

## An Analysis of Actual Factors behind Transfer of Capital Cities: An Emphasis on Selection of Ankara as Turkish Capital City

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**Abstract:** Capital city as a political center and haven of state usually embraces all political, cultural, national, historical, economic, administrative, technical and communicative elements. A capital city, with respect to its political, economic and cultural performances, in fact, performs as a symbol of efficiency and capacity of existing potentials of state. In political geography, if territory, government and nation are considered as three basic elements of a state, undoubtedly, its capital city too enjoys a center of administration as well as center of gravity of its stimulus power. Selection of Ankara as capital city of Republic of Turkey was also with the view that Istanbul lacked essential efficiency for survival and management of modern Turkey in domestic political geography as well as global geopolitical system. Worthy of mentioning that numerous effective factors could be behind dislocating capital cities. Hence, the main aim of the present paper, namely transferring of Turkish capital city to Ankara, is to identify factors effective in dislocation process as a whole.

**Keywords:** Core area, migration, capital city, dislocation of capital city, Ankara.

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## Başkentlerin Secim Sürecinde Temel Etkili Faktörlerin İncelenmesi: Ankara'nın Türk Başkenti Seçilmesi Üzerine Bir Vurgu

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**Öz:** Başkent, devletin siyasi bir merkezi ve sığınağı olarak genellikle bütün siyasi, kültürel, ulusal, tarihî, ekonomik, yönetsel, teknik ve iletişimsel unsurları içinde barındırır. Bir başkent, kendi siyasi, ekonomik ve kültürel işleri bakımından, devletin varolan imkânlarının yeterliliği ve kapasitesinin bir sembolü olarak işlev yürütür. Siyasal coğrafyada, eğer bölge, yönetim ve millet bir devletin üç temel unsuru sayılıyorsa, hiç kuşkusuz, onun başkenti onun motive edici gücünün çekim merkezi olduğu kadar bir yönetim merkezi olduğunu gösterir. Ankara'nın Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin başkenti seçilmesi, yine İstanbul'un küresel jeopolitik sistemde olduğu kadar yerel siyasi coğrafyada da modern Türkiye'nin yaşam ve yönetimi üzerindeki temel yeterliliğini kaybettiği görüşüyle de desteklenir. Başkent değişikliğinin arkasında pek çok etkin faktörün bulunduğu bahse değerdir. Dolayısıyla, bu çalışmanın temel amacı, yani Türkiye'nin başkentinin Ankara'ya taşınması, bir bütün olarak taşınma sürecinde etkili olan faktörleri belirlemektir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Çekirdek alanı, göç, başkent, başkentini değiştirilmesi, Ankara.

## **Introduction**

Undoubtedly, every city has its own particular characteristics, personality and identity however; capital city enjoys varied particularities compare to other cities. “Undoubtedly, every city cannot be capital city of a country. This particular city is responsible to lead and administer whole country. Important administrative, political, commercial, industrial and scientific problems are being settled in this city, apart from actual decisions that are taken place or are considerably affective in the decision making processes”. Since the capital city is considered a symbol of whole country, “it is a sign of hope, success as well as a mirror of all expectations of a country. By this reason, even natural perspective of a capital city has living importance because capital city is the real source of national life and survival” (Tankut, 1990: 9). In fact, capital city is the most important structural elements of a political space with its own political, administrative identity and performances as well as economic, commercial and cultural outputs. This spatial-political unit, apart from existential philosophy, political-administrative, economic, commercial and cultural essence and performances, it is considered as the actual support of central government hence; enjoys significant condition compare to other elements of a political organization. Actually, this spatial-political unit has special jurisdictions than the other units and division of a state (ValiGholizadeh, 2008: 33).

It is evident that a capital city is essential for each state as a center of gravity of its stimulus power. As such, a country cannot be visualized without a capital city. In the meantime, a number of states, after coming into existence, transfer or dislocate their capital cities due to various reasons as well as for continuity of their lives. For instance, Iranian empire had a number of capital cities during its long course of history, full of ups and downs. Even on this particular land, transfer of capital city has been a usual and common phenomenon, which occurred simultaneously with territorial expansion and transfer of powers (Mirhayder, 2002: 144). In the last one century, transfer of capital cities from Istanbul to

Ankara in Turkey, Karachi to Islamabad in Pakistan, from Rio de Janeiro to Brasilia in Brazil are some important examples one could forward. In brief, with a theoretical discussion on the definition of a capital city and core area, the present article tries to answer as to what are the actual factors behind transferring capital cities around the world? To test some samples with given reasons, the paper has tried to take in details the transfer of Turkish capital city as one of the important and new cases in this arena.

With respect to theoretical essence, the actual method applied in the present research is analytical-descriptive. For data collection and indexing, library has been used. In short, the paper tries to study importance of capital city and core area in the political geography of a state, process of transferring the capital city in Turkey, and the most important reason in the transfer and dislocation of capital cities.

## **I. Theoretical Basis of Research**

### **I.I. Core Area**

A core area is attributed to a place that has superiority over rest of the regions due to its political dominance, nationalistic feelings and economic leadership (or cultural superiority) (Mirhayder, 2002: 134). D.S. Whittlesey, an American geographer innovated this definition who defines a core area as: "A zone that emerges around or outskirts of a country" (Muir, 2000: 215). He identifies a core area as the region from where a country is crystallized and a region that often strengthens interrelationship. He explains some of the core areas as the most populated 'ecumene\* zone'. Following the viewpoint of Whittlesey, a British geographer, W.G. East considered core area as a place where a capital city is located and has much significance for a country, with due attention to population, resources and political powers (Dikshit, 1995: 78).

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\* Ecumene is derived from a Greek word 'Oikoumene' that initially referred for residential and populated place and it can still be named as residential part of the world.

### ***1.1.1. Significance of Core Area in Political Geography and Formation of Capital City***

The core area, usually, is the most populated part of a country, enjoys rich natural resources and coherent communication network hence; transforms itself as a capital city (Muir, 2000: 215). In other words, there is a small area inside this zone that has concentrated political power of a state or a second degree political unit. Whatever small thing happens in this zone, it reflects outside as well (Weigert & et al., 1957: 143). In fact, one of the most prevalent forms of such core areas is the establishment of governments there. Paris and London are the most obvious examples (Taylor, 1989: 146). Even, if a capital city is located outside the core area, probably a city would have been chosen as the capital city in the past (Glassner, 2004: 102). In a country, centralization of a capital city alone exhibits characteristics and identity of that core area. Often, a core area and a capital city are the same, without any distinction. Some time, initial selection of a capital city is the result of growth of a political core area and in some cases; it is emerged with the development of an economic core area. Occasionally we see that new political and economic core areas are developed at a distinguished distance from the capital city. In such a case, we encounter with an unprecedented problem i.e. occasionally unnoticeable factors like tradition and trust (historical) that enjoy enough power and firmness have been at the same actual place in order to protect the capital city; and occasionally centralization force with its influence in the core area want to transfer the capital city to a fresh location (Weigert & et al., 1957: 143).

Besides, a core area can perform two big roles in one state, each of which is related to the expansion of core area. First probably is considered as *ecumene of state*. From the point of views of the governmental, this zone can be attributed to a part of total domain that in reality has role in the economic strength of that territory i.e. a zone where residents actively participate in the national financial system. From political point of view, a core area is part of domain that has accommodated a governmental effectively and its

people participate in the political life of the country. By this, Preston James names as Effective National Territory that is the most distinguished and projected one compare to the whole territory. In a number of countries today, there are important zones outside the effective national territory where government has no control and people are more inclined to neighboring countries. In this regard, we may point to countries like Colombia, Brazil, Chad, Pakistan and Myanmar (Glassner, 2004: 101-02).

As a whole, the model core area was a plan that was employed by Pounds and Ball in 1964 while explaining the system of expansion of European states (Taylor, 1989:132). They studied 24 countries and concluded that 15 out of 24 countries had acquired their present limits from the gradual territorial insertion far away from the core area. These core areas, without exception, were epicenters of the commercial routes that produced agricultural surplus at the initial territorial expansions and this wealth is reflected in the medieval architectures. In the meantime, it became evident that four other countries that grew from the core areas were at the margin compare to their present territories or even they are located outside. Pounds and Ball believed that the countries that developed away from core area through crystallization of their territories enjoyed more socio-political cohesiveness and unity compare to the countries that lacked centrality (Muir, 2000: 216).

They reason out that since core areas play important roles in a modern state; these must enjoy a series of advantages compare to surrounding zones. In the meantime, to keep the area of a core area live, it must show economic dominance for a shorter span (Taylor, 1989: 132). The countries like Russia formed around core area in Moscow region and also France are the best samples of gradual dominance of core areas (Muir, 2000: 216). In fact, countries that could emerge around core areas are more firm than these emerged suddenly in order to fill the political vacuum (Jordan and Rowntree, 2001: 149). With alikeness and attachment of capital city with core areas, these types of countries are named as *unitary states*. These countries have much centralized governments, with

little cultural variation. In the meantime, these countries not only enjoy deep national identity rather a distinguished cultural and political frontiers (Behfarouz, 2001: 197). With this, capital cities that have not much precedence need enough time to observe all governmental roles. The most attractive sample is the expansion of Washington. It is evident that the role of a government in a federal state is not important like a centralized government. Thus, the effect of a government role in creating a core capital city area is lesser in a federal state (Weigert & et al., 1957: 145).

## **1.2. Capital City**

As a political center of a country, capital city is a lateral and influential center of a geographical space consisting of political, cultural, ethnic, economic, administrative, technical, and communication elements (Hafeznia, 1381: 282). Capital is a city with large population as well as big economic and cultural centers (Behfrouz, 2001: 197). And, more importantly, it is counted a center of political power (usually consisting of executive, legislative and judiciary), their heads, all ministries, administrative centers, embassies and foreign diplomatic missions (Mirhayder, 1381: 138). Actually, on one side, this central place attracts human elements, bodily space, currents and networks toward itself and on the other it is a central point for distributing phenomenon and decrees as well as applying political will at distant spatial points.

### ***1.2.1. Role and Performance of Capital Cities in Political Geography***

Capital city, above all, is considered as a control center of a territory, the place for political decision-making as well as a symbolic center of state (Taylor, 1989: 147). As such, this place has a central executing establishment of a political unit and usually includes other judicial, legal, educational and cultural organizations (Weigert & et al., 1975: 143). It is also a meeting place of government representatives. Usually, ambassadors and dignitaries from friendly nations reside in the capital city. Representatives of foreign banks and trading centers establish their offices in the capital city with the aim of direct and easy communications with their native governments (Pounds, 1963:187). This place enjoys two dif-

ferent personal outputs: a) magnetic and tensile b) repulsive and variant; it means it attracts people, currents, material and networks, and diffuses phenomenon, decrees, prescription, control and supervision operations and production etc at the related spatial level and changes the space to influential domain and realm for exercising own political intension (Hafeznia, 2002: 282). Capital cities consist of cultural, commercial and political structures with diverse performances (Cohen, 1964: 168). In the same way, capital cities use to centralize feelings (sentiments of different groups) and strengthen existing connections between nations (Pounds, 1963:192). Therefore, political center usually has political essence. Apart, capital city is a city that often contains large population and big economic and cultural centers. These capital cities are usually named as *Primate Cities*. Paris in France, Moscow in Russia, London in the United Kingdom and Mexico City in Mexico are some of the examples of these kinds of capital cities.

As Whittlesey points “capital city reflects political existence, power and establishment of state, with a central administrative system....(capital cities) personify central regions that have appeared as center of nationalism (Cohen, 1964: 169). So, national capitals are the biggest centers of political powers in respective countries. That is the executive and national administrative center of countries. However, in many cases, especially in case of federal states, commercial and industrial importance of a capital city is usually lesser than other cities. In such a case, effective factor for choosing a capital place is often strategic or political rather than economic. It means that capital cities do not always need what Jefferson has named *Primate Cities*. The cities that always extremely big exceptionally indicate national capacity and feelings. Due to a well-informed reason, the “Law of Primate City” of Jefferson does not apply to the federal states. The capital cities of the United States, Canada, Australia, and India are smaller than some other cities of those countries. Although, two instances of Vienna and Buenos Aires do not confirm this viewpoint. These are respectively the capital cities of Austria (most of the experts, from tech-

nical point of view, consider it a federal state) and Argentina (apparently a federalism). Therefore, national capitals, more or less, are the foremost cities that in the course of time due to their age and historical importance become national symbols. Although convergence of various transportation, railway and canals networks at the national capital to some extent is the outcome of economic transformation, but more for political aims and objectives (Dikshit, 1995: 87-88). Meanwhile, the capital city is not always the biggest city of a state and there are exceptionally few samples. For instance, the previous Turkish capital city, Istanbul remains the biggest city and the present capital city, Ankara is considered the second big city (Pounds, 1963: 187).

As a whole, some of the political centers like Paris that has historical continuation, relying on its own power and precedence, proved effective in forming nation, state, geographical space as well as establishing borders. By this way, other political centers have no longer precedence and their selections were outcome of internal or external political forces. This includes modern capital cities like Islamabad and Brasilia that were created on the basis of national interests or capital cities of colonized nations that were selected keeping in view the interests of colonizers. Likewise, in a federal state with its wider domestic diversity, capital city is the only place that could control the entire population. Usually in such a state, there is a region that is separated from rest of the country where there exists a 'federal region' in a way that none of the institutions of federal state enjoy enough influence than the national capital. For example, Canberra plays the same role in Australia. Apart, a capital city must help government control far-flung parts or regions having weak communication as well as defend the government against undesirable external influences. However, this role of a capital city has fluctuation condition and it has often been observed that the capital city is located at the heart of a country's economy, the place that has resulted voluminous authority for state.

## 2. Transfer of Capital city

Actually, selection of a place for capital city emerges at the time when government considers its present capital city of lacking essential application with some reasons and prepares itself for abandonment. Such a necessity possibly could encounter the country with geopolitical problems or it could result in weakening its political geographical perspective (Pishgahifard, 1992:4). Further, transfer of capital city has also direct relations with changes in state structures (Şimşir, 1991). Even, transfer of capital city, from the most modern procedure, is for formation of state, nation and national identity (Schatz, 2003: 2).

In reality, a capital city no matter for what reason is being transferred; its ultimate aim is to establish a powerful state, an integrated and stable nation in the political, economic and cultural control processes of the country. This process may even lead to negation of all peculiarities of the previous capital city and may develop the new geographical area as the real center of the state. The capital cities of number of countries around the world have witnessed geographical-spatial dislocation in the course of history. There are number of reason behind these actions however; the reasons of transfer of capital cities in the past cannot be related to the present ones. As such, these actions were abundant in the past, but today this occurs in a particular case.

**Tabler:** Cases of transfer of capital cities over the last one century

Title	Year	Present Capital city	Previous Capital city
Brazil	1956	Brasilia	Rio de Janeiro
Mauritania	1957	Nouakchott	Saint Louis (Senegal)
Pakistan	1959	Islamabad	Karachi
Botswana	1961	Gaborone	Mafeking
Libya	1963	Tripoli	Benghazi
Malawi	1965	Lilongwe	Zomba
Belize	1970	Belmopan	Belize City
Tanzania	1973	Dodoma	Dar es Salaam
Nigeria	1975	Abuja	Lagos
Ivory Coast	1983	Yamoussoukro	Abidjan
Germany	1990	Berlin	Bonn
Kazakhstan	1997	Astana	Almaty
Malaysia	2000	Putra Jaya	Kuala Lumpur

Reference: (Schatz, 2003: 5)

## 2.1. Factors affecting transfer of capital cities

### 2.1.1. Core Area Capabilities

Usually, in every country, the national capital is located in its core area. In other words, it is a city with largest population density and cultural-economic efficiencies. Such capital cities are called as Primate Cities. Moscow, Paris and Mexico City are in this category (Jordan & Rowntree, 2001: 151). In Italy, the core area includes Rome and plains surrounding it. This region has been a cultural and political center for about 2500 years from the first days of Roman Civilization. Presently, Italy's economic hub is located at the distant southern plains especially around Milan but Rome has preserved its political and cultural superiority (Dikshit, 1995: 85). As a whole, since the core area is strategically important for each country, it enjoys significant geopolitical weight in the existing system, hence; it is considered as to be connecting circles and living points of the political geography of a country.

### *2.1.2. Spiritual Value and Iconographic Roles of Place*

Some of the capital cities have acquired their central roles during the course of political history of their countries hence, turned into a wider social network with the passage of time. The most important sample of such kind is London, which took the role of a capital city at the time of Norman Rebellion of 1066. Economic lifeline of medieval Britain was under the jurisdiction of London hence, it extended political dominance especially foreign ties. With the passage of time, that credibility of London proved effective in attracting most of principal companies of Britain. In recent years, with the intense competition and pressure on domestic communication, states were speculating to transfer their industrial representations to far away from the center. Occasionally, suggestions were also put forward about transferring the capital city to a centrally located place. However, the general perception from London as a historical, national, cultural and political center is deep to the extent that it seems impossible that such suggestions could be entertained (Mirhayder, 2002: 141). In fact, spiritual and iconographic values are the biggest linking factors of a man to his place. With reference to their spiritual values and deep connections with men, geographical places enjoy distinct roles in human living pattern, ratio of their influence in human behavior and absorption power in the process of unity and integrity. In this way, the capital city as a symbol of a country and its role in continuity and strength of state and nation has much spiritual and iconographic values for human being.

### *2.1.3. Dominant National Group or Ethnical Source of Government*

In multi-ethnic countries like Russia, the capital city is located at a place, with concentration of dominant ethnic group; in fact, Moscow is located at the center of Slav nationalism (Muir, 1975: 32). Simultaneously with Bolshevik Revolution, the western attitude lost its ground, leading to national tradition and thus, the capital city was restituted to the city of Moscow (Pounds, 1963: 189). Or Istanbul that could not preserve itself as a Turkish capital city, despite having a long historical experience and grandeur; first,

because it was not located in the center of Turkey and secondly, Ankara was a place of dependence and a haven for Ataturk who acquired power with the backing of population and thus, this city was chosen as a place for national committee and the capital city of modern Turkey (Farid, 2003: 318). President of Malawi Banda also transferred his country capital city with the aim to strengthen his rule. He believed in little distinction between the efficiency of state and stability of his rule and thus he transferred the capital city to a restricted region i.e. his birthplace showing his own ethnic preference. Although, the presence of capital city in the heart of a dominant ethnic group increases the efficiency and maneuver of the central government, but, this selection around the world, especially in multi-ethnic countries, has brought more distance between the central government and other ethnic groups living in peripheral regions.

#### ***2.1.4. Foreign Relationship***

According to John Gothman, in the course of history, big cities applying their own capacities, have attempted to develop commercial, political and cultural ties with a number of bigger and smaller cities and distant places. This aspect enjoys more geographical identicalness in case of capital cities compare to other cities. In some cases, foreign ties had much importance in state's policy. Consequently, colonizing powers naturally inclined to establish capital cities of their colonies along principal ports so that they could have easy communication with mother countries.

As a result, the countries that came out of the yoke of colonial rule, they inherited capital cities that despite of being located at the center, with they had marginal locations from the point of view of administrative and cultural hinterland. By this way, after establishing a new government, it was needed to transfer the capital city from its margin to the center was felt (Mirhayder, 2002: 142). In reality, capital city possibly is nearer to the border, hereby, to perform principal commercial and cultural exchanges. The outcome of this transfer and location is to create it closer to principal commercial and cultural routes. Saint Petersburg known today as

Leningrad is located at the northwestern corner of Russia and was a Russian capital city for about two centuries (1704 to 1918) (Jordan & Rowntree, 2001: 151). This city opened a new window in western Russia, the transfer (of Saint Petersburg) was symbolic that emerged with the aim of Caesar's desire to boost ties with Western Europe (Pounds, 1963: 189). Likewise, all coastal countries of western Africa —from Mauritania to Nigeria— some 12 countries have frontier capital cities. The most important advantage of this selection for a country is to exit the space of political geography from its geopolitical isolation.

### *2.1.5. Strategic and Defensive Location*

In special political and geographical circumstances, the defensive-military considerations might play important role in the transfer of a capital city. Transfer of Pakistani capital city from Karachi to Islamabad was due to the strategic importance of Punjab region as well as defensive tactics because Islamabad, as a core area of the country, is located in Punjab (land of five rivers) region and have already confronted with neighboring India on border issue (Glassner, 2004: 103). Likewise, defensively, Budapest is considered the place where Danube River enters into plain through its last strait. Indeed, the border capital city also has two roles: defensive and offensive. Actually, Vienna was a frontier-defender capital city from its inception up to the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. Thereafter, with the emergence of threats from Turks, it acquired suitable accesses to three natural routes i.e. Austrian, Bulgarian and Hungarian entrances. Also, other frontier capital cities too had offensive-colonizing roles (Cohen, 1964: 169). However, strategic value of a capital city is not only due to its defensive or offensive location. For the moment, strategic value of a capital city is more because of its communication location and opening. These geographical and strategic values bring particular credibility to a capital city, not only at domestic level rather regional and global level. For instance, global credence of London and Paris is mostly due to their communication location. Presently, these two cities are recognized as Communication Bridge between Asian and American continents.

### ***2.1.6. Political Settlement***

Some of the states have selected impartial regions as their capital cities in order to distance from the emerging differences between two and more rival cities, with all having essential qualities to become capital cities. For instance, Warsaw was given prominence over two previous capital cities, Poznan and Cracow (Cohen, 1964: 169). Canberra with just 250,000 populations was selected as the Australian capital city, to avoid competition between Sydney (with 2780000 populations) and Melbourne (with 2480000 populations). Canberra in an autonomous region was specified as the Australian capital city with an area of about 940 sq. miles and its plan and design accomplished by a national commission.

Ottawa is Canadian capital city since 1867 which is located approximately between two influential domains of English and French speaking people. Before, the cities of Toronto and Quebec alternatively organized parliamentary sessions. Washington in the United States has also developed and grew from a smaller center between north-western cultural domains. Similarly, the countries where capital city obligations have been distributed among different cities, they have used political settlement (Mirhayder, 2002: 142-3). This feature is usually visible in a federal state.

### ***2.1.7. Geographical Centrality Location***

With due attention to the fact that the roles of capital cities is creating unity and integrity hence; the most important idea of a capital city is its centrality location (Pounds, 1963: 192). All capital cities, central or marginal, want to have easy access to distant point of the country. Actually, once the capital cities are located outside the central domain of states, usually, more centralized condition is transferred there (Cohen, 1964: 169). More the capital city is near to a geographical center of the country; its administrative affair becomes more easy because the distance between a capital city and frontiers reach to the minimum (Mirhayder, 2002: 144). On the other side, more the people are far from the central government; possibility of their adherence to governmental decrees becomes

lesser (Muir, 2000: 207). Even in a smaller country like Britain, distance from London is an unpleasant issue for people of northern England because they believe that the central government, due to this distance, lacks the actual understanding of local conditions.

It is worth mentioning that the capital city as an administrative center must have centrality for people as well as for territory. However, a place that has centrality for peoples' access might not coincide geographically with the center such as Australia where the maximum concentration of population is at the periphery of southern coast. Likewise, selection of Ankara could be accomplished under the influence of its centrality and the process of national integration. Madrid became a capital city due to its central location. The aim of its selection was to control Spanish provinces that differ culturally and politically. As a whole, the centrality of a capital city influences geographical distribution of population as well as wealth of a country. Indeed, from economic and social point of views, location has special value that gives axial link to all elements of political geography and political organs of a state.

#### *2.1.8. Accessibility to Internal Communication Networks*

A core area, with the concentration of political power of a state, needs means to expand its influence in other parts. In fact, a core area needs an advanced communication network. In other words, political center enjoys influential power only when it is able to provide necessary services through communications. French city of Paris, Spanish city of Madrid and Turkish city of Ankara have been situated with branching pattern of roads, railways, telegraph and telephone lines (Weigert & et al, 1957: 157-9). This issue is important to such extent that strength and stability of the central in the city network is possible only when it accompanies advanced and equipped information and communication network. For a capital city, lack of such a network minimizes its power of control and authority inside the political space.

Meanwhile, the presence of such network is simply not enough for the political geography especially in big and multi-ethnic countries. Iran with radial spatial structure with Tehran as

center, from the beginning has been planned in a way that all parts are attached to Tehran, without any consideration to regional connections. This pattern has caused that the axis linking peripheral regions to the center could not have enough capacity for establishing connection between these region and Tehran and by the same reason; there is little presence of people from distant such as Baluchestan, Hormuzgan and Ilam in Tehran.

#### ***2.1.9. Change in Methods and Policies of Government***

Often, capital cities are transferred due to changes in methods and policies of governments. China has changed its capital city six times. Peter the Great, the most famous Russian Tsar, for his influence in Northern Europe, in exchange for human sacrifice, declared Saint Petersburg along the Gulf of Finland as the capital city of Russia (Farid, 2003: 319). Brasilia, the modern capital city of Brazil is another example. Earlier, Brazilian population was concentrated on the country's lengthy coast, with Rio de Janeiro, the famous port city as its capital city. However, Brazilian leadership distinguished wealthy resources inside the Latin American state and tried to distract peoples' attachment to the coastal areas. As such they created an internal point as the country's new capital city (Jordan & Rowntree, 2001: 152).

#### ***2.1.10. Environmental Conditions***

With respect to numerous environmental problems in the world's big cities especially capital cities, one of the mental occupations of governments and problems of the third world countries is lack of favorable weather and environment condition. For example, the geographical condition of Tehran at the foothill of Alborz Mountains and its weather inversion phenomena is considered as one of the most important reasons for air pollution in this city (Mirhayder, 2005: 23).

The most important factor that could place Bursa as a capital city and center of Ottoman Empire was the city itself as well as due to its environment (Injeh & et al., 2005: 203). The most obvious example in this filed is the transfer of capital city in Belize.

The initial capital city of this country was Belize City that was deserted in 1961 under the effect of a storm known as Hitti. The storm incurred abundance of damages, the most serious being the destruction of large number of vital governmental documents. After this incident, experiences showed that the foremost condition of establishing a new capital city must be lateral immunity from the danger of storm hence; the important cities that existed along the coast automatically excluded from the selection list. This aspect also made the selection easy. After accomplishing an extensive research in 1970, they selected a new capital city Belmopan that was suitable from the point of views of communication, centralization, accessibility to water, favorable weather condition and lateral immunization from flood and storm (Mirhayder, 2002: 146). Since, capital cities are biggest population centers and symbol of states; these factors with suitable physical perspective are important for securing welfare of government and people as well as attracting them toward tourism.

### *2.1.11. Creating Cultural Unity and Homogeneity or Controlling Cultural Diversities*

Since, the creation of national unity and cohesiveness are some of the important functions of a national capital city hence; the important reason of transferring capital cities in a multi-ethnic state is to bring cultural unity and homogeneity. For instance, Tehran has been transformed as a national city because its population was composed of various social groups from across the country, also under the effect of urban and rural immigration in the last one century. This provided Tehran the possibility of acquainting, intermixing and blending different ethnic cultural fragments and hence; to emerge as a core area of national unity (Hafeznia, 2002: 291-2). Likewise, the transfer of Nigerian capital city from Lagos to Abuja was to some extent with the intension that the new capital city should be located between Muslim dominated north and Christian dominated south. Thus, from the geographical point of view, this city could easily adjust itself, without siding with any one (Schatz, 2003: 2).

### **2.1.12. Optimum Administrative Problems of Capital Cities**

Among wider obligations of a government that include ministerial frameworks, administrative divisions, establishment of parliament, embassies, and foreign consulates, commanding centers, big financial and economic firms, banks, cultural and publication centers, tourist attraction, luxurious industries at the capital city are important reasons of its speedy growth (Farid, 2003: 320). With these factors, the world capital cities could exhibit themselves as autonomous centers with political, economic-commercial and cultural attractions. Evidently, much population density accompanies numerous problems. Minimum populated capital cities in the modern world (like Washington and Canberra) just with administrative population have many advantages e.g. easy living, security of managers and proper decision-making at the time of law enactment. In other words, a law produced by the right decision-making enjoys advantages and is important for country's survival (Özey, 1996: 132).

Therefore, once a capital city becomes saturated from diverse economic, financial, political and administrative activities, undesirably it is bound to place some of its jurisdiction to other cities. Such transfer and turning over of activities and division of works have taken place in the cities like Washington and New York, Bonn and Zurich, New Delhi and Kolkata. Presently, Tehran is the most obvious sample of these capital cities that is encountering with wider administrative problems. This aspect has led the higher officials to think over and over about the division of capital city among cities or transfer it to a new place. As a whole, these are the problems of all countries that have centralized vast administrative system.

### **2.1.13. Security Problem**

Capital city, in fact, is an active brain of a state or government. Like neural networks of a human body that is accumulated in the brain, all governmental units are centralized in a capital city. The head of government, parliament, ministers and ministries, Supreme Court, account section, department of justice all are lo-

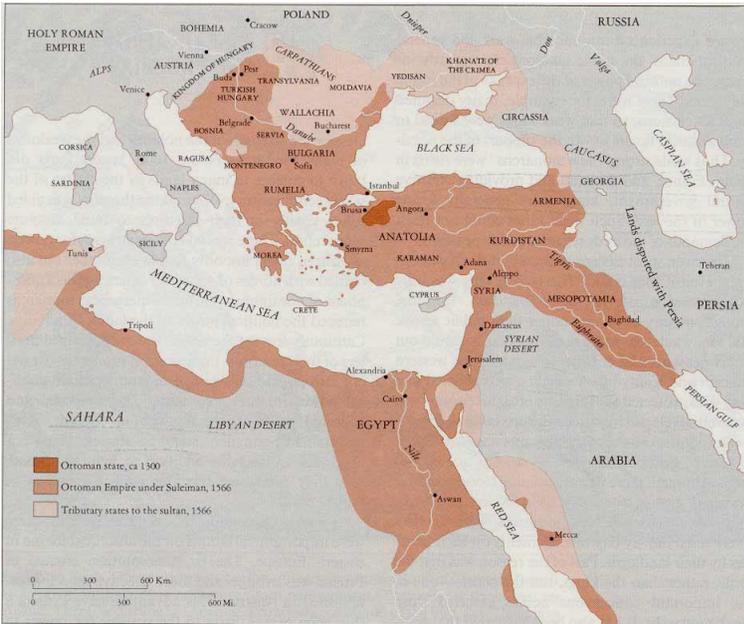
cated there. A capital city is considered as a center of administration, the actual seat of governance, active brain and a palpitating heart of government. All laws and bills are ratified and approved at the capital city and so are the governmental decisions. Apart, all decrees are issued from the capital city. These possibilities are even effective for future generation that could extend authenticity and power upon the whole country (Akyol, 2007). In brief, state is administered from the capital city which is also known as the center of foreign/diplomatic relations. Foreign diplomats and ambassadors reside in this city and all foreign representatives conduct their official/formal meetings there. Similarly, all agreements and deals are signed in the capital city (Şimşir, 1991).

In the same way, capital city is considered as the most peaceful part of a country even the capital cities that initially located off the coast of a river or rivers and later transferred to internal sections. For example, Russian capital city of Saint Petersburg was located on the coast of Baltic Sea and later transferred to Moscow which is in the heart of the country. Indian capital city transferred to New Delhi from the coastal city of Calcutta (now Kolkata). Similarly, Pakistani capital city from Karachi to Islamabad, Brazilian capital city from Rio de Janeiro to Brasilia and Australian capital city from Sydney to Canberra are some other examples. Actually, the capital cities that initially established on the banks of river, have recently been left out due to security concerns and hence; led to establishments of new capital cities inside the country. As a whole, capital cities must be established at places that could provide security to its citizens.

## **2.2. Transfer of Turkish Capital City**

Turks have formed a number of states in the course of their long history and consequently selected a number of capital cities, Istanbul being one of them. This city, with longer antiquity acquired much importance while connecting two continents of Asia and Europe. As an autonomous seat of Ottomans, Istanbul was a center of kingship, center of Caliphate and center of Ottoman rule (Akyol, 2007). Through centuries, this city showed its competence

and adequacy as capital city or center of power of the Ottoman Empire. It was located in the center of Ottoman Empire and enjoyed geographical centrality in a way that Anatolia was situated in the east of this city while Roman territory was located on its west. In other words, Istanbul was flanked by Asia and Europe. With respect to geographical location, Istanbul lacked a competitor and enjoyed the most peculiar circumstances.



Map.1 highlights the role of Istanbul as a core area, in developing the Ottoman Empire. With respect to its centrality, powerful iconographic values as a holy city for Christians (This element gave Istanbul a strategic importance), its communication network (foreign relations) being located on east-west trade routes, its access to the domestic communication networks, creating unity and cultural homogeneity or controlling cultural diversities (a considerable part of population of Istanbul was Greek) and its strategic location, Istanbul was a geopolitical haven and source of power for Ottomans. Thus, from the point of view of political geography, Istanbul was a Head-Link capital city. Apart from its supremacy over political-spatial system of the country, it worked as an active

brain and palpitating heart in centralizing and connecting vital veins of state, their direct connection with big cities around the world and in the meantime, influencing all other internal systems due to its particular place in this network.

Notwithstanding, the Ottoman Empire was disturbed with the passage of its geopolitical equilibrium. European territories of the Ottoman Empire encountered with repeated attacks and gradually separated from the empire. Its frontier was pushed back from the middle of Europe to the Balkan region and the time arrived when the city of Istanbul lost its centrality and became a marginalized zone of the Ottoman kingdom (Şimşir, 1991). When the Ottoman Empire was powerful, it did not encounter any problem. However, with the beginning of continuous wars which aimed to destroy Ottoman rule, Istanbul was threatened both via land and sea. As such, a capital city that was considered a peaceful part, transformed into the most disturbed place of the country (Akyol, 2007). In short, no capital city could be established in a region that is under attacks from all its three sides. Usually, a capital city is the last point of a country to fall into enemy's hands, Istanbul, contrarily invaded from the beginning of wars. In other words, the capital city whose leadership is necessary for country itself came under the hegemony of enemies.

On December 27, 1919, with the arrival of governmental mission to Ankara, this city was transformed into a real quarter of Turkish national struggle. In fact, a new Turkish state was founded on April 23, 1920, with the inauguration of Turkish National Parliament in Ankara. Since 'Kurtuluş Savaşı' (Salvation War) was guided from this city; Ankara practically acquired the status and place of a capital city. As soon as the allied army left Istanbul after the signing Lausanne Agreement, discussions intensified about the establishment of new capital city. Some wanted Istanbul to be selected again. In the meantime, Ankara had acquired essence and identity of the central government with the inauguration of Turkish National Parliament itself. Apart, Ankara was located in the center of Turkey and enjoyed capabilities of being a capital city

with its defensive and geographical features. In the meantime, İsmet Paşa (İnönü) with a bill based on that “Ankara is the capital city of Turkish state” dedicated this city to the national parliament. Thus, Ankara was officially chosen as the new Turkish capital city on December 13, 1923. This city continues to perform the role of a capital city and has already been registered Turkish constitution. On the occasion of the 84th anniversary of Ankara as the country’s capital city, President Abdullah Gul in his message said: “Ankara as a crossing and intersection of Anatolian cultures had actually acquired its national importance with its role during Kurtuluş War under the leadership of Atatürk. The historical role in guiding the war was due to being a capital city. Undoubtedly, Ankara as a capital city of Turkish Republic is a foresighted selection. This selection can be considered an introduction to the establishment of a modern Turkish Republic with national independence.”

Meantime, selection of Ankara as a capital city also accompanied other advantages. With selection, the actual load and center of Turkish state shifted from Istanbul to Anatolia. With reference to the fact that principal part of motherland located in Anatolia, more attention of new Turkish state was Anatolia. Thus, the transfer of capital city from Istanbul to Ankara incurred deep and wider changes in the policies of Turkish state (Şimşir, 1991). Apart, when Ankara was chosen as the capital city, it contained a number of factors for the development of the central part. This city was almost in the center with purely Turkish dominated region. Besides entrusting administrative roles to Ankara, a number of industries had disembarked there with railways and land routes from all directions (Weigeret et al., 1957: 145).

It is worth mentioning that the time Ankara was selected as new capital city the Turkish state, after the disintegration of powerful Ottoman Empire, had been encountering with a number difficulties in establishing spatial-cultural unity and integrity. The most important were separation movements of Greeks settled in western Turkey, Kurds living in southeastern region as well as Armenians in eastern region. The geopolitical crisis of the above

regions is considered one of the biggest problems of political geography of this toddler state. Since, one of the important reasons of dislocating capital cities is the creation of unity and cultural homogeneity or especial control on cultural diversities with the aim of a cohesive and unified state, therefore, the selection of Ankara as the new Turkish capital in the central region could not only control cultural of these regions rather guarantee continuity and stability of this toddler state. Presently too, this particularity of the Turkish capital city is considered the most evident issue in controlling the Kurdish separation movements and even development of their influence and control on the Kurdish dominated northern Iraq.



In the meantime, since the need of new political model of the Turkish Republic was to be synchronized with the modern world, hence; the selection of Ankara as the capital city had strategic and political essence as well. "...formation of a new capital city, in the process of national unity, enjoyed a symbolic definition. Apart, it was expected that Ankara, as a new capital city, could provide modern and fresh perspective that is suitable for contemporary world. Actually, Ankara is a center of state that had emerged in order to attach it with a world of rationalism. Thus, this city being symbolic was not the only aspect taken into consideration rather

its enjoyment and execution of all ideas and expectations of the modern world as well as exhibiting a suitable living structure were other aspects that were planned for Ankara (Tankut, 1990: 9). Thus, developed and advanced Ankara is considered a model for other Anatolian cities. Ankara has been pioneer in developing and divulging contemporary urbanization in Anatolia. In fact, after selecting this city as a capital city, we have seen at one side unexpected development of Anatolia especially with regard to urbanization. Besides, with regard to cultural and economy too, Ankara was a symbol of growth and development for other cities (Şimşir, 1991). Its selection as the capital city has complete coordination with the features of head-link capital cities. As a whole, capital cities are established in order to fill the geopolitical vacuum in the existing system of political geography of the country, optimum administration and exact control of all sections of a political-spatial unit, to fill geopolitical vacuum of a country against foreign influence as well as to guide development and advancement of the country as a whole. Ankara, as an obvious sample of this kind, was selected for optimum and exact control of political geography of Turkey as well as to guide development, advancement as complete attention of the state to internal regions.

Presently, this city as a center of power of Turkey is situated in the geographical-political center of Anatolian peninsula that is an effective geopolitical region. In fact, the geopolitical location of Anatolia in the triangular epicenter of Balkan, Central Asia-Caucasian and the Middle East has provided an axial point to this city in the global geopolitics and strategies. Therefore, with respect to its location, this city even could undertake prominent roles in the regional and global politics and strategies.

### **Conclusion**

Undoubtedly, whenever a state visualizes its capital city of lacking efficiencies to administer the country's affairs, it takes steps to transfer it to somewhere else. As such, capital city as a center of power and remnant of a state must enjoy a suitable sta-

tus. The outcome of the current research shows that a capital city never loses its importance due a single reason to a state. In other words, a number of factors are involved in the transfer of a capital city. In this article, 13 reasons have been presented with regard to the transfer of capital cities. Interestingly, all these factors in a way are interrelated. Actually, all reasons cited for the transfer could be affective. What is evident is the core area capability of a place that is taken into consideration in most of the cases. However, this aspect doesn't mean the place physically has all other features available. Actually, whatever reasons might be for selecting a capital city, most of these lead to the centrality of the place. It means, each capital city is considered as a kind of core area.

Meanwhile, in every state, especially in the initial state formation in multi-ethnic countries, it is attempted to locate the capital city near the dominant ethnic group. In fact, the government needs national support or backing for the continuation of its rule. Similarly, a capital city with a marginal location has no effect on internal communication networks. In such circumstances, the capital city is established more for its presence in the regional and global arena as well as to fill the geopolitical vacuum against any foreign influence.

As a whole, for whatever reasons a capital city is transferred, the ultimate aim is to systematize and administer the system of political geography and to organize political space, although geopolitical aims too enjoy much importance. So, a capital city is transferred to provide continuity to the state and nation hence; national identity is formed by creating unity and national integrity. The selection of Ankara as the Turkish capital city has full conformity with the above-mentioned aspects. Ankara was chosen because it enjoyed national backing, was successful in establishing geopolitical equilibrium in Turkey as well as it enjoyed prominent location in the country's political geography, political space and its urban networks. As a whole, with reference to problems of political geography (especially Kurdish problems) and the most geopolitical problems (spatial, ethnic, lingual attachment of Turkish Kurds

with northern Iraq), the selection of Ankara as a guiding and organizing center was the only way to the continuation of new Turkish state as well as establishment of national unity and integrity. By this way, with respect to particular geopolitical values of Ankara and special political geography of modern Turkey, selection of this city as a capital city included factors like source of ethnic rule, its strategic and defensive location, as an Geographical central location, its accessibility to internal communication networks, peripheral security problems of Turkey, creating national unity and cultural homogeneity or controlling cultural diversities, foreign relations, change in the government policies and performance and above all the core area capability of Ankara.

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