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From Bazaar to Shopping Centers: Analysis of the Evolution of Modern Commercial Spaces in Tehran

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Abstract

Impacts of modernism on urban spaces can be observed in specific historic periods of Iran cities. This issue is important because these public spaces have undergone scale and performance alternations. Tehran, as the capital of country and as the showcase of alternations, has been the symbol of modern city and today is exposed to increasingly accelerated changes. As one of public spaces types, commercial spaces have concurred Tehran and dominated other functionalities. Due to increasing application of commercial spaces, this paper studied their development trend from traditional bazars to specialized markets, centralized stores, malls and the like. Therefore, the aim of this study is to investigate the growth and development trend of commercial spaces in Tehran. This is a qualitative and descriptive-analytical research in which data collection tools such as documentation, library and field surveys such as non-cooperative observation were employed throughout the city. ArcGIS software was applied for results' analysis. For showing the spatial development trend of commercial spaces in different periods, maps were used. The results of study revealed formation of different commercial centers from the beginning of contemporary era in different forms which can be classified into several groups. First, the commercial centers and commercial units of Tehran were in the form of single-core units and then linearly developed around the central cores (streets and new markets); afterwards, they exhibited themselves in the format of new specialized markets. Spatial forms of this functionality in Tehran, from traditional form of bazar in the center to specialized markets in the surrounding regions of Tehran, reflect increasing demand for these spaces and also shortage of growth space. The results also revealed that formation of these markets, regarding spatial limitations in Tehran, will be enhanced in the surrounding areas of Tehran. Spatial alternations of commercial applications in the cities highlight the role of urban planning and introduce commercial application as a crucial driving force in formation of cities.

Keywords

Modernism, Modernization, Commercial spaces, Shopping center, Especial markets.

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Introduction

Since urban spaces are the manifestation of thoughts and human insights, different dialogues will have different appearances in urban spaces. Modernism and post-modernism have attracted the interest of urban literature during recent decades. Like other countries, Iran has also been affected by this dialogue. From the emergence of modernism in Iran and adaption with modern life, urban elements have undergone their specific alternations in the form of different spaces. Before modernism era, urban spaces had some fixed elements which comprise the structure and skeletons of cities. These elements were Citadel, fort, fences, bazars and gates ... which were intertwined with people's lives and businesses. Among available spaces, urban spaces as the showcase of these thoughts are of particular importance. Commercial spaces such as shopping centers, bazars, malls, shopping streets and ... are considered as public spaces which are the consequence of these alternations and developments.

From historical point of view, Ghajar era was the starting point of Iran's exposure to modern life manifestations (Jaberi Moghadam, 2005: 261) which got an especial form in Pahlavi era. These exposures have been manifested in the form of deep effects on urban elements which have been never observed before. In the other words, this condition was for the movement toward the development which resulted in alternations over urban spaces. Actions such as old forts' destruction, widening and modification of roads and streets, changing the concept of street with recreational functions, entrance of phaetons, horse wagons and automobiles (Rahnamaee, 2004: 57), all were modern experiences for the traditional society of those days which promised a new different life style. As a consequence of these alternations, extensive development occurred in urban spaces especially in public spaces such as bazars. The impacts of modernism on bazar can be considered in its traditional concept and formation of the other commercial centers. Intervention in

urban spaces through modernism had its own impact on bazar as well, which was exhibited in the form of streets, squares and spaces which gave a new appearance to spatial and body organization of cities. Construction of these new streets had different impacts on bazar function which was generally located in the center of old parts of cities. Although some believe that these projects disrupted bazar function, but the fact is that construction of showcase streets beside the main streets expanded bazar activities in terms of geographical aspects. Therefore, appearance of showcase streets as the first reflection of modernism resulted in changes in the bazar's retail trade and wholesale performance (Ibid: 58). These changes gradually passed different stages and led to formation of new commercial spaces with varying forms, architectures, sizes and functions. In this content, Tehran as the capital of country faced with extensive changes in a way that beside the main bazar which still has its traditional form, new markets have been added to economic and space system of Tehran which are relatively different from the traditional Bazars.

Determination of these alternations is important as by having knowledge about the necessity of modernism's acceptance as a solution, we must know how to address the positive and negative impacts of this phenomenon. In the other words, awareness on its consequences would result in more transparent insight and fairer stance. Experience though growth and development has a cost and we have to accept some costs and conflicts. As discovery of effective mechanisms in this experience and the level of their effectiveness on the contemporary markets can play a crucial role in controlling negative consequences and enhance the positive ones. Therefore, the first cognitive step is getting to know the commercial space formation trends as the starting point for determination of these changes. In this regard, the present article is aimed to address the level of changes in commercial appearance of Tehran through reviewing the alternation trends in commercial spaces of Tehran.

Literature review and previous studies

Many researchers believe that in the traditional era, the commercial spaces in Iran, with the centrality of bazar, had a very close relationship with the other urban elements and a mutual relationship and coordination can be observed among these elements.

Bazar is a Persian word which goes back to the pre-Islamic periods. It was formed as an economic-urban foundation at Sasanian period in commercial-productive cities. The initial core of most of the bazars was formed near the gates where the traffic rate had its highest value. This core was first formed behind the cities' gate near them and then expanded into the cities and residence. The formation of bazar elements and their development trends depended on the main function of city and the extent of economic and population growth. For example, there were only two caravansaries in bazar of Naen while in the thriving commercial-productive cities, local bazars often provided the daily needs of city habitants and the main part of the principle bazar of the city served for the foreigner traders. For example in 5th century AH, according to Naser Khosro, in one of the alleys in Isfahan there were 50 caravansaries and in Safavi era, overall, there were 1802 caravansaries in Isfahan (Ashraf, 1986, 252). As bazar could not provide the growing demands of people alone, it created caravansaries, inns, teams and Caesarea with different functionalities. In addition, other public places such as public bathrooms, mosques, shrines, Saqakhaneh, gymnasium and coffee houses surrounded bazar which formed a unified texture and responded to different needs of life such as economic, social, religious and political need of people (Shafagi, 2006: 44-45).

However, by the changes of modern time, traditional bazars can't respond to the needs of citizens anymore and formation of new commercial spaces became one of the requirements of modern life style. In such condition, the type of consumption and the life style of people have drastically changed

which revolutionized whole sale and retail selling. Budaryar (1970) addressed the characteristics of a consuming system in a consumptive community. He mentioned the conditions which guide people to more consumption. For example, due to the emergence of happy life metaphor, consumptive community creates an unreal concept of need to justify the people's encouraging for more consumption. He explained this consumption cycle through concepts such as object admiration, abundance and collection, miraculous situation of consumption and new separations. One of the interesting points in this field, which is associated with commercial spaces, is related to abundance and collection where hypermarkets, along with fast growth of different types of food, clothes and mass production, have converted to one of the symbols of consumer societies. He described how different types of goods have become a mandatory requirement for the consumer which created his identity in a way that it dominated all aspects of the consumer life.

In this content Verij Kazemi (2005: 171-172) expressed that the new changes in modern urban life reflects a community in which the consuming life style is dominating. Welfare industries and services along with visual and non-visual media, which are advertising virtual reality, could be found anywhere and hypermarkets are also the symbolic sign of this change. The current form of centers was developed in 19th century based on the needs of industrial market. Such mass production necessitated a proper distribution system to deliver the product to the consumer; this issue resulted in higher importance of shopping centers and also the proper good distribution which has brought hidden and unwanted consequences as well. As Miller mentioned that mass production requires new retail trade system because retail system and its small stores were inefficient and expensive. Therefore, a new efficient and cost-effective system is needed. To continue consumption cycle and permanent establishment of new markets, new definitions

were required which promote consumption and encourage people to consume more and refer to shopping centers more frequently.

Social-cultural aspects of these centers were also considerable. From Kazemi Verij's (2005) point of view, power is the main element of daily life. Such element determines the cultural boundaries of shopping centers (rich and poor, we and they, place and space, strategy and tactic). Shopping centers are not only the platform of western capitalism, they aren't the territory for exerting governmental ideology neither; rather three sources of power: capitalism life pattern, governmental ideology pattern and the power of ordinary people are simultaneously present. Shopping centers are the texts with multiple meanings and each power tries to make its own meaning the dominant one.

Arjomand Kermani (2009), in expressing the impacts of modernism on Kerman city, addressed the effects of new streets formation on the neighborhoods and main bazar of the city; he concluded that the most destructive impact of modernism occurred at the intersects of points and new structures were designed with regardless of the past spatial and functional aspects of the place. He added that unfortunately, modernization trend in Iranian cities just used space for cars and there is no solution for public spaces and pedestrian path. The result is the internal death of our cities and no cultural-social activity can be seen in historical parts of cities and the only function of them could be their use as museum which would not have any role in social lives of habitants. A sustainable and developed city, during growth and development of new urban spaces, should logically try to establish a link between the new and old spaces.

Zeger (1996) addressed spatial structure of Tehran in terms of retail facilities and formation of dipolar center. In this content, he employed two visual cognitive approaches based on quality, density and spatial range of the presented product from social-economic point of view. Through these two approaches, the dipolar structure of the city center

was proven and the westernized dipolar mother town model was obtained. The theory supports the conclusion that the socially-separated population will separate the places for presentation of their required goods.

It can be concluded that the previous studies have addressed commercial space formation from a specific point of view and no research has been conducted on the temporal trend of commercial spaces from the beginning till now. Morphology and formation pattern of these spaces in Tehran is the main objective of this study.

Research method

This is a qualitative and descriptive-analytical research, in which data collection tools such as documentary and library resources, field surveys such as non-contributive observations were employed. Determination of malls with regional range in each district of Tehran was addressed separately and some of them were observed by the author. By comparing this information with the informational layer of the Tehran shopping centers and adding and updating, finally the centers were selected and marked on the map. For determination of specialized malls, jobs information layer were employed for analysis by Arcgis software, the output was presented in the form of maps. Spatial analyses of this research, which was the main goal of this study, were performed based on the prepared maps. Finally, current study obtained some sort of historic trend about the commercial development of Tehran from the beginning till now.

Analysis and discussion

In order to investigate the development of modern commercial spaces in Tehran, first the traditional commercial spaces of Tehran are briefly addressed. The most important development period of Tehran Bazar's physical growth is related to its selection as the capital city in Qajar era especially the period from 1212 to 1250 HA. In this period of time, the establishment of historic and non-commercial

buildings accelerated in the main part of Tehran Bazar. The necessities due to the construction of Large Charsouq (intersection) (1222 H. A.), small Charsouq (1243 H. A.) and their surrounding buildings reveal the economic activity and population growth in the Bazar. The two mentioned intersections were constructed for dividing the movements in the network and also creation of centrality in the Bazar's paths. Construction of important mosques such as Shah Mosque (1256 HA) and also Marvi and Sadr schools in Bazar, Shah Abdolazim gate –as a public building – reflects the urban planning thoughts of Qajar kings in Tehran. Establishment of Atabakieh house or Amir house in 1267 HA and also Tehran Bazar by Mirza Taghi Khan Amir Kabir in 1268 HA with two sub-divisions of hat makers and shoe makers and shortly after, Hajeb-o-doleh division reflected the principle need of Tehran bazar to expand its spaces (Habibi 2010, 16). The important physical elements of Bazar in first half of 13th (HA) century included Cheheltan bazar comprising the main path of Cheheltan bazar, and the existing houses along Hazrati Bazar, Bein-o-lharamain bazar, Charsough bazar, corridors and their houses, copper bazar and its houses, and two other series including Darvazehno and its houses and Abasabad bazar.

From the second half of 13th century HA to constitutional era, numerous urban elements were constructed which resulted in expansion of main physical space and the framework of the city. The main trading center of the city extended from Arg to the south, and construction of new streets provide facilities for creation of new stores and economic units. For example, Jaba Khaneh Street (Bouzajomhour) facilitate the provision of traders' demands for desirable business spaces and transferred distributive functionalities of bazar to the new streets. Completing the new streets on north of bazar i.e. Naserieh street in 1289 HA, and construction of newer stores in Jaba Khaneh street provided an important pole of retail sale in competition with the great bazar of Tehran.

Overall, despite the growth of Tehran in the time of Naserolddin Shah and after him, the main role and framework of the city was maintained in the form of bazar body, communicative, social and economic functions, as the roads to the southern cities-especially religious cities- passed from these regions and the travelers and pilgrims of Ghom or Abdolazim holy shrine had to pass through Bazar. Such factors created continuous pressure for establishment of proper physical spaces (caravansaries) and promotion of the commercial activities in this region of city. In fact, growth of Bazar position was synchronous with the increasing administrative-political role of Tehran over the country. Growth of foreign trade relations also had crucial impact on physical changes of bazar in Tehran. In this era, requirements as the result of growth in Iran's trade with Ottoman and Russia and also importance of custom installation and requirements beside Qazvin gate and Tehran-Karaj road determined the future direction of commercial and accommodation spaces toward the west of Tehran. At this period of time, there was a considerable pressure on the southern road of Tehran Bazar- bazar and Shah Abdolazim Gate-; numerous holy centers in the Bazar and people's traffic toward Shahr-e- Ray were effective on this issue (Hamidi, 1997: 18-30).

In terms of transportation means, year 1308 was a milestone in the history of cities expansion, especially Tehran. 522 automobiles, 1015 trucks and some buses and minibuses were imported to Iran. Tehran revitalization accelerated by projects performed in 1311, 1309, 1312 and 1316. Shahreza (Enghelab) street in north Shanaz Street in east, Simetri Street in west and Shoosh Street in south were constructed. The irregular paths from Naseroldin shah era were widened and modified and they were renamed to Shah, Shahabad, Pahlavi, Shahpour, Molavi, Sadi, Lalehzar, Ferdows, Sepah, Jaleh, Shemiran gate and Ekbatan, nezameh, Jaba Khaneh and Khalilabad streets were extended in the old parts of city and renamed to Bouzarjomhuri,

Khayyam and Cyrus. In the time of Reza Shah, new royal palace complexes, named Marmar palace and others, were constructed at the western end of Sepah Street. Elites and new figures constructed new European-style houses in the streets leading to these palaces and created Kakh Street. Banks, embassy's and new institutes were established in Ferdowsi streets; entertainment centers, hotels, bars, cinemas, theaters and new stores were created in Lalehzar, Istanbul streets and new commercial and service centers were established along Naserkhosro, Bouzarjomhuri, Sadi, Shah (Jomhuri) and Shahabad streets. The old commercial center of city, Great Bazar, also continued its social-economic life and the social duality of city was manifested in the physical duality of city as well (Saeednia, 1997: 48).

As a result of street construction around Tehran bazar according to the new pattern, the possibility of expanding street markets and replacing commercial elements along them, therefore, the natural physical growth of bazar was stopped and the economic functionality of bazar ended in its surrounding streets. The neighborhood at the opposite side of the streets started to present supporting and servicing. These changes happened in a situation that some of well-known bazars such as Lab- e Khandagh, chicken sellers and tobacco sellers' bazars were completely destroyed.

In the second Pahlavi era, density increase in bazar continues. It especially accelerated as the result of economic boom in late 60s and higher demand for more space in bazar led to destruction of surrounding residential neighborhoods with later took commercial functionalities. Pressures due to increase of commercial activities gradually enhanced creation of Markets Street in Molavi, Khayyan, Cyrus (Seyed Mostafa Khomeini) and Sepah (Imam Khomeini) streets (Hamidin, 1997: 100). New administration and public spaces were gradually created in new streets. Also, some activities in Tehran Bazar changed their places in order to reach to newer and better urban facilities

and evaluate new urban spaces and emerging social values in such region (SoltanZadeh, 1987: 444). At that time, large stores and central ones gradually started their activities and from the beginning of 70s, Kourosh chain stores complexes and town and rural cooperative stores and distribution centers which were mainly focused on food and protein products were established then Sepah stores were founded ; these stores manifested new style of retail sale in a concentrated format. Therefore, bazar lost its position in retail sale sector (Nourani, 1994: 45). Construction of new streets had different consequences on Bazar which was located in the center of old texture of city. Although some believed that these projects interrupted with Bazar activity and made it isolated, but the fact is that establishment of showcase streets beside the main ones, expanded the geographical extent of bazar function. This means that people from middle and affluent class who once had to refer to bazar for their needs, now could buy the same product from the stores in main streets. The functional relationship between the showcase stores and whole sale activity of bazar is undeniable; and almost all the showcase stores provided their products from Bazar, so the only probable negative impact could be reduction of retail sale in Bazar. Hence, emergence of the showcase stores as the first reflection of modernism resulted in changes in retail and whole sale performance of Bazar (Rahnamaee, 2004: 58). Therefore it can be said that bazar in megacities like Tehran underwent functional changes due to factors like population growth, spatial development, activity concentration, bureaucratic development, road extension, transport development and increase of supply and demand system (2003: 34).

Buildings aside the street included symbols of industrial world i.e. factories, governmental offices, hotels, cinemas and theaters and also stores presenting new products. Along the increase in population of street residents and its adjacent buildings, the old textures in the depth faced decay and their value decreased. In this era, investors

started to think about construction of commercial centers which are capable to extend the commercial value of marginal streets into the depth of the region. In this content “passage” typology with the same French word, was employed (Afshar Nadery, 2007: 15).

In English, “passage” means the place of passing and the space for access from one building to another. In French, some passage routs on both sides of which there were several commercial spaces were also called Passage (passage arcade). First Passage was built in Lalehzarno Street at the time of Reza Shah when Bouzarjomhour was the mayor of Tehran. This Passage was constructed by Mozafar Firooz, the oldest son of Farmanfarma and several stores, Cinemas, Theater and restaurants were created in it (Soltanzadeh 2007: 30). Some of first Passages of Tehran are Naderi (1948), Shirvani (1952), Aluminum (1962), Safavi (60s) and Golshan (1965) in south of Jomhour street, Elmi (1956), Plasco building (1962) and Passage of Istanbul’s Kuwaitis (1976) in north of Baharestan street and Baharestan Passage (1971) in the southern part of Baharestan square (Dolat 2007: 54-60). Formation

of Passages along the streets is to some extent similar to caravansaries formation along the market streets. Generally, Passages were built in regions where there was economic boom from one hand and there was no possibility to expand the stores in the sidewalk or streets, on the other hand. Initial Passages were similar to urban caravansaries but, little by little new forms of passages were created which were more allocated to offices. Buildings such as Plasco and Aluminum can be regarded in this class of spaces, they are similar to Passages in their ground floors, but their functional nature is different from the primitive Passages (Soltanzadeh, 2012). As a result, the main shape of new commercial spaces is in the form of streets and passages which are in competition with each other. Evidently, each of these shapes has its own advantages and disadvantages. Some streets are allocated to specific products, for example Jomhour is for electronic devices, cell phone and laptops, Lalehzar is assigned to electricity wares (lamps), different sections of Vali- eAsr are allocated to sports ware, medical device and clothes, in Engelab and surrounding of university you can find books and publishers,

Table 1. Passages with their regional influence and capacities. Source: authors.

District	Passage name
1	Ghaem Passage of Tajrish- Arg center and Tandis shopping center
2	Nasr Passage of Gisha- Miladnour- Shahriar commercial complex- Sepehr- Golha Passage- Iranzamin- Golestan- Tooba
3	Vanak- Safavieh Passage of Vanak- Computer market (Paytakht passage)- Eskin- Aseman Passage of Vanak- Aeeneh shopping center of vanak- Baran
4	Donyaye Nour shopping center
5	Samarghand shopping center, Mina Tower commercial center- Goldis tower- Boostan- Tirajeh- Mega Mall
6	Computer markets (Iran- Parsian-Reza- Iranian Passages)
7	Computer Market (Bahar Passage)
11	Alaeddin Passage (Mobile phone and laptops)

Sohrevardi is for cabinet and wall paper, office furniture can be found in Hafez and Hassanabad square, house furniture could be found in Yaftabad

and Delavaran, Shoosh is allocated to glass and crystal vessel and in some parts car decoration, spare parts, tire, glue and oil can be found, Zahirolslam

is dedicated to paper and bookbinding, Sepahsalar is for shoes and bags, Bab Homayoon is the place for men suits, Sadi is dedicated to industrial parts, children wares can be found at Bahar street, office machines are abundant in Iranshahr, and banihashem is for water facets, tiles and ceramics. Moreover, different Passages with regional impacts like MiladNoor, Noor, Aseman, Boostan, Golestan, Iranzamin and so on are active (Table 1). Distribution of commercial centers and Passages in Tehran shows that the pattern was first in the form of single-core format (Tehran Bazar) and then showed itself in the form of commercial streets in

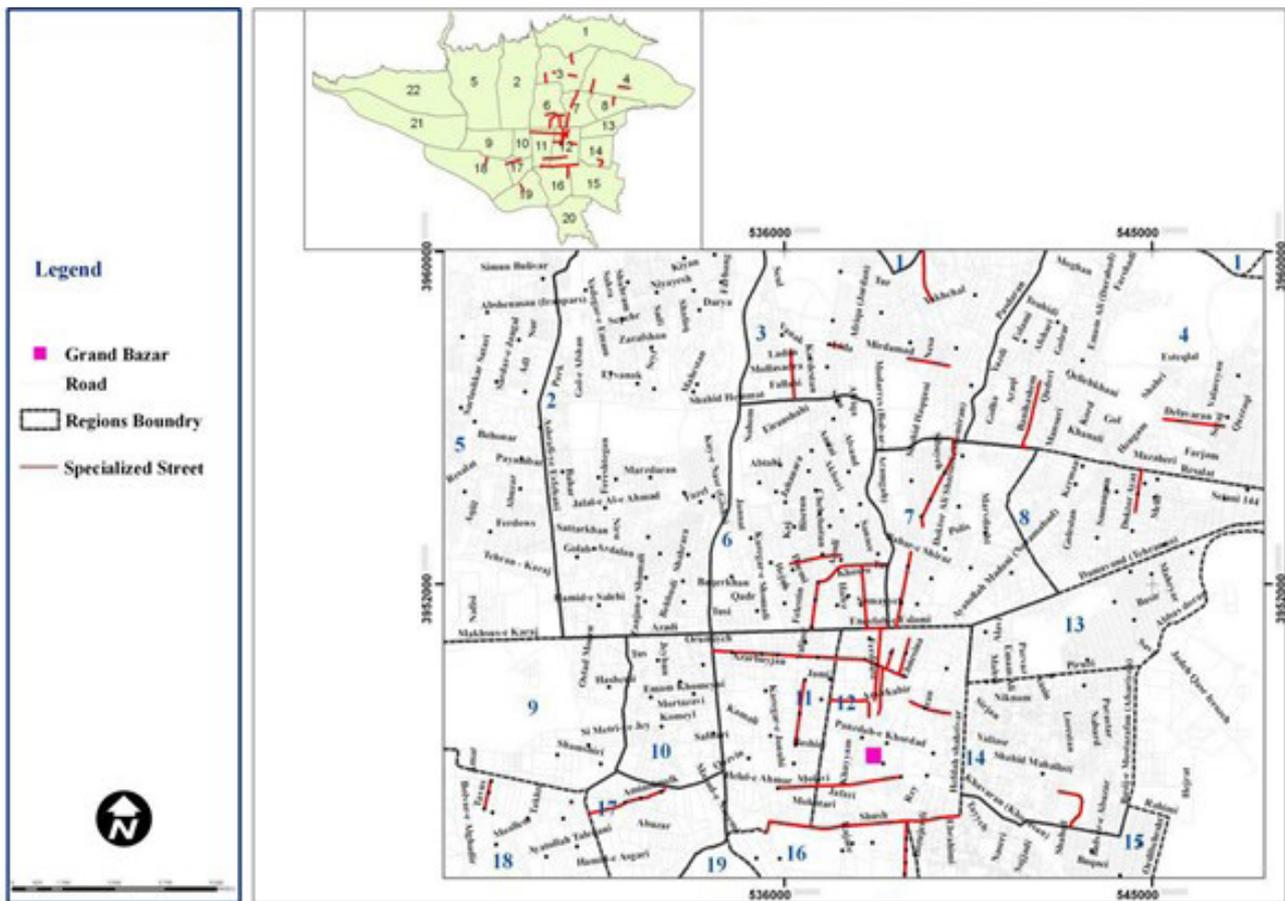
central regions of Tehran. As it was mentioned in the theoretical principles, these streets took a part of retail sale burden of Tehran central Bazar. This phenomenon could be attributed to formation of medium class population and hence a new class of consumers with new needs and expectations which resulted in emergence of first showcase streets in Tehran. Passages are mainly observed in north half of city especially in 2, 3, 5 and 6 districts. It seems that formation of these spaces in the following years are along with the advance of the economically rich class of society in north of Tehran (Table 2).

Table 2. Specialized Market Street in Tehran for different districts. Source: author.

District	Shopping center
4	Delavaran furniture bazar- faucets, tile and Ceramics (Banihashem Street)
6	Computer market (Vali-e-Asr)- office machinery (Iranshahr)- Jewelry (KarimKhan Zand Street)
7	Children clothing (Bahahr street)- cooling and heating equipment (bahahr St)- Cabinet and wall paper (Sohrevardi St)
11	Iran mobile bazar (Jomhouri St)- office furnityre (Hassanabad)- audiovisual equipment (Jomhouri st)
12	Bazar Reza- Kuwaitis Passage- shoe and Bag (Sepahsalar St)- Paper and bookbinding (Zahiroeslam St)- industrial tools (Cheragbarg)- oil and Glue (Passage 110 in Cheragbargh)- spare parts (Kashani Passage and Amirkabir St in Cheraghbargh)- car decoration (Mellat st in Cheraghbargh)- men Suits (Bab Homayoon St)- industrial ware (Sadi St)- Chandelier (Lalehzar St)- clothes (Plasco building)- home appliance (Aminhozor three-way)- sports ware (Monirieh)
15	Porcelain, glass and crystal (Shoosh- Sabootian St)
17	Furniture (yaftabad)
18	Iron (shadabad)
19	Inexpensive furniture (Adlabad and Nematababd)

Linear or ribbon patterns of street markets' distribution in Tehran show that presentation of consuming products' service has also been spatially specialized, and these street markets can serve either in the format of their previous roles (they were previously assigned to specific goods or services) or as a newly emerged phenomenon. The ribbon pattern is also concentrated in central regions of Tehran, it seems that they are branched from the main core of Central Bazar of Tehran and converted to specialized street markets.

Interesting point about the street markets of Tehran is the spatial duality of them which appears to be attributed to needs of different economic classes. Clothes and men suit presentation in different north and south streets of Tehran (Mirdamad Blvd, Bab Homayoon, Vali-e Asr Sq. to Taleghani St), home appliance (Aminhozor and Shariati St), Computer (Vali-e Asr Sq. and Mirdamad Blvd) are some of examples of this duality. These explanations are in good agreement with the results of Zegez work (1996); (Map 1).



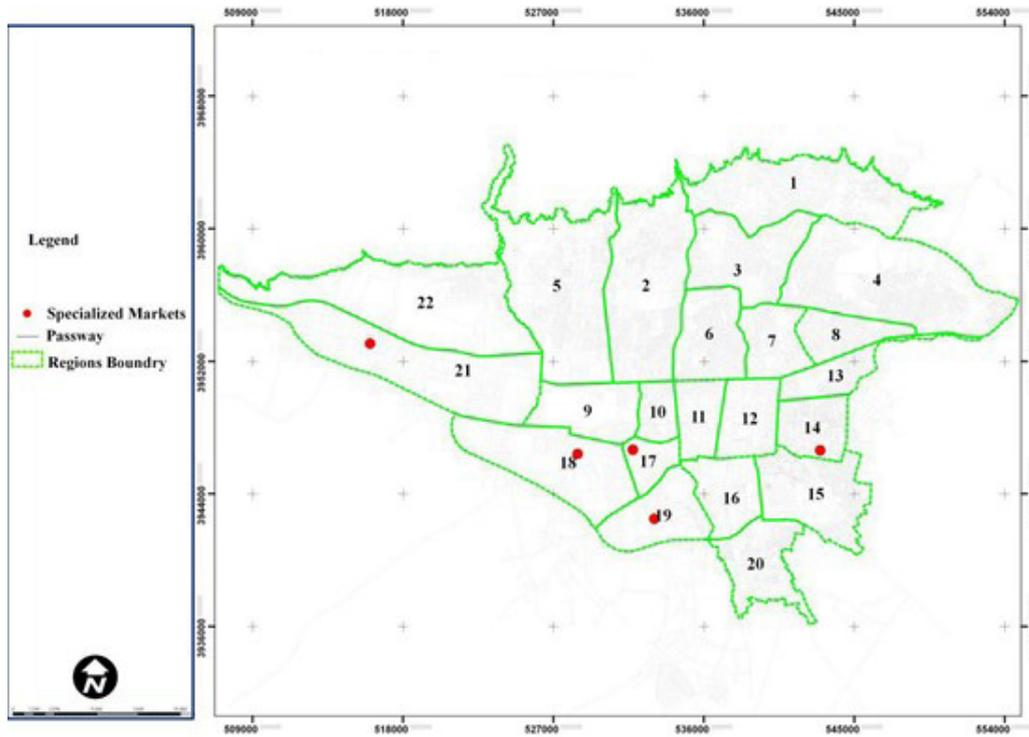
Map 1. Commercial streets in different regions of Tehran. Source: author.

At the last stage of commercial space development we can observe emergence of a new form of shopping spaces, called specialized bazars, which are mainly found in the vicinity of Tehran presenting specific goods or services. Specialized iron bazar in shadabad, furniture bazar in Yaftabad, carpet bazar, central bazar of fruits and vegetables and flower and plant bazar¹ are among bazars created in recent years. It seems that these bazars, regarding their activity scale and the type of presented goods, require vast space, suitable access, supporting spaces and probably being far from urban region due to the sound and environmental contamination. Most of these bazars are placed beside highways to have better access to outlets of Tehran (Map 2). Distribution of commercial spaces in form of specialized bazars reflects a solar systemic pattern around Tehran, which in contrast with previous

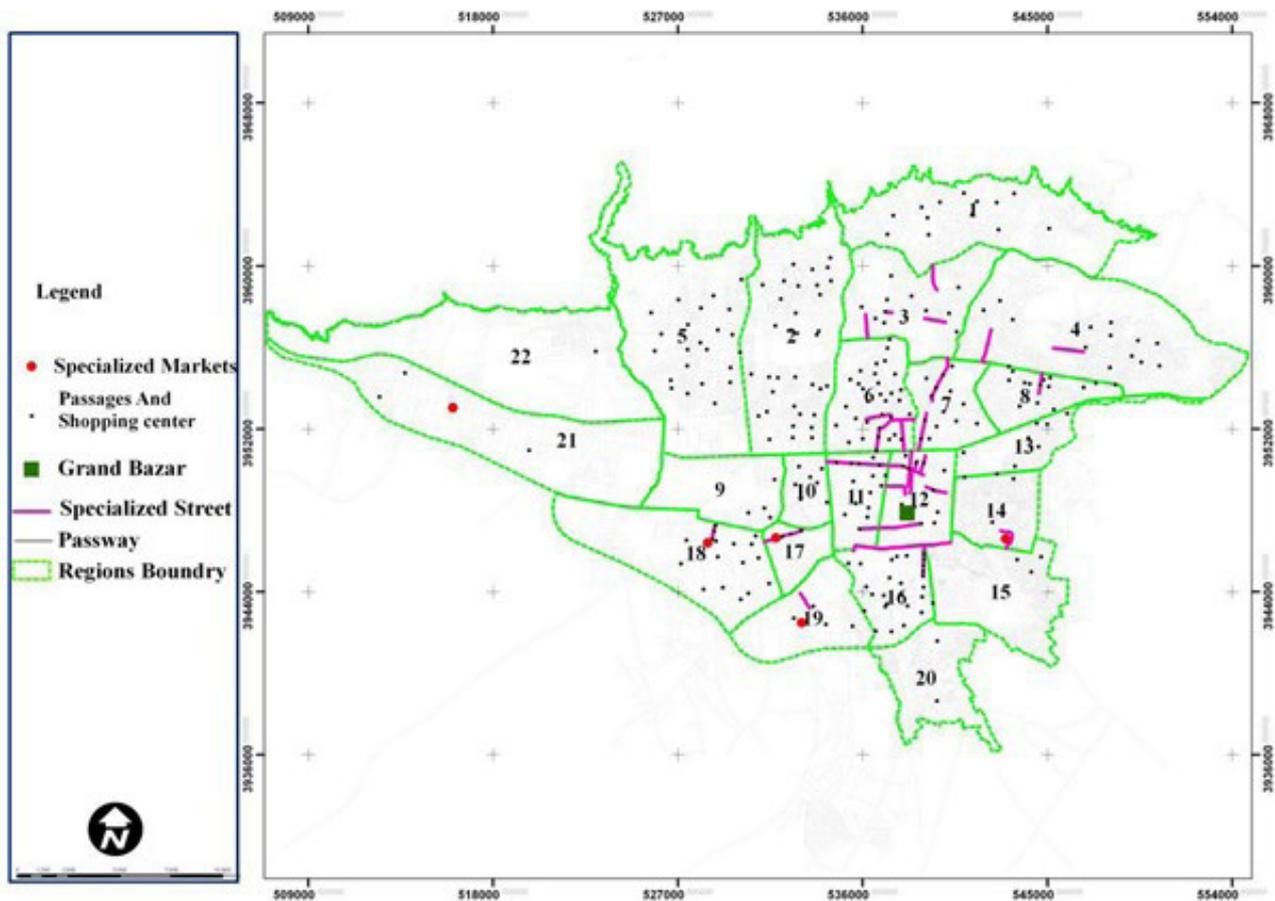
patterns included southern half of Tehran. As mentioned before, application of these spaces can only be justified in relation to access to consumption spaces. By saturation of lands in north regions of Tehran, huge lands in marginal regions of Tehran with reasonable prices which are accessible through highways, showed promises for formation of specialized bazars.

New huge commercial complexes with names such as mall, hyper star and ... are among the latest shapes of commercial spaces in Tehran. They don't have the drawbacks of open spaces and streets such as traffic, pollution, shortage of entertainment facilities, WCs and lack of security and diversity they are also constructed in non-central regions of Tehran. Generally, these centers are located in places with proper accessibility to promote their economic boom (Afshar Naderi 2007: 16); (Map 3).

Map 2. Distribution of specialized markets around Tehran. Source: author.



Map 3. Distribution of shopping centers, commercial streets and specialized bazars in Tehran. Source: author.



Conclusion

By looking at the development trend of modern commercial spaces in Tehran, it can be understood that population growth and its consequent demand increase resulted in increasing formation of commercial spaces in Tehran. Due to reasons such as spatial limitations and high price of land in Tehran, formation of these spaces has gotten a specific shape. The formation of Passages in hinterland places of streets, as the last available spaces for creation of such buildings, can be analyzed. Creation of specialized bazars in margin of the city where the land are more available has been observed in recent years. About the consequences of such centers formation it can be said that emergence of Passages and shopping centers has resulted in traffic problems in their regions. In fact emergence of these spaces in the streets disable to face with their passing traffic has led to such issues. One of the results is that Passages and streets are always competing with each other in attracting the clients, but each has their own advantage and disadvantage in greeting their specific clients. Modern Passages and complexes, by having facilities such as parking lot, WC, children play space, would be attractive for some of visitors. Street spaces are also attractive for some other citizens due to their open space, and possibility of spending spare time by walking. In recent years, formation of specialized bazar beside the highways and in marginal lands of Tehran has highlighted the importance of accessibility for citizens in providing products such as furniture, iron, flower, groceries, carpet and ...; although these types of bazars don't encourage people to spent their time in window shopping there, and have te conditions different from the daily shopping centers. Formation of bazars such as hyper star and other chain stores for providing daily needs of citizens, mainly middle class, could also be analyzed. Regarding the mentioned explanations, comparing the traditional and new centers clarifies the spatial development in formation of commercial centers in Tehran. According to that, commercial centers and units were first single cores which were then expanded in linear or ribbon manner around the central core; they later showed themselves in the systemic form in some regions of Tehran. Limitations in spatial development, population growth, rising of land price, growth of consumptive attitude in society and increase in demands for consumption goods have urged retail and whole sale systems to follow the mentioned patterns. It is evident that knowledge on these patterns could be considerably helpful in classification of each space's consequences in order to predict the probable damages.

Endnote

1. Tehran has 3 flower and plant bazar the largest and most famous one is in Khavaran highway (Imam Reza), the two other bazars are located near Behest-e-Zahrar grave and the other in Shahid Mahalat High way.

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