

Original Research Article

A Critical Approach to the Impact of Rentier Capitalism on Urban Spaces* (Case Study: Megamalls of Tehran)

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Abstract

Problem statement: Capitalism, in its modern sense, has been associated with the Industrial Revolution and is a system in which the means of production, distribution, and exchange are at one's disposal. A system that has three basic characteristics; Complete competition includes freedom of choice and consumption. Capital circulation and accumulation of capital are some of the most important and main features of the capitalist system (CS) and capital due to its inherent nature (profitability). These features lead to the production and creation of new spaces in cities and metropolises. What in most developed countries are seen and are becoming apparent in all urban areas, including public spaces (PSS) and megamalls. Similarly, there is a CS in the cities of Iran, and the capital accumulation flow has failed to create a productive infrastructure in the cities, and capitalism, trade, monopoly, and rent have been formed. Controls and packages are created. Therefore, in Iran, as in developing countries, a CS has become common, but with different nature, in which many factors play a role in shaping this system and have produced spaces.

Research objective: The purpose of this study is to investigate the effect of the rentier capitalist system (RCS) on the urban spaces of Tehran in the form of megamalls.

Research method: This research is by objectively basic-applied type, and the documentary-library method was used to collect theoretical sources and logical analysis.

Conclusion: The results indicate that in recent decades, the spaces of Tehran in the form of megamalls have replaced the uses of public spaces such as parks and public spaces (PSS) and since the 1980s, these spaces have been monitored and controlled. Urban spaces (USS) have become a rent-seeking, competitive, consumer, and unproductive space that has driven the majority of urban dwellers to the outskirts of cities, making them a merely accessible place for the affluent and the capitalist class to make more profit.

Keywords: *Urban space, Capitalism system, Rented capitalism, Megamall, Tehran.*

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Introduction

Today, cities are considered as one of the greatest achievements of culture and civilization and one of the most pervasive social phenomena of the present era. The city is the arena of human endeavors in the fabric of various contexts, including commercial and economic, and man today is in the position of a sensitive actor who can create meaningful scenes in space at any moment; A space that is fully equipped due to the high density and institutions and tight competition in its use (Yousefian Ahari & Jalali, 2016, 2).

In the economic world what is striking, that capitalism is not fully established in its entirety around the world, and the process of capital accumulation and cycles in developed countries (DCS) is different from other countries because of the approaches and conditions in each society. The CS is an economic system in which private actors control their property and assets to achieve their interests; they determine supply and demand in the market and operate freely in pricing; they serve the interests of the top groups in society. This system includes elements such as; The freedom of individuals to have tangible and intangible assets, the protection of the interests of individuals and profiteering, the free competition of corporations, the decentralized and interactive pricing of buyers and sellers, the freedom to choose, government downsizing (Jahan & Mahmud, 2015, 44). Wolfgang and Crystal acknowledged that the government has two roles in the CS; One is that the government deals with political issues and relations independently of the economic process and the process of production; It is possible through the laws of production and surplus-value. They also believe that in addition to protecting capital, the government should encourage the working class to produce goods (Jessop, 1982, 90-99). A CS works well in real life, but many societies have a non-capitalist function. In such systems, there are serious reactions against the market. In these societies, governments are less supportive of free capitalism, and because there is an unequal distribution of income, governments

are more electorally right-wing. Industrial and commercial property is mostly state-owned. Legal spaces in these societies are less desirable for establishing the CS; In other words, numerous and very complex regulations have led to difficulties in business entrepreneurship in such countries (Di Tella & MacCulloch, 2007). Financial liberalization has created crises in DCS, including; Continuation of credit market deficit with lack of access to long-term credit, higher levels of uncertainty, and key fluctuations of macro and micro levels (lack of access to credit, increased competition, rent, etc.); These crises have led to the formation of a new type of investment in these countries called rental investment (Demir, 2007). In the metropolises of Iran, including Tehran, USS with various plans and inharmonious functions in different urban elements, industrial, commercial spaces, etc., are produced and reproduced with a non-capitalist nature, in other words, urban spaces are sold and traded as a commodity. Failure to pay attention to this issue may have adverse economic, social, and cultural consequences for the city in the medium and long term. Therefore, this research intends to study this system and examine its impact on urban spaces to measure its effects on public spaces in Tehran and find a suitable answer to the following question:

- How does rentier capitalism (RC) expose the spaces of Tehran to change?

This study also follows this hypothesis that Urbanization of rent (ROU), a phenomenon derived from RC has led to megaliths and the commercialization of urban spaces in Tehran.

Research background

Urban space (US) will inject civic life into the body of the city by facilitating the flow of citizenship through the sense of human belonging to the environment (space made physically) and to the community (by facilitating human interactions with each other) (Rahnamaei & Ashraf, 2007, 26). From this perspective, the US cannot be understood as separate from society and social relations. In this

research, many sources were used in the field of the impact of the CS on USS, some of which are mentioned below.

Harvey (2013) describes the process of Urbanization of capital (UOF) and believes: UOF is the objectification of the intersection of the productive force of capital and social relations necessary for the reproduction of capitalism, which becomes increasingly urban; otherwise, a phenomenon called ROU occurs; Capital does not have a strong productive infrastructure and rents out urban space. Yousefi, Arghan and Kamyabi (2015) investigated real estate capitalism and space developments in the suburbs of Shahed Shahr. In this type of capitalism, they identified five factors: rentier government, the profitability of real capitalism, the weakness of laws and civil society, the weakness of productive activities and productive capitalism, the role of migration, and the high demand for land and housing; capital has deviated from its productive path and has created natural, economic and social turmoil in space and tilted the path of life in a non-progressive direction of development and progress. Using an explanatory and normative approach and documentary method, Ali Akbari (2015) in a study entitled “contemporary city of Iran: the structural foundations of the rent model of the Iranian city” showed that the rent-seeking within the rotational economy, its distribution, and allocation among social groups formed service urbanization. The social, economic nature and the evolutionary structure of contemporary Iranian cities were transformed by extensive urban bureaucracy (bureaucratic cycle). This cycle played an effective role in the effective distribution of rent, production of extroverted and commercial spaces, and creation of a structural society in the model of rent city. According to Shalchi and Jong (2016), in an article entitled “reproduction of social inequality in Tehran through the interaction of capital and space”, rent was found to cause the country’s capital to enter the housing sector, especially in Tehran, and to result in unequal urban spaces due to unequal rotation of

national production in the housing sector along with economic inequalities in Tehran. Governance and urban power were reported to play an important role in creating inequalities in urban space. Rahmani (2015) in his dissertation has studied these factors in the organization of space in Tehran. In her opinion, urban governance in Iran is also centralized, state-centered, and has not provided the possibility for the division, restriction, and accountability of power. Under these circumstances, it is natural that due to the exceptional concentration of resources and facilities, the interests and resources of Tehran become more competitive and commercial than other cities in the country. This has become a functional-geographical arena to enjoy its benefits; an area where the right of occupation (ROO) and participation of urban residents is ignored. Taghvaei, Azizi and Yazdani (2016) in the article “Study the right of the city (ROTC) theory in the production and reproduction of US”, acknowledged that the CS in the process of accumulation for the re-accumulation of capital always goes in the direction of assimilation of bodies, individuals, cultures and mass production of spaces and their reproduction and the result of this accumulation for cities will be the violation of the rights of urban residents and the need to create an appropriate framework for the establishment of good urban governance.

Research method

The research method is basic – applied in terms of purpose and analyzes the role of RU and its impact on PSS in Tehran descriptively and analytically. In this research, the library and documentary methods were used to identify concepts and topics related to the discussion, including; urban space from the perspective of Marxist theorists, capitalism and its characteristics, its function on US, RCS, and its components (monopoly, profitability, and exchange), etc. Then, these principles are analyzed in describing the production and reproduction of space in Tehran and the current situation, and finally, a suitable model is created.

Theoretical foundation

• The concept of US

Various perspectives have examined space, but what is examined in this paper is the view that Marxists and neo-Marxists have about urban and geographical space. In what follows, some of the views of Marxist theorists have been presented. By identifying the space of the streams, Castells considered the US as a form of spatial form that is not accidentally organized and has a structure. From his point of view, space is not a reflection of society, but society itself, and if we consider it as independent, it is as if we have separated nature from its body and ignored the main principle of social sciences (Sattarzadeh, Naghizadeh & Habib, 2011, 179). Space is a fundamental dimension that expresses urban society and develops personal, family, and individual identities (Castells, 1978). Lefebvre believes that space is involved in allocating more or less occupied places to the social relations of reproduction, i.e. physiological relations between sexes, ages, family organization, and also to relations of production, i.e. division of labor and its organization (Turkmeh, 2016, 32). All social experiences are formed through space and in space, and the experience of people's daily lives emerges when they are placed in the space (Sharipour, 2015, 52). During the production of space (POS), Lefebvre paid attention to the role and importance of citizens' participation and their conscious action and avoidance from the usual formalities for obtaining urban spaces and pointed out that the ROTC is located in the process of space production and reproduction (Taghvaei, Azizi & Yazdani, 2016, 95). Thus, the space has become an arena for political and economic actors, urban experts, and intellectuals and the context of their involvement (Brenner, Marcuse & Meyer, 2017, 92-91). Suja discusses space using Lefebvre's but different theories. He believes that instead of being a real force in the formation of society, and theory, space has become a reflected mirror of the modernization of society. Therefore, there are several ways to modernize and reproduce society. As people get older, they become more resilient to change, which in turn leads to an impact on the third space (Jagannath, 2018).

Harvey sees space as social and economic development and describes the concepts of the CS in the formation and change of spaces. Due to its nature (making more profit), the mechanisms of the CS leads to the creation and change of the role of spaces, and make people be an alien factor based on class struggles and economic competition in their environment (Rohit, 2015). The function of capitalism is to form the spaces under its domination through the dominant form of space, the centers of wealth and power. (Lefebvre, 2014, 361 & 363).

• POS from the perspective of capitalism

The POS in capitalism involves the disintegration and homogenization of spaces. That is, like other goods, it is constantly reproduced and constantly repeated. Therefore, it is not uncommon for suburban areas to look similar (Lefebvre & Nicholson-Smith, 1991). Lefebvre refers to space and the POS (land and its advanced capitalist relations of production) as the second cycle of accumulation and considers it the main mechanism for the survival of the CS. In his view, any change in the city is a change of space, and this space can be defined as the mode of production. Lefebvre deals with the US in the manner of historical materialism and dialectical actions that the city encounters in each historical period. Cities in their historical period have created new spaces that result from the material relations that govern the city in the reproduction of the US. The space is completely social and develops from the heart of the city and is called the Triad City (Fani & Mahmoudi, 2018). In other words, the flow of money for residential construction, space development, credit, and land speculation is driven by secondary means of gaining wealth and is somewhat independent of the first cycle or the industrial accumulation of capital. The progress of industrialization in capitalism imposes an abstract space, or quantitative space, on everything and everywhere. Capitalism also transforms the circulation of goods for individuals into the circulation of individuals in commodified places. Capitalist industrialization destroys US and nature and replaces secondary space with it, and space becomes the crystallization of organized society and material relations (Turkmeh, 2016, 24-22).

• RCS

The RCS is found in societies and countries with oil-dependent rental economic, because these societies have a centralized political system and inefficient bureaucracy, and follow political-administrative and economic concentration in one or more cities (Afrakhteh & Hajipour, 2016). Their social structure has been changed by colonialism, exploitation, trade, financial capital, etc., but equally, it has been affected by the developments of class struggle, accumulation in social structures, and the integration of pre-capitalist elements (Frank, 2004) and are known as dependent communities; communities that have little control over their production and accumulation processes. This control is sometimes exercised by external agents and sometimes by internal owners and lenders, and the government has a little controlled role. In these societies, in most cases, the surplus created by investors is transferred abroad or eliminated by unequal international exchange (Castells, 1978). This type of capitalism in developing societies and communities relies on oil revenues (ORS) under different names, including disturbing capitalism (Khan, 2000), RC (Demir, 2007), unpleasant capitalism or system in which

financial services are unevenly distributed, its system is often seen in government, and political elites dominate important distribution centers (Hutton & Lee, 2012, 325), state capitalism, which includes concepts such as private equity monopoly capitalism, managerial society, administrative and bureaucratic capitalism, totalitarian state economics, legal capitalism, neo-mercantilism, the economy of force and government, property, etc. (Pollock, 1941, 72). The commercialization of capitalism (Huyssen, 2007), etc. has been introduced. Figure 1 illustrates both mentioned systems.

• Production and reproduction of space from the perspective of RC

USS in the RC contains both the characteristics of capitalism such as accumulation and profit and the characteristics of the system arising from monopoly, rent, and profit-making. Although the first cycle of capitalism, or productive investment, is done incompletely, the manifestation of capital in the form of rent is seen in the artificial environment, and cities have become a place for exchange and profit, or in other words, towards Parasitism (Merrifield, 2017). In these societies, the issue of profit and speculation is very significant (Kheyroddin,

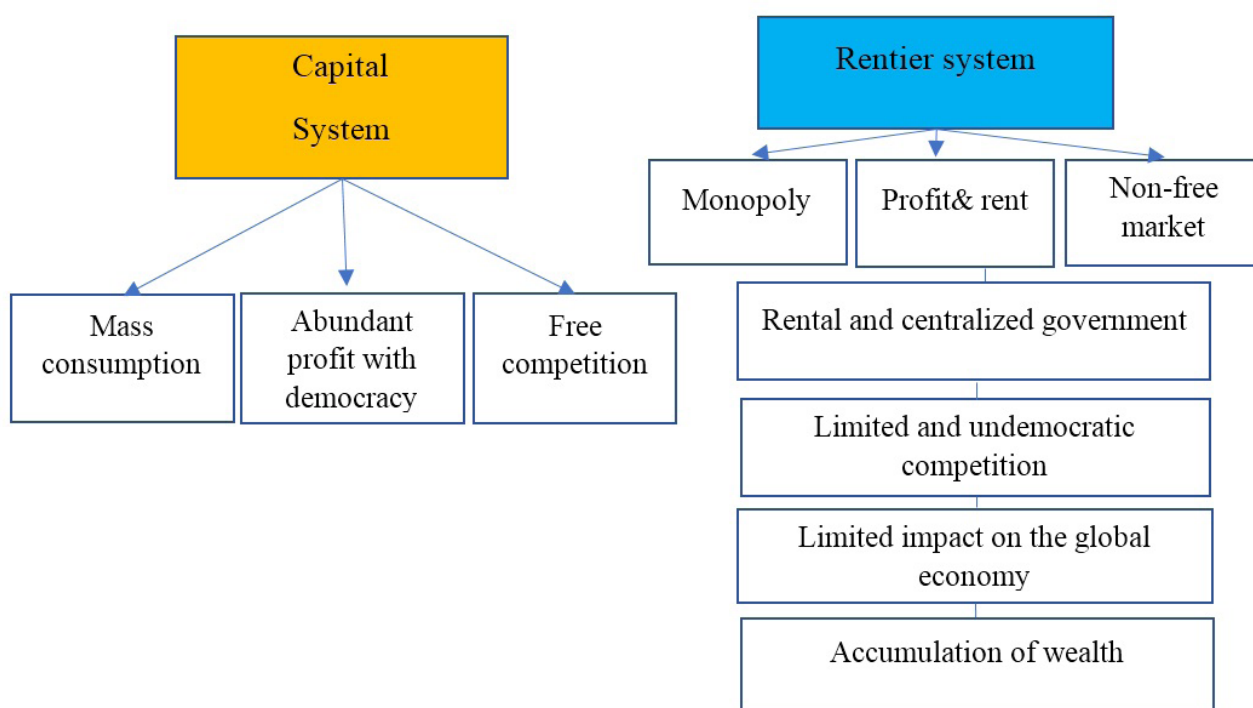


Fig. 1. Characteristics of the RCS in comparison with the CS .Source: Authors.

Taghvaei & Imani Shamloo, 2014) and as a result, infrastructure, a construction boom, and the formation of codified laws, these cities have entered a new phase. The two drivers of reliance on ORS and the neoliberal approach (NA) to economies and countries have accelerated this change (Wiedmann, Salama & Thierstein, 2012). On the one hand, the incompatibility of the CS-based on NA has created creative destruction¹ in the US (Borhani, Rafiyan & Meshkini, 2017). On the other hand, speculation puts cities under siege. In other words, whatever, ORS is more concerned in the field of urbanism and urban investment, the speculation resulting from government policies and ORS has more occurred in the economies of countries (Shakoei, 2019). Thus, governments have played an important role in shaping the rent-seeking space. Grindel believes that government policies in these societies have been influenced by the relationship between individual rent-seeking bureaucracies and citizen-seeking rent-seeking citizens. Meyer also acknowledges that the government of these societies operates economically autonomously; a government that pursues its goals and interests and acts less passively and in concert

with other sectors (Demirbas & Demirbas, 2011). Also, the government is not coordinated with the private sector in any way, and this has led to the formation of mistrust in the private sector. At the first, the government determines manner the terms of cooperation with the private sector in centralized and top-down in the field of production and reproduction of the rent space² (Gunning, 2014, Reieess Dana, 2016), then it imposes unilateral and unfair contracts on the private sector, which is not the result of corruption in the government and its impact on the body of cities (Goodarzi et al., 2017). Excessive government domination of the economy [especially in countries dependent on OR] has led to a decline in investment growth so that this rate has been negative in Iran since 2011 and has created monopolies, non-competitive spaces with low productivity (Khansari, 2019, 132). Figure 2 shows the role of the state in the two capitalist systems of non-rent and rent, which shows the difference between their roles. Due to the rent-seeking of the government resulting from incomplete neoliberal policies in developing countries, and the private sector took ownership of spaces such as shopping malls and streets due

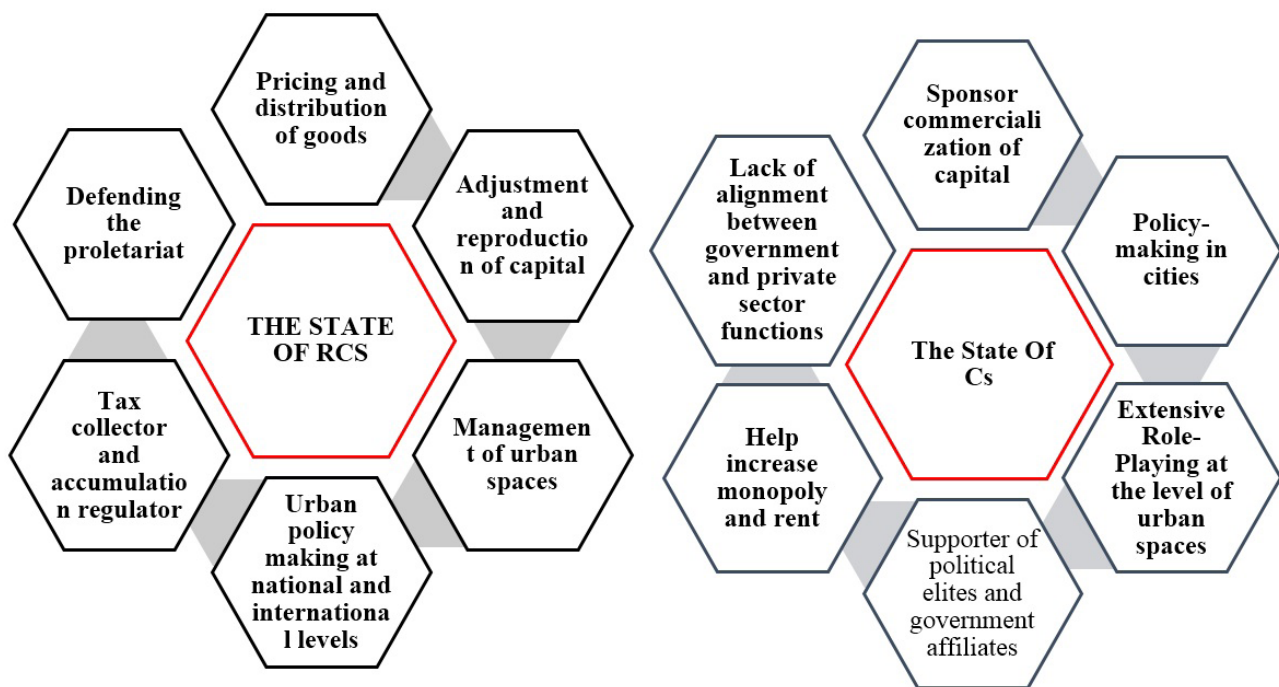


Fig. 2. The state in CS & RCS. Source: Authors.

to the accumulation of money from the sale and investment of urban land. The commodification of public spaces happened in these cities, which includes consequences such as the elimination of social groups and spatial injustice (Sharipour, 2015); Spaces where civil society will not be able to grow and develop (Mitchell, 2003). At the same time, urban development is attracting extra capital like a sponge, and the main victims are labor and the environment; those who contributed to the construction and sustainability of the city are marginalized and excluded, and the city is made available to those who have money and power (Kalantari & Sedighi Kasmaee, 2017, 62). Therefore, the benefits of urbanization in favor of capital [Public or private] are confiscated (Yaghfoori & Kashfi Doost, 2019, 58).

Research Findings

The USS of our country, following the ruling system which is not capitalist, has been influenced by the three concepts of monopoly, commercialization, and profitability of trade to increase the wealth and power of the city. The big cities of the country, including Tehran, have undergone changes and transformations since modernism (Pahlavi era) and have been exposed to boundless growth in the physical field following the extreme monopoly of USS; Many factors have played a role in the formation of this monopoly, such as the government monopoly of trade and urban development (UD), after the law of independence, and financial self-sufficiency in 1983, municipalities seek to increase their revenues through the sale of urban density. In addition to the role of government and municipalities, other factors influenced the formation of monopolies, including changing city uses, selling spaces, increasing the role of profiteers, stockbrokers, and urban developers in the physical development and production of USS. This process exposes Tehran to countless and often unresolved challenges such as population displacement, increased infrastructure, service concentration, the

establishment and aggregation of large and luxury stores, financial and commercial institutions, cultural and recreational centers, countless construction sites, land grabbing, stock and rent, the elimination of PSS and the commercialization of such spaces, and the neglect of social spaces and changes in the socio-economic and physical structure of the city. The municipality as a local government that should play a strong role as a supportive, executive-development, and supervisory tool in the process of expansion, creation, and control of spaces, due to lack of stable income (about 95% of the revenue of Tehran Municipality was provided from the payment of building taxes in 2017), became the main player in the commercialization and rental of spaces. USS of Tehran became monopolistic, profitable, and rent-seeking and the phenomenon of rent-seeking urbanization (RSU) has taken shape instead of UOC. According to Harvey, RSU is the relationship between a societies with space and presents its interaction of production and reproduction. Accumulation of rent, unlike AOC, which leads to its production, accumulation, and recycling in the artificial environment and information technology (IT), leads to the subsidence of capital, looting rents, and devaluation. It has also taken the space from the inhabitants of the city and created a new reproduction that we are witnessing the acquisition of PSS in our true sense day by day. Spaces that underwent a metamorphosis and became close and controlled spaces. Urban public spaces have been commercialized because of controlling people's behavioral relationships such as Ab-o-Atash Park, and unwritten urban policies have created a form of spatial development that requires a particular behavior.

On the other hand, Tehran is facing a phenomenon called the expansion of multi-role (megamall) commercial complexes that play both the role of shopping and trade and have a cultural, recreational, and controlled role of alternative green and PSS. As a twentieth- and twenty-first-century phenomenon, RC has enabled shops, small retail spaces, and

even grocery stores that were once economically and socially active units (including trust, family identification, and neighborhood engagement) have marginalized in favor of giant spaces, unfamiliar with the images of Western societies, with a leisurely identity, consumption, especially luxury, and unnecessary goods, with a high power of attraction of people and in a sense, the concept of the square into the spaces of megamalls (Fig. 3).

Table 1 and Fig. 4 show the share of Tehran's four axes of shopping malls, malls, and megamalls, and urban parks. The highest frequency of commercial centers in the northwest (including Iran Mall) indicates an increase in class distinctions between the north and south of the city and the production of commercial consumer branding space. USS in the south of Tehran, regardless of the needs of residents and their cultural and economic conditions, are increasingly subject to the construction of megamalls that show the profitability, monopoly, and support of the RG (including the Multifunctional complex Pardis Kian

Abdolabad); regions that are associated with severe effects on the production and reproduction of spaces in deprived areas of the city and create socio-cultural problems, including; they have promoted a culture of consumerism and branding, individual and social isolation, and the destruction of the concept of the right to the city. However, these regions have faced a lack of central social spaces such as parks and green spaces, and spatial inequality is seen in the northern and southern regions.

The unprecedented growth of this phenomenon (construction of shopping mall) taken from the RCS in the '80s (during the tenure of the municipality by Mohammad Qalibaf) later led to the role of these commercial complexes in the field of recreation as an alternative to PSS such as parks and open spaces. A review of studies conducted in this field, 57% of Tehran citizens stated that they visited multifunction complexes (megamalls) and looked at them as meeting places and 12% came just for fun rather than shopping. This means that shopping malls are



Fig. 3. An example of megamalls in Tehran, Iran Mall. Source: Google earth, 2021.

Table 1. Distribution of shopping centers and megamalls in Tehran-2020. Source: Authors.

Name of urban axes/region	Shopping centers	Passage	Mall/megamalls	Under construction
North of the city region1-8	61	81	61	32
Center of the city region 9-14	15	26	2	2
South of the city-region15-20	9	7	6	3
New region-21-22	3	1	6	8
Area(hectare)		900		-
Area of parks(hectare)		1897/6		-

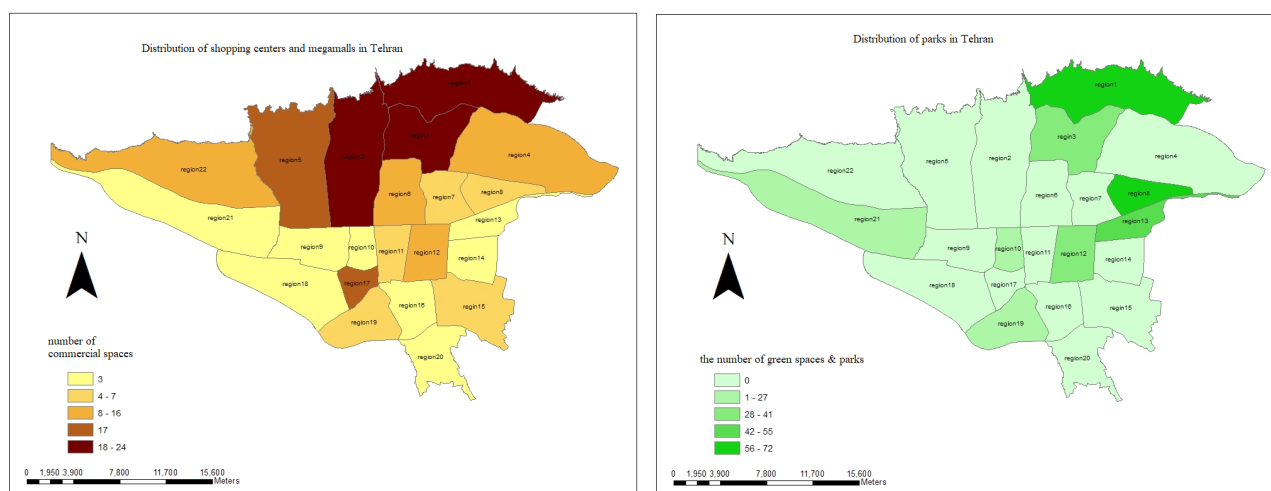


Fig. 4. Distribution of commercial centers and neighborhood-regional parks in Tehran. Source: Authors.

becoming a model of UPSS and we are inadvertently taking citizens to privately owned public enclosures to make more profit for the business and monopolistic class. Instead of encouraging their presence in the open space and using the exchange and interaction between people to improve the performance of the city and USS. The existence of commercial complexes, as opposed to PSS (parks, squares, retail stores), has made it impossible for citizens to interact with each other and the wider community than the family. They have turned the PSS of the city into monopolies, rent, consumption, supervision, and control. This daily consumption trend has become a new identity factor that plays an important role for young people. For example, Iran Mall has been created in the style of Iranian and Islamic architecture and combined with modern architecture to tour luxury spaces for young people (Table 2).

However, the creation of such spaces as PSS has positive points, including creating safe spaces and

increasing security among the users of these spaces (especially women) compared to spaces such as parks, reducing intra-city trips from the south to north of the city and the extent and dispersion of such spaces in commercial, office and emphasizing entertainment role in the four axes of the city, and increasing the number of cafes and cinema complexes. So far, But in the stages of construction, design, and planning of these spaces, no attention has been paid to the physical and social dimensions. For example, unfortunately, most malls in Tehran are built near the highway and the main routes of the city and this causes heavy traffic up to several hundred meters around them during peak hours (Cyrus Mall, Palladium), or in the design and construction of these spaces, proper parking signs have not been installed and alleys adjacent to the property are used to park cars. Excessive numbers of cars have threatened the mental and physical health of the residents of these areas. Therefore, the majority of malls in Tehran have been built

Table 2. Characteristics of Megamall shopping of Iran Mall, 2021. Source: Authors.

Characteristics of Megamall shopping of Iran Mall	
Project area	Area of Iran Mall complex: 1700000 (square meters) The commercial complex area of this shopping center: 500,000(square meters) Unveiled area of the first phase: 1400000 square meters Book garden area: 3300 square meters with 70 thousand book titles Share of the total commercial area of the city: 19%
Number of restaurants	200 units
Parking	Possibility to park 20 thousand cars
Business unit	700
Cinema unit	40 cinemas with 6000 seats
Road health	2500 meters

and operated without expert studies in the fields of proper location and travel production. It seems that in the expansion of such spaces, the social needs of the people are less considered. Spaces are formed more for capitalism and profit, without regard to citizenship rights and democracy, and will result in nothing but a waste of physical, financial, and human resources. Spaces that the government also plays an important role in shaping. Therefore, the expansion and production of such spaces become transient spaces with variable attractiveness. Every day, we see an intense competition of multi-function complexes without a plan and supervision in achieving Us and more profit and eliminating competing spaces such as shops, grocery stores, etc. Also, due to improper location, these spaces are economically stagnant, unsafe in terms of traffic and the presence of strangers, and socially isolated, controlled with minimal participation, realizes the city with destructive consequences in terms of psycho-socio-economic- Physical-ecologica.

Figure 5 compares the city and urban space in the CS (their true nature) and RC and it shows that the output of both systems is similar; the US in the second cycle of capital accumulation (investment in the urban artificial environment), becomes a production and consumption environment that meets the needs of the people, but not necessarily the basic needs but the false and formal needs and, as Harvey acknowledges, this cycle has shaped

physical-residential separations, rent-seeking, the tendency for capitalist structures to survive, the privatization, theatricality, and consumption of spaces, and the privatized public spaces (PPSS)³, and the urban space is constantly producing and reproducing itself. The flow of capital accumulation is palpable. Also, in the RCS, changing the role of PSS in the form of megamalls leads to the separation of social and economic classes, inequality and imbalance in all indicators of urban welfare, and the production and reproduction of USS and the accumulation of rents and not capital is done for the benefit of the government and the political and economic elites of the cities and to the detriment of the social interests of the residents (right of possession, right of participation, etc.).

Conclusion

Today, cities are considered as one of the greatest achievements of culture and civilization and one of the most pervasive social phenomena of the present era. Cities are a suitable spatial platform for showing the effects of different economic, political, social, and cultural systems that continuously produce and reproduce space. As mentioned, urban and spatial development in cities with a genuine and non-rental capitalist system and RC have shown differences in nature. Urban space in the CS arises from the surplus and the accumulation of capital, a surplus that results

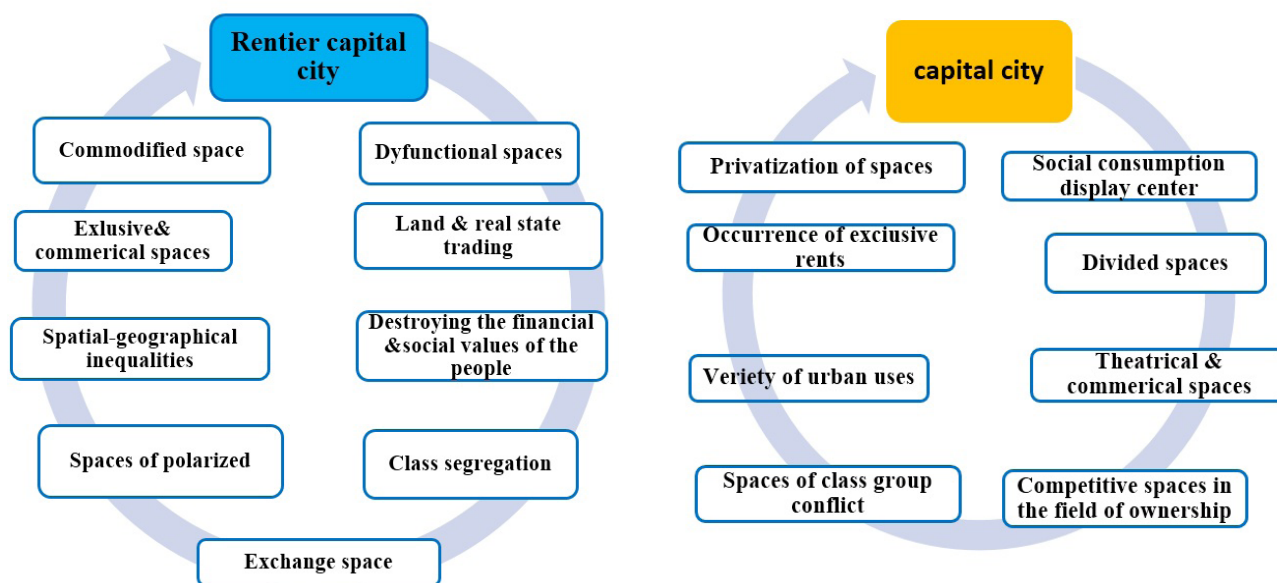


Fig. 5. The effect of rent urbanization on the city of Tehran. Source: Authors.

from increased production, domestic and foreign investment, and increased exports by the private sector. In other words, the transfer of capital from the industrial sector to the artificial environment is a completely natural and vital process of this system and its spatial manifestation can be seen in countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom in the form of PPSS. For the city of Tehran as an example of a space affected by RC, it must be acknowledged that a different nature has exposed USS to profitable and competitive constructions such as megamalls. In this system, according to Harvey, capital cannot provide the necessary infrastructure to create production. Thus, capital has invaded space. In this environment, free competition is not combined with democracy and is at the disposal of economic elites who are only seeking their benefit without any regard for the protection of civil rights. Monopoly in Tehran has led to drastic, uncoordinated, and inconsistent changes in USS. Many factors contribute to the formation of this monopoly, for example, the lack of dependence of the government on city taxes and its reliance on the sale of OR and natural resources, lack of attention of the government and city managers to maintaining, supervising USS,

and securing the right to the city of residents, the municipality's efforts to secure its revenue from construction, tolls, changing city uses and selling and exchanging spaces after the law on the self-sufficiency of municipal financial revenues in 1983 and increasing the role profiteers, stockbrokers and civil engineers in the production, reproduction of space and accumulation of rents.

The above-mentioned factors have transformed the USS of Tehran into rented, polarized, commodified, monopolistic, and commercial spaces (CSS), by destroying the cultural and social values of the people, dysfunctional, exchange spaces. Spaces that, on the one hand, have followed reduced the competitiveness of retail and traditional shops and markets, and on the other hand, have replaced PSS such as parks and green spaces (GSS) as leisure and recreational spaces.

The results show that in this city, due to the prevailing structure of the RC and polarized social spaces to the north and south, there is no balance and equality in the establishment of CSS, megamalls, and green spaces, and the northern regions have the highest density and then northwest is next in line for shopping malls. In addition, the map of the GSS and parks shows that in the northwest of Tehran,

GSS and parks are small and limited in number and distribution, and instead, was unveiled and engaged actively a large project with a large area called “Iranmal” was unveiled and engaged. “Iranmal” as an example studied in this research, has an area of about one million and seven hundred thousand square meters and 20% of the total commercial space of Tehran. In terms of diversity of uses (hypermarket, restaurant, library, café garden, hotel, etc.) has been able to replace the spaces that throughout history have played an active economic and social role in fields such as; vitality in cities, social supervision, and neighborhood security. This space has become a place for rich people to show off their luxury lifestyle, spend free time, and, and a PPSS in which disadvantaged social classes have less power to take advantage of this space. With the spread of such megamalls in Tehran, the deprived classes are increasingly marginalized, the diverse needs of residents are increasingly ignored, and urban spaces become more commercial. Addressing this problem requires a fundamental revision in the social-economical-political, physical, right to city policies, and maintaining urban spaces by city authorities.

Endnotes

1. Creative destruction means that the urban space of the past is destroyed and becomes a new use; In other words, neo-liberalization in all its dimensions leads to the urbanization of capital and then the transformation of space as an effective commodity in the process of accumulation and the transformation of public spaces into private spaces (commercial spaces and malls).
2. Rent space production (rent space production) is the objectification of the intersection of unproductive forces and economic and social relations necessary to reproduce rent in the city as an artificial environment or organize the artificial environment of the city to produce and realize rent (Tavassolian, Rostaei, heydari Chiyaneh & Asgari Zamani, 2019, 80)
3. Examples of urban spaces affected by this system include the areas around the Olympic Stadium, up to King's Cross and Nine Elms and Paternoster Square in London, Nick Town Boston Street, and parts of Brooklyn Street in the United States. These spaces have been turned into privatized public places that can be used by the public following some of the laws created by private and capitalist institutions.

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