

Domination of closed Rentier networks on Tehran's urban management

S.Tabari ¹•, S.Mousavi ²

1. Alzahra University

2. Faculty of Urban planning, Alzahra University

Abstract

Tehran as a complex and unique metropolis faces many structural challenges, numerous problems in its urban management. Tehran's urban management system struggles with different urban problems such as sociological, economical, geographical, environmental, design & urbanization. On the other hand Tehran boasts of having elites in different fields of area planning. Elites that seem to have solutions and ideas in order to fix or diminish existing problems. Evidence shows that vast majority of consultations, conferences & meetings are held in order to improve interaction between elites and city's urban management. What evident is that the results and finding of these actions are not used; in city's urban planning. Tehran city planners manage the city on their own whims and likenesses. This research illustrates the grounded theory incorporation with interviews of twenty professionals and experts of their respected fields in urban knowledge; and uses their knowledge and expertise in order to study them in the method of coding and analysis. These findings show that urban management system is a conflict zone for different groups in order to reach "closed rentier networks". In this structural conflicts in order to profit from the economical, political, informational, judicial Rentiers; which makes Tehran the main victim. This process only increases and expands the domination of the totalitarians in the urban fields and squeezes out the elites with the right mindset and approach.

Key words: knowledge based approach urban management, closed rentier networks, urban sociology

Introduction:

Mega city of Tehran is facing its own particular geometrical or systemic social, economical, political, cultural complexes. Which are at odds with each other and has created special circumstances. Tehran as a main hub of money and power in Iran has suffered many wounds on its soul. The city's urban managers are struggling to disentangle from the closed circle of complexities.

Ideas and the voices of the elites are an important source of solutions to solving the city's problems. The city of Tehran from one side is confronting a compact network of complex and continental issues. From the other side is the home of considerable number of elites in urban knowledge. The elites have expressed ideas, solutions and warnings in different fields of society and ways of facing with many of these continues urban problems have been presented. But what is evident only from an elemental reading of the designs and programs is the ineffectiveness of the solutions and warnings mentioned earlier. The problems remain strong and with the passage of time it metamorphoses.

In Tehran city's urban management we are facing a cycle which continuously repeats itself throw out the years. First the meetings and the consultations & conferences, seminars are held. As the projects and designs are going simultaneously, then most of the findings are put aside and the tendency for the bosses and the executives to choose out of their own tastes and preferences is the pattern that completes the system in design making, policy planning and the process of and the actual work in the project as well. This circle is perpetual and is going on infamiliar ways. The point to note is the continuation of the meetings and forums and consultations with elites, and spending budgets on research projects is the marvel of Tehran urban management.

This research has tried to examine the discontinuity in city's urban management. Firstly as a center of policy making and secondly as a creators of thought and reflection in urban knowledge, in order to understand mechanisms and the prevailing order in this

field.

Explanation of the problem:

Tehran after beening a small village near the ancient city of Rey has turned to a capital with new and specific political, strategical, economical identity. Tehran has been ornamented with many exciting buildings and offices blocks. These have all transformed Tehran into the most important places in the country. These changes have allowed the city to grow from a city with a small bazaar to a city on the global scale(Madanipour, 2002).

The most important thing for Tehran is the way the city is being managed more than ever. Which from its inception and becoming the capital and turning into a busy mega city has been the way the city is managed. There are always discussions about way of managing the metropolis among the different thinkers and academics. Each has ideas about making the city's management more effective. The ideal city comes from grand policy making which is of most importance.

Tehran's population was around fifteen thousand in the year of 1796(Minorsky, 1934). The push to turn Tehran into capital started with the Pahlavi era. With the concentration of offices, political center, economical centers, creation of hospitals, universities, hotels, cinemas and also creation of an effective public transport system, creation of industrial factories and military industries has caused a population boom in unprecedented levels. Today Tehran as a capital with a short history of two hundred and forty years has a population of 8,693,706 with concentrated array of amenities cultural, academics attractions, in the midst of demand for the creation of a modern & standard capital. Today Tehran became the home of intellectual elites. And as the most populous city in Iran is the source of many diverse problems.

Tehran city management consists of organizations, companies and corporations. In terms of responsibility structural organization, budget and financial credit is comparable to couple of governmental ministries. Organizations with such scale often face in-

sufficiencies which remain in spite of the efforts to solve them.

The fact and findings show that Tehran is in a complicated, paradoxical and entangled contradictory space. Considering economical, cultural, political features of the city one can easily say that Tehran is a metropolis full of problems which the crisis of urban management is the consequence. "Big cities in modern times are not only centers of population and commerce but are more increasingly score of social inequality, poverty and the decrees in moral standards. The city is turning into a space which increasingly is the stage for many different and ever changing protests." (Mousavi, 2009).

Taking into consideration the geometry of Tehran is of importance in urban policy planning. Ways of using this vast number of people, money and power and also the rule of the elites are critical. The lack of local expertize is the missing piece of the puzzle solving Tehran's shortcomings.

In spite of the efforts of the city's officials to use the elites, there is still no effective cooperation between the two groups. Creation of these conversations are vital for survival of Tehran. The dialog mentioned above is the tool to solving these urban problems. In a city struggling to cope from these concentrated problems. May it is better to say that creation of space in order for that conversation to take place is the grand urban project.

In this research the elites in urban knowledge in the actual managing of the city is studied the way tapping into the ideas of these elites in solving urban

problems, their place in the city's urban management is under study. The research other than expressing feeling and desires of these elites to share in city's urban management is looking to understand dynamics of social relation; which effect the role/performance in Tehran urban management. Target elites for scrutinizing in general sub division. Urban knowledge elites are divided into two systems (outside and inside system). Urban elites in inside system include: official authorities in Tehran urban management, the policy makers, design makers and urban managers. The outside system includes universities, civil institutions and privet organization based on the needs of the people.

Background to the research:

Research that have been published in Iran, are often centered around the political elites .these researches are often in Pareto¹ 's approach in political sociology or in other words elitism cause the society from the perspective comings and goings elites and the changes in balance of power between them. Existing research are often are in conjunction with subjects of political rule democracy, power and in easier terms prevailing understanding of political sociology.

The research out lined are closed in terms of subject matter, and are shown below with abbreviation. Although none of them show are role of the knowledge elites.

Separation between the knowledge elites and political elites written by MohamadAmin Ghaneie Rad is of note in this research.

No	Researcher	Title	Date of research	Achievements
1	QaneeRad, Mohamadamin	Social & Political elites participation	2010	Proposed model and cognitive map, description of types of public and specific participation of the scientific elite
2	QaneeRad, Mohamadamin	Knowledge Elite: Participation or Migration	2017	Dissociation between the Knowledge Elite and the Politics Elite: A group of policy-makers and a group of scholars who were not only separated, they were always against each other.

1. Vilfredo Federico Damaso: the distinguished Italian sociologist

3	Jalali & Sedigh Sarvestani	The Power Elite in Tehran; The Role of Decision-makers in Social Issues	2011	In the area of Tehran city management, there is a group of power elites who are members of the circle of power and have come from the "circle of officials" to city management.
4	Abadi & Nikmaram	Explaining the importance of elitism in the formation of past and contemporary creative cities	2013	Utilizing elites in various fields of urban planning can be directly linked to the creation of creative cities because of the close relationship between urban planning and concepts of other related sciences and specialized disciplines.
5	Aliakbarkhani, Mohammad	Public participation, human capital and the role of the elite in the development of the Torbat Heydariyeh region	2015	In the general policies of the resisting economy, attention has been paid to public participation, human capital and the role of the elite.
6	Soeimani, Mohammad	Estimating the Impacts of Social Capital on Innovation Among Elites (Tehran Elite Case Study)	2013	Most of the innovations in the statistical population have been scientific innovations.
7	Aliee, Mohammadvali	Factors Influencing Political Elite Political Participation (Emphasizing Faculty Members of Tehran Universities)	2010	In explaining political participation, political effectiveness and social status are individuals and variables of social status and social capital.
8	Alipour, Samire	Sociological Explanation of the Social Areas of Elite Occupation and Escape in Bandar Abbas	2014	There is a significant relationship between social capital, cultural capital, symbolic capital, family and the emergence of elites. There is a significant relationship between social capital, reference group, social security and the tendency to migrate.
9	Safarpour Noroudi, Saber	The Impact of lack of Elitism and Elitism on the Development Process in the Islamic World(Case Study:Egypt and Turkey Over the Past Hundred Years)	2017	In some Islamic countries, such as Malaysia and Turkey, development has been slow when it comes to elite activity, and in any country where we are faced with elite marginalization, the development process has failed.

Table (1)

Meaning of elite:

The meaning of the word elite, just like many social sciences are multi-dimensional, and have been looked at from different angles. From the nineteenth century onward this term started appearing in clas-

sical sociology works. And different concepts have been understood from it. "In classical sociology the term elite is used in contrast to the term masses. Concept of elite is positive with the concept of masses, often used in a negative way" (Hartman, 2007).

What is common amongst the definitions is the impact of these elites in their respected society. "It's important to understand the willingness of capable people in the place they want to live and work. It's important to understand what they are looking for (Florida, 2011).

In this research the term elite refers to a person who's in his special work has reputation above the rest. We are dealing with the general definition which for our purposes excellence in a specialized field of work.

Pareto present the definition is a person with the highest score in their respected fields. Idiom of elites is chosen. "If all human activity could be marked just like examinations in academia, each person is given a mark which shows their true qualification. For example a 10 is given to the most skilled lawyer while a score of 0 is given to the lawyer who is a complete idiot...therefore we divide the top marks and call them elites (Bottomore, 1993).

Karl Mannheim² also viewed the study of elites in some subjects as useful. He believed that elites were people who have a certain knowledge they got from research projects and which they could help us open up research challenges. Therefore their positions are in chain of command or order of their role in dynasties of power. He positioned it in the way of their access to information that can be decisive in finding the answers (SeyedEmami, 2015).

Elites in this research are people who have a special education, tangible works (books, articles...), specialized project position of excellence, although there might be overlaps between political elites and knowledge elites and often people with these information also can be considered political elites but not necessarily in all cases, And our attention to the word elite only show their excellence in the sciences and expertise in their profession.

Questions of the research:

1. What is understood from Tehran urban management system by urban knowledge elites?

2. What is the view point of urban knowledge elites

2. an influential German sociologist

on their own rule in policy making, projects and urban management?

3. Are urban knowledge elites facing specialized exclusion from urban management?

4. What are the up and downs of urban specialized cooperation in Tehran urban management? And what's the process of accumulation of these experiences?

Research Method:

In this social research what helps the researcher in choosing the right way is the nature of the questions that the researcher tries to answer. In this research the point of attention coverage is the experiences of elites; and their exposure to the system of Tehran urban management, and using qualitative way to study the society.

Methods of qualitative research in general, and grounded theory in particularly providing a better understanding of the deep layers of the issue. Methods of sampling and coding allow for the search of what is not evident at the first glance, in Tehran urban management; because of its deep layered location. Analysis of the word elites long side flexible sampling provide the possibility of finding meaning in the structure of Tehran urban management.

Grounded theory created by Glaser and Strauss pay attention to the close contact between the two process of theory testing and theorizing. The process of theory making or theorizing simultaneously incorporates testing of the set theory based on the referral to the given information. An inductive analysis takes place. Creation of the theory not only based on the information does not only mean extracting all the assumptions and understandings but also during the research connecting the information in an organized way (Mohammadpour, 2013).

Therefore the people at the center of the subject study are targeted agents which play an active role in interpretations and answer to problematic positions. These people act based on their meaning and this meaning comes from interplay and is reshaped constantly.

The social fact is created from dialogues, and inter-plays between the studied people, And is constantly evolving and subject to correction and reappearing.

There are five versions of the grounded theory: The classic, systematic, constructive, positional analysis and dynamic analysis.

This project is based on G.T.M systematic. The data given has been coded in a few stages which includes open coding axial pivotal coding, selective coding, finally lead the research to the parademical model resulting in appearance of theory.

Target society is the urban knowledge elites in Teh-

ran. The research is grouped into four groups of distinction. Which in turn each is also divided into numerous sub groups. The four main groups are: (urban sociologists), (city builders), (urban geographers), (urban economists). The number of Interviewees were twenty which their names and details have been shown in the chart below according to the first letter of their names. The interviews have been organized according to theoretical sampling, after the first interview and coding and analyzing to find the next chosen item, In order to complete the result or analy-

No	Name	Specialty	A brief Resume
1	Arshad, Leila	social harm	Director of Khorshid Women Institute, civil activist in the field of women and children, candidate for Tehran city council in 2016
2	Athari, Kamal	Economic Studies	Urban Economics Researcher, Housing and Informal Housing Researcher (Expert in Economic Studies of Tehran Comprehensive Plan, Compiler of Empowerment of Informal Settlements, Component of Low-Income Housing Sector in Comprehensive Housing Plan and Provider of Social Housing Plan)
3	Aghvami Moghaddam, Aref	Urban planning	Professor of Urban Planning, Faculty of Arts and Architecture, Tehran University Center, MSc in Urban and Regional Planning, Office of Physical Planning and Secretariat of the High Council of Urban Planning and Architecture, Ministry of Roads and Urban Planning, Researcher and Translator
4	Allaeddini, Pouya	Sociology ,Urban planning	Faculty Member, Department of Social Planning, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Tehran Author and urban researcher, researcher in urban suburbs
5	Asayesh, MohammadKarim	political science	Urban Researcher, Journalist, Member of the Board of Directors of the Assembly of the Right to Assembly in Bahamestan
6	Azimi, Mitra	Urban planning	Professor of Urban Planning and Regional Development, Allameh Tabataba'i University, Researcher in Urban Management, Member of the Scientific Committee of the International Conference of Women in Urban Planning 2016, Executive Director of Urban and Regional Planning Quarterly
7	Azizi, Shadnaz	Environment	Author and Researcher, Member and Activist of the UN Sustainable Development Solutions Network, Advisor to the National Urban Design Campaign
8	Attaran, Mehrnaz	Urban Designing	Urban Planning and Recreation Researcher, Ministry of Road and Urban Planning Advisor, Tehran City Council Candidate
9	Darvish, Mohammad	Environment	Specialist and environmental activist, journalist and desert expert, former director of the Environmental Protection Agency's Public Partnerships, encourages nature and school-goers to promote car-centric driving in urban furniture.

10	Etemad, Giti	Urban Designing, Urban planning	Urban Planner, Professor and Former Director of Shahid Beheshti University Urban Planning Group, Researcher and author, Chairman of the Board of Directors of Architectural and Architectural Consulting Engineers
11	Fakhouhi, Naser	Anthropolgy, Urban suding	Anthropologist, Professor, Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Tehran, Director of the Institute of Anthropology and Culture, Member of the International Society of Sociology and Iranology
12	Fozouni, Farhad	Graphics	Graphic designer, founder and director of the Tehran Studio, a design innovator based on the visual spaces and cultural features of Tehran, winner of the Best Typography Award: First Chicago STA Poster Biennial 2008, Iranian Graphic Designers Association diploma from the 9th Tehran Graphic Biennale
13	Ghamami, Majid	Urban planning, Urban Designing	Tehran Urban Design Project Manager, Coordinator of Tehran Comprehensive Design Consultants, author and researcher of urban and regional planning in Iran
14	Imani Jajarmi, Hossein	Sociology	Member of the Faculty of Social Development Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Tehran, Head of Institute of Social Studies and Research, University of Tehran, Member of the Board of Iran Sociological Association, Researcher and Author
15	Kalhornia, Bahram	Graphics	Member of the Faculty of Sound and Media, Faculty of Arts and Architecture of Tehran Azad University, Center of the Secretary and Member of the Board of Directors of the Iranian Association of Graphic Designers
16	Kazami, Abbas	Sociology	Faculty Member of the Institute for Cultural and Social Studies, Ministry of Science and Technology, author and urban researcher in the areas of daily living-urban spaces-environmental graphics-urban semiotics
17	Kashani, Hadi	Environment	Civil and Environmental Activist, Urban Green Area Expert, Senior Forestry Development Supervisor in Tehran District 4 Municipality
18	Ragfar, Hossein	Economic Studies	Faculty Member, Alzahra University Economics Department, Author and Researcher, Former Vice President of Planning and Higher Education Institute of Management and Planning, Former Advisor to the Ministry of Welfare and Social Security, Former Minister Advisor and Director of the Office of International Scientific Partners of the Ministry of Science, Candidate Tehran City Council in 1396
19	Rahmani, Jabbar	Anthropology	Academic Member of the Institute for Cultural and Social Studies, Author, Researcher in the field of rituals and urban rituals, Scientific member of Research Committees of Social and Cultural Affairs of Tehran Center for Studies and Planning
20	Shiee, Smaeel	Urban Designing	Faculty Member, Department of Urban Planning, Faculty of Architecture and Urban Planning, Iran University of Science & Technology

Table (2)

sis of the lesser known points.

In this research we coded the interviewees from E1

to E 20 randomly, for simplicity. Interview is the

main too; of data collecting which the interviews

were deep but semi structured.

Findings of the research:

Interview with elites have been in process of accumulative & genetic. In the initial coding which is based on line by line data, around one thousand codes have been produced which in the next stage of the process leads to construction of concepts, categories, and subcategories in an Inductive Process. According to the routine of the grounded theory we found "Causal conditions", "Contextual Conditions", "Consequence conditions", "Interfering Conditions" and "Strategic interplays".

Conditions for research are variable and flexible. That can move qualitative with the passing of time, and effect each other and can incorporate together in different ways.

1) Causal condition:

are events that are impactful phenomenon of hegemony and monopolizing.

A) Hegemony and monopolizing

In Tehran urban city management monopolizing of groups that have dominion, due to their connections in this network system of diverse creative rentiers for them. This orientation has caused the presence of them and their presence in different field of urban management. The presence of these monopolies cause the space for those civil orientate towards shrinking.

"Many a time I have been participated in these meetings and the conclusion is that there is no political will to solve the problem not only in the government but in the whole structure of the macro management. Finally the main cause is that fact that those who should make these designs are beneficiary of it. Therefore the designs are not in public or national interest, but are only for the interest of small special group (Economist, E2).

Monopolies exist in the field of resources, power, information & urban projects. Monopolizing the information causes participation of the outside elites. Professor of urban sociology E1, talks about managers or officials that their territory is from urban

management to universities and has expanded them into research projects. In general dominance of such structures lead to low output functions.

"Managers said that: it would not be bad if we step universities, then all of a sudden they became professors. Now they can have their own interests. A network has been created by them. The networks to yield interest for them and their colleagues. They also hold all the information. They are not educated enough, but they do have the information. They keep the information for themselves for their own benefit from academics articles and academic positions. They are running everything."

This routine also plays role in power to hold positions. The monopoly groups try to get appointed to offices of urban management. These jobs are only reserved for them and their colleagues. Urban expansion researcher, E3 ascribes the right of incumbency to feed the patron group.

"In our country people do not get appointed to managerial offices due to their talents. Often relations are the designing factor, Other than exceptions. These people don't have an area of expertise. Their main goal is to consolidate their position at opportunity, and feeding the patron group. This is the pattern of our ministerial rules. There is an influential person who has a network of its own team, when he gets into power, he has to feed on that network, and appoints those people of the team without enough knowledge to the positions of deputy and manger."

Monopolies in different fields of urban management have acted in an interesting ways and reacts in ways that the culture of monopolies has involved all areas of urban management. The order created in these monopoly network will not allow entrance of outsiders, because this can create disturbance in the pursuit of the group interest and Rantier in this networks.

Focal category "hegemony and monopolizing" in this research is a sub category of "monopolizing resources", "monopolizing power", "monopolizing information and urban projects", "Sacrificing the city for myself and my friends", "dominant executive forces", "slim role for elites participation", "monop-

olizing appointments “and “creation and recreation of monopolizing culture”.

B) Dissenting voices going silent

Critics of system of urban management believe that by passage of time they are ever more sidelined. Criticisms and oppositions against the interest of these networks are considered as obstacles in the way and will be sidelined. Urban builder researcher, E15 believes that opinion of people like him; if considered an obstacle will be forgotten.

“The view that I am exerting is a bit of objection, for example we ask that;” why a particular building was build there. Why did you use these way in connection to urban beautification and... Some see that these ideas can be problematic from an executive point of view and many hinder their freedoms, therefore they are forgotten.”

Prevailing groups in Tehran urban management in order to fulfill their interests need uniform and homogeneous culture of monopolizing. These perse democratic councils are responsible for pursuit interests of different groups of the citizens, And are distracting from the real meaning. Sociology researcher and drop out candidate of the city council of Tehran, E2 believes the reason for exclusion of none of political elites in participating in the system of urban management is an evenness with the prevailing order:

“They forced me to drop out. I eve told one of the party members that they have made a mistake to have made a twenty-one persons list. You were the fifteen six teen person majority but you should have let three other voices. Why was there corruption term? Because they were all of one voice. Her were no dissenting voices and they divvied up everything. But if there were a council with three dissenting voices the situation would be better. Let there be five dissenting voices in the council, its monopolization.”

Such structure formed of homogenous favorable people. Cause priority of group interests over the city’s interest. Which in turn lead to fading wants and needs of Tehran citizens In the process policy & design making.

C) No news and monotonous dead end

Most important duty of urban management system specially the municipality of Tehran; is the routine management of the city. Considerable part of judgment of public opinion towards the city’s management is the manner of management of the routine affairs. The first priority of the system like the municipality are affairs such as paying salaries, providing light , water the sewage system, super vision over the issue anec of building permits.

Current activity represents a huge amount of responsibility. These responsibilities in a majority of cases, take the most of the power and resources of these urban officials, and doesn’t leave much time and resources for complicated analysis and research programs. Urban researcher, E13 see official willingness to reform. But routine does not allow time resources **being spent on new action:**

“There are certain bureaucratic limitations which lead the city officials extreme involvement in the minutia of routine prevents them from more important tasks. When the officials hear the ideas of the intellectuals they say your ideas are good. But I need to pay the salaries of the staff. It’s Moharam³ in two months. We need to organize for the festivities. Afterwards it Arbaeen⁴ . We have a duty we need to do them. I don’t know when I can get to your ideas. Therefore other that ideological, economical, limitation there is also bureaucratic ones.”

It is certain that the routine of minutia of the city Is of importance, but understanding complex urban problems which happen on deep layers needs a inquisitive eye of the urban knowledge elites in filling the voids. E2, social harm researcher states that many times in interaction with the lower classes of the city. He observed many problems that city officials do not **know of its existence:**

“You don’t see it unless you go deep in the matter, otherwise you don’t see. Nobody thought that the

3. The name of the month of the lunar year where Shieies (A group of Muslims) perform rituals in cities.

4. Forty days after the testimony of the third Shieies Imam.

addicted women don't have a Birth certificate. They the officials are sitting in a closed room planning and making policies. Those in the front line do things that the officials don't know about. I have given an interview in which there are certain women in Tehran that don't have any identity papers, Birth certificate and also is not receiving subsidies. Deputy of head quarter of combat Called and asked whom was I speaking about. Explained, and he said they are not Iranians, I explained that they are. He didn't believe me and asked for the names. That day I gave him forty five names."

Dominance of the routine on the system of urban management, causes rigidity, acceptance of ideas and transformation of the system and present the use of ideas of the elites.

The focal article "No news and monotonous dead end" made by such as categories mentioned bellow. "Responsibility of exhaustion of everyday", "the decline of creativity in everyday life", "pressure of public thought", "managing the routine based judgment of managers" and "Sequence daily duties and avoiding risk".

D) Empty conversations

Conversation of the urban knowledge elites show that urban management system is constantly trying to connect and interact with elites. How efficiently ideas and solutions are used. What happens in reality is that urban managers are choosing arbitrary and this is unproductive for cities urban management.

Our problem is that when a program is being worked on by the elites, Comments and ideas are delivered to the urban managers, and are acted in sections approved by personal preferences of the official in charge(E8,urban planner).

The full impact of these projects are never felt and effects of it is not easily recognizable in these meetings and conferences monopolizing groups are looking to get their interests met through ideas presented by the elites.

Urban sociologist, E1 views these meetings as pointless and believes that these events only serve in a

way of time wasting and are held only in order to show that efforts are being done:

"If they get something for themselves and are pursuing an official goal or an interest, its possible that views of urban elites are put to work if the rentier groups don't see an objection in those plans."

E8, urban planning researcher is chasing the interests of these groups in urban projects:

"This desirability is for many different reasons, most of the time implementation of these plans are not feasible for Profit groups and sometimes due to lack of funding and other limitations these plans does not bare fruitful results."

2) Contextual Conditions:

These are the situation related to an special time and place which creates special conditions.

A) Politization of urban management

The characteristic of urban management in Iran, specially Tehran, the positions and responsibilities are directed to political parties. Collaboration with elites also directed by the group of urban management are in power.

Urban graphic designer, E19, he believes that, actions are affected by political party in power and varies a lot in different periods upon interest and tendency of urban managers:

"This is a trend that municipality like government changes time to time. So, person like me can have different relation in different periods and depending on my relationship. we are asked for help in municipality in a period I am very action. Today before you arrive I had a call from public relation of municipality to fix a meeting with me. In past 3 months I am invited from 4 sectors for work. But in Mr.Ahmadinezhad's municipality period I had none."

Dominant politization on urban management of Tehran is an obstacle foe long term planning. Any changes in management political tendency makes the plans of ex managers gradually for management political tendency makes the plans of ex managers gradually forgotten by new comers. E15, urban planner, believes that urban management needs no politi-

cians in urban management positions:

“as my point of view, if whole country is involved in politics, still municipalities and city councils must remain unpolitical. A new group who in power eliminates the ex-group activities and it goes on and on which weaken the urban management output. Selected people are selected by existing political party.”

A city as a society is dynamic and belongs to all citizens and domination of political parties causes to diminish the public participation in city activities. Urban management activities goes down by interference of political groups or changes.

Tehran urban management is where politicians seek for their own goal and interest. This trend omits elites who has the capabilities but does not fit in any political group.

“Polotization of urban management” is a category that the formation of political parties in this field, = and “tendency of new group excludes elites from the new formation” look of integrated urban management in political period” and “electing incapable people in city councils which directed by political parties.

B) Refusal of urban management system

In several Tehran city problems before happens the elites warned to city experts in meetings, interviews which turned into mayor problems later on. E3, researcher of urban development, tells us about his experience giving an special plan for managing Tehran which was unheard.

“There are a few people that can talk and have criticizes. But they will remain as whole and will not be used for urban management, and worked in subject of urban management, and worked academically and also was a member of district council. Then I recognized as; “neighbor council” which must be created till the district council and the people of neighbors can share a meaning full co-operation. But this also remained as an article in newspaper and unfortunately no action is seen from the other side.”

“Refusal of urban management system” to the elites ideas, related to “silent the voice of oppositions

which is the object of this research. It shows that obient elites can continue working in the system and automatically criticizers will be omitted.

c) Imtransparent management system

These days transparency in some organizations of municipality of Tehran isis raised. Municipality of Tehran attempted to launch a system for some information could be seen by citizens. In spite of attempts, municipality of urban management is a major obstacle for elites and urban researchers faces during their researches.

“There is no transparency. Even the outcomes one unclear. There is no reason that the mayor saves the findings foe himself. Municipality is a public sector,not private. It can offer information services to all organizations. At least the research department of municipality can. But nothing happens.”(Researcher and anthropologist, E11).

Ambiguity in urban dates is unacceptable according to the nature of urban management and referring to new modern urban management. Imtranparency is an important obstacle for research and offer solutions alternatives by urban elites.

“Financial imtransparency”, “Informational imtransparency”, “Research im transparency” and “Imtranparency of the system to all citizens” are the categories of Imtranparency.

3) Interfering Conditions:

Comes from an unacceptable condition which requires responses in Action or interaction.

A)Disorganization and disorderness of planning:

Disordering is a major problem in urban management system of Tehran which created a situation which can be seem now a days. High condensed plans and programs facing the increasing rate of urban problems show the unsuccessfulness of the most programs.

One of the gaps that led to this situation in urban management, lack of an organization that can look into implementation of programs in Macro perspectives and monitor the process.E19,urban designer,

believes the absence of a comprehension monitoring on long run planes causes not achieve proper goal.

“One reason is: There is no either long run plane like 10years or 20years plans or no organization to evaluate progress of these plans. Seems like the mayor has not much responsibility for main long run programs and only responsible to show people or other sectors of power are happy with him during his office period and there is no intension for long-term planning.

“Precedence of people to organizations and programs”, “lack of on long run programs”, “need for Legislation of rules and regulations”, “implementation anti ideas”, “lack of coordination between plans and implementation and plans”, “lack of coordination between plans of city institutes and the executive organization”, these categories creates the central phenomena of this issue.

B) Poor quality doctor-managers:

Some managers try to get high academic certificate after sitting on position chair. Some of them have no deep motivation to learn more in academic period and only level up their degrees. It's not only limited in executive management level but goes to university teaching, working on scientific magazine, managing research projects as well. These tasks are degraded by arrival of these low quality experts with high academic degrees. They save their high positions only by support of monopoly group. E20 believes, obient is the only chance of to survive for these people:

“I had a colleague who has been the general director of an organization since he graduated from high school. He is working for his doctoros degree along with his position as general director. He assigns one one of his employee to defend his thesis, other one to write a few articles for him. Everey one knows that, but no one stops him. Why? Because he is obeying his upper managers orders.”

Leaving such a vast activities for such doctors creates a marvelous chance for them and attach their students, relatives, friend and the political party members to improve their advantages. E10, Sociologist believes that relaying on managers university

degrees with no knowledge is the main Cause of this problem:

“So many people with no knowledge or experience in a certain field grabble the positions first, and then wanted to make them expert in that field. Now he is in university to get certificate to become expert and simultaneously has his private business. He then creates his own group to save his interest in these positions.”

Increasing the tasks and responsibilities on one side, but Rentier environment surrounded him on the other side of these poor quality doctor managers leads them to poor responses in action.

“Delusion of knowledge”, “Degree seeking”, “Decline of academic institute and study”, “Mass production of poor knowledged force” are the categories of following grounds.

c) Deficient Data collection:

Structural weakness of data gathering in Tehran's urban management serves the monopoly group in the system. No transparent system with no data is an advantage for this group. Lack of coded system for data gathering and presentation of urban data, presenting effective analysis for urban problems become difficult. It's difficult to evaluate finished, current and future programs and the budget with no access to research data.

“There are a lot of researches, which the municipality has no courage to put them all on municipality site. Some of them are but not all. This trend has a negative outcome for Iran's social science research system.”(Urban onthropologist,E11).

“Unclear research datas”, “Not presenting the finding of previous researches”, “piles of useless written plans”, “parallel efforts which waste resources”, “No efficient archives”, “Gap between research and executive sectors”, “no priority for documentation”, “facing secrecy issues for minor dates” are this aspects.

4) Consequence conditions:

The outcome of this research in response to the cur-

rent situation of urban management by elites in order to manage the current situation or saving their current positions can happen and includes consequential conditions.

A) Constant reproduction of poor quality and beneficiary managers:

Poor quality and beneficiary are the work force needed by monopoly group in the system. To excuse the city management, this monopoly group reproduces such managers with rewards or punishments. The number of these low quality people are increasing and being reproduced because of rewards or punishment.

“We are struggling with a monopoly group of poor quality people who come to university then try to get thesis and so on. They are told that its good that they get the position head of university or establish a university and place them on the top position of the university. It goes on and on for the interest. They improved a lot (E1, Sociologist).

Poor quality and beneficiary people are very effective to provide the Rentier for closed system. Economic Rentier helps them and their level of management to carry on in a looped Rentier. They are the key and the power of monopoly group which are progressively increasing the loop by their family, friends and loyal students and colleagues.

“Human force in closed Rentier group”, “A key to access Rentier loop”, “inefficiency of proficiency to achieve the goals”, “made a cultural of self-interest on constructions” are the categories of this phenomena.

B) Censorship:

Censorship is usually used as a mechanism for public benefit as whole. But in Tehran’s urban management, Censorship is against the interest of monopolist. Seems like Censorship in Tehran urban management is only for elites out of urban management circle. Managers and authorities are involved in it and perhaps it effects the decisions and choosing elites and executive.

This is one of the reasons that managers try to choose

a team work around them from relations and legal colleagues. E3 has this point of view:

“This is one of the factors that the managers also do not have job security, because only a few reports from prejudice people can dismiss or downgrade the manager. Then they prefer to have a group that can trust them and can assure him that no bad reports will be issued from his team. This situation professionals are the victim of this system.”

The ideas and plans will be selected and censored by urban management system. On the other side, “Self-censorship” by elites is also a problem. Because elites tries to censor their ideas which they think that might not be in favor of urban management in power. So they eliminate incompatible ideas which might not be in interest of authorities. This feeling is stronger among human science and elites of urban culture. This feeling was obvious during the interview. Sometimes at the beginning of an interview some questions were refusal be answered first but gradually was solved and we could have all answers to our questions.

“Censorship of idea and plans”, “Self-censorship of elites”, “Shadow of censorship on managers”, “The feeling of censorship and illogical selections”, “Contradiction between Liberal economy and ethical-moral values” are the factors that lead to censorship.

C) Tehran city problems intensifying:

Tehran’s urban managers are aware of the problems. Some has tried to have Macro view on problems and their approaches. We cannot deny the improvements these years. But the strong obstacle is “Closes Rentier Network, Lot of changes and reforms do not comply with closed Rentier; Then barriers are made especially in middle management level, which makes the policy and implementations inefficient, even if the policy comes from the mayor or other top level managers of Tehran municipality.

“Sooner or later the effects of these closed policies will cause riots on the streets which we have them now they are not seen. Addiction which is a reaction and defensive behavior. Some people who do

not foresee any bright future and hope, they go after drugs to have a temporary relaxation to escape from hopelessness. As this trend systematically are ignored but this bitter fact really exists and it can be considered as a social riot (E4, Economist).

“Compression of unsolved problems”, “synergy of crises”, “disregarding reform”, “lot of hindrances” are the categories of this condition.

5) Strategic interplays: consist of actions taken by studying people in order to find solution for problems.

A) Relative passivity for survival:

A series of conditions described above, the difficulties of interplay and collaborations between elites of urban knowledges and Tehran’s urban management system is obvious. Facing a closed monopolized system and not transparent, do not leave any courage or motivation for caring urban knowledge elites or experts to be deeply active, then they choose a relative passive form specially encountering with urban management system. This people are very active in their university life and professions, but several unsuccessful exercises in urban management system made them unmotivated and cautious.

“once we were young thought that we can change the world and put a lot of efforts, even accepted official responsibilities in government designated organizations. We taught that being in government agents we can work and make changes. But in practice we found out that the system is not intellectual enough for innovations and changes. It’s retrogressive, so traditional, very conservative and immersed in corruptions. Then no progress is expected. All we did was as to give knowledge to people cooperate with us (environment activist, E20).

Individual passivity in comparison to individual ideas is measured and relative passivity is chosen. The interview elites as a whole are not considered as passive. But in contact with urban management they become passive because of several experiences they are not willing to put up their time and energy where

they feel is risky.

“One of the problems of elites is that they spend lot of their time on this structure before and now they have no hope anymore to spend.” (urban designer, E19)

“Implementation of inconclusive projects”, “Distrust to city olicy”, “The distance between research priorities with scientific criteria” and “Profitability of the system” caused relative passivity of elites.

B) Isolation for personal projects:

As a result of passiveness of elites with combines with distrust about collaborating with urban management system, the consequence is individual activities to run projects. This way they can stay away from monopolized urban management run by certain group.

In addition individual researches are a move suitable method for them to satisfy them for social participation and help to improve citizens lift style.

“I involve myself to the event when I feel it’s good for citizens of the city. If I do something it’s on framework of me belief or faith. When I care about environment of my city and try to warn on this issue and create consciousness, they are all in framework on my faith which can help along with urban policy. In fact I do not see any feedback or concern on this issue. I do my job, and you do yours. People do not trust you but they trust me and I am not going to dig in this matter that why people do not trust the urban authority system. But when ask them for some work they accept it.” (Social researcher, E6).

Among the elites we studied and interviewed, most of them have a tendency of performing individual projects. This method is less risky with higher yield for them.

“Prefer to restrict their actions into individual action which is noble and pure for them”, “Distrust to urban management”, “Multiple center of decision making; intruder of correct functions” and “Introducing projects from high authorities” are the problems which load elites to individual activities within their field of knowledge.

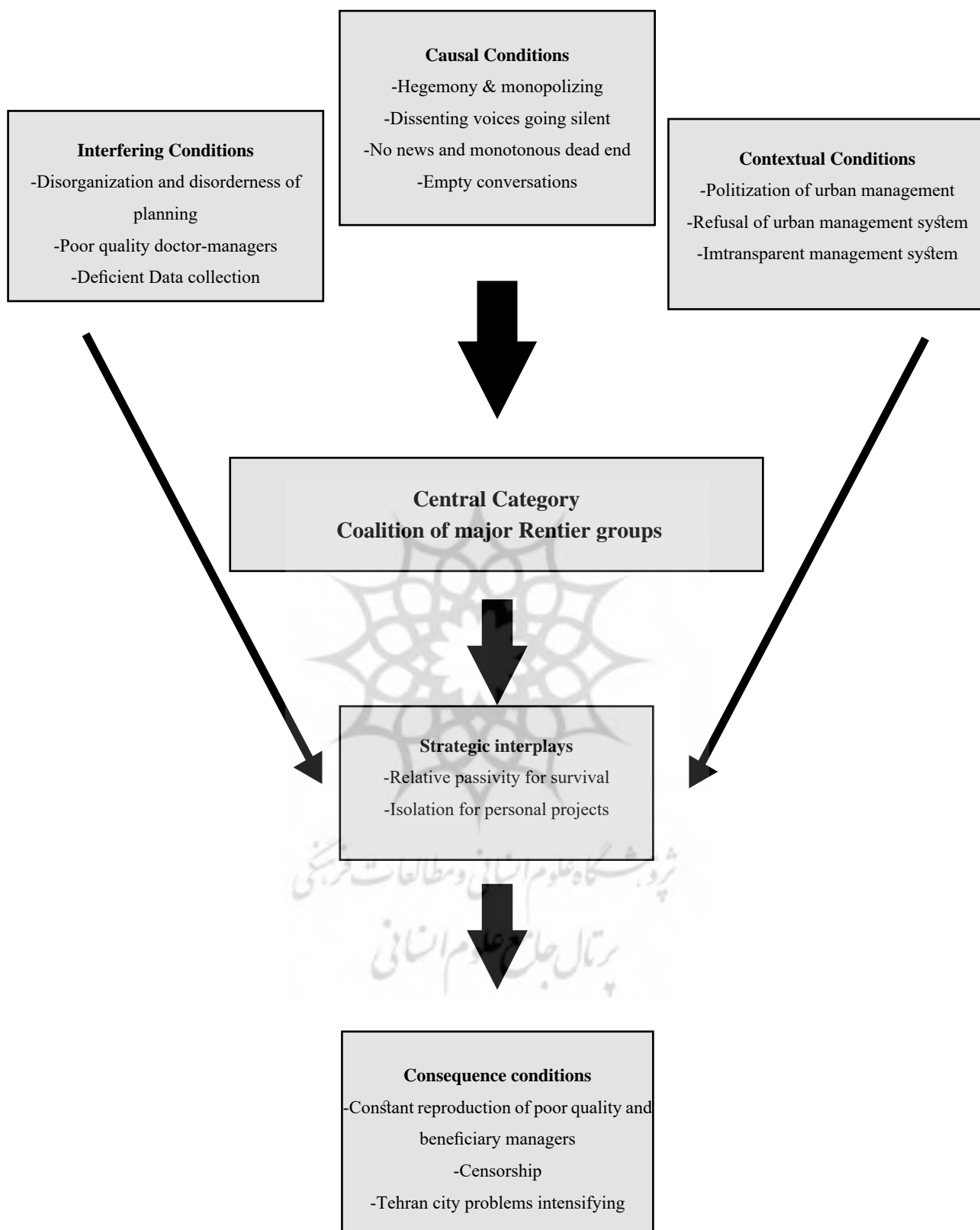


Diagram (1): Research paradigm model

Central Category: Coalition of major Rentier groups

Central category is the main the contents of research, it extracted from the heart of findings in conceptual form in order to describe the essence of the topic. With some exaggeration the central category is the result of all analysis in frame of few words (Strauss & Conrbin,1990).

In this research the topic of “closes Rentier network” come from among lots of codes and repeating subjects. Tehran city Rentier are the group who has influences in political, economic and or relatives to benefit in advantages, incomes and opportunities in the city administration.

“It’s not a only single group of Rentier, but many groups exist. These groups must hold their monopoly in order to achieve their goal and interests. If they can’t save their monopoly but you cannot consider them as mafia. You know what am I talking. There are enough groups and also enough gives take till the

goal is reached (E1,Urban researcher).

These groups need connections and monopolizations in order to survive. The closed Rentier networks in Tehran play considerable roles in decision making, Policy, appointing certain man for a certain job and selections. What is important for elite to take part a role in this system is not only urban knowledge, perhaps how close this elite is to the goal of Rentier groups and can fulfill their needs.

This research led the researchers to “Coalition of major rentier groups” as combining categories like; “Political Rent”, “Economic Rent”, :Judicial Rent” and “Informational Rent” to gather.

Members of these Rentier groups are managers, elites and executive elements. In fact the Rentier groups in an internal and complex system of Rents follow their goals in spiral closed loop to achieve their benefits and positions in Tehran city. By concentrating and overlapping each other in a closed system they become stronger.

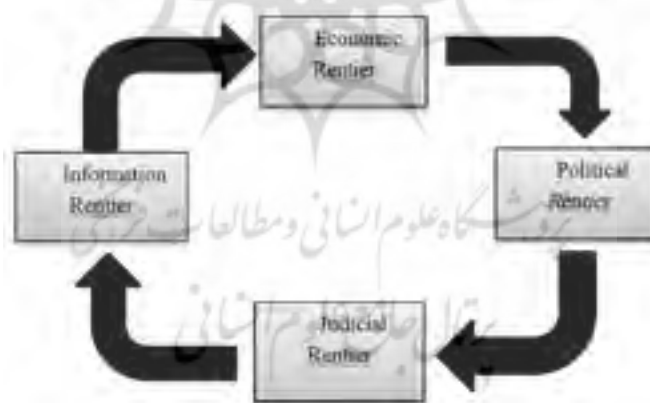


Diagram (1)

The closed system of Rentier as an spiral loop prevents others to enter the loop.

“It’s a bizarre situation; the main Rentiers came and are ahead now. They used to attend in university meeting and still are, they choose managers, then the people must be remained if they have programs, No matter who, they must follow the rule which is not known. Then suddenly send a group in the field for their own benefit. Arrangement for the Rentier group benefit (E17,economist).

People in mentioned before systems using the political Rents and related to influential group are assigned to specific positions to get the benefits in urban management system. Political Rents help them to get high positions and responsibilities. Economic Rents is the gate to enter the field of city developments, Real states and housing. Information Rents can monopolize decision making projects and also achieve to high academic level using the information. Finally judicial Rents save them from punishment if in case

violating law and orders. Thus, The spiral Rentier loop help them to dominate the urban network and keep away other groups from this network.

What the ultimate result of Rentier system; coalition of huge amount of resources, investing productive activities into nonproductive, Corruption in all levels and creating structural anomalies. Such a system beside slowing down economic development, it also terminates social and political mobilities and at the end prevents developments of Tehran city.

Conclusion

Qualitative researches based on its methodological specification provides a fantastic unpredictable and dynamic ambient to the researcher.

In this research after interviewing with every elite a new prospect of thought opened to the researcher for next interview. The primary goal of this research was “determining the elites participation in urban man-

agement of Tehran”. This is a simplistic to describe the share of elites in this field, and needs a typology of urban knowledge elites which is in this research.

It doesn't seem logical to put elites one side and urban management other side. The share of elites participation depends in how close they are to the center of power in Tehran urban management.

The situation of each elite depends on rate of alignment to “closed Rentier Networks”.

Elites who has the conformity with this group, they get more shares of opportunities in Macro Policy. While managers within the management system do not get that much.

A typology of urban elites to the situation they are in shows that in depends on conformity or inconformity of the individual with “Closed Rentier system”. This mechanism is beyond city manager will.

Type	Degree of conformity into Rentier Network	Position in urban management
Noble elites	Inconform	Constant friction
Conservative elites	Conform	ease

Table (3)

Noble Elite

Is an expert who gives higher proprieties to citizens interest against his own interest and most of the time he ignores his own interest. This type of elites is not welcome into the system and a covert mechanism put him aside.

In Consequence they react for survival, isolation and doing personal researches describe the situation of noble elites.

Conservative Elite

Is an expert who serves for the interest of rentier networks and follows the rule. In return he gets advantages. This type of elite at rentiers service and tries to monopolize city in favor of closes Rentier system. “All implemented projects in the city at the end needs approval and signatures by a series of experts to legitimize the projects. The question is, who are

these group and on what base they legitimize them. They are in the ground of an economic political rentier system and their activity is in favor of influential people in the country. They for sure need approval of a group of educated experts, but one what base they need this services, shows that they need to justify the plundering. They need a group of experts mostly aducated who sell themselves to influence people not to truth(E4,Economist).

Obviously these two types are the two ends of this string. Noble elite and Conservative Elite are two ideal type and urban elites depends on the relation they have are in between.

Final Theory

In general Tehran's urban management is a conflict field to conquer dominant coalition to control Rentier groups. They earned a lot helped them to have unique

economic and political power. Such a way that they have an agent in city decision making centers and the agent influences on Macro policies of the city. They have their own contractors and implement projects the way they want which yield them the most profit, regardless of destructive level of the implementation in the city. They also have their own researchers to even monopolize the research projects and destroying and expanding their power in every field in the city and its obvious that they easily can eliminate oppositions on their way, and also ignore noble elites. Closed Rentier Networks as an insatiable monster destroys and swallows ahead.

Reducing the problem into Politics or economics can explain the existing feats. Close Rentier Networks are growing fat and swallows politics, cultures and economics. Networks raid beyond people, organizations and institutes.

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