Theory" Theory & Science Journal

Marx and Habermas's point of view in which Marx believes capitalism will die out whereas Habermas sees modernism as an unfinished process.

Second approach: Radical approach against modernism and modernity

In the second approach there is a more traditional view which includes a few hypotheses, they are as follows:

1. The first hypothesis is that the modern world is unhealthy, immoral and against tradition, therefore it has no legitimacy and is against culture and morality.
2. The second hypothesis is that indigenous tradition and culture has identity and must resist any cultural impurity.
3. The third hypothesis is that in order for tradition to survive there is no way rather than fighting against modern elements which results to the returning to the own cultural and social elements and denying modern elements.

This approach which is known as an anti-modernity approach consists of the traditionalists. We also confront fundamentalists which are traditionalist against modernism who attempt to defend their tradition and culture confronting modernity. Therefore they are called reactionaries or fundamentalists and they know themselves as traditionalists and religion orients(MARTY, 2003)³².

This approach belongs to scholars who state modernism constructs the modern world and tradition will not collapse. This regard is allocated to the opponents of modernity who believe in the survival of tradition and the traditional system. Modernization theorists often saw tradition as an obstacle to economic growth and although modernization might deliver violent and radical changes for traditional societies it was thought worth the price. Critics insist that traditional societies were often destroyed without ever gaining promised advantages and the economic gap between advanced societies and such societies increased. In many cases tradition resists so powerful that it gives no opportunity to modernization to appear.

³² MARTY, Martin (2003) Encyclopedia of Science and Religion, New York, Macmillan Reference USA

Third approach: The combination of tradition and modernity

This approach which contemplates the combination of tradition and modernity has been proposed based on a few hypotheses which are:

First hypothesis is the legitimacy of tradition and the significance of modernity.

Second hypothesis has the chance of compatibility among the two situations and spheres. It is in this approach where tradition and modern elements can be utilized.

In the third approach physical traditional and modern systems can be together. In particular in Iran the two modern and traditional bazaars can stand aside each other.

Taghi Azadarmaki uses the expression of "Iranian modernity" which points to the situation of the Iranian society and culture which is modern as well as being Iranian. The synthesis among the Iran's past (tradition) and the modern world elements creates a specific form of modernity known as the Iranian modernity. So in this approach the Iranian modernity is a modulation of modernism and tradition, whereas modernity alone will result to the destruction of culture and tradition. An example is the Iranian bazaar in which its elements, objects, commodities and architecture are modern and the cultural space and its individuals are Iranian. The presence of modern and traditional elements in the Iranian bazaar is a sign of the strong adaptation of these two worlds.

Thomas Stearns Eliot³³ wrote in the essay "Tradition and the Individual Talent" (1919) that "modernist experiments seldom simply destroyed or rejected traditional methods of representation or traditional literary forms; rather, the modernists sought to enter into a sort of conversation with the art of the past, sometimes reverently, sometimes mockingly"

Therefore in this approach we will face an expression as "transmodernism". In transmodernism, there is a place for both antiquity and tradition, and modernity and

33 Thomas Stearns Eliot (September 26, 1888 – January 4, 1965) was a publisher, playwright, literary and social critic and the most important English-language poet of the 20th century.

progressiveness, as, similarly to Integral Theory³⁴, the philosophy desires a synthesis of "pre-modern", "modern" and "post-modern". Enrique Dussel, its founder, is indeed an important philosophical figure. Ken Wilber, the inventor of Integral Theory, argues from a transpersonal point of view, Paul Gilroy, a cultural theorist, has also "enthusiastically endorsed" transmodern thinking and Ziauddin Sardar, an Islamic scholar, is a critic of postmodernism and in many cases adopts a transmodernist way of thinking.

The third groups of thinkers are ones who do not believe in a mere coexistence of the two named systems yet they believe in the cohesion and the conjunction among the two worlds. The connection between the two worlds has caused tradition to face modernism and modernism has stricken persistency in the traditional context. This matter is better understood in the domain of bazaar and architecture in particular. Each of these two has a spatial epiphany and the modern shopping center and the traditional bazaar in city which stands among them. The relationship they have is how they confront, this thesis attempts to seek the relationship among the two spaces, bazaar and shopping center, in the considered site and understand which of the three approaches is more suitable for the occurred event in the Tajrish site. Albeit the system has become modern yet the traditional architectural structure still remains along its modern elements. In other words this architecture has stricken visual changes but its origin stands. Inglehart is also one of the cultural thinkers in this area.

From Adam Hardy³⁵'s point of view any discussion of "multicultural architecture" must begin with the unsolved problem of "cultural architecture". Certain essential aspects relate to function, social use of space, customs, ways of living and rituals, he says. Sociology and anthropology are useful here, as well, in the context of a multicultural society, as the involvement of diverse cultural groups in design and planning. Meanwhile he believes there are other functional important expressions of culture such as the formal, spatial, aesthetic, symbolic aspects of architectural languages. For the expression of the cultural heritage the environment as

34 Integral Theory, those of creating a synthesis of "pre-modern", "modern" and "postmodern" realities; in transmodernism, there is a place for both tradition and modernity, and it seeks as a movement to revitalize and modernize tradition rather than destroy or replace it.

35 Adam Hardy is an architectural historian at the Welsh School of Architecture.

a whole can be rich, varied and multi-cultural by containing buildings that, individually, embody different traditions. So it must be possible to create buildings that, individually, are multi-cultural. Within an individual work of architecture there are two broad ways in which cultural fusion can be realized: by mixing two or more ingredients in such a way that the result has distinct bits of each, or by achieving a synthesis. As a result Hardy says culture is by definition collective, and a deeper cultural or multi-cultural meaning can be achieved collaboratively than individually (Hardy, 2003:13)³⁶.

As Inglehart mentions in the essay "Development and Democracy: What We Know about Modernization Today", modernization is a syndrome of social changes linked with industrialization. Once set in motion, it tends to penetrate all aspects of life, bringing occupational specialization, urbanization, rising educational levels, rising life expectancy, and rapid economic growth. These create a self-reinforcing process that transforms social life and political institutions (Inglehart & Welzel, 2009:1).

The core idea of modernization is that economic and technological development brings a coherent set of social and political changes. First, modernization is not linear. It does not move indefinitely in the same direction; instead, the process reaches inflection points. Empirical evidence indicates that each phase of modernization brings distinctive changes in people's worldviews. Industrialization leads to one major process of change, bringing bureaucratization, hierarchy, centralization of authority, secularization, and a shift from traditional to secular-rational values. The rise of postindustrial society brings another set of cultural changes that move in a different direction: instead of bureaucratization and centralization, the new trend is toward increasing emphasis on individual autonomy and self-expression values, which bring growing emancipation from authority (Inglehart & Welzel, 2009:5).

Second, socio-cultural change is path dependent: history matters. Although economic development tends to bring predictable changes in people's worldviews, a society's heritage—whether shaped by Protestantism, Catholicism, Islam, Confucianism, or Communism—leaves a lasting imprint on a society's worldview. A value system reflects an interaction between the

³⁶ HARDY, Adam (2003) "Multi-cultural Architecture", GBER Journal, Vol. 3 No. 2, Leicester, UK

driving forces of modernization and the persisting influence of tradition. Although the classic modernization theorists in both West and East thought that religion and ethnic traditions would die out, they have proven to be highly resilient. Cultural heritages are remarkably enduring (Inglehart & Welzel, 2009:5).

Therefore modernity in Iran has segregated the traditional bazaar to a typical typology which can be mentioned as follows:

1. In certain occasions the traditional bazaar has not changed to a great amount and it still functions as the same traditional manner it used to do before the appearance of modernism, unseeing its small interventions such as the usage of electronic devices inside the bazaar and shops and the electricity itself as light. Here the traditional bazaar has conserved its style, architecture and form whereas in many cities in Iran this fact is traceable, the traditional bazaar in Kashan, Esfahan, Tabriz □
2. In some cases the traditional bazaar has been completely submitted by modernism; therefore it has either been wholly destroyed or left without any function.
3. Yet the most interesting case- which relates more to the present study- is the entrance of modernism where traditional architecture is contemporized. At this level it will have high alterations to the extent that tradition vicissitudes. Here we will use a self- formed term as the □Deformed Traditional Bazaar□ where modernism has restyled and deformed the traditional form of the bazaar. This deformation is transmutable to:

A: Modern Form & Traditional Content

The traditional form of the bazaar has changed due to modernism, alterations in the physics of the bazaar and its façade but the content and atmosphere of the bazaar which includes the traditional connections and trade affairs systems and people who refer to it is preserved.

B: Traditional Form & Modern Content

The bazaar retains its traditional appearance but the atmosphere and what are recalled as content is modern, referring people, snacks, products and brands, designs□

C: An amalgam-combinative Modulation of Traditional and Modern

In this case there is a combination of tradition and modernism which is what is happening in Iran and in particular the Tajrish district in its traditional bazaar and the modern, which will be our case of discussion.

Sum Up:

Architecture is an effect of the cultural heritage and not apart from other social and cultural aspects of life; meanwhile various aspects of life alter and change in connection with each other. Architecture is linked to the social formation either by function or by an esthetical taste. Therefore along with social changes, the importance and functionality of architectural structures differ and at times new forms of architecture are formed and marginal functions are created. This issue is particularly seen in the bazaar and modern shopping center in Iran. Modern shopping centers in Iran have existed in Iran since decades ago yet from the late nineties decade and a few years after Iraq war against Iran, suddenly we faced the unprecedented growth of these spaces. This issue is relevant with the changes in social formation.

What sociologists and social theoreticians recall as consuming societies is exactly relevant with this issue in the Iranian architecture, these spaces are not only an effect of change but also substantiations and impellers for changes. The metamorphosis from the society based on production to a society based on consumption is presented via this architectural evolution. What Ritzer, Baudrillard and many others mention about the formation of consumptive society is easily observed in these spaces. How the society, its identities and conflicts have shifted from productive tools to consumptive tools and it is no more the position in the productive system but in the consumptive system, will all form and show the conflicts of identity in the Iranian society. These conflicts and challenges can be seen in modern shopping center spaces more than anywhere else and this is how shopping centers have achieved centrality in new Iranian metropolis urban fabrics.

The transformation from the traditional bazaar centrality to the various urban shopping centers in the Iranian city is comprehended more easily based on the architectural differences among the two spaces. Historically, the bazaar and bazaris were considered as the most

important centers for the continuity of tradition, whereas the plural and global cultural space of modern shopping centers has obtained a homological adaptation with global economy capitalism. The Iranian bazaar is fulfilled with traditions and it is combined with the two institutions, religion and family and produced in many parts of it, whereas the Iranian modern shopping center has a completely different relationship with the above institutions. The shopping center is more young due to its shopkeepers or customers, more feminine and more globalized and lacks the productive dimension and not only it is not less expensive and less affordable(based on the traditional values of shopping in an Iranian family) but it is also more expensive and more flashy. There is no family nor is individual continuity seen in it and neither is there a connection with the institution religion. This is a culture which has more links with emptying of space global cultural flows, what Giddens mentions, than the cultural institutions which are firmly fixed in the geographical space of Iran.

Methodology

Our following research uses the qualitative method. Qualitative research provides detailed description and analysis of the quality or the substance of the human experience (Marvasti, 2004:7)³⁷. A distinguishing feature of qualitative research and one of its key strengths is that it studies people in their natural settings rather than in artificial or experimental ones. Kirk and Miller define qualitative research as a "particular tradition in social science that fundamentally depends on watching people in their own territory, and interacting with them in their own language, on their own terms" Another feature of qualitative research is that it often employs several different qualitative methods. Watching people in their own territory can entail observing, joining in, talking to people (interviews, focus groups and informal chatting) and reading what they have written (Pope & Mays, 2006:4)³⁸. One advantage of qualitative methods is the use of open-ended questions and probing which gives participants the opportunity to respond in their own words, rather than forcing them to choose from fixed responses, as quantitative methods do.

According to the multidimensional nature of this work and the interdisciplinary focus needed, the following methods will be used:

1. Documentary Studies
2. Observation
3. Experimental and field studies including interviews
4. Case study
- 5.

Documentary Studies

Documentary methods are careful examinations of documents and their content in order to draw conclusions about the social circumstances in which the documents are produced and read. Documentary analysis does not display a clear-cut methodology but rather encompasses a

³⁷ MARVASTI, Amir (2004) Qualitative Research in Sociology Sage Publications, London

³⁸ POPE, Catherine & Nicholas Mays (2006) Qualitative research in health care, Blackwell Publications

variety of approaches to documentary sources. A document may be defined as an artifact that has a written text regardless of its physical embodiment. Researchers may use a wide variety of documents including letters, official reports, administrative records, web pages, diaries and newspaper articles (Bloor & Wood, 2006:57)³⁹.

A rather different style of qualitative research involves the scrutiny of documents of various kinds. One can study "natural" documents that are produced as part of an established social practice, such as bureaucratic records, newspaper reports, cartoons, musical scores, family pictures, works of art, home videos, email messages, etc(Have, 2004:6)⁴⁰.

Writing is an important activity within society and accordingly documents should be important resources to researchers. However, documents are often considered to be the preserve of historical researchers and consequently contemporary documentary materials are rarely given the attention they deserve (Platt, 1981; Prior, 2003; Scott, 1990). Documents are social products constructed according to specific conventions, reflecting specific discourses and are dependent on collective production and consumption. Although documentary analysis can be a research method used in isolation, it is often used in conjunction with other research methods, for example as a component within an ethnographic study of a professional group or to supplement interview data.

The first and most important method used to achieve information on the focused matter is documentary studies which has been useful in the historical part and primitive issues on Tajrish district and its bazaar. Therefore a number of referrals to the following organizations has been done to obtain studies already published on the formation of the traditional bazaar and the Tajrish bazaar in particular: "Tehran Renewal Organization", "Cultural Heritage Organization", universities such as the "Shahiid Behshti University", the "University of Tehran" and "Elm O Sanat University" which have the highest number of architecture students in Tehran either in Masters or PhD degree in Iran and the BNP(National Library in Paris-Francois

³⁹ BLOOR, Michael & Fiona Wood (2006) *Keywords in Qualitative Methods- A Vocabulary of Research Concepts*, SAGE Publications, London

⁴⁰ HAVE, Paul ten (2004) *Understanding Qualitative Research and Ethno methodology*, Sage Publications, London

Mitterrand), IFU(French Urbanism Institute, IUP(Urbanism Institute in Paris) and many other places in Paris and Tehran .

Observation

Observation implies watching and listening. But at the same time this technique entails personal and intense contact between the subject who studies and the subject who is studied, a prolonged interaction that may even last years. It is the researcher's participation in the situation under investigation that constitutes the distinctive element. The researcher not only observes the life of the subjects being studied, but also participates in it. And it is this second aspect which differentiates this research technique from all others in social research. In structured interviews, in statistical data analysis, in experiments, in the analysis of documents, even in in-depth interviews, the researcher does not become part of the social phenomenon studied. In participant observation the researcher "steps into the field" and immerses herself in the social context that she wants to study, lives like and with the people who are the object of the study, shares in their daily lives, asks them questions, discovers their hopes and pains, their worldviews and motivations, in order to develop that "vision from within" that is the prerequisite of comprehension (Patrick, 2003:235)⁴¹.

Our observation method in this thesis will be both participatory and un participatory due to different occasions. In some cases the author will just stand aside and merely observe the situation in the considered atmospheres whereas in other cases she will have participation in the situation as a client or a stroller in the traditional or modern spaces besides an observer. The objects chosen for observation are the shopkeepers and strollers or clients in these two different spaces either to obtain their attitudes, their social class, the items they chose to buy and most important of all the architectural elements and atmosphere in these spaces are observed.

⁴¹ PATRICK, Bernard (2003) Social Research, Sage Publications, London

Interviews

Interview is the elicitation of research data through the questioning of respondents. While quantitative (or "structured") interviews have a semi-formal character and are conducted in surveys using a standardized interview schedule, by contrast qualitative (or "semi-structured" or "depth" or "ethnographic") interviews have a more informal, conversational character, being shaped partly by the interviewer's pre-existing topic guide and partly by concerns that are emergent in the interview (Bloor & Wood, 2006:104).

Without any doubt, the most popular style of doing qualitative social research is to interview a number of individuals in a way that is less restrictive and standardized than the one used for quantitative research. The researcher may prepare a number of topics or even questions that are to be brought into the conversation in a more or less systematic way. Doing interviews has a number of obvious practical advantages. The researcher is able to collect a large amount of on-target information with a minimal investment in terms of time and social effort. One does not have to wait until a phenomenon of interest emerges naturally; one can work to have it created on the spot, so to speak. Doing an interview study is for many if not most qualitative researchers the obvious way of designing their projects (Harré, 2004:5).

An interview is not a mutual exchange of views or an "inquisition" or an "interrogation". Besides an interview unfortunately is collecting views and opinions on whatever topic is mentioned. If an interview is not a part of an opinion survey, this is not what researchers are after: they want to know facts, or attitudes, or many other things outside the interview, the "reality behind it", as it were (Czarniawska, 2004:47). David Silverman's approach to interviews based on the insights of symbolic interactionism can be very helpful to desperate researchers. He pointed out that an interview can be treated as an observation of an interaction between the two people in question (Silverman, 2001).

Interviews differ in terms of their degree of standardization – that is to say, the varying degree of freedom/constraint placed on the two participants, the interviewer and the respondent. The distinction has already been made between standardized instruments (questionnaire) and non-standardized instruments (interview) in data collection through questioning. However, this distinction needs to be examined in greater depth, particularly with regard to the interview. A

characteristic of the interview is that it is an open instrument; it is flexible, adaptable to the various empirical contexts and can be shaped during the course of interaction. However, it has varying degrees of flexibility. Three basic types of interview can be distinguished: structured, semi-structured and unstructured, which in this thesis the structured interview is used. Structured interviews are interviews in which all respondents are asked the same questions with the same wording and in the same sequence. The "stimulus" is therefore the same for all respondents. Interviewees are, however, completely free to answer as they wish (Patrick, 2003:269).

The interview method will be utilized to achieve the most important sector of the thesis which is the idea the shopkeepers or clients have themselves on these two different spaces and answer the main question of the research which is: *What are the shopping center features in comparison with the traditional bazaar and have these distinctions in Tajrish resulted to a substitutional relationship or a coexistence relationship*? The interview is semi structural indicating defined questions with a specified limitation yet it is very flexible place to place and person to person. The interviewees will be chosen based on different types, gender and age and the method of sampling will be theoretical sampling since the qualitative method is dominant in this thesis, to a limit which we will reach saturation in its results.

Case Study

Case Study is a strategy of research that aims to understand social phenomena within a single or small number of naturally occurring settings. The purpose may be to provide description through a detailed example or to generate or test particular theories. Case studies are often described as an exploration of a "bounded system" The object of the case could therefore be many things – for example, a community, an institution, an individual, an activity or an event. Case studies are often associated with ethnography where the purpose is to describe and interpret social groups in their natural setting using a number of qualitative techniques over an extended period of time. The shared preoccupations between case study research and other forms of naturalistic inquiry have made it difficult to provide absolute definitions of case study research and the problem is made more acute by the fact that researchers have not used the term in a standardized way (Bloor & Wood, 2006:27).

Case studies often use multiple methods of data collection. These can include techniques such as interviews, observations, documentary methods and audio or video recording. Data collection typically continues over prolonged periods. Field notes are also a key source of data. Field notes are the researcher's running commentary to him/herself and members of the research team, in which observations, reflections and emerging ideas are recorded. Case study analysis usually proceeds by the researcher providing a description of the setting, searching for themes, aggregating data into themes and comparing those (Bloor & Wood, 2006:28).

The documentary studies are done to study the features of the bazaar and the modern shopping center via library access or internet search in Iran and Paris. These writings will practically be parts which have already been documented in books or journals. Documentations published on the bazaar in Iran and the world will be studied as well as for the modern shopping center, but the main objective will be documents on the traditional bazaars and modern shopping centers in Teheran. This stage of work will include the visual structure of traditional bazaars and modern shopping centers which contains the history of the place, material, color and fabric, architectural plan and design and other architectural details which are considerable for an architect.

The observation which is one of the most important parts of each research will be considered in each and every part of the study even in documentary study sections and will help finalize the writings. This method will mostly be used in the comparative studies at the end part of the thesis. Observation will be done alongside direct referrals to the intended sites. Observing the space architecture, people involved in the spaces, defined attitudes, and many other issues that only observation may lead to an accurate result are performed. It is the first and one of the most significant stages of the space cognition.

Interviews will be helpful to conclude and confirm the ideas formed throughout the research. The interview will be among various occupations and ages in the traditional bazaar and the two modern shopping centers located in the north part of Teheran in the Tajrish area. Tajrish which consists of a traditional bazaar and two modern shopping centers might be one of the best locations to implement an interview whereas both categories of people, people working in the

traditional atmosphere and modern atmosphere are living together in an interacted situation, observing and experiencing two types of distinctive visitors.

Instruments of research:

The instruments which will come to use in the following thesis are camera for photographing, recorder to record the interviews, note taking and plans.

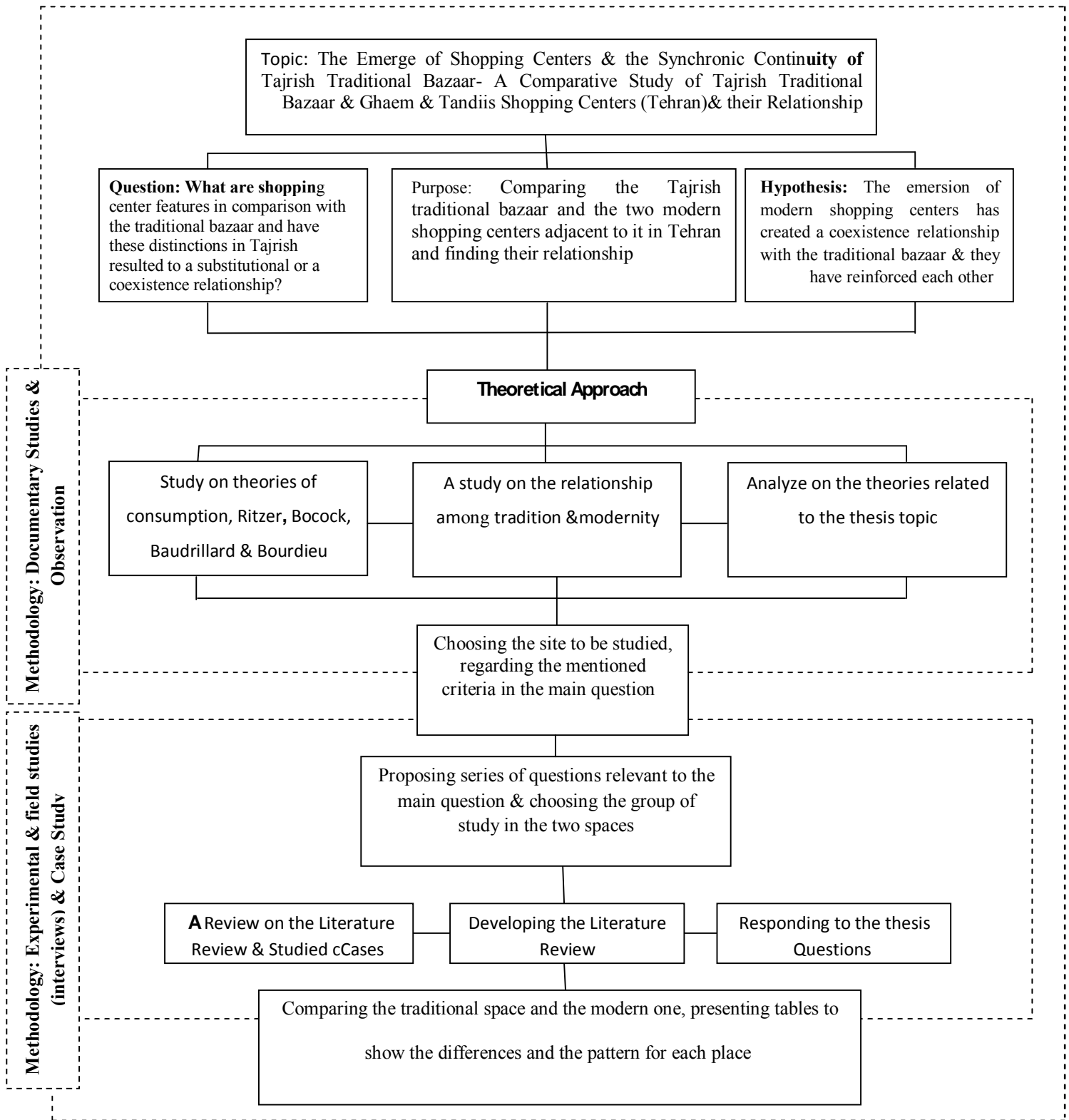
Research Restrictions

This research similar to many other researches will face some limitations and restrictions, however we will try to neglect the limitations and reach to a point where we can present valuable responses to our question.

The bazaar is part of a vivid and active element called the city, especially the Iranian city which is at a momentous and instance change, due to this matter many places of our study may have daily changes which will be away from the researchers' eyes and time. Nevertheless we will attempt to document every change as time authorizes, therefore due to this issue this subject of study will be an everyday dynamic field of study which others can follow. This essay faces limitations such as:

- The refusal of traditional bazaaris in participating in interviews and exchanging ideas
- The limitations a woman as an interviewee may have in confronting traditional bazaar men
- Rapid everyday changes a dynamic space like the bazaar meets

Table 1 : Diagram of the Thesis Structure



Chapter Two

The Bazaar and the tradition of the Iranian city

Part 1

Introduction

Islamic cities were constructed in a manner to have a high adaptation with the society's ambitious. The abundance of mosques in alleys and districts, neighborhoods based on social units and particular functions, relevant to the human spiritual capacity, bazaars as main city streets and their dependent complexes with gathering functions and creating social relationships, are all Muslim civilization achievements.

Islamic cities were arranged based on a central development, centers such as public welfare installations which progressively formed the city and residential districts. The proximity of districts and public spaces with these centers enhanced the environment's memorable matters which were always concomitant with civilization and participation in the people's minds (Mansuri, 2000:27).

The Iranian traditional bazaar is similar to a city itself, consisting of all essential needs. One may enter the bazaar and spend the whole day inside this ideal place, having the chance to go to the mosque, the holy shrines, the schools and many other places relevant to social attitudes. In the traditional bazaar, there is no such thing as window shop gazing or looking at exhibited

products in the window, yet many activities beyond this, concerning social matters. The customers of a traditional bazaar may even decide to participate in a religious ceremony held inside the bazaar, without exiting this space. Therefore the Iranian traditional bazaar is similar to a city inside a city, which has functional, religious, social and recreational needs compacted in one particular space, increasing the desire to stay in the atmosphere.

The Iranian ancient bazaar is comparable to plazas in cities of pre-industrial Europe. In Iranian traditional cities, the bazaar was also a place for peoples' social, political, cultural and civic activities, so it was similar to forums and agoras in ancient Roman and Greek cities, although they had some substantial differences. Public spaces in Europe, Rome and Greece were always open constructed spaces, whereas Iranian traditional bazaars were covered.

Urban Structure in Iranian cities and the City System

According to Karim Pirnia, traditional architect, the Iranian Bazaar with its depending characteristics, has always been famous throughout the world and it has been recalled in many great legends (Pirnia, 2002:119). With the emergence of Islam in Iran, business affairs and commercial monuments expanded. The bazaars which were the pillars for the city formation and centers became patterns for future bazaars, whereas in many of today's bazaars the columns and wall piers related to the first years of Islam can still be seen (Ghobadian, 2009).

The Iranian architecture in its every aspect has always respected the interfaces among the public spaces and private ones, this matter is also revealed in the architecture of the bazaar the bazaar as well as Iranian architecture and urban designs, has been divided to two fragments; the public (outer parts of the bazaar) and the private (inner parts). According to Behruz Khamachi the inner parts of the bazaar are allocated to the pedestrian and there is no path for the animals to pass and the caravansary is in the outer part; the chain which connects the back alleys and the inner part of the bazaar to each other the inner part of the bazaar is a peaceful and secure space for the bazaaris and passengers to pass (Khamachi, 1994:10). Besides archeological excavations

and geographical history references show that in the Islamic period, historical cities in Iran have had a foundation which included 4 general parts:

- v The "Citadel" (Arg) which was the inhabitancy of the governor, the king and the governmental forum.
- v The "Shahrestan" which was the inhabitancy of the governmental militaries and some related social strata.
- v The position of the bazaar, the grand mosque, the caravansary, the workshops and the residence of the public such as the tradesmen and craftsmen. This section was emerged and flourished in the Islamic period due to the expansion of urbanization
- v The Gardens which were on the outlines of the cities and provided food and fuel for the city (Setaranj, 1985:490).

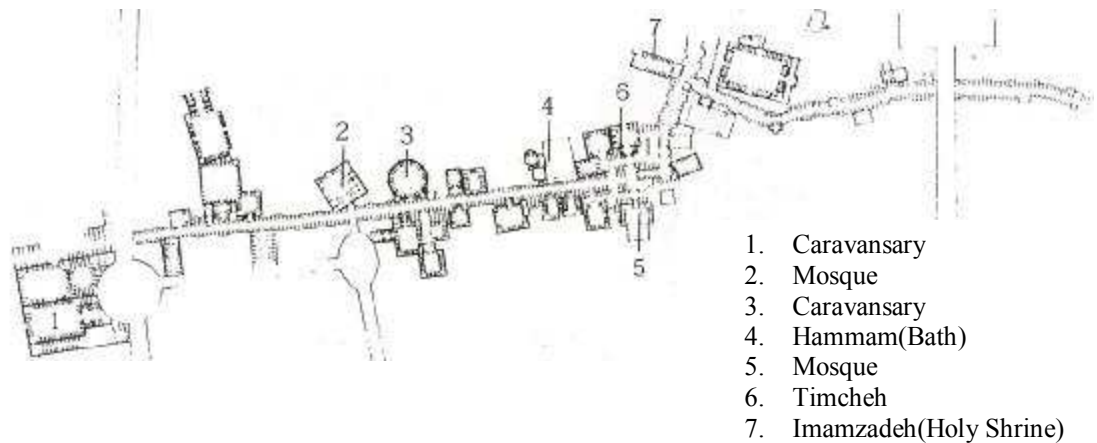
Mahmood Tavasoli, urban planner has a similar grouping for ancient Iranian cities in the book "Structure and Architecture in the Hot Arid Zone of Iran"; this classification includes 6 main ratings which are:

1. The city complex
2. The city center, including the bazaar and the grand mosque
3. City districts
4. City centers
5. Urban spaces including main passages such as the squares and mounths
6. The "Arg"

In this grouping, the city complex was a compressed totality surrounded by great walls and secured by towers and ports, linked by narrow and close alleys. The city center holding the grand mosque, religious schools, shrines, squares and the bazaar, was a coordinated and integrated unit. City districts were segments of the city unit where people lived in (Tavasoli, 131). Due to residential privacy, these districts often had indirect routes to the bazaar and there were no direct path to the centers of the districts (Falamaki, 2007:170) and in these centers, there

were mosques, markets, mounths and other elements based on the district scale, and the main paths, squares and mounths which linked the spaces. Also the □Arg□ constituted of the governmental court and residential centers (Tavasoli, 2002:60).

Hussein Soltanzadeh also believes:□Until the Qajar period, from spatial perspectives, the Iranian city was a coherent and continuous unit which had no discrete monument; the grand mosque, the bazaar, social, governmental centers and residential spaces, on the behalf of maintaining their own position in the hierarchy of urban spaces, constructed a unit set(Khaksari,2006:67)□ Each city had its own bazaar which began from the city port towards the main city square and ended besides the grand mosque which usually stood in the heart of the city (Soltanzadeh, 1983)

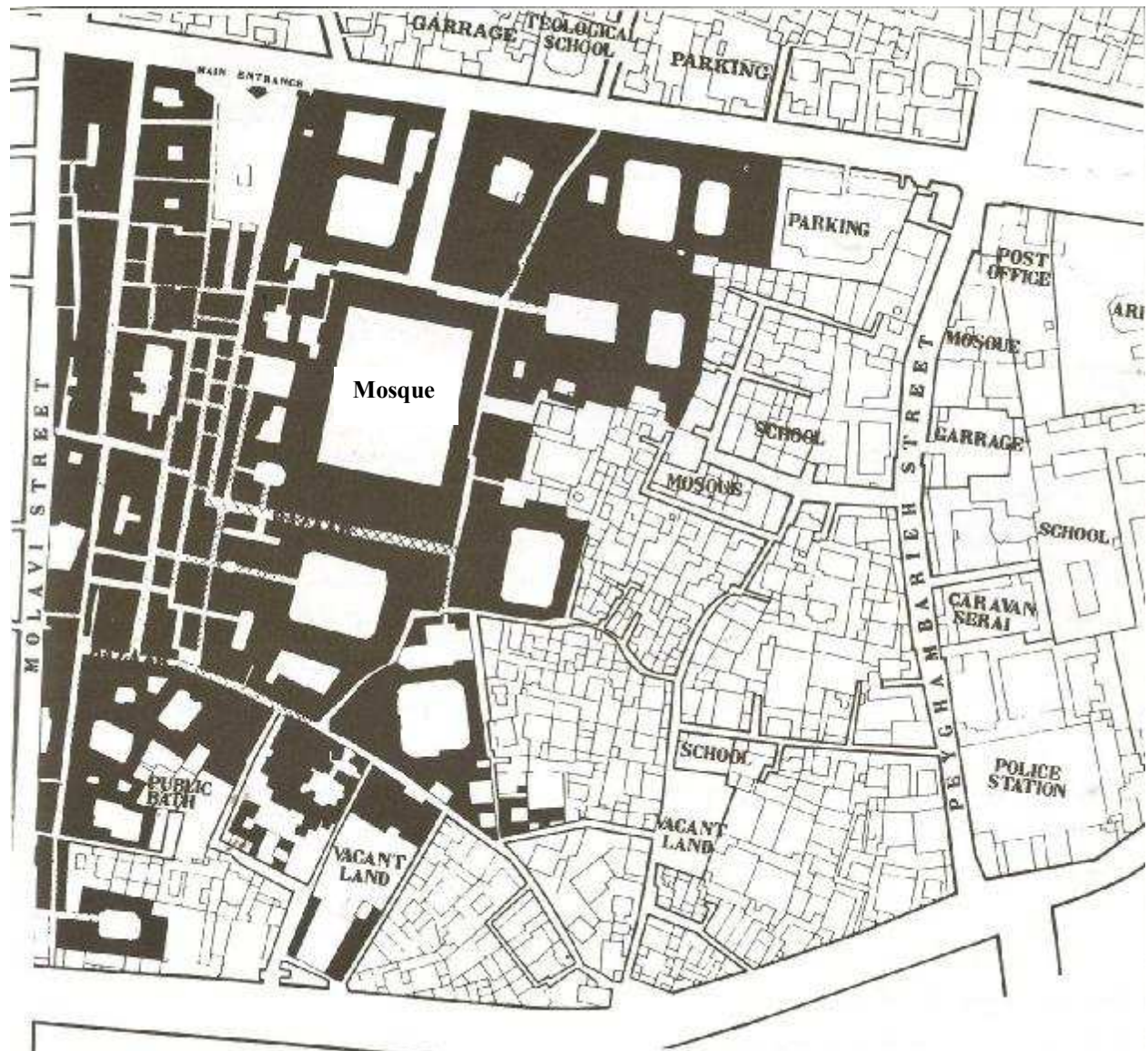


Picture of Bazaar of Kashan main route which connects the main city monuments, Islamic Architecture book by Pirnia

The Bazaar position in the Iranian city

Basically all Iranian cities have a particular backbone consisting of a few main elements, which is the first core of each city- the wall, the Arg (palace), the bazaar, the grand mosque and the residential districts and the afterwards extension and development of the city depended on these elements; according to Mansur Falamaki- architect, these main infrastructures are the grand mosque, residential communities and the bazaar. Hence the bazaar was known as the great pole in city as Khamachi indicates in the book □The Tabriz Bazaar with the past of time□ the bazaar district has a cultural and fundamental identity, because of assembling priests, intellectuals, artists, tradesmen and producers in one place and creating a religious, educational, industrial and economical pole for the city (Khamachi, 1996:8).

In many cases the administrative and court installations were inside or very near the bazaar. Based on Ghobadian, with the expansion of the bazaar, the bazaar discovered new parts referred to as guilds which each included a particular and specific work. These guilds were situated near each other so when an outsider referred to the bazaar in demand of a particular product, he would be guided to the specific guild. A reason which similar guilds were situated in one space was to facilitate purchase for the client, plus the client could compare the quality and price of the products in one particular space and choose depending on the taste and price. The ultimate reason for this issue was that -each guild needed some special space such as a big court or storage to assemble things or work on- for example ironmongers and carpet sellers need grand storages, coppersmiths and carpenters make loud sounds and gold sellers need top security (Ghobadian, 2009), therefore differentiating each guild will give them the opportunity to keep their ambiance as their occupation requisites. Each part of the bazaar was named after its guilds, for example the shoe guild, the gold guild, the spice guild, and so on.



The mosque is situated in the heart of the bazaar aside the urban fabric, Qazvin, photo from the book "Urban Spaces" by Hussein Sultanzade

The Functionality and Morphology of the Iranian Traditional Bazaar

Urban spaces concern activities which have the presence of people in a common and public space with others (Pakzad, 2007:41). The traditional bazaar is also considered as an urban space with the presence of people and specific activities in it. Activity operators of an urban space are often groups which hold dramatic, demonstrative and mourning activities.

In the Iranian "Bazaar" noise and commotion sit along solitude and silence simultaneously. Among the crowd and disorder in the bazaar, there are spaces hidden in calmness and peace. The Iranian traditional bazaar is not merely a physical place; it also preserves the connection amongst the individual and existence via the light passing through the skylights installed in the bazaar ceilings. The small green plants placed around the basins in the middle of the "Charsoogh" and the water glowing under the light up ahead are all symbols of the existence of nature inside the bazaar. Stepping inside the bazaar you may hear the sound of the "Azan"⁴² coming from the mosque not very far, elements leading to a more spiritual atmosphere, with a basis upon friendship and trust for trade affairs. During this journey, one may have a glance at the skylight above head and follow the reflected light on the floor, a sense which lessens the surrounding huddle. In understanding a space, the more the sensory organs are applied the more captivating the space will be. Since spaces are sensed with all senses, the ones which include and promote senses such as hearing, smelling, touch, balance and orientation instead of just seeing, have more influence on human. The Iranian traditional bazaar not only holds visual variety such as colors, shadows and contrasts but it also contains a variety in sound and different odors (Pakzad, 2007:150).

In the traditional bazaar the items and commodities see no need to be displayed, giving the client an opportunity to choose based on a comparison between quality and price. It is not the display that attracts the customer to decide, but the shop keeper's attitude and the clients own desire. The amount of product in each "Hojreh" (store) is a sign of the shop keeper's credibility and number of clients. Here we are talking about production and the bazaar is the pulse of

⁴² The Azan is a text Muslims recite before beginning their prayers, announced five times per day from the minarets of the mosques

economy and production in the city. It seems as if the shop keeper in the Hojreh is connected to the producer via the back door storage of his shop. All spaces in the traditional bazaar are functional and usable spaces and what Transick recalls as lost spaces, does not exist in the traditional bazaar.

People need identity and as Alexander claims in his book "The new theory for urban design" people need space units holding identities which belong to them (Alexander, 1974:6). Spaces similar to the bazaar are recalled units with a high rate of identity. As Pakzad states, collective memories have a great significance in identity. He also adds, an individual may have the sense of identity through an object, event or space and see it as a part of "him" or "us". Persistent phenomenon hold a sense of link with the history, therefore they resurrect feelings from the old elements in us and result in connecting our past to the present and define our identity, an identity which truly has relation with our subjective, direct experiences to culture and tradition (Pakzad, 2007:113). The traditional bazaar is a strong identity for the Iranian city and its citizens.

The current flow of life has in many ways changed via the presence of the bazaar and consequently its identity, something which has faded and disappeared in many cities through time. In 1976, Biglari ascribed some of the reasons below as the reasons of decrease of attraction in the traditional bazaar and as the bazaar recession:

1. Poor roads and communication networks
2. Inaccessibility and lack of required communications
3. Lack of timely repair for the valuable bazaar monuments ending to destruction
4. The economical recession in the old city spaces (loss of economical attractions)
5. Attenuation of guild power and disintegration in the internal bazaar system
6. Building new buildings, regardless of physical characteristics of the traditional bazaar (Biglari, 1976).

Meanwhile Mansur Falamki mentions four main causes for the bazaar recession in 2007; these causes are briefly described below:

1. The phenomenon of the relocation of propertied old residents is one of the main factors of transformation and downturn in old residential areas in Iranian commercial cities. Propertied families are the first ones who decide to relocate from their neighborhood due to different reasons. Therefore the Old City neighborhood loses its civic force and the validity of the "bourgeoisie" and therefore the empty districts prepare themselves to accept new unknown families (immigrants). The Merchants' gradual transition to the more important streets of the city is another reason of the bazaar's loss of value and credit.
2. The expansion of Iranian cities due to technical, administrative and socio - cultural reasons, did not result in strengthening and expanding the bazaar as in the past centuries, this was because the process of development was done regardless the bazaar system and without the previous trade affair conditions.
3. The inattentiveness of city managers towards local merchants' technical needs on one side and the emergence of independent trade cores on the other hand, accelerated the market downturn.
4. Lack of access for vehicle transportation and its direct referral, the inability of the old bazaar space in responding to new industrial products, lack of sufficient shops and workshops available in the bazaar for the expanded city, the increase in the average distance between the citizens' residences and the bazaar, the need of modern technical facilities and equipments for business and the possibility of the bazaar space development for secondary service functions are other stated reasons (Falamaki, 2007:175).

Based on the author's presumption and due to these issues, today the Iranian bazaars have been categorized as follows:

1. Bazaars that have been completely destructed
2. Bazaars that have changed their traditional style to a modern style
3. Bazaars that function as district bazaars

4. Bazaars which have a modern bazaar (shopping center) developing along the traditional bazaar

We will continue with a brief explanation of the mentioned categories.

- Bazaars that have been completely destructed

Unfortunately in some cities of Iran, the inability of the bazaar in adapting itself to the present needs has resulted to the destruction of the bazaar. The growth of more modern shopping areas meant the old traditional bazaars had to be more competitive, a matter not very common in the traditional structure. Day by day, this stay back caused the decrease of number of clients in traditional bazaars, bazaars which were the core of shopping one day. The Naieen Bazaar for example in the city of Naieen is a good example for this event.

In some cases, the development of routes and streets compelled bazaars to become non significant comparing to old days. The Silk Road in Iran, known as one of the most important trade affair routes in the country, passed among a few main cities and due to this important business route, many towns became valuable, and with the decline of this route's functionality, cities which were situated adjacent to this road lost their high referral and utility.

- Bazaars with a change from traditional to a modern style

A traditional bazaar is not named traditional merely due to its physical space or its architectural features, but the people who refer to it, the coherence it has with the city and other iconic monuments in the city, the commodities being displayed, the shop keepers, the system of produce and many other elements which are combined to create a traditional atmosphere. Today in many traditional bazaars although the physical backbone of the bazaar still stands, yet the social referrals to bazaar, the system of produce and the posture of products being displayed are modern and do not have a trace of tradition. Even in some cases the bazaar has confronted physical changes to adapt itself with the today needs and clients; changes in the entrance, the

window displays and the inner and outer design of the shops are some of these examples. These examples can be seen in the Tajrish traditional bazaar, the Qazvin bazaar, the Tabriz bazaar and many other bazaars in other cities of Iran which have had small changes to disguise their old appearance.

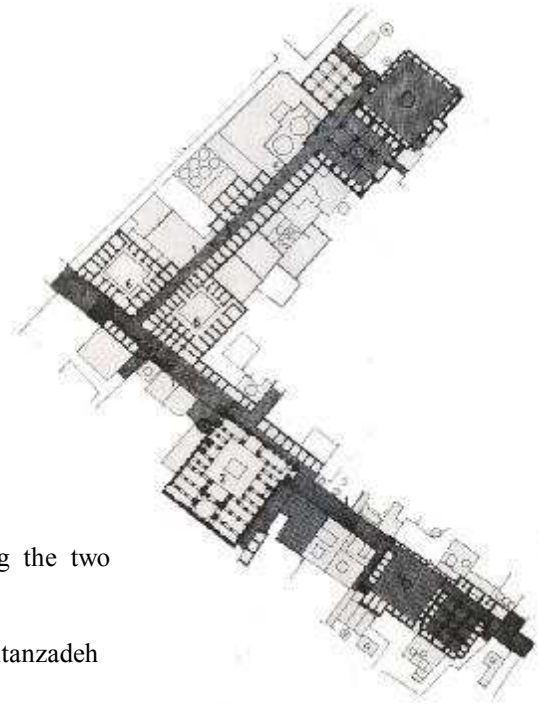
- Bazaars functioning as district bazaars

Previous traditional bazaars had a vast area of influence and interaction in the city. The area of their impact many times ran over city borders and affected other cities as well. Today some bazaars have been able to stay vibrant and active although their domain has decreased to small districts they are situated in and only among the communes they stand. The mosque and the bazaar are no more a receptive for outsiders of the district and have lost their former values. They present their old functions with a great amount of decline to a very small zone; therefore there is a decrease of significance among these bazaars. Examples are the Chizar bazaar in the north of Tehran and some bazaars located in the south parts of Tehran.

- Bazaars with modern shopping centers developing alongside them

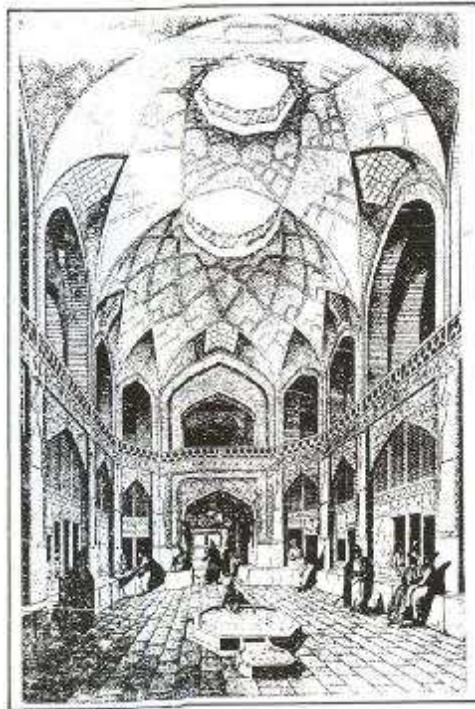
In some cities such as the Tajrish square in the northern part of Tehran, there are traditional bazaars and modern shopping centers which coexist. The traditional Tajrish bazaar is one of the best cases to maintain the traditional and modern atmosphere together. The traditional Tajrish bazaar, which contains all former traditional bazaar structures, continues to live aside the Ghaem modern shopping center, which is one the most famous modern shopping centers in Teheran. However the Tajrish traditional bazaar does not function with all previous traditional Iranian elements yet these elements still rest in its domain. In this thesis we will foresee the results of this coexistence and its feedbacks in the Tajrish square.

1. Main paths
2. Grand Mosque
3. Bazaar
4. Square
5. Imamzadeh (Holy Shrine)
6. Caravansary



The development of the bazaar along the two main paths, Zavvareh city

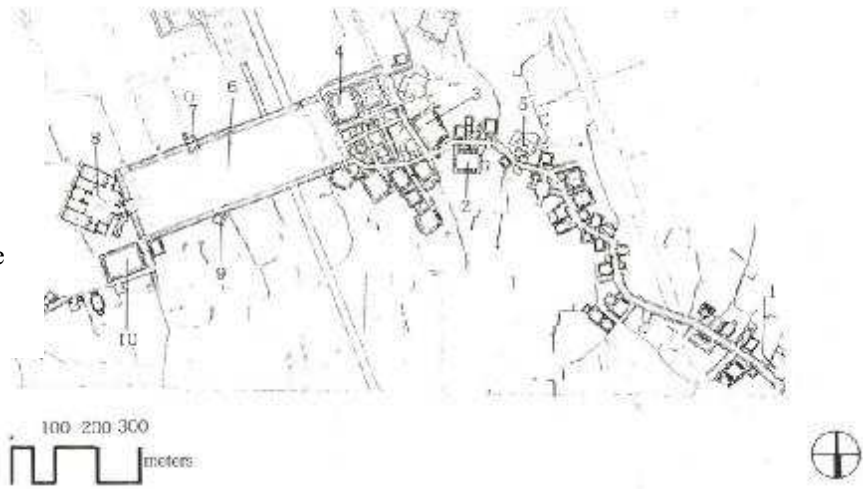
Picture from "the Bazaars" book by Sultanzadeh



Pictures of bazaars of Iran, Vakiil Bazaar in Shiraz

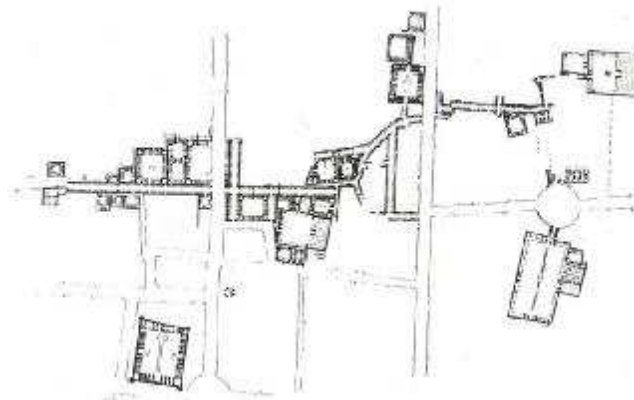
Photo from the book "Old Iran"

1. Grand Mosque
2. Caravansary
3. School
4. Caravansary
5. Mosque
6. Naghshe Jahan Square
7. Ali Ghapo palace
8. Mosque



The Esfahan Bazaar, the bazaar has created a connection with the main city elements

Picture from the book □The bazaars□



The plan of the Shiraz Bazaar shows all urban significant icons which are in relationship with the traditional bazaar of the city

Picture from the book □The bazaars□

The Etymology and definition of bazaar

The root of the word bazaar goes back to the very past, in the Mianeh Persian language⁴³ it was used as □Vazar□ which refers to a place for trade affair, exposing commodity and gatherings. In Mianeh Persian this word has been added to other suffixes in order to make newer words such as □Vazarg Bazaari□and □Bazargan□(which means trader). In the Parti⁴⁴ language it has been used as □Vajar□and in Pahlavi language as □Vachar□whereas in Gilan and Natanz the word continues to be used (Soltanzadeh, 2001:11).

This word has also been passed to countries which had trade contributions with Iran such as Arabian, Turkish, Ottoman and some European countries. Due to the trades among Iran and Portugal, the word bazaar has entered this language and from there it has gone to France and England, whereas they also call their trade centers, bazaar. The word bazaar has a vast definition in Persian, it can mean a crowded place or it can refer to the importance or reputation of the bazariis working in the bazaar (Soltanzadeh, 2001:120). Professor Harry has an explanation of bazaar which says: □The bazaar is a place which gathers people, resulting to offer or demand in a unit price□ However according to Khamachi some see bazaar as a wholesale or a shopping center whereas the bazaar is one of the various districts in city and alike other districts has its particular urban areas (squares, passages, Sabats,□) and internal facilities such as mosques, schools, Takiyehs, Shrines, Mounths (hosseinieh), traditional gyms (Zoorkhaneh), libraries, coffee houses (Ghahveh Khaneh), baths (Hammams), water storages, barbershops and bakeries (Khamachi, 1996:8). In small towns or villages a small square was located in each street which all the alleys ended to and beside this square a Hammam, a monastery or mosque and a small bazaar was constructed, most of the times the small square was built into a Mounth and people would gather around this area during religious ceremonies and during normal days they would buy their needs from the small bazaar situated along the square (Pirnia, 2002:123).

⁴³ An era of Pahlavi which Persian language was spoken with a special format

⁴⁴ A period of time after the Achaemenian

Bazaar Skeletal Features

Bazaar skeletal features include the physical characteristic of a building such as the outer appearance, what we have seen and how we know the building to appear. In architecture this issue is very significant due to this reality that what we know as architecture is the physical appearance of the bazaar.

According to Mansur Falamki the bazaar has five main skeletal features which are as follows:

1. A covered space for public □social services, city ruling and for produce and trade□ The Iranian bazaar has always grown and expanded from the inside to outwards, which means the adjacent or back part spaces of the bazaar, can secure it.
2. The bazaar is somehow placed in the city framework so it could conserve its spiritual values and its gathering wares.
3. The bazaar is apparently a series of arranged spaces which resolves its private needs in the second and third layers of the space.
4. The elements of the bazaar are Mounths (Hussenieh), mosques, public Hammams, coffee houses, restaurants, barbershops and other public service monuments such as Tim, Timcheh, Sara, Gheiyariyeh , Hojreh for wholesale trades and Dokan(Hojreh) for daily needs, Caravansaries and Rasteh Bazaar(these spaces will be described on the following pages).
5. Due to spatial forms, Iranian bazaars can be divided to two main groups in commercial cities: first tropical bazaars and second cold climate and rainy city bazaars which based on architectural-construction experiences, biological traditions in built spaces and the spiritual and functional similarities, reveals two completely different physical spaces (Falamaki, 2007:174).

And based on Azita Rajabi's classification in the book □Morphology of Bazaar□ the physical elements of bazaar are sorted into three main groups:

1. Economical elements,
2. Religious, social and cultural elements
3. Connective and security elements

Each of the named groups has a few subsets which form the architectural and functional parts of the bazaar. In order to introduce the architectural physical elements of the Iranian traditional bazaar, we will obey Rajabi's classification, some of its most important spaces are listed below:

1. Economical Elements such as

- Rasteh
- Charsoogh
- Dokan or Hojreh (store)
- Timcheh and Tim
- Khan or Sara
- Caravansary

2. Religious, Social and Cultural Elements

- Mosque
- Takiyeh and Hosseinieh (Mounth)
- Madreseh (School)
- Imamzadeh (Shrine)
- Hammam (Bath)
- Zoorkhaneh (Traditional Gym)
- Saghah Khaneh (water fountain)
- Barbershop, Restaurants, Tea houses

3. Connective and Security Elements

- Square
- Passage, main or subsidiary (Dalan)
- Port

1. Economical Elements

§ *Rasteh and Raasteh*

The *Rasteh* is actually the main structure of the bazaar; it is the main axis or street which constructs the bazaar and other minor elements added and joint to the *Rasteh* are called the *Raasteh*s. The *Rasteh* is the first important and the *Raasteh* is the second important which leads to the districts around. The *Raasteh*s in the bazaar was some kind of a guild with similar function and purpose. As Mohammad Karim Pirnia says the *Raasteh*s were never build directly in front of each other to avoid crowd. The Iranian bazaar structure is built to give the clients a wide opportunity to compare the quality and price of the products and choose more properly based on economical issues of their family (Pirnia, 2002:119). Therefore if someone is intending to buy shoes, spice, carpet or any other particular commodity they would go directly to its particular *Rasteh* and walk alongside the *Raasteh*s which all have the intended product. Bazaars were often linear constructions built along the more important streets in city therefore the *Rasteh* in the bazaar was a link between city centers to the adjacent streets.

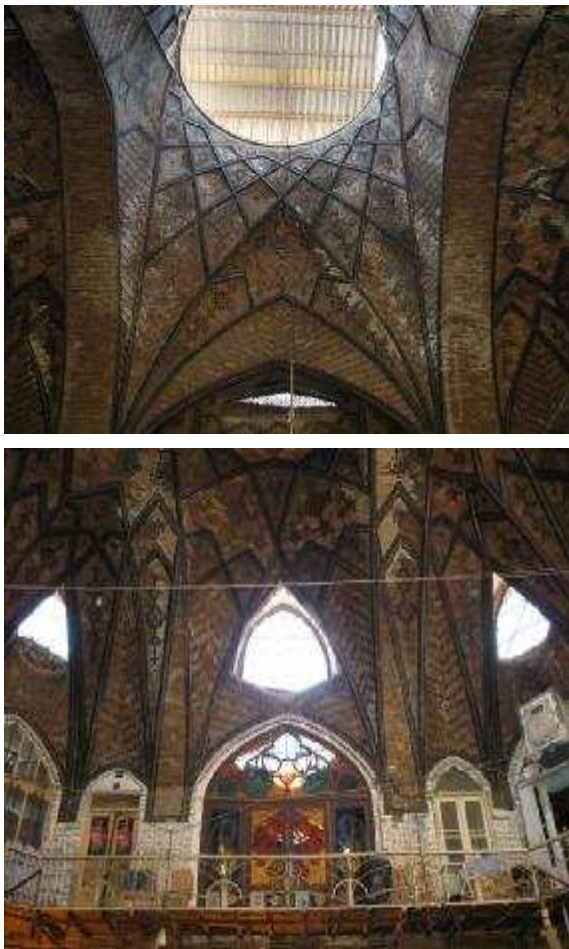


The Rasteh and Raasteh in the Grand Bazaar in Tehran,

Photos by author

§ *Charsoog or Charsoogh*

Charsoogh is the intersection of two main Rastehs and basically the crossroad in bazaar (in Arabic Soogh means bazaar and char is four) which Hussein Soltanzadeh, architect believes is the most important element of an Iranian bazaar where many great merchants had stores. This part of the bazaar often had a higher ceiling with many delicate decorative structures. To Ahmad Poorahmad Iranian urban planner, the Charsoogh is very much the same as city squares due to social and communicational functions and therefore plays a similar role in the Iranian bazaar (Poorahmad, 1997).



The Charsoogh ceiling in the Grand Bazaar in Tehran very well decorated,
photos by author

§ *Dokan or Hojreh*

□Hojreh□is the smallest sector of a bazaar and maybe one the most important. It is the assembly of the □Hojreh□s or stores that constitutes the bazaar (Soltanzadeh, 2001:52). The □Hojreh□s have different dimensions that vary from 10 to 25 meters square. The □Hojreh□s situated on the ground floor of the bazaar have the selling function and the ones on the upper floors have administrative purposes belonging to each merchant (Pirnia, 2002:125). There are times where the □Dokan□s stand about 50 to 70 centimeters above the ground level, in these conditions storerooms were built in the gaps situated below.



A □Hojreh□on the ground level and a bureau on top, Grand Bazaar in Tehran, photo by author



Some Hojrehs are seated above the ground level

§ *Tim and Timcheh*

The definition of "Timcheh" is a round vast place as the heart of big trade activities in the bazaar (Pirnia, 2002:125). "Timcheh" was the center of administrative and major commerce and the foothold for dealers' activities" (Soltanzadeh, 2001:121). The "Timcheh" was a vast court for placing commodity with a pool in the middle where all the "Hojreh"s stood around. Above the pool was an opening in the ceiling which steered light inside. This place led to the main "Rasteh" of the bazaar from one side and to the Caravansary from the other (Rajabi, 2007:78). The physical characteristic of this space was to be covered and away from the wind and rain damages thus it had the opportunity to present more precious products such as rugs, therefore this section of the bazaar was more expensive due to economical issues, less crowd and more silence. In the "Timcheh" facilities such as water and bathroom were embedded (Shahidi, 1990:331). The only difference between the "Timcheh" and Tim was that in the "Timcheh" only one kind of commerce is accomplished.



"Timcheh" of rugs, covered space to increase security,
stores at the ground level and bureaus on top

§ *Khan or Sara*

The Khans are spaces for storing commodities before transferring them to the □Hojreh□s which were in some cases used for administrative issues. The Khans were built parallel to the bazaar and commodity and good entered the bazaar axis via this part and after it was distributed inside the bazaar. Its difference with the Tim is that Khans were covered areas (Pirnia, 2002:124).

§ *Caravansary*

The Caravansaries were very much alike the passages today. The main reason the caravansaries were built is because of the limitation the length of the □Rasteh□has. As with the increase of need in purchase, they were built and added to the bazaar. The caravansaries were often adjacent to the city ports and along the main bazaar streets and the grand mosque. As the main bazaar developed, a few caravansaries were built behind the main □Rasteh□of the bazaar.

2. Religious, social and cultural elements

§ Grand Mosque

With the appearance of Islam, a very significant and principle element called the mosque was adjunct to the city. This element became one of the most important standards in religious cities and was substantially related to the other city components in point of spatial dimensions (Tavasoli, 2002:11). The mosque was counted as the heart of religion and politics and played the most important role in physical elements of Islamic cities. It was the principle mark of Islamic cities and differentiated cities via this particular sector—whereas in the past only places with grand mosques were called cities (Rajabi, 2007:94). All traditional bazaars had mosques inside them, a space with social and gathering function which guided cultural and social events. The mosque was a sign of power in the Islamic city; therefore with the decrease of importance in central urban spaces, they unhandled their functionalities as well (Khaksari, 2006:78).

One of the considerable roles of the mosque was its religious role and since religious establishment in Islamic countries is inseparable from the social system of the city, the mosque has also been the most important criterion in the city fabric. In most cases the mosque was linked to other significant city elements such as the shrines, schools and mounths (Ashraf, 1997:25).

In the past the mosque was the center for religious urban establishments and due to continuous referrals of all types of people to the mosque, it was the heart of discourse and exchange of ideas. However mosques are basically more religious centers than social references, yet the formation of ideas and the attempt in orienting them for future city purposes, makes it a social foundation more than anything (Falamaki, 2007:165).

§ Takieh and Hosseinieh (Mounth)

The Hosseinieh was a place which revealed the Iranian religious believers and where rituals such as the mourning for the holy Imams and other religious ceremonies

took place. Activities such as sacrificing camels for the Ghorban fete were prevalent in this Iranian architectural monument (Tavasoli, 2002).

§ Tea Houses

Based on Jafar Shahidi's notes in the book "The Old Tehran" tea houses were a space inside the bazaars where people came to drink tea or eat and therefore it became a place for gathering merchants and created an opportunity for discourse and discussion. Lots of important issues and news was disseminated or transferred to others via this place, also many leisure activities such as reading panegyric poetry and lyric poetry, entertained people in the tea houses. Tea houses have a history of 400 years (Shahidi, 1990:327).

3. Connective and security elements

§ Square

The bazaar was one of the most significant urban pathways and mostly at the edge of important traditional Iranian bazaars there was an urban or regional square which had liaisons with the bazaar. There were times when there were smaller squares with functions such as "Takiyeh" along the main squares, also seen in the Tajrish bazaar in Tehran.

§ Dalan

The Dalan is truly a liaison or a pathway, connecting the inner space to the outer parts of the bazaar. The "Dalan" is mostly like an alley or a small or minor "Rasteh" which joints the "Rasteh" of the bazaar from one side and the caravansary from the other. In the bazaar there are many "Dalan"s.

§ Port

The ports had a high-priority role in shaping the bazaars depending on economical issues (Pirnia, 2002:122). The formation of the bazaar was from one end of the port to the other, which means from one main city entrance to the other. For security cases the ports would be closed at night and controlled at all times (Khaksari, 2006).

Types of Bazaar

According to Hussein Soltanzadeh architect, the ancient Iranian bazaar was divided into a few categories, which will be briefly explained below:

Permanent Bazaars and Temporary Bazaars

Generally there are often two different types of bazaars in the Iranian ancient cities, permanent bazaars and periodic bazaars. As the names show the permanent bazaars were ceaseless bazaars which had a permanent built mechanism similar to the structure we explained in the formation of an Iranian traditional bazaar, ground floor allocated to purchase and at times workshops and upper floors to administrative purposes. The main structure had one or few "Rasteh"s and some ramified "Raasteh"s and other related architectural structures such as the mosque, caravansary, and schools on the back stages. Vice versa the periodic bazaars had no built architectural frame, arranged on the sides of crowded places or on two sides of a pathway. In some cases these bazaars provided light inexpensive shades to create a more convenient situation for the passengers.

Markets

The markets were built along important routes and in some cases inside the small square in the neighborhood center, partly covered alike temporary bazaars. They also constituted main urban elements such as the mosque, "Sagha Khaneh"(water fountain), mounth (Husseinieh) and water storage (Soltanzadeh, 2001:44-53).

The main functionalities of the Iranian bazaar

In Iran, the spirit of economical, social, ideological, cultural and political life of city is manifested in a coherent unit called the bazaar and therefore the bazaar has a spirit and atmosphere which is a suitable combination of these roles. The bazaar is a place where people feel close to public life and it is a symbol of the Iranian lifestyle. It is a place which combines the political, economical and social believes of the public. According to Mansur Falamaki, the main functionalities of the bazaar are:

A: Maintaining and developing the public economy of the city

B: Training the spirit and promoting the social and cultural relationships of the citizens

C: Developing the religious and moral believes and the bases which help survive the principles of Islam (Falamaki, 1996:143).

In this thesis we have divided the bazaar and its functionalities to three categories:

- Political □ Economical functions
- Religious functions
- Social □ Cultural Functions

These categories will be very briefly described, however our thesis does not focus on these issues as a main concern, yet due to the importance and value each of these matters have in the traditional Iranian structure, they cannot be neglected. Albeit each of these criterions can separately be studied as a complete research, but we will only benefit the points which help us lead our objective, here. Therefore political and economical functionalities and on the other hand social and cultural issues will be regarded to under one topic.

v Political □ Economical Functions

At the beginning, the bazaar in Iran was an economical center which resulted to political, social and cultural aspects. As follows we will point to some of the most important economical and political features.

1. The first feature of the traditional bazaar from the economical perspective is a location for the presentation of the produced commodities in Iran and foreign ones, the produced commodities or the foreign goods are presented in the bazaar to be sold.
2. The bazaar's second economical feature is its role in determining the prices. The bazaars have been able to determine prices during years. Any increase or decrease in prices has been due to the bazaar's role and due to their financial and commercial power.
3. Investment in Iran is organized via the traditional bazaar and the bazaaris.
4. Although the government has a principle role in the economical area however economical strategies are organized via the bazaaris' orientation and act.
5. From economical aspects, the definition of work and trade affair is arranged and organized by the bazaar and bazaaris due to the fact that the bazaar has been defined with work and trade.
6. The biggest Iranian investors are among the bazaaris, therefore their presence in the price of housing and land is very significant.
7. The bazaaris are the upper class people of the society and the most expensive consumers of luxurious cars, houses, gardens and lifestyle. Their way of consumption has an impact on the social structure of the society. Besides their trips to foreign countries and religious countries and cities is also very significant.
8. From the political point of view, the traditional bazaar is the focal center for important contemporary historical events. In particular, many of the Constitutional and Islamic Revolution researchers state if businessmen and bazaaris did not exist in the two named revolutions, they would never succeed and the result would be different. This is the reason why businessmen have such a strong role in the political aspects of the country. Many of them have key roles in upper occupations in the country or their children and their followers are important in macro policies of the country.

In Iran bazaaris in the traditional bazaars were often religious people who supplied the material finances for religious foundations. There has always been solidarity among religious leaders and the bazaaris and the bazaar always had a well cognition of the religious issues which were in a connection with politics and economy(Rajabi,2006:62).The traditional bazaaris often stood among the public and they were always side by side with the public in political issues and always in a conflict with governments who stood against religion and as a result creates political developments in the country such as the Constitutional Revolution and the Islamic Revolution in Iran.

In Iran the bazaar is known as the symbol of changes and revolutions and as a controlling factor for the central government. In many cases the governmental centers were situated inside the bazaar to rein the public provoke. Also other governmental buildings such as the armory and the mint were inside the bazaar or adjacent to it such as the Tehran bazaar. In the recent centuries the bazaar has often interfered in the political issues of the country due to its strong influence. It has also been the center for the broadcast of news and discussions and the core for propagating political events.

One of the most significant powers of the bazaar is its economical potential and sans that authority it is nothing, however in Iran this power stands aside the social, cultural, religious and political influences whereas these dominances grow along together and reinforce with the help of each other. According to Hussein Shokuhi, in third world countries, it is economy that determines the social ecology of cities (Shokuhi, 1994:79). In Iran economical issues are derived from Islamic believes and are based on the value system of the society, therefore bazaars in Iran and other Islamic countries can be considered as a symbol of how economy is regarded in those countries(Rajabi, 2006:70). Even today despite all the weaknesses in the traditional Iranian bazaar, the bazaar still stands at the highest economical seat and all the country's principles issues on import and export are derived and led by the traditional bazaar as it continues to be at the core of economy in society.

v Religious Functions

The bazaar's religious features are:

1. In many cases religion in Iran has been organized among tradesmen, bazaaris and the spirituals. It is the relationship among them that has organized many important events. In particular the Islamic Revolution occurred due to the link between tradesmen and the spirituals.
2. Bazaaris in Iran are known as religious people, they have achieved their credibility due to the presence of religion and therefore they help the religious affairs as well.
3. Many Imamzadehs, holy shrines and mosques exist in the Iranian traditional bazaars. As for in the Grand bazaar of Tehran there is the Imamzadeh Zied and Imamzadeh Yahya and in the Tajrish traditional bazaar there is the Imamzadeh Saleh shrine. The proximity of the Imamzadehs and the traditional bazaar is a sign of the linkage of religion and bazaar and bazaari.
4. Bazaaris have made many efforts to support the spirituals in order to prevent a gap between religion and the society.
5. Bazaaris have been able to be effective in the religious sphere by economical, political and social supports of the religious delegations.
6. Many of the bazaaris have financed religious boards or supported well known Ulamas at the time of their needs. In particular many of the important bazaaris have attempted to support students in religious centers or the expenses of religious stations.

In Iran, religion has always been a main factor in social and economical substructures of cities and the evidences of such a claim is the presence of schools, mosques and spirituals which has important roles in stabilizing social connections.

The mosque is one of the most significant architectural and religious components of the Iranian city, whereas in most cities in Iran the adjacency of the bazaar to this urban segment is notable. In the Old Iranian city the presence of cultural and religious centers indicated the strong identity of the location, therefore bazaars always benefitted this issue and constructed the linear axis of the bazaar near mosques or other holy places. Besides Friday Prayers would take place in the bazaar with well known bazaaris creating a usual solidarity among bazaaris and religious spirituals, interacting the bazaar and the religious

spaces. Even in some cases the formation of the city is based on the holy shrine or religious spot in city, for example in Mashad the foundation and development of all main streets lead to the Imam Reza shrine. In some cities a number of bazaars have been established further from the religious core of the city, near the entrances or other locations, yet with the passage of time, they have lost their significance and again the bazaars situated near the religious axis became of great importance.

The coherence of the bazaar and religious places has a bilateral benefit for the two spaces, where providing financial aids for the reconstruction of the religious places was due to the existence of the bazaar nearby and in other cases the construction of the bazaars has been a political action. Therefore religious spaces have always been an inseparable part of the bazaar and known as one of the principle elements of the traditional trade centers in Iran.

The proximity of the bazaar and religious affairs made a very near assembly among the economical and religious affairs which in many cases made the Shah or the government to participate in the religious ceremonies in order to have a gripe on the economy. Holding religious ceremonies for Imam Hussein was one of the high priority religious activities in the bazaar and during this period each guild had its own program. Also the main guilds inside the bazaar such as the jewelers, bookbinders and mercers were well founded near the mosques. Many even believe the orientation of the bazaar has been led by the grand mosque or the holy shrines, which shows the importance of these religious and architectural spaces in the formation of the bazaar and as a consequence in the city formation.

v Social □ Cultural Functions

The social cultural features of the traditional bazaar include:

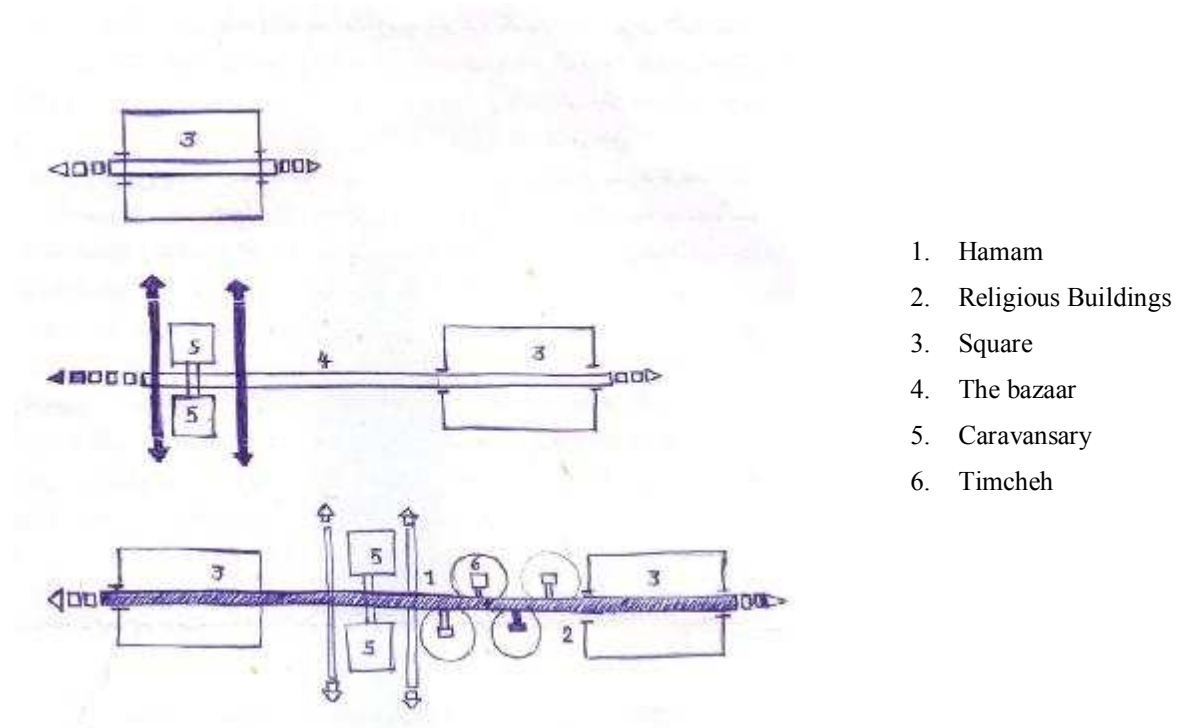
1. The traditional bazaar was the location for important and rich individuals. Therefore the social assemblies they have formed have been the base of huge events. On the other hand many of the Ulamas and politicians are interested to have bazaaris among their intellectual and social assemblies.
2. There are many ethnical, social and cultural groups in the bazaar who have formed the social system in Iran.
3. Bazaar is important from cultural aspects because behavioral and intellectual patterns which bazaaris follow are very significant for others. If bazaaris are luxury-oriented, other people of the society follow that idea as well. Just as if the bazaaris consider national production, other individuals follow it as well.
4. Occupation is one of the main areas in which tradesmen are connected with. The syndicate and the commercial system which businessmen have organized have had impacts in the orientation of the Iranian society. In particular the role of rug tradesmen or jewelers in the bazaar can be named which were all effective in forming the Iranian society.
5. The approach to west and the world and life the bazaaris have is important in Iran and for people as well. If the businessmen in the traditional bazaar are good with the Americans and bad with the Russians, the people do so too. Just as now, the bazaaris and people are good with China therefore the Iranian economy is mostly Chinese.

As we pointed to in the political section, the bazaar has been one of the most important centers of disseminating news, dealings, discussions and many more social flows. The construction of bazaars near the holy shrines, mosques and Imamzadehs is an indication of it being as the most significant social pillar. The bazaar has always been the major place of resolving social problems and discussions and a center for decision makings whereas in many cases the notification provisions were held inside the bazaar among the bazaaris and the people. The existence of Hammams, mosques, Imamzadehs and coffee houses inside the bazaar, all spatial elements which have the potential of

creating a social atmosphere, inside the bazaar has also transformed the bazaar to a more vivid social site.

The guilds inside the bazaar decorated the bazaar for fetes such as the Norouz⁴⁵, closed the bazaar for special funerals or to show their objection with the government. The advantage of the guilds being built aside each other is the social interaction created by this adjacency which has led to social exchanges and affaires. Therefore the guilds are the producers of social movements in city.

Ghobadian, architect, believes no other monument in Iran rather than the bazaar has been able to integrate so many different activities in one place, the bazaar the crystallization of all urban activities in the Iranian city, (Ghobadian, 2009). It is very true that no other space in the Iranian city has the power of dominance and the vastness of functions as the Iranian bazaar does.



The development of the bazaar until the Qajar era

Reference Biglari, 1967

⁴⁵ The Iranian New Year Fete

Sum Up:

The Iranian traditional bazaar is considered as a system with specific spiritual and social synthesizes. As each system consists of a complex of complicated sub systems, the traditional bazaar also includes urban infrastructures such as the Mosque, Holy shrines, Takiyeh, schools, hamams and coffee houses which fulfill, control and conduct this system. The traditional Iranian bazaar known as the skeletal of the city includes these connective architectural structures. All main routes lead to the backbone of the city which links significant urban monuments which themselves are considerable to be the iconic structures of the Iranian city.

Bazaars are similar to living creatures which continue to live as long as they hold dynamic activities and substructures and will decrease or collapse with the slump of positive exchanges among them. And pending they are alive the sense of belonging is a common feeling among the residences of a society. Today in order to preserve the bazaar, the core of the traditional Iranian city, vivid and dynamic □the values of the bazaar as a system□should be retrieved.

As Pakzad claims daily use of a space not only does not depreciate it but also continuous activities and presence of the citizens in it, either people or the urban management, will lead to more conservative movements in these spaces(Pakzad, 2007:146). Today traditional bazaars have changed to merely active centers in the day time and lack life and dynamism at night. This issue is due to the elimination of residential units in these historical fabrics or their transmutation to storages or shops which has led to an emptiness of the fabric at night from population resulting to unsafe urban centers.

Urban Structures such as the bazaar complex are recalled urban structures due to the visual and motional connectivity they have, hard spaces such as artificial frameworks and soft spaces such as the natural environment do not form urban spaces independently when they are not the context of social interactions. People are the inseparable sector of

spaces; it is them who create social interactions and their value which results to defining spaces.

Non-continuous activities in the traditional bazaar help the space remain active and vital. Colportage, peddlers, street theaters are some activities which always presents noise and aggregation groups. Their various and colorful objects, the smoke and smell of snacks create esprit in the atmosphere.

According to the bazaar book written by Azita Rajabi, the architecture of the Iranian traditional spaces in a bazaar can be summarized as below:

1. Storing Spaces:

In the Iranian traditional Bazaar ,there are divided and subdivided spaces for each and every function; the three sections of a producing line such as demand, produce and offer are all handled in an Iranian Bazaar, therefore the spaces needed for each is also found in the bazaar. In the traditional Bazaar we can see spaces for storing commodities before starting the producing line. These spaces are usually located in the back parts of a Bazaar and have a different access as well, which will avoid congestion in the main passage of the Bazaar (Pirnia, 2002).Today in Modern Shopping Centers these three parts have decreased to just offer therefore spaces for storing and producing are eliminated.

2. Producing Spaces:

In the traditional Bazaars there are workshops where the acts of production is held, the primary materials are kept in the Bazaar in storing areas then transferred to the workshops where produced and sent to the □Dokan□ or □Hojreh□(stores) to be exposed for the customers. The production areas in the Bazaar were the workshops and □Dalan□. Albeit in today shopping centers the commodity is produced outside the mall and exposed in the window shops, as much as the shopkeeper orders. The shops in modern shopping centers do not have places to store commodities before being sold therefore the amount of bought products is as needed and nothing will be stored.

3. Business Spaces:

These spaces include the "Dokan" or "Hojreh" which actually have the same functions as the stores in modern shopping centers. In these spaces products are exposed in order to be sold, however there is a big difference between the expose in traditional Bazaar and modern shopping centers. The word expose can basically be used for shopping centers and not "Hojreh". One of the main attractions in shopping centers are the window shops and the way products are to be exposed in front of the customers' eyes, whereas in Hojreh there is nothing as exposing articles in a stylish way. The purpose of "Hojreh" is just a place to sell things and not to decorate and expose them elegantly.

4. Service Spaces

Each Iranian traditional Bazaar has some service spaces which work along the main function, these spaces include the water storage, "Hammam", "Sagha Khaneh" (water fountain), and ". The number of the service spaces and their location depends on the functional and physical situation of the bazaar. Modern shopping centers also have some service spaces which of course is relevant to the new and modern space of the shopping center. These spaces include coffee shops, cinemas, and amusement parks.

5. Public Spaces

The Traditional Bazaar was one of the main icons of the city therefore many public spaces were built very near to the bazaar, e.g. the Grand Mosque or Schools. These spaces in many cases created a space which gathered people. Today this issue is no longer seen in the modern shopping center, there is no necessity of other public buildings to be built due to the existence of the shopping center.

6. Correspondence Spaces

There were two kinds of correspondences with the bazaar, an exterior and an interior connection. The exterior connected the bazaar to one or more than one outer

space for example the "Rasteh"s, alleys and covered "Dalan"s in the bazaar were connections between the mosque or caravansary to the bazaar and the interior correspondence was the inner connection which connected the inner parts of the bazaar to each other such as the "Charsoogh"s which was one of the important parts of the bazaar.

Part 2

Introduction

There are many well known bazaars all throughout Iran. Among this high variety of bazaars, three traditional bazaars will be revised based on climate, function and according to the author's accessibility to the site. These three bazaars are located in three different cities in Iran with a differentiation in climatical issues. The Grand Tehran bazaar is located in Tehran in a mild climate, the Tabriz bazaar in the Tabriz city a cold and mountainous climate and the Semnan bazaar in Semnan in the hot arid of Iran. These traditional bazaars have been chosen in order to describe the variety and differentiation of the Iranian bazaar in this country.

In the traditional bazaar best materials and construction methods were used, columns and walls were often constructed from rock or brick and ceilings were covered with plaster and brick. In order to cover vast spans in the Char Soogh or Timcheh, the method of constructing dome was applied; meanwhile roofs were made of thatch with the role of heat and moisture insulation. The floorings were mostly from dirt which was flattened over time and in some cases it was covered with rock or brick.

Form and design in bazaar always depended on time, the form of the bazaar was simpler when the system of production was agriculture and meanwhile it has always been in a direct connection with producers and consumers.

Traction and stopping between spaces are very important issues in shopping areas. In traditional bazaars the light which enters the bazaar via skylights and leaves its trace on the flooring creates a sense of traction and move in customers and promotes them to continue forward. The light which falls on the flooring in the traditional bazaar is relevant to the twists of the bazaar which increases visual attractions. Among this traction there are stopping areas which help customers stop and relax in their short journey of shopping; these spaces reduce the long path of the bazaar.

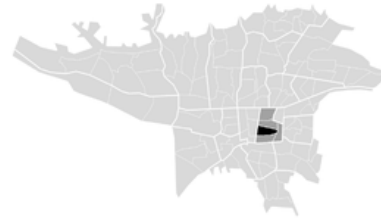
Proportions are also considerable matters in the traditional bazaar. Besides width in the traditional bazaar was calculated so that the passage of human and wheelbarrows would be possible and facile meanwhile creating the opportunity of an easy look around for the customers in the bazaar.

The given information on each of the bazaars includes:

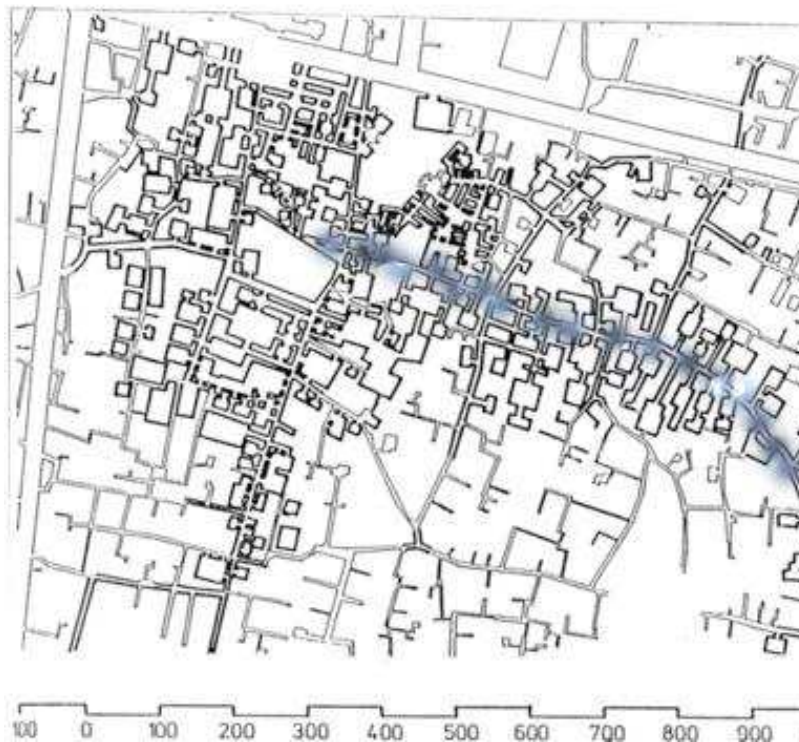
- The history of the bazaar and the causes if the bazaar development
- The physical characteristics of the bazaar
- The plan of the bazaar in the urban fabric and its different spaces

The Grand bazaar of Tehran

Tehran as the capital of Iran and its history of over 200 years old holds many historical and significant monuments, such as old churches, palaces, schools, gardens and the Tehran Grand Bazaar.



The location of Tehran in Iran map (right) and the Grand bazaar of Tehran in the capital city Tehran (left)



Map of the Grand Bazaar of Tehran

The linear path of the Tehran Grand bazaar and its infiltration into the urban fabric, picture from the book [The Bazaars](#) by Hussein Sultanzadeh

The Grand bazaar is located in Tehran among the Imam Khomeini Street from the east, Khayyam Street on the west, Panzdah Khordad from the north and Molavi on the south. The primitive building of the traditional Tehran bazaar belongs to the Safaviid period simultaneous with the construction of the Tehran portals in 1552-1570; with its basis constructed by Fatali Shah in the Qajar dynasty. The main backbone of the bazaar is from the Panzdah Khordad Street to the Molavi Street.

The development of Tehran in many ways affected the bazaar and many of its sectors were destroyed and reconstructed. Meanwhile the Char Soogh, the Hajeb o Doleh Timcheh, the mosque, and some other historical buildings still continue to stand, buildings all considered as the most remarkable segments of the Grand bazaar of Tehran. The Grand bazaar of Tehran used to be one of the best known districts and the core of the Tehran city, considered as a city, albeit all these years it is still one the most important bazaars in Tehran.

The older parts of the bazaar are covered with arches and domes and the light of the bazaar is derived from the skylights which are installed on the domes. The Tehran traditional bazaar has all the original components of an Iranian traditional bazaar such as the Timcheh, Jelokhan, Charsoo, Hojreh and □. One of the most important parts of the Tehran bazaar is the □Hajeb O Dolleh□Timcheh which has many tourists and visitors today. The Grand bazaar in Tehran is an example of the combination of art and culture with business which has been very much accepted by tourists. In the past the main guilds in the bazaar were the clock sellers, rug sellers, shoe sellers, iron makers and jewelers. Many believe the Grand bazaar is not a symbol of economy but it also consists of many cultural and iconic Iranian meanings.



Raastehs are crowded with visitors of the bazaar and peddlers who attempt to attract customers before they enter the Hojreh(s) (shops)



The main Rasteh in the Grand Bazaar in Tehran, photo by author



The light enters the bazaar from the skylights embedded in the ceiling, photos by author



Technical installations installed on the ceiling are deeply disorganized; this is an important issue that has not been thought of before due to the un necessity



The cooling systems are installed outside the shops, all recent additions



In the traditional bazaars the only light was the natural light which entered the inside space via the skylights on the domes



Today there are disordered artificial lights hanging from ceilings, destructing the appearance of the bazaar



In the old days the skylights were multi functional, with ventilation and lightning functions being replaced by artificial lights and cooling system devices today, therefore in many cases the skylights have been covered



In most cases these changes have to a great deal, damaged the previous sense of the traditional bazaars. There is no scheming for these additional elements therefore they have created a high confusion in the space





The pavements in the traditional bazaar were often dust, here in the Tehran bazaar the flooring is tiled with soft rocks, which simply changes in color and aggregation



The uncovered water collectors inside the bazaar gather surface water and rainfall

Basins in the traditional bazaars where placed on the intersection of the Raastehs and functioned as a ventilator and enlivened the bazaar



Greenery was placed around the basins creating a delightful space for bazaaris, today there are water fountains installed around these basins so customers can benefit the cool climate.



The greenery helps to strengthen the axis of travel for the customers in the bazaar; meanwhile there is urban furniture to promote continuing this axis,

Recently this axis has been changed to pedestrian walk, eliminating the car movement, helping the bazaar in accepting new groups of customers.



Water fountains installed on the columns of arcades which are constructed over the shops and located outside the bazaar
photos by author





Recently there are new pavements and benches set outside the bazaar space so customers to the bazaar could repose while shopping





The material used in the traditional bazaar, the domes, walls and columns are all made of brick

The Raasteh in Tehran Grand traditional bazaar



The outer window parts are wooden or colored glass, beautiful with the passage of light,

Picture of administrative offices above the shops (Hojreh)

Photos by author





The products being presented in window-shops in the traditional bazaar are often crowded and unarranged. There is no special decoration for their windows and objects are often presented in a simple manner



The Tabriz bazaar

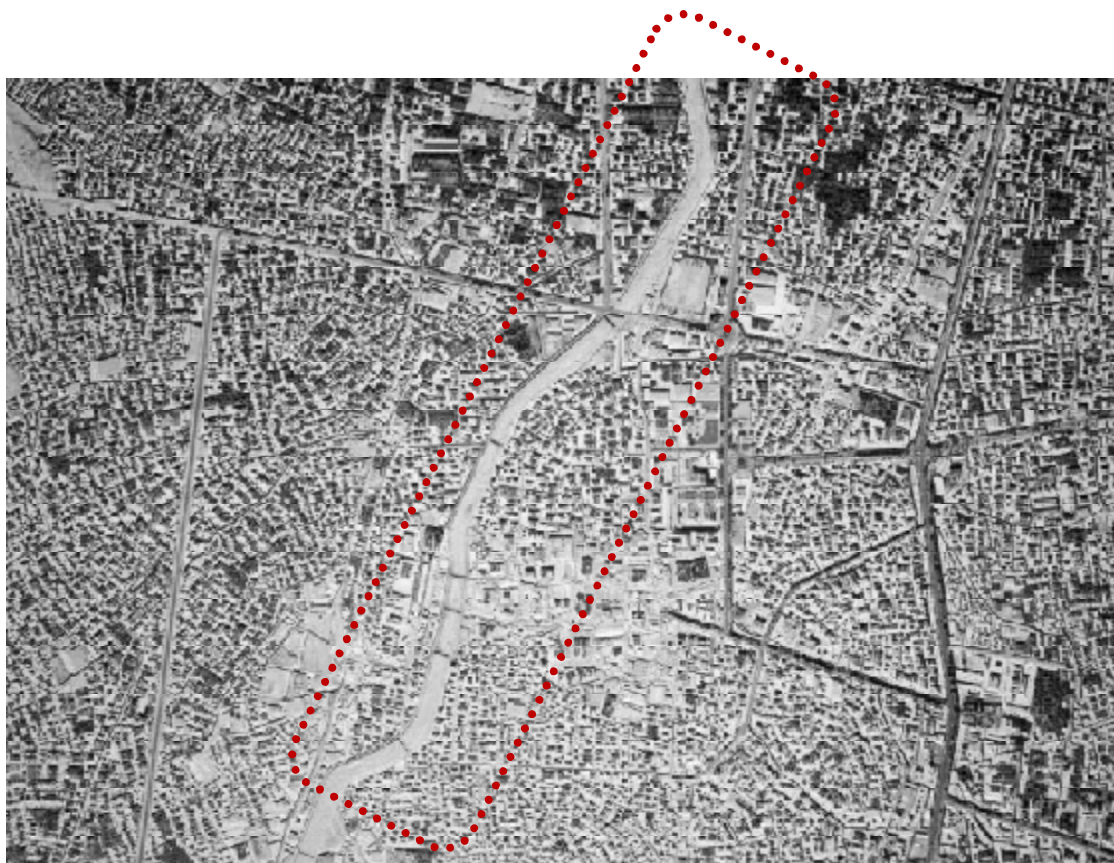
The Tabriz bazaar located in the Tabriz city on the north western side of Iran is known as a universal historical cultural site by the UNESCO. It is one of the oldest and *biggest covered bazaars* in the Middle East and the world and known as a significant masterpiece of Iranian artwork. Tabriz was one the important capitals of the Safaviid era yet some say the history of this city goes back to the Median period.

The Tabriz bazaar was even more referred to due to the Silk Road and continued to be very active until the 18th century. It is one of the most complete traditional business and cultural systems in Iran. Marco Polo has mentioned the Tabriz bazaar as one of the highest experiments of socio- economical urban lives. Sharden claims the Tabriz bazaar as a place which worths to be praised. This bazaar consists of a brick system and it is more than one kilometer long. It consists of many important schools and mosques just like any other traditional Iranian bazaar. The biggest dome of the bazaar is the Timcheh dome and one of the most important and beautiful ones is the Mozafarieh Timcheh.

This city has faced many earthquakes and due to this issue has confronted many disasters in its historical monuments and its bazaar. It was completely destroyed 198 years ago but again reconstructed with the help of its citizens. Although many modern bazaars have been built during these years, the Tabriz traditional bazaar stays to be the core of economical matters in Tabriz and the west side of Iran.



Map showing Tabriz on the Iran map



The aerial photo of Tabriz city showing the bazaar and the street which has run through it, cutting the traditional bazaar to two parts

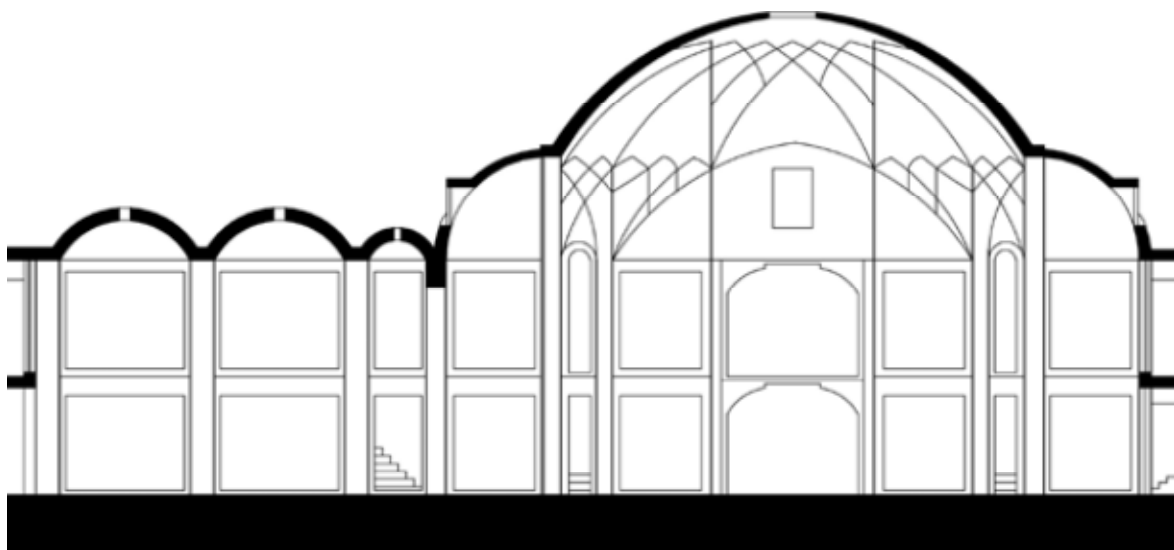


The main Raasteh(pathways) in the Tabriz traditional bazaar appear with domed ceilings, brick material and two storey shops located on its booth sides



Small skylights made of the original ceiling material, brick, enter the light from the openings, creating a beautiful bright polygon,
Photos from the Iranian Bazaar book

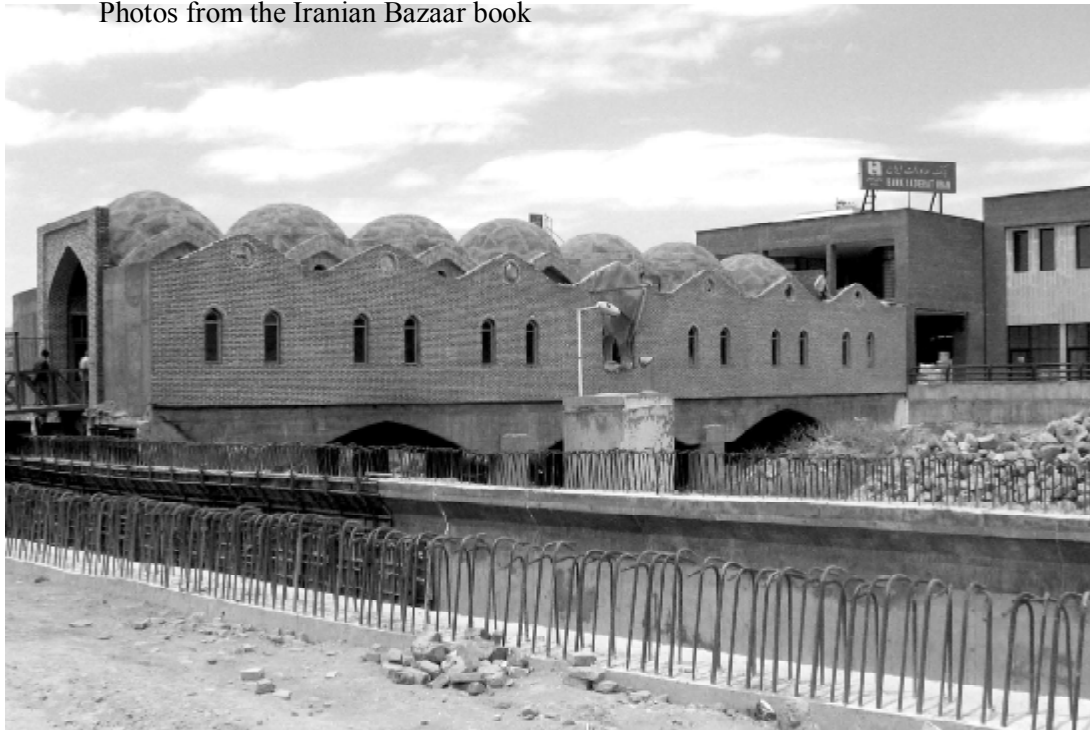
The openings installed in the bazaar ceiling are shown in the Tabriz bazaar section
The higher domes are the intersection of two Raasteh





Domed ceilings in traditional bazaars in Iran are seen from the outside and arch pathways from the inside

Photos from the Iranian Bazaar book





The vastest area in the traditional bazaar is the Timcheh which has the most decorative ceiling; decorations are often from brick or wood with geometrical themes
These areas are often covered spaces away from the sun and wind damages where more precious products such as rugs are kept and presented
Photos from the Iranian Bazaar book

The Semnan bazaar

Semnan city is placed 205 km on the east side of Tehran and on the way to Khorasan city. It has an area of 22119 km². This city has very cold winters and very hot summers because of being in the arid zone of Iran. Semnan has been a communication highway between east and west (the Silk Road) and it has been mentioned in most historical books. This city was destroyed after the Mogul attack and rebuilt and became one of the most important cultural centers in Iran. The Safaviids had a high attention to the Semnan city and many caravansaries have been built in this city.

The Semnan bazaar like every other Iranian bazaar was built on the main routes of the city and the Silk Road. It consists of four other bazaars named the North bazaar, the South bazaar, the Jelo Khan bazaar and the Alla O Dolleh bazaar. The Semnan bazaar also has 3 main Takiyehs. There is also a Hammam inside the bazaar called the Pahneh Hammam on the North West side of the Pahneh Takiyeh. The inside parts of this hammam is decorated with beautiful turquoise tiles. Just like any other Iranian bazaar the Semnan bazaar stands aside two grand mosques the main grand mosque related to the Ilkhani and Timurid period. This mosque has a minaret of 31.20 meters high which is considered as the oldest building in Semnan. The other mosque, the Soltani mosque is a very picturesque mosque with four porticos.



Aerial photo of the Semnan traditional bazaar and the districts around



Map showing the location of Semnan city in Iran

The entrance to the Semnan traditional bazaar

A number of steps lead the visitor to the main path of the bazaar from the street access

There is a combination of blue tile and brick work on the header of the bazaar signifying it from the rest of the façade

The consistency of greenery and brick is pleasant in an arid zone like Semnan

The inside view of the main entrance to the bazaar

Connecting the bazaar with the street via brick arches and steps





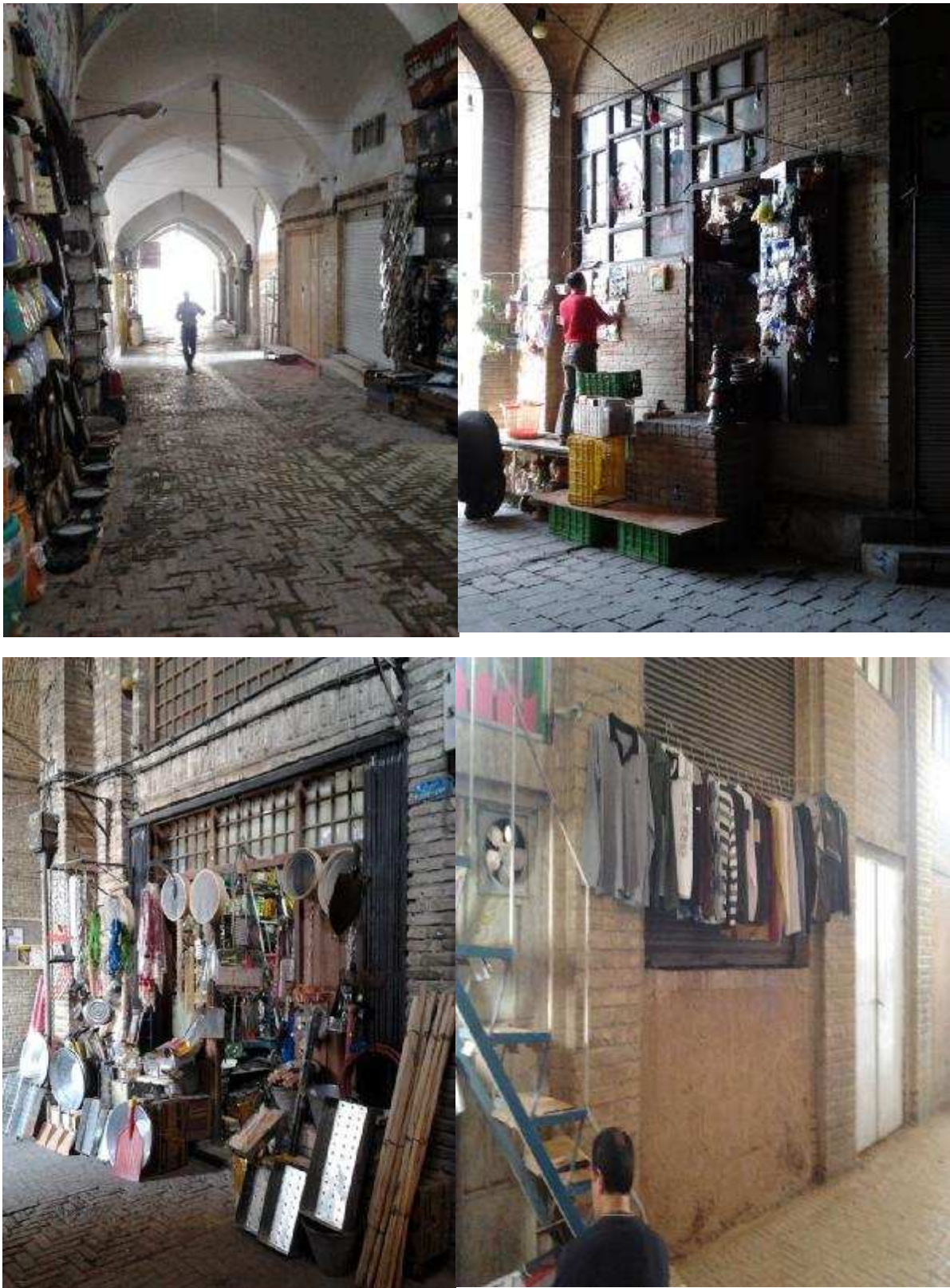
The surrounding of the Semnan bazaar, the main street in front of the bazaar (photo on top) with a water basin and fountain where people gather around

The back part of the bazaar - the second entrance to the grand mosque and its storages (photo on bottom)



Main passages in the traditional Semnan bazaar all consist of arched roofs with skylights in the middle and tiled floorings, with shops or Hojrehhs standing on the sides.





Shops in the traditional Semnan bazaar, No particular arrangement for exposing the products, scarves, tools, clothing and more are set outside the borders of the Hojreh, There is a chaos in the way the goods are hanging and presented outside the shops, a feature of the traditional bazaar in Iran



A very rare issue is the existence of women in the traditional bazaar as shopkeepers

Some shops have a different elevation with the bazaar main pathway using staircases or steps as access

The main Raasteh of the Semnan Bazaar

Domed ceilings and rocked pavements,
Photo by author.

The shop keepers have designed
their shops in a very simple
manner, just by hanging their
products outdoor the shops with
no particular window shop

Photos by author.



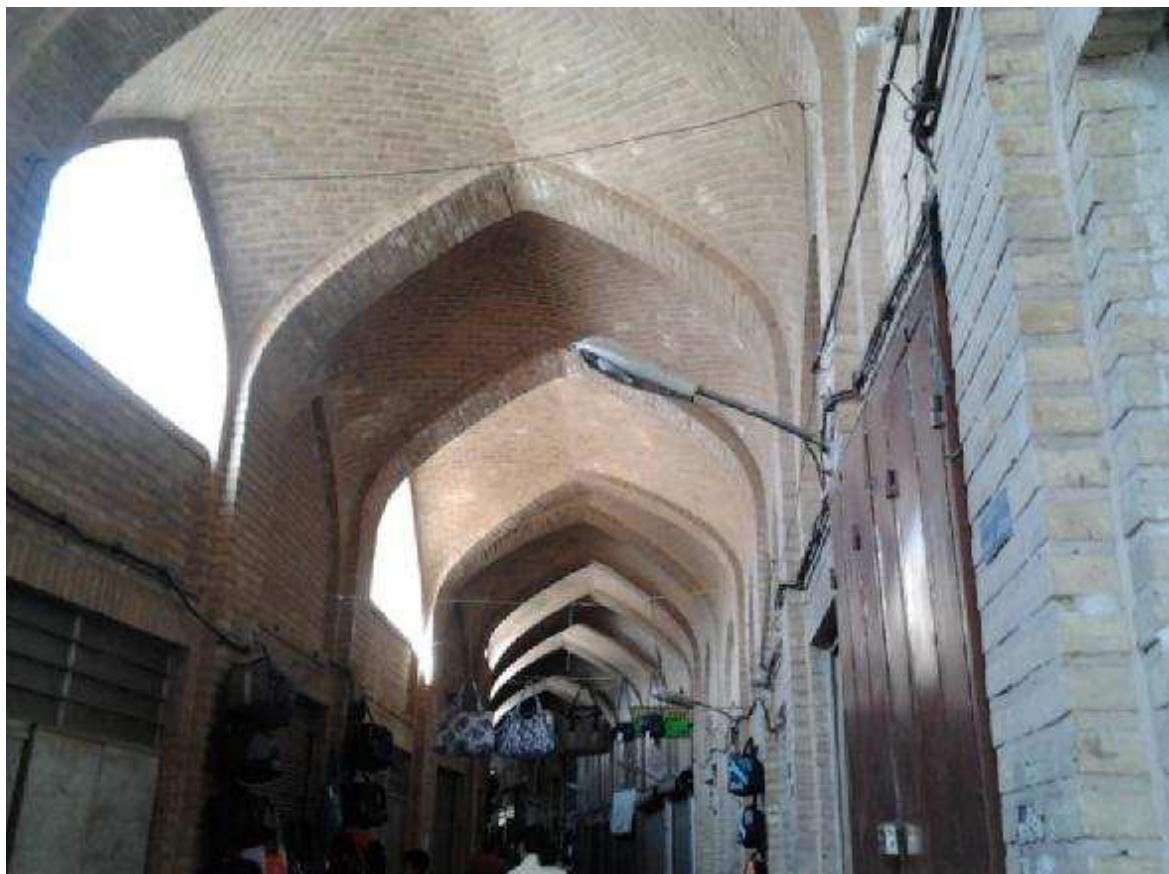


Recently some shops have reconstructed the interiors to modern atmospheres creating a sudden change at the shop front door, using modern design and light & in exposing modern products



The light passes through skylights and small arched openings installed in the ceiling and side walls,

There are new lamps, very irrelative to the traditional surrounding, positioned on the walls as well, photo of the Main Raasteh of the bazaar





The pavements of the bazaar is rock, shaped into ordered tiles, with no path for water,

Shops are set aside this passage with simple metal shutters on the same elevation



Old wooden doors with two different traditional knocks one for women and the other for men with arched brick works above each entry

The space behind the door is often situated on a lower elevation than the bazaar elevation

In this picture the wooden doors have been replaced by metal doors and locks, in a contrast with the traditional surrounded material





The material used on the outer parts of the shops (Hojreh): brick walls and wooden arched windows

The shop doors are also wooden however today due to the need of a higher security many doors have been covered and secured with metal shutters or bars, resulting to a change in the ancient appearance of a traditional bazaar

The materials used for walls is brick, and for columns there is brick and mud as shown in the picture below



Among the brick walls there are small square holes with esthetical and technical functions as for the passages of light, air and sound acoustics

The bigger opening on the top also has a similar function

Today irrelative lightings such as the lamp post seen on the left side of the picture is attached to the brick wall for brighter light
Photo by author

Domes covered with bricks on the inside and adobe from the outside

Square spaces on the plan reach to arched roofing on top; this needs a professional arrangement of brickwork something found in all traditional Iranian bazaars

Some Raasteh have been covered with white plaster and small skylights



Adobe used on the outside roofing of the bazaar

Side openings can be seen from this perspective leading air and light inside the bazaar

Modern cooling systems are also placed on rooftops to help ventilate the shops, disturbing the outer sight of a traditional space

The Semnan bazaar
photos by author





The main Takiyek inside the Semnan Bazaar has become the intersection of a few Raasteh, a wide space for religious ceremonies and gatherings

The Takiyeh has a sloped wooden ceiling to direct light inside via its upper opening; meanwhile it has metal piers to hold the repaired ceiling

The scene located under this structure is allocated to ceremonies; the pavement leading to the scene is made of rock alike the rest of the bazaar flooring

There are shops around this space, an old Hamam and narrow passages to the outside part of the bazaar, either the Grand mosque or the neighborhoods adhesive to the bazaar

Beautiful colored tiled inscriptions with religious definitions, cling the threshold around the Takiyeh





The second Takiyeh in the traditional bazaar

This Takiyeh has a water pool and a fountain in the middle which helps create a delicate circulation of air inside the bazaar

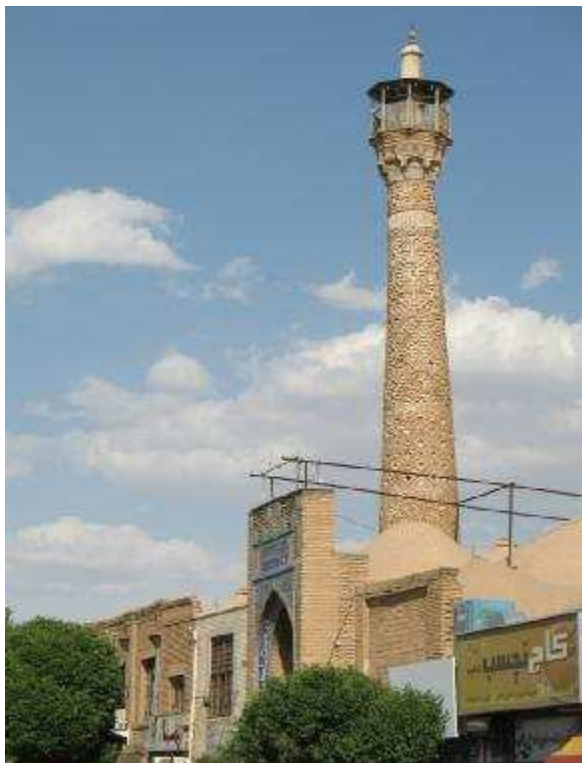
Shops stand around the pool, brick walls, wooden windows and rock pavements are other traditional features of this space

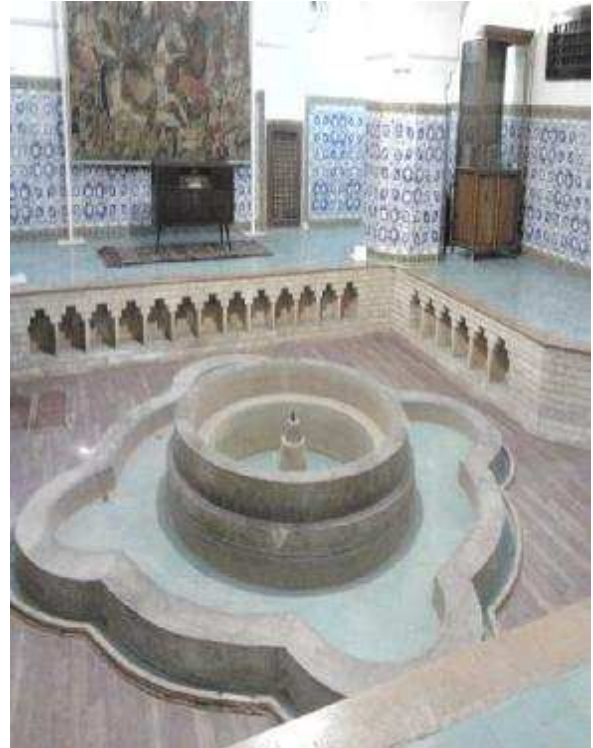




Picture of the grand mosque which has a direct correspondence with the traditional bazaar
Brick walls separate the mosque from the outside borders of this religious space

In the above picture, the Mosque court and its minaret, The Semnan grand mosque has one minaret unlike other traditional mosques which have two





The Hammam is an essential part of the traditional bazaar structure, plus sanitary functions it had gathering functions and acted as an informative pulse for the district, Photos by author





All traditional bazaars are connected to a religious power such as a mosque or Imamzadeh, here the Imamzadeh is collinear with the traditional bazaar where pilgrims make vows on their way to and from the bazaar

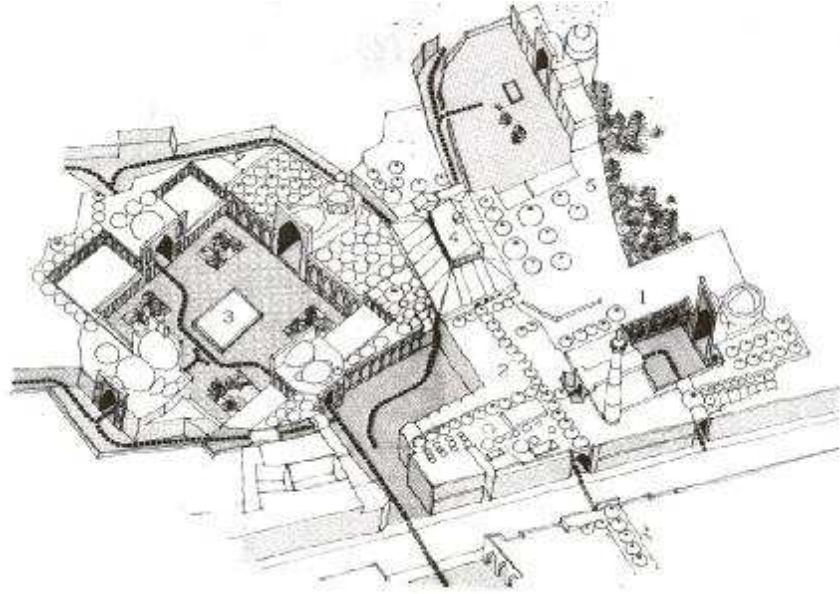
Narrow passages leading to the outer parts of the bazaar, to the Imamzadeh in the first picture and to the grand mosque in the second picture





Minor arched passages and pathways from the traditional bazaar to the neighborhoods adhesive to the bazaar, many of these districts have now been evacuated alike what has occurred in most cities and have been re-functioned as storages for the shops or workshops or either have been destroyed





1. Grand Mosque

2. Bazaar

3. Sultani Mosque

4. Takiyeh

5. Imamzadeh

All the main elements interwoven
presenting a complete whole in
the center of Semnan city

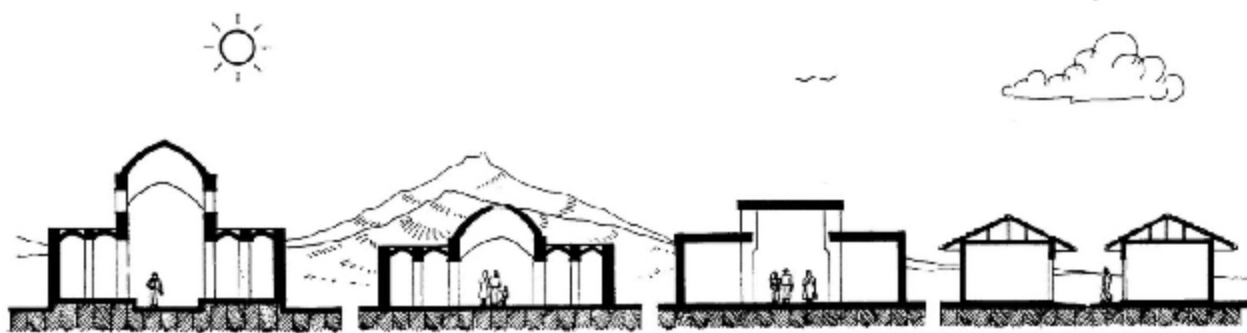
Sum Up:

One of the main architectural segments of each traditional bazaar in Iranian cities is climatical issues. It is the climate and nature which defines the architecture and form of the traditional bazaars. Meanwhile traditional bazaars are urban spaces where ceiling has a high stand in them, because in many cases due to the openings and skylights in the ceilings, the sky plays the role of roof top which is very significant.

In hot and arid zones like Semnan, bazaars are often a covered and suitable place from the view of climatical issues therefore in many cases they were also used as passages, so traditional bazaars had trade affair functions and connection usages. The ceilings in these bazaars

are covered with domes and arches, these round surfaces reduced the amount of heat entering the bazaar space so the bazaar was always conditioned.

In other zones such as Tabriiz which is cold and snowy, flat roofs are preferred to be designed in order to create a wider space for capturing the sun light via the ceiling, besides covered ceilings in the cold areas provided a warm atmosphere inside the bazaar. In these traditional cities, bazaar ceilings are flat and simple. And for mild climates like the Tehran city and in particular the Tajrish district which has more rainfall comparing to other districts in Tehran, slope roofs are in advance for design. Slope roofs pass the rainfall and do not provide the opportunity of water leakage inside the space.



The Semnan Bazaar
Dry & Arid Zone

The Tabriz Bazaar
Cold Zone

Boarder of sea cities
Hot & Humid Zone

The Tajrish Bazaar
Mild Zone

Chapter Three

Modern Life and shopping center in New Iranian cities

Part 1

Introduction

Shopping is an activity which reveals the cultural, social and economical structure of each environment. Therefore shopping is not only an intention of economy but it also holds social trade objectives as well. Firstly shopping was merely an economical means, responding to needs related to economy, a linear design of shops standing at the sides of a linear plan. Yet with the passage of time the concept of creating other functions except shopping, in order to promote and captivate other social intensions was applied as a main principal in the architecture of shopping centers. Activities concerning recreational acts were the most significant second-rate functions injected to these spaces which reconciled commercial functions and transformed shopping centers to an objective for leisure, shopping and strolling. These second rate functions arrange spaces for social interactions, dialogues, identity and even as Gluck says personality for certain social groups.

The emersion of modernization and the industrial revolution in Iran and basically all throughout the world, resulted precedent retails to confront new problems. This issue can be studied as the appearance and development of modern shopping centers in big cities. International modern movements had feedbacks in Iran and caused spaces called modern shopping centers to be created. Although, the modern shopping center and the traditional bazaar had many similar intensions, yet it appeared that traditional bazaars were losing their actual previous functions and even today the phenomenon called technology provokes this matter more than before. Will traditional bazaars mislay their functions and activities?

In the past, centers for shopping were merely traditional bazaars, known as the core of the city formation yet after the Qajar era and the construction of streets; a great evolution took place in the shopping event. Streets were first constructed for transportation means however after, new urban icons and administrative spaces as well as commercial places were built adjacent to the streets, giving a very new and different look to the traditional city, the city whose development was always dependent to the traditional bazaar was now very much influenced by the new constructed element called the street. As a result many commercial shops near the traditional bazaar and situated at the previous city core were depressed. And just after the Pahlavi era and the appearance of modernism in Iran, spaces known as shopping centers came to life⁴⁶.

Today modern shopping centers are an inseparable component of the urban identity, not merely commercial but also known as social and cultural spaces. Spaces where different acts and behaviors take place, not just revealing the desire to shop, but also the pleasure of strolling, window shopping, bargaining, chatting ,having recreational activities such as eating and drinking in fast food restaurants and creating the chance of living in a different identity and a separate world from what really exists in Iran. As Timothy mentions the search for a pleasurable experience becomes more important than buying objects.

Consumption, Shopping, and the Metropolis Man

Contemporary shopping centers have many services parallel with the purchase issue, these services include bank services, transportation services, cinemas, playing places for

⁴⁶ After the war with Iraq in 1992, shopping centers entered a new stage, therefore the war can be considered as a timeline for shopping center constructions in Iran.

children, restaurants, etc and technical issues such as heating and cooling systems, parking lots and fire distinguishing systems. First the main target for building a shopping center was designing parking lot for cars in order to answer the needs of people living and shopping outside the city centers yet as time passed the shops themselves attained more consideration and design and the inner parts of the center was more valued, including spaces for people to sit and chat and enjoy staying in such ambiances whether they shop or not. It was from then on shopping centers became centers for leisure and spending free time.

Shopping as the term identifies persuades purchasing and spending money and spending money results in consuming commodity. One of the outcomes of modernity in Iran is the augmentation of consumption, people see commodities around them which are practically luxurious and has second range importance and feel the necessity to procure them. As Simon During states, consumption is adventitious and pervasive; it is something people are sociable towards. That is the reason why people are encouraged to buy something when they see others are purchasing it (During, 1999). People buy a product and express themselves through the products they have, the commodities that are a signification of being modern or fashionable are at many times presented in modern spaces and this social class is defined via them. John Fisk believes commodities aren't merely economical exchange objectives yet they are goods in order to think and have conversations through (Bocock, 2002). These are all reasons to increase the want to consume among different social classes in Iran, the testimony to buy and buy and never want to stop, a desire which is never saturated, in most cases causing transformation in culture as Ann Birmingham quotes. Basically all big cities throughout the world are involved with the consumption cycle; whereas big cities are brought up to produce, they themselves are one of the vast groups that struggle with the matter consumption. Milz assumes consumption as one of the clearest characteristics of urban societies and the distinctive aspect of metropolises.

The explanation of the term "Gruen Effect" is an eligible way to show how endless consumption is. "Gruen Effect" is a feeling of complete disorientation and wonder when you walk into a store and the design so bedazzles you that you mindlessly but happily buy stuff. Many of the retail designers of Gruen's era talked about this effect. The idea was that you would use psychology to move your shopper from a rational state into someone who would make impulse purchases. If you could do that you could make them feel they were having an enjoyable

shopping experience and keep them there longer, which would inevitably mean they would spend more money.

Therefore the influence of advertisement in such a society is sensible; pictures, TV commercials, mass media including the satellite which is recently performing the best, holds an important role. People want to be what they see seems modern and to achieve such a stand they search for modern objects and consume modern products. They vision themselves with things referred as modern via consuming modern and fashionable goods, in this case they refer to modern spaces such as modern shopping centers which is loaded with new fashioned articles. It is the impact of these commodities, people attempt to change their identities, and picture themselves in other personalities. Bocock claims the metropolis man consumes to create a new identity for himself, an identity he likes (Bocock, 2002).

The linkage of presence among poor and rich and other social classes in shopping center, unstable the semantic system via the capitalist patterns. Even in some shopping centers, different social class (in terms of income level) is inseparable from each other. Therefore they almost have the same social class identity and no one asks about their job, place of living and finance and their presence in modern shopping centers creates identity for them(Kazemi,2007). Recently many modern shopping centers are facing different kind of incomers, searching new identity and social class. These groupings have become a lot richer and presume changes in appearing in these modern spaces.

Modernity, Shopping Centers and Strolling

Human behavior, as John Lang mentions, is an outcome of personal needs and desires, the potential of the environment, people's subjective image of the outer world due to their perception and the definition these images have for them (Lang, 1987:97). Therefore each activity is influenced by the above conditions and causes various attitudes(Pakzad, 2007:48). For example activities in the modern Iranian shopping center, are connected with the activity of shopping and due to the reality that attitude does not merely depend on activity but it is a

combination of activity, time and place therefore specific attitudes take place in modern shopping eras which appear very different from attitudes in traditional bazaars.

People gather in places such as modern shopping centers and consume specific cultural meanings by strolling in these spaces and creating pleasure by manipulating the space. Here the consumer is a stroller and the stroller is the consumer of space and urban environment in daily life. A stroller in a modern shopping center is actually consuming place and space. Abbas Kazemi sociologist says strollers are consumers and producers, they consume shopping centers and they produce spaces in which they can be identified in (Kazemi, 2009:83). Strolling is an act which holds no specific time and takes place as long as the shopping center is open, in other words as long as strollers are present, shopping centers are active. The experience of being present in the modern shopping center is consuming things that are never bought. The stroller comes to the shopping center to consume space and commodity (Ibid: 209). Mike Pressdee has done a research on Australian shopping centers and has used the expression "Proletarian"⁴⁷ Shopping to describe the young's activity, young who have no money to consume but lots of time to spend in the shopping centers. They do not consume commodity, they consume places and images. They transform the spaces to their own typical spaces so they can create their own culture and separate themselves from the official culture and emphasize on their own specific identity, a kind of consumption which produces no profit for shopkeepers but merely a pleasure transferring shopping centers to a recreational space different from other recreational spaces (Ibid:133).

During claims that the identity of modern shopping centers is not stable, continuous or temporary, they are repaired and their appearance and physics alters (During, 1999:309). Today shopping centers are a part of the urban identity and one of its significances is the strollers who consume these centers. They are overfilled with capitalism and bourgeoisie; however it is obvious the ones who refer to modern spaces are not certainly capitalists and bourgeois or customers. Even ordinary people consume these spaces as a means of recreation and gazing at other groups of the society.

⁴⁷ This term is referred to retired elders, poor and low class groups, working class youth and strolling women by Mike Pressdee in the book "Agony or ecstasy: broken transitions to the new social state of working-class youth in Australia" 1986

Strolling is considered a modern symbol and act as Janet Wolff has defined stroller as an example of bourgeoisie, someone who continuously regards it about environment and the social spaces of the modern city and attempts to dominate it (Wolf, 2000). Meanwhile Wilson sees stroller as a person with a historical existence who neglects nothing new in the city with his curious eyes (Wilson, 1992). Therefore the relation among a stroller and the city can be a metaphor of the city as a text and stroller as a narrative who shall read and define this text. Balzac⁴⁸ names this act as the "art of seeing" which is to enjoy the pleasure of seeing the goods without consuming them, exactly explained as the attitude of a stroller (Ferguson, 2005). Meanwhile the form and architecture of the shopping center has a significant role in the manner and quality of strolling.

Finn has categorized shoppers in the West Edmonton Mall in Canada to five main groups depending on the way they utilize the space and via a research he has done on this issue:

1. Ordinary Shoppers
2. Multipurpose shoppers
3. Leisure Consumers
4. Social Consumers
5. Recreational Consumers

In this classification, leisure consumers are more interested in recreational and entertainment activities, whereas in social consumers, social relations and meetings have a degree of importance and for multipurpose shoppers a combination of these functions are desirable. And for Bloch's grouping the Enthusiasts are the traditional groups willing to use the services and activities in the shopping center, the strollers are interested in strolling and the minimalists who neglect to come to shopping centers because it is time-consuming and for the crowd.

⁴⁸ Honoré de Balzac (20 May 1799 – 18 August 1850) was a French novelist and playwright. Due to his keen observation of detail and unfiltered representation of society, Balzac is regarded as one of the founders of realism in European literature. His writing influenced many philosophers such as Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx.

A variety of people who use the shopping center space are old and retired people. These people are often local residences of the shopping center district who walk to the shopping center area and gather around the outside yard of the shopping center as a stamping ground. These groups often have no desire of strolling inside the shopping center or looking at the goods presented in the window shops yet prefer to benefit public gathering spaces to chat and look just like local squares as used to be in the ancient traditional city structures in Iran.

Kowinski claims young and old individuals are among the most active and anxious groups of active or inactive social participation in shopping centers. He argues young individuals are the most loyal strollers in modern shopping centers whereas they have received the title of the rats of shopping centers (Mansuri, 2000).

The History and Evolution of Shopping Centers

The first shopping centers were □porticos□which were long walking spaces where clients walked. Also a place called the □Agora□which was a public gathering place was built along. The Agora was a vivid and crowded place with public gatherings which made it a great reason for tradesmen to come together (Ghorbanzadeh, 2007:7). There are at least three interpretations on shopping centers, which are as follows:

First approach:

In this approach which belongs to Baudrillard, shopping centers are cars which produce equal and homogenous consumers. In 1998 Lent Velongstone states shopping centers provide an opportunity for the trade affair participation which can be compared with the forums in Athens. Shopping centers are somewhat the public forums in the recent capitalist society. In 1998 Miller said when a family goes to a shopping center together at weekend, the shopping center has created a form of recreation and identity, and meanwhile experiences are produced via the participation of recent capitalist cultural forms. Also according to Baudrillard's point of view,

recreation, nature and culture have been combined with each other in the new society whereas they have been separate in the past.

Second Approach:

Shopping centers are considered as a multi meaning text. Fisk says "women belong to shopping centers" with a sardonic tone. This is a resistance towards the limitations women have at home.

Third Approach:

Marry Douglas, Pierre Bourdieu and Daniel Miller claim shopping centers are understood through social relationships. Shopping centers are identified as a place via the manners of shopping and continuous identity (Pars Boom, 2008:5).

What are Shopping Centers?

Shopping Centers are the heart of today cities. These complexes have various functions such as commercial, administrative and recreational functions. Shopping centers are often vast architectural spaces created for the need of purchase and sell. They refer to a unit or a complex of assembled units including smaller retails. According to John A Dawson, commercial study professor at University of Stirling, shopping centers are a group of buildings or commercial units built in a site, gathered and unified architecturally and programmed, designed and built as an active unit interacting with their district of service according to place, dimension and the variety of shops. This unit often has common parking lots based on the size and number of the shops. These structures are made to provide a place not only to respond to the essentials of shopping but to be a spot for consumption, free time leisure or welfare functions, preparing various activities for its user— such as coffee shops, restaurants, playing spots for children and spaces for gathering and chatting and in this feature they are very similar to the traditional bazaar, whereas both structures are the vital artery of the cities they are situated in. Unfortunately today these structures unlike traditional bazaars are not built based on the environmental architectural needs.

These urban spaces which are the origins of daily life have never been special- purpose spaces; they are multipurpose and the supplier of many activities which are used by citizens. One of the aspects of commercial centers is their role in the city social life. Air pollution, inconvenient climate, the lack of security and the need of spaces to reduce funds has transformed these spaces to recreational and social spaces. In a way shopping centers play the role of old city centers.

Shopping centers were essentially built on the outside edges of the cities, near highways or main routes. Some believe the immigration of people to the outside parts of the city was the main reason of these establishments. And of course the reason for these immigrations was the invention of car which made people think of living away from the congestion of the city the same regulations, concerning the number and type of boutiques.

According to the CIAM congress, a shopping center is a building or a complex of buildings which has some shops and other services considering parking lots. A shopping center is a covered or uncovered place which holds an association of shops from one or various guilds with the purpose of trade. Falamaki, Iranian architect claims that in big shopping centers there are often four principal sections which have defined responsibilities:

The first is the commodity section, observed and controlled by the head of the shopping center, which is responsible for issues such as buying.

Second is the publicity section which is responsible for commercials and propagandas.

Third is the service section which has duties like services related to clients, maintenance of the shop and installations.

The last is maintaining and controlling the accounts (Falamaki, 1992).

This is what Victor Groen and Lary Smith two of the most experienced shopping center designers say about these spaces: "Shopping centers are truly built on the motivation of creating a powerful commercial flow with the purpose of combining retails in means of a more successful business in a space full of current century propagandas. Also in shopping centers different cultural actions take place, these spaces are an area for cultural productions. Therefore shopping centers are not merely a means of economy but an area for social interactions"

Shopping Center Features

Shopping centers have been brought up in Europe and evolutioned in North America. They all have a main longitude where shops are situated on its two sides, on the left or right. They mainly have wide openings placed in various parts of the center and maybe one could say the most important section set in it is the parking lot. Therefore shopping centers particularly consist of a few main elements where in various circumstances may differentiate a bit. All shopping centers have:

1. A few main entrances and exits
2. An architectural plan designed for the inner and outer parts
3. Retail units
4. Gathering spaces and services such as cafes, fairs, chatting places and etc
5. Designed accesses for inner and outer connections
6. Vast special parking lots
7. Technical designs including heating & cooling systems, security systems, fire distinctions etc.

The reason why parking lots are one of the most valued sections of the shopping centers is due to the basis of establishing such a structure which goes back to the existence of cars, the immigration of people to the outside parts of city and the appearance of shopping centers, these are all relevant matters which caused the parking lot to be a very significant segment in designing a shopping center.

The cornerstone of the shopping center design is attraction, shopping and enjoyment; shopping centers resolve this matter by designing leisure objectives. These can vary from appealing paths for walking, fun places for chatting and eating or relaxing spaces alongside greenery and nature.

The Rah Shahr Consulting Engineers believe there are a few conditions for a shopping center to be claimed as a successful one. 1) Access 2) Location 3) The potential for selling 4) It's attraction for visitors 5) Visual factors - internal and external (internal factors such as window shops, and inner exposed elements and external factors such as the outside appearance of the shopping center from the pedestrian point of view, green spaces, statues and fountains).

Shopping Center Grouping

Many criteria can interfere in designing a shopping center, according to the rating Maryam Ghorbanzadeh has done in her thesis □The shopping centers□ this grouping consists of three main factors:

1. Vastness and sphere of influence
2. The retail functions
3. The impact of environmental and geographic factors (Ghorbanzadeh, 2007:13).

The vastness and sphere of influence may cause shopping centers to function in distinctive ranges and depending on their limitations they may represent international, urban, regional and district shopping centers as any other function does. These shopping areas are subdivided according to their width and the referring population. Retail functions may also hold similar (the exchange of specific commodities) or dissimilar functions (the exchange of various products). The impact of environmental issues may directly or indirectly influence the centers and direct impacts are mostly seen in the form, dimension and construction details. According to a typology Sabagh has done in the □Iran Pardis□website, shopping centers have been grouped to a few categories which are briefly described.

Airport Centers: Consisting of retails, restaurants and other airport services

Arcade: This term is often used in Britain and is a covered public urban shopping center with glass arced ceilings common in the 19th century, having two rows of shops on the two sides of the sidewalk which had connections with parallel streets.

Community Center: A shopping center is an uncovered one floor building with an area of 100□000-350□000 meters square consisting of one or two departments, a pharmacy and home appliances stores, with an L or U shape.

Convenience Center: An uncovered shopping center with less than 6 shops which responded to daily needs such as drinks, video films, and other necessary stuff.

Enclosed Mall: A type of shopping center inside a covered structure with controlled accesses and entrances and stores which are accessed via inner corridors

Entertainment Complex: A type of shopping center including places such as theaters, restaurants and leisure spaces in connection with retail shops.

Fashion Mall: A shopping center consisting of shops which present fashionable clothing and desirable commodity.

Festival Marketplace: Urban shopping centers consisting of restaurants and leisure spaces along with cultural and historical places.

Galleria: A glass covered shopping center or a shop with a yard similar to the ones in the Victorian period such as the Victorio Emanuel Gallery built in Italy in 1867.

Lifestyle Center: Shopping centers presented in open air spaces which have outdoor shops with different commodities plus designed restaurants to attract visitors. These centers often have fountains and appealing places for people to sit around and enjoy while shopping.

Mall: A covered shopping center with nearby parking lots.

Mix Use Center: A complex including residential and administrative buildings, restaurants, theatres, a hotel and other functions in connection with a retail.

Neighborhood Center: An uncovered shopping center with an average of 30,000-150,000 meters square area consisting of 3 to 15 floors including a supermarket.

Open Air: A shopping center in direct access to the public, which may have covered sidewalks but the shops are not under same ceilings.

Plaza: A Spanish term related to squares and urban public open spaces. These squares are similar to the "Piazza" in Italy which were the center for social life. The first plaza built in U.S.A, the Kansas City Missouri, had shopping center intensions. Recently this term has lost its previous cultural signification and is referred to shopping malls with semipublic spaces, same level as the street and often consisting of a hotel or an administrative tower (Dadkhah, 2006:13).

Regional Center: Comparing to ordinary shopping centers, they are meant to give services to a wide broad of region. It is a roofed shopping center with 400,000-800,000 meters square

consisting of 40 to 100 various shops. In cases they are seen in touristic regions with the purpose of attracting tourists.

Shopping Center: A designed base group of retails, related to the parking lot which is managed by an organization.

Super Regional Center: A covered 800,000 meters square area place known as the largest shopping center, categorized based on needs which holds 100 shops and has many chain stores.

Village Center: An uncovered shopping center having a few rows and a central square (Sabbagh, 2009).

Also Farrokh Ensandoost Qazviini has divided shopping centers to local shopping centers, social shopping centers and regional shopping centers. They have specific standards which follow:

1. The site with strong access
2. Creating easy access
3. Making recreational spaces
4. Using attractive colors in the architecture of space
5. The entrance
6. Designing the interior decoration
7. The façade
8. The site and outdoor greenery design
9. Lightning
10. Information boxes and billboards

§ The term mall which will mostly be used in the following thesis is:

This term was used for a building or a complex of buildings which had shops and inner walk ways which promoted visitors to walk along shops without car disturbances. The word mall has been used as other terms in other languages for example in Britain the term "Shopping Center" or "Shopping Arcade" is common.

As the first malls we can indicate an example in Illinois U.S.A which had buildings around a grid of pedestrian walk. One of the characteristics of malls is the existence of irregular open spaces in between the buildings and beyond that is the regulation the shops are all to obey to increase the attractions. These open spaces were the motivation for designing green spaces inside shopping centers for a better climate. With the growth of industry in American and European countries, building shopping centers became an industry in construction as it used the latest technologies. One of the common methods in building these centers was simplicity and rigid spaces, and eliminating decoration in order **to give view to the visitors. The other was** creating attractive paths to encourage visitors to traverse the long aisles in the shopping centers without getting tired or bored (Ghorbanzadeh, 2007:12). The term "Megamalls" was used for very big malls.

The biggest shop in the mall, usually a chain store was called the "Anchor Store" or "Draw Tenant". These shops arose in 1950 by Victor Gruen who made serious evolutions in the architecture of shopping centers. The purpose of the Anchor stores was first to create stability and assurance from financial and economical aspects in large scale projects and the second was to make attractions for shopping and visiting which resulted to more visits and purchase from the smaller shops.

Outlet Mall or Outlet Center

These malls first arose in U.S.A where the surplus products of the factories were sold as outlets. These malls sold their goods directly via their private shops.

Strip Mall

This mall became widespread after the World War II and after the suburbia phenomena. In these shopping areas, shops are designed on one side and have a walk way in front of them. The first strip mall was built in Roland Park in Baltimore U.S.A in 1896 and in Britain these spaces are known as "Out of Town Shopping Centers". In the old strip malls, shops were built in

a straight row yet in the more recent examples more architectural skills have been applied to compose them with its ambit. Another type of strip malls in U.S.A is "Big Box" which has an area of more than 50,000 – 200,000 meters square. They are simple single boxes with no window and high ceilings in the suburbs including vast open parking and enormous billboards.

Shopping and Window-shop

The most important feature in contemporary shopping centers is matters related to visual esthetics. In fact the window layout in the shopping center holds the greatest impact, since the preliminary issue that attracts the strolling client is the window. Nowadays it is impossible to think a client has chosen shopping center regardless spending time to look at window-shops. Kazemi a cultural sociologist recalls these types of clients as window clients who shop the windows and spent time enjoying themselves and looking at window-shops (Kazemi, 2007:299). Fisk refers to these groups as the market explorers, where he indicates an amount of 80% of unemployed young in Australia visit shopping centers at least once a week. They spend time watching and occupying the space instead of shopping, a delightful unprofitable consumption.

Feminine Features in Shopping Centers

The average of feminine products in modern shopping centers is higher than the men's. This could be due to the interest women have in shopping or the amount of free time they have comparing to men. It is often said the number of women seen in the shopping center is twice the men especially in the day time, this can also be due to the free time women have during this time of day. Fisk indicates nearly 100 % of unemployed young women are the regular visitors of shopping centers. Women wearing makeup and fashionable clothes visit shopping centers to first of all display themselves in a more modern area in front of eyes willing to see, something that may not be possible in an ordinary type of space and subsequently stroll in an imaginary modern place even though they do not have the purpose of buying things. Many of them spend time gazing at window-shops or chatting about the good-looking young men often shop keepers. Women who come to shopping centers not only enjoy themselves but pass their time and

boredom. These are the most interesting activities in a shopping center besides shopping. As Murriss sees recreation and entertainment aspects of a shopping center of great importance.

Ferguson believes shopping is a feminine attitude in the first place and women themselves cannot be strollers because customers do not appear as strollers besides women are the basic component of the urban demonstration and they themselves are consumed by strollers (Kazemi, 2006). Fisk says strollers are producers meaning that strolling in shopping centers is consuming place and space, a consumption which is a kind of production. Girls are more interested in looking at commodities and the window shops and boys are often busy gazing at others especially girls. Their main difference is that girls are mostly obliged to walk around and stroll whereas boys have the chance of gathering and gazing. Teenagers also benefit the spaces which are usually not consumed via other customers or shop keepers, spaces such as staircases and stairs outdoor the mall. They are more comfortable in these spaces, where they can show their presence without being controlled by elders in school or home.

Modern shopping centers for women are multi functional spaces, work, recreational and free time. They stroll to shop and shop to stroll in these spaces. They are often not alone and stroll along with someone else which creates a feminine society. Bowlby says shopping centers are one of the first places which women dominate ahead administrative spaces such as offices (Bowlby, 1987). In other words modern shopping centers are a place for women to hide from the society's eyes and their housework. They can be free in these spaces, shop freely, bargain, display themselves and walk without the dangers which may threaten them outside in the street. They can ask prices, look at window shops, try on cloths and consume space without even buying any commodity just by drinking or eating a small snack (Kazemi, 2007).

Modernity and Urban Life in Iran

Life in cities before capitalism was very slow and most ordinary people looked for traditions similar to the traditions of the residences in the suburb districts and based on today's standards, cities were very small. Today, cities are a part of the integrity of the society's institutions and have a high influence on it. Urbanization today has many differences with the features of cities before the modern period due to the birth of capitalism (Giddens, 1992:93). After the birth of modernism there was a social change which Giddens expresses as the change of "traditional society" to an "industrial society" in other words the replacement of a *Gemeinschaft*⁴⁹ community to a *Gesellschaft*⁵⁰ society. Therefore it can be said that modern society is an industrial society and in order to modernize a society first of all you must industrialize it. Industrialization reveals huge alterations, as Neil Postman said, "technological change is not additive it is ecological. A new technology does not merely add something; it changes everything". He also adds what becomes of this is a dramatic change through the centuries that has evolved socially, industrially, and economically, summed up by the term modernization.

Also Marx uses the term "Commodification" to ascribe one of the signs of the contemporary life, which means to buy and sell goods and produce interest, this procedure continues as long as human lives. Modern urbanization and its life style can be understood by how spaces are commoditized in capitalist societies (Giddens, 1992:96). Modernism brought the culture of consumption and as a result of consumption; spaces such as shopping centers were brought up along with a homogenous culture. Consumption is assumed to be the savior of the contemporary city. In many respects the city has become something of a post-Fordist space where the needs and the desires of the consumer appear to be at its core. The city is presented to the consumer as a cultural democracy: a space where anything is possible and where anybody can aspire to anything. The contemporary city legitimizes the consumer society. Consumer

⁴⁹ A term Louis Wirth uses to describe small communities or an "integrated society" which has a spontaneous self-expression.

⁵⁰ A term Louis Wirth uses to describe a community which needs instrumental social relationships which will be replaced by grand scale societies.

culture does not encourage heterogeneity but homogeneity: "The more cities become the same " same shops, same restaurants, and same art galleries " the more they paradoxically yearn for some particular identity"(Ryan, 2001: 30).

After modernism and the construction of malls, the insides of department stores were designed like exhibition halls with goods of each kind collected in one place. They had window displays on the street but human interaction and conversations between shoppers and assistants and the appearance of assistants was seen as the least important after the display of goods. This is unlike the traditional bazaars where social interactions were more important than merely gazing at the goods. Crosswick and Jauman point out that the department stores were highly visible, through their architectural presence and their ostentatious publicity, and this very visibility was one reason why they became a symbol of modernity . . . modern in design, in sales methods, in the application of new technology to the act of retailing and to the art of attracting customers" (Crosswick and Jauman, 1999, in Finn, 2001: 89). They soon became a symbol and identity of the modern world.

The Industrial Revolution in Europe was simultaneous with the Iranian cultural and political isolations, which caused Iran to drop behind vast evolutions in the country. Birashk believes religious prejudices, feudalism dissolution, rural and urban unfavorable situation societies of Iran from one hand and the degradation of international business affairs from the other hand, led to cultural and economical downfall in Iran. The origins of this downfall began with the Safaviid era and benighted rural and urban societies day by day, resulting to the dependency of Iran from economical and cultural aspects (Birashk, 1970:104). Modern movement in Iran began at Reza Shah, Pahlavi the first, with the development of avenues, vast streets and railway stations. Reza Shah and Kamal Ataturk in Turkey, both attempted to bring modernity to their countries but modernity had many conflicts with religion, therefore Ataturk abolished religion in Turkey. This event did not happen in Iran therefore Iran was never considered as a modern country.

In the first half of the twentieth century, the central government held the political and economical power and local authority power reduced resulting to the increase of power in the central bureaucratic government. Therefore the highest amount of urban population was settled

in Tehran, the capital city and the beehive of such a great amount in one point needed a significant consumptive bazaar for the produced commodities (Birashk, 1970:106). The traditional social class which had been formed during centuries in Iran disappeared rapidly and taken place by new classifications based on economical values (the rich, the middle class and the poor class); this led to a major change in the urban district division which functioned independently in the past. It is in 1970, forty one years ago which Birashk states the only sector of the Iranian city which remains traditional, albeit many alterations, is the bazaar retaining its life (Birashk, 1970:108). Today however this sector has also had many extra changes comparing to the time Birashk mentions these words and now even traditional bazaars have faced serious modern world changes.

The modernists in Iran had a very superficial interpretation on innovation and development neglecting the profound bases of modernism in the world. Therefore basic and major developments in Europe and west were commutated to vast and superficial forms in Iran. In the Qajar period, cities in Iran consisted of three habitual main powers along with three locative or architectural positions in city; *the fort*; the lodgment of the king as the political position, *grand mosques* and schools as the religious position and the *bazaar*; the main social structure of the city as the economical position. Meanwhile this era coincided with the industrial revolution in the 19th century known as the major developments in architecture and urbanism in America and Europe as the modernism period (Pars Boom, 2008:31).

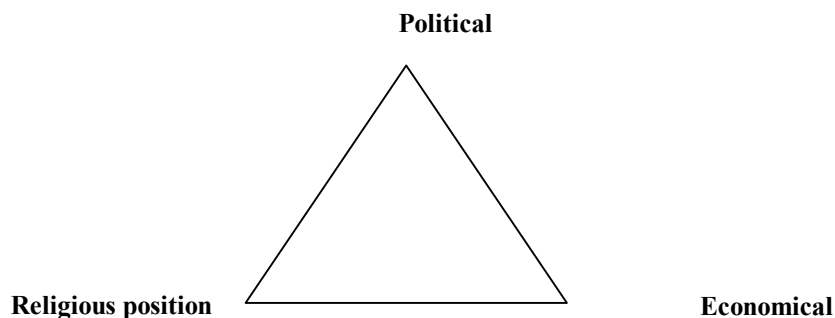


Chart by author

According to Birashk's view, the effects of the industrial civilization on Iran was as follows:

- The connection among the ancient traditional culture and the Iranian urban society was cut and since the country did not have the preparation of accepting the new industrial culture, it faced many problems. Meanwhile traditions and religious believes which in their progressive form could have assisted the formation of the culture of the society, became development barriers.
- Public awareness of developments in foreign countries and new technological facilities in well developed urban lives, led to the increase of industrial commodity consumption in the Iranian society without introducing them with industrial producing aspects. Therefore Iranian bazaar became new bazaars for consumption of foreign commodities.
- Social institutions changed completely due to western culture and religion which was an inseparable sector of the Iranian life, retained its relative significance yet segregated from the social life and became an independent institution (Birashk, 1970:104).

Introversion in the Iranian architecture resulted to the creation of a city known as the traditional bazaar inside a city. The city known as the bazaar had all functionalities and activities a city needed itself, whereas after modernism and the expansion of extraversion followed with the removal of the Iranian city Hijab (veil), these activities were also dissociated. After on, one of the products of modernism in are streets. Khaksari says: even though in many cases streets responded to very simple and basic needs of the city residences, yet they became a rival for the traditional bazaar (Khaksari, 2006:41). We can indicate this chart as a timeline of the status of the effective phenomenon called street and modernism in Iran:

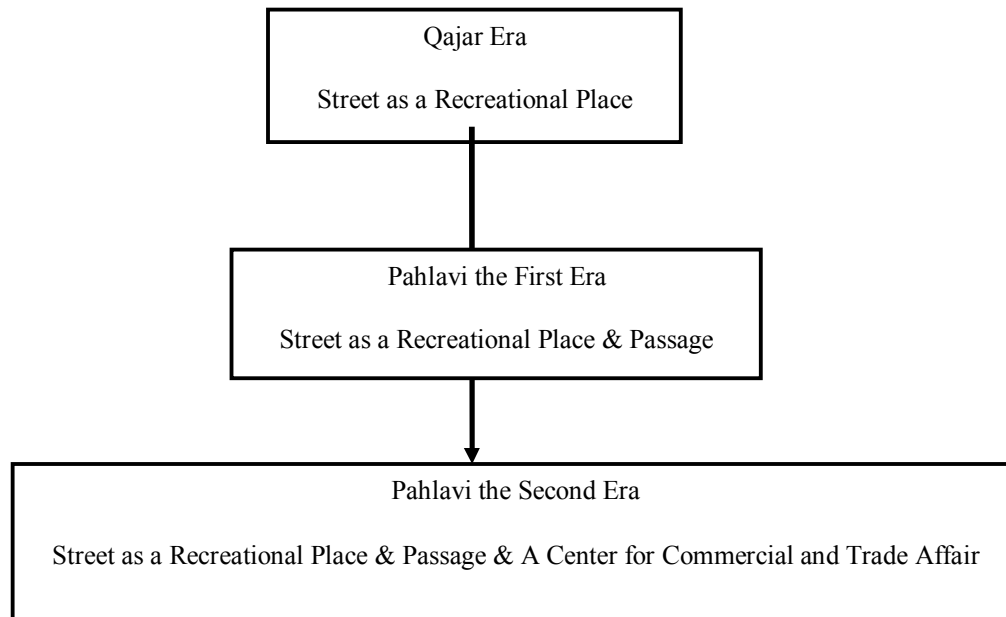


Table 2: The history chart by author

The definition of streets in traditional cities were passages including main paths, principal accesses with often passageways, residential and commercial functions and what they really meant were recreational and leisure functions, influenced by the Iranian garden. In the Qajar time, which had stopped to an economical and workshop condition, streets copied the neoclassic streets. Therefore not only Iranian streets were not derived from the Iranian garden concept but also they applied the Haussmann style from Paris. Street changed to a place for trades affaire, work and leisure with a special identity and existence and the architecture of the street which was affected by the concept of extroversion in style, led to a new urbanism and this new definition of street, created new icons. In the past the bazaar was a social and economical symbol and the symbol of modern civilization was production, investment and modernism approaches. The most significant of all were streets with exhibitions, views and activities (Pars Boom, 2008:36). Streets such as the Vali Asr Street are one of the most important avenues in Tehran as a strong example of this city attraction.

As a result of modernity, the establishment of modern factories displaced numerous artisan workshops. Parts of old bazaars were destroyed to create wide streets, merchants were encouraged to locate retail shops along these new streets rather than in the bazaars. The political

elite in the last years of the Pahlavi dynasty spoke of the bazaars as symbols of backwardness and advanced plans to replace some of them with modern shopping malls. Today most religious aspects are fading away in Iran and particularly in the capital and great cities and not only religious aspects are neglected in modern shopping centers but they also conflict it, whereas the core of the traditional bazaars were mosques and religious matters.

Modernity, Iranian Traditional Bazaar and the Modern Shopping Centers

In the past the Iranian bazaar was the center for news distribution, social interaction and production whereas today it holds a trade affair seat. As Pahlavanzadeh says, the development of cities in the contemporary time and the variety of paths and the differentiation of production, distribution and presenting commodities have not provided suitable conditions for the adaptation of the Iranian traditional bazaar and the modern time(Pahlavanzadeh:161).

One of the modern impacts on the traditional bazaars is the economical impacts. After modernism, many primitive workshops which used to be strong architectural elements of the bazaar, always vivid and active were replaced by industrial factories, productive stock companies, big factories and other productive institutes which completely declined traditional bazaar roles, meanwhile productive institutes restricted the offer and the distribution of commodities for themselves. This resulted to a change in the physical architecture of the space as well.

After the technological changes of modernism in Iran such as the appearance of vehicles, severe alterations occurred in the method of transport. Caravan pathways were replaced by new rapid roads and many bazaars or Iranian cities which were situated on the way to these caravan paths, lost their previous importance and faced a huge decline, influenced by new important markets. Traditional bazaars were separated from the city via new streets and the continuity in the physical atmosphere of the city which is the result of the continuity of the urban life and the solidarity among local districts and the traditional bazaar, disappeared. Also many active traditional bazaars lost their logical connection with other sectors of the city.

Social developments in the Iranian traditional bazaars such as leisure, education, judgment, news distribution and many more social activities were removed from the traditional bazaar and replaced in other parts of the city based on a completely new system. This issue later accelerated the decline of the traditional bazaar, because in the past many important social and cultural activities took place in one specific place near the traditional bazaar, therefore it had many referrals due to the separation of these architectural spaces, a great gap among these activities took place. This also led to the separation of the bazaar and the city day after day and so the bazaar and the city transmuted to two completely distinguishable units one as a service unit and the other as the consumptive unit. The bazaaris which were the most intellectual social class in city were transformed to an introverted and conservative group (Birashk, 1970:115). Besides, the appearance of modern administrative- social systems resulted to a gradual decrease of the centralization of the mosque for the bazaar and the city began to function merely in specific cases. Meanwhile with the decline of the traditional bazaars, local residents near the traditional bazaar became vacant and replaced by new social groups which lacked the sense of belonging (Falamaki, 2007:167). So as a result modernism defunctioned mosques and religious spaces in the Iranian city. However these spaces continue to be significant in an Islamic country like Iran yet they do not have their previous power and impact.

The horizontal expansion of the city to places with better climatic situations caused the relocation of the city core to the new built spaces. Meantime other elements and spaces in these urban fabrics were influenced by these evolutions, today merely considered from architectural aspects; spaces such as water storages, traditional fridges and ancient Hammams (Khaksari, 2006:45). If before modernism the city growth and its expansion occurred organically and inside the city borders, at this time and with the removal of the city walls, it developed adjacent the newly constructed streets. Hence the bazaar's power decreased and its most important function in the city as the coordinator of the city center, was severely injured (Pars Boom, 2008:15). Meanwhile the development of governmental institutions and administrations and the creation of a new urban social class consisting of administrative officials attenuated the city core and its relevant elements. This was one of the most important outcomes of the structural change of the ancient city which resulted to the transmutation of the city core aside the newly constructed streets.

The growth of cities with two centers, administrative and political centers in the modern period against commercial centers in the ancient cities is another reason for the bazaar transmutation. Until the Qajar period the orientation of the government was towards the people and the bazaar, whereas after Reza Shah (Pahlavi the 1st), the orientation of the new governmental institutions were towards the new social class establishments (the new districts in the northern parts of the city) (Pars Boom, 2008:15), which resulted to the increase of importance in modern buildings and the decrease significance of the historical power. Therefore we can categorize the factors reducing the bazaar efficiency after modernism in Iran to:

- The street laying and the significance of the street architecture after modernity in Iran
- The shift of the city center, cities which expanded outside the ancient city borders
- The growth of cities with dual centralities

Basically the basis of creating shopping centers is to increase the need to purchase and consume not essential commodities but unnecessary goods which merely have decorative and consumptive functions. Even presented snacks and foods in the Iranian shopping centers follow such a reality, small quick snacks bearing foreign names are the most purchased; snacks such as popcorns, corns, hotdogs, pizzas, and other fast foods are the most common. These snacks propound the new style of eating, outside the identified style of traditional eating among Iranian families which leads to reproducing these snacks and shops for sell. As Baudrillard believes consuming is a flow which attempts to create and conserve a feeling of identity (Bocock, 2002).

Young in shopping centers come to spend time, have fun and feel they belong to a modern atmosphere regardless the ambiance outside the borders of the shopping center. Therefore they buy modern products, dress fashionable clothes, eat different food and even have modern attitudes such as behaviors towards a different sex. It is in this surrounding they perceive the modern human being they wish to be, even thought for a short duration of time. Baudrillard claims this similarly, he states people produce the sense of identity of who they are via what they consume. They pretend to be modern and live a modern lifestyle regardless all the lacks their lifestyle has comparing to even a medium class modern life, through what they buy and use from a new fashioned shop. Bocock glances at this issue as people who are the users of clothing, food,

accessories, furniture and even the type of leisure, refer to these objects not because of what they are but due to what they want to be, they produce the feeling of identity of who to be via what they consume (Bocock, 2004:10). Kazemi says in today's modern society, essentially the nature of shopping is a matter of recreation (Kazemi, 2005). Modern shopping centers in Iran are the city for the stroller.

Part 2

Introduction:

In this part three modern shopping centers will be studied, with a focus on architectural sectors such as light, pavement, materials, accesses, and the overall atmosphere of the space. The shopping malls chosen are all well-known shopping centers in Tehran for being very modern and selling expensive brands. They are located in the north east and north parts of Tehran, where many wealthy customers are settled, in these shopping centers even the lower social class strollers try to dress, act and shop like the wealthy ones. These three centers are the Golestan shopping center located in the north west of Tehran in one of the richest and best west districts, the Tirajeh shopping center located in the west of Tehran known as a modern shopping center due to its strong recreational design in providing a funfair inside the shopping center and the Nasr shopping center in the north west which is significant due to its combinative modulation.

Space is defined through the determinative elements and its characteristics depend on the arrangement among these elements. Urban components and elements include: flooring, framework, ceiling and the available elements in space (Pakzad, 2007:87); the function of flooring is to either show the limit of ownership in space or in some cases indicate a change or an event (Moughtin, 1996:91). Framework is vertical limitative elements which will determine the space with its combination with openings and other factors (Pakzad, 2007:90). Also form in architecture is directly in relationship with the people's culture and believes, being defined in shapes, various orientations, colors and materials and able to create a physical space. Form as the physical appearance of people's ideas and traditions, realizes space; therefore with the help of the produced forms we can achieve a suitable understanding of space (Gideon, 2006).

Golestan Shopping Center

Project Location: Iran Zamiin Street (North West of Tehran)

Number of floors: 6 floors

Total Area: 18000 meters square infrastructure

This shopping center has 149 shops and was constructed in 1979. It is considered as one of the best and most well known shopping centers in the west part of Tehran. It includes 6 floors, consisting of 3 main floors-commercial and administrative and two floors for parking lots plus one floor for storages allocated to the shop owners. Each parking is 5500 meters square and there is a second parking in front and outside the shopping center. Golestan Commercial Center is considered as the city of strollers. It is located on the west side of Tehran in one of the best zones of the city. It is like a city with streets and main squares holding fast food restaurants and many various kinds of people who come to stroll and glance. At first it was constructed merely for the needs of the Shahrak Gharb⁵¹ residences yet afterwards it became very well known to all Tehran residences because of its famous brands and atmosphere (Kazemi, 2009:103). Golestan shopping center is designed so that strollers and visitors are able to stand, walk and sit around while shopping; this makes it act as a recreational center and beyond a shopping place.

Many say the life of this shopping center is in the presence of strollers as an everyday habit. Here the audience (spectators) plays the role of worth seeing objects and observers are as spectacles. The role of observers and objects is in a perpetual change. In Golestan shopping center young people have special spaces allocated to themselves following particular activities and dates. They use the fashion presented in this shopping center and meanwhile present themselves as fashionable objects.

This mall is developed on the basis of Iranian architecture, consisting of a water pool and a fountain, using Iranian architectural elements such as the vestibule, the porch and the central yard. The principle material is brick and traditional brick motives. The Golestan shopping center

⁵¹ A residential complex located on the west side of Tehran with mostly wealthy people

has a main hall and a main square and three hallways which branch out from the main axes, this hallway divides the outer part of the shopping center to three yards, the eastern, western and northern yard. The eastern part includes: restaurants and banks and the western includes small gardens and some benches, plus the security office and the door to the parking. Also the northern part holds the technical sections of the shopping center and the management office therefore it is less referred to by customers and often used by office workers and shopkeepers. The hierarchy in this shopping center is considered suitable.

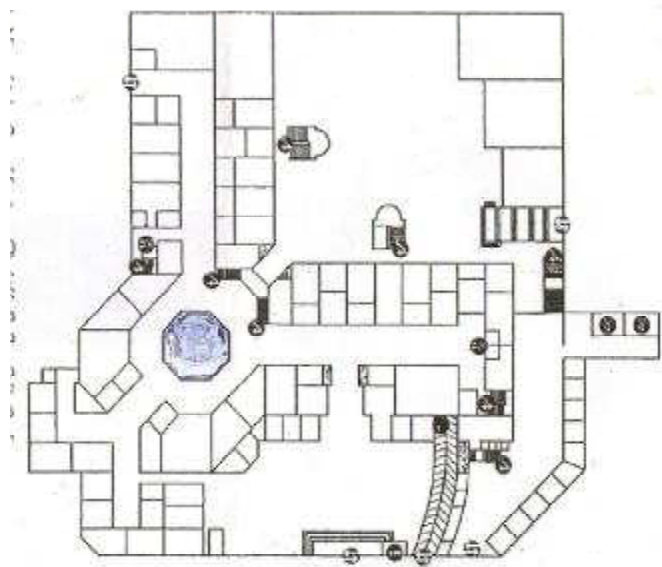


Map showing the location of Golestan Shopping Center on the west side of Tehran

Inside the central and main yard there are a few household products shops clothing shops and sweet shops. Normally there are strollers who sit around and chat on the benches predicted for this category of people in this space. In the center of the shopping center there is a water fountain surrounded with greenery. This is considered a very suitable place for the customers to sit and relax. Many strollers are associated in this space. Recently many advertising stands are settled around the central fountain where information is given by experts, in order to encourage the desire of purchasing these products. The presence of such vast and various spaces is one of the potentials of this shopping center.

The ground floor includes various shops which lead to a terrace with a view to the back yard that holds the shops and two coffee shops. The first and second floors have less referral and hold mostly administrative functions, souvenir shops and rug shops. This is known as one of the most consequential problems of many shopping centers, the inequality among the value and the importance of the shops. Some shops for example are situated in particular places of the mall which can be better seen and have a more suitable access whereas others are located at the end of hallways, where not many people desire to look at, unless they already have cognition on. This has resulted to the creation of retired and empty spaces and the inequality in the distributed population in the shopping mall.

Shopping center First Floor Plan





The stairs leading the main street elevation to the Golestan Shopping center yard





View of the two minor and principal entrances of the Golestan Shopping Center from the street,

The entrance is made of brick with a simple volume from the outside and a water fountain in the center of the entrance yard with benches and stands around

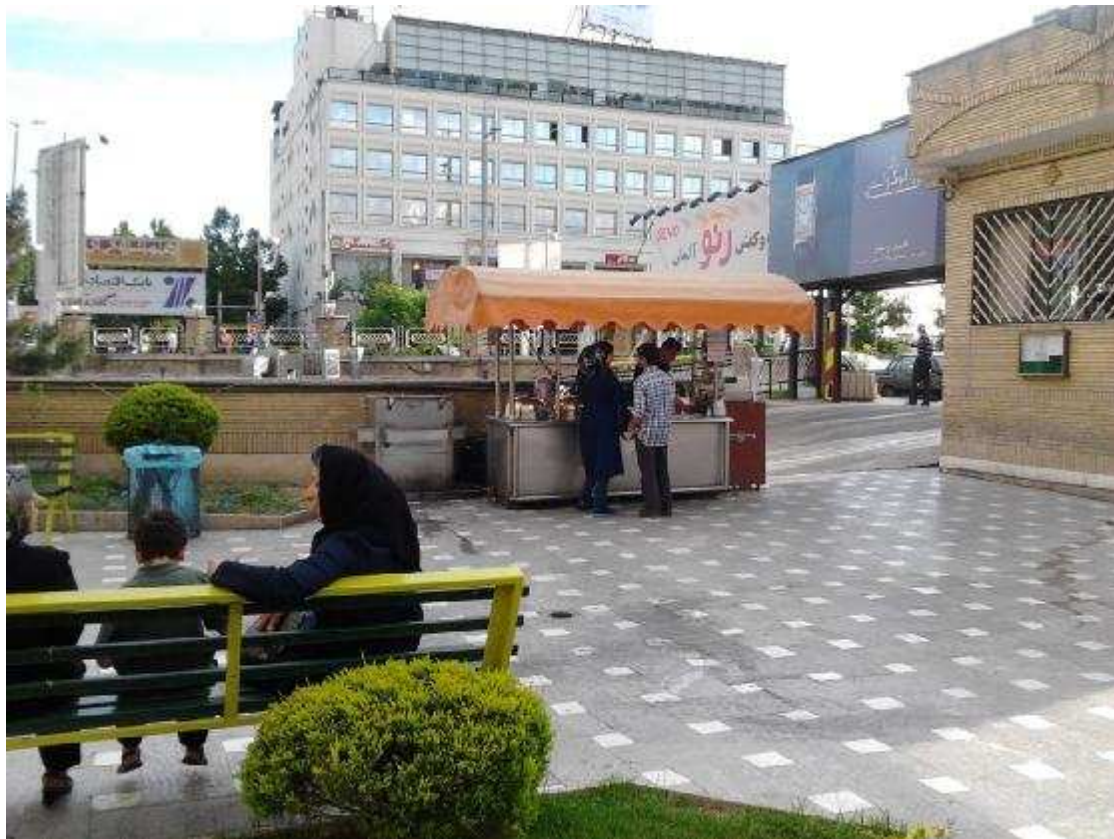
The form of the arched entrance continues to where it creates a narrow shade in front of the façade situating the shops behind it



The sidewalk heading towards the Golestan shopping center

Different pavements remark different atmospheres; the flooring indicates pedestrians a special place -the shopping center on the left-

Peddlers benefit the passage of customers outside the barriers of the shopping center



The photo of the entrance yard where strollers and women gather around and watch the visitors to the shopping center while talking, photos by author



There are ice cream stands, popcorn stands and other snacks located inside the entrance yard which attracts the customer to buy a quick snack even if he is not intending to visit inside the shopping center



The central basin located in the middle of the Golestan shopping center

The shopping floors placed around the basin are shown in the picture

Customers sit around the water fountain, which has become a gathering place for the visitors due to its fine air circulation and the above skylight





The ceiling situated on top of the water basin in the Golestan shopping center is a repetition of the polygon on surface

Glass windows lead light indirectly inside plus a great chandelier is hanging from the ceiling for extra artificial light



The surface in Golestan shopping center is white ceramic tile in a simple combination with colored tiles

Yet brick is the dominant material in this center



Every floor has brickwork walls with small ventilators on these walls

Small artificial lights are installed on the ceilings on each floor



The three floors of the Golestan shopping center are shown in the picture, a pleasant natural light which enters via the glass upper windows in addition to the artificial lights on each floor



Flower pots have been assumed on each floor to create a more natural ambience



The material brick has been used statically and esthetically in this shopping center



The space in front of the fountain & the corridors on the first floor



The entrance as the most occupied space in the Golestan shopping center



The strongest function in the Golestan shopping center is the recreational usage it has
for strollers such as young girls and boys



Colorful and attractive shop designs in the Golestan shopping center present modern and occidental products in the windows



Small shops or selling stands sell juices, candies and other quick snacks, often interesting for young folks

The stands are often situated near the mall entries



Tirajeh Shopping Center

Project Location: Ashrafi Esfahani Boulevard, Between Hemmat and Hakiim Highway (West of Tehran)

Area of Project: 9200 meters square

Number of floors: 5 floors

Total Area: about 41000 meters square

The Tirajeh Shopping center has been programmed in 4 commercial and one parking lot floor established in 1995 in the 5th zone of Tehran. The first phase of design consisted of a commercial center and the later phases included cultural centers and a cinema, however this phase was not executed. This project is located on the east part of the Ashrafi Highway. This shopping center design is one the few cases in Tehran that has designed leisure centers aside commercial centers in the complex, considered as an advantage of the design, it has decreased the commercial center area and added to the recreational sections, walking areas and other connective elements, something relatively rare in Tehran shopping centers.

The concept of this design is very similar to a square which has created various angles and views and attracts customers to walk through all the aisles and paths with no confusion. The main axes and the entrance are located on the diameter of this square with a wide view in the space, considered as an advantage of the design.

The main entrance to the Tirajeh shopping center has a few meters of recess which highlights the entrance from the rest of the façade. Commercial units are seen from behind the glass façade and outside the corridor, designed around the principal volume yet the only access to them is the main entrance, this is why many believe there is a gap among the two outdoor and indoor spaces, they mention this matter as a negative point in the Tirajeh shopping center.

This shopping center is located in between two main highways, the Hemmat and Ashrafi Esfahani highway providing a very suitable access for comers; however it has resulted to a decrease in its sidewalks. Plus in this shopping center there is a 100 % construction which means

there is no empty space around the Tirajeh shopping center and no free area to create social interactions.

The shops have been each situated around the void inside the square making a convenient space to walk in front of the shops and gaze at the window shops. This mall has put into advantage the use of greenery and trees either naturally or artificially to purify the air and create a more enliven atmosphere, and has become more attractive for the customers referring to this shopping center. This center has been raised to a more pleasant atmosphere by using nature and greenery including trees and plants which are situated all over the mall. They have created suitable places for strollers and customers to sit down and relax and find the chance to benefit the overall space, by looking around. The presence of greenery which is understood the very first minute of entrance, is one of the reasons why Tirajeh has more referrals,

This complex does not have sufficient parking lots therefore confronts many problems for the customers, because the area around the shopping center cannot respond to the parking needs, this is considered as the Tirajeh's disadvantage. The existence of the funfair on the 4th floor of the shopping center is an advantage, however its acoustic has not been revised properly and as a result the funfair has increased noise pollution in the mall atmosphere which is noted as a disadvantage.



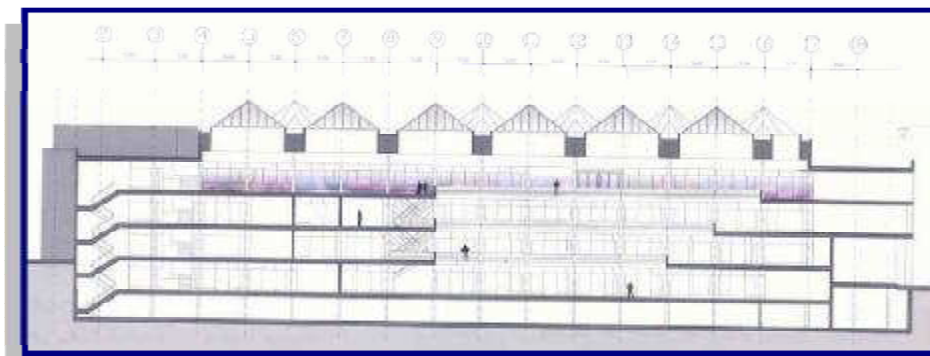
Map showing the location of Tirajeh Shopping Center on the North West side of Tehran



Tirajeh Shopping Center Site Plan



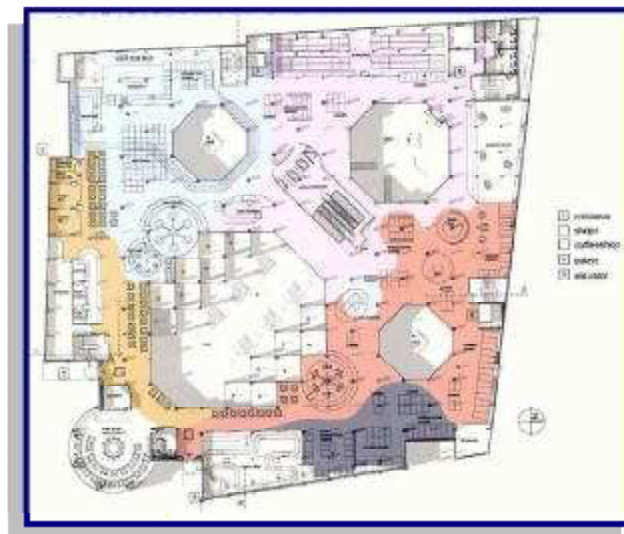
Perspective showing number of openings from the ceiling



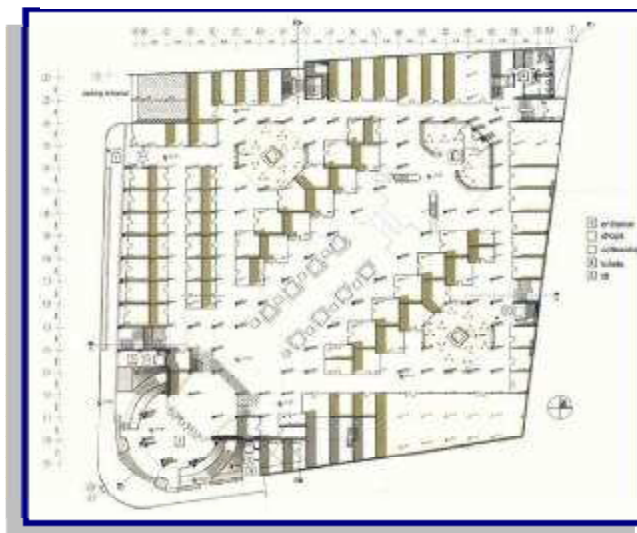
Tirajeh Shopping Center
Horizontal Section



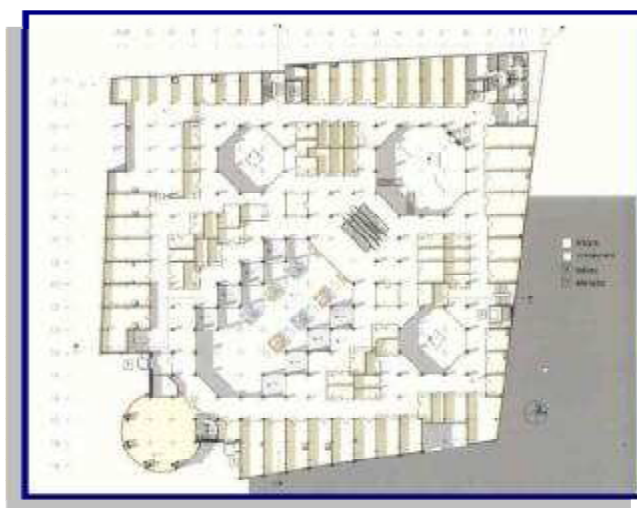
Vertical Section of
Tirajeh shopping center



Ground floor plan of Tirajeh shopping center



First floor plan of Tirajeh shopping center



Second floor plan of Tirajeh shopping center



The entrance to the center is recognizable via its special architectural form and its recess

The entrance is normally a suitable place for the gathering of young folks



Tirajeh shopping center does not have a parking lot for itself therefore the street is obliged to respond to the parking needs of the this center, which in many cases becomes a traffic problem for the street

In the last photo the corridor around the main entrance is shown, the whole corridor leads to one entrance, a disadvantage in access



The natural light is directed through the glass ceiling, not a flat square but divided into smaller square glasses so the reflected light on the floor resembles dotted lights





Artificial halogen lights are situated in the hallways ceilings and the central light is derived from the glass openings



The ventilation in the ceiling aside the halogen

Types of furniture used in Tirajeh in the photo below, trash can and ATM machine





The pavement consists of white ceramic tiles in a simple composition with brownish ceramic tiles, among the tiles there are advertising tiles with commercials of products or shops creating a desire to look at the floor with no disturbance for the space



View to all four floors of the Tirajeh shopping center, photo by author
View of first floor, central space and main space of Tirajeh shopping center



View to floors from the ground floor,
photo by author



View to the greenery and small boutiques
installed on the ground floor and view to
the rocky travertine columns of the
complex





The access in Tirajeh is by
escalators, stair cases and
elevators

Photo of escalators leading to
the central space of the
shopping center





View to the funfair placed on the fourth floor of the Tirajeh shopping center, Tirajeh is one of the few shopping centers in Iran which has assumed and designed a special place for children's activities although the flaws





The window shops in Tirajeh shopping center are often wide open glass windows - transparent surfaces for the customers-





Shopkeepers often try to exhibit the most attractive colors and sizes in the window shop, modern windows in shopping centers means less products being presented



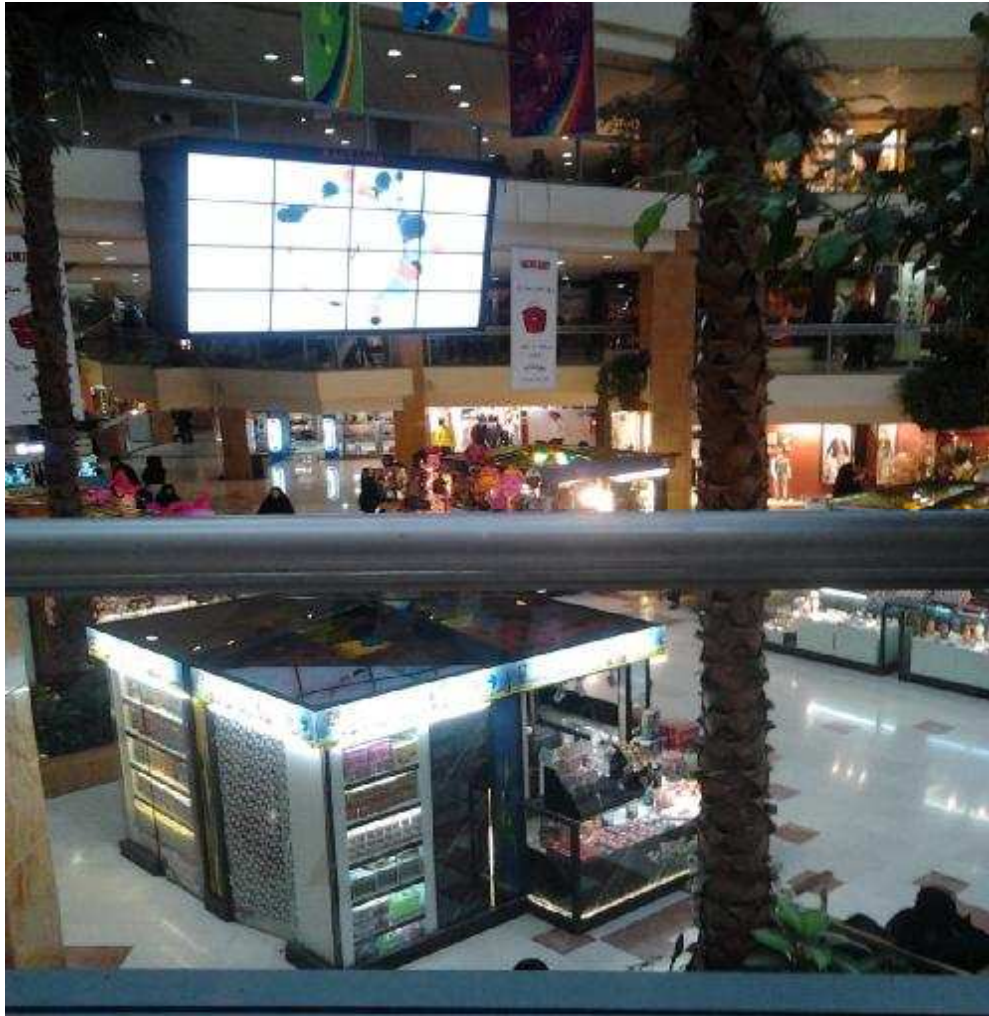
Window shops are often very bright with big artificial lights or chandeliers as light sources





Small temporary-removable shops sit in the spaces among the escalators or other accesses and often unusable spaces,

In the spaces around the columns, there are temporary exhibitions of products such as massage chairs



Small simple cube volumes with transparent surfaces as temporary boutiques placed either near the entrances or the center of main spaces



Strollers chat, eat snacks or stand in the hallways around voids on each floor





Young boys and girls form the strongest referrals to modern shopping centers, sitting on benches, window shopping or strolling near boutiques





Restaurants create a suitable place for gatherings



A visible wooden ceiling for the restaurant
on the ground floor, view from above

Small shops inside the Tirajeh shopping
center sell snacks such as donuts, corn or
sweets; edibles avowed by young, the
centralizations of crowd





Shopping centers often create proper spaces for people to sit, eat, talk and gaze at strollers, the wooden benches and stony platforms around the flower pots have a similar function in Tirajeh shopping center





One of the most remarkable elements in the Tirajeh shopping center is its greenery which is noteworthy for each and every visitor at time of arrival



The greenery in this shopping centre is either provided by the tall palm trees, the flower pots set on each floor or the flower boxes arranged in the columns gaps

Nasr Shopping center

Project Location: Nasr or Gisha Street (West of Tehran)

Number of floors: 2 floors

This center was built in 1994 and called after the Nasr Street where it is located. The Nasr shopping center was built on a water canal, with 65% municipality cooperation and 35% of two contractors. This center has two floors consisting of 600 shops. The dimension of the shops are often small, an average of 12 meters square, so people with low incomes also found a chance to buy shops in this center. This shopping mall has a linear plan with a narrow hallway in the middle and shops located on the right and left side with no special hierarchy, ones who enter the mall are obliged to exit from the same hallway they entered.

This shopping center has a very good geographical location, situated among four main highways, the Chamran, the Jalal Al Ahmad, the Fazlollah and the Resalat highway, which can be considered as an advantage for Nasr shopping center. This center does not have a parking and most customers are obliged to park in the streets nearby therefore most of its customers are local residences.

Nasr shopping center has a low ceiling covered in glass and shops such as jewelry shops, cloth shops, home wares, food, mobile, coffee shops, barber shops and more are found. The shops are located on the left and right side of the corridor on the ground floor and open to the street. Fast food restaurants and game nets encourage strollers to wonder around and enter the shopping center. Snack shops and Macdonalds are located in the front door of the Nasr shopping center and many customers are attracted by it; yet no space is considered for the gathering or sitting of these incomers.

This center has two specific components:

1. It is a local shopping center

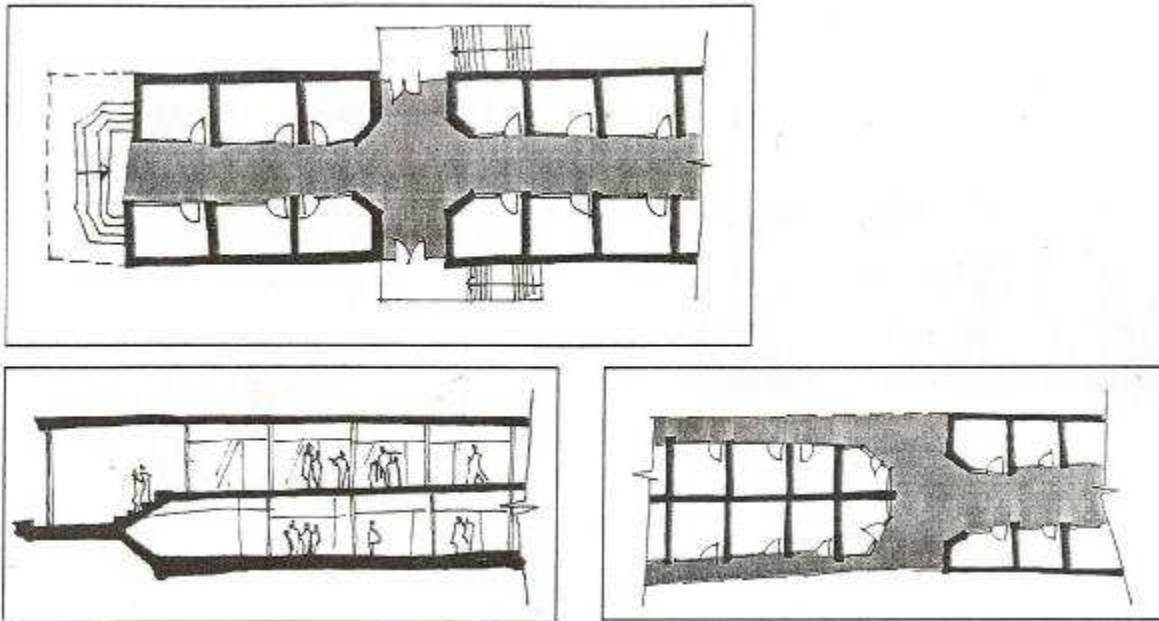
It is a local shopping center where often local residences shop, this has resulted to an increase in prices comparing to other shopping centers located in Tehran, besides the lack of parking lot has led to a lower referral from outside the district.

2. It has one main Raasteh

This shopping centre has one of the primitive components of a traditional Iranian bazaar. The form of Nasr shopping center architecturally consists of one main corridor which is similar to the Raasteh in the traditional bazaar. And because this shopping center does not have the other coordinates of a traditional bazaar, such as mosque or Imamzadeh, it can be recalled as an □incomplete traditional bazaar□ a self made term. This corridor is a long aisle where shops are situated on the right and left sides. Unlike traditional bazaars where customers have the opportunity to exit the Raasteh (main path of the bazaar) via different exists or spaces, the Nasr shopping center customers are obliged to exit the same path they entered, leaving them no choice rather than choosing this path, a problem in circulation. On the ground floor, many exits are embedded towards a minor alley. Abbas Kazemi, sociologist says the interior design of the Nasr shopping center and its long corridor can create an image of the imaginative capitalism world and its endless progress.



Map showing the location of Nasr Shopping Center on the south west side of Tehran



Plan of the first floor (top left), Plan of the underground floor (bottom right),
section of the shopping center



Entrance of the Nasr shopping Center- a horizontal long axis

The streets adjacent to the shopping Center are utilized as parking lots for this center





The outside steps of the Nasr is often allocated to people who eat snacks or chat, due to the lack of such spaces inside the shopping center





Along the left and right sides of the Nasr shopping center there are two aisles alike the rasteh in the traditional bazaar with functions such as fast foods and snack shops, photos b author





The artificial light installed in the ceilings, there is no particular light design in this shopping center

The flooring is tiled with plain tiles merely differentiated in color





There are minor entrances leading to the staircases located on the sides of the aisles of the Nasr shopping center Photos by author





These minor entrances leading to the side aisles are places where many strollers choose to stand

Photos by author





Pictures of the inside hallway of the Nasr shopping center





Strollers enjoy gazing at window shops, chatting with shopkeepers and asking the prices for different goods, Photos by author





Steps have created elevation which is interesting in space

Photos by author



Different window shops designed nearly simple but with various colors and styles

Photos by author



The products in the shops are often allocated to feminine products





The Nasr shopping center acts as a local shopping center for the residences it is situated in, the picture on the left is the residential area adjacent to the center showing the staircases as exits from the Nasr

Picture on the right shows the temporary stands near these exits, photos by author



Sum Up:

The bazaars, small markets and old shops were the only commercial functions built in Iran until the beginning of the twentieth century. At the time of the First Pahlavi, the situation of the bazaars in Iran changed to a modern form of commerce. The construction of streets in the new urban planning of the Pahlavi era demolished the main paths of the bazaars in cities and created a new urban landscape. Streets became the new public space in city therefore new constructions along the street presenting new commodities became more available. The increase of importance of streets and their adjacent constructions and buildings on the edges resulted to the decrease of importance of the inner ancient urban fabric and therefore this urban fabric lost its previous value. At this time investors thought of building commercial centers to bring back the value to the inner parts of the old urban fabric behind the edges of the streets. It was at this time when shopping centers came to live in Tehran, at the Pahlavi dynasty.

From Nelson's point of view, today shopping centers are not merely allocated to shopping whereas recreational retails such as restaurants, coffee shops, funfairs, small cinemas, sports centers are vanguard. These spaces create dependent activities and atmospheres which are very different from other shopping spaces such as traditional bazaars. In the next part three shopping centers will be described and briefly studied which in a quick glance reveal this reality that shopping centers have their own dependent costumers, architectural spaces, products and behaviors.

All studied shopping centers in this chapter are similar to modern shopping centers in many aspects. Architecturally they are benefitting artificial designed lightings and greenery to create more natural atmospheres for the visitors. The use of colors which are in great contrast with each other is another feature in these centers. All these centers are located in rich neighborhoods where high social classes live therefore the types of people who refer to these centers are also effective in the creation of the ambiances. Young, women, strollers and retired ones are some of the visitors of these centers which depending on their age and interest choose

different parts of a shopping center to gather; either the entries or the spaces around the voids or temporary stands selling snacks.

Floorings and surfaces in these shopping centers including walls and columns are often made of modern materials such as steel, plastic; glass and rock. The existence of transparent sectors using glass creates wider spaces and more pleasant circulation for the strollers. Also the products presented in the window shops are all symbols of new and modern lifestyles far from the reality of tradition.

In chapter four which follows the architectural features of the site- the Tajrish district which is located in Shemiran the north side of Tehran- will be explained. Further the Tajrish traditional bazaar is explicated via pictures taken from the inside and outside parts of the traditional bazaar. The two parts of this chapter consist of displaying the architectural features of our case study, the two modern shopping centers the Tandiis and Ghaem and the traditional Tajrish bazaar.

Chapter Four

The Architectural Features of the Site (Tajrish District)

An Introduction to the Site

The site for this research is the Tajrish district which is located in Shemiran, one of the oldest districts of Tehran the capital city of Iran. Here it is necessary to introduce the zone briefly.

Tehran

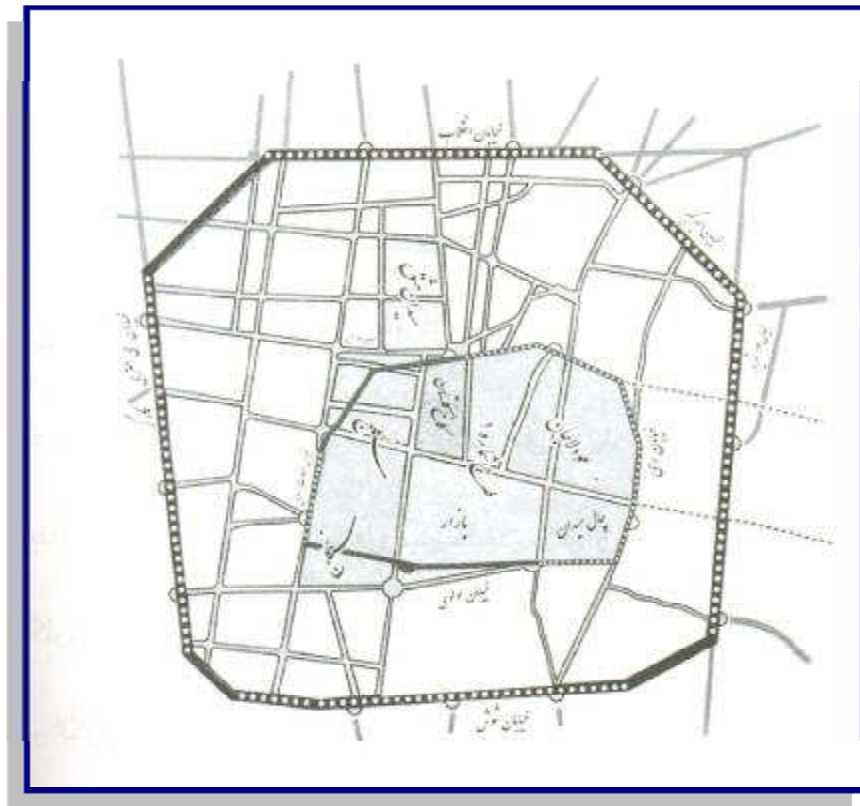
Tehran is the biggest city and the capital of Iran. Its population is 8,244,535 people and it is the 18th most populated city in the world. It is situated on the north side of Iran and near the North Mountains. The north side is cold and dry whereas the south is hot and dry. The industrialization activities are centralized in Tehran, which is listed among the most expensive capital cities in the world.

Based on Shahryar Adl's book the "Tehran the 200 year old capital" the development and growth of Tehran was based on external economical matters and even at the time of Reza Shah it was more effected by the international marketing rather than the social- economical issues of the city(Habibi:222).

Physical Changes of Tehran in the Qajar Era (Naseri Era):

Until the Qajar period, Tehran was a surrounded and traditional city. Strong and high walls were constructed all around the city with a second wall situated around the governor's fort. The start of changes in the Iranian society was in the middle of the Qajar period along with the vast communications with the European world. The map below shows the two walls (the Tahmasebi Wall- the inner wall- & the Naseri Wall- the outer wall) at the Qajar period in Tehran, with the first wall surrounding the bazaar and the central parts of the city and the second wall drawn around the city borders.

At the Qajar period, Tehran included three main forces with special architectural spaces, the Arg(Fort) where the king lived known as the political base, the mosques as a religious base and the bazaar as the economical base.



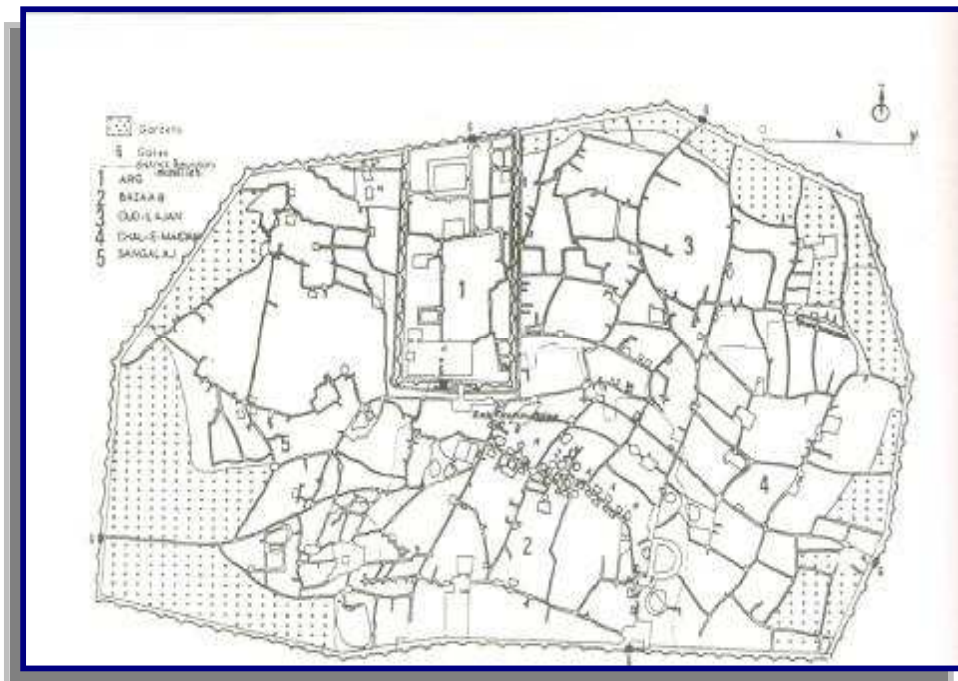
Map 3: Map showing the two walls in the Tehran city, Qajar era

Physical Structure of Tehran

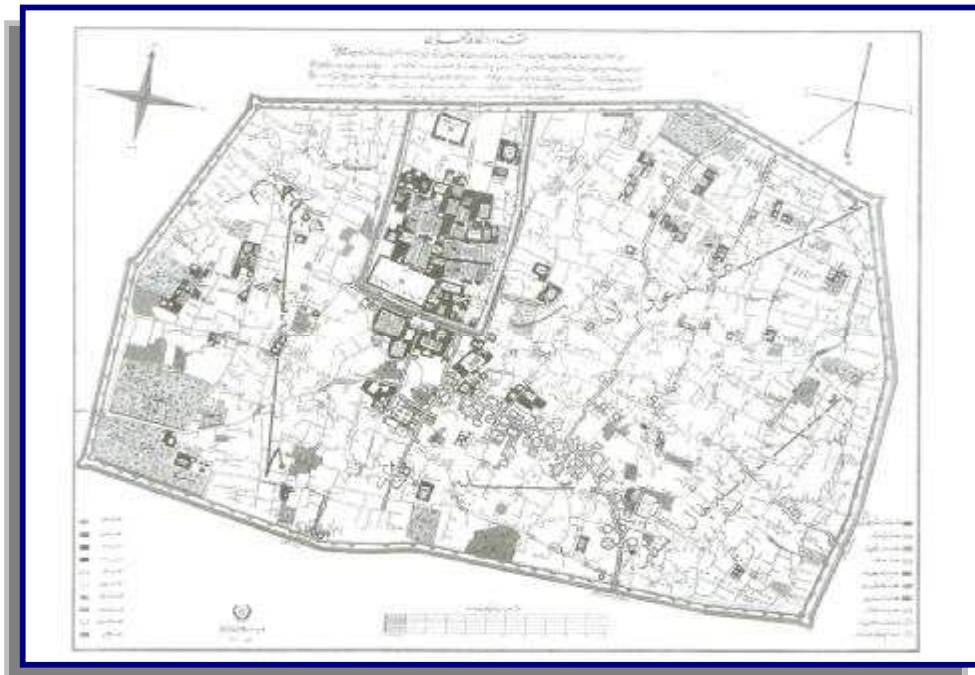
In 1851 the bazaar was considered as the most important route in city and the most significant city monuments such as religious, educational and commercial buildings were situated along this path. Tehran had unorganized and narrow paths, known as a traditional city characteristic in Iran.

In the second map in 1858 many of the gardens were destroyed and replaced by residential areas due to the increase in population. At this time streets were not yet added to the city and the Tehran bazaar and its paths played the street role in city.

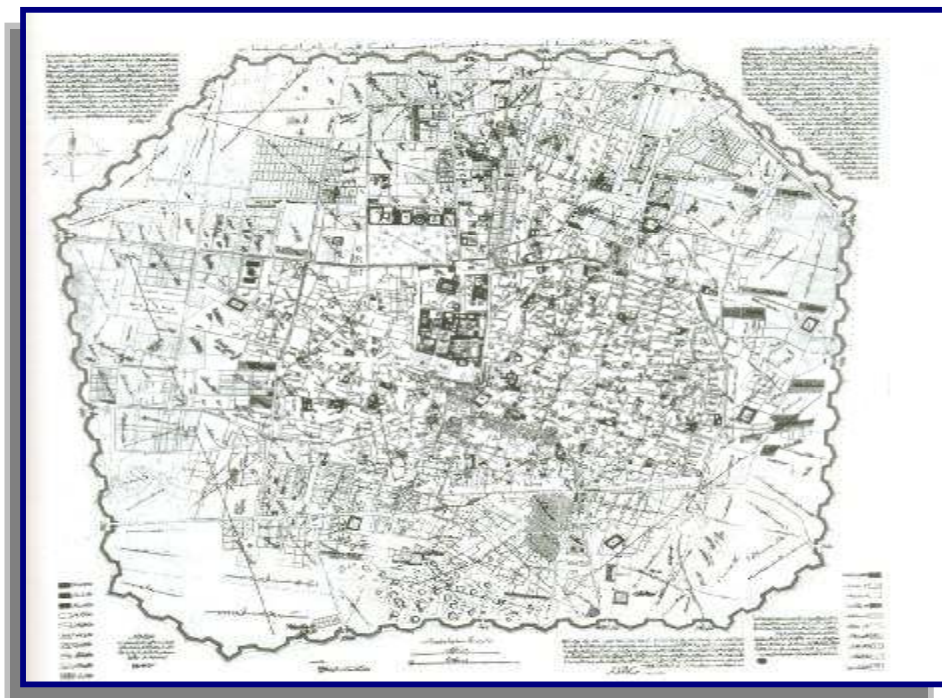
In the third map, ten years after the second map in 1867, the Tahmasebi wall- the inner wall- was destroyed and new wide and straight streets replaced it. The old urban fabric was dense and the new less dense.



Map 4: Map of Tehran in 1851 by Nicolas Berzin



Map 5: Map of Tehran in 1858 by Monsieur Aguste Krishish



Map 6 : Tehran map in 1868-1890 by Abdolghaffar Najmol Molk

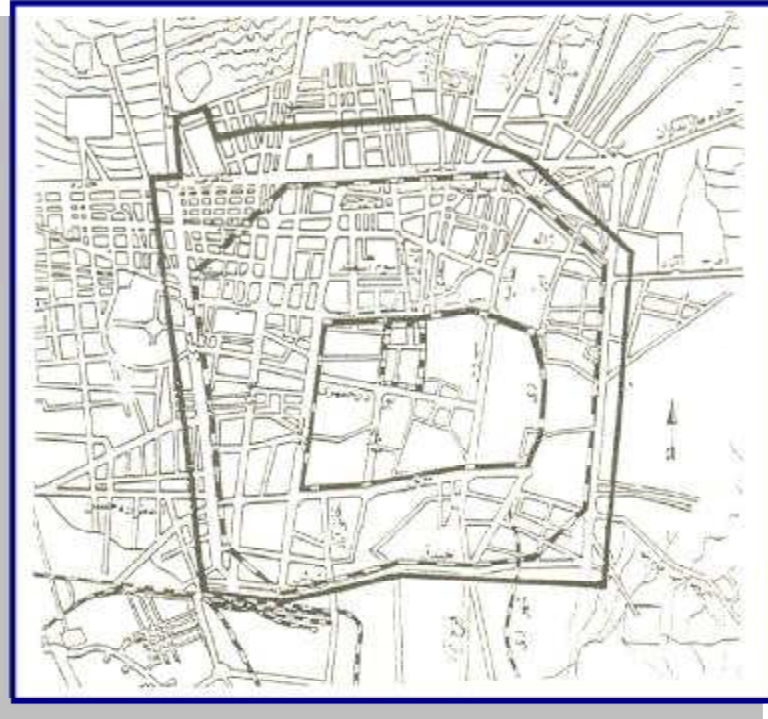
Physical Changes of Tehran in the First Pahlavi Era:

During this period, the urban fabric in Tehran was very much affected by modern architecture, destructing many of the ancient fabric. One of the modern results of this period was the emergence of streets which had great influences on the city landscape.

Functional Spaces	Before the First Pahlavi Era (until the contemporary period)	The first Pahlavi Era (contemporary period until now)
Economical & Commercial	Bazaar, Tim, Timche, Sara, Charsoo, □	Shops, including big and small shops situated along the street, passages

Before the first Pahlavi era, the street was built based on the Iranian concept, in a combination with the Iranian gardens. Streets performed as recreational spaces alike recreational paths in Iranian gardens. Yet after the first Pahlavi era, the street received a transportation function and in the following years, commercial and trade affair functions w added to this function of the street. The construction of the streets resulted to the remove of the city walls.

The city Tehran had a different arrangement before the Pahlavi period, it consisted of 1. The Fort 2.The city and 3. The gardens, where the fort was the governor's stand, the city where ordinary people lived and the gardens as the outer parts of the city walls mainly consisting of trees and gardens.



Map 7: Map showing the development of Tehran from 1789- 1941

Physical Changes of Tehran in the Second Pahlavi Era:

It was at this era, in 1941 when big commercial buildings (shopping malls) were first constructed in Iran, based on an American style and along streets so passengers were able to look at the shops while passing the street. One of the main changes in this period was the move of the city center from the traditional bazaar to the newly constructed streets which resulted to the decline in the bazaar functionality and the detriment of the dependent spaces of the bazaar. Some new constructed streets with two storey facades became replacements for the traditional bazaar and streets which had recreational and transportation functions became parts of the urban structure.

Shemiran

Shemiran is one the most important districts from old times as environmental, cultural and historical aspects not only in Tehran but in Iran. The existence of high important mountains, rivers, underground water sources, qanats and big gardens are an evidence for this issue. This area is surrounded by the Alborz Mountain from the north and holds a high percentage of greenery. Although many have been demolished due to high rise construction, yet it still stands at a high level in Tehran. Shemiran, this significant district consists of a historical framework including many ancient areas and places of cultural and urban importance. It has had famous individuals and happenings at different historical eras and presents many well-known palaces and gardens at the time being.

Shemiran has been famous for its fabulous climate from old times and many knew it as a place to spend summer for its delightful weather and gardens. Mourris Pertu says people have named Shemiran after a number of fields holding country sides where citizens spend summer. It also holds many flower gardens and lots of important political groups have permanent residences there. Others such as Jean Hurdovan have also written about Shemiran and its small regional bazaar.

Despite all recent constructions, this district still holds 4% greenery, its third function after residential functions at first place and pathway functions as the second. According to the Tehran comprehensive design, Shemiran is known as a recreational zone and the establishment of the high social classe.



A photo of Shemiran district in 1947, photo by Mahmud Pakzad

Tajrish District

Tajrish is known as the heart of Shemiran and is located on the northern coasts of Tehran and very well known for its geographical location. The reason why it is known as the core of Shemiran is because the residential fabric expansion started from this location with the centrality of the Imamzadeh Saleh shrine and the latter districts, palaces and gardens were orientated from this center. It was at the first Pahlavi era when the Tajrish square was built via a connection between the important Vali Asr Avenue and Shemiran. At the time of the Second Pahlavi this district was well known as for the new location of restaurants and coffee shops because of its fine climate (Mousivand, 2006:29). The Imamzadeh Saleh Shrine is one of the oldest shrines related to the Qajar period, which is located in this zone.

Tehran has always been in challenge with lack of sufficient water, therefore a place like Tajrish which has many rivers and underground water sources was very pleasant for Tehran citizens at all times. In the past Tehranian people chose Tajrish as their summer holiday zone where they could stay in its small towns, camp, go shooting, and pray at its shrine. Therefore this place was always very much referred to due to its environmental potentials. Today Tajrish is confronting problems in environmental matters due to new constructions, something it use to have as a capacity one day.

Some say the term Tajrish is the abbreviation for Tajrasht which means a palace in the valley due to its unique location climatically. The indicators of Tajrish according to Baft Shahr consulting Engineering category are:

1. The rivers and valleys (Golab Dareh River, Darakeh□)
2. Gardens and Alleys(many garden alleys)
3. Hills and mountains(Tochal, Darband)
4. Open spaces and landscapes(Velenjak, parks, museums)
5. Streets and passages
6. Buildings and monuments (Saad Abad palace, Beheshti University, Bagh Ferdos Building□)

Houses in old Tajrish were built by adobe and mud and most passages were through the roofs. It had many fruitful trees; one of the eldest trees always mentioned in the history of Shemiran in ancient books is the great plane tree (total area of 15 meters which stood in the Imamzadeh Saleh shrine yard, a tree even Marco Polo writes about, cut down a few years ago).

Tajrish square is the junction of the two important avenues, the Vali Asr Avenue and the Shariati Avenue, which results to its great significance. The distance among Tajrish square and Qods square, two main squares of the area, is one of the most important zones in Tehran for shopping and other activities with transregional dimensions. The adjacent of business functions and shopping centers with tourism centers in Tajrish and Vali Asr Avenue has transformed this zone to an always dynamic zone, even at nights and weekends. It is considered as a recreational district in the comprehensive design of Tehran due to its pleasant climate.

According to Morteza Behrouz in the thesis "designing the landscape of Tajrish square", a collective space has these following features:

- It is open to all social groups all day long
- It is multi functional
- It has suitable transportation access
- It is based on audience

Therefore we can say Tajrish is also a collective space for the residences around. Its environmental aspects alongside its historical features have transformed this zone as a collective memorial space.



Photo of the old plane tree in the Imamzadeh Saleh shrine yard



An old photo of the Imamzadeh Saleh shrine

Therefore the main sectors of the Tajrish district were:

- The Imamzadeh Saleh Shrine
- Then Upper Takiyeh (Takiyeh Bala)
- The Downer Takiyeh (Takiyeh Payeen)
- The Mosques
- The Gardens

The Imamzadeh Saleh Shrine is a square monument related to the 7th or 8th Hijri date which one of the religious and sacred Muslim folks is buried in. This monument has been tiled and covered with a dome with the help of one of the Qajari generations one hundred eighty years ago.

The Upper Takiyeh is located inside the Tajrish traditional bazaar and near the Imamzadeh Saleh Shrine. It belongs to the Qajar period, about 200 years ago, and is one of the most significant parts of the Tajrish Bazaar. It is one of the most important mud structures in Shemiran district which was destroyed after the Tajrish flood but reconstructed afterwards, due to the high identity it holds for the Tajrish traditional bazaar.

This space alike most Takiyehs is built in two levels, first floor shops and second floor administrative offices. There are four doors to this grand space, two which lead to the Tajrish district and street, one to the Imamzadeh Shrine and one to the Tajrish bazaar. The Upper Takiyeh has a sloped and high wooden ceiling with a beveled rectangular plan with commercial shops on the sides. The Takiyeh structure used to stand on wooden columns with stoned column bases but after reconstruction they are placed on metallic columns. On ordinary days the Upper Takiyeh is a green grocer's open space with fresh fruits and vegetables used by shopkeepers and closed on ritual ceremonies especially the Ashura⁵² and allocated to religious affairs, therefore it a multifunctional, commercial and religious, space. The Downer Takiyeh is located in the down part of Tajrish district and is less ancient than the Upper Takiyeh.

The Imamzadeh Saleh mosque known as the Great Mosque is adjacent to the shrine, The Azam Mosque adjacent to the Downer Takiyeh, The Hemmat Mosque near the Upper Takiyeh, The Fatemiyeh Mosque near the Tajrish bridge, The Khan Mosque situated inside the bazaar, The Giyahi mosque on the north part of the Tajrish Bridge, The Azam Mosque and the Giyahi Mosque belong to more than 500 years ago.

⁵² A ceremony for the mourning of the third Shite Imam which is very respected and welcomed in Iran and especially the bazaar

Chart for Historical Events in the Tajrish District

<p>Ilkhani era</p> <p>1272-1377</p>	<p>The primitive monument of the Imamzadeh Saleh Shrine</p>
<p>Safaviid era</p> <p>1526-1769</p>	<p>The first core of the Tajrish district is found and at this time the district is called Tajrish</p>
<p>Zandiyeh</p> <p>-1930 1784</p>	<p>The Tajrish square is thrived and the Tajrish traditional bazaar is developed</p>
<p>Qajar era</p> <p>1814-1965</p>	<p>The Imamzadeh Saleh Shrine is reconstructed by one of the Qajar governors</p> <p>The primitive structure of the Upper Takiyeh in the traditional bazaar was formed</p> <p>The old Shemiran Street was established</p>
<p>Pahlavi era</p> <p>1925-1978</p>	<p>Developments in the Tajrish urban fabric</p> <p>The Vali Asr Street(the most important Avenue in Tehran which leads to the Tajrish square) was built</p>
<p>Islamic Revolution 1978</p>	<p>Dreadful flood in Tajrish in 1987 and the closure of the square</p> <p>Irregular demolition in Tajrish and the increase in density</p>

Part 1

The Tajrish Traditional Bazaar

The traditional bazaar firstly expanded from the north side of the Imamzadeh Saleh shrine towards the east. The Tajrish traditional bazaar was uncovered at the beginning but recent reconstructions changed its appearance. Some say the original Tajrish bazaar was built at the same time the Tajrish square was constructed which goes back to the Zandiyeh era⁵³.

The Tajrish Traditional Bazaar used to be a small bazaar located in the north of Tehran necessarily for its local residences. It had few various shops, a few mosques and Takiyehs and the holy Imamzadeh Saleh shrine⁵⁴. And as mentioned Tajrish was a cold climate district which many people came to in the summer and therefore used its bazaar, whereas today the Tajrish traditional bazaar is no way as it used to be in the past. People from all over the city come to visit Tajrish due to its climate and natural surroundings such as the mountains and riversides and most importantly its holy shrine, therefore people often take visits to the traditional bazaar.

⁵³ The period before the Qajar in Iran

⁵⁴ It consists of a square building (6.5x6.5 square meters) related to the 7th and 8th century (Hijri date). It is said he was one of the sons of the 8th Shiite Imams. This place is one of the most crowded shrines in Tehran especially on Sundays and weekends. Pilgrims from all over Tehran come to pray here. The Imamzadeh Saleh is attached to the traditional bazaar and in many ways contributed with the bazaar

According to Mohammad Saeed Bani Ashraf in the architectural thesis □Organizing and reconstructing the fabric around the Imamzadeh Saleh shrine□the Tajrish district is:

- A local center for residential zones around the bazaar and around the Tajrish square
- A district center for residential zones from the streets which lead to the Tajrish square
- A regional center for a wide boundary of over 2 city areas
- A recreational center in the city scale in Tehran



Map 8: The location of Tehran in Iran (left) and Tajrish district in Tehran (right)



Map 9: Aerial photo of the Tajrish Traditional Bazaar

10 Kilometers



10 Kilometers

Map 10: Map showing Shemiran situated in the north of Tehran

Analyzing architectural features via pictures

Introduction

Among the questions asked from the interviewees, one of the most relevant to our study as architects are "How do you see the architecture of the traditional bazaar?" This question has been reconsidered via pictures as well as by interviews. As interviewees state the Tajrish bazaar has had few but basic architectural changes through time, the sum of these alterations was proposed as the followings:

- 1) Change in architectural features of the bazaar
- 2) Change in the ambience of the bazaar

§ Change in Architectural features of the bazaar

- § Changes in flooring
- § Changes in ceiling and light
- § Changes in the methods and materials of reconstruction
- § Changes in dimensions

§ Ambience

- § Social classes(types of people in the traditional bazaar)
- § Shop Designs
- § Iranian & Islamic features of the bazaar

These changes will be analyzed with the help of pictures and a direct recourse to the bazaar, and applying the observation methodology, picture takings and surveys.

1) Change in Architectural features of the bazaar

Change in Flooring



The routes leading to the bazaar pathway are covered with asphalt with minor **importance**



Replacing the dust floor with new pavements



Some parts of the pavement is covered with asphalt & parts with unoriginal material such as tiles



Paths leading to the bazaar are often local alleys with local shops, simple pavement & design



Path leading to modern passages or shopping centers such as the Ghaem shopping center have a different atmosphere



Change in ceiling



Photo of the reconstructions and additions to the ceiling not part of the originality of this bazaar

The bazaar had no ceiling in the past yet to prevent rainfall inside the bazaar, some parts were covered afterwards

Roof tops with temporary materials in many minor places inside the bazaar





Big dimension of the ceiling recently reconstructed by gable structures



The new gable construction made shade and a safe space away from natural disasters also changing the overall atmosphere of the bazaar which was a wooden gable roof before the reconstructions

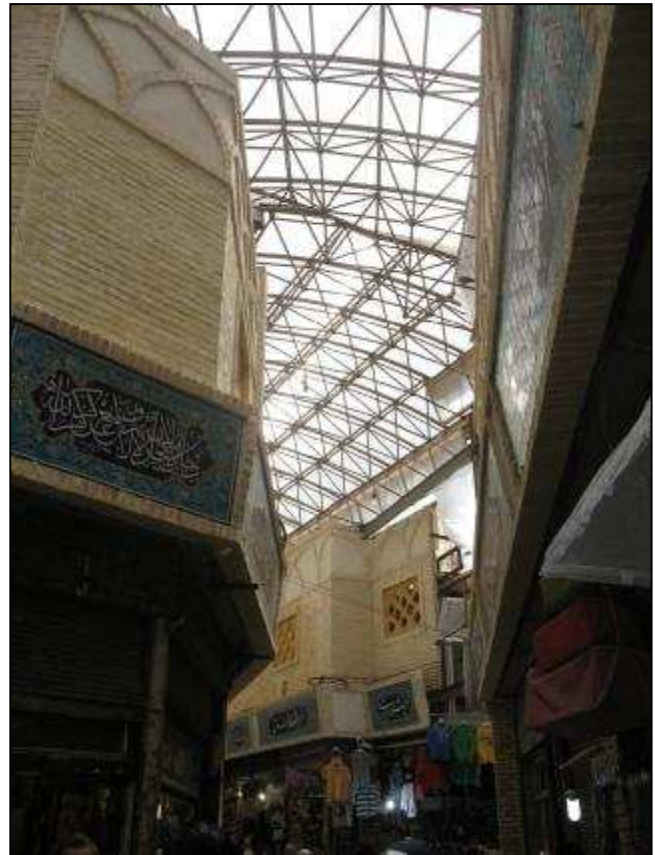
Change in light



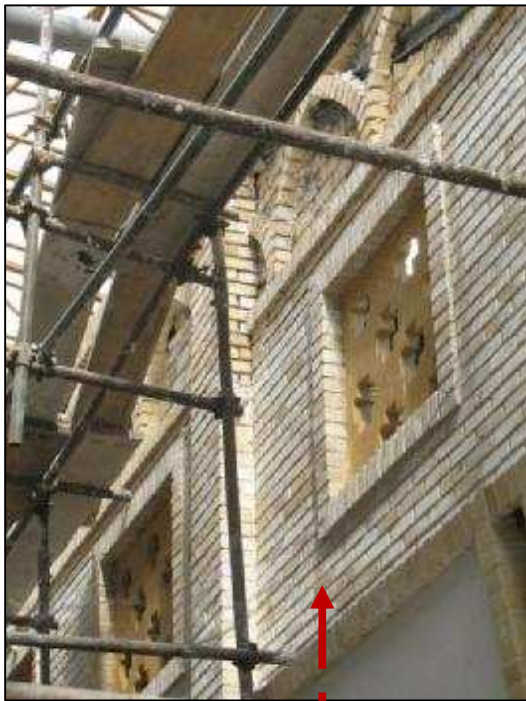
The addition to the height has to a great deal increased the inside light of the bazaar, the bazaar used to be much darker in the past

Small skylights have been installed on the sides of the ceiling to guide light inside the bazaar, a decorative element which does not belong to this area

Photos by author



Change in the methods and materials of reconstruction



The additions to the upper sides of the roof- the brickworks are new reparations which have made the bazaar appear different



The restored brick columns which used to be wooden



The arched brickworks are renew decorative elements recently added



New reconstructions and materials in
the Tajrish traditional bazaar roof



The tile shop headers are also new
additions for creating **identification**



The columns and
outside parts of the
shops are
reconstructed with
brick and tile;

2) Change in the ambience of the bazaar



The traditional bazaar is a very crowded place filled with shopkeepers
and customers who look around

The most historical place in the Tajrish bazaar is the Upper Takiyeh, with a grocery shop
function; one of the most crowded parts of the bazaar being preserved like old days





In the bazaar there are all types and ages, some who shop and few who stroll and many as pilgrims of the holy shrine



Some even appear as beggars around the shrine and some work as peddlers in the alleys around the bazaar





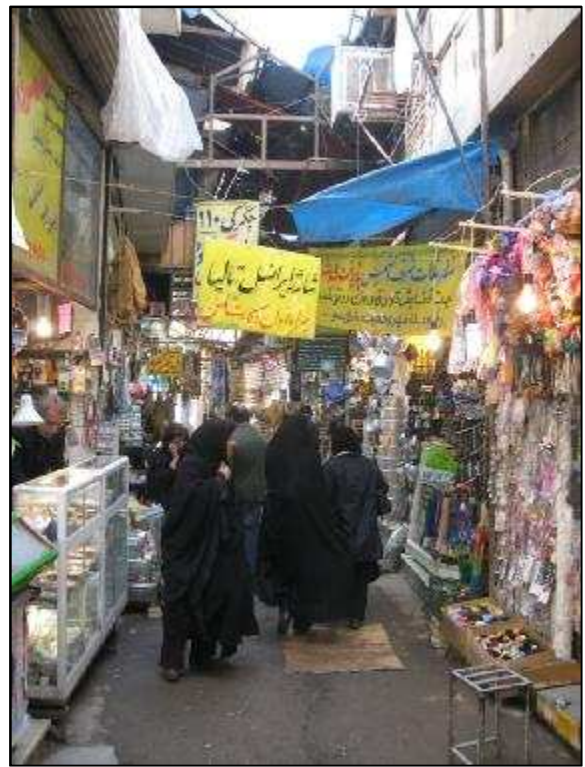
Typical jobs in the traditional bazaar, people
with no defined shop who sell tea or
newspaper, yelling and announcing it



Shop Designs in the bazaar



In the traditional bazaar window shops have no particular design; there is no need of presenting the goods in a decorative manner



High chaos in the shop entrances, commodities hung and stuffed without arrangement



The Emergence of Shopping Centers & the Synchronic Continuity of Tajrish Traditional Bazaar



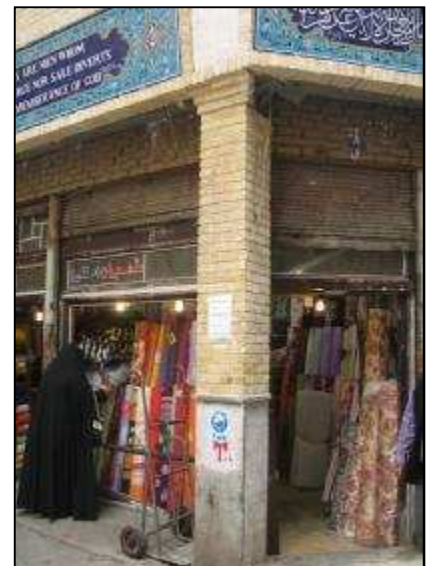
There are different guilds which mostly consist of wholesales with no proper window arrangement



An old typical shop with a traditional style, small ordinary shops with a step in front



Presenting goods to customers with a lack of design is a feature of the traditional bazaar



Women in the traditional bazaar



Women busy walking, chatting,
shopping and bargaining with shopkeepers



Customers from all social types but
mostly middle class groups



Women who go to the holy shrine for their vows & young who wonder in the bazaar after school



Iranian & Islamic Features



The most significant Islamic icon is the Imamzadeh
Saleh (holy shrine) in the bazaar space



People from all parts of the city come to visit the shrine



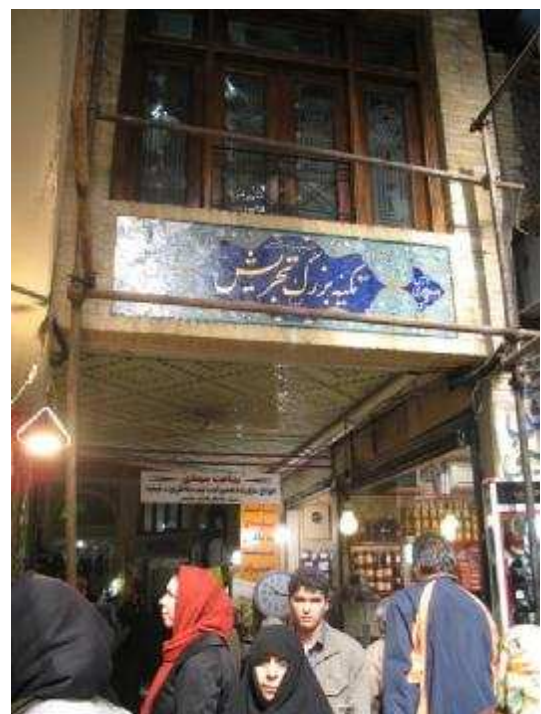
Entrances to the shrine are decorated with
Quranic verses and religious thoughts
about trade and bazaaris



Brick works have been added to the shop headers in one general format, indicating the name of shops with tile work in the new reconstructions, this never existed in the originality of the bazaar

The wooden windows are on the second floor of the Upper Takiyeh space holding administrative functions, similar to the traditional bazaar structure in the past

Names of Imams and Qurans are written around the ceiling in the Takiyeh area, the wooden gable roof, tile works and wooden windows are also parts of this space





The Nakhla is a ceremonial object for the Ashura, one of the most important religious programs held in the traditional bazaar annually



In an Iranian traditional bazaar there are few main elements which complete the complex, water fountains, coffeehouses, and hammams (public baths)

Sum Up:

The Tajrish traditional bazaar has confronted the above changes over time; some of these changes have been very much accepted by the costumers and especially the shopkeepers themselves. They believe these changes, which are often aesthetical changes and repairs in the physical appearance of the traditional bazaar, not only do not harm the bazaar, but also have created a huge motivation in costumers to refer to the traditional bazaar. These groups do not consider the preservation of the original identity but mostly regard the amount of sell and costumers.

Albeit all these changes the traditional bazaar still holds its supplementary architectural elements such as the Hammam, the Takiyeh, the mosque and the Imamzadeh, even though they themselves have had small changes and in some cases have even become abandoned and un functional such as the Hammam. But what has conserved the entire structure of the traditional bazaar, are the functionality of its religious elements.

Part 2

Introduction

In this section, two modern shopping centers, the "Tandiis" and "Ghaem" which are one located very near and the other adjacent to the traditional Tajrish bazaar will be revised via pictures. The criteria mainly discussed in this section are architectural matters, consisting of architectural elements, floorings, materials, ceiling, modern facilities and spaces. These are the clearest features which describe the atmosphere of a modern shopping center, aside social issues. They will be briefly revised via pictures taken by the author herself.

The Ghaem shopping center is adjacent to the Tajrish traditional bazaar, with two main entrances one which opens directly inside the Tajrish bazaar and the other inside the Tajrish Street- also connected to the alleys surrounding the Tajrish bazaar. The Tandis shopping center is also in the same geographical zone with a few meters distance. It is settled on a sloped street with one main entrance, easily identified. Although these two shopping centers are considered as modern architectural structures, yet they are architecturally different due to the issue that the Tandis has been designed as a shopping center from the first stage of the project, a vast area with openhanded alternatives in design whereas the Ghaem shopping center has been much more limited because of its location adjacent to a historical axis; the traditional bazaar.

Ghaem Shopping Center

Project Location: Tajrish Street (North of Tehran)

Number of floors: 6 floors

Total Area: 4414 meters square

This shopping center was constructed from 1990 □ 1992 adjacent to the traditional Tajrish bazaar and with the help and investment of the traditional bazaari investors. Ghaem shopping center is near the Imamzadeh Saleh shrine, which shows the reason why such a religious name has been chosen for the shopping mall⁵⁵. This mall was intended to be a small passage yet the municipality helped and contributed this center by buying and destroying the adjacent ancient houses to expand the total area of Ghaem shopping center area with the purpose of creating an evolution in the traditional structure of the Tajrish bazaar. One of the main investors of this shopping center was the trusteeship of the Imamzadeh Saleh shrine.

The Ghaem shopping center has 600 shops and six floors which include, first floor jewelry shops, second floor clothing, third, fourth and fifth floor shoes and home ware and the sixth floor as painting galleries, a space which has very much differentiated this shopping center from other shopping centers in Tehran. There is no parking lot designed for this shopping center due to the dense fabric it is situated in and because it has never had a comprehensive scheme from the first phase it was built, therefore many of its clients park their cars in the Imamzadeh Saleh parking lot or prefer going to other shopping centers because of the disadvantage it holds. There are six different entrances to the shopping center, and it includes a few coffee shops and snack shops.

55 The word □Ghaem□in Arabic language is the cognomen of the last Imam of Muslims

Tandiis Shopping Center

Project Location: Tajrish Square, Jafar Abad Street (North of Tehran)

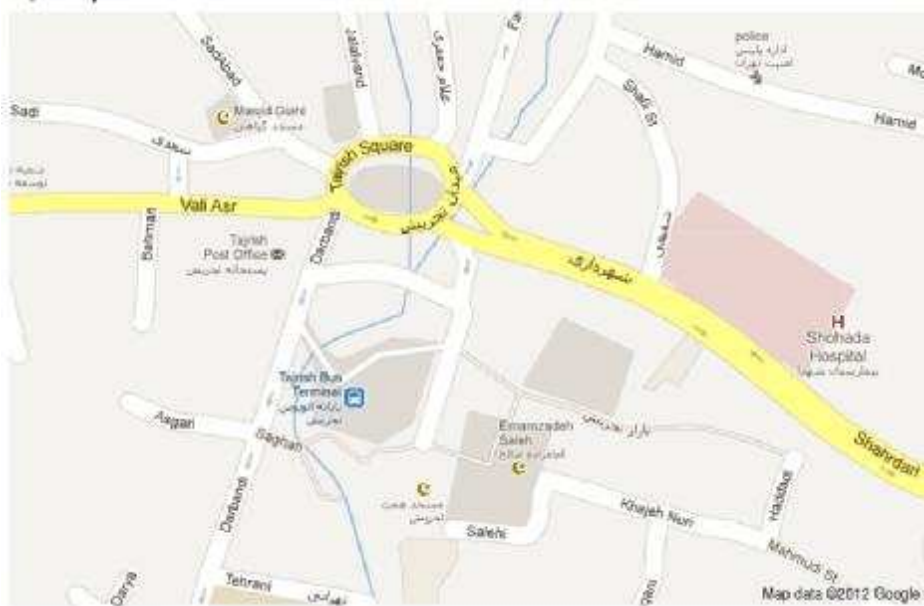
Number of floors: 5 floors (including parking)

Tandiis shopping center is located not very far from the Ghaem modern mall and the Tajrish traditional bazaar on a very steep street. It is a two floor shopping center and one of the most modern shopping centers in Iran-Tehran having visitors from throughout the country due to being very well known precisely because of selling famous foreign brands. The presence of this mall near another very famous modern shopping center, the Ghaem shopping center, built earlier the Tandiiis shopping center, has accelerated it in becoming significant.

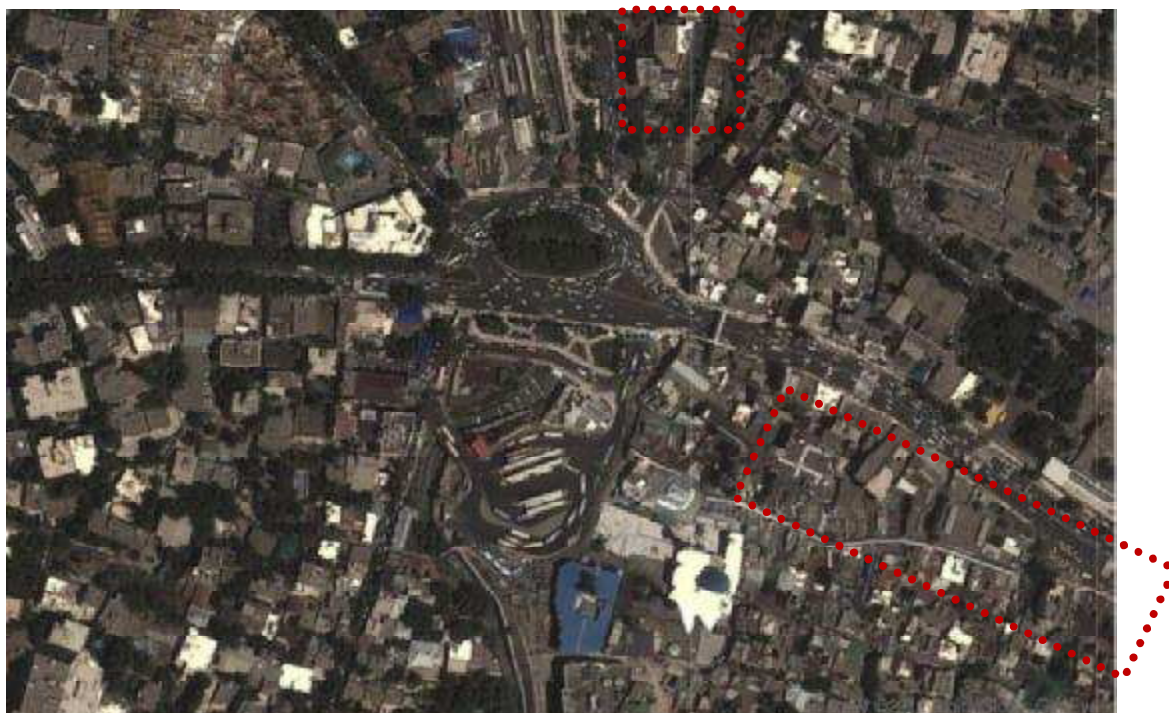
This shopping center alike other modern shopping centers, has a very well defined entrance and a façade made of glass. Escalators and elevators are seen at the first sight entering the mall. Tandiiis shopping center has relatively narrow hallways obliging the customer to take a round trip to visit all shops. Smartly decorated modern window shops are seen all through the small journey, windows which promote the visitor to take long glances on the outside and inside part of the shops. Shopkeepers often young and fashionably dressed young people, complete this modern atmosphere.

The "Ordak Abi" restaurant is one of this shopping center's high features which attracts many people due to its weekend buffet and breakfast. The Tandiiis shopping center is located on the way to the North Mountains of Tehran, therefore mountain climbers usually arrange a time to stop for a breakfast in this center. Also many official gatherings are organized in the Elysee or Ordak Abi restaurant.

This shopping center still stays to be one of the most célèbre shopping malls, due to the vast rate of difference in price it has with other shopping centers, which results in accepting certain types of customers.



Map 11: Map of Tajrish showing the Ghaem and the Tandiis



Floorings in modern shopping centers



The flooring in the Ghaem shopping center is basically plain □ smooth tiles in some cases differentiated with patterns

The connections among the floors are either by staircases, escalators or elevators, all very well arranged in the overall appearance of the space





The flooring is plain rock;
here there is a play of light
on the floor to create variety



The escalators link the floors; there
are times when boutiques, greenery or
even benches benefit the free spaces
around these facilities

Ceiling and Light



In □Ghaem□modern mall, there is a void in between the stairs which has made the center seem vaster and more pleasing, in the upper floor there is a wide skylight which leads light inside the mall



Meanwhile there are glass windows on the edges of the mall which bring natural light



Artificial lightning is seen throughout the shopping centers; these aligned elements create a more modern ambience in space, assuming attitudes are more under control, Tandiis shopping center



Most visitors of the modern shopping center are young and ones who search brands and fashion



The young spend their time in coffee shops and restaurants, aside shopping and strolling in the mall



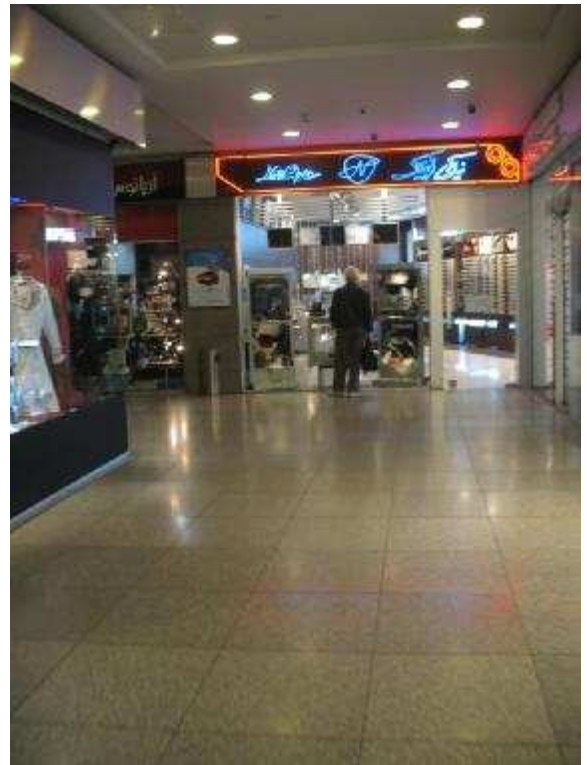
There are small activities in the shopping center to entertain visitors, massagers

or games for children outside the shops, Tandiis shopping center



The open spaces around the escalators are used efficiently, as advertising panels or temporary stands selling snacks or accessories





Most shops in the Tandiis shopping center are well- known brands with modern boutique design, using fresh colors and light to expose their products





There are even modern super markets with all new chain store facilities with non-Iranian food products in the Tandiis shopping center



Vast areas between shops in shopping center is another modern feature which gives the visitor a better chance to observe and choose



The Tandis Center building situated on a high elevation compared to the street level (left top picture)



Different pavement which directs visitors with stair or a ramp inside the center (top right picture)

Entrance to the shopping centers clearly defined with sign or flags from other facades (bottom picture)



Sum Up:

The Ghaem and Tandiis shopping centers, according to the architectural sectors seen in the pictures are very modern shopping centers in Tehran. Many customers come to shop in these two centers merely because they are modern. At the time they are the most well-known modern shopping centers in Tehran, especially the Tandiis which is further from Tajrish traditional bazaar. Just like many other modern malls in Iran, they have small boutiques, very smart designed window shops, artificial estimated lights, modern facilities such as coffee shops, restaurants with exotic food and snacks, gathering spaces, recreational spaces, although small, and modern technical facilities such as elevators and escalators for access.

A difference in the spatial relationship and the architectural architecture between these shopping centers and the Tajrish bazaar is the height of the ceilings. In the bazaar, ceilings usually appear as dome or arches, not providing the possibility to install huge commercial boards and signs, therefore the rival among the shops in the bazaar firstly depends on the essence and feature of the commodities and not on commercials and the vastness of the shop (Soltanzadeh, 2001), whereas today one of the most significant issues in trades affair are advertising panels as the replacement of oral advertisement.

After the Islamic Revolution many changes took place in the Iranian society including the kind of recreational activities. For example coffeehouse establishments completely stopped and just recently some have started to be regenerated (Behruz, 2006:26). Also the interior of modern shopping centers has become more and more sexual, which means commodities related to men and women were differentiated more than before. The shops outside the malls or shopping centers often have a male composition whereas the window shops inside the shopping centers are often designed with feminine objects and styles.

In the fifth chapter of this work the research feedbacks are discussed and analyzed through the interviews taken place either in the traditional ambience or in the modern shopping places. These interviews will lead to conclude this paper and respond to our question. The users approach to the site is the chapter which follows.

Chapter Five

The Users Approach to the Site

Research achievements

Introduction

This chapter is determined to gather information on the accomplished interviews. From my point of view, the evaluated site, according to its location in city and the coexistence of an ancient bazaar and two modern shopping centers, is defined as one of the best sites for this subject. Besides as a Tehran citizen, I have been living in this district more than 10 years and many of my own correlations are via this urban center, therefore I have a basic recognition of the circumstances of this area.

The interviewees considered in this case, were mostly among these groups of people:

- The Bazaar Shop keepers(Bazaaris)
- The visitors to Bazaar , strollers and especially women
- Specialists on architecture and university professors

This interview was individually followed by random and direct referrals to shops located in the presumed sites, the bazaar and the shopping centers, comprehending their occupations and guild, attempt to pick different occupations, interviews with shop keepers in the plastic shop, jewelry shop, cloth shop, spice shop, shoe shop and many others. The problem with many shop keepers who prevented participating in the interviews was the image they had from the tax department and the municipality. However there were many groups who insisted to be interviewed due to the vision they had on the reconstruction of the bazaar, they thought their ideas would be transferred to higher authorities, leaving behind great positive changes on the current situation of the bazaar. They urged to know from what organization we are and wanted me to assure them their opinions will be passed to the right person.

On the behalf of all these issues, many reacted towards the photographing and interviews of a woman and even in some cases insulted to prevent the continuance of the work. Most old and traditional shop keepers believe they should not spend time with women who are the visitors of the bazaar, because most of them are just strollers and are willing to look for an opportunity to waste time. This notion was often seen within their interviews and due to this issue a continuous

and gradual attempt to reach effective results was required in interviews. Meanwhile the shopkeepers had other affairs such as responding to the customers' questions and needs, therefore during the interviews we confronted many interruptions which made the shop keeper tired earlier than the estimated time.

The interviewees were done considering age and social class. The interviews have been done with the old bazaaris who are often the main shopkeepers and landlords as well as with the young ones who are basically the renters of the shops. Obeying the age criterion leads to having interviews with the two different social classes regnant in the today Iranian traditional bazaar, the old ones usually the more traditional type and the young often more modern.

In some occasions, the interviews were done in very friendly atmospheres, where the shop keeper welcomed me to take a seat and even proposed something as a drink and in exceptional cases just ended to a very brief and quick questioning and answering outside the shop. The questions were asked indirectly to avoid interruption in the interviewees' speech, but meanwhile were guided by the categorized questions assumed more efficient. In many circumstances the interviewees spoke freely answering the questions but there were occasions where the interviewee stopped and waited to hear the next question in order to continue. Many outcomes of the interview were written down yet overall, interviews were recorded to be listened to over and over again. The results were satisfying and eligible.

The main question of the thesis (*Have traditional Bazaars in Tehran, due to the development of the new society and modern bazaar establishments (modern shopping centers), confronted any changes, in architectural or socio-economical aspects?*) has been transformed to 5 smaller questions, which are as follows. These are the basic ones questioned from interviewees to facilitate the process of finding a response to the hypothesis.

1. *What were the features of a traditional bazaar?*
2. *Have these features changed? How and what are the factors?*
3. *What are the results of these changes?*
4. *What is your sensation towards this issue?*

Each of the above questions has been minored, including certain subsets and more detailed questions, which come along.

1. * What were the features of a traditional bazaar?

- What kind of a place is the Bazaar?
- What are some of its Iranian or Islamic features?
- What are the functions of the mosques, shrines and coffeehouses inside the Bazaar?
- What was the time regularity in the traditional Bazaar, in the past?
- What were the heating and cooling systems in the traditional Bazaar?
- How do you see the Architecture of the traditional Bazaar?
- What were some of the propagandas used in the previous traditional Bazaar system, when there was no advertisement?

2. *Have these features changed? How and what are the factors?

- What types of people come to the traditional Bazaar for shopping?
- How do you explain the existence of women in the Bazaar place?
- What is the purpose of these groups who refer to the traditional Bazaar for shopping?

3. *What are the results of these changes?

- What factors destroyed the Bazaar's Iranian features?
- What are some of the current occupations functioning in the Bazaar today, which did not exist before? Or vice versa?
- Has the population of customers changed (increased or decreased) during the last ten years?
- What are your suggestions for improving the current situation of the Bazaar?

4. *What is your sensation towards this issue?

- Do you have the sense of familiarity in the Bazaar?
- Do you enjoy working in the Bazaar atmosphere?
- If there are opportunities of replacing your shop in the modern shopping center with the one you now have in the traditional Bazaar, are you willing to do so?

In the second part a number of interviews have been done with Specialists on architecture and university professors on the Iranian traditional bazaar in order to achieve the view of specialists on this issue as well. In the following interviews unlike the interviews done with shopkeepers in the traditional Tajrish bazaar, precise questions have not been asked and the specialists are free to speak on their ideas on the traditional Iranian bazaar as long as the interview is parallel with the considered matter of the thesis. The interviews are briefly followed.

Part 1

Interviewees

Place: The traditional Bazaar

1. *What were the features of a traditional bazaar?

- **What kind of a place is the Bazaar?**

In response to the above question, more than 80 percentages of the interviewees reveal the bazaar atmosphere implying terms such as simplicity and calmness. Bazariis see the traditional bazaar, as an unruffled space which had less referral, due to lack of population, consumption and formality. In their point of view these are the results of the modern days, which traditional bazaris do not desire.

- □The simplicity has faded in the bazaari stratum, shopkeepers used to be simple, eat simple, and act friendly in the old bazaar and there were times weeks passed and no trade was done□
- □In the past there was no special crowd inside the bazaar because people did not have so much money to spend and often richer people who had purposes of purchasing goods referred to the bazaar, therefore the space was quiet and the amount of sale was very low□

The □Tajrish□old traditional bazaar, just like all the other towns, consisted of shops and houses which functioned alongside. However, all the old houses which existed around the bazaar and people used to live in one day, are now converted to storages. Those days the bazaar was just a simple passage as it is now with a few shops on the sides, which were added to as time passed. A bazaari remembers many of the current shops used to be animal stalls at that time.

All around the bazaar were houses where people used to live, as time passed these houses were transferred to storages and became vacant. The shops started expanding their areas and it was then where 12 meter square shops turned to be 40 meters square; these spaces are the recent location of the □Ghaem□the modern shopping center.

A bazaari who had been brought up in the Bazaar district and meanwhile works there says: □In the old days, the bazaar had locality and due to this issue mostly all houses surrounding the bazaar had a door which opened towards the bazaar main passage□ One says: □In the past the bazaar was not only a means of trade affairs but it had another important function, it was a place for visits, where neighbors would have a chance to see

each other□ He regrets those days and says □The trade affair has had a great improvement comparing to the past but the visit issue has completely disappeared□

A well trained bazaari assumes the word bazaar comes from the two basis of baz+ ar which means to bring back again. Therefore the bazaar and bazaris functioned in a way to encourage the customer to refer to the bazaar again and again. According to interviews with bazaris:

- The □Tajrish□bazaar was similar to summer- winter quarters, being the summer district itself because of its cool climate; therefore it was mostly closed with the start of cold seasons. It has always been the main seat for religious ceremonies. It was the bazaar which performed the most important religious programs and all people referred to it as custom.
- A very old shopkeeper says: □The bazaar was and stays to be, the exertion of the trade affair in the Iranian city□ Also the bazaris were known as a benevolent that made efforts in assisting others and untangling their obstacles. They in many cases indirectly helped to solve financial and other problems bazaris or people affronted.
- Many interviewees see the overall city fabric of Shemiran as a religious fabric including many □Takiyeh□and holy shrines.
- The □Tajrish□Bazaar does not have a particular history. Among the interviewees, there were bazaris who believed the traditional bazaar is basically an □old□space and this is its special feature, they say the bazaar was a simple and informal space. However a high percentage of interviewees say a traditional bazaar is a place with domed ceilings and skylights as seen in the old system of architecture in the first Iranian bazaars, and since

the Tajrish traditional bazaar due to climate has never had domed ceilings and had sloped roof, it cannot be considered as a traditional bazaar

- About the existence of water some say: in the past there was a narrow stream alongside the path where water passed through and led to the Zoorkhaneh (traditional gym).

What kind of a place is the traditional bazaar?

These are some responses to this question:

Some believe a traditional bazaar is a place which holds simple shops along with an old system of trade such as using "Chortkeh"⁵⁶ for calculation. A wise mid aged shopkeeper who has lived his life in the Bazaar, not precisely the Tajrish Bazaar, believes a traditional bazaar consists of various guilds and includes the old trade affair criteria (such as leaving the Bazaar and going to prayer at prayer time, being faithful and honest and overall obeying religious prototypes). He also states old bazaaris considered a tradesman as a friend of God as a result of respecting others honors. These he points as attitudes known as traditional and architectural features as most other interviewees claim, seeing the bazaar as a place covered with domes and tiling. He thinks new bazaars have passages which the traditional ones never had.

- A 50 year old bazaari who has heard many stories about the traditional bazaar from his ancestors and relatives and has been working in the bazaar for many years, states: "This area (the bazaar) has an old fabric and everyone lives together like a grand family, the region has

⁵⁶Chortkeh is a mechanical wooden tool for calculation in the bazaar

a long history and as I believe, due to the number of holy shrines it has, its religious issues dominate its old age.

- Another shopkeeper claims "the bazaar covers all the basic needs of a family besides all its esthetical points"
- A gold maker believes a traditional bazaar consists of some features as follows:
 - It is a place all types of people refer to (poor and rich)
 - It is a very busy and crowded place
 - It has many "spectacles" which they themselves create most of the crowd
 - It has many guilds

And its architectural aspects are

- *It is a narrow space*
- *It is normally built with brick*
- *It consists of skylights*

An old bazaari who has lived his life in the Tajrish district and even his far ancestors are from Tajrish are in the bazaar says: "traditional bazaars are old bazaars, and their main difference is they were much simpler than contemporary bazaars, today glamour has been added to shopping spaces". Meanwhile he describes some architectural aspects in traditional bazaars such as having domes and skylights.

A very old bazaari remembers the ambience of the old bazaar, missing those old days, he says: "There is no such thing as the traditional bazaar, the traditional people are gone and the new generation has come therefore it leaves nothing as the traditional atmosphere.

The traditional fabric had an old authenticity and now everything has changed"

- Old bazaars had:
 1. Brick and mud columns
 2. Timber domes
 3. Adobe walls

But mostly all assume old domes and arches as a reminder of the traditional bazaar atmosphere. And most important of all is its people. A few people think it is a place where mostly all categories shop, they dress more comfortable because of the familiar atmosphere□

- What are some of its Iranian or Islamic features?

People in the traditional bazaar were very religious tradesmen, who in each and every trade obeyed some religious issues, such as starting their job with the name of god, being honest and faithful in each trade□ .

In terms of the atmosphere of the bazaar mostly all interviewees indicate this point that each morning at the bazaar opening time, the bazaaris washed the front door of the shops with water, this would in cases create the smell of mixture of water and soil and reveal an identical sense. Then each shopkeeper would start to recite the Quran or do other religious recitations for himself while he waited for the entrance of the first customer to the bazaar area. If someone entered the bazaar early in the morning he would hear the sound of Quran in the bazaar. This issue has been indicated by each and every interviewee and shows the amount of importance it had in recalling the atmosphere of the traditional bazaar. Many concern it as the belief the old bazaaris had which made them recite the Quran, where in some way it could be represented as the bazaari approach towards trades affair. Among the

interviewees, mostly smile and remember the old days, days they state as the real atmosphere of the traditional bazaar.

Religious issues were not only noteworthy for the day start but also throughout the whole day. According to a few interviewees, religious ceremonies were of such a great value that at noon and the prayer time, most bazaaris would close their shops to do their prayers, and therefore the bazaar was active in the mosque and not the productive areas. The bazaar was very empty at noon and had no special referrals.

Lots of interviewees including bazaaris and ordinary people think the significant Islamic point in the bazaar was the religious bazaaris it had, people who were very faithful and had justice in work, which have all now changed and have been replaced by new bazaaris who are not so obsessed with religious matters in job, they see it as the Iranian and Islamic features of the traditional bazaar.

About the Tajrish bazaar, many interviewees reveal this issue that the Tajrish traditional bazaar has never had dome ceilings therefore it cannot be considered as a traditional Iranian bazaar, they believe one of the most significant characteristics of an Iranian bazaar is its domes and skylights. However today due to the reconstructions being done in the Tajrish bazaar the old gable roof has been removed and repairs have been aimed to make skylights for the bazaar to recreate a more traditional atmosphere.

A wise tradesman says: "In the old Iranian spaces there was normally greenery in the holy shrines which people put in advantage of the shade. In the Imamzadeh Saleh shrine (the shrine leading to the Tajrish Bazaar), there used to be a very gigantic plane tree which some say even Marco Polo has mentioned in his journey book, this tree has now been cut down.

There are groups who say the tree had dried out but even so it was a memory of the time□ Therefore he believes the municipality must keep a memory of the tree either by creating a symbol or planting new ones instead of just cutting down the old tree and giving its space to the shrine court.

As a matter of Iranian features interviewee state:

- A shoe keeper believes the brick columns are the Iranian architectural feature however the additions and repairs done on the ceiling, reconstructing the gable roof with new materials, reveals a modern roof which is not so pleasant, for this atmosphere they must of reconstructed the rooftop with domes like the traditional bazaars were in the past.
- Very say there is nothing left as an Iranian architecture or art in the traditional bazaar and many even believe there never was. It seems that they assume the domes as artistic Iranian elements and gable rooftops as non Iranian architecture. However both these groups point to the holy shrine as the Islamic feature of the bazaar, an element from the old past that still continues to live its role as a religious symbol. Also there are many mosques around the bazaar district some which belong to very long ago, therefore they have not been destroyed due to their age and respect among the bazaaris (Fatemiyeh Mosque) however they are indicated in the project of the street expansions.

- **What are the functions of the mosques, shrines and coffeehouses inside the Bazaar?**

Bazaaris say: the role of mosques: if anyone confronted a problem or there was an argument happened among people, older people in the mosque would gather to solve the problem; since there was no court at that time, they had the role of solving such cases. It was just after the Shah that places as courts became common among people.

At prayer time, people in the mosque would talk about the problems others were struggling through and made efforts to solve them. Interviewees add: shop keepers in the bazaar had solidarity and even at the time of a shop keeper's funeral, it was them who organized the ceremony giving the deceased family a chance to be in peace.

Shrines were the heart of religious ceremonies in all bazaars, as well as the "Tajrish" bazaar where all programs started from the shrine and disseminated to other parts of the bazaar. A bazaari commemorates his childhood where they would spend hours decorating the bazaar for special ceremonies. The shrine also programmed financial aids to the bazaaris, in giving loans from the shrine's revenue that is why perhaps an original bazaari believes recently many make abuse of the Imamzadeh as financial aids. Meanwhile the shrine and the Board of Trustees are responsible for managing the bazaar.

Although some new and even a small amount of old bazaaris do not accept the current management and structure of the traditional bazaar, however they believe the shrine still plays its important function as donations and gathering pilgrims. The shrine still has its credibility and every day lots and lots of visitors make vows in the shrine, therefore from past up to now it has always been referable by different groups of people.

A faithful bazaari says: "there is a statement from the Imam that says the most sacred mosques are the mosques inside the bazaars, because tradesmen are obliged to cut from business and making money and go to the mosque to worship" and that has a high value.

Some interviewees do not point to the social aspects of the Imamzadeh and say: "the Imamzadehs were ordinary shrines where vernacular people often came. About the coffee houses they claim: "they were as restrooms and suitable places for the nonnative ones.

Many say: "coffeehouses were places where builders, painters, carpenters and many other occupations gathered around and if an employer was looking for a worker one, they knew they would be sure to find one" Plus some identical spaces in the bazaar including the coffeehouses belonged mostly to more ordinary people. Groups with low incomes such as farmers were the principal guests of such popular spaces. They spent time reading poems from Old Iranian poets in these assemblies and meanwhile exchanged ideas. Tradesmen were not among these gatherings.

Others say the Imamzadehs were the basis of the bazaars. At first there were the Imamzadehs and afterwards the bazaars were built near them due to profits.

- What was the time regularity in the traditional Bazaar, in the past?
- What were the heating and cooling systems in the traditional Bazaar?

In the past, because of the lack of electricity, manual heating and cooling systems were common. Nearly all used □Korsi□⁵⁷ or reticulate lights which needed to be plumbed once in a while and heated themselves simply by wearing warmer clothes.

For cooling purposes they chose manual fans and some say they would buy lots of ice cubes and store it in their water fountain for daily use, before the water pipes became common in city. However the traditional □Tajrish□bazaar was a seasonal bazaar closed in the winter, therefore many problems which may be confronted in the winter were automatically solved in this case.

⁵⁷A traditional way of making fire in a fire-pan

- How do you see the Architecture of the traditional Bazaar?

The "Tajrish" traditional bazaar is an old historical bazaar which has no special pretense architectural decorations and never has. The present structure including the "Raasteh" and its current design is what was referred to as the "Tajrish" bazaar in the old days. From the very first beginning there were just the same two entrances to the bazaar which there is now, and the architectural elements of the bazaar were the Hammam near the Imamzadeh, the Hammam in the back street of the bazaar, the Great "Takiyeh" the "Takiyeh Chal" the Fatemiyeh, Farahmand and Khan Mosques. The "Tajrish" traditional bazaar has never in its existence had skylights or decorative ceilings similar to the ones in other traditional bazaars. This issue is proved by all interviewees. The bazaar was situated among numbers of palaces.

The feedback for the occurred alterations in the traditional bazaar, as most interviewees indicate, can be categorized to the following classifications:

1. Change in the dimension of the bazaar
2. Change in its Architectural features
3. Change in the environment and surrounding
4. Change in the ambience
5. Change in spaces

§ *Change in the dimension of the bazaar*

The dimension of the bazaar has exceeded due to the development of the shrine outline. The houses people including some of the present bazaaris used to live in their childhood are now part of the Imamzadeh (shrine) and sited in the court.

There was also a very old tree inside the holy shrine area which had ages old, it has been mentioned in all historical books concerning the □Tajrish□ district, bazaar or shrine and practically held nostalgic definitions for the area. Recently the tree has been cut down due to the expansion of the shrine area however some say it had been dried out. One of the interviewees was very pleased with this matter and believed development should be done even if it ends in destroying, he was a fan of modernism and development in historical areas.

§ *Change in Architectural features*

This section is subdivided to many architectural changes including:

1. Change in reconstruction methods and materials
2. Change in Light
3. Change in Ceiling
4. Change in location of shops and change in shop interiors
5. Change in the environment and surrounding
6. Change in the ambience and space
1. Change in reconstruction methods and materials

The architecture of the bazaar has not changed a great deal; it is just limited to small interventions recently begun, these interventions include the reconstruction of the floorings and facades including old descriptions installed on the walls, done with the help of the municipality three years ago. Also it was after the Iranian revolution when the dusty floors were covered by asphalt creating a huge change in the bazaar atmosphere, before this the bazaar was seen in brick and adobe. The flood taken place in 1989 washed away the old piers in the bazaar, which were afterwards replaced by new metal ones. According to what the older bazaaris working in the bazaar describe, in the old days the bazaar had a gable roof and the ceilings were made of timber and straw, creating a very cool atmosphere plus the inside space of the bazaar was always in peace from natural disasters yet when from the time the bazaar roofs were reconstructed onwards, many problems are affronted after each rain drop leading the water inside the bazaar and on the head. The bazaaris say the old gable roofs functioned for more than 50 years but today's new roofs will not last more than 5 years.

2. Change in Light

A high number of the interviewees said, due to the presence of such a structure for the roof, the reflection of light inside the bazaar was fantastic. Before the ceiling had openings from the corners and led a very slight and desirable light inside the bazaar yet in the new reconstructions these openings have been completely covered and the bazaar does not recall the same atmosphere. Some remember the light which hit the dust floor and created a mysterious and invisible ambience which was very interesting especially for visitors. A shopkeeper, despite the difficulty he has in explicating his ideas due to being illiterate says:

□In the past the bazaar was a bit darker than now and I think that made it more like traditional□ He is actually right, now due to the repairs being done in the bazaar, the openings have become more and bigger than the old times and with the existence of electricity the bazaar is much brighter and many think it does not look traditional.

Recently the ceiling and walls have been brick worked, albeit the columns are thicker than they used to be reconstructed, an interviewee believes the architect has not well estimated the width.

3. Change in Ceiling

At first the bazaar had no ceiling. The old bazaaris remember the time when in winter and after snow, due to the lack of ceiling the bazaar was filled with a great amount of snow. The alleys on the back side of the bazaar were very narrow and were called □Ashti Konan□streets which means places where people became friends(Due to low width of these alleys people would touch each other when they trespassed and they became friends again if they had any fights because they had to look each other or say hello). Because of the amount of snow people would pass from each other□s roofs which were easy since the houses were situated in a very dense fabric.

As proof from interviewees indicate about thirty five years ago, the timber ceiling which used to stand, was removed and replaced by girders. And again three years ago the new ceiling which is the one today was reconstructed. Only the old □Takiyeh□has been conserved like the past with the same ceiling and flooring.

During the summer the ceiling was covered by straw to create a cool atmosphere inside the bazaar and during winter the ceiling was uncovered and the bazaar had no ceiling.

A bazaari who seems to be very interested in the aesthetic points of the bazaar states: "It was a space with a wooden roof, not safe enough but beautiful although all the constructions, the bazaar is not beautiful anymore." Overall many find the reconstructions in the bazaar suitable and improving, what they consider to be good is the today's bazaar's appearance and not conserving it as was in the past. Therefore they still suggest having changes in the flooring of the bazaar they find it improper for a bazaar situated in the capital.

4. Change in Location of shops and Change in shop interiors

In the Traditional "Tajrish" bazaar the recess of shops has been changed for the sake of bazaar path expansion and therefore each shop has had a decrease in size due to the municipality legacy. The only possible alterations in shops could have been the change in the interior designs of which each shop which each shopkeeper was free to decide. After the increase in sell and referrals to the bazaar, many shop keepers situated in the traditional bazaar intended to do constructions and replacements in their shops with the objective of making the shops more up to date and desirable for new life and taste. As interviewees say the traditional bazaar never had prejudice on the decoration of the window shops and this was a very interesting thing seen among many bazaris. However another interviewee stated "in many cases it is our children who do not permit us to settle the shop in a special manner as we did in the past, they disagree on putting old pictures on the wall and say new people are not interested in them."

A jewelry shop keeper responds to this issue: 'I have installed a security camera for the shop, (he points to the camera) old bazaaris have no interest in assembling such things, but our children persuade us to do so, we like to put pictures on the wall like we did in the old days but they say it is not suitable for these day's shopping areas'

Also in the past the shops inside the bazaar were much simpler than now, because each customer knew what product the shop had and because of the low variety of commodity there was no need in displaying them, yet now the goods are mostly displayed in front of customer's eyes even though the shop is old and unluxurious. Therefore even the shops in the traditional bazaar have adopted themselves with new day taste and customers' will in a shopping space.

§ *Change in the environment and surrounding*

The Tajrish bazaar surrounding has changed in many ways, confronting tree removals and high rise constructions, all due to modernism phenomena. In 'Tajrish' there were many great gardens belonging to famous governor lieutenants of the Shah which were brought down after the revolution. These gardens themselves brought a specific ambiance to the bazaar surrounding and reacted as the greenery which embraced the bazaar and with their disappearance caused huge changes in the scenic of the bazaar and even Tajrish district.

The other greenery defined as the bazaar's surrounding was the greenery placed inside the shrine, including very old trees, flowers, plants and water fountains, all natural living elements. Yet again due to exterior factors such as the development of the shrine court many

of them were destroyed and never replaced. Nevertheless this issue does not bother all ranks of bazaaris, where a very original bazaari says: "The bazaar main passage led to the shrine which was the greenery for the bazaar complex. The shrine was the core of greenery in the bazaar zone due to the fact that the interior of the bazaar had no sight of greenery". They have all been removed for the sake of vastness in the shrine court and I am very pleased with that, I believe the old trees did not need to be there when they have no use. He is an accordant of the immethodical constructions around the shrine zone and thinks the Imamzadeh needs an open space which now lack.

Inside the Takiyeh in the bazaar there used to be a small basin and around it benches were people sat and chatted beside the coffeehouse, these were all evidences of greenery and nature inside the bazaar. In addition to circulation of air it gave to the area, it attracted people to sit around and create a vivid selling space.

5. Change in the ambience and space

This issue includes certain topics such as the people who once lived or worked in the bazaar space, the careers often practiced in the traditional bazaar, the sounds and colors, the architectural contexts or materials, albeit many of what represents an ambience is the overall architectural features including spaces, colors, lighting etc which we have discussed in the Change in reconstruction methods and materials section.

Mostly interviewees point to this issue that maybe the only most noticeable change in the bazaar is the increase of light inside the bazaar due to the changes made after

reconstructing the ceiling; the increase in height has led more light enter from the corners, making the bazaar appear brighter than it was before.

To the question of what were the main features of the traditional □Tajrish□Bazaar, the interviewees often bazaaris declare:

□The main characteristic of the old bazaar was its people who were in many ways very different from today□

A traditional bazaari states: □In the past the bazaar was a place for handicrafts where many products were produced in workshops and presented in front of the customers□to be sold. New products which were transferred to the bazaar only for sell, led to the closure of many workshops□ The shutdown of these shops not only had architectural void spaces, but also removed many old gestures and sounds. One of the interviewees remembers himself as a kid who came to the bazaar to listen to the coppersmiths working in their noisy guild.

Also a new shopkeeper in the old bazaar adds □there were caravansaries where the tradesmen delivered commodities at night and tied their animals during their stay, and unloaded the products; these spaces have no more functions, and have left the caravansaries empty and destroyed□

One says the bazaar atmosphere has been totally changed because it has lost many of its occupations such as the coppers. Many occupations which used to be active and productive in the traditional Tajrish Bazaar have now been replaced by merely cloths shop and more common new products.

6. *Change in spaces*

The bazaar had many coffeehouses, places to gather gossip and spread news. Thence they do not exist, a few numbers of coffeehouses have been built afterwards in minor alleys around the bazaar, being more similar to restaurants than coffeehouses and it is due to this point that some ancient coffeehouse functions have been abolished.

As bazaaris say, in the current □Tajrish□ traditional bazaar, only one of these coffeehouses is left, yet its primitive function has changed to a small amount, being converted to a traditional restaurant. It is located in the Grand □Takiyeh□, the only section of the bazaar which has been conserved as it was in the old days.

2. Have these features changed? How and what are the factors?

- What types of people come to the traditional Bazaar for shopping?

A traditional shopkeeper believes the customers of the traditional bazaar today are from all kinds of social types and classes but it is in the modern shops particularly which accept modern styles of people only. Another says meanwhile a great population of the bazaaris in the bazaar are young ones and mostly not from original bazaari families. They are not owners of the shops, they just work in the shops and a very few number of them work with their fathers or their previous generation. The bazaari children have educated and become doctors or engineers and do not work in the bazaar.

Basically bazaaris who have been in the bazaar more than the others, or are originally from the region, mention that in the past only regional people came to the Tajrish bazaar as customers and the shopkeepers themselves were mostly natives from Tajrish. Another adds: □ In the past only locals would come to the bazaar for accommodations, besides only certain days such as Wednesdays, people from other neighborhoods and regions would come to the shrine as pilgrims and would then shop from the bazaar, this issue still exists among the pilgrims□

However people who now come to the bazaar are mostly □spectacles□ the word one refers to when indicating that they do not shop and simply pass by and look around. He laughs and says: □there are lots of workless folks□

□We have all types of customers in the bazaar, even people who go around with new styles are also interested in the traditional bazaar, for example foreigners are very interested in the contemporary history and I believe the bazaar still has its interest among

people□ This is what a traditional bazaar shop keeper has to say about the people visiting the bazaar .He also adds that: □ Even people who are going to the Tajrish for shopping, they often orally say that they are going to the bazaar and not to the □ Ghaem □ shopping center (the modern shopping center near the traditional bazaar). This he believes is a proof for the interest and place the traditional bazaar has among people. He also believes the reason why people are interested in the traditional bazaar is its variety the traditional bazaar is not a bourse of products and there are different shops side by side and this has made it more interesting□

More than 60 percent of interviewees believe often the old people prefer shopping in the traditional atmosphere, just as it is them who enjoy looking at the old photos more than the others it is them who also enjoy old historical spaces more. An old bazaari says the young are mostly pleased with modern spaces and it is not their fault, they from the very beginning have grown up with these spaces, and it is us who has memories from the traditional spaces not them□

Old bazaris say the younger ones prefer to go shopping and wondering in newer spaces which are more adaptive to their behaviors and likes whereas the old ones want to walk and shop in a more nostalgic space such as a traditional bazaar. One even state: □ The clients who come to the traditional bazaar want to buy cheaper products even though if it is of less quality□ They think clients who search for brands often refer to modern shopping centers for shopping. Most bazaris believe the situation in modern shopping centers is often advertising, unlike the traditional bazaar.

- **How do you explain the existence of women in the Bazaar place?**

The presence of women in the bazaar at all times has been validated due to the bazaar shop keepers. They even affirm that it is the existence of women which activates the bazaar atmosphere. Some interviewees claim the women have always been in the bazaar area yet in the past they never wondered alone in the bazaar and were always accompanied by a man.

Despite all, there were some very religious bazaar shop keepers who denied to speak to women directly due to religious issues and they even believe women often pass to just chat and wonder with shopkeepers, they often waste the shop keeper's time not intending to buy any product, that is why in the past our ancestors told us "as the result of having causeless talks with women, your face will turn black"

- **What is the purpose of these groups who refer to the traditional bazaar for shopping?**

The bazaaris claim that lately merely referring customers to the traditional bazaar are classified in certain groupings which can be stated as:

§ Ancient Local customers

§ Low incomers

§ Pilgrims and passengers

The bazaaris remember the various types of people who came to the bazaar in the past. These groups consisted of mainly particular types and social class, however as some interviewees claim now because of the north mountains located nearby which function a recreational icon for this part of the city, all types of people are seen inside the bazaar. Those who come to the mountains often visit the bazaar for amusement. Despite all, bazaaris still believe the major purchase from the bazaar is done by the local residents of the □Tajrish□

And again according to the old shopkeepers today many referrals to the □Tajrish□bazaar are from low social classes, the bazaar has lost its ancient definition as a bazaar located in the north part of the city. A bazaari says he remembers the Shah's mother came to do her shopping in the traditional □Tajrish□bazaar, yet today because of the congestion brought to the □Tajrish□district, such category of people to not refer to the bazaar anymore.

The bazaaris who have seen the former creditability of the ancient bazaar are very disappointed about this fact and are obliged to meet customers from very low incomes as daily customers.

Some say: "people prefer buying things cheaper, and when the name bazaar comes to mind, you assume products are offered cheaper than other shops, however the Tajrish traditional bazaar is not a suitable example for this issue since it is not a wholesale bazaar like the Grand Bazaar in Tehran." However a bazaari believes if the traditional bazaar is decorated a bit it will not differ from the modern shopping center because the products offered in both spaces are practically the same, just the window shops have a main difference, in modern shops they are very well thought and decorated. A 60 year old bazaari shoe keeper who has been working in the Tajrish bazaar for 25 years says: "Groups of people who refer to the bazaar says come for nothing, they mostly pass through the bazaar looking at the shops and simply buy basic needs such as foods." He also believes the number of customers were much more at the time of war comparing to now.

Another very common group who refer to the bazaar is pilgrims who come to the Imamzadeh Saleh. A traditional bazaari says: "many people come to the bazaar, because of the existence of the Imamzadeh Saleh shrine; so it seems that the bazaar has many visitors yet most of them are just pilgrims who in some cases shop a little."

The bazaar has two entrances and one of the entrances is nearer to the Imamzadeh shrine than the other. Each of these entrances creates an opportunity for the pilgrims to take a look at the shops when intending to go to the shrine especially from the further entrance.

3. *What are the results of these changes?

- What factors destroyed the Bazaar's Iranian features?

In the Tajrish traditional bazaar, due to the minimum changes in architectural aspects, its social elements are stronger values to be studied. This criterion holds the highest importance in the decrease of trust among customers and shopkeepers. Over time, this operative link has led to a diminish in the amount of bazaar's credibility, something the bazaaris often see as the economic fable of other customers discovering as the absence of local residents in the district. Today the local folks in the area act like strangers towards one another passing along the bazaaris and other visitors of the bazaar, apathetically; something was an unusual event in the past.

One says: "People lack trust in the bazaaris due to poverty and the materialistic view they have towards new life, greed has always led to the absence of faith and trust" Whereas the consensus claims the old bazaaris were faithful shop keepers and were always convinced with the least they had.

An ingenuous shopkeeper says the number one rule of a good bazaari is his honesty and loyalty, if he loses these he is loser. He finds the disloyalty among customer and shopkeeper in the recent bazaar in the absence of original bazaaris, besides many shopkeepers resort to lying in the means of announcement and sell.

In the 20 minutes interview I had with the mercer he spent most of his speech talking about the low amount of finances people had in the past, he claimed that people in the past were lots of times so poor they did not have enough alimentation and due to this point the

referrals to the bazaar for shopping was also very low. He believes there was not so much money among people to be exchanged. One of the other matters he points during our discussion is the disaster there is in the traditional bazaar today due to lack of religious facts. □People are not faithful like before and do a lot of tricks on each other in trade affairs and all this is because they lack religion and lack of faith□ These groups believe reduce in religious beliefs among people and bazaaris is the reason why the bazaar is towards a decline.

A traditional druggist in the bazaar says recent bazaaris are not faithful like the former ones. He thinks the reason for the detraction in pietism among bazaaris is due to the presence of satellite. His opinion on the latter bazaaris in the bazaar is: □even though they are religious people, but they can never be like the old bazaaris, old bazaaris were well behavior and much more faithful than them□ When he starts comparing the old bazaaris with the recent ones, he says the old bazaaris studied □Makaseb□⁵⁸ and then started business but today shopkeepers just think about the product and sell from the very beginning, old bazaaris opened their shops with the recital of Quran versus.

The abandonment of the bazaar is a very significant issue that duplicates the process of the bazaar detriment. It has been years which traditional Iranian bazaars have been replacing by new shopkeepers which leads to new customers and desires and unfortunately a very low number of them were interested enough to continue their jobs. Therefore the bazaar became empty from this category of people.

⁵⁸A subject of study trained in religious schools which explain how to earn money and do trade affairs in a correct manner without any monkeyshines.

Why the bazaar is vacant from original bazaaris, is a question precisely answered by concerning either one or more than one of the following reasons?

1. Death

This is the most obvious and most common reason of the abandonment of the bazaar. Most of the old former shop keepers in the traditional bazaar are now dead.

2. Lack of profit

The bazaari gender they believe the reason why the bazaar is vacant from original shop keepers is profit; these are some examples they gave:

- □When there is money many other things don't count□
- □If the recent shop keepers in the traditional bazaar have suitable economic powers, undoubtedly they will stay in the bazaar.
- □We cannot afford our debts. Here, it's not like the old days where we had our customers□
- □There is no profit in this bazaar; look at the Ghaem shopping center, everyone you see intends to do their shopping there□

3. Lack of interest

A very few number of the new young generation such as the shop keepers' children continue working in their father's shops. Normally they do not like working in an old space with old people and old fashion products. The bazaaris believe the traditional bazaar has no attraction for this generation. An interviewee says: □The older ones live to the old spaces and

the young are captivated by the attraction and glamour of the window shops in the new bazaars□

Another bazaari says: □the new salesmen who come inside the bazaar to work do not like the atmosphere of the old tradesmen in the traditional bazaar, they have come with new thoughts and are mostly young and this issue itself has destroyed the bazaar fabric□ Few others name 2 main reasons, as the main elements of the bazaar detriment both basically social matters:

1. The construction of new shopping centers inside and near the bazaar
2. The young bazaris who have now entered the bazaar as new tradesmen (in the past merely old men worked inside the bazaar and young ones mostly learners and helpers of the old bazaris). Many claim the presence of young in the traditional bazaar as the main change in the bazaar. These groups think the old bazaris were faithful tradesman who worked based on religious attitudes and respected many issues in trades whereas all young ones think about is to pay back their rents and earn more money.

Others claim economical elements as the main reason of change, which has resulted to the decrease in incomes comparing to costs. They say: □shop owners rent shops and all they think of is to pay their rents therefore they disturb the regulation in the bazaar. This is an important issue lot of bazaris pointed out, they state traditional Iranian bazaar today is merely a shop whereas in the past it had a productive and sells function, alongside each other. This means a product would be produced inside the bazaar having all the spaces and people needed for each of the stages of its procedure inside the bazaar and finally sold in the bazaar. This matter can be clearly spotted in the architectural

spaces allocated to each of these products. Today as many interviewees also mentioned the bazaar is no more active in the production stage and it just presents and sells goods, a lost function it once participated actively.

It is very interesting when a simple traditional bazaari stated the modern life and its machinery lifestyle as the reason for all themes in our traditional spaces. He very much complained about modernism and remembers when grandfathers and old bazaaris worked with "Chortkeh". He says today even these credit cards have changed the atmosphere of shopping in the traditional bazaar.

These groups believe when new systems of sell enters the world of trade, it means the destitute for newer and more up to date salesmen and this means the shift of old bazaaris and the replacement of young salesmen.

Overall some common causes are listed as factors of ruining the bazaar's ancient Iranian features by mostly all interviewees. These elements are as follows:

- § Architectural Elements
- § Social Elements
- § Religious Elements
- § Economical Elements

§ What are some of the current occupations functioning in the Bazaar today, which did not exist before? Or vice versa

At first the bazaar started with a limited variety of careers and as mostly all bazaaris as our main interviewees point out, just a number of essential careers. They declare these occupations were to the response of daily needs, such as alimentation, clothing and animal affaires as transport.

These jobs included the dairy shop, green grocer's and the grocery shops, traditional shoe makers, pot sellers, coppersmiths, Kebab shops, traditional druggists and chalangaries (places used to change horse shoes). There was a great number of chalangary shops around the bazaar, due to the nature of the district as a summer zone.

One of the interviewees, who sell plastic objects and utilities, reminds that his job never existed in the past and it was him who changed their old shop to sell plastic things which new people use a lot. The interviewees end mentioning maximum 15 different sorts of careers, many being productive in the means of traditional style. Basically all these careers still exist, however their system of productivity has changed, this is what a traditional shoe maker claims to be the reason of some stagnant in traditional jobs. He reminds that shoe makers really made shoes with their own hands, measuring the customer's foot and producing their own special commodity, but now they do nothing but selling the products which have been transferred from great shoe factories.

As the city became more immense, the bazaar also expanded and the careers were adjunct as well. This led to the variety of jobs and shops inside the bazaar. Some of the bazaaris state the Iranian Revolution for the time of this increase.

§ Has the population of customers changed (increased or decreased) during the last ten years?

More than 80 percent of the interviewees believe the referrals to the traditional bazaar have increased comparing to old days. Among the 80 percent, more than 50 percent think this is related to the increase in city population and has no other specific reasons. They indicate in the past people did not have much money in hand to spend, people earned less money and the phenomenon money was not so usual whereas in many cases they exchanged goods with commodities (commodity with commodity), for example they gave wheat instead of money, because having money in hand was not so current like it is now.

Many say meanwhile, the reason why the traditional bazaar continues to have customers despite of the two near modern shopping centers is the great daily increase in population otherwise the bazaar does not have its former attraction for visitors or customers.

The other 20 percent seek the reason to this increase, in the amount of pilgrims visiting the shrine situated at the main part of the bazaar structure. Many even say if the pilgrims weren't there, the bazaar would have no more customers. They consume it is the pilgrim who activates the bazaar via referring to the Imamzadeh alongside the bazaar. These interviewees also add the pilgrims of the shrine, which are in a means the visitors of the bazaar often merely purchase small things with referrals to retail shops. An interviewee believes this is the reason why the "Tajrish" traditional bazaar mainly includes the retail shops. Others with the same opinion say the old bazaar has never saw such a population to itself up to these days, thanks to the shrine.

There are a very few amount of customers who used to shop at the old □Tajrish□Bazaar from old days until now. These groups often refer to the bazaar due to the trust they still have to certain original shopkeepers. They prefer shopping from salesmen they know from long ago.

Also there are a number of people who say the natural recreational of the district like the mountains nearby, very suitable for hiking, are the reasons to this augmentation , since mountain climbers often come to the traditional bazaar before or after hiking, as a visitor or a customer of the Tajrish Bazaar. Some say, despite the emerge of □Tandiis□and □Ghaem modern shopping centers, there are still many groups of people who come to the traditional bazaar for purchasing their needs, this is due to the issue that □some particular traditional products are presented only in the traditional bazaar and cannot be found anywhere else□ This is normally commented by particular traditional jobs which are still active and used by people.

Others state that the amount of referrals has very much increased comparing to old days and after the revolution in Iran many people came to work in the bazaar therefore they have more rivals than before. They say: □The bazaar still has its customers who very much different type from old days□

§ Therefore we can categorize the overall reasons of the increase of population of customers to:

1. The dense population in cities
2. Traditional tastes and needs which are specified to the bazaar
3. The high number of visitors to the periphery of the bazaar

However the referral to the traditional bazaar has not decreased due to the appearance of the modern shopping centers, as some shop keepers say "customers are often passengers, they do not refer to the bazaar with a preprogrammed schedule, it is just by chance and as a visit they end up being at the bazaar". Therefore there is always a great amount of visitors to the bazaar although not all are real customers.

A bazaari which has the experience of working in the traditional bazaar and the "Ghaem" modern shopping center believes more wealthy people never shop from the traditional bazaar they prefer shopping from "Ghaem" which is newer. He says modern shopping center customers have certain behaviors, which is to buy from more expensive and luxurious shops therefore they prefer purchasing even the same products we present in the traditional bazaar, in a more expensive but modern shop, just to say we have bought our product from the "Ghaem" shopping center. The reason he himself works in the traditional bazaar is he has no finance to change it with the one in the modern shopping center, the current shop he works in is his own and the one he worked in "Ghaem" was a rental one, therefore he has no choice than to stay in the traditional bazaar despite his desire.

As the total census reveals this reality that due to the increase in population the amount of customers has increased, yet because of the construction of modern shopping centers, they have decreased to a considerable amount.

§ What are your suggestions for improving the current situation of the bazaar?

A bazaari who claims to be an original bazaari with a background family of bazaaaris who all worked and were brought up in the bazaar; thinks in order to ameliorate the current situation of the bazaar, the whole area must be destroyed and reconstructed based on contemporary architecture!!He states "nothing is left from the old bazaar and the Tajrish bazaar has never had anything historical, so why keep it?"

A medium aged shopkeeper who seems to be a fan of modernism in style and not behavior, states "places that are ancient and old have no use, they must be destroyed and rebuilt. At the time being there are many expert architects who are able to build much better than historical architects" This bazaari also complains about the new types of people who come to the traditional bazaar and believes the unreligious ones who refer to the bazaar take away the blessing from the place" However he does not know this reality that more modern spaces built by new architects are interested with this style of customer.

Another shopkeeper working long time in the bazaar claims that in order to keep the old traditional bazaar in its previous status some criteria must be respected:

1. Religious aspects(knowing the bazaar as a religious space and respecting it)
2. To prevent the construction of new passages and malls around the traditional bazaar
3. Solving its economical issues

In regards of economical issues one proposes

The shops near the edge of Tajrish street must step back a few meters and add to their heights instead and changing the stores to two floor shops , in this case the passage of

people will become easier and less crowd will be seen in the bazaar therefore more people will be interested in shopping at the Tajrish bazaar.

Others say building parking lots will decrease the crowd and increase the interest in coming to the traditional bazaar for shopping. Two colleagues one as a shopkeeper and the other as a jeweler say:

1. The government and bank must support tradesmen working inside the bazaar so they would not want to quit working in this atmosphere
2. The government must give people credibility to enrich the bazaar
3. The borders of imports must be controlled so the cycle of production starts to roll again.

v 4. What is your sensation towards this issue?

§ Do you have the sense of familiarity inside the Bazaar?

These are some phrases bazaaris have used to express their feeling towards the atmosphere of the today traditional Tajrish bazaar:

- Due to the inactivity in the bazaar and the lack of formality, in the old days bazaaris were friendlier and spend more time with each other
- A bazaari sings an old song with this theme: When the old people of a place abandon it, that space loses its previous implication and value
- Disloyalty, dishonesty and lack of trust, the bazaar never saw these to itself in the past, so friendships have reduced among bazaaris and customers, something very uncommon in the past
- Meanwhile due to the increase in population, and the irregular immigration to cities from towns, the bazaar has become dense and the sense of friendship and belonging has decreased in it. The bazaar has faced anarchy
- There are still amounts of shopkeepers who have commemorated their sense of belonging to the bazaar atmosphere however it is a minority of population, which are the original ones
- This feeling mostly related to the original Tajrish people who lived and worked in the region and especially in the bazaar, nowadays everyone has become strangers to one another and it is certain the feeling of friendship and closeness will fade away

There are some reasons the interviewees often point to in their discussions to the lack of the friendly atmosphere in the bazaar:

1. Lack of ownership
2. Lack of original local residences(Original Tajrish residences)

Recently most of the shops in the traditional bazaar are rentals and new shop keepers have to rent the shops in the bazaar with high rents. As old bazaaris assess, "all new shopkeepers think about is to be able to pay back their rents, therefore they spend no time on solving each other's problems or having welfares like old days. Original bazaaris and good old days passed"

An original young bazaari who is the 3rd generation in his family who continues to work in the "Tajrish" bazaar says: "The shops have mostly been bought by the Turks in Iran and the previous bazaari families are not in the bazaar anymore. The new bazaaris do not have the same behavior as the traditional bazaaris did. All they think of is financial issues; they seek ways to gain money in less than no time" There are interviewees who claim: "This feeling is only sensed among older tradesmen who know each other from far time ago. When you enter the "Ghaem" shopping center you involuntary come out from your inner comfortable feeling whereas this does not occur in the traditional bazaar. It is the glamour of the new shopping centers which has faded away the familiarity feeling"

Many groups believe this sense can only come back to the traditional bazaar if the old owners come back to the bazaar space, they say one of the reasons people felt friendlier in this ambiance was because the bazaaris came out of their shops and spoke to

each other and this itself made the bazaar a friendlier atmosphere. A bazaari states the following issues as the main reasons of the disappearance of this feeling, these reasons are:

1. The loss of faith among bazaaris and clients
2. The immigration of groups living in the Tajrish district

One says: □These words are for the past! No such feeling is seen in the recent bazaar space□ Also many wise and skillful bazaaris mention this point that in the past what was more important among bazaaris themselves was the credibility of word, which was much stronger than the checks today, these things have all been forgotten and involuntary washed away the sense of familiarity and friendship in the bazaar.

Older shop keepers often state the change in costumes and lifestyles which has ended to a lack of some special old feelings and they find it completely normal. One says when we make a distance to what we were brought with and used to, we miss it and this is happening among the bazaaris and in the bazaar situation. For him himself it had begun to become a habit of working in the mentioned ambiance but now that the bazaar changed a great deal, he misses the old space very much.

§ Do you enjoy working in the bazaar atmosphere?

Among the group of bazaaris as my main interviewees in the traditional "Tajrish" bazaar, I faced more than 55 percent of original bazaaris who were either old bazaaris themselves or the young children of the old bazaaris who were working there. Many were ones who's first and only experience of working was in the bazaar space, therefore the only workspace they knew was the bazaar atmosphere. The interviewee's opinions as seeing the bazaar as a pleasant place or not was:

- "Each person has belongings and it is due to the belongings that memories are created" the interviewee gives examples of traditional icons which have implications in their own contexts and lack definition outside their context.
- "Each atmosphere has particular features, features which not everyone can become adapted to"
- "Many things have changed in the bazaar from the time I started working here, especially its overall mood, the bazaar is not what it used to be" I don't know what exactly changed but it's very different now" Despite all the various changes the interviewee says "I still prefer staying in the bazaar because I am used to it and cannot abandon it now"

It was strange to hear some very old and original bazaaris say they no more enjoy the bazaar due to: 1. the crowd 2. Economical issues

A very high amount of interviewees in the traditional bazaar said they would love to stay inside the traditional ambience however if they had a chance to buy a boutique in the modern shopping malls they would do so and rent it to pass their life, they often mentioned economical problems and the high profit in modern shopping centers as their main reason for such a decision.

A few amount of bazaaris, mostly younger ones had no special sense of belonging to the traditional space, one even believed "each space has a particular useful life, and recently the traditional bazaar has lost its useful life"

§ If there are opportunities of replacing your shop in the modern shopping center with the one you now have in the traditional bazaar, are you willing to do so?

This question made lot of bazaaris hesitate a bit albeit mostly all got to this response that:

□No we are not able to change our current working area with a modern place□

Often they commence to talk about the advantages of the modern shopping center and the disadvantages of the present traditional bazaar, however they mostly achieve to certain reasons which encourage them to stay in the traditional Tajrish bazaar, these reasons are as follows:

v 1. Sense of belonging:

One says: □The bazaar atmosphere is very much different from other shopping areas but I have been used to these traditional kinds of spaces therefore I prefer staying here until I am alive□

Another says: Bazaaris do not accept to transfer their shops to the modern shops in any case, due to the sense of belonging and adaptation they have to traditional spaces. They like the space they work in. There is a feeling of credence in them□ However the interviewee he recently lacks this feeling because of the unimportance of career specializations. He says the specialty of jobs in the traditional bazaar is now meaningless and people do not understand the value of professions and this is has caused the insecurity of career which bazaaris are now facing□ An old bazaari say: □The ones who have worked in the traditional bazaar

atmosphere cannot work in the shopping center and vice versa, each space has its own atmosphere, fabric and people. Another believes modern shopping centers like "Ghaem" and "Tandiis" have glamour and traditional bazaaris cannot work in such kind of places.

Others state "The Ghaem shopping center is much more modern and fashionable, yet most of the bazaaris do not wish to work there due to high expenses, besides they are adapted to the traditional bazaar atmosphere, here in the traditional bazaar, retail shop is common whereas in the shopping center expensive products are more common."

v 2. Credibility:

The bazaar was a well known place from old days and people who worked in the bazaar were always respected by others. An old skilled interviewee believes the reason why the bazaari shop keepers do not agree to exchange their shops with a modern shop inside the new shopping centers is mostly relevant to this issue that the bazaar has always had a high credibility among people even today and automatically at his credibility even today and although all economical problems they will always hold this high amount of value and credit.

v 3. Economical matters:

Nevertheless there are people who state economical issues are more important than identical matters, these groups say:

- § □All shopkeepers seek profit in business therefore if they have an opportunity to exchange their shops with the ones in modern places, they will certainly do so□
- § □The bazaaris wish to change their shops with the ones in the shopping center because of financial profits, there is no more economical profit in the traditional bazaar and what are important are economical issues. The bazaar no more functions economically, it is the modern □Ghaem□shopping center which has the profit now, and so most bazaaris are willing to move□
- § A jeweler who has been in the bazaar for more than 50 years also agrees to continue working in the modern mall due to economical problems, he says: □at least we will be able to continue working in a cleaner and prettier space from now on□
- § □Doing business in the bazaar has no special boom because nowadays people have no money to purchase stuff, they just walk around□
- § Another believes □if the malls become the center of exchange of particular products an exchange for goods, many will leave the traditional bazaar to work there, but me and the old shopkeepers have a sense of belonging to the traditional bazaar and will never be able to evacuate it□
- § A high percentage of bazaaris agree to invest in the modern shopping centers by buying a boutique and renting it to respond to their financial needs and as for their spiritual needs they prefer working in the traditional bazaar.
- § An old traditional shopkeeper has lived his whole life in the traditional bazaar and during the interview in each and every question compares new shopping centers with the standard the bazaar used to have. He sees the necessity of storing spaces

in modern malls like the traditional bazaars do and finds this as a problem in these new urban spaces.

v **4. The attraction modern people desire:**

This question is mentioned to an old original man in the bazaar; he has always worked in the traditional place and has heard from the outsiders about shopping centers. For each question he automatically analyzes the spaces with his own workspace the traditional bazaar, for example this is a shortage he discovers in the modern shopping centers there are no particular spaces inside the shopping center, to release the products and unload them□ He has the caravansary space in mind as a need for permanent storage for high amount of products to be sold or produced. His point of view on this issue is also interesting, he says: □People nowadays prefer shopping outside the bazaar and in more up to date shopping areas. Modern shopping zones are suitable for young shop keepers but people like my type of attitude cannot resist these spaces□ The reason he states for his claim is the □glamour□these spaces have comparing to traditional bazaars. He also adds that even customers who refer to the modern areas for shopping have a special glamour in themselves. There are lots of interviewees who rapidly indicate the modernity of modern shopping spaces as the main reason of the attraction for contemporary human being. They believe modern man desires modern spaces and modern products, he wants to dress, eat and behave like western people and it is in these places (modern shopping centers) which these accommodations are presented and he finds the opportunity to exhibit himself as he desires.

However there are a high percentage of interviewees who claim the contrast. They come to the bazaar not for the glamour of a shopping center but just to experience what is special

for a traditional ambience, the smells, sounds, professions, attitudes and overall a traditional system. They state they may adore the glamour of a modern space but also adore traditional spaces and their ambience.

v Other minor reasons (no choice, specializations, attitudes):

There are also many bazaaris mostly elder ones who say they prefer staying in the Tajrish traditional bazaar for they have no other choice. One says: "The reason I am still in the bazaar is because I have no other choice, I have been here more than 40 years and passed all my young ages in the bazaar, I certainly can't bear the shopping center because those spaces are suitable for young and up to date people not me. Some products are sold more expensive in the shopping center whereas the same quality is being presented in the bazaar with a much cheaper price, but people purchase it from modern malls because they believe the one in the shopping center has a higher quality." A friendly Tajrish traditional bazaari adds that he does not want to adapt himself with the shopkeeper's attitudes in the modern malls and does not like their type of customers, he says: "the rich and young ones refer to the "Ghaem" and "Tandiis" shopping center to do their shopping, others which are in a lower social and financial class just stroll and watch the wealthy ones shop." A very strict and obeying shopkeeper says he will never work in a modern mall because the ones who work and shop there are very unreligious. The modern shopping center is basically a gathering for the young, maybe if I were young I would work in such a place, but with the age I have never!"

Albeit all the affection the old bazaaris have for Tajrish traditional bazaar, not many of their children continue working in the bazaar as their fathers did. They say: there is just a few

number of shop keepers who are continuing their father's career and these are the ones who have no other alternative for working but the Tajrish bazaar. A mercer states that none of his two sons continued his job as a mercer and each one is working in a different field, a surveyor and a teacher. He says he wished his children would either become mullahs or work in the same field as he did as a mercer. He believes if they became mullahs they would be guided to paradise and that is what he wants. He has had a very religious family and a very faithful father.

A traditional druggist says just one of his three sons followed his career, and the two others have left the traditional bazaar. The reason he states for this issue is the lack of profit in the traditional bazaar. He sees his job going to a wane and having no more customers. He believes people are no more interested to be a traditional druggist or refer to such places, because it is not fashionable. The only reason some customers come to his shop is that they sell some hand made products and new drug stores do not have them and in some cases people have no choice than to shop from this guild. He adds this sentence with a smile knowing this is the only reason of the existence of his career today.

A stationer who continues his grandfather's job says: "The old generation and the new young generation cannot easily work along in the bazaar atmosphere, each have their own system of working and cannot easily get adapted to each other's system of working"

The same questions have been asked from a different group of interviewees which are shopkeepers in modern shopping centers Ghaem and Tandiis. These types of shopkeepers normally have a contrary point of view from the traditional bazaaris due to their primary attitudes and style. They are mostly young men and women who work in small boutiques and have customers very near to their easy going act.

After an observation in the two shopping centers, the "Tandiis" and "Ghaem", groups of interviewees were aimed to respond to basically the same questions mentioned in the traditional bazaar. Here the interviews were mostly shopkeepers with an average age of 23-40, which are considered young. Meanwhile many of the interviewees in the modern centers were women working as shopkeepers, something not seen in the traditional bazaar. Unlike the traditional bazaar, the interviewees were very open to being interviewed. However the Ghaem shopping center due to its closeness to the traditional Tajrish bazaar was more different from the Tandis and had more medium aged shopkeepers. This differentiation was due to the correspondence Ghaem center had with the traditional bazaar because of their proximity. But the Tandis center which is about one kilometer away from the traditional bazaar and the Ghaem center still retains some of its particular features, such as its typical customers, high prices, special products and brands and unique modern ambience.

v 1. What are the features of a modern shopping center?

- What kind of a place is the modern shopping center?
- What are some of its Iranian or Islamic features?
- What are the functions of the coffee shops and restaurants inside the Bazaar?
- What is the time regularity in the shopping center?
- What are the heating and cooling systems in the shopping center?
- How do you see the ambience of the modern shopping center?
- What are some of the propagandas used in modern shopping center?

v **2. Have these features changed? How and what are the factors?**

- What types of people come to the shopping center for shopping?
- How do you explain the existence of women in the shopping center?
- What is the purpose of these groups who refer to the shopping center for shopping?

v **3. What are the results of these changes?**

- What factors destroyed the shopping center Iranian features?(This question has been eliminated because there are no Iranian features in a modern space like the Ghaem or Tandiis shopping centers)
- Has the population of customers changed (increased or decreased) during the last ten years?
- What are your suggestions for improving the current situation of the shopping center?

v **4. What is your sensation towards this issue?**

- Do you have the familiarity feeling in a modern shopping center?
- Do you enjoy working in the shopping center atmosphere?
- If there are opportunities of replacing the boutique you have in the modern shopping center with a shop in the traditional bazaar, are you willing to do so?

v 1. What are the features of a modern shopping center?

- What kind of a place is the modern shopping center?

Place: Ghaem Shopping Center

The shopkeepers in Ghaem, which is the shopping center near the traditional bazaar, say:

A young shoe shopkeeper in the Ghaem shopping center says: "a great advantage of the Ghaem mall is that everything is categorized, if one is looking for shoes they know they can go to the third floor of the mall, if clothing to the 1st floor, this helps the client save lots of time, besides will be a competition for the shops themselves. Another feature is that there are mostly young and fashionable shopkeepers, in our guild 99% are young. They have an average age of 19-24 years old. Besides the window shops are attractive with very fashionable commodities, whereas when I used to work in the traditional bazaar, we used to put our oldest goods in the window shop to sell them, here we present the best and newest ones to captive more customers"

A young scarf seller sees modern shopping centers are cleaner and newer places as modern places. She says new window shops are more accepted among people and the simpler the window shop the less it will sell, everyone follows modern and fashionable things. She states: "folks follow their eyes not their minds"

Yet this is what a young ornamentation seller has to say about a modern shopping center, he says we can identify modern spaces with one thing, its window-shops, they are very much newer. Also there is a difference in the salesmen's attitude, in modern shops salesmen are more sociable, because the new generation's knowledge has increased. He also mentions variety as a feature of the shopping center, he states that the commodity is better and design and variation has augmented, and these are all due to the issue of import.

Groups mention: "it has a more suitable ambience comparing to other shopping centers, and to a great amount has typical customers based on the shopping center. A young wise shopkeeper starts talking about the characteristics of a shopping center; he says shopping centers are places where the shops are designed in a way that the customer is able to spend more time on looking at shops, whereas in the traditional bazaars it is not like this at all. Traditional bazaars

have narrow pathways and do not benefit cooling systems; therefore customers get tired sooner and leave the bazaar. He says abroad the shopping centers are so vast and interesting one can spend hours looking around without getting tired, they even inject oxygen in the air.

Another young salesman says shopping centers have no particular aspects for example in Ghaem shopping center there are small shops and no escalators whereas their existence is very important in modern areas, he also comments on the Ghaem hallways and adds all hallways are main ones, there is no one minor path which the customer may have a chance to challenge himself.

Almost more than 70% of the interviewee points to the features of salesmen as a modern space characteristic. They often say a modern space such as a modern shopping center has young and fashionable salesmen. Their reasons are:

- Young salesmen are more tolerant and bear young and disturbing customers
- Young salesmen themselves captivate young customers by using slangs common among young and joking with them
- It is the young who likes variety and makes different styles in no time, either in their own appearance or in the window shops.

Albeit all these ideas some believe there is no particular feature for a shopping center; they say it is merely modern. As a whole most interviewees say: □A modern space has modern shops, new products, modern shopkeepers and modern windows□ And more than 90% of the interviewee state that a modern shopping area is a place which its sellers are stylish and fashionable themselves and present non Iranian products in their boutiques, things the shopkeepers themselves wear and use.

In the interviewees most often it is indicated that window shops are very important and significant elements in the shopping centers, therefore practically all interviewees mention this issue. A number of the interviewees say all customers notice the window shops at first sight, therefore 50% is the window shop and 50% is the morality of the salesmen that captivates the client. Even if the shop keeper's behavior is appropriate it will become important when the

customer enters the shop, so the first movement to promote the customer is the window shop, which will encourage the client from the outside to the inside.

Another young salesman who has not long ago started his career in the Ghaem shopping center says the window shop is 90% of the work to attract customers. He asserts that window shops must be simple and the simpler they are the better, he also adds that in the southern parts of Tehran the window shops are very crowded unlike the northern parts.

Another states 70% of the customers only come to shopping centers to see the window shops, and this is exactly what drags a customer inside the shop. He also gives examples of shops in the shopping center including his shop which has better window shops than what they really present and sells inside the shops. It is the first step that makes a customer wants to look inside a shop. He also adds that there are lots of people who come to shopping centers just for the sake of looking at window shops.

About the arrangement of the window, a shopkeeper claims that windows are the eyes of a customer, if a window shop is suitable; clients will think the shop presents good commodities and they will enter the shop. Normally we expose the smallest sizes and most beautiful colors in the window, they appear better in the client's eyes.

Place: Tandiis Shopping Center

A very modest woman working in the Tandiis shopping center is the interviewee, a swimming suit seller; she says shops in a shopping center are usually small and narrow with gloomy light.

A literate young shopkeeper who sells men's sportswear has a more technical view on the characteristics of shopping centers. He says: "the features of modern shopping malls are in the facilities it provides for customers". The Tandiis has at least 4 elevators and also escalators. It has private parking lots for its customers and it has administrative offices. This he believes is one of the significant characteristics of a modern space. Meanwhile people can use the restaurant and coffee shops set in these modern spaces.

Another salesman who has come to the Tandiis shopping center 6 months ago, thinks a shopping center is somewhere that has a clean surrounding, appropriate shopkeepers and more modern window shop than other shops and pays more attention to the appearance of its shops (he assumes each shop has spent more than 20 million toman just for the outdoor appearance of the shop, this is a very high amount).

But a few believe the attitudes the shopkeeper in modern shopping centers have is very much different from how salesmen act in the traditional bazaar, whereas one young man says: "salesmen in Tandiis are much more polite than the ones in traditional bazaars, because their customers are also more sophisticated". He states the ones who refer to traditional bazaars are ones who search ordinary or even low quality products and pay less but in Tandiis customers pay more and want to find high quality.

About the windows a Tandiis shopkeeper believes people who refer to Tandiis find windows important and admire good window shops he comments on Ghaem shopping center and thinks, if they wanted to see normal window shops they would go to Ghaem shopping center!!

"A place consisting of mostly young shopkeepers and people who wonder around" is what a young 20 year old shopkeeper in Tandiis believes to explain a modern shopping area.

A young fashionable boy in the Tandiis shopping center says: "A modern shopping center is where consists of known European brands and due to the lack of interest of Iranian commodities,

does not present Iranian stuff□ He also includes having modern coffee shops and restaurants which have foreign foods as modern criteria of a place. He categorizes a modern shopping center as:

1. A place with a variety in lighting
2. Big boutiques
3. A place with restaurants and even funfairs for children
4. No Iranian features

Also a very well sophisticated young lady in Tandiis shopping center mentions 3 main features as the modern shopping center characteristics:

1. Big dimensions for shops
2. Special and well known brands being exposed
3. Special lighting
4. Using fun and bright colors(either in window shops, or in the goods)
5. Special music, often foreign music, in shops

However she believes the number 1 features is not respected in Iran and most shops are very small due to high rents in modern shopping centers.

- **What are some of its Iranian or Islamic features?**

A shopkeeper says: "nothing here is Iranian; it is just from the people who pass which you know this is an Iranian place or else no elements or characteristics are Iranian". A young girl also adds that all modern shopping centers are similar to the European shopping centers completely, all modern, even in India as a poor country, the shopping centers are totally western.

A young man who is busy reading the newspaper when I enter the shop in Tandis thinks: "a modern shopping center can not in any way be Iranian, because its existence all ends to fashion, it is like the differences among the Barbie doll and the Dara & Sara doll (two male and female dolls which have been designed by the Center of Intellectual Development for children, which have traditional local Iranian clothing).

"The new bazaars have nothing Iranian, even the shopping centers in religious cities like Mashhad are shopping centers similar to the European ones, and none of them are Iranian. However I admire them because they are constructed by academic engineers and have a thought behind". This is what another shopkeeper in the shopping center has to say about the Iranian features.

A woman who is a seller in the Ghaem shopping center thinks since Iranian shopping centers have been derived from western shopping centers, they have no Iranian inspirations, they try to be more and more similar to the western styles thus there is nothing Iranian in them, so they are more modern and attract more customers. The more products similar to western commodities, the more they sell, particularly in the northern parts of Tehran.

One even comments on this issue and believes these modern spaces even lack the sense of Iranian friendly atmosphere, he says: □There is no Iranian feature, not even the sense of Iranian friendship□ Two young interviewees in the Tandiis shopping center say: □there is nothing Iranian about Tandiis or most other modern shopping centers, and there is no need to be people come to modern places because they want to experience non Iranian atmospheres□

The population of shopkeepers who are in a regular touch with foreign shopping centers on the outside borders of Iran often say there is no Iranian characteristic in most Iranian shopping centers in Iran and some even say these two places are incomparable, they state shopping centers in Iran are incomparable due to facilities, ambience and overall mood. A shopkeeper thinks in a foreign shopping center one can spend hours and hours inside the center amusing him with restaurants, funfairs, sitting places and spaces which take care of children leaving more free time for the visitor himself. Another shopkeeper says they are incomparable because of the fake brands there are in Iran.

Many believe there is nothing Iranian or Islamic in a modern shopping center and claim needs not to be. These people add, customers who come to modern shopping centers often want to create a distance from the Iranian ambience, from brands to restaurants and foods presented in these places to even style of dressing and acting.

The result of the absence of Iranian or Islamic features in these modern areas seems to be the customer's demand.

- **What are the functions of the coffee shops and restaurants inside the Shopping Center?**

A young salesman in Tandiis shopping center claims: "One of the advantages of the shopping centers is its restaurants. For example 80% of the customers in the "Tirajeh" shopping center come for its funfair. Also most population of strollers in the Tandiis shopping center is the "Ordak Abi" restaurant clients. Some shopkeepers say in the past Tandiis shopping center used to be a gathering place but now there are more interesting places in Tehran that have such a potential.

Tandiis is even open on Friday afternoons (weekend in Iran when shopping centers are often closed) because of the "Ordak Abi" restaurant. Many believe this helps the shopping center be active even on weekends, whereas Ghaem shopping center does not have such a potential. A Tandiis salesman says: "If Ordak Abi restaurant was not there, Tandiis would have a worse situation, in many cases it is because of the restaurant that the shopping center has a high sell. Tandiis is the only shopping center that does not have any days off due to the restaurant.

The OrdakAbi and Elysee restaurants in Tandiis are one of the reasons many people refer to Tandiis, is what many say. A young shopkeeper whose shop is located on the same level as the Ordak Abi restaurant (the 1st floor) says "many people stroll and look at the shops including our shop while they wait for their turn in the restaurant; this creates a chance for the shopkeepers and shops"A young girl shopkeeper states that the "Elysee" has no special effect on our shops and sell because it has a direct access from the outside of the shopping center and therefore people who often refer to this restaurant have no chance of seeing the windows and shopping unless they decide to take the access to the inside part of the mall.

- **What is the time regularity in the shopping center?**

Most of the shopkeepers have rented their shops and have to pay back their high rents at one time; this is not economical at all. The time schedule in the Ghaem shopping center is 9 a.m. to 11 p.m. but if anyone decides to close and leave earlier they can, however the main door of the shopping center opens and closes at a specific time. In the traditional bazaar everyone closes their shops at a special time but here there is a common slang which says "do as you love it" among young which means it is optional. Each person comes at a different time and each boutique has its own authority for opening and closing the shops. But if any shop needs to stay more than the usual time for doing its accounting work, it has to have permission from the management.

But in Ghaem there is no regularity in time but in Tandiis there is. Most shopkeepers say the Tandiis has a perfect management due to the regularity there is in time and opening hours, one says "We cannot leave the shop when we wish and are not able to keep the shops closed if we see no need in selling, everything is under control"

- **How do you see the ambience of the modern shopping center?**

A woman shopkeeper conceives: □The Tandiis has become a gathering rather than a shopping center, all types of people come here to find friends, they make inappropriate jokes and 60-70% of the visitors just come to wonder around the center□ A scarf seller claims the modern shopping centers as places where younger shopkeepers work. She says: □In Ghaem male shopkeepers are stylish and wear rag pants and have new hair styles, and people see these new fashions in the satellite and look for it in modern shopping centers, they are prepared to pay for fashion more than anything and don't care about its quality, but the ones who work in traditional bazaars are often old□

A literate young man sees the overall atmosphere appropriate for young folks and says: □the shopping center shopkeepers are salesmen but the salesmen in the traditional bazaar are tradesmen, tradesmen are not always thinking of earning money, they also think of the customer's satisfaction□

The old shopping center has its own type of customer; even Ghaem had its own particular client up to 7 years ago before the Tandiis shopping center was built. Now all the typical customers of Ghaem have gone to Tandiis shopping center, due to the parking Tandiis has for customers and because of being more modern.

The shopping center ambience attempts to adapt itself with the foreign spaces so when the customer enters the space, he remembers a certain modern shopping center due to the brands presented.

A stylish shopkeeper believes in Tandiis or other modern shopping centers in Tehran the competition is in selling expensive, here in Ghaem it has recently changed to a competition in selling cheap□ This is the reason why some believe the modern ambience

of the Ghaem shopping center has confronted a big change. Therefore there are many salesmen who prefer to invest in Tandiis shopping center although there are high expenses, because of its different atmosphere and the high interest.

□Fun, creative, full of colors and foreign products which make you feel you are outside Iran□ This is how; many young ones explain shopping centers:

During the survey I came to a few woman and young girl shopkeepers who were not satisfied from the ambience of in modern shopping centers because they claimed it is not comfortable enough for a woman who is often under the eyes of young men. One says □You have to be like them to feel comfortable enough; you have to laugh and have jokes with the young boy shopkeepers because the ambience forces you to do so□ More than 80% of the interviewees say the crowds seen in the Tandiis are often strollers who stroll to waste time, find friends, and see young shopkeepers or merely being in a modern space.

v **2. Have these features changed? How and what are the factors?**

- **What types of people come to the shopping center for shopping?**

A naïve shopkeeper says: □It was very different in the Tandiis before, only gentlemen and high class folks were seen here, now people who have low welfares and even vagrants stroll around the center□ The shoe shop keeper in Tandiis says there are products being sold in the Ghaem with an ordinary price, whereas the same products are presented in the Tandiis shopping center with a very higher price, therefore people who refer to the Tandiis shopping center are much richer and do not care about the price, unless they would come to Ghaem which has the same products but with a better price.

A scarf shopkeeper who herself is a young fashionable lady thinks: □mostly young and fashionable ladies come to the modern shopping centers, and few ladies with veil (Chador) come here□ Most interviewees state that it is obvious that people who come to the Tandiis shopping center might appear very different from others; they look much more unique, always searching fashion.

A salesman who has not long time ago come to the shopping center thinks people who come to the Ghaem center are mostly well dressed people and often young folks so are the shopkeepers, they are young shopkeepers who often do not own the shop but have rented it and just work there. Another adds all types, mostly young folks who refer to us are the ones who are often very well styled and dressed.

Practically all interviewees point to the young age of customers in shopping centers. One says the ones who shop at Ghaem shopping center have an average age of 23-30.

A shopkeeper in the Tandiis remembers when there were only special social classes which came to Tandiis for shopping, and Tandiis had its own particular customer but now he says there are all kinds of people who come to Tandiis because of the low prices some shops have put up to interest all customers. Besides the Tandiis old customers now go abroad themselves and get a chance to provide what they want. In the past only high class and more rich customers came to Tandiis for shopping and never even bargained for the prices.

A woman shopkeeper working as a women's wear seller believes this issue depends on the location of shopping centers, in the northern parts of city mostly western styles and in southern and less rich parts of the city, there are Iranian styles and patterns which come to interest.

So most interviewees in the Tandiis shopping center think types who are looking for original brands come to Tandiis shopping center; these groups often have more money and are types who like to spend money on clothing and the ones who do not insist on having original brands go to Ghaem shopping center. A shopkeeper finds this issue more convenient for them, he says: "this way we can coordinate the commodities based on our customers' taste, we know there are special customers for our original products"

To this question often shopkeepers reply that their customers are from high social classes, however a medium aged shopkeeper says: "recently there are people who are seen in the Tandiis shopping center who do not look like the type suitable to shop in Tandiis, these groups often just stroll" the reason which he finds in the expansion of metro which has helped all folks in the southern parts of Tehran be able to come to northern parts easily. He

estimates about 50% of the population seen in Tandiis shopping center are merely strollers and curious people who want to experience being in the modern new ambiences.

Mostly young people come to shop in modern shopping centers, albeit the customers who come to Tandiis are very more stylish than the ones who refer to Ghaem. The Ghaem shopkeepers themselves say lately the customers in Ghaem shopping center have become weak in regards of economical issues, all related to the development of the metro system, whereas the customers in Tandiis still dress very smart and stylish, therefore Tandiis shopkeepers still have their particular customers.

A Ghaem shopkeeper says: "Up to 5 years ago we had our own typical customers but now because some shops inside the center have started to present Iranian products, we are facing all types of customers. Now it is Tandiis that has its particular client because it exposes unique foreign brands"

In facing this question many shopkeepers reply, in the past clients were very different and the reason was because the salesmen were different too. The shopkeepers who had shops in the past were rich people, therefore the situation was also very different, but today some shopkeepers have saved their earnings as working as a worker to rent a shop in Tandiis shopping center. In the past only high social classes came shopping at Tandiis, today medium classes also come to Tandiis shopping center. Also because Tandiis is a location for gatherings, in many cases people who look for gathering spaces or friendships are the ones who refer to Tandiis shopping center as well. Also many Tandiis salesmen believe Ghaem has mostly ordinary customers whereas Tandiis has typical clients.

More than 80% of the salesmen either in Ghaem or in Tandiis shopping center believe that modern shopping centers are mostly visited and attracted by younger folks who are more interested in fashion and spend more time on their style and look. Even many young people from outside Tehran and from other cities come to Tandiis just because they have heard of it as being modern and stylish.

Despite all these reasons many say because these two shopping centers are located in the north districts of Tehran, many people who wish to take a visit to the north part of the city, shop at Tandiis or Ghaem. One of the factors which helps and promotes many various categories and different irrelative types to think of these shopping centers as an alternative is the existence of the metro system. The recent construction of the metro has facilitated lower social classes who live in the down parts of the city to find the opportunity to reach themselves to the higher districts of Tehran in less time and money. Many interviewees see the metro as damage for this issue and believe if the metro was not constructed they would not seek this will.

- **How do you explain the existence of women in the shopping center?**

Mostly all shopkeepers say 99% of the customers are women in guilds such as clothing and decorative objects and accessories, besides women have more time to shop than men and also they like shopping more. They say our customers are often women which come in the morning practically young women.

It is clear that interviewees believe it is mostly women who come to the shopping centers for shopping, men either come on weekends or in the afternoons, but women mostly refer to shopping centers to pass time and stroll. A young man who used to work in a shopping center in the center of Tehran says: "there we had no women clients, but here in Tandis shopping center they are mostly ladies"

The main populations of the customers at the shopping centers are women, some believe: "this is because they stroll around and want to look at all the shops, whereas men go directly to the shops they want to do a purchase at" He says this is maybe the reason why women are mostly seen in the shopping center, more than men.

- **What is the purpose of the groups who refer to the shopping center for shopping?**

A young woman shopkeeper in the Tandiis shopping center believes there are just a few reasons why folks come to the Tandiis shopping center which are:

Tandiis is very well known as being in the high class part of the city and people like to have a chance to come and see it

Girls and Boys see it as an opportunity to stroll around and find the mates they like

Because of the "OrdakAbi" and "Elysee" restaurant especially the Ordak Abi

The young shoe shopkeeper says 85% of men and 50% of women who come to Ghaem really shop and the rest just come to change their atmosphere and enjoy themselves. "Some give phone numbers (to find friends), some waste time, some look at window-shops and many just stroll here instead of strolling in the street" A woman shopkeeper says girls come to see boys and others mostly come to stroll on ordinary days, it is just weekends that selling is better.

Lots of people seen in the shopping center are passengers, people who have been to the Imamzadeh Saleh shrine and come to Tandiis to have a turn. These passengers often do not even go to coffee shops or restaurants; they just look around and pass.

Another interviewee adds people come here to Ghaem shopping center to purchase objects that look like old stuff, things that cannot be found in the traditional bazaar; therefore the shopkeeper himself tries to present goods that remind you of the past, he says he likes old stuff but does not like to think as old people do.

Mostly folks who stroll in the malls appear to be young and looking for friendship, one says: "I believe even girls who come to the Tandis shopping center for finding mates are very different from the girls who go to the traditional bazaar for friendship."

A shopkeeper who has been working in Tandis for a long time says: "Modern shopping centers have become a gathering for lots of social groups, this attracts many people to these spaces, but in the Tandis I don't think it has yet become a gathering but lots of other shopping centers have this potential." However many say it depends on the day, whether people come to shop or just stroll around. One says Saturday (the first weekday in Iran) is a day people often just wonder around and do no shopping, whereas Thursday afternoon (last weekday in Iran) is not bad. Salesmen have an expression on days people normally just stroll which says: "today the bazaar is a park" since there are lots of people who come to the shopping center but only few shop and most folks walk and look around, eat ice cream and in some cases ask prices but never buy. Many say they often amuse themselves but do no shopping.

A literate young lady says: "in Iran we have no special space for leisure where people can go to and amuse themselves especially young ones, therefore our shopping centers have become places where people can spend time and enjoy themselves even if they do not intend to shop, whereas shopping centers abroad are centers for living having complete accommodations all in one place." She indicates that the reason of the emergence of so many accessory shops in the Tandis shopping center these days is because people who stroll around in malls and do not have enough money to buy expensive products can at least buy one or two cheap accessories and reveal the sense of shopping in themselves

and others, meanwhile enjoying themselves as they stroll in the shopping center atmosphere.

Many others have the opinion that customers are often disturbers who just ask to try on clothing and buy nothing, they come to spend time and stroll. While interviewing shopkeepers many believe these days 65% of people just walk around, and the ones who really have the intension of buying come to the shopping center the last hours of the shop opening, folks who come from early in the morning often stroll and compare prices from shop to shop.

An interviewee from Ghaem shopping center says: "some shopping centers are locations for gatherings where boys invite their girl friends for a walk" He believes Tandiis shopping center has more potential of being a gathering place than Ghaem shopping center, because Ghaem has many exits whereas Tandiis does not. He says Tandiis shopping center may look very crowded yet they are mostly mates and friends not customers. There is a salesman who says: "in the first floor in Tandiis shopping center there are no boutiques for men, therefore most men who stroll on this floor are merely searching friendship with women"

It is very interesting to hear that a high amount of the Ghaem shopping center and specially Tandiis shopping center customers are ones who see fashion through satellite and search for what they have seen in modern shopping centers. A seller says: "it is very annoying, customers come and say have you seen that film or show on the satellite, and well I want pants that Ms. X was wearing on her special show"

It is also very interesting to hear many customers come to Tandiis shopping center to see modern styles and buy relatively the same thing from a very cheaper place and

state they have bought the product from Tandiis shopping center, this shows how significant Tandiis shopping center is among people.

v 3. What are the results of these changes?

- **Has the population of customers changed (increased or decreased) during the last ten years?**

A woman shopkeeper as a swimming suit seller claims the amount has probably increased but they are not buyers, they are just strollers, she believes the reason for their strolling is the high prices and therefore not all people can shop. There are small amounts of visitors who come with an intension of shopping. Also because of the existence of the "Ordak Abi" restaurant, many people refer to the shopping center and after eating spends time just strolling around the shops. She assumes the amount of customers decrease around 9 p.m. and the only ones in the shopping center are the ones who intend to go the "Ordak Abi" restaurant. She states: "Tandiis is not like it used to be before due to financial problems people are facing these days"

A young Ghaem shopkeeper says: "The amount of people who like to come to modern shopping centers has increased comparing before, since the variety of work has increased and there are more fashionable goods in the market" Another also says Yes the population of customers had increased compare to past, because customers bring customers with themselves. The shopkeeper herself says she prefers shopping from a wholesales where there is a comparison of commodities, but others easily shop in shopping centers like here, this I think is something which depends on taste. The number has increased to a great deal but there is no use in it. Thursdays and Fridays people often come to enjoy themselves. Only 10% of visitors come to shop, the rest either stroll or eat. But many say: "it is the crowd which has increased not purchase"

Another woman shopkeeper in Tandiis says the number of our customers have decreased to a great amount, before we got tons and tons of products but now people have no money to spend on ordinary things like scarves, they prefer saving their money on more important goods. She also believes the number of Ghaem shopping center customers has decreased after the opening of the Tandiis shopping center. She says: "people who look for brands go to the Tandiis; they think if they pay more they are certainly buying a more valuable product, they like paying more money" Meanwhile she has an interesting opinion, she thinks each person has its own achievement; God will give each person's aliment any way or the other, that is why she never agreed to fill in an affidavit to collect the peddlers outside the shopping center.

One adds that annually the number of customers in the Tandiis has decreased due to the downward growth we are facing in economy, in the past we were busy working all day long. Besides before when a customer came to Tandiis he knew he had to at least have a certain amount of money but now customers are often passengers with no intention of buying.

About the decrease of population many state yes the number of customers has decreased; particular groups who refer to us for special brands now provide it themselves directly by going abroad and others who have a medium economical class mostly come here to buy clothing and alimentation, so our type of costumes has changed, besides many of, in particular Tandiis shopping center salesmen claim their customers have decreased during the last years. They say they are obliged to pay back high rents and taxes and to be able to pay them back they have no choice rather than increasing the prices, therefore people who have the ability of going to abroad purchase the products

themselves with a lower price, therefore they prefer to stop coming here for shopping and that has made a great difference in the amount of our customers, however many suppose the number of clients has decreased due to new shopping centers which are developing day after day, because when a new shopping center opens the previous one obsolesces.

Overall it is all due to economical aspects that customers have decreased mostly say.

For the Ghaem shopping center interviewees basically name the following reasons for the decrease of customers, they are:

1. Cheap prices in some shops has changed the ambience of the shopping center
2. Lack of parking
3. Fake brands

The interview shows the overall customers in modern shopping centers has decreased due to some issues:

1. Economical issues
2. The emerge of new shopping centers in the district
3. The referral of clients to abroad directly for shopping

And the population of visitors to the Tandiis and Ghaem center has only increase due to:

- The rise of population
- Having a well known name in city, particularly Tajrish district
- Their location in city, they are both located in the best districts in north parts of Tehran

- **What are your suggestions for improving the current situation of the shopping center?**

The response to this question has been categorized to a few main reasons, which are as follows:

- A young salesman in the Tandiis shopping center stated: "there is nothing to do for the dynamism of Tandiis; each shopping center has a boom which will end one day. Selling cheap products in other modern shopping centers is a reason to this immobility in Tandiis, I say"
- One even says: "We as shopkeepers must be aware of groups who start their careers in the shopping center; ones who do not present fake commodities to customers should stay so trust is preserved among clients and sellers."
- Shopkeepers as interviewees have given suggestions to the management of the Ghaem shopping center; recently it has become a rule to fill in affidavit for sales by shopkeepers in Ghaem to prevent knocking down real prices and presenting low quality products in the shopping center. This has been registered with the help and agreement of the shopkeepers.
- Tandiis needs more advertisement and commercials.
- Many points to the issue light, which they find inappropriate, they are often more traditional and older people prefer brighter places. A more traditional shopkeeper in Tandiis thinks shops need to be brighter using lightings.
- And a few others say the increase in light is essential.
- A few propose that shopping centers must be built based on the current culture of their residences.

v 4. What is your sensation towards this issue?

- Do you have the sense of familiarity in a modern shopping center?

A young salesman believes "even in a modern shopping center like Ghaem shopping center there is a sense of familiarity, but you must **stay in the space for a while** to feel it and be adapted to the atmosphere" Another says "Maybe due to the modern shopping center's stylish atmosphere people do not feel comfortable when they enter the setting, it is just like going to a very stylish restaurant, at first one may feel all thumbs, comparing to when one passes the streets and buys a sandwich"

One also says the sense of friendliness in the shopping center space is not even felt among the shopkeepers themselves, since it is illegal to gather in the hallways to talk. There are cameras which control the shopping center; it is just at lunch time when some sit together unlike the traditional bazaar.

One shopkeeper adds "some shopping centers have passed their names on and on to all ears and this issue attracts many groups of people to come visit these spaces, I personally feel very unfamiliar and uncomfortable in these spaces" (she gives an example of a shopping center in Elahiyeh, a well-known district in the northern part of Tehran), she also adds that each person is adapted to the ambience she has been and worked before.

"There is no sense of familiarity in the Tandiis shopping center, most shopkeepers are merely sellers whereas in the traditional bazaar they are often the shop owners and that is the reason for such a sense" another interviewee claims. Another says "Group of interviewees who find no sense of friendliness in the Ghaem or Tandiis shopping center often point to this issue that most shops are rented by young shopkeepers and the main

shopkeeper does not work in the shop. They say more than 95% of shops in the shopping centers are rented by others□

A shopkeeper in Ghaem shopping center believes there is friendship among sellers in Ghaem because they have a chance to gather outside their shops to chat but in Tandiis shopping center this is a fine and illegal so there is no sense of familiarity among them, they are obliged to stay in their shops.

An interviewee says: □sense of familiarity depends on its folks not the space□ And a very well dressed young man in the Tandiis shopping center says he does not believe in the sense of familiarity and friendship in space. He says: what you are speaking about is a sense of disturbance rather than familiarity, these days people desire peace, I prefer not going to such crowded and noisy places for shopping.

A shopkeeper in Tandiis shopping center says shopkeepers are very comfortable and friendly with their permanent customers yet there are not so many of them. Overall it is understood that there is a lack of □sense of friendship□ due to the following facts:

- Mainly all boutiques have temporary salesmen who rent the shop for a period of time and may continue working in that atmosphere or they may not.
- The people who refer to the modern shopping centers are often different with the ones who shop at the traditional bazaars; these customers are often less friendly themselves.
- Modern shopping centers have temporary customers unlike the old traditional bazaar which had stable customers
- The special architecture of the modern shopping center which promotes typical customers to this ambiance

- Rules the management of the modern shopping center such as the Tandiis shopping center lays down not having the permission to gather outside the shops

v Do you enjoy working in the shopping center atmosphere?

These are the reasons why some interviewees indicate they do not enjoy working in modern areas:

A young shoe seller in the Ghaem shopping center says he very much enjoys working in the Ghaem because "we have a variety in customers, each month there is a different customer and we never have temporary customers, so I am more comfortable, I can present and show myself. In the traditional bazaar the method of working and attitudes are different" She also adds in the Ghaem shopping center there are all kinds of jokes but in the Tajrish traditional bazaar it is never like this (he seems to like jokes)

A young shopkeeper in the Ghaem shopping center says she very much enjoys working in the shopping center, and believes "everyone likes working in new and modern spaces more than old places like the traditional bazaar, in the traditional bazaar everyone is from a low social class, they shout and speak out loud, but in the shopping center these acts are all forbidden, and there are laws"

Some young shopkeepers like their jobs due to communicating with people. There is a young shopkeeper who says after these years of working in the modern shopping center he has obtained the capability of recognizing the customers and which cultural stratum they are. About changing his job atmosphere he says he does not agree to go to the traditional bazaar for working, since it is not modern, this is an important issue for him. In regards to this suggestion he gives an example saying it is like telling someone to dress as old days; no one agrees to do so!! The bazaaris have a different point of view; they say human being should adapt himself with new world circumstances.

One adds "I enjoy working in a shopping center yet I would accept to continue working in the traditional bazaar because there is more profit there, however they have two very different ambiances.

And the ones who do not enjoy these atmospheres say:

A naïve woman shopkeeper says she does not like working in the Tandiis shopping center, she feels gloomy and sad.

It is very strange when a young new-fashioned man says he does not enjoy working in the shopping center, but he has got used to it, his job in this atmosphere has become replicated. "I do wish to change my position from the shopping center to a shop in the traditional bazaar because of its interest but I have no choice rather than adapting my morality with modern spaces".

Another says "I used to be busy working with a construction team, now I am here; it is force and not the issue of likes and dislikes". And a women's wear seller says she enjoys working in the shopping center and likes her career very much. It is very amusing for her to see others but this is the only thing that interests her since she does not like the space at all, it is her job that encourages her to stay in such an ambience.

A young and naïve woman thinks working in the traditional bazaar is a very difficult job for a female, because females are not accepted in these ambiances and always in sight, besides she says the number of customers in the Tajrish traditional bazaar is too high and she as a female is not capable of responding to all of them.

A medium aged shopkeeper claims not to be satisfied of working in the Tandiis shopping center, because it is not comfortable and that it is modern and related to the urban life and undoubtedly luxurious and unnecessary. He continues to work in such an ambience just because he has no career. He states if he had a chance of leaving the modern ambience of the shopping center he would work in a traditional pharmacy in the traditional bazaar. He thinks it is a pity that today all groups have got into modern stuff.

One says he no more enjoys working in the Tandiis shopping center due to economical problems, this is what he says: "We are like fishes in an aquarium that people pass and look at!!". He sees no problem in going to the traditional bazaar for working; he thinks he has the potential.

A traditional young girl working in the Tandiis shopping center as a uniform seller says she prefers working in a more feminine atmosphere where she can feel more comfortable than here; therefore she is not satisfied of working where there are young men who like to fool around and joke.

Many shopkeepers complain about getting tired from customers who have no intension of shopping but disturbing the shopkeeper and disorganizing the shop, trying all things and buying none. A lady who has the experience of working outside Iran as a shopkeeper says abroad you get tired too but you are sure there are some who have the purpose of shopping, but in Iran you must respond to lots and lots of customers who just pass to ask prices and other useless questions. Another shopkeeper says the amount of tiresome from working in the shopping center has no relationship with the amount of profit or sale.

A very stylish young shopkeeper says he has decided to change his place of work and go to a new shopping center which is also being built in the north part of city. He believes types of people who came to Tandiis for shopping always look for unique and expensive shopping centers, therefore these customers will also go to newly constructed shopping centers which others are not able to shop and go to. A few numbers of shopkeepers say nowadays due to economical problems people prefer shopping at places which are burse which present various and less expensive commodities.

Part 2

v **Dr. FarhadTehrani**

University Professor at Shahiïd Beheshti University

Department of Architecture

□The traditional bazaar in Iran has been a considered as a productive unit, seen as a workshop which served the necessities of towns in which it was situated in between. However all the producing stages were not necessarily done in the bazaar space whereas in some cases the overall management of the work took place in the traditional bazaar□ FarhadTehrani says. He symbolizes the traditional bazaar to a factory which gathers its different segments from other places and manages, assembles and presents it in the bazaar.

He continues, in the past people believed dealing is a taboo and it was necessary to do some work on a product, therefore the bazaar was a place to obtain such an objective. Many religious thoughts were linked to trade affairs and since schools at that time had main religious ambitious, one of the main reasons why architectural spaces such as schools became as a connective part of the traditional bazaar system, working with the bazaar (the pitch of this event was in the Safaviïd period).

Dr. Tehrani claims the bazaar as the main core of each Iranian city therefore if it is vivid and alive, more than 50% of Iranian architectural urban spaces (such as the Hamams, schools, grand mosques) will be conserved and as a result the cultural heritage will also be maintained. By running streets among the bazaar pathways, in order to prevent public body gatherings, Reza Shah was the reason of the traditional Iranian bazaar's collapse in the past decades yet today other factors are also leading to a stagnant in the Iranian city and in particular its traditional bazaar. He believes "All bazaars in Iran have confronted changes in physical and systematical aspects in Tehran, but in other cities this issue has more been preserved"

"Burse" is a very important matter in the bazaar and Dr. Tehrani states it as a Nomadic (Tribal) reflection and civilization. He believes all Iranian governments were Nomads except for Reza Shah, and therefore burse plays a significant role in the bazaar. Although the municipality regulations are against the burse by giving special regulations, e.g. 500 meters distance in between shops; the burse is very successful in Iran.

FarhadTehrani mentions the essence of water in the traditional bazaar; "water was very precious in the past, while land cost was very low, therefore the presence of water was always seen as a treasure in the bazaar" And about guilds in bazaar he says: "Guilds in the traditional bazaar creates security, for example you will never confront a robbery at the jewelry guild in the bazaar due to the presence of many shops aside each other in one pathway but many times at individual and separate jewelry shops outside the bazaar.

Tehrani finds the lack of generosity in the architecture of modern shopping centers, with very small shop, whereas in the old traditional bazaar, shops were very vast. He sees modern shopping centers as an "unprincipled" space! Dr. FarhadTehrani believes modern shopping centers which have succeeded are the ones developed and expanded along traditional bazaars. Therefore shopping centers attempt to build malls near the traditional bazaars to benefit the potential of the bazaar. Meanwhile he says there are some constructed modern shopping centers that have not appeared successful except for their ground floors along with the street elevation and the rest of the floors have become storages. He suggests if permission is given for the new shopping center construction; it must not be on the bazaar axes and sees the government as the main reason of the bazaar destruction.

v **Dr. Mohsen Habibi**
University Professor at Tehran University
Department of Urban Studies

Dr. Habibi has a regeneration point of view in regenerating urban memories, he says: □The Tajrish bazaar is a very active bazaar, a bazaar which has reconciled the modern and the traditional. Even the modern passages are linked to the traditional bazaar (e.g. the Ghaem modern shopping center). Recently the traditional bazaars regenerate and contemporize themselves, but it is very important to preserve the urban memories of the bazaar. □Habibi says it is necessary to contemporize the bazaars and insert a new spirit into the old framework, maybe with a transformation in function or by regeneration. □We can conserve the overall form meanwhile create a new dialogue between people and the bazaar □he adds.

He sees the metro as a strong urban flow which is reaching the Tajrish district, a district which has been and still is a center for tourism in Tehran and this issue will be empowered with the help of metro. Therefore the traditional bazaar's role will completely differ from merely being in the regional scale. Although the Tajrish bazaar does not have many of the ornaments all Iranian traditional bazaars do, yet it has the Imamzadeh Saleh shrine and two Takiyehs and most important of all there is tourist in the Tajrish traditional bazaar, people who come to Tajrish benefit many other facilities and also go to the traditional bazaar.

Dr. Habibi believes the Tajrish traditional bazaar has in no case declined due to the existence of the modern shopping centers yet it has become stronger than before, he states these two icons the bazaar and the shopping centers have been joint with each other and modern shopping centers have had no impact on the traditional bazaar. After the renovation in the traditional Tajrish bazaar, some of the Ghaem shopping center's functions moved and entered the traditional bazaar, e.g. women's wear or decorative luxuries, therefore the link between the Ghaem shopping center and the Tajrish traditional bazaar has become a juncture. These two bazaars have an interaction and work together. There may be a situation where a young girl might find gold or fashionable clothing in the traditional bazaar and afterwards search traditional snacks and fruits inside the bazaar as well.

Habibi adds at Norouz (the Iranian New Year), the street is closed and the whole street acts as a unit bazaar, the new passages and the traditional bazaar all become one unit.

v Dr. Mansur Falamaki
University Professor at Tehran University
Department of Architecture

Dr. Mansur Falamaki has a more iconic point of view on the Iranian traditional bazaar, about traditional architecture he says: □I believe there is nothing as traditional architecture, it is you who must define the meaning of traditional and Iranian architecture. If we define tradition, we will no longer say that ancient architecture is traditional, because we have never had two similar houses or two unique mosques in one particular architectural era, in one city or in one generation and the basic reason is Mysticism. If we define tradition, juridical, scientifically or literally, it will still have no definition□

He continues to add: □It is the characteristic of calmness the Iranian bazaar holds, that encourages the customer to follow the length of the bazaar (referred to as the Rasteh) as well as the width (referred to as the Raasteh) in the Iranian bazaar□ And when we talk about the bazaar, even not willing to we either speak about its outward appearance or its functions- why should some bazaars have platforms to sit on and work or why are some bazaars built higher or lower from the ground level, whereas the bazaar also holds two non-architectural important poles the social- economical and functional poles.

In the past some shops in the traditional bazaar had a few steps which went down and was linked to the back yards, an example of the vernacular Iranian architecture, besides bazaaris and customers had special attitudes in the traditional bazaar. They were very friendly with each other, in their privacy they would sit beside each other and chat while their lives were very dependent to one another □they all defined a profession together and considered the customer as a tool to see which one of the bazaaris is smarter to win the customer□

Falamaki says the tradition of washing the outdoor step of the shop in the traditional bazaar, shows the essence of water in the bazaar, particularly water basins at least in tropical zones. He believes unfortunately today there is no integrity in any Iranian bazaar or Iranian city, while we study the Iranian bazaar with a western point of view.

He believes: □In the Tajrish traditional bazaar the issue is linking two different powers very different due to money matters, the street and the bazaar. Dr. Falamaki claims small

boutiques in the Tandis modern mall have links with the shops in the traditional bazaar, here there are connections which dominate, apparently it seems that these two spaces are in two different locations yet they are united due to the culture of marketing we have in the Iranian society!

v **Dr. Eskandar Mokhtari**
University Professor at Azad University
Department of Architecture and Restoration

Dr. Mokhtari, with a more social point of view on the bazaar issue, commences indicating that this social system, the traditional Iranian bazaar, has been stabilized since centuries ago. And it is very noticeable that the bazaars have resisted more than any other urban structure during modernism. He believes social system has certainly changed after modernism in Iran while in the traditional bazaar it has taken place less rapidly.

He states: "We still have the remains of the previous social system in our traditional bazaars. We are facing a remarkable contrast, the individual who has formed this social system, is meanwhile living a life which is partly modern. He lives in a modern part of the city, has other social relationships and responds to his needs partly in modern arenas of the city." This is the reason why Mokhtari claims is important to analyze individuals and to do an "archeology on the society" search for signs and interpret based on the signs.

Overall Mokhtari claims social systems and physical cultural issues as a strong matter in the bazaar which must be studied, alongside layers of time. It is considerable to know how an individual who belongs to the modern age can respond to its needs in a traditional or historical space and how he works with such a system. Some believe at this stage individual faces conflicts.

v **Dr. Hamed Mazaherian**
University Professor at Tehran University
Department of Fine Arts

Mazaherian as an architect thinks it is important to know why despite all the crowd and huddle in the traditional bazaar, people are still interested to go to traditional bazaars which have no parking or a modern facility what is the reason the traditional bazaar still continues his life with no help.

He says in today's bazaar studies the topic "fragmental cities" is discussed. This approach says big cities are consisted of many smaller cities, you may live in a certain city, do your shopping in there and have no connection with the other parts of the city, and therefore these big cities have no central core. This used to be true for the Tajrish bazaar when it acted as a regional bazaar but now due to many issues it is known, used and referred by many who live even very far away.

He reminds that in the past it was the Iranian bazaaris that made the revolution happen and the bazaar even dictated and announced some days as holidays- holidays determined by the bazaar have a strong power- because the bazaar had many political influences.

v **Dr. Amir Mansuri**
University Professor at University of Tehran
Department of Landscape Studies

Dr. Amir Mansuri believes: "The bazaar is an economical and social organ in the city spatial system" He proposes that new cities must benefit a similar model in the means of living and development. He also states the reason why in new cities, there is no readability and people have no sense of belonging is because of the separation there is among the social- economical activities and leisure centers, whereas in the past all the named functions were assembled in a unit space called the bazaar.

He finds the urban landscape of the bazaar very significant and defines the role of the bazaar important in the spatial system in city. Since the ancient traditional bazaar has had centralization in the city, other spaces holding social roles would position adjacent to it.

Mansuri points to the variation there exist today in the method of production, and states this method is being revolutionized over time. Now there are call shops, which actually have no shops but storages outside the city, which product will be delivered with a simple call, an event he calls as change in trade affair.

□In the past the bazaar was a place where production and selling would take place, but today production will only be done when there is an order. And indeed when there is a change in the method of productivity and trade, there will be a change in the form of structure; and this is what has occurred in the traditional bazaar today□ claims Mansuri.

He says in the past there were many spaces in the traditional bazaar acting as dependent spaces, meanwhile collective spaces, spaces such as the city squares where urban life took place; spaces used by ordinary people as well as the bazaaris themselves. He believes this event is taking place in modern shopping centers as well, some spaces positioned for collective activities such as fun fairs inside malls.

v Dr. Mohammad Javad Mahdavi Nejad
University Professor at Tarbiat Modares University
Fine Arts Faculty

Dr. Mohammad Javad Mahdavi Nejad who has an economical point of view on the bazaar issue, says the bazaar in Iran is not merely a physical structure and the life of an Iranian bazaar is more economical-political than social-cultural and its main definition is by its economical political aspect, the reason why a shop keeper in the modern shopping center never agrees to work in the traditional bazaar are all due to economical issues.

He thinks if by any chance the burse in the bazaar continues via internet, the existence of the bazaar will be in danger. He adds there are businessmen who invest in Dubai but not in the Tehran Bazaar; these are all related to economical-political issues.

v **Dr. Piruz Hanachi**
University Professor at Tehran University
Department of Fine Arts

Hanachi believes shopping centers have no scientific theory behind them all there is to them is economical aspects, whereas for the traditional bazaars there has been other aspects as well as economical aspects. He adds in the traditional bazaars, spaces have not been assembled by chance and there is a rethought relation among them.

He continues: □In the contemporary era the bazaars confront a change in their function and scale and most of all cars vary this structure by crossing through the bazaar axes. Hanachi points to the bazaar as a very strong social package, because it has lived more than 80 years whereas a huge movement against the bazaar's benefit has occurred by the construction of new malls or by passing streets through their axes; yet the bazaar still stands□ However he continues in the old ages the bazaar responded to all urban needs whereas today it merely supplies a part of it. This is a proof of what a strong backbone it was for the city. There are lots of retail shops in the city yet the bazaar still stands, although it is not counted as the number one product. This shows how flexible this structure has been to be able to continue living a new life.

Piruz Hanachi, who has an architectural point of view towards this issue, finds the greatest changes in the physical aspects of the bazaar when the ports to the city were removed, due to the direct relation the bazaar used to have with the ports.

v **Dr. Bagher Kabiir Saber**
University Professor at Shahiid Beheshti University
Department of Architecture

Bagher Kabiir Saber mentions: □When we speak about the bazaars we automatically think about the eastern traditions and vice versa when conversing about modern shopping centers, the western culture comes to mind□ Kabiir Saber believes it is important to know in what cultural atmosphere the bazaar has been created and in what cultural atmosphere it is in now and understanding this process of development is very useful.

He says: "The Iranian Bazaar is an urban space, considered as an Iranian street, a covered roofed street, cool in tropical areas and secure from rain and snow in cold areas" In the back parts of the shops known as the "small spaces" there were "grand spaces" such as the baths, schools, caravansaries, mosques and " " , therefore the Iranian bazaar was always in connection with the urban monuments and the urban fabric.

He states the reason why the traditional Tajrish bazaar is still active and booming is because of its location in the best lands in Tehran (the northern part of Tehran) and due to the expansion the city has had towards this area, the Tajrish traditional bazaar has been enriched more than before. He states many years ago when the city core was in the center of the today's Tehran, there were other active bazaars with more credits than the Tajrish bazaar, which have now declined credits. Those days even the Shah's (king) kingdom was situated in this sector of the city, whereas the Tajrish traditional bazaar was merely a local bazaar for its residents.

Kabir Saber gives an example for his explanations, he says: In the past the bazaar had no electricity therefore trade affair took place on the Hojreh's (store's) stone bench outside the store where it benefitted the skylights. The shopkeeper would present his goods on the stone bench and the customer would choose at the same place. This was a place where the shopkeeper would eat lunch, do his prayers and business, having no need of entering the shop in the dark. It is Dr. Kabir Saber who believes: "modernity has removed sanctity and respect in the bazaar (in the old days, entering shops in the bazaar because of the dark lack to electricity was ethically and traditionally inappropriate).

About the Tajrish district he says after the "Ghaem" and "Tandiis" shopping centers were built, the richer and more modern ones moved to these places and the bazaar became the assembly for the less rich ones.

Sum Up:

The Iranian traditional bazaar based on the interviewees is an architectural space constructed by traditional and domestic materials. It has Iranian features and reveals the Iranian traditional style with the components it holds. Most of its materials come from nature such as brick, stone, adobe and wood yet recently many of these materials have been replaced by newer materials in the reconstruction process. Its most valuable sectors are the mosques and holy shrines and its other sectors are linked with a strong hierarchy, a significant Iranian characteristic in architecture. The people who often refer to the traditional bazaar, based on observation and interviewees, are slightly different from others who prefer the modern shopping center for shopping. They consist of ones interested in traditional spaces, ones with lower incomes and less young. Many of the visitors of the bazaar are the ones who decide to refer to the holy shrine (Imamzadeh) for praying and many who go to the Imamzadeh end up in visiting the bazaar. The active presence of the holy shrine in the bazaar enhances religious behaviors and religious people. The bazaaris themselves claim that lately merely referring customers to the bazaar are classified to certain groupings which can be stated as:

- Ancient Local customers
- Low incomers
- Pilgrims and passengers

The light in the bazaar is fascinating during the day time. The light passes through the above skylights embedded in the ceilings and the trace can be followed underneath the foot. Colors are less in contrast and in sight, even the colors which have come to use in the window shops are in less contrast and simple. The bazaar is a one storey or maximum two storey space- in some parts- and does not provide the need of technical accesses such as elevators or escalators. Here the circulation is a linear path, consisting of small alleys, small neighborhoods- many which have been destroyed and vacant- and dependent architectural spaces such as the Hammam, the mosques, the Takiyehs and the holy shrine which used to be important city elements in the past.

Shopkeepers in the bazaar are mostly older people who have been in the atmosphere for a long time, which strengthens the family occupation. Here many occupations and shops have been passed from one generation to the other and lots of old shopkeepers are familiar with each other, remembering each other's ancestors. There are high social integrations among them either by the existence of the board of trustees they have established or through religious ceremonies the bazaar energetically participates in. In the Tajrish traditional bazaar most shops are owned and shopkeepers are often the owners or relatives of the shopkeeper however this issue has very much decreased comparing to the old days where all shops were owned and managed by their original owners. The average of shopkeepers are religious men who prefer to work and stay in the traditional bazaar despite all its problems and difficulties due to the atmosphere they have been adapted to. The causes for which the bazaar has been emptied from original bazaaris can be the death of old original shopkeepers and the absence of interest in their new generation for continuing the old previous profession and the lack of high profit comparing to the shopping center. Also the feedback for the alterations in the traditional bazaar space, as most interviewees indicate, is categorized to the following classifications:

- Change in the dimension of the bazaar
- Change in its Architectural features
- Change in the environment and surrounding
- Change in the ambience
- Change in spaces

The change in Architectural features itself can be subdivided to many architectural changes including:

- Change in reconstruction methods and materials
- Change in Light
- Change in Ceiling
- Change in location of shops and change in shop interiors
- Change in the environment and surrounding
- Change in the ambience and space

One of the main changes many claim, mostly felt in the atmosphere of the bazaar and relative to social changes is the friendly ambience the bazaar used to have in the old days. Many interviewees believe the reason for this absentee is 1. Lack of ownership 2. Lack of original local people as customers (Original Tajrish residences). Besides due to the recent deficiencies in the bazaar, bazaaris have basic reasons for accepting to tolerate the flaws, these reasons are:

- The sense of belonging
- Credibility
- Economical matters
- The attraction people desire

On the other hand is the entirely different and contrast ambience of the modern shopping center. The architecture of the shopping center holds mostly artificial light and less natural light; halogens and colorful lights are applied to provide the interior lighting for the shopping center. The variation of colors are also very distinctive in these modern places; colors in more contrast, remarkable textures; odors and sounds related to modern atmospheres. Its dependent spaces are very much related to these features, modern coffee shops and snack shops, restaurants, funfairs and administrative accommodations. The issue greenery, artificial and natural trees or flower pots, is also valuably considered. Shopping center designers attempt to apply these characteristics in these closed covered spaces to create and augment the sense of vaster spaces.

An advantage in shopping centers which always comes to discussion is the existence of parking lots, which is regarded as one of the primitive design ambitions. The genre of people who choose shopping center for shopping based on the interviewees; either shopkeepers or customers themselves are often very young girls and boys interested in fashion and look and search new and up to date clothing and food. They are the ones who wish to experience modernism more than the ones shopping in traditional bazaars. There are a high number of strollers who stroll and wonder in these unattainable fantasies created for the modern desire.

Credibility does not have a high position in the shopping center as it does in the bazaar and due to this fact many shops are managed by renters who may change rapidly and very often. According to this matter, social interactions are also less in these spaces unlike the bazaar where interviewee state stands high. Shopkeepers are mostly young as most interviewees believe

customers in shopping centers expect to see young shopkeepers and prefer shopping from them because the pleasure of shopping in the shopping center is connected to the relationship and chat young customers and young shopkeepers have. It is not just the necessity of shopping that promotes young to go to shopping center as shopkeepers say, yet it is the desire of gazing at window shops either to waste time or learn the modern style, finding friends, eating and buying modern stuff or experiencing the modern life style that young refer to modern architectural spaces like the shopping centers.

Based on our observation and the feedbacks from the interviewees including customers, prices are often higher in shopping centers compared to the bazaars due to the selection the shopkeeper makes in arranging his window shop. Window shops which are very noticeable issues in shopping centers have the principal role in captivating and gathering clients. The colors, light; texture, size and style of the products presented in the window are all significant and similar to occidental and foreign commodities. The guilds which customers confront in a shopping center are categorized to a few main groups, clothing, accessories, decorative objects and precisely anything which goes with the issue consumption is highly concerned in a shopping center.

Occupation and shop management here is not necessarily relative with family professions; the continuity of a job in generations is not a reality in the shopping center. Shopping centers have less permanent customers unlike what used to be very common in the bazaar; interviewees claim that for the new generation it is a pleasure not having permanent customers because young shopkeepers are interested in variety and prefer to have trade affaires with different types each day.

Based on the interviews a woman shopkeeper states: "in the traditional bazaar, all bazaaris have spent time with each other from long ago, they respect each other and have a friendly atmosphere but in the shopping center all the boys are young and joke and make fun of each other". In the traditional bazaar, the bazaaris have been in the bazaar for years but in the shopping center it is different. She says: "we are also called bazaaris but we can never be like the bazaaris in the traditional bazaar".

The bazaaris in the traditional bazaar have been working with each other for years and have become friends, knowing each other very well and caring for each other. This matter is not seen in the Tandiis or other modern shopping centers. In Tandiis salesmen are in touch with each other but they aren't very friendly, shopkeepers believe this is the style of modern shopping centers.

Some interviewees have more profound ideas, they say: "it is very important for the ones who work in the shopping centers to be young because they are patient enough. In the traditional bazaar all tradesmen know each other and act very friendly. Each shopkeeper is in his own shop and sees other less, sometimes in the afternoon sit together and smoke a cigarette and make jokes, this is their only fun. But in the traditional bazaar there are more serious discourses among the old tradesmen, they talk about everything and even solve each other's problems.

One interviewee even states: "here in the shopping center, shopkeepers are usually in a dispute with each other and many do not even say hello to one another" Another interviewee gives an example for this comparison: "traditional bazaars and new shopping centers are similar to new apartments and Old Iranian houses, in new apartments, communication is very limited"

About difference in economics, some interviewees believe despite all lacks in the traditional bazaar, there is still more money there. One says "you cannot compare the Grand Tehran Bazaar with even the best modern shopping centers, because they sell three times more, although it is very spoiled, but it has a huge sell" Other opinions are:

- The traditional bazaar has its own typical customer, a 50 year old lady not 15. "The modern shopping centers are suitable for the new generation"
- Work in the traditional bazaar is more difficult than the shopping centers because they have more clients, so it needs more energy.
- Shopkeepers in the traditional bazaar have different products, different ideas and different attitudes; they are friendlier with their customers than shopkeepers in modern centers.

Also there are differences which interviewees indicate among the Tandiis and Ghaem shopping center, they are as follows:

A young shopkeeper sees the difference among the two case study shopping centers Ghaem and Tandiis in its relocation methods; he says there are elevators and escalators in the Tandiis shopping center whereas in Ghaem shopping center still there are staircases which are not practical. Another young salesman in Ghaem who very much appreciates modernity and its facilities for a shopping center such as parking lots says: □Tandiis shopping center is much more expensive than Ghaem shopping center but people prefer shopping at Tandiis instead because it has been built with an architectural thought behind it□

A female shopkeeper in Tandiis shopping center who is very much pleased with Tandiis claims Ghaem shopping center is the result of the demolition of a few big old houses whereas Tandiis from the very beginning was built for the intention of a shopping center, therefore it has all modern facilities. Most shopkeepers believe Ghaem shopping center has become a center for Iranian products whereas Tandiis shopping center has number one foreign commodities and that is the reason why many residences from other cities come to shop at Tandiis.

One says the Ghaem shopping center has small shops and narrow hallways and there is no sense of comfort or familiarity due to these architectural designs however with the help of brick as material, it has attempted to combine modernity and tradition but not in a very successful manner. Besides the Ghaem shopping center shopkeepers stand in the hallways and joke with the women who pass along but in Tandiis shopping center it is illegal to stand in hallways because of its severe management. Therefore people feel more comfortable in this atmosphere. Also the Tandiis has more facilities like escalators and elevators, besides a very smart lighting system.

Chapter six, the last chapter is allocated to a comprehensive conclusion of this essay. This chapter holds the response to the two main questions of the thesis, beg answered to by tables and analysis. And at the end the references which have very much led this paper are presented.

Conclusion

Conclusion

In this chapter, besides responding to the main questions of the research, the outcomes and results of the survey are presented. In order to adapt the studied theories, ideas and the literature reviews in the following thesis to the Iranian recent situation, logical reasoning will be employed.

According to our main question and the assumed hypothesizes at the beginning of the research, the Iranian Bazaar has had many changes mostly in terms of socio-cultural ones. Its architectural changes are mostly due to small alterations in reconstructing and repairing facades and outside parts of the bazaar. These changes have recently increased in the Tajrish traditional bazaar, where everyday architectural maintenances in facades, floor pavements, column preservations and etc are seen.

The great fluctuation in the Tajrish traditional bazaar is due to its context and less its framework and physical matters. This issue is not only true in the Tajrish traditional bazaar but it is also valid in many other traditional bazaars in Iran. The differentiation in the traditional bazaars before the modern movement emergence is more comprehended in social and contextual motives. This subject matter has directly or indirectly altered many traditional and functional spaces of the bazaar:

- The destruction of many functional spaces inside the bazaar such as the caravansaries,
- The disability of the □Rasteh□for workshops
- The shutdown of depending architectural elements of the bazaar such as the □Hammams□ and □Water storages□

In terms of architectural spaces related to the bazaar structure, only ones which explicit religious matters are still vivid and active; mosques, a few numbers of schools which functioned as religious schools and the holy shrines, are some of these named spaces. The disability of some important spaces that responded to functional needs in the past is mostly due to the change in the production and commodity process in modern life. Today in the traditional bazaar, the commodity is bought and merely presented to the customer and the shops in the traditional bazaar are no more than a shop rather than a place for reproduction and trade. Bazaaris no more

produce products inside the bazaar space and many craft and industrial works which once took place inside the bazaar, have now been transferred to the workshops outside the bazaar. Hence the dynamic life and social events that once took place in the bazaar zone and its surrounding are no more available and due to this matter the significance of many spaces inside the bazaar such as the caravansary and city elements such as the Hammam, coffee houses and water storages are undergone. Therefore they sit motionless and non living in front of the visitor's eyes.

The criterions below are some of the most important reasons the bazaar's traditional atmosphere and architecture has altered, issues often relating to social problems.

- The increase of population
- The augmentation of land price and the high stand land achieved in Iran
- The Customer Demand
- The War
- Generational gaps and changes
- The desire for new and different tastes
- The World Market
- The entrance of modern products to the country
- Mass Media and propagandas
- Lack of a powerful "Cultural Heritage Organization" supervision in Iran
- The Municipality in Iran
- Consumedly Constructions
- The economical insignificance of some occupations today

In the contemporary Iran especially in Tehran as the capital city which holds most economical, social and cultural activities as well as the densest population, the traditional bazaar continues to survive although it has had many changes over time. Albeit with the development of new urban spaces and the appearance of modern bazaars in the form of modern malls they have had great changes, but the traditional bazaar still stands strong. There are reasons which reveal this issue, they are as follows:

1. Comparing to the past, the bazaar of Tehran has grown bigger and more commercial units have been added to it.
2. The referrals to the Tajrish bazaar have increased comparing to old days. One of the reasons however is the overall increase of population in Tehran. With the appearance of modern shopping centers this population could have been settled in these spaces instead of the traditional spaces yet this did not happen, and the population of Customers, shopkeepers and strollers has augmented in traditional bazaars comparing to old days. It is not untrue to claim more than ten people exit or enter the entrances of the traditional bazaars each second. If we calculate the amount of people, including men, women, youngsters or children, all day long it will come to a very high number.
3. In the contemporary era there has been an increase in the volume of the bazaar exchanges. The bazaar is not merely allocated to products which traditional producers present. It mostly presents all international produced commodities. In other words the Tajrish traditional bazaar has become the center of international commodity affairs.
4. Meanwhile in the traditional bazaar other activities such as the exchange of currency, commercial policy and religious, social and political activities take place. Guilds are very important and each has a board and religious assembly where they come together in some mosques or Takiyehs and revive and renew their social cohesion.
5. The traditional bazaar is an important sign. When one refers to the bazaar he can see the arrangement of paths, caravansaries, mosques, open and covered spaces and many other architectural sectors based on Islamic and Iranian traditions, because in the Islamic tradition there is a conjunction between working and commercial spaces, worshipping spaces and

recreational spaces. The mosque is the continuation of trade affairs. It is the presence of these major traditional and Islamic-Iranian elements in the structure of bazaar which has formed a special space less seen in the world.

6. In traditional bazaars, traditional relevancies still exist, as an example the desire many bazaaris have in keeping their Hojreh (shop) in the bazaar atmosphere and running them by the relatives or older people of the family. In some cases there are products which have been produced and registered with the name of the family, bazaaris attempt to maintain.

7. Bazaars are often seen as principal centers for commerce, politics and economics. One of the main reasons for this issue is the presence of holy shrines (Imamzadehs) in these districts. The Imamzadeh Saleh in the Tajrish bazaar is an example where people refer to before or after shopping. It is the companionship of the holy shrines with the bazaars that has formed a special and different atmosphere in the traditional bazaars compared to the new modern shopping centers. The entrances to old and main bazaars start from the holy shrines and the most important bazaaris in the bazaar are the ones who are mainly well known in the Board of Trustees in the Imamzadeh. Therefore the cohesion of religion and Shiite sect with the traditional bazaar has led to elemental differences in these spaces comparing to other shopping centers or bazaars.

The above reasons are the indications of the existence of the traditional bazaars along the increase, plurality and diversity of modern shopping centers. In these two cases the architecture is the most important element that is present and still resists in the bazaar. Traditional bazaars outstand due to their architecture not merely because of being centers for purchase. What is this architecture? What follows are some architectural elements in traditional bazaars which create the identity of those spaces, they are:

1. The interior design of the Hojreh or shops
2. The design of accesses and circulation paths
3. The design of traditional bazaar ceilings
4. The presence of supplementary architectural elements in the bazaar such as water fountains, Mosques, Takiyehs, Hammam etc.

5. Connective accesses such as Chahr Soogh and crossroads inside the bazaar
6. The design of caravansaries and their arrangements
7. The lighting from the ceiling which represents a connection with the sky
8. The entrance to the bazaar and its exit
9. Spaces where people come together
10. The manner in which people who have the intension of purchase separate from the ones who intend to just trespass or go to the shrine
11. The design of domes, lines and their composition

Below we will categorize some significant factors in the traditional bazaar which play an important role in its continuous functionality despite all developments and alterations:

1. Cultural Factors

The bazaar is a cultural and social element in the Iranian social system. Bazaaris are known as people who have a high influence and power and their decisions can make important happenings. While analyzing the Constitutional Revolution (1904-1905) and the Islamic Revolution (1979) in Iran, we see the presence of bazaaris has had a great role. It was at the time when bazaaris joined the social and political movement, that the two revolutions were achieved.

2. Religious Factors

As mentioned above, there are important and popular holy shrines in the bazaar which are reliable among people. The presence of people as pilgrim inside the traditional bazaars has provided the chance of survival for these spaces. Any change in the traditional bazaar may lead to a change in the holy shrines or religious elements, an issue religious people and the spirituals, resist. Therefore changes in the overall space of the

bazaars are often handled with care and on the contrast the presence of religious spaces in modern shopping centers is rare. Modern shopping malls are often formed in crossroads or places which lack religious identities and they have no link with these elements.

3. Connection Between Spirituals and the Traditional Bazaar

The connection among bazaars and spirituals has a very important role in the survival of the bazaar. The Iranian spirituals criticize modern shopping centers and consider these spaces miscreant versus what they think about traditional bazaars.

4. Centrality of Traditional Bazaars

The centrality of traditional bazaar is another reason why they have survived. The Tajrish bazaar has been known as the core of the Tajrish district, whereas modern shopping centers have been constructed anywhere possible in cities. The centrality of traditional bazaars has led to the construction of other economical and political centers alongside the brims of these spaces. The parliament and the presidential palace, many grand universities and main streets and even metro stations have all been constructed near the traditional bazaars.

5. Political Factors

Political factors have also helped the traditional bazaars to survive. However in the Pahlavi period many attempts were made to lessen the importance of the bazaars yet the effort of bazaaris delayed the emersion of modern shopping centers until after the Iranian Revolution.

6. Identical Factors

The identity of the bazaar is due to the architecture of the bazaar, the presence of religious men and the importance of business. This is a strong criterion for traditional places to stand powerful.

7. The Bazaari Economical Influence

Due to the economical influence of the bazaaris in the traditional bazaar, most commercial trades between Iran and other countries happens through the bazaar. A particular example is the well known role of business men in the export and import of principal commodities in country.

According to the above information the survival of the traditional bazaar still remains a problem. However many changes have occurred in the functionality of the bazaar, yet it has continuously survived either in a conflict or in an interaction with modern shopping centers. Modernism and modernity have surely influenced the Iranian traditional lifestyle and certainly its living fragments, due to modernism these fragments which relate to the Iranian people have had changes over time, fragments such as eating habits, the use of language, dressing costumes, manners of executing religious rites, house decorations, object consuming and many more detailed sectors of the Iranian life. Based on this fact, it is obvious that even traditional spaces have willingly or unwillingly confronted variations and conversions.

In order to achieve the differences among the traditional bazaar and the modern shopping center, a comparison through five basic features will be categorized and studied, this classification is:

1. Comparing Architectural Aspects in the Bazaar & Shopping Center
2. Comparing Shopkeeper Features in the Bazaar & Shopping Center
3. Comparing Customer Features & the Experience of Shopping in the Bazaar & Shopping Center
4. Comparing Cultural and Social Atmospheres in the Bazaar & Shopping Center
5. Comparing Commodity Features in the Bazaar & Shopping Center

To compare the two traditional bazaars and the modern shopping center, we will commence with the most relevant issue to our study as an architect, which is the *comparison in architectural aspects in the bazaar & shopping center*. The most evident difference is in the style and architecture of the named places, something any entrant will notice consisting of differentiation in proportions, dimensions, materials, geometry, colors, light, sound and other important differences which define each of these spaces. They will be briefly explained.

The shopping center architecture in the modern city is apparently modern due to its functionality and role against the traditional bazaar which reveals the domestic and vernacular architecture of the Iranian city, with special elements and forms. The proportions in the traditional bazaar have been constructed based on the human scale with less height, lengths and widths and more tangible comparing to the scales different from the human body.

The dimensions of the shops in the shopping centers are small boutiques with no storage whereas in the traditional bazaar all shops have storages where they can store the products they buy ahead. This space has been embedded in the traditional bazaar architecture, from the past, because the traditional bazaar is a wholesale comparing to the shopping centers where selected goods are purchased in small amounts.

The material used in the shopping centers are modern materials such as ceramic or tile floorings, metal staircases, concrete or wooden columns, glass doors, ceilings and windows, various kinds of plastic decorations creating transparent surface whereas in the traditional bazaar materials are often relative to nature; wooden doors, brick walls and columns, rocky floorings and wooden or brick ceilings; all very solid materials.

The geometry in the shopping center is unsymmetrical unlike the traditional bazaar, in the modern shopping center spaces are fragmentary but in the bazaar often homolographic and regular. These concurrent spaces lead to a much arranged hierarchy which has always been very significant in the Iranian traditional spaces including the Iranian bazaar; a hierarchy which guides the customer or passenger from a series of spaces in a special space arrangement revealing the importance of space.

In the traditional bazaar, colors and light are also very remarkable comparing to a modern shopping center, appearing very differently and creating entirely different ambiances. In a modern shopping center colors are brighter and in great contrasts which cause higher attractions in the entrants' eyes. Bright spaces can also help motivate this sense, bringing a luminous and energetic atmosphere. On the other hand there is the traditional bazaar which has less bright spaces; this issue however has changed recently due to electricity-lamp being posted everywhere; and less luminous due to its solid materials and textures. The bazaar's light is partly provided by skylights embedded in the ceiling, leading natural sun light inside.

Each ambience also consists of sounds being heard in different spaces. In the traditional bazaar there is noise and rattle which come from the peddlers or shops who attempt advertising their presented products by announcing the price of goods out loud. Some guilds basically have their own sound; pounding on metal or grating on wood. But on the contrary there is the quite shopping center which even positions regulations for speaking loud in the place. Here the dominant sound is the central speechless music and often foreign which is broadcasted in the shopping center. Besides there is the dominant odors; the smell of foreign snacks like the sweet corn, desserts, hot drinks and top perfume exposed as customer sample; in the shopping center. And for the traditional bazaar there is the variety of smell, based on each guild, the smell of spice, dry vegetables, homemade food, and tea sold in the teahouses or by the peddlers walking around in the bazaar, and at times the smell of brick or soil washed with water, a very nostalgic smell for Iranian people.

The access also holds an important matter in the discussed spaces, one benefiting modern facilities and technical access such as elevators, escalators and ramps for handicaps and the other supplying none of the mentioned accommodation due to the different kind of circulation; in the traditional bazaar circulation is in a vertical position and on one floor. Shopping centers are often built in more than one floor for financial benefits, developing the exigency of various technical accesses. Another noticeable difference in the traditional bazaar and the shopping center is that shopping centers are surrounded by streets and districts whereas traditional bazaars themselves consist of accesses which link their surrounding and connective elements such as the mosque, the Hammam, the shrine and others. However due to the no functionality some of the connective elements have, many streets and minor accesses have been demolished.

Besides the main segments of the two spaces, their dependent spaces also have very different atmospheres, recreational spaces such as fun fairs, gathering spaces for the young and old, administrative spaces such as offices and bureaus or residences inside towers for the shopping center and religious spaces like holy shrines and grand mosques in the traditional bazaar.

Window shops which are the most consequential elements in interior architecture are very well decorated and arranged in shopping centers to reveal appealing for customers and seduce them in purchasing unnecessary products. In the traditional bazaar, window shops are less decorated and made of very simple materials, not intending to expose and never spending time or money on window arrangements.

In the traditional bazaar there is no special furniture, whereas in shopping centers, furniture is of great importance including the design of trashcans, benches and sitting areas. In some cases there are advertisement posts or TV s near the gathering areas to keep the visitors to the shopping malls busy. The form, variety, color and dimensions of the furniture have a great role in ameliorating the modern space. However the traditional bazaar often has a few benches situated either outside the bazaar or in the holy shrine yard which is more used by the pilgrims to the Imamzadeh and not the clients to the traditional bazaar. One of the main reasons for this issue is that gathering, chatting and spending time is an attitude mainly taking place in the shopping center and not in the traditional bazaar, also the act of gathering in a shopping center occurs in the presumed spaces whereas in the traditional bazaar it takes place either in the Hammams, in the mosques or Imamzadehs and not in the traditional bazaar pathway.

The greenery in the traditional bazaar includes plants or big trees planted in the holy shrine yard which leads to the traditional bazaar; however designers in shopping centers have attempted to give greenery a high position to attract visitors to these spaces. The greenery is often placed around the escalator paths or around gathering spaces. Also many artificial plants are used to bring more life to the shopping area space either near the entrances or around the voids.

Another technical and modern accommodation designed and foresighted in modern architecture are parking lots which are severely suggested in the primitive designs of a shopping center and is now one of the reasons many prefer shopping at malls instead of bazaars.

Today infrastructure holds a high importance in a modern shopping center design, predicting the water, sewage, electricity, telephone and gas in a shopping mall design is very significant. Therefore this issue is often considered from the first stages of work. In the Tajrish traditional bazaar however the infrastructure was traditional and therefore put into work as time passed.

In the past the heating and cooling systems in the traditional bazaars took place naturally, cooling via natural breeze and skylights embedded in the ceilings and heating, each shop made a small fire for himself. Yet now all shops have electronic devices for climatic conditioning. It is just the hallways which have preserved their ancient formality. The Raasteh and Rastehs in the traditional bazaar still benefit the natural method of conditioning whereas in the shopping centers all shops and hallways benefit electronic instruments.

Bazaars are often signified and identified by particular historical periods, characters or events. They are relatively related to history and their event, appearing more ancient due to the linkage they have with dynasties. Yet shopping centers often neglect history and its events do not connect itself with history.

The location of the traditional bazaar and the shopping center in the city structure can be mentioned as other principal criteria for their difference. Shopping centers are often far from history and historical city cores whereas traditional bazaars are a part of the historical continuity.

Table 12: Comparing Architectural Aspects in the Bazaar & Shopping Center

Features	The Modern Shopping Center	The Traditional Bazaar
Style	Modern Architecture and Style	Traditional and Domestic Architecture
Proportions	Proportions not very near to the Human Body Scale & Less Tangible	Proportions nearer to the Human Body Scale & More Tangible
Dimensions	Small boutiques with no storage	Vaster shops with big storages
Material & Texture	Modern materials such as glass, ceramic, tiles, metal and plastic	Traditional material very similar to the nature such as brick, wood, soil and rock
	Transparent & Flexible Surfaces	Un transparent & Solid Surfaces
Geometry	Un Symmetrical & Fragmental	Symmetrical
	No Special Hierarchy	Spatial Hierarchy of great Importance

Colors	Phosphorous & Attractive Colors	Often colors related to nature
Features	The Modern Shopping Center	The Traditional Bazaar
Light	Bright & Luminous	Dim & Somber
	Artificial Lights provided by halogens or lamps	Natural Lights provided through Skylights embedded in the Ceiling
Sound & Odors	Modern Music and Sounds, Modern Odors such as Perfume, Luxurious Products & Occidental Food	The Sound of the Azan & other Traditional Instruments, The Smell of Traditional Spices, Vegetables, Food & Snacks
Access	Modern & Technical accesses such as elevators & escalators+ facilities for handicaps	No technical access, just one level access for Customers+ no facilities for handicaps
	Circulation & Access in Length &	Merely Linear Circulation & Access (Vertical Circulation)

	Height (Vertical & Horizontal circulation)	
	Surrounded by Streets, Accesses & Districts	Consists of Streets & Accesses which link City Elements
Dependent or Marginal spaces	Recreational, Administrative or Residential Spaces	Religious Spaces such as Mosques Holy Shrines
Features	The Modern Shopping Center	The Traditional Bazaar
Window Shops	Decorated and Designed Window Shops	Simple Window Shops, Less Decorated
Furniture	Placed furniture such as benches, trash cans, flower pots	No particular furniture
Greenery	Natural & Artificial greenery including plants, small trees and flower pots in the spaces around escalators and entrances	Natural greenery including plants and big trees in the holy shrine
Parking	Parking Lots Embedded in Primitive Designs	No Parking Lot, Open Spaces further allocated to Parking

Infrastructure	Modern infrastructure predicted in the design base of the space from the first stage	The newer infrastructures put into consideration after modernism
Heating & Cooling Systems	Modern Heating & Cooling Systems inside the Shops & in the Hallways	Modern heating & Cooling Systems inside the Shops and Natural Climate System in the Hallways
Relationship with History	Not related to historical eras	Well known due to historical dynasties or characters
Location	Separated and Far from History	Historical Continuity
	Spread in the Districts	Situated in the Core of the City

Shopkeepers are iconic differences which must be compared. To compare the *shopkeeper features in the bazaar & shopping center*, certain criteria are remarkable such as shopkeeper age, the rate of religion, ownership, credibility and shopping integration. Shopkeepers who work in the shopping center are often from a young rate of age due to the modern atmosphere of the shopping centre, their tastes is new, modern and young. The presence of young shopkeepers obviously ameliorates young generation appeals and desires versus the traditional manner of communication which take place in the traditional bazaar by older and more experienced shopkeepers.

Universally the young generation is less religious in all aspects of life comparing to its previous generation, something very distinguishable in Iran during the last decades. Therefore

the presence of a younger generation in a place represents relatively less religious shopkeepers in the modern ambiance and more in the traditional.

In the past occupation used to be a family tradition, where children would follow their father's profession and work in the same shop, either with the father or alone continue to work in the same location after the father's death, until they could pass it to their children. Therefore the skill of a particular profession passed from one generation to the other in the traditional bazaar. This directly resulted to strong relationships among the bazaaris working in the bazaar, either among the new generation or the old and new generation, because the old generation would always have cognition with the new generation's father or past. Shopkeepers working in the traditional bazaar are mostly owners of shops whereas the shopping center shops are often rented by new shopkeepers every year, so a very important issue recalled as ownership in the traditional bazaar, has no signification in a modern shopping center.

This issue itself has a very effective impact on the social identity. When a shopkeeper and its generation worked in a specific place for a long time, they will achieve faith and respect from the neighborhood, the bazaar and the society. This gained credibility is a principal point in the bazaar, a motif which encourages bazaaris to stay in the traditional bazaar despite all its deficiencies. Practically we can say the social identity concept is defined in the traditional bazaar and never in a shopping center, albeit the social identity strongly relates to the guilds and is due to that some professions have a high standard of credibility and social identity among the other bazaaris.

In the traditional bazaar, there are many charities developed and guided voluntarily by the bazaaris themselves. They have board of trustees consisting of the bazaari shopkeepers which solve many problems inside the bazaar. They themselves decide on many important matters creating a very high integration among themselves, yet in the shopping center there is no association with such a high significance which can integrate the shopkeepers.

Table 13: Comparing Shopkeeper Features in the Bazaar & Shopping Center

The Modern Shopping Center	The Traditional Bazaar
Young Shopkeepers & Young Generation Desires	Older Shopkeepers & More Traditional Behaviors
Relatively Less Religious Shopkeepers	Relatively more Religious Shopkeepers
Shops are often Rented by Shopkeepers	Most Shops are Owned by Shopkeepers, Ownership is important in Relationships
No Particular Social Identity Available	The Concept of Social Identity Available(Related to Guilds)
No High Shopping Integration among Shopkeepers	High Shopping Integration due to the Charities & Board of Trustees

In comparing the customer features and the experience of shopping in the bazaar and the shopping center, it is understood that customers who refer to modern shopping centers are relatively less religious than the ones who prefer shopping in the traditional bazaar. Many who choose the traditional bazaar for shopping are ones who often decide to pray at the mosques situated in the traditional bazaar or go to the holy shrine after shopping, whereas the customers in the shopping centers have no such objective due to the relevant spaces there is in the modern shopping center.

Modern shopping centers are spaces which often captivate the young generation appeal; therefore most of the customers in the shopping center are young due to the decorative and modern ambiance of these spaces. Exposed products, used colors and modern desires are all reasons for the referral of this group of age to modern shopping centers. On the other hand in the traditional bazaar there are other attractions for groups rather than the young, ancient and historical atmospheres or nostalgic memories filling the traditional space with groups holding more traditional attitudes. This issue is closely connected to the interests these two different ages have. The young are often more interested in fashion and modernism and the older ones fond with tradition. These two different tastes and desires create the signification of the two different spaces.

Besides one of the most impressive phenomenon are strollers who often stroll in the shopping centers for no particular purpose, with intensions such as wasting time, gazing at window shops, learning the new fashion or seeking friendship. The open modern spaces in the shopping center and the types of people who refer to these spaces, inevitably develops strollers, whereas in the traditional bazaar, different spaces leads to less amount of strollers.

One of the characteristics of modern shopping centers is that few amount of products are presented in the window shops which shopkeepers themselves believe appears more modern than exposing various goods in the window. The interior architecture of a shopping center is very different from the Iranian architecture and the outside atmosphere of these spaces, therefore the high percentage of customers who prefer shopping in a shopping center is due to the presence of this different and luxurious ambiance, something which cannot be found in a place rather than here. So the customers who come to a modern shopping center often hold such a pleasure inside,

the pleasure of spending time in a fashionable and modern space, versus the pleasure of being in a traditional space and seeking the differentiation and variety of products is produced among the customers of a traditional bazaar.

Also the necessity of shopping in the traditional bazaar and a modern shopping center are very different. It cannot be revealed as a rule but mostly ones who refer to a modern shopping center do not search a definite necessity of purchasing a product but mostly a pleasure of shopping, whereas in the traditional bazaar it is mostly the need of having a particular commodity rather than a desire or wish.

Table 14: Comparing Customer Features & the Experience of Shopping in the Bazaar & Shopping Center

The Modern Shopping Center	The Traditional Bazaar
Relatively Less Religious Customers	Relatively more Religious Customers
Often Young Customers & Young Generation Desires	Often Older Shopkeepers & More Traditional Attitudes
Modern Types of Customers Interested in Fashion	Mostly Traditional Types of Customers & Tastes
Strollers More Appeared	Strollers Less Appeared
Pleasure of Being in a Luxurious Space	Pleasure of being in a Traditional Space and the Variety of Commodity
Often Purchasing Commodity for Pleasure	Relatively Purchasing Commodity for Need and Less Pleasure

Another impressive diversity is the different atmospheres dominated in each of the spaces. In *comparing the cultural and social atmospheres in the bazaar & shopping center*, we understand because of the connective spaces in the traditional bazaar which it is more important ones are the mosque and holy shrines, the traditional bazaar has a high stand of a religious atmosphere comparing to the shopping center, whereas the connective spaces to the modern shopping centers are administrative, recreational and commercial spaces. This also results to a higher unity among the religion institution and the traditional bazaar and a less unity for the shopping centre.

Professions in the traditional bazaar are based on family tradition, which means each family has a special occupation with certain skills and experiences which are passed heart to heart from father to son. Therefore when children come to a certain age and decide to work, they have the skill of their father and the shop in the bazaar among their alternatives. However this issue is coming to an end in the Tajrish bazaar as well. But in the shopping center there is no relationship among job and the family tradition. Each person follows the job they wish not regarding what their fathers have as skill. For this reason there is a lower relationship among the shopping center and the family institution and in the traditional bazaar there is a stronger relation.

In the traditional bazaar relationships and attitudes were based on honesty and trust. Shopkeepers who worked in the traditional bazaar often had the experience of working in that place for generations, which meant they had spent more time in the traditional bazaar; they knew other shopkeepers better and therefore had friendlier relationships with one another and with their customers. This ended to more stable social relationships in the traditional bazaar, which in comparison with the shopping center can be quietly versus; shopping centers have less stable and permanent social relationships. Also this issue can reveal in the types of customers, which means temporary customers for the shopping center and permanent ones for the traditional bazaar. However this issue is also coming to an end in the Tajrish traditional bazaar and the percentage of permanent customers is decreasing as years pass.

In terms of time regulation there is a less severe time regulation for the traditional bazaar but in a shopping center there are more specified opening and closing hours and centralized

controlling for this preceding. Although in the past the traditional bazaars had grand ports which were closed and opened at certain times and controlled during night hours, yet with the removal of the city ports, this issue had alterations as well.

Another interesting matter is the active atmosphere of the traditional bazaar during religious ceremonies such as mourning for the Imams and national fetes such the New Year arrival. At these times, the traditional bazaar is similar to a vivid city, participant and energetic, whereas shopping centers are often closed or very inactive at the same times.

The Modern Shopping Center	The Traditional Bazaar
Less Religious	Holds Religious Features and Believes
Not Union with Religion Institution	Union with The Religion Institution
Unrelated to The Family Institution	In Relation with The Family Institution
Less Stable and Permanent Social Relationships	Older and More Stable Social Relationships
Temporary Customers	More Permanent Customers
Has a more Strict Time Regulation	Less Severe Time Regulation
Inactive for Religious Ceremonies and non Participant	Active on Religious Ceremonies and Participant

Table 15: Comparing Cultural and Social Atmospheres in the Bazaar & Shopping Center

To compare the *commodity features in the bazaar & shopping center* the most important issue is the matter of consumption and production, the main aspect which has differentiated the two

spaces. Although all newly changes in the traditional bazaar structure, this place still has the functionality of producing commodities as well as presenting them for consumption. But the modern shopping center has always been a place for consumption and it has never in its history of life seen the experience of producing any kind of commodity. These two spaces have essentially been brought up with two different functions, one for merely consumption and the other for production and consumption. Therefore in the traditional bazaar more hand made products are seen.

Commodities in the modern shopping center are presented based on the Customers taste and search which is in the shopping center, most referrals are for modern products and foreign goods unlike the traditional bazaar Customer who seeks traditional and hand made goods. Therefore the demand for un national and exotic commodities is more highlighted in a modern space like the shopping center and for the traditional bazaar the request for local and autochthon wares.

The commodities concerning food and small snacks and even drinks are often different. However in the traditional bazaar one may find new alimentations as well but the high percentage of the nourishment in the bazaar is traditional. One of the most appealing activities for young strollers in the shopping centers is examining these alimentations, new hot and cold drinks, foreign dishes and un national snacks are some of these attractions.

About the commodities being presented in a modern shopping center window shop, it is observed that the variety of exposed products are often more limited than the ones in the traditional bazaar. Shopkeepers in the shopping centers believe in presenting few numbers of items at the same time whereas in the traditional bazaar there is either no special presentation either there is a high variety at a time. The limited number of commodities in shopping center window shops means more accuracy and delicacy in selection and unselectively wares in the traditional bazaar. This can result to higher prices in the shopping center and lower prices in the traditional bazaar, because the shopkeeper is actually being paid for his taste and tact of selecting and not merely for the price of the product.

The structure and variety of guilds are also very different in a shopping center and the traditional bazaar. Their main difference is in the kind of guilds that exist in the two named

spaces. In the traditional bazaar there are all necessary guilds in city, from alimentation to clothing, house wares, decoration stuff, gold, rugs, shoes, tissue, furniture, dishes and anything else assembled with life. Also there are repair shops for any of the above products in the traditional bazaar, repair shops which repair shoes and bags, gold, cloth, etc. Meanwhile in a traditional bazaar there all sorts of alimentation including chocolate, spices, can foods, dried fruits and vegetables, nuts, all kinds of beans etc, whereas in the shopping center there are no primitive ingredients sold, just cooked snacks or food.

Table 16: Comparing Commodity Features in the Bazaar & Shopping Center

The Modern Shopping Center	The Traditional Bazaar
Consumption	Production & Consumption
Modern Products, Foreign Taste	More Traditional and Home Made Products
Modern & Foreign Commodities of More Importance	National & Local Commodities of More Importance
Foreign Snacks and Meals	Traditional Snacks and Nutrition
High Prices	More Random and Various Prices
Limited Number of Commodity	High Number of Commodity
Selectivity in the Presented Products	Un Selectivity in the Presented Products, More Various
Guilds more definite and specified, Shoes, Cloths, Accessories, Decoration & Ornaments	Guilds more various, Repairmen & Alimentation Guilds Included

In identifying the differences and features among the traditional bazaar and the shopping center, the author has uniformed the two "Ghaem" and "Tandiis" shopping centers as a whole; however they have a few bantam differences which are mentioned as follows:

- The Tandiiis shopping center is not adjacent to the Tajrish bazaar, it is situated about a kilometer further but in the same site of Tajrish therefore many of the issue which needs precise adjacencies are not definitely a fact for the Tandiiis shopping center.
- Tandiiis has more special customers than the Ghaem shopping center as a modern shopping mall, due to its higher prices and more foreign brands.
- The Tandiiis shopping center has a special parking and is more similar to what we assume as modern shopping centers hence it has been regarded and designed as a shopping center from the primitive stages of the project. Yet the Ghaem shopping center site has become available with the destruction of the ancient houses around the Tajrish bazaar with more limited site dimensions, therefore it does not have special parking lots and customers must use parking lots which are common for the holy shrine and the traditional bazaar.

Now the main question of this research is: "What are the shopping center features in comparison with the traditional bazaar and have these distinctions in Tajrish resulted to a substitutional relationship or a coexistence relationship?" The feedbacks in this research including interviews, observations, documentary studies and the presence inside the district reveals that this site "the Tajrish site- unlike many other sites, has confronted a coexistence among the two different traditional and modern spaces and not a substitutional situation. It is obvious in most other sites in Tehran or Iran, the appearance of a modern shopping center aside or near a traditional bazaar has resulted to a failure in the boom of that bazaar. The emersion of a completely different phenomenon - a modern ambience known as the modern shopping center- in most cases is an emanation of a different life style, attitudes, specific social systems and relationships which in a high rate has ended to the destruction of the traditional bazaar. This has happened in many other historical cities where the boom of a shopping center has imposed marginal roles to the traditional bazaar and finally eliminated it. Therefore the adjacency of the two utterly distinctive places, demands the choice of alternatively or contiguously for the two architectural spaces.

In this case however the answer to the mentioned question is regarded differently, where the adjacency of the Tajrish traditional bazaar and the modern shopping centers is a coexistence relationship and not a substitutional one. There are special reasons and causes for this fact which will be briefly studied as follows:

1. The modality of the shopping center and traditional bazaar articulation
2. The existence of similar guilds in connective spaces
3. The existence of specific and identified guilds in each spaces
4. The existence of *some* common investors
5. Different attractions
6. The adjacency of the traditional and modern space in one place has propinquity with the dual Iranian subjective desires

There is an articulation among the two different ambiances, the modern shopping center and the traditional bazaar. This modulation is via an entrance as an opening from the Ghaem shopping center to the Tajrish traditional bazaar which helps stepping from one atmosphere to the other. The existence of this entrance, which is not architecturally well defined, promotes this issue. This matter results to a change of atmosphere and space with no special target. Here the opening performs as a connective articulation which easily changes the sense of a client, its expectations and behaviors.

There are similar guilds situated at the linkage points of the two modern and traditional spaces, in the entrance to the bazaar from the shopping center. For example the Ghaem multi-storey shopping center has a guild specified for gold and jewelry whereas some gold shops and guilds have been transferred to the junction among these two spaces in the traditional bazaar. This issue has helped the customer move easily from one space to the other in selecting its products. Therefore customers in one space become the client for the other atmosphere and create an organic connection at this point, which results to leading a customer from one ambience to the other.

Albeit one of the other characteristics of the modern shopping center and the traditional bazaar is the specialized and particular guilds each space has. Some active working guilds in a space are not specifically found in the other space, that is each space has certain occupations. For

example there are traditional druggists, spice shops, repair shops and other old professions which can merely be found in traditional and ancient spaces and on the other hand decorative and modern products and perfumes which reveal the variety and the new age of the modern world in a shopping center. Different commodities presented in each of the above spaces provides the opportunity for the customer to go back and forth among these spaces while searching for traditional snacks, dried traditional vegetables and homemade food in the bazaar and fashionable clothing, and modern decorative objects in the shopping center. This itself motivates the client to change its location from one space to the other according to the guild and product he desires therefore there is always a symbiosis going on among the traditional space and the modern space.

The existence of some similar investors in the two spaces has led to a higher coexistence in this site. Some investors have bought shops and invested both in the traditional bazaar and the shopping center which has resulted to a relatively balanced and fair commerce among these two places, the shops being managed either by themselves or their new generation- their children. In this particular case, the presence of similar investors never results to the move of invest from one space to the other and the working capital will not intensify in either the bazaar or the shopping centre. It is obvious places lose their creditability when investment is taken away from them and is centralized in another location, yet in this case the common investors find their interest in conserving the profit in both places. As a result the existence of the shopping center aside the bazaar has not led to the abandonment of the bazaar unlike many other such adjacencies yet helped its coexistence.

A modern shopping center and a traditional bazaar each have special unique attractions which specifically belong to those spaces and no other place. The traditional bazaar has the holy shrine (the Imamzadeh), mosques, a variety of commodities, older shopkeepers and particular types of customers and passengers. And versus there is the shopping center with a modern atmosphere, selective products, artificial greenery and lighting and particular spaces like the coffee shops and the desire of strolling. This high contrast among the spaces creates a motivation and attraction for the customer, which results to an always active atmosphere in the two parts and their coexistence.

Most Iranians have a dual taste of tradition and modern, wanting to appear in the modern world and the traditional. They have both desires of experiencing modernism while conserving their nostalgic tendencies. Some believe the simultaneous presence of tradition and modernism is a paradoxical issue, but the Iranian human is suitable for this demand, the demand of requiring a modern space and a traditional space where some of the aspects of his subjectivity and personality are modern and some traditional. The Iranian human has a reciprocal and zigzag move from tradition to modern and a mutual movement from the bazaar and shopping center. This is an irenic coexistence of tradition and modernism unlike the antagonistic of other sites. It seems this particular site-the Tajrish site- is very suitable in responding to this special Iranian human being demand and from homological aspects it is very appropriate for this Iranian tendency. Therefore it is the grace of this tendency that does not let one space replace the other.

All the six above reasons are causes which have resulted to an appropriate coexistence in the traditional and modern ambiances. There are times when the high congestion of the bazaar unwillingly leads the crowd to a more silent, cooler and more open space like the modern shopping center, where they make a turn and go back to the traditional bazaar to continue their route. The reciprocating among the two induces coexistence. Therefore despite all attempts of modernism in eliminating the traditional criteria, in this particular case the two very differing modern and traditional place, coexist. Therefore the achieved results for this coexistence can be defined as remarkable suggestions for other sites which may be in the danger of a substitutional performance.

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Résumé

Le bazar iranien a une très longue histoire et selon des témoignages historiques du bazar a toujours été un élément essentiel dans la formation de villes iraniennes. Le bazar iranien est le symbole de la vie urbaine et le plus clair emblème de l'habitat dans les écosystèmes iraniens. Il a toujours eu une grande importance dans la ville et de nombreux aménagements urbains et des agrandissements ont été basés sur l'emplacement bazar et la figure. Il a été la base de la formation de la ville et a indiqué comme la route principale qui joint le port de la ville au centre une haute priorité de la ville - la place centrale et la grande mosquée- et que pour cela, les chemins substantiels toujours directement ou indirectement conduisent au bazar. Aussi l'invasion et de succession dans les villes est un phénomène qui affecte les fonctions du bazar. Embouteillages dans les zones du centre-ville, la pollution atmosphérique dans les villes, la transformation de la structure des activités économiques, le flux des immigrants sur le marché, le transfert de certaines fonctions du bazar aux sociétés commerciales et etc. tout cela a créé des problèmes pour le bazar traditionnel. Dans les décennies présentes, "Bazar" a fait face à un nouveau rival et reconnaissable en Iran. Tous les jours les "Centres commerciaux" se répandent partout dans les régions dans les villes iraniennes. Ils sont comme un symbole de l'extension de la consommation et l'apparition d'une société de consommation et la mondialisation. Ces lieux représentent des sous-cultures jeunes et les défis culturels contre l'hégémonie au niveau national. Est-ce que le bazar tolère et survit à ces changements, ou a-t-il déjà été éliminé du cycle urbain? Est-il coexister avec ce monument urbain ou seront-ils éliminés?

Introduction

L'Iran est un pays de milliers d'années, et certains de ses villes ont le même âge que lui et pendant cette période, il a souvent participé à divers conflits et de défis. Les externalités internationales et régionales et les divers facteurs internes à leur tour conduit à des conflits successifs dans l'histoire de ce pays. Le bazar est l'une des institutions qui a une fonction irremplaçable dans la conservation de l'identité culturelle de l'Iran. "Bazar" est l'un des principaux segments de villes iraniennes et a ainsi formé une institution sociale par rapport à d'autres institutions dans d'autres villes. Cette institution sociale a toujours été en relation avec deux autres institutions sociales importantes de l'histoire de l'Iran et de l'Est, qui sont la religion et la politique (Azadarmaki, 2012)⁵⁹. L'émergence de ces trois institutions dans les parties centrales de villes historiques iraniennes est un indice pour cette question, en précisant que ces trois institutions ont toujours été la modération du pouvoir en Iran. Dans la ville iranienne, le "Bazar", est quelque peu différent du Market. Ce n'est pas simplement un lien économique, mais ses fonctions sociales et culturelles ont la même importance que ses liens économiques. Certains croient que le bazar est une représentation de l'identité d'un lieu social, car il contient des fonctions différentes dans un seul complexe, les fonctions métiers comme les marchés, les mosquées, les écoles, Hammams, qui ont chacun séparément de nombreuses fonctions sociales.

Peu à peu, avec l'arrivée d'un événement moderne, la rue, la relation entre le bazar et les espaces sociaux urbains disparu. L'un des grands événements de la période Qajar a été la construction des rues pour le passage des voitures. Ces rues déconnecté routes locales où les

⁵⁹ AZADARMAKI, Taghi (1391, 2012) *Nazariyey-e Jameye-e Irani*: Elm Press (in Persian)[Theories of the Iranian society]

principaux passages contenant des histoires et des souvenirs. Néanmoins, avec la rue il ya une chose, la modernité et de ses nécessités, les choses qui ont fait l'être humain traditionnel pour tenter réagir moderne et vivant sur ses valeurs.

Après l'apparition de la modernité dans les villes, les villes plus jamais eu la chance de faire l'expérience de la vie quotidienne traditionnelle ancienne, Mais beaucoup ont essayé de ramener l'ancienne vie sociale et culturelle mais il était l'être humain qui évolue rapidement et rien ne pouvait l'empêcher de vivre le plaisir de la modernité. Bazars n'ont jamais été de nouveau mentionnés, les gens modernes et les plus riches ont commencé à changer leur lieu de résidence et par conséquent leurs zones commerçantes. Ils avaient maintenant atteint un nouveau style de vie qui signifiait s'habiller différemment, manger et faire du shopping diversement à des époques modernes. Cela signifie la diminution de l'essor du bazar traditionnel et progressivement son déclin. Aujourd'hui, le bazar est toujours l'un des plus importants monuments très publiques de la ville, mais il a perdu beaucoup de ses anciennes fonctions et des valeurs, mais il est encore élevé dans la ville, la tenue d'une grande réputation.

Aujourd'hui, grâce à la modernité et ses attractions comme la mode, le désir d'acheter et de consommer des produits de décoration a augmenté dans tous les groupes de personnes ce qui conduit à plus de références à des espaces commerciaux particuliers et centres d'achat qui sont plus importants que d'autres, en particulier les plus modernes comparant les bazars anciens et traditionnels. Des centres commerciaux modernes qui étaient le résultat de l'ère moderne et l'homme moderne, tenté de remplacer bazars traditionnels dans de nombreux cas en attirant plus de clients encore ces deux complètement différents espaces architecturaux et culturels créé la coexistence dans notre étude de cas ici en Tajrish.

Donc, dans cette thèse notre étude de cas est le bazar traditionnel de Tajrish dans la partie nord de Téhéran dans le quartier Shemiran qui a une longue histoire avec de nombreux éléments historiques urbains aujourd'hui non actif. Ce bazar traditionnel se trouve à proximité de deux centres commerciaux modernes connus comme les centres commerciaux modernes les plus chics de Téhéran et la coexistence des deux magasins modernes et traditionnels et de savoir comment le bazar traditionnel Tajrish a conservé son atmosphère traditionnelle et essaie toujours d'augmenter son potentiel, même à travers des éléments figuratifs comme les jours passent est la raison du choix de ce site. Ce site sera étudié principalement par le biais du concept de la société de consommation à travers des approches théoriques issus de George Ritzer et Jean Baudrillard.

Il y aura une comparaison entre ces deux espaces, le "Ghaem" centre commercial moderne et le "Tajrish" bazar traditionnel. Certains critères spéciaux seront pris en compte dans cette partie qui conduira à une évaluation des deux espaces ; certains de ces critères sont les suivants:

- Types de gens qui se réfèrent à chaque espace (y compris la classe sociale, l'âge et la mode)
- La variété et la nature des emplois dans chaque espace
- Types de produits présentés dans chaque espace
- Différenciation des éléments architecturaux à l'intérieur de chaque espace
- The city elements dependent to each space

Le Problème

Le quartier Tajrish situé dans Shemiran zone, une zone nord de Téhéran avec un bon niveau de paroxysme et de la vie, peut être considéré comme un cas approprié pour cette question. Ce site sert à attribuer aux rois et aux pouvoirs gouvernementaux dans la période Pahlavi (1920-1978) connu comme un lieu de avec des normes élevées de la vie, y compris des matières naturelles Aujourd'hui; Tajrish est un centre commercial important dans le secteur nord de Téhéran, qui a affecté de nombreuses classes sociales supérieures. Il tient le bazar traditionnelle de Tajrish, qui été au cœ̄ur de la région dans le passé, et les centres commerciales modern de Ghaem and Tandis. Par conséquent, l'existence d'un centre commercial moderne ; le Ghaem et le bazar traditionnel de Tajrish dans un même lieu et à la modernisation de certaines frontières du bazar traditionnel de Tajrish en raison de sa proximité avec le centre commercial moderne Ghaem est un exemple approprié.

Dans cette zone, les deux différentes une coexistence remarquable. Est-ce que la situation actuelle n'est pas une expression de la combinaison de la tradition et de la modernité? Est la coexistence de bazars traditionnels et des centres commerciaux modernes à côté de l'autre n'est pas une indication du mélange de tradition et de modernité considérant les comportements sociaux et économiques? Dans cette thèse, je vais essayer de faire remarquer à la situation du bazar traditionnel et les centre commerciaux moderne a Tajrish, expliquer leurs connexions et de montrer comment ces deux espaces peuvent être en conflit les uns avec les autres et dans certains cas avoir une orientation composé. En particulier, il y a le bazar de Tajrish qui est une composition des bazars traditionnels et modernes. Cette recherche ne concernera pas la

régénération ou la réhabilitation du bazar traditionnel ni ne se concentrer sur son contemporization, alors que sa préoccupation focal sera sur la coexistence du bazar traditionnel et le moderne centre commercial dans le quartier de Tajrish dans la partie nord de Téhéran.

La Question Principale de Thèse

La question de ce qui peut avoir causé le ralentissement du bazar traditionnel est un problème très important donc d'obtenir la réponse nécessite des études sur les aspects sociaux, économiques et architecturaux. Le but de cette thèse est de parvenir à la réponse à cette question principale:

Quelles sont les caractéristiques de centres commerciaux en comparaison avec le bazar traditionnel et est ce que ces distinctions à Tajrish ont abouti une relation de substitution ou une relation de coexistence?

Selon notre question principale, de nombreuses autres questions mineures peuvent être proposés. Trouver la réponse à ces questions peut faciliter la réponse à la question principale. Les questions mineures sont les suivantes:

1. Pourquoi le bazar Tajrish traditionnelle, malgré l'émersion des centres commerciaux populaires attractifs sur le site Tajrish, continuent à vivre?
2. Comment est la relation entre l'émersion des centres commerciaux avec le bazar Tajrish traditionnelle?

Importance et nécessité de la thèse

Les bazars traditionnels opèrent systématiquement avec d'autres espaces architecturaux importants comme les écoles, les mosquées, les lieux saints, des entrepôts de l'eau, et de nombreux autres éléments architecturaux principaux ou mineurs iraniens qui ont été reliés à ce système. Et c'est la raison pour laquelle la destruction dans le bazar traditionnel conduit à une perte pour le patrimoine culturel iranien. Cette perte ; il en résulte pour rouillés des tissus urbains et les dommages sociaux dans l'emplacement du bazar traditionnel, qui laissant un vide profond dans la ville iranienne. Les bazars traditionnels d'Iran ont été un élément important dans le système culturel et social de la ville, ils ont eu diverses fonctions sociales, économiques et religieux. Le bazar traditionnel de Tajrish est un exemple d'un des éléments mentionnés dans le quartier de Tajrish, l'une des zones les plus célèbres supérieures de Téhéran, la capitale de l'Iran.

Le bazar traditionnel et des centres commerciaux modernes sont deux espaces urbains importants, ils sont importants dans le paysage urbain, dans les transports publics, dans les nouvelles constructions et même dans la formation des tissus urbains anciens. Donc ils ne sont pas uniquement spécifiés pour les affaires du commerce mais aussi connu sous le nom des systèmes sociaux principaux qui créent un stand prioritaire pour l'étude des espaces architecturaux. La relation entre la formation de centres commerciaux modernes et les bazars traditionnels est une question très importante, alors que les centres commerciaux modernes eux-mêmes ont réalisé des rôles clés importants dans la ville iranienne.

Le développement vaste de centres commerciaux modernes dans le monde et en particulier en Iran a affectée les bazars traditionnels et de leurs villes et ont conduit des

nombreux changements. Ces changements diffèrent d'un endroit à l'autre, certains centres commerciaux modernes sont entièrement remplacés les bazars traditionnels et une certaine d'autres sont une coexistence à côté des espaces traditionnels. Le quartier Tajrish est l'un des endroits les plus importants à Téhéran en raison de la haute classe sociale qu'il détient, sa situation géographique dans le nord de Téhéran et de son sanctuaire. Elle est l'une des zones les plus modernes de la société iranienne et la ville de Téhéran, considéré comme le site choisi, dans cet essai, a un fort potentiel comme la contiguïté de son bazar traditionnel avec deux centres commerciaux modernes bien connus, la Ghaem et Tandis. Son bazar traditionnel est au cœur du quartier Tajrish et le centre de la formation de la zone et le système le plus considérable actif dans Tajrish qui tient à l'écart d'autres monuments architecturaux importants comme les mosquées, le hammam, le Takiyeh et le plus important de tous, le Imamzadeh Saleh sanctuaire qui est à côté du Ghaem centre commercial d'une part et à proximité du Tandis centre commercial moderne d'autre part.

Dans la présente étude sur la situation de Ghaem centre commerciale moderne à côté du bazar traditionnel de Tajrish, il y a quelques évidences qui indiquent la réalité de cette coexistence qui est la relation étroite des investisseurs dans ces deux espaces différents ou des investisseurs qui ont investi dans les deux lieux modernes et traditionnels en même temps et aussi les produits similaires présents dans les deux centres actuels. Donc la condition unique de cette région, la contiguïté de deux différents espaces modernes et traditionnelles, a encouragé et a incité l'arrivée du papier suivant.

Objectif de la thèse

Le but de cette recherche est de parvenir à la réponse à ce problème, sont les l'atmosphère de deux espaces architecturaux, le traditionnel et le moderne qui se manifeste dans le bazar traditionnel Tajrish et le centre commercial moderne ; ils éliminer ou renforcent l'un et l'autre ? Tajrish, cette situation particulière a créé l'objectif de connaître et de répondre aux trois principales questions suivantes aux fins de la recherche:

1. La réalisation de la relation entre le bazar traditionnel et des centres commerciaux modernes dans Tajrish.
2. En réponse à pourquoi le bazar traditionnel malgré l'émersion des centres commerciaux modernes attractifs a continué à vivre.
3. Connaître les caractéristiques des centres commerciaux modernes dans Tajrish (le Tandiis et des centres commerciaux Ghaem) et le bazar traditionnel.

Dans la première question, il sera nécessaire de connaître la relation entre le site traditionnel (le bazar Tajrish traditionnelle) et le site moderne (la Ghaem et Tandiis centres commerciaux). Y a-t-il des relations ou chaque espace fonctionnent séparément? Y a-t-il des investisseurs ou des commerçants qui peuvent avoir des liens avec les deux sites? Est-ce que les espaces sont en liaison les uns avec les autres ; éliminé l'autre ou renforcée l'autre? Dans la deuxième question, nous nous concentrerons sur les deux centres commerciaux modernes; Tandiis et Ghaem ; qui ont été construits dans la même zone que le bazar traditionnel Tajrish, une joint au bazar (le centre commercial Ghaem) et l'autre situé plus loin, mais toujours dans le même site). Et pour le dernier objectif, certains éléments architecturaux comme la lumière, les

couleurs, les matériaux, l'accès, les proportions, les espaces, les meubles, etc dans les deux espaces traditionnels et modernes seront étudiés. Aussi les différences sociales et culturelles est une autre question qui sera comparée à ces deux espaces nommés, des questions comme les types de personnes qui se réfèrent à ces espaces, leur classe sociale, et leur intensification de référence, les produits qu'ils achètent.

Approche Théorique

La modernité en Iran a séparé le bazar traditionnel à une typologie typique qui peut être mentionné comme suit:

- v En certaines occasions, le bazar traditionnel n'a pas changé d'une grande quantité et il fonctionne toujours de la même manière que traditionnelle, avant l'apparition du modernisme, ici le bazar traditionnel a conservé son style, l'architecture et la forme.
- v Dans certains cas, le bazar traditionnel a été complètement soumis par le modernisme, c'est pourquoi il a été soit entièrement détruits ou laissés non fonctionnelle.
- v Le cas le plus intéressant qui se rapporte à la présente étude, est l'entrée de la modernité où l'architecture traditionnelle est contemporaine. Ici, nous allons utiliser un terme d'auto-formé que le "Bazar déformées traditionnel" où le modernisme a redessiné et déformée de la forme traditionnelle du bazar. Cette déformation est divisée :
 - A: Forme moderne et Contenu traditionnel
 - B: Forme traditionnel et Contenu modern
 - C: Une modulation combinatoire de traditionnelle et modern

Dans ce cas, il y a une combinaison de la tradition et le modernisme, qui est ce qui se passe en Iran et en particulier le quartier de Tajrish dans son bazar traditionnel et le moderne, ce qui est notre cas d'étude.

La Méthodologie

Notre recherche suivant utilise la méthode qualitative. La recherche qualitative fournit une description détaillée et une analyse de la qualité ou de la substance de l'expérience humaine (Marvasti, 2004:7). Une caractéristique distinctive de la recherche qualitative et l'un de ses principales particularités est qu'il étudie les gens dans leur milieu condition naturel que dans les conditions artificielles ou expérimentales. Kirk et Miller définissent la recherche qualitative comme une «tradition particulier en science sociale qui dépend fondamentalement de regarder les gens dans leur propre territoire, et d'interagir avec eux dans leur propre langue, selon leurs propres termes». Regarder les gens dans leur propre territoire peut entraîner l'observation, se joindre, parler à des gens (entretiens, discussion en groupes et informelle) et lire ce qu'ils ont écrit (Pope & Mays, 2006:4). Un avantage des méthodes qualitatives est l'utilisation de questions ouvertes qui donne aux participants la possibilité de répondre dans leurs propres mots, plutôt que de les forcer à choisir des réponses fixes, comme des méthodes quantitatives.

Donc, selon la nature multidimensionnelle de ce travail et l'orientation interdisciplinaire nécessaire, les méthodes suivantes ont été utilisées:

- 1.Études Documentaires

- 2.Observation

3. Des études expérimentales et sur le terrain, y compris des entrevues
4. Étude de Cas

Les Limitations de la Recherche

Cette recherche semblable à beaucoup d'autres recherches confrontées des limitations et restrictions. Le bazar est part d'un élément vivant et actif appelé la ville, surtout la ville iranienne qui est à des changements instantanés, à cause de ce problème de nombreux endroits de notre étude ont subi des changements quotidiens loin des yeux des chercheurs et du temps. Ce document fait face limitations comme:

- Le refus de bazaaris traditionnels en participant à des entrevues et à échanger des idées
- Les limites d'une femme comme une personne interrogée peuvent avoir à affronter les hommes bazaaris traditionnels
- L'évolution rapide de tous les jours du bazar comme un espace dynamique

Les personnes interrogées considérées dans cet article, étaient pour la plupart de ces groupes de personnes:

- Les vendeurs du bazar (les Bazaaris)
- Les visiteurs de Bazar
- Spécialistes sur l'architecture et professeurs d'université

Ces entretiens ont été individuellement suivis par des références directes aux magasins situés dans les sites présumés, le bazar et les centres commerciaux, comprendre leurs occupations et leurs guildes, essaie de capter les différentes professions, des entrevues avec les commerçants dans la boutique en plastique, bijouterie, magasin de tissu, magasin d'épices, magasin de chaussures et bien d'autres. Le problème avec de nombreux commerçants qui ont empêché de participer aux entrevues était l'image qu'ils avaient de l'administration impôts et de la municipalité. Cependant, il y avait beaucoup de groupes qui ont insisté pour être interrogé en raison de la vision qu'ils ont eu sur la reconstruction du bazar, ils pensaient que leurs idées seraient transférés aux autorités supérieures, laissant derrière lui de grands changements positifs sur la situation actuelle du bazar.

Les personnes interrogées ont été choisi sur l'âge et la classe sociale. Les entrevues ont été réalisées avec les bazaaris anciens qui sont souvent les commerçants principaux et les propriétaires ainsi que les jeunes qui sont essentiellement les locataires des magasins. Le critère d'âge conduit à avoir des entretiens avec les deux classes sociales différentes aujourd'hui dans le bazar traditionnel iranien, les vieux en général le type plus traditionnel et le plus moderne souvent jeunes.

La Question Principale de Thèse (Quelles sont les caractéristiques de centres commerciaux en comparaison avec le bazar traditionnel et est ce que ces distinctions à Tajrish ont abouti une relation de substitution ou une relation de coexistence?) a été transformé en 5 questions plus petits, qui sont comme suit.

1. Quelles étaient les caractéristiques d'un bazar traditionnel?
2. Est-ce que ces caractéristiques ont changé? Comment et quels sont les facteurs?

3. Quels sont les résultats de ces changements?

4. Quel est votre sentiment à ce sujet?

- Quelles étaient les caractéristiques d'un bazar traditionnel?

- Quelles sont certaines de ses caractéristiques iraniens ou islamique?

- Quelles sont les fonctions des mosquées, des sanctuaires et des cafés à l'intérieur du bazar?

- Comment voyez-vous l'architecture du bazar traditionnel?

- Est-ce que ces caractéristiques ont changé? Comment et quels sont les facteurs?

- Quels types de personnes viennent au bazar traditionnel pour faire du shopping?

- Quel est le but de ces groupes qui se réfèrent au bazar traditionnel pour faire du shopping?

- Quels sont les résultats de ces changements?

- Quels sont les facteurs qui détruits les caractéristiques iraniens du Bazar?

- Est ce que la population de clients ont changé pendant les dix dernières années?

- Quel est votre sentiment à ce sujet?

- Avez-vous le sentiment de familiarité dans le bazar?

- Aimez-vous travailler dans l'atmosphère du Bazaar?
- S'il ya des possibilités de remplacement de votre boutique dans le centre commercial moderne avec celui que vous avez maintenant dans le bazar traditionnel, êtes-vous prêt à le faire?

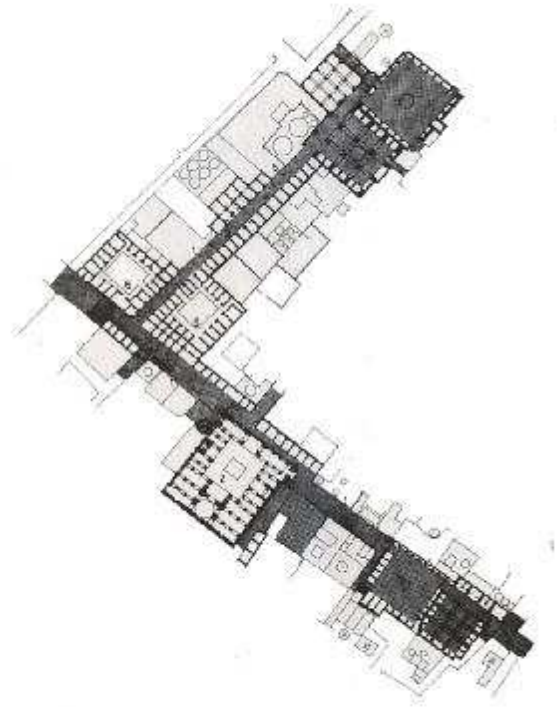
Conclusion

Afin de réaliser les différences entre le bazar traditionnel et centre commercial le moderne, une comparaison à travers cinq caractéristiques de base seront classées et étudiées, cette classification est la suivante:

1. En comparant les aspects architecturaux dans le bazar & le centre commerciale
2. En comparant les caractéristiques des commerçants dans le bazar & le centre commerciale
3. En comparant les caractéristiques des clients et l'expérience de shopping dans le bazar & le centre commerciale
4. En comparant l'atmosphère culturelle et sociale dans le bazar & le centre commerciale
5. En comparant les caractéristiques des produits de base dans le bazar & le centre commercial

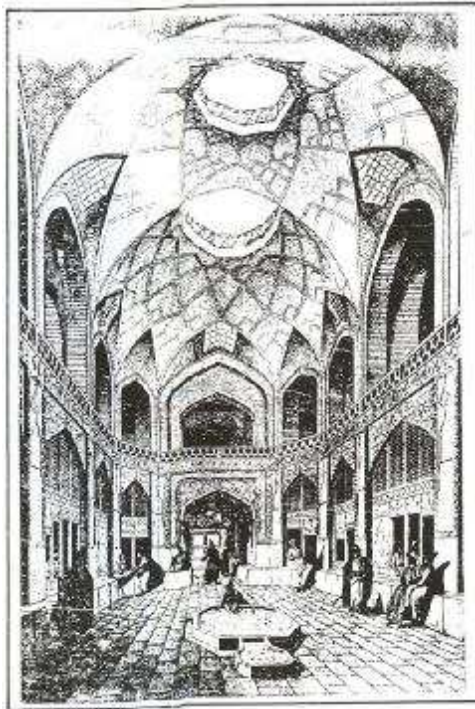
Cinq cartes sont réalisées par le biais des rétroactions de ce document, soit par observation ou des entretiens qui sont comme suivant

1. Les voies principales
2. Le Grand Mosquée
3. Le Bazaar
4. Le rond point
5. L'Imamzadeh (le temple sacré)
6. Caravansary

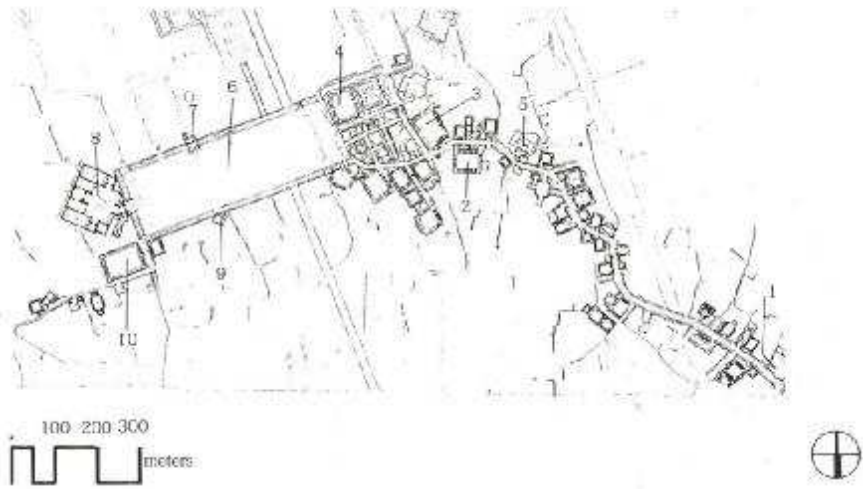


Le développement du bazar à côté de des deux
voies principales, Zavvareh ville

Photos du livre □Bazaars□ Sultanzadeh

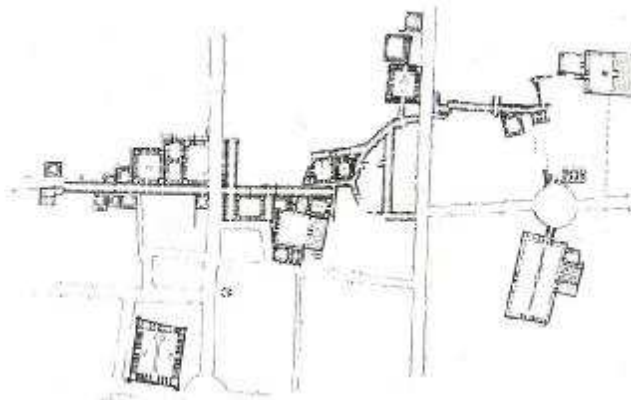


1. Le Grand Mosque
2. Caravansary
3. Ecole
4. Caravansary
5. La Mosquée
6. Naghshe Jahan
7. Ali Ghapo Palais
8. La Mosquée



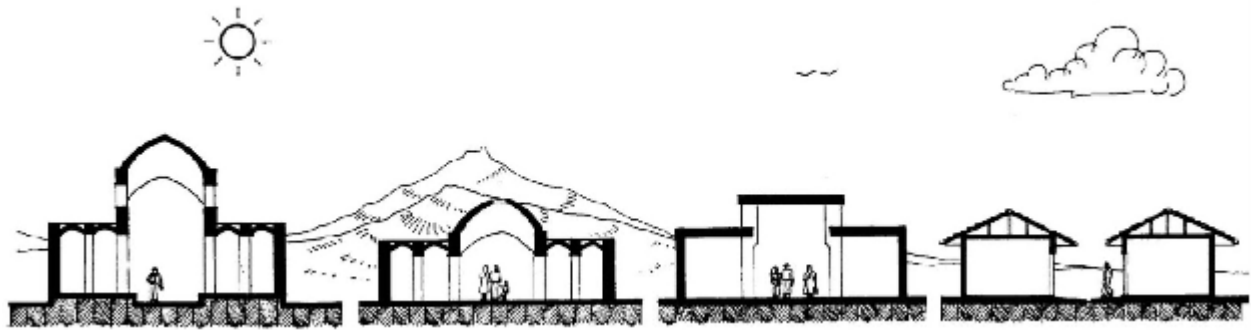
Le bazar d'Ispahan a créer un lien avec les éléments principaux de la ville

Photo du livre [Bbazaars](#)



Le plan de Shiraz bazar montre toutes les icônes importantes urbaines, ont été en relation avec le bazar traditionnel de la ville

Photo du livre [Bazaars](#)

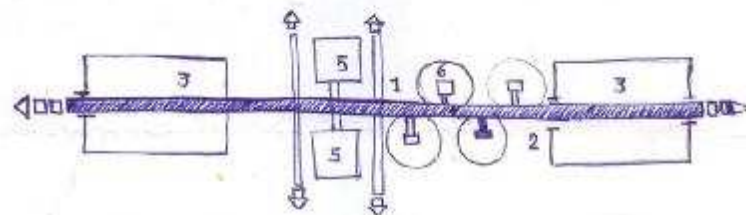
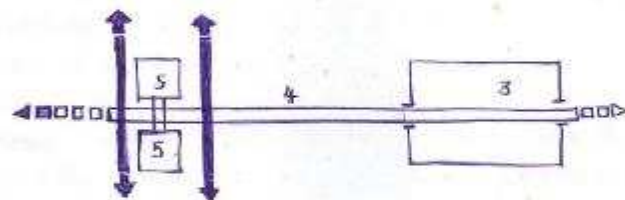
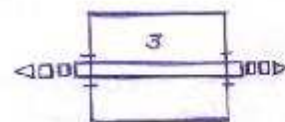


The Semnan Bazaar
Dry & Arid Zone

The Tabriz Bazaar
Cold Zone

Boarder of sea cities
Hot & Humid Zone

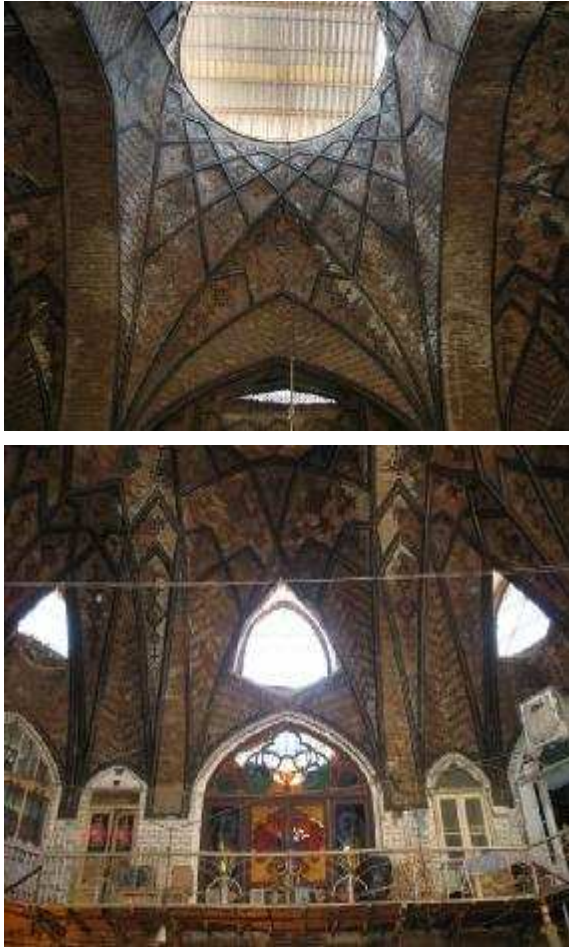
The Tajrish Bazaar
Mild Zone



1. Hamam
2. Les batiments religieux
3. Rond Point
4. Le bazaar
5. Caravansary
6. Timcheh

The development of the bazaar until the Qajar era

Reference Biglari, 1967



Le plafond de Charsoogh dans le Grand Bazar de Téhéran très bien décoré

Les photos de l'auteur



Le matériau utilisé dans le bazar traditionnel, les dômes, les murs et les colonnes sont tous faits de briques

Le Raasteh à Téhéran bazaar traditionnel



Les parties extérieures des fenêtres sont en verre ou en bois coloré qui a une belle vue avec le passage de la lumière,

L'image des bureaux administratifs au-dessus des commerces (Hojreh)

Photos par l'auteur

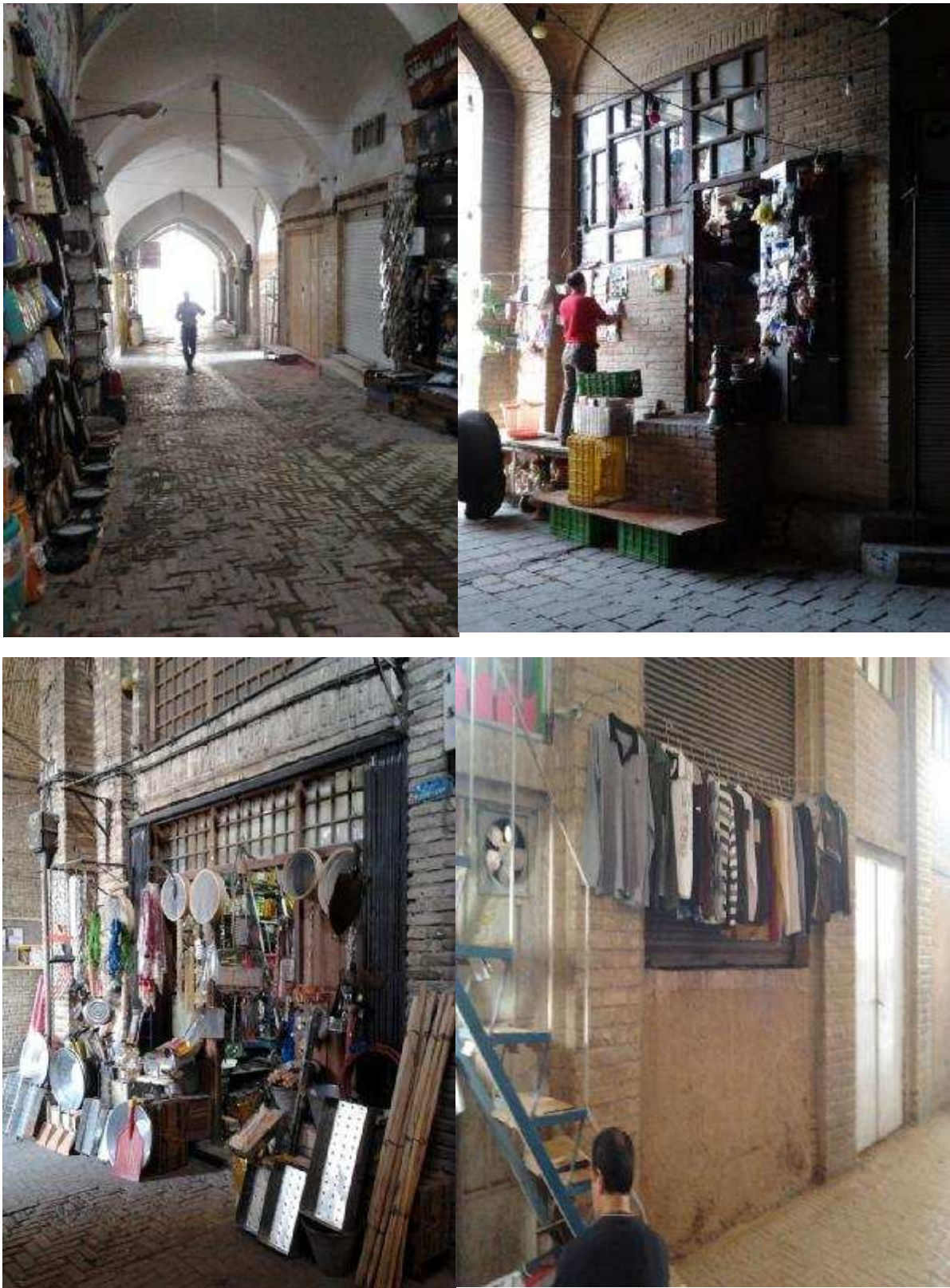




Les dessins des magasins dans le bazar traditionnel sont souvent bondés et sans arrangement. Il n'ya pas de décoration particulière pour leurs objets publicitaires, les vitrines sont souvent présentées de manière simple







Les boutiques dans le traditionnel bazar de Semnan, Pas de disposition particulière pour exposer les produits, foulards, outils, vêtements et plus sont définies à l'extérieur des frontières des Hojrehs,

Un chaos se voit dans la façon dont les marchandises sont pendre et à poser devant les magasins



Photos de commerces ayant une hauteur différente avec la voie principale du bazar en utilisant des escaliers ou des marches pour accès



Dans un premier temps, le bazar n'a jamais eu un plafond, ensuite pour éviter les précipitations à l'intérieur du bazar, certaines parties ont été remplacés



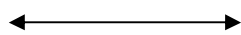
Les reconstructions et les ajouts au plafond qui ne faisaient pas partie de l'originalité du bazaar



Dans de nombreux endroits mineures à l'intérieur du bazar, il ya des toits avec des matériaux temporaires



L'emplacement de Téhéran en Iran (à gauche) et le district Tajrish à Téhéran (à droite)



10 Kilometers

Photo aérienne du bazar traditionnel de Tajrish



Grande dimension du plafond a récemment été reconstruit par des structures à pignon



La construction pignon a fait de l'ombre et un espace sûr, loin des catastrophes naturelles a toutefois également changé l'atmosphère générale du bazar qui était un toit à pignon en bois avant les reconstructions



Le bazar traditionnel est un endroit très bondée avec les commerçants
et les clients qui cherchent autour

L'endroit le plus historique dans le bazar Tajrish est le Takiyeh supérieur, avec une fonction
épicerie, une des parties les plus peuplées du bazar étant conservée comme autrefois



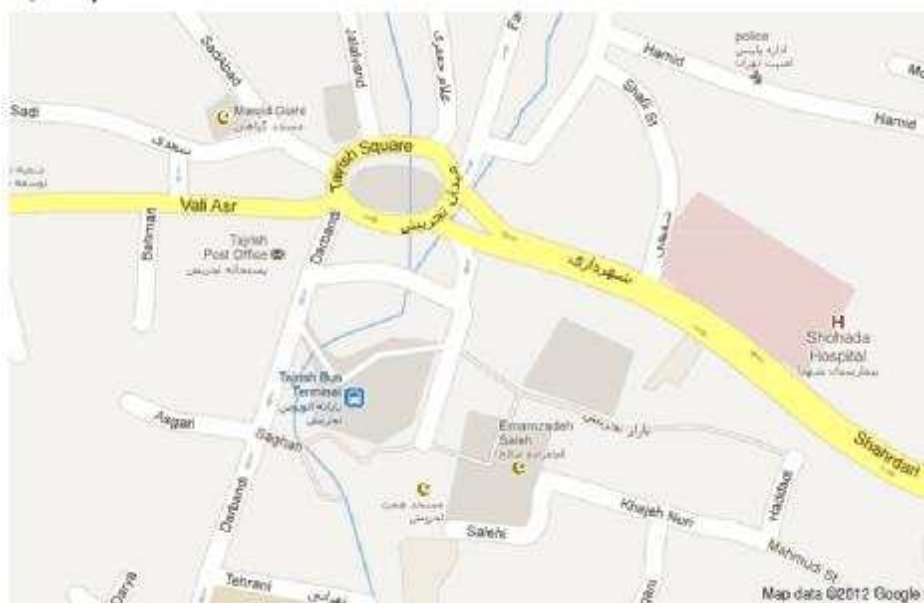


Dans le bazar, il y a tous les types et tous les âges, certains qui se promènent et beaucoup de pèlerins du sanctuaire

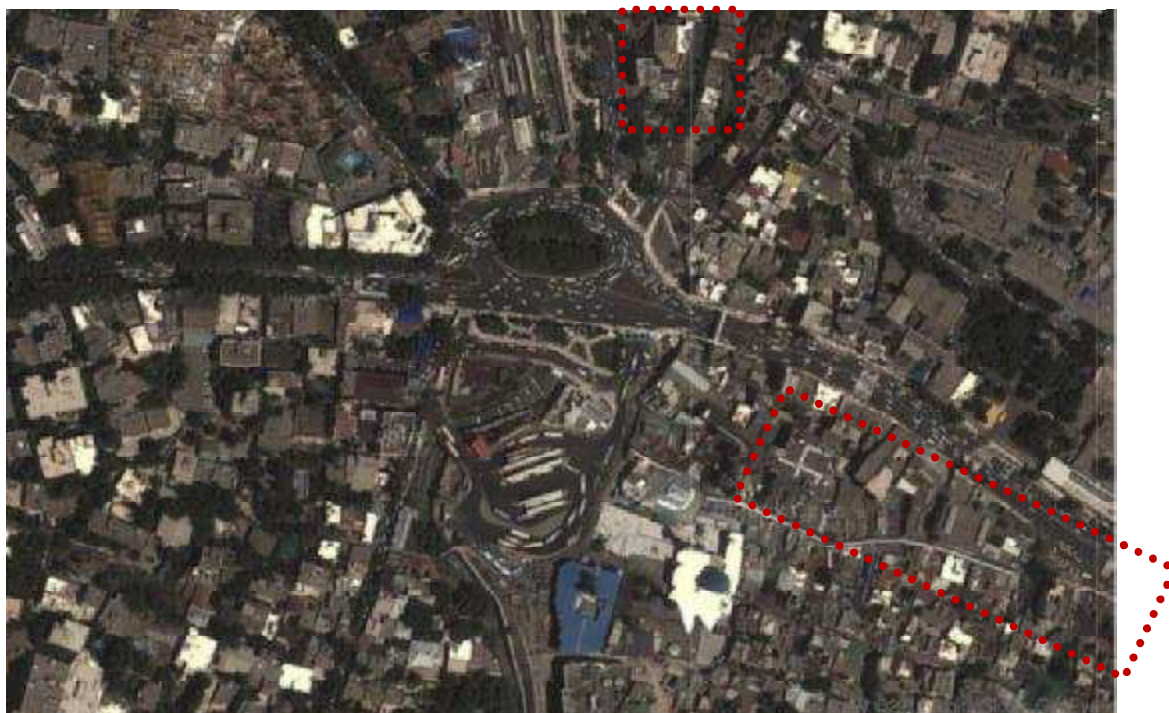


Certains ont même apparaître comme des mendiants dans le sanctuaire et certains travaux comme colporteurs dans les ruelles autour du bazar





Carte de Tajrish montrant la Ghaem et les Tandiis Centre





Le sol est simple, ici il y a
un jeu de lumière sur le
sol pour créer de la variété



Les escaliers relient les étages
il y a des moments où les
boutiques, de verdure ou
même des bancs bénéficie les
espaces libres autour de ces
installations

The Emergence of Shopping Centers & the Synchronic Continuity of Tajrish Traditional Bazaar



Éclairage artificiel est vu à travers les centres commerciaux; ces éléments alignés créer une ambiance plus moderne dans l'espace, en supposant que les attitudes sont plus sous contrôle,

Tandiis centre commercial





Le jeune passent leur temps dans les cafés et restaurants, à part shopping et de promenade dans le centre



Il y a des petites activités dans le centre commercial pour divertir les visiteurs,
les massagers ou des jeux pour les enfants en dehors des magasins, Tandis

Caractéristique	Le Centre Commercial Modern	Le Bazar Traditionnel
Style	Architecture Modern	Traditional and Domestic Architecture
Proportions	Proportions pas très proche de l'échelle du corps humain et moins tangibles	Proportions plus proches de l'échelle du corps humain et plus tangible
Matériel & Texture	Les matériaux modernes comme le verre, la céramique, tuiles, métal et plastique	Matériaux traditionnel très semblable à la nature tels que la brique, le bois, le sol et la roche
	Surfaces transparentes et souples	Les surfaces non transparentes et solides
La lumière	Lumières artificielles fournis par des halogènes ou les lampes	Lumières naturelles fournies par puits de lumière intégré dans le plafond
Son et odeurs	Musique et sons moderne, odeurs modernes tels que les parfums, les produits de luxe & alimentaire occidental	Le son de l'azan et autres instruments traditionnels, l'odeur des épices, légumes et les aliments traditionnel
	Accès et techniques modernes tels que	Pas d'accès technique, juste un

Accès	les ascenseurs et escaliers mécaniques + des facilitations pour les handicaps	accès de plain pour les clients + pas de la facilitation pour des handicaps
	Circulation et accès en Longueur et Hauteur (circulation verticale et horizontal)	Circulation et accès simplement linéaire (Circulation verticale)
Espaces dépendants ou marginal	Des espaces administratifs, de loisirs ou résidentiels	Les espaces religieux comme les Mosquées ou les sanctuaires
Les vitrines	Les vitrines bien décorées	Les vitrines simples et moins décorées
Parking	Les parkings intégrés dans les conceptions primitives de projet	Pas de stationnement, espaces ouverts alloué au stationnement

Tableau 1: La Comparaison entre des aspects architecturaux dans le Bazar et le Centre Commerciale

Le Centre Commercial Modern	Le Bazar Traditionnel
Les commerçants Jeunes & les Desires jeunes de la génération	Les commerçants anciens et comportements traditionnels
Les magasins sont souvent loués par les commerçants	La plupart des magasins sont la propriété de commerçants, appropriation est importante dans les relations
Aucune identité sociale disponible	La notion d'identité sociale disponible (Relatif à Guildes)
Aucune intégration entre les commerçants	Intégration élevé en raison de la Organismes de

Tableau 2: La Comparaison entre la Caractéristiques de commerçant du Bazar et le Centre Commerciale

Le Centre Commercial Modern	Le Bazar Traditionnel
Les Clients relativement moins religieux	Les Clients relativement plus religieuses
Souvent Les Clients Jeunes et les Desires jeunes	Les commerçants souvent plus âgés et les attitudes plus traditionnelles
Les clients modernes intéressés par la mode	Les clients traditionels intéressés par les choses traditionnelles
Le plaisir d'être dans un espace luxueux	Le plaisir d'être dans un espace traditionnel et la variété des produits
L'achat de produits pour le plaisir	L'achat de produits relativement aux besoins et moins de plaisir

Tableau 3: La Comparaison entre la Caractéristiques de cliente et l'expérience de shopping dans le bazar et le Centre Commerciale

The Modern Shopping Center	The Traditional Bazaar
Moins Religieuse	Avec des Fonctions et les Caractéristiques Religieuses
Pas d'unité avec l'Institution de Religion	Unité avec l'Institution de Religion
Rien à voir avec l'Institution de Famille	En relation avec l'Institution de Famille
Les Relations Sociales moins stables et permanents	Les Relations sociales plus anciens et temporaire
Les Clientes Temporaires	Les Clients permanent
Règlement de Temps plus severe	Règlement de Temps moins severe
Inactif pendant des cérémonies religieuses et pas participants	Actif pendant des cérémonies religieuses et participantes

Tableau 4: La Comparaison entre l'atmosphère culturelle et sociale du Bazar et le Centre Commerciale

Résumé

L'invasion et la succession dans les villes est un phénomène qui affecte les fonctions du bazar. Embouteillages dans les zones du centre-ville, la pollution atmosphérique dans les villes, la transformation de la structure des activités économiques, le flux des immigrants sur le marché, le transfert de certaines fonctions du bazar aux sociétés commerciales et etc, tout cela a créé des problèmes pour le bazar. Dans les décennies présentes, le "Bazaar" a fait face à un nouveau rival reconnaissable en Iran. Tous les jours les "Centres commerciaux" se répandent partout dans les régions dans les villes iraniennes. Ils sont comme un symbole de l'extension de la consommation et l'apparition d'une société de consommation et la mondialisation. Ces lieux représentent des sous-cultures jeunes et les défis culturels contre l'hégémonie au niveau national. Est-ce que le bazar tolérer et survivre à ces changements, ou at-il déjà été éliminée du cycle urbain? Est-il coexister avec ce monument urbain ou seront-ils éliminés?

Les Bazaars traditionnelles, les centres commerciaux modernes, Tajrish, coexistence, modernisme

Résumé en anglais

The invasion and succession in cities is a phenomenon that affects the functions of the bazaar. Heavy traffic in downtown areas, air pollution in cities, the transformation of the structure of economic activities, the flow of immigrants on the market, the transfer of certain functions of the bazaar to commercial companies and etc all this has created problems for the bazaar. In the present decades, "Bazaar" has faced a new and distinguishable rival in Iran. Every day "Shopping Centers" are spreading all over regions in Iranian cities. They are as a symbol of the extension of consumerism and the occurrence of a consumer society and globalization. These places represent youth subcultures and cultural challenges against the hegemony at national level. Will the bazaar tolerate and survive these changes, or has it already been eliminated from the urban cycle? Will it coexist with this urban monument or will it be eliminated?

Key Words: Traditional bazaar, Modern shopping centers, Tajrish, coexistence, consumerism, modernism