

Analysis of Geopolitical Actors in Urban Space (Drawing the Power Circle of Tehran Metropolis)¹

Arash Ghorbani Sepehr – PhD Student in Political Geography, Kharazmi University, Tehran, Iran.

Afshin Mottaghi * - Associate Professor of Political Geography, Kharazmi University, Tehran, Iran.

Joseph Salukvadze- Professor of Ivan Javakhsli University, Faculty of Social Sciences, Tbilisi, Georgia.

Received: 01/10/2021

Accepted: 11/03/2022

<https://doi.org/10.22034/igq.2023.146290>

Abstract

In order to draw the circle of power of actors in the metropolis of Tehran, we need to identify geopolitical actors in this metropolis. In the metropolis of Tehran, actors have different identities and beings, and may be government institutions or organizations, individuals or public communities, non-governmental organizations or private companies. In this study, SPSS, Friedman test and t-test are used to describe and analyze the data. The present study is based on two main questions. 1. who are the actors present in Tehran and which of the actors has the greatest impact on power relations in the metropolis? 2. What is the role of each of the actors (local, national and transnational) on power relations in the metropolis of Tehran? The results show that the political capital of Iran (Tehran metropolis) is managed by many organizations and institutions and no single organization is in charge of final decision-making. This is because each of these organizations has held a part of urban spaces and resources of Tehran metropolis with its power and manages those resources for the purpose of making profit.

Keywords: Tehran Metropolis, Power Actors, Power Relations, Political Management of the City, Urban Geopolitics.

1. This article is extracted from the doctoral dissertation entitled "Analysis of actors' goals in the future of power relations in metropolises (case of Tehran metropolis)" at Kharazmi University, Faculty of Geographical Sciences, Department of Political Geography, under the supervision of Dr. Afshin Mottaghi.

* E-mail : a.mottaghi@khu.ac.ir

1. Introduction

Each city is composed of several elements and due to different uses of any geographical space in social, economic and cultural life of citizens etc., it may create various outlooks and landscapes (Ahmadipour and et al., 2017:36). City space includes stage and place of manifestation for sociopolitical power. Not only have power centers already tried to manifest symbolic parameters of their power in the city, but also they have utilized from their power and influence in spatial organization of the city (Kamanroodi Kojoori and et al.,2010:10). The power struggle between the main decision-making and decision-taking institutions has a significant impact on the environment and the policy-making process (Kazemian and Jalili,2015:140). Hence, the changes and developments that have taken place in the present era have paved the way for an increase in role-playing and acting at various levels. These changes have also had a significant impact on the breadth and forms of actors, setting the ground for the formation and growth of actors at various subnational and transnational levels, and in a way overshadowing the exclusive power in the hands of national governments. Of course, there is a view in this regard that, due to the inefficiency of governments in conducting new international affairs and the gradual diminishing role of governments as the embodiment of national sovereignty, the power and weight of parallel institutions have increased in decision-making and policy-making. As diverse forces play a role at different local, national, regional and global levels, governments have been forced to continually adapt to the new conditions of the international community and redefine their competencies (King,1990:25). Due to these changes, it can be said that the characteristics and sources of power have changed in the age of globalization and we are witnessing a change in the center of power from countries to subnational or transnational actors. At the transnational level, the presence of international actors, including multinational corporations and international organizations, and their transnational interests have affected the influence of governments, and at the subnational level, we see the role of the private sector, civil society and local governments. On the other hand, the reduction of the monopoly role of government and the increase of the role of subnational actors in the age of globalization has caused governments to be on a level parallel to other institutions. In such a way that a kind of multiple and multi-layered

sovereignty and horizontal space emerge in world governance. Given the fragmentation of power between governmental, subnational, and transnational levels, there is a need for interaction for governmental and non-governmental actors while playing a parallel role. This is a process that encourages decentralization of government and increasing reliance on new forms of participation of citizens and subnational actors in the policy-making and decision-making process (Lesage,2007:343). Thus, since most of the facilities in the current century are in cities, the majority of the planet's population lives in cities. But with the advent of the industrial and information revolution, cities found a new function, and the formation of these new functions paved the way for the emergence of new actors in cities. In any case, the city actor is a natural or legal person, visible or invisible, who plays a role formally or informally in cities.

However, power is usually not evenly distributed among different actors. Depending on the different political, economic and social conditions in a country, different public, private and civil actors have different powers to influence issues and goals.

Megalopolises are assumed as the foremost spatial units for socioeconomic activities; on the one hand, and intermediate examples for such relations (Imani Shamlou and et al.,2016:130). Capitals play role as a central sources of political and economic power and governmental headquarters (Ibrahimzadeh and et al.,2016:137). Based on the above, the metropolis of Tehran is governed by 25 governmental and non-governmental organizations, each of which has its own rules and regulations. Despite the uncontrolled mushroom growth of the metropolis of Tehran, it can be said that the management system in this metropolitan area has not grown much and even with the increase of institutions in charge of this city, the level of services provided has decreased. In other words, it seems that the metropolis of Tehran is a city divided into a number of territories (political segregation), in each of which there are different institutions working in the field of city administration (functional segregation) and these institutions and organizations do not have a single plan, design, and strategy as a work tool to perform their duties and responsibilities (Azizi and et al.,2012:6). Accordingly, in order to draw the circle of acting power in the metropolis of Tehran, we need to identify key actors in this metropolis, so that each of these actors have different identities and beings, and may be government

institutions or organizations, individuals or public communities, non-governmental organizations, or private companies. It is so that each does not have the same influence and power, and it should be noted that actors do not have the same capacity and ability to advance goals and policies in response to key issues. An actor (or more specifically a stakeholder) is a social institution, an individual, or an organization that can make a decision or influence its adoption. From this perspective, policy issues and processes involve multiple actors (parties), because we believe that there is no single actor who can unilaterally impose his desired solution on others. Rather, some form of cooperation between the parties is needed; the actors are interdependent. Therefore, in the present study, two questions are examined: 1) who are the actors present in Tehran and which of the actors has the greatest impact on power relations in the metropolis? 2) What is the role of each of the actors (local, national and transnational) on power relations in the metropolis of Tehran?

2. Research Background

In conducting any scientific research, it is necessary to study the research and studies that have been done in connection with the subject under study, because without achieving the results of other people's research, their development and evolution, it is impossible to achieve the appropriate answer and better analysis. Therefore, some backgrounds that are closely related to the research subject are described here.

Table (1): Research Background

	Researchers	Title and location	Description
1	Ashtiani Araghi et al 2020	Realization of integrated urban management with emphasis on the role and power of actors at different levels of urban management in Tehran; Quarterly Journal of Urban Research and Planning	The results show that the role and power of actors in different levels of urban management in Tehran are government institutions, municipalities and city councils that have the most power in the decision-making level of urban management and in other words, have the greatest impact on the realization of integrated urban management.
2	Azizi et al. 2012	Investigating the role of actors and urban management tools in the integration of Tehran metropolitan management; City Identity Quarterly	The management of Tehran metropolis, in different fields of activity, is done by different institutions, which has caused parallel work in this field and has caused the current problems of the management of this metropolis. It seems that in order to improve the current situation, the activities and tasks of the city management, which are currently unevenly distributed among the various components of this system and lead to lack of integration

			and functional division, should be purposefully planned and organized to effectively delegate them to institutions to prevent division and fragmentation in these areas.
3	Daniel Pejic 2020	Cities and International Relations; Oxford University	Urban science must address issues such as migration, health, environmental sustainability and economic development, citizens, urban governments, and the effects of globalization on cities. Internationally, multilateral organizations have recognized these problems and have increasingly included cities or networks of cities as intermediaries in global forums, confirming the growing importance of cities in international affairs. Recently, scholars have begun to study and theorize the role of cities as actors in global affairs, especially through forms of network governance and interference in major multilateral issues. This report traces the evolution of cities to date. It begins with a limited background in the study of urban policy and provides an important framework for understanding how diverse research flows develop. It then examines "global cities" that recognize the growing importance of cities to international affairs in the late twentieth century.
4	Christy Swiney 2020	International Laws of Urbanization and International Relations: Increasing the soft power of cities in global governance	This book examines the growing influence of cities in global governance and international law. It also examines the various strategies and tools that city leaders employ for their national relations in order to achieve international privileges, including 1) forming large networks in the form of urban diplomacy, 2) cooperating with international organizations, and 3) entry into UN multilateral programs. This article argues that the concepts, frameworks, and roles of urban actors in world politics that we use to explain the global political and international legal order have not been reliable.
5	Simon Curtis and Michelle Acuto 2018	The foreign policy of cities	Over the past decade, cities have become increasingly important on the world stage. One consequence of this is that cities have begun to develop forms of diplomatic activity that seek to increase their importance and growth in order to influence aspects of global governance. With hundreds of official urban networks, regular performances in increasingly active roles in important multilateral frameworks, and now with the good knowledge of the media, the foreign policy of cities on the world stage can no longer be ignored. Hence, the role of major private sector actors in shaping the system should not be overlooked as much as it could facilitate city diplomacy. But what is becoming increasingly clear is that cities can play a major role in the international system, as this is compatible with the complex global problems of the 21 st century.

The background of the research shows that so far no research has been done to scrutinize and comprehensively analyze the actors present in Tehran metropolis and draw circles and layers of power in this metropolis. This research can be a window in the field of better understanding the actors present in Tehran metropolis.

3. Theoretical Foundations

In the last decade a new wave of urban research has emerged, putting comparative perspectives back on the urban studies agenda (Rokem and Boano,2018:1). investigated geopolitics and its relevance to urban studies and planning in any significant detail. This brief intervention aims to advance the cross-disciplinary field of urban geopolitics, by bringing geopolitics into the mainstream of urban studies and planning research. From a planning standpoint, there is a need to enhance our understanding of cities as significantly shaped by everyday manifestations of political faultlines, and of how this affects a multiplicity of outcomes across geographical scales (Rokem and et al,2007:149-50).

Etymologically, both concepts are rooted in the same geographical unit, the Latin *urbs* and the Greek *polis*. Yet, despite this shared geography there have been very few studies which have looked into the conceptual links between these two spatial disciplines. Maybe the closest attempt to link urbanism and geopolitics is the body of scholarship which goes under the name of urban geopolitics. Particularly over the last decade, scholars working with and within this notion have tried to bridge the disciplines of political geography, geopolitics, urban studies, planning and architecture in a variety of ways (Fregonese,2012a:295). The subject and concept of urban geopolitics was first raised in France under the influence of socialist views.

Urban geopolitics has established itself as an interdisciplinary body of geopolitical transformations and very local acts of violence against urban

Power and political violence are exercised through interventions on the built environment by a diverse range of state and non-state actors, or even mergers of both (Fregonese,2012b:658).

Connections between cities and geopolitics have also tangentially concerned critical urban and conflict studies (Fregonese,2017c:2).

Urban geopolitics has attracted two main strands of academic critique. The first comes from political geography scholarship and targets some of urban

geopolitics' early writings and the conceptual and moral implications of their understanding of the relationship between cities, violence and global ~~iiii iic.. eee ee cuuuuus~~ ... ~~iii gtt uaaan geoiiii iic.. kkkk kk mmlly~~ replacing states with cities as new scale of reference for contemporary wars, rather than promoting a more refined understanding of the multiplicity of geopolitical discourses and practices surrounding urban conflict (Flint, 2006). The second critical strand concerns urban geopolitics' analytical over-reliance on few and heavily militarised case studies (Fregonese, 2017c:2).

Cities have gained prominence in global sustainability discourses. The ~~dddddddiiss 00000~~ Agedda' ~~ii giii gsss nn~~ at leatt ~~rrrr eey agreeetttt~~ s the need to engage local stakeholders as key partners for the implementation of global policy objectives (Robin and Acuto,2018:76).

More than a mere topos, the urban space has become a *modus vivendi*, an embodiment of the (post)modern world, sometimes even a world in miniature, a space where diversity meets diversity, a metaphor of the so-called ~~gcccaizaii::~~ “[~~eee ctty, eee crrrrrrrr rry meiiiiiii ii ss rrr~~ many the chosen metaphor for the experience of the modern world. In its everyday details, its mixed histories, languages and cultures, its elaborate evidence of global tendencies and local distinctions, the figure of the city, as both a real and an imaginary place, apparently provides a ready map for reading, interpretation and ~~ceeeee eennnnm aaaa rrrr~~ „,2001). Cities reveal changing politics and policies that shape the spatial and social structure of societies and set different trajectories for their development. Cities are important sites for the generation of material welfare, progress, and innovation; however, they also engender acute problems, including huge socioeconomic disparities and spatial inequalities that shape their landscapes (Medvedkov and Salukvadze,2016:287). Certainly, the notion that the way urban conflict unfolds is also influenced by geographically remote actors is not a new one (Calame and Charlesworth,2009:11–12), but little is known about situations in which these distant forces are the primary actors involved. In other words, in geopolitical fault-line cities, localized conflicts and violence are not only connected to broader geopolitical processes (Rokem and et al.,2017) – they are their main product (Gentile, 2019:127).

Political management in most of the Third World countries, by pursuing a kind of political organization that has reduced planning, especially urban planning, to a physical and geometric perspective, has always put the policy of pure physical development at the forefront. This type of policy, which is the result of geometry orientation in political management, considers the best management method to be a combination of political and developmental methods. This type of political management has a classified, linear, separating and disruptive view (Torres,2014:13). In other words, the space that is managed with a geometric-oriented and development-oriented approach seeks to reduce the complex and multifaceted environment of the city as a point, line, surface and construction projects (Smith,2005:56). In fact, the political management of the city is a two-way issue that includes both the political system's view of urban management and the role of citizens in the city administration. To put it in other words, there is the type of political system on one side of urban management, and on the other side, there are citizens who, in proportion to the type of political system, apply for the necessary authority to intervene in the administration of city affairs (Ahmadipour and Ghaderi Hajat,2015:126).

To these, the role of urban movements, analysed by Manuel Castells, has added a considerable amount of power, at least to the collective memory of the city. These organizations have been integrated into the structure and practice of local organizations, which has significantly reduced [the] possibility of the local state as a significant instance of reconstruction of political control (Castells, 2011). Even if the cities can and have to play a significant role in solving international issues, these organizations can arise that question its role and powers. A relevant example in this respect is Toronto, which has approximately 888,000 inhabitants (Toronto Facts). According to recent data, 15% of them – approximately 380,000 people – are permanent residents, which means they pay their local taxes and benefit from local services, but are not permitted to vote for local elections, since they are not granted Canadian citizenship. According to Canadian law, permanent residents must have lived in Canada for at least three years before applying for Canadian citizenship, which

might be, in turn, a relatively lengthy process (still short as compared to countries such as Switzerland, Germany, France.. Gnnnn nnnneettttt ttt - citizens can vote in municipal elections in some cities in more than 40 countries – including countries in Europe, as well as the U.S. and New Zealand (Sassen, 2013), much lobby has been done for the adoption of this right of a so-called *citizens' initiative referendum* (CIR). The CIR is a re-construction of the Ancient city-state. The CIR is a salient characteristic of this new age of globalization, as it was related to the rise of a trading, international economy at the origin of the modern age (Sassen, 2013: 301). Or, as Saskia Sassen has observed, one could talk about a new type of city, mostly, but not exclusively, global cities. Major cities will not replace any of the other geopolitical actors. But they will play a role, both as actor and as the site of the new city-state (Sassen, 2013: 2). In this age of high speed globalization, the geography of cities and the 'global city' is emerging. Still, even if these two worlds coexist, the real world is an acute poverty. Still, even if these two worlds coexist, the real world is an acute poverty (Sassen and Nistor, 2015:117).

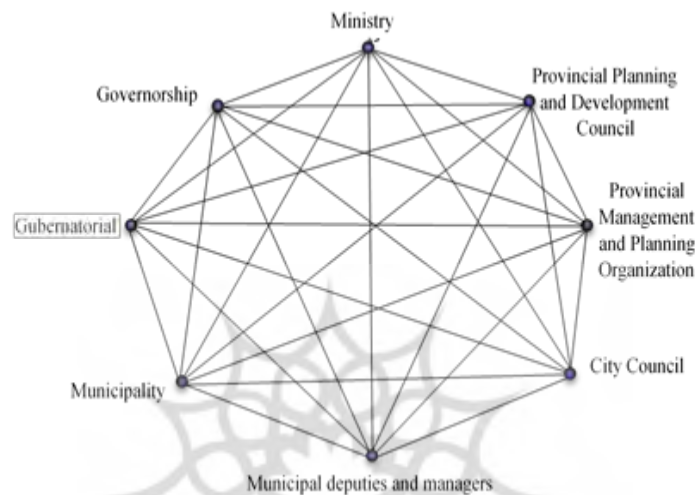
Plurality of power versus centralised power is a major dilemma faced within the urban planning process. Centralisation of power occurs in comprehensive planning, placing the local government and citizens on the periphery; citizen collaboration has no place in comprehensive planning, as the final plan is made based on input from specialists and decisions by the central (Mashhadi Moghaddam and Rafieian, 2019:2). A plurality of power is the concept behind Habermasian communicative action, which argues that repressive power must turn into emancipatory communication (Forester, 1988).

There are several definitions of power. Power can be attributed to why, when, and how (and where) individuals and groups achieve something. But this concept does not mean the equivalence or substitutability of cause and power. Because power is an internal concept or capacity, in other words, it indicates the potential and capacity of action and not the action itself. Therefore, the difficulty of examining power is that we may have to discover the power of actors, without seeing them exercising power, especially since some of them deliberately exercise their power in secret

(Keith Dodding,2001:6-10). Power is the ability to achieve specific goals. It is emphatically said that power is an abstract concept that is often used as a synonym for the concept of "influence". A concept that may relate to the relationship between an individual and the natural world, but is mostly used to define relationships between individuals and between groups, including between states (Johnston,1982:629). Power is the ability to force people to do things they would not do if they had control over resources and is exercised on all scales from individual to global. Those who have more political, social, and economic power have more control over the organization of society and the allocation of society's interests. This unequal power is reflected in social relations between classes and in capitalist cities (Pacion,1999:640). Therefore, according to the content expressed in the city space, three types of power can be distinguished from each other. 1) Formal power, which is interpreted as the authority and power of sovereignty and formality. 2) Informal power is power formed by institutions and popular communities in the city or non-governmental economic power. 3) Unlimited power is the same as force. This power, unlike the previous two types, has no definite framework, and the tyrant or oppressor determines all frameworks, especially the law that is his tool.

Changes and developments that have taken place during the last century have in various ways provided the ground for increasing role-playing and acting for actors independent of government systems, both at the subnational and transnational levels in geographical areas. It is in a way that the currents and developments resulting from those have turned cities into actors with independent role-playing and acting, and in some cases even beyond many countries. In this way, in the field of current relations, acting and role-playing have gone beyond the exclusive framework of governments and states, and new actors have entered it. The following figure shows the network model of inter-organizational power relations in the political management of Iranian cities.

Figure (1): Network of Inter-Organizational Relations and Power Relations in the Political Management of Iranian Cities



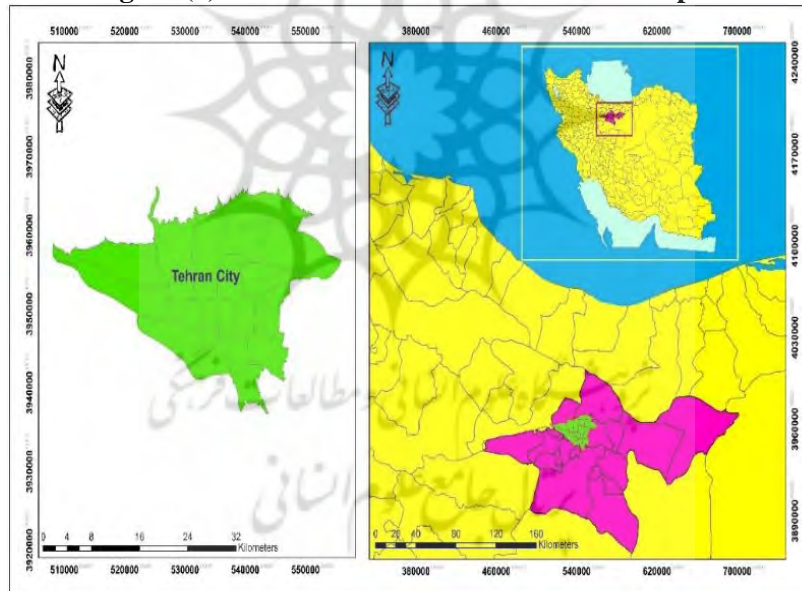
4. Research Method

The present study is a descriptive-analytical research in terms of its methodology and it is practical in terms of its objective. In this article, the documentary method and questionnaire have been used to collect the required data. The statistical population in this study includes elites and experts in the field of urban geopolitics and political geography of the city, 100 of whom have been selected through snowball sampling method. In this method of sampling, each expert introduces another expert at the end of questionnaire in the form of a chain. Therefore, these questionnaires have been evaluated and analyzed as research findings. In this study, SPSS, Friedman test and t-test were used to describe and analyze the data.

The metropolis of Tehran with different heights from north to south (800 meters difference in height) is spread on the southern slopes of the central Alborz. This metropolis is the decision-making center of the country and the center of the most economic, industrial, service, educational, research, administrative and political facilities in Iran. Due to this very complex and huge concentration within the largest metropolis of Iran, the sphere of influence and position of Tehran has expanded to such an extent that any decision and performance has been affected. The multi-role nature of Tehran also adds to its importance. Political, administrative, cultural,

service, industrial and economic roles have all added to the importance of this city and have made it more influential in other parts of the city. Given the security of Tehran as the capital of the Islamic Republic of Iran with national security and stability of the system, planning to ensure security and prevent instability and crisis, is fundamental and vital. In other words, today, the metropolis of Tehran, with a quarter of the country's urban population, is the most important population center of Iran. Due to the centralized political-administrative system, Tehran is the headquarters of all decision-making institutions and senior managers and plays a major role in the political, social, economic and cultural management of the country. Therefore, the occurrence of security instabilities in Tehran can endanger national security in various areas (Mottaghi and et al.,2021:105).

Figure (2): Political Situation of Tehran Metropolis



According to the general census and housing population of 2016, the population of Tehran metropolis in 22 districts is 13,267,637 with an area of about 716 square kilometers. Among the 22 districts, District 4 with 861280 people and District 22 with 129 thousand people are the most populous and least populated areas of Tehran, respectively.

Table (2): Population Developments of Tehran Metropolitan Area and Tehran Metropolis along with Tehran's Share of Metropolitan Area Population

	Year	Population of Tehran Metropolis	Population of Metropolitan Area	Percentage of Tehran's Share of the Population of the Metropolitan Area
1	1966	2919730	3456314	78
2	1976	4530223	5305037	85
3	1986	6042584	8068250	74
4	1996	6758845	10309746	65
5	2006	7797520	13383082	58
6	2011	8093305	14557192	6/55
7	2016	8693706	15946479	5/54

(Source: Results of the General Population and Housing Census of 1966-2016)

Therefore, in 2016, the population share of Tehran metropolitan area from the total population of the country decreased from 30.5% to 19.95%, which is a sign of a decrease in three metropolitan area populations of the total population. But this does not mean a decrease in concentration in Tehran metropolitan area, but mostly due to the increase in the population of the whole country and other residential areas of the country, and the phenomenon of population concentration in the metropolitan area of Tehran still continues.

5. Research Findings

In the research a number of 100 elites and experts in the urban geopolitics who were adroit at power moods in Tehran metropolis have selected as a statistical sample. The sample gathered by the snowball effect and they answered to the questionnaire. In the snowball method, each expert introduces another one due to a thorough acquaintance with the field. Questionnaires have analyzed as a source of the research findings.

Out of 100 respondents in terms of gender, 41 were women and 59 were men. Also, 3% were in the age group of 60 years and older, 7% were in the age group of 50 to 59 years, 24% were in the age group of 40 to 50 years, 25% were in the age group of 30 to 40 years, 41% were in the age group of 20 to 30 years. According to the findings, 50% of the sample population was

born in Tehran and the other 50% in other cities. Moreover, 75% of experts lived in Tehran and 25% of experts lived in other cities; 69% of them held a doctoral degree and another 31% had master's degrees. Among the respondents, 34% had very much knowledge and awareness about the actors present in the city of Tehran, 30% had much knowledge, 24% had moderate knowledge, and about 12% had little and very little knowledge about the actors present in the city. Hence, 31% of the respondents considered having official power for the actors to be very effective and 52% considered the unlimited power of the actors to be very effective.

Answer to the first question:

Who are the actors present in Tehran and which of the actors has the greatest impact on power relations in the metropolis?

By understanding the actors of Tehran metropolis, the geopolitical actors of this metropolis can be classified into three scales (local, national and transnational), among which, national actors have the greatest impact on power relations in Tehran metropolis.

Friedman test to prioritize effective actors in power relations in the metropolis of Tehr.

Table (3): Ranking of the most Influential Local Actors on Power Relations in the Metropolis of Tehran

	Local Actors	Mean Rank	Rank among Actors
1	Governorship	7.17	3
2	Gubernatorial	6.78	4
3	Municipality	6.78	4
4	City Council	6.26	5
5	Research Centers and Universities	3.49	6
6	Citizens	3.11	8
7	Owners of Factories, Industries and large Commercial and Insurance companies	7.26	2
8	Tower Builders, Town Builders and Owners of Commercial Passages	7.84	1
9	NGO	3.41	7
10	Athletes and Artists	2.92	9

The results of Friedman test in Table (3), ranking the impact of local actors on power relations in the metropolis of Tehran, show that tower builders, town builders and owners of commercial passages with an average rank of 7.84 are in the first rank, owners of factories, industries and large commercial and insurance companies with an average rank of 7.26 are in the second rank, the governorship with an average rank of 7.17 is in the third rank, the gubernatorial with an average rank of 6.78 is in the fourth rank, the municipality with an average rank of 6.78 is in the fifth rank, the city council with an average rank of 6.26 is in the sixth rank, research centers and universities with an average rank of 3.49 are in the seventh rank, NGOs with an average rank of 3.41 are in the eighth rank, citizens with an average rank of 3.11 are in the ninth rank, and athletes and artists with an average rank of 2.92 are at the bottom. This ranking shows that the private sectors (factory owners and tower builders) with unlimited power in the hands of local actors have the most impact on power relations in Tehran metropolis. Also, the governorship, gubernatorial, the municipality, and the city council, with their official power, influence the power relations in the metropolis of Tehran.

Table (4): Ranking of the most Influential National Actors on Power Relations in the Metropolis of Tehran

	National Actors	Mean Rank	Rank among Actors
1	The Cabinet and its Subordinate Ministries	7.94	1
2	Members of the Islamic Consultative Assembly	7.43	2
3	Banks and Financial and Credit Institutions	7.36	3
4	Broadcasting Organization	5.07	8
5	Military and Security Forces	4.87	7
6	Political Parties	5.08	5
7	The Judiciary and its Affiliates	6.32	4
8	Endowment and Charity Organization and Relief Committee	3.48	9
9	Environmental Protection Organization	3.25	10
10	Islamic Revolution Housing Foundation	4.21	6

(Source: Research Calculations,2021)

The results of Friedman test in Table (4), ranking the impact of national actors on power relations in the metropolis of Tehran, show that the Cabinet and its subordinate ministries with an average rank of 7.94 are in the first rank, Members of the Islamic Consultative Assembly with an average rank of 7.43 are in the second rank, banks and financial and credit institutions with an average rank of 7.36 are in the third rank, the judiciary and its affiliates with an average rank of 6.32 are in the fourth rank, political parties with an average rank of 5.08 are in the fifth rank, Broadcasting Organization with an average rank of 5.07 is in the sixth rank, military and security forces with an average rank of 4.87 are in the seventh rank, Islamic Revolution Housing Foundation with an average rank of 4.21 is in the eighth rank, Endowment and Charity Organization and Relief Committee with an average rank of 3.48 are in the ninth rank, and Environmental Protection Organization with an average rank of 3.25 is at the bottom.

Table (5): Ranking of the most Influential Transnational Actors on Power Relations in the Metropolis of Tehran

	Transnational Actors	Mean Rank	Rank among Actors
1	Embassies	3/63	1
2	Foreign traders and Investors	3/52	2
3	International Organizations and Multinational Corporations	3/45	3
4	Dissident Media and Foreign Groups	2/31	4
5	Foreign Tourists and Travelers	2/10	5

The results of Friedman test in Table (5), ranking the impact of transnational actors on power relations in the metropolis of Tehran, show that embassies with an average rank of 3.63 are in the first rank, foreign traders and investors with an average rank of 3.52 are in the second rank, international organizations and multinational corporations with an average rank of 3.45 are in the third rank, dissident media and foreign groups with an average rank of 2.31 are in the fourth rank, and foreign tourists and travelers with an average rank of 2.10 are in the last rank.

Table (6): Items of Power Actors in the Metropolis of Tehran

Items	Mean	SD	Max.	Min.
Local Actors	3/028	0/447	5	1
National Actors	3/301	0/525	5	1
Transnational Actors	2/664	0/664	5	1

(Source: research calculations,2021)

According to Table (6), the response mean is above average, indicating that experts consider the actors identified in power relations in the metropolis of Tehran to be effective. In order to determine the priority, the average ranks are examined, the results related to the average ranks are given in Table (7). The higher the average rank, the greater the impact of that actor on power relations in the metropolis of Tehran.

Table (7): Ranking of the most Influential Local, National and Transnational Actors on Power Relations in the Metropolis of Tehran

	Geopolitical Actors of Tehran Metropolis	Mean Ranking	Ranking
1	Local actors	2.13	2
2	National actors	2.52	1
3	Transnational actors	1.36	3

(Source: Research Calculations,2021)

Based on the results obtained from Friedman test, it can be said that among the research items, the second item "National Actors" is ranked first with an average of 2.52, the first item "Local Actors" is ranked second with an average of 2.13, and "Transnational actors" are in last place with an average of 1.36. It is worth mentioning that in tables 3, 4, and 5, the ranking of actors in local, national and transnational scales is given in each scale, respectively, so that it can be well understood which of the actors in each scale is more influential on power relations in the metropolis of Tehran.

Table (8): Results of Friedman Test to Analyze the most Influential Actors in Tehran Metropolis

No.	Df	Chi Square	Sig. Level	Test Result
100	2	74.469	0.000	H ₁ is confirmed

(Source: research calculations,2021)

According to the results in Table (8), the P-value (0.000) is less than 0.05; therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected and the alternative hypothesis that national actors have the greatest impact on power relations in the metropolis of Tehran is confirmed. In other words, the influence of each of the power actors in power relations in the metropolis of Tehran is different from each other, and each of the actors, having some kind of power (official, unlimited), somehow acts in the metropolis of Tehran. In general, the obtained results confirm the first hypothesis of the research.

Answer to the second question: Using the t-test to examine the role of each of the actors (local, national, and transnational) on power relations in the metropolis of Tehran.

What is the role of each of the actors (local, national and transnational) on power relations in the metropolis of Tehran?

It seems that each of the actors, based on the type of power they possessed, has played a role in power relations in the metropolis of Tehran.

H₁: $\mu > 3$ Local actors are involved in power relations in the metropolis of Tehran.

H₀: $\mu \leq 3$ Local actors are not involved in power relations in the metropolis.

Table (9): One-Sample t-Test of the Role of Local Actors on Power Relations in Tehran Metropolis

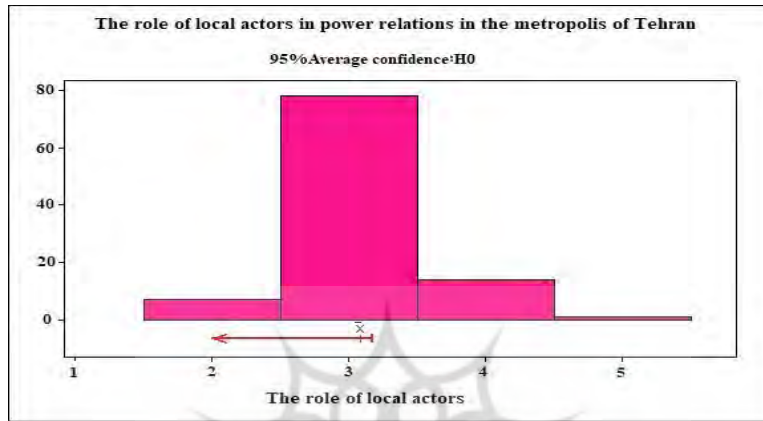
Local Actors	Mean	SD	Mean Standard Error	Confidence Interval 95%	t-Statistics	P-value
The role of Governorship in power relations in Tehran metropolis	3/86	1/035	0/103	0/65 _ 1/07	8/310	0/000
The role of Gubernatorial in power relations in Tehran metropolis	3/75	1/134	0/110	0/53 _ 0/97	6/791	0/000
The role of Municipality in power relations in Tehran metropolis	3/50	1/283	0/128	0/25 _ 0/75	3/897	0/000
The role of City council in power relations in Tehran metropolis	3/30	1/133	0/113	0/08 _ 0/52	2/649	0/000
The role of Research centers and universities in power relations in Tehran metropolis	2/09	0/866	0/087	-1/08 _ -0/74	-10/512	0/000
The role of Citizens in power relations in Tehran metropolis	1/88	1/047	0/105	-1/33 _ -0/91	-10/695	0/000
The role of Owners of factories, industries and large commercial and insurance companies in power relations in Tehran metropolis	3/90	0/990	0/099	0/70 _ 1/10	9/092	0/000
The role of Tower builders, town builders and	4/17	0/922	0/092	0/99 _ 1/35	12/693	0/000

owners of commercial passages in power relations in Tehran metropolis						
The role of NGOs in power relations in Tehran metropolis	2/05	0/857	0/086	-1/12 _ -0/78	-11/082	0/000
The role of Athletes and artists in power relations in Tehran metropolis	1/78	0/927	0/093	-1/40 _ -1/04	-13/154	0/000
The role of local actors in power relations in Tehran metropolis	3/03	0/447	0/045	-0/06 _ 0/12	0/626	0/533

(Source: research calculations,2021)

The results of t-test show the role of local actors in power relations in the metropolis of Tehran. The P-value obtained (0.533) is greater than the significance level of 0.05, which indicates that local actors have not played a role in power relations in the metropolis of Tehran, but the average obtained from the role of local actors is (3.03), indicating the role of local actors in power relations in the metropolis of Tehran. The results obtained from the study of each of the actors in Table (9) show that the P-value in all components was equal to 0.000. In other words, this issue shows the role of identified local actors in power relations in the metropolis of Tehran and the acceptance of H_1 . However, among the reasons that the obtained P-value is greater than the significance level of 0.05 is the less role of local actors in power relations in the metropolis of Tehran. It is so that only a number of local actors play a role in power relations in the metropolis of Tehran and a number of other identified local actors have played no role in power relations. This shows that the metropolis of Tehran has not yet moved in the direction that citizens, non-governmental organizations, etc. can play a role in the city where they live. Moreover, it shows that each of the actors that has more power can play an effective role in power relations in the metropolis of Tehran. For further explanation, the mean distribution of H_0 and its histogram are shown in Figure (3).

Figure (3): Histogram of the Role of Local Actors in Power Relations in Tehran Metropolis



However, based on Figure (3) and the average of Table (9), it was concluded with 95% confidence that local actors have played a role in power relations in the metropolis of Tehran, but the role of each actor in power relations is significantly different.

H₁: $\mu > 3$ National actors are involved in power relations in the metropolis of Tehran.

H₀: $\mu \leq 3$ aa iiaaal acssss have no role in power relations in the Tehran metropolis.

Table (10): One-Sample t-Test of the Role of National Actors on Power Relations in Tehran Metropolis

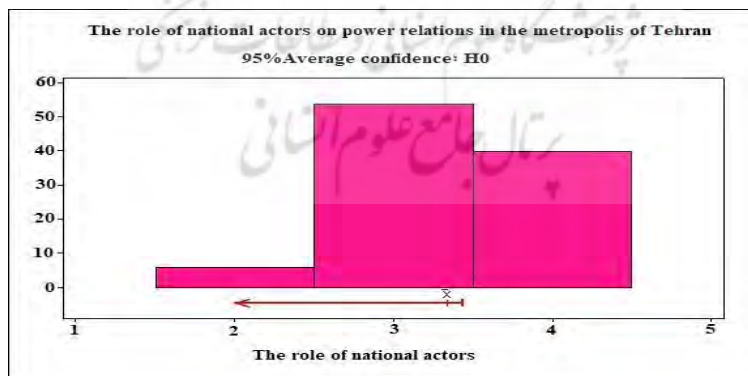
National Actors	Mean	SD	Mean Standard Error	Confidence Interval 95%	t-Statistics	P-Value
The role of the cabinet and its subordinate ministries in power relations in Tehran metropolis	4/36	0/835	0/084	1/19 _ 1/53	16/286	0/000
The role of members of the Islamic Consultative Assembly in power relations in Tehran metropolis	4/11	0/898	0/090	0/93 _ 1/29	12/364	0/000
The role of banks and financial and credit institutions in power relations in Tehran metropolis	4/12	0/956	0/0096	0/93 _ 1/31	11/710	0/000
The role of Islamic Revolution Housing Foundation in power relations in Tehran metropolis	2/74	1/125	0/112	-0/48 _ -0/04	-2/312	0/023

The role of military and security forces in power relations in Tehran metropolis	3/08	0/981	0/098	-0/11_0/27	0/815	0/417
The role of political parties in power relations in Tehran metropolis	3/16	1/012	0/101	-0/04_0/36	1/581	0/117
The role of the judiciary and its affiliates in power relations in Tehran metropolis	3/59	1/181	0/118	0/36_0/82	4/994	0/000
The role of endowment and charity organization and relief committee in power relations in Tehran metropolis	2/44	1/113	0/111	-0/78_-0/34	-5/031	0/000
The role of Environmental Protection Organization in power relations in Tehran metropolis	2/31	0/961	0/096	-0/88_-0/50	-7/182	0/000
The role of broadcasting organization in power relations in Tehran metropolis	3/10	1/193	0/119	-0/14_0/34	0/838	0/404
The role of national actors in power relations in Tehran metropolis	3/30	0/525	0/053	0/20_0/41	5/733	0/000

(Source: Research Calculations,2021)

The results of t-test show the role of national actors in power relations in the metropolis of Tehran. Number 3 is placed in the confidence interval of 0.20-0.41, and the null hypothesis is rejected. The P-value obtained (0.000) is less than the significance level of 0.05, which indicates that with 95% confidence level, national actors have played a great role in power relations in the metropolis of Tehran.

Figure (4): Histogram of the Role of National Actors in Power Relations in Tehran Metropolis



The P-value in all components was equal to 0.000. In other words, this issue shows the significant role of many national actors in power relations in the

metropolis of Tehran and the acceptance of H_1 . Therefore, based on the histogram 4 and Table (10), the overall average of national actors is 3.30, which shows that national actors have played a role in power relations in the metropolis of Tehran, among which the cabinet has the most role in power relations and banks and financial and credit institutions are in the second place of role-playing. Then, members of the Islamic Consultative Assembly are in the third place of playing a role in power relations in Tehran metropolis. The Environmental Protection Organization and the Endowment and Charity Organization and the Relief Committee have the least role in power relations. In general, national actors have more role and action than local actors in power relations in the metropolis of Tehran, which shows that the management of the metropolis of Tehran is based on the impact of high levels of management and local actors are not the only and final decision makers.

$H_1: \mu > 3$: Transnational actors are involved in power relations in the metropolis of Tehran.

$H_0: \mu \leq 3$: Transnational actors are not involved in power relations in the metropolis of Tehran.

Table (11): One-Sample t-Test of the Role of Transnational Actors on Power Relations in Tehran Metropolis

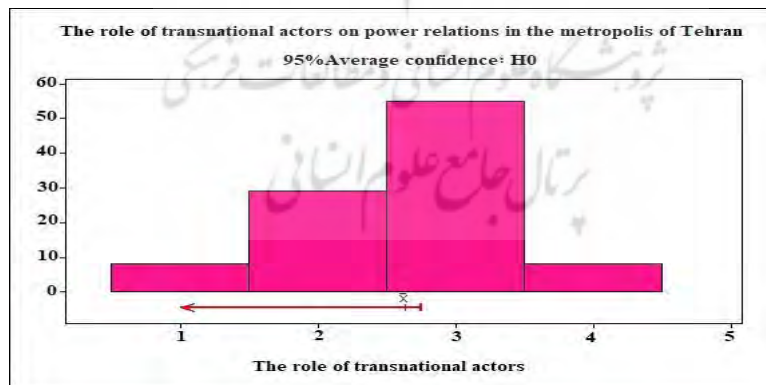
Transnational Actors	Mean	SD	Mean Standard Error	Confidence Interval 95%	t-Statistics	P-Value
The role of embassies in power relations in Tehran metropolis	3/15	1/038	0/104	-0/06 _ 0/36	1/445	0/152
The role of foreign traders and investors in power relations in Tehran metropolis	3/09	1/190	0/119	-0/15 _ 0/33	0/756	00/451
The role of international organizations and multinational corporations in power relations in Tehran metropolis	1/96	1/118	0/112	-1/26 _ -0/82	-9/299	0/000
The role of Islamic Revolution Housing Foundation in power relations in Tehran metropolis	1/84	1/042	0/104	-1/37 _ -0/95	-11/135	0/000

The role of dissident media and foreign groups in power relations in Tehran metropolis	1/72	0/494	0/049	-1/38 _ -1/18	-25/911	0/000
The role of foreign tourists and travelers in power relations in Tehran metropolis	2/66	0/665	0/067	-0/47 _ -0/20	-5/050	0/000

(Source: Research Calculations,2021)

The results of t-test show the role of transnational actors in power relations in the metropolis of Tehran. The P-value obtained (0.000) is less than the significance level of 0.05, which indicates that with 95% confidence level, transnational actors have played a role in power relations in the metropolis of Tehran. But based on the total average of transnational actors, which is 2.66 and less than 3, it can be said that these actors were less active in power relations in the metropolis of Tehran than local and national actors. This is due to sanctions against Iran by Many Western countries and that foreign investors and foreign tourists have not come to Iran for many years. But to a large extent, the embassies located in the metropolis of Tehran play a role in power relations in the metropolis of Tehran, but this acting has been hidden. However, the activism of national and local actors has been obvious.

Figure (5): Histogram of the Role of Transnational Actors in Power Relations in Tehran Metropolis



However, based on Figure (5) and the average of Table (11), it can be concluded that the role of each transnational actor in power relations in Tehran metropolis is significantly different from each other and shows their lesser role in power relations in Tehran metropolis.

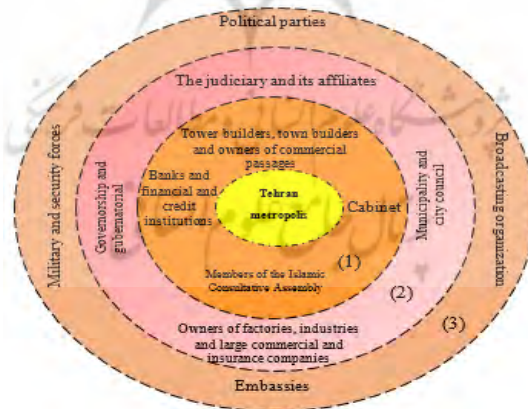
6. Conclusion

Based on the research findings, the actors of Tehran metropolis are placed in three categories (local, national and transnational). In this category, actors at different levels are identified with the amount of power they have and their influence and role in power relations in the metropolis of Tehran has been measured. Therefore, each of the actors of urban power in the metropolis of Tehran seeks to be able to exert more influence in the relations formed by power in the city of Tehran in any way possible and to justify their other urban rivals or force them to employ resources of the city to their advantage. The results of Friedman test showed that among the local actors of Tehran metropolis, tower builders, town builders and owners of commercial passages are in the first rank and the owners of factories, industries and large commercial companies and insurance are in the second rank. In the third rank is governorship, followed by gubernatorial, municipality, and city council in the fourth, fifth, and sixth ranks, respectively. It can be said with certainty that these five actors are among the geopolitical actors of the metropolis of Tehran that affect the power relations. Therefore, the influence of each of these actors is based on the power they have in power relations and affect the atmosphere of Tehran. Also, the results of t-test showed the role of local actors in power relations in the metropolis of Tehran. It is worth mentioning that there is a power struggle between local actors and national actors in the metropolis of Tehran and each of them tries to influence the resources and the fate of the city with the power they have and play a role. It can be said that Tehran, as the political capital of Iran, has become an arena for urban competition between actors.

The results of Friedman test showed that among the national actors present in Tehran metropolis, the cabinet and its subordinate ministries have more influence and role-playing power, which are in the first place, and then the members of the Islamic Consultative Assembly in the second place, banks and financial institutions in the third place, and the judiciary and its subordinate organizations, and political parties are in the fourth and fifth ranks, respectively, with the most influence and role-playing in the power relations in the metropolis of Tehran. Also, the results of t-test examining the role of national actors in power relations in the metropolis of Tehran indicate that national actors have played a major role in power relations. It is worth mentioning that national actors, with their official power, control a

part of urban spaces and have gained a large part of the city's resources to their advantage. The more resources these actors have access to, the more they will affect power relations, which is a sign of lack of integrated management that an organization alone cannot plan for the future of the city and each organization changes resources and urban spaces based on the power it has. The results of Friedman test showed that influential and role-playing transnational actors in power relations in Tehran metropolis are foreign embassies in the first place. Each of these embassies has its own role and influence in the country's political capital and seeks the support of groups, who they can make the most of. Traders and investors are in second place, and international organizations and multinational companies are in third place. Although these organizations have a lot of influence in many cities of the world, especially the world cities, have cities, but in the cities of Iran, due to the sanctions that have been imposed and the lack of communication with these companies, their role and influence has been less. Also, the results of t-test examining the role of transnational actors in power relations in Tehran metropolis showed that transnational actors have played a role in power relations, but it can be said that these actors are less active in power relations than local and national actors.

Figure (6): Power Circle of Geopolitical Actors in Tehran Metropolis



The results of the present study showed that the political capital of Iran (Tehran Metropolis) is managed and led by many organizations and institutions and the final decision-maker is not an organization alone. This is

because each of these organizations has taken a part of the urban spaces and resources of Tehran metropolis with the power they have in their hands and managed those resources for their own profit. In the meantime, other organizations cannot be involved and make decision for that part of the urban space that is under the control of another organization. This shows that each of the local, national and transnational actors, based on the position they hold, have gained power and are influencing power relations in the metropolis of Tehran. Even this power is so great that national actors choose local actor allies for the urban management of Tehran metropolis and through those actors, pursue their interests. It is such that the fate of political elections in Iran and Tehran metropolis is tied with power relations for many years.

Finally, not all actors in the metropolis of Tehran can be considered as geopolitical actors, because in order to act in the space of Tehran, actors need to have power, or in other words, power-creating resources. Local actors of tower builders, town builders and owners of commercial passages, owners of factories, industries and large commercial and insurance companies, governorship, gubernatorial, municipality and city council are geopolitical actors of Tehran metropolis at the local level. Among the national actors are cabinet and subordinate ministries, members of consultative assembly, banks and financial institutions, judiciary, political parties, and the broadcasting organization that are considered as the geopolitical actors that have the greatest role and influence on power relations. In this regard, it was shown that even this power is such that a member of assembly is appointed as the head of Tehran's urban management in the municipality. Among the transnational actors influencing power relations in Tehran metropolis only embassies can be introduced as a geopolitical actor. On this basis, other actors, due to lack of power and empowering resources, have less role in power relations in the metropolis of Tehran or cannot enter into these relations and somehow lack any power.

7. Acknowledgments

The authors appreciate the experts who have been influential in making this article more productive by expressing their opinions, as well as Kharazmi University and the Center for Studies and Planning of Tehran, who, with their material and spiritual support, have made this article fruitful.

References

1. Ahmadipour, Z; Ghaderi Hajat, M. (2015). Political organization of urban space. Tehran: SAMT Publications. **[In Persian]**
2. Ahmadipour, Z; Khojamli, A.V; pourjafar, M.R. (2017). Geopolitical Analysis of Effective Factors on the Symbolization of Geographical Spaces of Tehran (Case Study: Symbolization of Milad Tower). *Geopolitics Quarterly*, Vol. 13, No. 46, PP: 35-66. **[In Persian]**
3. Alian, M; Mohammadpour, S; Razavian, M.T. (2019). Modeling and strategic analysis of the relationship between actors in the metropolitan area of Tehran with the game theory approach. *Journal of Strategic Studies of Public Policy*, Vol. 9, No. 31, PP: 131-152. **[In Persian]**
4. Ashtiani Araghi, M.R. and et al. (2020). Realization of integrated urban management with emphasis on the role of power of actors at different levels of urban management in Tehran. *Quarterly Journal of Urban Research and Planning*, Vol. 11, No. 40, PP: 31-45. **[In Persian]**
5. Azizi, M.M; Abui Ardakan, M; Nouri, N. (2012). Investigating the role of actors and tools of urban management in the integration of Tehran metropolitan management. *Quarterly Journal of City Identity*, Vol. 6, No. 10, PP: 5-16. **[In Persian]**
6. Badiie Azandehie, M; hosainy, N.S. (2020). A systemic approach to the city, as a political-spatial system from Kuhn and Sojan's point of view. *Geopolitics Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 58, PP: 157-186. **[In Persian]**
7. Basaraba, A. C; Nistor, M., M. (2015). Constructing the Migration-(In) Security Nssss . Aeeetts ff Urnnn Glllll Itiss,, ccciii a - Social and Behavioral Sciences, Vol. 183, PP: 115-121. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2015.04.853>.
8. Csstlll,, .. ())))) Tee wwrr ff Itttt ity (ddddd dddd)) ,, Offrr :: ii lly Blackwell.
9. Curtis, S. (2016). *Global Cities and Global Order*, Publisher Oxford.
10. Dooding, K. (2011). *Power*. Translated by Abbas Mokhber, Tehran: Ashian Publications. **[In Persian]**
11. Ebrahimzadeh, I; Mousavi, M.N; Bagheri Kashkoli, A. (2016). Study of the Effectiveness of Relocation and Transferring of some Functions of Tehran in Organizing the Capital City. *Geopolitics Quarterly*, Vol. 12, No. 41, PP: 136-165. **[In Persian]**
12. flint, S. (2006). cities, war, and Terrorism: Toward and Urban Geopolitics (kkkk rvvi,,,,, , llll s ff tee Assiii ttinn ff Amrriian Ggggreeers *Quarterly*, Vol. 96, No 1, PP. 216-218. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8306.2006.00510_8.x.
13. eeeetrrJ J ())))))))) gg it t cc ccc c cc wwrrvv vvvvvv Cll ifrr ii r rr sss.

14. Fregonese, S. (2012a). Urban Geopolitics 8 Years on. Hybrid Sovereignties, the Everyday, and Geogriiii ss ff ccccc, Ggggryyyy Cmnnss r rrrr rrrly, VII . 6, No 5, PP: 290-303. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-8198.2012.00485.x>.
15. eegssss ,, .. ())))) Byydd tee ‘ee kk aaat’: Hyrr id vvvrrii gtt iss in Bii rtt ,, vvvirmmttt ddd aaaii gg D: iiii tty ddd eeeee Qrrr terly, Vol. 30, No 4, PP: 655-674. <https://doi.org/10.1068/d11410>.
16. Fregonese, S. (2017c). Affective atmospheres, urban geopolitics and conflict ())) ssaaltt inn in Bii rtt ,, iiii tial Ggggryyyy Qrrr trrly, VII . ,, PP: 1-10. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2017.04.009>.
17. Gentile, M. (2019). Geopolitical fault-licc citiss it t ll ll ll l ll ii viccc cci. ,, Political Geography Quarterly, Vol. 71, PP: 126-138. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2019.03.002>.
18. Giddens, A. (2009). Orşşll ş şi aaajilr rr eeeerr rrrrr r rrti: All.
19. Graaam, .. ())))) wwtiii gg ii tiss fff,, Alll yis ff Urnnn Cgggg,, Trrrr y, Action Quarterly, Vol. 9, No 2, PP: 169-194. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13604810500196956>.
20. Hosseini Dehaghani, M; Basirat, M. (2015). Game theory approach in the analysis of urban power games: An analysis of construction processes in the metropolis of Tehran. *Journal of Fine Arts*, Vol. 21, No. 1, PP: 91-100. **[In Persian]**
21. Imani Shamlou, J; Rafeian, M; Dadashpour, H. (2016). Urban Speculation and Spatial Segregation (Analysis of Spatial Evolution of Tehran Metropolis in the Context of Oil-Based Economy). *Geopolitics Quarterly*, Vol. 12, No. 41, PP: 104-135. **[In Persian]**
22. Johnston, R.J (1982). *Geography and the State*, London: Stacey.
23. Kamanroudi Kajouri, M; Karami, T; Abdi, A.T. (2010). Philosophical-Conceptual Explanation of Political Geography of City. *Geopolitics Quarterly*, Vol. 6, No. 19, PP: 9-44. **[In Persian]**
24. Mashhadi Moghaddam, S. N; Rafieian, M. (2019). Tears and smiles in the urban protests against local decisions: searching for footprint of power in urban maaagmmttt (vvicccc e frmmTrrr))) ,, Ggggryyyy Cmnnss s Qrrr trrly, VII . ,, No 2, PP: 1-30. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2019.e01214>.
25. Medvedkov, O; Salukvadze, J. (2016). Introduction: Altered Urban cccccccc:: eeeeeee ee Citiss in Trsss itii,,,, ,, ,, Iss::: Altrdd Urnnn Landscapes: European Cities in Transition, *Human Geography Quarterly*, Vol. 98, No 4, PP 287-288. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1111/geob.12104>.
26. Pacione, M (1999). *Applied Geography: Principles and Practice*, First Published Routledg, London.
27. Pejic, D. (2020). *Cities and International Relations*, Oxford Bibliographies.

28. Robin, E; Acuto, M. (2018). Global urban policy and the geopolitics of urban
ttt ""i iiii iiaal Ggggryyyy Qrrr trrlyV W P PPPP: 76-87.
29. Rokem, J; Boano., C. (2017). Urban Geopolitics Rethinking Planning in
Cttt ssttt ttt tssl llll leeeR Routledge London and Newyork.
30. Rokem, J; and tt ll. ())))) Ittrrvttt iss in rrrnn gllll Itiss,, iiii tial
Geography Quarterly, Vol. 61, No 1, PP: 253-262.
31. ssss ,, .. ())))) An mrrrgttt Urnnn Glllll Itiss,, OP-ED, 23.08.2012,
<http://www.saskiasassen.com>.
32. Smith, R. G. (2005). Networking the City, Geography: An International
Journal, Vol. 90, No 2, PP: 172-176.
33. Swiney, C. (2020). The Urbanization of International Law and International
Relations: The Rising Soft Power of Cities in Global Governance, International
Journal Michigan Journal of International Law, Vol. 41, No.2, PP: 227-278.
<https://doi.org/10.36642/mjil.41.2.urbanization>.
34. Torres, N. R. (2014). Urban Governmentality and Public Participation,
Planning and Power, Vol. 3, No 13, PP: 1-10.

COPYRIGHTS

©2023 by the authors. Published by the Iranian Association of Geopolitics. This article is an open-access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0) <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0>

