

THE EMERGE 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 AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP

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Abstract: 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?

Keywords: Traditional bazaar, Modern shopping centers, Tajrish, coexistence, consumerism, modernism

INTRODUCTION

Iran is a country of thousands of years; some of its cities have the same age as it and 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 consciously or unconsciously has engaged in international conflicts. 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. They not only have a presence but 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 other cities. This social institution has always been in relation with two other important social institutions of the

Iranian and eastern history, which are religion & politics (Azadarmaki, 2012). The emergence of these three institutions in the central parts of Iranian historical cities is an index for this issue, mentioning that these three institutions have always been the moderation of power in Iran. In the Iranian city, the "Bazaar", is somewhat different from the Market. It is not merely an economic connection, but its social and cultural functions have the same importance as its economic 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 separately 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 the city and many city developments and expansions were based on the bazaar location and figure (Ashraf, 1974). 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 which was the central square and the grand mosque and as for that, the 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 place of the bazaar in the city. A city without a bazaar is not an Iranian city.

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 attained other cultural and social functions, functions which all in a way reproduce the city structure. It 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 an Iranian; it has been a means of political values, since it has had specific roles in changing political situations and revolutions with the help of people.

Gradually with the arrival of a modern event entitled the street, the relation between the bazaar and the social urban spaces disappeared. One of the great

events happenings in the Qajar¹ 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 where the main passages one day containing stories and memories, memories which in many cases led to evolutions and changes. Nevertheless the street left one thing behind and that was modernity and its necessities, things which made the traditional human to attempt reacting modern and living on its values. Yet 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 architectural and cultural spaces created a coexistence with each other in our case study here in Tajrish.

Hence in this paper our case study is the Tajrish traditional bazaar in the northern part of Tehran in the Shemiran district. This traditional bazaar sits near two modern shopping centers known as the most stylish 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 coexistence 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.

¹ They were a group of Turks who ruled in Iran from 1795-1925. They governed Iran before the Pahlavi era.

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

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, yet traditional elements and components still exist and continue life in a conflict and interaction with the modern world. Doesn't the situation state that in near future traditional bazaars will collapse and modern shopping centers become inclusive? Don't the conditions indicate that modern bazaars are in contrast with traditional bazaars leading to a decrease in the amount of costumers in traditional bazaars and an 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 intercommunion of these two spaces?

The Tajrish district located in Shemiran area, a northern zone in Tehran with a good standard of climax and life, can be seen 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 holding 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? Is the coexistence of traditional bazaars and modern shopping centers alongside each other not an

indication of the mixture of tradition and modernity considering social and economical behaviors? To have a better understanding of this issue addition 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 it 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 together and even the Grand traditional bazaar of Tehran where modern shops have invested aside the traditional bazaar costumers referring to them and shopping 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 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 paper 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?

IMPORTANCE & NECESSITY OF THE SUBJECT

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 linked many other important architectural monuments. On the other hand modern shopping centers are a signal of modernity and the icon of entering this era 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 are behaving, parallel to another or destructing each other.

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 the traditional bazaars and some coexisted aside these traditional 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 this zone the Tajrish, modern shopping centers did not replace the traditional bazaar and resisted therefore today these two spaces stand aside and coexist.

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 centers. Its traditional bazaar is the core of Tajrish district 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: (a) Achieving the relationship among the traditional bazaar and the modern shopping centers in Tajrish. (b) Responding to why the traditional bazaar due to the emersion of attractive modern shopping centers continued to live. (c) Knowing about the features of the modern shopping centers in Tajrish (the Tandiis and Ghaem shopping centers) and the traditional bazaar.

THEORETICAL APPROACH

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 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).

THE RELATION BETWEEN CHANGE IN URBAN SPACE AND EMERSION OF CONSUMPTIVE CULTURE

Steven & Malcolm Milles in their 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). 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). 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 Bocoock. 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 Marxist 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 postmodern 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 postmodern theories, 422).

Also Baudrillard codes Marx where he says: "production not only produces goods it produces people to consume them and the corresponding needs". 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.... 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 relationship with objects and the environment, replaces human relationships" (Ibid: 136).

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).

In the book *The Micro postmodern 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 postmodern theories" this change takes place so rapidly that many new consumptive instruments are treated by newer means of consumptions before being used (Ibid:423).

SHOPPING CENTER AS AN INSTRUMENT OF CONSUMPTION AND ITS ROLE OF TRANSITION TO A CONSUMER SOCIETY

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 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 costumers. Rationalization tends to lead to disenchantment and therefore to cold, inhuman settings that are increasingly less likely to attract consumers... (Ritzer, 2001:109).

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).

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). 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.

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... On the ways of responding to this is by reestablishing symbolic exchange among and between workers and costumers. 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 Tandis or the Ghaem shopping center obliges costumers to purchase products they do not functionally need or consume. Therefore the Iranian young ones are fallen 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 costumer 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. Bocoek is a fine synthesis of the mentioned theories which are very much related to our discussion.

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 we must study the two issues of modernity and tradition. There are three presumptions about the social world. 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). 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 affaires 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.

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.

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: (a) 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. (b) The second hypothesis is that indigenous tradition and culture has identity and must resist any cultural impurity. (c) 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.

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: (a) First hypothesis is the legitimacy of tradition and the significance of modernity. (b) 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. (c) 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 Eliot 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 progressiveness, as, similarly to Integral Theory², 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 cohesion and a 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 are 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.

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,

² 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 re-vitalize and modernize tradition rather than destroy or replace it.

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).

Therefore modernity in Iran has segregated the traditional bazaar to a typical typology which can be mentioned as follows: (a) 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. (b) In some cases the traditional bazaar has been completely submitted by modernism; therefore it has either been wholly destroyed or left unfunctional. (c) 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** (b) **Traditional Form & Modern Content** (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 is our case of discussion.

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). 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". 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). One advantage of qualitative methods is that use of open-ended questions and probing gives participants the opportunity to respond in their own words, rather than forcing them to choose from fixed responses, as quantitative methods do. Therefore according to the multidimensional nature of this work and the interdisciplinary focus needed, the following methods have been used: (a) Documentary Studies (b) Observation (c) Experimental and field studies including interviews (d) Case study

RESEARCH RESTRICTIONS

This research similar to many other researches faced some limitations and restrictions. 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 had daily changes which will be away from the researchers' eyes and time. This paper faced limitations such as: (a) The refusal of traditional bazaariis in participating in interviews and exchanging ideas (b) The limitations a woman as an interviewee may have in confronting traditional bazaarii men (c) Rapid everyday changes a dynamic space like the bazaar meets

The interviewees considered in this paper, were mostly among these groups of people: (a) The Bazaar Shop keepers (Bazaariis) (b) The visitors to Bazaar, strollers and especially women (c) Specialists on architecture and university professors

These interviews were individually followed by 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 costumers' 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 bazaariis 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. The questions were asked indirectly to avoid interruption in the interviewees' speech, but meanwhile 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. (a) *What were the features of a traditional bazaar?*(b) *Have these features changed? How and what are the factors?*(c)*What are the results of these changes?*(d)*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.

(a) What were the features of a traditional bazaar? (1) What are some of its Iranian or Islamic features? (2) What are the functions of the mosques, shrines and coffeeshouses inside the Bazaar? (3) How do you see the Architecture of the traditional Bazaar?

(b) Have these features changed? How and what are the factors? (1) What types of people come to the traditional Bazaar for shopping? (2) What is the purpose of these groups who refer to the traditional Bazaar for shopping?

(c) What are the results of these changes? (1) What factors destroyed the Bazaar's Iranian features? (2) Has the population of customers changed during the last ten years?

(d) What is your sensation towards this issue? (1) Do you have the sense of familiarity in the Bazaar? (2) Do you enjoy working in the Bazaar atmosphere? (3) 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?

CONCLUSION

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: (a) Comparing Architectural Aspects in the Bazaar & Shopping Center (b) Comparing Shopkeeper Features in the Bazaar & Shopping Center (c) Comparing Costumer Features & the Experience of Shopping in the Bazaar & Shopping Center (d) Comparing Cultural and Social Atmospheres in the Bazaar & Shopping Center (e) Comparing Commodity Features in the Bazaar & Shopping Center

Five charts are achieved via the feedbacks of this paper either by observation or interviews which are as follows:

Table 1: 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
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
Light	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+ facilitation for handicaps	No technical access, just one level access for costumers+ no facilitation for handicaps
	Circulation & Access in Length & Height (Vertical & Horizontal circulation)	Merely Linear Circulation & Access (Vertical Circulation)
Dependent or Marginal spaces	Recreational, Administrative or Residential Spaces	Religious Spaces such as Mosques Holy Shrines
Window Shops	Decorated and Designed Window Shops	Simple Window Shops, Less Decorated
Parking	Parking Lots Embedded in Primitive Designs	No Parking Lot, Open Spaces further allocated to Parking

Table 2: 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
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

Table 3: Comparing Costumer Features & the Experience of Shopping in the Bazaar & Shopping Center

The Modern Shopping Center	The Traditional Bazaar
Relatively Less Religious Costumers	Relatively more Religious Costumers
Often Young Costumers & Young Generation Desires	Often Older Shopkeepers & More Traditional Attitudes
Modern Types of Costumers Interested in Fashion	Mostly Traditional Types of Costumers & 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

Table 4: Comparing Cultural and Social Atmospheres in the Bazaar & Shopping Center

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 Costumers	More Permanent Costumers
Has a more Strict Time Regulation	Less Severe Time Regulation
Inactive for Religious Ceremonies and non Participant	Active on Religious Ceremonies and Participant

Now the main question of this research was: “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 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: (a) The modality of the shopping center and traditional bazaar articulation (b) The existence of similar guilds in connective spaces (c) The existence of specific and identified guilds in each spaces (d) The existence of *some* common investors (e) Different attractions (f) 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 without a 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 the customer in one space becomes the client for the other atmosphere and creates 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 and working guilds in one space are not specifically found in the other space and have 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 new age of the modern world in a shopping center. Different presented commodities 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 and it is either they themselves or their new generation including their children who manage the shops. 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 centralized in another location, yet in this case the common investors find their interest in conserving the profit in both places. And 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, but has also helped to 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 costumers 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 a coexistence among the two.

Most Iranians have a dual taste of tradition and modern, appearing in the modern world and the traditional. They have both desires of experiencing modernism while conserving their nostalgic tendencies. Some believe the simultaneously 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. He 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. This reciprocating among the two induces coexistence. Therefore despite all attempts for modernism in fading away 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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