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Consuming Architecture: a Semantic Analysis of Space Consumption in Urban Shopping Malls

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Abstract

Our cities are what and where we consume. In essence, the city is in fact nothing more than a space for consumption in which we apparently express ourselves as citizens of a consumer society. Consumption lies at the ideological core of the contemporary city and, as such, consumption spaces lie at the very heart of what it means to be a citizen of the society in which we live. As cities have become evermore outward-looking, as they have sought to establish their role on the world stage, they have simultaneously been compelled to look within themselves. The topographic identity of the city is in a constant battle with the parameters that consumer society has laid down for it.

Spaces for consumption are worthy of particular attention insofar as they traverse notions of public space and the public sphere and as such offer a new kind of public realm, but one over which the public appear to have less control. Furthermore, shopping malls and large commercial centers demand their suitable inter-disciplinary researches, because of their complicated behavioral and formal natures. These places are defining different meanings in relation with their roles in everyday life of postmodern society people. So, semantic studies with emphasis on consumption of space seems necessary.

This article, based on literature review and a logical reasoning method intends to access an initial theoretical framework for analyzing consumption of shopping mall spaces from the window of semantics based on Rapaport's method for study of meaning in built environment. Result of the paper shows that while these placesand their designers (as elite specialists) do their utmost to create a high-quality space and produce connotative meanings in the minds of the audience before they enter and use the space, but after experiencing space by the audience and consuming it in their everyday lives, what remains is not the original associational meanings, but generally perceptual meanings based on post-modern, collapsing, and collage images. Although these spaces, apparently, differentiate between two categories of consumers, it appears that the bond between the rich and the poor in the shopping centers, and the presence of different classes, will undermine the semantic system produced by capitalist models. The presence of the "poor" and "cultural minorities" in the places of rich people led to the dismantling of unique styles that are provided through the commodities, architecture, and the geographical location of shopping malls.

Keywords

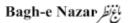
Environmental meaning, Public space, Postmodern city, Communicative consumption, Manipulative consumption.

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Introduction and statement of the problem

Nowadays, cultural turn is a key term that mostly dominates on studies focusing on the community and the human being, including the city and the architecture. In such culture-oriented epistemological turn in urban discourse, not only issues on the urban semantic and symbolic aspects, but also the qualitative methodology and approach have become the center of urban studies more than ever; On the one hand, such cultural discourse is affected by social changes in the context of urban reality, and on the other, by epistemological changes in methods of recognizing and understanding city and urban space. Consumption is a semantic and symbolic aspects of city and urban spaces, which enters into the economy from sociology and other areas. Consumption builds the "mental life" and the intellectual framework of contemporary human beings. People are no longer just citizens; they are consumers or urban consumers (Miles & Miles, 2012: 16). In the current society, the system of production and consumption has gone beyond its traditional practice into the massive consumption-production. Cities are no longer the place of production, but rather the place where industrial products are consumed in a different way from the past. Meanwhile, all cities are struggling to create opportunities for this massive consumption.

The introduction of the consumption category into architecture and urbanization started from the point where, first, consumption took socio-cultural functions, and second, it required space for the emergence and advent. This is the point where the boundary between architecture and urban studies merge into each other: many of today's commercial, cultural and leisure spaces, which are apparently considered as architectural projects, are entitled with general space with complex semantic and mental aspects which even dominates the functional dimensions (as their most elementary notion). The Expo exhibitions, malls and commercial complexes, and tourist-recreational settlements are among such examples.

In addition, one of the topics that makes the study

of consumption and consuming spaces worthy of research and application, is the semantic view of this content category within the consuming spaces. The present article seeks to provide a semantic framework for analyzing and studying the phenomenon of consumption in urban malls as a platform for human relations in an emerging, rapidly changing and expanding way (especially in Iran).

Theoretical Foundations and Research Literature

Consumption and consuming society

Consumption is an old term, but the "consuming society" is a key term, the understanding of which reveals new spheres to audiences in social analysis. When discussing the cycle of production, Marx speaks of consumption; he considers this process consisting of four stages of production, distribution, exchange and consumption. Veblen and Mauss were the first to theorize the social applications of consumption (Ritzer, 2011: 1111). Lewis Mamford, in the book "Culture of Cities", distinguishes "producing cities" from "consuming cities." Though the book was written more than seventy years ago, in his approach to consumption, it appears to be more important and fundamental to understand urban life than ever before; in fact, all cities are considered as consuming cities. It must be investigated if there is anything beyond the consumption opportunity in urban life? Are cities defined by providing facilities for consumption?

In his book "consuming society" Baudrillard (2012) believes that consumption in the new era is a process in which the buyers of goods, through exhibiting the purchased goods, actively strive to create and maintain a sense of "identity." In other words, nowadays people produce or, better to say, "fake" their "who I am" identity through what they consume. This trend has continued to the extent that has turned cities into hypermarkets. The market (which had a kind of spatial boundary in the past) has spread to all parts of the city and is embedded in the suburbs of large cities in the form of malls and



large commercial-entertainment complexes instead of houses. Changing the position of wandering from the streets into these huge buildings is the product of this kind of shopping malls to the entire city.

Today's consumption has become one of the most

fundamental concepts for understanding modern

Cultural consumption

society and which is discussed from various angles. Although the early perception of consumption was an economic activity (versus production), the late twentieth-century thinkers of the last century, most of all, emphasized the cultural form of consumption and considered cultural consumption as the most important component of modern society. The cultural consumption shapes our lifestyle, needs and desires, provides materials for producing our imagination and dreams, reflects the differences and social distinctions, and ultimately represents our secondary products in utilizing existing tools (Storey, 1999). Consumption can also be regarded as an ideological phenomenon, in other words, it plays a fundamental role in maintaining social relations as well as maintaining relations between people and their physical environment. The ideology has a significant cultural concept and this concept becomes more important in the study of urban life; because we live in a cultural context. People's relationship with the city and architecture is different and beyond the category that provides pure economic analysis. The effect of consumption on urban life may be in the form of a kind of feeling (Miles, 2010: 16); an emotion that is an integral part of ideology. This feeling leads to

Storey (1999), in the book "Cultural Consumption and Everyday Life", presented a sort of categorization of the various paradigms governing cultural consumption and distinguishes cultural consumption as manipulation from cultural consumption as communication, and explaines various consumption theories below these paradigms. The approaches dominant to cultural consumption fall into three

the attachment of individuals to the consumption and

consuming space. A feeling that is associated with

another aspect of the consuming society.

categories:

- Passive consumption: Based on this approach consumer (goods, cities, spaces, and places) is considered passive and consumption is assumed to be a kind of manipulation on behalf of power. Kazemi (2015: 43) holds that for the analysis of this kind of consumption, three elements of hypocrisy, alienation, and loss of creative activity becomes important as key words for Marx's analysis. The ideology of consumerism serves both to legitimize capitalism and to stimulate people (both in imagination and in reality) for becoming consumer.
- Communicative consumption: In this approach, consumption is a form of communication and creation of meaning, and in fact consumption is acting as a medium for communication. From Veblen's (2014) perspective, wealth is the most important pride and reputation in modern capitalist society, but the mere ownership of wealth is not enough for dignity and reputation, and wealth has to be displayed in some way. Such a demonstration becomes possible with a special kind of leisure, that is, conspicuous leisure and leads to conspicuous consumption; this consumption takes place in the context of architectural and urban spaces, and demands its own specific spaces. However, the most important function of consumption as communication is its meaning making capacity.
- Inventive consumption: Inventive consumption is the producing consumption; the consumer here is the manufacturer. According to Fisk (2001), goods are produced unfinished, but these are consumers who complete the goods. In this approach, consumption emerges as production (secondary or inventive), and in essence of consumer behavior, there is a kind of resistance and production. De Certeau (2009) and Fisk (2001) are theorists of this type of consumption. The study of everyday life in the context of urban public spaces and architecture in this approach is at the heart of attention, spaces that play a role as medium to produce a kind of image, but meanwhile users of space offer their hidden production in the process of application. In the opinion of De Certeau (2009),

duals of production / consumption can be replaced by duals of writing / reading. For Fisk (2001: 35), any consumption action is a kind of cultural production action, because consumption is always the production of meaning. Productivity of consumption should be separated from wealth or class. Most poor people are considered to be more productive consumers in urban and architectural spaces, such as unemployed youths who use large commercial complexes not for buying but for consuming or possessing them. According to

Gottdiener (2000), people seemingly present a mall or a large store for shopping, but in fact they come to see and be seen; just as most people have done for centuries (Table 1).

The most important study angles of the concept of (cultural) consumption are summarized in Table 1, although in the discussion section and the conceptual framework, more attention will be paid to some of its components and will be analyzed in detail using the approach of the present article.

Table 1. The study angles of various cultural consumption. Source: authors, in completing the Storey (1999).

	Passive consumption	Communicative consumption	Inventive consumption
Approach to consumption	as manipulation on behalf of authority	A media for establishing relationship and creating meaning	A kind of secondary and hidden production
The role of consumer	passive	Producer of social meanings aiming at conspicuous consumption and creating distinction	A producer evading the rules dominating the space through using creative practices of action and use
Analytical components	Idolization, alienation, losing the creative activity	The urban middle class, conspicuous leisure, conspicuous consumption, social- cultural distinction	Everyday life culture, resistance and production, strategy and tactic, space and location
Commentators	Marx (2003), Frankfort school members (2001), Jacques Lacan (2012)	Bakak (2006), Veblen (2014), Simmel (2003), Douglas and Isherwood (2000), Bourdieu(2013), Baudrillard (2012),	De Certeau (2009) Storey (1999) Fisk (2001)
Analytical approach	A classic criticism (Frankfort school), Semiotics, psychoanalytic	Studying consumption as a language and non- verbal medium for finding the meaning	Studying the everyday life, linguistics
How to consider the role of urban and architectural spaces	-	The context for creating the meaning and the flaunting class of the superior and action in one's own show	The place for the emergence of contrast between the power strategy and consumption tactics by the inferior groups/ the place for the camouflage of inferiors



Change in the nature of the concept of space in contemporary consuming culture

Consumption releases the current community from the sense of regionalism. Urban spaces and current architecture have moved towards simulation areas. Cities today are nothing more than simulated centers of postmodern reality (Mileses, 2004: 43). This can be traced back to the close connection between postmodernism and imagery. Yuri (1995: 21) argues that the commercial and recreational spaces derived from this approach are simulated places created for consumption, and therefore the sense of social identity is not excited in people, and also Warnaby and Medway (2016) consider mall as privatized non-places that lack identity. Moreover, the consuming city provides people with these private spaces as if public spaces are safe and derived from civilian culture, while spaces are already foreseen, limited and uncivilized. Malcolm (2015) also considers the fungal development of malls in the contemporary cities as an end to the public space and the reason for defining the identity of citizens on a mere consumption basis, although people such as Keuldley and Moroni (2015) argue that the development of malls and shopping centers does not necessarily mean privatization in the public arena.

Light (1999) is concerned that such spaces propagate themselves as a revival of public life, while all of them are exclusive and depriving in nature. It should be mentioned that when consumption of space is compared with consumption of goods, it should be noted that the goods are physically consumed and exhausted, but in the category of space, both the physical and culturalideological aspects of it are present. The culturalideological consumption of space is raised and analyzed in relation to the feeling of presence in space, pleasure, fulfillment of needs beyond the need, entertainment, fashion, and eroticism. This is an issue that, after meeting the basic needs of thermal comfort, safety, and the feeling of presence in space, initiates the process of attachment of the audience to it (Sajjadzadeh, 2013). In the contemporary consuming culture, especially in the American sample, which entirely manifests in a context such as Las Vegas, people are not looking for goods,

but they need more experience to confirm themselves. Rottman (2002) writes in this regard:

"Post-modern and post-industrial capitalism has entirely formed around the consumption experience, not the consumption of goods, and it is based on a fleeting passion that must be met by a group of spectators. Las Vegas has arranged it such that consumer overcome this challenge. Las Vegas's job is to provide audience to the consumers what it offers is quite more than anything else that's available elsewhere. Las Vegas can meet people's wishes and give them an opportunity to increasingly realize their dreams. "

Environmental Meaning in Architectural and Urban Spaces

Environmental meaning has been discussed from different perspectives in architectural and urban studies. From Gibson (1977) to Lynch (2005), Barrett (2001) and Rapoport (1999). Investigating meaning from different perspectives signifies that meaning is all subjectivities produced by a stimulator for the observer while comparing it with his experiences, goals, and intentions (Habib, 2005: 7, quoted from Kallani and Modiri 2012). Gibson (1977) has identified six levels of meaning for human communication with the environment: the immediate and primitive meaning (physical attributes), functional meaning, instrumental meaning (responsiveness to specific purposes), value and emotional meaning (reflects the emotional aspects of phenomenon), sign meaning and symbolic meaning. Bourdieu (2008) also suggests two levels of primary (including physical characteristics of the phenomenon) and secondary (including the symbolic meaning of the phenomenon) meanings. But what has been cited in this paper is the use of the Rapaport (1999) approach to the environment. The main feature of this approach is, firstly, it is constructed based on his emphasis on the environment and, secondly, it is taken from his sociocultural approach.

According to Rappoport (1999), the meaning of the environment is its most important feature, but meaning is not separate from the functioning, but focuses on the hidden aspects of environmental performance, and

people do this by classifying forms and perceptions. This is closely related to the process of producing mental images. The physical elements of the environment are codified in the form of Associational and perceptual elements (the same) in forms and symbols and functional and physical groups. Faced with hypothetical physical elements that emanate similar semantic codes, codedefined meanings, decoding and codes are interpreted in an information refinement process, and thus affect the environmental, individual, emotional and behavioral responses.

His approach on the environment meaning is based on non-verbal communication, which is the most important component of the content of urban environments and architecture, and the body and function lead to that in the most successful manner.

In the last several decades, non-verbal approach has been considered in many academic circles as it is related to social interaction (Hall, 1961) (Friedman, 1961) (Ekman, Friesen, & Scherer, 1976). The main discourse of these approaches, which has been developed further in the field of social psychology and anthropology, has focused on the multi-channel character of nonverbal communication (Rapoport, 1999). Although a widespread communication channel in non-verbal communication is visual information, parallel to it, other senses (such as hearing, smelling, touching) are also used in message clarity and decoding of meanings. Such information can be classified into audio, visual, spatial and facial expressions and any spatial information. On the other hand, movement can be considered the basis of environmental perception. The experience of moving in the space frees up its meaning by intermingling with the experience of everyday life, .

The human environment consists of two categories of meanings: perceptual meanings that are more closely related to environmental variables and associational meanings that are more relevant to social, cultural, ethnic, and biological contexts (Rapoport, 1999). Consequently, perceptual meanings act as the forerunner of associational meanings. Therefore, it is possible to assume the meaning at different levels and in the vertical spectrum between the perceptual and associative aspects

of the variable. The perceptual aspects are considered to be the primary levels and the associative aspects are the higher levels of meaning. Therefore, the significance of the associative aspects of the meaning is much greater than the significance of the perceptual aspects. Meanings have a special relationship with the dimensions of the environment, which are used in semantic analysis (Fig. 1). Following Okhman et al. (1976), in the field of social and linguistic psychology, Rapoport (1999) categorized non-verbal behaviors into three groups in terms of semantic codecs (as a determining factor in the nonverbal communication model) including Emblems (based on optional codes), illustrator (based on visual codes), and adaptor (based on complex codes) (Table 1). Emblem behaviors have more semantic and non-verbal structure, are more accepted among the majority of individuals in a group and society, and are essentially cultural representations of society. Due to the locality and inability to generalize in the cultural and geographical areas, and understanding of their semantic codes by members that community or group, Emblems are very clear and understandable and closer to the language (optional). It can be argued that Emblems behaviors occur in urban spaces when people are involved with higher levels of meaning, since these behaviors are basically derived from the associative aspects of the meaning of the environment. Since studies on the meaning have focused more on non-fixed elements, the purpose of which was to move from the

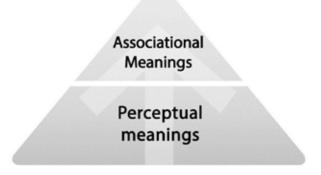
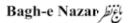


Fig. 1. Levels of environmental meanings in architectural and urban spaces, Source: authors.



non-fixed elements to fixed and semi-fixed elements (Rapoport, 1999: 97), in a probabilistic measure, one can invertibly observe the Emblems behaviors with special national and cultural focus, to find out the emergence of Associational meaning and expand it into the areas of the indicators under consideration.

On the other hand, visual and complex codes that are in interactional symmetry with Adaptors and illustrators' behaviors, have fewer cultural features and less self-awareness when behaved. Semantic codes and, consequently, behaviors are lesser optional. Therefore, the behaviors corresponding to them are either the illustrator (derived from purely exogenous codes) or the adaptor (derived from purely endogenous codes). In this case, it is possible to perceive spatial meanings by observing the behaviors of an illustrator or an adaptor in an urban space.

This categorization does not mean that at any given moment in a given space, there is exclusively a certain category of non-verbal behaviors, or that there are certain boundaries between these behaviors. As Rapoport (1999: 105) himself explains, variables that convert semantic codes are global, cultural and simultaneous. however, it seems that the separation of these variables is useful in order to investigate behavioral patterns and therefore to analyze spatial meanings (Table 2).

Method of research

This qualitative research, based on rational reasoning and content analysis strategies, seeked to provide a framework for the semantic analysis of consumption of public spaces in large urban shopping centers. In the first step, by reviewing the literature on consumption and semantic analysis of the environment in architecture, urban studies, social sciences and anthropology, two approaches were chosen from each of the two theoretical areas. In the second step, we try to take the logical reasoning approach and develop a conceptual framework for the purpose of the research. It should be noted that the theoretical field of this study is one of the most challenging issues at the above mentioned interdisciplinary levels in recent years in the world, which has not yet been seriously addressed in the

scientific space of Iran, especially that dealing with the consumption of public spaces from a semantic point of view is also less studied. On the one hand, lack of Persian resources proves this claim and on the other hand, it is another necessity to address the problem.

Conceptual framework (Discussion)

The present article introduced a semantic analysis of consumer spaces and non-verbal behaviors. The reason for using non-verbal approach in the environment meaning was its simple understanding. Following the semantic approach chosen in this paper, three non-verbal behaviors, i.e. Adaptors, Illustrators and Associational are considered. Nonverbal behaviors are essentially analyzed by observing, recording, analyzing, and interpreting sequentially.

Rapopport (2011) believes that nonverbal models analysis in the study of the environment meaning is done by direct observation, observing the gestures in them and how they are interpreted by users. These are easy, direct and even without regard to the aspect of non-verbal communication.

Verbal and auditory behaviors are received by hearing, while nonverbal behavior is understood through the eyes. Hearing, tactile, olfactory, and other sensory tips are also involved. So, it is basically multi-channel. On the other hand, verbal communication (as the most important dimension of the meaning of the environment) is analyzable in a large urban space to an architectural space.

The approach of this paper in the study of environmental meaning, according to Rappoport (2012), was based on the study of three categories of elements in the architectural and urban environments:

- 1) Fixed elements: include walls, ceilings and floors; streets and buildings on a city scale. In the spatial organization of these elements, size, location, sequencing and arrangement are important.
- 2) Semi-fixed elements: Includes various types of furniture, layout, curtains, upholstery, plants, guide boards, urban furniture, billboards, showcases and vegetation. The importance of these elements in communicating is more than the fixed elements and



Table 2. Elements and Process of Semantic Analysis, Source: authors, derived from Rappaport (1999).

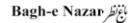
	Environmental meaning			
	Perceptual	Associational		
Environmental effects	direct	Indirect		
Environmental codes	Visual and complex	Arbitrary		
	(endogenous and exogenous)			
Behavioral species	Illustrator, and adaptor	Emblems		
Analysis method	Nonverbal analysis (in the inconstant elements sphere)	Verbal and nonverbal analysis		
Analytical variables	Nonverbal behaviors, body language, registering the bases, etc.	Collective memories (in group)		
Analysis process and tool	Observation, record, analysis and inference	Mental maps, interview and contental maps, interview and contental maps analysis		

they are heavily influenced by the users in the traditional spaces. However, in general, what is considered is the effect on the behavior of consumers of space. For example, fences and irons, according to the cultural characteristics of consumers rooting in their emotional components, can also give them the ability to sit down. One of the best examples for organizing semi-fixed elements is demonstrated in different cultures for court spaces; the shape of the judge's table and the location of the position of each of the individuals or groups in the court are important. For example, in the communist countries, the accused and the prosecutor face each other, and in America, they are set beside each other which convey a certain sense of the environment.

3) Non-fixed elements: these are related to humans, spatial communication and physical position, gestures of the hands and feet, face, eye contact and speed of the language. It can be said that the value and validity of the non-verbal communication approach are in the field of non-fixed elements, for example, the study of facial expressions and emotions of individuals, and so on. On the other hand, it should be noted that, in general cultures, the physical elements of the environment are readily and directly read as indicators of social character

and behavioral guides, which is based on the special connection of the meaning of the environment with its consumers.

Rappoport (2011: 106) sees the environment as the result of the triple link between the people-people, people-objects and object-object among which peoplepeople and people-object are more important. The most important analytical tool that relates environment meaning to architectural and urban spaces consumption is "behavior". Behavior can be based on the effects the environment on the consumers, whether it is the behavior that the designers and the physical manufacturers of space have been predicting and willing to do, or the behavior in opposition to the ruling order and in contradiction with the inclinations of the producers in space. This behavior can also be related to how goods are consumed in people-to-people relationships. This is precisely the point that Douglas and Ehrrowd (2001) address and link consumption to symbolic goods: goods can be used as a symbolic tool for communication with others. Although they are neutral, their use is social and purposeful, which creates an important meaning in several layers in the environment. If similar to this approach, consumption is considered as communication,



it is better to consider it as a "language". Goods carry the meaning and message in this communication system, with the difference that they are non-verbal media. Here, according to Jenkins (1992: 129), explaining Bourdieu's view, consumption can serve as a stabilizing factor for the rich.

On the other hand, non-verbal behaviors in an environment can be analyzed in several ways in a non-material system. The most important of which is the analysis of space consumption as a kind of tactic. From the perspective of Dersterot (2006: 484), the general realm is the real contradiction area between the power strategy and the tactics of consumption, albeit silent and invisible. The difference is that strategies are capable of producing and imposing, while tactics are merely a means of manipulation. Environments such as shopping and entertainment centers are places that belong to the rich, built to impose power, but the weak (lower-class) has no way but to apply their tactics at these places.

This is where the ruling order is challenged and space is analyzed as a place for innovative consumption. The gathering of teenagers of 70s in Korosh Mall, Tehran, in June of 2016, which was so unpredictable that the police had no choice but to disperse it, is the source of new analyzes in the social and urban studies of Iran. It can be analyzed from this perspective. Of course, a simple gathering to celebrate end of the school exams, which was suddenly out of control, has long been the product

of silent and distant consumption in the Korosh complex and similar examples by these individuals. They find part of their identity in the presence and consumption of this space. Thomas (2015) sees the presence of teenage girls in consumer spaces as a result of their willingness to define their identity beyond control and supervision of their parents.

It is here that two types of cultural consumption of space (communicative and innovative) as semantic content of Rappoport can be interacted with shopping centers, stores and passages, and provided an initial framework for this analytical approach (Table 3). Each of the cells in this table can initiate new research in interdisciplinary architecture and urban studies. The study of two types of communicative and innovative consumption can be conducted with two completely different groups of consumers. On group is the middle class who seeks to produce social meanings with the aim of differentiating and displaying other peers and a kind of paradox of the feeling of a higher social class (which is mostly based on the illusion and postmodern image than reality). The other group is the poor (in the precise sense of the meaning of the preceding definition) that does not seek to make purchase-based behavior but seek to define a new identity by being among others and conquering space for wandering and purposes other than pre-defined purposes in space.

Conclusion

Malls and large shopping centers are an area for cultural productions. In other words, shopping centers are not just an area of economic exchange, but also an area of social interaction, communication and meaning, identification, and a realm for struggle. From this perspective, shopping malls are considered as multicomponent contexts, and consider consumers' practices as a kind of read-out of situation. The unfinished spaces that consumers, buyers, and wanderes end up with.

Many of the spaces that seem to provide prosperity, pleasure and freedom to consume resources for citizens do not in fact give them the freedom to consume, but free people to be involved with consuming, and obviously, this cannot be called freedom. Part of the architectural capability serves this approach with the luxurious, covered, and permanent designs for consumer temporal behaviors. In these postmodern conditions, places (in many ways) become commodities; spaces and urban and architectural objects should be presented as a deceptive commodity (like all commodities in the capitalist system) in the showcase and then consumed. On the other hand, new consumers who seek to conquer space in an unofficial way to define their identity should not be ignored.

The findings of the present study are therefore intended to provide a preliminary framework for the semantic

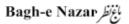
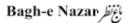


Table 3. Analytical Framework, Source: authors, derived from Rappaport (1999).

		Environmental meaning						
		Perceptual			Associational			
		Fixed	Semi-fixed	Non-fixed	fixed	Semi-fixed	Non-fixed	
		Creating maximum attraction (internal and external) and providing a tempting picture of in the city residents as a subject surrounded by the capitalist system	Furniture, placards, guides, vases, and other semi-fixed elements include the meaning that everything is under control and ready for consume	The practice of purchasing has an inherent meaning that separate the space from other functions. Enjoying from the space and watching the windows distinguish the shopping space from other spaces	Locating beside highways and using the car produces a quick, modern and mechanistic image in the mind of consumer	Use of native architectural motifs in the space bring to the mind the traditional space with postmodern style	Enjoyment of purchas modernized in the mo- teachings and can now that.	
Space cultural consumption	communicational	Heat well-fare and cleanliness of space are the meanings which provide the consumer with the preference for presence based on the visual illustrator and adaptor codes.	Type of using benches and sofas are mostly based on cultural factors	Showcase, fashion and up-to-date behavior based on the adaptor codes is based on establishing harmony with others	In Some complexes, the design of corridor, shops and forums signify traditional marketing style.	The semi-fixed elements in the environment deliver a sense of luxury and distinctiveness compared to the urban middle class (this is a constant contradiction in the life style of urban middle class in the modern metropolis	With the development in of a complex and its up during the time, there i possibility of deepe communication with the based on the Emblems although due to the funct of space, there is sor limitations such as say prayers.	
		Shopping centers are designed in a way to be used by the richest. Internal luxury is one of the most important meanings of this space.		Purchase behaviors in today's shopping centers is defined as more mixture and predictability of purchase and enjoyment meaning				
		The external form of most of the malls and shopping centers is not fit for the poor. It is the intermediate space the can provide lots of opportunity for entertainment	Women enjoys the goods more than men and establish a better communication with the sellers (men and women) which is a type of entertainment.	Wanders are not fond of goods (watching does not necessarily mean inclination)	The malls with roof make women feel safer in the street compared to the open space of streets. It is a space in which the women can show themselves and have social relations	Retired wanderers and youth (boys) are inattentive of windows and design of shops and try to show some behaviors other than purchasing or even watching goods	For women, shopping m the center for purchase enjoyment. These spa although changing the t hobby enhance the dom women freedom	
	innovative	Shopping centers are constructed in the rich neighborhood but their cultural consumption is different from the life style imposed by the goods	For poor consumer, predetermined functional and purposive aspects of the goods in the spaces and corridors are not important. The use the elements for their own purpose with some creativity (eying in the corridors, closing the pathway, slipping on benches and sofa	The style of clothing and wandering does not signify a specific class. Class identity has lost its importance through the mixture of classes and this is the fault of the luxury malls. The meaning of shopping centers is not necessarily limited to luxuries, but the style of consumerism distinguish them		The gathering of youth in front of entrance and preventing the consumer to move freely and buy is a type of destroying their enjoyment to establish their own identity	Household wives usuall the shopping centers togs as to fill their solitude o the house. They wander t a purchase and make a pu to enjoy.	
		Inside a big shopping center, it is possible to create numerous meaning with numerous spaces which include lots of hidden oportunities				Young girls tend to move along the windows and irons while young boys tend to gather somewhere. It is a place different from home and school.	The style of youth prese the space underestimat hegemony of elders. Th the space for their colle identity (Youth gathering Korosh Mall in the Khot 2016	

analysis of architectural consumption spaces, and categorized the perceptual and associative meanings of space consuming based on their fixed, semi-fixed and non-fixed elements in business centers (with a view to contemporary Tehran). It is natural that the contents of this table can be added quantitatively and qualitatively, and it can be completed in a variety of case studies and extracts interesting and useful comparative results. This analytical framework showed that while these shopping centers and malls (as examples of consumer spaces) and their designers (as elite specialists) do their utmost to create a high quality space and produce associational meaning in the minds of the consumers before entering space, what remains after experiencing space and



consuming it in their everyday lives by the consumer is not the full, original associative meanings, but generally perceptual meanings based on post-modern luxurious images. It seems that these spaces, although apparently causing identity differentiation between their two categories of consumers, but the link between the rich and the poor in the shopping centers, and the presence of different classes, make the semantic system generated by capitalist patterns shake away. The presence of the "poor" and "cultural minorities" in the rich centers has led to the dismantling of the unique styles provided by the commodities, architecture and geographical location of the malls and shopping centers.

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