

Explanation of “Urban Power” and Its Effects on the Development Process of Tehran City

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ABSTRACT

Urban power refers to a set of governing rules in various physical, sociocultural, economic, and political dimensions. It is a science formed during a historical process by the relations between the various levels of power in a city. The current study aims to explore the "urban power" concept among other relevant concepts and distinguish it from similar concepts. Therefore, it is required to recognize the "urban power" concept as a new and influential component in the process of policymaking, planning, and implementing urban development plans, and to understand the effects of its support or resistance in the urban development process. The main problem discussed in this study is the imperfect understanding of city as a powerful and influential entity in urban development processes. To address this problem, the theoretical discussions are reviewed using qualitative methods of documentary research, and library research. Next, the objective examples of urban power in Tehran city are investigated. The research findings indicated that it is required urban development authorities recognize the urban power as a set of governing rules in physical, behavioral, managerial, structural, and institutional dimensions and as the urban knowledge governing their activities. They also need to consider it a new component in policymaking, planning, and implementing urban development plans. Understanding the effects of urban power on the urban development processes provides urban managers and administrators with a new perspective to the issues relevant to their tasks and authorities to differently analyze the data and results.

Keywords: Urban Power, Governing Rules, City Knowledge, Urban Development Process, Tehran.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The recent urban theorists such as Forester (1989, 1999), Healy (1992a, 1992b, 1997), Innes (1995, 1996, 1998, 2000), and Sandercock (1998) have focused on collaborative, community-based, communicative, and political urban planning (Hillier, 2003). Accordingly, urban actors and activists gather around a table and affect the decisions and urban development plans. In a conceptual process, the research question is whether a city cannot have an autonomous yet independent identity of urban activities and actors. Nowadays, both in common and the specialized community, many of the sentences referring to the city such as "The city is moving towards prosperity", "The city is going bankrupt", "This city is a thousand years old", "The city is polluted", "The city is no longer a place to live" do not refer to the specific territory of the city or its actors, and they point out a totality formed in the citizens' minds. In this regard, is it possible to conceptualize this totality by case study and consider it powerful? The city, as a powerful whole, seems to have its particular dialogic language, and sometimes the language can be its resistance against the urban management plans and decisions. Besides the urban dialogues, the urban power creates discipline and directs urban actors' actions and behaviors, as well as the physical organization of the city by a set of rules and knowledge defined within it and obligates them to its rules and knowledge. The current research begins with the problem statement. Then, the research literature is reviewed and its physical-spatial context is described to present the examples of urban power manifestation. In the current paper, the literature is reviewed using a qualitative method to answer the research questions. The research method is qualitative as it does not directly refer to the specific values either in the problem statement or in the description of the conditions but the textual and documentary data were collected using descriptive-analytical methods. The data and information are collected using library and documentary research, and Tehran is investigated as a case study. Moreover, this study is applied research, and its findings can be utilized in the policymaking process of Tehran city.

2. PROBLEM STATEMENT

By reviewing the theoretical literature on the relevant concepts of power, urban power, and urban stakeholders' power, the deficiency in the conceptualization of "urban power" can be realized. Despite many pragmatic experts' emphases, urban power, as an entity with an organized and dialogic identity, has been not given considerable significance. The theoretical literature of the current topic points out the relationship between power, the "power in the city" concept, and the powerful elements while it can provide a ground to explain the "urban power". The majority of

the relevant studies in this regard have addressed the relations between the various levels of power within a city while the "urban power" concept is beyond the concept of the relations between stakeholders in the power area. It seems that the "urban power" concept and its distinguished identity with its particular unique effects and consequences, have not been explained well and rigorously. Therefore, after reviewing the existing theoretical literature, it is required to explain the "urban power" and its effects on the policymaking, planning, and implementing urban development plans, while separating the concepts of "urban power of a city", "power in the city" and "urban stakeholders' power or the users of urban power". Another issue is policymakers, urban planners, and administrators' imperfect understanding of the city as a powerful and influential entity in urban development processes. Such an understanding leads to, for instance, their decisions being implemented imperfectly for years and their plans not being progressed and realized.

3. RESEARCH CONCEPTS

In this section, first, the concepts relevant to power are presented in the theoretical literature of urban power. Then, the specialized theories of the urban power studies are explained in summary. In the following, it was also attempted to explain the concept of urban power.

3.1. Concept of Power

Power has an affinity with domination, which implies a kind of sovereignty and control. Power also has semantic affinity with authority. However, authority refers to the normative area. It implies a kind of consent and authority, while power uses ambiguity (Haghighat, 2002, p. 18). The definition of politics can be used to study power. According to Lasswell, politics is defined as "who gets what, when, how." What individuals and groups achieve is the result of their actions and those of others, resulting from the way society is organized and the accepted laws and regulations governing the conduct of affairs. Indeed, to explain how one gets something, the causes and consequences of social activity can be examined. It is necessary to consider the followings to express this causal interpretation of how a particular individual, group, or movement gets the desired result: the nature and formation of the laws and rules according to which people behave; Focus on institutions; How community structures are formed; and a detailed description of the behavior of stakeholders (emphasis on behavioral aspects). Such a narrative of politics and examining what above-mentioned show the story of power in society and this story tells us the nature of the power structure and the power of stakeholders. The "power" concept is closely related to the "cause" concept. However, they differ from each other as power is based on resources but differs from resources. Some groups may be rich,

but they may have no power or be powerful and gain interests without exercising power through the power structure (Dowding, 1996, pp. 5-9).

Power is an internal concept or is a capacity, i.e., to have the capacity or ability to do something. This characteristic makes it difficult to study the power because the capacity features are basically impractical. That is to say, they refer to what can be (potentially) not what it is (actually). As a result, the difficulty in

examining power is that we may have to discover the stakeholders' power without seeing them exercising power because they do not always exercise all their power. Also, the nature of the sociopolitical process is such that some stakeholders try to exercise their power away from the observers' eyes. Therefore, power is discussed more theoretically than empirically (Ibid, pp. 9-10). Table 1 shows the classification of the "power" concept from the perspective of experts in this field.

Table 1. Classification of "Power" Concept

| Expert | Conceptual Classification |
|----------|--|
| Russel | - Power is an intrinsic concept and existed by itself. |
| Weber | - Power is a relational concept that implies the relationship between the commander and the officer or the government and the people. |
| Foucault | - Power is pluralistic and there are many powerful actors on a micro-scale who exercise power. - Power is both a negative and force-based concept and a positive and empowering concept. - Power is a competitive thing that uses the truth selectively. - Power produces knowledge and knowledge and power are directly related to each other. - Power is disciplinary and discipline means a mechanism for organizing people in place. |
| Dowding | - Consequential power: The actor's ability to create or help create consequences. - Social power: The actor's ability to intentionally change the motivational structure of other actors or users deliberately to lead to or contribute to consequences. |

(Haghighat, 2002, pp. 129-131; Dowding, 1996, pp. 10-11; Hillier, 2003)

3.2. Urban Power of a City

After expressing the "power" concept, it is necessary to discuss the "urban power of a city" concept, for example, the power of Tehran city, the Power of Istanbul city, or the power of London city. Generally, given that the numerous books and papers discussed different urban issues ranging from new regionalism to globalization and from neoliberalism to contemporization, it seems like other pervasive contemporary subjects, the "urban power" issue has not been absent in urban studies. Particularly, it has been considered the sub-section of the political geography, urban politics and politics, urban political economy, urban political sociology, urban anthropology, and migration studies. However, amid these mental and diverse attempts, it is unexpectedly difficult to find the papers and chapters that addressed the urban power issue (Parker, 2011, p. 4). When it comes to why cities have their own social, economic, cultural, and spatial characteristics and why there are so many differences in the levels of income, discrimination, human security, environmental quality in different cities, we must inevitably refer to aspects of the urban power system and find the reasons for these difference there (Ibid, p. 5). This approach can contribute to creating a concept equivalent to the urban power of a city. The urban power of a city results from its specific features based on which a city can compete with other cities. As in the issue of urban competitiveness, different cities such as Tehran, Istanbul, and London are ranked based on different components, and the city with the highest ranking is

known as the most powerful city. Although the "urban power of a city" concept has an affinity to the "urban power" concept, this study uses a different approach to the conceptualization of the "urban power", as investigated in the section of the conceptual model. The urban power system can also be studied based on the logic of the situation and the plurality and diversity of stakeholders, resources, priorities, methods, areas, and resultants. In the cities where the power game is played between the official and non-official groups to influence the nature and practice of the local institutions, the distribution of power is normally imbalanced. This imbalance is greater in metropolitans and metropolitan areas due to the diversity of goals, organizations, institutional forms, and relationships between governmental areas (Kazemian, 2004, p. 85).

3.3. Concepts of "Power in the City" and "Urban Power of Stakeholders"

The "power in the city" concept refers to a set of power relations that are in opposition or influence each other on different scales within the city from subspaces to urban areas. Therefore, the geographical boundary of this concept is the limits of a city. The set of power relations in a neighborhood or urban area can be different from other neighborhoods. The difference between these two types of relations lies in the definition of the concept of "urban power of stakeholders" or "users of urban power". The use of the word "urban" in the "urban power of stakeholders" concept is the answer to where the stakeholders' power

is exercised and what effect it has on the spatial realms and public areas in the city. One of the useful ways to identify and explain the power structure in the city is to identify groups of stakeholders. Users of urban power can be considered individuals, groups, or organizations

that can influence the decisions, policies, actions, and behavior of other urban stakeholders, albeit slightly, by using the resources and capacities at their disposal and through their communication and behavior with others.

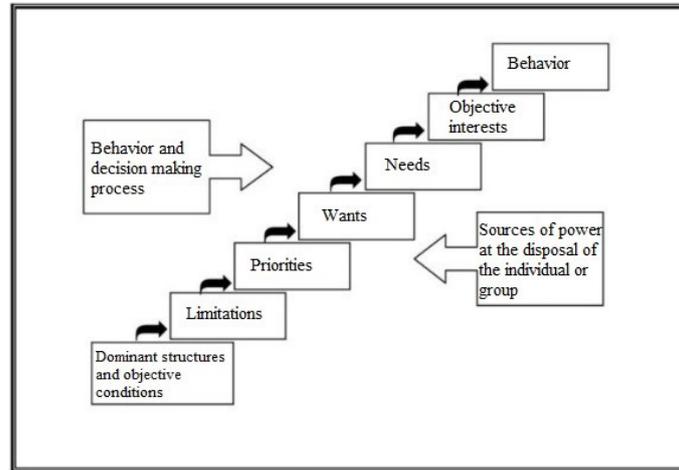


Fig. 1. Process of Explaining the Stakeholders' Behavior Based on the Logic of Situation
(Kazemian, 2014, p. 34)

The stakeholders' behavior depends on the formal position, socio-cultural and economic base, social roles, tendencies, and objective and subjective approaches of the stakeholders in the framework of the logic of situation (Kazemian, 2004, p. 87). This logic is presented in Figure 1.

To understand the urban power of different stakeholders, it is necessary to first define their interests, priorities, resources, and other characteristics in a box called motivational structure. As a result, the

first step is to determine what this structure is and how it functions. Then, according to the ability and capacity of stakeholders to influence each other's motivational structures, the application of which can change the thoughts and behavior of other stakeholders, the power of each stakeholder can be determined to some extent. However, the more the actor has the ability to influence the motivational structure box and its parameters, the higher the social power he has. Figure 2 hypothetically depicts power relations.

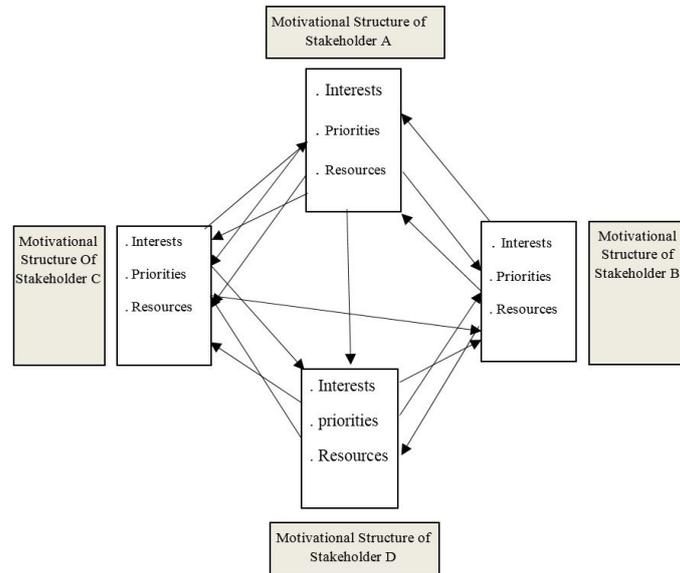


Fig. 2. Hypothetical Urban Power Relations among Stakeholders

4. SPECIALIZED THEORIES OF URBAN POWER STUDY

Theories of urban power can be considered in a

primary classification with three views as follows: 1. The view accepted by sociologists before the 1960s: In this view, urban power is attributed to the economic and social elites of the city; 2. The view of pluralists:

They believe that there is no group in the city that fully takes control of the city and directs it, and a complex model of interests and trade between different groups involved in the decisions on the city and urban politics define the structure of urban power; 3. The view of structuralists and neo-Marxists: They believe that macroeconomic, social, and political structures control and command cities, and the structure of urban power is subject to macro-structures (Mollenkopf, 1994, pp. 99-103). This classification represents the various theoretical approaches to urban power. In another classification, the specialized theories of urban power can be presented as follows: 1. Public choice theory; 2. Theory of power studies in local communities (elitism theory, growth machine theory, pluralism theory, urban regime theory), and 3. Political economy theory (Neo-Marxist analysis and regulation theory) (Parhizkar & Kazemian, 2005, p. 39). In the following, the abovementioned theories are explained.

4.1. Public Choice Theory

Public choice theory was developed in the late 1950s in the United States of America. In the simplest possible model and form, this theory is the application of modern economic methods in the study of political processes. According to this theory, the individual's decisions and actions are rational, and they seek to maximize their personal interests and profits. This theory is based on three elements of individuals, organizations, and public goods. Tiebout's suggestion of "People vote with their feet" explains this theory as people choose the cities that provide more desirable services with minimum taxes (Parhizkar & Kazemian, 2005, p. 34).

4.2. Theory of Power Studies in Local Communities

Theories of power studies in local communities address the question of who or what group controls and governs the city. There are three different perspectives on this: elitist, pluralist, and management-oriented (tradeoffs). The first view was the result of Floyd Hunter's attempt in Atlanta studies in the 1960s. For him, some influential elites control the city. The opposite view can be seen in the theories of analysts such as Robert Dahl. According to him, the pluralist interests are reflected in the local politics. Despite the presence of a selected group of influential people, many of the interests and benefits of society are identified in local politics. However, it is now clear that local governing boards are often a combination of community and elite interests, and influential and powerful individuals do not need to control all decisions. They only intervene when their immediate and urgent issues are in danger. These conditions lead the situation to the introduction of the theory of urban regime and the combination of the interests of the powerful minority and low-power majority. Another view holds that government managers and employees are likely to have independent

interests and that the governmental management-oriented view is of importance in understanding local politics (Gottdiener & Budd, 2005, p. 274).

4.3. Theory of Political Economy

Unlike the theories of the power studies in local communities, the political economy approach claims that the whole story is not narrated only by the analysis of the decision-making process because the urban management enjoys less independence in decision-making practically. This perspective considers features of economic relations, especially the process of capital accumulation, production, and consumption, and how these forces deal with each other. There are different approaches in this regard, such as the Neo-Marxist analyses and the regulation theory that provide the requirements for the transition of the city to the post-Fordism economy (Ibid, p. 35).

5. POWER PRODUCTION/REPRODUCTION-URBAN SPACE RELATIONS IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF SPACE

Urban space is the arena where urban power emerges. However, space in the city is also not neutral and generates urban power. Producing power in space and through it is not specific to the cities, and it can be explained in other settlements, such as villages and towns. Nevertheless, the city was the case study of the current research due to its broadness, diversity, complexity, and population. Generally, space, as a component, has been always neglected in historical studies, or it has been considered obvious in the context of life. Until the last quarter of the twentieth century, with the publication of several influential texts and studies, especially in human geography, space was increasingly recognized as a fundamental and important component in social analysis. In urban studies, the publication of Henri Lefebvre's book entitled "The Production of Space" in 1974 led to an effective step in a novel understanding of urban space (Torkameh & Shirkhodai, 2015, pp. 12-13). Lefebvre's views were considered in this research due to their consistency with the political economy of space.

Lefebvre's analysis of space history is understood as a process in which different methods of production create their own space. For him, any practice of the social organization produces an environment that is the resultant of the social relations that this social organization practice owns. In this regard, the continuation of capitalism in the twentieth century was due to the flexibility in the construction and reconstruction of spatial relations as daily life was captured by capitalism. In other words, space is the product of the ideological, economic, and political forces (power realm) which sought to limiting, regulating, and controlling the activities occurring in space and through it. On the other hand, the hegemony

of capitalism in space and through it has been exercised to ensure discipline in society through intervention in the spatial organization of the city. Generally, the dominant system and society, by producing space in accordance with its nature, not only takes the form of distinctly constructed shapes but also reproduces itself by producing such space. In this context, space is both a mediator of social relations and a physical product that can affect social relations. Lefebvre focused on how different societies have had specific space in form and meaning over time. He addressed this by distinguishing between the abstract space and social space. The abstract space is formed by the collision of knowledge and power. This space belongs to the people and institutions desiring the control of the social organization, such as the political governors, economic companies and urban planners. In contrast, the social space is the resultant of action-practice, i.e. the daily lived experience of all the urban actors, which has become external and material (Ibid, 13, 21). In other words, according to Lefebvre, in the process of space production, it is necessary to point out its triple: perceived spaces, conceived spaces, and lived spaces.

This triple indicates that space has a complex nature and influences the levels of social relations. Therefore, first, the physical space is perceived. Then, its semiotic elements emerge, such as mental maps of the people and the planners' plan. In the next step, people's lived experiences in space are articulated. Finally, it can be said that social relations are spatial relations, and one cannot be discussed without considering the other one (Gottdiener, 1993, p. 131). It seems that the novel understanding of space resulted from Lefebvre's subjective schema can be generalized to the "urban power" concept as well. Therefore, it can contribute to developing the conceptual model of the research.

6. CONCEPTUAL MODEL OF RESEARCH; EXPLAINING THE "URBAN POWER" CONCEPT

Various concepts and theories related to the topic have been reviewed so far. In this section, first, the differences of the "urban power" concept with other similar concepts are reviewed in Table 2. In the following, the "urban power" concept is explained in detail.

Table 2. Differences in the Concepts Related to the Concepts of Power and City

| Concepts | Definitions |
|---------------------------|---|
| Power in the City | The result of interactions and the production of power relations of actors in the city. |
| Urban Power in a City | The comparative study between the cities on an international scale in terms of urban competitiveness indicators |
| Urban Stakeholders' Power | The power of each of the urban stakeholders in proportion to the interests, resources, and priorities |
| Urban Power | A set of regulations and governing knowledge on the policymaking relations, planning, and implementation of the urban plans and influential on the normative, attitudinal, and mental aspects of the urban actors in the urban spaces |

Furthermore, based on the mainstreams extracted from the theoretical section of this research, the theoretical bases in the conceptualization of the "urban power" term can be determined as follows:

1. In terms of the stated theories in the power studies on the local scale, among the elitism, pluralism, and political economy, the political economy approach forms one of the theoretical bases of the "urban power" concept due to considering the political, social, and economic macro structures, and their ability to control and govern the cities as well as the significant fact that the structure of the urban power is subject to the macrostructures.
2. As Dowding pointed out two types of consequential power and social power in the definition of the power and defined social power as the ability of the actor to deliberately change the motivational structure of the actor or other stakeholders to result in consequences or contribute to creating them, the city can also be considered as a powerful whole.
3. According to Foucault's perspective on the power that considered it a procedural and comprehensive element, and the knowledge can create the power and power creates its desirable knowledge, the dual

application of power-knowledge is one of the bases for the explanation of the urban power .

4. Furthermore, Lefebvre suggested that generally, the dominant system and society, by producing space in accordance with its own nature, not only takes the form of distinctly constructed shapes but also reproduces itself by producing such space. If the city is considered a powerful whole in this proposition as well, it will produce space in proportion to its regulations. Therefore, inspired by the perspectives of Dowding, Foucault, and Lefebvre, the "urban power" concept can be explained. Based on these views, the city is an entity with power that produces macro regulations and rules based on the knowledge and its regulations to administrate the city that affects the policymaking, planning, and implementation of the urban plans. The function of the power in the city and urban power are two different cases. The result of the power function within the city is the conflict or consistency of the interests. However, the function of the urban power is beyond it. A set of elements that produces power and its relations plays at a level or space that is eventually called the city. This meaning-oriented identity, which also has objectivity, results from the sum of the

elements within space that has occurred that can create a new concept of a relation of power to the city itself and its elements. In this sense, the communicative action between structures, organizations, and institutions on the one hand and the individual with them on the other hand and the individual with the individual on the other hand in the city realm creates a new concept called urban power. Therefore, the "urban power" can be defined as follows: "A set of rules governing the city which interacts with the urban knowledge and the levels of micro powers (power in the city) produces and reproduces an integrated whole called "urban power". The urban power is affected by and affects the mental, attitudinal, and normative aspects of the urban actors in the urban spaces and the way of the actors' behaviors and functions in the urban spaces in a permanent process.

In the stated definitions, the city is explicitly a powerful entity that has been neglected in the key developmental decisions of the city, such as determining the directions of development, population absorption capacity, the type of the deployable activities in the city, and the economy of the city that are the subjects on the urban policymaking scale, the method of planning for the urban development and allocation of the resources, and the implementation of the urban projects. The "urban power" means the identity, which is a resultant of the identity features of the power in the micro spaces and the present physical, environmental, social,

economic, and political structures. The stated identity features lead to the gradual and integrated formation of the regulations on a macro scale and the ability to command, control, and affect the decisions, plans, and executive mechanisms of the urban subjects. The urban power is a component that the policymakers, planners, and executives must consider the urban power among their considered concepts and indicators. Although the urban power was not tangible at first and is an abstract concept, the way to approach it is to understand the dominant rules in the city. When the urban management authorities' minds perceive urban power, their approaches and perspectives to the city become realistic and they will not seek the mega-morphopolis in the city. In the following, the conceptual model of urban power is presented in Figure 3. According to this model, the produce and reproduce relations are formed among the regulations governing the city in various aspects and urban knowledge in the context of the trans urban regulations and approaches. The result of the regulations and urban knowledge is manifested in the urban discipline and its control. This disciplinary process affects the urban actors in their various physical environment, lifestyle, and subjective aspects. In the next step, the urban actors' reaction is either to accompany and stabilize the power of the city and the knowledge of the city or to confront it and change the power of the city and the knowledge of the city, leading to changes in the laws and knowledge of the city.

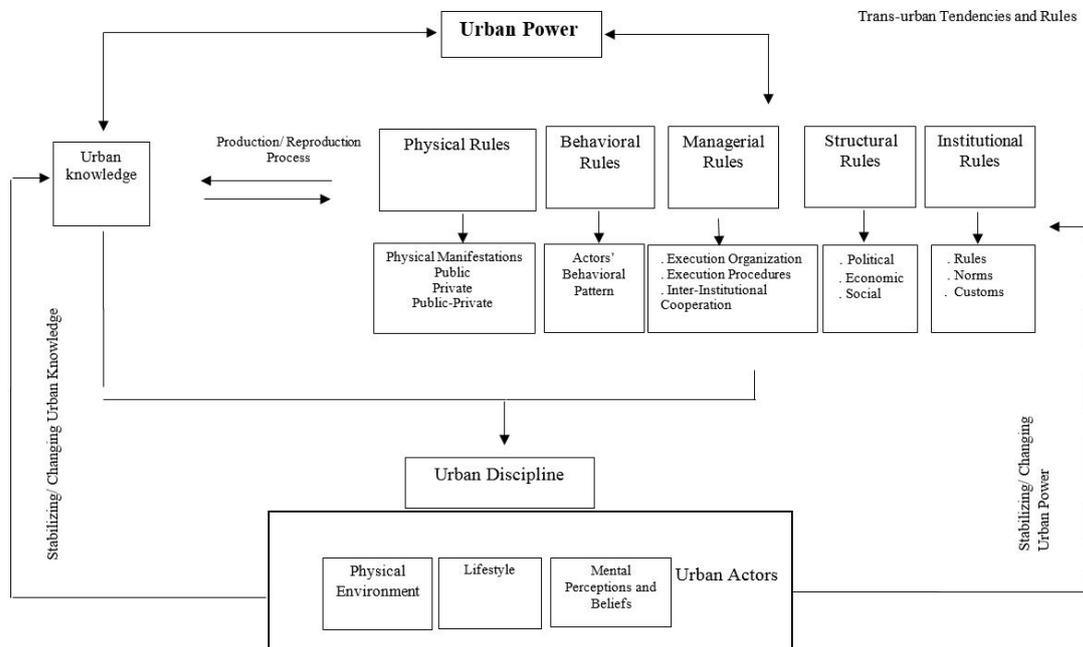


Fig. 3. Conceptual Model of the Urban Power

7. EXAMPLES AND SAMPLES OF URBAN POWER MANIFESTATION IN TEHRAN

As stated in the conceptual model of the research,

the urban power emerges as a result of the process of producing and reproducing the regulations in different aspects and urban knowledge as well as the effectiveness of the urban actors and can play a role as a significant component in the urban relations. In this

section, it was attempted to investigate the examples of urban power manifestation in Tehran city under two main titles as follows:

1. Introduction of new approaches in urbanism literature
2. Effect of urban power on the citizenship behavior

The effect of the urban power on the development process of Tehran requires recognition and precise application of the variables of the development process of Tehran city. Therefore, the indicators and criteria of the development process of Tehran must be considered and the extent of effectiveness must be assessed based thereon. However, in this section, some examples and samples of the objectification of the urban power in Tehran were studied and scrutinized, and deepening it requires separate research in line with this paper.

7.1. Introduction of New Approaches in the Urbanism Literature

One of the examples of urban power in the urban knowledge framework is the introduction of the knowledge of urban intellectualization and smart citizens. The introduction of this type of urban knowledge can be analyzed in the framework of the urban power. Simultaneously, with the transformations and changes that have taken place in the institutional regulations (such as supporting regulations and rules, including the third five-year plan of Tehran Municipality from 2013-2016 in which, the urban intellectualization was taken seriously), the structural regulations, such as the political will of the government on the urban space to pursue the development of the electronic-government and provide the services in the ground of the Information and communications technology infrastructures, and the managerial regulations, such as the will of the executive organizations like Municipality of Tehran to develop the Smart Tehran center in the sub-set of the Information and Communications Technology Organization of the Municipality of Tehran, and the active role of the urban actors in developing and extending this knowledge caused the knowledge of the urban intellectualization to be considered necessary and found its place. Therefore, generally, the urban power led to the introduction and necessity of applying urban intellectualization as new urban knowledge.

7.2. Effect of Urban Power on the Citizenship Behavior

Various examples can be observed as the evidence of the objectification of the urban power in Tehran that are disciplinary and obligate the citizens to have particular behavior and function and affect their lifestyles, some of which are as follows:

- The urban power of Tehran obligates its residents to live in apartment buildings and limits their freedom of action and turns it into a residence value. For example,

at the beginning of the Islamic Revolution, apartment living was considered a special class for Tehran citizens.

- The urban power persuades the residents to be subject to the decision of the city administration for the loads in the process of constructing a new building within the framework of a detailed plan.

- The urban power forces urban managers to design laws to regulate urban affairs, in which case a city parliament is formed and a mechanism for drafting laws is designed.

- The urban power forces residents to form public groups to monitor the activity of the urban management and to create urban media opportunities for them.

Various other examples can be mentioned that show discipline on an urban scale to its actors in different dimensions of mental beliefs and perceptions, lifestyle and physical environment that is the result of the process of production/ reproduction of urban knowledge and a set of institutional, structural, managerial, behavioral and Physically governing the city of Tehran. In this regard, one of the key issues is the identity of the citizen of Tehran and the brand of the city of Tehran on a national and international scale. If these subjects are considered from the perspective of the conceptual model of urban power, the characteristics of identity and what is used as the "Tehrani kid" in colloquialism literature, can be defined.

8. ANALYSIS OF THE EFFECTS OF URBANPOWER IN THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS OF TEHRAN

What added value can the "urban power" concept create? It seems that "urban power" is an abstract concept that has been objectified in some cases, and its tangible effects can be seen. The urban power has a considerable effect on different levels of urban policymaking, urban planning, and implementation of urban development. The context for exercising the urban power and its effects and consequences can take place in three areas. The first area is the institutional aspect and change in the insight and mentality of the policymakers, planners, and executives of the urban development of Tehran. The second area is their lifestyle and social relations, and the third area is the physical environment and urban spaces of Tehran ranging from the private spaces to public spaces and leads to the development of the spatial organization in proportion to the urban power and the organization of the particular behavior of the urban actors.

In the first area, reflecting on the "urban power" concept by the authorities of the development of Tehran causes them to believe that besides the actors' abilities and limits (agency component), the structure component affects the introduction of the issues, providing solutions, and the consequences of the decisions in the framework of the various political to knowledge regulations. Thus, according to the research model,

the regulations can be identified and changed in a continuous and prioritized process if necessary. Hence, discovering and understanding the stated regulations are necessary for the authorities of urban development.

In the lifestyle, the urban power's regulation of the behavior of actors can be flourished in the form of a model of coverage or performance of citizens in the urban space. Therefore, it is able to create a different concept of a citizen of Tehran versus a citizen of another city. This means that the citizen of Tehran must believe in living in an apartment. In addition, the driving style and the model of citizens' communication with each other are different. In this regard, there may be similarities between the citizens of different cities, but the differences are also significant, which shows the distinct identity of the citizen of Tehran.

In the third area, the result of the regulations and urban knowledge produced in decades that have led to the production of space can be seen. If the product produced does not guarantee the public interest, citizen activism can lead to the production of another space to change regulations and urban knowledge. For example, in recent years, the lack of adaptation of urban spaces in the city of Tehran for the access of certain groups has led to movements for the realization of the rights of these people in the urban spaces of Tehran.

The urban power is not a static concept. Although there are tough regulations in the urban power that transform in the long term process, its superficial layers face rapid changes. Also, it imposes its power on the public spaces in a permanent process and forces other elements to find the solution for it and meet its needs. The urban power is a type of resistance. It is a resistance against the particular changes in the knowledge framework and its authority that cannot be accompanied. Urban power forces the planners to provide it with the water and energy resources and meet its knowledge and executive needs related to the waste. It obligates them to move in the direction of the knowledge it needs. The urban power embeds the knowledge it needs for the survival and maintenance of its power.

9. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the production path of the urban power can be traced. First, the community of people in a spatial realm and establishing relations based on expertise rather than the familiar ties becomes the core of the formation of a city and the urban power. It is natural that in this phase, the urban power is in its primary state. The residents of this city gradually establish a set of physical, cultural, social, economic, and political relationships among them at a different spatial level ranging from the neighborhood scale to the city scale that leads to the development of the macro regulations on the city scale and its appropriate knowledge. These features distinguish the city from other cities and give it particular characteristics. The formed specific identity of the citizens and urban

spaces over time, the interaction of the power at the levels of the micro spaces, the effectiveness of the urban power users, and power in the city, in general, on the one hand, and urban power, on the other hand, lead to the development or decline in various urban areas. In any case, with the passage of time and decades and centuries since the birth of a city, a set of regulated institutions at the city scale is formed as a whole (hard core) called "urban power" that are extremely difficult to change and time-consuming but has more flexibility in its outer layers. The subjective manifestation of the urban power is manifested in the mental schema of the managers, authorities, and executives of the urban affairs. Although these people can ignore the urban power and move on to other intellectual mainstreams, eventually, they will face the resistance of the urban power against their decisions or at the time of the implementation of their plans, practically. Its external and objective manifestation is in the context of urban spaces and production of the spatial organization of the city on the macro scale of the city and the regulation of the urban actors' behavior on the scale of the urban space.

Urban power is similar to but different from concepts related to urban power. The urban power is not limited to specific individuals, groups, or industries, nor is it limited to the set of power relations within the city, but an existence beyond them and a combination of them, which has its own mental and spatial identity. Indeed, the urban power is a knowledge-spatial context formed based on communicative action and is able to affect the power relations in the city. The absence of this factor in drafting urban plans and the notion of the plan makers and policymakers leads to making some decisions that face many obstacles, practically. These obstacles have the power to cause disruption or even failure in the plans. The produced knowledge by the urban power provides the opportunity for the cross-qualitative development of the city in the interaction of the internal powers in order to be manifested as the city. In other words, all the authorities in the city interact with each other to eventually acquire an entity called the city. This city itself is the synthesis of all the powers within itself, thus, interacts with them, and the lack of interaction causes its weakness. This approach increases the possibility of the urban power to be seen. In the light of explaining the "urban power", space becomes the product of power and then becomes the element of power. Therefore, there is a type of interactive relationship between the two, which is the result of knowledge formed based on individual, collective and institutional needs. In other words, although the main power of the city is to discipline space (discipline of points, axes, and urban areas in the form of the city's spatial organization), they are all a context to reproduce power for the city. Indeed, since space is the determinism of the relations and demands, it is also the representation of the management and power, and consequently, it becomes the power

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element that affects the discourses and relations. In this mainstream, the resulted discourse is dialectic, leading to the formation of a new and powerful entity. This discourse can change the behaviors, manage the knowledge in its purposes, and involve the primary authorities in new challenges, which is the new concept of “urban power”.

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