

ASSESSING THE FUNCTION OF NEW SHOPPING CENTERS IN FORMATION OF GLOBALIZATION OF CONSUMPTION (CASE STUDY: MUNICIPAL DISTRICTS 1 AND 2 OF TEHRAN)

Morteza Ghourchi,

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Geography, Shahid Beheshti University, Tehran, Iran

Mahboubeh Safaeimehr,

Master of Political Geography, Department of Political Geography, Shahid Beheshti University, Tehran, Iran

Gholamreza Kazemian,

Associate Professor, Department of Geography and Urban Planning, Allameh Tabataba'i University, Tehran, Iran

Fatemeh Sadeghi,

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Islamic Azad University

Abstract. In recent years and pursuing economic justification in the progress of globalization of economy, we have witnessed formation of production globalization around the world; and it has been followed by globalization of consumption. Tehran has embraced many changes in its fabric and skeleton which not only changed appearance of the city in certain, but also there are some issues growing, studying of which will help experts of various fields in relation with urban issues. In this research, we tried to investigate the formation of large shopping centers in Tehran City and focus on the relationship between globalization, capital accumulation, formation of consuming city, and growth of large shopping centers in Tehran City from this point of view. Findings of this research indicated that there is a direct relationship between those two variables and Tehran is becoming a consuming city. Also, the results showed that there is a significant relationship between spatial arrangements of shopping centers with their customers.

Keywords: globalization, globalization of consumption, consuming city, Tehran, shopping centers, case study.

Introduction. Urban political geography has always been focused on spatial-political relation of the city with global processes. Globalization of consumption or spatial features like large shopping centers which supply branded goods for consumption of urban prosperous classes lead new spatial features to be formed in cities in line with globalization of consumption and urban spaces to be liked with global processes.

Nowadays, cities are defined through the facilities they provide for consumption. Mass consumption has changed city fabric due to fungus-like spread of shopping centers on one hand, and on the other hand, it persuades the citizens to consume excessively by providing its especial consuming space Steven [1]. Also, urbanity in Iran is always subject to transformations happened under the influence of political and economic circumstances. One of the key subjects of urban political geography in Iran is urban development mechanism within the framework of global processed in general and urban economy and its vectors in particular [2].

In this regard, it is necessary to investigate the interference and confusion of factors affecting formation of new shopping centers on one hand and their role in linking Tehran with the space of the processes and the process of globalization on the other hand, by providing an accurate definition of globalization and globalization of consumption and surveying the effective factors, as well as investigating the role of such centers on globalization. This study aims to assess the urban policies on formation of shopping centers in Tehran and its influence on formation of a consuming city; and in line with this aim, we targeted emergence of shopping centers established after 2011.

Globalization. Globalization seeks to remove obstacles to the free flow of capital and goods across the world [3]. Webster's Dictionary was the first authentic Dictionary that presented definitions for the words Globalism and Globalization in 1961. In 1962, Spectator journal stated in the issue of 1962/10/5 that the concept of "globalization" is a confusing concept [4]. International Monetary Fund (IMF) regards globalization as "the growing economic interdependence of countries worldwide through increasing volume and variety of cross-border transactions in goods and services, freer *international* capital flows, and more rapid and widespread diffusion of technology." Some writers also called globalization a stage of capitalism or modernity, and some have introduced it as "a new way of thinking [5].

Globalization and City. In the current century, we see that cities play the most important role in shaping the global economy. Technology progress and ease of access to information have transformed metropolis into centers of political and industrial power, education, and scientific, cultural and artistic technologies. They are the largest consumer market, the main focus of scientific and specialized exchanges, the main source of production and exchanges of news and information, and the main supplier of services and leisure facilities. Transnational corporations, financial and investment institutions, international organizations, information networks, luxury consumer goods, and modern service activities are all urban elements that have merged with globalization. Thus, urbanization became a global process in the twentieth century and the Third World is being increasingly pushed to it [6].

Consumption. Consumption at first sight is an economic concept, and it is a ring in the chain of economic activity (production, distribution, consumption), and implies any behavioral action that uses goods and services to meet human needs; but, with some reflection on this, it is clear that this concept is complex and multi-dimensional. Two different dimensions of consumption are in fact economic dimension and the socio-cultural dimension. The point that

matters in relation to lifestyle is the cultural dimension of consumption. Consumption is the most visible and most tangible feature of modern human behavior and it is a fundamental concept that can be achieved with the understanding of modern society [7].

Consumerism. Stearns uses consumerism in describing a society in which many people outline their goals in terms of acquiring goods that are clearly not necessary for the survival and life of the traditional society. In Wikipedia encyclopedia, consumerism is used to describe the consequences of adapting personal happiness and joy with the purchase of material and consumer goods. In critical texts, consumerism expresses the tendency of people who are largely identified with the services or products they consume, especially with brands and promotional items such as expensive cars and jewelry [8].

Commercial Complexes. Shopping centers are a good place to study consumption and lifestyle because the goods are offered in these centers according to its position as they can be used to indicate certain lifestyles. These lifestyles come about through the use of distinctive (expensive and brandy fashion) goods, thus helping to create a distinct society [9].

Globalization of production (post-Fordism economy). Globalization of production is process during which different countries get involved in producing one product. In the past, production was performed within boundaries of one state and it could bring economic efficiency with it, or otherwise it could be only producing a product with high cost and negative economic growth. This method of production, that is called traditional production, was so costly and basically, the goods were consumed in the areas where they were being produced. Just after globalization and increase of communications in the light of development of technology, many of companies attempted to produce in other areas of the world. Abundant labor force, low wages, easy access to raw materials and mines, etc. are the factors encouraging producers to assign a part of their jobs to other regions; and thus, production became fragmented (the so-called post-Fordism production [10]. Post-Fordism economy changes geography too; in this process there is no longer any enormous factory with fixed workers to produce a particular product, but there are spatial units diffused in different cities of the world each of which can play its part in production process relying on information technology [11].

The process known as globalization is a series of transnational economic, political and cultural streams that leads and controls distribution of power and wealth in the world in a network of global cities with an increasing speed. Global cities are indeed nodes of a global network; and the relations, interactions and correspondence between them forms the space of the streams; and that is what referred to as globalization [12] in basic definition of global cities, there are three levels of their positions identified. In the new map, 10 alpha cities, 10 beta cities, and 35 gamma cities are drawn. In this it is promptly revealed that the central pattern is directly relate to the status of the city and the core-periphery theory in this space, shows hierarchical trends in global services.

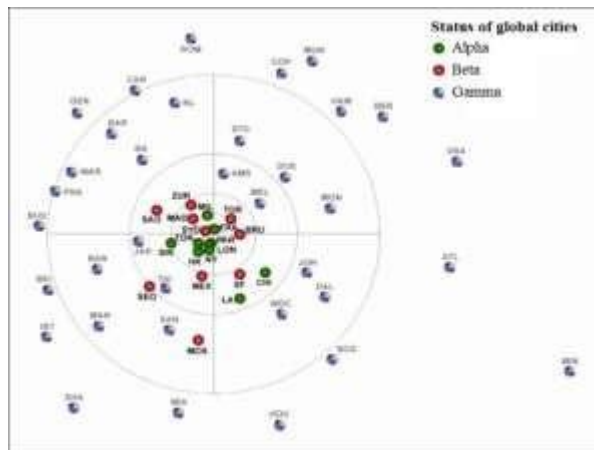


Figure 1. Hierarchical trends in the space of global services[13]

Methodology. Case study area. Municipal Dist. 1 of Tehran, is the northernmost district of Tehran and considered as one of the most favorable areas of Tehran in terms of having natural resources and cultural-historical heritage; and it has been a place for residence of governmental officials and for holding of international and diplomatic events. The area of this district is 64 square kilometers without taking into account the boundary of the district and is 210 considering the boundary; and its northern boundary is coincident with northern boundary of Tehran (contour line of 1800 m). This district is bordered by Darakeh River (Dist. 2) on the west, by Chamran, Modarres, and Sadr highways (Dist. 3) on the south, by Darabad – Bibi Shahrbanou Road on the east, and by Ozgol highway (Dist. 4) on the southeast; and includes 10 regions and 26 neighborhoods [14]. Dist. 2 is one of developed districts located in northern and middle area of the city of Tehran. This district has an approximate area of 5000 hectares (49564090 square meters) [X] and has a population of 559000 (in 2002 according to the consulting engineers). This district is bordered by Alborz mountains (from Darakeh River to Farahzad neighborhood) on the north, by Azadi Ave. (from Azadi Sq. to Tohid Sq.) on the south, by Chamran highway on the east, and by Ashrafi Esfahani Ave. and Mohammadali Jenah highway on the west. The area of the district is 49.3 square kilometers without considering the boundary of the district and is 65 square kilometers considering the boundary. After districts 4, 5, 21 and 22, this district is the fifth area among 22 municipal districts of

Tehran in terms of area. [15]. In order to answer the questions of the research, we chose two large shopping centers located in districts 1 and 2, that were established after 2011 and were supplying branded goods more than domestic goods, for investigation. In municipal district 1 the mentioned cases were:

- Palladium Shopping Center
- Arg Shopping Center
- Sam Center

And Aren Shopping Center was the case chosen and studied from district 2.

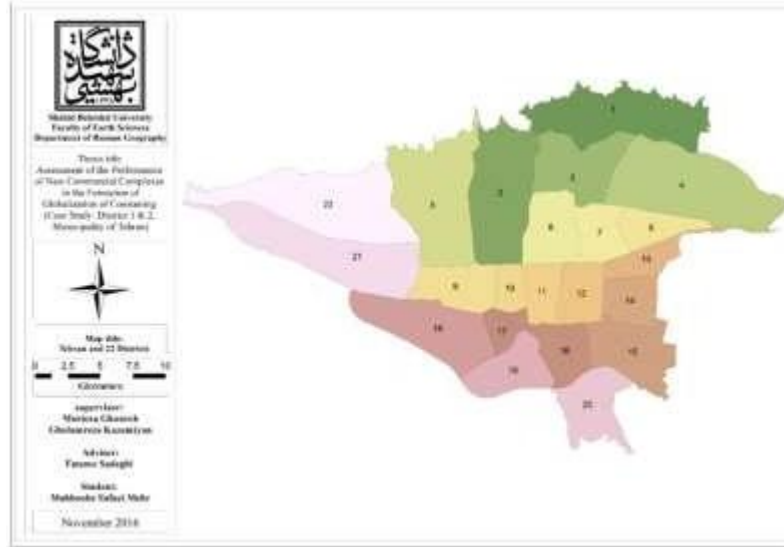


Figure 2. Map of Tehran [16]

Statistical population. Regarding the first question, experts in globalization, political economy, urban planning, geography, etc., and regarding the second question, visitors to the shopping centers of municipal districts 1 and 2 of Tehran were targeted.

Statistical sample of the first question. In order to increase the number of judgements and to gain more validity for answers by combining the opinions, a large volume of sample was used. Thus, 40 questionnaires were prepared.

Statistical sample of the second question. The volume of the population was considered infinite and the number of questionnaires was obtained by Cochran Formula as 350.

Method for analyzing the first questionnaire: Delphi

Method for analyzing the second questionnaire: Chi-square (k square) and Friedman

Face validity

Presenting both two questionnaires to 8 experts

Statistical reliability test

The first questionnaire: 0.7

The second questionnaire: 0.85

Analysis of the first questionnaire

I. Investigating demographic status of respondents

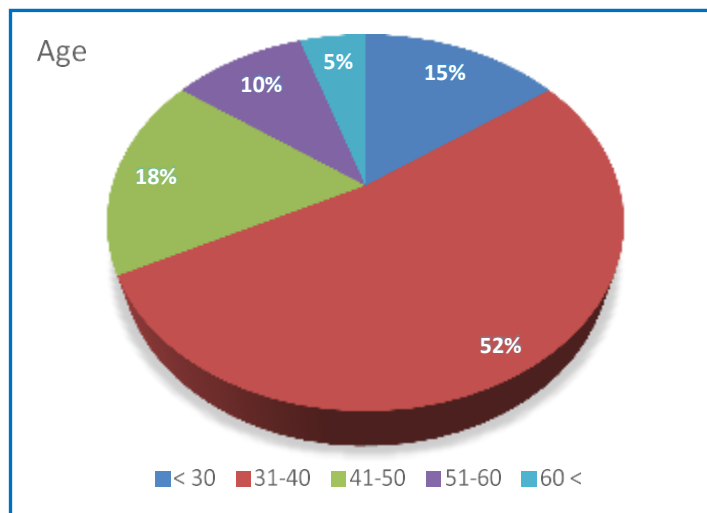


Chart 1. Age status of respondents

According to chart 1, the individuals aged 31-40 years had the highest and the individuals aged >60 years had the lowest frequency (it is noteworthy that color no. 1 is for age range of <30 years, color no. 2 is for age range 31-40 years, color no. 3 is for age range 41-50 years, color no. 4 is for age range 51-60, and color no. 5 is for age range >60 years).

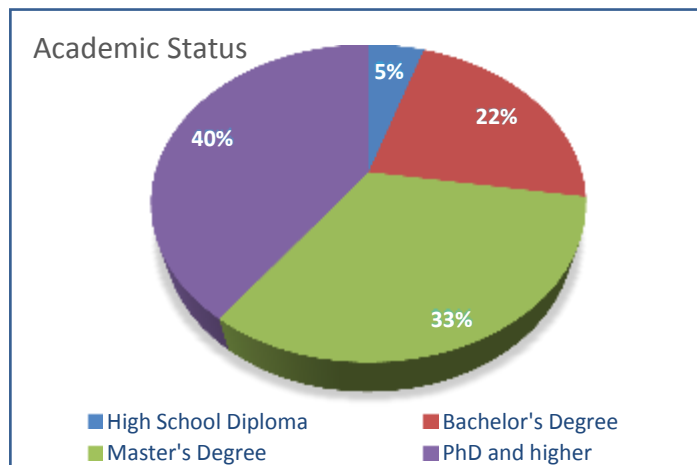


Chart 2. Pie chart of the academic status of respondents

The pie chart indicates that the individuals holding academic degree of PhD had the highest frequency and the ones holding diploma had the lowest frequency. (Also, it should be noted that color no.1 is for holders of diploma; color no. 2 is for holders of bachelor's degree; color no. 3 is for holders of master's degree; and color no. 4 is for holders of PhD degree)

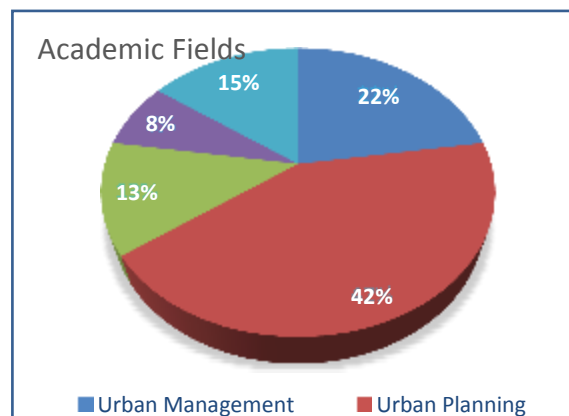


Chart 3. Pie chart of the academic fields of respondents

Pie chart 3 indicates that the experts in urban planning with a frequency of 21% were the majority of respondents and the experts in geographical information system had the lowest frequency. (Also, it should be noted that color no.1 is for the experts in urban management; color no. 2 is for the experts in urban planning; and color no. 3 is for the experts in GIS)

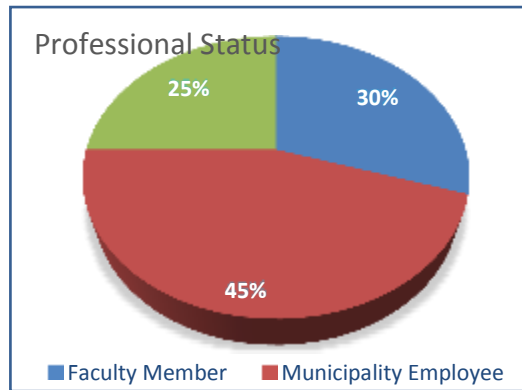


Chart 4. Professional status of respondents

Pie chart 4 indicates that the individuals employed by municipality had the highest frequency and the individuals working as researcher had the highest frequency. (Also, it should be noted that color no.1 is for faculty members; color no. 2 is for municipality employees; and color no. 3 is for researchers)

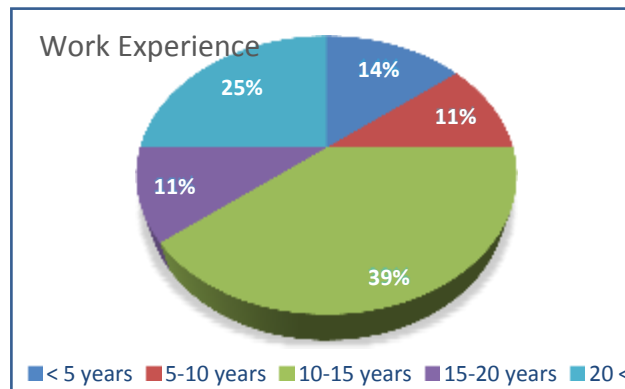


Chart 5. Pie chart of work experience of respondents

According to chart 5, the individuals with work experience of 10-15 years had the highest frequency and the individuals with work experience of 5-10 years had the lowest frequency. (Also, it should be noted that color no.1 is for <5 years; color no. 2 is for 5-10 years; color no. 3 is for 10-15 years; color no. 4 is for 15-20 years; and color no. 5 is for >20 years of work experience)

II. Reviewing the first question from the perspective of respondents.

According to the results obtained through Friedman test, the question of “policies and facilities of the municipality” for investors, having a weighted mean of 6.35, was the first and most effective question from the perspective of respondents. Moreover, “supply of branded products” and “providing a space with recreational facilities next to the large shopping center” were the least important questions from the perspective of respondents having weighted means of 4.35 and 3.36 respectively. The rest of the results are presented in chart 6.

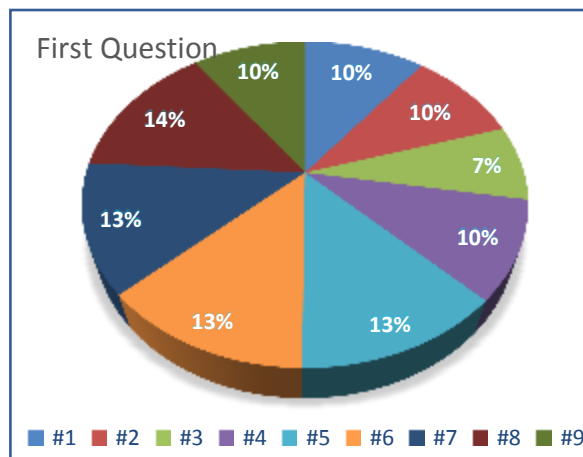


Chart 6. Pie chart of respondents to the first question

As it can be seen in chart 4.6, the effectiveness of each question is shown in percentage, as the question of policies and facilities of the municipality for investors earning 14.0 took the first place and the question of providing a space with recreational facilities next to the large shopping center earning 7.0 was the last. (Also, it should be noted that color no. 1 is for establishment of large shopping centers; color no. 2 is for supply of branded products; color no. 3 is for providing a space with recreational facilities next to the large shopping center; color no. 4 is for establishment of shopping centers in regions with high-priced lands; color no. 5 is for media and advertisement; color no. 6 is for incentive policies for suppliers (such as replacement, guarantee, etc.); color no. 7 is for developing winning competition and diversity among the products; color no. 8 is for policies and facilities of the municipality for investors; and color no. 9 is for creation of a new identity among social classes, particularly women, by joining globalization of consumption)

III. Reviewing the second question from the perspective of respondents. As the results of Friedman test indicated, the demand for consumption of branded goods has been increased over the recent years and this question with a weighted mean of 9.00 took the first place as the most effective question from the perspective of the respondents. Moreover, the question of “new shopping centers are established in expensive areas and passages of Tehran in order to ease access of prosperous class” having a weighted mean of 5.88 was the least important question from the perspective of the respondents. The rest of the results are presented in chart 7.

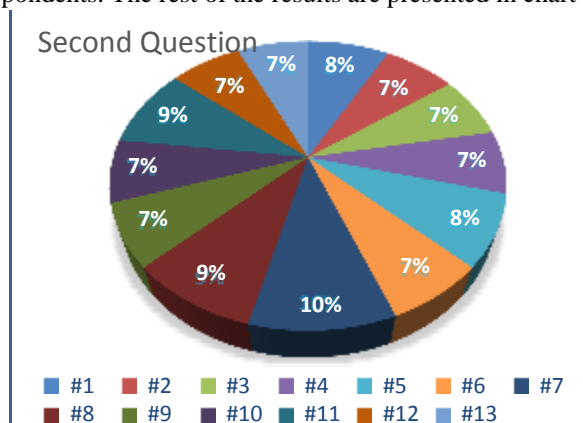


Chart 7. Pie chart of respondents of the second question

As it can be seen in chart 7, the effectiveness of each question is shown in percentage, as the question: “the demand for consuming brand goods has been increased over the recent years” earning 9.0 took the first place and the rest of the results are shown in chart 3.4. (Also, it should be noted that color no. 1 is for the variable: Tehran has joined economic globalization process in recent years; color no. 2 is for the question: shopping centers of municipal districts 1 and 2 will connect the city of Tehran to global economy networks; color no. 3 is for the question: large shopping centers in Tehran supply more branded goods compared to Iranian goods; color no. 4 is for the question: there is a significant direct relationship between establishment of large shopping centers and globalization of consumption; color no. 5 is for the question: there is a significant direct relationship between globalization of consumption and formation of large shopping centers; color no. 6 is for the question: there is a significant direct relationship between globalization of consumption and formation of large shopping centers; color no. 7 is for the question: the demand for consuming branded goods has been increased in recent years; color no. 8 is for the question: large shopping centers are among the factors of globalization of consumption in Tehran; color no. 9 is for the question: new shopping centers have been established in expensive areas and passages of Tehran in order to ease access of the prosperous class; color no. 10 is for the question: large shopping centers have been established with the aim of addressing needs of the prosperous class of the society; color no. 11 is for the question: value of land and house prices have contribution in location of such centers; color no. 12

is for the question: some aspects of globalization of consumption can be seen in the city in recent years; and color no. 13 is for the question: large shopping centers are the alternative options for Iranian people instead of traveling to neighbor countries).

Analysis of the second questionnaire. Investigating demographic status of respondents

The results obtained from customers and visitors of shopping centers were assessed in this section. Descriptive results and answers of respondents are shown in chart XX.

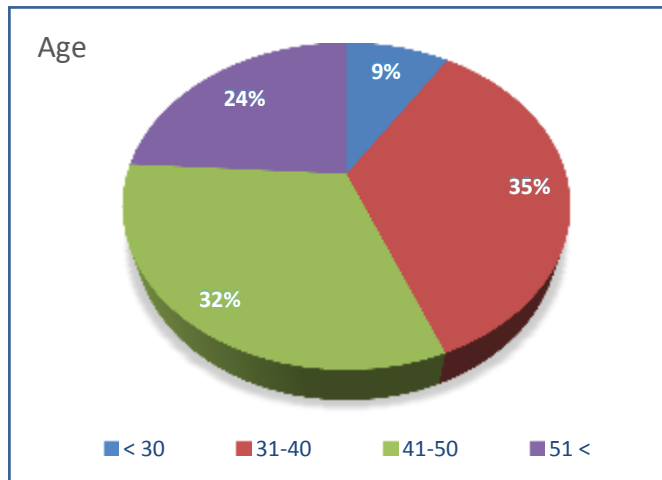


Chart 8. Age status of respondents

Pie chart of age status of respondents indicates that individuals aged between 31-40 years are the most frequent. Colors used in the chart are: color no. 1 is for the age range of < 30 years; color no. 2 is for the age range of 31-40 years; color no. 3 is for the age range 41-50 years; and color no. 4 is for the age range of > 50 years.

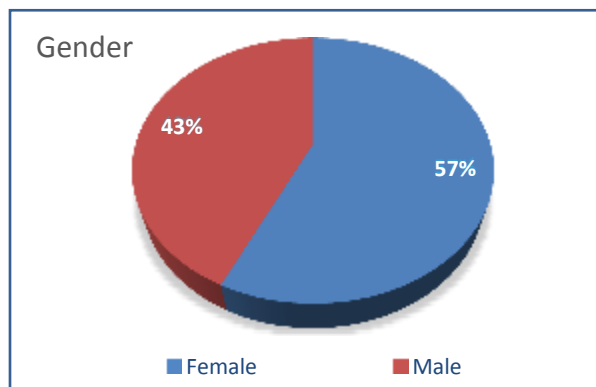


Chart 9. Pie chart of gender of respondents

Chart 9 shows gender mix of respondents. Most frequent gender is female with frequency of 57% and the least frequent gender is male with frequency of 43%.

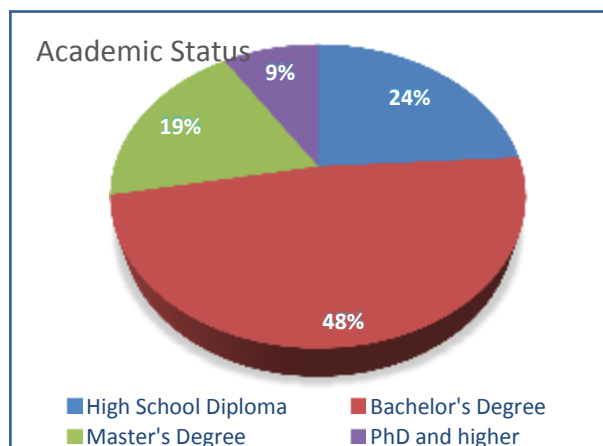


Chart 10. Pie chart of education level of respondents

Chart 10 indicates that the individuals with academic level of bachelor's degree are the most frequent with a population of 170 and the individuals with PhD degree are the least frequent with population of 30. (It should be noted that color no.1 is for holders of high school diploma; color no. 2 is for holders of bachelor's degree; color no. 3 is for holders of master's degree; and color no. 4 is for holders of PhD degree or higher degrees)

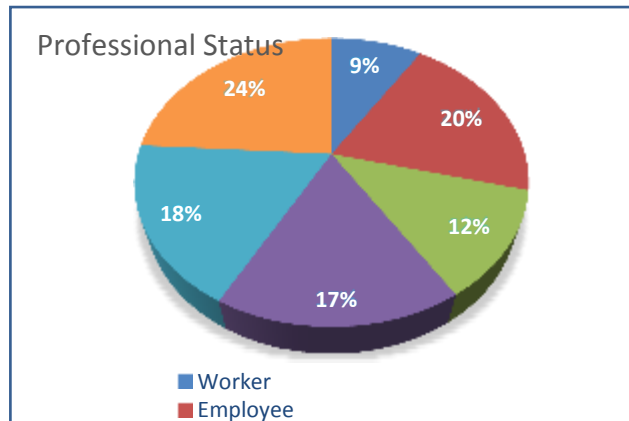


Chart 11. Pie chart of professions of respondents

Chart 11 shows that the people who chose "other" option were the most frequent with frequency of 83 and people working as worker were the least frequent with frequency of 30. (It should be noted that color no. 1 is for workers; color no. 2 is for employees; color no. 3 is for healthcare related employees; color no. 4 is for unemployed people; color no. 6 is for teachers; and color no. 6 is for other professions)

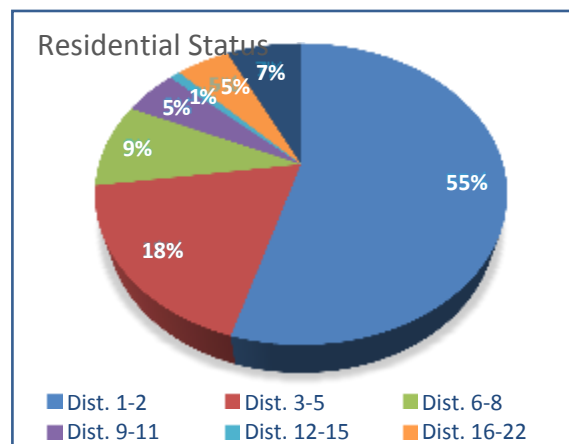


Chart 12. Pie chart of respondents from the 22 municipal districts of Tehran

Pie chart 12 indicates that the highest frequency was taken by residents of districts 3, 4 and 5, and residents of districts 12 to 15 had the lowest frequency. (It should be noted that color no. 1 is for districts 1 and 2; color no. 3 is for districts 3, 4 and 5; color no. 4 is for districts 9, 10 and 11; color no. 5 is for districts 12, 13, 14 and 15; color no. 6 is for districts 16 to 22; and color no. 7 is for outside of Tehran)

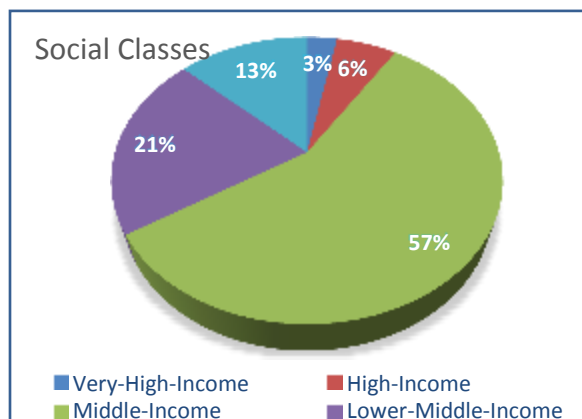


Chart 13. Pie chart of social classes of respondents

Chart 13 indicates that the individuals with average income level were the most frequent respondents and the respondents from very-high-income social class were the least frequent. (The colors used in the chart are: color

no. 1 used for very-high-income class; color no. 2 used for high-income class; color no. 3 used for middle-income class; color no. 4 used for lower-middle-income class; and color no. 5 used for very-low-income class).

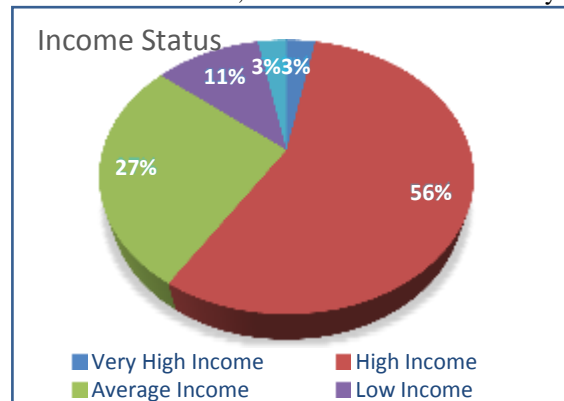


Chart 14. Income status of respondents

Pie chart 14 shows that the people with high income were the most frequent respondent with a frequency of 195 and the people with very high and very low income together were the least frequent with equal frequencies of 10. (It should be noted that color no. 1 is for the individuals earning very high income; color no. 2 is for the individuals earning high income; color no. 3 is for individuals earning average income; color no. 4 is for individuals earning low income; and color no. 5 is for the individuals earning very low income)

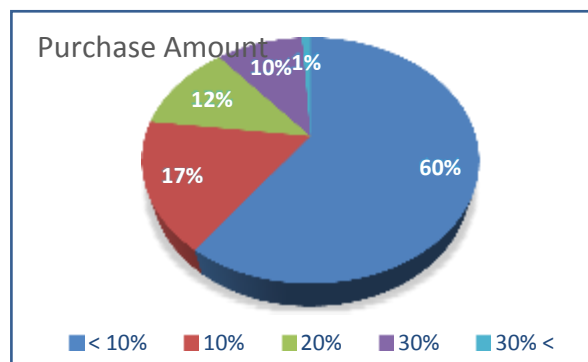


Chart 15. Status of amounts purchased by respondents

Chart 4.15 indicates that the people who purchased less than 0.10 of their incomes were the most frequent and the people who purchased more than 30% of their incomes were the least frequent. (It should be noted that color no. 1 is for purchase less than 10% of income; color no. 2 is for purchase as much as 20% of income; color no. 3 is for purchase as much as 30% of income; and color no. 4 is for purchase more than 30% of income)

Assessment of the second section of the questions

Table 1. Descriptive statistics of the variables

Variables	Location	Offered goods	Cultural-Social	Provided services
Sample	350	350	350	350
Variance	0.35	0.28	0.45	0.32
Standard deviation	0.59	0.53	0.67	0.57
Skewness	0.57	0.51	0.43	0.77
Cortex	0.17	0.11	0.11	0.71

According to the results showed in table 1, the obtained values for skewness and cortex were within the appropriate intervals of (-3, +3) and (-7, +7) respectively. Thus, it can be stated that the data has a normal distribution. Also, the rest of the results are shown in table 4.6.

Table 2. Effective factors in visit of people from shopping centers based on ranking

Variables of the research	Mean	Priority	N	Chi-square	DF	SIG
Cultural-Social	2.46	3	350	55.76	3	0.001
Offered goods	2.82	1				
Location	2.61	2				
Services and facilities	2.12	4				

According to the results showed in table 2, Friedman indicated that the factor of “offered goods” with a weighted mean of 2.82 took the first place and was the most effective factor in purchase from shopping centers from the perspective of citizens. Moreover, the factor of “location” with a weighted mean of 2.61 and the factor of “cultural-social” with a weighted mean of 2.46 took the second and third places respectively. While, the factor of “services and facilities” with a weighted mean of 2.12 was the least important factor from the perspective of citizens.

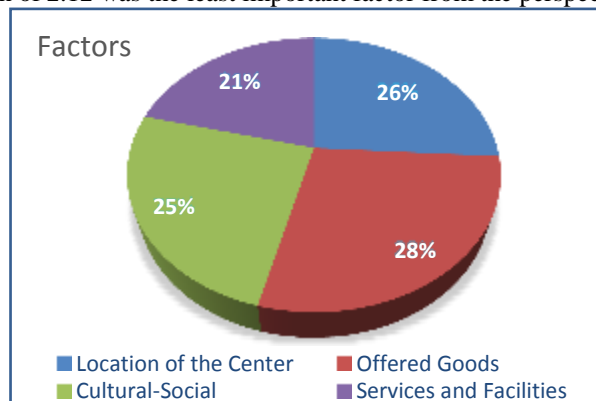


Chart 16. Pie chart of the percentage of respondents to each factor

The results showed in cart 4.16 is indicative of the fact that 28% of citizens believed that the most important factor for visiting a shopping center is “offered goods”, and 26% chose the factor of “location of the shopping center” and 25% chose the factor of “cultural-social”; while, the factor of “provided services and facilities” was the least important factor with 21% of frequency. (It should be noted that the brown color is for offered goods; the blue color is for location of the center; the gray color is for cultural-social factor; and the yellow color is for the factor of services and facilities)

Conclusion. Different opinions so far have been presented on globalization and its different aspects have been introduced by researchers of various fields; some of researchers considered it as a positive phenomenon with regards to existing relationships and interactions in 21st century, and some other deemed this phenomenon negative and studied it with a critical perspective with respect to the dilemmas man faced with in this century. According to political geographers, today cities have aspects far more extensive than the past, and their ranges of influence is beyond boundaries of the city or suburbs, and in some cases, cities are global role-players. Thus, we must look the events took place in cities from a global point of view, so we can identify links of the city with global systems in an accurate manner, then we will be able to attempt planning for cities according to the mentioned new relations. In the present research, we tried to focus on formation of large shopping centers in Tehran with a political geographical approach, and to study the relationship between globalization, capital accumulation, formation of consuming city, and spread of large shopping centers in the city of Tehran, with this approach. In order to obtain answers to this study, we investigated the shopping centers that have been established after 2011 in municipal districts 1 and 2 of Tehran, and are supplying branded goods. Also, we tried to study issues and events happened in the city with critical view of David Harvey. Because Harvey believes that the capitalism has infiltrated all aspects of cities and cities are trying to earn the maximum profit. Accordingly, the two essential question of the research that were formed based on this issue are as follows:

- 1- How much and to which extent large shopping centers of Tehran Metropolis will prepare the ground for formation of globalization of consumption and consuming city?
- 2- What conformity and relationship is between spatial location of new shopping centers and properties of new social classes?

The first question. Field findings and library information as well as analysis results obtained from questionnaires regarding the first question indicated that the experts of the field of globalization, researchers and urban authorities believe that the demand for using of branded goods has been increased over the recent years; and it is indicative of the fact that Tehran has taken steps toward consumerism and formation of a consuming city. Also, it reveals that globalization of consumption has contributed in establishment of large shopping centers in Tehran in recent years (and vice versa, contribution of establishment of shopping centers in globalization of consumption has been insignificant). Meanwhile, policies and facilities of the municipality for investors has played more effective role in formation of a consuming city.

Also, among the answers of variables questioned in this questionnaire, the question: “the demand for using of branded goods has been increased over the recent years” and the question: “large shopping centers are factors of globalization of consumption in Tehran” took the first and the second places respectively.

Therefore, based on the hypothesis considered for this question (i.e. spatial features formed within the framework of large shopping centers in Tehran Metropolis have caused the connections with globalization of consumption and consuming city), it can be stated that the hypothesis has been approved.

The second question. Regarding the second question and in accordance with field findings, library information, observations and questionnaire results, it can be said that majority of visitors to these shopping centers were

residents of municipal districts 1 and 2, and residents of districts 3, 4 and 5 were in the second place. However, it is noteworthy that 57% of the respondents have experienced moving to another place over the few past years, most of which movements were taken place from a lower area to areas upper than the origin; which is indicative of class promotion of the respondents. Monthly expenses of 56% of the respondents was categorized in high expense class and 57% of them acknowledged that they belong to average economic level and they spend 10% of their incomes for purchasing from such shopping centers.

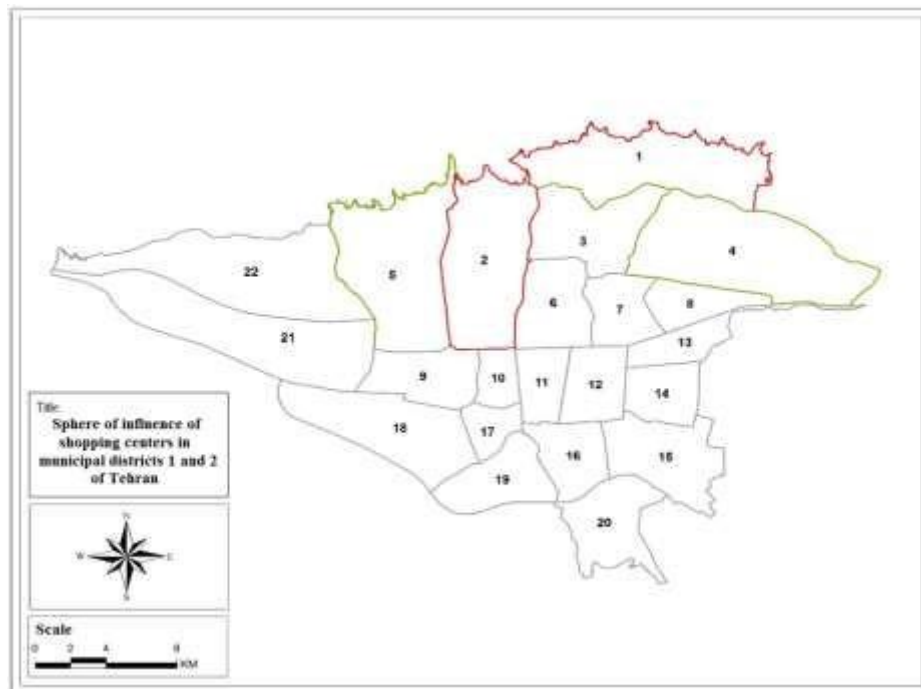
Four variables were questioned from the respondents as the following:

1. Location
2. Offered goods
3. Services
4. Cultural-social factors

Among the questioned factors for people referring to such shopping centers, the factor “offered goods” took the first place that indicates the respondents are consumers.

Thus, according to the main hypothesis in this regard it can be stated that since the majority of consumers of these centers were residents of districts 1 and 2, there is a conformity between spatial location of the centers and their customers and the hypothesis is approved.

Aspects	Consequences	Suggestions
Economic	Entry of contraband (illegal accumulation)	Legal entry, to receive tax, and to raise competitive ability of domestic products
	Destruction of the microeconomics (local)	To support microeconomics
	Elimination of manufacturing workshops	To support domestic production and supply domestic products more
Cultural-social	Aggravation of socioeconomic gaps	To increase the level of community awareness
	Ostentatious consumption	Culture building
Physical	Exacerbation of traffic problems	To have more strict supervision on locating and issuance of construction licenses
	Increasing land prices	To observe the regulations
Environmental	Environmental degradation	To increase community awareness of its environmental consequences
	Increase of production	Punitive policies against environmental degradation



Map 2. Sphere of influence of shopping centers in municipal districts 1 and 2 of Tehran

Suggestions. Based on the findings of this research and the filed observations, the following suggestions are presented to be employed in future researches:

1. Since the phenomenon of globalization is inevitable and the city of Tehran has already been on the path of globalization of consumption and consumerism, willingly or otherwise, it is suggested that stricter surveys should be conducted on location of such centers.
2. According to the information obtained, citizens tend to consume more than their needs, and on the other hand, Tehran has been on the path of formation of consuming city, it is suggested that the government and other authorities should prepare a comprehensive plan with regards to production of consumer goods in Iran.
3. Municipality of Tehran, as custodian of all city affairs, is responsible for establishment of shopping centers in the city and should cope with formation of such centers in accordance with rules and regulations of the detailed plan of the city of Tehran.
4. In order to prevent increase of class differences among citizens of Tehran, the municipality should restrict the licenses for establishment of shopping centers in some certain areas of the city.
5. With respect to the demands of the people for branded goods, it is suggested that such goods should be supplied through legal channels in the form of branches of the mother company, so customers be ensured of genuineness of goods and the legal ground be prepared for importing and supplying the goods with lower prices.
6. In order to ease access of all classes of the community, it is suggested that the new shopping centers should be established in areas with easy access to public transportation means.
7. In order to support domestic production, to avoid withdrawal of currency from the country, and to create job opportunities, it is suggested that domestic products should be supplied in such centers more extensively.
8. Taking into account widths of passageways and the existing traffic volume in districts 1 and 2, it is suggested that such shopping centers should be established outside of the 22 municipal districts of Tehran, so citizens can be protected from the problems caused by such centers within the city and residents of suburbs and other cities have access to them as well.

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