Functions of the capital city in the political and territorial structure of the state

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Abstract. The capital is one of the backbone institutions in the political and administrative structure of the state. This is not only the location of the central authorities, the center for managing political processes in the country, but also the most important political institution that forms, reproduces and transforms its statehood, primarily influencing the political-territorial structure, the system of relations between "center-regions" and the regional state policy. This understanding of the capital city raises the question of why does the political and administrative structure of the state involve the allocation of a capital city, i.e. in other words, the inevitable division of the country into the center and regions, the formation of potentially conflicting social groups: residents of the center and residents of the periphery? And another question arising is what functions does such a division perform and how does it affect the nature of political processes in the state as a whole?

Key words: capitals, capital city, center, periphery, political geography, territorial development, geo-cleaning

1. Relevance
The scientific relevance of the work is determined by the fact that the modern understanding of the influence of spatial factors on political processes is being increasingly developed following the rethinking of the content of geopolitical research, in particular under the influence of the development of critical and post-critical directions in geopolitics. The search for a geographic center and the allocation of a political center, the capital, are in this sense the key factors in the organization of space and the political system, they link politics and geography and allow us to understand the functions of the elements of the territorial structure in the political organization of society. The practical relevance of the work is justified by the increasing importance of the regional and urban levels of political processes, the need to update the political and administrative approaches to the management of the capital of the state, the ongoing debate on the advisability of transferring the capital center in most states of the world (including Russia) and the transformation of functions, including political, of the world capital cities.

2. Literature review
There is a huge layer of literature on specific capitals, but the topic of capitals as a political institution, in our opinion, has not yet received the necessary scientific comparative empirical or normative research.
Apparently, it was this circumstance that prompted the famous American scientist Scott Campbell to declare that the capital, being "an easily identifiable phenomenon, remains not well understood as a special class of cities,"[1] and the German historian Andreas Daum generally suggests that the study of capitals today is in stages of development "[2].

The text of the classic of French political science Jean Gottman "Capital Cities"[3] can be considered the key impetus for the creation of the theory of capitals. The works of H. Eldridge [4], P. Hall [5], J. Tyrwitt [6], G. Terborn and Kon Chon Ho [7], in Russia: V. Rossman [8, 9], D.N. Zamyatin [10], S.A. Tarkhov [11] can also be considered as the most successful attempts to comprehend metropolitanism. Despite the fact that J. Gottman and his school of "iconography" are considered the forerunners of modern constructivist political science, in this work, as well as in subsequent studies, the role of the capital was not evaluated within the framework of the constructivist tradition, which this work is partly trying to solve.

3. Methodology
The multifaceted nature of the problem posed implies the use of a whole range of research methods and techniques. Field studies of the historical memory of capitals (case studies) required the use of cognitive mapping, blitz surveys, and in-depth interviews. The methods of text analysis (content and discourse analysis) were used to analyze the use of the names of capitals in socio-political discourse. Statistical cluster analysis has been used for empirical modeling of capital city types. The key method in the work was also comparative: a comparison of the types of capitals was made to identify their similarities and differences.

4. Empirical base of research
In addition to scientific literature, the authors used their own empirical materials to analyze capitals without actual capital character. In order to collect these in the period from July 2014 to August 2017 there were organized twelve expeditions to the cities: Staraya Ladoga of the Leningrad Region (August 19, 2014, July 4-5, 2015), Kasimov of the Ryazan Region (July 12-13, 2014, June 26-28, 2015, 12-13 September 2015), Myshkin of the Yaroslavl Region (August 30–31, 2014, June 29–30, 2015, July 11, 2015, October 10–11, 2015), Vologda (August 28–29, 2015, August 25-30, 2017) and Samara (June 24-27, 2017). During the expeditions, 294 respondents were interviewed: 109 in Kasimov, 103 in Myshkin and 82 in Staraya Ladoga. Expert interviews were conducted in 80 administrative, business, scientific, educational and cultural institutions in all five cities. In all five cities, in addition to collection of sources and quick surveys, detailed field diaries of included observations were kept. To calculate the capital ratio for all countries of the world, statistical information was taken from the UN 2014 demographic yearbook.

5. Conclusions
Firstly, the result of the study is a reconceptualization of the concept of "capital", which was made separately for the positivist and constructivist paradigms. For positivism, the capital is seen as a place of government sovereignty of the state, for constructivism, a place that forms the ideal image of political education. In both approaches, the capital is primarily represented as a single specific location in space (sometimes, however, distributed among several settlements), playing a system-forming function in the formation and subsequent development of polity. Reconceptualization demanded a rethinking of other basic concepts of political science associated with the analysis of the spatial structure of the state, political space, political spatiality, political and geographical position, sovereignty, center-peripheral relations. This approach allowed, on the one hand, showing the versatility of understanding these phenomena, and on the other, through their opposition indicating their complementarity. In other words, the conceptualizations did not turn out to be mutually exclusive, diametrical in content, but rather complementary to each other, creating a stereoscopic vision of the subject of research.
Secondly, the results obtained made it possible to systematize the functions performed by the capital as a political institution in the administrative-territorial structure of the state. It has been proven that the capital is a symbol of statehood and a collecting image of the nation (symbolic function), the location of government bodies, a place for the production and distribution of public goods and a location that gives the greatest opportunities for society to influence political processes (institutional function), and also sets dichotomy "center-regions" in the country, opposing itself to another part of the country, due to which the process of interregional differentiation (regional function) is launched in the state, leading, depending on the type of capitals, either to the strengthening of centrifugal or centripetal forces in the state.

Thirdly, the political system was revealed, the predecessor of the institution of the capital, the city-state. In fact, the evolution of statehood followed the path of complicating its structure due to the annexation of external territories to the city-state, which became the capital.

Fourthly, the paper analyzes the evolution of the morphological forms of the capital city, which showed that the modern institution of the capital appears along with the process of the formation of nation states in the late Middle Ages and is associated with the fact that the institutional filling (the location of the king, court or treasury) starts adding the symbolic content of the capital, serving as an image of the nation being formed.

Fifthly, the work revealed the transformations taking place in the state during the transfer of the capital. The strategies of capital transfer that dominate in the modern world were identified: the strategy of historical memory, the strategy of spatial compromise, the strategy of regional alignment, the strategy of alternative positioning, the strategy of centralization, and the conditions and consequences of each of the strategies for state building were summarized.

Sixthly, the ideal typical prototypes were identified, which served as the basis for the symbolic function of the capital, the geographical center and the pole of inaccessibility, which made it possible to generalize the ideas about how the capital is related to statehood. With the help of discourse analysis of the use of mentioning in the media the capitals of already full-fledged states, it was demonstrated how the actualization of these images affects the perception of states in the international arena. Taking control of a capital is often equated with winning an international war. The death of the capital is perceived as the death of the state, and the transfer of the capital means a deep transformation of the political structure of the state, in fact, the emergence of a new symbolic core and a national idea in it.

Seventhly, the result of the work was the derivation of the capital ratio and the typology of capitals based on it. Four mutually exclusive clusters of capital types were identified: a macrocapital of a monocentric state, a macrocapital of a polycentric state, a microcapital of a polycentric state, and a microcapital of a monocentric state. This indicator was calculated for all sovereign states of the world. The conceptualization of the concept of "metropolitancy" made it possible to identify the types of multi-capitalism and quasi-capitalism.

Eighthly, for the first time the study on the basis of extensive empirical material has shown that the lack of an institutional framework does not prevent these cities from updating the concept of "capital". Moreover, the symbolic capital is sufficient to articulate the existence of hierarchical relations between the mythical capital and a certain periphery and even build a narrative about a certain nation formed by these relations. At the same time, the mechanisms of the formation of the capital's narrative in all the cases studied turned out to be different: in Staraya Ladoga it was originally an official discourse, perceived by the population; in Myshkin, the popular discourse, on the contrary, was later claimed by the official authorities; and finally, in Kasimov, the narrative is not supported by the authorities and is spread only in narrow segments of society among the Tatar community and urban intelligentsia.

Ninthly, based on the analysis of the choice of the temporary capital during the Civil and Great Patriotic Wars in Russia, the optimal political and geographical requirements for the capital were determined: firstly, it should be located at the node of the country's key traffic flows, and at such that ensure the connectivity.
of the city in all geographic directions, secondly, spatial barriers should reliably protect the city at least along the vector of the greatest external threat, and thirdly, the capital should be shifted from the geometrical center of the country to the region of potential maximum geopolitical pressure, i.e. to a place serving as the core of the state's perspective development space.

Finally, tenthly, the novelty of the research lies in the advancement of a synthetic theory of waves of geochronopolitical transformations, combining positivist and constructivist approaches in political science. In the process of synthesis, the provisions of critical geopolitics were integrated, separating absolute and relative space and taking the former beyond the limits of analysis, social constructivism, which generalizes ideas about the formation of social institutions from human subjective knowledge, and evolutionary morphology, which suggests how, in the process of development, subjective forms are institutionalized in the human community. Four stages of geochronopolitical transformations were identified, which allow, on the one hand, separating the place of structural and personal factors in the political process, and on the other, showing their systemic complementarity. According to the proposed theoretical model, at the first stage, unconscious subjectivization, a myth about exclusivity is formed out of elements of local identity. This myth of exclusivity at the second stage, conscious subjectivization, in a number of cases gives rise to a narrative about statehood. In the formed polity, this location plays the role of an ideal typical image of this state, its symbol and organizing principle, i.e. capital city. At the third stage, unconscious objectification, this narrative passes into the collective unconscious due to the fact that it transforms social practices, creating a separate "metropolitan" layer in space. Finally, at the fourth stage, conscious objectification, the institutionalization of the state and the capital should take place. These findings can become the basis for the development of a separate direction in political science: studies of capital cities.

6. References

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